HISTORY

OF THE

VICEROYS OF IRELAND

WITH NOTICES OF

THE CASTLE OF DUBLIN

AND

ITS CHIEF OCCUPANTS IN FORMER TIMES.

BY

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DUBLIN:
JAMES DUFFY, 15, WELLINGTON-QUAY;
AND
LONDON: 22, PATERNOSTER-ROW
1865.

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

SIR,

When publicly announcing, in 1862, that the Royal Irish Academy had awarded its "Cunningham Medal" to my "History of the City of Dublin," you expressed a hope that such appreciation and sympathy might evoke further labors towards supplying "some of the many and acknowledged wants of Irish history."

Trusting that the present volume may be regarded as a contribution in the direction you thus indicated, I inscribe it to the Royal Irish Academy, which has so successfully pursued the objects for which it was chartered—the promotion of the studies of science, literature, and antiquities.

Your obedient servant,

J. T. GILBERT.

DUBLIN, 1*st of May*, 1865.

PREFACE.

FROM the number of works styled "Irish histories," published in the present century, it might be supposed that little remained to be told of the Viceroys, or representatives of the Kings of England in Ireland. The authors of such compilations, however, relied upon the statements of those who had preceded them, in the same path, and neither examined primary Irish sources, nor consulted the archives of England and Ireland, which form a main and authentic basis for Anglo-Irish history. Thus, hitherto, there has not been published even an accurate Catalogue of the Viceroys of Ireland.

To precise archivistic inquiry a serious impediment is still imposed, by the condition of the Irish Public Records, to which I called

special attention, some years ago, in the Preface to my "History of the City of Dublin." Through the expenditure authorized by Parliament, great improvements have been, of late, made in the arrangement and calendaring of portions of the public muniments of England; but the Imperial Legislature has not conceded similar advantages to Ireland. Ancient muniments of the English Government in the latter country, still remain without published indices or reliable calendars; and the efforts made by the Archæologists of Ireland to obtain proper measures in this respect have, as yet, proved ineffective.

Even with the aid of accurate catalogues, the elimination of truths, and the collation of evidences in writings, ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, in Gaelic, obsolete Latin, and Anglo-Norman, is a task involving serious labour. Such work, moreover, demands special knowledge, to be acquired only by a long and careful study of the languages and bearings of antique documents.

A minute examination and analysis of

muniments and state papers can alone enable the historian to determine the credit due to narrations of chroniclers and genealogists, usually influenced by personal interests, or local prejudices. This comparison is pre-eminently necessary in connexion with the history of Ireland, where the investigator of past events finds, co-existing on the same soil, two races, differing essentially in language, laws, customs, and aspirations.

In this volume, an attempt is made to embody, in narrative form, the results of a collation of printed and unpublished documents and chronicles, bearing upon the chief administrators of the English Government in Ireland, from its establishment, to the termination of the reign of Henry VII., in 1509. From this period the history will be resumed in the next series.

With the general details have been combined, in the present volume, so far as the meagre authentic materials admit, biographical notices of the more important personages connected with Anglo-Irish affairs

from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Facts and circumstances hitherto misunderstood or unnoticed, but which exercised important influence, through Ireland, on England, are here elucidated, for the first time, from unpublished sources. A comparison of this work, with those already extant on the same portion of Anglo-Irish history, will consequently exhibit, how widely the details, now given, differ from the statements of preceding writers.

Documents and extracts from hitherto unprinted and little known archives, in their original languages, but unobscured by the contractions in which they were written, will be found in the notes. The latter have been appended to this volume, after the mode adopted by Luden, in his work on Germany, and followed by Sir Francis Palgrave, in the History of Normandy and England.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

A.D.		PAGE
	Clan Government in Ireland	1
	Bardic Dublin	2
	Tristram and Isolde	3
	Dublin of the Norsemen	4
	Scandinavian Legends	5
	The MacMurragh Clan	8
	Dermod, King of Leinster	9
1166	Deposal of King Dermod	10
	His Appeal to Henry II.	11
	Richard Fitz-Gislebert	12
1169	Progress of Dermod and his allies	14
1170	Fitz-Gislebert arrives in Ireland	15
1171	Death of King Dermod	16
	Anglo-Normans beseiged in Dublin	17
	Irish Camp surprised	19
	Anglo-Normans assailed by Norsemen	20
	Repulse of the Norsemen	21
	Irish Allies of the Anglo-Normans	22
	Murder of Archbishop Becket, 1170	23
	Preparations for expedition to Ireland	24
1171	Henry II. lands near Waterford	25
	Character of Henry II.	26
	Henry II. in Ireland	27
	Luxuries of the Normans	28
	Proceedings of Henry II.	29
1172	The Anglo-Norman Colony	31

A.D.		PAGE
1172	Difficulties of Henry II.	32
	The First Viceroy for Ireland	33
	Henry II. departs from Ireland	34

CHAPTER II.

HENRY II.—RICHARD I.—AND JOHN.

1172	Hugues de Lasci	35
	Death of O'Ruarc	36
	Movements of Fitz-Gislebert	37
	Anglo-Normans and Irish	38
1173	Viceroyalty of Fitz-Gislebert	39
1176	Death of Fitz-Gislebert	40
	Raymond le Gros, Viceroy	41
1177	Viceroyalty of Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm de Burgh	42
	Jean de Curci	43
	John nominated "Lord of Ireland"	44
1181	Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin	45
	Pope Urban and Prince John	46
1184	Phillippe de Worcester, Justiciary	47
	Henry II. and the Patriarch	48
1185	Prince John in Ireland	49
	Jean de Curci, Justiciary	51
1186	Murder of Hugues de Lasci	52
	The Anglo-Norman Settlement	53
1189	John, Lord of Ireland	54
	Hugues de Lasci, the younger, Justiciary	55
1191	Guillaume le Petit, „	55
	Guillaume, Earl Maréchal, „	55
1194	Pierre Pipard, „	56
1197	Hamon de Valognes, „	57
1199	Meiller Fitz-Henri, „	58
1203	Hugues de Lasci, Viceroy	59
	De Curci, Earl of Ulster	60
	Feuds between De Curci and De Lasci	61

A.D.		PAGE
1203	Stories of De Curci	62
	Affreca, wife of De Curci	63
1204	Meiller Fitz Henri, Viceroy	64
	Writ for a new Castle at Dublin	64
	Title of Chief Justiciary	64
	Kings of England and their Viceroys	65
1205	Hugues de Lasci, Viceroy	65
1208	Viceroy defeated at Thurles	66
	Guillaume and Matilda de Braose	67
	King John's relations with De Braose	68
1210	John levies an Army for Ireland	69
	King John excommunicated	70
	He lands in Ireland	71
	John's movements in Ireland	72
	King John and Matilda de Braose	73
	Proceedings of John in Ireland	74
	John departs from Ireland	75
	Matilda de Braose and her companions starved	76
	Viceroyalty of De Gray, Bishop of Norwich	76
1213	Archbishop Henri de Londres, Viceroy	77
1215	His connection with "Magna Charta"	77
	Geoffroi de Marreis, Viceroy	78
	Legends of the exiled De Lascies	78
	King John and the De Lascies	79

CHAPTER III.

HENRY III.—EDWARD I.

1216	French Queen of England invited to Ireland	80
1217	Tax imposed on Colony	81
1218	The Viceroy, De Marreis, summoned to England	82
1220	Compact between Henry III. and De Marreis	83
	Securities for Viceroy's fidelity	84
1221	Henri, "Scorch-villein," Archbishop of Dublin, Viceroy	85
1223	His proceedings	86

A.D.		PAGE
1223	Viceroyalty of Archbishop Henri,	87
	He is reprimanded by Henry III.	88
1224	Viceroyalty of Guillaume, second Earl of Pembroke	89
1226	Salary assigned to Viceroy	90
	Third Viceroyalty of De Marreis	91
1227	Richard de Burgh, Viceroy	92
1229	Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy,	93
1232	Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary	93
	Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy	93
	Richard, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Leinster	94
	Grants in Ireland to Pierre de Rivaulx	94
	Plot against Earl Richard Maréchal	95
1233.	Death of the Earl Richard	97
	Consternation of Colonists	98
	Gislebert Maréchal, Lord of Leinster	98
	Guillaume de Marreis conspires against Henry III.	99
	Fate of Geoffroi and Guillaume de Marreis	99
	Supplies drawn from Ireland to England	99
	Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy	100
1244	Irish Soldiery in Wales	100
	Heirs of Anglo-Norman Lords in Ireland	101
1245	Jean Fitz-Geoffroi, Viceroy	102
1254	Prince Edward nominated Lord of Ireland	103
1255	Alain de la Zouche, Viceroy	103
1259	Estienne "De Longe Espée"	104
1260	His Death	105
	Emmeline, Countess of Ulster	105
	Guillaume le Dene, Viceroy	106
	Geraldines defeated at Callan	106
	Thomas Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, "of the ape"	106
1261	Sir Richard de la Rochelle, Viceroy	107
	Entrenchment of Ross	107
1266	Jean Fitz-Geoffroi, Viceroy	107
1267	David de Barry, „	107
1268	Robert D'Ufford, „	107
1269	Richard D'Exeter, „	107

A.D.		PAGE
1270	Viceroyalty of Jacques D'Audeley,	108
1272	Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy	108
	Viceroy taken prisoner	108
1273	Geoffroi de Joinville, Lord of Vaucouleur and Meath, Viceroy	108
1276	Robert D'Ufford, Viceroy	108
1277	Estevene de Foleburne, Bishop of Waterford, Viceroy	109
1287	John de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin, „	111
1290	Guillaume de Vesci, Lord of Kildare, „	111
	Feud between De Vesci and Fitz-Thomas	111
1293	Guillaume de la Haye, Viceroy	112
1294	Guillaume D'Odingselles, „	112
1295	Thomas Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy	112
1306	Sir Jean Wogan, Viceroy	112

CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD II.

1307	The Anglo-Norman Colony	113
	Native Irish and Colonists	114
	Parliaments of Colonists	115
	Castle of King of England at Dublin	116
	Colonial Law Courts and Exchequer	117
	Fiscal arrangements of Colony	119
	Salaries of Viceroys	120
	Viceregal military arrangements	121
	Sir Jean Wogan, Viceroy	125
	The Knights of the Temple	122
	The Templars in Ireland	123
	Seizure of Templars	124
	Accusations against Templars in Ireland	125
	Wars with Clans on Dublin Borders	125
	Glenmalur, New-Castle Mac-Kinegan, and Castle-Kevin	126
1308	Sir Guillaume de Burgh, Viceroy	126

A.D.		PAGE
1308	Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Viceroy	126
	Richard de Burgh, "Red Earl" of Ulster	127
1309	Parliament of Colonists at Kilkenny	128
	Dissensions among Settlers	129
	Proposed Dublin University	130
1312	Edmond le Botiller, Viceroy	130
1314	Theobaude de Verdun, „	131
	Irish Alliance with Scotland	132
	Edward Bruce invited to Ireland	133
	De Bisset and De Lascies	133
1315	Edward Bruce lands in Ulster	134
	The "Red Earl" defeated	134
	Edward Bruce crowned King of Ireland	135
1316	The Viceroy, Le Botiller, routed	135
	Creation of Earldom of Kildare	136
	Roger de Mortimer, Viceroy, defeated	136
	Bruce and his Allies excommunicated	137
	Seige of Carrickfergus Castle	138
	Attempt of De Mandeville to surprize the besiegers	138
	Robert Bruce in Ireland	139
	The Bruces and their Irish Allies march southwards	139
	Progress of the Bruces	140
	King Robert Bruce at Limerick	140
1317	Roger de Mortimer, Viceroy	141
	Robert Bruce returns to Scotland	142
	Guillaume Fitz-Jean, Archbishop of Cashel, Viceroy	142
	Colonists defeated by Irish	143
	Muster of Colonists against Bruce	144
	Edward Bruce and Jean de Bermingham	145
1318	Battle at Faughard	146
	Edward Bruce slain	146
	Earldom of Louth created	147
1319	Roger de Mortimer, Viceroy	147
	Depreciation of lands of settlers	148
	Treatment of Bruce's allies	148
	Results in Ireland of Bruce's Invasion	149

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD II., *continued*.—EDWARD III.

A.D.		PAGE
1320	Thomas Fitz-John Fitz-Gerald, Viceroy	150
	Colonial University opened at Dublin	150
1321	Jean de Bermingham, Earl of Louth, Viceroy	150
1322	Ralph de Gorges, „	151
	Sir Jean D'Arcy, „	151
	Ecclesiastical and lay settlers	152
1324	Dame Alice le Kyteler	153
	Sorcerers and Heretics	154
	Necromancy in Kilkenny	155
	Dame Alice prosecuted for sorcery	156
	De Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, and Arnold le Poer	157
	Contests in Kilkenny	158
	Colonial Nobles and Ecclesiastics	159
	The Viceroy, D'Arcy, and the Sorceress	160
	Sorceress burned at Kilkenny	161
1326	Edward II. sails for Ireland	162
	Thomas, second Earl of Kildare, Viceroy	162
1327	Wars between settlers	163
	The Irish of Leinster	164
1328	Prior Roger Utlagh, Viceroy	165
	Robert Bruce revisits Ireland	165
	Contest between Bishop de Ledrede and Arnold le Poer	165
1329	Viceroy accused of heresy	166
	Edward III. and Bishop de Ledrede	167
	Strife among Colonial Lords	168
1328	Earldom of Ormonde created	169
	Family of Le Botiller, or Butler	170
	Geraldines of Desmond	171
1329	Earldom of Desmond created	172
	Earl of Louth slain by settlers	173
	Contentions among Southern Colonists	173

A.D.		PAGE
1329	Introduction of "Coigne and Livery"	174
1331	Settlers oppressed by Colonial Lords	175
	William de Burgh, Lieutenant of Edward III.	176
	Sir Antoine de Lucy, Justiciary	176
	His connection with Colonists	176
	Proposed Irish Expedition of Edward III.	178
	Preparations for royal voyage to Ireland	179
1332	Lord William de Bermingham hanged by De Lucy	180
	Sir Jean D'Arcy, Viceroy	181
	Edward's Irish Expedition deferred	181
	William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster	182
1333	Earl of Ulster murdered by colonists	183
	Sir Jean D'Arcy, Viceroy	183
	Sir Thomas de Burgh, Viceroy	184
	Secession of De Burghs in Connaught	184
	Eastern Ulster occupied by O'Neills	185
	Corruption of Colonial Officials	186
1337	Sir John de Cherlton, Viceroy	186
1338	Viceroyalty of Bishop de Cherlton	187
1340	Prior Roger Utlagh, Viceroy	187
	Sir Jean D'Arcy, Viceroy,	187
	Irish inroads on Colony	188
	Compacts with Irish Chiefs	189
1341	Edward III. ejects colonial officials	190
	"English by blood," and "English by birth."	191
	Sir John Moriz, Deputy Governor,	192
	Convention of colonists at Kilkenny,	192
	Petition from English of Ireland	193
	Edward III. and Colonists	194
	Family of Le Sauvage,	195
	Stories of Henri and Robert Le Sauvage	195

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD III., *continued.*

A.D.		PAGE
1344	Sir Raoul D'Ufford, Viceroy	197
	Settlers in Connaught and Ulster	198
	Government of Sir Raoul D'Ufford	199
1345	D'Ufford opposed by first Earl of Desmond	200
1346	Viceroy dies at Kilmainham	201
	Sir Roger D'Arcy, Viceroy	202
	Sir John Moriz, Viceroy	202
	Maud, Countess of Ulster	202
	Irish at Crécy and Calais	203
1348	Walter de Bermingham, Viceroy	204
1349	John de Carew „	205
	Thomas de Rokeby, „	205
	Dealings with border Chiefs	206
1353	Colonists prohibited to quit Ireland	207
1355	Defences against border Irish	208
	Parliaments of Colonists	209
	State of Settlement	210
	Maurice, first Earl of Desmond, Viceroy	211
1356	Thomas de Rokeby, Viceroy	211
1357	Almaric de St. Amand, Viceroy	212
	Pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory	213
	Heads of Irish impaled on Dublin Castle	214
1359	James, second Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy	214
	Prince Lionel, Earl of Ulster	215
1361	Edward III. and absentee proprietors	216
	Prince Lionel appointed Viceroy	217
1362	Lionel created Duke of Clarence	218
	Viceroyalty of Lionel	219
	Froissart and Crystède	221
	Story of Crystède	222
	Crystède returns to England	223

A.D.		PAGE
1367	Parliament of colonists convened by Lionel	224
	The Statute of Kilkenny	225
	Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, Viceroy	227
	English Chancellor for Ireland taken prisoner	228
1368	Continuous resistance of Irish	229
	Statute enacted at Guildford, against Absentees	230
1369	Sir William de Windsor, Viceroy	231
	Complaints against him	231
1369	De Pembridge declines Viceroyalty	232
1371-2	Earl of Kildare and Sir Robert Asheton, Governors	233
1372	Prior William de Taney, Governor	233
1374	De Windsor's second Viceroyalty	234
	Mission of Sir Nicholas de Dagworth	235
	Colonial Parliament refuses to grant subsidy	235
	Representatives from Colony summoned to England	236
	Right to resident Parliament in Ireland asserted	237
	Edward III., Alice Perrers, and De Windsor	238
	Dagworth's commission revoked	239
	Attacks on English Settlement	240
1376	Maurice, fourth Earl of Kildare, Viceroy	240
	James, second Earl of Ormonde, „	241

CHAPTER VII.

RICHARD II.

1377	James, Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy	242
	Treaties with Irish	243
1378–9	Alexander de Balscot and John de Bromwich, Governors	243
	English legislation against absentees	244
1380	Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Viceroy	245
1381	He dies at Cork	247
	Viceroyalty declined by Ormonde and Desmond	247
	Dean John de Colton, Viceroy	248

A.D.		PAGE
1381-2	Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Viceroy	249
	Colonial Parliament and Viceroy	250
	Irish Friar arraigns Duke of Lancaster, 1384	251
	Friar Latimer murdered in London	251
1383	Philip de Courtenay, of Powderham, Viceroy	252
1385	Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, „	253
	De Vere Marquis of Dublin	254
1385	His Deputy, Sir John Stanley	254
	Charges against the Viceroy, De Courtenay	254
1386	Creation of Duke of Ireland	255
	De Vere proposed as King for Ireland	256
1388	English exiles in Ireland	257
	Bishop of Chichester exiled to Ireland	258
	Mother of Duke of Ireland—Her loyalty to Richard II.	259
1389	Sir John de Stanley, Viceroy	260
	State of colonial towns	261
1391	James, third Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy	262
	Ormonde purchases Kilkenny Castle	263
	Anglo-Irish retire to England	264
1393	Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, appointed Viceroy	264
	His commission revoked	264
	Richard II, prepares to visit Ireland	265
1394	He lands at Waterford	265
	Art Mac Murragh, King of Leinster	266
	Richard II. in Ireland	267
1395	Richard's account of the Irish	268
	Irish and Edward the Confessor	269
	Thomas Mowbray, Lord of Carlow	270
	Richard II. and Irish Chiefs	271
	Richard returns to England	272
	Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Viceroy	273
	His estates in Ireland	273
	Pilgrimage of Ramon de Perellos	275
	Sir William Le Scrop, Justiciary	276
1397	Sir Thomas de Mortimer protected by native Irish	277
1398	The Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, slain	278

A.D.		PAGE
1398	Reginald Grey, Viceroy	278
	Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, Viceroy	279
	Second Irish expedition of Richard II.	280
1399	He lands at Waterford	280
	His contest with Art Mac Murragh	282
	Interview between Mac Murragh and Gloucester	283
	Richard II. and Duke of Albermarle	284
1399	Treachery of Albemarle	285
	Richard II. and Prince Henry of Lancaster	286
	Departure of Richard II. from Ireland	287

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY IV.—HENRY V.—HENRY VI.

1399	State of English settlement in Ireland	288
	Position of native Irish	289
	Ignorance and chicane of colonial legal officials	290
	Colonists plundered and oppressed	291
	Accession of Henry IV., 1399	292
	Alexander de Balscot, Viceroy	292
	Sir John de Stanley „	292
	Town of Galway seized by Mac William	293
1401	Prince Thomas of Lancaster, Viceroy	294
	Difficulties of Prince Thomas	295
	His Deputy, Sir Stephen le Scrop	296
	Prince Thomas and border Irish	297
	State of Anglo-Irish towns	298
1404-5	Earls of Ormonde and Kildare, Deputy-Governors	299
1406	Viceregal agreement with Henry IV.	299
1408	Death of Sir Stephen le Scrop	300
	Sir John Fastolf in Ireland	300
	Return of Prince Thomas as Viceroy	300
	His Deputy, Prior Thomas le Botiller	300
1413	Sir John de Stanley, Viceroy	301
	Viceroy satirized by Irish Bards	301

A D.		PAGE
1413	Government of Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin	302
	Mayor of Waterford captures O'Driscol, by stratagem	303
	Complaints against Archbishop Cranley - - -	303
	Sir John Talbot, Viceroy - - - - - -	304
	His claims on lands in Ireland - - - - -	304
	Talbot attacks border Irish - - - - -	305
1416	Memorial from Colonists - - - - - -	306
	Thomas, Earl of Desmond, deposed - - - -	307
	Anglo-Irish in England - - - - - -	308
1418	Prior le Botiller at siege of Rouen - - - -	309
	Complaints against Sir John Talbot - - - -	310
1419	Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, Deputy Governor, - - - - - - - -	311
1420	James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy, - - -	312
	Grievances of Colonists, - - - - - -	313
	Proposed Crusade against native Irish, - - -	314
1423	Ormonde arraigned by Sir John Talbot, - - -	315
	Charges against Ormonde, - - - - -	316
	Contests with Irish of Ulster, - - - - -	317
	Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Viceroy	318
	His Deputy, Edward Dantsey, - - - - -	319
	Question on appointment of Deputy, - - -	319
	Death of Edmund de Mortimer, - - - -	320
1425	Sir John Talbot, Viceroy, - - - - -	321
	James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy, - - -	321
	Viceregal compact with Prince Owen O'Neill, - -	322
1427	Sir John de Grey, Viceroy, - - - - -	323
1428	Sir John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, Viceroy, - -	324
	Memorial from Colonial Parliament, - - - -	325
1429	Counter Memorial from Colony, - - - -	326
	Sir Thomas Le Strange, Deputy, - - - -	328
1431	Sir Thomas Stanley, Viceroy, - - - - -	328
	Condition of English Settlement, - - - -	329
	Henry VI. solicited to visit Ireland, - - - -	331
1436	Complaints from Colonists against Viceroys, - -	332
	Memorial from Colonists, - - - - - -	333

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY VI.—*continued.*

A.D.		PAGE
1438	Sir Leon de Welles, Viceroy	334
1440	Florentine Republic and seventh Earl of Desmond	335
	James, seventh Earl of Desmond	336
	Condition of settlers	337
	James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, Deputy	337
	Feuds between Talbot and Ormonde	337
	Ormonde and Archbishop Talbot	338
1441	Charges against Ormonde	339
	Ormonde's removal proposed	340
1442	He is appointed Viceroy	341
	Fitz-Gerald, Prior of Kilmainham	342
	Chief Baron Cornwalshe murdered by Fitz-William,	343
	Thorndon's charges against Ormonde	344
1444	Ormonde summoned to England	345
	Prior Fitz-Gerald challenges Ormonde	346
	Acquittal of Ormonde	347
1446	Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, Viceroy	348
1447	Anglo-Irish Parliament at Trim	349
	Earldom of Waterford	350
	Archbishop Richard Talbot, Deputy	351
	Sir John Talbot and his son slain, 1453	351
	Richard, Duke of York, Earl of Ulster, Lord of Connaught and Trim,	352
	Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, Deputy	353
1449	Viceroyalty of Richard, Duke of York	353
	George, Duke of Clarence born at Dublin	354
	Borderers and their exactions	355
	Earl of Rutland and Cork	356
	State of English in Munster	357
	Duke of York and his partizans	358
1450	Anglo-Irish "Captain of Kent"	359

A.D.		PAGE
1450	Jack Cade, "The Irish Rebel"	360
	Difficulties of Duke of York	361
	He quits Ireland	362
	Irish soldiery in France	363
	Death of fourth Earl of Ormonde	364
1451	Earl of Wiltshire, Deputy	365
1453	He is appointed Lieutenant	365
1454	Archbishop John Mey, Deputy-Governor	365
	Feud between Botillers and Fitz-Geralds	367
	Duke of York, Viceroy	367
	His Deputies, Fitz-Eustace and Kildare	367
1459	Duke of York retreats to Ireland	368
	Independence of Colonial Parliament	369
	Yorkists and Lancastrians in Ireland	370
1460	Warwick arrives in Ireland	371
	York quits Ireland	372
	Battle of Wakefield	373
	Earl of Rutland murdered	374
	Earl of Ormonde beheaded	376

CHAPTER X.

1461	Irish demesnes of Edward IV.	376
	Thomas, Earl of Kildare, Governor	376
	George, Duke of Clarence, Viceroy	377
1462	Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Deputy	377
	Sherwood, Bishop of Meath	377
	Sir John and Mac Richard Botiller	377
	Thomas, eighth Earl of Ormonde	378
	State of Meath and Kildare	379
1463	Sir John Botiller's wars	380
1464	Edward IV. and Desmond	381
	Desmond, Deputy to Clarence	382
	Colonial legislation	383
	Government of Earl of Desmond	384

A.D.		PAGE
1467	Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Deputy	385
	Earl of Desmond beheaded	386
	Desmond and Elizabeth Grey	387
	Peerage of Ratoath	388
	Confederations of English with Irish	389
	Worcester's Administration	390
	Earl of Kildare pardoned	391
1468	He is appointed Deputy	391
1470	Clarence removed from Viceroyalty	392
	Worcester appointed Viceroy	392
	Fate of Worcester	393
1472	Re-appointment of Clarence	394
	Defences of settlement	395
1475	Fraternity of St. George	396
	Keating, Prior of Kilmainham	397
	Primate Ottaviano and Doctor Marcello	398
	Colonial prices and coinage	399
1475	Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, Deputy Governor	400
1477	Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, „ „	400
	Henry, Lord Grey, „ „	400
1478	John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, Viceroy	400
	Condition of Waterford and Dublin	401
	Colonists and border Irish	402
	Anglo-Irish shrines	403
	Prince George, Viceroy	403
	Henry, Lord Grey, Deputy	404
	His authority disputed	404
	Contention between Deputies	405
	Act for election of Governor	406
1479	Richard, Duke of York, Lord of Carlow, Viceroy	407
1480	Royal monitions	408
1481	Earl of Kildare, Deputy	409

CHAPTER XI.

A.D.		PAGE
1483	Accession of Richard III.	411
1483	Edward, Prince of Wales, Viceroy	412
	Richard III. and Kildare	413
1484	Earl of Lincoln, Viceroy	414
	Richard III. and Earldom of Ulster	415
	Richard III. and colonial lords	416
	James, ninth Earl of Desmond	417
	Richard III. and Desmond	418
	Settlers in Galway	419
1485	Subsidies to Native Chiefs	420
	Acts of Colonial Parliament	421

CHAPTER XII.

1485	Anglo-Irish and house of Tudor	422
	Jasper, Duke of Bedford, Viceroy,	422
	Position of Botiller family	423
	Irish alliances of Kildare	424
	Priors Keating and Lomley	425
1486	Yorkist movement in Ireland	426
	Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy	427
	Proceedings in Ireland and Flanders	428
1487	English coronation at Dublin	429
	Expedition to England	430
	Battle at Stoke	431
	Henry VII. and Innocent VIII.	432
	Disruption of English connexion	433
	Henry VII. and Anglo-Irish	434
1488	Mission of Edgecombe	435
	Edgecombe and Kildare	436
	Threat of separation from England	437
	Reconcilement with England	438

A.D.		PAGE
1488	Departure of Edgecombe	439
1490	Kildare and Anglo-Irish	440
	Desmond and Lord Bourke	441
	Henry VII. and Kildare	442
	Sir James Ormonde	443
1492	Kildare and Sir James Ormonde	444
	Warbeck lands at Cork	445
	Combination against Kildare	446
1493	Sir Robert Preston, Deputy	447
	Yorkist projects in Ireland	448
1494	Henry, Prince of Wales, Viceroy	449
	Sir Edward Poynings, Deputy,	449
	English administration for Ireland	450
	Poynings and Colonial Parliament	451
	Condition of Colonists	453
	Attainder of Kildare	454
	Kildare sent prisoner to England	455
	Poynings' Law	456
1495	Yorkist movement in Munster	457
	English officials and Irish Chiefs	458
	The English Pale	459
	Kildare's attainder annulled	460
1496	Kildare and Henry VII.	461
	Warbeck withdraws from Ireland	462
	Sir James Ormonde slain	463
1498	First Parliament under Poynings' Law	464
	Legislation for English Pale	465
	Adherents of Warbeck in Ireland	466
	Kildare's son, Gerald	467
1504	Feud between Kildare and De Burgh	468
	Legends of Cnoc-Tuagh	470
	Battle at Cnoc-Tuagh	471
	Character of Earl Gerald	472
1507	Kildare and Gherardini of Tuscany	473
1509	Close of Reign of Henry VII.	474

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
3	Tristram in Ireland	477
6	Chaunt of the Valkyries	478
13	Richard Fitz-Gislebert	478
20	Mac Gillamocholmog	479
24	The tax styled escuage or scutage	479
25	Brompton's character of King Henry II.	480
28	Dishes of cranes, peacocks, herons, swans, and wild geese	480
28	St. Bernard on cookery	481
31	Reginald de Curtenai	481
31	Statute of Henry Fitz-Empress	682
31	Mensal lands	483
32	Henry's supposed assumption of the title of King or Lord of Ireland	483
33	First Viceroy for Ireland	484
34	Viceregal installation	484
34	The Viceregal sword	485
34	Departure of Henry II, from Ireland	486
	Principal Authorities for Chapter i.	486

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

35	Ilbert de Lasci	407
38	Stipulated co-operation of Viceroys with King Rury O'Conor	488
39	Fitz-Gislebert, Vicegerent in Ireland	488
40	Death of Fitz-Gislebert	488
41	Fitz-Aldelm appointed Viceroy	489
42	Jean de Curci	489
43	Sir Almaric Tristam de St. Laurent	489
43	Rouen, mother of all the churches of Normandy	490

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
44	Investiture of John as "Lord of Ireland"	490
44	Acts of John, Lord of Ireland, son of the King of England	490
44	First Anglo-Norman coinage in Ireland	491
44	Recal of Fitz-Aldelm, 1179	491
45	Hervi de Mont Marreis	491
46	Crown of peacocks' feathers	492
47	Philippe de Worcester	492
51	Design of De Lasci to assume the Crown of Ireland	493
50	Government of De Curci	493
53	Henry's satisfaction at the death of De Lasci	494
54	Proposed mission of Prince John to Ireland	494
54	Writs of Earl John	494
55	Title of "Dominus Hiberniæ," or Lord of Ireland	494
55	Guillaume le Petit, Viceroy	495
56	Bridge and fosse of Dublin Castle, 1194	495
58	Salmon brought to royal kitchen in Dublin Castle, 1197	496
58	Hamon de Valognes	496
58	Acquittance from Viceregal accounts	497
58	Separation of Ireland from England	497
59	Meiller Fitz-Henri appointed Justiciary	497
59	Castles and March lands	498
60	Jocelin and De Curci	498
61	King John's summons to De Curci	498
61	Royal monition to the Barons of Ulster	499
61	Earliest record of creation of Anglo-Norman dignity in Ireland, 1205	499
62	Stories of De Curci	500
63	De Curci's wife, Affreca	502
64	Writ for new Castle at Dublin, A.D., 1204	503
64	Justiciaries or Viceroys for Ireland	503
69	King John's letter respecting Dublin Castle	504
75	Musters of men-at-arms at Dublin Castle	505
76	Fate of Matilda de Braose and her companions	505
	Principal authorities for Chapter ii.	506

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
82	Viceroy ordered to carry treasure from Ireland to England for Papal tribute	507
86	Keeper of King Henry's forests excommunicated	507
89	Guillaume, second Earl Maréchal	508
93	Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary	508
93	Death of Guillaume, second Earl Maréchal	508
85	Miracles of Simon de Montfort	508
95	Family of De Feipo	508
95	First Anglo-Norman ecclesiastic in Meath	508
95	Earl Richard Maréchal incited to assume sovereignty of Anglo-Norman territories in Ireland	510
96	Curragh of Kildare	510
96	Treachery to Earl Richard Maréchal	511
98	Gislebert Maréchal, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Leinster	511
100	Maurice Fitz-Gerald in Wales	512
100	Anglo-Normans of Ireland and Henry III. in France	512
100	Proposed visit of Henry III. to Ireland	512
100	His orders respecting Dublin Castle, A.D. 1243,	514
101	Extinction of male line of Maréchal, Anglo-Norman Lord of Leinster	515
101	Partition of Leinster among the five grand-daughters of Richard Fitz-Gislebert	516
102	Jean Fitz-Geoffroi, Justiciary,	518
103	Legal instruments of the colony in Ireland issued in the name of "the Lord Edward"	518
105	Alain de la Zouche, Justiciary	519
105	Emmeline de Longespée, Countess of Ulster	519
108	Sir Robert D'Ufford's Viceregal accounts	519
108	Geoffroi de Joinville, Lord of Vaucouleur and Meath, Jeanne la Pucelle.—Sir John Talbot	520
111	Guillaume de Vesci, Lord of Kildare	521
111	Principal Authorities for Chapter iii.	522

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
114	English Landholders on the Marches	522
120	Salary of Viceroy	523
124	Inability of Government at Dublin to execute royal orders from England	523
125	Templars of Clontarf.—Giraldus Cambrensis in Ireland	523
126	Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Viceroy	524
129	Dissensions among Settlers	525
131	Supplies drawn by England from Ireland for wars in Scotland	525
132	Aymer de Valence, Lord of Wexford, Commander of the English army in Scotland	525
133	Descent of Bruce from Dermod Mac Murragh, King of Leinster	526
135	Lough Sewdy, in Westmeath	526
135	The Viceroy, Edmund le Botiller, defeated by Edward Bruce and his Irish allies	526
136	Engagement of Anglo-Irish Lords to resist Bruce	527
135-6	Barbour's error respecting Viceroys	528
136	Description of Castle of Ley	528
136	Castle of Kildare defended by William de Wellesley against Edward Bruce	529
138	Death of Neill Fleming at Carrickfergus	530
140	Encampment of Scotch and Irish at the Salmon Leap	530
142	Original record of proceedings of the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, against the De Lascies, for confederation with Bruce	530
144	Sir Piers de Bermingham in Scotland.—Ancient Anglo-Irish ballad on his death	532
146	Defeat of Edward Bruce	533
147	Roger de Mortimer and the adherents of Bruce	534
147	Johan de Gernon maimed in conflict with Bruce	534
	Principal Authorities for Chapter iv.	534

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
156	Familiar demons in forms of cats	535
156	Sorceresses in Kilkenny	536
162	Attempt of Edward II. to reach Ireland.—The Irish sea in winter	536
169	Necromancers, heretics, and anti-Christians in Ossory	537
170	Le Botiller's claim to prisage of wines	538
172	Sir John de Bermingham, founder of Monasteroris	538
173	Talbots of Wassunville and Malahide	539
182	Lordship of Clare, in Suffolk	539
183	Results of murder of William, Earl of Ulster, in 1333	539
186	Date of arrival of Sir John de Cherlton, Viceroy	540
	Principal Authorities for Chapter v.	540

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

202	Instructions of Edward III. to Sir John Moriz respecting Viceroyalty	541
205	Origin of saying of Sir Thomas de Rokeby	541
211	Viceroyalty of first Earl of Desmond	542
212	Colonists imprisoned and tortured by English officials	542
212	Malatesta Ungaro, of Rimini, Pilgrim to St. Patrick's Purgatory	543
213	Order of Edward III. respecting deer-hounds from Ireland	543
214	Details of Expenditure on Castle and Royal Chapel at Dublin, 1358-61	544
216	Countess of Ulster and Burgesses of Galway	546
216	Irish lands of Sir Gualtier de Mauny	546
219	Expenditure on Dublin Castle during Viceroyalty of Lionel	546
226	Privileges of Constable of Dublin Castle	548
232	Viceroyalty declined by Sir Richard de Pembridge	548
	Principal Authorities to Chapter vi.	549

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
245	March herald established by Edmund de Mortimer, third Earl of March and Ulster	549
254	Arms of Marquis of Dublin	550
254	Condition of Colony at period of transfer to Marquis of Dublin	551
258	Bishop of Chichester exiled to Ireland	552
264	Indenture between Richard II. and his uncle Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, for Viceroyalty of Ireland	552
264	Letter of Richard II. discharging Gloucester from Viceroyalty	556
	Royal grant of wine to Earl of Ormonde	557
276	Errors respecting Sir William Le Scrop, Justiciary	558
278	Viceregal stipulations of Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, Marshal of England	560
	Principal Authorities for Chapter vii.	562

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

290	Illiterate Colonial legal Officials	563
291	Despondence of Colonists	564
294	Viceregal Housekeeping and Purveyors	564
	Orders for provisions for Household of Earl of Ormonde at Ross, during Christmas, 1393	564
300	Sir John Fastolf in Ireland	568
302	Charges against Sir John Stanley	568
306	Sir John Talbot, Viceroy	569
310	Extortions practised by Talbot	570
316	Feud between Talbot and Ormonde	570
320	Edmund de Mortimer, Viceroy, 1423	571
324	Letters of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh, describing condition of English in Ireland,	571
328	Documents respecting Dublin Castle, 1430-31	578
	Principal Authorities for Chapter viii.	580

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
334	Tuscan Ancestors of Earls of Desmond	580
345	Walls of Castle of Dublin	581
352	Shakespeare on appointment of York to Viceroyalty	581
353	Letter from Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, to the Viceroy, York, 1449	582
359	Cade, Captain of Kent	583
362	Departure of York from Ireland	583
366	Custom of Irish to renew wars on English after Easter	584
367	Dispute respecting Viceroyalty, 1454	584
368	Viceregal indenture of Duke of York with Henry VI.	585
369	Duke of York and Anglo-Irish	586
369	Parliamentary assertion of right of Colonists to separate laws from England	587
371	Warwick's Expedition to Ireland	587
375	Execution of Earl of Ormonde and Wilts	587
	Principal Authorities for Chapter ix.	588

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

377	Castle of Dublin, 1462-1479	588
378	Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond	589
378	Execution of Earl of Desmond	589
386	Desmond and the Viceroy, Worcester	590
392	Falcon of Earl of Warwick	591
407	Precept issued by Edward IV. for Colonial Government in Ireland	591
409	Viceregal Indenture between Edward IV. and Earl of Kildare, 1481	600
	Principal Authorities for Chapter x.	601

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

411	Date of Accession of Richard III.	602
413	Negociations of Richard III. with Kildare	602

TEXT PAGE		NOTES PAGE
416	Sixtus IV. and Earl of Desmond	602
418	Book of Lismore, or of MacCarthy Reagh	603
421	Sir William de Berkeley, Lord of Carlow	603
	Principal Authorities for Chapter xi.	604

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

422	Anglo-Irish and Richard III.	604
426	Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald of Laccagh	604
426	Francis, ninth Baron Lovel	605
431	Battle at Stoke—Swartsfield	605
432	Simnel in the Tower of London	605
433	Anglo-Irish Yorkists and Henry VII.	605
443	Sir James Ormonde	606
444	Conference between Deputy and Sir James Ormonde	607
449	Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., appointed Viceroy	607
450	English Administration for Ireland	608
451	Measures devised to ensure enactment of Poynings' Law	608
452	The Hospitallers in Ireland	609
453	Coigne, Livery, and Pay	610
459	Date of recal of Poynings	610
459	Garth, Commander of English Forces in Leinster	610
459	Number of Charge of Army of Henry VII. in Leinster	611
463	First Parliament under Poynings' Law	612
466	Huks and Faldings	612
473	Geraldines of Ireland and of Tuscany	612
	Principal Authorities for Chapter xii.	613

THE VICEROYS OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM the earliest period of our authentic history, Ireland was divided into five provinces,—Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and the two Munsters. Each province was governed by its own king, and from the five provincial rulers was elected a Monarch, or nominal high king of the entire island, enjoying as such the central territory of Meath. The government was that styled the clan-system, requiring warlike kings and chiefs to defend the rights of the tribes, which, owning the territories, elected them to rule only so long as they should continue to evince the sagacity and prowess demanded by their position. Under the clan-system the people led mainly a pastoral life, in the interior of the island; but in the course of ages, towns sprang up on portions of the coasts, where the commodities of England, France, and Spain were bartered for the products of Ireland.

Of these towns Dublin became the most important, being the nearest point to Wales, and the sea-port the most accessible to the majority of the people of the fertile districts of Leinster and Meath, in which were situated such centres of population as Tara, the seat of the monarchy; Naas, Dinree, Allen, Dunlavin, and Masten,

residences of the Leinster kings ; Talten, where annual fairs were held ; Swords, Kildare, and Glendaloch, extensive ecclesiastical establishments.

Among the Gaels, or native Irish, Dublin, from early times, was known as *Baile-atha-cliath*—the town of the ford of hurdles. This name, according to old native story, originated in the first century of the Christian era, from the hurdles, constructed of small twigs (*cliath*), by the men of Leinster, to convey across a ford to Dun Edair, a fortress on Howth, the sheep of an avaricious and wicked bard, Athairne. Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, anxious, say the legends, to obtain a pretext for war, had sent this poet through the island to require unreasonable concessions from kings and chiefs, who feared to refuse his demands, lest they should suffer from his malignant satires, which were in those ages believed to possess a supernaturally destructive power. The part of the river Liffey near which the town arose, was styled in Gaelic *Dubh-line*, or the *dark water*, whence the name of Dublin.

The bards narrate that the Liffey received its name from a beautiful maiden named Lifea, who, eloping with the cup-bearer of the monarch, was so delighted in passing through the county watered by this river, that she requested to have it styled Magh Lifé, or the plain of Lifé; and the legend adds, that the cup-bearer declined to minister wine to the men of Erin at Tara, till they consented that the district should be called by his wife's name.

The Romancers of the Round Table recount that King Arthur's famous knight, Sir Tristram, after having van-

quished in Cornwall an Irish warrior named Murragh, or "Le Morhout d'Irlande," set forth to sea in quest of a salve for his poisoned wounds. Driven by a tempest, he landed in disguise at Dublin, under the name of Tramtris, with nothing but a harp, his skill on which attracted the queen, and she having cured his wounds, he encountered and slew a dragon which had become the terror of the town. Overwhelmed with the monster's flames and venom, Tristram was resuscitated by the queen's daughter, Isolde "la blonde," the fairest maiden in the world, who, by chance, to her consternation, afterwards discovered in him the slayer of her mother's brother, the champion Murragh. Tristram subsequently visited Dublin for the purpose of conducting Isolde to Cornwall, to the king of which she was betrothed; but, while sailing thither on a sultry day, in the calm sea, the knight and the maiden quaffed accidentally from the same cup a love potion, and instantaneously became passionately enamoured of each other. After innumerable adventures, detailed in the romances, Tristram expired, invoking the name of the absent Isolde ; and she, landing, just after his death, dumb with sorrow, passed silently through the crowds who marvelled at her beauty, and casting herself upon her lover's bier, died of a broken heart.

"Isolde's Tower," near Dublin Castle, and the spring known as "Isolde's Fount," have disappeared, but the village of "Chapel Isolde," in the vicinity of Dublin, still locally preserves the name of the heroine of the most popular romance of the middle ages. The adventures of Tristram and Isolde, forming the theme of the early Troubadours, found a place in the "Divina Commedia," in

the "Trionfi," of Petrarca; and were commemorated in Greek, Latin, and Spanish; while, from the tale of the love-philtre, quaffed in the Irish sea, Boiardo and Ariosto are supposed to have derived the idea of the two enchanted fountains, productive of love and hatred, which caused the many vicissitudes of Rinaldo and Angelica.

In A.D. 836, the Scandinavians established a settlement in Dublin, where, four years subsequently, they erected a *dun* or stronghold. Our most learned antiquarians suppose this fortress to have stood on a portion of the acclivity still occupied by the Castle of Dublin, partly insulated by the influx of the Liffey, which, with the water of a small river flowing from the south, filled the deep fosses around the dun. The Dublin Norsemen were subject to the Monarch of Ireland, and more immediately to the King of Leinster, to both of whom they were bound to pay annual tribute, and to furnish troops when required, receiving certain stipends for their military services. The "foreigners of Ath-Cliath," as they are styled by old Gaelic writers, made continuous predatory excursions, by sea and land, to various parts of Ireland, and when successful, carried their spoil and prisoners to the stronghold at Dublin, which was, in turn, occasionally sacked by the natives, who, on such occasions, liberated the captives, and exacted hostages, with heavy mulcts from the Norsemen. Many, however, of the important Scandinavian settlers became allied and intermarried with the natives, with whose interests they thus grew identified; consequently, in the majority of hostings and engagements from the ninth to the twelfth century, Gaels and Norsemen were to be found ranged on both sides.

The intimate connections existing between the Irish and the Scandinavians in the eleventh century, are exemplified in the marriage of Melsachlin II., Monarch of Ireland, to the daughter of Olaf, Norse King of Dublin. After Olaf's death, his widow, Gormly, or Kormloda, married Melsachlin, and subsequently became wife of Brian Borumha, who espoused his own daughter to Sigtrygg, "of the silken beard," King of Dublin, son of Gormly by Olaf.

The leaders of the Northern heathen host, who essayed to wrest Ireland from King Brian, mustered on Palm Sunday, A.D. 1014, at Dublin, the fortress of which formed their centre of rendezvous. An old saga avers that on the day before the engagement at Clontarf, Odin, the god of battles, sire of the Norse gods and men, bearing in his hand a halbert, descended on a grey charger, and joined here, at the witching time of evening, in the councils of King Sigtrygg, Queen Gormly, Earl Sigurd, and Brodir, the deacon, who had cast off the Christian faith, and become a heathen sorcerer. Another Scandinavian legend tells that on Good Friday, the day of the battle, a man named Daurrud, of Caithness, saw twelve folk riding at full speed, and entering a bower. Gazing through an opening, he beheld twelve women working at a loom, of which men's heads were the weights, men's entrails the warp and weft, a sword the shuttle, and arrows the reels. These female divinities, known in the Scandinavian mythology as "Valkyries," or "Odin's Corse-choosers," while weaving the destinies of the combatants at Clontarf, chaunted verses alluding as follows to the fall of Brian, of the "dauntless earl," Sigurd, and

the survival of Sigtrygg, styled the "youthful king" of Dublin, to distinguish him from his aged but vigorous father-in-law, the Monarch Brian :—

"Ere the ruddy sun be set,
Pikes must shiver, javelins sing,
Blade with clattering buckler meet,
Hauberk crash, and helmet ring.

"Weave the crimson web of war;
Let us go, and let us fly,
Where our friends the conflict share,
Where they triumph, where they die.

"As the paths of fate we tread,
Wading through th' ensanguin'd field,
Gondula and Geira, spread
O'er the youthful king your shield.

"We the reins to slaughter give,
Ours to kill, and ours to spare;
Spite of danger, he shall live—
Weave the crimson web of war!

"Low the dauntless earl is laid,
Gor'd with many a gaping wound;
Fate demands a nobler head:
Soon a king shall bite the ground.

"Long his loss shall Erin weep,
Ne'er again his likeness see;
Long her strains in sorrow steep—
Strains of immortality!

"Horror covers all the heath;
Clouds of carnage blot the sun:
Sisters, weave the web of death!
Sisters, cease—the work is done!"

On the completion of the woof of war, they tore it asunder, and each keeping the piece she held, they

mounted their steeds, and with naked swords in their hands, flew through the air to Dublin, where, in the throng of the battle at Clontarf, they selected those destined to slaughter, and conducted them, when slain, to quaff mead and ale at Odin's banquet in Valhalla, the Scandinavian elysium.

The Norsemen of Dublin continued in possession of the fortress of Dublin after the battle of Clontarf, subject, as before, to the King of Leinster. Sigtrygg held the kingship of Dublin for a longer period than any other Hiberno-Norse prince, having reigned from A.D. 989 to 1029, when he died on a pilgrimage to Rome. His coins, which are more numerous and better executed than those of any other king of his race in Ireland, present on the obverse, his head either bare, capped, or helmeted, with a sceptre, circumscribed with his name and title of King of Dublin ; while on the reverse they bear the name of the moneyers, or masters of the Dublin mint, where they were struck. In the eleventh century, the Kings of Dublin, allied by marriage with important Anglo-Saxons, occasionally afforded aid and an asylum to political refugees from England ; but after the triumph of William at Hastings, they appear to have established friendly relations with the conquerors of that country, and their bishops usually received consecration from the Italian Primates of the Normans, at Canterbury, swearing obedience to him and his ecclesiastical successors.

In the early part of the twelfth century the Norsemen of Dublin, then known by the name of Ostmen, bore with impatience the yoke of the Irish princes ; and although their sovereign Donogh Mac Murragh, King of Leinster,

was, according to old chroniclers, a sage, clement, just, and liberal ruler, they slew him treacherously while sitting in the public hall of the city, and cast his corpse into the earth with the carcase of a dog. For this crime they were chastised with severity by his son and successor Dermod Mac Murragh, a man of powerful frame, daring, vigorous, and restless—a cruel oppressor of the nobles of his own class, but benevolent and generous to the poor and feeble. Dermod was a munificent benefactor of the clergy of his own town of Ferns, in which the shrine of Saint Mogue, the patron of his clan, was preserved. In other parts of Leinster he granted lands for the foundation and endowment of various religious establishments, among which were the monastery of All-Hallows, on the site now occupied by Trinity College, Dublin, and the nunnery of St. Mary le Hogges in its immediate vicinage.

The clan of which King Dermod was the head, had long been the strongest and most wealthy of South Leinster, deriving its origin from Cahir *mor*, a powerful Monarch of Ireland in the second century, from whose descendant, Enna Cinsellagh, the name of *Ui Ceinseallaigh*, or land of the sons of Cinsellagh, was applied to the tribe's territory, which included part of the present county of Carlow, and the district now comprised in the diocese of Ferns, with the sea-coast of Wexford. This territory had acquired importance from the religious establishments erected at the close of the sixth century by Saint Aedan, or Mogue, at *Fearna*, the place of the alder-trees, afterwards known as Ferns. *Bran-dubh*, the black raven, King of Leinster, conferred this site upon Saint Aedan, for having devised a stratagem by which he gained a battle;

thus the tribes of East Leinster, venerating him and his successor Moling, of their own race, as their patron saints, regarded Ferns as the religious metropolis of that portion of Ireland; and the legends of these clans told, that on the day of King Bran-dubh's death, his soul was rescued by Saint Aedan, from the fiends who violently opposed its flight from Ferns to heaven. From this king's son Murchad, or Murragh, was derived the family patronymic of Mac Murragh, and the sept was characterized by an ancient Gaelic poet as "vehement and venomous."

In the middle of the twelfth century, England was reduced to a state of almost savage wildness and ruin by the reckless sacrifice of life and property during the contests between Matilda and Stephen of Blois. At this period, 1152, the Monarch of Ireland, Torlogh O'Conor, in concert with King Dermod of Leinster, deposed a chieftain named O'Ruarc, appointing one of his kinsmen to rule in his stead over the territory of the O'Ruarc clan, which comprised the land now known as the county of Longford, and the southern half of the county of Leitrim. On this occasion O'Ruarc's wife, Darforgal, or Dervorgilla, daughter of the King of Meath, then in her forty-fourth year, having been maltreated by her husband, followed the counsel of her brother, and sought the protection of Mac Murragh, at that time aged sixty-two. The Monarch, Torlogh O'Conor, whose cross is preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, having been appealed to by O'Ruarc, compelled Mac Murragh to surrender the lady, with her property, and she died in her eighty-fifth year in the monastery of Mellifont, to which she had presented furni-

ture for its nine altars, with sixty ounces of gold, and a golden chalice. By her munificence also was completed the building of the church of the nuns at Clonmacnois, the richly-carved chancel-arch of which has but lately fallen. Mac Murragh, whose tyranny and exactions had increased to an intolerable extent, was deposed, in 1166, by the Monarch Rury O'Conor, who, in concert with O'Ruarc and other princes, entered his territory in arms, demolished his castle at Ferns, and transferred the kingship of Leinster to his next kinsman. Dermod, now in his seventy-seventh year, resolved to seek the aid of the most powerful monarch of Europe, Henry II., King of England, duke of Normandy, lord of western France from Nantes to the Pyrenees, and possessor of a Papal Bull, issued in 1155, authorizing him to subdue Ireland by the sword, as his predecessor, Duke William, had been licensed by Pope Alexander II. to wrest the crown of England from its Saxon king, Harold.

Having committed his interests in Leinster to the clergy of Ferns and his son Donall, surnamed *Cavanach*, who, although illegitimate, possessed much power and influence in the country, Dermod sailed from Ireland, attended by a considerable retinue, and provided with a store of gold so ample, that a cotemporary Norman chronicler designated him the "rich king of the plenteous Leinster." An ancient volume of writings, in prose and verse, in the Irish language, believed to have been compiled for Dermod by Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, who had been his tutor, contains the following contemporary marginal entry, in Gaelic, apparently inscribed by one of his immediate dependants:—"O Virgin

Mary! great is the deed done in Erin on this day of the calends of August. Dermod, the son of Donagh Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, and of the Norsemen, has been banished over the sea eastwards by the men of Erin. Alas! alas! O Lord, what shall I do?" The manuscript which records this lamentation, now reposes in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, on part of the site of the monastery endowed by King Dermod, and there also is preserved an ancient shrine, containing a copy of the Four Gospels in Latin, in the Irish character, ascribed to the pen of Moling, the great Leinster Saint of the Mac Murragh clan.

The position of the King of England was, at this period, one of great trouble and perplexity. In addition to the disobedience and rebellion of his children, encouraged by their mother, Eleanor, whom he had exasperated by his dissolute licentiousness, Henry had to wage almost perpetual wars with his Continental barons, protected in their mutinous excesses by his sovereign, Louis VII. of France. These broils on the Continent having prevented Henry from visiting England for many years, Dermod repaired to him in Aquitaine, and proposed to become his liegeman, on condition of being aided to recover the kingship of Leinster. Henry, always ready to embrace any proposal which he might subsequently convert to his own advantage, accepted Dermod as his liegeman, and by receiving his formal homage, became bound, according to Norman law, to support the King of Leinster against his opponents. Dermod thus secured the alliance of the most powerful European monarch, by promises of allegiance which could neither bind his clan in Ireland, nor exist under the Irish

law. Henry, although possessing French territories in extent more than double those of Louis VII., was but the vassal and liegeman of the Monarch of France, to whom, in Continental affairs, appeals were made, when occasion required, against the King of England.

Having received from Henry formal documents, promising countenance and favour to all his subjects who should aid the King of Leinster to recover the territory of which he had been dispossessed, Dermod returned to Bristol, then much frequented by the Irish. There he entered into negociations with Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Earl of Clare and Strigul, to whom he agreed to give his daughter, *Aoifé*, or Eva, in marriage, on condition that he should lead to Ireland, in the ensuing spring, a body of soldiery to essay the recovery of his lands in Leinster.

The first of Fitz-Gislebert's family who had settled in England, about a hundred years previously, was Richard, eldest son of Gislebert, Earl of Brion in Normandy, son of Geoffroi, son of Robert "the Devil," Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror. To the latter Richard Fitz-Gislebert rendered important services in his descent on England, as well as at the battle of Hastings, by which, and his blood relationship, he obtained from the Conqueror vast grants of lands in various English counties, taking the title of Earl of Clare from one of his ninety-five lordships in Suffolk. His son Gislebert, surnamed "Strongbow," having been proffered by Henry the First such lands as he could wrest from the unhappy Welsh, established himself, by force of arms, at the head of a body of adventurers, in the possession of the province

of Divet or Pembroke, the earldom of which was conferred upon him in 1138, for his services in leading through Wales the van of the king's army. His lands in Wales were augmented by inheritances from his uncles Roger and Walter de Clare, and he was styled Earl of Strigul, as possessor of that dominion, now known as Chepstow. Revolting, however, against Stephen, in consequence of a dispute relative to the castles of his nephew, Gislebert de Clare, then in arms on the side of Matilda, his lands and castles were seized by the king, and on his death in 1148, his son Richard Fitz-Gislebert, also surnamed "Strongbow," succeeded to a splendid rank with but nominal possessions. The writers of his time represent Richard Fitz-Gislebert to have been endowed with some of the best characteristics of the highest Normans; commanding in stature, with a feminine delicacy of frame, complexion, and voice; gentle, courteous, and although diffident of his own capacity, ever prompt to undertake any perilous enterprise, while his courage and sagacity in the field, and equanimity in adversity, acquired for him the implicit confidence of his followers.

Dermod, passing through Wales, on his return to Ireland, agreed with David, Bishop of St. David's, that the half-brothers of the latter—Robert Fitz-Estevene and Maurice Fitz-Gerald—should, in the ensuing spring, carry men and arms to his aid, in consideration of being recompensed by a grant of the town of Wexford, and two adjacent districts. Returning privately from Wales, in 1168, Dermod was kindly received by the clergy of his town of Ferns, who harboured him in secret, till next spring, when Robert Fitz-Estevene and Maurice de

Prendergast, arrived with a body of foreign soldiery, and, being joined by him and his adherents, obtained possession of the town of Wexford. Their progress was soon checked by a defeat, which they experienced from the Monarch Rury O'Conor, to whom Dermod was fain to submit, giving his son Enna as a hostage, undertaking to dissolve connection with the foreigners, and paying to O'Ruarc, the large sum of one hundred ounces of gold, as compensation—styled, in the Irish laws, *eneclan*, for the indignity formerly offered him by taking his wife Darforgal under his protection. This treaty was observed by the Leinster King only till Maurice Fitz-Gerald arrived at Wexford, with vessels freighted with men and arms. Combining these and other foreign troops with his own clan, and aided by his son-in-law Donald O'Brien, King of North Munster, Dermod achieved successes which led him to aspire to depose Rury O'Conor, and assume the sovereignty of Ireland. With this object he entreated his allies to invite over further bands of armed mercenaries, and despatched a letter in the following terms to Richard Fitz-Gislebert :—

"We have watched the storks and swallows; the summer birds have come, and are gone again with the southerly wind; but neither winds from the east nor the west have brought us your much-desired and long-expected presence. Let your present activity make up for this delay, and prove by your deeds that you have not forgotten your engagements, but only deferred their performance. The whole of Leinster has been already recovered; and if you come in time, with a strong force,

the other four parts of the kingdom will be easily united to the fifth. You will add to the favour of your coming if it be speedy ; it will turn out famous if it be not delayed, and the sooner, the better welcome. The wound in our regard, which has been partly caused by neglect, will be healed by your presence ; for friendship is secured by good offices, and grows by benefits to greater strength."

Fitz-Gislebert had, with the first adventurers, despatched to Ireland, Hervi de Mont-Marreis, a man of fallen fortunes, to report on the prospect of success, knowing that the inheritance in Leinster, proffered with King Dermod's daughter, should be maintained by the sword against those who claimed under the Irish clan law. Being now assured of the progress already made in Leinster, he no longer hesitated to embark in the undertaking, and repairing to Henry II., solicited the restoration of his patrimony, or permission to push his fortunes beyond the sea. To these applications Henry is said to have returned a satirically-evasive reply, which Fitz-Gislebert, construing into compliance with one portion of his demand, early in May despatched to King Dermod a body of troops under Raymond, surnamed "le gros," or the fat, nearly allied by blood with Robert Fitz-Estevene and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. In August, Fitz-Gislebert embarked at Milford with a thousand picked soldiers, and landed at Waterford, of which town he and his allies gained possession with bloody slaughter. Having placed a garrison in Waterford, and married his daughter Eva to Fitz-Gislebert, Dermod, leading the van, pressed forward with his allies to besiege Dublin, the Norse ruler of which,

at this period, was Hauskuld Mac Thorkel. On being summoned to surrender, and to give hostages for future obedience, the citizens deputed their Archbishop, Lorcan O'Tuathal, brother-in-law of Mac Murragh, to treat with the besiegers; but Miluń de Cogan and Meiller Fitz-Henri, who had encamped close to the walls, eager for plunder, and violating the truce, suddenly entered the city with their men-at-arms, and seized the castle or citadel, slaughtering the surprised occupants who attempted to oppose them. The Norse ruler, Hauskuld Mac Thorkel, with some of the chief citizens, fled to the northern islands, and Dublin was committed by its new Anglo-Norman masters to the custody of Milun de Cogan.

King Dermod MacMurragh died in 1171, having, to the last year of his life, continued vigorously to oppose his enemies; and one of his contemporaries mentions that he had become hoarse, from continually raising his war-cry on the battle-field. The circumstances of his decease have been diversely narrated. Some old native writers denounce him as a "dark demon," and declare that, having made "a trembling sod of all Erin," plundered and burned many churches, he was afflicted, through the miracles of God and the Saints, whose churches he had profaned, with an insufferable and unknown disease, by which he became putrid while living; and they add, that this Dermod, surnamed *na n-Gall*, or the ally of the strangers, "died at Ferns, without making a will, without penance, without the body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved." The chroniclers of his own territory, however, record that "after the vic-

tory of unction and penance," the remains of Dermod were committed to the tomb of his regal ancestors at Ferns, nigh the shrines of Mogue and Moling, the two patron saints of the Mac Murragh clan. The author of a Norman poem, said to have been dictated by Maurice Regan, Dermod's French interpreter, after mentioning the burial at Ferns of this "right noble king," adds an aspiration, praying that God might be propitious to his soul.

Fitz-Gislebert, as husband of Eva, Dermod's only legitimate surviving child, now claimed, according to Norman law, the possessions of the late King of Leinster ; but at this juncture, the monarch, Rury O'Conor, aided from Man and the Orkneys, essayed to beleaguer Dublin. The city, however, does not appear to have been closely besieged, as after the lapse of two months, we are told that it was entered by some of the Irish allies of the Anglo-Normans, among whom was a body of natives, under King Dermod's son, Donall Cavanach, who brought news that Robert Fitz-Estevene, with his wife, children, and but a small force, was besieged at Carrick, and likely to fall into the power of the enemy, if not immediately relieved from Dublin, the only quarter whence he expected aid. Moved by this intelligence, and pressed by the scarcity of provisions in the city, Fitz-Gislebert summoned his companions-in-arms in Dublin, to deliberate on the course to be pursued in the present extremity. Robert de Quenci, Gaultier de Ridlesford, Meiller Fitz-Henri, Miles Fitz-David, Maurice de Prendergast, Milun de Cogan, Richard de Marreis, Gaultier Bluet, and the other Anglo-Normans having assembled, Fitz-Gislebert addressed them as follows :—"Seigneurs, seeing that we

are beleagured by the enemy, and that after another fortnight we shall have but little left to eat—for the measure of wheat is now selling in the city for a silver mark, and the measure of barley cannot be had for less than half a mark—I propose to despatch an envoy to King Rury, proferring to become his vassal, and to hold Leinster from him : therefore, Seigneurs, if you approve, I shall send the Archbishop to him, offering to be his liegeman." Archbishop Lorcan and Maurice de Prendergast were delegated with this proposal to Rury O'Conor, who at once replied that he could permit the Earl Richard to retain only Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, adding, that if these terms were not accepted, he should, on the following day, assault the city. The envoys, returning to Dublin, came before the council, and proclaimed aloud King Rury's reply ; on hearing which, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, anxious to fly to the relief of his brother Fitz-Estevene, proposed that, as all the prospects of obtaining provisions, either by sea or land, were cut off, they should, before being reduced by famine, attack the enemy, relying that their own great superiority in weapons, equipments, and skill in continental warfare, would counterbalance the numbers of their badly-armed besiegers. This course was also advocated by Raymond "le gros," who suggested to attack, in the first instance, King Rury O'Conor, adding, that if they succeeded against him, little difficulty might be anticipated in routing his allies. The remainder of the council coinciding in this view, Milun de Cogan, says the Norman poet, offered to lead the van, saying—"Barons, give me at once a troop of men-at-arms, and in the name of the powerful Father, I

Anglo-Normans, arrived with a body of men at Dublin, and cast anchor in the Liffey. At this juncture, Milun de Cogan sought the co-operation of Mac Gillamocholmog, a powerful chief, of the regal family of Leinster, possessing extensive territories near Dublin, and owning also a part of that city. This transaction has been invested with romantic details by a Norman poet, who tells us that the De Cogan, having hostages for the loyalty of King Gillamocholmog, addressed him as follows: — "Listen, Sire, for a little while: your hostages I shall deliver safe and sound to you, provided you perform my behest, which is, that you assist neither party, but stand with your forces aloof, where you can witness plainly this engagement; and if God permits us to conquer, you shall aid us; but if we prove recreant, then join you the enemy against us." The king, adds the poet, having assented to the proposed compact, marshalled his men on the plain outside the city, whence he could witness the contest.

An Orkney Dane, named Johan "le devè," or the furious, led Hauskuld's force, composed of Norwegians, with men from Man and the Hebrides, clad in mail, after the Danish fashion; some with long cuirasses, others having plates of metal sewn together, and bearing round red shields mounted with iron. These troops having been landed and marshalled at the "Steine," as the low ground on the south bank of the Liffey, from the present College-green to Ringsend, was anciently named, marched forward through the village, on the site of which Dame-street stands, and assaulted the portal styled "St. Mary's Gate," in the city wall, on part of the acclivity now called Cork-hill. Milun de Cogan, the Anglo-Norman Governor

of Dublin, sallied against them with armed horsemen, archers, and foot-soldiers, but was repulsed with loss; and while the assailants were pursuing him into the city, driving the soldiers from the walls and battlements, Richard de Cogan, who had issued privately with a troop of horse from the western gate, attacked a detachment of Hauskuld's forces, which had been left at some distance, crying to his companions, "Féréz, chevalers vaillant!"—"Strike, gallant knights!" Hearing the loud yells and cries from the distant detachment and their assailants, Johan drew his forces from the walls; and while marching to their aid, was fallen upon in the rere by Milun de Cogan, who, at the head of his cavalry, again issued from the city, shouting in his Norman tongue—"Féréz, baruns alosez! Féréz, vassals, hastivement! N'esparniez icel gent!"—"Strike, gallant barons! Strike boldly, vassals! Spare not this people!" Prince Gillamocholmog, adds the story, on perceiving the discomfiture of the troops of Hauskuld and Johan, advanced, crying loudly to his men —"Now, vassals, let us at once go forward to the aid of Richard and Milun;" upon which his Leinster soldiery, with their javelins and darts, slew all before them, until the adjacent woods and fields were covered with the dead. Some of the Norsemen fled to the hills or escaped across the plain; whilst others, attempting to reach their ships, were driven into the water by their pursuers, who are said on this occasion to have wrested from them much gold, silver, and other treasure. Johan "the furious" also fell, after having slain many assailants, cutting through, with a single stroke of his axe, the leg of a soldier cased in complete armour. Hauskuld, a grey-headed old man, was

seized, while on the strand seeking his ships, and carried captive into the fortress of Dublin, of which he had lately been governor. We are told that there, in the presence of Milun de Cogan, he declared he had come on this occasion with a small number of men, being but the commencement of his efforts; adding, that he hoped ere long to return with a much larger force to beleaguer the city. By order of Milun de Cogan, Hauskuld was beheaded; and his death terminated the line of Norse rulers of Dublin.

In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, are preserved what are supposed to be the remains of some of the swords and javelins used in this engagement, which were turned up about forty years ago, in excavating the southern side of College-green. One of the swords discovered on this occasion had a golden hilt, which is said to have been sold for seventy pounds. On the connexion between Mac Gillamocholmog and the confederates of the Leinster King, some light has been recently thrown by the examination of original documents, which show that he was son-in-law to, and an ally of Dermod, and that his family were connected by marriage with Wales, whence the first adventurers came. The chivalrous compact detailed by the poet would have been at variance with the treatment experienced by hostages in the hands of the Anglo-Normans, of which a horrible example was given by Henry II. Although regarded as mild compared with others of his time, this king, to gratify his irritation against the Welsh, in 1165, laid violent hands upon the pledges in his power, of the noblest families in Wales, and had the eyes of the males

rooted out, and the ears and noses of the females cut off. Henry, in Aquitaine, receiving reports of the transactions in Ireland, and, according to some accounts, having been appealed to by part of the natives to repress the outrages of the invaders, by whom they had been despoiled, issued a proclamation prohibiting ships to carry soldiers or arms to that country, and requiring all his subjects there to return before Easter, under penalty of outlawry and forfeiture. Having taken counsel on this matter, Fitz-Gislebert despatched Raymond "le gros" to the king, with assurances that he held at the royal disposal the possessions he had acquired in Ireland, including those which he claimed as the inheritance of his wife, the daughter of King Dermod.

Raymond repaired with this despatch to France, but could not obtain a reply; and the royal attention was soon diverted from Ireland, by news arriving at Bure, in Normandy, where Henry, with much pomp, was keeping the Christmas holidays, that four knights from the court of the King of England had murdered Archbishop Becket, before the altar at Canterbury.

For supposed complicity in this crime, the Primate of Gaul pronounced excommunication against Henry; while the King of France and the Count of Champagne solemnly arraigned him, for the Archbishop's death, before Pope Alexander. The latter, repenting that he had not supported Becket in his struggles for the liberties of the English Church against the King, excommunicated the assassins and their accomplices, and appointed the Cardinals Theodin and Albert to proceed as his Legates to France, to take cognizance of the case. Dubious of the

course which the Legates might adopt, Henry made the affairs of Ireland a pretext for quitting Normandy before their arrival. Landing in England early in August, he levied the oppressive tax, styled "escuage," or "scutage," by which every military tenant of the crown was coerced either to pay a fine or to accompany the king in arms, with a number of men proportionate to the extent of his possessions. While occupied at these preparations, Henry, after violent altercations, became reconciled to Fitz-Gislebert, who repaired to him at Gloucester, and renewed his oath of homage, covenanting that he and his heirs should hold their lands from the King of England, and his successors. Henry's army, mustered for the expedition to Ireland, appears, from the roll of disbursements still extant, to have far exceeded the numbers mentioned by the chroniclers of the time. Among the minor payments recorded on this roll are the following:—"26s. 2d. paid for adorning and gilding the king's swords; £12 10s. for 1,000 pounds of wax; 118s. 7d. for 569 pounds of almonds sent to the king in Ireland; 15s. 11d. for five carts bringing the clothes of the king's household from Stafford to Chester, on their way to that country; £10 7s. for spices and electuaries for Josephus Medicus, his majesty's doctor; £4 for one ship carrying the armour, &c., of Robert Poer; £29 0s. 2d. for wine bought at Waterford; 9s. 8d. for the carriage of the king's treasure from Oxford to Winton; £333 6s. 8d. to John, the Marshal, to carry over to the king to Ireland; and £200 to the king's chamberlain, to bring to his majesty on returning from that country."

On the 18th of October, 1171, Henry's fleet, consisting

of four hundred large ships, heavily laden with horses, arms, and continental soldiery, arrived at Waterford, where, to impede their entrance, a wealthy and powerful lord of that district, named Reginald Mac Gillemory, had stretched across the harbour three massive iron chains, specially forged for that purpose. The landing, however, having been effected, Gillemory was seized, and hanged with his adherents, while all the Norse and native people of the town were expelled, except Gerald Mac Gillemory, who had allied himself with the Anglo-Normans.

Henry II., the first king of England who set foot on Irish soil, was the son of a Frenchman, Geoffroi, surnamed "Plantagenet," Earl of Anjou, by Matilda, daughter and heiress of Henry "Beauclerc." Like most of the descendants of Duke Robert "the devil" and the Falaise tanner's daughter, Henry was of middle size, corpulent, and stooping, with broad chest, muscular arms, a large round head, dark red complexion, grey blood-shot eyes, and tremulous voice; so violent, that he was known to have torn the shoulder of a page with his teeth, and at times to have cast off his clothes, and flung himself naked on the palace floor, maniacally gnawing the straw with which it was covered. He was charged with having violated, for his own gain, in France and England, the most solemn oaths. A Cardinal, after a long interview with him, declared that he had never met so audacious a liar; and Count Thiebault, of Champagne, had warned the Archbishop of Canterbury not to rely on any engagement made by Henry, even if confirmed by the kiss of peace, which in those ages was considered the most sacred compact. Perpetual quarrels and personal violence prevailed

between King Henry, his sons, and their mother Eleanor, by marrying whom, after Louis VII. had divorced her, he acquired Aquitaine and Poitou. His eldest son, Richard, spurned the clergy who laboured to reconcile him to his parent, and exclaimed: "The custom in our family is, that the son shall hate the father;—our destiny is to detest each other: this is our heritage, which we shall never renounce. From the devil we came; to the devil we shall go."

The tenor of Henry's life was totally at variance with the religious zeal which he occasionally assumed, to further his political objects. Personally stained with the foulest vices, condemned by the Church, he had not only threatened Pope Alexander to recognize the Anti-Pope, but had even declared that he would turn Mussulman; and having thus carried his point with the weak Pontiff, boasted publicly that he held the Holy See in his purse. He could not find time to be present at mass, except when celebrated in his chamber, while he transacted business; and his unscrupulous conduct towards the clergy and their revenues, had formed the subject of many appeals from his former Chancellor, Archbishop Becket, to Rome, in such terms as the following: "The King of England has seized the property of the Church, and overthrown the liberties of the Church; laid hands upon the anointed of the Lord; imprisoned them, mutilated them, and torn out their eyes. Others he has forced to justify themselves by duel, or by trials with fire and water; and we are to hold our peace amidst all these outrages. The enemies of the King of England promise our spoils to the cardinals and courtiers. You and I, most holy Father,"

added Becket, "will soon stand before the tribunal-seat of Christ: it is in the name of His Majesty, of His fearful judgments, that I demand justice at your hands, against those who would kill Him a second time."

Henry is, however, said to have occasionally exhibited clemency and justice in his administration; relieving the wants of the poor with liberality; and though passionately addicted to the chase and hawking, he did not, like his predecessors, always inflict death or mutilation upon intruders in the royal forests. In some old chronicles he is styled "Henri-curt-mantel," from his custom of wearing the short cloak or mantle used in his native Anjou. Although King of England, he appears to have been unacquainted with the language of the then depressed Anglo-Saxons, with whom he communicated through French interpreters.

From Waterford, Henry proceeded to Lismore, the Bishop of which, at that time, was Christian O'Conarchy, Papal Legate for Ireland, who had received his education in France, under Saint Bernard, in the famous Abbey of Clairvaux. Having ordered the erection of a castle at Lismore, Henry returned to Waterford, and marched thence through Leinster to Dublin, where he arrived on the 11th of November. In a spacious hall constructed of a framework of polished osiers, on part of the ground now occupied by the southern side of Dame-street, then outside the walls of Dublin, Henry held his Christmas, entertaining there some of the natives, with all the ostentation for which the luxurious Normans were remarkable. Among the foreign dishes said to have been here used for the first time in Ireland, special mention is made of crane's flesh,

which, as well as that of peacocks, herons, swans, and wild-geese, was then esteemed a choice luxury in France. Jean de Hauteville, a French author of this period, characterized his countrymen as "Ventricoles," or cultivators of the stomach; and his contemporary, Pierre de Blois, declares that the knights of his time were loaded with wine instead of steel, and that they carried cheeses instead of lances, wine-skins instead of swords, and spits instead of spears. Everything simple, wrote Saint Bernard, at this era, is rejected; the appetite, not satisfied with what God sends us, requires to be excited by laborious savoury dishes. Eggs, continued the Saint, are transformed and tortured into innumerable shapes, while, by stuffing, frying, roasting, and broiling, viands are made both to please the eye and to gratify the palate, so that curiosity continues excited after the stomach has been satiated. Of such luxuries King Henry partook but sparingly, fearing to increase his corpulency, to check which he was accustomed to rise at break of day and to continue in almost constant motion, either mounted or on foot, to the sore discomfort of those in attendance on him, who complained, that although ostentatiously profuse in public, he was meanly parsimonious at home.

Some of the chiefs of the districts near the towns on the Eastern and South-Eastern coasts, of which the Anglo-Normans had acquired possession, deeming it their interest to secure the protection of so powerful a monarch, agreed to become tributary to Henry. This compact, under the feudal law, did not render them subjects, but guaranteed all their prerogatives of sovereignty free from any service except the payment of the promised tribute, in return for

which they received the benefit of what was styled "the King's peace."

By representing that he had come not as an invader, but to redress grievances, and to promote the interest of religion, Henry succeeded in having a synod of the clergy convened at Cashel, in which several of his Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics and emissaries were admitted to take part, although, contrary to precedent in Ireland, laymen were excluded. This synod decreed, that the discipline of the Irish Church should be conformed to that introduced into England by the Normans; and letters were procured from the Bishops of Ireland, declaring that they had received Henry as their sovereign, eulogizing his pious zeal in the cause of religion, and in advancement of the interests of the clergy.

Henry's envoys to Rome were instructed, on presenting these documents, to promise an annual tribute to the Papal exchequer out of Ireland, acknowledging the latter as well as England to belong to the Holy See. This, with an offer to join personally in, and defray part of the cost of a crusade, would, as he calculated, propitiate judgment in his favour, in the investigation then pending with reference to the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry is not stated to have penetrated southwards or westwards beyond Cashel, nor northwards above Dublin. The Monarch, Rury O'Conor, King of the Province of Connaught, and the powerful chiefs of Ulster, stood aloof in their own territories, regarding these proceedings apparently in a light similar to that expressed as follows by the Anglo-Saxon chief, when summoned, under the ban of Papal excommunication, before the battle of

Hastings, to lay down his arms and acknowledge the invading Duke of Normandy as King of England: "We ought," said he, addressing his countrymen, "to fight, whatever the danger may be; for, it is not here the question of receiving a new lord, as if one king were dead: the matter in hand is very different. The Duke of Normandy has given our lands to his barons, his knights, and all his people, most of whom have already rendered him homage for them; they will all have their donations carried into effect if the Duke becomes our king; and we shall be bound to give them our goods, our wives, and our daughters; for all is promised them beforehand. They come not only to ruin us, but to ruin our descendants also—to take from us the country of our ancestors; and what shall we do, or where shall we go, when we have no longer any country?"

The winter passed by King Henry in Leinster was the most severe and tempestuous that had been known for a long period. Provisions were exceedingly scarce, and the change of climate caused much suffering to his foreign soldiers. The stormy weather so impeded navigation, that scarcely a vessel reached Ireland during the entire winter, thus preventing the arrival of the intelligence which Henry awaited from Rome. When his Norman ecclesiastics, on presenting their credentials at that court, read aloud the words, "Henry, by the grace of God, King of England," all the Cardinals arose, exclaiming, "Hold! hold!" and he now anxiously expected information relative to the position which Pope Alexander might eventually decide on assuming respecting his alleged complicity in the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

During this sojourn, Henry appears to have planned the organization of the future government of the new settlement in Ireland, under the Anglo-Norman system. Among his counsellors here were Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England; Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm de Burgh, the Royal Seneschal; Guillaume de Braose, Reginald de Curtenai, Hugues de Cressi, Reginald de Pavilly, and Ranulf de Glanville, for some time Lord Justiciary and Regent of England, who is said to have introduced into that kingdom the trial called the "Grand Assize," and also to have written the oldest treatise extant on the law of England. To this time has been ascribed the ordinance styled the "Statute of Henry Fitz-Empress," which provided that, in the event of any Viceroy or Chief Governor for Ireland vacating office by death or otherwise, the principal nobles and officials of the Anglo-Norman colony there should be empowered to elect a successor, to exercise full viceregal power and authority, until their king's instructions had been received. Certain lands, including those of the tribe of *Ui Cathasaigh*, or O'Casey, co-extensive with the present barony of Balrothery West, in the county of Dublin, were appropriated to furnish provisions for the table of the king or his representative; and at this era are said to have been appointed the first high officers of the Anglo-Norman State in Ireland, set down as follow:—Lord Marshal, Richard Fitz-Gislebert; Lord Constable, Hugues de Lasci; Seneschal, Bertram de Verdun; Chief Butler, Theobald Walter; and Royal Standard-bearer, De Wellesley.

Henry is represented, at this period, to have regarded Fitz-Gislebert with jealous distrust, and to have laboured

to reduce his influence, by attaching to his own person Raymond "le gros," Milun de Cogan, and other men of importance.

The weather moderating after mid-lent, ships reached Ireland from England and Aquitaine, with news that the Papal Legates, Albert and Theodin, had arrived in Normandy, and threatened to lay the whole of Henry's dominions under interdict, if he did not immediately present himself before them. Intelligence was also brought to Henry, that his sons Henry, Richard, and Geoffroi, abetted by their mother, Queen Eleanor, had organized a formidable conspiracy to dethrone him, with the aid of the King of France, whom they had accepted as their sovereign, having renounced allegiance to their father.

This perplexing intelligence filled Henry with serious apprehensions. His predecessor William, Duke of the single province of Normandy, had, in one day, vanquished the Anglo-Saxons, and gained the kingdom of England; but Henry, the greatest monarch of his own time, had, during a sojourn of nearly five months in Ireland, with a Continental army, not succeeded in extending his dominion much beyond the towns on part of the Irish coast, which, with the adjacent lands, had, before he arrived, been wrested from the Norse and native occupants by the allies of the King of Leinster, and his son-in-law, Richard Fitz-Gislebert.

Henry did not take the style of King or Lord of Ireland; and, notwithstanding the statements to the contrary of various authorities on this point, there has not yet been discovered any document to prove that he assumed either of these titles. Some chroniclers aver

that Henry intended, during the ensuing summer, to have attempted the subjugation of the entire island. Such statements, however, do not coincide with official documents, which show that he adopted towards Ireland a policy similar to that pursued with regard to Wales, by William Rufus and Henry I., who had authorized some of their powerful nobles to occupy and possess any Welsh lands from which they could, by force of arms, eject the native proprietors.

Following this precedent, and exacting, no doubt, the large gifts usually made to the Crown on such occasions, Henry executed charters, bestowing, according to the Norman law, upon ten of his principal adherents, the entire land of Ireland, with the exception of the towns on the eastern coast, which he retained under his own immediate control. The recipients of these charters expected to subject the natives, and enjoy their lands, as speedily as their Norman fathers had suppressed the Saxon landowners of England; and thus was initiated that protracted struggle, in which the Irish exhibited such remarkable national vitality.

Henry, having despatched trusty messengers to England, summoned his principal adherents to Dublin, and committed that city, with its Castle, to the custody of Hugues de Lasci, who, thus nominated Governor of the head of the Anglo-Norman colony, is generally regarded as the first Viceroy for Ireland, appointed by a King of England. It was customary among the Normans, as a portion of the ceremony of the installation of a governor, to place in his hand some appropriate symbol of office, in the presence of the chief ecclesiastical and lay personages

of the territory over which he was to preside. This ceremony, styled "investiture," varied according to local custom; and that of the sword and cap appears to have been adopted for Ireland. The new Governor, having solemnly taken the oath of office, and assumed the cap, styled "of maintenance," was handed a sword of state, indicative of the authority with which he was invested as representative of his king. The sword of state and the "cap of maintenance" were usually borne before the Viceroy on public occasions; and old English writers on Ireland used the phrase of "taking the sword" as synonymous with Viceregal installation.

Having appointed Anglo-Norman governors of Waterford and Wexford, and completed the embarkation of part of his army, Henry, at sunrise, on Easter Monday, the 17th of April, 1172, took shipping in Wexford harbour, and landed at Port Finnan, in Wales, about noon on the same day.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY'S Viceroy for Ireland, Hugues de Lasci, descended from Gualtier de Lasci, one of the companions of William the Conqueror, who conferred upon him and his brother Ilbert large grants of English lands. The De Lascies succeeded in subjecting part of Wales, where they founded the priory of Lanthony. In England they held the barony of Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and the Constableship of Cheshire ; and they acquired the confidence of Henry II. by their services to himself as well as by their fidelity to his mother Matilda in her contest with Stephen. Hugues de Lasci is represented to have been low-sized, ill-proportioned, but muscular, of dark complexion, with black sunken eyes, flat nostrils, and bearing on his right cheek, down to his chin, an unsightly scar, caused by fire ; an experienced soldier, but an unsuccessful leader; resolute, temperate, though immoral, and unscrupulous in the pursuit of gain and advancement. In a charter, executed at Wexford, granting to De Lasci the land of Meath, King Henry styled this first Viceroy for Ireland his "Bailli," a Norman term used to designate the representative of a king or lord, invested with judicial and executive authority. The territory sought to be conveyed by Henry to De Lasci, is estimated to have covered 800,000 acres, comprehending

Meath, Westmeath, with parts of the King's County and Longford. Meath was, at this period, under the rule of Tiarnan O'Ruarc, already noticed, who, although far advanced in years, was still a formidable and vigorous opponent to the encroachments of the Anglo-Normans. Some of O'Ruarc's kinsmen having, however, entered into relations with De Lasci, the aged chief was induced to appoint a conference with the latter, at the Hill of Ward, near Athboy. To this meeting both the Viceroy and O'Ruarc came attended with armed men; and altercations arising, a conflict ensued, in which the interpreter was killed by an axe-blow aimed at De Lasci, who, in his hasty flight, fell twice to the ground, but was protected by his companions. Tiarnan O'Ruarc, while mounting his steed, was slain by a spear-thrust. His decapitated corpse, having been conveyed to Dublin, was gibbetted with the feet upwards, on the northern side of the Castle, and his head, after having been impaled over the gate of that fortress, was sent as a trophy to the King of England.

Fitz-Gislebert, meanwhile, having established himself at Kildare, in conjunction with that portion of the Mac Murragh clan which adhered to his wife, daughter of the late King Dermod, laboured to bring under subjection and tribute the septs occupying the Leinster lands, his assumed right to the lordship over which had been confirmed by a charter from the King of England. The territories of those who resisted were ravaged by forces led by Fitz-Gislebert and his brother-in-law, Robert de Quenci, whom he had appointed Standard-bearer and Constable of Leinster. Much spoil and cattle were thus carried to Kildare; but these incursions were checked by

O'Dempsy, Chief of Offaly, who captured the Anglo-Norman standard, and slew its bearer, De Quenci.

Soon after this event, Fitz-Gislebert was summoned to carry part of the veteran garrison from Ireland to Henry II., then in Normandy, opposing his rebellious sons, who had won over some of their father's most trusted counsellors; even his immediate attendants, on whose fidelity depended the royal life or death, frequently deserted at night, and could not be found when called for by the King in the morning.

Fitz-Gislebert having performed good service in the royal cause in Normandy, was entrusted with the custody of the important fortress of Gisors; and Henry, subsequently, at Rouen, appointed him governor of his territories in Ireland, in conjunction with Raymond "le gros."

Returning to Leinster, Fitz-Gislebert found many of his previous native allies in arms against him, and serious dissensions soon sprung up among the Anglo-Normans themselves. Hervi de Mont-Marreis became opposed to Raymond "le gros," and the latter withdrew to Wales, having quarrelled with Fitz-Gislebert for refusing him the Constableship of Leinster, and declining to give him in marriage his sister Basilia, widow of De Quenci.

With the object of strengthening his claims, King Henry despatched the Prior of Wallingford and Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm de Burgh, to promulgate at Waterford the bull of Adrian, with a second bull from Pope Alexander, amply confirming the transfer of Ireland to the King of England. To protect Connaught from hostile incursions, Rury O'Conor concluded an agreement with Henry, that, in return for

a small annual tribute, he should be recognized King, as he had been previously to the Anglo-Norman descent, with jurisdiction over minor kings, and aided, when required, by the Viceroy, who, in this document, is styled "Constabularius Regis Angliæ," the Constable of the King of England.

Fitz-Gislebert was required by his tenure to furnish, when called upon, one hundred armed knights for the service of the King of England, and De Lasci was similarly bound to provide fifty knights from the land of Meath. The magnitude of these grants rendered it necessary for the recipients to parcel out their lands for the purposes of maintaining possession, exacting rent from the natives, and of performing the services due to the Crown. The first efforts of the Anglo-Normans in Leinster were directed to the erection of castles, through which they expected to subject the surrounding country, as their predecessors had done in England and Wales. Though superior in accoutrements, and skilled in continental warfare, the Anglo-Normans, in the expeditions from their castles and towns on the coast, experienced various reverses from the hostile natives. At Thurles, in 1174, Donall O'Brien defeated a strong force of Anglo-Normans, Ostmen, and their Irish allies, mustered to invade his territory of Thomond or North Munster. About the same period several newly-erected castles, within a short distance of Dublin, were demolished by the natives, or deserted and set on fire, by their foreign Constables, who fled for refuge to the towns.

In the hope of strengthening the colony, Fitz-Gislebert induced Raymond "le gros" to return to Ireland, by

giving him the Constableship of Leinster, and his sister, Basilia, as wife. Arriving at Waterford, with reinforcements, Raymond rescued Fitz-Gislebert from some of the people of that town who had risen in arms against him and his retainers.

In those parts of the island over which they acquired dominion, the Anglo-Normans demolished the churches and shrines of the ancient Irish saints, while they raised and liberally endowed new and extensive religious houses. These establishments were placed under the patronage of Norman saints, and entrusted to the management of ecclesiastics from France and Britain, who served their benefactors in the transaction of their affairs, and in maintaining vigilance over the movements of the natives of the surrounding districts.

Following the example of his father, who had made munificent grants in Suffolk to the Order of St. John, Fitz-Gislebert founded, for the Knights of the Temple, a Priory at Kilmainham, with an alms-house and hospital. He was also a liberal benefactor to the Church of the Holy Trinity, and the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin at Dublin, which were placed under Anglo-Norman management, to the exclusion of the natives. In his public acts, at this period, Fitz-Gislebert styled himself "Earl Richard, son of Earl Gislebert, Vicegerent in Ireland of the King of England"; and among the grants extant, made by him on behalf of the latter, is one, conveying a burgage near the Castle of Dublin.

An impression, in green wax, of the seal of Fitz-Gislebert still exists pendant from a charter, in the possession of the Marquis of Ormonde, granting the lands

of Aghaboe, in the present Queen's County, to Adam de Hereford. This rudely-executed seal, about three inches in breadth, bears on the obverse a mounted knight, in a long surcoat, with a triangular shield, his head covered by a conical helmet, with a nasal or nose defence, and brandishing in his right hand a broad straight sword. The obverse presents a foot-soldier, in a surcoat, reaching to below the knee, his head protected by a hood of mail and flat skull-cap, with projecting rim; his left arm supports, in front, a long shield, bearing three chevronels, the arms of De Clare, while the right foot is advanced and the right hand pushes forward a spear, as to the charge. Of the legend—"Sigillum Ricardi, Filii Comitis Gilleberti"—the last word alone has survived the casualties of nearly seven centuries.

Fitz-Gislebert died of an ulcer in his foot, at Dublin, in 1176, leaving by his wife Eva, Princess of Leinster, but one child, Isabel, then little more than an infant, to inherit his high titles and vast possessions. In his last moments he enjoined that his interment should not take place until his brother-in-law Raymond had arrived in the city. Dreading the hostile natives, the Anglo-Normans in Dublin concealed the decease of the Earl; and his sister Basilia transmitted the following letter to her husband Raymond, in Munster, by a messenger unacquainted with its purport:—

"To Raymond, her most loving lord and husband, his own Basilia wisheth health as to herself. Know you, my dear lord, that the great tooth in my jaw, which was wont to ache so much, is now fallen out: wherefore, if

you have any care or regard for me, or of yourself, you will delay not to hasten hither with all speed."

Raymond, divining the true import of this enigmatical epistle, which was read for him privately by a cleric of his train, hastened with his soldiery from Limerick to Dublin, where, after his arrival, Fitz-Gislebert was interred in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, the funereal rites being solemnized with much ceremony by Archbishop Lorcan O'Tuathal.

The native chroniclers stigmatize the Earl Richard as the greatest destroyer of the clergy and laity that had come to Ireland since the time of the Norse tyrant Turgesius. According to them, the fatal ulcer had broken out in his foot through the miracles of St. Brigid, St. Columb-Cille, and of the other Saints whose sanctuaries he had desecrated. They averred that, on his death-bed, the Earl imagined that he saw St. Brigid, the holy Abbess of Kildare, in the act of killing him, for having profaned her churches in Leinster.

After the burial of Fitz-Gislebert, the heads of the colony nominated Raymond "le gros" to the government; and, with the first favorable wind, news of the Earl's death was transmitted to Henry II., who, at Valognes, in Normandy, nominated his Seneschal, Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm de Burgh, his Viceroy for Ireland. In his credential letter, Henry notified to his adherents in Ireland that his affairs were proceeding prosperously, and that as soon as possible he would apply to his important Irish matters. "I now," he continued, "send to you Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm, my Seneschal, whom I have entrusted with

the management and arrangement of affairs, in my stead, and as my Viceroy: wherefore, I enjoin and command that you shall attend to him as to myself, and that you shall obey all his commands on my behalf, as you value my good will, and on the allegiance which you owe unto me. I," concluded Henry, "shall confirm his proceedings as if executed by myself, and all your transactions with him shall be ratified by me."

With Fitz-Aldelm, the King despatched to Ireland Jean de Curci, Robert Fitz-Estevene, and Milun de Cogan, who had distinguished themselves in his service, during the past two years, in England and France.

The new Governor was received on the confines of Wexford by Raymond "le gros," who surrendered to him, as representative of the King of England, the towns, castles, and hostages then in his custody. On this occasion, Raymond was accompanied with his kinsmen, to the number of thirty, mounted on fine steeds, in bright armour, and all bearing the arms of the Geraldines, a name assumed from their ancestor Gerald Fitz-Gaultier, descended from Otho, an Italian noble, who had emigrated from Tuscany to Normandy, and thence to England.

Fitz-Aldelm is said to have laboured to repress the pretensions of the Geraldine adventurers, whose chronicler depicts him as a large, corpulent man, replete with guile, although plausible and courtly, corruptible by and covetous of gold, rapaciously exacting, addicted to wine and profligate luxuriousness.

While the Viceroy sojourned in the seaports of Leinster, fearful of venturing towards the interior, Jean de Curci,

who had obtained a grant of Ulster from Henry II., made an expedition northwards, at the head of a portion of the Dublin garrison, then discontented at being neither regularly paid nor permitted to prey upon the surrounding country. De Curci is described to have been a fair-complexioned man, of large proportions and great strength, rashly impetuous, shamefully penurious, but professing fervent piety and reverence for the clergy of his paternal Norman race. He had served through the wars in Anjou, Gascoigne, Normandy, and England, in conjunction with his sister's husband, Sir Almaric Tristram de Saint Laurent, vows of fellowship in arms having been taken by them in the Cathedral of Rouen, the mother of all the churches of Normandy. "Any one," says Cambrensis, "who had seen Jean de Curci wield his sword, lopping off heads and arms, might well have commended the might of this warrior." To inspire his followers with confidence, De Curci endeavoured to convince them of the authenticity of a book of Merlin's prophecies, which he always carried, applying to himself the fulfilment of a prediction, that a white knight, on a white steed, bearing birds figured on his shield, should be the first to make an inroad upon Ulster.

Having erected a castle at Downpatrick, De Curci continued for a time to ravage the adjacent country; but the natives drowned and slew numbers of his soldiers, and in 1178 he fled, severely wounded, to Dublin, after a battle in which his troops were defeated, with much slaughter, by the Chief of Firli, in Antrim.

At this period, Henry decided on erecting the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland into a distinct dominion or

lordship, for his youngest and favourite son John. In 1177, by Papal permission, Henry, at a council at Oxford, invested John, then in his twelfth year, as "Lord of Ireland," causing the adventurers to whom he had made grants of Irish lands, to swear to hold their possessions and offices from the Prince and himself.

The public acts of the colony were thenceforth, till the death of Henry II., executed in the name of "John, Lord of Ireland, son of the King of England." The first Anglo-Norman coinage in Ireland bore on one side the Prince's full face, with a diadem of five pearls, and the inscription "Johannes Dom[inus]." The reverse presented a double cross, with a pellet or annulet in each quarter, with the names of the minters at Dublin and Waterford.

Henry, in 1179, recalled Fitz-Aldelm, Milun de Cogan, and Robert Fitz-Estevene, and constituted Hugues de Lasci chief governor of his territories in Ireland, in conjunction with Robert le Poer, guardian of Waterford and Wexford, a luxurious and indolent Norman. De Lasci displayed much energy in erecting fortified castles in Meath and Leinster, and spared no effort to enrich himself, by oppressing others with a strong hand. In strange contrast, we find at this period his former associate in arms, Hervi de Mont-Marreis, Seneschal of Fitz-Gislebert, becoming a monk at Canterbury, after having founded the Cistercian monastery of Dunbrody, on the river Barrow, in the County of Wexford. Hervi is described to have been an accomplished soldier and courtier, but stained with vicious profligacy, and unscrupulous in maligning his companions. "Would to God,"

wrote the partisan Geraldine chronicler, "that with the monk's cowl he had put on real piety, and that he had laid aside malignity with his military harness."

Hervi ended his days, at the age of seventy-five, as Abbot of his own monastery, at Dunbrody. In that extensive and important establishment, his nephews, Geoffroi de Marreis and Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, erected to his memory a mausoleum of black Kilkenny marble, ornamented with columns, surmounted by a statue of the martial Abbot, clothed in priest's vestments, beneath which, at the neck, was visible the cuirass of a knight. The right hand, reposing on the breast, held a chalice, while the left grasped a baton, to indicate that the Abbot had once been Marshal of the Anglo-Norman army in Ireland.

On the death of the prelate Lorcan O'Tuathal, in Normandy, 1180, the archiepiscopal revenues of Dublin were appropriated by the King of England, who, in 1181, disposed of the see to John Comyn, then not in priest's orders. Comyn, whom Henry caused to be elected at the monastery of Evesham, in Worcestershire, did not visit Dublin for three years subsequent to his appointment. The King granted the archiepiscopal estates to Comyn "in barony," by which tenure he and his successors in the see were constituted parliamentary barons, entitled to sit in all the great councils of the colony, and to hold courts in their lordships and manors. The Archbishops of Dublin henceforth became important personages in the colonial government. These prelates frequently enjoyed more of the royal confidence than was accorded to the Viceroys, and thus acquired a formidable

political influence, in addition to the powers which they wielded in their spiritual capacity.

The Viceroy, Hugues de Lasci, had signalized himself in Normandy, where he successfully held the fortified town of Verneuil against Henry's insurgent sons and their ally, King Louis, who during a month attempted to reduce it by fire and sword. Having, however, married as his second wife a daughter of King Rury O'Conor, without permission of Henry II., De Lasci was dismissed from office, in 1181, by the latter, who committed the government of the colony to Jean, Constable of Chester, with Richard de Peche, Bishop of Coventry. De Lasci, previous to his departure for England, in conjunction with these governors, planned the erection of several strong castles in Leinster, where hitherto the settlers had built fewer fortresses than in Meath.

In the ensuing winter, Jean, the Constable, and Peche were recalled by Henry, who again committed the government to Hugues de Lasci, having taken securities for his fidelity, and associating with him Robert of Salisbury, a priest, delegated by the King to maintain a secret surveillance over the acts of the Viceroy.

Fearing that the barons in Ireland might become sufficiently powerful to contemn his authority, King Henry determined to send thither as Chief Governor his son John, whose treachery to his father had not yet been developed. Prince John's title to the crown of Ireland was ratified by Pope Urban III., who, for the purpose of his coronation, transmitted by his legates a diadem composed of gold, interwoven, according to ancient Roman style, with peacocks' feathers, similar to those long in

use among the kings and princes of Germany, and much in fashion in the twelfth century, when the "paonniers," or "chapeliers de paon," flourished in Paris.

Henry had already suffered severely from having crowned his eldest son Prince Henry as future King of England, and he now dreaded to sanction John's coronation, apprehending that his brother, the ferocious Richard, might make it a pretext for demanding the performance of a similar ceremony, as a public recognition of his right to the English throne.

To prepare for the Prince's arrival, Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, who had not hitherto visited his see, was, in September, 1184, despatched to Ireland, the government of the colony in which was temporarily committed to Philippe de Worcester described as a courtly and liberal man—attributes which but ill accord with his predatory expedition, at the head of his troops, to Armagh. There, during Lent, he extorted by violence large sums of gold from the clergy, while his followers despoiled them even of their cooking utensils, despite the maledictions and lamentations of the plundered ecclesiastics of the primatial town. He, however, subsequently founded in Tipperary, the Priory of Kilcumen, which he committed to Benedictine monks from Glastonbury, in Somersetshire.

After all the arrangements had been completed for the despatch of John, then in his nineteenth year, with the expedition to Ireland, Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in England, seeking to induce the King, or one of his sons, to lead an army against the Saracens, offering, on behalf of the Christians of the East, the keys of the Holy City and of our Lord's

sepulchre, with the royal standard, accompanied with letters from Pope Lucius, relating to the oath which Henry had taken to join in a Crusade, while the case of the death of Becket was under the consideration of the Roman Court.

To the importunities of the Patriarch, Henry replied that he dared not absent himself from his dominions, offering, however, to contribute to the expenses of those who joined the expedition. He also declined to comply with the desire expressed by John, who, casting himself at his feet, implored permission to proceed to Palestine instead of to Ireland. Then, says Capgrave, the Patriarch exclaimed—"Thou dost nothing: we seek not money, but a leader; we want a man without money, and not money without a man. Almost every region of the world sends us gold, but none a leader." When Henry sought further to excuse himself to Eraclius, the latter declared that God would, ere long, punish him for treachery to the King of France, for the murder of St. Thomas, and for having refused protection to the Christians. He added, that Henry was worse than any Saracen, and that wickedness was inherent to the descendants of his grandmother, the Countess of Anjou, of whom it was reported, that, after having long been suspected of being a witch, she had, in the end, flown through the chapel window and vanished, when four squires attempted to hold her during the solemn part of Mass.

Henry appointed the priest, Giraud de Barri, better known as "Giraldus Cambrensis," or Gerald of Wales, as companion to John, who was attended to his fleet by Ranulf de Glanville. The latter, notwithstanding

his high position as a judge, and his reputation as a legist in England, stands charged with having sought to pervert justice for the promotion of his own interests. John sailed from Milford on the evening of Easter Wednesday, 1185, and, carried by a strong easterly wind, landed with his troops at Waterford, about noon on the following day. The Prince was attended by a retinue described as very sumptuous, comprising many ecclesiastics, three hundred knights, with a large body of cavalry, archers, and men-at-arms. Some of the natives of the neighbourhood of Waterford, who had previously done good service to the Anglo-Normans, coming to visit John on his arrival, were insulted by the youths of his suite, who mocked their long beards, which seemed ridiculous to the closely-shaven Frenchmen. Those Irish adherents of the King of England, further incensed at the lands, in possession of which they had been confirmed for their previous services, having been taken from them, and given to the Prince's followers, withdrew into the interior, and leagued with the opponents of the foreigners. Yielding to the allurements of vice, and harshly repelling his monitors, John devoted himself to luxurious enjoyment, and squandered among his associates the revenues received from the towns, which should have been applied to the defence of the colony and the payment of the soldiery. The latter, following the example of the courtiers, abandoned themselves to debauchery. The veteran leaders, who had acquired lands by their swords, were dispossessed in favour of the Prince's companions, and harassed with vexatious legal subtleties; while chicane was carried to such an extent, that

the Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin was accused with having, at this period, surreptitiously obtained from the thoughtless John, a charter conferring on him legal privileges of the most extensive character. In a series of unsuccessful engagements, John lost nearly his entire army, with some of its most valiant knights. Several of the newly-erected castles were sacked by the Irish; and although a hundred heads of the slain are recorded to have been sent by Guillaume le Petit to John at Dublin, as a trophy of a victory over the O'Neills, on the borders of Meath, the Prince's proceedings were eminently disastrous; and after a sojourn of eight months in Ireland, he returned to England, leaving the government of the colony to De Curci. The ill-success of John's Irish expedition was partly ascribed to the machinations of Hugues de Lasci, who, chagrined at having been superseded in the Viceroyalty, was said to have exerted his influence to thwart the Prince's operations, and to have urged the natives to give him neither tribute nor hostages.

De Lasci, retaining in his own hands a large part of his territory of Meath, erected a strong castle on the bank of the river Boyne, at *Ath Truim*, or the ford of Trim, which he made the head of the Principality. With his sister Rose he gave the district of *Dealbhna*, or Delvin, as a portion, on her marriage with his companion Gislebert Nugent, ancestor of the Earls of Westmeath. Among his other retainers, styled by an old Norman chronicler, "ses baruns, chevalers, serjanz et garsunz," on whom he conferred parts of Meath, were the following, from whom descended some of the chief baronial families of the Anglo-Norman colony:

Hugues Tirel, Guillaume le Petit, Gislebert and Jocelin de Nangle, Richard de Tuyt, Richard de la Chapele, Geoffroi de Constantin, Adam de Feipo, Guillaume de Muset, Hugues de Hosee, Adam Dullard, and Richard le Fleming. At Colpe, near the mouth of the Boyne, and at Duleek, De Lasci founded abbeys for Augustinian Canons, dependant to the priory established by his family at Lanthony in Monmouthshire. On the abbey erected at Dublin, under the invocation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, he bestowed large grants in Meath; and to the monastery at Kells he also gave various lands, with a transfer of his right to a measure out of every brewing of ale in that town. In return for this gift, the Canons covenanted that one of them should be constantly retained, as a chaplain, to celebrate Mass for his soul, and for those of his ancestors and successors. De Lasci's marriage with the daughter of King Rury O'Conor, the number of his castles, the alliances and associations which he contracted with the natives, combined with the importance of his retainers, bound to obey his summons, rendered him so powerful, that reports were carried to Henry II. that he was about to assume the kingship of Ireland, and had actually a royal diadem prepared for himself. Among the lands appropriated by De Lasci were those of the tribe of O'Caharny, or Fox, near Durrow, in the present King's County, where their predecessors, in the sixth century, had given to St. Columba the site on which he founded a monastery, the fame of which survives in the elaborate copy of the Latin Gospels in the Irish character, known as the "Book of Durrow," now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. To repel

the efforts made by the tribe of O'Caharny to regain their inheritance, De Lasci demolished the monastery of Durrow, and erected a castle upon its site. While inspecting the extern of this edifice, with some companions, in 1186, he was approached by the foster-son of the dispossessed chief, who, drawing an axe from beneath his garment, with a single blow cut off his head, which, with the body, fell into the castle trench.

De Lasci's soldiery failed to capture the assassin, or to rescue the remains of their lord, which were borne away by the Irish, probably for a trophy, as he himself, when Viceroy, thirteen years before, had caused O'Ruarc's corpse to be conveyed to Dublin, and there gibbetted at the Castle. Through the intervention of John, Archbishop of Dublin, and Matthew O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel, Papal Legate for Ireland, De Lasci's remains were recovered from the natives, in 1195, and his body was then interred in the monastery at Bective, near Trim, while his head, was at the same time deposited in the Abbey of St. Thomas at Dublin, the burial-place of Rose, his first wife. A controversy which arose between these establishments for the possession of De Lasci's remains, was decided in 1205, by judges appointed by Pope Innocent III., decreeing that the body should be surrendered by the Monks of Bective to the Abbey of St. Thomas. It may be noted, that the spot on which De Lasci fell was, after the lapse of several centuries, the scene, in 1839, of the mysterious murder of John Toler, second Earl of Norbury. The Anglo-Normans, in Leinster, deemed De Lasci's death a fatal blow to their interests. The chroniclers of the colony emphatically averred that this calamity arrested

the progress of the conquest, and expressed their belief in the fulfilment of some prophecies, ascribed to ancient Irish saints, predicting, that, although settlers from England might succeed in acquiring power in the seaports, opposite their own coasts, God would never permit them to enjoy undisturbed or secure possession of the entire island, till the end of the world. Giraud de Barri, after his sojourn in Leinster, among the colonists, discussing at this period the policy to be followed towards the settlement in Ireland, observed, that the government should be committed to Viceroys of wisdom, discretion, and tried valour, who ought to rule in peace, with strict equity, yet be ever ready to take the field against the enemy; receiving courteously insurgents suing for pardon, and winning their confidence by affording them opportunities to witness the upright administration of justice. For the security of the settlement, our author recommended the erection of castles, the cutting of passes through the woods, the maintenance of troops in readiness to resist attacks; and he dwelt on the absolute necessity for a public edict, prohibiting the natives, under Anglo-Norman control, to use or possess arms, adding, that their favourite weapon, the Irish axe, of which the colonists stood in deadly fear, should be specially proscribed.

The intelligence of De Lasci's death is said by some chroniclers to have been received with satisfaction by Henry II., whose confidence in him had been impaired by the rumours of his ambitious designs. Determining, therefore, to exercise more caution in the selection of officers of trust for Ireland, the King contemplated

sending again thither Prince John, but this project was abandoned in consequence of the death of his brother Geoffroi, Count de Bretagne, in a tournament at Paris, and De Curci continued in office as Viceroy till 1189. In the latter year, King Henry expired at Chinon in Normandy, exhausted by the protracted wars with his sons, aided by the King of France, to whom he had eventually to submit. His death is stated to have been accelerated by the discovery that his beloved son John, for whom he had made great sacrifices, had been secretly combined with those who conspired against him. Writers of the time dwell with horror on the imprecations launched by the dying King of England on his disobedient sons; and they mention that Henry in his last moments was stripped of his garments and jewels, and left naked and uncared for. The dominion exercised by John as "Lord of Ireland" was not interfered with by Richard I., who openly sold to the highest bidder every prerogative and ecclesiastical or lay office in his power, even lamenting that he could not find a purchaser for the city of London. In the hope, however, of ensuring the fidelity of his distrusted brother, already Earl of Mortagne, one of the most extensive Norman lordships, Richard conferred upon John seven earldoms, comprising nearly one-third of England. Thus while Richard was king of the latter country, all the public affairs of the Anglo-Norman colony were transacted in the name of "John, Lord of Ireland, Earl of Mortagne," and John's writs were addressed to "his officers and liegemen in Ireland, French, English, Welsh, and Irish," through his own Chancellor, Estienne de Ridell.

Of the style of "Dominus," or "Lord," Sir Francis

Palgrave observed, that "the title of 'Dominus Angliæ' appears to indicate the right to the superiority over the soil, when distinguished from the chieftainship of the people. The King [of England] might be admitted as 'Dominus Angliæ' before he was acknowledged as 'Rex Anglorum:' and this distinction was consistently maintained. John was Lord of Ireland, but he did not claim to be King of the Irish. Edward wrote himself Lord of Scotland, and acknowledged Baliol to be King of the Scots."

During the first years of Richard's reign (1189-90), the government of the colony was entrusted to Hugues de Lasci, second son of the first Viceroy of Ireland. De Lasci was succeeded by Guillaume Le Petit, a warlike baron, of Meath, in 1191. From this year to 1194, while England was torn by the contests of the Justiciary Longchamp with John, followed by the attempt of the latter to usurp the throne of his absent brother, the chief governor of Ireland was Guillaume Earl Maréchal, head of the great baronial family which held the hereditary office of Marshal to the King of England.

This nobleman, a trusted counsellor of Richard I., at whose coronation he bore the royal sceptre surmounted by a cross of gold, was one of those appointed to guide the Regents of England during the King's absence in the Holy Land. In 1189, Earl Guillaume obtained from the Crown in marriage Isabel, heiress of Richard Fitz-Gislebert, and thus acquired a claim to a principality in Leinster of about 120 miles in extent, comprising Ossory, with the three counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kildare. By this union he also obtained the Earldoms

of Pembroke and Strigoil, with the sword of the latter of which King John girt him on the day of his coronation, when, with the Earl of Essex, he served at the royal table. To consolidate his power in the Leinster territory, claimed as husband of the grand-daughter of King Dermod, the Earl Guillaume erected a castle on the bank of the river Nore, in the central plain of Ossory, and executed charters, conferring privileges upon the settlers in its vicinage, who, forming themselves into a municipality, established the town, which, from the buildings and ancient church erected by St. Canice, took the name of *Cill Cainnigh*, or Kilkenny. The same Earl founded at Kilkenny a Priory, dedicated to St. John, for the relief of indigent poor, and he also established, on the shore of Bannow Bay, in Wexford, the Cistercian Abbey of Tintern, styled "de voto," or "of the vow," because its endowment was to fulfil a vow which he had made during a storm in the Irish sea, to erect a monastery where he should first land, if he escaped the perils which threatened to overwhelm his ship.

Guillaume Earl Maréchal was, in 1194, succeeded as Viceroy by Pierre Pipard, the record of a curious legal appeal, connected with whose administration, has been preserved among the archives of the Court of King John in England. In this case the court refused to grant an inquiry by inquest, but decreed judgment, by fire ordeal and duel, against Warin de London, and three others, charged of complicity in the death of Guillaume Brun, who, having come to Dublin Castle, in obedience to the Viceroy's writ, was slain by the blow of an axe, while standing on the Castle bridge, whence his body fell into the fosse. This has been regarded by jurists as a very

remarkable case in its bearings, since it demonstrates that the King's Court in England assumed full jurisdiction over the Anglo-Norman colony ; and the refusal of the trial by inquest "brings the practice close upon that which is designated by the Conqueror's laws ; according to which, in plaints importing outlawry, the Englishman was to defend himself by ordeal, and not by compurgation."

While Richard was engaged in France, from 1197 to 1199, the Viceroyalty was held by Hamon de Valognes, an Anglo-Norman of Suffolk, allied to Theobald Fitz-Gaultier, ancestor of the Ormonde family, and connected with the Geraldines by the marriage of his daughter to Gerald Fitz-Gerald, first Baron of Offaly. Hamon was obliged to have recourse to arms, to suppress Gislebert de Nangle, a mutinous baron of Meath, whom he expelled and outlawed. The encroachments of De Valognes upon the rights and property claimed by John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, led to serious embroilments with that prelate, who excommunicated the Viceroy, with the other officers of John in Ireland, and placed his diocese under interdict. The Archbishop, who had endowed St. Patrick's Church at Dublin, appealed in person to King Richard and Prince John ; but they disregarded his complaints, and placed him under constraint in Normandy; while the Viceroy seized the property of the vacant see of Leighlin, and prevented the consecration of a monk of the order of Citeaux, who had been designated to that bishopric. These proceedings evoked the interference of Pope Innocent III., who, by letters from Perugia, reprimanded the Earl of Mortagne for detaining in exile "his venerable brother, the Archbishop of Dublin," and required him to repair the

injuries inflicted by his minister, Hamon de Valognes, on the clergy of Leighlin. About the same period, the more-favoured Canons of the Abbey of St. Thomas obtained from John a grant of the tithe of all salmon brought to his kitchen in the Castle of Dublin. Hamon subsequently atoned for his offences, by bestowing a portion of his Irish lands upon the see of Dublin; but, on retiring from office, after a term of two years, he was obliged to pay a thousand marks to the King, to obtain an acquittance from his viceregal accounts.

By the accession of John, in 1199, to the crown of England, that monarchy and the "Lordship of Ireland," to which he had been nominated twenty-two years previously, centred in his person. It has been argued that had his brother Richard left heirs to inherit the English throne, John's descendants might have claimed the Anglo-Norman territories in Ireland as their separate and distinct lordship or dominion. King John, during the first four years of his reign, entrusted the Viceroyalty to Meiller Fitz-Henri, who, while a youth, had, as already noticed, served with his Geraldine kinsmen, the first Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland.

Fitz-Henri, so named from his father having been an illegitimate son of King Henry I. of England, was short in stature, of dark complexion, with black eyes, a stern, penetrating aspect, and remarkable for his impetuous, but unreasoning military ardour. De Lasci had given him Ardnurcher in Meath, and from the Earl Richard he received Kildare, with adjacent lands, which he subsequently exchanged for *Laoighis*, or Leix, comprising the eastern and southern parts of the district now styled the Queen's

County, where a castle was erected for him by Hugues de Lasci, his wife's uncle. Meiller, we are told, was induced to consent to this change, because the interests of the colony required all the energies of a vigorous and indefatigable commander to repress the native septs in the rough and woody territory of Leix, lying on the borders, or "marches," of the Anglo-Norman settlement.

By letters of credence, issued in 1200, John ordered his Barons of Ireland to deliver hostages for their fidelity to Meiller Fitz-Henri, and to obey him as chief governor of all his land in Ireland. At the same time, the King admonished his subjects holding possessions on the borders, that, as his Irish territories had already been endamaged by the want of defences against the natives, he would confiscate and grant to others all castles and "march" lands which should not have been fortified before the approaching feast of St. John the Baptist.

Fitz-Henri was succeeded, in 1203, as Viceroy by Hugues de Lasci, Lord of Meath, between whom and Jean de Curci serious contentions had arisen. De Curci, already noticed as Viceroy, received from Henry II. the Earldom of Ulster, which is generally supposed to have been the first Irish title conferred on an Anglo-Norman ; but of the original of this grant no copy has survived.

De Curci's connexion with Godred, Scandinavian King of Man and the Western Isles, whose daughter Affreca he married, and his alliances with clans in Connaught and western Ulster, enabled him to acquire control over part of the north-east coast of Ireland. Fixing his chief seat at Downpatrick, he erected castles commanding the

bays and mountain passes; while he also appropriated various religious edifices founded by the natives, and established others, which he affiliated to monastic houses in Normandy and England. Having thus demolished the Irish monastery of Erinagh, he transferred its property to the Cistercians of Furnes, in Lancashire, to whom he committed an abbey which he erected on the peninsula of *Inis*, or Inch, opposite to Downpatrick. Among the monks so brought from Furnes to Ireland, was Jocelin, who assures us that he compiled his life of St. Patrick at the solicitation of Jean de Curci, "the most illustrious Prince of Ulidia."

In this territory of "Ulidia," as Down and Antrim were formerly named, De Curci exercised supreme authority, surrounded in almost regal state by a staff of officials, including his constable, seneschal, and chamberlain. Like some of the high nobles in his native France, he also coined money in his own name, specimens of which, in silver, have recently been found in the county of Down, bearing the inscription "Joan de Curci." Complaints against the exactions of De Curci were carried to John before 1202; while his rivals, the De Lascies, whose lands in Meath and Connaught bordered on his territories, accused him of disloyalty to the King. In 1202, the Viceroy, Hugues de Lasci, attempted treacherously to seize De Curci at a friendly conference to which he had invited him. Escaping, by force of arms, from this snare, he was met by the Viceroy's brother, Gaultier de Lasci, who, by professions of friendship, induced him to accept shelter in a castle which he held as his liegeman. Here, by a breach of fealty, he was

detained in durance, till liberated to arrest the ravages of his retainers, who devastated De Lasci's lands with fire and sword. Aided by the powerful clan of O'Neill, and by soldiery from Man and the Isles, De Curci waged war against the Viceroy, Hugues de Lasci, whom he defeated in a battle at Down, in 1204. In the latter year, John directed Gaultier de Lasci and Meiller Fitz-Henri to summon De Curci to come in on a day fixed by them and the Council, as he regarded his allegiance and the hostages which the King held from him. The court was directed to pronounce judgment on the Earl, should he not appear on the day named; and in event of forfeiture being decreed, the King ordered a transfer, to Gaultier and Hugues de Lasci, of eight cantreds of De Curci's lands, nearest to their territories in Meath, to be held on terms stipulated by the Crown with them. John also warned the Barons of Ulster, holding under De Curci, that if they did not cause their lord to appear in person within the prescribed term, he would confiscate their lands, and deal severely with their hostages.

Later in the same year, De Curci received a safe conduct to proceed to the King. In the ensuing May, however, John girt Hugues de Lasci with the sword of the Earldom of Ulster, conferring upon him all the lands held by De Curci on the day on which he had vanquished him in the field. This grant of the Earldom of Ulster, inscribed on the charter roll of the seventh year of King John, 1205, is the earliest record now extant of the creation of an Anglo-Norman dignity in Ireland. In the legends of the colonists these transactions were embellished with the following romantic details:—De Curci,

after having been defeated in an engagement, challenged the Viceroy, Hugues de Lasci, to single combat; but the representative of the King declared that he would not hazard his life with a traitorous subject, and proclaimed a large reward for bringing him in alive or dead. This proving ineffective, the Viceroy bribed De Curci's servants, who enabled him to surprise their master, unarmed, while performing his devotions at the Church of Down, on Good-Friday. With the pole of a cross, snatched from the head of a grave in the churchyard, De Curci slew thirteen of De Lasci's soldiers, but was at length overpowered and sent in fetters to the Tower of London. The treacherous servants, having received their promised reward, solicited letters into England, setting forth their good service, which were granted, on condition that, under pain of death, they should never return to Ireland, nor open the writings till demanded from them. From the Viceroy they received a bark, with sails and victuals, but he refused to allow them to take either pilots or mariners. Thus, driven by the winds along the coast, they were seized at Cork and hanged together; as, on opening their sealed letter, it was found to denounce them as damned traitors, who, having sold their master to his enemies for money, should not be received or harboured. After he had lain long a prisoner in a squalid dungeon of the Tower of London, De Curci was liberated, on condition of meeting in single combat a famous foreign champion, whom no warrior in England dared to encounter. On entering the lists, the champion, dismayed at De Curci's size, declined to engage, alleging that he expected to meet a man—not a giant. De Curci, invited by the

King, who was present, to give some proof of his strength, clove, with one blow, a steel helmet and shirt of mail, driving his sword so deep into the stake on which they were placed, that none but himself could draw it forth. According to the romances, De Curci subsequently made fifteen attempts to revisit Ireland, but was strangely repulsed by contrary winds on each occasion. The records, however, show, that De Curci came to Ireland in 1210, in the service of King John, from whom he was in receipt of an annual pension. He would appear to have died towards 1219, as in that year Henry III. ordered payment of the dower due to his widow Affreca out of the lands which her late husband had held in Ireland. Affreca died in "Grey Abbey," in the county of Down, which she had endowed in 1193, for Cistercians from Cumberland. The remains of her effigy, carved in stone, with hands clasped in prayer, were, in the last century, to be seen in an arch of the wall on the gospel-side of the high altar, amid the ivy-covered ruins of the large and once sumptuous "Grey Abbey," on the eastern bank of Cuan, now Strangford Lough.

De Curci, according to his contemporary Cambrensis, had no children by his wife; but the peerage compilers of the last century set him down as father of Milo de Curci, to whom Henry III. granted the barony of Kinsale. The right claimed by the Barons of Kinsale to stand covered in the presence of the Monarchs of England, was, according to the same peerage authorities, originally granted to Jean de Curci by King John, on the occasion of his meeting the foreign champion.

John, retaining Hugues de Lasci, the newly-created

Earl of Ulster, in attendance on himself, appointed Meiller Fitz-Henri Viceroy in his place, charging him to protect and defend De Lasci's lands as strictly as those of the Crown.

The precarious position of John on the loss of his French territories, the dissensions of the chief Anglo-Normans in Ireland, and the hostility of sections of the native and Norse population, appear to have rendered Fitz-Henri apprehensive for the safety even of the citadel at Dublin, in which the royal treasure was deposited. In compliance with his representations on this subject, the King, in 1204, authorized Fitz-Henri to erect a Castle at Dublin, well fortified, with good fosses and thick walls, strong enough to defend or control the city, directing him to commence the works by the erection of a tower, and to leave the other buildings to be more leisurely constructed. Of the features or defects of the then existing Castle at Dublin, we find no details in accessible records, which are also silent on the progress which may have been made in the new fabric by Fitz-Henri.

From the close of the twelfth century the governor of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was usually styled the Chief Justiciary—"Capitalis Justiciarius"—a title applied in Normandy and England to the highest officer of the King's court, next in power and authority to the monarch, in whose absence he ruled as Viceroy, entrusted with the whole civil and military administration. As guarantees for their fidelity, the Justiciaries or Viceroys for Ireland were, in those times, obliged to place at the King's disposal either their own sons or some of the children of their kinsmen and wealthy retainers. In a

document of this period, we find detailed, as follows, the locations of the hostages given to John by the Justiciary Hugues de Lasci, chiefly from the families of the barons who held under him in Meath : Hugues, son of Robert de Lasci, in the custody of Henri Biset ; Hugues de Tuyt, son of Richard de Tuyt, at Winchester ; Robert, son of Guillaume le Petit, in the charge of Guillaume Maréchal ; Morice, son of Hugues Hosee, in the hands of Jean Fitz-Hugues, at Windsor ; and Adam, son of Richard de Chapele, in the Castle of Salisbury. By the same system, the barons of Ireland, and the native chiefs who entered into engagements with the King, were usually called upon to give hostages to his representative, the Justiciary, by whom they were held at the royal pleasure, and located either in the Castle of Dublin, or committed to the charge of responsible guardians. It would also appear that the Kings of England required their Justiciaries for Ireland to be guided by the advice of the barons of the colony. Thus, in 1206, John writes to his Justiciary, Meiller Fitz-Henri, that he sends to him Hugues de Lasci, Earl of Ulster, in whom he may confide concerning the affairs of the King and the peace of his land ; commanding him not to wage war on the borders unless by the counsel of Gaultier de Lasci, his brother Hugues, and his other faithful adherents, whose loyalty and services he might deem needful. If, by their counsel, war should be waged, the Justiciary was instructed to apply the King's treasure as he might see fit, and according to their advice. By a subsequent writ, addressed to the Justiciary and barons, John tells them that he sends over Philippe de Worcester, Roland Bloet, and Robert de Chichester, to inspect the state of the government and of

his land in Ireland, to take part in their councils, and to aid in despatching the King's business.

The King of Man, by a compact entered into with John, undertook to maintain a surveillance over the coasts of England and Ireland, opposite his own island, in return for a grant of Irish lands, with a payment of forty marks, one hundred measures of wheat, and five butts of wine, to be received annually in Dublin from the Viceroy. Reposing but little confidence in his barons of Ireland, John directed the Viceroy to level the castle of De Lasci's retainer, Tirel, at *Cnucha*, to the west of Dublin, called by the Anglo-Normans "Chastel-Knoc," which he feared might be held against the Crown in time of war. Richard Tirel, however, preserved his castle from demolition, by giving his son to the Viceroy as a pledge for its prompt surrender whenever demanded by the King. On the departure of Meiller Fitz-Henri to England, in 1205, the Justiciaryship was committed to Hugues de Lasci, Earl of Ulster, who, with his brother Gaultier, Lord of Meath, held at this period a large proportion of the territory under the Anglo-Norman domination in Ireland. The tyranny exercised by the De Lascies, and the attempt to levy oppressive taxes to aid John in his efforts to recover the lost French provinces, caused armed uprisings of the colonists in Ireland, who, in 1208, leaguing with some of the natives, and commanded by Geoffroi de Marreis, opposed the Justiciary, large numbers of whose troops fell in an engagement with them, at Thurles. Hugues de Lasci and his kinsmen were charged with having murdered Jean de Cursun, Lord of Raheny, who had denounced their conduct to the King,

in defiance of whom they received among them the fugitive baron, Guillaume de Braose, whose daughter Marguerite was the wife of Gaultier de Lasci. De Braose held large possessions in Normandy, England, and Wales, to which peculiar immunities and privileges were attached. In his lordships of Braose, in Normandy, and of Hereford and Gower, he had his chancellor, chancery, and seal, with judgment of life and limb, cognizance of all pleas—not even excepting those of the Crown—arising on his lands, into which neither the king's sheriff, justices, or officers had any legal right to enter in the execution of their duties. Although ostentatiously affecting profound piety, De Braose was accused of having unscrupulously appropriated Welsh church property, and of having practised treachery and murder in his castles of Brecknock and Abergavenny. For many years, De Braose stood high in the confidence of King John, into whose hands he had delivered Prince Arthur of Bretagne, the rival claimant to the English crown, captured while besieging his grandmother, the old Queen Eleanor, in the citadel of Mirabeau, in Poitou. His wife, Matilda de Braose, daughter of Bernard de Saint Valery, was characterized as a prudent and virtuous woman, fitly placed at the head of her house, a vigorous oppressor of the Welsh, and notably solicitous in the affairs of her family, both at home and abroad. Of De Braose's sons, Guillaume, the eldest, married a daughter of the Earl Maréchal ; his brother Gilles became Bishop of Hereford; and Jean de Braose was the husband of Margaret, daughter of Prince Llewellin. De Braose's daughter Jeanne was married to Richard Lord Percy ; her sister, Loretta, to Robert Fitz-Parnell, Earl of

Leicester; and Maud de Braose, to Griffith, Prince of South Wales. Gaultier de Lasci, on his marriage with Marguerite de Braose, had been obliged to swear that he would never sell or alienate any of his lands in Normandy or England. This engagement, afterwards confirmed by the King, was exacted by De Braose to prevent the diminution of the property which might accrue to the children of his daughter. Philippe de Braose, uncle of Guillaume, had obtained from Henry II. a grant of the "honor," or head lordship, of Limerick, with lands in Munster, which he abandoned in consequence of the determined resistance opposed by the native proprietors to his aggressions. Portions of these lands were afterwards sold by the Crown to Philippe de Worcester and Theobald Gaultier, ancestor of the Ormonde family, but, in 1200, John agreed, for a payment of five thousand marks, to give to Guillaume de Braose a confirmation of his uncle's grant. These transactions caused much contention. Gaultier eventually entered into a money composition with De Braose; but Philippe de Worcester, in defiance of the King, came to Ireland, and, by force of arms, entered upon the portion of the lands which he claimed. For some years, De Braose deferred payment of the five thousand marks promised to the Crown, and hence disputes arose with John, which reached a climax when the latter, to secure himself against the consequences of Papal excommunication, required the English nobles to place their children in his hands, as pledges for their fidelity. De Braose's wife refused to comply with the royal mandate, and was reported to have declared that the sons of her kinsfolk would not be safe in the custody of John. That King, according

to public rumour, had, with his own hand, murdered his elder brother's son, Arthur of Bretagne, the rightful heir to the crown of England, whom Guillaume de Braose, as already noticed, had delivered to him. Although De Braose offered to abide trial by his peers—but without giving hostages—John ordered his property to be seized for the five thousand marks, which he claimed as due to the Exchequer for his lands in Munster and the Crown revenues of Limerick. At the intercession, however, of De Braose's wife and nephew, Guillaume, Earl of Ferrers, the King agreed to accept as security three of his castles in Wales, a pledge of all his English and Welsh lands, with three of his grandsons and four sons of his tenants as hostages. De Braose soon regretted this arrangement; and during the absence of the King's constables, attempted, by force of arms, to regain possession of the castles; failing in which, he retired to Ireland, where, with his wife, sons, and their children, he was received by his son-in-law, Gaultier de Lasci, Hugues de Lasci, and Guillaume Earl Maréchal. These noblemen, having been admonished by John, undertook that De Braose should present himself in court on a certain day, in default of which they promised to withdraw their protection, and eject him from their territories. The non-observance of this engagement, and the mutinous condition of the Anglo-Norman colony, afforded John a pretext for exacting a subsidy to levy troops, ostensibly for an expedition to Ireland, but mainly to strengthen himself in his contest with Rome. Soon after his accession to the throne, he had sought to appoint an Archbishop of Armagh, in opposition to the nomination of the Holy See; and although obliged to succumb, he

subsequently made a similar attempt in England, by conferring the Archbishopric of Canterbury on his favourite, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich—a selection disapproved of by Innocent III., who nominated Stephen Langton to the office. Although the King had sworn "by God's teeth," that he would cut off the noses, and pluck out the eyes of any priests who should attempt to carry the Pope's decrees against him into England, some of the bishops succeeded in effecting their promulgation, and fled to the Continent to escape the royal vengeance. In consequence of the excommunication and interdict, the churches throughout John's dominions were closed; the clergy ceasing to officiate were expelled; and, to terrify others, Geoffroi, Archdeacon of Norwich, who, in compliance with the Papal mandate, had resigned his office in the Exchequer, was, by the royal order, enveloped in a sacerdotal vestment of massive lead, and cast into a dungeon, where he expired from hunger and pressure.

While John was preparing for Ireland, De Braose departed thence to England, having sworn to go straight to the King, without diverging or tarrying on his way. On arriving at Hereford, however, he collected a body of soldiery, and, through the Earl of Ferrers, entered into communications with the King, then with his fleet at Pembroke, waiting a fair wind for Ireland. Their negotiations resulted in an offer from De Braose of the enormous sum of forty thousand marks for full discharge from the royal claims, restoration of his lands and castles in England and Wales, with the "King's peace." John urged that the payment of such a sum was out of the power of De Braose, unless assisted by his wife, and

proposed that he should proceed in the fleet to arrange the affair with her and his kinsmen in Ireland, offering a safe conduct, and promising, in event of the non-completion of the proposed agreement, to send him back free to Wales. De Braose, fearing to place himself in the power of John, whose perfidy and disregard of oaths were notorious, declined this overture, and remained with his soldiery in Wales; meanwhile, the wind changing, the fleet put to sea, and cast anchor at Crook, near Waterford, on the 20th of June, 1210.

A quarter of a century had elapsed since John, in his youth, had first landed at Waterford: he now returned, under the Papal ban, in his forty-fifth year, a middle-sized, strong man, grey from anxieties and profligate excesses, combining in himself all the violent passions and unbridled vices of his family, but destitute of their energy and spirit. John's brother, Guillaume, Earl of Salisbury, surnamed "de longe espée," or "of the long sword," son of Henry II., by "fair Rosamond" de Clifford, commanded the army, which was mainly composed of Flemish and foreign soldiers, including artificers of various classes, carpenters, sappers, and fosse diggers. The excommunicated King was accompanied by his favourite, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, the Earls of Winchester and Ferrers, Henri de Vere, Jean de Curci, Richard de Marreis, Friar Thomas, his Almoner, and Master Raoul, the royal cook. For the payment of the army, treasure was brought from London and Bristol; and a special body-guard of ten French knights was appointed to attend the King on all occasions. John had founded, at Waterford, an hospital, under the invocation of St. John

the Evangelist, and affiliated it to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, at Bath. In 1206, he executed a charter of incorporation, defining the boundaries of Waterford, and conferring many privileges and liberties upon the citizens, who, in memory of the visits of his father, Henry II., and himself, subsequently obtained a royal grant, bestowing on their city the title of "Camera Regis," or the Chamber of the King of England. John's passionate devotion to the sport of hawking is commemorated in an illumination of the fourteenth century, on a charter roll of Waterford, containing a full length portrait of the King, attired in a short white doublet, with an unhooded falcon standing on his gloved left fist. From Waterford, John marched to Grenan or Thomastown, Kilkenny, Naas, and, on the 28th of June, arrived at Dublin, where he remained till the 30th of the same month, when he proceeded to Grenoge, Trim, and Kells, the territory of Gaultier de Lasci, who fled before him. Reinforced by O'Brien, Prince of North Munster, Cahal O'Conor, King of Connaught, and other native allies, he marched northwards to the Ulster principality, of which he had six years before divested Jean de Curci, who accompanied him. Thus, by a turn of fortune, De Curci, the original gainer of this territory for England, stood in it once more a loyal soldier to the King, who had stripped him of his possessions, and conferred them upon his rival, Hugues de Lasci, now, with his kinsmen, in arms against the Crown. As the King and his Irish allies advanced through Louth, Dundalk, Carlingford, and Downpatrick, the Earl of Ulster, Hugues de Lasci, retreated, firing his castles and the surrounding country. On the 19th of July,

John arrived at Carrickfergus, the castle of which he besieged and captured, making prisoners of several of De Lasci's bravest soldiers, by whom it had been defended; after which he placed in it a garrison under the constableship of Guillaume de Serlande. During John's sojourn of ten days at Carrickfergus, he received intelligence that his kinsman, Duncan de Carrick, had captured, in Galloway, De Braose's wife, Matilda, her daughter, wife of Roger de Mortimer; her son, Guillaume de Braose, his wife and two children; but that their companions, Hugues de Lasci and Reginald de Braose, had succeeded in escaping. Jean de Curci and Godefroi de Craucumbe were despatched with men-at-arms, archers, and two wagons, to convey the captives to Carrickfergus, where Matilda de Braose offered the King forty thousand marks for a free pardon for her husband and all her people, with the restitution of their castles and lands. This proposal was accepted by John; but, after three days, the lady withdrew it, as beyond her means. When the King was about to march from Carrickfergus with his captives, Matilda de Braose renewed her former offer, with an addition of ten thousand marks for having withdrawn it. John assenting to this, an agreement was written and sealed in the presence of his barons, specifying the dates for payment, stipulating that a penalty of ten thousand marks should be added for each default, and that the captives should remain in the King's hands until the entire had been paid. On the 29th of July, John proceeded southwards from Carrickfergus, through Holywood, Ballimore, and Downpatrick. In connexion with his visit to the latter place, we find

the following entered on the roll of payments, showing that he here indulged in his usual pastime of gaming: "On Monday, the morrow of the feast of Saint Peter's Chains [2nd August], at Downpatrick, lent to Robert de Ros, for play, when he played with Warin Fitz-Gerald, at Carlingford, and the King was his partner, £1 17s. 4d.; whereof he returned 14s. 8d.: also, to the same Robert, £1 0s. 4d., when he played with the same Warin, and the King was again his partner in the game."

Not venturing into Connaught or Western Ulster, John marched southwards from Downpatrick, through Banbridge, Carlingford, Drogheda, Duleek, Kells, Fore, Granard, Rathwire, Castle-bret, and arrived, on the 18th of August, at Dublin. Tarrying there with his army to the 24th of the same month, he caused the Anglo-Norman lords to swear obedience to the laws of England, transcripts of which, under the royal seal, were deposited in his Irish Exchequer. At the same time, he divided into the following twelve counties the territories which partially acknowledged his jurisdiction: Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel or Louth, Catherlagh or Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, in Leinster; Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary, in Munster; Ulster and Connaught not being then under the Anglo-Norman control. For the military support of the colony, he decreed that every subject holding lands by "knight's service," should, when summoned to the King's aid, furnish for each "knight's fee," a horse-soldier, well mounted, accoutred with helmet, shirt of mail, shield, spear, and sword; and that tenants by "service of foot-soldiers," should provide men, well armed with shields, spears, and long knives. The Viceroy

and Council were bound to give a warning of forty days for these hostings, and the troops thus arrayed were to muster, under the leading of their lords, at the Castle of Dublin, or other appointed rendezvous, with the obligation of continuing in arms during forty days in each year. John did not attempt to extend his military movements beyond the eastern coast and the settlements in Leinster and Meath ; Kells, in the latter district, having been the limit of his progress westward. The loss of the Patent, Close, and Charter Rolls for the year 1210, deprives us to some extent of authentic documentary details of the King's transactions in Ireland. According to the Anglo-Irish annalists, he caused many malefactors to be hanged on gibbets, and exacted hostages from his barons ; while the English chroniclers aver, that although some Irish chiefs swore fealty to him, those who dwelt at a distance from the Anglo-Norman territories rejected his overtures, and treated his pretensions with contempt. After a sojourn of sixty-six days in Ireland, John landed at Fishguard, in Wales, on the 26th of August, 1210, carrying with him De Braose's wife and her captive kinsfolk. At Bristol, Guillaume de Braose repaired to the King, and was induced to ratify the agreement made by his wife for payment of the fine of fifty thousand marks, in quest of which he obtained leave to proceed accompanied by a royal officer. Before, however, the day arrived for payment of the first instalment, De Braose fled from England, and his wife, on being applied to by the King's messengers, declared that she possessed but twenty-four marks of silver, twenty-four pieces and fifteen ounces of gold. Sentence of outlawry was conse-

quently, in legal course, pronounced throughout England against De Braose, whose wife, son and heir, Guillaume, with his wife, were imprisoned at Windsor, where, like other victims of John's cruelty, they were, by the royal command, starved to death. De Braose himself, disguised as a beggar, succeeded in effecting his escape to France, and dying soon afterwards, was buried in the Abbey of St. Victor, at Paris, by his son Gilles, Bishop of Hereford.

The King, when departing from Ireland, committed the government of the colony to his favourite, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, whose assiduous application to State business and secular affairs had mainly disqualified him, in the eyes of Pope Innocent, for the Primacy of England. This episcopal Viceroy, still under the Papal excommunication, organized various military expeditions against the natives, and sent from Ireland detachments of hired soldiers, and supplies of treasure, to aid John in Wales and France. At Dublin, De Gray coined pence, half-pence, and farthings, similar in standard to the money of England, where, by royal writ, they were ordered to pass current; but the most important act of his government was the erection of a royal castle, bridge, and fortifications, at the ford on the Shannon, called *Ath Luain*, a name converted by the Anglo-Normans into "Askelon," "Adlon," and Athlone. The Bishop deemed it expedient that the Viceroys should reside alternately at Dublin and Athlone, as the latter, situated in the centre of Ireland, commanding the chief pass on the frontier between Connaught and Meath, formed an outpost of high importance to the colony. In conjunction with Guillaume Earl Maréchal, Lord of Leinster, De Gray laboured to secure the fidelity of the

barons of Ireland, after Innocent had promulgated sentence of deposition against King John. Repairing, in 1213, to England, then threatened with an invasion from France, he was succeeded as Viceroy by Henri de Londres, appointed, in the preceding year, to the See of Dublin. Archbishop Henri, like the Bishop of Norwich, was an adept in public business, and had, while Archdeacon of Stafford, been frequently employed in the King's affairs. His name stands first on the list of those who, on the 15th of May, 1213, in the church of Templars, at Dover, witnessed John's oath of fealty to Rome, and the delivery of the charter to the Legate, Pandulf, by which the King covenanted to hold his territories from the Holy See, paying an annual tribute of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland. By letters patent, dated from Corfe, 23rd of July, 1213, notifying that he had committed the custody of his land of Ireland to "his venerable father, Henri, Archbishop of Dublin," John thanked his subjects there for their services, which had been reported to him by the late Viceroy, the Bishop of Norwich; and added the expression of his hope that the new Justiciary should also have reason to commend their loyalty and good-will, in rendering him aid and counsel for the protection of his Irish territories. The Archbishop of Dublin was one of the few who, on the 15th of June, 1215, stood by John's side at Runny-mead, when the barons of England received the "Magna Charta," in the preamble of which document his name appears second among those of the counsellors by whose advice the King granted that Charter. In the same year, Archbishop Henri proceeded to a general council at Rome, charged

also with secret instructions from John to labour, with the aid of other Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics, to induce the Pope to embrace the royal cause, in opposition to that of the barons of England.

During Archbishop Henri's absence from Ireland, the Viceroyalty was committed to Geoffroi de Marreis, nephew and heir to Hervi de Mont-Marreis, already noticed. Geoffroi, lord of extensive territories in England, South Leinster, and Munster, led a section of the Irish and settlers against the Viceroy, in 1208, but for this he had been pardoned; and his brother, Richard de Marreis, Bishop of Durham, and Chancellor of England, became a confidential adviser of John. Hugues de Lasci, Earl of Ulster, who fled from Ireland to evade the vengeance of King John, sought refuge in the town of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, but being pursued thither, he escaped to the monastery of St. Taurin, near Evreux, in Normandy, which was connected with a priory on the Welsh estates of his family. According to a legend, he and his brother Gaultier, Lord of Meath, laboured as brick-makers and gardeners at St. Taurin, till recognized by the abbot, who entered into negociations on their behalf with the King of England, whose sons he had baptized, and to some of whose children he was godfather. John, in 1213, restored to Gaultier de Lasci his English and Welsh properties, with the exception of Ludlow Castle. Two years subsequently, he obtained restitution of his ships and Irish lands, in consideration of the payment of a fine of four thousand marks, giving Gislebert, his eldest son, with other hostages, to the King, who, it was agreed, should

retain for five years De Lasci's castle and town of *Droicead-Atha*, styled by the Anglo-Normans "Drohedale," "Drogghedalle," or Drogheda. From St. Taurin, Gaultier de Lasci brought with him to Ireland the abbot's nephew, whom he knighted, and presented with lands in Meath. He also affiliated to the Abbey of St. Taurin the Monastery of *Fobhar*, or Fore, in Meath, which continued under this Norman jurisdiction till the reign of Henry VI. Hugues de Lasci did not come to terms with John; but we possess no information respecting him during the contentions which arose in England from the King's attempt to revoke "Magna Charta," and the subsequent reception of Prince Louis of France by the English nobility as their monarch. Gaultier de Lasci was named as one of the trustees of John's will; and nine days before that King's death, Marguerite, De Lasci's wife, obtained a grant of a large tract in the royal forest of Acornebury, in Herefordshire, for the erection of a nunnery, for the benefit of the souls of her parents, Guillaume and Matilda de Braose, who, with their son, her brother, had been famished in the dungeon at Windsor.

CHAPTER III.

On the death of King John, in 1216, his eldest son, Henry, aged ten years, was, through the exertions of Guillaume Earl Maréchal, hurriedly crowned at Gloucester; London and Kent being then in the hands of Prince Louis of France, and the section of the English nobility who had accepted him as Monarch of England. The first public act for Ireland of the Earl Maréchal, "guardian of the King and Kingdom of England," was the promulgation of a general amnesty, with promises of reparation to the nobles who had been oppressed by John; and a special royal letter was despatched to Hugues de Lasci, praying him to forget former animosities, and offering favour and protection on his return to his allegiance. The provisions of "Magna Charta" were, with some modifications, extended by the Regent to the King's subjects in Ireland; but, about the same time, the English government ordered the Justiciary to prohibit the admission of any Irishman to cathedral preferment in Ireland—an edict, the annulment of which was, seven years subsequently, ordered by Pope Honorius III.

Before the coronation of Henry III., the Justiciary, Geoffroi de Marreis, had urged on those in England, attached to John's family, the expediency of causing the Queen Dowager, Isabella, or her second son, Richard, to become resident in Ireland. This proposal was taken

into consideration by the Council of Regency; but the profligate Isabella, regardless of the difficulties which the distracted state of England imposed upon her youthful son, King Henry, returned to her first husband, Hugues de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and Angoulême, whom she had previously abandoned for King John.

In a despatch, dated 15th of April, 1217, the King of England intimated to his "beloved and loyal barons of Ireland," that although the personal attendance and advice of Henri, Archbishop of Dublin, were almost indispensable to himself, he, nevertheless, sent him to them, that his Church, desolate by his absence, might be consoled, and that they, with him, and his faithful Justiciary, Geoffroi de Marreis, might devise and adopt measures for the benefit of his land in Ireland, and for the arrangement of his affairs in that country,—all of which he directed to be managed according to their combined decisions. The Archbishop, however, appears to have been sent to Ireland mainly to assist in levying a "tallage," or aid, imposed in the same year, for the first time, on the King's subjects there. The Justiciary and the Archbishop were directed to represent to the "Kings of Ireland," and the barons holding directly from the Crown, that their liberality at this juncture would not be forgotten by Henry, when, at a future day, they might have occasion to seek his favour. The moneys thus collected in Ireland, were, by the royal orders, to be transmitted immediately to England by trusty messengers; and the non-compliance with this portion of the instructions, elicited the following despatch, which disproves the allegations of some historians, that Prince

Louis retired from England in 1218, without exacting payment for the hostages which he had taken from the English barons :—

"The King, to Geoffroi de Marreis, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting : Whereas we before commanded you to come to us into England, to do homage to us, and certify us respecting the state of our land of Ireland, we marvel much that you have not yet come : therefore, we command you a second time, all delay and excuse set aside, to come to us into England, before the approaching Easter, in the second year of our reign, to do your homage to us, and to treat with us, through our faithful council, respecting the state of our aforesaid land. And since we owe a heavy debt to Louis, son of the King of France, by agreement made between us, that he would depart out of our realm, which at length the Almighty hath mercifully and marvellously brought to pass, and as we are, moreover, indebted to our Lord the Pope in an annual tribute of 300 marks, due to him from our kingdom of Ireland, which yet remains unpaid for the last two years ; it would greatly relieve us, and much advance the tranquility of our realm, if our faithful people and bailiffs would afford all the assistance they were able, to provide us with money ; and therefore we command and entreat you to come, as aforesaid, and bring with you as much money as you can, so demeaning yourself in this respect, that we may have cause to commend your fidelity and diligence ; for if you should be induced to act otherwise, no small loss and grievance might accrue to us and our realm on this account. Witness [Guillaume Maréchal], the Earl of Pembroke, at Easter, the 12th of February, 1218."

The guardians of Henry III., labouring to systematize the government of the colony in Ireland, directed that the revenues of the Crown of England should not be received by the Justiciary, but paid into the Exchequer at Dublin, and held by the treasurer of that court at the King's disposal. De Marreis was ordered, in 1219, to have enrolled the particulars of the Crown's receipts, to transfer to the Exchequer all moneys received by him on the King's account, and to repair again to England, committing the "care and custody of the land of Ireland" to the Archbishop of Dublin. The earliest details extant of portion of the obligations and functions of the Justiciary or Chief Governor for Ireland, are embodied in an agreement between Henry III. and Geoffroi de Marreis, sealed at Oxford, in March, 1220, in the presence of Pandulf, Bishop of Norwich, and Papal Legate; Henri, Archbishop of Dublin; Pierre, Bishop of Winchester; Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary of England; the Earl of Sarum; Faulkes de Breauté; Gaultier de Lasci; Jean Maréchal, and other personages of high distinction in England. By this instrument, the Justiciary agreed to account, when called upon, in the Exchequer at Dublin, for all taxes, aids, and fines received in Ireland on behalf of his monarch, and to defray, out of the revenues and other Crown profits, the maintenance of King Henry's land and castles—the cost of the latter to be determined by the judgment of the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fitz-Adam, and Richard de Burgh; the surplus to to be paid into the Exchequer, and the expenditure to be checked by a comptroller appointed by the clerks of the King of England. For the custody of the royal

castles, the Justiciary undertook to appoint loyal and proper Constables, bound by oath to keep them faithfully for the King of England, on whose order they were to be promptly delivered, should the Justiciary die, be taken prisoner, or seek to hold them in opposition to his sovereign. These Constables were to place, as hostages, in the hands of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl Maréchal, their sons, daughters, or nearest relatives; and letters signed by them, undertaking faithfully to perform their duties, were to be transmitted to the King in England. The Justiciary delivered his son Gaultier as a hostage, to be held by the Earl Maréchal, till his other son, Thomas de Marreis, in the custody of the Archbishop of Dublin, should come to the King, who was to retain him so long as he pleased. The Earl Guillaume Maréchal became security that the Justiciary of Ireland should truly observe all these stipulations, obey the royal mandates, and that neither of his two sons should leave King Henry's custody without license from his Majesty, the Justiciary of England, and the Council. De Marreis also covenanted that the King and the Earl Maréchal should be entitled to take possession of all his lands, which he held from them, should he fail in these engagements, with which he swore faithfully to comply, subjecting himself entirely to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, who, in the event of his misbehaviour or default, was authorized to excommunicate him, and place his property under interdict. Later in the same year, King Henry, on an appeal from Dublin, reprimanded the Justiciary for the excesses of himself and his bailiffs, in exacting wine, cloth, victuals,

and other commodities from the traders of that city, without payment; and directed that such courses should be discontinued, and all goods thus taken be settled for within forty days. De Marreis was likewise ordered to re-assume the Crown lands sold by him without the royal license, from the date of his first Justiciaryship under John, and to send in the accounts of his receipts. In consequence of his non-compliance with these requirements, royal letters were issued from Westminster, in July, 1221, notifying to the Kings and Nobles of Ireland, that the Archbishop of Dublin had been appointed to the government in place of Geoffroi de Marreis, superseded because he had neither accounted for the King's revenues, which he had received, nor fulfilled the other terms of his Viceregal contract with the Crown. In addition to the Archbishopric of Dublin and the Justiciaryship of the Anglo-Norman colony, Henri de Londres held the post of Papal Legate for Ireland—a combination of offices frequently having opposite and conflicting interests in those times. According to a mediæval story, he acquired the name of "Scorch-villein," from having cast into a fire the leases of the tenants of the see of Dublin, whom he had cited to produce these documents in his court. The enraged land-holders prostrated the Archiepiscopal officials, and laying hands on the Prelate, who attempted to escape, compelled him, by threats of burning the house over his head, to agree to terms which contented them, exclaiming, "Thou art not an Archbishop, but a Scorch-villein;" which name, we are told, ever afterwards adhered to him.

Complaints against the Archbishop's assumptions and

encroachments on the royal prerogatives were transmitted to Henry III. by Thomas Fitz-Adam, who, with other offices, held that of Keeper of the Forests of the King of England in Ireland. The officers of the forest were assailed and lacerated, in their attempts to prevent the Archbishop's men from illegally felling wood; and a serious dispute arose with reference to an outlaw, arrested, indicted, and imprisoned by Fitz-Adam, on finding in his dwelling a bow and bloody arrow, with the hide and antlers of a newly-killed deer. Under the "Charter of the Forest," any man convicted of taking the royal venison, was subject to heavy fine, and, on non-payment, to imprisonment of a year and a day, after which, in default of sureties, he might be banished. The Archbishop demanded the prisoner as his man, illegally arrested on church land, and claimed the wood, with its deer, as part of the property of the see of Dublin, to which King John had granted the forest styled "Coillach."

The Keeper of the Forests, however, refused to surrender the outlaw without a pledge that he should stand his trial at the Royal Court, as he had long been a notorious killer of the King's deer. The Archbishop consequently pronounced sentence of excommunication against Fitz-Adam, the promulgation of which involved him in a variety of disabilities, preventing the discharge of the duties of the offices which he held under the King of England, who, being appealed to, directed an inquiry into the Royal and Archiepiscopal forest rights. The erection of the new Castle at Dublin has been usually ascribed by mediæval writers to Archbishop Henri; but Sir James Ware tells us, that he only constructed the walls

"four square or quadrangle wise," adding, that "the fou turrets and others" were subsequently built. The King hac in 1217, sent to the Viceroy an engineer named Odo d Havering, with his companion, Robert, directing that eac of them, while in the royal employment, should be provided with a boy, a horse, and such necessaries as they migh require. Although Archbishop Henri advanced the col legiate church of St. Patrick, at Dublin, to the dignity o a cathedral, with Dean and Chapter, he extinguished the famous fire of the other national Saint, Brigid, which hac been kept lighting for many centuries by her nuns a Kildare, surrounded by a circular osier hedge, male intruders within which were believed to incur supernatura punishment from "the Veiled Virgin of the Curragh."

The heavy claims of Archbishop Henri for money advanced during his mission from John to the Court o Rome, and for other English State purposes, were repaic by various grants of portions of the revenues of the colony in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin, who paid largely for the privileges enjoyed under their charter, complained tc Henry III., in 1223, of the courses pursued by the Archiepiscopal Viceroy, who, they alleged, sought, to their prejudice, to decide in his ecclesiastical court, various cases the cognizance of which appertained to the royal or civic authorities. Notwithstanding his influence as a member of the public councils in England, and the importance of his Archiepiscopal and Legatine offices, the Viceroy was, in consequence of these representations, severely reprimanded by the King, in a letter containing the following passages :—

"We have been informed, by the representation of our

good men of Dublin, of certain matters respecting you, at which we are much astonished; and indeed they seem so strange, and surpassing all belief, that as yet we are unwilling to give credit to them,—since they are manifestly repugnant to our right and dignity, and are contrary to the custom anciently enjoyed in all cities, towns, and places throughout our realm; and they are so much the more grievous and offensive to us, and cast the greater blemish on your fame, in proportion to the extent of power we have reposed in you as our representative in our kingdom of Ireland, to maintain our rights, and deal out justice to others; so much so, that had any other person attempted the like, it would have fallen to yourself, by the power confided to you, to have imposed a severe punishment upon him. We, therefore, firmly and strictly command you, to let your loyalty to us, and your regard for your own honour, restrain you in future from the like, neither making such attempts yourself, nor suffering them to be made by others against us; or else be assured we shall take the affair seriously in hand, being in nowise inclined to allow such things to gain strength against us."

While Archbishop Henri was thus occupied at Dublin, other parts of the colony were convulsed by Hugues de Lasci, the restored Earl of Ulster, who, with Gaultier and Guillaume de Lasci, and the clan of O'Neill, demolished the Castle of Coleraine, seized portions of Meath and Leinster, solicited the aid of the King of Norway, and assisted Llewellin in his incursions on the Anglo-Normans in Wales. The Archiepiscopal Governor being unable to cope with the armed insurgents, the King, in 1224,

transferred the Viceroyalty to Guillaume Maréchal, eldest son and heir of the first Earl of Pembroke, nominal Lord of Leinster, portion of whose Irish lands had been invaded by the De Lascies and their allies.

This second Earl, great grandson of Dermod MacMurragh, was brother-in-law to Henry III. of England, and to Alexander II. of Scotland, having married Eleanor, daughter of King John and Queen Isabella. With the forces of the colony, aided by King Cahal O'Conor of Connaught, and other native chiefs, the Earl Guillaume reduced Gaultier de Lasci's castle at Trim, after a siege of six weeks; checked Hugues de Lasci in Ulster, and captured the wife and daughter of Guillaume de Lasci in his insulated fortress, or *crannog*, which he had appropriated from the sept of O'Reilly, who aided the Anglo-Normans on this occasion. Guillaume de Lasci himself escaped through a morass into the Irish territories, having cast off his armour, and slain his steed; but one of his brothers, a priest, fell in defending his Castle of Kilmore, on the capture of which, his head was cut off and presented to the Viceroy. By a fine of four thousand marks, Guillaume de Lasci purchased his pardon; and Gaultier entered into a convention with the Crown, agreeing to pay three thousand marks, to war with the royal troops against his mutinous tenants in Meath, the allies of his brother Hugues; and for this purpose, he, with his soldiery, was permitted to lodge in the fortress of Trim, which, as well as his Castle of Ludlow, was retained for two years in the King's hands.

After the reduction of the De Lascies, the Viceroy and the Anglo-Normans of Leinster were engaged in

Connaught, assisting their ally, Prince Aed, son of Cahal O'Conor, to oppose his rivals, the children of King Rury, supported by the clan of O'Neill. The Earl Guillaume laboured to promote the commerce of his town of Ross, exciting at this period the jealousy of the traders of Waterford: he also granted a new charter to Kilkenny, and founded there a Dominican monastery, known as the "Black Abbey," portions of which have been recently rebuilt on the ancient foundations.

The Irish chroniclers mention that the Earl Guillaume, "by the help of his sword and the strength of his hand," rescued King Cahal O'Conor from the Anglo-Normans, who sought unjustly to detain him at Dublin, whither he had been invited by them. In retaliation for this attempted treachery, Cahal subsequently ravaged Athlone, slew the Constable of that castle, and carried away Guillaume de Marreis, the Viceroy's son, with other important personages, in exchange for whom he recovered his own son and daughter, and the other hostages from Connaught, then in the hands of the Anglo-Normans.

The Earl Guillaume, quitting Ireland, in 1226, to regain his castles in Pembroke, captured by the Welsh, Henry III. again entrusted the Viceroyalty to Geoffroi de Marreis, assigning him, by letters patent, dated at Westminster, on the 4th of July, 1226, an annual salary of five hundred and eighty pounds, to be received at the Exchequer at Dublin, while he held, during the King's pleasure, the custody of his land of Ireland. This is the first record extant of the allocation of a salary to a Chief Governor of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland, nor have any precise particulars come down to us respecting the official

emoluments of the preceding Viceroys. The value of the salary assigned to De Marreis may, to some extent, be estimated from the following prices ordinarily current in England in the reign of Henry II.: French wine, three to six pence per gallon; fat hogs, from two to four shillings each; wheat, two shillings; and oats, one shilling per quarter. The knights of the King of England received two shillings daily, while the wages to cross-bowmen and sailors were from three to six pence per day. As an illustration of the communication in those times between the islands, it may be noticed, that King Henry, in 1226, ordered the keeper of the royal forest near Bristol to purvey venison to his Justiciary, Geoffroi de Marreis, and his attendants, while awaiting at that port a fair wind for Ireland.

De Marreis, on assuming the government, found that a conspiracy had been organized against England by some of the Anglo-Norman barons, the most active of whom was his own son-in-law, Theobald Fitz-Gaultier, who, with his confederates, had projected the interception of the Viceroy on the road from Waterford to Dublin, having garrisoned the castle of the latter city, and all the other royal fortresses, except that of Limerick, with soldiery devoted to himself and the Earl Maréchal. The Viceroy denounced his son-in-law to Henry III., and declared that he would effectually root out the King's enemies from Ireland; but he appears to have encountered considerable difficulties in obtaining possession of the royal castles, although Pope Honorius had, in 1225, issued a Bull, authorizing the Archbishop of Dublin to excommunicate those who detained such fortresses from the monarch of

England. In 1227, the government of the colony was transferred from De Marreis to Richard de Burgh, son of Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm, already noticed, as Viceroy under Henry II. Fitz-Aldelm, who married Isabel, illegitimate daughter of Richard I., and widow of Prince Llewellin, purchased a grant of part of Connaught from the Crown of England. After the termination of his Viceroyalty, he allied himself with the sons of King Rury O'Conor against Cahal O'Conor, "of the red hand," supported by De Curci, and was subsequently excommunicated by the clergy of Connaught, for profaning and plundering their churches. He was buried, in 1204, in a monastery, founded by himself, under the invocation of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr, for Augustinian Canons, at *Ath-iseal*, or the Low-Ford, otherwise Athassel, in the county of Tipperary, on the west side of the river Suir, in the barony named Clanwilliam, from his descendants. Richard de Burgh, son of Fitz-Aldelm, married Una, daughter of Prince Aed O'Conor, and obtained from Henry III. a grant of the whole of Connaught, with the exception of five cantreds, adjacent to the royal Castle of Athlone. The Viceroy, De Burgh, was ordered by Henry III., in 1227, to convoke the Earls, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Knights, and Freeholders, of every county in Ireland, under the Anglo-Norman control, and having had read in their presence King John's Charter, to cause them to swear to obey its provisions, concerning the observance of the laws and customs of England in Ireland. In the ensuing year, the nobles of the Anglo-Norman colony were, for the first time, cited to attend the King of England, with knights and horses, in the expedition which he then

contemplated against France. Of those thus summoned, Gaultier and Hugues de Lasci appear to have been of the highest importance, being directed to carry with them respectively five knights, while from each of the others a much smaller number was required. Richard de Burgh was succeeded as Viceroy, in 1229, by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, during whose absence, in 1230, in command of soldiery in Bretagne, the government was again committed to Geoffroi de Marreis, who, by a stratagem, succeeded in repelling some native septs, mustered to invade the Anglo-Norman territories.

Henry III., in 1232, granted for life to Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Justiciary of England, the Justiciary-ship of Ireland, with all its liberties and free customs, and authorized him, in event of illness, absence, or any other cause, preventing his personal execution of the office, to appoint a deputy, approved of by the King. In consequence of De Burgh's fall from power in the same year, this grant appears to have remained inoperative; and the Viceroyalty was re-assumed, in 1232, by Maurice, son of Gerald Fitz-Gerald and Catherine, daughter of King John's Viceroy, Hamon de Valognes. His grandfather, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, or Moriz le Fiz-Geroud, one of the first Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, received from Richard Fitz-Gislebert a grant of the town of *Nas*, or Naas, and other lands in Kildare, for the defence of which he erected a castle at *Magh-Nuadhat*, subsequently called Mainoth, or Maynooth.

Guillaume Maréchal, Earl of Pembroke, and nominal Lord of Leinster, dying in 1231, bequeathed his offices and large possessions in England, Wales, and Ireland to

his brother, Richard, described as a learned and valiant knight, so beautiful in person, that nature seemed to have vied with virtue in his composition. Henry III., although owing his crown to the exertions of Guillaume Maréchal, was influenced to prohibit the Earl Richard's admission to his inheritance, and, on a charge of treason in Bretagne, commanded him, without trial, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. The Earl Richard, however, sailed to Ireland, took possession of the castles and lands of his family, waging war upon the territories of the King, till recalled to England, and invested with the office of Maréchal, and his other hereditary rights. Following the example of his brother Guillaume, the Earl Richard supported the great Justiciary of England, Hubert de Burgh, against his rivals, Pierre des Roches, Poitevin, Bishop of Winchester, and his nephew, Pierre de Rivaulx, who, having acquired an ascendancy over the feeble King, laboured to suppress the nobility of England, and filled that country with needy, rapacious adventurers from Poitou and Bretagne, on whom they lavished offices and lands. Thus, Pierre de Rivaulx obtained, for life, from Henry III., in 1232, the following grants, comprising nearly every office of emolument at that time within the King's gift in Ireland: the Treasuryship of Ireland; the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer at Dublin; the prisage of wines; the custody of the ports, navy, wards, and escheats; the custody of the Castles of Athlone, Drogheda, and Randown, with the Crown's five cantreds of land in Connaught; the custody of vacant sees, and of the Jews in Ireland; the custody of the city of Cork, and of the city and Castle of Limerick.

Disregarding the remonstrances of the Parliament and

barons of England, who even threatened to dethrone him if he persisted in being ruled by foreign councillors, Henry sought to prevail by the aid of mercenary troops, but was opposed with success by the Earl Richard, who, leaguing with Prince Llewellin, ravaged the King's lands in Wales and its borders, ejecting the Poitevins and Bretons from the towns and castles.

The foreign advisers of the King, dreading that these successes might eventuate in their own expulsion from England, devised a plot to cut off the Earl Richard, with which object they despatched letters, signed by twelve Privy Councillors, requiring the Viceroy and barons of Ireland, to seize his Irish castles, and capture himself as a traitor, alive or dead, if he came to that country, concluding with a promise that his lands should be subsequently divided amongst them. Allured by this prospect, the Anglo-Norman nobles of Ireland solicited a charter, specifying the portions of the Earl's Irish possessions to which they should be respectively entitled, and this document was promptly transmitted to them with the King's signature, furtively obtained, and authenticated by the royal seal, stolen for the occasion from the Chancellor. Having taken oaths of confederation, the barons invaded the lands of the Earl, their feudal lord, who, receiving intelligence of their incursions, repaired to Ireland, retook some of his castles, and captured various royal fortresses. The aged Geoffroi de Marreis, one of the chief conspirators, gained the Earl's confidence by affected devotion and expressions of his obligations to the Maréchal family, urging him to assume, by force of arms, the sovereignty of the Anglo-Norman territories

in Ireland, which he averred to be his rightful inheritance, as the grandson and representative of the famed "Strongbow."

The Viceroy and barons, disconcerted at the Earl's success, solicited a truce, for the purpose of sending messengers into England, to learn whether the King intended to defend his Irish territories, which, in the event of his refusal, they promised to surrender peaceably. Although insidiously pressed by De Marreis not to enter into any terms, but to appeal to arms, the Earl, actuated by a sense of justice, appointed a conference on the Curragh of Kildare with the barons, who had secretly employed the King's treasure in hiring a number of reckless mercenaries, bound by oath to execute their orders. On the 1st of April, the Viceroy, accompanied by Hugues de Lasci and Richard de Burgh, came with a body of soldiery to the place of meeting, while the Earl, with Geoffroi de Marreis and a few attendants, took up his position at a distance of about a mile from them. The negociations, carried on between the parties by Templars, ended by the barons refusing to comply with the Earl's demands for the restoration of some of his castles, still in their possession; and, drawing their swords, they threatened to attack him at once unless he consented to the truce. Deserted at this juncture by Geoffroi de Marreis, the Earl, undaunted by superior numbers, refused to yield to their menaces, and having ordered his attendants to carry his young brother, Gaultier, from the field, to one of his adjacent castles, prepared to encounter the barons, who, dreading his prowess, and fearful of participating personally in the death of their

lord, transferred their armour to their soldiery, whom they ordered to advance. The Earl, renowned as a cavalier and swordsman, charged boldly into the midst of the troops, calling on his retainers to follow him; but they, having been previously bribed, with the exception of fifteen, went over at once to the barons. Undismayed, although attacked on all sides, the Earl prostrated six of those who rushed upon him, struck off both the armed hands of a gigantic knight, who endeavoured to tear off his helmet, and clove another to the middle. After some hours had been passed in this unequal contest, the soldiery, urged forward in a crowd by the barons, closed upon the Earl with lances, halberds, and axes, and having hewn off the feet of his wounded, but still spirited steed, at length succeeded in bringing his rider to the ground, where, through the joinings of his armour, a long knife was plunged to the haft in his back. With little appearance of life, the Earl was, by order of the barons, borne to one of his own castles, which had been seized by the Viceroy, and there placed in close confinement, attended only by a youth of his retinue. Apparently recovering after a few days, he was induced to execute a surrender of his castles and lands to the King of England, whose warrant for his apprehension was exhibited to him. His wounds soon after beginning to fester, he was placed under the care of a surgeon, employed, we are told, for the purpose of preventing his recovery. Before submitting his wounds to the surgeon's instruments, the Earl prepared for death, having received the last sacraments, and commending to God the question whether he should live or die, he expired, clasping a crucifix, on Palm

Sunday, the sixteenth day after he had been wounded. According to his wish, this "flower of chivalry," as he is styled by a chronicler of the time, was buried in the Dominican Abbey at Kilkenny, where its founder, his brother, the Earl Guillaume, had been laid three years before.

The death of the grandson of Fitz-Gislebert, by whom portions of Leinster had first been brought under the Anglo-Norman control, caused profound alarm among the settlers on the eastern Irish coast; and messengers were despatched by the burghers of Dublin to Henry III., who endeavoured to pacify them by promising to take measures for the security of his subjects in Ireland. Henry expressed deep grief at the death of Earl Richard; averred that he had not authorized the issue of the warrant against him; caused large alms to be distributed for his soul; commanded his brothers Gislebert and Anselme, with the deposed Justiciary of England, Hubert de Burgh, and their associates, to be released from durance, and brought to his presence. On their arrival, as suppliants, barefooted, bareheaded, and with their arms stripped to the elbows, the usual form of craving the royal mercy, the King wept bitterly, and required the assistance of his attendants to support him. Having given the kiss of peace, he ordered restitution to be made to them, knighted Gislebert Maréchal, and invested him as Royal Marshal of England, with all the privileges which his predecessors had enjoyed in connexion with that office. Through the influence of the King and his prelates, peace was made between the Viceroy, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and the Earl Gislebert; Geoffroi de Marreis, however, was banished

from Ireland, and expelled from Scotland, where he sought refuge. His second son, Guillaume de Marreis, conspired against Henry III., in whose presence, at London, he killed a priest named Clement, sent from Ireland to denounce him; but Marguerite Biset, one of the Queen's maids, while at her devotions, at midnight, accidentally discovered, concealed under the straw of the royal bed, at Woodstock, the assassin whom he had employed to murder the King. Guillaume de Marreis for some time maintained himself at the head of a band of piratical outlaws, in the almost inaccessible island of Lundy, at the entrance of the Bristol Channel. He was eventually captured, with sixteen of his men, and drawn at horses' tails, hanged, and quartered at London. His father, Geoffroi, a peer of England and Ireland, lord of large estates in both countries, founder of religious houses, and thrice Viceroy of the Anglo-Norman colony, ended his days at Paris, in exile, pitifully, says the chronicler, yet undeserving of pity, for his own treason against his lord, the Earl Richard, in Ireland, and that of his son, Guillaume, against his king, in England.

The exactions by which Henry exhausted the English, were extended to the colony in Ireland, whence he drew soldiers, treasure, and provisions; granting, however, liberty to his subjects there to trade freely with England. The Viceroy was instructed to furnish the King with all the money possible to be obtained in Ireland; to reduce the cost of the royal castles, by contracting for their maintenance; to set out, at the highest rents, the manors of Chapel Izod, New-Castle, the city of Limerick, with its fishery, and the other royal demesnes.

To support Richard de Burgh's designs on Connaught, the Viceroy, Fitz-Gerald, with the chief Anglo-Norman barons, the forces of the colony, and their Irish allies, marched into that province, in 1235, penetrating to the islands on the western coast; and, after bloody contests, exacted cattle and spoil from the clans opposed to them. On this occasion, say the native chroniclers, the foreigners of Erin and the Justiciary spared and protected Clarus, the son of Mailin, Archdeacon of Elphin, and the Canons of Trinity Island, in honour of the blessed Trinity; and the chief of the strangers went to see that place, and to kneel and pray there. During the succeeding ten years (1235–1245), the Viceroy and the Anglo-Normans were engaged in Connaught and Ulster in erecting castles, labouring to supplant antagonistic chiefs, and to transfer the rule of the clans to those in alliance with themselves. Richard de Burgh, the ex-Viceroy, after having ravaged those parts of Connaught occupied by the clans opposed to his claims, sailed, in 1242, with a retinue of knights, to join Henry III. in his unsuccessful expedition against Poitou, but died on the voyage to Bordeaux, and was succeeded by his son, Gaultier. The Viceroy, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, sent provisions from Ireland, in 1244, to Henry, during his futile attempt on Wales, whither, with his "gossip," Felim O'Conor, Prince of part of Connaught, he led a body of soldiery to join the royal army. The wind blowing from the west, Henry looked with impatience for the supplies from Ireland for his famishing men: at length their sails were descried, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald and the Prince of Connaught presented themselves, with their troops, in array before the King.

By a continuance of the fatality which denied sons to some of the chief original Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, the important families of De Lasci, De Ridelisford, and Maréchal became extinct, in the direct male line, before the middle of the thirteenth century. Gaultier de Lasci, Lord of Meath, characterized by old Irish writers as the most bountiful foreigner in steeds, attire, and gold that ever came to Erin, dying infirm and blind, in 1241, his territory of Meath, and possessions in England and Wales, were inherited by his grand-daughters, Marguerite and Matilda. Hugues de Lasci, Earl of Ulster, renowned as a military commander, and founder of religious houses, in the Ards, at Newry, and at Carrickfergus, on his death, in 1243, left by his wife, heiress of Gaultier de Ridelisford, Baron of Bray, but one child, Maud, who became the wife of Gaultier de Burgh, nominal Lord of Connaught. Gislebert Maréchal, Earl of Pembroke, Anglo-Norman Lord of Leinster, expired, in 1241, from injuries received by being thrown by a restive Italian charger, at a tournament, and was succeeded by his brother, Gaultier, on whose death, without issue, in 1245, the family inheritance and honours came to Anselme, the fifth brother, who enjoyed them but eighteen days, and also died childless. On this extinction of the male line of the Maréchal family, the Lordship of Leinster was partitioned as follows, according to Anglo-Norman law, between Anselme's five sisters, King Dermod MacMurragh's great grand-daughters, who married into the noblest houses of England: to Matilda, Catherlagh, or Carlow; to Jeanne, the County of Wexford; to Isabella, Kilkenny; to Sibilla, Kildare; and to Eva, Dunamase, comprising

the greater part of Leix, subsequently called the Queen's County.

For his tardiness in repairing with reinforcements to the royal army in Wales, Maurice Fitz-Gerald was removed from the Viceroyalty by the King, who, in 1245, appointed, as his successor, with an annual salary of five hundred pounds, Jean Fitz-Geoffroi, son of Geoffroi Fitz-Pierre, Earl of Essex, and Justiciary of England. Fitz-Geoffroi, a member of the Privy Council, and one of the representatives of the King of England at the Council of Lyons, was allied with the families of Maréchal and De Lasci, through his wife, Isabella, widow of Gislebert, son of Gaultier de Lasci, her mother having been Matilda Maréchal, eldest of the five Leinster co-heiresses, wife of Ralph Bigod, son of the third Earl of Norfolk. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, for some years after his removal from the Viceroyalty, warred with his native allies against the hostile Irish, in Connaught and Ulster. In 1253, Henry summoned him to embark with his retainers, at Waterford, to aid in repelling the threatened incursion on Gascoigne, by an army of Christians and Saracens, under the King of Castille, who, if successful in France, might, it was apprehended, invade England and Ireland. Fitz-Gerald, subsequently wounded, in single combat, with Godfrey O'Donnel, Lord of Tir-Connell, in an engagement at Credran, in Sligo, retired into the Franciscan monastery which he had founded at Youghal, and having assumed the habit of that order, died there, in 1257. The Irish writers characterize Maurice Fitz-Gerald as the "destroyer of the Gaels;" while the Anglo-Norman chroniclers describe him as a valiant and witty knight,

who had lived commendably, stained, however, by his alleged participation in the death of his lord, Richard Maréchal, Earl of Pembroke.

Henry III., in 1254, assigned portions of his territories in Ireland and Wales, to his eldest son, Edward, on his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Alfonso of Castille, who ceded to the Prince the claim which he had made on Guienne, in opposition to England. From the Irish grant to Prince Edward, the King excepted the cities and counties of Dublin and Limerick, with the town of Athlone—the most important and valuable parts of the colony. In English official records of this period, Ireland is styled "the land of the Lord Edward;" and in his name were issued the writs and other legal instruments within the districts of the colony under his control. Henry, in 1255, authorized the Prince, provided he had sufficient shipping and men, and could make the voyage without peril of the seas, during the winter, to pass from Gascoigne to Ireland, and to remain there till the ensuing Easter, for the purpose of reforming and arranging the state of that land. In 1256, the King ordained, by his letters patent, that the seal of Edward should bear royal authority in his Irish territories; and the Prince is conjectured to have visited Ireland about this period, although no direct evidence on the point is to be found in published documents. The Irish lordship was withdrawn from Edward in 1258, by his father, who, while under the control of the council of barons, issued orders to his subjects in Ireland, not to obey any governor appointed by the Prince, nor to admit constables to castles without the King's letters; and the Justiciary, Alain de la Zouche,

was, at the same, directed not to surrender his office without the royal warrant. De la Zouche, a descendant of the Earls of Bretagne, Custodian and Justiciary of the King's lands in Cheshire and North Wales, administered the government of the colony from 1255 to 1259. He subsequently died of the injuries received from John, Earl of Warrene and Surrey, who, in consequence of a dispute respecting land, assaulted him and his son in Westminster Hall, with such violence, that he almost killed the one, and severely wounded the other. In 1259, the Justiciaryship of Ireland was committed to Estienne "de longe espée," husband of Emmeline, heiress of Gaultier de Ridelisford, Baron of Bray, and relict of the second Hugues de Lasci, Earl of Ulster. Estienne, son of Guillaume "de longe espée," Earl of Salisbury, commander of King John's army in Ireland, possessed estates in Northampton and Wiltshire. In 1254, he had been appointed Seneschal of Gascoigne, and was one of the four councillors nominated by the barons, in 1258, at the Parliament at Oxford, to direct the conduct of Prince Edward. His seal, impressions of which are in the British Museum, presents, as his shield of arms, six lions, differenced by a label of four points, inscribed, "Sigill' Stephani Lungespe." At Downpatrick, a chief town of the principality claimed by his wife, Emmeline, nominal Countess of Ulster, "De longe espée," with his foreign and native soldiery, encountered and slew Brian O'Neill, Prince of Tir-Owen, whose head was, according to the custom of the Anglo-Normans, in Wales and Ireland, transmitted to the King in England. In a contemporary Gaelic poem, O'Neill's bard asserts that his prince was

cut off by poison and treachery; and that his clansmen engaged in unequal battle with the foreigners, who, clothed in massive iron armour, had attacked them on a Sunday. The bard deplored the removal of his chief's noble face from Down, the burial-place of Patrick, the apostle of the Gaels; lamenting that his resurrection should not be from amongst the limestone-covered graves of the fathers of his clan, at Armagh; and declared that he would gladly give the entire of his cattle to ransom the head of his munificent prince, the removal of which to London he averred to equal all the evils perpetrated in Erin by the foreigners. The Irish, however, soon afterwards demolished the important English fortress of Green-Castle, in Eastern Ulster; and about the same time the Justiciary was murdered by his own people. "De longe espée's" body was interred in the Convent of Lacock, in Wiltshire, of which his mother, the Countess Ela, had been the foundress and first Abbess; but his heart was deposited in the more ancient Monastery of Bradenstocke, in the same county. Emmeline, Countess of Ulster, widow of the Viceroy, in her charter to the Canons of Ashby, in Northamptonshire, recorded that they and their Prior had agreed to inscribe in their martyrology the name of her first husband, Hugues de Lasci; that of her second lord, Estienne "de longe espée," as well as her own name, with those of her father, Sir Gaultier de Ridelisford; her mother, Alianore de Viteri; and her daughters, Ela and Emmeline. The latter, marrying Maurice, third Baron of Offaly, brought to the Fitz-Geralds a nominally large accession of territory, in the lands of *Ui Muireadhaigh*, or *Omurethi*, comprising

the southern half of the present County of Kildare. That district, in the reign of Henry II., had been granted to her grandfather, Gualtier de Ridelisford, who laboured, by force of arms, to eject its ancient proprietors, the clan of O'Tuathal, kinsmen of the canonized Archbishop Lorcan.

Estienne "de longe espée" was, in 1260, succeeded as Justiciary by Guillaume le Dene, during whose government, MacCarthy Reagh and the southern clans rose in arms against the aggressions of the Anglo-Normans, whom they signally defeated in an engagement at Callan, in Munster, slaying many knights and barons, together with their leader, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, and his son, Maurice, the heads of the southern Geraldines. At this time, says the legend, Maurice Fitz-Gerald's son, Thomas, in the ninth month of his age, was at nurse in Tralee. On the news of the death of his father and grandfather reaching thither, the nurses, in their first alarm, fled in affright, and the unprotected infant was seized by a large domesticated ape, carried to the roof of the castle, and replaced safely in its cradle, after having been carried round the battlements, to the dismay of the spectators. From this circumstance, the boy acquired, among the Irish, the surname of "*na n-apa*," or "of the ape." His son, Maurice, became the first Earl of Desmond; and that family, as well as their kinsmen, the Fitz-Geralds of Kildare, are said to have thus derived their crest. In allusion to this story, the last Earl of Kildare, and first Geraldine Duke of Leinster, used, as a motto over his crest of the ape, the words, "Non immemor beneficii"—"Not unmindful of past service."

On the death of Guillaume le Dene, in 1261, the Jus-

ticiaryship was committed to Sir Richard de la Rochelle, who, during the contentions which raged between the De Burghs and Fitz-Geralds, was, by the latter, at a meeting in the church of Castle-Dermot, seized with his companions, and imprisoned for a time in the castles of Ley and Dunamase. During those deadly feuds between Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Sir Gaultier de Burgh, the Council of the thriving, commercial, "new-bridged town" of Ross, in South Leinster, which had been fostered, as already mentioned, by the Maréchal family, in opposition to Waterford, determined, for their own protection, to surround its circuit with a strong wall and deep fosse. The hired workmen making but tardy progress, the Council, at the commencement of spring, ordained that all the town's people, not excepting the clergy and ladies, should, in turn, lend their aid. More than a thousand thus laboured cheerfully each day, till the work was completed; and all slept secure that none could be rash enough to assail fortifications defended by stout burghers, amply furnished with warlike stores, shields, yew-bows, coats of mail, lances, and battle-axes, ever ready to fly to arms when the town horn warned them of the enemies' approach.

Jean Fitz-Geoffroi resumed the Justiciaryship for the third time in 1266, and, for his services, obtained from the King a grant of the Barony of Islands, in the County of Clare, comprising a territory of sixty-seven thousand acres of modern English statute measure. From 1267 to 1270, the Justiciaryship was filled by David de Barry, styled first Viscount of Buttevant; Robert D'Ufford, Richard D'Exeter, and Jacques D'Audeley, a baron of

Staffordshire, husband of Ela, sister of Estienne "de longe espée." During the government of D'Audeley, the colonists, torn by dissensions among themselves, suffered many disasters; the natives slew several of their chief men, defeated their bravest leaders in the field, sacked various castles, and advanced as far as Athlone. D'Audeley having fallen in an engagement in Thomond, the Council elected, as his successor, Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who, marching into the territory, in the present King's County, from which he assumed his title of Baron of Offaly, was made prisoner by the O'Connors, the native owners of that land. The imprisoned Viceroy was succeeded by Sir Geoffroi de Joinville, whose daughter had married his brother, Gerald. Geoffroi, then recently returned from Palestine, was Lord of Vaucouleur, in Champagne, brother to the celebrated Jean de Joinville, companion and historian of St. Louis, King of France; and as husband of Matilda, one of the co-heiresses of Gaultier de Lasci, he claimed half the territory of Meath, including the Castle of Trim. Geoffroi de Joinville, who, as confidant of Edward I. of England, was employed in many important negociations at home and abroad, administered the government of the colony in Ireland from 1273 to 1276. Thirty-two years subsequently, he resigned his Lordship in Meath to his grand-daughter and her husband, Roger de Mortimer, and ended his days as a monk, in the Dominican abbey which he, with his wife, Matilda de Lasci, had founded at Trim. From 1276 to 1282, the government was held by Sir Robert D'Ufford and his deputy, Friar Estevene de Foleburne, the King's Treasurer for Ireland, successively Bishop of Waterford and Arch-

bishop of Tuam. During these years, the Anglo-Normans were severely pressed by the Irish, who demolished many of their castles, and made prisoners of some of their nobles, within a short distance from Dublin. Thus, the Baron Gerald Fitz-Maurice was defeated and imprisoned by the Irish, in his nominal territory of Offaly; Jean de Foleburne, nephew of the Viceroy, fell into the hands of the O'Mores, in Leix, the present Queen's County; and the government of the King of England was unable to enforce his release on any terms, except the surrender of two relatives of the head of that clan, then located as pledges in the Castle of Dublin. "Les Irreys," said De Foleburne, in his petition to the King, "ke le tenent en prisone ne le voillent deliverer pour or ne pour argent, sil ne puissent aver la delivraunce del fiz de lur oncle, e del fiz de lur frere, ke sunt en hostage a Divelin." The policy of sowing dissension among the Irish septs was adopted by D'Ufford. An old English writer, after detailing the contentions and wars prevailing at this time in Ireland, tells us, that Edward I., "hearing thereof, was mightily displeased with the Lord Justiciary, and sent for him into England, to yield reason why he would permit such shameful enormities under his government." D'Ufford "satisfied the King that all was not true that he was charged withal; and, for further contentment, yielded this reason, that in policy he thought it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another; and that would save the King's coffers, and purchase peace to the land. Whereat," adds our author, "the King smiled, and bid him return to Ireland." Under De Foleburne's government, a new kind of money was struck, consisting of

groats, half-pence, and farthings, ordered to pass current throughout England and Ireland. To defray the expenses of his office as Justiciary, the Archbishop received a pension of five hundred pounds per annum; and he was authorized, with the concurrence of the Barons of the Dublin Exchequer, to make disbursements out of the revenue of the colony, when disturbances rendered it requisite to strengthen the fortifications of the royal castles, and provide defences for the King's lands against the Irish. In consideration of De Foleburne's services, Edward remitted a large amount of arrears which had accrued to the Crown during his tenure of the offices of Treasurer and Justiciary of Ireland; but, on his death, in 1288, the King seized all his property, and, for a time, laid hands on the vessels, vestments, and ornaments of his church at Tuam. From documents in the English Exchequer, it appears that this Archiepiscopal Viceroy left, among other property, fifty horses, the names of some of which are given as follows: "Lynet, Jordan, Feraunt de Trim, Bancan, Blanchard de Londres, Connêtable, Bendour, Scampane, Obin the black, and Dunnyng." At the time of his death, De Foleburne possessed a large number of rolls, inquisitions, writs, secret despatches, sent to him by the King from England and Gascoigne, respecting conspirators there and in Ireland, together with the particulars of the debts due to the Crown, and his official accounts as Justiciary and Treasurer. These muniments were, for security, placed in coffers, under the seals of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Waterford, and deposited in the royal Castle of Athlone, whence they were sent to Dublin;

but when the time arrived for their official examination, many of the most important documents had disappeared, and as they were never subsequently recovered, the payment of debts due to the Crown of England, to the extent of ten thousand pounds, could not be enforced. Jean de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin, and Escheator of Ireland, administered the affairs of the colony from De Foleburne's death, till dispatched abroad by Edward, on a negotiation respecting Gascoigne, in 1290, when he was succeeded as Viceroy by Sir Guillaume de Vesci, Justiciary of the Royal Forests in England, Governor of Scarborough Castle, and brother-in-law of the late Viceroy, Estienne "de longe espée." De Vesci had competed for the Crown of Scotland, in right of his grandmother, the Princess Margaret, daughter of William "the Lion"; and he was entitled to part of Kildare, through his mother, Agnes, daughter of Sibilla, Countess of Derby, to whom, as one of the Maréchal heiresses, that county was assigned. As Lord of Kildare, De Vesci held his chancery in that town, for the administration of justice throughout his franchise; but variances soon arose between him and the neighbouring baron, Jean Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Gerald, of Offaly. In open court, at Dublin, before Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and others, Fitz-Thomas accused De Vesci of having solicited him to engage in a treasonable confederacy against the King, and offered to maintain his charge by wager of battle. This challenge was at once accepted by the Viceroy; but Edward I. summoned both parties before him at Westminster, where, on the appointed day, De Vesci came, mounted on his war-horse, armed with lance, dagger, and

coat of mail, proffering to engage Fitz-Thomas, who, although called, did not appear. This affair occupied the attention of Parliament, which acquitted Fitz-Thomas for his non-appearance, on the grounds of informality, and the controversy was, by mutual assent, submitted to the royal decision. In consideration of his illegitimate son, styled the "Master of Kildare," being secured in the succession to his property in Northumberland, De Vesci transferred his Irish lands to the Crown of England, by which part of them was granted to Guillaume de Wellesley and subsequently to Fitz-Thomas, who thence took the title of "Earl of Kildare."

De Vesci having been summoned, in 1293, to the service of Edward I., in Gascoigne, was succeeded, as Justiciary of Ireland, by Guillaume de la Haye, and Guillaume D'Odingselles, of Maxstoke, in Warwickshire, described as a "brave knight bachelor." Thomas Fitz-Maurice, "of the ape," father of the first Earl of Desmond, administered the government from the death of D'Odingselles, in 1294, to the appointment of Sir Jean Wogan, in 1295. As Viceroy, during the concluding years of the thirteenth century, Wogan pacified the contentious Fitz-Geralds and De Burghs, the leaders of whom, with some of the chief Anglo-Normans of the colony, accompanied him to Scotland, with horse and foot soldiery, for Edward I., by whom they were entertained at Roxburgh Castle.

CHAPTER IV.

TOWARDS the commencement of the fourteenth century, the portions of Ireland nominally under the dominion of the English Crown, were divided into "Liberties," and the following ten counties, Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Roscommon, and part of Connaught.

The "Liberties," the lords of which exercised high authority, assuming the state of princes, were those of Connaught and Ulster, under De Burgh; Meath, one moiety of which was assigned to De Mortimer, and the other to De Verdon; Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny, each under the jurisdiction of the respective representatives of the husbands of the Maréchal heiresses; Thomond or North Munster, partly claimed by De Clare; and Desmond, or West Munster, over which a branch of the Fitz-Geralds had, through arms and intermarriages, acquired partial domination. "These absolute palatines," wrote Sir John Davies, "made barons and knights; did exercise high justice in all points within their territories; erected courts for criminal and civil cases, and for their own revenues, in the same form as the King's courts were established at Dublin; made their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators; so as the King's writ did not run in those counties (which took up more than two parts of the English colonies), but only in the church

lands lying within the same, which were called the 'Cross,' wherein the King made a sheriff; and so in each of these counties palatines, there were two sheriffs: one of the Liberty, and another of the 'Cross.' . . . These great undertakers were not tied to any form of plantation, but all was left to their discretion and pleasure; and although they builded castles, and made freeholders, yet there were no tenures or services reserved to the Crown; but the lords drew all the respect and dependency of the common people unto themselves." On most of these lands, many native septs still existed, either tributary or alternately in alliance with, or opposed to, the Anglo-Norman lords. The borders, styled "Marches," between the Anglo-Norman territories and those almost entirely occupied by the natives, were continually traversed by the hostile clans, who assailed the castles, encountered the garrisons and the troops of the district, carrying off their spoil and prisoners through the woods, mountain passes, and morasses, whither the heavily-armed foreigners were unable to pursue them with success. To check sudden inroads, it was enacted that landholders near the "Marches" should keep horses caparisoned, and arms ready, to sally forth when an alarm was given, by day or night. Harrassed by the natives, and disregarded by absentee proprietors, the colonists also suffered in the warfare, which continuously prevailed, between the resident Anglo-Norman lords, who enforced all the severities of feudalism on their dependants. The Irish, meanwhile, were governed by the minute Gaelic code, administered by their brehons or judges, according to ancient precedent.

The most important Anglo-Norman royal castles in

Ireland, after that of Dublin, were those of Athlone, Roscommon, and Randoun, the garrison of each of which, commanded by a Constable, was paid and supplied with arms and provisions out of the revenues of the colony. Various fortresses had also to be maintained for the defence of the County of Dublin, some of which, about this period, were partly garrisoned by soldiery from Wales, experienced in irregular warfare, numbers of whom fell in the contests with the Irish.

On many occasions, the clans advanced to the gates of Dublin, on the battlements of the Castle of which usually were displayed the heads of those who had been slain in their conflicts with the troops of the colony; but some of the settlers had commenced to adopt the native habits and manners so completely, that they were occasionally taken for, and treated as, Irish enemies. Various enactments, dealing with this state of things, were made in assemblies, styled "Councils," or "Parliaments," constituted of ecclesiastical and lay Anglo-Norman representatives, presided over by the Viceroy. When Edward I. made a pressing appeal to his subjects in Ireland, for aid for his Scottish war, the Viceroy, Wogan, before the meeting of the Parliament, in 1300, having personally conferred with the provosts and burgesses of the cities and boroughs, prevailed on them to make grants individually; obtaining thus money from some, five hundred weight of fish, value five pounds, from others; and, in some cases, both fish and money.

The cities designated "royal," holding charters directly from the Crown of England, were Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork. The customs and Crown revenues

of Limerick were considerably exceeded by those of the remote Galway, the castle of which was the residence of the powerful De Burghs, Lords of Connaught, and Earls of Ulster, by whom the interests of the town were promoted and fostered. Although thus protected, and encircled by strongly-fortified walls, Galway was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the clan of O'Brien, of Tromra, in Thomond, for the defence of its harbour and trade; and from the town of Dundalk, on the eastern coast, to the north of Dublin, a similar impost was levied by the sept of O'Hanlon. Most of the other towns appertained to the representatives of the Anglo-Norman lords of the Liberties in which they stood, or to the clergy: Ross, to Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, husband of Matilda Maréchal; Youghal, to Gilbert Fitz-Thomas de Clare; Clonmel, to Otho de Grandison; Botavaunt, or Buttevant, to David de Barry; Cashel, to its Archbishop; Inistiogue and Athassel, to the Priors of the Augustinian monasteries there.

No precise particulars have been transmitted to us of the architectural design or arrangements of the Castle of Dublin, but several entries respecting it, are scattered through official records. Within its precincts were a chapel, a jail, a mill, styled the "King's mill," with other buildings and appliances, for the defence and convenience of the garrison, the Viceroy, and the other occupants of the fortress. The chapel was under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and each of the two chaplains received the annual salary of fifty shillings, with two shillings for wax. The Castle was partly encompassed by a moat, called the "Castlegripe," while, on the walls,

fortified with bastions, were various gate-towers, the narrow entrances of which were defended by strong doors and portcullises, the chief communication with the city being by a drawbridge on the southern side of Castle-street. Rolls of the fourteenth century record payments for various works executed in the fortress, for repairing the great hall, and other chambers, furnishing ropes, bolts, and rings for the drawbridge, and supplying sundry other requisite articles.

The hostages, which it was customary for the Viceroys, in those times, to exact from the Anglo-Norman lords and native chiefs, as guarantees of their allegiance and faithful observance of the compacts into which they entered with the Dublin Government, were usually lodged in this Castle, and maintained there at their own expense. Within the Castle of Dublin were held the courts, in which judges and officials sent from England administered the Anglo-Norman law to the colonists, and to those Irish who had taken out charters of denization. The Exchequer, amongst its other business, received and disbursed the Crown revenues, which arose mainly from the royal demesnes, farms of towns, fines, customs, treasure trove, and casual profits. The computations in this court were made by counters, laid in rows upon the several distinctions of the chequered cloth covering the table; and squared hazel rods, notched in a peculiar manner, styled "tallies" and "counter tallies," were employed as vouchers. An ancient drawing of the Exchequer of the King of England, at Dublin, in the fourteenth century, is preserved in the manuscript known as the "Red Book" of that court. At the top of this sketch are represented six

persons, apparently officers of the court; to the left, are three judges; at the right, three suitors; and a sheriff is seated at the bottom. To the right, at the head, is the crier, in the act of adjourning the court, exclaiming, "A demain." The officer to the left, probably the second Remembrancer, holds in his hands a parchment, containing the words, "Preceptum fuit Vice-comiti, per breve hujus Scaccarii." The Chief Remembrancer, at his right, examines a pen, and holds an Exchequer roll, commencing, "Memorandum quod x° die Maij," &c.; while the "Clerk of the Pipe" prepares a writ, placed on his left knee, his foot resting upon the table. To the extreme left, the Marshal of the Exchequer addresses the Usher, and holds a document inscribed, "Exiit breve Vice-comiti." One of the three judges at the side of the table exclaims, "Soient forfez;" while another cries, "Voyr dire." On the chequered-covered table, before the judges, are the "Red Book," a bag with rolls, the counters used for computation, and a document commencing with the words "Ceo vous," &c. At the bottom is seated a sheriff, bearing upon his head the leathern cap, worn by such officers while undergoing examination in the Exchequer, respecting their accounts. Of three suitors, standing at the right of the picture, one, with uplifted hand, says, "Oy de brie;" another, extending his arm, cries, "Chalange;" while the third, with sword at his side, laced boots, and ample sleeves, holds the thumb of his left hand between the fore and middle finger of his right, and exclaims, "Soit oughte."

The royal treasure was deposited in the Castle of Dublin, in charge of the Treasurer and two Chamberlains

of the Exchequer, in a coffer with three different locks, encircled by a leather strap, sealed by the Treasurer; and as each of these officials had the custody of one key, no payment could be made unless in the presence of the entire three. By an ordinance of Edward I., the accounts of Gascoigne, and of the issues and receipts of the King's land of Ireland, were to be rendered yearly at the Exchequer in England, before the Treasurer and Barons—the former by the Constable of Bordeaux, and the latter by the Treasurer for Ireland, vouched by the counter-rolls of the Chamberlains. In Ireland, as in England, the Crown revenues and customs of the colony were frequently mortgaged or farmed out by Edward I. and his two successors to associations of Italian money-dealers, as security for repayment of loans and advances obtained from them. The principal companies engaged in this traffic, were the "Ricardi" of Lucca and the "Frescobaldi" of Florence, whose agents and collectors were stationed in the chief towns in Ireland.

The King had frequent cause to be dissatisfied with the officials whom he sent over to manage his affairs in Ireland, where his Chancellor, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Treasurer, received respectively, a stipend of forty pounds per annum, exclusive of fees and perquisites. Nicholas de Clere, Treasurer in Ireland for Edward I., was charged by the clergy of Tuam with having appropriated portion of the property of their church, including valuable silk vestments, a Bible, Missal, and a silver gilt bowl. De Clere, although an ecclesiastic, was subsequently imprisoned, as a defaulter in his official accounts, and all his effects, lay and clerical, were seized by the

royal bailiffs. Alexander de Bicknor, the English Archbishop of Dublin and Treasurer for Ireland, was obliged to throw himself on the clemency of Edward II., and to acknowledge that he had falsified his accounts by the introduction of counterfeited writs and acquittances. Many concealments and improper entries were detected in the returns furnished to the Exchequer of England by Gaultier d'Istelep, Escheator in Ireland to Edward III. Even some of the Viceroys were, about the same period, accused of conniving at official frauds, and of secretly participating in the illegal gains of the farmers of the Irish revenues of the King of England.

The salary of the Viceroy, paid at the Exchequer of Dublin, was five hundred pounds per annum. In addition to this, and other official emoluments, he was entitled to levy from the colony provisions of all kinds for his troops and household, for which he only gave "the king's price"—a rate far below the current value, calculated on such a scale as might enable him to live on his salary, and the soldiers on their pay.

Each Viceroy was usually bound, by his patent of office, to maintain a special body of nineteen fully equipped horse-soldiers, he, as their commander, being officially regarded as the twentieth of this troop, always in readiness for military service, on behalf of the Crown of England. The Viceroys also frequently entered into compacts with captains of free bands of soldiery. These leaders, in consideration of being retained in the Viceregal service, with lodgings, rations, and attire, engaged to serve the Viceroy in Ireland, during his life, at all times and seasons, against every man except the King, or

their own immediate feudal lords, and to bring, whenever summoned, a body of troopers well armed and mounted. The usual pay of such captains was one shilling per day, for each fully caparisoned horse supplied by them, with sixpence per day for provender, when they could not forage upon the country ; in addition to which, they and their men were entitled to receive " bouche en court," or free diet with the Viceregal retinue.

The Castle, in those times, was defended by a garrison of archers and halberdiers, the chief officers being the Constable, the Warders, the Guardian of works and supplies. In the fourteenth century, the Warder was paid the yearly wages of forty-five shillings and sixpence. The Constable, frequently a nobleman of high rank, received an annual salary of £18 5s., or one shilling per day, and, as Constable of the King's chief castle in Ireland, he was entitled, under a special enactment, to take from prisoners higher fees than those paid to a similar officer in any other castle in the kingdom. The value of such payments may be illustrated by the following prices, usual, about this period, in the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland :—cows, from 5s. to 13s. 4d. each; heifers, 3s. 4d. to 5s. ; sheep, 8d. to 1s. ; ordinary horses, from 13s. 4d. to 40s. ; pigs, 1s. 6d. to 2s. ; salmon, 6d. each ; while wheat, corn, and malt varied in rates with the produce of the seasons.

In 1307, Edward II. committed to his Viceroy, Wogan, the task of seizing the " Templars," and their possessions in Ireland. That Order, founded by French knights early in the twelfth century, under the auspices of St. Bernard, to maintain access for pilgrims to the Holy Land, had

won renown by the courage which its members displayed in conflicts with the Mussulmans. The attire of the Order was a white mantle, bearing on its left breast a red cross, which was also figured upon their banner, called "Bauseant," of striped black and white cloth. The knights were privileged to be judges and witnesses in their own causes, exempted from tributes and taxes, and the houses of the Order enjoyed the rights of sanctuaries or asylums. The acquirement of vast possessions throughout Europe, to the extent of ten thousand five hundred manors, gradually led the Order from its original poverty and abnegation of repose, into wealth and luxuriousness. Relying on their own strength, they menaced Henry III. of England, and refused to admit into their Order Philippe "le bel," King of France, although they served him with loans of money, from the ample funds in their coffers, in the "Temple," at Paris, the great centre of the brotherhood.

Their wealth, the number of their fortresses, the importance and haughtiness of their members, their exemption from all jurisdiction except that of the Pope, and the secrecy observed in their transactions, invested them with mysterious and formidable influence. Early in the fourteenth century, rumours gained ground in France, that the Templars secretly performed idolatry, with various improper practices, and that the receptions of members, in their churches at night, with closed doors, were accompanied by sacrilegious and anti-Christian rites. Depositions from a few questionable characters on these subjects, afforded the needy Philippe "le bel" a pretext for laying hands upon the possessions and treasures

of the Order in France, having taken measures for the sudden and simultaneous seizure and incarceration of its members within his dominions; and, at his instigation, a similar course was adopted in England, by his son-in-law, Edward II. The Order of "Knights of the Temple," introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, had establishments in various parts of the colony, the chief of which was that founded, in the twelfth century, by Richard Fitz-Gislebert, to the west of the city of Dublin, in the locality named, from an ancient Irish bishop and abbot, *Cill Maighneann* or the church of *Maighneann*, subsequently styled "Kilmeinan," "Kilmenan," or Kilmainham. The Priors of this house were entitled to sit in the parliaments of the colony, and occasionally joined the expeditions against the natives. Thus, Guillaume Fitz-Roger, "Master of the Knights of the Temple" in Ireland, was, in 1274, taken prisoner in an engagement at Glenmalure with the Irish, who slew numbers of his companions-in-arms. Guillaume de Ross, Prior of Kilmainham, had been entrusted with the colonial government, in 1296 and 1301, during the absence of the Viceroy, Wogan. To the latter, on the 20th December, 1307, Edward II. issued a mandate, enclosing a secret ordinance for the seizure of the persons, properties, and documents of all the Templars in Ireland, on the Wednesday following the Feast of the Epiphany, with the greatest possible despatch, and before reports could reach from any part of England. For this purpose, the Viceroy was directed to summon the sheriffs of the colony to meet, under penalty of forfeiture, at a fixed time, to carry into effect certain orders received by

him from the King of England, to be then communicated to them. Before reading the orders, royal clerks, bound by oath to secrecy, were to swear the sheriffs to observe silence and promptitude in their execution. Similar engagements were to be exacted by the sheriffs from their men; and thus it was expected that the general seizure could, as in England, be made in Ireland on the day named. The state of the colony appears to have prevented the success of these measures, as, two years subsequently, royal orders were issued to the Viceroy, to secure and imprison in Dublin Castle the Templars still at large in Ireland. To the King's demand for accounts of the property and lands of the Order, all of which lay within the territory nominally subject to England, the Barons of the Exchequer certified that they could not furnish any accurate statements, as they dared not venture forth to hold their inquiries, nor would jurors incur the perils of coming to them at Dublin, during the existing commotions caused by the contests between the Anglo-Norman nobles. The knights, imprisoned by Wogan in the Castle of Dublin, were maintained on allowances from their possessions attached by the Crown, under which officers were appointed to levy and receive the rents and debts due to the Order, to oversee its tenements and goods, and direct the cultivation of its lands. Inquisitors under Papal authority, with letters of credence from Edward II. to the Viceroy, were despatched to investigate, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Dublin, the charges against the Templars. At this inquiry, held in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, Henri Tanet, Grand Preceptor for Ireland, and thirteen members of

the fraternity, were present. The witnesses against the Templars included Roger de Heton, guardian, and Gaultier de Prendergast, reader, of the Dublin Franciscans; Friar Thomas, the Abbot, and Simon, the Prior of the monastery of St. Thomas, near that city. Suspicions and vague rumours, unsupported by personal experience, constituted the evidence given by the witnesses, excepting Hugues de Limmour and Guillaume le Botiller, who deposed that, when at Mass, at Clontarf, they had observed that the Templars present paid no attention to the reading of the gospel; turned their heads aside, and gazed upon the ground, during the elevation of the host; and, after the "Agnus Dei," declined to accept the kiss of peace, saying to those who proferred it, that their Order had no connexion with peace. The Irish lands of the suppressed Order were, as well as their possessions in other countries, transferred to the "Hospitallers," or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, but we find no record of the Templars having been subjected in Ireland to the tortures or burning at the stake, inflicted on numbers of their brethren in France.

The service in which the Viceroys were most frequently engaged was that of aiding the people of the districts and towns of the south-east of Dublin, in their contests with the septs of *Ui Tuathail*, or O'Toole, and *Ui Brainn*, or O'Byrne, styled by the Anglo-Normans, "les Ototheyles et les Obrynnes." These clans, in their original territory, now known as the County of Kildare, maintained a severe struggle against De Ridelisford, and other Anglo-Norman military settlers, but subsequently established themselves in the mountainous district to the south of

Dublin, at present designated the County Wicklow, where their principal fastness was *Gleann Maoilughra*, or Glenmalure, called by the Anglo-Normans "Glyndelory," the contiguous district being known to them as "la marche de Glindelory." The strong and well garrisoned fortresses of New-Castle Mac Kinegan and Castle-Kevin, maintained at heavy cost, out of the revenue of the colony, were frequently found inadequate to check these septs. The Viceroy, Wogan, marched with his troops against them, in 1308, but being put to flight, with the loss of several knights, was unable to protect Castle-Kevin, the garrison of which was slaughtered, while various towns in the district were sacked and fired.

Sir Guillaume de Burgh, surnamed "*liath*," or "the grey," was superseded in the government of the colony, in 1308, by Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, the Italo-Gascon favourite and companion of Edward II. De Gaveston's unbounded influence over the King, his profuse magnificence and bitter sarcasms, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the peers of England, some of whom he discomfited in public feats of chivalry. In 1308, an ordinance was enacted, that De Gaveston should quit England before the 25th of June, and sentence of excommunication was decreed against those who might in any way impede his departure; but on the 16th of that month, Edward nominated him his Viceroy for Ireland, during the royal pleasure, with most ample powers, including those of removing officials, and presenting ecclesiastics to benefices within the King's gift. This appointment of De Gaveston would appear not to have been regarded to contravene the sentence of banishment,

Ireland being at that time regarded by the peers of England as a place of exile. De Gaveston, accompanied by Edward to Bristol, sailed to Ireland with a large body of soldiery, and established himself in great pomp at Dublin, with his wife, Marguerite, daughter of the King's sister, by her husband, the Earl of Gloucester, Anglo-Norman Lord of Kilkenny. Edward, by special letters, requested for De Gaveston, while in Ireland, the aid and counsel of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, nominal Lord of Connaught, whose son, Jean, was brother-in-law to the Viceroy, by his marriage with Elizabeth, the King's niece.

The Earl of Ulster, styled, from his complexion, "the red," took the first place in the councils or parliaments of the colony, in right of his vast territories, and was, in commissions and official documents, named before the Viceroys. Under Henry III., he had commanded the soldiery sent from Ireland to Gascoigne, Wales, and Scotland. During the wars with Wallace, the Earl was one of the most trusted advisers of Edward I., to whose service in Scotland he led large levies of horse and foot in 1296, 1299, and again in 1303, when, before his departure, he created thirty-three knights, at the Castle of Dublin. In his own nominal territories, De Burgh endowed a monastery for Carmelites, at Loughrea; erected the castles of Ballimote, Corran, Sligo, that of Castle-Connell, near Limerick, and the "Green Castles," at Carlingford bay, and on Lough Foyle.

Disregarding the royal letters, the Earl, with the object of chagrining De Gaveston, marched at the head of his troops to Drogheda, and held sumptuous entertainments

in the castle at Trim, where he conferred knighthood on some of his adherents. De Gaveston, with the royal troops and armed colonists, quelled the hostile septs on the south of Dublin, and made a thanksgiving-offering for his success in the church of St. Kevin. He also rebuilt the prostrated fortresses, cut passes through the woods between Castle-Kevin and Glendalough, and "bought the hearts of the soldiers with his liberality." His temporary successes against the Dublin clans, were, however, soon followed by disasters; and, within little more than a year from the date of his appointment, he left the government to Wogan, and, returning to England, was met by the devoted King at Chester.

In 1309, the Viceroy and the Earl of Ulster held a Parliament at Kilkenny, composed of the King's council, the Anglo-Norman lords, two knights of each county, and two burgesses from every city and borough of the colony. The Viceroy having suggested that all should not be detained in times of such scarcity, the members elected from themselves two bishops and two laymen, who, from the whole body, chose sixteen, most competent, in the general opinion, for the transaction of their business. This committee, with the assent of the Viceroy, the King's council, and the Parliament, passed various acts which the Government was not strong enough to carry into effect. One of these enactments ascribed the high rate of victuals, and the poverty of the colonists, to the great Anglo-Norman lords, who continuously despoiled the country people, sojourned in their houses, and quartered their kerns or soldiery upon them, without payment or reimbursement of any kind. The

statute pronounced these proceedings to be "open robbery," and accorded the right of suit in such cases to the Crown, as the people dared not seek redress against their lords.

In addition to the hostilities with portions of the Irish, the Viceroy had to contend with the mutinous Anglo-Norman nobles. The Earl of Ulster warred upon De Clare in Thomond, while Robert de Verdun, with a body of armed colonists, encountered and defeated Wogan and the King's troops in Louth. In other parts of the colony, wars sprung up between the Fitz-Geralds, De Berminghams, De Cogans, Le Poers, De Barrys, and De Roches, respecting the lands of Agnes de Valence, grand-daughter of Jeanne, one of the Maréchal heiresses. To check such wide-spread feuds, which interfered with the prosecution of the hostilities in Scotland, Edward II., in 1310, sent special instructions to Ireland, commanding his Viceroy and Treasurer, with the Earl of Ulster, to devise means by which these conflicts might be appeased or deferred, until the conclusion of the Scottish wars. While the settlers thus contended among themselves, a serious dispute, concerning jurisdiction, arose between the English ecclesiastics appointed to the sees of Armagh and Dublin. After much altercation, in the presence of the Viceroy, Wogan, John Lech, Archbishop of the latter city, forbade Walter Jorse, the Primate of Armagh, to have his official cross, the emblem of jurisdiction, borne erect before him in the diocese of Dublin. Jorse's brother, Roland, on succeeding to the see of Armagh, landed at Howth, rose in the night, and advanced through the Dublin diocese, preceded by his cross. On arriving at

the Priory of Grace-Dieu, to the north of Swords, he was encountered by some of the Dublin Archbishop's men, who beat down his cross, and drove himself, with his attendants, beyond the precincts of Leinster. In the midst of these distractions, Lech, the Archbishop of Dublin, procured from Clement V. a bull for the establishment of an university in that city. He represented to the Pope, that although there were in Ireland both doctors and bachelors in divinity, as well as masters in arts and grammar, yet no university, nor place for general learning, existed, either in that country, nor in the adjacent parts of Norway, Scotland, or Man, and that scholars consequently incurred great perils in crossing the sea from the island to pursue their studies abroad. The progress of this university for the colonists was suspended by Archbishop Lech's death, in 1313 ; after which, as the Jesuit Campian wrote, there " were elected, in schism and division of sides, two successors, Thornbury, [English] Lord Chancellor, and Bicknor, [the King's] Treasurer for Ireland. The Chancellor, to strengthen his election, hastily went to sea, and perished by shipwreck; the other, submitting his cause to the process of law, tarried at home and sped."

Sir Edmond Le Botiller, Viceroy from 1312 to 1314, is chronicled to have, on a Sunday, in the Castle of Dublin, dubbed thirty knights, previous to leading his soldiery, on the following day, against the Irish to the south of the city; and to have, for a time, so effectually quieted the country, that he could journey through the colony, from Arklow, one of his lordships, to Limerick, guarded only by three horsemen.

The government was administered, during a short period of 1314, by Theobaude de Verdun, the English King's Constable for Ireland, lord of a moiety of Meath, in right of his mother, Marguerite, one of the heiresses of Gualtier de Lasci. De Verdun sat as a baron in the Parliaments of England and Ireland, and his estates devolved at his death, in 1317, upon his four daughters, the eldest of whom married Thomas, Baron Furnival, ancestor of the Earls of Shrewsbury.

The triumph of Robert Bruce, in 1314, opened to sections of the Irish a prospect of uprooting the Anglo-Norman colony in their island, which had entailed upon those natives, within its control, an alien domination, as repulsive and oppressive to them, as that which evoked the resistance of the Gaels of Scotland. Some Irish Chiefs thus projected the establishment of a government in Ireland, to afford their race that security and justice which they had found unattainable through the existing colonial system, then administered by foreign nobles and officials, aiming, by force or chicane, to obtain possession of the lands of the natives. Many of the colonists had also borne with impatience the complicated and heavy oppressions inflicted upon themselves under the feudal system, by their great Anglo-Norman lords. During the wars in Scotland, Edward I. and his son had drawn abundant supplies of money and provisions from their subjects in Ireland, and large levies of horse and foot soldiery, led thence to the royal service by the Viceroys and lords of the colony, had fought under the banner of England, against Wallace and Bruce. The commander of the English in Scotland, Aymer, Earl of Pembroke, styled

"de Valence," from his father's native town in Poitou, was connected with the colony in Ireland through his mother, in right of whom he inherited the lordship of Wexford, the town of which was first incorporated under a charter, granted by him to its burgesses. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloster, who fell in the van of Edward's army at Bannockburn, was also associated with the Leinster settlement, having derived the lordship of Kilkenny from his maternal ancestress, Isabel Maréchal. After having reduced the Isle of Man, in 1313, Robert Bruce dispatched some of his gallies to make a descent upon the Ulster coast, and, although repelled by the settlers, negotiations were opened with Scotland, by Donall O'Neill, Prince of Tir-Owen, and other Ulster chiefs, together with De Bisset and the De Lascies, who offered the crown of Ireland to King Robert's brother and appointed successor, Edward Le Brus or Bruce, the brave and ambitious Earl of Carrick. "This illustrious Earl," wrote the Irish Chiefs to the Pope, "descends from some of our most noble ancestors, is a man of piety, prudence, and modesty, ready to render justice to all, and able to deliver us with the strong hand, God and justice favoring our cause. Moreover," they added, "he is prepared to make to the Irish Church a full restitution of these possessions and privileges of which she has been damnably despoiled, and it is his intention to endow her with greater immunities than she had ever at any former period been wont to enjoy." Sir Hugues de Bisset, whose ancestors, flying from Scotland, had settled in the Glynns of Antrim, under the Earl of Ulster, was Lord of Glenarm and of the island of Rathlin, where

the newly-crowned King, Robert Bruce, had taken refuge, in 1306, after the toilsome escape from the pursuit consequent on his defeat at Methven.

The De Lascies were of the stock of Robert, who, from his cousin Hugues, the first Anglo-Norman Lord of Meath, received the lands of Rathwire, or Rathwer, in the barony of Fairbill, in West-Meath, where their castle stood "on a high rising ground, built as of design not to overlook, but to awe the whole country." Gaultier and Hugues de Lasci saw with discontent the lordship of Meath, founded by their kinsman, from failure of direct male heirs, divided, in their time, between De Verdun and De Mortimer. Their attempts to dislodge these foreign proprietors were seconded by the Earl of Ulster, who, at their instigation, led his troops to Trim, besieged De Verdun in Athlone, and subsequently conferred knighthood upon Hugues and Gaultier. Relations with Scotland appear to have been maintained by the De Lascies, from the time of the second Hugues de Lasci, who espoused one of his daughters to Alan, Lord of Galloway, grandfather of King John Baliol, and conferred the Eastern Ulster churches of Carlingford, Ruskach or Roosky, and Cooly, on the Priory of St. Andrew's, in which town, as already noticed, he took refuge when flying from the pursuit of King John of England.

The Bruces, through the female line, descended from King Dermod MacMurragh, of Leinster; and Robert's wife, Ellen, Queen of the Scots, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, came of the race of Rury O'Conor, the last sole native Monarch of Ireland. Edward Bruce readily accepted the proffered crown, King Robert

promising to co-operate in the undertaking, which, while gratifying his brother's ambition, would, they calculated, so effectively weaken and occupy the English government in Ireland, as to arrest the transmission thence of further supplies and soldiery against the Scots.

In May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed on the Ulster coast, near Carrickfergus, with about six thousand men, accompanied by De Bisset, Randolph, Earl of Moray, who had commanded the centre of the Scotch army at Bannockburn, Sir Philip Mowbray, John Menteith, Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, Ramsay of Ochterhouse, and other knights. Joined by their Irish allies, they encountered and dispersed an army composed of the flower of the settlers of Eastern Ulster, and, taking possession of the town of Carrickfergus, laid siege to its citadel, which, washed on three sides by the sea, was then filled with a numerous garrison, amply supplied with provisions. The allies, under the leading of Donall O'Neill, marched thence southwards, and took Dundalk by storm, after a resistance so determined that its streets ran with blood. Quitting this town, which supplied them with abundance of victuals and wine, they took up their position in the wood, on the southern bank of Lough Ross, in Monaghan. The Viceroy, Sir Edmund Le Botiller, now marched against them from Dublin, at the head of the King's troops, but relinquished the pursuit at the request of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who undertook, with his own numerous army, to effect the dispersion, and capture the leaders, of those de[illegible]ders of his principality. The allies, however, en[illegible]settled [illegible]d the Earl near the episcopal town of Connor, was Lord [illegible] mailed cavalry with their spearmen, took his

son Guillaume prisoner, and drove himself from the field. Fixing their head-quarters at Carrickfergus, they crowned Edward Bruce Monarch of Ireland, dispatched the Earl of Moray to Edinburgh, to invite over King Robert, and, leaving troops to carry on the siege of the citadel, marched to Lough Sueedy, in West-Meath, where they spent Christmas with their confederates, the De Lascies. In January, 1316, Bruce advanced into the territories of the settlers, and at Ardscull, in Kildare, met and defeated a large army under the Viceroy, Edmund Le Botiller, created, in the preceding year, Earl of Carrick-mac-Griffin, in Tipperary, Jean Fitz-Thomas, Arnold Le Poer, and other lords. In the following month, ten of the chief nobles of the colony met at Dublin, where, in the presence of Jean de Hotham, a royal commissioner, sent specially at this juncture to Ireland, they affixed their seals to a manifesto, in French, setting forth that the Scotch enemy, entered upon the land, had drawn to them all the Irish, many of the English, and a large number of the great lords, seeking traitorously to wrest Ireland from their lord, "Monsieur Edward," King of England, and to disinherit him and his faithful subjects. "Having regard," they continued, "to our allegiance and loyalty, and mindful of the great damages we have sustained in the loss of our men, lands, and castles, we undertake, to the utmost of our power, to maintain the rights of King Edward of England against all men, to labour to destroy his enemies, and are ready to forfeit life and lands if we swerve from our engagement." As security, and to prevent breaches of faith among themselves,

they swore to give up, when called upon, the nearest and best of their relatives, to be lodged, as hostages, in the Castle of Dublin, or elsewhere, at the King's pleasure, on the understanding that they should be well maintained at the royal cost, suitably to their rank. On the 17th of April, 1316, this document was delivered at Westminster, to Edward II., who, on the fourteenth of the following month, signed the patent, by which Jean Fitz-Thomas, whose name stood first on the manifesto, was advanced from the rank of "seigneur," or Baron of Offaly, to that of Earl of Kildare.

Bruce, having sacked the Castle of Ley, and beleagured that of Kildare, marched against Roger de Mortimer, Baron of Wygemore, who had arrived from England to defend his Irish lands. De Mortimer, in right of his wife, Jeanne de Joinville, was lord of a moiety of Meath, and claimed Leix, the present Queen's County, as inherited from his grandmother, Maud, second daughter and co-heir of Guillaume de Braose, by Eva, daughter of the first Earl Maréchal. At Kells, Bruce, with his allies, encountered and signally defeated the army of De Mortimer, who, abandoning his own principality, fled to Dublin, deserted by a great part of his soldiers. Although losing many of their men from famine and exhaustion, the allies continued their raid upon the lands and fortresses of the Anglo-Normans in Meath and Kildare, and returned in the spring to Carrickfergus, where Bruce held a regal court, and administered justice, but was still unable to reduce the citadel.

Part of the Connaught clans, rising in arms, were defeated at Athenry, by forces led by the De Burghs and

De Berminghams; on the other hand, Dundalk was assailed by O'Hanlon; and the septs to the south of Dublin, swept down upon the towns and forts in that district, till checked by Edmund Le Botiller, who caused eighty of the heads of the slain to be borne to Dublin Castle. Some of the native Franciscans having urged and stimulated their countrymen in their efforts to attain independence by arms, Edward II. dispatched two of their English brethren, one of whom was head of the Order in Ireland, to their General Minister, requiring that these Irish friars should be canonically suppressed. The King of England declared, that if the brethren continued to oppose him, he should himself take measures for their punishment. At the same time, he intimated that prompt conformity to his wishes would ensure his interest with the Cardinals, to procure the promotion of a Norfolk friar, of the Order of St. Francis, to the then vacant Archbishopric of Cashel. Through English representations at the Papal court, Bulls were procured, denouncing excommunication against those who had taken up arms with Bruce in Ireland, and all who, either openly or in secret, furnished them with counsel, weapons, horses, money, or any other aids, in their opposition to the Pope's "most dear son, Edward, the illustrious King of England." The Bulls enjoined that all such persons should be shunned as under the ban of the Church; and directed the clergy of Ireland to read aloud the sentence of excommunication on every Sunday and festival, with lighting candles and tolling bells, in all such places as they deemed expedient, but especially in the maritime towns and seaports.

At Easter, a cessation of hostilities was agreed to,

between Bruce and the occupants of the citadel of Carrickfergus. Reinforced soon after by a large body of men transported by sea from Dublin, under command of a distinguished veteran, Sir Thomas de Mandeville, the garrison let down the drawbridge, at break of day, and marched upon the slumbering occupants of the town. On their first movement, Neill Fleming, who, with sixty soldiers, had kept the night watch, dispatched messengers to Bruce, and held the advancing force at bay, till cut down with all his companions. Bruce and twelve men, who lay in his chamber, armed themselves hastily, and hurried with their banner into the street. Rallying their dismayed soldiery, they encountered De Mandeville, who, felled by Gilbert Harper's battle-axe, was dispatched by Bruce, while the routed garrison fled back to the citadel, pursued by Sir Fergus of Ardrossan and an Irish Chief, at the head of a band of pikemen. Some weeks later, the garrison, on condition of their lives being spared, covenanted to surrender to Bruce, and to give up the fortress to thirty of his soldiers, but the latter, admitted on the appointed day, were treacherously cast into dungeons, and compliance with the agreement refused. Towards the close of the year 1316, Robert Bruce arrived from Galloway, with reinforcements, and was joyfully received by his brother, at Carrickfergus, where, with their companions, they passed some days in mirth and festivity. The garrison of the citadel was soon afterwards obliged to surrender, after having held out for more than twelve months, during the last of which they had lived upon hides, and even devoured the corpses of their Scotch prisoners, who had died of starvation.

Having decided to make a progress, with their allies, through the entire island, from north to south, the Bruces, accompanied by John Menteith, Lord Philip Mowbray, Lord John Stewart, and Sir Colin Campbell, marched from Carrickfergus; Sir Edward, "commonly called the King of Ireland," leading the van; "the good King Robert," with his nephew, Thomas, Earl of Moray, bringing up the rear. When they thus set out, it was, says Barbour, the month of May, the birds, amid spreading branches and leaves, surrounded by bright blossoms, mingled their varied notes, while the fields were covered with fragrant flowers, the mildness of the season causing everything to look blithe and gay.

On arriving near Dublin, after a march of more than one hundred miles, the Bruces learned that Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, had, on suspicion of complicity with them, been surprised in his chamber, at St. Mary's Abbey, near the city, and imprisoned as a hostage in the Castle, not without a violent resistance, in which seven of his attendants were slain. Fearing, apparently, that the besieged might, if closely pressed, proceed to mutilate or execute the great Earl, father of King Robert's Queen, as well as of the wives of the two Fitz-Geralds, who became Earls of Kildare and of Desmond, the Bruces turned from Dublin, which had been fortified against them with great determination by the citizens, who, with common consent, fired part of the suburbs where hostile troops might have found shelter. Having captured the outpost fortress of Castleknock, and held its lord, Hugues Tirel, and his wife, to ransom, they encamped, on the 24th of February, at the Salmon-leap, which, from the Norsemen,

had acquired the synonymous name of Leixlip. "It is," wrote Moore, "no slight addition to the interest of that romantic spot, to be able to fancy that the heroic Bruce, surrounded by his companions-in-arms, had once stood beside its beautiful waterfall, and wandered, perhaps, through its green glen." Here the allies were counselled and guided by the De Lascies, who, a short time previously, had solemnly repudiated in Dublin all connexion with them, and taken an oath, upon the sacrament, to oppose, to the utmost of their power, the Scots and other enemies of the King of England. Important services were also rendered to the Bruces by Adam de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, who, seated in the midst of the Anglo-Norman settlement, secretly communicated to them, through his brother, the councils and intended movements of the lords of the colony, and also assisted the Scots in obtaining supplies of arms and provisions.

After a sojourn of four days at Leixlip, the allies proceeded through Naas, Castle-Dermod, Gowran, Callan, Cashel, and Nenagh, for Limerick, invited and conducted by their ally, Donagh O'Brien, King of Thomond, who had been expelled by a section of his clan. At Castle-Connell, their progress over the Shannon was opposed by the forces of the settlers, in alliance with Mortogh, the rival of Donogh O'Brien; and on learning that the combined army of the colony was approaching, the Bruces, having decided to return to Ulster, moved by night to Kells, in Ossory.

The cruelties ascribed by some writers to the Scots, are at variance with Robert Bruce's well-known humanity, of which the following instance during this campaign has been recorded by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

When Bruce's army was all in array, and on the point of marching from Limerick, the cries of a woman reached King Robert, who, on inquiry, learned that they proceeded from a poor lavandière, or laundress of the camp, who, suddenly seized with the pains of parturition, wildly implored not to be left to the mercy of the Viceroy's troops, then pressing forward. Exclaiming that it would be unmanly thus to abandon a female, Bruce commanded his army to halt, ordered a tent with attendants to be provided for the sufferer, and did not march till he had seen his directions for her careful transport carried out. It was, indeed, says Barbour, a great courtesy, that so mighty a king should thus delay his army for "one full poor lavandière."

Passing through Cashel and Nenagh, the Bruces laid waste the lands of the Viceroy, Le Botiller, and of other lords of the colony, who, although at the head of thirty thousand men, did not venture to attack them. In the many severe conflicts during their progress, King Robert stimulated the soldiery, by riding into the thickest of the fight, closely followed by the "Earl Thomas," who, according to Barbour, "fought as if he were in a rage." On Easter Thursday, 1317, De Mortimer, landing, as Viceroy, at Youghal, with fifteen thousand men, dispatched messengers to the commanders of the colonial army, with orders that, until he came up, no attack should be made upon Bruce. By three distinct patents, signed at York, on the 23rd of the preceding November, Edward II. had invested his Queen's paramour, De Mortimer, with most extensive viceregal powers, authorizing him to forgive debts due to the

Crown ; to remove and appoint officials ; to sell, let, or bestow, at his will, the lands of the insurgents ; and to make to both Irish and English in Ireland any concessions and grants which he might deem expedient for the subversion of the Scots and their allies. Royal letters had been issued, requiring the lords of England, holding Irish lands, either to proceed in person with the Viceroy, "to defend and save" Ireland, or to furnish men-at-arms, proportionate in numbers to the extent of their possessions. The King's bailiffs were also ordered to provide, at Haverford, on the 2nd of February, a sufficient number of large ships to transport his troops, officially described as "a great multitude of soldiers, both horse and foot." Warned of the intended combination of De Mortimer's forces with those of the colony, the Bruces marched, by night, to Kildare, and after having encamped for a week in a wood near Trim, they led their exhausted forces, thinned by famine, back to Ulster, whence King Robert sailed for Scotland. Meanwhile the Viceroy, De Mortimer, with the nobles of the colony, held councils at Kilmainham, respecting the liberation of the Earl of Ulster, which was eventually agreed to, on his giving hostages, and swearing not to retaliate on his captors, but to pursue the King's enemies, both Irish and Scots. At Trim, De Mortimer cited the De Lascies before him, but on their refusal to appear, he proclaimed them traitors, for having advanced their banner against the peace of the King of England, and, entering upon their lands, appropriated, as Lord of Meath, their goods, cattle, and treasure, slew many of their men, and drove themselves into Connaught. While Ireland was devastated by famine

and plague, the Viceroy achieved successes over clans in Leinster, cleared a dangerous pass in that district, gained allies in Connaught by concessions to some chiefs, and held festivities in the Castle of Dublin, at which he knighted Jean de Mortimer and four of his companions. Leaving unpaid debts which he had contracted for viands at Dublin, to the amount of one thousand pounds, De Mortimer, on the King's summons, returned to England, having appointed as his Deputy Guillaume Fitz-Jean, Archbishop of Cashel and Chancellor for Ireland, who, in October of the same year, was succeeded in the government of the colony by Alexander de Bicknor, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Dublin. After the departure of Robert Bruce, his brother Edward continued, as King, at Carrickfergus, impatiently awaiting circumstances which might enable him and his Irish allies to effectively crush the colonial government, despite of which they had, in the preceding year, marched through the island.

In South Leinster, the colonists experienced, in 1318, a severe defeat from O'Carroll, Prince of Ely; while in May of that year, the O'Briens gave a fatal blow to the English power in North Munster, by slaying Richard de Clare, and routing his army, composed of settlers and natives, at the battle of Disert O'Dea. In the autumn ensuing, Edward Bruce determined to descend again upon Leinster, but on learning his intention, the colonists mustered a numerous army, and encamped to oppose him, between Faughard and Dundalk, at the entrance of the pass from Ulster. Variances prevailed in the councils of the colony respecting the choice of a General

for this force, as most of the lords had been unsuccessful, even in defending their own lands against Bruce and his allies. On the advice of the Governor, Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor, the command was entrusted to Sir Jean de Bermingham, who, although in ill-repute with previous Viceroys, had been knighted by De Mortimer, for the assistance which he rendered him in expelling the De Lascies, by force of arms, from Meath. The De Berminghams sprang from Robert de Bermingham, to whom Strongbow had granted lands in the north-west of Kildare. Piers, father of Sir Jean de Bermingham, had served Edward I. in Scotland, and was eulogised by the chroniclers of the colony as a "scourge to the Irish," who, however, warred so resolutely upon him, that, in addition to his own soldiery, he was obliged to obtain from the Government four hundred men-at-arms, for defence of the lands on which he had settled. The natives styled him the "treacherous baron," and averred that, at a banquet in his castle at Carbury, on Trinity Sunday, he had assassinated some of his own kinsmen, and chiefs of the sept of O'Conor of that district, whose heads he subsequently sold for a considerable sum.

Bruce's counsellors, Soulis, Steward, and Mowbray, on ascertaining the superior force of the opposing army, sought to dissuade him against venturing upon an encounter; but he, having been victorious in eighteen engagements with the colonists, declared that he would fight even if they were thrice or four times stronger, adding, that none should say he had been daunted by numbers. Disregarding, also, the representations of his experienced Irish allies, and declining to wait for Sir

John Steward's brother, expected with fifteen hundred men, he impetuously declared that those who feared to join him might stand apart and witness the battle. The army of the colony included few nobles of high rank, but many knights, together with Roland de Jorse, the English Primate of Armagh, the lands of whose see had been devastated by the Irish. The native Princes, in their appeal to Pope John XXII., complained that this Archbishop of Armagh, an Anglican "of small discretion and no learning," was the principal maintainer of an unnatural ordinance of the colonial Parliament, prohibiting the admission of any but English into religious houses in the parts of Ireland under the control of the King of England, many of which had been founded by the ancestors of the Irish, thus sought to be excluded. According to a legend, De Bermingham, desirous to see Bruce, attired himself as a friar, and on the day preceding the battle, came before him while on his knees at Mass, and solicited alms. Bruce, engaged in devotion, did not raise his head from his book, till, to relieve himself from repeated craving, he looked up, and "said to those that stood by: 'Serve this saucy and importunate friar with somewhat, he doth disturb me in my service.' . . . After Mass was done, said Bruce, 'I pray you, sirs, where is this bold friar that hath thus disturbed me, for I swear to you since I saw his face my heart was not in quiet.' The friar was sought for, and could not be found. 'No?' said Bruce, 'cannot he be had? my heart telleth me that this friar is Bermingham.'" Jean de Maupas, of Drogheda, who led a select band of men-at-arms, to join the forces of the colonists, is also said to have succeeded in

penetrating to Bruce's quarters, disguised as a fool or a juggler.

The principal officers on Bruce's side were Philip de Mowbray, Soulis; Gaultier, Robert, and Almaric de Lasci; and the three brothers of Lord Alan Steward, who acted as the general of the field. On the morning of Sunday, the 14th of October, 1318, after Archbishop De Jorse had pronounced absolution for all those who were about to fight for the cause of England, an engagement took place, in which the Scots were overpowered, Bruce falling by the hand of De Maupas, while Lord Alan Steward was slain in single combat with Jean de Bermingham. Soulis, and most of Bruce's officers, also fell; but Hugues and Gaultier de Lasci succeeded in escaping to Scotland. Under the command of John Thomasone, leader of the men of Carrick, the remnant of the Scotch troops returned to Carrickfergus, whence they sailed to their own country. Bruce's corpse, found on the field, with that of De Maupas stretched across it, was cut into quarters, which were set up as trophies in the chief towns of the English colony; one of them, with the arms and heart, being sent for this purpose to Dublin. The head, "salted in a chest," was brought by Jean de Bermingham, King Robert's brother-in-law, to England, and unexpectedly laid, with other heads, on a table before Edward II., while seated at a banquet, with ambassadors from Scotland, who expected he would at least have ceded Ulster to Edward Bruce. The Scotch ambassadors, rising from the table, hurried, horror-stricken, from the apartment; but Archdeacon Barbour tells us, that the King of England received the head with great delight, and was "right

blithe" of the present, glad to be so delivered of "a felon foe." Barbour, however, avers that the head carried from Faughard was not Bruce's, but that of his devoted and dauntless follower, Gilbert Harper, who had worn his coat-armour on the day of the battle.

For his "good and laudable service" in the battle of Faughard, Edward II. conferred upon Jean de Bermingham the Earldom of Louth, as amply as that of Kildare had been, three years before, granted to Fitz-Thomas, together with a gift of the Manor of Ardee, which had reverted to the Crown from Ralph Pipard. De Bermingham's brother, Edmund, also received, for his good conduct in this conflict, a grant of portion of the lands forfeited by those who had joined the Scots. Jean de Lasci and Sir Robert de Coulragh, who fell into the hands of the colonial government, were, as adherents of Bruce, starved to death in prison, under a sentence which allowed each of them but three morsels of the worst bread, and three draughts of foul water, on alternate days, till life became extinct. Roger de Mortimer returned as Viceroy in 1319; and Thomas Fitz-Jean Fitz-Gerald, Jean de Bermingham, Arnold le Poer, and Jean Wogan, were appointed to hold inquiries respecting those subjects of England who had aided Bruce, and caused his coronation, which, according to the commission of Edward II., "could not have been effected without the consent and assistance of the people of the land." Roger de Gernon and his brother, Johan, whose right hand was maimed in the conflict with Bruce; and others who had distinguished themselves in the service of England on that occasion, were rewarded with grants of Crown lands, or

of those forfeited by the De Lascies or their confederates. Although, for some time, most of the general pardons granted in the name of the King of England contained clauses specially excepting "adhesion to the Scots," Hugues de Lasci, after a lapse of thirteen years, succeeded in obtaining restoration to the royal favour. The losses and permanent depreciation of property sustained in those wars by the adherents of England in Ireland, are, to some extent, exhibited by a contemporary ecclesiastical taxation of Ossory, a district comprising part of the present Queen's County, and nearly the entire County of Kilkenny. This official return shows that the tithes of nine deaneries in that diocese had, in consequence of the war, fallen in value from £93 12s. 8d. to £33 1s. 10d. Further evidence on this point is to be found in the urgent appeals made to the Pope by Edward II., on behalf of his Viceroy, the Archbishop of Dublin; his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cashel; and De Jorse, his Archbishop of Armagh, praying a postponement of the payment of the fees claimed from them by the Papal Chancery, which they were then utterly unable to meet; because, during the wars in Ireland, they had received from their lands barely enough to support themselves and their attendants, and had been necessitated to incur heavy debts for the maintenance of their churches. The absence of official documents emanating from Bruce, as King of Ireland, deprives us of materials from which we might learn the line of policy which he may have contemplated to pursue, in event of his ultimate and complete success. Bruce's armed progress with his allies through Ireland, and occupation of Ulster, from the 26th May, 1315, to

his death, on the 14th of October, 1318—a period of nearly three years and a-half—was, to a great extent, productive of the important results anticipated and projected by his Irish adherents. The expulsion of such numbers of the settlers from Ulster, left that territory comparatively open for re-assumption by the native clans, and prepared the people of Connaught to follow the movement, already initiated in North Munster, where the colonial interest, represented by Sir Richard de Clare, his son, and their allies, had been uprooted by a section of the O'Briens. The successes of the Scots and Irish over the Viceroys and great colonial lords, even in Leinster, the great stronghold of the settlement, while shattering the military reputation of England, proportionably stimulated the septs also of that province to re-assert by arms their claims to lands from the lordships of which they had been forcibly ejected, and which the devastations during these wars rendered of small value to foreign nominal proprietors.

CHAPTER V.

JEAN FITZ-THOMAS FITZ-GERALD lived for less than four months to enjoy the Earldom, town, and castle of Kildare, bestowed upon him, in May, 1316, by Edward II., under a patent which, the erudite Selden tells us, was the "antientest form of creation" he had seen of an earl not palatine. The first Earl of Kildare, on his death, in September, 1316, was succeeded by his son Thomas, appointed Governor of the colony in 1320. In the latter year an university was first opened at Dublin, through the exertions of the ex-Governor, Archbishop De Bicknor, Treasurer for Ireland, who obtained a Papal confirmation of the Charter received from Avignon by John Lech, his predecessor in the see, and established rules for the institution, and the maintenance of lectures on Holy Writ. Jean de Bermingham, the newly-created Earl of Louth, nominated Viceroy in 1321, was authorized to displace various judges and officials appointed by his predecessor, Roger de Mortimer, who, by their incompetence, impeded the public business. De Bermingham was summoned to lead to the King in Scotland three hundred men-at-arms, one thousand hobelers, or light cavalry, and six thousand foot soldiers, armed with cuirasses, helmets, and gloves of mail. The nobles of the colony were also required to attend Edward II., with men and horses, at Carlisle, in June, 1323; the exportation from Ireland of arms or food

to Scotland was prohibited, but large quantities of wheat and victuals were ordered to be transmitted to the army of the King of England in that country. The dispatch of the troops from Ireland was countermanded, in consequence of the thirteen years' truce entered into by Edward II. with Robert Bruce, which the latter accepted, as King of Scotland. De Bermingham was succeeded in the Viceroyalty, in 1322, by Sir Ralph de Gorges and Sir Jean D'Arcy. The latter, descended from Norman D'Areci, on whom William the Conqueror bestowed thirty-three lordships in Lincolnshire, had distinguished himself in the Scottish wars, and was appointed Governor of Norham Castle, Sheriff of Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster. To restrain official chicane and oppressive exactions, the King and Council, at Nottingham, in 1323, decreed that the Viceroys or ministers in Ireland, should not purchase lands within their bailiwicks; and likewise prohibited them from taking, by force, victuals or other goods from the Crown's subjects, except in cases of urgent public necessity, on royal writs, or with the assent of the Council. A statute of Edward II. also required that a Parliament should be held every year in Ireland, in such place as might seem meet to the Viceroy and Council; and that all the great lords, prelates, and others of the colony, should be obliged, on their peril, to attend these assemblies.

The relations of the King of England with his nobles in Ireland, and the nature of the business occasionally transacted by the Viceroy on his behalf, may, to some extent, be gathered from the proceedings in a Parliament, held at Dublin, by Sir Jean D'Arcy, in 1323–4. In this

assembly, the Earls, Barons, and other colonial grandees by birth, undertook, before the next Parliament, to arrest, or cause to be apprehended, all felons and robbers of *their* families or surnames, with their adherents in their neighbourhoods, and to make them and other malefactors in their lordships, amenable to the King's courts, but with due regard to their own oaths, the franchises of the various lords, and the perils of their bodies. This agreement, in the form of an indenture, executed in the presence of the Viceroy, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Council, was, under the seal of the King of England, delivered to the nobles, in return for a duplicate, bearing attached the seals of the chief lords of the colony, including, amongst others, Monsieur Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; Monsieur Thomas, le Fitz-Jean, Earl of Kildare; Monsieur Jean de Bermingham, Earl of Louth; Monsieur Maurice, le Fitz-Thomas; Monsieur Jean de Barry; Monsieur Jean le Poer, de Donoyll; Monsieur Arnold le Poer; Monsieur Thomas le Botiller; and David, le Fitz-Alexandre, de la Roche.

The depreciation of land, occasioned by the wars of Bruce, tended to augment and embitter the differences prevailing between the Church and the lay proprietors in parts of the colony, and disputes, which frequently arose concerning the jurisdiction claimed respectively by the ecclesiastical and secular courts, attained to serious heights in the vicinity of Kilkenny, in the diocese of Ossory. The clergy of this see, presided over by their Bishop, Richard de Ledrede, a London Franciscan, enacted a series of constitutions, in 1316, declaring that their flock, imbued with the devil's spirit, more cruel than

Gentiles or Jews, paid no respect to ecclesiastics, despoiled the patrimony of the Church, harrassed them in secular courts, and menaced those who attempted to exercise canonical jurisdiction. To check such grievances, they pronounced the "greater excommunication" against all who might have recourse to fraud or violence towards the clergy, or despoil their moveable or immoveable property, fell their woods, injure their horses, warrens, pastures, parks, or other possessions, or obstruct the Bishop or his officials. Until such offenders had made restitution, they were to be deprived of all the benefits of religion, denied Christian sepulture, and if, through error or ignorance, they might have been interred in Church ground, their corpses, although putrid, were ordered to be exhumed and flung on dung-heaps beyond the precincts of the sanctuary.

In 1324, during the second Viceroyalty of Sir Jean D'Arcy, the accumulated elements of this strife were brought into violent collision by circumstances springing from what would appear to have been originally a quarrel in the family of Dame Alice le Kyteler, of Kilkenny. This lady, four times married to settlers of wealth and landed possessions, had, by her first husband, named Utlagh, or Outlawe, a son, William, who pursued his father's avocations, as a merchant and money-dealer, on such a scale, that he reckoned among his debtors several of the chief nobles of the colony. Of the extent of Utlagh's transactions, we obtain an insight through a roll of the early part of the fourteenth century, on which is recorded part of the proceedings in connexion with an assault made upon him. The Sheriff of Kilkenny, by direction of

Fulke de la Freigne, Seneschal of that Liberty, forcibly entering his house, at night, with an armed band, dug up there, and carried away, with other moneys, the then vast sum of three thousand pounds, secreted in the ground by Utlagh, who held it in trust for his relative, Adam le Blund, of Callan. Alice appears to have been a partner with her son, and to have sought to accumulate money, not only by usury, and even by scavenging the streets of Kilkenny, but by fortune-telling and trafficking in charms and philtres—a business of great profit during the then almost universal belief in dealings with demons and spirits. The trade in spells became perilous when sorcery was denounced in the Decretals of Pope John XXII. as a form of heresy, in the punishment of which the secular power was bound to follow the orders of the ecclesiastical authorities. About this time, numbers, including many females, were tortured and executed as necromancers in France. In 1324, a prosecution was instituted, at London, against some individuals, on an accusation of having, by witchcraft, sought to compass the death of Edward II.; and charges of sorcery or heresy were frequently used, with success, for extortion, or to gratify personal animosities. Part of Dame Alice le Kyteler's children made an application to Bishop De Ledrede, declaring that she had killed their fathers, after having bewitched them to bequeath their property to herself and her favourite son, William, leaving the rest of the family in poverty. To this charge, her fourth husband added, that she had, by her spells, reduced him to an attenuated condition, and caused his nails and hair to drop off; but that, on the advice of one of her maids, he

wrested from her the key of a chest, on opening which he discovered a bag full of necromantic compounds, which he transmitted, by two priests, to the Bishop. A solemn inquisition, held before the Bishop, on these matters, came to the conclusion that there had long existed in Kilkenny several heretical necromancers, including Dame Alice and six of her companions, whose offences were formally recorded as follows: That, to obtain their ends, they were accustomed to abjure the faith, becoming unbelievers for a month or a year, neither attending Mass, entering a church, nor touching holy water; that they sacrificed to a sprite, styled Robert Fitz-Art, and other demons, nine red cocks, which they cut up alive, and with nine peacocks' eyes, offered them on the highway, at the meeting of four cross-roads; that, in their orgies at night, they pronounced imprecations, with lighted wax candles, against many, including their own spouses, cursing separately each limb, from the foot to the head, and concluding by extinguishing the candles, while they cried, "Fi, fi, fi. Amen"; that they produced love, hatred, pain, disease, and death, by powders, philtres, ointments, and candles, compounded of the intestines of the immolated cocks, hideous black worms, spiders, herbs, the nails and hair of corpses, the brains and clothes of infants who had died before baptism, and other detestable articles, all seethed together in the skull of an executed thief, with many incantations, on a fire of oaken boughs; that, with unctions thus composed, they anointed a piece of wood, on which they rode through the air whereever they wished; that, at evening prayer-time, between complin and curfew, Dame Alice swept the streets to the

residence of her son, saying, with conjurations, " May all the luck of Kilkenny come to this house ;" and, finally, that she committed the care of all her treasure to her familiar demon, Fitz-Art, who assumed, at will, the form of a cat, or of a large black hairy dog, appearing at other times as a triple negro, with two ferocious, black companions, larger and taller than himself, each wielding an iron rod.

Dame Alice compounded for her alleged offences by payment of a fine, and swore to renounce all sorcery and witchcraft; but being soon again accused, Bishop De Ledrede applied to Roger Utlagh, Prior of the Hospitallers of Kilmainham, then Chancellor of Ireland, to arrest and imprison her, with her pestilent accomplices, William Utlagh, her son ; Robert de Bristol, a cleric ; Jean Galrussyn ; William Payn, of Boly ; Petronille, of Meath, and her daughter Sarah ; Alice, wife of Henry Carpenter ; Annette Lange, Ellen Galrussyn, Syssok Galrussyn, and Eva de Brounstoun. The Chancellor, Roger, cousin to William Utlagh, Dame Alice's son, sought to dissuade De Ledrede from persevering in the prosecution, and was seconded by Arnold le Poer, who, as Seneschal of Carlow and Kilkenny, was chief judge and representative there of the Earl of Norfolk, and of the co-heiresses of the late Earl of Gloster, lord of the latter district. The Bishop, nevertheless, cited Dame Alice to his court, but she did not appear, and was defended by lawyers sent by the Chancellor. Sentence of excommunication having been, in due form, pronounced against her, a summons was issued, requiring her son, William Utlagh, to present himself for judgment at the

same tribunal. Before the day fixed for the trial of the latter, Le Poer dispatched a sergeant, who, at the head of an armed troop, arrested the Bishop, at the door of the church of Kenlis, whence, with his attendants, he was about to proceed on a Lenten visitation to his clergy. By this act, Le Poer incurred excommunication, and the Bishop interdicted the diocese of Ossory, thus closing the churches, and preventing the administration of the sacraments, except in cases of pressing urgency. On his liberation, after a confinement of eighteen days, De Ledrede, by public notices posted in the market-place, and on the church doors, again cited both mother and son to his court. Prior to the day named in this second citation, the Bishop was served with a royal writ from the Chancellor, requiring him, under penalty of one thousand pounds, to appear in person before the Viceroy, for having placed the diocese of Ossory under interdict; at the same time he received another summons to attend before the Archbishop of Dublin, to answer the suit of Arnold le Poer. De Ledrede sought to excuse himself by alleging that he could not make the journey to Dublin except through the district of which Le Poer was seneschal, but this plea was rejected, and the Archbishop of Dublin annulled his interdict. After Easter, in the same year, 1324, De Ledrede sent some of his clergy with a request that he might be permitted to speak in the public hall of Kilkenny, where the Seneschal sat judicially, administering justice before the assembled nobles, knights, and burgesses. Disregarding the warning of Le Poer, that he should not enter the hall except at his peril, the Bishop, attired in pontifical robes, bearing the host, in a golden

vase, with lights, attended by the Prior of the Kilkenny Dominicans, the Guardian of the Franciscans, with chaplains and other ecclesiastics, proceeded to the court. On his entrance, he was confronted by some of the nobles, who, with menaces, ordered him not to advance; he, however, approached to the tribunal, and, elevating the host, called upon the Seneschal and officials to attend to a matter concerning the faith. Le Poer, arising, vituperated him as an interloping friar from England, and drove him to the gate, where the prelate called the bystanders to witness that the Church had been denied a hearing, in a case affecting the faith, and the punishment of heretics. At the pressing instance of some nobles and knights, the return of the Bishop was reluctantly permitted by Le Poer, who ordered him to stand at the bar, where culprits were usually placed. De Ledrede, having compared the Seneschal to Pontius Pilate, for thus insulting the Church, called upon the officials to execute their duty against heretics, as laid down in the book of Papal Decretals, which he produced, and proceeded to read aloud, when the Seneschal interrupted him, exclaiming: "Begone with your Decretals to your Church, and preach upon them there; we shall never be thus guided." The Bishop, however, persisted in demanding an order that the heretics named in his writ should be immediately seized, and confined till judged by the Church. This requisition he repeated thrice aloud, both in French and English, that it might be generally understood; but the Seneschal rejected his application, saying: "Seek your remedy in the King's court, for our court shall in no way support your jurisdiction in this matter." Dame Alice,

meanwhile, residing at Dublin, and received in public with much distinction, both by clergy and laity, appealed to the Archbishop of that city against his suffragan bishop, De Ledrede. The latter, thus summoned, travelled to the city, with his attendants and chaplains, through bye-ways and mountain passes, avoiding the high road from fear of ambushes. At Dublin, he laboured to obtain support among the bishops and ecclesiastics assembled for Parliament; while, on the other hand, Le Poer sought to influence his own class against the domination claimed by ecclesiastics over laymen, and denounced De Ledrede as a coarse London friar, who should have remained in England, his own country. In presence of the prelates, earls, barons, and nobles assembled in the hall of Dublin Castle, Le Poer, with William Utlagh in his suite, maintained that the Church should be satisfied with the liberties to which it was entitled under "Magna Charta." "But," he continued, "if any interloper from England should wander hither with bulls or privileges, alleged to have been obtained in the Roman Court, we are not bound to obey them, until they have been certified to us under our King's seal." "It is notorious," added Le Poer, "that heresy was never known in Ireland, which was of old called the 'Island of Saints;' yet here comes an alien from England, who declares us all to be excommunicated heretics, alleging that he has certain Papal constitutions of which we never heard till now." De Ledrede, urged by his fellow-prelates, replied to Le Poer, and, after some altercation, the differences between them were referred to four bishops. An apparent reconciliation having been effected, Le Poer asked and obtained the

Bishop's pardon, promising that he would not further support or countenance heretics, after which they gave each other the kiss of peace, in the presence of the Viceroy, the prelates, and the King's council. A writ was now obtained from the Archbishop of Dublin, citing Dame Alice to appear on a certain day at Kilkenny, to answer for her relapse into heresy; but De Ledrede, notwithstanding all the exertions of himself and his friends, was unable to obtain a Viceregal order for her arrest, until, the wind having changed, she sailed for England, accompanied by Petronille's daughter. Some of the poorer of the accused were cast into jails in the town of Kilkenny; but the Chancellor and officials evaded the applications to have them handed over for punishment, according to Canon law. At the Bishop's solicitation, the Viceroy, D'Arcy, proceeded to Kilkenny, and presided, with the Chancellor, Treasurer, and nobles, at an investigation, after which, by common decision of both lay and ecclesiastical lawyers, the court pronounced Dame Alice to be a sorceress and relapsed heretic; declared her goods confiscate, and decreed that she and her confederates should be handed over for punishment to the secular authorities. A public bonfire was made by the Bishop, in Kilkenny, of the powders, ointments, philtres, a host inscribed with the devil's name, and other necromantic articles, said to have been found in Alice's house; but the issue of the decrees against her person or property was withheld; and the Chancellor, bearing King Edward's seal, took up his residence in the house of his cousin, William Utlagh, administering justice there instead of at the usual court. Utlagh, cited by the

Bishop, having admitted some of the offences imputed to him, was imprisoned, by a Viceregal order, in the prison of the Castle of Kilkenny. After two months, he obtained his liberation, having undertaken to perform public penance, which was commuted into a compact to hear three Masses on every day; to feed a certain number of the poor; to cover with lead, at his own expense, the chancel and all the rest of the Cathedral of Saint Canice, from the belfry eastward, and the chapel of Saint Mary. Not fulfilling these conditions, and suspected of communicating with and sheltering some of the accused, Utlagh was, as a relapsed heretic, again committed to jail, in iron fetters, watched by two clerics, who were expressly ordered not to speak to him more than once a day, and neither to eat nor drink in his company. Petronille, convicted as a confederate of Dame Alice, after having been six times beaten with cudgels, admitted herself to have dealt with demons and to have been a necromancer; but much less skilful than her mistress, Alice, whom she declared to be the most expert in that art in the world, adding, that William Utlagh also deserved death, and that, for a year and a day, he had worn the "devil's girdle" around his body. On the 3rd of November, after All-Souls' day, Petronille was led forth from jail, and burnt at Kilkenny, before a great concourse of people. Through the influence of some nobles, the imprisoned Utlagh obtained pardon, swearing upon the Evangelists to renounce all heresies, and, on his knees, placing in the Bishop's hands his abjuration signed and sealed. For penance, in addition to that which he had previously

agreed upon, he undertook to accompany the first pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or to place at the disposal of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, the expenses of his outward and homeward voyages; to provide a priest to celebrate Mass every day in the chapel of Saint Mary at Kilkenny; to visit, as soon as possible, the shrine of Saint Thomas at Canterbury, and to abstain from meat on every Wednesday until he should have completed his pilgrimage. Before being permitted to leave the prison, he was obliged to execute a bond, binding himself and his relatives, under the penalty of a thousand pounds, neither publicly nor privately to injure the Church, the Bishop, or his clergy. Of those who also stood charged with heresy and sorcery in Kilkenny, some suffered at the stake; others, having abjured their offences, were publicly signed with the cross on the front and back of their upper garments. The remainder, who could neither secrete themselves, nor effect their escape, were beaten with cudgels through the town and market, or, as excommunicated persons, expelled from the diocese;—but Dame Alice, according to the chroniclers, was never seen again.

Edward II., when a fugitive, in 1326, from the barons of England and his Queen, the "she-wolf of France," decided to seek refuge among the settlers in Ireland. Thither the deserted King set sail, accompanied by his sacerdotal Chancellor, Robert Baldoc, and the younger De Spenser; but their small vessel, tossed for a week in a tempestuous wintry sea, was driven on the coast of Wales. That he had grounds to expect support in Ireland would appear from the circumstance, that some of the nobles of the colony refused for a time to acknow-

ledge the authority of the Earl of Kildare, appointed Viceroy in the name of Edward III., then aged but fourteen years, during the captivity of his father, the deposed King. In England, the latest date of any official record of the reign of Edward II. is the 20th of January, 1327; but the public muniments of the colony in Ireland appear to have been carried on in his name till May of that year. The attempt of Edward to retire to Ireland was, in England, declared to be an abandonment of his realm; and the articles of his deposition also set forth that he had, from want of good government, lost Irish lands which had been left to him by his father. At a Parliament, held in 1326, at Kilkenny, Richard de Burgh, the aged Earl of Ulster, took leave of his fellow-nobles: having sumptuously entertained them, he resigned his possessions to his grandson, William, and retired to the monastery of his family at Athassel, where he soon afterwards ended his days. Unimpressed by the example of the "Red Earl," the lords of the colony commenced a fierce intestine strife, originating from Baron Arnold le Poer having, at a public assembly, insulted Maurice Fitz-Thomas, of Desmond, by styling him a "rhymer" or mummer. The nobles, banding on opposite sides, carried their ravages to such an extent, that the towns were obliged to provide garrisons for their own protection. Royal writs were issued from England, ordering the Le Poers and Geraldines to desist from levying forces for the purpose of attacking each other; and the sheriffs of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford were directed to proclaim that none should join these nobles, who had sworn and confederated for the purpose of assailing the subjects

of the Crown. The King, in 1327, wrote to the Viceroy, Kildare, that as the Irish enemy and English rebels were devastating terribly the royal lands and those of the nobles who, residing in England, had provided no sufficient defences for their Irish estates, the proprietors of lands or castles in the marches, near the Irish, should be admonished to take immediate measures for their good and strong defence, so as to arrest further injuries to the Crown or its subjects through their neglect. In event of their non-compliance, the Viceroy was directed to take possession of these castles and lands, and maintain them, out of their receipts, as he deemed most conducive to the salvation of the country; the officers of the Exchequer were also authorized, with him, immediately to apply the public revenues to provide defences for the King's subjects and their lands, reserving, however, sufficient funds for an expedition against Scotland. Some of the Leinster Irish, at this period, elected as their King, Donall MacMurragh, who planted his standard within two miles of the Castle of the Monarch of England at Dublin: he was, however, surprised by Sir Henri Traharn, who received a hundred pounds for his capture, but was soon himself made prisoner in his own mansion, with the brother of the Earl of Ormonde, by the O'Nolans of Carlow. MacMurragh's captivity checked for a time the progress of the Leinster clans; but he subsequently effected his escape from the Castle prison, with the aid of a rope conveyed to him by Adam de Nangle, who was, in consequence, punished with death. Of two of the clan of O'Toole, who fell at this time into the hands of the colonial government, one was gibbeted at Dublin,

and the other was burned outside that city, on a charge of entertaining heretical opinions and impugning the Holy See.

The Earl of Kildare, dying in April, 1328, was succeeded as Viceroy by Roger Utlagh, Chancellor for Ireland, and Prior of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham. After the espousal of the infant Princess, Joanna, of England, to Bruce's son, at Berwick, in conformity with the treaty of Northampton, King Robert, with his nephew, William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and several of the Scotch nobility, visited Carrickfergus, to arrange terms of peace between Scotland and Ireland. On their arrival they sent messengers to the Viceroy, proposing that he and the Council should meet them at Green-Castle, one of the fortresses of the Earl of Ulster; but the invitation not being accepted, King Robert returned to Scotland. The government of the colony was again thrown into commotion, in 1329, by affairs connected with the prosecution of Dame Alice le Kyteler, and her son, William Utlagh. Arnold le Poer, patron of the latter, was charged with heresy by Bishop de Ledrede, and, on the episcopal certificate that he had been duly convicted in the spiritual court, was arrested and confined in the prison of Dublin Castle. The Bishop, suspected of seeking by this course to suppress his adversary, was summoned to give evidence, but declared that he could not come to Dublin, because his enemies lay in wait for him on the road; and thus Le Poer was detained in durance, as the Council knew not how to act till Parliament should assemble in the ensuing Lent. The Viceroy, Utlagh, exhibiting some consideration towards the imprisoned Le Poer, who had shielded

his cousin, William, when previously prosecuted by Bishop de Ledrede, was publicly denounced by the latter, as a favourer and abetter of heretics. In the contest respecting Dame Alice le Kyteler, De Ledrede had threatened Prior Roger Utlagh, then Lord Chancellor, that should he oppose the prosecution, he would denounce him to the Pope, who, he declared, would bring down the keys of Peter upon his head with such effect, "that the noise should be heard not only throughout England and Ireland, but resound from the Irish shore to the Grecian sea." Roger, now not only Prior of the wealthy Hospital of Kilmainham, but also Chancellor and Viceroy in Ireland to the King of England, demanded and obtained from the Council permission to clear himself publicly of the defamations brought against him by the Bishop of Ossory. Proclamations were accordingly made during three successive days, calling on all to come forward who could prefer any charge against the Viceroy. Although no one appeared on this summons, Utlagh, for his further purgation, procured the issue of writs, summoning to Dublin the bishops, abbots, priors, the mayors of Cork, Limerick, and Drogheda, the sheriffs, seneschals, knights of the shire, and freeholders of the counties of the colony. Six inquisitors, including the Dean of St. Patrick's, the Prior of Trinity Cathedral, the abbots of the monasteries of Saint Thomas and Saint Mary, near Dublin, having been appointed, examined separately, upon oath, those who had been cited. All having deposed that Prior Roger was true, honest, zealous, and ready to die for the faith; he, after this solemn purgation had been concluded, gave a royal feast to the public; but meanwhile, Le Poer expired

in the Castle prison, under sentence of excommunication, without the sacraments or rites of the Church. Bishop de Ledrede, becoming further involved in disputes with the Crown and his metropolitan, De Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, was, by royal writ, summoned before the Viceroy and Council, but sailed secretly from Ireland previous to the day named for his appearance. Edward III., on learning his intention to repair to the Holy See, appealed to the Pope and Cardinals not to credit the representations of the Bishop of Ossory, who, he averred, had fled, contrary to his allegiance, fearing to stand a trial, conscious that he had been the main fomenter of the recent disturbances and wars in Ireland, which, added the King, he, no doubt, will seek to justify by affected religious zeal. De Ledrede, at the Papal court, arraigned his superior, De Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, who consequently proceeded thither, with commendatory letters from the King to the Pope and Cardinals, strongly condemning his turbulent suffragan. Through the mediation of a Cardinal, De Ledrede was restored by the King to his see, but was subsequently charged with heresy, and engaged in new contentions with Archbishop de Bicknor. From the jurisdiction of the latter he eventually obtained an exemption, on the grounds that, after he had been detained seventeen days in jail, by his enemies, the Dublin prelate, whom he denounced as a favourer of heretics, had sought to prevent his departure from any of the ports to the Pope, and used every exertion to take him prisoner. After many further disputes with the Crown, and its chief officers, De Ledrede devoted himself, in his latter days, to repair and beautify

his cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. On its eastern window, erected by him, the gospel histories were depicted in stained glass, excelling in beauty every other work of the kind then in Ireland. This window, spared by the Reformers, was demolished by the Cromwellians. The accounts of its original splendour were confirmed in 1846, by the exhumation of part of the fragments of its glass—white, opaque, painted and stained; the latter comprising "purple, blue, ruby, yellow, amber, green, amethyst, and a rich ultramarine, with intermediate shades of all these colours," some of which retained the brilliancy of their original tints.

The dissensions between the De Burghs, De Berminghams, Le Poers, Le Botillers and southern Geraldines, elicited royal letters in 1327, commanding them, under pain of forfeiture, to desist from mustering soldiery and warring upon each other, to the manifest terror of the colonists. These factious lords, thus admonished, entered into terms at a Parliament, at Dublin, where they mutually engaged to maintain the "king's peace," agreeing that each should curb and chastise his mutinous kinsmen and retainers. After this reconciliation, they were entertained at Dublin Castle by the Earl of Ulster; on the following day, Maurice Fitz-Thomas feasted them in the Cathedral of St. Patrick; and the third day was passed in banquetting with the Viceroy, Prior Roger Utlagh, and his fellow Knights Hospitallers, at Kilmainham.

At this period were created the Earldoms of Ormonde and Desmond, the successive holders of which, long occupied leading positions in Anglo-Irish affairs. The ex-Viceroy, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Carrick-mac-

Griffin, having died on his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella, was succeeded by his eldest son, Jacques, "a liberal, friendly, pleasant, and stately youth," who, in 1327, married King Edward's cousin, Eleanor, daughter to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, High Constable of England, and received, in the succeeding year, the title of Earl of Ormonde, with a grant of the liberties and other royal privileges in Tipperary, including the rights of a Palatine in that county. The name of "Ermon," "Ormon," Ormonde, or Ormounde, intended to represent the Gaelic *Ur-Mhumhain*, or Eastern Munster, was applied to the lands in the north of Tipperary, known to the natives as *Muscraidhe Thire*, from having been the inheritance of the descendants of *Cairbre Musc*, son of *Conaire Mor*, Monarch of Erin, in the beginning of the third century after Christ. The family of Le Botiller was established in Ireland, under Henry II., by Theobald Gaultier, an Anglo-Norman of high distinction, whose brother Hubert walled and moated the Tower of London, was appointed Bishop of Salisbury, taken prisoner in Palestine, and subsequently created Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor, Chief Justice, and Treasurer of England. Theobald received from Henry II., whom he accompanied to Ireland, extensive grants both in Leinster and Munster, together with the hereditary office of "Pincerna," "Boteler," "Botiller," or Butler, in Ireland, to the Kings of England, in which capacity, he and his successors were to attend those monarchs at their coronation, and present them with the first cup of wine, receiving in return certain pieces of the royal plate. To support this office, Henry II., granted to Theobald "la prise de vins,"

or hereditary "prisage of wines," entitling him to two tuns of wine out of every vessel which broke bulk in any port in Ireland subject to England, laden with eighteen tuns, and proportionably from smaller shipments. During the reign of Henry II., Theobald proceeded to Ireland with the Viceroy, Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm, founder of the De Burghs of Connaught, and also attended Prince John on his Irish expedition. John, after his accession to the throne, sold to De Braose, as already mentioned, the Munster lands of Theobald, who, however, through the influence of his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded in redeeming them by a composition, the original muniments connected with which are still extant, in possession of the Ormonde family. In his Lordship of Arklow, Theobald founded a house for Cistercians, from the monastery at Furnes, in Lancashire; incorporated Baligaveran, or the town of Gowran, in Kilkenny; and at *Aonach*, or the place of the fairs, now styled Nenagh, in the middle of the cantred of Ormonde, he constructed a large castle of massive strength, which becoming the residence of his family, served as the central stronghold for themselves and their dependants against the attacks of the Tipperary septs, whose lands they occupied. On the side of *Sliabh Comhailt*, or "Keeper" mountain, he erected the Cistercian monastery of *Uaithne*, Owney, or Abingdon, affiliated to the establishment of that order at Savigny, in the diocese of Avranches in Normandy; and on the bank of the river, contiguous to his castle at Nenagh, he endowed an hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist, for Augustinian Canons, who covenanted to support at least thirteen sick persons, supplying each daily

with a loaf, sufficient drink from their cellar, and a dish of meat from their kitchen. Having merged their original name of Fitz-Gaultier in the official designation of "Le Botiller," this family, through marriages, grants, and purchases, acquired large possessions both in England and Ireland—their estates in the latter country amounting, in the fourteenth century, to about twenty-eight lordships and manors.

The Geraldines of Desmond, sprung from Thomas, second son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, progenitor of the Leinster family of that name, acquired, soon after the Anglo-Norman descent, territories in Limerick, Cork, and Kerry. These possessions were augmented by the marriage of Jean Fitz-Thomas with Marguerite, heiress of Thomas Fitz-Antoine, Anglo-Norman Seneschal of Leinster, Custodian of Crown lands in Waterford and Desmond, who incorporated the burgh in Kilkenny, styled from him "Villa Thomæ," or Thomastown, known to the natives as *Baile Mic Antain*, the town of the son of Antoine. Through this alliance, Fitz-Thomas, who founded the Dominican Abbey at Tralee, added to his previous Barony of "Ogonneloe" or Connello, in Limerick, the lands of Decies, in Waterford, the Castle of Dungarvan, one of the most ancient "honors," or head lordships, of the King of England in Ireland, together with estates in *Deas Mhumha*, or South Munster, styled by the settlers "Desmonia," "Desmun," "Dessemond," and Desmond. From the sons of this first Geraldine Lord of Decies, by his second wife, Honoria, daughter of the chieftain Felim O'Conor, of Kerry, descended the "White Knight," the "Knight of Glynn," and the "Knight

of Kerry." Further additions to the territories of the southern Geraldines were acquired through Jean de Cogan's heiress, Juliana, wife of Maurice Fitz-John, who, with his father, fell, in 1261, at the battle of Callan, where the Munster settlers, aided by the military forces of the colony, were defeated by MacCarthy, native Prince of that district, on portions of whose lands they had encroached. After this victory, MacCarthy, with the native septs, levelled many of the castles of the southern colonists, slaying their warders, and reducing their lords so low, that for twelve years they dared not even till the lands occupied by them in Desmond. Maurice Fitz-Gerald's son, Thomas, styled, as already noticed, "of the ape," succeeded to his father's nominal territories, second in Ireland, in point of extent, only to those of De Burgh, Lord of Connaught and Earl of Ulster. After having held the Viceroyalty in 1295, his possessions devolved on his death, four years subsequently, to his son, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, upon whom Edward III., in 1329, conferred the title of Earl of Desmond, with the County Palatine of Kerry, to be held of the Crown of England.

The year in which the Desmond peerage was created witnessed the extinction of the Earldom of Louth, by the death of Jean de Bermingham without male heirs. Regardless of the great service rendered by him to the colony, as commander of their army, which defeated Edward Bruce, the English of Louth, bearing with impatience his domination, fell upon their new Earl and his retainers at Bragganstown, near Drogheda. In the hope of exterminating his kindred, they also slew his two

brothers; the sons of his brother, Lord of Athenry; Richard Talbot, of Malahide, a valiant knight, and others, to the number of about two hundred. Old Irish writers describe De Bermingham, whom they styled *Sean MacFeorais*, or John, the son of Piers, as the best of the strangers in Erin, for worthiness, bounty, and valour. They record that with him fell many worthy settlers, as well as Gaels, the colonists not sparing even the harper, Maolruanad Mac Carroll, then in the Earl's company, reputed the most excellent musician of his time in Erin and Alba, or Scotland. The harmonious skill of Mac Carroll, although of the rival Gaelic race, elicited the encomiums of his contemporary, the Anglo-Irish Franciscan, John Clyn, of Kilkenny, who tells us, that this famous harper, called in Irish *Camshuilech*, because his eyes were not straight, was "pre-eminently a phœnix in his art," and that with him were slain about twenty tympanists, his pupils. "If," adds the Franciscan writer, "Mac Carroll was not the first inventor of chord music, yet of all his predecessors and contemporaries he was the corrector, the teacher, and the director." In the court of the King of England, at Dublin, before the Governor, Roger Utlagh, De Bermingham's widow arraigned the Gernons, Haddesors, Clintons, Cusacks, Everards, Pypards, and other chief settlers in Louth, for the murder of the Earl, and demanded wager of battle, by her champions, against them. The accused did not appear, and the court issued orders to have them attached; but they resisted the Sheriff and his men, who narrowly escaped with their lives. The whole force of the loyal English of Louth, mustered under the leading of the Sheriff, also failed to execute the King's writ, and

the Countess was unable to bring her husband's murderers to justice through any of the courts of the colony.

Instead of uniting against some of the hostile native septs, then rising in arms, the colonists persevered in their bloody intestine contentions, and a massacre, similar to that in Louth, was perpetrated by the De Barrys, De Roches, and other southern settlers, upon Lord Philip Hodnet, Hugues Condon, and their adherents. Unable to cope with hostile Leinster clans, the Viceroy, D'Arcy, on the advice of the Privy Council, sought the aid of the Earl of Desmond, the wages of whose troops he undertook to pay, on behalf of the King of England. With his ally, O'Brien, and his Irish soldiery, Desmond quelled some of the Leinster septs; others of whom, however, soon afterwards sacked fifteen villages in Meath, and slew several knights and "Hospitallers," who attempted to impede their forays on the lands and cattle of the English Archbishop of Dublin, at Tallaght, near that city. To check the incursions from Munster, the chief lords of the colony led their united forces southwards from Kilkenny; but on their march such violent contentions sprung up between the Geraldines and De Burghs, that the Viceroy was obliged, at Limerick, to commit the Earls of Ulster and Desmond to durance, from which the latter soon effected his escape.

D'Arcy, unprovided with treasure to pay, as he had promised, the troops of the Earl of Desmond, permitted him to adopt the course practised during the war with Bruce, of taking "coigne and livery," terms used to designate the exaction, at pleasure, of money and food for men and horses, without any return or remuneration;

thus adding another formidable oppression to those already practised by the feudal lords on their tenants. Whatever remained to the industrious colonists from the attacks of the Irish, was well nigh consumed by the continuous warfare and exactions of the nobles, who, setting law at defiance, obliged the people of the towns, with threats of loss of life and limb, to furnish "courtesies" of money and corn, and coerced the farmers, whose lands were nearly exhausted by their ravages, to maintain for them, in their houses, their men, horses, dogs, and hawks.

The state of the colony in Ireland occupied the attention of the English Parliament in 1331, when Edward III. assumed the government, after the suppression of his mother and De Mortimer. A series of ordinances enacted on this occasion, for the reformation of the colonial government, limited the power of the Viceroy to grant pardons or make gifts, ordering that wardships and other Crown perquisites should be disposed of by sale, and that payments should not be taken in cattle, but in money; that English and Irish should be dealt with under the same law; that the Viceroy should keep the hostages, or King's prisoners, at their own expense, and proceed against the former, if those by whom they had been put in broke their engagements; that all violators of truces should be deemed felons; that seneschals of nobles should not be admitted to hold offices under the King; that the sheriffs should account at least once a-year; that all the King's officers in places of trust should furnish adequate securities in Ireland; that the Viceroy should supervise their conduct, remove those found incompetent, and punish delinquents, with the advice of the Council; that

none should keep "kerns," or soldiery, except on their own borders, and at their own cost; that the Viceroy should annually inspect the King's castles, and attend to their repairs; that English proprietors, both ecclesiastical and lay, should dwell on their lands in Ireland, whether on the borders or elsewhere, or provide sufficient soldiery for their defence, and the maintenance of the peace, before the 1st of the ensuing August, otherwise the King would seize such estates, and himself arrange for their proper custody. This Parliament likewise decreed that all grants of lands, liberties, and offices, from the date of the King's accession, should be annulled, on the grounds that his Majesty's Counsellors had, during that period, conducted his affairs to his disgrace and damage, and the pauperization of his subjects. The office of Lieutenant, or locum-tenens, of the King of England in Ireland, was committed to William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and that of Justiciary to Sir Antoine de Lucy, Baron of Cockermouth, in Cumberland. During the wars with Scotland, De Lucy, Warden of the Borders, and Keeper of the Northern Coasts, was one of the most daring leaders of the English. On suspicion of communicating with the Scots, he seized De Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, had him tried in a court of six, under whose sentence his titles were forfeited, his sword wrested from him, his gilt spurs hacked from his heels, after which he was hanged, and, while yet alive, his heart and bowels torn out and burned, their ashes scattered, and his limbs set up in various English towns.

Through intermarriages, De Lucy, the original title of whose family was De Multon, became connected with the Earl of Desmond, the De Berminghams, and De Burghs;

and two of the latter house—the Earl of Ulster as Lieutenant, and Sir William de Burgh as Treasurer—were associated with him in the government of Ireland. De Lucy's kinsman, John de Multon, Baron of Egremont, in Lincolnshire, possessed lands in Ireland, having married Alianore de Burgh, daughter of the "Red Earl," sister-in-law to the Earl of Desmond. Part of the Egremont manors and estates in England had devolved to Walter de Bermingham, by his wife, Elizabeth, co-heir of John de Multon, another of whose three sisters was married to Sir Antoine's eldest son, Thomas de Lucy. De Lucy landed in Ireland, as Justiciary, in June, 1331, and soon after his arrival, he, with his soldiery, personally aided the famine-oppressed people of Dublin in capturing and killing a shoal of whales cast on the strand outside that city. Some of the nobles having absented themselves from a Parliament summoned by him to meet at Dublin, early in July, De Lucy prorogued the assembly to Kilkenny, whither those who had not previously appeared attended him as the representative of the King of England. Thomas Fitz-Maurice, Earl of Desmond, and his ally, Lord William de Bermingham, were thus received by De Lucy, after they had sworn on the gospels, the sacrament, and the relics of saints, to be loyal and faithful. Many of their kindred and followers also purchased the "King's peace" by payment of heavy fines, after which the Justiciary proclaimed that in no case would he again pardon any found guilty of the death of an Englishman. De Lucy, deeming that the hostile Irish were secretly abetted by some of the great lords of the colony, soon afterwards, discarded all influences of rank and

consanguinity, took the Earl of Desmond, by surprise, at Limerick, carried him to Dublin, and committed him to the Castle prison; in which he also incarcerated Lord William de Bermingham, captured at Clonmel, while lying sick in bed; his son, Walter; Henry de Mandeville, John de St. Aubyn, and William de Barry. At a Parliament summoned at Westminster, in September, 1331, partly to consider the necessities of the colony in Ireland, it was decided that King Edward should proceed thither in person, as soon as possible, and that, in the interim, he should despatch some of his nobles and lieges, with soldiery, to aid the Justiciary and his subjects against their Irish enemies. As much of the losses in Ireland were alleged to have been caused by the English owners of Irish lands, having placed them in insufficient or improper custody, it was agreed that these proprietors should forthwith take measures to have them properly defended, and the Sheriffs were ordered to make proclamation to that effect throughout every county in England. Orders were also given that expert lawyers should be sent to Ireland; that no excuse should be admitted for those holding offices in that country not proceeding thither forthwith; and directions were issued to search the records, with the object of ascertaining the measures which had been taken for the amendment of the land, and the admission of the Irish to the "King's peace." In November, 1331, the King summoned the Earls of Ulster and Ormonde, William de Bermingham and Walter de Burgh, to come at once to England, to commune secretly with him, respecting his voyage and the affairs of Ireland. Writs were issued in the following January, requiring the King's uncle, the

Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, and all the other absentee proprietors, to meet his Majesty on the ensuing 1st of August, to accompany him to Ireland, for the salvation of their own lands, the reformation of the state of that country, and to repel the Irish who had seized demesnes claimed by the Crown and the subjects of England. On the 12th of July, in the same year, the King proclaimed that, for certain causes, he had postponed his departure for Ireland to the feast of Saint Michael, the 29th of September; and on the 25th of July, a royal writ was issued to the Justiciary, De Lucy, directing him to impress all ships in Ireland, or on the voyage thither, which might be suitable for the passage, or the conveyance of victuals and other necessaries, and to cause them to be ready, at Holyhead, in Wales, well furnished with marine gear, on the 29th of September. The officers of the colonial Exchequer, at Dublin, were ordered to purchase immediately two thousand quarters of wheat, and to have large stores of provisions in readiness for the use of his Majesty's forces and attendants on their arrival. Commissioners were also appointed to array a thousand of the strongest and most expert foot soldiers in North and South Wales, to proceed with the King and his army to Ireland, to restrain the malice of his Irish enemies. In August, Edward authorized Roger Utlagh, Prior of the Hospitallers, to treat with and conclude peace, according to the counsels of the Justiciary, Chancellor, and Treasurer, with English or Irish leaders who had warred upon his subjects, seized their lands, or committed other offences, all of which he now authorized to be pardoned on payment of fines or

redemptions, or in consideration of other useful or profitable services to be rendered to the Crown of England. The "King's peace" was guaranteed to all those coming to treat on such matters with the Prior at the places which he might appoint, and penalties were decreed against any who should molest or injure them, their horses or accoutrements, during the period of their negociations, or while journeying from, or returning to, their own districts. The nobles were especially enjoined to aid the Prior in carrying out these negotiations, the royal orders concerning which were publicly proclaimed by the Sheriffs of Uriel, or Louth, Meath, Kildare, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Connaught; and by the Seneschals of the "Liberties" of Ulster, Trim, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Tipperary, and Kerry. Meanwhile, in July, 1332, the Justiciary, De Lucy, caused his son's relative, William de Bermingham, whom he had imprisoned, to be hanged at Dublin, to the consternation of the nobles of the colony, amongst whom he held a foremost place, not only as Lord of Athenry, Baron of Parliament, and kinsman to the late Earl of Louth, but as a successful leader against both his Irish and English opponents. The contemporary colonial chroniclers declare that William de Bermingham was a noble knight, most renowned and excellent in feats of arms, amongst many thousand such; and they add, "Alas the day! great pity it was; for who, relating his death, could forbear tears?"

Although thoroughly inured to warfare in Gascoigne and Aquitaine, as well as in his capacity of commander of the border troops in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, De Lucy performed no greater military

operation against the native Irish than that of regaining from them, with the aid of the King's army and the forces of the colony, the castles of Arklow and Clonmore; but during his government the settlers lost various lands, while the strong fortress of the King of England, at Bunratty, in Clare, previously deemed impregnable, was captured and razed by the O'Briens and MacNamaras. Superseded in the Viceroyalty by Sir Jean D'Arcy, in November, 1332, De Lucy returned, with his wife and children, to England. More successful in Scotland than against the native Irish, he soon afterwards, but not without receiving severe wounds, defeated the best of the chivalry of Annandale, and captured Sir William Douglas, the famous Knight of Liddesdale.

The Parliament of England, in December, 1332, was specially summoned for the necessities of the King's land in Ireland, whither, says the record, his Majesty had ordained to take his passage, to restrain, with God's aid, the malice of the rebels and enemies, who had invaded, and daily continued both to seize his Irish territories, castles, and manors, and to destroy his liege subjects. This assembly, however, agreed that it would be perilous for the King to absent himself from the realm, as the Scots might invade the northern parts of England. It was, consequently, decided that he should not then proceed to Ireland, but send soldiery and treasure to aid his liegemen there; and in the following month, the expulsion of Baliol from Scotland caused Edward to direct his attention to the execution of his projected designs on that country.

On the supplication of the clergy, nobles, and commons of the colony in Ireland, the Earl of Desmond,

imprisoned by De Lucy, in the Castle of Dublin, was liberated, after a confinement of eighteen months; the chief lords pledging themselves and their estates as sureties for his loyalty; and, in event of any future default, they personally undertook to produce him within two months after he had been demanded of them by the King's writ. As further security, the Earl was obliged to place hostages in the hands of the Viceroy, and to sign, before the high altar in Christ Church, Dublin, in May, 1333, an undertaking, in French, to attend the next Parliament, and to continue faithful to the King of England.

Nearly one-fourth of those portions of Ireland nominally subject to the Crown of England, was at this period under the dominion of the youthful William de Burgh, who succeeded to the Earldom of Eastern Ulster and the Lordship of Connaught, as the heir of his grandfather, Richard, the "Red Earl," to whom those estates, before Bruce's wars, had supplied the then princely revenue of ten thousand pounds per annum. William de Burgh, styled by the Irish *Iarla donn*, or the "Brown Earl," born in 1312, inherited from his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and granddaughter of Edward I., the Lordship of Clare, in Suffolk; and he became further connected with the royal family of England by his marriage with Maud Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, grandson of King Henry III. The Earl William, endowed with high spirit and rare capacity, was, while yet a youth, entrusted with the government of Aquitaine, by Edward III., his junior by a few months, who appointed him, at the age of nineteen, his Lieutenant in Ireland, in 1331,

and, in the same year, requested his personal counsel and advice respecting his projected Irish expedition.

Family dissensions having arisen, in which the Countess of Ulster was involved, the Earl laid hands upon his uncle, Walter de Burgh, and incarcerated him, with others, in one of his strong castles. Walter expired from starvation in prison, and his sister, Gisle, incited her husband, Richard de Mandeville, an Ulster settler, to avenge the death of his brother-in-law upon their nephew, then about to proceed with soldiery to King Edward in Scotland. The plot against the Earl was executed on Sunday, the 6th of June, 1333, when, in his twenty-first year, after having said morning prayer with De Mandeville, he set out, on horseback, in his company, to hear Mass at Carrickfergus. While conversing on the arrangements for the proposed Scottish expedition, De Mandeville, relying on the number of his own armed retainers, by whom he was followed, suddenly drew his sword, and assassinated the Earl by cleaving his skull from behind. Dismayed at the perfidiousness of the colonists, and terrified by their threats against herself, the Countess, on receiving intelligence of the murder of her husband, fled to England with her only child, Elizabeth, who, then aged about one year, was destined to wed a son of Edward III., and to become ancestress of King Edward IV. To punish the murderer and his faction, troops were despatched by sea from Dublin to Carrickfergus, commanded by the Viceroy, D'Arcy, who had arrived from Aquitaine, where he succeeded the young Earl William, whose uncle he was by his marriage with the Dowager Countess of Kildare, one of the daughters of the "Red Earl." Aided by the

people of the district, D'Arcy encountered and routed the De Mandevilles and Logans, with their confederates, slaying some and capturing others, who were afterwards hanged and quartered; and in the pardons granted by the colonial government in the subsequent years, a clause was generally embodied specially excepting forgiveness for the murder of the Earl of Ulster. Committing the government to the Treasurer, Sir Thomas de Burgh, D'Arcy re-embarked his troops, sailed from Carrickfergus, and, landing in Scotland, contributed effectively to the victory of Edward III. at Halidon Hill, and to the forcible imposition of Baliol on the Scottish throne, after which he returned with his soldiery to Ireland.

The extinction of the senior male line of Guillaume Fitz-Aldelm de Burgh, by the death of Earl William, led the heads of the junior branches of the family, sons of Sir William de Burgh, Viceroy in 1308, to concert measures to prevent the intrusion on them of a new feudal absentee lord; and thus Sir William and Sir Edmund de Burgh, ancestors respectively of the Earls of Clanricarde and Mayo, occupied and divided between themselves the entire lordship of Connaught, comprising the present counties of Galway and Mayo, inclusive of the town of Galway. Confederating with the native clans of these districts, they renounced their allegiance to England, adopted the Irish language, apparel, and laws; Sir Edmund de Burgh assuming the title of MacWilliam, *Iochtar*, or the son of William, of the upper territory, and Lord of the town of Galway; whilst his brother, Sir William, styled himself MacWilliam, *Uachtar*, or of the lower district.

While the Crown of England thus lost its dominion over the western province, a similar movement was commenced in the murdered Earl's territory of Eastern Ulster, which, under English law, had been divided into the counties of "Cragfergus," or Carrickfergus; "Antrum," or Antrim; and "Newtown of Blæthwyc." By Bruce's occupation and subsequent wars, these lands had been much impaired in value, many of the castles rendered untenable, and the colonial population considerably reduced. Profiting by such circumstances, a sept of the O'Neills, known as *Clan Aedha Buidhe*, or the tribe of Aed, the yellow, crossed the river Bann, expelled most of the settlers, and established in this district a principality for themselves, which thus acquired the name of "Clannabuy," or Clandeboye.

In 1335, Edward III. obtained a subsidy from his subjects in Ireland, and on his summons, the Earl of Desmond, Ormonde, and other nobles, led by the Viceroy, Sir Jean D'Arcy, having embarked their soldiery, well furnished with axes, bows, spears, and engines of war, in fifty-six ships, sailed to Scotland, devastated parts of that country, and extended their incursions to the islands of Arran and Bute. The Viceroy, D'Arcy, during his almost continuous employment in the royal service in England, Scotland, and abroad, entrusted the government of the colony to his kinsman, Sir Thomas de Burgh, brother to the members of the same family who had occupied the Connaught territories of the late Earl of Ulster. The corruption of De Burgh and his official colleagues having been represented to the King, the latter, in a despatch, in 1332, declared to him, his English Chancellor, and Treasurer,

that it had become famous, or rather infamous, that they and his other ministers in Ireland, favouring persons of power, and yielding to men and not to right, had made one law for the rich and another for the poor. "You," continued the King, "have allowed the strong to oppress the weak, to usurp the royal authority, to detain the debts due to the Crown, to perpetrate various crimes; and instead of protecting the poor, who were willing to be obedient subjects, you have harrassed and aggrieved them against all justice, thereby giving a pernicious example to others. "Considering, therefore," added Edward, "that Princes are appointed by God to punish evil doers, and to reward the good, We expressly command you to treat and judge equitably, all those under the law of England, both small and great, rich and poor, so as to silence those who blame you and to merit our approbation."

Having dismissed these ministers, Edward committed the government of the colony to officials conversant with the management of his affairs in Wales. In 1337, he nominated to the Viceroyalty Sir John de Cherlton, Baron of Powys, who had served him in Brabant; conferred the Chancellorship on his brother, Thomas de Cherlton, Bishop of Hereford; appointed John Ap Rees, "Doctor of the decretals," his Treasurer for Ireland, and authorized them to carry over a body of Welsh soldiery to assist in repressing the Irish.

Sir John de Cherlton, within six months from his arrival in Ireland, was removed from office through the representations of his brother, the Bishop, who obtained for himself the post of Viceroy, in addition to the Chancellorship, undertaking to perform all the duties of

Governor, including those of maintaining and commanding the Viceregal troop of men-at-arms, at a period of almost general warfare throughout Ireland. Edward directed the Bishop to immediately victual, repair, and fully garrison the royal castles; to dismiss such constables and officials as he might disapprove of—although appointed under the English great seal—to seize all lands and castles not properly fortified by the proprietors, and to carefully exclude the Irish from employments under the Crown of England. The episcopal Viceroy laboured strenuously to carry out the royal orders; arrested and imprisoned some of the mutinous colonial nobles; led military expeditions against the natives; and, on one occasion, seized, in Idrone, in Carlow, the largest prey of cattle ever known to have been taken by the settlers from the Irish of that district. Highly gratified with these proceedings, Edward III., in a letter, written in 1333, bore testimony to the great services of his Viceroy, the "venerable Father, Thomas, Bishop of Hereford," both in maintaining peace amongst his subjects in Ireland, and in repelling the attacks of the Irish enemies, by continually marching against them, from place to place, with a great force of horse and foot soldiery. In consideration of these exertions, the King ordered his Treasurer to pay the Bishop's Viceregal salary before that of any other of his officers in Ireland, that he might not, from want of funds, be obliged to discontinue his expeditions.

The Bishop of Hereford returned to England in 1340, leaving the government to the Chancellor, Prior Roger Utlagh, on whose death, in the same year, Edward appointed Sir Jean D'Arcy, Viceroy of Ireland, for life,

conferring upon him, in part reward for his services, various lands and manors in Meath and Louth, confiscated from Roger de Mortimer, and Raoul, Count of Eu. D'Arcy, engaged in the King's military and diplomatic affairs both in England and abroad, deputed as his representative in Ireland, Sir John Moriz, who had held the post of royal Escheator. The duties of the Escheator were to bring into the Exchequer the profits of lands or interests to which the Crown could lay any claim, through forfeiture, death, minority, failure of heirs, termination of leases, or other circumstances; but the office had become odious from the various devices by which its holders made it instrumental for levying exactions for their own profit.

The many massive moated and circumvallated fortresses of the colonists, the exertions of Viceroys and Commanders experienced in the Scottish and Continental wars, furnished with the arms and military engines used in those times with great effect, had failed to maintain the integrity of the settlement; and, towards 1341, the natives succeeded in regaining more than a third part of the territories, which had, for a period, been brought under the dominion of England. Soon after the secession of the De Burghs in Connaught, Irish septs took the three strong royal fortresses which had been erected for the defence of the western frontier of the colony, at Athlone, Roscommon, and Randoun. The latter of these castles had been deemed able to resist all attacks, as from its position on the peninsula of *Rinn-duin*, in Lough Ree, between the present counties of Mayo, Roscommon, and West-Meath, it could only be assailed by land,

from one side, protected by a broad moat and fortifications of immense solidity. The weakness of the Leinster colony on its northern frontier, is evidenced by a treaty which the settlers of the County of Louth, next Meath, on the eastern coast, made at this period, for their own defence, with the head of the sept of *Ui h-Anluain*, or O'Hanlon, the terms of which, embodied in a formal instrument, drawn up by a notary public, were approved of by the King of England. The south-east of Leinster, between Carlow and the sea, was brought under the control of the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, MacMurraghs.

The chief of the latter clan was propitiated by the government at Dublin, which, to secure his amity, covenanted to pay him an annual tribute from the public exchequer of the colony. Notwithstanding such alliances and the attacks of native septs under Viceregal leading, the chieftain, *Laeighsach Ua Mordha*, or Lisagh O'More, took eight castles in one evening in Leix, now known as the Queen's County, assumed the dominion formerly exercised there by his ancestors; and succeeded in sacking the immense fortress erected by the Anglo-Normans as the head or manorial castle of the district. This edifice, situated about four miles to the east of the present town of Maryborough, stood on the summit of a lofty, isolated rock, approachable only on its strongly barbicaned eastern side, and was styled from the legendary Leinster Prince who anciently occupied its site, *Dun na Measg*, or the fort of Measg, a name changed to "Dunamaske," "Dumas," and Dunamase. While the colony was thus circumstanced, Edward III., seeking by every device to raise money for his continental wars, despatched

miners to explore for silver ores in Ireland, and paid some dependants with Irish grants, as in the case of his surgeon, whose services abroad, and cure of the King's son, Lionel, were recompensed by a royal lease, for life, of the weirs and fishery of Limerick, at the annual rent of one hundred shillings. In 1338, Edward III. and his Council in England, decreed that none but Englishmen should be admitted to any of the legal offices under the Crown in Ireland. This ordinance does not appear to have been attended with the advantages anticipated by its framers, as, in 1341, the King dismissed two of his judges of the King's Bench, at Dublin; and imprisoned Elias, of Ashburnham, his Chief Justice of that court; directed that he should never again be admitted to the royal service; and ordered the seizure of all the lands and properties of which he had obtained grants. The officials of the Exchequer of the colony appear not to have been less corrupt than those of the King's Bench, as Edward abolished claims made by the Treasurer to dispose of sums without vouchers; demanded the accounts from the beginning of his reign; ordered him to make no payments without the authority of the Viceroy, Chancellor, and Council; neither to accept gratuities in consideration of forbearing to levy the King's debts; nor to receive the public money in his chamber, or in any place except the Exchequer court. The King commanded the Viceroy and Chancellor to inspect and report upon the entries on the rolls of the Exchequer; to take measures to prevent the continuance of the extortions practised by the officers of that court for their own profit; and to transmit to him a statement detailing the duties, salaries, and characters

of all those employed by the Crown in Ireland. With the object, apparently, of making the latter more amenable to justice, an ordinance was issued, setting forth that it appeared to the King and his Council in England, that the royal service should be better and more profitably conducted in Ireland, by English officials having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish or English married and estated in Ireland, and without property in England. "We enjoin," wrote Edward to the Viceroy, in 1341, "that you diligently inquire respecting all our officers, both high and low, within our land of Ireland; and that all such, holding benefices, or married or estated in Ireland, but without possessions in England, be removed, and other competent Englishmen, having lands, tenements, and benefices in England, substituted; and that you cause the said offices, for the future, to be executed by such Englishmen, and by no others."

To replenish his treasury, Edward next had recourse to the extreme measure of declaring void every royal grant of lands and tenements in Ireland, made from the reign of his father; and he likewise annulled all acquittances, except those under the great seal of England, which had been given at any time, on behalf of the English Crown, to its debtors in Ireland. A formidable fermentation was excited in the colony by the promulgation of these ordinances. The threatened ejection from office of the descendants of the old colonists, styled "English by blood," arrayed them against the more recent immigrants known as "English by birth;" while the intended revocation of grants, and the preparations for again levying Crown debts which had been previously discharged, evoked such

discontent, that, in the words of a colonial chronicler of the time, the King's land in Ireland was on the point of passing away from the Crown of England.

Sir John Moriz, to whom, as deputy of the absent Viceroy, D'Arcy, the execution of the obnoxious ordinances had been committed, summoned a Parliament to meet at Dublin, in October, 1341; but the Earl of Desmond, and some of the chief personages of the colony, contemning the Governor as their inferior, absented themselves, and convened a meeting at Kilkenny, in the following month. This assembly, composed of many of the principal colonial nobles, prelates, landholders, and the mayors of the royal cities, determined to appeal to the King in person, and to impugn the intolerable conduct of his ministers in Ireland; with reference to the chief of whom they devised the following queries:—"How a country in a state of war could be managed by a governor unskilled in military affairs? How an official of the King could, in a short time, acquire great wealth? And how it happened that the King of England did not derive larger revenues from Ireland?" The Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons of his Majesty's land in Ireland, in a memorial in the French language, represented to "their very dear lord, Edward, King of France and England," that his Irish enemies had retaken more than one-third of the lands and manors, which had yielded large revenues to his predecessors; that the Irish had also seized or levelled many castles, once the chief defences of the English in their vicinage; and that his subjects in Ireland were reduced to such a state of poverty, that they could not longer exist unless some remedies were devised. Such

losses, and the great diminution of the Crown revenues, they ascribed no less to the incessant war waged by the Irish, than to the embezzlement and extortions practised by the English ministers employed by the King in Ireland. These officials, they averred, defrauded the Constables of the royal castles; entrusted their custody to incompetent warders, or to those who employed deputies, merely to extort fees; charged the Crown for goods and victuals taken for its use, but for which they never paid; entered in their accounts salaries to governors of castles which were either demolished, in the hands of the enemy, or had never existed; summoned persons needlessly to the royal service, and exacted money in lieu of attendance; fined heavily those who did not appear in their courts, although proved to be engaged at the time in resisting the attacks of the Irish; imprisoned even lords without indictments, and caused some to be cited, contrary to all reason, to appear in the King's courts in England. In addition to complaints of numerous other official oppressions, the petitioners represented that many districts of the colony had been ruined, as their proprietors never came thither from England, nor made any expenditure towards their maintenance, but sought, by setting them to farm, to extract all the money that they could yield. "When, sire," continued the petitioners, "divers of your liegemen in Scotland, Gascoigne, and Wales, frequently levied war against their sovereign lord, your loyal English of Ireland behaved well and faithfully, and shall ever do so, please God, maintaining at their own cost the said land, both against your Scotch and Irish enemies: yet needy men have been sent from England to govern

them, without knowledge of your land in Ireland or its circumstances; and, possessing little or no substance of their own to live upon and maintain their state, they have, in addition to their salaries and fees, taken advantage of their offices to practise extortions, to the great destruction of your people." Averring that nothing short of the special assistance of the Almighty could have enabled them to sustain the great labours and perils which they encountered, every day of their lives, in defending their possessions against the Irish enemy, the loyal English of Ireland appealed to his Majesty, against the injustice of resuming lands and grants given to them and their progenitors, in return for good services, and prayed that they might not be thus deprived of their freeholds without being called into judgment, in accordance with the terms of the Great Charter.

With this petition, Thomas Wogan and John L'Archer, Prior of the Hospitallers of Kilmainham, repaired to England, and obtained from the King and Council, under the great seal, orders for the annulment of the act of resumption, and for the removal of each abuse and grievance of which they complained. On their return, they carried with them a letter, in French, from the King, addressed to "his dear and faithful Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the cities, burghs, and towns, of his land in Ireland." In this despatch, Edward announced his compliance with their petition; averred that he had much at heart the good government of his land, both for the honour of God, the maintenance of the law, as well as for the profit and ease of himself and his subjects, all of whom might, he declared, obtain his

further grace by giving him their aid and counsel. He also intimated, that he intended ere long, with the help of God, to enter France with the strong hand, for the recovery of his rights, and had determined to carry thither in his company a body of his good people of Ireland, on whose prompt co-operation he relied.

That some of the settlers did not ascribe the loss of so much of the colonial territories altogether to the want of castles and artificial defences, referred to in the petition to Edward III., would appear from a circumstance narrated in connexion with Sir Robert le Sauvage, who at this time held the office of Constable of Ulster under the King of England. Partly by alliances with the natives, the family of Le Sauvage, having settled in Ulster, among the O'Neills and Magennises, long maintained themselves in the Ards, to the east of the County of Down, where their district was styled by the Irish, *Crioc mhec an t-Sabaoisigh*, or the territory of the sons of Le Sauvage. Sir Henri le Sauvage, we are assured, caused his father, Sir Robert, to desist from erecting fortifications upon his lands, declaring his faith in the proverb, that "a castle of bones, with strength and courage of valiant men, was better than any pile of stones. Never," said he, "shall I, by the grace of God, cumber myself with dead walls; my fort shall be where young bloods are stirring, and where I find room to fight." The wealthy knight, old Sir Robert, is said to have then sworn that he would never more spend his substance on stone and mortar, but keep a plentiful house, with a great family and many retainers about him. The stories of the colonists told, that having on one occasion prepared an

army against some of the neighbouring septs, with whom he was at variance, Sir Robert le Sauvage allowed to each of his soldiers, before engaging, "a mighty draught of aqua vitæ, wine, or old ale, and killed in provision for their return, beeves, venison, fowl—great plenty." Some of his captains, doubting the result of the conflict, proposed, as good policy, to secrete part of the provisions, and poison the remainder, rather than that their caitiff Irish enemies might enjoy such princely fare. Hereat, continues the tale, the ancient knight "smiled and said: 'Tush, ye are too full of envy; this world is but an inn, whereunto you have no special interest, but are only tenants at the will of the Lord. If it please Him to command us from it, as it were from our lodging, and to set other good fellows in our room, what hurt shall it be for us to leave them some meat for their suppers? Let them hardly win it and wear it. If they enter our dwellings, good manners would be no less but to welcome them with such fare as the country breedeth, and, with all my heart, much good may it do them. Notwithstanding, I presume so far upon your noble courage, that verily my mind giveth me, that we shall return at night, and banquet ourselves with our own store.' And," adds the story, with due exaggeration, "so they did, having slain three thousand Irishmen."

CHAPTER VI.

To initiate the reform of the abuses complained of by the colonists, Edward III., in February, 1344, issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his ministers to quit Ireland, until their conduct had been judicially investigated, and ordered the seizure of ships in which they might attempt to depart. In the same month the King committed the government to Sir Raoul D'Ufford, whose grandfather, Robert, had been Viceroy to Edward I. Sir Raoul's brother was the first Earl of Suffolk, from the lordship of Ufford, in which county, the family derived their name. Edward III. had conferred large demesnes in Berks and Dorset upon Sir Raoul, who, distinguished for his stern intrepidity in the French and Flemish wars, married Maud Plantagenet, widow of the murdered Earl of Ulster. D'Ufford was authorized, as Viceroy, to remove and appoint royal officers; to receive Irish into the King's allegiance, and to grant to them charters and pardons. He was also directed to explore for Irish mines, of gold, silver, lead, and tin; and to make searching inquiries respecting persons, who, having obtained lands in the "marches," had not defended or fortified them, as they were bound to do by the charters under which they held. To this neglect was ascribed the seizure of such lands by the Irish, and the expulsion of settlers whose residence upon them would have served to protect the borders.

The apprehensions of the colonists at the appointment of so rigorous a Viceroy, were augmented by the anticipation, that his wife might seek retaliation for their conduct towards herself and the murder of her first husband, William de Burgh. After the assassination of that Earl, eleven years previously, the settlers on his lands had menaced the Countess and repudiated her claims. King Edward consequently intervened, allocated to her a dowry in England; took her infant daughter into wardship; betrothed her to his son, Lionel; and assigned to Queen Philippa the rents and profits of the Earldom of Ulster, and the Lordship of Connaught. The Viceroy was unable to carry into effect the orders for assuming these territories on behalf of the Crown. The Earl's kinsmen in Connaught not only held possession of his lands in that province, but seized Edmund de Burgh, surnamed by the Irish *Na feisog*, or "the bearded," who had accepted the office of warden of the peace from the King of England, and, having tied a stone to his neck, they flung him into Lough Measg. The settlers in the Earldom of Ulster also refused to pay rent to the King, and assailed the royal collectors, who fled to Dublin, where they obtained from the Treasury compensation for the loss of their horses, which had been slain.

In July, 1345, D'Ufford and the Countess of Ulster entered Dublin, in great pomp, attended by a large body of soldiery, under the banners of England, and took up his residence in the rich Priory of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham, where his wife "lived royally, with her friends about her, like a queen in the island of Ireland."

Part of Kildare being assailed by Irish septs, D'Ufford

proclaimed it penal to furnish them with horses, victuals, or arms. He also announced that he would enforce the hitherto disregarded ordinance, which decreed that there should be but one war and one peace throughout the entire of the King's land in Ireland; and that while any part was assailed no truces should be made elsewhere, but the entire strength of the vicinity mustered to aid the district in danger.

By burning their lands and corn, D'Ufford succeeded in obtaining hostages from one of the Wexford clans. When a sept in Louth sought admission to the "King's peace," he ordered the sheriffs to impanel a jury of the settlers of that county, to inquire, upon oath, and report the precise profit which the Crown and colony could gain by acceding to the application. Should the alliance be pronounced advantageous, the sheriffs were directed to take hostages and proclaim penalties against any who might molest or injure members of the sept after their admission to the Viceregal protection.

Advancing towards Ulster, of which his wife was nominal Countess, D'Ufford was encountered in a mountain pass by MacArtan, Chief of the territory of *Cinel Fhagartaigh*, or Kinelarty, in the middle of the present County of Down, who slaughtered some of his soldiery, despoiled him of his treasure, plate, horse, and clothes; and pressed him so close, that he was obliged to call out to the settlers of Louth and Monaghan, with whose aid he made his way through the defile. In June, D'Ufford, held at Dublin, a Parliament of the colonists, from which the Earl of Desmond absented himself, and summoned his fellow-nobles to meet at Callan. To his territories in Kerry, Cork,

Limerick, and Waterford, this nobleman had added Clonmel and Kilsillan, in Tipperary, which he purchased from Pierre de Grandison for eleven hundred marks. Several lords of the colony had received knighthood from him; and in his charters, composed in royal style in the plural number, he designated himself "Earl of Desmond, Lord of Deyse [Decies,] of [Ogonnyl Connello], and of the liberty of Kerry." The nobles, having been admonished by royal writs, declined to attend at Callan, whither Desmond marched with his troops on the day fixed. D'Ufford summoning the lords of the colony to join him with their soldiery, advanced against the Earl, took his castle at Iniskisty, and in the name of the King of England, called on the garrison of his strong fortress of Castle-island, near Tralee, to surrender. The Earl's knights, Eustace le Poer, Baron of Kenlis, in Ossory, and William le Grant, refusing to obey the summons, the Viceroy unfurled and set up the standard of England, under which he concentrated his soldiery, and, after a fortnight's siege, succeeded in forcing an entrance. On the capture of the fortress, Le Poer and Le Grant were hanged by D'Ufford, who also seized the Earl's Seneschal, John Coterel, and having tried him for various tyrannical oppressions, with which he was charged, caused him to be hanged, cut down, his intestines burned, his head severed, and his limbs set up, as a public example, in different parts of the province. Having surprised and imprisoned in Dublin Castle the Earl of Kildare, kinsman of Desmond, the Viceroy declared the latter to have forfeited his estates, which he seized, and set out to farm on behalf of the King. D'Ufford next had recourse to the bond

executed twelve years previously, by which twenty-six of the chief personages of the colony individually pledged their bodies and lands for the future loyalty of the Earl of Desmond, whom, under the same instrument, they had bound themselves to produce within two months from the day on which he might be demanded from them by a royal writ. Desmond continuing refractory, the Viceroy proceeded to judgment in legal course, decreed the confiscation of the lands and possessions of the "mainpernours," or bailsmen, not excepting those who had aided him against the Earl, and gave sentence that their bodies lay at the mercy of the King of England. The execution of this ordinance caused the ruin of many, before the death of the Viceroy, who, attacked by a malignant disease, expired at Kilmainham, on Palm Sunday, 1346. The colonial chroniclers of the time, reflecting to some extent the feelings of the settlers, declared that D'Ufford's death was hailed with joy by clergy and laity, who, in consequence, celebrated their Easter with merry hearts; the tempests and floods, which had continually prevailed from the day of his arrival, suddenly ceasing when he died. They denounced him as an unjust man, greedy of gain, doing everything by violence, equitable to none, a robber and oppressor of both rich and poor; adding, that he revoked and cancelled grants which he had made under the King's seal, and extorted money by indicting and imprisoning ecclesiastics as well as laymen. Much of his severity was ascribed to the counsels of his wife, of whom the colonial writers recorded, with malignant satisfaction, that she, who had for a time maintained the state of a queen, subsequently, with her people, bearing D'Ufford's remains in

a leaden coffin, in which her treasure was secreted, passed privately from Dublin Castle, evading her clamorous creditors, and returned ingloriously to England, "in horrible grief of heart, sad and mournful, with the doleful badges of death, sorrow, and heaviness." The Viceroy was interred by his widow in the Nunnery of St. Clare, at Cumpsey, or Camescy, near the town of Ufford, in Suffolk, the burial-place of her first husband, William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; and, through the influence of her brother, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, she obtained license from Edward III. to found there a chantry of five priests, to offer up prayers perpetually for the repose of their souls.

Notwithstanding D'Ufford's zeal in the royal service, it would appear that his removal had been decided on. In April, 1346, Sir John Moriz, waiting upon Edward III. at Westminster, obtained his own re-appointment to the office of Viceroy, three days after which news reached England that D'Ufford had been attacked by a dangerous malady. This intelligence was communicated to Moriz by the King, who, in a letter under the privy seal, ordered him to repair with all speed to Ireland, to report the state of affairs there when he arrived, and to produce his commission and assume the government should D'Ufford die. On the Viceroy's decease, the Council elected as Governor, Sir Jean D'Arcy's son, Roger, who resigned on the arrival of Moriz. The latter liberated the Earl of Kildare from the prison of Dublin Castle; Sir Thomas and Sir Maurice de Berkeley, with Sir Reginald de Cobham, having become sureties in England that he and his kinsman, the Earl of Desmond, would submit themselves to the King,

to be dealt with according to law. From Youghal, Desmond, with his wife and two sons, sailed to England, surrendered himself as a prisoner to the King, appealed against the proceedings of D'Ufford, and obtained an allowance from the Treasury of twenty shillings per day for his expenses while thus circumstanced.

The Earl of Kildare, with some of his knights, barons, and soldiery, repaired to Calais, and for his services during the siege received knighthood from the King. At Crécy, as well as at Calais, Edward's army included soldiery from Ireland; and among the important settlers who served him during the memorable siege, were Walter de Bonneville, Walter Calf, William de Wellesley, and Sir Fulke de la Freigne, of Kilkenny, a member of the King's colonial Privy Council. Sir Fulke, a soldier from his boyhood, was deemed unrivalled among the settlers for valour and warlike skill, and for maintaining hospitality so profuse that the doors of his banqueting-hall were never known to have been closed on any one.

To provide soldiery against clans assailing lands and castles in Leinster, the Parliament of the colonists, assembled at Kilkenny, in 1346, voted a tax of two shillings from every plough-land under their control, and twelve pence from every subject possessing goods to the value of sixty shillings. An attempt was made to levy a proportion of this subsidy off Church lands; but Ralph Kelly, Archbishop of Cashel, with his suffragans, the Bishops of Emly, Limerick, and Lismore, claiming exemption, decreed that those of their clergy who contributed should be ejected from their livings, and never admitted to promotion; that any of their lay tenants who paid should incur

excommunication, and have their children to the third generation excluded from holding any office in the Church. These orders, together with sentence of excommunication against the King's collectors, were publicly pronounced in the middle of the chief street of Clonmel, by the Archbishop and his suffragans, fully attired in their pontifical vestments. Although the Crown proceeded against them, by law, for damages of an overwhelming amount, the aged Bishop de Ledrede, in the following year, excommunicated King Edward's Treasurer, who sought to collect from the tenants of the see of Ossory another subsidy, voted by the colonial Parliament to carry on war against the O'Mores and septs then in arms against the settlers.

To contend with the invaders of the colony, the King despatched to Ireland, as Viceroy, Walter de Bermingham, Lord of Athenry, who, in compliance with the royal summons, had, with men and horses, joined the English army, mustered at Portsmouth for the invasion of France. Walter had, fifteen years previously, been imprisoned in Dublin Castle, when his brother, William, was hanged by De Lucy. He subsequently evinced his loyalty by combining with D'Ufford, who assigned him a pension of forty pounds per annum, for his services in peace and war. On De Bermingham's appointment to the government, the King granted him an allowance for ten additional men-at-arms in his Viceregal train, at one shilling each per day; and fifty mounted archers, at fourpence each per day, to aid in serving against the Irish.

This Viceroy, with the Earl of Kildare, warred upon the O'Mores and O'Dempseys, whose lands they wasted and burned; but, in 1348, the O'Kennedys drove out the De

Cogans, Cantewells, and others who had settled on their lands in Tipperary, and razed the town of Nenagh, although under the immediate protection of the strong fortress of the Earl of Ormonde. De Bermingham, styled by the colonial chroniclers a most excellent Viceroy, resigned the government to John, Baron of Carew, in 1349, and died in the following year in England, where, as already noticed, he had acquired large estates through his marriage with the heiress of De Multon.

Carew was succeeded, in December, 1349, by Sir Thomas de Rokeby, sometime Sheriff of Yorkshire, claimant of lands in Dublin, Kildare, Tipperary, and styled "L'Oncle," to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name. By an indenture with Edward III., "Monsieur Thomas de Rokeby" covenanted, as Justiciary for Ireland, to maintain, out of his salary of five hundred pounds, twenty men-at-arms and twenty mounted archers, who, with their horses and accoutrements, were to be periodically inspected by the royal Treasurer, to prevent frauds. De Rokeby was also authorized to bring from England twenty additional men-at-arms and forty mounted archers, to aid in defending the King's land in Ireland, which, according to the record, was then "neither in a good plight nor at peace." Observing a rigid equity, little previously known in Viceregal dealings with the colonists, De Rokeby, soon after his arrival, prosecuted and convicted the Treasurer, Robert of Emeldon, a special favourite of the King, having been in the royal employment from his youth. De Rokeby also checked the extortions of officials, who, sparing the powerful, or those who purchased immunity by bribes, were accustomed to carry away from the more

humble settlers, cattle, poultry, provender, corn, and other effects, nominally for the King's service, at a third of their value, which, however, they seldom paid. "Monsieur Thomas" is recorded to have publicly declared, that he preferred to be served in wooden dishes, to eat from wooden platters, and drink from wooden cups, rather than not pay in gold and silver the wages of his men and the cost of his raiment and victuals. For the protection of the people of Dublin and its vicinage, De Rokeby entered into a compact with the border septs of O'Byrne, Archbold, and Harold. The latter elected their Chief in the Viceroy's presence, and swore upon the Evangelists to take and deliver up any of their tribe who might despoil or slay the King's people. The government at Dublin also agreed with Aed, a leader of the clan of O'Toole, to defend the English borders about Tallaght, with a force of twenty hobelers, at fourpence each per day, and forty foot soldiers, at twopence each, with ten marks for himself; forty shillings for his brother, Shane, dwelling in the parts of Imail, for the guard of the English there; twenty shillings for his Marshal; and six and eightpence for his Chaplain, appointed to explore and transmit intelligence to the Viceroy respecting apprehended hostile incursions. Against formidable border chiefs who declined the Viceroy's proposals, or successfully repelled the attacks made upon their territories, other measures were adopted. The colonial government either essayed to set up rivals in the clans; offered rewards for captures, or paid liberally those who mortally wounded or slew inimical chiefs, and produced their heads, which were usually impaled on the battlements of the Castle. Such policy

failed in the main to protect the settlement, which was incessantly invaded by the bordering Irish. If one district obtained peace by propitiating, repelling, or entering into treaties with its assailants, the banners of hostile septs were soon advanced against another portion of the colony, where fortresses were rapidly sacked, cattle driven away, settlers of importance captured, and either retained as hostages, exchanged for other prisoners, or held in durance till ransomed by large payments.

Heavy assessments were frequently levied to provide soldiery and to pay for the losses thus incurred; while the colonists, aged from sixteen to sixty, repeatedly called out in arms, were obliged to maintain guards on the highways, and at all assailable points. Exhausted by such continuous warfare, in which many sheriffs, wardens of the peace, and colonial leaders were slain, some of the chief settlers prepared to quit Ireland, but Edward III., in 1353, prohibited, by proclamation, the departure of any ecclesiastic, noble, or able-bodied man, capable of defending the territories of the Crown. Penalty of forfeiture was decreed against any English subject who should quit Ireland without special license from the King or Viceroy, and the latter was ordered to seize the persons, horses, and effects of those who might attempt to withdraw. Richard Fitz-Ralph, the English Archbishop of Armagh, was commanded by the King to return from the Papal court, and, instead of expending his revenues abroad, to devote them to fortifying and defending the lands of his see, then daily invaded by the neighbouring Irish.

While the colony was thus circumscribed, the Irish clans in districts beyond the influence of the government of the

monarch of England, at Dublin, elected their Kings and Chiefs according to ancient custom, founded monasteries, obeyed the Brehon law, and prided themselves on displaying hospitality to pilgrims or peaceful wayfarers, and in entertaining the bards and learned men of their own Gaelic race.

The obstacles which the English government at Dublin encountered in providing defences against the border Irish, are exhibited by a mandate addressed by Edward III., in 1355, to Maurice Fitz-Thomas, fourth Earl of Kildare, the first peer of the colony, reproving him for not having, in compliance with several previous orders, taken his station with his soldiery on the "marches," in Kildare, to repel the daily incursions of the sept of O'Byrne. "Although," wrote the King, "you knew of these invasions, destructions, or dangers, and have been often urged by us to defend these 'marches,' jointly with others, you have neither sped thither, nor sent that force of men which you were most strongly bound to have done, for the honour of an Earl, and for the safety of those lordships, castles, lands, and tenements, which, given and granted to your grandfather, by our grandfather, have thus descended to you. Since," continued Edward, "you neither endeavour to prevent the perils, ruin, and destruction, threatening these parts, in consequence of your neglect, nor attend to the orders of ourselves or of our Council, we shall no longer be trifled with; and now ordain that you, in your proper person, with five other mounted men-at-arms, twelve well-armed hobelers, forty archers, and other foot soldiers, in good array, shall be at Rathmore, on Monday next after the Octave of the Holy Trinity, or

on the Tuesday following, at furthest, to maintain a guard there, at your own costs, for the defence of your lands and of those parts. Therefore, on your allegiance, and on pain of forfeiting both your body and all your lands held from us in the County of Kildare, we command you to perform and continue in this service, with our other subjects, against the enemies, as occasion may require; otherwise, the confiscation shall be enforced against you."

The chief settlers were frequently prevented from attending the Parliaments of the colony, no less from the perils of journeying through hostile Irish territories, than from apprehensions that, during their temporary absence, their lands and castles might be seized by those native proprietors against whom they were obliged to maintain an almost continuous warfare. Edward III. consequently sanctioned the holding of separate Parliaments in secure places, suited to the convenience of his subjects, resident, respectively, in the northern and southern parts of the colonial territory. Thus, in 1359, the Earl of Kildare, the English Archbishop of Dublin, with the bishops, abbots, and lay representatives of the colonists in Leinster, held their "great council" at Dublin; while the Earl of Desmond, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the other principal English subjects of the southern parts, assembled at Waterford.

The Chancellorship and Treasurership of the colony, were usually entrusted to some of the English ecclesiastics, with whom the sees and chief offices of the Church in Ireland were at this period filled. Six men-at-arms and twelve mounted archers were allowed to the Chancellor for his personal protection, and for the security of the

seal of the King of England, in his custody. A similar guard was provided for the King's Treasurer; and both these officials were usually, for their own safety, obliged to augment their armed retinues, when they passed beyond the precincts of the cities, or rode in attendance on the Viceroys.

The difficulties of the colonial government were augmented by the intestine feuds between the "English by birth" and the "English by blood." Many of the more important of the latter contracted alliances with the Irish in their vicinages, while various descendants of high Anglo-Norman settlers, as the De Burghs, Le Poers, St. Aubyns, De Roches, De Cantetons, totally seceded from the English government. Other colonists, wearied with feudal oppressions, also adopted the language, laws, customs, and apparel of the Irish, to whom they became bound through alliances, marriage, "gossipred," and "fosterage." The latter ties were almost indissoluble, as "gossips" and "fosterers" were, among the Irish, seldom known to have failed in their engagements to maintain and defend each other under all circumstances.

The Earl of Desmond was released from custody, at London, in 1349, on the joint bond of his father-in-law, Raoul, Lord Stafford, Thomas de Berkeley, Richard Talbot, and Reginald de Cobham, each of whom personally undertook to produce him within eight days from the time he might be demanded by the King. Edward III. and his Council pronounced D'Ufford's proceedings to have been erroneous, and ordered the restitution of the lands and properties which had been seized from the Earl and his bailsmen. Eighteen knights are, however, recorded

to have lost their estates through these transactions, from which Edward, according to his own statement, did not derive any profit. The King took the Earl under his special protection; ordered the royal officers to defend his possessions; and decreed that all questions in connexion with him should be referred to the Council in England. Desmond, nominated to the Viceroyalty in 1355, governed with justice, not hesitating to hang some of his own kindred, convicted of plunder or rapine. On his death, in July, 1356, in Dublin Castle, the Council re-elected, as Governor, Sir Thomas de Rokeby, who, dying in the same year at Kilkea Castle, in Kildare, was succeeded, as Viceroy, by the Baron Almaric de St. Amand, who had served in the Scottish and French wars, and was Lord of Gormanstown, in Meath, where he inherited lands through his relatives, the De Verduns. De St. Amand, in addition to his Viceregal salary of five hundred pounds, was allowed forty men-at-arms, and a hundred mounted archers. During his Viceroyalty, an elaborate ordinance, for the amelioration of the colonial government, was compiled by Edward III. and his Council in England, evoked, as it records, by the wretched state to which the subjects of the English Crown in Ireland had been reduced, through want of good government, and the neglect of both high and low royal officers to enforce the laws. This document recited, that the borders had been devastated; their defenders, for the most part, plundered, slain, or seized and held to ransom, by the Irish; their habitations burned, and the survivors, either driven out, or combined with the King's enemies. It alleged that his Majesty had been purposely misled by reports carried to him from

Ireland, stating districts to be at peace, which, at the time, were involved in harassing warfare ; that the confidence of the Viceroys had been abused by their counsellors, who should rather be styled brokers, from the mode in which they pursued their private gains, reckless of the injuries which they inflicted upon others ; that the King's subjects had been lamentably oppressed by the extortions practised in his name ; that many, both high and low, had, without indictments, been illegally cast into obscure prisons, and there detained till they paid heavy fines, which were divided among the officials, on whose orders they had been incarcerated. For these and other complicated evils, remedies were prescribed, and Parliaments ordered to be held, for the arrangement of the more important and serious matters concerning the affairs of the King and his land. The Viceroy was directed to institute annual inquiries respecting the conduct of the royal officers ; to prohibit the English subjects from marrying or fostering their children with the Irish ; and to take measure to repress the dissensions between the English settlers born in Ireland, and those of English birth, whence, wrote the King, " many evils had arisen, and still greater might be apprehended, unless a remedy were speedily applied, although both of these people be true Englishmen, under our dominion and sovereignty, and bound by the same laws, rights, and customs."

Among the archives of England are enrolled certificates, issued by Edward III., during the Viceroyalty of St. Amand, declaring that Malatesta Ungaro, of Rimini, and Nicolo de Beccario, of Ferrara, had performed pilgrimages to the famous Purgatory of St. Patrick, Lough Derg.

Ungaro, Lord of Rimini, Fano, Pesano, and Fossombrone, was renowned in Italy for his warlike enterprises, his knowledge and piety. "Whereas," wrote the King of England, "Malatesta Ungaro, of Rimini, a nobleman and knight, hath presented himself before us, and declared that, travelling from his own country, he had, with many bodily toils, visited the Purgatory of St. Patrick, in our land of Ireland, and for the space of a day and a night, as is the custom, remained therein enclosed, and now earnestly beseeches us that, for the confirmation of the truth thereof, we should grant him our royal letters: We, therefore, considering the dangers and perils of his pilgrimage, and although the assertion of such a noble might on this suffice, yet we are further certified thereof by letters from our trusty and beloved Almaric de St. Amand, knight, Justiciary of Ireland, and from the Prior and Convent of the said Purgatory, and others of great credit, as also by clear evidence, that the said nobleman had duly and courageously performed his pilgrimage; we have consequently thought worthy to give favourably unto him our royal authority concerning the same, to the end there may be no doubt made of the premised; and that the truth may more clearly appear, we have deemed proper to grant unto him these our letters, under our royal seal."

The records of the colonial Exchequer, during the same year, contain entries of payments to King Edward's falconer, Guillaume de Troyes, and his attendants, sent to Ireland to purchase for his Majesty six goshawks and six tarsels. The same documents record the grant of the then considerable sum of thirty pounds to William Vale, Sheriff of Carlow, whose petition set forth that he had lost all his

goods ; that many of his friends and followers, forming his retinue, had fallen in the King's service, repulsing the neighbouring enemies, who laid waste the county and slew many of its inhabitants ; that he had killed three of the O'Nolans, Philip O'Byrne, and many other captains of the Irish of those parts, and had brought their heads to the Castle of Dublin, by the King's command, there to be set up, although he might have had a great ransom by delivering these heads elsewhere.

The Viceroy, De St. Amand, on returning to England, appointed, as his deputy in Ireland, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, fourth Earl of Kildare. In 1359, the King nominated to the Viceroyalty James le Botiller, second Earl of Ormonde, styled " the noble," from being great-grandson of Edward I. Ormonde was instructed to renew the injunctions requiring proprietors of lands in the marches to become resident there with their families and attendants, and to provide men-at-arms and archers to repel the incursions of the Irish. He was also directed to imprison some legal officers, who withheld the King's money ; to remove others indicted of felonies ; to seize lands illegally acquired by officials ; to explore for mines of gold and silver; to set out to farm the numerous tenements and lands devastated and abandoned, in consequence of the wars between the English and Irish ; and to cause sessions to be held in places of security, whither suitors could come without incurring the perils of passing through hostile districts.

In the same year, Edward, on the representation of the colonial Parliament, prohibited that any of the mere Irish, or of the Irish race, should be elected as mayor, bailiff,

or officer, or to any other post in his dominion in Ireland. Penalty of forfeiture of all possessions was decreed against those prelates, abbots, or priors, under the jurisdiction of the Crown of England in Ireland, who should, under any circumstances, admit native Irish into their religious houses, or to benefices; and all such establishments and appointments were ordered to be reserved for loyal clerics. Edward subsequently modified this ordinance, to avoid prejudicing certain Irish ecclesiastics, faithful to himself, and resident within the limits of the colony, who presented a memorial, declaring their loyalty to England, and praying for an exception in their own favour.

Edward III., when his third son, Lionel, attained the age of ten, in 1347, ordered that all proceedings connected with the Earldom of Ulster and Lordship of Connaught should be transacted in the name of that Prince, the affianced husband of Elizabeth, only child of the murdered Earl William de Burgh. This lady, six years older than Prince Lionel, was also heiress to portion of Kilkenny, and to various lordships, lands, castles, and manors in Essex, Hereford, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Buckinghamshire. The authority of England was almost totally repudiated in Connaught, where the Earl's kinsmen had become Irish septs, under the name of MacWilliam; while the O'Neils, who occupied much of Eastern Ulster, acknowledged no law except the Gaelic code of their own race. Land quarrels springing up among the descendants of the settlers in the western province about this period, opened a prospect for their reduction to the authority of Prince Lionel, who, in right of his wife, assumed the style of Earl of Ulster, Lord of Connaught and Trim. The

burgesses of Galway having returned to their allegiance, obtained, through the influence of his Countess, from her father-in-law, the King of England, in 1361, an advantageous charter, authorizing them to levy tolls, for the purpose of effectually walling and fortifying their town.

The limits of the settlement in Ireland becoming daily more circumscribed, Edward III., in 1361, announced his intention of despatching thither his son, Prince Lionel, with a strong army, as, wrote the King, "our Irish dominions have been reduced to such utter devastation, ruin, and misery, that they may be totally lost if our subjects there are not immediately succoured." At Easter, 1361, Edward summoned to Westminster all the holders of Irish estates resident in England, to consult respecting the defence of their lands, on which, according to the royal letters, they had made no expenditure, although receiving all the profits derivable from them. The sixty-three absentee landowners, thus cited, included the Earls of Northampton, Stafford, Athol; the Countesses of Norfolk, March, Pembroke, Oxford, and Athol; the famous knight, Sir Gaultier de Mauny, with the abbots and priors of English religious houses, to whom the jurisdiction and control of the ecclesiastical establishments in the colony had been confided by the Crown of England. These proprietors were commanded to provide soldiery in proportion to the quantity and value of their respective properties, and, either personally or by proxy, to accompany them with Prince Lionel to Ireland, to repel the enemies, and to save and defend their own possessions against

the daily increasing attacks of the Irish. Lionel's appointment as Viceroy was signed on the 1st of July, 1361; and, on the succeeding day, writs were issued to all the sheriffs in England, ordering them to proclaim, in their respective counties, that those holding property in Ireland should at once proceed thither in arms, or such sufficient representatives, to dwell upon their Irish estates, and to aid the Prince in defending their lands against the enemy. The proclamation announced that all Crown lands occupied by the Irish, as well as demesnes whose proprietors were not found resident upon them, on the Prince's arrival, should be seized and granted for ever, in the King's name, to English subjects, who would dwell upon and defend them. The Prince's army was commanded by his kinsman, Raoul, Earl of Stafford, a soldier of renown, Lieutenant of Aquitaine, who had held Aiguillon against the French; fought under Lionel's brother, the "Black Prince," in the van at Crécy; been elected one of the first Knights of the Garter; and employed in various important missions by Edward III.

The Earl of Stafford had, with the Prince, a joint claim on part of Kilkenny, derived through their connexions with the representatives of Dermod Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, through the extinct De Clares, Earls of Gloucester. The chief officers of the Prince's army were James, Earl of Ormonde, Sir John Carew, and Sir William de Windsor. To the Prince and the Earl of Stafford, allowance was made of 6s. 8d. each per day; the Earl of Ormonde and Sir John Carew received 4s. each per day; Sir William de Windsor and the other knights were paid 2s. each per day, half of which rate was allowed

to esquires; and the following were the daily wages of each soldier: mounted archers and fully-armed hobelers, sixpence; light-armed hobelers and English archers on foot, fourpence; and Welsh archers, twopence.

Prince Lionel landed in Ireland in September, 1361, accompanied by his wife. Bearing in mind the treacherous murder of her father by the colonists, their threats against her mother after that event, and their malignity when she returned with her second husband, the Viceroy, D'Ufford, Lionel issued a proclamation, forbidding any man born in Ireland to approach his camp. After his army had sufficiently reposed, he marched against the O'Byrne clan; but a hundred of his men were so rapidly cut off, that he was fain to seek the aid of the colonists, with whom he warred upon the border Irish, and stimulated his followers by creating many knights. In a few months, Lionel lost so much of his army, that the King, on the 10th of February, 1362, issued writs, declaring that his very dear son, and his companions in Ireland, were in imminent peril from the daily increasing strength of their enemies. He consequently ordered the absentee lords who had not obeyed his previous mandate, to appear before him at Westminster, in the second week of Lent, to receive the royal instructions respecting their expedition to Ireland, where he commanded them to be within a fortnight after Easter, attended by their armed men, to assist in warring against and repelling the Irish.

In the following September, Lionel was created "Duke of Clarence," a name formed from the lordship of Clare, in Suffolk, which he had acquired through his wife. This title was conferred upon him on the last day of the

Parliament in England, when his elder brother, John of Gaunt, was made Duke of Lancaster. Lionel's absence in Ireland prevented his receiving investiture at the same time with his brother, by the King, his father, girding him with a sword, and placing on his head a cap of fur, under a coronet of gold and precious stones. On Lionel's advancement to the Dukedom, his allowance, as commander in Ireland, was increased from 6s. 8d. to 13s. 4d. per day; with eight knights, at 2s. each per day; and an addition of three hundred and sixty mounted archers, from Lancashire, at 6d. each, and twenty-three Welsh archers, at 2d. each per day. Within the same year, the Duchess of Clarence died, leaving but one child, Philippa, aged nine years. To the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Lionel granted property in Meath, on condition that they should celebrate anniversaries for himself, his Duchess, their ancestors and posterity, and provide an Augustinian hermit to preach a divinity lecture in the robing room of the Cathedral. The accounts of the colonial Exchequer record payments made under the direction of Lionel, in connexion with the Castle of Dublin, including the making of a castle of wood, a paling of wood, two iron chains for the Castle, and for pulling down the house in the middle of the Castle, which was called the "Ledden-huche;" the making of a roof; a new chamber, adjoining to the little chapel; a new house, adjoining to the bakery of the Castle; and providing one hundred hatchets and six iron bills. The King, in authorizing these payments, mentioned, that his very dear son, Lionel, his Lieutenant in the land of Ireland, "had caused to be made divers works agreeable to

him, for sports and his other pleasures, as well within that Castle of Dublin as elsewhere."

Lionel, absent from Ireland during portions of 1364-5-6, appointed the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Thomas Dale as his deputy governors. He removed the Exchequer of the colony from Dublin to Carlow, the nominal inheritance of his kinswoman, the Countess of Norfolk, whose claim to it was founded on descent from Dermod Mac Murragh, King of Leinster. Two of the Chiefs of the latter clan were, according to native chroniclers, treacherously seized by Duke Lionel, and cast into prisons, where they died. The command of the sept having been assumed by their kinsman, Dermod, surnamed *Lamh-dearg*, or "the red-handed," one of the most valiant Gaelic provincial Kings of his time, the colonists soon found that they could not maintain the English Exchequer at Carlow, although the Viceroy had contributed the then great sum of £500 towards its fortifications. Edward III. allocated the entire revenues of the colony, together with two years' profits of the lands of the absentee proprietors, to defray the expenses of the war under Lionel, who, however, failed to obtain any of his nominal estates, with the exception of portions of the seacoast of Eastern Ulster. Nor did he succeed in repressing the mutinous De Berminghams, of Carberry, in Kildare, who sought to eject the King's Chief Baron, Sir Robert Preston, ancestor of the Viscounts of Gormanstown. Preston had been knighted by Lionel, and claimed lands in Kildare, in right of his wife, co-heiress of Sir Walter de Bermingham; but her kinsmen rapidly becoming a sept, under the name of *MacPheorais*, or descendants of Piers, assailed the intruder with so much

determination, that he was obliged to place a strong garrison in the Castle of Carberry, and to expend large sums in its defence. The feuds in the colony, between the English by birth and the English by blood, reached to such an alarming height, that Edward ordered the Viceroy and Chancellor to interfere in composing those dissensions; and to punish with fine and imprisonment of two years, all English subjects, born in England or Ireland, who, within his Irish territories, should use contumelious language to one another, or engage in quarrels or strife among themselves.

A story illustrative of the Irish border warfare, at this period, was narrated by Henry Crystède, to Sir John Froissart, who describes him as a very agreeable, prudent man, speaking French well, and bearing for arms a chevron gules on a field argent, with three besants gules, two above the chevron and one below. Crystède and Froissart met in the royal chamber at Eltham, on the Sunday on which the latter presented to Richard II. his treatise "On Loves," with which, the author tells us, the King had reason to be pleased, for it was handsomely written and illuminated, bound in crimson velvet, having ten silver gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle, two large clasps of silver gilt, richly worked, with roses in the centre. "I," said Crystède, to the chronicler, "know the language of the Irish, as well as I do French and English, for from my youth I was educated amongst them, and the Earl of Ormonde kept me with him out of affection for my good horsemanship. It happened that this Earl was sent with three hundred lances and one thousand archers to make war on the frontier of the Irish;

for the English had kept up a constant warfare against them, in hopes of bringing them under their subjection. The Earl of Ormonde, whose lands bordered on his opponents, had that day mounted me on one of his best and fleetest coursers, and I rode by his side. The Irish having formed an ambuscade to surprise the English, advanced from it, commencing to cast and throw their darts; but were so sharply attacked by the archers, whose arrows they could not withstand, for they were not armed against them, that they soon retreated. The Earl pursued them, and I," continued Crystède, "being well mounted, kept close by him. It chanced that in the pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. Turning my horse, he rode with me for more than two hours, till we reached a large bush in a very retired spot, where he found his companions, who had retreated thither from the English. He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and still water: the name of this town was Herpelipin. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin Costerec, a very handsome man. This Brin kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls. I will now," said Crystède, "tell you how I obtained my liberty. It happened in the seventh year of my captivity, that one of their Kings, Art Mac Murragh,

King of Leinster, raised an army against Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son to King Edward of England, and both armies met very near the city of Leinster. In the battle that followed, many were slain and taken on both sides; but the English gaining the day, the Irish were forced to retreat, and the King of Leinster escaped. The father of my wife was made prisoner under the banner of the Duke of Clarence; and as Brin Costerec was mounted on my horse, which was remembered to have belonged to the Earl of Ormonde, it was then first known that I was alive, that he had honourably entertained me at his house in Herpelipin, and given me his daughter in marriage. The Duke of Clarence, Sir William de Windsor, and all of our party, were well pleased to hear this news; and he was offered his liberty on condition that he gave me mine, and sent me to the English army with my wife and children. He at first refused the offer from his love to me, his daughter, and our children; but when he found no other terms would be accepted, he agreed to them, provided my eldest daughter remained with him. I," added Crystède, "returned to England with my wife and youngest daughter, and fixed my residence at Bristol. My two children are married; the one established in Ireland has three boys and two girls, and her sister four sons and two daughters. The Irish language is as familiar to me as English, for I have always spoken it with my wife, and introduce it among my children as much as I can."

On the grievous complaints of the commons, and for the maintenance of the limited territories in Ireland remaining under the jurisdiction of the English Crown, a

series of ordinances were enacted, at a Parliament of the chief ecclesiastical and lay colonists, presided over by Duke Lionel, at Kilkenny, in the first week of Lent, 1367. This statute, embodying much of the previous colonial legislation, commenced by setting forth that "many of the English of Ireland, discarding the English tongue, manners, style of riding, laws, and usages, lived and governed themselves according to the mode, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies; and also made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies, whereby the said lands, and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allegiance due their lord, the King of England, and the English laws there, were put in subjection and decayed, and the Irish enemies exalted and raised up, contrary to reason."

These Kilkenny enactments professed to deal solely with the English in Ireland, and the Irish who resided amongst them under the dominion of England. Over the clans, then occupying about three-fourths of the island, these legislators did not attempt to assume an authority which they would have been entirely unable to enforce; and throughout the document, the natives, whether hostile or at peace with the English, are referred to as the "Irish enemies." Of this "Statute of Kilkenny," which was long regarded as a masterpiece of legislation for the colony in Ireland, the following is a synopsis :—

Alliances by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, or other connexions between English and Irish, or selling to the latter, in time of peace or war, horses, armour, or victuals, were declared treasonable. All Englishmen, or Irish living amongst them, were to use the English

language, be called by English names, follow the English customs, and not ride otherwise than in saddles, in the English manner. If ecclesiastics dwelling amongst the English did not use the English language, the profits of their benefices were to be seized by their superiors; but, adds the statute—which was written in French, the language of the upper classes of England—"they shall have respite to learn the English tongue, and to provide saddles, between this and the Feast of St. Michael next coming." That English should not be governed in the determination of their disputes by Brehon law, or the law used in the "marches," or borders. That no Irishman should be admitted into any cathedral, collegiate church, or benefice, by promotion, collation, or presentation; and that religious houses should not receive Irishmen into their profession. That the English should neither admit nor make gifts to Irish musicians, story-tellers, or rimers, who might act as spies or agents. That dwellers on the borders should not, without legal permission, hold parleys or make treaties with any hostile Irish or English. That differences should not be made between English born in England and English born in Ireland, by calling the former "English Hobbes," or clowns, and the latter "Irish dogs;" and that religious houses should receive Englishmen, without considering whether they were born in England or Ireland. That English subjects should not war upon each other, nor bring Irish to their assistance for such purpose. That the common people, dwelling on hostile borders, should not use the plays called hurlings and quoitings, which had caused evils and maims, but accustom themselves to draw bows and cast lances, and

other gentlemanlike sports, whereby the Irish enemies might be the better checked. That wars commenced under the sanction of the Government should not be terminated until the Irish enemy had been finally destroyed, or had made restitution, or paid fines; and that hostages should be executed if hostilities were renewed in violation of treaties. That there should be but one peace and one war throughout all the land of the King of England in Ireland; so that if any Irish or English made a hostile inroad, the surrounding counties should attack and harass them on their borders, when summoned by the sheriffs or wardens, and that English should not break any peace legally made between Irish and English. That to resist the Irish, there should be appointed in every county four of the most substantial men as wardens of the peace, with power to assess the inhabitants for providing horsemen-at-arms, hobelers, and foot soldiers, who were to be reviewed by them from month to month. That constables of castles, with the exception of the Constable of the King's chief castle in Ireland, at Dublin, should not take from any prisoner a fee of more than fivepence; and that they should not use cruelties for the purpose of extortion. That none should keep kerns or hired soldiery on the lands of others, to aggrieve the people, but maintain them, at their own expense, on their borders. Against violators of these and other enactments concerning the internal government of the colony, penalties of death, imprisonment, and forfeiture of property were decreed; and for the maintenance of the provisions of the Statute, a commission was ordered to hold inquiries twice a-year. The Archbishops

of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, Killaloe, Leighlin, and Cloyne, took part in this Parliament. At the request of the Lord Lieutenant, nobles, and commons, these prelates pronounced sentence of excommunication and the censures of the Church against all who might, by rebellion of heart, act against the ordinances of the "Statute of Kilkenny." Lionel retired from Ireland in 1367; and within a few months from the date of his presiding at the Parliament of Kilkenny, he married Violante, daughter of Galeazzo Visconte, who entertained him and his numerous retinue of English lords in a style of unprecedented splendour, at Milan, where Petrarca was then an honoured guest. By this connexion with the daughter of Petrarca's patron, Visconte, Sovereign of Milan, Lionel obtained the then enormous dowry of two hundred thousand pounds, the town of Alba, and many castles in Piedmont. The fate which denied him the enjoyment of his first wife's Irish lands, carried him off in Italy soon after his second marriage; and all his honours and estates became centered in Philippa, his daughter by the Countess Elizabeth of Ulster.

On the retirement of Duke Lionel, in 1367, the Viceroyalty was committed to Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, styled "the poet," who, from his learning and acquirements, was generally regarded as a magician. Some fragments of Anglo-Norman verse, entitled "Proverbs of the Earl of Desmond," still survive. Becoming closely allied with the natives, the Earl obtained royal license to send his son, James, to be fostered and brought up among the O'Briens, in Thomond, notwithstanding the

prohibition under the "Statute of Kilkenny." The native writers describe Earl *Gearoitt*, or Gerald, as a lord of marvellous bounty and mirth, cheerful in conversation, charitable in his deeds, easy of access, a witty and ingenious composer of Gaelic poetry, a learned and profound chronicler, and one of the foreign nobles that held the learning of Erin, and its professors, in greatest reverence. This Earl lived long in Irish legends, according to which, he once, in seven years, revisited his castle in Lough Air, or Gur, near Limerick. Owing to the attacks of the border Irish, the King's officers petitioned for the removal of the Exchequer from Carlow, where they declared it to be exposed to serious perils. To bring the mutinous De Berminghams and their allies to terms with the colonial government, a meeting, for the purpose of negociation, was held in Kildare, by the English Chancellor, Thomas de Burel, Prior of the Hospitallers, attended by his soldiery, with John Fitz-Richard, Sheriff of Meath, Sir Robert Tirel, Baron of Castleknock, and several others. The parley terminated by the De Berminghams, and their confederates, making prisoners of, and holding to ransom, all the chief personages who had come to this conference. They refused, however, to liberate the King's Chancellor on any terms, until they received, in exchange for him, their kinsman, James de Bermingham, then lying heavily chained, as a traitor, in the Castle of Trim. The Le Poers, under the Baron of Donhill, joining their gallies to those of the western Cork sept, *Ui h-Eidersceoil*, or O'Driscol, sailed against Waterford, which had been made a mart for merchandize, by royal charters forbidding ships to discharge at its rival

town of Ross. The Mayor of Waterford, with the Wardens of the peace and Sheriff of that county, arrayed their forces, and sailed out against their assailants, but were repulsed with great slaughter. In this engagement, the Sheriff, the Master of the Hospital of King John, many citizens and merchants of importance, were slain, together with the Mayor, whose body, "all hewn and cut to pieces," was carried back to the cathedral for interment.

The measures of Edward III., and Duke Lionel, thus produced little benefit to the colonists, whose Parliament, in 1368, addressing the King, declared that the Irish, with his other enemies and rebels, continued to ride over the country in hostile array, slaying those who opposed them, despoiling the monasteries, churches, castles, towns, and fortresses of the English, without reverence for God or holy Church, to the great shame and disherison of his Majesty; by which his land was likely to be totally lost, unless an immediate remedy were supplied. A Parliament of the colonists, summoned at Dublin, in compliance with the King's directions, certified that these evils could not be redressed, nor the lands saved, unless the nobles and others of England, who had properties in Ireland, should come thither, either in person, or send proper representatives, with array of war, to recover their estates, drive out the Irish, and secure the rights of the Crown, without further delay. Such lands, seignories, and inheritances, they declared, had been granted on condition that their proprietors should constantly reside upon them, with their families and establishments, for their maintenance and protection; but that, for the most part, these lieges, contrary to their duty, dwelt in England, or elsewhere,

drawing the revenues and rents from Ireland, without defending or improving the land, thus causing the evils complained of. On the advice of the colonial Parliament, a statute was enacted, at Guilford, in 1368, ordering that all persons, of whatsoever state or degree, who held, or claimed to have, any lordships, lands, or other possessions in Ireland, should, without excuse or delay, go and dwell therein, before Easter, 1369, with their families and establishments, and with men-at-arms and other soldiery, according to the extent of their estates. It was decreed, that those who did not comply, should be disinherited of all their Irish possessions, which should then revert to the King, to be disposed of, as he might deem best, for the defence of his land. Proprietors, whose reasons for not repairing to Ireland, received the sanction of the King and Council, were, under the statute, bound to send representatives thither, with armed forces, adequate for the preservation of their estates. Writs were despatched to the various absentees, commanding them to make ready their people and arms, with all possible force, and, by the ensuing Easter, take up their stations, and reside on their lands and seignories in Ireland. In these documents, the King averred, that the due execution of the statute lay very close to his heart, because the loss and destruction of his land in Ireland, were then more imminent than ever they had been before. Many estates were subsequently seized, from those who omitted to repair to their Irish properties within the prescribed period.

In 1369, Edward III. appointed as Viceroy Sir William de Windsor, a brave and vigorous baron, who had commanded under the Prince Lionel in Ireland, and

claimed property in Inchiquin, Youghal, and Kinsale. To De Windsor, Edward assigned, on his appointment to the Viceroyalty, an annuity of one thousand pounds, to be paid until he granted to him lands of an equivalent amount. In 1370, this Viceroy was obliged to withdraw from a contest with the Dublin border clans, and march southwards, to the rescue of the preceding Governor, the Earl of Desmond. That nobleman, essaying to interfere in the affairs of the O'Brien clan, contiguous to his own territory, was encountered and, with many colonists of distinction, defeated and imprisoned by Brien O'Brien, King of Thomond, and the MacNamaras, to whom, consequently, the people of King Edward's city of Limerick capitulated. While De Windsor was occupied in Munster, the O'Mores and their allies sacked the town and Priory of Athy, in Kildare. The King's Treasurer, John de Colton, a Norfolk ecclesiastic, appointed to the Deanery of Saint Patrick's, levying, at his own cost, a force of twenty-six knights and other inhabitants of the borders, assailed and slew several of the Irish, and protected the district by continuing there in arms during twelve days.

The colonists appealed to the King against De Windsor, alleging that he had coerced their representatives to vote subsidies contrary to their instructions, given by their constituents, who were unable to pay such imposts. They alleged that he imprisoned two knights for Louth, who refused to vote a subsidy; that, at a Parliament in Kilkenny, he, by coercion, obtained letters from the prelates, lords, and commons, setting forth that, of their own free will, they had agreed to vote three thousand pounds to the King; that, by summoning a Parliament

to Baldoyle, on the Dublin coast, where there was no building but a small chapel, and keeping the members where they could not be sufficiently lodged or entertained, he extorted from them a grant of two thousand pounds, although they resisted for two or three days. He was also charged with having appropriated to his own use, and measured fraudulently, a quantity of wheat and oats, levied under a tallage, from the commons of Meath. At a Parliament in 1369, De Windsor, by the advice of the Archbishop of Dublin, Stephen, Bishop of Meath, Lord Treasurer, and Sir James Pykeryne, a privy councillor, proposed that new customs and imposts should be granted to the King; but the majority of the members expressly refused their assent. The Viceroy, however, caused the prelates under his influence, with a few others, assembled in a separate chamber, to vote the grants for three years, and subsequently had enrolment made in the Chancery records, that they had been given in perpetuity to the Crown. On the petition of the colonists, the King ordered the erasure of this enrolment, and respited the collection of the sums voted at Kilkenny and Baldoyle. De Windsor returned to England in March, 1371, Edward having nominated to the Viceroyalty Sir Richard de Pembrugge, or Pembridge, a wealthy English baron, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and holder of many profitable employments under the King. De Pembridge, for declining to accept the post of Governor of the colony, was stripped of all the lands and offices which he held from the Crown, under charters containing clauses setting forth that he had been granted them in consideration of future, as well as of past, services. The settlement in

Ireland was at this time regarded by the English nobles as a place of exile. It was decided that the King could neither legally oblige De Pembridge to proceed thither, nor imprison him for declining to do so, because, under Magna Charta, no free man should be forced to abandon the realm of England, unless by sentence of Parliament, or in case of felony or abjuration.

During parts of 1371–2, the government was administered by Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Kildare, and Sir Robert Assheton, Constable of Dover Castle. On the retirement of the latter, the O'Byrnes made a descent upon Carrickmayne. De Colton, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, marched against them with his retinue and a considerable force, remaining in arms, at his own expense, on one occasion for eight days, and on another for the space of a month. While the Treasury was empty, and none of the King's officers could be prevailed upon to undertake the defence of New-Castle Mac Kinegan, on the Wicklow frontier, against the Dublin septs, Dean de Colton raised money by pawning his goods, and, with thirty-six men, held the fortress for five days ; but on his retreat, his steed, valued at twenty marks, was slain by the enemy. After the withdrawal of Assheton's deputy, Raoul de Cheyney, at the close of 1372, the office of Governor of the colony, declined by various prelates and lords, was committed to the Chancellor, William de Taney, Prior of Kilmainham, who, with the Bishops of Cloyne and Meath, and Sir Robert Holywood, was, in the ensuing year, deputed by the colonists to lay before the King and Council in England, the wretched condition of the settlement in Ireland. These Commissioners certified

that the King's subjects and their territories in Ireland had been reduced and destroyed by the attacks of the Irish, and that greater disasters should soon ensue, if measures were not taken for their defence and salvation. They represented that these evils prevailed, to the greatest extent, in the districts of Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, belonging to Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March ; and they prayed that his Majesty would cause this nobleman to come and dwell upon, and defend his estates, which included so large a portion of Ireland. With their request, Edward promised to comply as early as possible ; and, in 1373, he re-appointed Sir William de Windsor to the Viceroyalty. At this period, the revenue derived by the Crown of England from the colony, amounted to about £10,000 per annum ; but De Windsor stipulated, that to defray the charges of the government for one year, and to provide two hundred men-at-arms and forty archers, he should be allowed five hundred marks from the Exchequer, and the sum of £11,213 6s. 8d. On De Windsor's arrival at Waterford, in April, 1374, Prior Taney resigned the government, and was granted the sum of forty pounds, on his petition, which set forth, that during his tenure of office, from the 3rd of December, 1372, to the 13th of April, 1373, he had constantly maintained twenty men-at-arms, twenty armed and forty unarmed hobelers, and twenty armed archers—besides the twenty men-at-arms which he was bound to retain out of his salary as Governor—for the safety and defence of divers liege people, and to resist Irish enemies and rebels, in several parts of the country. He averred that, with his retinue, he had, to his great expense, made many marches for the defence of the

settlement, and to negotiate with enemies and rebels, through which labours and treaties, very little damage had, under God's providence, been done by them during that time.

De Windsor received instructions to levy the five thousand pounds voted at Kilkenny and Baldoyle, and to co-operate with Sir Nicholas de Dagworth, despatched to Ireland as a royal commissioner, to solicit a subsidy for the King. Nicholas was the son of Sir Thomas de Dagworth, who married the widow of James, first Earl of Ormonde, during the minority of whose son, he had the custody of the castles and manors of the house of Le Botiller. Sir Thomas commanded soldiery sent from England to support Edward's ally, Jehanne de Montfort, in Bretagne. This Countess, endowed with "the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion," was enabled to transmit her territory to her children, through the success of Dagworth, who, in a battle at night, outside Roche Derrien, took her subsequently canonized rival, Charles de Blois, whom he sent prisoner to London. Sir Nicholas was not less distinguished than his father in the French wars; and in one engagement he captured the Dukes of Orleans and Anjou. At a Parliament summoned at Kilkenny, in 1374, Dagworth officially announced, that in consequence of the expenditure required for foreign affairs, the King was no longer able to defray the great cost of maintaining the wars for the defence and preservation of his territories in Ireland. On the part of the Crown, Sir Nicholas solicited a reasonable contribution for the maintenance of the war, the salvation of the land, and the support of its government, but the prelates, lords, and commons, excused themselves, and declared that, in consequence of their poverty and

inability, they could not, at that time, grant any subsidy. After they had finally decided on this reply, the Viceroy, De Windsor, in compliance with instructions privately transmitted to him under the royal seal, issued writs, commanding the clergy and laity to elect representatives, and despatch them, at their expense, to England, to consult and agree with the King and his Council, on the government and defence of his land in Ireland, and on an aid to be levied there, for the support of his Majesty's war.

These writs required the Bishop of each diocese to choose two clergymen, and the commons of every county, city, and burgh, to elect two laymen, to proceed upon this mission. The Bishop and clergy of Leighlin diocese, and the commonalty of Carlow, solemnly deposed, in presence of Dagworth, that there were only fourteen cultivated ploughlands in the latter county in the hands of the King's subjects, and that as they were constantly attacked on all sides by the Irish enemy, they could neither afford to send representatives, nor to make any contribution. The Bishop of Lismore and Waterford also asserted his inability, arising from the notoriously extreme poverty of his clergy, caused by the continuous and "inextinguishable war" of the Irish, in consequence of which, the only resident ecclesiastics in his diocese were a few abiding among the enemies. The commonalty of Louth, likewise, dwelt upon their great poverty, caused by the heavy expenses of daily maintaining men-at-arms, hobelers, and foot soldiers, for the defence of their borders against the Irish. Milo Sweetman, the Primate of Armagh, and other prelates and ecclesiastics, in electing their representatives, specially

declared that, although from their respect to the King, and the necessities of the land, they complied with his Majesty's writs, yet they were not bound, agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs of the Church and land of Ireland, to elect any of their clergy, nor to send them to any part of England, for the purpose of holding Parliaments and Councils there. "Nor," said they, "do we, by any means, grant to the representatives which we have now elected, any power of assenting to burthens or taxes to be imposed on us, or our clergy, to which we cannot yield, by reason of our poverty and daily expense in defending the lands against the Irish enemy." The nobles and commons, also, unanimously declared, that they were not bound to send representatives to England, and reserved to themselves the power of agreeing to subsidies. They protested that their present compliance with the King's writ should not be afterwards taken in prejudice to their rights, which the lords and commons, from the time of the acquirement of the land in Ireland, had enjoyed, in consideration of the various burthens which they had borne, and still continued to bear, but which, they added, for the future, they could not support, unless his Majesty took the matter better in hand. After Dagworth's return, the King and Council decided on despatching him again to Ireland, with authority to inquire into the management of the government, and the transactions of the Viceroy, De Windsor, against whom voluminous accusations were transmitted to England. This measure was prevented through the interference of the beautiful Alice Perrers, to whom De Windsor was subsequently married, and who, on his first assuming the Viceroyalty, had received on his

behalf, the sum allocated for the costs and expenses of his men, who had preceded him to Ireland. Alice, one of the ladies of the late Queen Philippa, was charged with exerting, for gain, her unbounded influence over the old King, who gave her the title of "Lady of the Sun." In that character, in 1374, she accompanied him from the Tower of London, in a magnificent chariot, through Cheapside, attended by many noble ladies, each holding the bridle of a lord or knight, till they reached West Smithfield, where a tournament was continued for seven days. She is said frequently to have influenced decisions, by taking her place by the judges, in the civil and ecclesiastical courts, and to have interfered in foreign as well as English affairs. While Edward and his court were at Havering, Roger de Beauchamp, the royal Chamberlain, was presented with a writ for the King's signature, revoking the appointment of Dagworth, on the grounds of his being an enemy to the Viceroy, Sir William de Windsor. Beauchamp declared that he dared not produce an order against an appointment made by the Council; but Alice Perrers peremptorily directed him to lay it before the King, and asserted that it would be neither right nor just that Monsieur Nicholas Dagworth, who was an enemy to Monsieur William de Windsor, should be sent to Ireland to hold inquiries against him. Edward, overhearing the conversation, called for the document, pronounced it to be reasonable; and when Beauchamp referred to the decree of Council, he declared that, as Sovereign, he would direct its revocation. His son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, arriving soon afterwards, suggested that, as the mission of Dagworth was for the

benefit of the realm, it should not be revoked, unless he were proved to be at enmity with De Windsor. Edward assented to this proposal; and the Duke, before leaving the palace, was importuned by Alice, praying that he would not permit Dagworth to proceed to Ireland; but he replied, that he should act in conformity with the King's directions. Alice, however, continued to protest against the injustice of subjecting any man to trial by one who was his avowed enemy. On the following morning, the Duke, coming to take leave of his father, then lying on his couch, was commanded by him, as he valued his blessing, to cancel the appointment, which was subsequently done. The revocation of Dagworth's commission, was one of the two charges on which, after Edward's death, sentence of banishment and forfeiture was pronounced against Alice, who, however, soon obtained a reversal of this decree. Sir Robert Cotton, profoundly versed in the records of England, declared that all the charges against Alice proved no heinous matter, and only show her to have been in such credit with the aged Edward III., that she sat at his bed's head when all his councillors stood waiting without the door; that she moved suits which they dared not; and that the two for which she was condemned, seemed very honest. Her mishap, added Cotton, was, "that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to her." While the colonists held debate respecting the attempts of the King of England to infringe upon their rights, the borders of the settlement were vigorously assailed by the Irish. Newcastle, on the Wicklow frontier, was captured and dismantled. Nicholas Cadwelly, who, after the death of the preceding Constable, had accepted the post which

no other could be found to take, was severely wounded, made prisoner, and his liberation refused, until the King authorized the surrender of a captive kinsman of the Chief of the O'Byrne clan. The Government was obliged to send relief by sea to their garrison in the Castle of Wicklow, whither they were unable to convey supplies by land from Dublin. Part of the O'Briens rose in arms, in Limerick; the Clan Gibbon and De Roches assailed Youghal; and Adare, a town belonging to the Earl of Kildare, was sacked and burned. As the Council, assembled at Naas, decided that the Viceroy, De Windsor, could not proceed southwards without seriously perilling the borders of Leinster, Stephen de Valle, Bishop of Meath, led an armed force to aid the colonists in Munster. The judges or officials dared not venture towards the law courts at Carlow, though the Chief Baron, Sir Robert Holywode, with a body of soldiery, essayed to defend portions of that district. The Treasury being exhausted, the war was carried on by levying forced subsidies of money, cattle, corn, and provisions, from the groaning colonists. The Viceroy, unsupplied with the money due to him by the Crown, was unable to pay his men-at-arms and archers, who consequently disbanded, attempted to return to England, but were prevented from doing so, by orders issued for their apprehension at the seaports. To enable him to satisfy their demands, De Windsor induced the representatives of the English of Meath, Louth, and of the town of Drogheda, to authorize the levying of a subsidy, in the form of a loan, to be repaid on the arrival of gold from the King. De Windsor retired from the Viceroyalty early in 1376, having been, with other royal

officials, summoned to England, to consult with the King on the state of the colony. Although he had warred upon the frontier in Ireland for a longer period than any other knight in the service of England, he averred, that he had never succeeded in penetrating beyond the borders, sufficiently far, to learn correctly the nature of the interior of the country or the condition of the native Irish.

On De Windsor's departure, the Viceroyalty was transferred to Maurice Fitz-Thomas, fourth Earl of Kildare, with instructions, for the greater security of the settlement, to supervise Leinster; while the management of the King's territories in Munster, and the mustering of forces there, were, at the same time, committed to Stephen de Valle, Bishop of Meath. This prelate was retained as a Privy Counsellor in Ireland, at the annual salary of one hundred marks; and the Government was ordered to supply him with money to pay the wages of the soldiery whom he engaged for maintaining the war.

The last Viceroy under Edward III., was James le Botiller, Earl of Ormonde, appointed in August, 1376. He was authorized to receive both Irish and English rebels to the "King's peace," to grant them general and special pardons; receive fines and ransoms for all crimes and offences; displace insufficient officers, and substitute competent, honest men, with the advice of the King's Council. By another patent of the same date, the King explained that these Viceregal powers should not extend to felonies, treasons, or to the forfeitures of Prelates or Earls in Ireland, or to any capital or other offences committed by them; the judgment or pardon whereof his Majesty reserved entirely to himself.

CHAPTER VII.

On the accession of Richard II. to the throne of England, in 1377, James le Botiller, third Earl of Ormonde, continued in office as Viceroy for Ireland. The pressure, at this period, exercised by the border Irish on the settlers, is exhibited in an ordinance entered on the rolls of the English Chancery at Dublin, setting forth that Art Mac Murragh Cavanach, assuming to be chief captain of the Irish of Leinster, and claiming eighty marks a year from the King of England, as his fee, had assembled a multitude of Irish, committed divers slaughters, devastations, and burnings in the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Kildare, and would not make peace until his demand had been paid. The Council decreed, that to prevent the further imminent damages and perils, the Viceroy, Ormonde, should, out of his own money, advance one-quarter of the sum demanded, and retain Art, on behalf of King Richard, for one year. He was consequently, in legal form, admitted to the "King's peace," a royal writ issued to the Treasurer to discharge his fee of eighty marks, and Geoffrey de Vale, Sheriff of Carlow, was allowed twenty pounds, to enable him to pay to Mac Murragh twice that sum claimed by the latter for the death of his brother, Donall Cavanach. O'Connor of Offaly, the present King's County, and other Chiefs, were also subsidized; but while the colonists, attended by their soldiery, held a Parliament

at Castle-Dermot, in Kildare, Murragh O'Brien advanced from Thomond upon the Leinster settlement. After some negociation, he agreed to retire, with his troops, in consideration of being paid one hundred marks. As but nine marks could be afforded, at the time, from the Treasury, the equivalent of the remainder of the sum demanded by O'Brien was obtained by way of advances, as follows: from the Prior of the Hospitallers, sixteen marks; from William Fitz-William, a horse, price twenty marks; from John Fitz-Geraud, Master of the Hospitallers of Kilclogan, a horse and a cuirass, price twenty marks; from Robert Lughteburgh, a horse, price twenty marks; from John More, a bed, price thirty shillings; from Sir Patrick and Sir Robert de la Freigne, seven marks and ten shillings. The King's guardians despatched Sir Nicholas Dagworth to scrutinize the proceedings of the officials in Ireland; and, with remarkable economy, issued an order to their Chancellor to change the circumscription on both sides of the great seal in his custody, by having the name of Edward removed, and that of Richard substituted. The Viceroy, Ormonde, found it necessary largely to increase his guard of men-at-arms and archers. In 1378, he procured royal letters exonerating him from the Viceroyalty, and persisted in resigning, although the chief personages of the colony requested him to continue in office till the arrival of a Governor from England. On Ormonde's withdrawal, the Earl of Kildare declined to undertake the Viceroyalty, to which the Council consequently elected the episcopal Chancellor, Alexander de Balscot, who was succeeded by John de Bromwich. On the renewed complaints of the colonists, that the Irish

were so increasing, and conquering their lands, from day to day, that the settlement was on the point of being lost, to the disherison of the King, the Parliament of England adopted further legislation against absentees. An enactment of 1380, the third year of Richard, decreed that all those who had estates, rents, or offices, in Ireland, should take up their residence there, before the ensuing 24th of June, to assist in protecting and defending the land. The Viceroy and Council were, by this Act, authorized to appropriate to the maintenance of the settlement two-thirds of the rents and profits of those who, showing reasonable cause for non-residence, did not provide sufficient men to garrison and guard their estates. Only one-third was to be thus exacted from students, persons employed in the King's service, or absent by permission under the great seal.

In 1380, the Viceroyalty was committed to Edmund, third Earl of March, Marshal of England, head of the great house of De Mortimer, whose residence in Ireland had been prayed for by the colonists seven years previously. This nobleman, grandson of Roger de Mortimer, Viceroy to Edward II., was born in 1351, and, displaying high talents, was, before he attained his twentieth year, employed in negociations in France and Scotland, and admitted to the Privy Council of England. In addition to his patrimonial estates in England and Ireland, he acquired further lordships in both countries, by his marriage with Duke Lionel's daughter, Philippa, through whom he claimed the Earldom of Ulster, and the lordships of Connaught and Trim. De Mortimer agreed to govern the colony for three years, in consideration of being paid twenty

thousand marks, in discharge of all his expenses, including those of the men-at-arms and archers, which he undertook to provide, but without being held to account to the Crown; and it was also stipulated that the King's revenues in Ireland should be expended according to his directions. In May, 1380, the Earl of March arrived in Ireland, where he displayed much hospitality and splendour, having, among other attendants, his own herald, styled "March." We find notice of the Earl's cup of gold, with a cover, called "benisoun;" his sword, adorned with gold, "which had belonged to the good King Edward;" his great horn of gold; his lesser horn of gold with strings; his cup of tortoise shape; his little cup, fashioned like a hart, with the head of an eagle; his saltcellar, in the form of a dog; his great bed of black satin, embroidered with white lions and roses of gold, with escutcheons of the arms of De Mortimer and Ulster. The Earl's efforts to possess the territories which he claimed in Eastern Ulster, were, for a time, aided by some of the native Chiefs, with whom he entered into terms. Their chroniclers, however, record that they withdrew from him after he had, in his own mansion, treacherously seized Magennis, Lord of Iveagh, in Down, a formidable opponent to the Louth settlers, and their ally, O'Hanlon. Unable to effect any progress towards Western Ulster, or to procure timber from the vast woods in that district, under the dominion of O'Neill, De Mortimer brought from his estates in Wales oaks of great length, with which he constructed a bridge across the river Bann, near Coleraine; but this structure was only maintained against the natives by the erection of a fortress at each end, and a castle in the centre. To

the English Prior and monks of the convent, in his town of Coleraine, the Earl of March granted free grinding of corn in his mills there, with liberty to have a fishing-boat in the Bann; and also gave them one-half of all the fish taken on every eve of St. John, in the adjacent stream, called Lyn. In return for these privileges, the monks of Coleraine covenanted to pray for the Earl and for the soul of his Countess Philippa, and for those of his ancestors and successors. From the Irish clergy and laity of Eastern Ulster, De Mortimer seized much spoil and cattle, which he transmitted to the monks of his Augustinian Priory of Wygemore, in Herefordshire, on the borders or "marches" of Wales, whence his grandfather, Viceroy of Edward II., received the title of Earl of March, or De la Marche. The Priory of Wygemore had been founded by his ancestor, Raoul de Mortimer, who wrested the lands on which it stood from the Saxon Edric. Raoul, according to monastic writers, was the bravest of all the knights of his kinsman, William the Conqueror, of England; a thousand times more liberal than any of his time; and they declared, that the history of the deeds of this glorious French knight, in England and Wales, would fill a large volume. The Viceroy, Edmund de Mortimer, made immense grants in England, towards the re-edification of the Priory of Wygemore; laid the foundation with his own hand; promised further donations after his return from Ireland; declared that, if permitted by the King, he would end his days as a monk, within its walls; and obtained for its abbots the privilege of officiating with a bishop's mitre, crozier, dalmatic, and other episcopal ensigns.

De Mortimer's attempts to enter his nominal lordship

of Connaught, are not recorded to have extended beyond the English frontier castle of Athlone, which he succeeded in recovering from O'Connor, by means of a great force of horse and foot soldiery. The Constable, to whom the captured castle was given in charge, received authority to arrest artificers of all classes, and to compel them to complete its repair at reasonable rates. This Viceroy also captured, and committed to Kilkenny Castle, Richard de St. Aubyn, head of the district of Cumpsy, on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny. The De St. Aubyns, become a formidable sept, under the name of Tobyn, assailed Kilkenny Castle by night; and the sons of Adam St. Tobyn and John *Mor* St. Tobyn, were accepted as hostages for their imprisoned Chief, Richard. De Mortimer, proceeding southwards, in 1381, took cold from crossing a river, and expired unexpectedly, at midnight, on the 26th of December, in that year, in the Dominican Abbey at Cork.

The soldiery of the deceased Viceroy, withdrawing from that town, the King's Council convened, in St. Peter's Church there, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, various bishops and nobles, the Mayor and representatives of Cork and of Limerick, to consider the measures to be adopted, as the settlers in Munster were in great dismay, in consequence of the rising of the Barretts, O'Briens, and other enemies. The Earls of Ormonde and Desmond were requested, at the Council, to accept the Viceroyalty, but they declined, alleging that the war on the borders would prevent them from executing the office, unless they left their own territories unprotected. The Council agreeing that a Governor of English birth should be selected, it was proposed to nominate Sir Thomas

de Mortimer; but this was abandoned, as the Treasurer declared, that the revenue could not defray the wages of the archers and men-at-arms whom he would require. The Chancellor, Dean John de Colton, and the Treasurer, Alexander de Balscot, Bishop of Ossory, were solicited to undertake the government, and on their refusal, it was decided, that whoever the Council next nominated should be obliged to enter upon office. De Colton, thus elected, accepted the appointment, and took the oath, after the prelates, nobles, and others present, had promised faithfully to give him their assistance and advice in the conduct of the government, against all English rebels and Irish enemies; and stipulated that, in the next Parliament, or great Council, he should be at liberty to resign. The Earl of Desmond was directed to march to the protection of the King's subjects, in Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, against whom O'Brien of Thomond was advancing with a powerful force. As the Earl declared his inability to undertake this expedition, in consequence of his great expenditure in defending his own lands in Desmond against the Irish, the Council granted him two hundred pounds towards providing soldiery for three months. The Viceroy, Dean de Colton, before returning to Leinster, succeeded in capturing Richard Barrett and other enemies, whom he transmitted by sea to Waterford; but the border septs maintained such exhausting assaults upon the settlers in Cork, that it was found requisite to issue a royal writ ordering the arrest of any citizen who attempted to abandon that town.

In January, 1381-2, the King nominated to the Viceroyalty, Edmund de Mortimer's eldest son and heir,

Roger, then in his eleventh year. This appointment appears to have been made mainly to gratify the colonists with the presence of the head of the great house of March, to which so much of the English settlement in Ireland nominally belonged. Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and the other guardians of the minor, stipulated that, for undertaking the voyage to, and the government of Ireland, Roger should receive all the revenues and profits of every kind, derivable thence, under the Crown of England, together with two thousand marks in money, to be paid in hand; and that, on attaining his majority, he might retire from the Viceroyalty, unless he should desire to enter into a new compact. They undertook to provide him with proper counsellors; and his cousins, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Northumberland, joint farmers, under the Crown, of the estates of the Earldom of March, in England, Wales, and Ireland, covenanted that their annual receipts, instead of being handed over to the King, should be devoted to assist the minor in the good government of Ireland. It was also ordained that Roger's uncle, Sir Thomas de Mortimer, appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in Ireland, should act as his deputy, in conducting the wars and other affairs, and preside in his stead and name in all parliaments, councils, or treaties, to be held with English or Irish. To Sir Thomas was allocated an allowance of two hundred marks per annum, beyond his own charges, and those of his men and horses, as well within the Lord Lieutenant's house, as when he should happen to be employed elsewhere in the King's service in Ireland. By a writ, addressed to Roger de Mortimer, Richard II. ordered the summoning of a "great Parliament"

in Ireland, in which his subjects there should be admonished to take measures for the good government, preservation, and defence of the land, and to provide for the cost of its maintenance, to which his Majesty could not contribute, in consequence of the expenses which he was about to incur in foreign expeditions. At the same time, the King commanded William Spaldyng, his Admiral for Ireland, to permit none but merchants and mariners to pass thence, and to arrest all those who should send or sell horses, salt, armour, iron, gold, silver, corn, or other provisions, to any of the Irish, by land or water.

The Parliament, on assembling at Dublin, in 1382, was informed that the Viceroy, on account of indisposition, could not personally attend. The prelates, lords, and commons, before transacting any of the business for which they were summoned, entered into a protest against holding a Parliament without the Viceroy. Having declared that in all time within memory, Parliaments had not been held in Ireland except in the presence of the chief Governor for the time being, they recorded that they could not accept as legal any other form of procedure. During the minority of the Earl Roger, the colonial documents connected with Eastern Ulster, were issued under a special seal, presenting on one side the royal arms, and on the other the figure of Richard II., seated on the throne, with a sceptre in his right hand, and bearing the circumscription, "Sigillum Ricardi, Regis Angliæ et Franciæ et Domini Hiberniæ et Custodis Libertatis Ultoniæ." A similar seal, with the name of Meath, instead of that of Ulster, was used for instruments concerning the Earl's liberty in the former county. Roger de Mortimer was succeeded as

Viceroy, in 1383, by another of the King's cousins, Philip de Courtenay, of Powderham, ancestor of the Earls of Devon, a junior member of the remarkable house which gave three Emperors to Constantinople, and intermarried with the royal families of France and England. Sir Philip served, with his brothers, Piers and Hugh, in Spain, under the Duke of Lancaster; and his brother, William de Courtenay, held the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Richard appointed Philip de Courtenay his Viceroy for ten years, to date from the day of his arrival in Ireland, for the government of which he assigned to him all his revenues there, beyond the necessary expenses of the land, and the amounts requisite for the salaries of the royal officers.

The first specific charges of treasonable designs of the Duke of Lancaster against his nephew, Richard II., were, at this time, made by John Latimer, an Anglo-Irish Carmelite Friar and Bachelor in Divinity. Latimer delivered to the King, at Salisbury, in 1384, a schedule of details, to the truth of which he swore by the Sacrament, which he had a few hours previously received at his Mass. Lancaster repudiated the accusations, undertook to reply to them on a fixed day, and, at his request, his brother, Lord John Holland, was, in the interim, entrusted with the custody of Latimer. On the night preceding the day named for the Duke's justification, Lord Holland and Sir Henry Greene laid violent hands upon the Friar. Binding him with cords, they suspended him in an excruciating position, broke his spine, and murdered him, with complicated tortures. On the following day they caused his corpse, as that of a traitor, to be dragged through London. Further

investigation was checked by Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, the Duke's brother. Rushing into the royal presence, he declared, with terrible oaths, that he would slay any—not excepting the King—who might attempt to impugn the loyalty of his house. The opponents of the Lancastrians affected to regard the Irish Friar as a martyr, and declared that part of the dry wood of the hurdle, on which his corpse was trailed, had budded, produced leaves, and restored sight miraculously to a blind man who touched it.

The Viceroy, De Courtenay, landing at Dalkey, on the 6th of May, 1385, found formidable dissensions prevailing between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, while the colony was beset by the Irish, and assailed on the coasts by Spanish and Scotch pirates. The chief nobles and prelates, in their councils, at Dublin and Kilkenny, decided on sending the Archbishop of the former city, with the Bishop of Ossory, to assure the King of England that they despaired of being able to preserve the land from being soon wholly conquered by his enemies. The Delegates were enjoined to spare no exertions in endeavouring to induce Richard to come himself to Ireland. In event of their being unsuccessful, they received instructions to implore his Majesty to send over, without delay, one of the highest and most powerful of his nobles, to protect his Irish dominions from the impending catastrophe. In 1385, the King nominated to the Viceroyalty his handsome favourite, Robert de Vere, ninth Earl of Oxford, and tenth hereditary Lord Chamberlain of England, only son of Sir Thomas de Vere and Maud, daughter of the Viceroy, Sir Raoul

D'Ufford, by his wife, Maud, the widow of William, Earl of Ulster. On De Vere's appointment, the Parliament of England, anxious for his removal from the court, assigned to him a debt of thirty thousand marks, due as the ransom of Charles de Blois, taken prisoner in Bretagne, by Sir Thomas Dagworth. In addition to this sum, he was allowed two years' wages for five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers, at sixpence each per day, towards conquering Ireland, whither, it was stipulated, he should proceed before the ensuing Easter.

The whole of the Irish dominions of the King of England, were transferred to De Vere during life, without holding him accountable for any of the profits. He was empowered to issue writs in his own name; to appoint or displace members of the colonial Privy Council, the Chancellor, Treasurer, and all other officers; to name his own deputy, and to pardon treasons and felonies. In December of the same year, the King created De Vere Marquis of Dublin, thus placing him above all the nobles of the colony, and chagrining the peers of England, among whom the title of Marquis had not hitherto been introduced. Under the patent creating him Marquis of Dublin, De Vere was bound to pay the King five thousand marks annually, at the Exchequer of England. The same instrument enlarged his powers in various details, authorizing him to coin gold and silver, and to hold, free of rent, such lands and tenements as he might conquer in Ireland from the King's enemies, excepting those demesnes which belonged to the nobles, or had been specially appended to the Crown of England. He was also empowered to use his great seal, instead of that of King

Richard, and in place of the banners of England, to substitute his own flags and pennons, displaying three golden crowns on an azure ground, with a silver border. From the 19th of April, 1386, the day on which he was granted "the land and dominion of Ireland," all letters patent, and other public instruments connected with English affairs in that country, were executed in the name of "Robert, Marquis of Dublin, Earl of Oxford, and Chamberlain of England." In March, 1386, royal orders were issued for the impressment of ships to convey De Vere with his retinue to Ireland, whither, however, he did not proceed, but appointed, as his deputy, Sir John de Stanley, who had acquired a large estate in Lancashire, by marriage with the heiress of Sir Thomas Lathom, of that county. Stanley landed at Dalkey on the 30th of August, 1386, and his appointment, by letters patent, under the great seal of the Marquis, was publicly read in the great hall of Dublin Castle, in presence of the Earl of Kildare, the Chancellor, and other royal officers. He was empowered to pardon treasons and felonies, as representative of De Vere, in whose name, conjointly with that of the King, he transacted the public legal business of the colony, making grants conditional on the recipients' fidelity to the King and the Marquis, and admitting persons to the "peace of the King and the Marquis of Dublin."

Some of the colonists having charged De Courtenay with Viceregal exactions and oppresssions, the King ordered his arrest, with the seizure of his goods, and commanded him not to quit Ireland till his conduct had been investigated by the Marquis of Dublin, or his deputy.

In a great council at Dublin, De Courtenay, before the prelates, nobles, and commons, protested against such accusations, announced his readiness to make amends to any who could show that he had aggrieved them by extortion, imprisonment, or any unjust proceeding. All present formally declared that no ground existed for the complaints referred to, and De Courtenay required an entry of this proceeding to be made in the records of the Chancery. Stanley, however, and the officers of De Vere, seized, under the royal writ, all De Courtenay's goods and chattels in Ireland, silver vessels, beds, furniture of his chapel, chambers, hall, and kitchen, together with his horses, arms, and weapons. The ex-Viceroy, narrowly escaping arrest and imprisonment, succeeded, with great difficulty and danger, in reaching England, accompanied by his wife and children. De Courtenay subsequently obtained from the King and Council in England, one thousand marks, in satisfaction of his claims for these damages, and for his removal from the Viceroyalty before the end of the ten years stipulated for in his indenture with the Crown.

In October, 1386, the Marquis of Dublin, with the consent of the Parliament of England, was advanced to the rank of Duke of Ireland, and received a new patent, conferring upon him additions to the former grants, making his powers almost regal. The patent of the Dukedom relieved him from any rent till he had conquered Ireland; conferred upon him the adjacent minor islands; and authorized him to hold all Crown estates which he might succeed in recovering by arms. The King granted to the Duke, lands, castles, manors, and burghs, in Cornwall,

Devon, and Somerset, to be held till he had subdued the entire of Ireland, and possessed it in peace. Richard is also said to have applied to the Pope to ratify his project of creating De Vere King of Ireland. Ostensibly for the purpose of proceeding to Ireland, De Vere repaired to Wales, accompanied, in state, by the King, early in 1387. Their real object is stated to have been that of devising plans by which Richard could obtain an army and parliament devoted to himself, by which he might crush the partizans of the Duke of Gloucester, who had threatened to punish De Vere for having discarded his niece, whom he had married. The removal of De Vere, as one of the King's obnoxious counsellors, was demanded by the lords, in 1387, but Richard deferred his reply to the meeting of Parliament. Meanwhile, the Duke of Ireland, having, by the royal orders, levied an army in Wales, marched to aid the King against the combined peers, then in arms, but was routed in Oxfordshire, by the Earl of Derby, and escaped by plunging with his horse into the Isis. He died five years subsequently, childless and in penury, at Louvain, of a wound received from a wild boar, while hunting. The Parliament of England, in their process for De Vere's attainder, in 1388, ignoring that they had themselves sanctioned the illegal transfer of the dominion of Ireland to him, declared that the great lordship and land of Ireland had been, beyond memory, parcel of the Crown of England, and the people thereof, for all that time, had been the King's lieges, without any mesne lord to him or his royal progenitors; and that he and his noble ancestors, Kings of England, had, in all their charters, writs, letters, and

patents, and likewise under their seals, in augmentation of their names and royalty, styled themselves Lords of Ireland. The impeachment set forth, that, on the advice of the false traitors, Alexander, Archbishop of York, and Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the King, as much as in him lay, granted that Robert de Vere should be King of Ireland. That to accomplish their wicked purpose, they counselled and incited his Majesty to send letters to their Holy Father, the Pope, to ratify and confirm their traitorous intention, without the knowledge and assent of the kingdom of England, or land of Ireland, "in parting the King's ligeance, in respect to both nations, in decrease of the honourable name of the King, and in open disherison of his Crown of England, and full destruction of his loyal lieges and the nation of Ireland."

Five of the judges and legal officials who had certified, in the Council at Nottingham, that the King was above the laws, could eject commissioners appointed by Parliament, and annul acts prejudicial to himself, were, in 1388, condemned to exile for life in Ireland. Sir Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England, was sent to Drogheda; Sir Roger Fulthorpe and William Burgh, Justices of the same court, to Dublin. Sir John Carey, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and John Lokton, the King's Serjeant-at-law, were located at Waterford. Friar Thomas Rushok, Bishop of Chichester, the King's Confessor, impeached for having urged the judges to their illegal decision, was banished to Cork. To the legal exiles, annual pensions from forty to twenty pounds were allocated; each of them was allowed to bring with him two English servants; but all were

strictly prohibited to travel more than two or three leagues beyond the limits of the towns in which they were located. The Bishop of Chichester, one of whose forfeited mitres produced £333, was permitted to carry to Ireland only forty marks, a bed, raiment, a prayer-book, and two servants. He was ordered not to pass further than two leagues beyond the city of Cork, nor was he granted a pension, but the Parliament authorized him to receive from any who would give it, a sum not exceeding forty marks annually, for his support. After the lapse of nine years, Belknap, Holt, and Burgh, were permitted to return to England, and to practise the law there without impeachment. The Bishop of Chichester was buried at Cork, a Prior of which city, Brother John Grey, received from the King reimbursement, for the expenses which he incurred, in providing a marble coffin for the remains of his Majesty's Confessor, and for remunerating the servants who had attended him.

Richard brought the corpse of the Duke of Ireland to England, caused it to be embalmed, attired in rich robes, with a gold chain and rings, placed in a cypress coffin, and interred with magnificent ceremonies. The King, with the Duke's mother, Maud De Vere, Countess of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, many Bishops and Abbots, accompanied, however, with but few of the nobility, attended the obsequies at Colne Priory, in Essex. Richard opened the coffin, uncovered, with his own hand, the Duke's face, which he touched, and continued to gaze upon, for some time, with deep affection.

De Vere was survived by his wife, the Duchess of Ireland, Philippa de Couci, daughter and co-heiress of

Ingelram, Earl of Bedford, and the Princess Isabel, daughter of Edward III.

The mother of the Duke of Ireland, Maud, Countess of Oxford, daughter of the Viceroy, Sir Raoul D'Ufford, by the Countess of Ulster, was, in her old age, imprisoned and deprived of her estates, for devotion to the patron of her son.[**] Although numbers were executed by Henry IV. for circulating reports, that Richard II. had not been murdered in Pontefract Castle, the mother of the Duke of Ireland insisted that he was still alive in Scotland, awaiting an opportunity when, with the assistance of the French and Scots, he might recover his realm. To influence the most powerful personages in her own district in Essex, she distributed among them, in gold and silver, the badges which Richard had been accustomed to present to his most favoured friends, consisting of his device of a white hart, couchant, gorged with a golden coronet and chain, under a tree.

From 1387 to 1389, the government of the colony was administered by Alexander de Balscot, Bishop of Meath, Lord Chancellor, and Richard White, Prior of the Hospitallers of Kilmainham. De Balscot was reprimanded, in 1388, for using the seal of De Vere in public instruments, and for advancing his banners and pennons in resisting the attacks and invasions of the rebels and Irish enemies after he had knowledge of the attainder of the Duke of Ireland. The Viceroy was ordered to use the royal flags in defending the land against the King's enemies and rebels; to summon the nobles and liege subjects, and, before them, cause the ensigns of the Duke of Ireland to be publicly torn and defaced, his seal to be

broken in their presence, and its fragments weighed and delivered into the Treasury.

Sir John de Stanley, who had acted as deputy for the Duke of Ireland, undertook the government in 1389, for three years, according to indenture with the King. A temporary peace was obtained on the northern frontier of the settlement, by securing Prince Niall O'Neill, for whose capture a large grant of land was made to Edward de Loundres. The colonial parliament were soon fain to surrender O'Neill, on condition of his giving hostages, who, with their attendants, were, at Dundalk, taken into the charge of the Constable of the Castle of Dublin, by whom, under the protection of a band of soldiery, they were conducted to the latter city. The lands on the coast held by the English in Eastern Ulster, continued to suffer much from the incursions of the septs. Stanley was specially directed to provide soldiery, victuals, and artillery, to prevent the loss of the great fortress at Carrickfergus; and the King despatched to him men-at-arms and archers, from Liverpool and Chester.

Jealous of the encouragement given by the colonial government to the mercantile communities of Cork and Limerick, the burgesses of Galway, by general agreement, tolled their public bell, called in the King's enemy, Sir William de Burgh, styled "Mac William *Iochtar*," to whom they formally paid their homage, and delivered over all the fishing-weirs, mills, rents, services appertaining to the Crown of England, with the keys of the gates of the town, and aided him in resisting the entrance of the royal officers. The Archbishop of Tuam was granted royal license to appoint proxies in Dublin, as he

affirmed that he dared not travel from Connaught, either to Munster or Leinster. Nor were the other towns in Ireland, subject to the Crown of England, more advantageously circumstanced. The vicinage of Cork was so devastated, that the settlers declared their intention of abandoning that city. The burghers of Limerick, in a despatch to King Richard, averred that none of them dare pass beyond their fortifications; and their English Bishop, Peter Creagh, was seized and held to ransom by a neighbouring sept. The Poers and their Irish associates continued their incursions upon Waterford, although the Crown had, by two grants, authorized the burgesses to apply their customs and tolls to strengthen and maintain their fortifications against the daily attacks of their enemies. In Kildare, the centre of the Leinster colony, many towns were sacked, despite the exertions of the armed settlers and their Sheriff, Sir William de Wellesley, who lost many of his kinsmen in resisting the attempts of the Irish to re-enter upon their lands. The strongest fortress of the Earl of Kildare was not deemed a sufficiently secure prison for Conor, son of O'Dempsy, Chief of the adjacent territory of *Clann Maoilughra*, or Clan-Malier, in the present King's and Queen's Counties, who was, consequently, removed to Dublin Castle for safer custody, under a writ, which set forth that his escape would be of dangerous consequence to the settlement. The settlers in Carlow were reduced so low by the Mac-Murraghs and their confederate septs, that John Griffin, English Bishop of Leighlin, in a petition to Richard II., declared that he could neither approach nor dwell in any portion of his diocese, in consequence of the destruction

and pressure of the Irish enemies. The King, in 1389, granted to Griffin, for his support, the village of Galroestown, in the County of Dublin, seized from the see of Killaloe, because Matthew MacCraith, Bishop of the latter diocese, was a mere Irishman, abiding among and adhering to the Irish enemies, and contemning the laws and precepts of the Crown of England.

Richard II., in 1391, appointed commissioners to inquire into the damages and losses occasioned by the attacks of the Irish, as well as by the conduct of his officers, who had appropriated the profits and revenues of the settlement. These commissioners were directed to convoke, in convenient places, the chief persons of each part of the colony, to hold inquiries, upon oath, respecting losses and official delinquencies, and to receive advice respecting the remedies to be applied. They were ordered to investigate the transactions of the Viceroy, Stanley, with O'Neill and other Irish Chiefs; to report whether he had fulfilled the terms of his indenture, in maintaining the prescribed retinue; and to ascertain the number of men-at-arms and archers he had kept in pay. The commissioners were also enjoined to inquire into the annual value of the revenues and profits received during Stanley's government, and to report how much of these, as well as of subsidies, grants, or imposts, he had taken for his own use.

The Viceroyalty, in 1391, was transferred to James le Botiller, third Earl of Ormonde, who, by indenture with the King, covenanted for 3,000 marks per annum, during his tenure of office. This Earl was commonly styled "of Gowran," where he erected a castle for his residence, after the native proprietors had taken his fortress at Nenagh,

and re-entered upon their lands, of which the family of Le Botiller had, for a time, succeeded in holding possession. The Ormonde property was augmented with part of the Tipperary estates of the Mont-Marreis family, the senior branch of which became extinct on the death, in 1375, of Sir Etienne de Marreis, without heirs. From 1391, the Earls of Ormonde fixed their chief residence at Kilkenny, the Castle of which, with various lordships and manors, was purchased by this Viceroy from the heirs of Sir Hugh de Spenser, Earl of Gloucester, and Isabel, his wife, daughter and co-heir of Gilbert de Clare, who had derived them through his connexion with the descendants of Dermod MacMurragh, King of Leinster. The resistance of the natives in Kilkenny and Tipperary, obliged the settlers, at this period, to enter into various treaties with them. Of such negociations we find an illustration in a writ authorizing the payment of £46 13s. 4d. from the King to the Earl of Ormonde. This record details that the Earl had, by the promise of an adequate reward, induced Murragh O'Brien to influence his son—the principal, most dangerous, and most generally obeyed of the King's enemies—to withdraw the troops which he had mustered for the destruction of the lieges in Munster and Leinster. To aid the settlers within the walls of Carlow, the colonial government engaged Master Richard Sonner, an armourer, who, with his attendant, agreed, for the payment of one shilling per day, to dwell there, in the King's service, for three months, for the purpose of making guns, harness, and other articles for defence against "the malice of the Irish, then proposing to destroy and devastate the town."

Most of the Parliaments in England, during Richard's reign, dwelt upon the heavy cost of maintaining the war in Ireland. The King's revenue there continued to diminish, and the settlers, flying from the pressure of the border Irish, flocked thence in large numbers, much to the dissatisfaction of the English, on whose trades and avocations they encroached. In 1393, the Viceroyalty was committed to the King's uncle, Thomas Plantagenet, Constable of England, Duke of Gloucester. Large disbursements were made for the wages of his men-at-arms and archers to go with him, in the King's service, to Ireland, for the custody of the land there. The appointment of the suspected Gloucester was, however, soon revoked, and Richard announced his own intention of undertaking an Irish expedition, the Parliament at Wynton having voted a subsidy, conditional on the King going in person to wage war in Ireland, Scotland, or parts beyond the sea. Proclamations were made throughout England, requiring all the Anglo-Irish there to return to Ireland before the ensuing 8th of September, to await the royal arrival. The King's squires and archers were summoned to arm and proceed with the royal troops, to repress the increasing malice and opposition of the Irish enemy. Commissioners were appointed in Ireland to report upon the condition and requirements of the royal castles and fortresses; and to receive insurgents who might desire admission to the "King's peace." Richard's expedition was delayed by the death of his Bohemian Queen, Anne, in June, 1394. On the 2nd of October, in that year, he landed at Waterford, accompanied by many nobles, including the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls

of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, with four thousand squires and thirty thousand archers. The King, at this time in his twenty-eighth year, was of the middle size, with yellow hair, a round, ruddy face, and an effeminate mien. In accordance with the usage of his day, he indulged so extravagantly in the adoption of foreign fashions, that one of his jewelled coats was valued at thirty thousand marks. The troops which he carried to Ireland, exceeding in number the army which some historians have assigned to Edward III. at the battle of Crécy, were augmented with the soldiery of the colony, and with the men which all those holding there by military tenure under the Crown of England were bound to lead to the royal service. Of the adventurers among whom Richard's predecessor, King Henry Fitz-Empress, had, more than two centuries previously, nominally divided Ireland, there survived at this period, in the direct male line, but the Geraldines of Kildare and of Desmond; and the family of Le Botiller, represented by the Earl of Ormonde. While the Anglo-Normans thus fell away, leaving their territories to be divided and sub-divided amongst those who had married their daughters, the sons of the native Irish, on whom they had for a time encroached, sought, with fixed purpose, to regain their lands, and succeeded to a great extent in Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. This resurgence of the natives was remarkable even in Leinster, the chief seat of the Anglo-Norman power, and the portion of Ireland most readily assailable from England. The great principality nominally acquired by Fitz-Gislebert through his wife, the daughter of Dermod Mac Murragh, was, for a time,

maintained by the English nobles, on whom portions of it devolved through intermarriages. The representatives of the original Irish proprietors, however, never abandoned their claims, although in this struggle such numbers of them fell, that one of their writers styled Leinster "the Cemetery of the valorous Gaels." According to Brehon law, the Kingship of Leinster, at Dermod's death, devolved upon his next kinsman endowed with capacity and valour adequate to the post. This succession was regularly maintained in the clan, the chieftainship of which, in the time of Richard II., was held by Art Mac Murragh, at whose "might and puissance," say the colonial writers, "all Leinster trembled." From his sixteenth year, Art successfully repelled encroachments upon his territories; and levied exactions from the colonists by arms, as already noticed. Several Leinster septs, claiming descent from the same ancestor, Cahir *mor*, obeyed Art as their King and Chief. According to their chroniclers, he held in "his fair hand the sovereignty and the charters of the province;" and they characterized him as "replete with hospitality, knowledge, and chivalry; the prosperous and kingly enricher of churches and monasteries, with his alms and offerings." The more immediate cause of his hostility to the colonial government, was the attempt made to confiscate the lands of his wife, Eliza le Veele, Baroness of the Norragh. As heiress of an Anglo-Norman baronial family, this lady was entitled to estates in Kildare, which were seized, and granted, by the Crown, to others, on the grounds of her having forfeited them by marrying one of the principal enemies of the King of England. After the landing of the English army at

Waterford, Mac Murragh led his soldiery against the not distant town of Ross, which he ravaged, and carried thence both gold, silver, and hostages. Although guided by the Earl of Ormonde, who was inured to Irish warfare, Richard's troops were discomfited in an attempt upon Offaly, the territory of O'Connor, who repelled them, and captured several of their steeds. The Earl Marshal encountered a similar repulse from O'Carroll, into whose district of Ely he essayed to make a predatory excursion. In November, Richard despatched to England his squire, Philippe le Vache, with letters, assuring the Privy Council that he had made many journeys since he had taken the field; marched to the city of Dublin, through the country of "his rebel Makemurgh," or Mac Murragh; and directed them to transmit supplies of treasure for the payment of the second quarter's wages of his army, and also to defray the cost of his housekeeping and attendants. Of these regal expenses, we may judge from the report of Robert Ireleffe, "clerk of the green cloth," who averred that in England ten thousand persons came daily to the King's house. In the royal kitchen, three hundred servants were engaged in ministering to what the contemporary, Chaucer, styled "the pride of the table," with varieties of meats, some painted and castellated in paper, others burning with wildfire, "with great preciousness of vessels and curiosity of minstrelsy."

With his large army, skilled in all the military arts of the age, the King and his experienced English commanders were, however, unable, from the character of the country and the mode of warfare of the natives, to make any progress in subjecting the Irish beyond the frontier

of the settlement. The English troops were constantly assailed and surprised by the border Irish, who astonished them by their hardihood and determination, of which many alarming tales were circulated among the soldiery, unused to warfare amidst mountain passes, woods, and perilous morasses. After two months spent with little result, beyond the return of some of the Anglo-Irish to their allegiance, Richard passed his Christmas in Dublin. The Archbishopric of that city was then occupied by Robert Waldby, of Yorkshire, who had previously held the See of Aire, in Gascoigne. Waldby had attended Richard's father, the "Black Prince;" been employed in negociations in Spain and France, and taught divinity at Toulouse. He succeeded to the See of Dublin in 1391; in the following year, was appointed Chancellor for the colony in Ireland, and commanded and maintained men-at-arms and archers to protect the colonists against the septs of Leinster, who, soon after his arrival, invaded the settlers in Carlow and Kildare, and sacked their town of Naas.

On the 1st of February, 1395, Richard wrote from Dublin to his uncle, the Duke of York, his regent in England, that, for great and notable causes, he had issued writs summoning a Parliament to meet in that city in the second week after the approaching Easter. "In our land of Ireland," he wrote, "there are three kinds of people —wild Irish, our enemies; Irish rebels, and obedient English. To us and our Council here," continued the King, "it appears that the Irish rebels have rebelled in consequence of the injustice and grievances practised towards them, for which they have been afforded no redress; and that, if not wisely treated, and given hope

of grace, they will, most likely, ally themselves with our enemies." He added, that he had, therefore, taken the "Irish rebels" into his especial protection till after Easter, and proposed to issue general pardons without any charges but the official fees. The Duke of Gloucester, Richard's uncle, having been despatched from Ireland to London, the Parliament at Westminster, specially convened on his arrival, was opened by the Chancellor with an account of the King's expedition, and of his fervent desire to subdue the rebels, for which, he declared, his people were bound to assist him substantially, and not by mere words or professions.

On these representations, followed by the delivery of the royal messages by the Duke of Gloucester, the Clergy voted a tenth, and the Lords and Commons a fifteenth, to enable the King to conquer the rebels and enemies within his land, in Ireland, in the pursuit of which the Parliament declared he had, in his own person, laboured much, and expended large sums. Finding it impracticable to reduce the Irish by arms, Richard sought to conciliate their Chiefs through the medium of religion. Laying aside the hostile banners of England, quartered with leopards and fleurs-de-lis, he substituted flags, bearing a golden cross, on an azure ground, surrounded by five silver birds, said to have been the arms of his patron saint, Edward the Confessor. The Irish are represented to have held in reverence the memory of the "Confessor," whose Queen, Edith, was sister to Driella, wife of Donogh O'Brien, King of Munster. Entering into negociations with Art Mac Murragh, Richard induced him to agree to accept lands

in exchange for those under his control in Carlow, whence most of the settlers had been expelled, and through which the royal officials could not pass to administer the English laws, even in the midst of Leinster. The formal ratification of this compact was committed by the King to the English claimant of these lands, Thomas Mowbray, nominal Lord of Carlow, Earl of Nottingham, Lieutenant of Picardy, Flanders, and Artois, Governor of Calais and of Wales. Mowbray stood, at this period, high in the royal favour, and was permitted to wear the insignia of an eldest son of the King of England, consisting of a coronet of silver, suspended from his neck with the crest of a golden leopard. He subsequently assisted at the execution of his father-in-law, the Earl of Arundel; participated in the mysterious death of Gloucester; obtained the Dukedom of Norfolk, and eventually died in Italy, exiled for life, as a "miscreant and traitor."

On the 16th of February, 1395, Art Mac Murragh, mounted on a black steed, accompanied by his sub-chiefs, rode into the open field of Baligory, near Carlow, where they were met by Mowbray and the Commissioners of Richard. The terms of agreement having been read and explained in English, by John Molton, a cleric of the diocese of Lincoln, and repeated in Irish, by Edmund Vale, Prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland, Mac Murragh went through the usual ceremony of homage, as formerly performed by the Kings of England to their sovereigns in France. Taking off his girdle, sword, and cap, and placing his hands between those of the Earl of Nottingham, who gave him the kiss of peace, on behalf of the King of England, he vowed allegiance, conditional on the restitution of his

wife's lands, the payment of an annuity, and the grant of territories for those which he might surrender in Carlow; and similar ceremonies were performed by his sub-chiefs. From O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, of whom the settlers on the northern borders of the colony stood in special dread, Richard received despatches imputing his hostilities to the necessity of defending his lands against encroachments. The King, proceeding to Drogheda, received there, in person, O'Neill, with other northern Chiefs, and gave the kiss of peace to them, as well as to Brian O'Brien, ancestor of the Earls of Thomond, who repaired to him from Munster, with the object of strengthening himself against his neighbour, the Earl of Desmond, then supporting a rival claimant to the chiefdom of the clan. To further evince his religious zeal to the Chiefs who made terms with him under the banner of the Cross, Richard had embodied in his indentures with them clauses stipulating penalties in event of infringement, to be paid in money to the Papal Treasury, agents for which were at this time collecting in Ireland, under an agreement with the English Government. Richard caused the agreements with the various Chiefs to be enrolled, attested by a notary public, and delivered them, with his own hands, to the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer of England, who transmitted them to the Exchequer, in two hampers, one containing thirty-nine and the other thirty-six instruments. In the ensuing month of March, he entertained some of the Chiefs with great splendour, at Dublin, Henry Crystède having been appointed as their principal attendant and interpreter.

O'Neill, O'Connor, Mac Murragh, and O'Brien, styled the

"four Kings of Ireland," were, by the representations of the Earl of Ormonde, induced to receive knighthood from the hands of Richard. In conformity with the rites of Continental chivalry, they held their vigil in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin. Attired in rich silk garments, edged with fur, they were there, on the following day, knighted by Richard, who afterwards seated them at his own table at a grand banquet. The Privy Council of England felt disappointed at Richard's admission of the insurgents to grace without payment of fines, which they wrote might have defrayed the cost of his expedition, and the maintenance of the government in Ireland, without burthening his people. They, however, declared that all his loyal subjects were filled with delight and admiration of the high courage and sage discretion which he had displayed in bringing to his obedience his rebels, "Macmourgh" [Mac Murragh], the great O'Neill ["le grand Onel"], and others of the greatest and strongest captains, by which, they wrote, it appears to us, that in truth, you have conquered the greater part of your land. His proceedings, they added, had been reported to them by his squire, Laurence Dru, and others; they declared that he had done sufficient in his own person, and trusted that his deputies would, with diligence, govern the people well and justly in his absence. After having passed nine months in Ireland, Richard returned to England, at the pressing instance of his Privy Council there, and at the solicitation of Arundel, Archbishop of York, and Braybrook, Bishop of London, despatched to him by the English clergy, to implore his interference in checking the progress of the Lollards.

To Sir William le Scrop, his Treasurer, and Constable of the Castle of Dublin, Richard committed the son of Mac Murragh, and certain other persons, officially described as "of the more noble condition of the King's Irish enemies, sent as hostages into the kingdom of England for security of peace in the same land." Part of the cost of Richard's expedition was obtained by loans from members of his Council. Froissart tells us that these great expenses were "cheerfully defrayed by the kingdom; for the principal cities and towns in England thought it was well laid out when they saw their King return home with honour."

Richard, when departing, committed the government of the colony to his cousin, Roger de Mortimer, then in his twenty-first year, who had married Alianore, daughter of Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, the King's half-brother. Roger, while a minor after the death of his father, Edmund, had been Viceroy from 1382 to 1383. As Richard had no children, Roger de Mortimer was next in succession to the Crown of England, his right to which had been formally declared by the English Parliament, in 1385, on the ground of his being eldest son of Philippa, only child of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. In addition to his royal rights, Roger inherited the Earldom of March, the Lordships of Wygemore, in Herefordshire, and of Claré, in Suffolk. He was also entitled, under English law, to principalities in Ireland, with almost regal jurisdiction. Through the various alliances of his family, he had become the chief male representative there of the great houses of Maréchal, De Lasci, De Burgh, De Braose, and De Joinville, in right of

whom he assumed the titles of Earl of Ulster, Lord of Connaught, Trim, Leix, and Ossory. Roger's guardians carefully managed his properties in England and Wales. When he came of age, they delivered to him his castles and mansions in good repair, his manors and farms well stocked with cattle, and twenty thousand marks in money. But the position of his nominal estates in Ireland was far different. The Crown of England, which undertook their guardianship, had been unable to hold them against native proprietors, who repudiated the claims under which strangers sought to possess their lands. Roger, in 1393, obtained from the Privy Council of England, a grant of a thousand pounds, in consideration of the devastation and entire destruction of his estate by Irish enemies, and, at the same time, was legally authorized to enter by force upon possession of his lordships and manors in Ireland. A monastic chronicler of the family of De Mortimer records, that Roger was distinguished for the qualities held in estimation in his time—a stout champion at tournaments, a famous speaker, a bounteous giver; in conversation, affable and jocose; in beauty and form, surpassing his fellows; but although warlike and renowned, and successful in his enterprises, he was most dissolute, and remiss in matters of religion. Roger had joined King Richard's army in Ireland, with his own retinue, consisting of one hundred men-at-arms, of which two were bannerets and five knights; two hundred mounted and four hundred archers on foot. He subsequently attended the Parliament at Shrewsbury, in great pomp, with a troop of retainers attired in white and crimson, the colours of the house of De Mortimer. Roger's brother,

Edmund, married a daughter of Owen Glendower; and his sister, Elizabeth, became the wife of Henry Percy, surnamed "Hotspur," son of the Earl of Northumberland.

At Dublin, De Mortimer was waited on by Ramon, Viscount de Perellos, Senor de la Baronia de Seret, Knight of Rhodes, and Chamberlain to King Richard's father-in-law, Charles VI. of France. This nobleman arrived with letters from the King of England for safe conduct to visit the Purgatory of St. Patrick, with a retinue of twenty men and thirty horses. Ramon had been in the army of Charles V. of France; became Master of the Horse to Juan of Arragon, where his estates lay, and that King gave him command of three galleys which he sent to aid Clement VII. After the death of Clement, Ramon served Benedict VIII., until he determined, notwithstanding the Papal dissuasion, to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory, in Ireland, where he expected to learn intelligence of the fate of the soul of his beloved King Juan. He tells us that at Dublin he visited the Earl of March, King Richard's cousin, and Viceroy in Ireland, who, having perused the royal letters, received him very honourably; but endeavoured, with all his power, to dissuade him from persevering in an undertaking which he declared to be of the most perilous nature. As Ramon was not deterred by these representations, the Viceroy despatched him to Drogheda, with letters to John de Colton, who, having distinguished himself in the service of England, had been promoted from the Deanery of St. Patrick's, at Dublin, to the Archbishopric of Armagh. De Colton also endeavoured to deter him from venturing into the territories of the northern Irish, who had made serious

inroads upon the see lands of the English Archbishops of Armagh. Ramon, persevering in his resolution, passed safely, as a pilgrim, into Donegal, where, with many others, on the same mission, he was, he records, loaded with gifts, and escorted safely to his destination by the native Chiefs, whose ancestors, according to their legends, had come to Erin from his native land of Spain.

By special patent, Roger de Mortimer was constituted the King's Lieutenant for Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, and empowered to issue all public documents of the colony with his own sole attestation, under the great seal for Ireland, although, at the same time, William Le Scrop, the royal Chamberlain, already mentioned, was nominated Justiciary for Leinster, Munster, and Uriel or Louth. Le Scrop, Seneschal of Aquitaine, Governor of Cherbourg, purchased the Isle and Kingship of Man from the Earl of Salisbury, became Justice of North Wales, was one of the ambassadors who contracted Richard's marriage with Isabel of France, and in 1397, obtained the Earldom of Wiltshire. Walsingham asserted that human nature could not produce a more cruel or more wicked man than William Le Scrop. In Ireland he practised such violence and extortion upon the English under his control, that his wife, commiserating them, declared that she could no longer peril her soul by remaining with him, unless he swore a solemn oath that he would discontinue his practices, and see due payment made for all his expenses. The colonial chronicler tells us that "her husband assented, accomplished her boon effectually, recovered a good opinion, schooled his caterers, enriched the country, continued a plentiful house, granted so cha-

ritably and discreetly remissions of great fines, remedies for persons endangered to the King, pardons of lands and lives, that his name was never uttered among them without many blessings and prayers ; and so cheerfully they served him against the Irish."

The Viceroy, Roger, renewed war upon the borders, captured one of the chief houses of the O'Byrnes, on which occasion he made seven Knights. The neighbouring clan of O'Toole, however, successfully repelled the Viceregal army, and, after the fashion of the colonists, set up, as trophies, six score of their heads. Roger's uncle and former guardian, Sir Thomas de Mortimer, sometime Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, and Governor of the colony, was, by the Earl of Rutland and others, impeached of treason, in the merciless Parliament of 1397, under whose attainder the Earl of Arundel was beheaded. Proclamations were made throughout England for the arrest of Sir Thomas de Mortimer, but he escaped to Ireland, whither Edward Dee, one of the King's sergeants, was dispatched to apprehend him, and orders were given to proclaim in the settlement, that unless he surrendered on a fixed day, he should be declared a traitor, and his castles, estates, and properties, confiscated. The officials of the colony were commanded to aid in arresting Sir Thomas, who, however, found refuge beyond the limits of their jurisdiction, and the King's officers certified that he had fled into the territories of the Irish enemies where the sergeant could not deliver his writs, and that none in the royal service could be found to risk their lives in venturing thither. The inability of the chief lords of the colony in Leinster, at this

period, to control even the Irish in their vicinage, was further evidenced by the seizure of Gerald, fifth Earl of Kildare, who was taken prisoner close to his own territory, and held to ransom by Calvagh O'Connor, son of the Chief of Offaly, in the present King's County.

In 1398, the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, marched against some of the septs occupying part of the lands which he claimed in Leinster. Attired in the dress and accoutrements of an Irish cavalier, he encountered them at Callistown, in Carlow, and fell at the head of his soldiery, which were routed with slaughter. By a gift of chalices to two of the churches of the district, Roger's mother, Philippa, Duchess of Clarence, obtained his corpse, which was interred in the De Mortimer Priory, at Wygemore.

The colonial Council, on the death of the Earl of March, elected as Governor, Reginald Grey, of Ruthyn, who had remained with his soldiery in Ireland after the departure of the King. Grey, nominal Lord of Wexford, had, as the encroaching neighbour of Owen Glendower, in the Welsh Marches, considerable experience of border warfare. Richard, however, in the same year, appointed to the Viceroyalty, his youthful favourite, Thomas Holland, who had, as an accuser of the Duke of Gloucester, been advanced from the Earldom of Kent to the Dukedom of Surrey, rewarded with part of the lands of the Earl of Warwick, and created Marshal of England. The King, disregarding his compacts with the Irish, granted to Surrey the barony of Norragh, belonging to Mac Murragh's wife, together with the castle and Lordship of Carlow; allocated 11,500 marks yearly for himself and his men;

and covenanted that during his Viceroyalty, he should have out of every parish in England, at the royal cost, a man and wife to dwell on the wasted border lands of the settlement in Ireland. Surrey, aided by Janico d'Artois, a Gascon military leader, bravely endeavoured to enforce his claims. His efforts proving unsuccessful, Richard, already excited at the death of his cousin, the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, and ignorant of the schemes of the Lancastrians, determined to make another expedition to reduce the Irish. Richard Maudelain, a priest of the royal chapel, was despatched to have repaired the defects in the houses and other buildings within the Castle of Dublin, against the King's arrival. Maudelain resembled Richard II. exactly in person and speech, and was frequently entrusted by him with secret and perilous missions. "Many a time," says a French writer, "have I seen him in Ireland, riding through the country with King Richard, his master; nor for a long time did I see a fairer priest." The Sheriffs throughout England received instructions to impress conveyances of every kind to transport stores to Milford, whither all English ships were required to be in readiness, for the embarkation of the royal army. Horses, cows, calves, salted meats, fresh water, bread, and all necessaries were taken on board. Knights, squires, men-at-arms, and archers, to the number of thirty thousand, mustered at Milford from all parts of England, and the sound of trumpets and the songs of minstrels were heard there without cessation, by day and night. After ten days, a favourable wind set in. On the eleventh, the King arrived, having taken leave of his child-queen, Isabel, and her ladies, and

chaunted a collect with the canons of St. George. To add lustre to his expedition, Richard carried with him the English regalia, royal jewels and reliquaries, and bore upon his person an ampulla, containing consecrated oil, used at coronations, said to have been miraculously transmitted from heaven to St. Thomas of Canterbury, while praying in the Church of the Irish, St. Columba, at Sens. On the King's embarkation, the mariners hoisted sail, and after two days came in sight of Waterford, where the fleet anchored on the 1st of June. Richard was attended by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and various noblemen, including the Duke of Exeter and John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. The latter had behaved gallantly in France, accompanied the King on his previous Irish expedition, been constituted Marshal of England, and delegated to impede the marriage of the exiled Duke of Lancaster with Marie de Berry. Salisbury was also distinguished for his learning, and his poems received the commendation of the celebrated Christina of Pisa. A French writer, well acquainted with this nobleman, says—"Right well and beautifully did the Earl make ballads, songs, and roundelays, though he was but a layman. Bold he was and courageous, but humble, gentle, and courteous; he gave most largely. Heartily did he love the French; and so gracious were all his deeds, that never, I think, shall that man issue from his country [England] in whom God implanted so much worth." Having reposed for six days, Richard rode with the army in close array to Kilkenny. There they waited fourteen days for the King's cousin, Edward Plantagenet, Duke of Albemarle,

Constable of England, on whom the Earldom of Cork had been conferred; and who was retained to serve in Ireland for a year, with a hundred and forty men-at-arms, knights and esquires, and two hundred mounted archers, every twenty of whom were to be attended with a carpenter and mason. Early on a summer's morning, the 23rd of June, the King marched against Art Mac Murragh. That Chieftain rejected the overtures of Richard, who, regardless of their former compact, had given his wife's barony of the Norragh to the Duke of Surrey; granted the territories of some of his sub-chiefs to John de Beaumont, and now projected to expel the Mac Murraghs and their kinsmen, and to people their lands by compulsory emigration from England. Creton, a French author, who joined this expedition, tells us, that Mac Murragh "would neither submit nor obey Richard in any way, but affirmed he was the rightful King of Ireland, and that he would never cease from war and the defence of his country till his death, declaring that the wish to deprive him of his land by conquest was unlawful." Richard advanced with all his forces into the territory of Mac Murragh, who, with 3,000 men took up his position in a wood. Having caused a space to be cleared and hoisted the pennons and standards of England, Richard ordered the surrounding villages and houses to be fired. While they burned, he knighted Henry, son of the Duke of Lancaster, with several others. The Prince, afterwards Henry V. of England, was then in his thirteenth year, and had come to Ireland to make his first campaign with the King, who was greatly attached to him. Two thousand five hundred of the people of the colony were set

to fell part of the wood. Richard's famous Cheshire archers did much execution; but, with the other soldiery, they were assailed with deadly effect by the Irish, who, raising deafening war-cries, drove their darts through armour and cuirass. Foraging parties were also cut off by the native cavalry, who scoured the hills and valleys with a fleetness which astonished the English. One of the more aged of the Chieftain's kinsmen submitted to Richard, who held in his power, as hostages, some members of the Mac Murragh family. The King despatched messengers to Mac Murragh, promising, on his submission, both pardon, grants of territories and castles elsewhere. Having two years previously narrowly escaped by his own strength from an attempt made to capture him by surprise in Dublin, the Chieftain rejected this proposal, and declared "that for all the gold in the world he would not submit, but would continue to war upon, and harass the King." Eleven days were passed in unsuccessful attempts against Mac Murragh, who cut off the supplies. The English army could obtain little more than green oats for their horses, of which many perished from exposure to rain and wind. The soldiery and their commanders also suffered from want of provisions. On some days five or six had but a single loaf, while the squires and knights were without regular supplies for five days together. The army was on the point of exhaustion, when three ships arrived with stores from Dublin, which were soon consumed. Before the vessels were moored, the soldiery, plunging into the water, contended for the supplies, and, becoming intoxicated with the wine, commenced to quarrel amongst themselves. Abandoning further attempts against Mac

Murragh, Richard decamped for Dublin, amidst loud war-cries, and shouts of defiance from the Irish, who, says the French eye-witness, were "as bold as lions, and gave many a hard blow to the King." Mac Murragh now sent a friar to Richard, to express his desire for peace, and proposing that some lord should be despatched to him to agree upon terms. A council having been held, Thomas De Spenser, the young Earl of Gloucester, who had married the King's cousin, was selected for the mission. Attended by the rear guard, consisting of two hundred lancers and a thousand archers, Gloucester proceeded to the appointed place of meeting, between two woods at some distance from the sea. He found the adjacent mountain covered with Irish, under the leading of Mac Murragh, who is described by Creton, as a fine, large, able man, wondrously active; of stern, indomitable mien, wielding in his right hand a long dart, which he cast from him with much skill. His steed, which was so good that he was said to have purchased it, by barter, for four hundred cows, was, although without housing or saddle, managed by him with the greatest dexterity. In descending from the mountain he galloped so swiftly, says the French writer, "that I never, in all my life, saw hare, deer, or any other animal, go with such speed as his horse." Gloucester and Mac Murragh, meeting at a little brook, exchanged much discourse. Mac Murragh declared he would have no terms but peace without reservation, free from molestation of any kind, and asserted that otherwise he would never come to a compact, so long as he lived. Failing to agree, they parted hastily; and on learning the result of the conference, Richard's usually

ruddy face grew pale with anger, and he swore, in great wrath, by St. Edward, that he would never depart from Ireland till he had taken Mac Murragh, alive or dead. He then resumed his march to Dublin, where, in the midst of plenty, the army for a time forgot the hardships they had endured. From Dublin the King despatched three bodies of well-appointed soldiery against Mac Murragh, and exhorted them to behave bravely, promising a hundred marks of pure gold to any who might kill or capture him. He declared that should they fail, he would himself pursue Art, and burn all the woods after the fall of the leaves in Autumn.

The Duke of Albemarle arrived at Dublin with reinforcements in a hundred barges, after having been long impatiently expected by the King. Although loaded by his cousin Richard with titles and grants, Albemarle had secretly engaged against him in furthering the usurpation of the exiled Duke of Lancaster, who was also his cousin. "Anything that he pleased," says Creton, "Albemarle might have asked of King Richard, for I solemnly declare, there was no man alive, brother nor uncle, cousin, young nor old, whom he loved better. The King was most heartily rejoiced and assured at his coming. Many a time did he ask him, 'Constable where tarried you so long that you came no sooner to us?' He excused himself humbly before all, wherewith the King was contented; for the Duke was humble and gentle towards him; yet had his doings been contrary to what he said." Tempests and adverse winds setting in prevented communications with England during six weeks. The first ship which arrived brought messengers, who

informed the King that the Duke of Lancaster, landing in Yorkshire early in July, had essayed to assume the sovereignty of England; seized castles and fortresses; executed those who opposed him; and been received by the citizens of London, to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury had exhibited a Papal bull in his favour. A more cruel enterprise, according to Richard's friends, could never be told of in any land; but the Lancastrians declared that Duke Henry had been sent by Heaven to relieve the people of England. The King, on hearing the news, turned pale with anger, and exclaimed, "Good Lord! this man designs to deprive me of my realm." Assembling his council on Saturday, it was decided to put to sea on the following Monday. To the discontent of all his friends, Richard subsequently changed this decision, at the instigation of Albemarle, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and who argued with him privately as follows: "Sire, do not vex yourself, for never did I hear a matter so much belied. Be not in such haste now to set out. It were much better to take good time, and send first for the whole of the navy; for we have not a hundred barges. How shall we go, seeing that in this place there are many huge rocks in the sea, and the bottom is dangerous? But, look here: it were much better to send over the Earl of Salisbury, who shall hold the field against the Duke, and sufficiently make war upon him; he will have all the Welsh to conquer him. And in the meantime, we will go by land to Waterford, where you shall send to every port for your navy; so that weak and strong, and all your host, may then pass over. You shall soon see your enemies captive, dead, or discomfited.

Of the whole of this be well assured." Having summoned the accomplished Earl of Salisbuary, Richard said: "'Cousin, you must go to England, and resist this mad enterprise of the Duke, and let his people be put to death or taken prisoners; and learn, too, how and by what means he hath thus troubled my land, and set it against me.' The Earl said, 'Sire, upon mine honour I will perform it in such manner, that in a short time you shall hear of the disturbance, or I will suffer the penalty of death.' 'Fair cousin, I know it well,' said the King; 'and will myself set forward to pass over as speedily as I may; for never shall I have comfort or repose so long as the false traitor, who now hath played me such a trick, shall be alive. If I can but get him in my power, I will cause him to be put to death in such a manner, that it shall be spoken of long enough, even in Turkey.' The Earl caused his people and vessels to be made ready for immediate departure, gravely took leave of the King, and entreated him to proceed with all possible haste. The King, upon his advice, promised him, happen what might, that he would put to sea within six days." Salisbury, on landing at Conway, in Wales, learned that Lancaster had already gained the greater part of England. Eighteen days passed before Richard set sail from Ireland, seven of which were spent in disembarking and changing the destination of horses which had been previously put on board. Before his departure, the King expressed to Lancaster's son, Henry, his regret for the losses likely to be entailed on him by his sire's treason. The youth protested ignorance of his father's movements, and the King declared that he would not hold him accountable

but placed him with the son of the late Duke of Gloucester in the Castle of Trim. By the royal command, the Treasury at Dublin was emptied by Maudelain, who, at his execution under Henry IV., thanked God "that he died in the service of his sovereign lord, the noble King Richard." Favoured by the winds, Richard arrived in two days at Milford, from Waterford, but the Welsh troops, mustered by Salisbury, had dispersed, believing the reports of the King's death in Ireland. Richard thus found his realm in the possession of the Duke of Lancaster, who was soon afterwards proclaimed King of England, to the exclusion of the legal heir, Edmund, Earl of March, eldest son of the late Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer.

A remarkable fatality attended the English nobles connected with the colony in Ireland and its government under Richard II. The Duke of Ireland, died from a wound, in exile. The Duke of Gloucester perished mysteriously in the Castle of Calais. The Duke of Surrey and Sir William Le Scrop were beheaded by Henry IV. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk and Lord of Carlow, ended his days in banishment at Venice. Edmund de Mortimer was cut off by disease. Sir Thomas de Mortimer became an outlaw among the native Irish; while the death of his nephew, Roger, opened the path for the intrusion of Henry IV., which led to the bloody English wars of York and Lancaster.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEFORE the commencement of the fifteenth century, so much of the English settlement had been regained by the Irish, that even in Leinster only the four shires of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth, partially acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Crown of England. The great lords of Anglo-Norman descent, as the Earls of Kildare, of Desmond, and of Ormonde, absorbed their revenues in their own districts, where they administered justice, jealously excluding their King's officials. Some of the chief branches of the noble Anglo-Norman families repudiated the authority of England, and confederated with the Irish; but, when it suited their ends, they asserted rights under English law, and seldom failed to obtain charters of pardon through the interest of their influential kinsmen. "These English rebels," says a Viceregal despatch, "style themselves men of noble blood and Idelmen, whereas, in truth, they are strong marauders." The enactments against such secessionists remained inoperative, as royal officers would not incur the perils of essaying to carry them into effect.

The "Statute of Kilkenny" was promulgated in several successive Parliaments, but the settlers found the strict application of its provisions more prejudicial to themselves than to the natives. The King of England was thus fain to accede to petitions in which the commonalties of his

towns declared their inability to pay taxes, and that they should be ruined or famished, unless authorized to trade with and make purchases from the Irish. Numerous applications were also made by the settlers, for permission to send out their children to be fostered among the Irish; and we have on record the official concession to a memorial from some liege English, praying that an Irish minstrel might be allowed to sojourn among them, notwithstanding the express prohibition under the "Statute of Kilkenny." Governmental licenses were also frequently issued for holding parleys with the Irish. These negociations were usually held on the borders, the respective parties coming to the appointed place with a few attendants, while their troops were drawn up within call. The borders formed the resort of bodies of mercenary native light-armed foot soldiery, styled "kerns," and battle-axe men, called *gallocclach*, or galloglasses, who, living by war, were ever ready to accept service from either Irish or colonists who secured them payment and maintenance. Beyond the wasted and desolated "marches" or borders, lay the Irish territories, almost inaccessible through woods and narrow defiles, rendered impassable with peculiar art in times of war. Within these and other defences were the habitations, and the cultivated lands which supplied the septs with stores of corn and provender for their large herds of cattle. The rights of the Chief, sub-chiefs, and families of each sept, were regulated under the Brehon code, which, with minute precision, laid down rules for adjudicating on almost every variety of dispute, encroachment, or breach of law. Although the main attribute of the head of a clan was that of unfailing vigour and

prowess in arms, to defend his territory against both foreigners and encroaching Irish, there were other duties deemed scarcely secondary. Such were the improvement of the land, the observance of strict justice, the liberal support of religious establishments, under the patronage of the saints of the tribe; implicit obedience to the decrees of hereditary Brehons or judges, and the maintenance of the endowments made of old, for the support of their learned men and chroniclers. Their intimate relations with Scotland, and frequent pilgrimages to France, Spain, and Italy, rendered the Chiefs and their families conversant with the affairs of the Continent, with which constant communication was maintained by their clergy and ecclesiastical students. The internal condition of the settlement, and the manifold injustices perpetrated by the officials of the colonial government on those under their control, tended to repel, rather than to attract, the independent Irish towards the English system, as then administered. Many of the judges and chief legal officials of the colony, were illiterate and ignorant of law, obtained their appointments by purchase, and leased them to deputies, who promoted and encouraged litigation, with the object of accumulating fees. Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were multiplied, before whom persons were constantly summoned, by irresponsible non-residents, to such an extent, that no man could tell when he might be indicted or outlawed, or if a process had issued to eject him from his property. The King's officers often seized lands, and appropriated their rents, so long as legal subterfuges enabled them to baffle the claims of the rightful proprietors; and thus agriculture and improve-

ments were impeded. Ecclesiastics, lords, and gentlemen, were not unfrequently cast into jail, by officers of the Crown, on unfounded charges, without indictment or process, and detained in durance till compelled, by rigorous treatment, to purchase their liberation. The agricultural settlers and landholders were harassed by troops of armed "kerns" and mounted "idel-men," who levied distresses, maltreated and chained those who resisted, and held forcible possession of the farmers' goods, till redeemed with money. The troops, engaged for the defence of the colonists, became little less oppressive than enemies. Under the name of "livere," or livery, the soldiery took, without payment, victuals for themselves, and provender for their horses, and exacted weekly money payments, designated "coygnes." It was not unusual for a soldier, having a billet for six or more horses, to keep only three, but to exact provender for the entire number; and on a single billet, the same trooper commonly demanded and took "livery" in several parts of a county. The Constables of royal castles, and the purveyors of the households of the Viceroys, seldom paid for what they took; and for the purpose of obtaining bribes, to release their seizures, they made exactions much more frequently than needed. These grievances, wrote the Prelates, Lords and Commons, to the King of England, have reduced your loyal subjects, in Ireland, to "a state of destruction and impoverishment, and caused them even to hate their lives." Most of the King's manors, customs, and other sources of revenue, having been granted or sold to individuals, but little came into the Treasury of the fees, fines, and Crown

profits, which previously had defrayed part of the expenses of the colonial government. These reduced finances were nearly exhausted by pensions and annuities, paid to propitiate the Chiefs of the border Irish, and to secure the settlement against their inroads. Various good towns and hamlets of the colony were destroyed, while several royal castles and fortresses became ruinous, as those in charge of them embezzled the rents and profits, allocated for their maintenance, repairs, and garrisons.

Henry IV., on his accession, committed the government of the settlement in Ireland to Alexander de Balscot, Bishop of Meath, who, after a tenure of two months, was succeeded by Sir John de Stanley, appointed to the Viceroyalty for three years. After the withdrawal of Richard II., Art Mac Murragh renewed the war, till the Dublin government agreed to pay him a sum, on account of his wife's lands, and prayed him to grant them respite, to send messengers to England for instructions respecting his other claims. The Viceroy and Council informed Henry IV., that Mac Murragh had assured his wife that he would never make peace till her lands had been restored, and that he had given notice, that he would be at "open war" if this were not done, and his other claims satisfied, before the coming feast of Saint Michael. "He is now," they wrote, "gone to aid the Earl of Desmond, to suppress the Earl of Ormonde, after which he will return, with all the powers he can lead from Munster, to destroy the country." "The O'Neill," they continued, "has mustered a great host of his people to war upon and ravage the land, unless we surrender

his son, his cousin, and other hostages, now in the Castle of Dublin, whom he declares to have been promised to him. The Irish," adds the despatch, "have become strong and haughty, the border English are unable to make successful attacks upon them: thus the loyal subjects are destroyed and harassed, and the settlement in peril of final destruction."

The De Burghs, or "Mac Williams," with their Irish allies, aided the Earl of Ormonde in his contest with Desmond, and took possession of the town of Galway, which had, for a time, returned to its allegiance to the English Crown. Nicholas Kent, one of its burgesses, entering, in 1400, into a compact with four citizens of Bristol, obtained royal license in England to pass over, with men-at-arms, in ships called the "Christopher," the "Trusty," the "Nicholas," and the "May," to make war against the King's enemies in the town of Galway, and in the islands of Aran, "which always lay full of galleys to ensnare and attack, capture and plunder, the liege English." These adventurers gave sureties that they would not war upon the loyal Irish, nor afford them cause for hostilities. Their object was legally declared to be that of taking, by force of arms, the town of Galway, and the Aran islands, which they were authorized to occupy; and to appropriate to their own use the properties of the rebels and enemies which they might be able to seize, saving the rights of the Crown, and those of Edmund, Earl of March, English Lord of Connaught.

Henry IV. had to contend with complicated difficulties, arising from the hostility of France and Scotland, and the existence of two parties opposed to him in England—

one of whom adhered to the cause of the deposed King Richard, and the other privately supported the rights of the late Viceroy's young son, Edmund de Mortimer, the legal heir to the English Crown. While his eldest son, with difficulty, kept the Welsh in check, Henry, in 1401, appointed, as Viceroy for Ireland, his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, then in his twelfth year, whom he had, on the occasion of his coronation, created High Steward of England. The King granted to Prince Thomas all the issues and profits of the Crown in Ireland, to be levied and received for the use of himself and his ministers, without account, and he was authorized to appoint all ecclesiastical and civil officers. Prince Thomas landed at Blowyk, or Bullock, near Dalkey, on Sunday, the 13th of November, 1402, and came on, the same day, to Dublin, where his commission was delivered into Chancery for enrolment. To the Prince was assigned a Council, consisting of Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor for the colony; Laurence Merbury, the King's Treasurer; Edmund Noon; Antoine Saint Quintyn; and Janico D'Artois. Janico, a daring Gascon leader, had attended the Duke of Surrey, while Viceroy, and was the last who wore King Richard's badge of the white hart, for refusing to take off which he was imprisoned at Chester by the Lancastrians. He subsequently entered the service of Henry IV., in whose presence he and Sir John Cornewaill performed feats of arms against some French knights and esquires, by whom they had been challenged. Soon after the arrival of Prince Thomas in Ireland, his Council represented to the King the great inconvenience and danger which the failure of payment

from England had entailed on his son, his people, and soldiers. In a second despatch from "Le Naas," the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Viceregal Council, renewed their application to King Henry in the following terms: "With heavy hearts we testify anew to your Highness that our lord, your son, is so destitute of money, that he has not a penny in the world, nor can borrow a single penny, because all his jewels and his plate, that he can spare of those which he must of necessity keep, are pledged and lie in pawn. Also his soldiers have departed from him, and the people of his household are on the point of leaving; and, however much they might wish to remain, it is not in our lord's power to keep together, with a view to his aid, twenty or a dozen persons with me, your humble suppliant, [Archbishop] of Dublin, and your humble liege, Janico, who has paid for your use his very all, but we will render our entire duty to him so long as we shall live, as we are bound by our sovereign obligation to you. And the country is so weakened and impoverished by the long nonpayment, as well in the time of our lord, your son, as in the time of the other Lieutenants before him, that the same land can no longer bear such charge, as they affirm, and on this account have they importuned me. In good faith, our most sovereign lord, it is marvellous that they have borne such a charge so long. Wherefore we entreat, with all the humility and fulness that we may, that you will please to ordain speedy remedy of these said dangers and inconveniences, and to hold us excused, also, if any peril or disaster (which may God avert!) befall our lord, your son, by the said causes. For the more full declaring of these matters to your Highness,

three or two of us should have come to your high presence; but such is the great danger on this side, that not one of us dares depart from the person of our lord."

The post of Deputy to the youthful Viceroy, Prince Thomas, was, in 1401, entrusted, by his father, to Sir Stephen le Scrop, or Scrope, a soldier of experience in France and Flanders. Scrope had been a faithful adherent of Richard II., before whom he courageously bore the royal sword of state, when that deserted monarch descended from Flint Castle, to entrust himself to the dissembling Duke of Lancaster, on the faith of solemn, but soon violated oaths. Having been subsequently tried and acquitted in a court of chivalry, on a charge of plotting against the Lancastrian government, Scrope took service under Henry IV., who appointed him and Richard, Lord de Gray, joint Governors of Roxburgh Castle, on the Scotch borders. As Deputy to the Viceroy in Ireland, Scrope was commissioned to govern and conduct the wars there, with authority to do all matters for the preservation of the peace, the safety of the liege people, and the recovery of the King's rights. He was empowered, also, to march against, destroy or pardon, as he should deem fit, the Irish enemies and English rebels, in Munster, Connaught, Meath, Ulster, and Leinster, who, says the commission, "continually devise war, and, to their utmost power, contend to destroy the land." The pecuniary difficulties of the new King, who feared to exasperate his subjects by taxation, rendered him unable to transmit adequate supplies to Ireland. The Viceroy, Prince Thomas, in a letter, from Drogheda, at the close of the year 1402, informed his father, that, during Christmas,

he had made to the knights, squires, and other gentry of the country, the best cheer he possibly could. "Since which feast of Christmas," he wrote, "I, by the advice of my council, rode against the Irish, your enemies, did my utmost to harass them, and, God be thanked, have returned with my people in safety. On my return from this expedition, the greater part of the soldiers have come to my very dear and well-beloved Monsieur Estiephen le Scrop, Monsieur Edward Perers, and Janico D'Artois, their captains, and demanded license to depart to England, saying they could no longer serve, unless they had payment of their wages. This they do from day to day, and, as many have gone, I fear that if some remedy be not speedily ordained by you, my sovereign lord and father, great damage may accrue to me and your land, as the aforesaid Monsieur Estephien knows, and will more plainly declare by word of mouth, than I can write by letter."

For the security of the borders, Prince Thomas entered into compacts with the heads of the clans of O'Reilly, O'Byrne, O'Connor, and MacMahon. The latter, Chief of *Fearnmhagh*, or Farney, partly situated in the present county of Monaghan, promised allegiance, in consideration of a grant from the Crown of England, and agreed not to rise with, or assist its Irish enemies, against the liege subjects, but to take arms with his men when required by the King of England or his Lieutenant, with whom, when summoned, he would be ready to march, with all his forces, at the charges of the colonial government, if he passed beyond his own district. The "poor commons of the small county of Louth," however, soon complained to the King, that his commissioners had issued an order to

assess Aghy *Ardghal*] MacMahon and other Irish, the King's enemies, on their county, to the impoverishment of the subjects, and against the law; and that these Irish refused to accept such food and drink as the complainants themselves used, but were dispersed with their companions, nurses, and children, throughout the country, spying, by day and night, all the roads and fortresses, whence the greatest possible mischiefs might thereafter arise. They, therefore, prayed, that Aghy, and the other enemies of his company, should be sent out of the country, which, they declared, would, with its commons, be otherwise utterly and finally destroyed.

To save their town from the fate of Leighlin, the burgesses of which were reduced to the number of eighty-six, the commonalty of New Ross obtained royal permission to pay an annual sum to Art MacMurragh, for protecting them. They represented that, as their town was situated in the marches, surrounded on every side by enemies, the burgesses had not wherewith to live, unless by sale of victuals and other articles, which it behoved them to vend to the Irish, to avoid incurring their enmity. On similar grounds, the Provost and commonalty of the recently-walled town of Kilkenny obtained a grant that the burgesses might, on market-days, during times of peace or truce, sell to the neighbouring enemies and rebels any victuals or merchandize, with the exception of horses and arms. The Abbot and Convent of Blessed Mary, at Trim, also procured a confirmation of the ancient liberty, under which both liege Irish and rebels were protected in coming thither and returning thence as pilgrims.

Committing the government to Scrope, Prince Thomas left Ireland in November, 1403, and, with a fleet, devastated the French coast with fire and sword, in retaliation for the descents made on England during the insurrection of the Percies in Northumberland. Sir Stephen Scrope, proceeding to England, was succeeded as Deputy, in 1405, by James, third Earl of Ormonde, Constable of Ireland, on whose death, at Gowran, in the same year, the Council elected as Deputy-Governor Gerald, fifth Earl of Kildare.

The Lieutenant, Prince Thomas, having lost his part of the indenture into which he had entered with his father for the government of Ireland, a new appointment was issued in 1406. Under this agreement, Thomas was to be Lieutenant for twelve years, to have the full government of the King's land, and to be paid seven thousand pounds per annum for all the men retained there by him. To war upon the enemy, he was bound to keep constantly one hundred English men-at-arms, and one hundred archers from England, to be periodically mustered and examined by inspectors appointed by the King. In case of his salary being allowed to fall one month in arrear, after the date of the quarterly payment agreed upon, he was to be at liberty to withdraw from the government. Should the King or the Prince of Wales come to Ireland, Prince Thomas was, notwithstanding, to continue as Chief Justiciary, and in receipt of the Viceregal salary. If the King should himself desire to take the government, or to commit it to the Prince of Wales, half a year's notice was to be given to the Viceroy, who was authorized to appoint a deputy in Ireland, should his father wish to send him to Gascoigne or elsewhere ; and shipping for the Viceregal

retinue and soldiery to and from Ireland, was to be provided by the Crown. As Deputy to Prince Thomas, Scrope returned to Ireland in 1407, and, with the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, the Prior of Kilmainham, and other chief colonists, he warred upon Mac Murragh, O'Nolan, and O'Carroll. The settlers, deeming their cause specially favoured by heaven, believed, according to their chroniclers, that on this occasion the sun did not set at the natural hour, but continued to shine till the English knights had ridden six miles in their raid upon the Irish. Scrope died of the plague at Castledermod, in 1408, and was succeeded as Deputy by the Earl of Kildare. Scrope's widow, Milicent, daughter and heiress of Robert, Lord Tiptoft, married, in 1409, the afterwards noted Sir John Fastolf, of Norfolk, serving at that time in Ireland as an esquire. Prince Thomas, appointed Admiral of England, returned as Viceroy in 1408. Landing at Carlingford, he confined the Earl of Kildare, the Deputy-Governor, in the prison of the Castle of Dublin, till he paid a fine of three hundred marks, for having, with Adam O'Nolan, interfered with the right claimed by the Crown of appointing a prebendary to Maynooth. The Prince held a Parliament at Kilkenny, the burghers of which town, on the occasion of his visit, presented him with a butt of wine. Although he mustered in hostile array all the Crown tenants in Ireland, the border Irish pressed so closely upon Dublin, that in an engagement near Kilmainham, where he for a time resided, he was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped being slain. On returning to England, in 1410, Prince Thomas appointed as his Deputy in Ireland, Thomas

Le Botiller, Prior of the Hospitallers of Kilmainham, son of James, third Earl of Ormonde. The Prince, created Duke of Clarence, in 1411, proceeded to France, accompanied by his ward, the young Earl of Ormonde, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship. Prior Le Botiller presided at a Parliament of the settlers in 1410, and continued in office as Deputy till 1413. On the 25th of September, in that year, Sir John Stanley, who had been installed Knight of the Garter, and appointed Constable of Windsor Castle, landed at Clontarf as Viceroy, but died on the 18th of the following January. Stanley, who had several times administered the colonial government, and acquired lands in Meath, was characterized by the native chroniclers as one who gave neither mercy nor protection to the Irish clergy, laity, or men of science, but subjected as many of them as came within his power to cold, hardship, and famine. It was he, they wrote, who plundered the hereditary bard Niall, son of Aed O'Higgin, at Usnagh, in Meath; but Henri D'Alton made a raid upon Le Tuite and the people of the King of England, and gave to the poets, out of the prey, a cow for each one that had been taken from them by the Viceroy, and afterwards escorted them to Connaught. "The O'Higgins and Niall," say our authors, "then satirized Sir John Stanley, who survived this satire but five weeks, for he died of the virulence of the lampoons. This," they add, "was the second poetical miracle performed by the bard Niall O'Higgin; the first having been the discomfiture of the clan Conway, on the night in which they plundered him at Cladann."

The native denunciation of Stanley's Viceregal exactions

is corroborated by a statement of grievances transmitted, in 1421, by the colonial government to Henry V. In this document the King's lieges wrote as follows: "Monsieur John de Stanley, whom God assoil, your Lieutenant of your land of Ireland, in your time, and in the time of the King, your father, and your predecessor, King Richard, paid little or nothing of his debts to your lieges, but committed divers extortions and oppressions from time to time against the form of your laws, and to the great injury of your land. For which may it please your most gracious lordship to compel the heirs of the said John de Stanley, who was greatly enriched by the goods of your land, to come hither and make payment of his debts, and amend the defaults done by him, as shall appear best to your Highness." On Stanley's death, the Council elected, as Governor, Thomas Cranley, the English Archbishop of Dublin, who had been, for a time, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. His contemporary churchman, Henry Marleburrough, described Cranley as "greatly praised for his liberality; a good almsman, a great clerk, a doctor of divinity, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautiful, courteous, of a sanguine complexion, and of tall stature." This Prelate's age, of nearly eighty years, prevented him from joining his fellow officials, Prior Le Botiller, and Patrick Barrett, Bishop of Ferns, in their military expeditions. He, however, convened his clergy to pray at Castledermod, for the success of the English forces against the Irish; but his countrymen were routed by O'Connor of Offaly, and Mac Geoghegan, who carried off many hostages, and slew various nobles, including Mareward,

Baron of Skryne, for whose son they obtained the large ransom of fourteen hundred marks. The devices by which respite of hostilities from Irish enemies was occasionally obtained, is illustrated by the proceeding, in 1413, of Simon Wicken, Mayor of Waterford, which town suffered seriously from the attacks of the O'Driscols of Baltimore. "Accompanied by the Bailiffs of Waterford, and attended by a band of men in armour, Wicken sailed, on Christmas Eve, to Baltimore, and on Christmas night came to O'Driscol's castle. Representing that he had arrived with a cargo of wine, he obtained admission to the great hall, where the Chieftain and a few of his kinsmen were seated at tables, prepared for supper. Bidding them not to move, the Mayor declared that he meant not to draw any man's blood, but to depart after he had danced and drunk. With that, says the English account, he took up to dance, O'Driscol and his son, his three brethren, his wife, and the Prior of the Friary, and leaving them in their dance, he commanded his men to hold them fast. After singing a carol, he came away, bringing with him, on board his ship, O'Driscol and his company, "saying unto them, they should go with him unto Waterford, to sing their carol, and make merry that Christmas; and they, being all on board, made sail presently, and arrived at Waterford on St. Stephen's Day, at night, where with great joy they were received with lights."

Archbishop Cranley's conduct, as Governor, did not escape censure, and he was obliged to appeal to the King, his patron, to whom he addressed an elegant Latin epistle of one hundred and six verses. The condition of the colony

demanding the presence of an energetic military leader, Henry V., in 1413, appointed the subsequently famous soldier, Sir John Talbot, to the Viceroyalty, for six years, with an annual allowance of £2,666 13s. 4d. The lordship of Wexford had devolved to Talbot's elder brother, Gilbert, from failure of direct male heirs to Aymer de Valence and John Hastings, Earls of Pembroke. Sir John Talbot, by marriage with Maud, daughter of Thomas Neville and Jeanne de Verdun, became Baron of Furnival and of Halomshire; and also acquired, with her, portion of the Verdun lands in West-Meath, as well as the hereditary office of Lord Seneschal, or High Steward for Ireland. In his forty-first year, Sir John Talbot landed as Viceroy on the 10th of November, 1414, at Dalkey; and on the 30th of that month, his commission was read in the Chapel of Saint Mary, in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, in presence of Archbishop Cranley and the whole Council.

Talbot mustered the soldiery of the colony; called out, under heavy penalties, the liege subjects of each county, with horses and arms, arrayed them in bodies of twenty, one hundred, and one thousand; appointed commissioners to arrest outlaws and to seize the infants, both male and female, of Irish enemies and English rebels, wherever they were found at fosterage among the loyal English. Commencing his military operations on the western borders of the colony, he advanced against O'More of Leix, "one of the strongest Irish enemies of Leinster, and a great chieftain of his nation." Penetrating into Leix, the Viceroy burned and destroyed the corn, wounded and killed numbers of the people, broke down two castles,

delivered several English prisoners; and, by remaining in the district for six days and six nights, which had not before been done in the memory of man, he succeeded in bringing the Chieftain to peace. "To the great comfort and relief of the English," he repaired the bridge of Athy, on the frontiers of the borders of the Irish enemies of Leix, to repel whom, he erected a tower and fortifications for the reception of a garrison. "Your faithful lieges," wrote the colonists to the King, "were oftentimes preyed and killed, through this bridge, but now your said lieges, both there and elsewhere, may suffer their goods and cattle to remain in the fields, day and night, without being stolen, or sustaining any other loss, which hath not been seen here by the space of these thirty years past. And," they continued "now upon the Monday in Whitsun-week, at Lissen-hall, in the county of Dublin, Morice O'Keating, chieftain of his nation, traitor and rebel to you, our gracious lord, for the great fear which he had of your said Lieutenant, for himself and his nation, yielded himself to the same, your Lieutenant, without any condition, with his breast against his sword point, and a cord about his neck, then delivering to your said Lieutenant, without ransom, the English prisoners which he had taken before; to whom grace was granted by indenture, and his eldest son given in pledge to be loyal lieges from thence forward."

Talbot also succeeded in reducing to temporary obedience part of the septs on the northern and southern borders of the settlement, after having cut passes through some of the woods, and made "divers great journeys" upon them, in which he "strongly invaded,

burned, foraged, and destroyed" their lands, and slew numbers of their men. "He had power," wrote Sir John Davies, "to make them seek the King's peace, but not power to reduce them to the obedience of subjects; and his army was so ill paid and governed, that the English suffered more damage by the cess of his soldiery, than they gained profit or security by abating the pride of their enemies for a time." Talbot resided at Finglas, on the north of Dublin, during part of 1414, in which year his son, Thomas, was born there; and in 1415 he sailed from Clontarf to England, leaving Archbishop Cranley as his deputy. After his return to Ireland, in 1416, Talbot obtained a subsidy from the colonial parliament, but soon contemplated withdrawing to England, as his payment from the Crown had been allowed to fall into arrear. He was, however, induced to defer his departure by the chief colonists, who despatched messengers to the King, with a certificate of his services, declaring that great "destruction and disease" had come upon the land by his last absence, and that worse might be anticipated if he should then retire. The principal ecclesiastics, some of the nobles, knights, gentry of the colony, and mayors and commons of the towns, represented themselves in this document as "continuing in a land of war, environed by Irish enemies and English rebels, and in point to be destroyed." "We humbly beseech your gracious lordship," they wrote to Henry V., "that it would please you, of your special grace, to think upon your said land, and, in the works of charity, to have mercy and pity upon us, your poor lieges thereof, who are environed on all sides, in war with English rebels and Irish enemies, to our

continual destruction and sorrow, and also to have your said Lieutenant, as especially recommended to your sovereign lordship for the causes aforesaid, and, moreover, to provide so graciously such a sufficient payment for him, that he may make himself strong enough to resist the malice of your enemies on this side of the sea, and his soldiers able to pay for their victuals, and other things, which they took of your faithful lieges, for the safety of your land aforesaid, and of your poor lieges therein; considering, our redoubted liege lord, that if your forces be not here always so strongly maintained, and continued without being diminished, your Irish enemies and English rebels, if they may espy the contrary, although they have put in hostages, and are otherwise strongly bound to the peace, yet, they will rise again unto wars, which is a privy conquest of your land aforesaid. And furthermore," they added, "the money which your said Lieutenant doth receive of your gracious lordship, for the safe keeping of this your land, is so little, that it doth not suffice to pay so much unto soldiers as is likely to maintain your wars here, by a great quantity, by reason whereof they can pay but little for anything taken from your said lieges for the sustenance of them and their horses, which is to the importable charges of your lieges, and perpetual destruction of them, if they be not graciously succoured and relieved by your gracious lordship."

Despite the interference and opposition of the Viceroy, at this period, James Fitz-Gerald succeeded in deposing his nephew, Thomas, sixth Earl of Desmond, on the pretext of his having married the beautiful Catherine Ni Cormac, in the house of whose father, one of his

vassals, he had been benighted while hunting near Tralee. Under the "Statute of Kilkenny," marriage with the native Irish was penal, without the royal permission, which was usually accorded, and would, in this instance, have been of little moment, had the Earl contracted an alliance with one of the powerful clans, whose aid might have enabled him to resist both the Crown and his intruding relative. The usurper thrice expelled him from his lands, and obliged him, in the presence of the Earl of Ormonde and others, to make a formal surrender of the Earldom; a portion of land being assigned to his son Maurice. The deposed Earl died at Rouen, and his kinsman, King Henry V., is said to have attended his funeral.

Numbers of Anglo-Irish continuing to migrate from the settlement, the Parliament of England, "for quietness and peace within that kingdom, and for the increase and filling of the land of Ireland," ordained that all Irishmen and Irish mendicant clerics, called "chamber-deacons," should, by a fixed day, be "voided from the realm," upon pain of losing their goods and being imprisoned at the royal pleasure. From this sentence were excepted "graduates in schools, serjeants and apprentices of the law, professed religious persons, merchants of good name, and their apprentices, dwelling at the time in England; but all holding offices in Ireland, were ordered to proceed, and reside there, for the defence of the land. Such legislation, intended to benefit the English, by the removal of competitors, increased the difficulties of the colonial government in Ireland. The close connexions between many important Irish and Anglo-Irish families, had

rendered impracticable the full execution of the statutes which prescribed the exclusion of natives from church preferments in the colony. Licenses were constantly procured from the Viceroys, authorizing the admission of "mere Irish clerics" to sees, abbacies, and priories, under the control of the English Government; and when thus installed, they collated their own people to the benefices at their disposal. These Irish bishops, abbots, and priors, sat as spiritual peers in the parliaments and councils of the colony, and hence it became difficult to devise in secret any schemes of magnitude, to the prejudice of their native kinsmen, who had no part in such assemblies. A statute passed in England, in 1416, prohibited the issue of further Viceregal licenses for the promotion of native Irish ecclesiastics, and decreed the seizure of the temporalities of any bishops who might collate Irish clerics, or bring with them Irish rebels amongst the English, to learn and discover their secrets and private counsels. The legal prohibition failing to check the migration of the Anglo-Irish to England, Henry V., by a proclamation, commanded them to return to Ireland. This order was issued, in compliance with a petition from the King's "faithful lieges" in Ireland, who complained that excessive taxation and exactions had compelled the people to depart to England; that the officers and soldiers of the Viceroy seized the cattle and corn, even of ecclesiastics, in open violation of the liberties of Holy Church; and that, from the incompetency of the officials, the laws were neither observed nor put in execution.

The ex-Deputy Governor, Prior Le Botiller, styled by the Irish *bacach*, or the lame, was retained by

Henry V. to serve in his French wars. At the head of a body of horse and foot soldiery, the Prior sailed from Waterford, took part at the siege of Rouen, and according to the English chroniclers, his Irish troops so did their devoir, that none were more praised nor did more damage to the enemy. Prior Le Botiller is stated to have died in Normandy, in 1419; but, according to some authorities, he was poisoned by a woman, after he had returned to England.

At a Parliament, held before the Viceroy, Talbot, in 1417, Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin, was delegated to proceed to the King with a memorial on the state of the government; but, after this document had been agreed to and transcribed, the Chancellor, Laurence Merbury, refused to authenticate it with the great seal in his custody. The colonists subsequently complained of this transaction; requested the King to call Merbury to account; and asserted that the Viceroy, Talbot, had practised excessive extortions and oppressions on both ecclesiastics and laymen, whose property he had appropriated without payment. The Irish writers also aver, that Talbot plundered many persons, including some of the poets of Erin; and they add, that while abiding there, he gave protection neither to saint nor sanctuary. His attacks on Eastern Ulster were checked by Magennis, Lord of Iveagh, and O'Neill of Clannabuy, who slew and captured many of his soldiery. O'Connor of Offaly was purchased by Talbot from De la Freigne, who had surprised and captured him; but, on the night after he had been delivered up, the Chief escaped, with his fellow-prisoner, and thus the Viceroy lost the ransom on which he had speculated. Talbot was

recalled from the Viceroyalty in 1419, and procured leave of absence from Ireland for ten years. Having succeeded in capturing Donogh, son and successor of Art Mac Murragh, he committed him to the Tower of London, and received the royal permission to retain, for his own profit, the highest ransom he could obtain for the liberation of this Chief.

Talbot's brother, Richard, appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1417, was constituted Deputy Governor of the colony in 1419. In that year, he arrested at Slane, Sir Christopher Preston, Lord of Gormanstown; the Earl of Kildare, and Sir John Bellew, for holding illegal communications with the Prior of Kilmainham. In Preston's possession was found a parchment roll, containing, among other articles, an ordinance of Henry II., prescribing the mode of holding parliaments in Ireland. This document was, in the same year, produced before the Lord Deputy and Council at Trim, and a copy of it was there ordered to be made and attested with the great seal of Ireland. The authenticity of the roll found in Preston's hands has been questioned, but the official copy or exemplification of it was subsequently accepted as an authority on the subjects of which it treats. James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, returning from Normandy, entered on office, in April, 1420, as Lieutenant. On landing at Waterford, a judicial combat was fought in his presence, by two of his cousins, one of whom was there slain, and the other carried wounded to Kilkenny. The Earl, warring upon the border-Irish, invaded the territory of O'More. In this expedition through the red moor of Athy, the colonial chroniclers declare, that the sun

favoured the English, by "almost lodging in the west, nd miraculously standing still in his epicycle for the space of three hours," and neither pit nor quagmire impeded the Viceroy's horsemen, in their course against the Irish. During another expedition of this Viceroy, the English clergy of Dublin went twice a week, in solemn procession, to pray for the good success of their soldiers against the Irish and their confederates. The Irish chroniclers, however, tell, that Murragh O'Connor, Chieftain of Offaly, encountered and defeated the English, with their ally, MacGilla-Patrick, and obtained great spoils of their arms, armour, and accoutrements. O'Connor, they wrote, then returned home, but was attacked by a dangerous disease, and retiring to the monastery of his family at Killeigh, in his own territory, he took the habit of a friar, and died there in a month, after a well-spent life, having appointed his own kinsman, Dermod O'Connor, to take his place in the clan. In the same year, Adam Veldon, a chief clerk of the Court of Chancery, petitioned for the King's aid, as in a certain hosting made by the O'Connors and De Berminghams upon the liege subjects in the county of Meath, he was taken and detained a prisoner, until, to his utter ruin, he was forced to pay ten pounds of silver for his delivery and ransom. At a Parliament held before Ormonde, the commons appealed to him to enforce observance of the laws, and to cause due payments to be made on behalf of the Crown. The Viceroy promised compliance with their requests, and declared publicly that if he should not receive sufficient funds from the King, he would, at the end of his term of office, assign the rents of

certain of his lands, in his best neighbourhood, until full payment had been made to those to whom he might be indebted. In this Parliament the colonists agreed to a statement of grievances, to be laid before the King, whose land they declared was, for the greater part, wasted and destroyed by Irish enemies and English rebels, as well by continual wars in each county, as by extortions, oppressions, and non-payments, by divers Lieutenants and their deputies, and great persons. In their address to the King, they wrote as follows: "By default of the due execution of your laws, your land has descended to so great a decline, that it will never be relieved, and your enemies and rebels chastised, without your most sovereign and gracious presence within your said land, as it appears to your poor lieges; but the same your land and your lieges there, in a short time, will be utterly lost, and for ever destroyed, which God forbid." They declared that former Lieutenants and their deputies committed various extortions, damages, and grievances, by force and colour of their power, and expended little or nothing on the wars in aid and comfort of the lieges, but appropriated the Crown revenues which should have been expended on the settlement. That the landholders, artificers, and labourers were daily departing for England, in great numbers, by which the husbandry of the land was injured and disused; that commissioners, although promised, had not been sent to inquire into the acts of the Lieutenants and other officers, their extortions, oppressions, excesses, nonpayments, preys, damages, illegal imprisonments, and other grievances. That the offices

of the Exchequer were held by illiterate persons, unacquainted with writing, who performed their duties by deputies, some holding two or three appointments in the same court, and exacting heavy fees to enable them to pay high rents to their principals. They complained that the governors and companies of English Inns of Court, had refused to receive persons of good and gentle birth of the English of Ireland. This memorial also included the following petition: "Your lieges show, to your most high and royal Majesty, that whereas, at the first coming of your most noble predecessor, King Richard II., to this land, most of the great chieftains of the Irish nation, that is to say, Mac Murragh, O'Neill, O'Brien of Thomond, O'Connor of Connaught, and divers other Irish, most humbly, and of their free will, submitted and became liegemen to him and his heirs, Kings of England, for themselves, their children, kindred, and people, for ever, and at that time did their liege homage; and also, for greater surety, they bound themselves, of their own free will, by divers instruments, as appears in various forms, to the most Holy Father the Pope, and his successors, for the firmly keeping their allegiance, the which instruments remain in your Treasury of England, as your lieges suppose; but since that time the said persons openly became outlaws and rebels, and wasted and destroyed your lieges, against the form promised. Your lieges, therefore," they added, "pray, if it shall please your most noble and gracious lordship, that you will write to, and inform our most Holy Father the Pope, by your most gracious letters, the matters and things aforesaid, with their circumstances, that a crusade be made against the

Irish enemies, for the relief and salvation of the land and of your lieges in that behalf, and in perpetual destruction of those enemies, by the aid of God."

Violent feuds arose at this period between the Botillers and Talbots, although their families were closely allied by consanguinity; Sir John Talbot, the ex-Viceroy, and his brother Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, having been the grandsons of Petronille, daughter of James, first Earl of Ormonde. By the decease of his elder brother, Gilbert Talbot, in 1417, and that of his sole child, Ankaretta, in 1422, Sir John became nominal Lord of Wexford. In the English Parliament, as well as in the Marshal's Court, before John, Duke of Bedford, Constable of England, uncle and regent of Henry V., Sir John Talbot formally arraigned the Earl of Ormonde of treason. The articles of accusation set forth that, before departing from Ireland, the Earl and his brother, Friar Thomas Le Botiller, late Prior of Kilmainham, "purposing misgovernance to John Lord Talbot," set the Ormonde lordship of Oghtryn, in Kildare, to bear tribute or "black rent" to the wife of Calvach O'Connor, of Offaly, an Irish enemy, by which means, that chieftain, his men, and those "enherding unto him" often rode through these lands, despoiling, slaying, and destroying the liege subjects, and burning the country. The second charge was, that the Earl retained in his service, William Edward, Constable of his Castle of Arklow, who, assembling O'Byrnes and other Irish enemies, to the number of six score, lay within the town of Wicklow, rose and slew John Liverpoole, Constable of the King's castle there; smote off his head, which they

bore to O'Byrne, an Irish enemy, "Chief of his nation;" and then, having assaulted the castle, took out thence a priest, and held him to ransom. The Earl and the Prior were also charged with having "received and comforted in their country, where no execution of law could be had against him," William Thommason, "the strongest rebel and traitor of Ireland, that was for many days seen in the same land," who had slain and made prisoners of men and servants of the Lord Talbot, and had done him "harms and scaiths" to the extent of one thousand pounds. The concluding charge was, that Ormonde had unlawfully arrested Sir John Talbot's cousin, Thomas Talbot, delivered him to hostile Irish kerns, who forthwith carried him to the house of Calvach O'Connor, where they held him till, by the Earl's ordinance, he paid them ten pounds as ransom; and, added the document, "what time the said kerns had him in governance, they beat him, and laid their bags upon him, more than he might bear, by the which cause the said Thomas is undone." Ormonde had powerful interest in England, and was distinguished for learning and acquirements, in which Talbot was deficient. In France, Ormonde had attended Prince Thomas of Lancaster, and his brother, Henry V., who, at the Earl's request, created John Kitely herald for Ireland, under the title of "Ireland." Ormonde's "immense services" had been acknowledged by Henry V., who admitted that the Earl's patrimony had, during his minority, while in the royal hands, been devastated and destroyed, to the great depauperization of its owner. The Crown and Council, in 1423, ordered the annulment of all proceedings connected with the dispute between Talbot and Ormonde,

and declared that neither they nor their heirs should be deemed to be in any wise prejudiced in their fame. The royal ordinance on this subject set forth that various scandals might arise in England and Ireland from such accusations and denunciations; that John Talbot and James Le Botiller were allied by blood both to the King and to each other; that the Crown and Council desired to establish the bond of love and concord between lieges so nearly related; and that Talbot had sought redress, not for himself, but for his kinsmen and retainers.

Some of the Irish of Western Ulster advanced, in 1423, upon Dundalk, Louth, and Meath, routed the English army, slew its commander, carried away great spoils, and the settlers were fain to obtain peace by giving hostages, and agreeing to pay tribute. The Viceroy, Ormonde, declared himself unable to resist these incursions, unless, by the promise of money payments, he could obtain the aid of the De Burghs or Mac Williams of Connaught, and the Mayor and commonalty of Dublin. On this representation, he was authorized to pay Sir William de Burgh forty pounds, and half that sum to his brother, to induce them to assist him in this emergency. By another grant, the Mayor and commonalty of Dublin were stimulated to march with a body of men-at-arms and archers, under the Viceroy's leading, to the defence of the frontiers of Louth, against O'Neill, Magennis, and Mac Mahon. With this assistance, and by propitiating some of the Irish, the Viceroy, and the settlers in Meath, were enabled to make reprisals on the hostile Ulster Chiefs.

Edmund de Mortimer, fifth Earl of March and Ulster, Lord of Connaught and Trim, was, in 1423, appointed Viceroy

for Ireland for nine years, to date from the day on which he or his deputy should land in Ireland. This nobleman was the legal hereditary heir to the Crown of England, as eldest son of the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, at whose death he had been but six years of age. The exclusion of Edmund de Mortimer from the throne, was one of the alleged causes for which his uncles, Henry Percy and Owen Glendower, made the attempt against Henry IV., which resulted in "Hotspur's" death, at the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403. Henry IV. committed Edmund to his son, Prince Henry, from whose custody he was stolen by the Lady De Spenser, who intended to have him proclaimed in Wales, but he was soon afterwards discovered and re-taken in Chiltham Woods. Uneasy respecting the De Mortimer children, whose rights, usurped by him, were recognized by many in England, and by the majority of the Welsh, Henry IV., in 1405, requested the advice of his Council as to the mode in which the youthful Earl of March and his younger brother, Roger, might be safely and properly guarded for his Majesty's security. The lords recommended that the two children, as well for their own safety as for his Majesty's fame, should be continually in the royal presence, under the charge and rule of such honorable, loyal, and responsible persons as he could most rely upon; but that if the King went to Wales, they should be placed in some castle or fortress near the borders, and kept there safely till he returned from that country. In the succeeding year, however, the two boys were, by means of a false key, taken from Windsor Castle, and carried to their uncle, Owen Glendower, from whom they were subsequently recovered. On coming of age,

Edmund de Mortimer obtained from Henry V., in 1415, a confirmation of his ancestral rights, privileges, and franchises, in Meath, with authority to hold his royal court in the Castle of Trim. A plot to proclaim him King of England was discovered, when Henry was about to sail to France, in 1416, for which Edmund's brother-in-law, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, and Lord Scrope of Masham, were beheaded. Evincing no ambition to assert his rights to the English Crown, Edmund de Mortimer loyally served the House of Lancaster in England and France, was appointed Lieutenant of Normandy, in 1418, and, in 1423, constituted Viceroy of Ireland, with an annual allowance of five thousand marks. By letters patent, executed at his Castle of Ludlow, the Earl of March appointed Edward Dantsey, Bishop of Meath, his Deputy in Ireland. Dantsey produced this commission to the existing Deputy Governor, Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of the colony, and the Privy Council, in the convent of the Franciscans, at Drogheda. Talbot declined to recognize the appointment, as he and the Council doubted the power of the Viceroy to make a Deputy, under his private seal. Although Sir Thomas Stynt produced a writ from Westminster, directing the admission of Dantsey, Talbot, on the advice of the judges, refused to acknowledge him as Governor, but, eventually, for the public weal, they agreed to waive their objections. Edmund de Mortimer, the fourth of his family who had held the Viceroyalty, arrived in Ireland in 1424, and entered into terms with many of the native Chiefs connected with the territories which he claimed as Earl of

Ulster. The plague, however, cut him off, in January, 1425; and thus, like his father and grandfather, he ended his days in Ireland, at an early age, while holding the office of Viceroy. As he and his brother Roger died childless, the Earldom of March became extinct; while the De Mortimer estates, with the Earldom of Ulster, the Lordship of Connaught and Meath, together with the legal right to the Crown of England, devolved upon Edmund's youthful nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, son of his sister, Anne de Mortimer, Countess of Cambridge. On De Mortimer's death, some of the northern Chiefs who had come to his castle, at Trim, on affairs connected with his Earldom of Ulster, were surprised by his successor in office, Sir John Talbot, who, aided by the English of Meath, exacted ransoms and hostages from them. Calvach O'Connor, of Offaly, however, made prisoners of John Lee, Marshal of the English army, Sir John Welles, and several squires, including Henry MacAdam, Seneschal of the Viceroy's manor of Loghsueedy, in West-Meath. Talbot induced this formidable "Chief of his nation of Offaly," to agree to liberate these captives; to forego the tribute or "black-rent," which he annually levied from the King's subjects in Meath; to surrender lands which he had seized there; to promise that he or his kinsmen would not prey upon the liege subjects, nor harbour Irish enemies nor English rebels; that, before making retaliation for grievances, the cases should be certified to the Viceroy, to and from whose presence Calvach should be at liberty to go and return under safe conduct, whenever he pleased, with license to make purchases among the English, and to recover his debts from them. O'Connor swore on

the Evangelists and the Sacrament, to faithfully observe these stipulations ; gave his nephew, Rury, as a hostage, to the Viceroy, and agreed that, on infringement of the terms, sentence of excommunication might be pronounced against him by any of the prelates of Ireland. Under a similar instrument, Donagh, " Chief of his nation of the O'Byrnes," covenanted to protect the loyal English and the tenants in Sir John Talbot's lordship of Wexford ; to allow the Archbishop of Dublin to exercise ordinary jurisdiction, and to collect his rents in his territories. The Viceroy also stipulated that this Chief should present him with three good horses and three hackneys, for his grace and favour. During his brief sojourn in Ireland, in 1425, Talbot granted various lands in Dublin and Meath to his son, John, and his brother, Thomas ; and, on his withdrawal, Ormonde was re-appointed Viceroy. The ordinary Viceregal salary of five hundred pounds per annum having been found inadequate to the expenses, an annual fee of one thousand pounds was assigned to Ormonde, together with an addition to his retinue of twelve men-at-arms, at twelvepence, and sixty archers, at sixpence, per day, to be paid out of the revenues, to aid him in maintaining the government and resisting the Irish, which wars and burthens he declared he could not otherwise support. To protect the settlers and tenants of the minor, Richard, Duke of York, on whom the Earldom of Eastern Ulster had devolved, Ormonde entered into a compact with Prince Owen O'Neill, who had been captured at Trim, by Talbot, and subsequently ransomed. In an elaborate indenture in the Latin language, Owen acknowledged himself to be the liegeman of the King of England,

not induced thereto by fear or force, but of his own free will; and also declared himself tenant of the minor, Richard, Duke of York, kinsman and heir of Edmund, late Earl of March and Ulster. O'Neill covenanted that neither he nor his people would molest the English settlers; that he would aid King Henry and the Duke of York, in war and peace, in Ulster and its borders; that he would not enter upon nor destroy the lands of the Earldom, nor exact tribute or "black-rent," nor practise other oppressions; that he would not receive, harbour, nor assist malefactors or enemies of the King or the Duke. He promised, too, that he would forego all his claims upon the Primate of Armagh and his successors, nor molest him nor any of his ministers; that he would not interfere with the tithes or profits of the Church lands of the English clergy, but, with the secular arm, restrain and punish his disobedient kinsmen and others, when called upon; that he would not retaliate for his recent capture and imprisonment by Talbot, or for other injuries formerly done to him by the English; that he would not encroach upon the tenants, rights, or profits of Richard, Duke of York, in the Earldom of Ulster; that he would give as a hostage one of his sons, selected by the Viceroy, and deliver another in case of his death. He also bound himself to submit to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Armagh, who, it was agreed, should excommunicate him, and place his lands under interdict, in event of his violating the compact, to which a penalty of one thousand marks was also attached. In the frontier town of Dundalk, on the 23rd of July, 1425, O'Neill swore upon the Evangelists and relics of saints faithfully to observe these articles, in the presence of

John Swayn, Archbishop of Armagh ; John Hide, Prior of Uriel ; John Milward, Prior of St. Leonard's, Dundalk ; the Seneschal of the Liberty of Meath ; the Sheriff of Uriel, and many other witnesses. For the further security of the borders, the Viceroy entered into compacts with Dermod, "Chief of his nation of the O'Tooles" ; and with Brian, Chief of the Mac Mahons of Farney, and his brothers, Rury and Mahon, who held at the time, in their territories, various English prisoners as hostages.

Ormonde was succeeded, as Viceroy, by Sir John de Grey, who landed at Howth on the 31st day of July, 1427, and was sworn into office on the next day, in the Castle of Swords, before Archbishop Richard Talbot. De Grey was necessitated to make large disbursements from his "own proper gold," to provide soldiery to defend the settlement against the Mac Murraghs and other hostile Irish. On his retirement, in 1428, the Viceroyalty was committed to Sir John Sutton, fourth Baron of Dudley, who had borne the royal standard of England at the funeral of Henry V. Sutton undertook the government for two years, during the first of which he was to receive five thousand marks, and to retain twenty-four men-at-arms, with five hundred archers. In his second year, he was to keep the same number of men-at-arms, with four hundred archers, and to receive four thousand marks. To repel the border inroads, Sutton made a hostile expedition against the O'Byrnes, and, to aid him, he commanded the Sheriff of the County of Dublin to muster, on a fixed day, at Bray, eleven hundred armed men, with provisions for six days, and a hundred waggons laden with victuals. A Parliament of the colony,

assembled at Dublin, before Sutton, in 1429, despatched Henry Fortescue, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Strange, to England, with a memorial, under the great seal, to be presented to the King. They represented that, during the preceding year, the land, for lack of good government, had stood in point of destruction, from the burning, robbing, taking, and killing of the English people by the Irish, in every part. Against these enemies, the Lieutenant had, they stated, since his arrival, manfully and diligently warred; burned and destroyed their corn and houses, broken their castles, cut their woods and passes, made great slaughters, and much impoverished them; so that the lieges stood in good rest from the malice of their foes, and that their persons, corn, houses, and goods, were well protected. The Parliament besought the King to thank the Lieutenant, "as he right well deserved, thus causing him to have the more courage to continue his good and diligent labours;" they begged that he might have hasty remittance of his allowance, to enable him to pay the people, and that "he be well seen unto," considering that he had great costs in retaining horsemen and footmen "of the guise of Ireland," beyond his regular number of soldiers. They represented that, before this time, the land had stood in great mischief and likeliness of injury, by often changing, and the misgovernance of the Lieutenants and their Deputies. We beseech you, they wrote, "that while we stand well such change be not made hereafter, for fear of peril of losing of this land, as it had been of late." Divers, of malice and ill-will, having made to the King and Council in England feigned suggestions of the Lieutenants, Justices, and other

ministers, the Parliament prayed that such reports, which caused "great hindrances and heaviness," might not be received, but that their propagators might be obliged to find sufficient surety to abide by their statements, which should be examined by the Parliament or great Council in Ireland, and the result certified thence, under the great seal. They requested that the King would graciously ordain that all the Lieutenants or Deputies of his father and himself should make payment of the debts due for themselves and their soldiers, the default whereof had been a "great hindering and impoverishing to the lieges." They complained that divers clerics, merchants, and other honest persons of the King's land in Ireland, had been robbed, beaten, and imprisoned, while travelling from Chester to Coventry, Oxford, and London; and they requested that the liege-people might be admitted to study, in the Inns of Court, in England, as in former times, for that, otherwise, after the death of the existing lawyers, none would be found in Ireland acquainted with the law of England. They also prayed that, considering the great services done by the Earl of Ormonde, he should be thanked and given the amount due to him for keeping the land while he was Governor, that he might pay the people; as, since he had come over the sea, he had incurred great costs and charges in resisting the enemies, who, during his last long absence, grew bolder to war upon the loyal people. They further protested that they ever had been, and would continue to be, true liegemen to the King of England, "for whose sake they suffered much sorrow from day to day," from his enemies. Without the knowledge of the Viceroy or Council, articles, im-

pugning those agreed to in this Parliament, were, at the same time, anonymously transmitted from Ireland to the King in England. The authors asserted that the disasters of the preceding year were not to be ascribed to the maladministration of De Grey, but to the nobles and gentry, who, having incited the Irish and disloyal English to perpetrate burnings and other enormities, refused, in conjunction with the municipalities, to march with the Viceroy against the enemies, although summoned by royal writs. The proposal of not changing the existing Viceroy they declared to be an illegal attempt to circumscribe the power of the Crown; and they added, that the settlement had never been in worse plight than at that moment. It was, they alleged, the sole prerogative of the King to deal with complaints against Viceroys; and as to parliamentary certification on their conduct, they declared that the truth could not be thus elicited, because the nobles and great men of the settlement filled the Parliament with their own nominees, who little regarded either the weal of the Crown or of its subjects. The anonymous writers assured the King that the Earl of Ormonde deserved thanks for some of his services, but that he was then pursuing courses destructive and ruinous to the English. The "hasty payment" of the Viceroy, they added, was at that time impracticable, in consequence of the many subsidies and loans which had already been contributed to him by the lieges.

The Viceroy, Sutton, in April, 1429, produced, before the Council, at Drogheda, a copy of these anonymous articles, which he declared to have been sent from Ireland to the King in England, in opposition to those

sanctioned by the Parliament in the preceding November. After the articles had been read aloud, the Chancellor, Archbishop Talbot, demanded of the members of the Council, individually, whether they were cognizant of, or participators in, the compilation or transmission of the document. After each had replied in the negative, the Archbishop was interrogated by the Viceroy, and returned a similar answer. Sutton then directed the enrolment of these proceedings, and ordered a copy to be sent to the King, with a declaration that his Council in Ireland repudiated such an attempt to practise gross deceit on his Highness. Among the Acts of the Colonial Parliament at this period, was one decreeing that the commons of Louth should pay a subsidy of ten pounds to any subject who, within five years, might build anew, on the borders of that county, a castle or tower, twenty feet in length, sixteen in breadth, and forty in height. This ordinance mentioned that the County of Louth, and the King's subjects dwelling there, were, for the greater part, destroyed and desolated by hostile Irish and English, from default of castles and towers to resist such enemies. By another Act, English merchants and subjects were prohibited, in time of peace or war, from resorting with merchandize to fairs and markets among the Irish, or from sending vendible articles to them, unless for the purpose of redeeming some prisoner, who might be the King's liegeman. The Irish enemies, added this statute, took great customs and benefits, by holding various fairs and markets in their own territories, to the depression of all the English burghs and trading towns of Ireland, and of the liege subjects therein.

Sutton, in 1429, appointed Sir Thomas le Strange as his Deputy; and, in 1431, the Viceroyalty was committed, for six years, to Sir Thomas Stanley, grandson of the former Governor, Sir John Stanley. The finances of England had been so exhausted by the war with France, that the Treasurer, in 1431, desired, at the English Privy Council, that it might be recorded that he had often applied for provision of payment of money lent for the wages of the Lieutenant of Ireland, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, and others. He requested that it might be placed on record that, notwithstanding an order had been previously issued to pay Sir Thomas Stanley, the Lieutenant of Ireland, for the custody of that land, in conformity with his indenture, yet he considered that the preference ought to be given to other payments more immediately connected with the security of the King's person, and the affairs of France. Stanley found the heads of the English arrayed in hostile armed factions, one of which was led by the Earl of Ormonde, while the other adhered to the Chancellor, Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin. By royal writ, the Archbishop was commanded to appear before the King and Council, to answer for his conduct; to adopt measures to ensure the discontinuance of the tumultuous and oppressive proceedings of his armed adherents; and, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, to liberate John Le Botiller, brother to the Earl of Ormonde, whom he had captured and imprisoned. Meanwhile, Prince Owen O'Neill, descending from Ulster, on Longford and West-Meath, was joined by the Irish of the latter district—O'Connor of Offaly, O'Molloy, O'Madden, Mac Geoghegan, and O'Melaghlin—who warred upon the

English, till the Baron of Delvin, the Plunkets, Herberts, and other chief settlers, came to terms, and paid their demands. Donogh Mac Murragh, who, after an imprisonment of seven years in London, had been ransomed by his clan, marched on Dublin, and ravaged the English territory. The town of Dundalk was obliged to pay tribute to the O'Neills; but Niall, son of O'Donnel, was captured and delivered to the Viceroy, Sir Thomas Stanley, who imprisoned him as a hostage in the Castle of Dublin. O'Connor of Offaly, however, O'Donnel's relative by marriage, waged war against the English, and did vast injury by burning, ravaging, and slaying. Mac Mahon, on the borders of Louth, warred for a time upon the hostile settlers, several of whose heads he impaled upon stakes outside his fortress of Ballilurgan, near the site of the present town of Carrickmacross. The neighbouring English, nevertheless, soon entered into an alliance with him, marched to Armagh, and exacted tribute from the clergy and students of that town, in consideration of not burning their churches. The city of Waterford was reduced to a state of poverty, from the destruction and slaughter of its chief citizens, by the hostile Irish and English on land, as well as by the English, Scotch, and Spanish pirates by sea. Its towers, walls, and fortifications had fallen to ruins; many of the principal burghers daily left for England, and the town became almost desolated. The Mayor and surviving citizens, obliged to maintain both horse and foot soldiery for their own protection, formally declared that they had been so impoverished, that they could no longer hold the city, unless aided by the King, who consequently granted

them, for twenty years, a sum payable to the Crown from their municipality. The Colonial Privy Council at Dublin, in 1435, addressed a letter to the King by the Viceroy, Stanley, who proceeded to England, to seek payment of the arrears due to him by the Crown. "We beseech you," they wrote, "of your high grace, to have your said true knight specially recommended unto your high lordship for his good governance and manful labour that he has done and made here, as well among your true people as upon your enemies, and such purveyance made for his payment that he may the more hastily repair hither, in salvation of your land from the danger of your enemies, and in comfort of your true people, giving unto him gracious and faithful audience in all such matters as he will declare therein, touching the estate of your land." Stanley was delegated to carry to the King a representation of the state of his territories in Ireland, containing the following passages:

"First, that it please our sovereign lord graciously to consider how that his land of Ireland is well-nigh destroyed and inhabited with his enemies and rebels, in so much that there is not left in the nether parts of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, that join together, out of the subjection of the said enemies and rebels, scarcely thirty miles in length and twenty miles in breadth there, as a man may surely ride or go, in the said counties, to answer to the King's writs and to his commandments. Also, the County of Catherlagh [Carlow], in the south-west part of the city of Dublin, within this thirty years, was one of the keys of the land, midway between the said city and the outparts, that is to say,

the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary; and the province of Cashel also is inhabited with enemies and rebels, save the castles of Catherlagh and Tillagh. Within these nine years, there were, in the said County of Catherlagh, one hundred and forty-eight castles and piles defensible, well vaulted, embattled, and inhabited, that now are destroyed and under the subjection of the said enemies. Also, the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, and Kerry, in the outer parts of the said land, be so destroyed and oppressed with enemies and rebels, that the few liege people dwelling in them be not sufficient to victual the cities of Waterford Cork, and Limerick, which are seated upon the coast, neither the walled towns of the said counties, that is to say, Kilkenny, Ross, Wexford, Kinsale, Youghal, Clonmel, Kilmallock, Thomastown, Carrick, Fethard, Cashel, and many others, whereby the said counties and walled towns are on the point to be famished, and, namely, the city of Waterford [may be reduced] to like desolation of them in short time, that God defend. Also, that it please our said lord graciously and tenderly to consider the mischiefs and matters aforesaid, the which being imminent to cause hasty destruction of the land; and that it please him, of his high grace, to grant license to his people here, that they, without displeasure of him, much desire his presence at this time into his land, the which would be a principal remedy of all the mischiefs and matters abovesaid, and sovereign comfort of his people, and final rebuke of their enemies, that God grant them to see in haste. And in case that it may not be pleasing to his high lordship to come hither as yet, and also, forasmuch as it hath been

ofttimes complained unto him and his worthy Council of divers extortions and nonpayments done to the liege-people here by Lieutenants and other Governors of the same land before this, by the which the land is greatly fallen in decline that it please our said sovereign lord, of his grace, hereupon to ordain some gracious and hasty remedy. And also to command the Lieutenant that now is to repair in haste with sufficiency of goods and men, and that he see that the said land be duly kept and governed during his term; or else some other great lord of the King's blood, and such as the people will dread and be afeared of, with sufficiency also of goods and men, in such wise that he that shall come now be evermore powerful to pay the people, hold his retinues, and do due execution of law, and punish rebellion and other trespass, at all times, like as the case asks, and that he have specially in commandment justly and duly to observe this. And that the Lieutenant, or any other Governor coming, find sufficient surety to our sovereign lord to keep his retinue here continually during his term, and also to perform the articles aforesaid, and to be here before the beginning of this summer, or else the said land is likely to be finally destroyed."

"The most cause of the destruction of the distant parts and counties arose," they continued, because, "during thirty years past, the Lieutenants and other Governors did not come thither, but for a sudden journey or a hosting; and had made no residence among the people there, to punish the rebels by the King's laws." The petitioners complained that only one Parliament had

been held within thirty years, although the liege-people had duly paid their subsidies and grants to the Lieutenants and other Governors. The province of Armagh, comprehending five counties, and the province of Tuam, comprising a similar number, were, they alleged, inhabited by enemies and rebels, and those who were tributary to them and under their subjection, except the castles of Carrickfergus, Ardglass, and some of the County of Louth, with the walled towns of Galway and Athenry, which had not been visited by the Viceroys or Governors for forty years, except during some party expedition. The memorialists further requested the King to ordain that the Admiral of England should, in summer season, visit the coasts of Ireland, to protect the merchants from the Scots, Britons, and Spaniards, who came thither with their ships, barges, balyngers, and divers vessels, "stuffed with men of war in great numbers," seizing the merchants and liege-people of Ireland, Wales, and England, and holding them to ransom.

CHAPTER IX.

In 1438, the Viceroyalty was committed to Sir Leon de Welles, sixth Baron of Welles, who had served with high distinction in France, and was allied, by marriage, with the Ormonde family. Lord Leon made but brief sojourns in Ireland, where he appointed as Deputy his brother, William de Welles, who had purchased for life all the lands of the Duke of York in Kilkenny and Tipperary. While the territories of the English Crown in Leinster became daily more limited, James, seventh Earl of Desmond, who had expelled his nephew, acquired, in the south, important additions to his estates and rights. From Robert Fitz-Geoffrey de Cogan, he procured, in 1438, a conveyance of all lands claimed by him in Ireland, comprising about one-half of the so-called kingdom of Cork. The Earl married Mary, daughter of Ulick de Burgh, or MacWilliam *Iochtar;* brought into the County of Cork the sept of Sheehy, whom he retained as his body-guard ; and reduced to obedience the Barretts and other strong Anglo-Norman families of Munster. The fame of Desmond reached Tuscany, whence his remote ancestors were said to have migrated. In 1440, the following letter was, in the name of the Florentine Republic, addressed to the Earl by their Secretary, the learned historian, Leonardo Bruni, or Aretino, one of the associates of Cosmo de' Medici :—

"Magnificent lord and dearest friend,—If it be true, as is publicly stated, that your progenitors were of Florentine origin, and of the right noble and antique stock of the Gherardini, still one of the highest and greatest families of our state, we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our people have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hungary, but that our Florentines, through you and yours, bear sway even in Ibernia, the most remote island of the world. O great glory of our state! O singular benevolence of God towards our people! from whom have sprung so many nobles and dominations, diffused over the entire orbit of the earth. Truly are we bound to give thanks to God for so many and such great benefits conferred upon our state. Therefore, most magnificent lord, although in regions far away, yet nigh to you in good will and affection, we willingly offer you our all with cheerful hearts. At this moment there sets out for your parts Giovanni Betti di Gherardini, a noble youth, the bearer of these letters, whom his father sends to become acquainted with you and his kinsmen of your stock. We therefore certify by these our letters, that this Giovanni, now about to pass over to you, is, as well as his father who sends him, descended by the sire, grandsire, and great grandsire from the family of Gherardini. We heartily commend this youth to you; but as the journey is long and the distance great, we here set down the marks and appearance of this Giovanni, the bearer of our letters, so that neither errors nor doubts may arise. He is aged twenty-three years, above the middle stature, with a well-complexioned countenance of

honest expression. Impressed, as it were, on the right region of his forehead he bears a wound, and on the back of his left hand he has a scar caused by fire. Farewell, magnificent lord, and expect all that can be desired from our citizens, your well-wishers."

By royal patent, in 1443, Desmond was appointed Governor and Custodian of the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry. Two years subsequently, the Earl obtained exoneration from personal attendance in the Parliaments of the colony, in consideration of the great labour, pains, and care which he had devoted to the preservation of the rights of the Crown, in the counties under his jurisdiction. The patent added, that in granting this immunity, the King had regard to the fact that the places where the Parliaments usually sat were remote from the territories of his cousin, the Earl of Desmond, who could not travel to such Councils without the greatest danger in passing through the intermediate districts occupied by strong Irish enemies.

While Desmond ruled almost supreme over the Anglo-Irish of the South, the authority of England was so little recognized in Ulster, that the Archbishop of Armagh, John Mey, obtained admission to his diocese only on condition of rendering to O'Neill six yards of good cloth for that Chieftain's investiture, and three yards of the same material for his wife's tunic. In return for the recognition of his regal authority, O'Neill promised that he, his kinsmen and subjects, would protect the Primate, his church, officers, and ministers; and agreed to authorize payment of his rents, and not to impose slavery on his clerics or tenants. The settlers of Ulster were

obliged to pay tribute to O'Neill, for making peace with them for half a year; and the burghers of Dundalk gave him sixty marks and two tuns of wine for sparing their town after he had reduced the adjacent district. English ecclesiastics were forced to abandon their establishments on the frontiers, after having vainly attempted to maintain and fortify them against the hostile natives. The Irish of Meath and Southern Leinster coerced the settlers there to pay heavy mulcts; and the Sheriffs had recourse to forced labour for repairing the fortifications and defences of the towns. The settlement was meanwhile internally torn by factions, adhering either to the Earl of Ormonde or to his rival, Richard Talbot, the English Archbishop of Dublin. Ormonde, by the intermarriages of his kinsmen with the Irish, possessed great influence among the natives contiguous to his own territories, where he built the castles of Tullophelim, Nenagh, Roscrea, and Templemore; while by his second wife, Joan, relict of John, Lord Grey, he acquired considerable estates in Worcester, Warwick, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Essex. A Parliament of the settlement, held in November, 1441, before Ormonde, deputy of Lord Welles, delegated Archbishop Talbot and John White, Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, to lay various requests before the King. They prayed that regular payment should be provided for the soldiery; that in ordinary cases persons should not be summoned from Ireland to England; that the government should be committed to "some mighty English lord"; and that the Viceroy or Governor for the time being, should be authorized to create temporal peers, of which there were

then but few connected with the King's territories in Ireland. To the latter request Henry replied, that he would reserve to his own person the authority of making Peers, and that the names of those considered eligible for such honour should be certified to him. Ormonde's rival, Archbishop Talbot, embraced the opportunity of his mission to England to represent to the King the advantages which would accrue to his subjects in Ireland by the removal of the Earl from the government. "Please your Highness," he argued, "if it had been seen good and profitable for you and for your land to have had the Earl of Ormonde your Lieutenant, he should be named at the Parliament; giving you to understand that they all, both lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, there assembled, considered in their wisdom that it was most expedient to your sovereign lord to have for your Lieutenant there a lord of the birth of this your noble realm [of England] to whom your people show more favour and obey than to any man of that [Irish] land's birth. For," continued the English prelate, "men of this realm keep better justice, execute your laws, and favour more your common people, and ever have done before this time, better than ever did any man of that land, or ever is like to do. And please it your Highness to consider how that it behoveth that he that should be your Lieutenant there, be a mighty courageous and laborious man, to keep the field and to make resistance against your enemies, in comfort and support of your true liege people there, and none of these be seen nor found in the Earl, for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty to labour, for he hath, for lack of labour, lost in substance all his castles, towns,

and lordships, that he had within your land; wherefore it is not likely that he should conquer nor get any grounds to you, sovereign lord, that thus hath lost his own. Moreover, please it you to know, that at divers Parliaments, when that the Earl hath had rule there, he hath ordained and made Irishmen, and grooms and pages of his household, knights of the shire, the which would not in no wise assent to no good rule nor to no thing that should profit and avail to you, sovereign lord; and also hath suffered divers lords spiritual and temporal to absent them from Parliament, therefor taking of them great fines to his singular avail there, as the profit should be yours." The Archbishop alleged that the Earl of March, Lords Grey and Talbot, while Lieutenants in Ireland, had severally impeached Ormonde of many great treasons, which still stood undetermined. The prelate accused the Earl of having illegally imprisoned and exacted ransoms from four persons, one of whom, a Prior and Lord of Parliament, was said to have been sent by him to an Irish enemy, and placed "in great duresse," till he paid a hundred marks to obtain his freedom. It was also asserted that, at the departure of Lord Welles, the "substance of the gentles and commons" desired that the Earl "should in no wise be his Deputy, because of great rigour and breaking of peace, that they dread him to do, like as he had done before; whereupon, at last he was bound by indenture tripartite to keep the peace and be of good rule during the time that he was Deputy to the said Lieutenant. Since," added the Archbishop, "his feebleness of rule was so much dreaded as Deputy, it is to be supposed more to be dreaded if he

then but few connected with the King's territories in Ireland. To the latter request Henry replied, that he would reserve to his own person the authority of making Peers, and that the names of those considered eligible for such honour should be certified to him. Ormonde's rival, Archbishop Talbot, embraced the opportunity of his mission to England to represent to the King the advantages which would accrue to his subjects in Ireland by the removal of the Earl from the government. "Please your Highness," he argued, "if it had been seen good and profitable for you and for your land to have had the Earl of Ormonde your Lieutenant, he should be named at the Parliament; giving you to understand that they all, both lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, there assembled, considered in their wisdom that it was most expedient to your sovereign lord to have for your Lieutenant there a lord of the birth of this your noble realm [of England] to whom your people show more favour and obey than to any man of that [Irish] land's birth. For," continued the English prelate, "men of this realm keep better justice, execute your laws, and favour more your common people, and ever have done before this time, better than ever did any man of that land, or ever is like to do. And please it your Highness to consider how that it behoveth that he that should be your Lieutenant there, be a mighty courageous and laborious man, to keep the field and to make resistance against your enemies, in comfort and support of your true liege people there, and none of these be seen nor found in the Earl, for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty to labour, for he hath, for lack of labour, lost in substance all his castles, towns,

and lordships, that he had within your land; wherefore it is not likely that he should conquer nor get any grounds to you, sovereign lord, that thus hath lost his own. Moreover, please it you to know, that at divers Parliaments, when that the Earl hath had rule there, he hath ordained and made Irishmen, and grooms and pages of his household, knights of the shire, the which would not in no wise assent to no good rule nor to no thing that should profit and avail to you, sovereign lord; and also hath suffered divers lords spiritual and temporal to absent them from Parliament, therefor taking of them great fines to his singular avail there, as the profit should be yours." The Archbishop alleged that the Earl of March, Lords Grey and Talbot, while Lieutenants in Ireland, had severally impeached Ormonde of many great treasons, which still stood undetermined. The prelate accused the Earl of having illegally imprisoned and exacted ransoms from four persons, one of whom, a Prior and Lord of Parliament, was said to have been sent by him to an Irish enemy, and placed "in great duresse," till he paid a hundred marks to obtain his freedom. It was also asserted that, at the departure of Lord Welles, the "substance of the gentles and commons" desired that the Earl "should in no wise be his Deputy, because of great rigour and breaking of peace, that they dread him to do, like as he had done before; whereupon, at last he was bound by indenture tripartite to keep the peace and be of good rule during the time that he was Deputy to the said Lieutenant. Since," added the Archbishop, "his feebleness of rule was so much dreaded as Deputy, it is to be supposed more to be dreaded if he

were your Lieutenant, and had rule himself." The Archbishop continued that, "by cause of his order," he might not "declare many and divers great things misdone by the Earl," but requested the King to summon the preceding Viceroys, Lord Welles, the Baron of Dudley, and Sir Thomas Stanley, together with the Treasurer, Giles Thorndon, and others born or holding employments in Ireland, charging them, by the faith they owed to God and the Crown, to report on the rule of the Earl during their tenure of office. Archbishop Talbot concluded, as follow, his articles against Ormonde. "Also please it your Highness, the premises considered, to discharge the Earl of the office of Lieutenant, and to direct a commission to certain commissioners, to inquire within your land of the matter comprised in the articles and of the rule and governance that the Earl hath been of in the time that he hath stood Lieutenant there, heretofore over that which is rehearsed above, and thereupon to certify you by writing, under your great seal, of that which they find by such inquisition, and so you may have clear knowledge, whether it be for your profit and avail for the ease and welfare of your land, that the Earl be your Lieutenant there or not. And," he added, "the Earl must be discharged before that the said inquisition be taken, for he hath so rigorously treated your poor people of your land before this time, that they dare not say the truth while that he standeth your Lieutenant there, without that he be first discharged, lest that for their sooth-saying, he would be more rigorous to them hereafter than he was before, the which they might not bear." Notwithstanding these representations, Ormonde was

appointed the King's Lieutenant for Ireland, in 1442. In August of that year, the Council, at London, ordered that he should come to England in all haste; that the Archbishop of Dublin should abide in Ireland; that partizans should not be employed under the Crown; and that the Treasurer, Giles Thorndon, should appear before the King, and be sworn as to those who were the most indifferent or impartial in Ireland, to occupy offices, and also "give up in articles all that he would write for the King and against any other persons." In the same month the Council decreed, that although it was agreed by indenture that Ormonde should, as Lieutenant of Ireland, have all the Crown's receipts and profits there, yet it was not the King's intention, but that ordinary charges, wages, and rewards to officers, should be borne and paid out of the revenues; that the Viceroy should have the balance remaining; and that any deficiency should be certified to England, and supplied thence. The Earl and the Archbishop were summoned to attend before the Council, early in the ensuing February, "to hear what should be then said unto them." It was also intimated, that as the dissension betwixt the Earl of Ormonde, Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chancellor, was the great cause of the division and rumours prevailing among the liege people there, the King willed that such discord should cease. The Treasurer, an aged servant of the house of Lancaster, declared that for some time past justice could not be obtained by the subjects in Ireland in any matter affecting the interests of the Earl of Ormonde and his followers on one part, or those of Sir John Talbot and his brother, the

Archbishop, on the other; but that discord, partiality, and division prevailed both in the King's Council, and in all his courts there.

Thorndon alleged that the officers of the Exchequer and other courts, dared not proceed to recover the King's debts, from dread of being ejected at every change of Governor. That the Chief Baron of the Exchequer ought to be a sufficient learned man of law, and that he, as well as other legal officers, should discharge their duties personally, as great injuries had been caused by the system of appointing Deputies. He alleged, that since the late reign, large annuities and pardons of debts had been illegally granted by the Governors; and that the annual expenses of the Viceroy and his officers, exceeded all the revenues of Ireland for that year by £1,456. Thorndon suggested an enactment, that all merchandize exported from Ireland should pay customs as in England; called attention to the ordinance, that men born in Ireland "should go home and dwell in the same land," or else pay to the King a certain sum of money; and he requested, for his own defence, a patent of office, similar to those granted to some preceding Treasurers, to protect them from the violence of Viceroys or Governors.

One of the most active of the Talbot party was Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Prior of Kilmainham. While the Lieutenant, Lord Leon de Welles, sojourned in Ireland, in 1441, his brother, William Welles, who, for a time, had ruled as his Deputy, was seized and forcibly carried off by the Prior's brothers, William and James Fitz-Gerald. Accompanied by their English and Irish soldiery, they lay in ambush, at Kilcock, in the "marches" of Meath;

surprised Welles, slew several of his retinue, and, having borne him away, held him in durance till he procured the hostages which they demanded. While these prisoners lay in the jail of the Fitz-Geralds, the Viceroy and Council directed a writ to be issued, requiring the Prior, their confederate, to present himself, on a fixed day, in Chancery. As he did not appear, the Crown seized all the preceptories and manors of the Hospital, except the chief house at Kilmainham; but this proceeding was annulled, when, some time after, the Prior came into court, and produced a royal pardon. Such was the lawlessness of the leading Anglo-Irish, at this period, that, even in the vicinity of the city of Dublin, James Cornewalshe, Chief Baron of the Colonial Exchequer, was, while at supper in his manor-house at Bagot-rath, attacked and murdered, by William Fitz-William, of Dundrum, at the head of a troop, armed with swords, bows, lances, and clubs. As the municipalities of Limerick, Cork, and Galway, refused to pay their debts to the Crown, the colonial government, unable to enforce the royal precepts, proposed that the ships and merchandize arriving from these towns, in any part of England, should be seized, until the owners found sufficient sureties that the burghers would come into the Exchequer, and make full payment of the arrears due to the King. The English territories had become so impoverished, that the revenues were insufficient to meet the salaries of the officers; and the Privy Council of the colony declared, that if some recent grants were put in force, the law courts should be closed, and the royal castles abandoned, from want of funds to maintain them. In his articles, delivered to the King and Council in

England, the Treasurer, Thorndon, alleged, that Ormonde, while Viceroy, had compromised and appropriated to his own use, various forfeitures, Crown debts, fees, and fines. Among the latter was specified a fine of forty marks, paid for pardon of an English rebel, who, having slain Sir Richard Wellesley, was afterwards taken in the field, in arms against the Deputy, William Welles. Thorndon asserted that Ormonde had disregarded orders, under both the great seal of England and the Privy signet, and had urged divers persons to disobey the King's commandments directed and delivered to them. That he caused Robert Dyke, the Archdeacon of Dublin, to abide at home, when summoned to appear before the King and Council in England. That he had, on false pretences, imprisoned and exacted fines from several persons, and obtained large sums of money for dispensing with the Parliamentary attendance of spiritual lords, and that, to carry out his designs, he had induced them to appoint men of his household as their procurators. That he had caused Thomas Abbey, one of his dependants, to propose, in two Parliaments, a bill that forfeiture of lands, rents, farms, goods and chattels, should be inflicted on any who might complain to the King of wrong done them in Ireland, unless their statements were certified under the great seal of Ireland, or by the Parliament or great Council. It was stated that, under this Act, the Lieutenant projected the ruin of many of the liege subjects by transferring their properties to those who would regrant them to himself, but that some of the commons, conscious of his design, rejected the bill, and asserted that it was treason to make a statute to restrain a man from com-

plaining to the King. Thorndon complained that Ormonde interfered with his rights as Treasurer, and disregarded the King's writ, under the great seal of England, directing the restoration to him of the posts of Constable of the Castle of Dublin, and of the Castle and town of Wicklow, with their official rights, profits, and appurtenances. The Treasurer further asserted that, when summoned by the King's writ to England, Ormonde refused him license to depart, and quarrelled with him in such form, that, dreading the seizure of his office, and of all his property, he consented to appoint as his deputy Treasurer, William Chevir, second Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, "a man of the said Lieutenant's council." Thorndon added, that during his absence in England, Ormonde and Chevir had devised means by which they appropriated part of the King's moneys, through the Exchequer, and left no funds to pay the royal officers On Thorndon's return, Ormonde, it was stated, quarrelled with him, and seized all his property, because he would not again appoint Chevir as his deputy Treasurer. In 1444, Robert Maxfield, a groom of the royal chamber, was despatched to Ireland to summon Ormonde to appear in person before the King and Council in England, without delay or excuse. The Earl immediately convened at Drogheda many of the Privy Council, nobility, and gentry of the settlement, and required them to declare, in the presence of the King's messenger, whether during his government he had practised extortion, or been remiss in the execution of the law. On behalf of the assembly, Sir James Aleyn declared, that there was not one there that could in any

manner complain of him, but that they were all thankful for his good and gracious government, his great and continuous labours for the defence of the land, for which, and the honour of the King, he had incurred great expense beyond his allowance. The assembly agreed to despatch delegates to the King to declare that, as there existed a confederacy to destroy his liege people, the departure of the Earl would expose them to much danger; and that it would be a great comfort to them, and confusion to their enemies, if it should please his Highness to give the Lieutenant leave to stay till Michaelmas, so that his subjects might gather in their harvest. Jordan, Bishop of Cork, and his clergy, with the Lords Barry, Roche, and others within the influence of Ormonde's ally, Desmond, also testified to his great public services. The Earl was, however, accused of treason against the person of Henry VI., by an official named Edmund Brian, who, for the losses which he incurred in consequence of preferring this charge, was granted by the King a sum of money and an annuity. The accusation was supported in London by the Talbot partizan, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Prior of Kilmainham, whose proffer to maintain it by single combat having been accepted by Ormonde, a day was appointed for them to meet in Smithfield, the then usual place for judicial duels. The Earl, placed in charge of the Duke of Exeter, Constable of the Tower, was sworn to appear when summoned before the Council, and not to go more than forty miles beyond London, except on a pilgrimage to the shrine of his family saint, Thomas of Canterbury. The Constable of the Tower was subsequently authorized to allow Ormonde to be surely and

safely brought to any place nigher Smithfield, "for his breathing and ease against the day of battle." Prior Fitz-Gerald, in the custody of the Treasurer, Giles Thorndon, at London, was, by the King's order, furnished with money, attendants, and armour, and also, at the royal cost, instructed "in certain points of arms" by Philip Trehere, fishmonger, a professional swordsman. On the appointed day the lists were prepared and the field in readiness, but the King, at the instance of some London preachers and divines, prohibited the combat, and took the quarrel into his own hands. A number of the chief ecclesiastics and laymen of the settlement, certified under their seals to the King, that they never knew or heard of the treason against his royal person imputed to Ormonde, and that the accusation was "of forecast malice and ill-will imagined." Having summoned them to Westminster and investigated the articles, Henry acquitted Ormonde; declared that the charges had originated in envy and malice, and issued letters patent setting forth that the Earl was faithful in his allegiance, meritorious in his services, whole and unspotted in his fame; that none should, on pain of royal indignation, revive the accusations or reproach his conduct; and that his arraigners were men of no credit, nor should their testimony be admitted in any case. The Earl's opponent, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Deputy, was commanded by the Crown to attest officially writs to this effect, and to despatch them for public proclamation in the towns of the settlement. Prior Fitz-Gerald was soon afterwards ejected from his office at Kilmainham, by the Visitor-General of the Hospitallers, for dilapidations

ascribed to his avarice. Fitz-Gerald's successor represented to Parliament that, when deposed, he had broken open the box containing the Hospital seal, which he carried off, and affixed to many illegal grants, which were consequently annulled.

Ormonde's kinsman and rival, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was, in 1446, at the age of seventy-three, once more appointed to the Viceroyalty, after having passed many years in the French wars. This renowned soldier carried with him to Ireland a body of English troops; rebuilt Castle Carberry in Kildare, to defend his lands in Meath against the De Berminghams and O'Connors; caused the Chief of the latter clan to make peace, to pay a ransom for his son, and to deliver many beeves for the Viceregal kitchen. Talbot was granted, in 1447, the Earldom of Waterford and Barony of Dungarvan, with all castles, lordships, houses, baronies, and other royal rights, with the wreck of the sea from Youghal to Waterford, to be held by him by homage, and the service of being Seneschal of the King of England and his heirs in his land of Ireland, and of acting in that office in all things as the Seneschal of England. Talbot thus enjoyed, in addition to his numerous honours, the titles of Earl of Waterford and Wexford, Seneschal and Constable of Ireland. The County of Waterford was not at this time amenable to the jurisdiction of the English Crown; and a statute was enacted, in 1448, authorizing the Mayor and citizens to muster forces to ride in array of war, with banners displayed, against the Poers, Walshes, Grants, and D'Altons, who, for a long time, according to this Act, had been

rebels and traitors to England, and continually preyed upon the King's subjects in the county and parts adjoining. Talbot held a Parliament at Trim, in 1447, which enacted that those who would be taken for Englishmen should not use a beard upon the upper lip alone ; that the said lip should be shaved once, at least, in every two weeks, and that offenders therein should be treated as Irish enemies. The preamble of this enactment explained its object, by declaring that there was then no diversity of habit between the English marchers or borderers, and Irish enemies, by colour of which the latter came into the English counties as English marchers, robbed and pillaged on the highway, destroyed the common people by lodging on them by nights, slew the husbandmen, and took their goods to the Irish. The same assembly decreed that the sons of labourers and travailers of the ground should, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, follow the avocation of their parents. This Parliament also passed an act against the use of gilt bridles, gilt harness, and "peytrells," or small gilded chains drawn across the chests of war-horses. "No man," said the statute, "shall be so hardy henceforth as to use any gilt bridles, peytrells, or any other gilt harness, in no place of the said land, except knights and prelates of Holy Church ; and if any be found with such bridle, peytrell, or other gilt harness, from the 1st of next May, it shall be lawful to every man that will, to take the said man, his horse and harness, and to possess the same as his own goods." Talbot took prisoner Felim O'Reilly, described as a worthy heir to the Lordship of Breifny, or Cavan, "by reason of his noble deeds and

hospitality." According to the Irish authorities, this Chieftain was treacherously seized by the Viceroy, on whose invitation he had come to Trim, where, in durance, he was carried off by disease. "This valiant Talbot, the hardy Earl of Shrewsbury," was, according to Hall, the English historiographer, "a very scourge, and a daily terror to the French people, in so much, that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame were spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent, in so much, that women in France, to fear their children, would cry 'the Talbot cometh! the Talbot cometh!'" Talbot, whom the same author characterizes as "an ancient fox and politique captain," was, by the Irish chroniclers, denounced as "a son of curses for his venom, and a devil for his evils"; and they added, "the learned say of him, that there came not, from the time of Herod, by whom Christ was crucified, any one so wicked in evil deeds." In 1449, Talbot was again in arms in France, where, after the reduction of Rouen, he remained for a time a hostage in the hands of Dunois. From the lands granted to him in Waterford, Talbot could not derive any emolument. "We were not," says a royal ordinance, in 1450, "answered of any issues or profits at the time of the grant, nor the Earl had never profit nor avail of the said county, lands, and tenements, since the time of his grant, nor cannot have, unto the time that, by the grace of God, it may be conquered out of the enemies' hands of our land of Ireland, by cause a great part of the County [of Waterford] lands and tenements lie in the hands of the said enemies." At the age of eighty, Talbot, in 1453,

with unabated vigour, landed with troops at Bordeaux, to aid the nobles of Guienne in their secession from the French King. In his attempt to relieve the fortress of Chatillon, Talbot, after his banner had been planted on the barrier, was prostrated by a discharge of artillery; and his eldest son, John, sometime Chancellor for Ireland, fell in essaying to rescue him. The besieged, sallying from their intrenchments, the Earl's body was captured and retaken by the combatants. Talbot had been mounted on a white palfrey, and attired in a coat of red velvet, but his corpse was so disfigured that there was a difficulty in recognizing it. "His herald," writes De Coucy, "was asked would he know his master if he saw him. To which he replied joyfully, deeming him to be still alive. . . Thereupon he was taken to the place, . . . and they said to him 'Look, and see if that be your master.' Then he changed colour all at once, and at first gave no opinion. He knelt down, however, and said he would straightway know the truth; and then he put one of the fingers of his right hand into the dead man's mouth, and felt on the left side for the place of a tooth he knew for certain his master had lost. . . And immediately, still kneeling . . he kissed the mouth of the corpse, and said: 'My lord and master, my lord and master! it is you. I pray God pardon your sins! I have been your officer-at-arms forty years or more; it is time I gave you back your trust!' . . making sad cries and lamentations, and with the water streaming from his eyes most piteously. And then he took off his coat of arms, and laid it on his master."

On the retirement of Sir John Talbot from the

Viceroyalty, in 1447, the government of the settlement in Ireland was entrusted to his brother, Archbishop Richard, who had distinguished himself in various expeditions against the border Irish, by whom many of his soldiery were slain or grievously wounded. The report of a "new rebellion" in Ireland, afforded Queen Margaret and her party a pretext for procuring the appointment of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, to the Viceroyalty, who was thus constrained to resign the regency of the English territories in France to his political rival, the Duke of Somerset. Duke Richard, head of the Yorkist, or "White Rose" party, descended paternally from Edmund of Langley, youngest son of Edward III. Through his mother, Anne, daughter of the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, he was legally entitled to the Crown of England, as representative of Lionel, third son of Edward III.; and he also thus inherited the Earldom of Ulster, the lordships of Connaught, Meath, Leix, and Ossory. For the support of the government in Ireland, which he undertook for ten years, the Duke stipulated that he should receive the entire of the King's revenues there, without account, together with four thousand marks for the first, and two thousand pounds per annum, for the ensuing nine years. He was authorized to let to farm the King's lands; to appoint and displace all officers; to levy and retain such numbers of men as he thought fit; to make a deputy and to return when he pleased. Richard Plantagenet, at this period in his thirty-eighth year, had commanded and negotiated, in conjunction with the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Shrewsbury, in France, and had held the

Lieutenancy and Regency of the English territories in that kingdom. Previously to entering upon office in Ireland, the Duke appointed as his deputy there, Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, in Meath, who, in his name, convened Parliaments at Dublin and Drogheda, in 1449. On the 6th of July, in that year, the Duke, accompanied by his wife, with a body of soldiery, landed at Howth, and assumed the government, with much pomp. Cecilia, Duchess of York, was one of the twenty-two children of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, Baron of Raby, most of whom married with the greatest nobles of England. From her beauty, the lady Cecilia had, in youth, acquired the name of the "Rose of Raby;" and she was as remarkable for her high capacity, as for being mother of two Kings, Edward IV. and Richard III. Instead of attempting to advance northwards under the banner of the "black dragon," the English ensign of his Earldom of Ulster, the Duke adopted propitiatory measures with such effect, that, before he had been a month in Ireland, he succeeded in enlisting the services of Magennis of Iveagh, with six hundred horse and foot; Mac Mahon of Farney, with eight hundred; MacArtan with a similar number, and the two Chiefs of the O'Reilly clans, with seven hundred men. At the head of a large force, the Duke advanced into the country of O'Byrne, ravaged his territory till he came to terms, and agreed to swear allegiance; to pay a tribute of twopence per acre on his land; to provide six hundred men, at his own cost, to do service where ordered; to permit the law of England to be put in execution in his district; and promised that he, his wife, children, and chief adherents, should wear

English attire, and learn the language of England. On this expedition the Duke, at Symond's Wood, in O'Byrne's country, conferred knighthood on Robert Preston, Lord of Gormanstown ; Christopher Plunket, Lord of Killeen; Nicholas Woder, Mayor of Dublin, and eight others. Many score beeves were sent to the Duke by the Irish of Leinster and Eastern Ulster : O'Neill, Magennis, Mac Mahon, O'Farrel, O'More, O'Dempsey, Mac Murragh, O'Nolan, Mac Geoghegan ; and Brian O'Byrne, in addition to four hundred kine, presented two hobbies for the Duchess of York. Before Michaelmas in the same year, the Earl of Desmond, the Lords Cogan, Roche, Barret, the White Knight, with the Chieftains of Eastern Ulster and of the Leinster borders, described as " Kings, Dukes, Earls, and Barons," came to the Viceroy ; swore to be true liegemen to Henry VI., and to the Duke and his heirs ; gave hostages, and entered into indentures. The English reports of these affairs added, that as the Viceroy had gained such powerful allies, " the wildest Irishman in Ireland would, before twelve months, be sworn English." On the 21st of October, 1449, the Duke's ninth child, George of York, afterwards Duke of Clarence, was born in Dublin Castle ; and the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde stood as his sponsors at the font. In the same month the Duke convened a Parliament at Dublin, which, among other ordinances, enacted that " Marchers," or dwellers on the borders, should not keep more horse and foot soldiery than they and their tenants could maintain at their own costs, and that none should take pledges, nor exact either "coigne" or night suppers. This statute supplies, in the following terms, an account

of some of the grievances to which the colonists were, at this time, subjected:—"The Marchers of the County of Dublin, and other Marchers of sundry countries, and other men within the land of Ireland, keep horsemen and footmen, as well Irish as English, more than they can maintain upon their own costs, or upon their own tenants, and from day to other do coynee them upon the poor husbandmen and tenants of the land of Ireland, and oppress and destroy them; and namely, in time of harvest upon their corn and meadows, with their horses, both day and night, and pay nothing therefor, but many times rob, spoil, and kill the tenants and husbandmen, as well by night as by day. The captains of the said Marchers, their wives and their pages, certain times of the year, gather and bring with them the King's Irish enemies, both men and women, and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen, as well in time of war as of peace, to night suppers called cuddies, upon the said tenants and husbandmen. "They," continued the statute, "that are the chief captains of the said Marchers, do lead them and lodge upon one husbandman, one hundred men, horsemen and footmen, some night, and upon one other tenant or husbandman, so many one other night. So every captain, and their wives, pages, and their sons, as well as themselves, and every of them, do lead and bring with them so many of the Irish enemies and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen, upon the husbandmen and tenants, and so they espy the secrecy of the land. After that every of the Marchers, and their wives, pages, and sons, have overgone the husbandmen and tenants of the marches in

the form aforesaid, then they go to the captains, and there the thieves of the Marchers knit and confeder together. And what the said Marchers' thieves steal in the English country, they do put out to them in the march, and in time of war, the men of the said Marchers, as well horsemen as footmen, do guide the Irish enemies and their thieves into the English country. What tenant or husbandman," added the statute, "will not be at their truce, they burn, rob, spoil, and kill, and for the more part the land is wasted and destroyed; and if such rule be holden not punished, it is like to be the utter destruction and undoing of the land."

The same Parliament enacted, that, as "thieves and evil-doers" increased "in great store," it should be lawful for every liege man to kill and take notorious robbers, found plundering by night or day, and that every man who killed or took any such, should have, for each, one penny from every ploughland, and a farthing from every cottage within the barony "where the manslaughter was done." The Sheriff of the county was ordered to levy the money within one month after the manslaughter, and to "deliver it to him who made the homicide."

The Duke's son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, born at Rouen in 1443, was also nominal Earl of Cork, which title had devolved to his father from Edmund Plantagenet, whose treachery to Richard II. has been already noticed. Some of the English of the city and county of Cork addressed a memorial to their Earl, and the Viceroy and lords of the Council at Dublin begging their consideration, without which they declared that their destruction was inevitable. They prayed that, after the Parliament,

the Duke and the King's Council would come to Cork; call before them the English lords of that county, and bind them, on pain of loss of lands, life, and goods, not to make war upon each other without the leave of the Viceroy, as their dissensions had caused the utter ruin of those parts. The petitioners represented that formerly, besides a great number of knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, who might spend yearly from twenty marks to eight hundred pounds, there had been the following among the English noblemen in the County of Cork: the Marquis of Carew, the Lords Barnwell, Cogan, Sinford, Courcy, Maundeville, Arundel and Sleynie. These Englishmen and lords, they wrote, "fell at variance amongst themselves; the weakest took Irishmen to their aid, so vanquished the enemies; but at last the Irish were stronger than they, and drove them all away, and have now the whole country under them; but that the Lord Roche, Lord Barry, and Lord Courcy do only remain, with the least part of their ancestors' possessions; and the young Barry is there upon the King's portion, paying his grace never a penny for it. Wherefore," they continued, "we, the King's poor subjects of this city of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal, desire your Lordships to send hither two good justices, to see this matter ordered and amended; and some captain with twenty Englishmen, that may be captains over us all; and we will rise with him when need is to redress these enormities, all at our cost; and if you do not, then we are all cast away, and then farewell Munster for ever." "If," they added, "you will not come nor send, we will send to our liege lord, the King, for remedy, and complain upon you all."

The English of Waterford and Wexford appear to have been in no better plight. A statute of this period mentions, that divers of them had been taken and slain by Fynyn or *Finghin* O'Driscol, "Chieftain of his nation, an Irish enemy to the King, and to all his liege people of Ireland." It was consequently enacted, that no person of Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Cork, or Kinsale, should fish at Baltimore, within the country of O'Driscol; nor come within his land with victuals or armour; but that the lieges should go against him as an enemy to the King of England; that proclamation to this effect should be made, and that any town of the settlement which received him or his men should forfeit forty pounds to the Crown.

Through propitiatory conduct, the Duke of York succeeded in attaching to his family most of the English of Ireland, with whose interests he was identified as the nominal proprietor of extensive Irish territories. Continuous communications were maintained between Duke Richard and his adherents in England, who regarded his Irish government as exile and imprisonment. Inveighing against the illegal title of Henry VI., the misconduct of his French Queen, the imbecility of their counsellors, and the disgraceful loss of the English possessions in France, the partizans of the "White Rose" averred that the national honour and prosperity of England could be redeemed only by the Duke of York, the true heir to the Crown, who had been so eminently successful in administering the government in Ireland. These views were strengthened when the Duke of Somerset, at the importunity of

his affrighted wife, surrendered Caen to the French, despite of Sir Davy Hall, who had been appointed Captain of that town by its English owner, the Duke of York. Hall, with several of his discontented associates, retired from Caen to Cherburg, and sailed thence to Ireland, where their representations embittered York's rancour against Somerset.

While England chafed at her losses in France, the insurgent commons of Kent placed themselves under an Anglo-Irish leader, who styled himself John Mortimer, cousin to the Viceroy, Richard, Duke of York. Others asserted his name to be "Jack Cade;" and some of his followers gave him the title of "Sir John Amend-all." It would be difficult now to elicit the truth respecting this remarkable popular leader, from the obloquy with which his memory was loaded by Lancastrian writers, whose representations were amplified by Shakespeare; and, in this respect, "the Captain of Kent" has been less fortunate than Sir John Fastolf. That a majority of the Council of London, the men of Kent and of Essex, should have accepted such a leader as the "Cade" of the stage, would seem improbable. One English chronicler describes the "Captain of Kent" as "a young man of goodly stature and pregnant wit." According to a contemporary roll, he was, in reality, a physician, named John Aylmer, who had married a squire's daughter, and appeared "gaily attired in scarlet." The proclamation, issued on the 10th of July, 1450, offering one thousand marks for Cade, "either quick or dead," set forth that he was born in Ireland; had, for a time, dwelt with a knight in Sussex; subsequently

committed homicide; foreswore the King's land; was then "sworn to the French part, and dwelled with them." Attired in armour, over a gown of blue velvet, with a gilt helmet, gilt spurs, and holding a naked blade, the Irish "subtle Captain" rode through London, preceded by his sword-bearer. Fabian, a Lancastrian Alderman, mentions that, "as Cade came by London stone, he struck it with his sword, and said, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city.'" In the records he is referred to as "John Cade, an Irishman, calling himself John Mortimer, "Captain of Kent," a great rebel, enemy, and traitor to the King." The Sheriffs of London, in their application to Henry IV., for reimbursement of their expenditure in disposing of the bodies of the Kentish insurgents, asserted, that scarcely any person "dare, or would, for doubt of their lives," take upon them the carriage of the limbs of Cade, which Government had ordered to be set up in various towns. The Lancastrians denounced "the most horrible, wicked, and heinous traitor," Cade, as an agent of the house of York, and asserted that he had assumed the name of Mortimer for the purpose of calling public attention to the Duke's claims on the Crown.

The nonreceipt of the Viceregal allowance, for which he had covenanted with the King, seriously embarrassed Duke Richard, although the Colonial Parliament, in consequence of this failure in payment, authorized him to call out the Crown tenants to the royal service, notwithstanding a previous statute, which prohibited the issue of such a summons during ten years. Mac Geoghegan, or *Mac Eochagain*, native Lord of Kinelea, or *Cineal Fhiacha*, in West-Meath, had, on the Viceroy's arrival, in

1449, presented him with nineteen score kine; but in consequence of subsequent transactions, he invaded the neighbouring ducal demesnes in Meath. Thither the Viceroy marched with his soldiery, under the standard of England; but Mac Geoghegan advanced against them, at Mullingar, with so large a force of well-appointed cavalry, that it was considered expedient to enter into terms, and to forego all claims for the injuries which he had inflicted both upon the Viceroy's lands and the liege subjects. On the 15th of June, 1451, while the Commons of Kent, under Cade, were encamped at Blackheath, outside London, the Duke of York, unprovided with the treasure guaranteed to him by the Crown, sent Roger Roe from Ireland to England, with letters to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury. In these despatches, the Duke reported that the Irish enemy, Mac Geoghegan, "with three or four Irish Captains, associated with a great fellowship of English rebels," had burned his large town of Rathmore, with some adjacent villages, in his patrimony of Meath, and remained "assembling in woods and forts, waiting to do hurt and grievance to the King's subjects." "For the which cause," said the Viceroy, "I write, at this time, unto the King's Highness, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of warrant, now late directed unto the Treasurer of England, to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemies, and punish them in such wise, that other which would do the same for lack of resistance in time, may take example; for, doubtless, but if my payment be [not] had in all haste, for to have men of war in defence and

safeguard of this land, my power cannot stretch to keep it in the King's obeisance. And very necessity will compel me to come into England, to live there, upon my poor livelihood, for I had lever be dead than any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default; for it shall never be chronicled, nor remain in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence. Therefore I beseech you, right worshipful brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may be had at this time, in eschewing all inconveniences, for I have example in other places, more pity it is for to dread shame, and for to acquit my truth unto the King's Highness, as my duty is. And this," he added, "I pray and exhort you, good brother, to show unto his good grace, and that you will be so good that this language may be enacted at this present Parliament, for my excuse in time to come."

Duke Richard subsequently declared in the Parliament of England, that, in the accomplishment of the services undertaken by him in France, Normandy, and Ireland, he had, "for lack of payment of his wages," been compelled to sell much of his substance; to lay in pledge his great jewels, with the most part of his plate, and to borrow from all his friends. The Duke of York returned to England unexpectedly, about September, 1450, and left, as his Deputy in Ireland, Sir James Le Botiller, eldest son of the Earl of Ormonde. Sir James had attended the Duke of York in France; served there with Sir John Talbot; was created Earl of Wiltshire in 1449, and appointed one of the Commissioners for the custody of Calais, Ruysbank, and

the "marches" of Picardy. The English chroniclers styled him "the Lord Butler, son to the Earl of Ormonde;" and an indenture is extant exhibiting the terms on which he retained soldiery from Ireland for the French wars. According to this document, Thomas Waleys, "gentleman of Ireland," agreed, for one year, to do Sir James of Ormonde service of war in the parts of France and Normandy, wherever commanded, as a man-at-arms, with three archers in his company, all on horseback, well-chosen men, and likely persons, sufficiently armed, horsed, and arrayed, every man after his degree. Waleys was to have harness complete, with bassinet or salett, vizor, spear, axe, sword, and dagger. Each archer, it was specially agreed, should have a good jack of defence, salett, sword, and a sheaf of at least forty arrows. For wages, while in Ireland, Sir Thomas was to receive twelvepence per day, and every archer sixpence; but in France and Normandy, they were to be paid after the rate of France. Sir James of Ormonde was to have the third part of all "the winning of war" of Sir Thomas Waleys, and the third part of all the thirds of the archers; Sir Thomas was to have all the profit of the prisoners of war taken by himself or his archers, except King's sons, and other captains and men of royal blood.

James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, usually styled "the white," died in 1452, and was succeeded by his eldest son, James, Earl of Wiltshire. The kinsmen of the "white Earl" intermarried with some of the principal septs in their vicinity, among whom were the Mac Murraghs, O'Carrols, and O'Reillys. This Earl,

who had frequently ruled the colony, was described by the Irish as "the best captain of the English nation that was in Ireland and England in those ages;" and they regarded the partial drying-up of the river Liffey, in 1451, as a wonderful portent of his death. The native accounts of the latter days of the "white Earl" of Ormonde, corroborated by official documents, refute the representations made to the King by his rivals, that he was "unwieldy and unlusty to labour." During the six weeks preceding his decease, in 1452, according to the Irish chroniclers, he sacked the fortress of the O'Mulryans in Limerick; took O'Dempsey's castle at Leix; liberated the son of De Bermingham at Irry, near the river Barrow; marched through Offaly, and Annaly, or Longford, where O'Farrell presented him with nine score beeves for peace. Having demolished the Castle of Barrcha, in Longford, and destroyed the adjacent corn, he proceeded through Cavan and Louth, where the O'Reillys and MacMahons entered into terms with him. Advancing into Ulster, he caused Henry O'Neill to put away the daughter of Mac-William De Burgh, whom he had married after the death of O'Donnell, her first husband, and obliged him to take back his former wife, daughter of Mac Murragh, and step-sister to the Earl. Thence, continued the chroniclers, Ormonde proceeded to the town of Ardee, where he died, on the 23rd of August, between the two feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, having accomplished these journeys, in half a quarter of a year. The "white Earl" of Ormonde had been much attached to learning; was a proficient in the laws of chivalry and heraldry; and, at his request, as already mentioned,

Henry V. appointed a King-at-arms for Ireland. The Earl gave to the College of Heralds, in London, lands which, in the sixteenth century, yielded them one hundred pounds yearly. Until the Reformation, he was prayed for in all the public meetings of that college, and, to 1641, commemorated as one of its special benefactors. He also bestowed the manor and advowson of Huckote, in Bucks, on the London Hospital of Saint Thomas Becket, with whom the Botiller family claimed consanguinity. The "white Earl's" first wife, Joan, daughter of the fourth Earl of Kildare, was buried in this Hospital. Her son, the Earl of Wiltshire, on the occasion of the ratification of grant to the institution, declared, in the Parliament of England, in 1454, that he was "of the blood of the glorious Martyr, Saint Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, and lineally descended from him;" and that this Martyr had been born within the ground on which the Hospital of St. Thomas stood, in London city.

The Earl of Wiltshire, as Deputy to the absent Lieutenant, Richard, Duke of York, held, in 1451, a great Council at Drogheda, an ordinance of which exhibits the perseverance with which some septs renewed, from year to year, their hostilities against the settlement. After reciting that, from time beyond memory, it had been the custom in the King's land in Ireland, that neither Lieutenant, Deputy, Justice, or Governor, should hold a Parliament there, except once, annually, this Act, nevertheless, authorized the Earl of Ormonde to convene another Parliament before the ensuing Easter, and within the prescribed period of one year. This deviation from

precedent was justified on the grounds of great public necessity, as well as in regard that the coming Easter would fall so high in the spring, a Parliament could not be held with advantage after that feast, on account of the wars of the Irish enemies, who, added the statute, "make it their practice to go to war continually after Easter." In 1453, the Earl of Ormonde and Wilts was appointed Viceroy for ten years, with an allowance of one thousand marks, to be paid each half year; in addition to which, it was covenanted that he should have all the Crown's Irish profits and issues, and sufficient shipping to carry him and his retinue to and from Ireland, from time to time. This Earl's occupations in England, of which he was, for a time, Lord High Treasurer, caused him to reside chiefly in that country, where, through marriages, he had acquired lands in Devonshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Essex. His marriage with his third wife, Alianore, daughter and co-heir of the Duke of Somerset, identified him with the Lancastrian party, of which he became a prominent leader. The Earl of Ormonde and Wilts appointed as his Deputy in Ireland, John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh. During this prelate's administration, the English of Kildare and Meath were harassed and oppressed, in a contest between Ormonde's cousins, Edmund and William Botiller, who, aided by the King's Treasurer, Sir Henry Bonyn, and the Wogans, contended with the Fitz-Geralds for the manors of Maynooth and Rathmore. With their armed Irish and English followers, the Treasurer and the Viceroy's kinsmen entered Kildare and Meath, burned and destroyed many villages and parish churches,

wasted the lands, imposed assessments on the country, seized several of the gentry, farmers, and husbandmen, with their "plough-beasts" and other cattle, and held them in durance for payment of fines and ransoms. The people of Kildare, failing to obtain any redress from the Archiepiscopal Deputy Governor, or the King's Council, sought the aid of the Mayor of Dublin, which city was mainly dependant on that county for supplies of provisions. With the assistance of the Mayor and his forces, they expelled the Botillers, and appealed to the Duke of York, as Lord of Meath, assuring him that the land of Ireland "was never on the point to be so finally destroyed, since the conquest," as it was then. "The true liege people," they wrote, "in these parts, dare not appear in the King's courts, nor go nor ride to market towns or other places, for dread of being slain, taken, and despoiled of their goods." The variance between the Viceroy, Ormonde, and the Geraldines, had, the petitioners asserted, caused more destruction in Kildare and the Liberty of Meath, within a short space, than had been done by Irish and English enemies for a long time before.

The Duke of York, again nominated to the Viceroyalty, in 1454, appointed Edmund Fitz-Eustace as his Deputy in Ireland. In the succeeding year, after he had defeated the Lancastrians at St. Alban's, and captured Henry VI., the Duke was formally declared Protector of England and Lieutenant of Ireland. As his Deputy in Ireland, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, administered the government from 1455 to 1459. In the latter year, the desertion of the Marshal,

Sir Andrew Trollope, and his troops, caused the dissolution of the Yorkist camp, at Ludlow, in Shropshire. On this unexpected defection, the Duke, holding council with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, decided on proceeding to Ireland. Accompanied by his son and Chancellor, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, the Duke purchased a ship, and sailed from Wales, before the Lancastrian emissaries could arrive to beset the ports. On his arrival in Ireland, he was enthusiastically received by the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, and many of the chief personages of the Anglo-Irish, especially those of his Lordship of Meath, whose "hearts he had exceedingly tied unto him."

Duke Richard took measures to secure himself in Ireland against the decrees of the Lancastrian Parliament, at Coventry, by which he, his family, and chief adherents, to the ninth generation, had been attainted. York and his friends were proclaimed rebels and traitors throughout England, to the discontent of the English people, who, we are told, "loved the Duke, because he loved the commons, and preserved the common profit of the land." Under these proclamations, the Yorkist tenants and retainers were plundered of their goods, "maimed, beaten, and slain without any pity." The Duke's town of Ludlow, inherited from the De Mortimers, was "robbed to the bare walls" by the Lancastrians, who "unmanly and cruelly treated and despoiled the noble Duchess of York." In opposition to this English proscription, the Duke's authority, as Viceroy, was formally acknowledged by the Anglo-Irish Parliament, which also authorized the establishment of a mint in his castle at Trim; and ratified

the appointment of his son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, to the Chancellorship of Ireland.

Stimulated by the presence and position of Duke Richard, the Parliament publicly enunciated the independence of the legislature in Ireland, and affirmed rights which had hitherto been suffered to lie in abeyance, owing to the relations of the colonists with England. Having asserted the right of the King's subjects in Ireland to their own coinage distinct from that of England, the Parliament formally declared that as Normandy and Guienne, when under the obedience of England, were separate from its laws and statutes, so also Ireland, though under the obedience of the same realm, was, nevertheless, separate from it, and from all its laws and statutes, except such as were, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Ireland, freely admitted and accepted in their Parliaments and great councils. In further vindication of independent rights, the Parliament declared that, according to ancient prescription, the King's subjects in Ireland were not bound to answer any writs except those under the great seal of Ireland; and that any officer attempting to put decrees from England into force in Ireland, should incur forfeiture of all his Irish property, and be fined one thousand marks. They also ordained that every appeal of treason in Ireland, should be determined solely in the court of the Constable and Marshal of Ireland; that death should be inflicted on those who groundlessly accused others of treason there, and that no pardon should avail in such cases. By another statute, this Parliament decreed that while the Duke of York, as Lieutenant, resided in

Ireland, any man who, directly or indirectly, sought to compass his destruction or death, or to provoke rebellion or disobedience towards him, should stand as attainted of high treason against the person of the King.

An opportunity for putting part of this legislation into force soon presented itself, when William Overy, a squire of the unpopular Earl of Ormonde and Wilts, arrived with writs for the apprehension of Duke Richard, as an attainted traitor, in open rebellion against King Henry, and pretending illegally to be his Highness' Lieutenant for Ireland. For attempting to execute his mission, Overy was seized, tried before the Duke, and hanged, drawn, and quartered. The King's party, foiled in their attempt to carry out the decrees of their Parliament against the Viceroy, sought to form among the native Irish a combination hostile to him. In this they were also unsuccessful. The Duke's allies, the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, with the Barnwells, Prestons, and chief personages of his lordship in Meath, secured him the amity of the important septs in Leinster and Munster, with the exception of those under the influence of the Botillers, who adhered to the Earl of Ormonde and Wilts, and the Lancastrian or "Red Rose" party. The leaders of the Yorkists, in their declaration against the Lancastrians, in 1460, alleged that divers lords caused Henry VI. "to write letters, under his privy seal, unto his Irish enemies, which never King of England did heretofore, whereby they might have comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the Irish enemies sent unto the Duke of York, and marvelled greatly that any such

letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villainy of the said realm."

While the Duke of York, surrounded by "his Earls and homagers" ruled the English colony in Ireland despite the Parliament of England, his eldest son, afterwards Edward IV., and his nephew, Richard, Earl of Warwick, held possession of Calais. In defiance of the royal orders, they not only repelled Somerset, who had been appointed Governor of Calais by the King, but succeeded in bringing his fleet over to themselves. Warwick, having captured several ships equipped by Queen Margaret for the Duke of Somerset, sailed with the best of them, well manned and victualled, to Ireland, whither his mother had fled for safety. After deliberating, the Duke and Warwick decided on making a descent upon England at the first propitious moment. Favoured by the weather and wind, Warwick, within less than thirty days, passed and re-passed from Calais to Dublin. On his return, with his mother, to Calais, he met the Lancastrian fleet, under the Duke of Somerset, who hesitated to attempt his interception.

The severities of the Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire and Lord Scales, in executing their commission against the Yorkists, incited the people of Kent to invite Warwick and the Duke's son, Edward, from Calais to England. A ballad was set on the gate of Canterbury, declaring that England had become the "kingdom of Satan;" and praying that, for its redemption, the "gracious Lord, Jhesu, most benign," would "send home the true blood," Richard, Duke of York, whose trials this writer compared to those of Job.

To test the Kentish promises, the Earls despatched from Calais a confidential agent, described in the ballad as "little Falconbridge, a knight of great reverence." On learning that the people of Kent and the adjacent shires flocked to Lord Falconbridge, Edward and Warwick landed at Sandwich, with fifteen hundred men, and were joined by large numbers of the Southerns, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Papal Legate, and several prelates. After having defeated the royal army at Northampton, captured the King, and taken possession of London, they despatched "swift couriers and flying posts" to communicate the intelligence of their success to the Duke of York, in Ireland. Without losing an hour, the Duke committed the government to the Earl of Kildare; sailed from Dublin to Chester, "with no small company; and by long journeys, came to the city of London, which he entered on Friday next before the feast of Saint Edward the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, and took his lodging in the King's chamber," the doors of which he broke open. "Thereupon," adds the chronicler, "the common people babbled that he should be King, and that King Henry should no longer reign." His claim to the throne, as nephew and heir of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, was, six days subsequently, agreed to by the Peers, and, by sound of trumpet, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, was solemnly proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown of England, and Protector of the realm. Within a month, the Duke, with five thousand men, was unexpectedly beleaguered at his Castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, by Queen Margaret, accompanied by the Dukes of

Exeter, Somerset, the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire, and most of the northern lords, at the head of an army, numbering from eighteen to twenty-two thousand men. Sir Davy Hall, the Duke's "old servant and chief counsellor," prayed him to await within the castle the arrival of his son, Prince Edward, with his Marchmen and Welsh soldiery. "Yet, he would not be counselled, but in a great fury said, Ah! Davy, Davy, hast thou loved me so long, and now wouldst have me dishonoured. Thou never sawest me keep [within] fortress, when I was regent in Normandy, when the Dauphin himself, with his puissance came to besiege me, but like a man, and not like a bird, included in a cage, I issued and fought with mine enemies to their loss, ever, I thank God, and to my honour. If I have not kept myself within walls for fear of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man living, wouldst thou that I, for dread of a scolding woman, . should incarcerate myself and shut my gates, then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures might of me report dishonour, a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man ever to this day could yet prove a coward. . My mind is rather to die with honour, than to live with shame. Their great number shall not appal my spirits, but encourage them; for surely I think that I have there as many friends as enemies, which, at joining, will either fly or take my part. Therefore," he added, "advance my banner in the name of God and Saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone."

On the last day of December, 1460, the Duke's forces descended the hill from the castle, but were soon com-

pletely surrounded by the Queen's army, one wing of which was commanded by the Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire. After a brave contest against overwhelming numbers, two-thirds of the Yorkist soldiery and gentlemen were laid dead upon the field, and the Duke, valiantly fighting, fell, with Sir Davy Hall and many of his trusty friends. The Duke's second son, and Chancellor for Ireland, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, aged sixteen years, "a fair gentleman, and a maidenlike person," was conveyed from the field by his tutor, a priest, named Robert Aspall. Before they could enter a house, the Earl was taken by the Lancastrian Lord Clifford, who, observing his apparel, demanded his name. "The young gentleman, dismayed, had not a word to speak, but kneeled on his knees, imploring mercy, and desiring grace, both with holding up his hands and making dolorous countenance, for his speech was gone for fear. 'Save him,' said the chaplain, 'for he is a Prince's son, and, peradventure, may do you good hereafter.' The Lord Clifford marked him and said: 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kin;' and with that word struck the Earl to the heart with his dagger, and bade the chaplain bear the Earl's mother and brother word what he had done and said." Clifford coming afterwards to where York's corpse lay, caused the head to be struck off. Having encircled it with a mock crown of paper, he presented it, "in great despite and much derision, to the Queen, not lying far from the field, saying: 'Madame, your war is done, here is your King's ransom;' at which present," we are told, "was much joy and great rejoicing."

By the Queen's command, Richard's head, and that of

the Earl of Warwick, with those of their chief followers who fell into her power, were set on poles over the gate of York. Thence the Duke's head was removed, when his son, Edward, triumphed at the bloody battle fought at Towton, during a snow-storm, on Palm Sunday, 1461. The heads of four Lancastrian leaders were set over the gate of York after this engagement, "which," wrote Hall, "was in manner unnatural; for in it the son fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the uncle, and the tenant against his lord."

The Earl of Ormonde and Wilts, who had, with great energy, marshalled numbers of Welsh and Irish soldiery under the banner of the "Red Rose," was taken prisoner at Towton, and soon after beheaded at Newcastle. As he left no legitimate children, the Earldom of Wiltshire became extinct on his death; and, in the same year, the Yorkist Parliament of England passed an Act attainting him and his brothers, John and Thomas Botiller, who had associated themselves in arms with the Lancastrians.

CHAPTER X.

By the accession of Edward IV., the Earldom of Ulster, the Lordship of Connaught, the Liberty of Meath, and other Irish seignories, which he inherited from the De Mortimers, became, according to English law, annexed to the Crown of England. These possessions were little more than nominal, as, with the exception of portions of four shires in Leinster, part of the Eastern Ulster coast, and some walled towns, the island was mainly under the control of the Irish. To secure the forbearance and alliance of the septs in their vicinages, the following annual tributes were, at this time, paid by the English settlers: Meath and Kildare, to O'Connor of Offaly, eighty pounds; Kilkenny and Tipperary, to O'Carroll, forty pounds; Limerick, to O'Brien, forty pounds; Cork, to Mac Carthy, forty pounds. Wexford contributed yearly forty pounds to Mac Murragh, who was also annually paid a salary of eighty marks, at the English Exchequer, at Dublin. The settlers in the barony of Lecale, on the Ulster coast, and those of Uriel, or Louth, paid an annual "black rent" of sixty pounds to O'Neill; and with the object of propitiating the head of that clan, King Edward sent him, with other presents, a collar of gold, bearing the royal badge of the House of York.

Thomas, seventh Earl of Kildare, was re-appointed Deputy Governor of the colony, in 1461, by King Edward,

who constituted his brother, George, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant, for seven years. Clarence, in 1462, nominated as his Deputy, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Lord of Portlester, succeeded in the same year by William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath. A Parliament of the colonists, in 1462, confirmed the English Acts, by which James Botiller, the deceased Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire, with his brothers, Sir John and Thomas, had been attainted. This legislation was, however, disregarded by the Irish adherents of the Botiller family. Sir John Botiller, heir to the Ormonde Earldom, a strong Lancastrian partizan, landing in Ireland, in 1462, with a body of English soldiery, was joined by his kinsman, Edmund Botiller, surnamed "Mac Richard." Combining with their Irish allies, they assaulted Waterford; but the Yorkist Earl of Desmond having advanced against them, they agreed to "a set battle, meeting each other with odious and direful countenances."

Desmond encountered Sir John Botiller at Piltown, or *Baile-an-Phoill*, in Kilkenny, defeated his forces with great carnage, and took his chief commander, Mac Richard, prisoner. According to the native annalists, Mac Richard engaged on this occasion against the desire of Sir John Botiller; for, they added, "Englishmen were accustomed not to give battle on Monday, nor after noon on any day; but Mac Richard respected not their superstitious observances." Mac Richard Botiller, characterized as "the notablest and most famous English chieftain in Ireland," was closely connected both with the natives and the settlers, and descended directly from Richard, second son of James, third Earl of Ormonde. A vellum manuscript, once the property of Mac Richard, containing

a collection of histories, poems, and tales in the Irish language, is now preserved in the Bodleian Library. An Irish inscription on one of its leaves, sets forth that part of this work was transcribed for Mac Richard by Shane O'Clerigh, surnamed *Buidhe*, or the yellow, on the fifth day of the month of February, and the eighth day of the moon. Another portion of the volume contains a record that this psalter and the "Book of Carrick," also transcribed for Mac Richard, had been accepted as ransom for the latter by the Earl of Desmond, after his victory over the Botillers.

The "White Rose" party being now in the ascendant, Edward IV. rewarded some of those who had most effectively aided his father, Duke Richard, in Ireland. The King conferred the title of Baron of Trimleston on Sir Robert Barnwall; that of Baron of Portlester on Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace; granted to Sir William Welles the Butlership and prisage of wines in Ireland, forfeited by Ormonde; nominated the Earl of Desmond as Deputy Governor under the Duke of Clarence; and appointed the Earl of Kildare Chancellor for Ireland during life.

Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, eldest son of the usurper, James, and Mary de Burgh, daughter of Mac William, had succeeded to the Earldom in 1462. The native writers described the Earl Thomas as valiant and successful in war, comely in person, versed in Latin, English, and Gaelic lore, affable, eloquent, hospitable, humane to the needy, a suppressor of vice and theft; surpassingly bountiful in bestowing jewels and wealth on clerics and laymen, but especially munificent to the antiquaries, poets, and men of song of the Irish race.

Desmond's desire to promote learning was evinced by his munificent endowment of a collegiate church, with a warden, eight fellows, and eight choristers, in the town of Youghal, within his own territories. An Act was also passed, during his government of the colony, authorizing the establishment of an University, in the English frontier town of Drogheda, with privileges similar to those then enjoyed at Oxford, for the creation of bachelors, masters, and doctors in all sciences and faculties.

Desmond, on assuming the government, was opposed in the field by five thousand of the English of Meath, whom he soon reduced to obedience, as his kinsman, Mac William, with O'Donnell, and other powerful English and Irish allies, gave in their adhesion to him at Dublin. Meath and Kildare were at this time harassed by inroads of the border Irish, and by contentions among the settlers. Various grants were made for the erection of frontier castles, commanding the passes through which O'Connor of Offaly, and other hostile Irish, usually advanced. An Act of 1464 authorized Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, to call out, four times in the year, a man from every house in the barony, to labour at fortifications for the protection of the lieges. The Parliament also sanctioned an assessment of one hundred marks, to be levied off the people of Meath, for O'Connor, who, through the mediation of the Earl of Kildare, Preston, Lord of Gormanstown, and divers gentlemen of Meath, agreed, in return for that sum, to surrender some English prisoners ; to keep peace with Meath, and to do service for King Edward in the County of Kildare. For the maintenance of the towns, it was found necessary to

suspend the statutes prohibiting commerce with the natives. Parliament thus licensed the citizens of Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Youghal, to traffic with the "Irish enemies," to whom, however, they were forbidden to sell arms or victuals in time of war. The custody of Lord Shrewsbury's seignory of Dungarvan, which had been "almost finally destroyed" by the neighbouring Irish, was committed to the Earl of Desmond. He was also appointed custodian of the wasted castles and towns of Carlow, Ross, and Dunbar's Island; and authorized to collect the customs at Dungarvan, to be applied to the reparation of its walls.

In the summer of 1463, Sir John Botiller and his adherents made another attempt to establish themselves in the Ormonde country, but the Earl of Desmond advanced against them with a numerous force. At the head of his troops, Desmond, during seventeen days, burned, wasted, and destroyed the Ormonde lordships, till the people submitted to him. Sir John Botiller, referred to by the Anglo-Irish Yorkists as "the great rebel, John of Ormonde, knight," was subsequently restored to his Earldom by Edward IV., who employed him as ambassador to various courts. That polished King declared that Sir John Botiller was "the goodliest knight he ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Christendom; and that if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might all be found in this Earl of Ormonde."

Variances having arisen, in 1464, between the Deputy, Desmond, and Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, the Earl and the Prelate proceeded to England, with the intention of

arraigning each other before Edward. Letters in commendation of Desmond were ordered by the Parliament of the colony to be transmitted to the King, his Council, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England. The Parliament referred to the great services which Thomas, Earl of Desmond, the King's Deputy, had, at "intolerable charges," and "in jeopardy of his life," rendered to the reigning monarch, as well as to his father, "the right noble and famous prince of blessed memory, Richard, Duke of York." They certified that he was and ever had been the King's true and faithful liegeman, governing himself always by the English laws and by those that were well-wishers to his Highness. By God's grace, and the great travail and labour of the Deputy, the land, they wrote, was in a reasonable state of peace and tranquillity. The Parliament prayed that it might please the King to bear in remembrance the great services, costs, and charges of the Earl Thomas, to have him in tenderness and special favour, and to reward him according to his wisdom and bounty. They requested that credence might not be given to those who impugned Desmond, nor to any subsequent accusation against him, till his Highness had certified the Earl, and the latter had addressed the King, on the truth and lawful answer to the charge. They also prayed that Edward would not make further grants of his Irish revenues, which, they recommended, should be employed by the Deputy in the defence of the land.

Edward, satisfied with Desmond's representations, granted him six manors in Meath, admitted him, apparently, to his confidence, and the Earl returned

to Ireland, as Deputy Governor, with many tokens of royal favour. The legislation of the Colonial Parliament, during Desmond's administration, illustrates, to some extent, the internal condition of the settlement during the early part of the reign of Edward IV. An Act of 1465 declared it lawful to take, kill, and decapitate thieves, robbing the liege people by day or night, "or going or coming, having no faithful Englishman of good name or fame in their company, in English apparel." The head was to be carried to the portreve of the nearest town, who was bound to set it upon a stake or spear upon the castle, and to give his writing, under the common seal, attesting the delivery. By this document, the bringer of the head was authorized to distrain and levy, by his own hands, in the barony where the thief had been taken, twopence from every ploughland; one penny from every half ploughland, and from every man having a house or goods to the value of forty shillings; and one halfpenny from every other cottier with house or smoke. The same Parliament enacted that every Irishman dwelling amongst the English in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriel, and Kildare, should go apparelled like an Englishman; have his beard shaven above the mouth; be within one year sworn liegeman of the King; and take an English surname of a town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Scryne, Cork, Kinsale; or of a colour, as White, Black, Brown; or of art or science, as Smith or Carpenter; or of office, as Cook, Butler; and that he and his issue should use this name, under pain of forfeiting his goods yearly to be used for the King's wars, according to the discretion of the Viceroy or Deputy.

In consequence of the "great number of Irishmen that exceeded greatly the English people," it was ordained, for the force and augmentation of the King's lieges, that every Englishman and Irishman, between sixty and sixteen, dwelling with Englishmen and speaking English, should have an English bow, of his own length, of yew, hazel, ash, auburn, or any other "reasonable tree," according to his powers, with twelve shafts; but gentlemen on horseback were not prohibited to ride with spears, "so that they had bows with their men for time of necessity." Every English town, exceeding three houses, was ordered to elect a constable, to preside over its government; to establish a night watch from Michaelmas to Easter, yearly; and to provide a pair of butts for shooting within or near its precincts. All townsmen, between sixty and sixteen, were bound to muster before the constables, or their deputies, at assigned hours, and to "shoot up and down," three times, on feast days, between the first day of March and the last day of July, in every year. Another Act of the same Parliament prohibited ships from fishing in the Irish countries, without special license from the Lieutenant, except to the north of Wicklow. The reason assigned for this rule was, that vessels of other lands went to fish amongst the Irish, in divers parts of Ireland, by which these enemies were greatly advanced and strengthened, as well in victuals, harness, armour, and other necessaries. Large "tributes of money," it was added, were given by such vessels to the Irish enemies from day to day, "to the great augmentation of their power and force" against the English King's honour and wealth, and to the utter destruction of his land.

The knights of the shires, partly under English control, were paid for attending the Parliaments of the colony. Robert Rochford and Sir Edward Penkenston, elected to represent the English of the County of Cork, in a Parliament convened at Wexford by Desmond, refused to serve unless the Sheriff became surety to pay them for their trouble and attendance, as much as other knights of the shires. The Sheriff's compliance with their demand was ratified by Parliament, which decreed, that, as the wages to which they were entitled for their labour were not known with certainty, because for a long period knights had not been returned to Parliament from Cork, eightpence should be levied from every ploughland in that county, for their payment, as was customary elsewhere in the colony.

Desmond's sister, Joan, and her husband, Thomas, Earl of Kildare, established and endowed, in 1464, the "Gray Friary," at Adare, in the County of Limerick. The church of this Friary was built at the expense of the Earl and Countess, who, in addition to other benefactions, presented to it two silver chalices and a bell.

The Deputy, Desmond, made two expeditions against the O'Byrnes, in 1466; but at this period the English of Leinster suffered continuous reverses from the border septs, who defeated them in several encounters, and carried off as prisoners some of their chief ecclesiastic and lay personages. Much of Meath having been regained from the settlers, part of the natives projected to establish, as King, at Tara, Tadhg, son of Torlogh O'Brien, Lord of Thomond. This chieftain crossed the Shannon with an army greater than had

been mustered by any of his ancestors since the time of Brian Borumha, and coerced the city of Limerick to agree to pay him an annual tribute; but was soon after cut off by fever.

Edward had, apparently, at this period, grounds to suspect Desmond and his brother-in-law, Kildare, of favoring the projects of the Earl of Warwick, which originated in dissatisfaction at the royal marriage with Elizabeth Grey, and the consequent advancement of her obscure relatives. In 1467, Desmond was deposed from the Deputy Governorship, which was committed to the King's trusted confidant, John Tiptoft, or Tibetot, Earl of Worcester, whose ancestors had claims upon the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal, in the vicinage of the Munster Geraldines. Worcester, the most learned English nobleman of his day, studied at Baliol College, Oxford, travelled to Jerusalem, and delivered at Rome a Latin oration, which was said to have affected to tears the erudite Æneas Silvius, then Pope Pius II. Having allied himself to the "White Rose" party, Worcester was appointed Justice of North Wales, Treasurer and Constable of England, Chancellor, during life, for Ireland, and Steward of the King's household. As Deputy Governor of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence, Worcester, with a strong force of soldiery, landed at Howth, in 1467, and speedily convened a Parliament of the settlers. This assembly attainted the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, and Edward Plunkett, for treason, alliances and fosterage with the King's Irish enemies, for furnishing them with horses and arms, and supporting them against the loyal subjects. Their lands were declared confiscate, and

attainder of felony decreed against those who should not discover their goods to the Governor within fourteen days after the rising of Parliament. Worcester having succeeded in bringing Desmond into his power, caused him to be beheaded at Drogheda, on the 14th of February, 1467-8, and was said to have also exercised extreme cruelty on his two infant sons. The true causes for the prosecution of the heads of the Geraldines, are unexplained in authentic documents of the time. The motives for this measure are the more obscure, as the Yorkists admitted the heavy obligations of Edward IV., and his father, Duke Richard, to the houses of Desmond and Kildare, most of whose leading members might at any time have been found guilty of the offences on which this attainder was ostensibly based. According to Anglo-Irish tradition, Desmond was punished with death for having used disdainful language against the marriage of Edward IV. with the Lady Elizabeth Grey; and it was added that the Queen stole the King's signet, and, without his knowledge, sealed the warrant for the execution of the Earl. The legends of the Munster Geraldines gave the following account of the transaction: Earl Thomas, having fought nine battles against the Lancastrians, was beloved by Edward IV., who rewarded his services, and entrusted him with the government of Ireland. During the Earl's sojourn in England, Edward requested his opinion on the state of his affairs, and Desmond was said to have counselled him to divorce his Queen, Elizabeth, and to contract marriage with some important foreign Princess. On a subsequent occasion, Edward, in an altercation with Elizabeth, exclaimed that

her pride would have been humbled had he taken the advice given by his cousin of Desmond. After the royal pair had been reconciled, Edward, deeming Desmond to be beyond the Queen's reach, was induced by her importunities to disclose the sentiments which he had expressed respecting their marriage. Upon this, adds the story, Elizabeth made interest to procure Desmond's removal from the government of Ireland ; had her favourite, Worcester, sent over in his place, who, calling a Parliament at Drogheda, remote from the Earl's estates or alliances, caused him to be attainted and executed, to the great astonishment of all the nobles of Ireland. The Irish writers charge Worcester and the English of Meath with having acted treacherously towards Desmond, whom they described as excelling, in person and intellect, most of the men of his time. They add that, at the period of his execution, he was aged forty-two years ; that no praise bestowed upon him could exceed his merits ; and that Erin suffered deeply by his death, the sorrow and affliction for which were, according to them, equally felt by strangers and Gaels. In the family necrology of the Geraldines, Earl Thomas was enrolled as "a martyr of Christ." Seventeen years after Desmond's execution, Richard III. wrote that the Earl had been "extortiously slain and murdered by colour of the laws, within Ireland, by certain persons, then having the government and rule there, against all manhood, reason, and good conscience."

The Treasurer, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Baron of Portlester, father-in-law to the Earl of Kildare, was arraigned before Worcester by Sir John Gilbert, for

having incited the Earl of Desmond to assume the Kingship of Ireland, and with engaging that he and all the land would accept him in preference to Edward IV. Fitz-Eustace denied the charge, and a day was named for his formal indictment. Gilbert, however, withdrew beyond the reach of the English power, and joined Tadhg O'Connor, "an Irish enemy of the King of England," then at open war against the Deputy. He was consequently attainted as a traitor to England, by the Parliament, from which Portlester obtained an acquittal from the alleged treason. While the three great lords of the colony, Kildare, Ormonde, and Desmond, lay under attainder, a new peerage was, at the instance of Worcester, created for Robert Bold, in return for services rendered by him to the Duke of York and Edward IV., in England, Ireland, and elsewhere in their wars. Bold was created Baron of Ratoath, in the County of Dublin, and assigned twenty marks per annum out of that manor, to be held by the service of one goshawk.

The Parliament convened by Worcester continued its meetings during six sessions; and one of its acts set at rest the belief that a Lieutenant or Governor vacated office by the act of passing from Ireland to any adjacent minor island. In contravention of this opinion, the Parliament ordained, that if a Lieutenant or his Deputy went into any island near Ireland, and returned, such passage should not render the office vacant, but that the Viceregal authority should still stand in full force and effect. It was also enacted, that as the King of England had been granted Ireland by the Holy See, the Prelates should, on a monition of forty days from the Viceroy,

fulminate excommunication against all those in that country, who opposed the English Government. The island of Lambay, on which no building then stood, was granted by the Parliament to Worcester for life, in consideration of his causing the erection of a fortress against the Bretons, Spaniards, French, and Scots, who, harbouring there, seized and plundered many of the liege-people passing the eastern coast. A statute enacted in this Parliament, granting to Nicholas Brown forty pounds, to be levied on the commons of Louth, illustrates the combinations existing at the time between the natives and the settlers. John, son and heir of Sir John Haddesor, of Keppock, one of the principal English settlers in Louth, having married the daughter of Mac Mahon, Chief of Farney, on the borders of that county, embraced the Irish habits and customs. Combining with the Mac Mahons and a number of mutinous English, he advanced several times, with banners displayed, into Meath and Louth, ravaged the lands of the settlers, and seizing those who opposed him, hanged them on trees close to the highway. Having taken prisoners Sir Thomas Plunkett and some of the chief English gentry of Louth, he carried them into the territories of O'Reilly and Mac Mahon, where they were imprisoned, and coerced to pay high ransoms. The petition of Nicholas Brown to the Parliament, set forth that John Haddesor, while in custody in the Castle of Trim, murdered the jailor and his wife. Afterwards, according to the document, he trusted to his influence among his cousins and relations, that none in the County of Louth dare be so bold as to utter or declare anything against him, but that the

said Nicholas succeeded in arresting and conveying him to the King's prison, that he might undergo justice and execution.

The intelligence of the beheadal of Desmond, ascribed to the machinations of a foreign Deputy and the English of Meath, evoked wide commotion among the Munster Geraldines and their adherents. The Earl's sons being of tender age, his kinsman, Gerald, styled by the Irish, *Gearoitt* of Desmond, unfurled his banners, mustered his English and Irish retainers, and, advancing into Leinster, despite the exertions of Worcester, swept the English territories in Meath and Kildare, with fire and sword. The Parliament of the colony passed an act, which they were unable to carry out, attainting Gerald of treason, and decreeing the confiscation of his castles, manors, and other property. Worcester and his army were also pressed by the border Irish. For services rendered him in Cavan by the people of Drogheda, in ravaging and burning the mansions and monastery of the O'Reilly sept, he obtained for the Mayor the privilege of having a sword borne before him, according to the London form, with a pension of twenty pounds, out of the municipal rent to the Crown, for the maintenance of the dignity of that magistrate. The reward given by Worcester to Edward Botiller, Lord of Dunboyne, for taking one of the chiefs of the O'Connors of Offaly, the present King's County, evinces the importance attached by the Viceroy to such service. For having captured and delivered up O'Connor, Butler was granted, under the English Crown, an annuity of ten pounds, together with the prisage of wines in Cork, Youghal, Ross, Galway, Limerick, Kinsale, Dungarvan, and Dingle.

The difficulty of maintaining the English territories without the assistance of Kildare and his house, appears to have influenced the reversal of the attainder of that Earl, for whom the Archbishop of Dublin and others entered into recognizances, to the amount of one thousand marks. A Parliament held before Worcester, in 1468, ratified the pardon of Kildare, and restored his lands, with certain exceptions. In return for his pardon, the Earl bound himself to do the King and his Deputy faithful service, and, "according to his power, to bring the Irish of Leinster to peace." He also joined the Earl and Countess of Worcester and others, in re-establishing a perpetual chantry of one or two priests, to celebrate divine service at the altar of Saint Catherine the Virgin, in the church of the native Saint, Secundinus, or *Sechnall*, at Dunshaughlin, in Meath, to the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary. According to Irish tradition, an angel and St. Patrick promised Heaven to those who, at rising and retiring to rest, recited three stanzas of a hymn which Sechnall composed, commencing: "Audite omnes amantes Deum." It was also customary among the native Irish, during the administration of the Eucharist, to sing the hymn, "Sancti venite, Christi Corpus sumite," said to have been first chaunted by a choir of angels in the church of St. Sechnall, or *Domhnac Sechnaill*, in Meath, a name now transmuted to Dunshaughlin.

Worcester, who retired from Ireland late in 1468, was succeeded by the Earl of Kildare, as Deputy to Clarence. That "false, fleeting, perjured" Duke, aiming at the Crown of England, confederated in

arms with his father-in-law, Warwick; and Edward suspected that they intended to establish themselves in Ireland. Warwick's father had visited Dublin to concert measures with the Duke of York, when the latter held his position there, against the Lancastrians. The Anglo-Irish, it was feared, would flock to the Warwick standard of the "white bear and ragged staff," as the Earl was "ever had in great favour of the commons, by reason of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries wherever he sojourned or lay." At London, we are told, "he held such a house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should have as much sodden and roast as he might carry upon a long dagger." By proclamation, dated at York, 23rd of March, 1470, the King notified that he had "utterly discharged" his brother Clarence from the Viceroyalty of Ireland, for the great and heinous offences which he had lately committed against him, contrary to his allegiance, faith, and duty. Edward commanded his subjects in Ireland not to accept Clarence as Viceroy, nor, on pain of death and forfeiture, to obey, receive, assist, favour, or "comfort with meat, drink, or otherwise," either him or Richard, Earl of Warwick, but to arrest them on their arrival in that country. By proclamations in the towns of the settlement, Edward offered the sum of one thousand pounds in hand, or an annuity of one hundred for life, to the captor of either the Duke or the Earl.

In Clarence's place, the King appointed as Lieutenant, for Ireland, the Earl of Worcester, who nominated Edmund Dudley, to act as his Deputy. Clarence and Warwick

did not, however, repair to Ireland, but fled from Southampton to France, when their projects had been disconcerted by the defeat of Sir Robert Welles, in Lincolnshire. King Edward, on arriving at Southampton, appointed Worcester to sit there in judgment on the men found in the ships captured by Lord Scales from the fugitives. Under Worcester's sentence, twenty of these gentlemen and yeomen were hanged, drawn, quartered, and beheaded; after which he caused them to be suspended by the legs, and their heads impaled on sharpened stakes, thrust through their corpses. For these and other cruelties, Worcester was generally styled "the butcher of England." On the temporary restoration of Henry VI., in 1470, the Earl was made prisoner by the Lancastrians, who discovered him concealed in the branches of a high tree in Havering Forest. Worcester was beheaded on Tower Hill, by sentence of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, whose father had been executed in the same place, by his command, four years previously. Caxton, in his edition, in 1481, of Worcester's English version of "Tullius, his book of friendship," wrote that the Earl, "in his time, flowered in virtue and cunning," and that he knew "none like to him among the lords of the temporality in science and moral virtue." "Oh! good blessed Lord," continued the printer, "what great loss was it of that noble and virtuous and well-disposed lord, and what worship had he at Rome, in the presence of our Holy Father the Pope, and so in all other places unto his death, at which death, every man there might learn to die, and take his death patiently, wherein I hope and doubt not but that God received his soul into His

everlasting bliss; for, as I am informed, he right advisedly ordained all his things, as well for his last will of worldly goods as for his soul's health, and patiently and holily, without grudging, in charity, before that he departed out of this world. I," added Caxton, "beseech Almighty God to have mercy on his soul; and pray all them that shall hear or read this little treatise, much virtuous of friendship, in likewise of your charity to remember his soul among your prayers."

The native Irish deemed that Worcester was executed for having beheaded Desmond. Their chroniclers reported that the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence cut ignominiously into quarters the Saxon Justiciary, upon whom the obloquy and execrations of the men of Erin had been heaped, for having destroyed Thomas, the Earl. The Parliament of the colony subsequently decreed that all the possessions of Worcester in Ireland should become the property of the Earl of Kildare, as compensation for the losses which the latter had sustained through his long imprisonment, and the detention of his rents and goods by that Deputy. The grant of Lambay to Worcester was also annulled by Parliament, which restored the island to the Archbishop of Dublin.

Henry VI., during his brief restoration in 1470, appointed the Duke of Clarence Viceroy for Ireland, during life. This nomination was confirmed for twenty years, in 1472, after Clarence's brother, Edward IV., had regained the Crown. Thomas, seventh Earl of Kildare, and Chancellor for Ireland, administered the government, as Deputy to Clarence, from 1468 to 1475. Kildare and the

chief English proprietors in Leinster, found it necessary, at this period, to use all their efforts to repel the incursions of the border Irish. To fortify the towns on the frontiers, acts were passed to compel able-bodied men, out of every house in each barony, to labour gratuitously for a fixed number of days, from an hour and a half after sunrise till sunset, in making trenches and works of defence, providing themselves, during such time, with victuals and tools at their own expense. At the cost of the baronies of Castle-knock, Balrothery, Coolock, and Newcastle, near Lyons, a dyke, for the defence of the County Dublin, was made from Tallaght to Saggart, but was soon broken down by the hostile Irish, and their mutinous English allies. After this dyke had been repaired, "to the great succour, comfort, and defence of the County of Dublin," Parliament decreed penalties against those subjects who broke down any track, or made a road over it; and that all hogs, goats, cows, or cattle, injuring it, by rooting, grazing, or otherwise, should be confiscated and taken at "the King's price," on the inspection of the justices of the peace, or by their authority; and the proceeds were ordered to be expended for the repair of the work. Many subsidies were also levied for the erection of piles, towers, and the digging of trenches on the borders of the four counties. The Constables of the fortresses were commanded, under penalties, to maintain sufficient guards of loyal Englishmen, and not to entrust their wardships to any Irish, except those who had obtained charters of denization. The frequent results of the attempts of settlers to establish themselves in the vicinity of the

frontiers are exemplified by the case of Robert Misset, who received grants from Parliament at this time. According to his petition, Misset "intended, by the grace of God," to fix his habitation at Bellewstown, near Trim, and to have raised a fortress there, but was so assailed by the O'Connors, and their allies, the De Berminghams, that he not only lost three hundred pounds, but was forced to pay one hundred marks to De Bermingham for his son, who was killed at Bellewstown, and he was thus so reduced as to be unable to build the projected pile. To aid in resisting the Irish enemies, and to repress extortions and oppressions in Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, a troop of eighty archers was, in 1472, provided for the Deputy, who paid one-half of the force, while the wages of the remainder were defrayed by the four counties. This troop, found inadequate for its object, was, in 1474, augmented to one hundred and sixty archers and sixty-three spearmen. In the succeeding year, a military association was incorporated, under the title of the "Brotherhood of St. George," for the defence of the English territories in Leinster. This fraternity was constituted of twelve of the principal Anglo-Irish of the four counties, presided over by the Deputy. They assembled annually at Dublin, on St. George's day, for the election of their captain, who was provided with a troop of one hundred and twenty mounted archers, forty men-at-arms, and forty pages. For their payment and maintenance, Parliament provided a subsidy of poundage out of all merchandize exported and imported.

Violent disputes prevailed, at this period, between the principal officers of the English Government in Ireland.

The Parliament decreed forfeiture against the Chief Baron, John Cornwalshe, for abusive language to Kildare, the Deputy, at the council-table, and for having, on his departure thence, attempted to incite the citizens of Dublin to insurrection. Cornwalshe subsequently asserted, before the Council and Parliament, that Sir Robert Bold, Baron of Ratoath, their delegate to England, had imposed upon them by forged documents, purporting to be writs under the King's privy seal, respecting the Liberty of Meath. Accompanied by the Mayor of Dublin and a great body of people, the English Chief Baron assailed Bold, and would have slain him, but for the intervention of the Deputy.

Sir Robert Dowdall, Deputy Treasurer and Justice of the King's Bench, complained that on the feast of Pentecost, while going on a pilgrimage, he had been assaulted by James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, with a drawn sword, and put in fear and danger of his life, and that his assailant would not appear on any process to answer for his conduct. On this charge, penalties were proclaimed against Keating, who obtained a reversal of the decree on technical grounds, and by pleading his occupations in England, on business concerning the good and prosperity of the realm. In defiance of an act of Parliament, Keating sheltered, in this Priory at Kilmainham, Marcello, a Roman doctor of both laws, who had been ordered by statute to quit Ireland in the space of a month, and never again to return, on pain of being punished as a traitor; and penalties were also decreed against any who might harbour him. Marcello was denounced by his countryman, Ottaviano, the Italian

Archbishop of Armagh, for immorality ; and for having violently broken open the ecclesiastical jail at Termonfecken, near Drogheda, whence, by force, he carried off his Irish follower, Aed O'Mellan, who lay there, chained in a dungeon, charged with robbery. The statute described Marcello as of bad conversation, evil disposition, a disturber of peace, and the causer of enmity between the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Meath. His false counsel, continued the document, "hath well-nigh destroyed the clergy of Louth and Meath, and lately caused a great variance between Dean John Alleyne and the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin; and the service of God in that church is daily withdrawn, and especially of late, on St. Patrick's Eve no vespers were sung therein, which is most piteous tidings to every one of this land."

The coinage of the colony formed the subject of numerous enactments of the reign of Edward IV. During his first seven years, no less than seven distinct coinages were struck in the Anglo-Irish mints. To meet the exigencies of the government, an act was passed diminishing, by one-half, the value of the current coin. As a remedy for the injuries thus entailed, the Parliament enacted that the prices of all articles should be likewise reduced by one-half, and that every man in the colony should sell at the following rates : a peck of wheat for sixteen pence ; of oats, for four pence ; of barley, eight pence ; a barrel of herrings, six and eight pence ; an ox, ten shillings ; a cow, of the better sort, six and eight pence ; a sheep, eight pence ; a good hog, three and four pence ; a goose, three pence ; a couple of

capons, four pence ; a pair of shoes, four pence ; a gallon of the best ale, three half-pence ; wine of Rochelle, six pence, of Gascoigne, eight pence, and of Spain, ten pence per gallon. Commissioners were appointed to examine the haggards throughout the colony, and to cause corn and victuals to be sold in the common market at those prices, but it was soon found necessary to repeal this act, as its execution had caused "intolerable damages" to the English subjects.

Germyn Lynch, a London goldsmith, obtained letters patent, appointing him, for life, warden and master engraver of the dies of money and coin within the castles of Dublin and Trim, and at Waterford, Limerick, Drogheda, Galway, and Carlingford. Lynch, for a time, was suspended under indictment, for various frauds, but subsequently obtained pardon and restitution to office. The English mintage in Ireland was, in 1475, restricted by law to Dublin, Waterford, and Drogheda. Much base money was issued by coiners in Munster, beyond the reach of the English Government at Dublin, which authorized the Earl of Desmond, the Mayors of Cork and Youghal, and the Sovereigns of Kinsale and Kilmallock, to apprehend and execute them as malefactors.

Kildare was superseded in the government, in 1475, by William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, a determined opponent of the house of Fitz-Gerald. In the hope of composing the feuds among his subjects, the King issued a commission to Edward Connesburgh, Archbishop of Armagh, to hear and determine all controversies, suits, and debates, depending between the great men or peers of Ireland. A section of the Colonial Parliament

requested Bishop Sherwood to repair to England, "to solicit the good grace of the King and his brother," the Viceroy, Clarence, "for the public weal, and relief of the country." The Bishop, however, pleaded that he was so occupied in the field with hostings, that he could not, for a time, without damage to the English district, quit the camp, even to meet the Parliament. On his departure to England, accusations were transmitted thither against him, under the seals of many important personages, including those of the Geraldine party in Munster, by whom he was regarded with hatred, for his supposed complicity in having procured the execution of his former rival, Thomas, Earl of Desmond. The Bishop's adherents in the Parliament, however, certified to the King, that, as Deputy, he had truly and diligently, to the best of his power, governed and defended the subjects; and they requested his Highness to thank him accordingly, not to give credence to any charges against him, but to punish those who might prefer them.

Thomas, eighth Earl of Kildare, dying in 1477, was succeeded by his eldest son, Gerald, whom the Council elected Governor; but the King, in England, nominated to that office, Henry, Lord Grey. On the attainder of Clarence, in 1478, Edward constituted John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, Lieutenant for twenty years. The difficulty of controlling English Government officials in Ireland, was, at this period, increased by their alliances with the natives, through whose assistance they practised extortions, exacted "coigne and livery," and maintained troops of Irish soldiery in Meath, Kildare, and other districts of the settlement. An act transferring to the

Mayor and Council of Waterford the right to elect a Sheriff for that county, set forth, that about the city there was neither rule nor government, but that murder, spoiling, robbery, and universal rebellion prevailed. The act recited that Richard Poer, Sheriff for more than twenty years, moved by insatiate malice, as an enemy to the King of England, had, by himself, his people, and other rebels, assaulted the Mayor and Commons of Waterford, both by sea and land, to the utter destruction of the city, murdering and slaying divers of the citizens, spoiling and robbing them of their goods, putting to fine and ransom many of them, as well as foreigners resorting thither for trade. In all the country round about Waterford, added the statute, there lived no lords, or gentlemen, or commons, arrayed in English habit, submitting to the King's obedience, or governed by his law, but, contrary to divers Acts, they obeyed "the wicked and damnable Brehon law." A statute of the same year decreed that any Englishman damaged by an Irishman, not amenable to law, might have a right to be reprised out of his whole sept or "nation," according to the discretion of the Viceroy and the King's Council. Such legislation remained inoperative; and even the English Archbishop of Dublin formally recorded that he was obliged to leave unvisited those churches and prebends of his diocese which lay either on the border or in the adjacent Irish territories, where the jurisdiction of the Crown of England was not recognized. The Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of St. Patrick of Dublin, petitioned Parliament, declaring that their properties, benefices, and divers other possessions, were

within the power, distress, and danger of the Irish enemies and English rebels, so that neither they nor their officers could enjoy them nor receive their tithes, rents, offerings, and other profits legally due to them; and that they could not obtain English farmers amenable to the King's laws, or to ecclesiastical suspensions, excommunications, or interdicts. The Parliament conceded that, notwithstanding previous legal prohibitions, the authorities of the Cathedral might, without impeachment, sell or lease to Irish enemies or English rebels properties, benefices, tithes, and alterages in localities beyond the control of the English Government. At the same period it was found necessary to annul the acts which prohibited the admission to Parliament of knights, burgesses, and proctors, non-resident in the districts which they represented. This repeal was justified on the grounds that English representatives could not be expected to encounter, on their journeys to Parliament, the great perils incident to them, both by sea and land, from the King's Irish enemies and English rebels. For, added the statute, "it is openly known how great and frequent mischiefs have been done on the ways, both in the South, North, East and West parts, by reason whereof they may not send proctors, knights, nor burgesses."

Acts were passed decreeing the seizure of the goods of the Irish rimers and hermits, who, coming into the County of Kildare, remained in the English land without license, succouring the enemy with victuals. English traders were prohibited either to carry merchandize to the borders, or to visit or frequent the markets held in the territories of the Irish. An ordinance on this

head recited that the markets held by the Irish merchants, causing great riches to the King's enemies, and great poverty to his subjects, had destroyed and injured several towns of the English settlers. Exemptions were, however, made in favour of religious houses having lands within the Irish territories. The ecclesiastics of such establishments obtained licenses to traffic with the Irish; to let and sell the profits of their possessions to them; to maintain communications in war and peace, and to become godfathers to their children. Irish pilgrims were protected by law, going to and returning from shrines in the English territories, the chief of which were those in the church of St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, at Feldstown, in Meath; and in the convents of the Blessed Mary at Navan and Trim. Acts of the reign of Edward IV. conferred grants on the Abbot and convent of Trim, for "the ordering, establishing, repairing, and continuance" of a perpetual wax light, burning by day and night, before the image of our Blessed Lady, on the pavement pedestal in the church of that house; and for the support of four other wax tapers continually burning before it, at the Mass of the Holy Mary, at the anthem of our Lady, to the honour of God and His Mother, for the good estate of Edward, King of England, Cecilia, his mother, and his children, and for the souls of their progenitors and successors.

De la Pole's appointment to the Viceroyalty, in 1478, was almost immediately superseded by the nomination of Edward's infant son, George, to that office, for two years. Henry, Lord Grey, was appointed Deputy to Prince George, and received from the King a grant of

the Liberty of Meath, with the offices of Seneschal and Treasurer, with authority to coin silver in the Castle of Trim. Grey landed in Ireland in 1478, attended by a body of three hundred archers and men-at-arms, to resist the daily inroads of the King's enemies. Kildare, elected by the Council, refused to recognize Grey's appointment, as it had been made under privy seal. For the same reason, the Chancellor, Portlester, Kildare's father-in-law, declined to surrender the English great seal for Ireland. James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, Constable of Dublin Castle, disobeyed the summons of Grey; and having garrisoned that fortress, broke down the drawbridge, and defied the attempts made by the Deputy, with his officers and soldiers, to effect an entrance.

Kildare, as Deputy, in June, 1478, summoned a Parliament at Naas, in his own district, which voted him a subsidy, and continued its sessions with various prorogations. Grey, meanwhile, obtained royal writs from England, directed to Kildare, charging him to desist from exercising the office of Deputy, and neither to hold a Parliament nor to levy imposts. The Mayor of Dublin was, at the same time, commanded, by the King's letters, to make proclamation that the English subjects should not pay any subsidy or tax to the Earl. In November of the same year, Grey, as Deputy to the Lieutenant, George, the King's son, held a Parliament at Trim, the first act of which decreed the annulment of the proceedings of Kildare's assembly. The judges and officers of the King's courts were directed to cause all the statutes and ordinances made at Naas to be cancelled within fifteen days; and penalty of felony was proclaimed

against persons who did not immediately deliver up any rolls they might possess of "the pretended Parliament."

Grey's Parliament confirmed his appointment as Deputy to Prince George, in as ample a manner and form as any previous Governor had exercised such office. They decreed that, if the Lord Deputy Grey should be disposed to go to Lambay, to any isle in Ulster, or to other places within or without the land of Ireland, it should be lawful for him to constitute, under his seal of arms, a representative, to occupy and enjoy the authority and government during his absence, with power to prorogue Parliament to any time or place.

The King authorized Grey to have a new great seal made for Ireland, and to "damn, annul, and suspend" that in the hands of the Chancellor, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, should the latter disobey his commands, absent himself, or withhold the seal in his custody. In ratification of this authority, the Parliament enacted that as it was apparent that Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace purposely absented himself, and retained the seal contrary to the King's will, all the patents, writs, and documents issued under it should be void, until it came to the hands of the Deputy. Thomas Archbold, Master of King Edward's Mints in Ireland, was authorized to engrave a new great seal, as near as he could to the pattern and fabric of the other, with the difference of a rose in every part. This the Parliament decreed to be authorized, confirmed, reputed, taken, and obeyed, in every respect, as the great seal of the King of England for Ireland, until the other had been restored to the Deputy, who was empowered to appoint its keeper during pleasure.

Having thus suspended Fitz-Eustace as Chancellor, Grey's Parliament repudiated his acts as Treasurer, and ordained that Exchequer tallies or assignments should not be legal, unless signed and endorsed by the Lieutenant or Deputy. They also decreed that if Friar James Keating did not at once substantially and sufficiently replace and repair the bridge of Dublin Castle, his office should be void; and that the Deputy might appoint a Guardian or Keeper of the Priory of Kilmainham, until the Grand Master of Rhodes, or the Prior of St. John's of London, should make a nomination.

Another act of this assembly recited that great doubts had been held among the Judges of the King of England in Ireland, concerning the manner and form of electing a Justice or Governor for the time being. Some deemed that the election should be made solely by seven of the Council; others held that the choice should be by the spiritual and temporal peers, together with the Council and the most honorable of the English subjects of the three counties adjoining Dublin.

Grey's Parliament decided that in future the election of the Justice should be by the majority of an assembly composed of the King's Council, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, and all the parliamentary lords, spiritual and temporal, of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, specially summoned, with fifteen days' notice, to meet for this purpose, at Dublin or Drogheda. A subsidy of ten shillings from every ploughland in the four counties, was voted for the engagement of soldiers and spearmen to defend the English territories. On the pretext of their great poverty,

from continual war, and oppressions by the Irish enemies and lawless English, the Commons also authorized an act of resumption of royal grants.

After the death of the infant Prince George, in 1479, Edward IV. conferred the Viceroyalty of Ireland on his second son, Richard, Duke of York. This boy, by marriage with Anne Mowbray, acquired the nominal Lordship of Carlow, in addition to his titles of Earl of Warrene, Surrey, and Nottingham, with the Marshalship of England, and the Lordships of Segrave, Mowbray, and Gower. The post of Deputy to the Lieutenant, Richard, was entrusted to Robert Preston, whom Edward had, in the preceding year, advanced to the title of Viscount of Gormanstown, in Meath. Preston was the first English Viscount created in Ireland. His great-grandfather, the Chief Justice, Sir Robert de Preston, purchased the manor of Gormanstown from Almaric de Saint Amand, Viceroy under Edward III., and through marriage with Margaret, heiress of Walter de Bermingham, obtained the Lordship of Kells, in Ossory, and his family subsequently acquired claims upon the baronies of Carberry and of Loundres of Naas.

Preston's administration, under the Viceroy, Richard, was but brief; as, within a year from his appointment, Edward IV. restored Kildare to the Deputyship, and reinstated Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace to the office of Treasurer, but transferred the Chancellorship from him to his opponent, William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath. A royal precept was issued, in 1480, to compose the great variances which had resulted from the acts of the contending Parliaments. The King ratified the subsidy

partly levied under Grey's Parliament, but cancelled the resumptions of grants passed in both assemblies. "Such acts," wrote Edward, "have, of partiality and malice, been more hurtful to our subjects there than profitable to us or to the weal of our land." Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, the Bishop of Meath, and Justice Bermingham, were admonished by the King to remit, and forget all their mutual malice and evil will. Fitz-Eustace was ordered to deliver the great seal in his custody to the Bishop of Meath, the newly-appointed Chancellor. The royal officials were commanded to demean themselves duly and truly, "in executing and doing of their offices, and, after their cunning and discretion, justly and indifferently to minister justice to all the King's subjects in those parts."

The Earl of Kildare, as Deputy to the Lieutenant of Ireland, was enjoined by Edward to apply diligently to the duties of his post, to aid the royal officers, and to endeavour that Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace should deliver up the great seal to the Bishop of Meath. The King also ordained that not more than one subsidy of twelve hundred marks should be demanded in any year, and that acts of Council should not be valid unless the Lieutenant or his Deputy approved of them, with the assent of the majority of the Privy Councillors. Kildare, as Deputy to Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York, the King's son, held a Parliament at Dublin, in December, 1480, which voted to him a subsidy of ten shillings out of every ploughland in the four counties. The same assembly imposed duties on the export of hawks and falcons, to "restrain the carrying of them out of the land." Accord-

ing to the enactment, goshawks, tercels, and others of their kind, formerly in great plenty in Ireland, had been brought thence for sale in such numbers, that none could be obtained for the pleasure of the lords and gentry. This Parliament also decreed the resumption of grants from the time of Henry VI., and committed to the Deputy the extraordinary power of adding to the act such clauses as he pleased during the prorogation or adjournment of the assembly.

By a new commission, in 1481, Edward IV. appointed his "right trusty and well-beloved cousin," Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Deputy in Ireland, for four years, to the Lieutenant, Richard of York, as that Duke, "for certain reasonable causes, might not personally go towards the said land, nor there abide for the safeguard thereof." The Earl undertook, "surely and safely, to all his power, to keep the land to the use and profit of the King;" to have continually with him eighty yeomen, able archers, and forty other horsemen, called "speres." For the payment of this guard, and for the exercise of his office, the Earl was to receive six hundred pounds annually out of the revenues in Ireland, beyond the ordinary charges. In case the revenues did not reach this sum, the Deputy was to be paid from England the amount of the deficiency. He also covenanted to muster his retinue, whenever warned and required, from time to time, before inspectors, deputed by the King.

During the closing years of the reign of Edward IV., Kildare acquired large accession of power and territory. A statute of 1481 empowered him, while Deputy, to appoint receivers over two parts of all manors, rents,

profits, issues, customs, and other properties belonging to persons absent from Ireland, without the license required by the statute of Richard II. The sums thus collected were to be paid to the Deputy, to be expended by him in maintaining defence against the Irish. Another act authorized the Earl of Kildare to take possession of the County of Carlow, from the town of Calveston to Carlow Castle, unless the absentee claimants came, within twelve months, and undertook the recovery of those lands from the Irish. Such proprietors, the chief of whom was the Viceroy, Prince Richard, Lord of Carlow, were, by this act, perpetually disinherited, if they did not make their claims within six years, and pay Kildare the amount he might have expended on their lands.

One of Kildare's sisters having married her first cousin, Henry, son of Con O'Neill, of Tir-Owen, an act was passed, in 1481, entitling that Chieftain, and his heirs, to claim rights, in the colony, under English law. After the death of Edward IV., Kildare continued in office, as Deputy to the young Prince Richard, Duke of York, who, with his brother, Edward V., disappeared mysteriously from the Tower of London.

CHAPTER XI.

RICHARD III., on obtaining the Crown, in June, 1483, nominated his only son, Edward, then aged eleven, to the Viceroyalty, for three years. The King confirmed the patent by which Edward V. had appointed Sir Robert Saint Laurence, Lord of Howth, to the Chancellorship for Ireland; and sent thither William Lacy, with secret instructions and letters, to be delivered individually to the chief persons of the colony, "dividing the matters according to those he should speak to." "Master William," wrote Richard, "shall show that the King after the establishing of this, his realm of England, principally afore other things entendeth for the weal of this land of Ireland, to set and advise such good rule and politic guiding there as any of his noble progenitors have done or intended in times past to reduce it."

Lacy was directed, in the first instance, before communicating with any of the Council, to practise to have speech with and learn the disposition of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, as the King's instructions mainly turned on his acceptance of the office of Deputy Governor. In delivering the royal letters to Kildare, and in privately showing his credentials, Lacy was directed to say, that the King held the Earl in special favour and tenderness, trusting much to his discretion and truth; and that, in consideration of his good fame, noble disposition, and great services as

Lieutenant to Richard, late Duke of York, his Highness had ordained him Deputy to his eldest son and Viceroy, Prince Edward. The Earl was to be informed, that his appointment had been made but for one year; and that his continuance in office should be at the royal pleasure, because the King "wished always to be at liberty to relieve his land in Ireland by his own immediate authority, whensoever he might have first leisure thereunto." On Kildare's agreement to accept the Deputyship, Lacy was authorized to deliver to him his patent, together with a copy of the Prince's commission as Lieutenant; but to intimate that nothing was to be considered as concluded, respecting the terms for the government, without the special advice and assent of the King. He was also directed to enjoin the Deputy to come or send in all possible haste to England, for the purpose of entering into such agreements with the King, as should be "best accorded between them, having respect as well to the ease of the times, as to other precedents passed before."

Richard ordained that the royal officers in Ireland should hold their places during his pleasure; directed that money should not be coined there, except in Dublin and Waterford; and authorized the Council to appoint Master, Warden, Comptroller, and other mint officers. Kildare undertook the government; but, before proceeding to England, desired a bond from the King, under the seals of the principal English nobles, guaranteeing his safe return to Ireland. At the same time, he commissioned John Estrete, the King's Sergeant-at-law in Ireland, to solicit the extension of his appointment as Deputy Governor to the term of nine or ten years, with an

annual official salary of one thousand pounds; and also requested a grant of the manor of Leixlip, with the custody of the Castle of Wicklow.

Richard, having conferred with Estrete, sent him back to Ireland with instructions under the privy seal and sign manual, to be shown to the Earl. In these writings the King promised to accede to the desires of Kildare; declared that no report made by any person, nor favour, affection, or enmity, should estrange him from the Earl; that as the latter had served Edward IV. "nobly, truly, and hardly, and much better after the time he had been with him" in England, his Highness trusted that, after mutual sight and communication held between them, his Grace should be rather inclined to take his cousin into his high favour; and that his cousin should, on his part, be "better encouraged and stirred truly and fastly to serve him." Richard expressed his anxiety to receive Kildare's advice concerning "the bringing of his land of Ireland into full obedience, as it had been in times past, considering that for the long rule he had borne there, no man could give better counsel." The instructions also mentioned, that "the King marvelled that the Earl should desire any promises, seals, or writings of any of his lords, more than of his Grace only, considering, not only that such a surety could not stand with the King's honour, but also, that neither the Earl nor any other had seen that his Grace had broken promise or assurance made by him to any person. Wherefore," continued the document, "his Grace sendeth by John Estrete unto the Earl his letters of protection and safe-conduct, under his sign manual, which he will as duly keep, and see kept, as if

they were passed under the seals of all the lords of his land."

The Earl, as Deputy to the King's son, held Parliaments at Dublin and Naas, which authorized him to call out workmen, furnished with their own tools and victuals, to labour gratuitously in making fortresses and trenches in his manor of Kildare, for the defence of the King's subjects against Irish enemies and English rebels. Another act established a market every Thursday in the Earl's town of Maynooth, and authorized him and his heirs to take from all merchandise sold there tolls similar to those levied in the city of Dublin. In consideration of his charges in administering the government, the Parliament granted to Kildare the profits of the mint; and some of the coins struck at this period bear his family arms of a cross in saltire. The Earl's brother, Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Chancellor for the colony, obtained a subsidy towards building a castle at Laccagh, on the frontier of the marches of the County of Kildare, as a defence against the Irish; and his town there was exonerated from coigne and livery, or other imposts, during six years.

The privileges granted by King John to Waterford, were confirmed by Richard, in 1483–4, as a recompense to the citizens for their services to his father, the Duke of York, during his last Viceroyalty.

The King, in August, 1484, after the death of his only son, Prince Edward, conferred the Viceroyalty of Ireland, during pleasure, on his nephew, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, who covenanted not to interfere with the revenues of the colony, nor with the appointment of ecclesiastics or officers of state. In the following month,

Richard despatched to Ireland Thomas Barrett, a cleric of Somerset, who had been appointed to the Bishopric of Enachdun, in Connaught. Barrett received a passport, directing all the government officers to accept and treat him and his servants well and courteously, in the passage and re-passage to and from Ireland, whither he was commissioned as the King's councillor, for certain weighty matters concerning his Highness' pleasure, as well as the prosperous weal of that land. He was instructed to inform the Deputy, Kildare, that the special and singular cause of his mission was to incite him to endeavour, by all possible means, to bring into the King's power the Earldom of Ulster, then almost entirely possessed by the native Irish.

"Therein," said the royal message, "the King's Grace seeth, and perfectly understandeth, that no man can do more than his cousin [Kildare], seeing and considered that the great O'Neill, that hath married the Earl's sister, hath and occupieth the most part thereof; whom the King's Grace, for the cause of that marriage and the love of his cousin, will be rather applied to accept into his favour, as his brother, Edward IV., late King of England, before had his father, and gave unto him his livery." Kildare was also instructed to endeavour to bring the other great northern Chief, O'Donnell, either to the King's peace or allegiance; and "setting apart all manner of partiality, affection, or favour, to take part, fortify, and support" those by whose means the Earldom of Ulster might "soonest be had and reduced to the royal hands and possession." The King added, that it was his will and pleasure that Kildare, the Plunketts, and the lords and nobles of the land, "both borderers and others, should in

all wise conform and apply to such good ways, means, and advertisements for the desired ends," as should be devised by Bishop Barrett. The latter also carried royal letters to the heads of the Anglo-Irish, including the Lords Barry and Roche, of Munster; John and Piers Poer, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Sir Oliver Plunkett, the Baron of Delvin, the Viscount of Gormanstown; the Lords Staunton, D'Exeter, Nangle, Bermingham, and Barrett, of Connaught. In these letters the King commended his lieges for their good demeanour, in repressing and subduing his Irish enemies, and in daily, "to their great troubles, hurts, and charges, keeping war upon them, in defending themselves" and his other subjects. For the which, Richard wrote, "we give you great thanks, desiring you so perfectly to continue, which we shall not unremember, but for the same we shall be unto you, and all your kinsmen, a very good and gracious sovereign lord in all your causes hereafter, as our councillor [the Bishop of Enachdun] hath, by our commandment, to show unto you more at large, to whom therein you will give full faith and credence."

Richard dictated special measures to be pursued by the Bishop, for the purpose of securing the attachment of James, ninth Earl of Desmond. That nobleman, then in his twenty-fifth year, exercised almost independent authority over the English in Munster; was allied with the powerful Irish dynasts in his vicinity, where his rights were recognized by Pope Sixtus IV.; but the execution of his father, the Earl Thomas, had engendered among the southern Geraldines a distrust of the Kings of England and their Viceroys.

Richard commissioned the Bishop to intimate to

mond his desire to "receive him into tender favour, both from his nobleness of blood, and for the manifold services and kindnesses rendered by the Earl's father, at great jeopardies and charges to himself, to the famous Prince, the Duke of York, the King's father, at divers seasons of great necessity." The King, it was added, had "inward compassion" for the unjust execution of the Earl's father; but that his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, and others of his "nigh kinsmen and great friends," in England, had similarly suffered; and he was content that his cousin Desmond should seek satisfaction by law, against those who had been implicated in the death of his sire.

With the object of detaching Desmond from his Irish associations, the Bishop conveyed to him the royal wish that he should not contract marriage without the advice of his cousin, the King, who intended to "provide for him in such wise, and of such noble blood, as should redound to the weal and honour of himself, and of all his friends and kinsmen." The Earl was informed of Richard's desire that he should renounce the "wearing and usage of the Irish array," and adopt English apparel, after the fashion of the gowns, doublets, hose, and bonnets, which he sent to him He was also enjoined to maintain the rights of the Church; to repress spoliation and extortion; and to provide that the English subjects might safely pass on the common highways; so that, "according to the King's great trust, he might appear and be named a very justicer, as well for his proper honour and weal, as for the common weal of those parts."

The Bishop was authorized to receive Desmond's oath

of allegiance, and to deliver to him, "in a convenient place and honorable presence," the King's livery, consisting of a collar of gold, with his cognizance, or device, of a white boar, pendant from a circlet of roses and suns. In addition to the collar, weighing twenty ounces, the following "parcels of clothing" were transmitted from the King's great wardrobe, by the Bishop, to the Earl :— a long gown, of cloth of gold, lined with satin or damask; two doublets, one of velvet and another of crimson satin; three shirts and kerchiefs; three stomachers; three pair of hose, one of scarlet, one of violet, and the third of black; three bonnets, two hats, and two tippets of velvet.

Notwithstanding these overtures, Desmond augmented his alliances among his Irish neighbours; married Margaret, daughter of Tadhg O'Brien, Chieftain of Thomond; while his sister, Catherine, became the wife of Finghin, head of the powerful Munster sept of MacCarthy Reagh. A large vellum volume of Gaelic writings, compiled by Aengus O'Calladh, for this Lady Catherine and her husband, was discovered, in 1811, secreted with an ancient crozier in part of the building of Lismore Castle, in the County of Waterford, and is now known as the "Book of Lismore," or of MacCarthy Reagh.

The testimony of the Earl's sister-in-law, Catherine Fitz-Gerald, known as "the old Countess of Desmond," has been cited in corroboration of the "historic doubts" respecting Richard III. Horace Walpole tells us that "the old Countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was the handsomest man in the room, except his brother [King] Edward, and was very well made."

The town of Youghal, in Desmond's district, obtained from Richard, a charter, confirming privileges, and conferring the title of Mayor and Bailiffs on its principal officers. He also rewarded various persons who had rendered services to his father while in Ireland. To the town of Galway he gave, in 1484, a new charter, ratifying previous grants, and authorizing the burgesses, the better to resist the Irish, to elect, annually, a Mayor and two Bailiffs, without whose license, assent, and superintendence, no extern should be permitted to enter the town. The charter also ordained, that neither the Lord MacWilliam De Burgh, of Clanricard, nor his heirs, should have rule or power within Galway town to act, receive, exact, order, or dispose of anything, by land or water, as he and his predecessors had been accustomed to do. A barrier, according to English law, was thus established against the encroachments of the descendants of the founder of the Anglo-Norman colony in Connaught. The settlers in Galway, for the purpose of obtaining exemption from the control of the native Irish clergy, induced Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, to release the town from his spiritual jurisdiction, and to make the church of St. Nicholas collegiate, under the government of a Warden and Vicars, to be elected solely by the burgesses. This measure was ratified by Innocent VIII., to whom the burghers transmitted a memorial. In this document they represented themselves as modest and civil persons, living in the town of Galway, but not following the customs of the mountaineers and wild people in those parts, whose interference in the church of St. Nicholas so much disturbed them, that they could

not assist at divine service, nor receive the sacraments according to the rite or custom of England. The petitioners added, that robberies and murders were commonly perpetrated on the English townspeople; that they were in continual peril, and likely to suffer many other losses and inconveniencies, unless his Holiness would confirm the arrangement made by Archbishop O'Murray. The bull from Innocent VIII., and the charter from Richard III., were obtained through the exertions of "black" Dominick Lynch, whose brother, Peter, became the first Mayor of Galway. Local tradition told that, about this time, James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, one of the chief citizens of Galway, hanged his son from the window of his mansion, for having committed homicide and broken trust with a foreigner.

While the Irish Archbishop of Tuam authorized the exclusion of native ecclesiastics from the town of Galway, Walter Fitz-Simond, the English Archbishop of Dublin, obtained Parliamentary permission to promote Irish clerics, who should take the English oath of allegiance, to benefices of his diocese, situated among the Irish enemies, where no English could, or dared, inhabit.

The difficulty of defending the English settlement in Leinster, without native assistance, is illustrated by the ordinances of a Parliament, held in 1485, by the Earl of Kildare, as Deputy to the Lieutenant John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln. This assembly authorized Sir Alexander Plunket to levy, by distress, from the English of Meath, the wages due to O'Connor of Offaly, and to defend himself against those who might resist payment. Another statute directed the collectors of the subsidy for

the Crown to exact forty pence from every ploughland in Meath, to pay the arrears due to Cahir O'Connor, of Offaly, "Captain of his nation," who, according to this document, had done good and faithful service to the King of England, in his wars in Ireland, in the company of his Deputy, Gerald, Earl of Kildare. As the latter was much employed in wars on the borders, against Irish enemies, it was enacted that he might, by writing under his privy seal, directed to the Chancellor, Treasurer, and others of the King's Council, prorogue Parliament to any safe place within the four Leinster shires, in which the English Government was recognized. The Deputy built a castle at Tristle-Dermod, or Castle-Dermod, in Kildare, which it was expected would be "the true means of causing the waste lands of the County Carlow to be inhabited by the English subjects." To aid in this erection, the Parliament authorized the Earl to impress waggons and horses from baronies in Dublin and Meath, and to oblige every person holding one ploughland in the barony of Newcastle, to provide an able man to labour gratuitously at the work for four days. At the same time, the Earl of Kildare was granted, as Deputy, a subsidy of thirteen shillings and fourpence, to be levied from every ploughland under English jurisdiction in the four Leinster shires. The Parliament also voted that the existing Chancellor, Treasurer, Chief Justices, Keeper of Rolls and Sergeant-at-law, should hold their offices for life, with authority, in conjunction with the chief nobles, to elect a temporary Chief Governor, when a vacancy might occur in the Viceroyalty or Deputyship.

CHAPTER XII.

THE intelligence of the result of the battle at Bosworth was received with dissatisfaction by the heads of the Anglo-Irish, who were chagrined that Richard III., a son of their favourite Duke of York, should have been overthrown by Henry Tudor, whom they regarded as an obscure Welsh adventurer, sprung from a doubly illegitimate stock. John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, King Richard's nephew, Lieutenant for Ireland, and appointed heir, did not at once declare against Henry VII. That King, however, six months after his accession, conferred the Viceroyalty of Ireland on his uncle and early protector, Jasper of Hatfield, Duke of Bedford, who had commanded in the left wing of the Tudor army at Bosworth field.

Although conscious of the attachment of the Geraldines and their adherents to the house of York, Henry felt his inability to rule the settlement in Ireland, except through their administration. The rival colonial family of Le Botiller had lost influence in Ireland from the time when James, Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire, fixed his residence in England. His brother and successor, John, sixth Earl of Ormonde, died on a pilgrimage in Palestine, in 1478, and was succeeded by his brother, Thomas, who, inheriting great wealth, resided on his English estates, and became a member of Henry's Privy Council.

While the head of the Ormonde family thus continued an absentee from Ireland, a junior line of that house acquired importance in Kilkenny and Tipperary. This branch descended from the third Earl's son, Richard, so named from his godfather, Richard II. Richard Botiller received knighthood, and married Catherine, daughter of Gilla O'Reilly, Lord of Cavan; their son, surnamed "Mac Richard" Botiller, already mentioned, became further allied with the native Irish by marrying Catherine, daughter of the Chieftain, Melrunad O'Carroll, surnamed "the bearded." Mac Richard's son, Sir James Botiller, adhered to the Lancastrians, was pardoned by Edward IV., and appointed Deputy, in Ireland, to his kinsman, John, the absentee Earl of Ormonde. Sir James reformed the government of the town of Carrick, built the Castle of Nehom, near Gowran, and obtained influence among the Leinster Irish by his marriage with Sabina, or *Sadbh*, daughter of Donall Mac Murragh, surnamed "the swarthy," twelfth in descent from Dermod, King of Leinster. An act of the Colonial Parliament granted to Sabina rights under English law; and messengers, sent by her father to Rome, brought from the Apostolic See a dispensation for her marriage with Sir James Botiller, to whom she was related within the canonically prohibited degrees of consanguinity. After the receipt of this dispensation, the marriage was publicly solemnized in the Church of Listerlin, in Ossory. During the celebration of the Mass, the parents, with their children, were placed under a sacerdotal cope; and of this marriage, Sir Piers Botiller, subsequently Earl of Ormonde, was the third son.

Sir James Botiller died, at the Castle of Knocktopher,

in 1486, and was buried in the Priory which he had founded at Callan. A local writer recorded that Sir James "was author of peace in his time, well beloved in his country, of great power and fortune, and that he gained many victories over his enemies." Sir James, by his will, in which, after the Irish fashion, he styled himself "Chief Captain of his nation," appointed his son, Piers, to succeed him as heir and executor, with the custody and defence of the lands of the Earl of Ormonde, as they had been entrusted to himself. He also bequeathed to Piers his horse, cuirass, and all his "holy relics," beads, rings, and hereditary jewels. An apparent union between the rival houses was formed by the marriage of Sir Piers Botiller with Margaret, sister of Gerald, Earl of Kildare. That Deputy made, amongst the Irish, more extensive alliances than had been contracted by any of his forefathers. His eldest daughter, Eleanor, married Donald MacCarthy Reagh, Chief of Carberry, in the County of Cork; her sister Alice was the wife of Con O'Neill, Prince of Tir-Owen, in Ulster; and Eustacia married Ulick Mac William de Burgh, Lord of Clan-Ricard, in Connaught. Kildare's son, Oliver, took to wife, Maev, or *Meadbh*, daughter of Cahir O'Connor, Chief of Offaly. The Earl's other children became allied with the principal Anglo-Irish; and his kinsman, Desmond, enjoyed almost regal power in Munster. The Geraldines numbered among their most important adherents, James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, and Constable of the Castle of Dublin. As head of the great house of Kilmainham, and Prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland, Keating was ever ready to repel encroachments upon

his rights, and the immunities of his Order. After having governed for twenty years, he was called upon to resign by the Grand Master at Rhodes, for alleged disobedience and malversation. Keating repudiated those charges, refused to admit Marmaduke Lomley, sent from England as his successor, obliged him to surrender the documents of his appointment, but assigned to him the Preceptory of the Order at Kilsaran, in the County of Louth. Lomley, by his representations, procured sentence of excommunication against Keating, who, on learning his proceedings, cast him into prison, despite the interference of the Archbishop of Armagh.

In the second year of Henry's reign, it was confidently asserted, throughout England, that the Yorkist heir to the Crown, Richard, Earl of Warwick, the youthful son of the late Duke of Clarence, had effected his escape from the Tower of London. Soon after this rumour had gained popular credence, Richard Simond, a learned Oxford priest, arrived in Ireland, and held private conferences with some of the chief personages of the colony, known to be devoted to the house of York. Having obtained pledges of secrecy, he presented to them a boy of noble appearance and demeanour, whom he declared to be Clarence's son, Richard, Earl of Warwick, legal heir to the English throne, as the sole survivor of the line of Richard, Duke of York. Simond alleged that, having rescued the child from death, he had carried him to a land known to be specially attached to the cause of the "white rose," and relied that the Yorkists of Ireland would vindicate the rights of a boy, whose deceased father, the Duke of Clarence, had been born amongst them in

Dublin Castle. Kildare and the Anglo-Irish lords, personally acquainted with Clarence and his family, subjected the child to a searching and particular examination respecting his previous life, and the private affairs of his royal connexions ; but he answered every question with complete accuracy, and without any hesitation or reflection. Having also satisfied themselves concerning Simond's statements, the boy was received by the Deputy's brother, Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald, of Laccagh, English Chancellor for Ireland, who lodged him in his castle, with all the state and deference accorded to royalty. The news of the arrival of the Earl of Warwick quickly flew throughout the English colony in Ireland, most of the important ecclesiastics and lay personages of which soon gave in their adhesion to his cause. Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald and his confederates, having held council together, sent agents to the friends of the house of York in England, where they had an ally in Sir Thomas Broughton, a man "of great power and dependencies" in Lancashire. Messengers were also despatched from Ireland to solicit Margaret, the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, to aid in asserting the rights of the Earl of Warwick, son of her brother, the late Duke of Clarence. This lady, second wife of Duke Charles "le téméraire," possessed large revenues ; and through her administration and virtues, became as popular, in the Netherlands, as her father, Duke Richard, had been among the Anglo-Irish. At this period she entertained at her court the exile, Francis, ninth Baron of Lovel, in Northamptonshire, an active adherent of her brother, Richard III., who had appointed him Chamberlain and Chief Butler of England. Lovel

owned vast English estates, fought for Richard at Bosworth, after which he took sanctuary, made an unsuccessful attempt against Henry in Yorkshire, secreted himself in Sir Thomas Broughton's house, in Lancashire, and escaped thence to Flanders.

Henry VII. was informed of the proceedings in Flanders through his numerous spies. Intelligence of the movements in Ireland was communicated to him by his adherents there, the chief of whom were the Botiller family, the citizens of Waterford, William Shioy, Archbishop of Tuam; David Creagh, Archbishop of Cashel; Edmund Courcy, Bishop of Clogher; and Ottaviano, a Florentine, who had been appointed to the Primacy of Armagh. The King and his Council published that the boy brought by Simond to Ireland, was a plebeian impostor, named Lambert Symnell; and, by the royal command, a half idiotic youth, was, on a Sunday, paraded, as the real Warwick, from the Tower of London to St. Paul's Cathedral, and subsequently brought to the Court at Shene. This produced no effect on the Yorkists of Ireland, who asserted that Henry Tudor and his party sought to delude the English people by the exhibition of a counterfeit Warwick. After the initiation of the movement in Ireland, the court of the Duchess, in the Netherlands, became the centre of the Yorkist partizans, the chief of whom was her nephew, the deposed Viceroy, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, son of Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Richard III. Lincoln, however, did not embark in the cause until after he had scrutinized and conversed with the boy exhibited at the Court at Shene, as the Earl of Warwick, son of his uncle Clarence.

Ottaviano, the Florentine Primate of Armagh, influenced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, laboured to detach his clergy from the Yorkist movement, which was, nevertheless, supported by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the Prior of Kilmainham, and other important ecclesiastics. The citizens of Waterford, whose livelihood mainly depended on their traffic with England, and the immunities which they enjoyed there, under royal grants, held aloof from the Yorkist movement, and when menaced by Kildare, and despoiled by the Dublin people, they obtained reinforcements from Henry VII. In the name of that King, they also enlisted soldiery from the Munster towns and the Ormonde district, the people of which were mostly inimical to the Leinster Geraldines.

The Yorkist refugees in Flanders, after long deliberation with the Duchess Margaret, determined to repair to Ireland, crown the Earl of Warwick there, and subsequently make a descent upon England. For this expedition the Duchess provided, at her own expense, a body of about two thousand men, under the command of Martin Swart, a soldier of noble birth and of great military experience. The Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lovel, Sir Henry Bodrugan, John Beaumond, and other English Yorkists, with Swart and his soldiery, landed at Dublin in May, 1487. On Whitsunday, the 24th of that month, in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, the boy was solemnly anointed and crowned, according to English rite, as Edward VI., King of England. The ceremony was performed in the presence of Kildare, Lincoln, Lovel, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Prior of

Kilmainham, the Chancellor, Judges, Privy Councillors, the principal Anglo-Irish nobles, ecclesiastics, and officers of the English colony, who publicly renounced their allegiance to Henry VII., and performed fealty and homage to Edward VI., as King of England, and Lord of Ireland, whose title was set forth in a sermon delivered on the occasion by Payne, Bishop of Meath. After the conclusion of the ceremonial, all those who had assisted at it proceeded in state to the King's Castle at Dublin, in attendance upon the newly-crowned child, who was borne on the shoulders of tall men, that he might be universally seen by the enthusiastic populace. Even King Henry's chroniclers admit that "he was surely an honorable boy to look upon, and did not shame his robes." Kildare, as Regent and Protector of the royal minor, convened a Parliament. Coin was struck, proclamations issued, and all the writs and public acts of the colony executed in the name of Edward VI. The Spiritual Peers voted a Papal subsidy for the purpose of procuring a reversal of censures, as Henry had obtained a Bull from Innocent VIII., enjoining all Bishops to excommunicate insurgents, whenever requested to do so by the King of England. Archbishop Ottaviano, when subsequently soliciting the post of Chancellor for the colony, represented to Henry VII. that, for his opposition to this subsidy, the Earl of Lincoln would have had him executed, but for the mediation of Kildare.

Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald, of Laccagh, resigned to Portlester his post of Chancellor, and took command of a body of soldiery, levied in Ireland, for the expedition to England. Lincoln, Lovel, Fitz-Gerald, Plunkett of

Killeen, and Swart, embarked their troops, and, with their child-king, landed in Lancashire, on the 4th of June, 1487. Joined there by Sir Thomas Broughton, with a smaller force than expected, they advanced into Yorkshire without despoiling or plundering the people, but their numbers received little accession, as a general pardon had been recently proclaimed in those parts. Intelligence of their landing was carried to King Henry by the scouts whom he had stationed along the western coast, where every able man was commanded to be ready for the field at an hour's notice. Having mustered a large army, under the leading of the Viceroy, Bedford, with the Earls of Oxford and Shrewsbury, Henry commenced his march against the Earl of Lincoln, who, undaunted by vast superiority in number, changed his course, and, with the object of coming to an engagement, pitched his camp on the side of a hill at the village of Stoke, about a mile from Newark-on-Trent. Henry divided his army into three battalions, and, through his spies, received hourly intelligence of the councils and movements of Lincoln and his associates. On the 16th of June, about nine in the morning, the Earl and his troops marched down the hill, and fell, with intense vigour and courage, on the centre of Henry's army in the plain. Although unprovided with defensive armour against the arrows of the archers, the Irish soldiers "fought boldly and stuck to it valiantly," with their English and German associates. The battle at Bosworth, by which Henry won the English Crown, was decided in two hours. Notwithstanding his overwhelming numbers, the engagement at Stoke had continued with unabated and

bloody determination for three hours before victory inclined to either side. At length, after Lincoln, Swart, Fitz-Gerald, Plunkett, and the greater part of their soldiery had been slain, Henry's main body, supported by the two wings, succeeded in overwhelming the surviving remnant; and the total number of those who fell on the Yorkist side is set down at four thousand. In London it was firmly believed, for a time, that Lincoln had defeated Henry; and the Lieutenant of the Tower offered to surrender the keys of that fortress to the Earl of Surrey, then in his custody for having fought on the side of Richard III., at Bosworth.

Lord Lovel, escaping on horseback from the field at Stoke, was supposed to have been drowned in the river Trent. According to another statement, he secreted himself in a cave or vault, where he was said to have starved from treachery or neglect. More than two centuries afterwards this report was confirmed, when some building operations at Minster-Lovel disclosed a subterranean vault, in which was found the skeleton of a man, seated at a table, with book, paper, and pens before him; while in another part of the chamber lay a mouldering cap.

From the valiant "Almayne Captain," the battle-field, near Stoke, acquired the name of "Swart-moor." Sir Thomas Broughton was also said to have fallen at Stoke; but some alleged that he escaped to Witherslack, in Westmoreland, and that he there lived long and died unharmed among his tenants.

The boy who had been crowned at Dublin, and his attendant, the priest Simond, fell into the hands of the

victors at Stoke, where they were captured by Robert Bellingham, a squire of Henry's house. The priest was immured for life, in fetters, in a dark dungeon. Henry declared the child to be the "son to Thomas Symnell, late of Oxford, joiner." According to some writers, he consigned him as a turnspit to the royal kitchen, and subsequently made him master of the falcons; but, from another source, we learn that he was incarcerated in the Tower of London. As a thanksgiving-offering, Henry presented his standard to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin at Walsingham; created on the field thirteen bannerets and fifty-two knights; entered London in triumph, and caused public devotions to be performed during two days. In July, 1487, he applied to Innocent VIII. to issue Pontifical censures, and proceed by canon law against the prelates in Ireland, who, to his great prejudice, had, he wrote, aided his enemies and rebels to crown a boy, then a prisoner in his hands, whom they feigned to be a son of the Duke of Clarence. On this requisition, Innocent issued a Bull to Henry's adherents, the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishops of Clogher and Ossory, detailing that he had learned, with great perturbation of mind, that some of his venerable brethren, moved by a malignant spirit, sought to disturb the peace and tranquillity of England, and that of his Holiness' dear son, Henry, King of that realm, and Lord of Ireland, by giving their aid and counsel to his enemies and rebels, and crowning and setting up as King a pretended son of the Duke of Clarence. The Pope directed them to inquire secretly and diligently into those affairs, and to certify, under their seals, by a special

messenger, the result of their investigations, that, after diligent examination by the Cardinals, proceedings according to the canons should be taken against those prelates in Ireland. The defeat at Stoke and the Papal adoption of Henry's cause failed to influence the Earl of Kildare and the Yorkists in Ireland. Thomas Botiller, of the Ormonde family, who repaired to England, with intelligence to the King, was, with his brother, William, rector of Kilkenny, proclaimed guilty of treason. Kildare expelled William Botiller, levelled his manse and houses ; and also attainted the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commons of Waterford. By confirmation of previous charters and grants of new privileges, Henry rewarded the people of the latter town for not having joined the Leinster Yorkists, who still continued contumacious. In October, 1487, four months after the battle of Stoke, the King, in a despatch to the citizens of Waterford, detailed that the Earl of Kildare, with the support of the people of Dublin and others, still adhered to their "seditious opinions," which they "upheld and maintained presumptuously." Henry authorized the men of Waterford to arrest and seize rebels by sea or land, with their ships, goods, or merchandizes, destined for Dublin, and to employ such property for the behoof of the common weal of the town of Waterford. The King enjoined them daily and diligently to endeavour to execute this commandment, until the Earl of Kildare and the inhabitants of Dublin, "with the parties thereabouts of the sequele," should "utterly and clearly leave and forsake their rebellion and contemptuous demeanour, and be of good and due obedience."

The King of England and the heads of the English

settlement in Ireland, now stood mutually in an unprecedented position. Henry calculated that an attempt to punish them as traitors might not only be futile, but probably lead to a confederation with the native Irish, which might result in the extinction of English power in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish lords, on the other hand, felt that a secession from the English Crown might terminate in their subjection and absorption by the natives, who had taken but little interest in the rival claims of York and Tudor. The Parliament of England, in November 1487, attainted the English nobles and gentlemen who had fought against the King at Stoke; but similar measures were not adopted towards those in Ireland, by whom the movement had, in reality, been promoted and organized. Negociations having been at length opened with Kildare and his party, Henry decided on sending to Ireland, as commissioner, Sir Richard Edgecombe, member of the English Privy Council and royal Comptroller, whom he had previously employed against the Yorkists in Cornwall and Devon. Edgecombe was authorized to enter into communication with the Anglo-Irish, to deliver royal pardons for all offences, and to receive homage and oaths of allegiance of those who would undertake to become faithful to King Henry. He was entrusted with the Bull procured from Innocent VIII., excommunicating Henry's insurgent subjects; and also carried with him Papal briefs granting absolution from the censures thus incurred. On the 23rd of June, 1488, Edgecombe, in a ship, called the "Anne of Fowey," with three other vessels, carrying five hundred soldiers, sailed from Mount's Bay in Cornwall, and steered for the south of Ireland, where the English

settlers in the towns had taken a less prominent part than those of Leinster in the recent movement.

After a voyage of four days, he arrived at Kinsale, and, on board his ship in that port, received the homage and oath of allegiance of Thomas, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant. James Courcy, thirteenth Baron of Kinsale, declined to comply with Edgecombe's summons, to repair to him on board, on the plea that he possessed no authority, under his commission, till after he had set foot in Ireland. Sir Richard was consequently fain to land at Kinsale, where he was met by Courcy, with the Portreve and commonalty of the town, to whom he delivered the royal pardons, after they had in the church done homage, taken oaths, and entered into recognizances. From Kinsale, Edgecombe sailed for Waterford, the municipal officers of which had recently obtained from England, authority to hear and determine causes, and to imprison and execute traitors and malefactors. Edgecombe was hospitably entertained by the Mayor of Waterford, who lodged him in his own house, showed him the walls and fortifications, and conducted him to the Guildhall, where the municipal council had assembled.

Having intimated that they had been informed that Edgecombe had brought a royal pardon for Kildare, the implacable enemy of their town, the Council declared their conviction that the Earl would seek to wreak vengeance upon them, notwithstanding any oaths he might take to the contrary. The Council consequently expressed to Sir Richard their desire to have Waterford exempted from all jurisdiction except that of the King of England, or of the English lords whom he might appoint as his Viceroys.

From Waterford, Edgecombe, with his ships, sailed for Dublin. Owing to contrary winds and tempests, two days passed before, "with great pain and peril," they succeeded in casting anchor at the island of Lambay, whence Sir Richard despatched messengers to learn from some Tudor agents whether he might come to Dublin without danger. Having received intelligence that the Earl of Kildare had gone on a pilgrimage, and would be absent from Dublin for four or five days, Edgecombe landed at Malahide, where, he tells us, the lady of Sir Peter Talbot made him right good cheer. Accompanied by Payne, Bishop of Meath, and others, he proceeded from Malahide to Dublin, where he was received by the Mayor, and took up his abode in the Dominican Friary, to await the arrival of the Earl of Kildare and the lords. After Sir Richard, "to his great costs and charges," had tarried in the Friary for five days, the Earl, with two hundred horsemen, came to the Abbey of St. Thomas, on the opposite side of the city. Thence he despatched the Bishop of Meath, the Baron of Slane, and others, to Edgecombe, whom they conducted to Thomas Court, where, in the great chamber, the Earl, attended by several Anglo-Irish lords, received and welcomed him. Sir Richard, without reverence or courtesy, delivered to Kildare the royal letters, and, retiring to a private chamber, explained the object of his mission. As several of the Council were absent, a delay for five days was agreed upon for their decision. Meanwhile the Earl departed to his castle at Maynooth, and Sir Richard retired to his lodgings.

Edgecombe caused the Bishop of Meath to publish, in

the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, the Papal Bull, accursing all who took arms in Ireland against the Crown of England, and the absolution and royal pardonsent with him for those who would become loyal to Henry VII. After three days spent in Kildare's castle at Maynooth, where he had "great cheer," and whither all the chief Anglo-Irish lords and others of the Council resorted, Sir Richard grew irritated at their "feigned and unreasonable delays," in not complying with his requirements; and told them "right plainly and sharply" of their "unfitting demeanour." At length, Kildare and the lords, in their council at Thomas Court, agreed to become subjects of the King of England, and to be bound by as good sureties as could be devised in law. They, however, declined to sign a bond proposed by Sir Richard, which they required him to desist from demanding; but to this he would not assent, and gave them "short answers, with right fierce and angry words."

On the following day Kildare, said his Council plainly told Sir Richard that they would not sign his bond; rather than agree to which, "they would become Irish, every one of them." Rumours reaching Dublin of the murder of James III. of Scotland, Edgecombe, fearing a total disruption, deemed it expedient to accept the offer of Kildare and his associates, to be sworn on the sacrament; and he tells us, that during the night he "devised as sure an oath as he could." After many discussions, the Earl and his adherents agreed to the tenor of the oath, containing, among its terms, an obligation against receiving communications from the Duchess of Burgundy or others, subversive of allegiance to King Henry, or causing renewal of

commotion or rebellion among his subjects. Under another clause, the swearers engaged not to hinder the execution and declaration of the "great censures" of the Church against all ecclesiastics or laymen who troubled Henry VII. in his title to the Crown of England and Lordship of Ireland, or caused or supported any movement against him. By a special clause, the ecclesiastics of the colony were to promulgate in their churches, openly and solemnly, the Papal denunciation against the enemies of the King of England, "not sparing so to do, either for love, dread, hatred, envy, or any other cause." Edgecombe having refused to accept oaths, except upon a Host consecrated by his own chaplain, the Lords and Council assembled in a great apartment called the "King's Chamber," in the Monastery of Thomas Court, in the southern suburbs of Dublin. There, Sir Richard, on behalf of Henry VII., received the homage of Kildare, and placed a collar of the King's livery about his neck; after which, the other lords and prelates also made their formal profession of allegiance. When this ceremony had been concluded, Kildare retired to a chamber, where Sir Richard's chaplain celebrated Mass, and the Earl was shriven and absolved from the curse which he had incurred, for having, contrary to the Papal Bull, opposed the King of England. Before the Agnus Dei of the Mass, the priest, turning from the altar, held on the paten the Host, which he had divided into three parts; and Kildare, extending his right hand over them, repeated the solemn oath of allegiance to King Henry, concluding with these words: "So help me this holy sacrament of God's body, in form of bread, here present, to my salvation or damnation." The

prelates and lords then, individually, performed the same ceremony. After the conclusion of Mass, all proceeded with Sir Richard to the church of the Monastery, in the choir of which the Archbishop of Dublin entoned the Te Deum, which was accompanied by the organ, while all the bells rang. During the following week, Edgecombe received the homage of many personages of the colony, at Drogheda, Trim, and Dublin. Notwithstanding repeated intercessions, he refused to grant pardon to Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, a chief leader of the recent movement against King Henry. Accompanied by the nobles and judges, Edgecombe formally installed, as Constable to the Castle at Dublin, Richard Archboll, who had been appointed by royal patent two years previously, but denied admission by Prior Keating, the occupant of the office. Edgecombe declined to deliver the royal pardon to Kildare, until the latter gave his certificate upon oath, with a bond signed by his sureties. On receiving these documents in the church of St. Mary, near the Castle of Dublin, Sir Richard, in the presence of all the lords, delivered to the Earl the King's pardon under the great seal. Having taken his leave on the 30th of July, he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Dublin and others to Dalkey, where his ships lay. After a tempestuous voyage of eight days, Edgecombe reached the haven of Fowey, and, on landing, went as a pilgrim to the Cornish chapel of Saint Saviour.

Kildare, holding the office of Deputy Governor, despatched John Payne, Bishop of Meath, to England, to counteract the representations of Ottaviano, Archbishop of Armagh, who laboured to obtain the Chancellorship of

Ireland, then held by the Earl's father-in-law, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace. A pardon for some informal proceedings was granted, in 1490, to Kildare, conditional on his repairing to England within ten months, that the King might consult with him on the state of Ireland, and the reduction of his people there to obedience. At the expiration of the period named, a Parliament of the Anglo-Irish petitioned the King to license the Earl to abide at home to defend and guard them and the faithful subjects of England, as great danger and imminent peril from the Irish enemies and others should arise during his absence. They declared that, during Kildare's recent illness, divers of the mightiest Irish enemies confederated, despoiled and took prisoners many of the English, and proposed to divide the King's territories in Ireland between them. "We understand," wrote the lords of Parliament, that the Earl "is bounden and sworn to be your true and faithful subject and liegeman, as straitly and as sure as ever was any subject to his prince, the which oath and assurance our said good lord hath well and truly kept and observed continually to this time, and undoubtedly will keep during his life, and never will digress from. We beseech," they added, "that whatsoever accusation be made unto your Grace on our said lord, that there be no credence taken thereto till his reasonable excuses be had in the same." By letter from Limerick, Maurice, Earl of Desmond; Maurice, Lord Roche; James, Lord Courcy, and Piers Butler, deputy to the absentee Earl of Ormonde besought the King that Kildare might, without the royal displeasure, be pardoned to abide at home. They declared that the most part of

the land should be destroyed in his absence, and that they also feared the "great dangers and perils which might fortune him by the sea in his going and returning. Also," they wrote, "for the great trouble, variance, and dissension that dependeth between us and the Lord Bourke of Connaught, and other lords in that part taking his party, by reason whereof there is like to be mortal war and great shedding of Christian blood betwixt us, which can in no wise be ended nor appeased, without our said good lord be personally with us; for we be bound and sworn to abide his rule and judgment in this variance. For," they added, "We, the Earl of Desmond, the Lord Bourke, and the substance of us all, be the next of our good lord's blood in Ireland, and there is none can end our trouble and variance but only himself; and such direction and order as it shall like his lordship to take between us, we must and will obey it; for we must be ruled by his counsel, and he must be ruled by ours; wherefore, we have caused him to change his mind, and to abide at home for the causes aforesaid; trusting in God that your Highness would take no displeasure with him nor with us, the said causes by you graciously considered." Although declaring the Earl's oath to have been "sufficient engagement for any Christian man," yet, for its continuance and larger assurance, they bound themselves, by their writing and seals, that he should truly keep and observe it during his life. Kildare, by his letters, assured the King that he was of full mind and purpose to have sped to England, till desired by the faithful subjects of the land and his Council, in especial the Earl of Desmond and the Lord Bourke of Connaught,

that he should not depart, but abide for their defence, and to appease the variances depending between them. He besought Henry to accept their letters as his excuse, and declared that he should be glad to see his Highness. "I beseech humbly," he wrote, "your noble grace to be my gracious lord, for I am and shall be, during my life, your true knight, and never shall be proved otherwise. And what surety or bond other than I have made conveniently for the same, may be had, I shall bind me thereto. And over that, if it please your Highness to send a servant of yours, such as shall like you, into this your land, I shall cause my cousin, the Earl of Desmond, and all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, of Munster, the Lord Bourke of Connaught, and all the lords of the same country, to be bounden as sure and as largely unto your Grace as I am, in presence of your said servant, with divers others whose ancestors were never bounden to none of your progenitors, Kings of England, before this time; so that ye shall have no cause of mistrust to be had nor understood in me. And," added the Earl, "God knoweth what labour and pain I have sustained, and daily do sustain, to set your subjects at ease, to my great charge and cost. And, by the oath I have done unto your Highness, there should nothing be to me so great a pleasure, as only it might be perfectly understood to your Grace, what I have done for your honour, and the weal of the subjects of this your land."

Piers Botiller, husband of Kildare's sister, Margaret, had, for a time, succeeded his father as Deputy in Ireland to Thomas, the absentee Earl of Ormonde. As that

nobleman had no sons, Piers was the presumptive successor to the Earldom, which was entailed upon male heirs. The Earl Thomas, however, appointed as his representative in Ireland, Sir James Ormonde, son of his accomplished brother, John, late Earl of Ormonde, by a daughter of O'Brien. Sir James, styled "the Black," was carefully educated by his father at the court of England, acquired great expertness in arms, and received knighthood from Henry VII., for services against the Yorkists. By unfriendly chroniclers he was described as quarrelsome, deep, far-reaching, secret, of great forecast, very staid of speech, and cautious of every trifle which might affect his reputation. Another local writer, however, characterized Sir James as "a very pleasant gentleman." With the aid of the O'Briens, his mother's kinsmen, Sir James, despite of Sir Piers, established himself in Kilkenny and Tipperary, as head of the Ormonde principality. The Earl Thomas, by his letters, ratified by the King, gave Sir James the custody of all the Ormonde castles, lordships, and manors, commanding his relatives, bailiffs, constables, and servants to aid and obey him as fully as if he himself were personally present amongst them. Kildare, on behalf of his brother-in-law, Sir Piers, appealed, but without effect, to the Earl Thomas, at London. "James Ormonde," he wrote, "doth publish in all places that he hath your interest and title in all your lands here, by reason whereof he hath brought into the Counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, the O'Briens, with divers other Irish enemies, and therewith destroyed the King's subjects, and spareth no churches nor religious places, but hath despoiled them. And because he groundeth him on the

King's authority, and your likewise, I suffer him therein so to do for fear of the King's displeasure."

Sir James sent messengers to the Deputy repudiating offences with which he had been charged, and proffering to repair to Dublin to give assurance of his allegiance. Kildare assenting to this application, Sir James marched with his soldiery to Dublin, encamped in the southern suburbs of that city, and St. Patrick's Cathedral was agreed upon as the place for the proposed conference. During their interview, a riot arising between the citizens and the Ormonde soldiery, a band of archers rushed into the Cathedral, and discharged many arrows, several of which stuck in the images of the saints. Sir James, suspecting treachery, retreated to the chapter house, the door of which he closed and barricaded. Kildare requested him to come forth, pledged his honour for his safety; and the prisoner, demanding the Earl's hand in assurance of good faith, a hole was immediately pierced through the door. Sir James, remembering Montereau and Picquigny, hesitated to give his hand, which he feared might be chopped off. Kildare, however, thrust his arm through the aperture, after which Sir James unbarred the door, and they mutually embraced.

While some of the chief Anglo-Irish were engaged in personal contentions, the settlers in Munster became excited by the landing at Cork, from Lisbon, in May, 1492, of a personage who declared himself to be Richard, Duke of York, King Edward's second son, and sometime Viceroy for Ireland, supposed to have perished in the Tower of London. The Mayor, John Water, and chief citizens of Cork, having received him

favourably, he sent letters to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, praying them to assist him in his efforts to recover the throne of England from Henry VII. Before the arrival of replies, he departed abruptly from Ireland, having been summoned by Charles VIII. to Paris, where he was waited on by many English, disaffected to King Henry. In Flanders, he was affectionately received by the Duchess of Burgundy, who treated him as her nephew, with royal honours; assigned him a guard of thirty persons in scarlet and blue livery; and, in allusion to the emblem of the house of York, styled him "the White Rose Prince of England." Henry, however, asserted him to be a native of Tournai, and declared that his real name was Pieterquin or Perkin Warbeck.

In England, it was alleged that Kildare had "lain with" Warbeck, and "comforted him with goods and messages." The Earl, in June, 1492, was superseded in the Deputyship by his opponent, Walter Fitz-Simon, Archbishop of Dublin. That Prelate had, for some time, been at variance with Kildare's father-in-law, Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, who, as the King's Chancellor and Treasurer, indicted him for various treasons, felonies, and trespasses; procured inquisitions against him, and seized the temporalities of his see of Dublin. Fitz-Eustace was, with Kildare, removed from office. His post of Treasurer was conferred upon Sir James Ormonde, who was also appointed Captain of the royal troops for Kilkenny and Tipperary, and obtained a grant of the lands which, in these counties, had belonged to the Earldom of March. Under the administration of

Fitz-Simon and Sir James Ormonde, measures were taken to reduce Kildare's party. A Parliament, presided over by the Archiepiscopal Deputy, enacted that all the lands which had been conquered by the Irish in Kilkenny and Tipperary, should become the property of Sir James Ormonde, unless the absentee claimants would return and reside upon them before the ensuing Easter. Fitz-Eustace was suppressed by an ordinance which required him to produce and authenticate the accounts of the revenues for forty years, during which he had held the post of Treasurer for the colony. It was enacted that he should appear in person before the Barons of the Exchequer at the ensuing Michaelmas, and remain in custody of the Marshal until he had delivered the accounts and arrears demanded, under penalty of forfeiting all his lands and goods, and of having his body disposed of at the King's pleasure. He died three years subsequently, and was interred in the New Abbey, on the river Liffey, near Kilcullen Bridge, in the County of Kildare, which he had founded for Franciscans of the stricter observance.

Kildare sent, by his servants, to the King, certificates from some lords, clearing him of connexion with Warbeck, and declaring that he neither "aided, countenanced, nor comforted the French lad, that had been supported by his cousin, the Earl of Desmond." His messengers having been committed to ward by Henry, he despatched Christopher Dowdall, Archdeacon of Meath, with letters to Thomas Earl of Ormonde, at London, praying him to be "his good cousin at that time," that the King might the sooner grant his petitions. "This land," he wrote, "was never destroyed

till now, what by reason of the coming down of your base cousin, with the King's Irish enemies, to set his most noble authority at defiance, and promises them great goods with all they can get from the King's English subjects, so that all is lost. Your said cousin," he added, "publisheth and nameth himself Earl of Ormonde; and because he cannot have the better over your kinsman [Piers], he provoketh and stirreth Irish men, throughout the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, to destroy the said counties, which be in substance destroyed already; and whether this be your pleasure or no, I know not. Also, I have restrained the receipts of your rents, till I know your mind therein, to whom you would that they should be paid; for your said cousin [Sir James] and the Archbishop [Fitz-Simon] have concluded, that, at the next Parliament, he shall be legitimated, and enabled, by the authority of the same, to the Earldom of Ormonde, as though you were never entitled thereto."

The King having despatched Henry Wyatt and Thomas Garth as Commissioners to Ireland, Archbishop Fitz-Simon repaired to England, leaving Sir Robert Preston, Viscount Gormanstown, as Deputy Governor in his place. At an assembly of the Council, with Commissioners Garth and Wyatt, convened by Preston, at Trim, in September, 1493, it was ordered that every lord and gentleman in Ireland, subject to the King of England, should place hostages in the hands of the Deputy, to be kept in the royal castles of Dublin and Trim. The same Council decreed that the lords and gentlemen should enter into recognizances to aid the Deputy in punishing those who might be found to have of late committed extortions,

robberies, or murders. Sir James Ormonde was joined in commission with Garth, as Captain and Governor of the King's army, intended to suppress insurgents in Kilkenny and Tipperary. Some of those soldiers having slain Calvagh, son of Kildare's ally, O'Connor of Offaly, the Earl seized the royal Commissioner Garth, placed him in durance, and hanged his son. Sir James Ormonde, proceeding to England with charges against Kildare, was quickly followed by the latter; and, meanwhile, the Duke of Bedford resigned the Viceroyalty.

The attention of Henry VII. was, at this period, specially directed to Ireland. He had learned, through his numerous secret agents, that some of the principal Anglo-Irish, still attached to the family of York, were engaged with native Chiefs in maintaining communications with James IV. of Scotland, Charles VIII. of France, and the Duchess of Burgundy, for the purpose of supporting Warbeck's claims against the Tudor dynasty. Henry was aware that if he attainted and executed the heads of the Anglo-Irish, the portions of four counties which, at this time, mainly constituted the English dominion in Ireland, should soon be overrun and subjected by the independent natives. At the same time, he felt insecure, so long as the subjects of England in Ireland could maintain an antagonistic legislature and executive, as they had done under Richard, Duke of York, and during the movement in 1487. To obviate the recurrence of such courses, Henry decided to undermine the independent rights, hitherto exercised by the Colonial Parliament; and also to try the experiment of taking the administration of the public affairs of the settlement

entirely out of the hands of the Anglo-Irish. For these objects he filled all the high posts in the colony with English officials, entirely subservient to himself. In September, 1494, the King appointed, as Lieutenant for Ireland, during pleasure, his second son, then in his fourth year, subsequently Henry VIII. of England. As Deputy to the Prince, he nominated Sir Edward Ponynges, or Poynings, son of Robert Poynings and Elizabeth Paston, of the Norfolk family, whose collection of letters were published by Sir John Fenn. Poynings, a man of immoral private character, had actively supported the Tudor interest, was created by Henry VII. a privy councillor, knight of the Garter; entrusted with command in Flanders; and, in conjunction with Warham, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, employed on an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian. By his commission, Poynings was authorized, as Deputy, to punish the King's delinquent subjects in Ireland; to receive rebels into peace; to accept fines or compositions from them; and to issue pardons under the great seal. He was also empowered, with the King's forces, and those summoned to "the royal service," and by all other means, to invade, suppress, punish, or bring to peace, contumelious English and Irish, warring upon or despoiling the territories of the Crown or the lands of its subjects. His patent further authorized him, with the assent of the King's Council in Ireland, to appoint ecclesiastics to vacant offices in the Church, with the exception of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics; to convene one Parliament, to amerce those who did not attend it in compliance with his summons; and to compel all the fiscal officers, except the

Treasurer, to account before the latter and the Barons of the Exchequer. Poynings was likewise commissioned to exercise the power of Deputy, "according to the custom of Ireland," as if the King were personally present; but it was provided that the Council might correct and restrain him, should he attempt anything contrary to law.

With Poynings were associated the following English officials for the administration of the affairs of the colony: Chancellor, Henry Deane, Bishop of Bangor, in Wales; Treasurer, Sir Hugh Conway; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Thomas Bowring; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Topcliff; and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Walter Evers. Poynings, accompanied by his wife, Elizabeth, landed at Howth on the 13th of October, 1494, with one thousand soldiers; received the sword of office at Dublin; caused his English associates to be sworn of the Privy Council, and issued writs convening a Parliament of the English subjects. Joining his forces with those of Kildare and Sir James Ormonde, Poynings marched towards Ulster, apparently with a view of penetrating into Donegal, the lord of which had recently been received with high honour, as "the great O'Donnell," at the Scottish Court, where conferences were held with James IV., on plans for obtaining the Crown of England for Warbeck, as representative of the house of York. The Deputy did not succeed in advancing beyond the border territories of O'Hanlon and Magennis. While engaged in devastating their lands with fire and sword, he was assured by Sir James Ormonde that his companion, Kildare, in concert with O'Hanlon and the

Scots, had devised a plot against his life; and intelligence also arrived that the Earl's brother had seized the King's castle of Carlow. Retreating from perils in Ulster, Poynings marched to Carlow, the English castle of which he found fortified and victualled, under the command of James Fitz-Gerald, who set up the Kildare banner, and refused to surrender when summoned in the name of the King of England. After "a long and painful siege," the Deputy succeeded in reducing the fortress; and on the 1st of December, 1494, the Anglo-Irish Parliament met at Drogheda.

From this assembly were absent the three chief Peers of the colony: Maurice, Earl of Desmond, in arms on behalf of Warbeck; Gerald, Earl of Kildare, under charge of treason; and Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde, resident in England. To facilitate the measures devised by Henry VII. for the subversion of the independence of the English legislature in Ireland, his officials secured the enactment of a statute revoking or resuming to the Crown of England every royal grant which had been made during the preceding one hundred and sixty-eight years. By this act the properties and titles of nearly all the Peers, chief personages, and corporations in Ireland, were placed completely at the King's disposal. The object of the act was nominally that of providing means to reduce the people to "whole and perfect obedience," by the repression and punishment of those who practised on "the innocent and true English subjects, in the poor land of Ireland, great and divers robberies, murders, burnings, and the universal, intolerable, and damnable extortion as coigne, livery, and pay." In justification of

the resumption under this statute, it was added that as the greater portion of the royal revenues was diminished and granted to divers persons, who, "for the most part, did full little service for the common weal," no other means were available to protect the land from being destroyed by the Irish enemies.

For the further subjection of the nobles, acts were passed decreeing that ordnance or great guns should not be kept in fortresses without Viceregal license; that the cries of "*Crom abu!*" and "*Botiller abu!*" used by the Fitz-Geralds and Botillers, and other family war-shouts, should be discontinued. Instead of such cries, the subjects were enjoined to call upon St. George or the King of England. It was enacted that those who incited either English or Irish to war upon the Viceroy should be deemed guilty of treason; that none but an Englishman should be admitted as Prior of the Hospitallers in Ireland, or entrusted with the custody of any royal castle there; and that the exemption claimed by refugees in Ireland from English law should be annulled.

The Parliament confirmed the "Statute of Kilkenny," with the exception of the clauses against those who used the Irish language or rode in the Irish fashion. All subjects were ordered to provide themselves with cuirasses, saletts or helmets, English bows and sheaves of arrows; each barony was to have two wardens of the peace; every parish to be provided with a pair of butts; and the constables were ordered to call the parishioners before them on holidays, to shoot, at least, two or three games. Under penalty of five pounds for each offence, the Lords spiritual and temporal were enjoined to appear in every Parliament

in their Parliament robes, in like manner and form as the Lords of England. According to this statute, the English Lords of Ireland had, during the space of twenty or twenty-five years, "through penuriousness, done away the said robes to their own great dishonour, and the rebuke of all the whole land." A subsidy of 26s. 8d. was voted from every one hundred and twenty acres of cultivated land under English jurisdiction, for the purpose of reforming the "many damnable customs and uses" practised by the Anglo-Irish lords and gentlemen, under the names of "coigne, livery, and pay," described as "horse meat and man's meat, for the finding of their horsemen and footmen, together with fourpence or sixpence daily, to be paid to each, by the poor earth tillers and tenants," without any equivalent. The statute added that the many murders, robberies, raids, and other manifold extortions and oppressions, daily and nightly, committed by these horsemen and footmen, were the principal cause of the desolation and destruction of the English land in Ireland, and had brought it to ruin and decay. According to this document, the most part of the English freeholders and tenants had departed to England, others had gone to strange lands, and the English lords and gentlemen had intruded upon their inheritances, occupying them as their own, and setting them to the King's Irish enemies. As a defence against the continuous incursions of the septs, it was enacted that the inhabitants on the frontiers of the four shires should, forthwith, build and maintain a double ditch, raised six feet above the ground, on the side which "meared next unto the Irishmen," on the marches or borders. The ordinance of Henry II., authorizing the

Council to elect a temporary Governor, was superseded by an enactment that, in case of vacancy occurring, the post of Viceroy should be filled by the English Treasurer for the time being, until the King had sent his Lieutenant into Ireland. The Parliament attainted Kildare for high treason, pronounced his life to be at the royal disposal, and decreed the confiscation of all his castles, lordships, lands, tenements, and other possessions. Kildare's offences were specified as follows: That he had privately sent messengers and letters, to divers of the King's Irish enemies and English rebels, provoking them to levy war and rebellion against his Highness and his representative, Sir Edward Poynings; that falsely and traitorously, in private and secret manner, he conveyed and put his men and servants to comfort and assist the Irish enemy, O'Hanlon, to fight against the Deputy, and to slay him while in that Chieftain's territory; that he had caused his brother, James Fitz-Gerald, and other rebels, to take by treason the King's castle of Carlow; that he used and kept coigne and livery in divers places of the English shire ground since his late arrival in Ireland; that he had assented and agreed with Henry's great enemy, the King of Scotland, to send into Ireland a large army of Scots, to aid and fortify him and the Earl of Desmond for the purpose of destroying the Deputy and the true subjects. All these, with "divers other great and horrible treasons, concealments, and conspiracies," committed by the Earl, "contrary to his faith and allegiance," have, added the statute, been "notoriously and openly known by due examination, and perfectly understood by the lords and

commons." During the sitting of Parliament, Poynings, again obliged to take the field, left the English Episcopal Chancellor as his representative, with authority to prorogue or dissolve the assembly. Kildare's power was much reduced by the attainder, and by an act declaring many of his kinsmen also guilty of treason, and ordering the confiscation of their properties. The Earl was so closely pressed that he could not appear in Meath, nor remain for more than three nights in any part of Kildare; but regained his influence among his followers by encountering and slaying Plunket of Rathmore, one of his pursuers, who assailed him with superior numbers. He was, however, arrested by order of Poynings, and placed on board a barque, which sailed immediately for England, where he was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

The penalties denounced against the extortions were so successfully evaded, that the Parliament, before rising, found it necessary to pass another act for extirpation and damning of a "new manner of coigne and livery." This ordinance recited that, notwithstanding the recent decree, many evil disposed persons, by "subtle and crafty means and ways, studying and imagining daily to cloak damnable customs, and not pondering such acts late made for the common weal, nor the penalties" under them, accepted and took, by "colour of gift and reward" money, sheaves of oats and other grains for their horses, from the farmers, and so rode about the country from one husbandman to another, menacing to be revenged in time to come on those who refused them.

The most memorable public act passed during the

administration of Poynings was that which prohibited the meeting of any Parliament of the English subjects in Ireland without license under the great seal of England; and declared that statutes should not be legal unless previously approved of by the Viceroy and colonial Privy Council, and sanctioned by the King and his Council in England. This ordinance, subsequently known as "Poynings' Law," subverted the independence of the Parliaments of the Anglo-Irish. The colonists, at the time of its enactment, were led to regard it in the light of a protection against the legislative oppressions occasionally attempted by Viceroys.

The presence of Poynings with his forces, and the attainder of Kildare and his kinsmen, tended to repress further Yorkist movements in Leinster. Munster was, however, beyond Tudor influence; and communications were maintained with Warbeck's party by the chief Anglo-Irish nobles of that province, including the Earl of Desmond, the White Knight, the Knight of the Valley, the Knight of Kerry, and others of the Southern Geraldine stock. With these were confederated David Creagh, Archbishop of Cashel; Thomas Purcell, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Gerald Fitz-Richard, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne; the Lords Barry, Roche, Courcy, Clan-Maurice, and Barrett, with John Water, Mayor of Cork, and the Mayor and municipality of Youghal.

Maurice, tenth Earl of Desmond, was noted for his energetic and warlike character; although, in consequence of his lameness, he was usually borné in a horse-litter, the then fashionable style of conveyance among English and Continental nobles. Desmond had

been, in 1488, entrusted with the important office of Keeper of the English castle at Limerick; but that post was conferred, in 1494, on Sir James Ormonde, by the King, who despatched Doctor Richard Hatton, a royal chaplain, as a special commissioner to negociate with the insurgent Earl and his adherents. Hatton was authorized to deliver pardons, under the great seal, for all rebellious and illegal acts; and, in the King's name, to receive and bring Desmond's eldest son to England, to be placed in the royal care. His negociations were, however, unsuccessful. In July, 1495, Warbeck, after his repulse from Deal, was received in Munster, and, in conjunction with him, Desmond and his followers beleaguered part of Waterford. Supplies of troops and artillery were, meanwhile, despatched from England to the Deputy, with Henry Wyatt and Henry Hattecliffe, as paymasters, and John Pympe, as Treasurer at war. Poynings, with his soldiery and artillery, marched under the English banner to Waterford. Through his assistance, the citizens, after eleven days, succeeded in repelling their assailants; took three of Warbeck's ships; slew and decapitated, in the market-place, some of his soldiers, and impaled their heads on stakes. From Ireland, Warbeck retired to Scotland, where he was formally received and maintained in state as Duke of York, by James IV., who gave him in marriage, Catherine Gordon, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntley.

The English officials to whom Henry had committed the government of his territories in Ireland, were bewildered in their new sphere, and found themselves unable to carry on their operations, as they had projected, without

the assistance of the natives. One of the first acts of Hattecliffe and Wyatt, after their arrival in Ireland, was to employ a Franciscan friar to explore O'Byrne's country and other border lands, and to bring to them a report on the manners of the Irish. Canon John Staunton, was, by the Deputy and Council, engaged for a similar mission in Munster, among the adherents of Desmond; and other spies were sent into Scotland. While Poynings was employed against Desmond, the English Chancellor, and the Council at Dublin, despatched agents to O'Byrne, "Chief of his nation," soliciting his aid for the safe keeping of the borders; and to influence him, they presented a piece of velvet to his wife.

The Colonial Government also propitiated, by regular payments, O'Neill, MacMurragh, MacMahon, O'Connor, De Bermingham; and entrusted the Castle of Carlow to Gerard Cavanach. To these Chiefs, in addition to money payments, the Deputy presented arms, butts of wine, and pieces of fine cloth.

Contrary to the King's plans, the Government had deemed it prudent to retain Sir James Ormonde, with troops of kerns and galloglasses, the wages and payments to which exhausted the revenues as fast as they accrued. For the support of the army, it was enacted that when they rode on a journey or hosting against the enemy, or when the latter invaded the English territories, every subject should receive and lodge the soldiers in his house; supply them with such reasonable meat and drink as he might fortune to have at the time, and not charge more than three half-pence for one meal for a soldier, one penny for his servant, and not above one penny for supplying to

each horse six "field-sheaves with a double band, and litter according."

Wars were renewed upon the English by James, surnamed the Earl's son, or "Earleson," brother to Kildare. These movements became so formidable, that despatches were sent by the Deputy, in February, 1496, ordering fires to be kindled on various parts of the hills of Tara, Lyons, Athboy, and Slane, as beacons to warn the King's people when James Earleson, with the Irish enemies, should be descried advancing on the English territories.

Poynings was recalled from Ireland early in 1496, and left as Deputy Governor in his place the Episcopal Chancellor, Henry Deane. Thomas Garth continued in command of the royal army, in conjunction with Sir James Ormonde; and Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, was appointed leader of the troops for the defence of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel. The incursions on the borders rendered it necessary to carry out promptly the statute enacted in Poynings' Parliament, for the construction of a dyke and raised fence around the frontiers of the four partially English counties. Writs were issued enjoining the sheriffs and justices to compel the landholders near the borders to complete the work under penalties; and the circuit thus enclosed in Leinster acquired the name of "the English Pale," by which it was long subsequently known.

Henry, dissatisfied with the result of his attempts to administer the affairs of the colony through English officials, deemed it more expedient and less costly to attach to his interests the Earl of Kildare, who exercised the highest influence over the Anglo-Irish, and was also

connected with many of the native Chiefs. Kildare, on his part, became desirous of entering into terms with the King, and to obtain a re-appointment to the office of Governor, through which he might counteract the schemes of his opponent, Sir James Ormonde. O'Hanlon, by solemn oath, cleared Kildare of the alleged conspiracy against Poynings; and the Parliament of England, in 1496, annulled his attainder. The Earl, while in England, married as his second wife the King's first cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver St. John, and obtained the appointment of Deputy for Ireland, on condition of leaving his eldest son, Gerald, at the English Court, as a hostage for his good conduct. An Anglo-Irish chronicler, attached to the house of Tudor, seeking to cast ridicule upon so prominent a Yorkist, represented Kildare as a wild and half-witted man, whose demeanour afforded merriment to Henry VII. and his Council in England. According to this writer, the Earl was accused of burning the Cathedral of Cashel, the Archbishop of which had confederated with his enemy, Sir James Ormonde. "Many witnesses were prepared to vouch the truth of the article; but the Earl suddenly confessed the fact, to the great wonder and detestation of the Council. When it was looked how he would justify the matter, 'By Jesus!' quoth he, I would never have done it, had it not been told me that the Archbishop was within.' And because the Archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, merrily laughed the King at the plainness of the man, to see him allege that intent for excuse which most of all did aggravate his fault." Henry, according to the same chronicler, seeing the Earl perplexed, gave him his choice

of any counsellor in England, with full time to advise. Kildare answered that he doubted he should be allowed the good fellow whom he would select; but the King gave him his hand in assurance, and bade him be well advised, as his counsellor would have a difficult task in defending him. "Marry," said the Earl, "I can see no better man in England than your Highness, and will choose no other." Henry declared that a wiser man might have chosen worse, and, with the Council, listened to some ludicrous tales narrated by the Earl of his arraigner, John Payne, Bishop of Meath. The latter, according to the story, concluded his charges by declaring that "all Ireland could not rule this Earl;" to which Henry is said to have replied: "Then, in good faith, shall this Earl rule all Ireland."

In August, 1496, Kildare received his appointment as Deputy to the Lieutenant, Prince Henry. On his arrival in Ireland, the government was resigned to him by the Episcopal Chancellor, Henry Deane, who subsequently filled the sees of Salisbury and Canterbury. The King also issued pardons, in August, 1496, to Desmond, and those who had aided him in supporting Warbeck; but specially excluded John Waters, Mayor of Cork, and William, Lord Barry, described as a brave and liberal man.

Warbeck and his faithful wife, after their final departure from Scotland, arrived at Cork, in July, 1497, having been secretly invited to Ireland by Sir James Ormonde. The citizens of Waterford despatched special messengers to the King in England, with an account of Warbeck's movements. Henry enjoined them to persevere in their

loyalty, and to send him by writing "such news from time to time as might be occurrent in these parts." "We pray you," he wrote, "to put your effectual diligence for the taking of the said Perkin, and him so taken to send unto us. Wherein you shall not only singularly please us, but shall have also for the same, in money content, the sum of one thousand marks sterling, for your reward, whereunto you may verily trust, for so we assure you by these our present letters, and therefore we think it behoveful that you send forth ships to the sea for the taking of Perkin aforesaid." On this, his third visit to Ireland, Warbeck appears to have received but little support. From Cork he was pursued by citizens of Waterford, who fitted out four ships at their own expense; and subsequently alleged that his capture in England was due to their exertions. In allusion to their adherence to the Tudor government, the citizens assumed the motto, "Intacta manet Waterfordia."

Kildare's brother-in-law, Sir Piers Botiller, was not only deposed as representative of the Earl of Ormonde, but imprisoned for a time by Sir James, who, through the aid of the O'Briens, relatives of his Irish mother, exercised supreme rule over the English subjects in Kilkenny and Tipperary. Piers was liberated on the mediation of the Earl of Desmond, with whose daughter Sir James projected an alliance. On the return of Kildare as Governor, in 1496, Piers appealed to him against Sir James, and the latter, having twice disobeyed the Viceregal summons to appear at Dublin, was formally proclaimed an outlaw. This ordinance of the Geraldine Chief Governor was disregarded in the Ormonde district, where Sir Piers and his

adherents were driven to extremities by Sir James. During these feuds, the Lady Margaret Fitz-Gerald, sister of the Deputy, and wife of Sir Piers, sustained "great and manifold miseries," her husband being "so eagerly pursued that he dared not bear up his head, but was forced to hover and lurk in woods and forests." "This noble woman," writes her chronicler, "being, upon necessity, constrained to use a spare diet, for her only sustenance was milk, she longed sore for wine, and calling her lord, and a trusty servant of his, James White, unto her, she requested them both to help her to some wine, for she was not able any longer to endure so strict a life. 'Truly, Margaret,' quoth her husband, 'thou shalt have store of wine within these four and twenty hours, or else thou shalt feed alone on milk for me.'" Sir Piers learned that his rival would, on the next day, ride, with a few attendants, from Dunmore to Kilkenny, to visit Rose Barrie, a "fair and beautiful gentlewoman," with whom he was in love. Accompanied by his lacquey, Piers lay in wait for Sir James, "forestalled him in the way," and "with a courageous charge, gored him through with his spear." Piers subsequently obtained the appointment of representative in Ireland to his kinsman, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde. He justified the slaying of Sir James by declaring that the latter had threatened to kill him; broken oaths made upon "the holy cross and other relics," and had been "a great and ancient rebel all his life's days."

In March, 1498, Henry authorized Kildare to convene a Parliament which should not sit longer than half a-year. This was the first Parliament held under "Poynings'

law," in conformity with which the proposed ordinances were submitted by the Deputy and Council in Ireland to the King and Council in England, and, after their supervision, transmitted for adoption by the colonial legislature. By a legal anomaly, the attainder decreed against Kildare by the colonial lords and commons, at Drogheda, under the administration of Poynings, was still unrepealed in Ireland, when the King of England authorized the Earl to convene and preside over them as his representative. The first statute which this Parliament passed was a confirmation of the English reversal of the confiscation and attainder which had been pronounced against Kildare. The ordinance of Poynings' Parliament, superseding the "Statute of Henry Fitz-Empress," for the election of a temporary Governor by the Council, and directing the assumption of the Viceregal office by the Treasurer, was also repealed, as "divers great inconveniencies, jeopardies, and charges had of late fortuned within the land." For these and other considerations, it was decreed that "whensoever the land of Ireland might happen to be void of a Lieutenant, Deputy, or Justice," it should be lawful to the Chancellor and Treasurer, or one of them, for the time being, if both were not present, calling to him the King's Council of Ireland, and the Lords spiritual and temporal of the four shires next adjoining, by their assent and that of the majority of them, to elect and nominate a Governor under the great seal for Ireland. This Justice, according to the act, was to have government and rule in the English King's name, and at his will, until his Highness should appoint a Lieutenant, Deputy Governor, or ruler, under the great

seal of England. To the Governor, elected by the Council, power was only given to appoint, during the royal pleasure, officers for the administration of justice; to muster men for the defence of the English subjects; to levy the revenues, and to convert and spend them for the necessary protection of the English territories and people.

To prevent various evasions of the statute of absentees, the Parliament enacted that proprietors or holders of spiritual and lay offices who departed from Ireland to England or elsewhere, without license, should incur the forfeiture of one-half of their property, to be expended by the Viceroy in defences against the Irish. Another act prescribed that all lay-men, married and dwelling within the "English Pale," should wear the English habit, and that whensoever they rode to any journey or hosting, they should have and use for their defence "English artillery, as swords, bucklers, paveses, bows, arrows, bills, cross-bows, guns, and such hand-weapons." This statute recited that divers gentles and commons "drew them to idleness and used to wear Irish habit," and also "left the defence of bows and arrows, and took them to horseman-ship and to cast darts and spears, the which was one of the greatest causes of the desolation of the land: for when such persons went to the field with him who bore the King's state, when need should require, they neither could nor dare to cast dart or spear, because they had not the profound way and feat of it," the which, added the act, is a great "deceit for the King, and for any that beareth his estate, and for all the King's subjects." For the "increasing of English manners and conditions within

the land, and for diminishing of Irish usage," it was ordained that every lord spiritual and temporal, and merchant, having livelihood or benefice to the yearly value of twenty marks, within the precinct of the English Pale, should ride in a saddle after the English guise, under pain of forfeiture of the horse and harness otherwise used. This penalty was not extended to persons riding, in the Viceroy's company, to or from any hosting or journey in time of war.

The Sovereign and Portreve of Kenlis, the Portreves of Trim, Navan, and Ardee, and the Bailiffs of Dundalk, were ordered to cause and compel every merchant dwelling within these towns, to wear and use "gowns and cloaks;" and to leave and put away the customable using of "huks and faldings;" and to cause the walls of their towns to be "made and ditched," and the streets paved. Under the last statute of this Parliament, William Barry, "called the Lord Barry of Munster," and John Water, merchant of Cork, were attainted of high treason, for having, of late, at several times, received letters with certain instructions from Perkin Warbeck, which they concealed and still kept secret from the knowledge of the King and his Council. Water was, in 1499, executed at Tyburn with Warbeck, to whom he had faithfully adhered.

Kildare, as Deputy, augmented his power by retaining bands of galloglasses, or Irish battle-axe soldiers, whom, nominally for the King's service, he quartered at "coigne and livery," on the inhabitants of the English Pale. In 1503, Kildare repaired on the royal summons to England, where the King expressed his approval of his administration, and conferred the post of

Treasurer for Ireland on his eldest son, Gerald, who had remained at the English Court. A warrant is extant, addressed by Henry VII. to the Keeper of his great wardrobe, directing him to deliver the following, among other articles, for the use of the son and heir of "the King's cousin, the Earl of Kildare." Eight yards of black velvet, for a robe, furred with white lamb's wool; two yards and a half of a tawney medley, for a gown, lined with white lamb's wool; two doublets, one of black velvet, and the other of tawney satin; two pair of tawney hose, and another pair of crimson; a hat and two bonnets, one of crimson and the other black; two yards of silk ribbon, for girdles, and three dozen of silk point. In 1502, Gerald, then in his fifteenth year, was assigned a leading part in the funeral ceremony of the King's eldest son, Arthur, in Worcester Cathedral. Attired in the Prince's armour, mounted on a courser trapped with velvet, embroidered with his arms, and bearing an axe, with the head reversed, Gerald, at the third Mass, rode into the choir, where the Abbot of Tewkesbury received the offering of the horse. In England, Gerald married Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Zouch of Codnor, and returned with his father to Ireland, in 1503.

By his alliances with Irish Chiefs of the North and South, the Earl of Kildare was, as Deputy Governor, enabled to make expeditions through parts of the island beyond the precinct of the English Pale. A feud, however, arose between him and Ulick de Burgh, or Mac William of Clanricard, in Connaught, who had married his daughter, Eustacie. De Burgh, rising in arms, took possession of the town of Galway, despite the English

charter, which prohibited his entrance without permission of the municipality. This having afforded the Deputy a pretext for attacking De Burgh, he marched against him, in August, 1504, with all the Lords and troops of the Pale, together with several Irish border Chiefs and their soldiery, including O'Reilly, Mac Mahon, O'Farrell, O'Connor of Offaly, O'Donnell, and the native Ulster lords, with the exception of O'Neill. To oppose this combination, De Burgh obtained the assistance of O'Brien of Thomond, Mac Namara, O'Carroll, and other native Chiefs of the South. Some English legendary incidents connected with this contest were, nearly a century subsequently, narrated as follows by a panegyrist of the family of St. Laurence, Baron of Howth :

Kildare, with his Irish allies, and all the best men, both spiritual and temporal, of the English Pale, on arriving near Galway, held a Council, at which it was decided that the prelates and clergy should retire and pray for their success, and that the judges and lawyers should also go home. "We," said O'Connor, Kildare's ally, "have no matters of pleading, nor matters of arguments, nor matter to debate, nor to be discussed by pen and ink, but by the bow, spear, and sword, and the valiant host of gentlemen and men of war, by their fierce and lofty doings ; and not by the simple, sorry, weak, and doubtful stomachs of learned men, for I never saw those that were learned ever give good counsel in matters of war. For they are always doubting, staying, or persuading men, in frivolous and uncertain words, about Hector or Launcelot's doings. Away with them ! They are overbold to press among this company, for our

matter is to be decided by valiant and stout stomachs of prudent and wise men of war, practised in the same faculty, and not matters of law, nor matters of religion."

De Burgh and O'Brien refused either to submit or to give hostages to the Deputy, and decided on encountering him and his army at *Cnoc-tuagh* or Knocdoe, the "hill of the axes," to the north-east of the town of Galway. Some of the English lords in Council proposed to Kildare to retreat, but others urged him to proceed. "'Let us,' said Sir Nicholas St. Laurence, Baron of Howth, 'send away our sons and heirs, to revenge our quarrel if need so require; and prescribe our battles in perfect order this night, that every man shall know to-morrow his charge. For it is not when we shall go to fight that we should be troubled with discussing the matter.' 'Well,' said Kildare, 'my dear cousin, you have well spoken; be it as you now have said.' 'No,' said young Gerald, the Earl's son; 'by God's blood, I will not go hence and leave so many of my friends in battle, for I mean to live and die among you.' 'All well,' said the Lord of Howth. 'Boy, thou speakest natural, for ever thy kindred is such, from the first generation and first coming into Ireland; so thou art to be borne withal, thou worthy gentleman and lion's heart.'

"The enemy being in sight, and the night at hand, the Earl said, 'Call me the Captain of the galloglasses, for he and his men shall begin this game.' 'I am glad,' said the Captain, 'you can do me no more honour;' and took his axe in his hand, and began to flourish. 'No,' said the Lord of Howth, 'I will be the beginner of this dance, and my kinsmen and friends.' Then all things were prepared; the bowmen put in two wings, of which the Lords of Gormans-

town and Killeen had the charge; the billmen in the main battle, of which the Lord of Howth was the leader; and in the vanguard, the Earl himself; the galloglasses and the other Irish in another quarter; the horsemen on the left side of the battle, under the Baron of Delvin. After all things were put in order, they went to supper. All that night was passed in watching, and drinking, and playing at cards, who should have this prisoner or that prisoner. At midnight, a horseman came from De Burgh's camp to Kildare, and willed him to get away, and save his life; and said, it was but folly to fight; for this man was, before that time, a horseboy to the Earl, and gave him his first horses. Kildare came incontinent to the Lord of Howth, being in a sound sleep, to tell it to him, and a long while he was ere he could stir him, for he called upon him divers times; at which the Earl marvelled, for he could not arouse him by his voice, he slept so sound; and at length he awoke by stirring of him, and blamed him, who answered, that all things before were determined in his mind, and so he had nothing else to trouble him but sleep. 'For it must be ours or theirs,' said the Lord of Howth, 'therefore, my mind is settled, but before this I could not rest well.' 'Well,' said the Earl, 'how is the business? This man is come to me as a trusty friend, and so told the whole matter.' 'Well,' said the Lord of Howth, 'suffer him to pass, and I pray you tell the tale to no one, for it will rather do harm than good.' And with that he arose, and incontinent after the day, appeared; and so they went and prepared themselves in good order of battle. They set forward their galloglasses and footmen in one main battle, and all their horse on their left side,

and so came on. Kildare rode on a black horse, and made an oration to his army, but was interrupted by three great cries from the camp of De Burgh, whose family war-shout was *Gall riagh abu !* A company of tall gentlemen stood in the fore part of Kildare's battle, amongst whom was Hollywood of Artain, and they seldom had heard the like. 'What meaneth this cry?' said Hollywood. 'Do they think we are crows, that we will fly with crying?' and sware by the holy Saint Nicholas that blesses Artain, 'they shall find us men ere we depart.' With that, the galloglasses came on, to whom the archers lent such a shower of arrows, that their weapons and their hands were fastened together."

"A fierce battle," wrote the Irish chroniclers, "was here fought, such as had not been known in latter times. Far away from the combating troops were heard the violent onset of the martial chiefs, the vehement efforts of the champions, the charge of the royal heroes, the noise of the lords, the clamour of the troops when endangered, the shouts and exultations of the youths, the sound made by the falling of the brave men, and the triumphing of the nobles over the plebeians. The battle was at length gained against De Burgh, O'Brien, and the Chiefs of Munster ; and a great slaughter was made of them. Of the nine battalions that had been in solid array, there survived but a broken one. A countless number of the Deputy's forces were also slain." "It would," adds the chronicler, "be impossible to enumerate all the slain, both horse and foot, in that battle ; for the plain on which they lay was impassable, from the vast number of mangled bodies stretched in gory litters ; of broken spears, cloven shields, shattered battle-swords, mangled and disfigured bodies,

stretched dead, and beardless youths lying hideous, after expiring."

Having encamped for the night on the field, Kildare and his ally, O'Donnell, proceeded on the following day to Galway, took possession of the town of Athenry, carried away, as hostages, two sons and a daughter of De Burgh; and, on his return home, the Earl regaled his troops with thirty tuns of wine. Kildare, created knight of the Garter, in the succeeding year, continued in office as Deputy throughout the remainder of the reign of Henry VII., or to 1509, and erected various fortifications on the borders, to defend the English against the incursions of the Irish.

"Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare," says Stanihurst, "was a mighty man of stature, full of honour and courage; open and plain, hardly able to rule himself when he were moved to anger, not so sharp as short, being easily displeased and sooner appeased. Being in a rage with certain of his servants for faults they committed, one of his horsemen offered Master Boice (a gentleman that retained to him) an Irish hobby, on condition that he would pluck a hair from the Earl's beard. Boice, taking the proffer at rebound, stepped to the Earl (with whose good nature he was thoroughly acquainted), parching in the heat of his choler, and said: 'So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your horsemen promised me a choice horse, if I snip one hair from your beard.' 'Well,' quoth the Earl, 'I agree thereto; but if thou pluck any more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine ear.' This old Earl," adds the same writer, "being soon hot and soon cold, was of the English well-beloved; a good justicier, a suppressor of

the rebels, a warrior incomparable; towards the nobles that he fancied not, somewhat headlong and unruly. In his wars he used for policy a reckless kind of diligence or a heady carelessness, to the end his soldiers should not faint in their attempts were the enemy of never so great a power."

Communications having reached Kildare from the Gherardini of Tuscany, the Earl, in 1507, despatched epistles "to be given to all that family, his beloved brethren, dwelling in Florence." He assured them that their letters had been most grateful, as exhibiting the fervour of the fraternal love which they bore to their own blood. "In order," he wrote, "to increase your joy still more, I will briefly inform you of the state of your kinsmen in these parts. Know, then, that my predecessors and ancestors passed from France into England. Having remained there for some time, they, in the year 1140 [1170], arrived in this island of Ireland, and by their swords obtained great possessions, and achieved great feats of arms. Up to the present day we have increased and multiplied into many branches and families, insomuch that I, by the grace of God, possess by hereditary right the Earldom, and am Earl of Kildare, holding divers castles and manors. By the liberality of our most serene lord, the King of England, I am now his Viceroy in the whole of Ireland, during the pleasure of his Highness, an honour frequently obtained heretofore by my father and his predecessors. There is also a kinsman of ours in these parts, called the Earl of Desmond, under whose lordship there are one hundred miles in length of country. Our house has increased beyond measure, in a multitude of barons, knights, and noble

persons, holding wide possessions, and having under their command many persons. We are most anxious to know the deeds of our ancestors, so that if you have in your possession any history, we request you to communicate it to us. We desire to learn the origin of our house, their numbers, and the names of your ancestors; whether any of them are settled in France, or inhabit the Roman territory. We also wish to know your transactions in the present times, for it gives us great joy always to hear news of our kinsmen. If there be anything we can procure for you, through our labour or exertion, or anything that you have not, such as hawks, falcons, horses, or hounds, for the chase, we beg you will inform us, as we shall, in every possible way, endeavour to obey your wishes. God be with you, and love us in return.

"GERALD, Chief in Ireland of the family of the Gherardini, Earl of Kildare, Viceroy of the most serene King of England in Ireland."

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Lib. Rub. Scacc. - - -	Red Book of the Exchequer of Ireland.
MSS. Brit. Mus. - - -	British Museum Manuscripts.
MSS. R.I.A. - - - -	Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.
MSS. T.C.D. - - - -	Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Munim. Armac. - - -	Muniments of the See of Armagh.
Munim. Civit. Dub. - -	Muniments of the City of Dublin.
Rot. Claus. Angl. - - -	Close Rolls of England.
Rot. Claus. Hib. - - -	,, ,, Ireland.
Rot. Com. ,, - - -	Communia Rolls ,,
Rot. Lib. ,, - - -	Liberate Rolls ,,
Rot. Mem. ,, - - -	Memoranda Rolls ,,
Rot. Misc. ,, - - -	Miscellaneous Rolls ,,
Rot. Pat. Angl. - - -	Patent Rolls of England.
Rot. Pat. Hib. - - -	,, ,, Ireland.
Rot. Pip. ,, - - - -	Pipe Rolls ,,
Rot. Placit. ,, - - - -	Plea Rolls ,,
Rot. Scacc. ,, - - - -	Exchequer Rolls ,,
Rot. Stat. ,, - - - -	Statute Rolls ,,
Rymer - - - - -	Fœdera, conventiones, litteræ et Acta Publica, curâ et studio Thomæ Rymer, &c.
Ware MSS. - - -	Manuscripts of Sir James Ware.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

Tristram in Ireland, page 3.

THE remains of the Continental romances of "Tristan" open subsequently to that part of the story in which his visit to Ireland is chronicled in the "Auchinleck MS." In a fragment, published by Michel, from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, Tristan is introduced, in the disguise of a fool, reminding "Raïne Ysolt" of their Irish adventures, as follows :—

"Li venz levat, turment[e] grant,
E chaçat ma nef en Irlant.
Al païs me estoit ar[i]ver
Ke jo deveie plus duter ;
Kar je avei ocis le Morholt,
Vostre uncle fu, Raïne Ysolt ;
Pur ço dutai mult le païs ;
Mais je fu naufrez e chitifs.
Od ma harpe me délitoie,
Je n'oi confort ki tant amoie.
Ben tost en oïst[es] parler
Ke mult savoie ben harper ;
Je fu sempres à curt mandez,
Tut issi cum ere navrez.
La raïne là me guari
De ma plaie, sue merci.
Bons lais de harpe vus apris.
. . . . . .
Iloc me numai-je Trantris.
Ne sui-je ço ? ke vus est vis ?
Isolt respunt : 'Par certes, nun ;
Kar cil est beus e gentils hum,
E tu es gros, hidus e laix,
Ke pur Trantris numer te faitz.'"[1]

A sword, styled "Ensis Tristami," is enumerated among the regalia of John on the Patent Roll[2] of England of the ninth year

[1] Tristan, par F. Michel, Londres : 1835, ii., 105.
[2] Rotuli Lit. Pat. in Turri Londinensi, 1835, p. 77.

of that King, A.D. 1207. The Dominican, Gualvano de la Flamma,[1] chronicles that, in 1339, on the opening of the sepulchre of Galdanus de Torbeth, King of the Lombards, a sword was found by his side, with a deep gap in the blade, and bearing on the pommel this inscription :—" Cel est l'espée de meser Tristant,[d] un[t] il ocist l'Amoroyt de Yrlant."

Chaunt of the Valkyries, page 6.

From Gray's Ode of " The Fatal Sisters," based on the " Orcades" of Torfæus.—Poetical works of Thomas Gray, London: 1840, page 70. A version, from the Icelandic, under the title of " The Woof of War," is given by G. W. Dasent, in the " *Story of the Burnt Njal*," Edinburgh: 1861, vol. ii., page 339.

Richard Fitz-Gislebert, page 13.

" Comes Strigulensis, Richardus, Guiliberti Comitis filius, dictus Strangbow, fortis arcus . . vir liberalis et lenis."—*Cambrensis Hibernia Expugnata*, lib i. cap. 2. Throughout the Anglo-Norman poem,[2] he is referred to as Richard "Li quens," or the Earl Richard:—

" Icil esteit un quens, valant,
Curteis, larges e despendant."

The style adopted by Fitz-Gislebert in his own charters and grants was " Dominus Ricardus, filius Comitis Gilberti;" or " Comes Ricardus, filius Comitis Gileberti."[3] By Henry II. he was also designated " Comes Ricardus de Strigoil."[4] Hervi de Mont-Marreis, in his charter to the Monastery of Dunbrody, styled him merely " Richardus Comes."[5] Mac Murragh's daughter, the Countess Eva—" Comitissa Eva "—attested, with Archbishop Lorcan, the charter granted by her husband, Fitz-Gislebert, to the Abbey of Glendaloch.[6]

[1] Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. xii. 1028. For an account of Isolde's Tower, see Hist. of Dublin, by J. T. Gilbert, 1859, vol. ii., p. 115.
[2] On the Conquest of Ireland, edited by F. Michel, 1837, 17.
[3] Cartular. Abbatiæ S. Mariæ, juxta Dublin, Ms. ff. 18, 19.
[4] Ibidem.
[5] Monastici Anglicani vol. alter. 1661, 1026.
[6] Alani Reg. MS. f. 21.

Mac Gillamocholmog, page 20.

The Anglo-Norman poet mentions him as "li reis"—the King Gylmeolmoch or Gylmeholmoth. In a charter, dated sixth of February, 18 Edward IV., 1478, he is referred to as "Dovenaldus Gillemoholmoc."

For notices of this sept, and the genealogy of *Ua n-Dunchadha*, see *History of Dublin*, by author of present work, vol. i., 1854, pp. 146, 230, 403.

The tax styled "escuage," or "scutage," page 24.

"In the eighteenth year of K. Henry II., the escuage of Ireland came to be put in charge. To this escuage several persons are charged under this title—'De Scutagio Militum qui nec abierunt [in Hyberniam, nec milites nec denarios illuc miserunt];' the escuage of knights who did not go into Ireland, nor send thither any knights or money. For example: In Yorkshire, William Fossard rendered xxxj. li. and x. s. for his escuage. The Archbishop of York rendered xx. li. for his escuage, for knights' fees which he owned; and stood charged with xxiij. li. and x. s. for knights' fees which he disowned. . . Then follow the names of some barons who had not yet sent in their charges or certificates of their fees. . . . In the same year, under this title, 'The scutage of knights who did not march into Ireland, nor sent money or knights thither, the Abbot of Abendon and others answered scutage in Berkshire.' Under the like title, areres of scutage were answered in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, by the Barons and Knights of those counties, and by the Knights in Norfolk and Suffolk. In the said eighteenth year, in Kent, under the like title, 'De Scutagiis Militum qui nec abierunt,' &c., . persons are charged to the escuage of Ireland. . . The escuages for the army of Ireland are charged, in like manner, in the other counties, in the Great Roll of this eighteenth year of K. Henry II."—*History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England*, by Thomas Madox. London: 1769, vol. i., pp. 577, 578, 580, 605, 629.

King Henry II., pages 25-28.

"Erat nempe hic Henricus vir subrufus, amplo capite et pectore, oculis glaucis, voce quassa, corpore carnoso, cibo tamen et potu parcus, et, ut pinguedinem reprimeret, corpus suum vexatione, venatione, stacione, et deambulatione vexabat. . . Durus in domesticos, profusus in extraneos; largus in publico, parcus in privato. Verbi spontaneus transgressor, morosus ad cuncta responsor, quietis amator, sed nobilitatis oppressor, justiciæ venditor et dilatator, fidei transgressor, verbo varius et versutus. Adulter publicus, ecclesiæ malleus, Deo semper ingratus, discordiam inter filios summo opere fovebat, solum sibi ex eorum discidio pacem sperans provenire."—*Chronicon Johannis Brompton*—"Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X," Londini: 1652, col. 1404.

Dishes of cranes, peacocks, herons, swans, and wild geese, page 28.

"Carne gruina, quam haçtenus abhorruerant, regia voluntate, passim per aulam, vesci ceperunt."—*Hib. Expug.*, i. xxxii. Cambrensis, in his "Topographia Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. xi., observes:—"In tanta vero numerositate se grues ingerunt, ut uno in grege centum et circiter hunc numerum frequenter invenias."

The author of "Mœurs et vie privée des Français, 1835, writes: "Les tables féodales pliaient sous le fardeau des mets. Parmi les gibiers on y remarquait . . les poules d'eau, ou mallards, les pluviers les canards et oies sauvages (anes et ganstes), les grues, les paons, les hérons et les cygnes, aussi recherchés jadis qu'ils sont dépréciés aujourd'hui."

"Swan, herunsew, crane in sauce, curlew, and young peacock" formed part of the service "at the commandement of Maister Nevell, the son of the Erll of Saresbur', which commenced at Oxenforde, in October, 1452."[1] Among the dishes at the coronation banquet of Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII., in 1487, were "swan, with chawdron, crane, with cretney, heronesew, with his sique."[2]

[1] Brit. Mus. Mss. Titus, B. xi. dorso.
[2] J. Lelandi de reb. Brit. Collectanea, 1770, iv. 226.

Saint Bernard on cookery, page 28.

"Quia enim puras, ut eas natura creavit, epulas fastidimus, dum aliæ aliis multifarie permiscentur, et spretis naturalibus, quos Deus indidit rebus, quibusdam adulterinis gula provocatur saporibus; transitur nimirum meta necessitatis, sed necdum delectatio superatur. Quis enim dicere sufficit, quot modis (ut cætera taceam) sola ova versantur et vexantur, quanto studio evertuntur, subvertuntur, liquantur, durantur, diminuuntur; et nunc quidem frixa, nunc assa, nunc farsa, nunc mixtim, nunc singillatim apponuntur? Utquid autem hæc omnia, nisi ut soli fastidio consulatur? Ipsa deinde qualitas rerum talis deforis apparere curatur, ut non minus aspectus, quam gustus delectetur: et cum jam stomachus crebris ructibus repletum se indicet, necdum tamen curiositas satiatur."—*Sancti Bernardi, Abbatis Claræ Vallensis, Opera, curis D. Joannis Mabillon.* Parisiis: 1839, tom. i. col. 1237—"Apologia ad Guillelmum, Sancti Theoderici Abbatem."

Henry's sojourn in Ireland, pages 30-32.

"Dis e wit semeins, plus ne meins,
Solum le dist as anciens,
Remist le duc de Normandie
En Yrlande od sa baronie.
De Normandie à cele feis
Esteit Ducs li riche reis;
De Gascoine e de Britaine,
De Peito, de Ango e de Almaine,
Esteit li rei Henris clamé
Sire, solum l' antiquité.
En Yrlande esteit li reis
Bien quinzime e quatre meis.
En la terre, à mont, à val,
Errout li reis natural.
La vitaille esteit trop chère
Par trestut Leynestere,
Kar ne lur vint garnesun
Ne nul autre région."

—*Anglo-Norman Poem, edited by Michel*, 1837, 127.

Reginald de Curtenai, page 31.

His name appears as one of the witnesses to the charter of Dublin, executed by Henry, while in that city. This visit to Ireland of the father-in-law of the son of King Louis, "the fat,"

has not been noticed by his chroniclers, Sir William Dugdale, John Prince,[1] or by Gibbon, in his memorable "Digression on the family of Courtenay," in Chapter LXI. of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." A notice of Reginald's descendant, Philip de Courtenay, Viceroy under Richard II., will be found at pp. 251-2 of the present volume.

Statute of Henry Fitz-Empress, page 31.

This ordinance was confirmed by the Parliament in Ireland in the second year of Richard III., A.D. 1484, in the following terms:[2] "Item al requisicion des Communes que le Statute de Henry Fitz Emprice ordeine pur la election del Governour de estre ewe en cest terre en ascun temps quant il fortunera de estre voide de ascun loiall Governour par auctorite dicest Parliament soit conferme, ratifie et ajuge bone et effectuale en ley."

The election of a Governor was, continued this Act, to be made: "Accordaunt al tenour, usage et execucion del dit estatute de Henry Fitz Emprice, oue lassent dez noblez dicest terre, accordaunt come il est especifie en mesme le statute, sur chescun tiell avoidance de estre ewe de eslier une noble Seigneur de estre Governour et eit la governaunce come Justice Dirland ceo de aver et enjoier accordaunt al ancient usage use et execute devaunt cest temps. Et que par mesme l'auctorite il bien luist a chescun tiell Governour issint eslie a tenire Parliaments et Graundes Counseils et de faire que lez leyes dicest terre pur le bone publique del mesme duhement soient exercisez en la mesme et executez en toute maniere come per ascun manere Governour del mesme il ad este fait done et exercise; et ceo de estre ajuge sibien et effectuale en ley come ascun tiell que ad este par ascun manere Governour dicest terre en ascun temps passe; purveysant que la dit eleccion soit fait chescun foitz par lez Seigneurs espirituelx et temporalx et lez noblez del dit terre et purveysant auxi que nule Parliament soit comense forspris une foitz par ane."

A statute of 1498 refers to "the authority of the election of the

[1] Author of "Damnonii Orientales illustres." Exeter: 1701.
[2] Rot. Stat. Hib., 2 Ric. III., cap. 8.

Justice of Ireland, graunted by King Herry Fitz Emprise;"[1] and the usage is detailed as follows in an Act of the Parliament in Ireland in 1542:—

"Forasmuch as continually sithens the conquest of this realm of Ireland, it hath been used in this same realm of Ireland, that at everie such time as it hath chaunced the same realm to be destitute of a Lieutenant, Deputie, Justice, or other head Governour by death, surrender, or departure out of the same realm, or otherwise, the Counsell of this realm of Ireland, for the time being, have used by the lawes and usages of the same to assemble themselves together to choose and elect a Justice to bee the Ruler and Governour of this realm, till the King's Highnesse hath deputed and ordayned a Lieutenant, Deputie, or other Governour, for the same realm; which Justice, so being elected, was and hath been alwayes, by the ancient lawes and customes of this said realm of Ireland, authorized to doe and exercise the said room of Deputie there, for the good rule, governance and leading of the King's subjects within the same realm of Ireland, and in ministration of justice, with divers other authorities, preheminences, and jurisdictions there; which usage, election, and authoritie of the said Justice hath been many times ratified and confirmed by divers estatutes in this realm provided and made."[2]

Mensal Lands, page 31.

"Terras videlicet Ocathesi et alias quamplures ad regiam mensam, cum omni sollicitudine [Philippus Wigorniensis] revocavit.—*Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. ii., cap. xxiv.

Henry's supposed assumption of the title of King or Lord of Ireland, page 32.

The error on this subject appears to have originated from the following passage in the "Discoverie" of Sir John Davies, London, 1612, p. 12:—"He [Henry II.] was so well pleased with this

[1] Rot. Pat. Angl., 13 Hen. VII., m. 17.
[2] Statutes passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland. Dublin: 1786, vol. i., 207.

title of the Lordship of Ireland, as he placed it in his Royall stile, before the Dutchies of Normandy and Aquitane."

The learned Selden also erroneously wrote:—"This King Henry [II.], it seems, and his successors, following the syllables of that Bull [of Adrian IV.], hence titled themselves Lords of Ireland, putting it in their stile before Duke of Guienne."—*Titles of Honour*, 1672, page 38. It has not been hitherto observed that, while not assuming the title of King or Lord of Ireland, Henry nevertheless included the Irish in the addresses of his diplomas[1] issued, in the following formula, for that country:—"Henricus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justitiariis, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis, Francis, Anglis, et *Hiberniensibus*."

First Viceroy for Ireland, page 33.

Hoveden[2] writes:—Rex "tradidit ei [Hugoni de Lasci] in custodiam civitatem Divelinæ, et constituit eum *iusticiarium* Hyberniæ." The Anglo-Norman poet[3] tells us:—

"Lores fist li rei mander
Huge de Laci tut premer
E ses cuntes e ses vassals
E ses baruns naturals.
Li riche rei ad dunc baillé
Dyvelin en garde la cité
E le chastel e le dongun
A Huge de Laci le barun."

Sir James Ware,[4] however, commenced with Fitz-Gislebert, his holograph: "Series Custodum, Justitiariorum, Deputatorum, et Locumtenentium Hiberniæ, jam inde ab adventu Henrici secundi in Hiberniam."

Viceregal installation, page 34.

This ceremony was described as follows by Camden, from information supplied by Ussher:—"Hæ literæ patentes cùm magistra-

[1] Munim. Civitat. Dub. Alani Registrum, fol. 18 d.; Ware Antiq. Hib. 1658, 271, 274. Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum, 1845, 11. Brit. Mus. Mss. Tiberius. A. xi. f. 19.
[2] Annal. pars post. Rer. Angl. Scrip. Francofurti, 1601, 528.
[3] Page 129.
[4] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4796.

tum quis init publicè præleguntur, et iuramento coram regni Cancellario, concepta verborum formulâ præstito, gladius qui præferatur, in manus traditur, in solio locatur, adstantibus regni Cancellario, qui sunt a sacro consilio regnique Proceribus, cum Rege armorum, Serviente ad arma, et aliis honorariis administris. . . . Illi in consilio adsunt Regni Cancellarius, Regni Thesaurarius, et alii ex Comitibus, Episcopis, Baronibus et Judicibus, qui sunt a sanctiori consilio."[1]

The oath of office, as administered in the fifteenth century, to Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Deputy in 1462, under Edward IV., was as follows :—

"Ego, præfatus Rolandus, custodiam Deo et populo terræ Hiberniæ, leges libertates ac custumas rectas, quos antiqui Reges Angliæ, progenitores et prædecesores Domini Edwardi IV., Regis nunc, Deo et populo Angliæ et terræ Hiberniæ concessere; et observabo Deo et Ecclesiæ, ac clero ac populo, pacem et concordiam, adeo plene et integre sicut facere possum, secundum potestatem meam; et fieri faciam omnibus judiciis meis æquam et rectam justiciam, cum discrecione, misericordia ac veritate; et tenebo et custodiam rectas leges et custumas quas populus terræ Hiberniæ elegerunt sibi esse tenendas [prout] ipsas defendere et fortificare debeo, ad honorem Dei, secundum posse meum; sicut Deus et omnes Sancti sui me adjuvent."[2]

The Viceregal Sword, page 34.

Hanmer,[3] in the sixteenth century, chronicles, under 1264 :— "At the same time the fury of the Giraldins was so outragious in so much that Morice Fitz-Maurice, the second Earle of Desmond, opposed himself against *the Sword*, and tooke at Tristledermote, now called Castle-Dermocke, Richard de Capella, the Lord Justice." The same author records, under 1267, that "David Barry tooke by the appointment of the King, the *Sword of Justiceship* and command of Ireland." Ware[4] styled the Viceregal sword "gladius

[1] Camdeni Britannia, 1607, 733.
[2] Rot. Pat. Hib. 1 Ed. IV., no. 62. Calend., 269.
[3] Historie of Ireland, 1633, 201-2.
[4] Rer. Hib., Hen. VII. regn., annales, 1658, 42, 46, 56.

authoritatis;" and, in describing a Governor's entrance upon office, he wrote "gladium, pro more, à prædecessore accepit." The Four Masters[1] refer to "*Ionadh in Righ i n-Erinn, i. an cloidheamh agus gach ar ben lais*"—the place of the King [of England] in Erin, that is, the sword [of state] and everything appertaining to it. Carte,[2] in the seventeenth century, also wrote of "the sword" as synonymous with the Viceroyalty. Thus, he tells us:—"In 1426, James, Earl of Ormonde was again made Chief Governor, by the style of Lord Lieutenant, for two years; but on August 1, in the year following, surrendered *the sword* to Sir John de Grey." On "Investitura per gladium," see *Du Cange* "*Glossarium*," 1844, p. 888; Selden "*Titles of Honour*," 1672, pp. 417, 420; and "*Observations on Ancient Swords of State belonging to the Earldom of Chester*," by George Ormerod, *Vetusta Monumenta*, V. 1835.

Departure of Henry II. from Ireland, page 34.

"Paschali luce secunda, sole recens orto, apud Guesefordiam, exteriore scilicet portus lymbo navem scandens, Circio flante, prospero navigio in portu Menevensi: circa meridiem applicuit."—*Cambrensis Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. i., cap. xxxvii.

Hoveden writes:—"Adueniente solemnitate Paschali, familia Regis transfretauit de Hybernia in Angliam, ipso die Paschæ, et applicuit in portu de Mileford, iuxta Penbroc. Rex, vero, propter diem solemnem, illo die mare intrare noluit: sed in crastino mare intrauit et applicuit in Wallia, prope Sanctum David."—*Rer. Angl. Scrip.*, 1601, 529.

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MSS. T.C.D. E. 3 3.; H. 3. 18.—Tristan: Recueil de ce qui reste des poëmes relatifs à ses aventures, 1835-39.—Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters, edited by J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1851.—Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, ed. J. Colgan, 1645.—Dissertations on the History of Ireland, by C. O'Conor, 1766.—Leabhar na g-ceart, 1847.—Martyrology of Donegal by Irish Archæological Society,

[1] Annals, edited by J. O'Donovan, 1848, p. 1197.
[2] Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, 1736, i. xxxix.

1864.—Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ, 1786.—Essay on Irish Coins, by Simon, 1810.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by B. Thorpe, 1861.—Annals of Clonmacnoise, MS. R.I.A.—J. Usserii Vet. Epist. Hib. Sylloge, 1632.—Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum, 1845.—Cartular. Abbat. S. Mariæ, Dublin, MS.—Archæologia, xxxvii.—Anglo-Norman Poem, edited by F. Michel, 1837.—Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, by J. Lanigan, 1822.—Anglica, Normanica, &c., a Camdeno, 1601.—Rer. Angl. Script. à H. Savile, 1601.—Epistolæ et vita D. Thomæ Cantuariensis, 1682.—Petri Blesensis Epistolæ, 1667.—Chroniques Anglo Normandes, Rouen: 1836-40.—View of Legal Institutions in Ireland, by W. Lynch, 1830.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

Ilbert de Lasci, page 35.

"Quidam Ilbertus de Laci, miles, qui secum [Willielmo Bastardo] venerat de Normannia in conquestu suo."—*Historia Laceiorum.*

Grant of Meath to Hugues de Lasci, page 35.

"Rex [Hen. v.] recitat se inspexisse cartam Henrici [ii.] nuper Regis, per quam dedit Hugoni de Laci, pro servicio suo, terram de midia per servicium de quinquaginta militum, sibi et heredibus tenendam de Rege. . . Et de incremento illi donavit omnia feoda quæ præbuit vel quæ præberet circa Duvelunam, dum Ballivus Regis esset, ad faciendum Regium servicium apud civitatem Duvelunæ."[1] Hoveden[2] erroneously states twice that De Lasci's tenure was "per servitium centum militum," and this mistake is repeated by the Abbot Benedict.[3] The Anglo-Norman poem[4] correctly says of Henry:—

[1] Rot. Pat. Hib. 2 Hen. V. no. 137, Calend., 207.
[2] Annal. Pars. post, ut ante, 528, 567.
[3] De Vita Hen. II., Oxon: 1735, pp. 33, 206.
[4] p. 130.

"A Hugo de Laci ad doné
Mithe tut en érité,
Mithe donat li guerrer
Pur cinquante chevaler
Que li barun féist aver
Le servise quant éust mester."

Stipulated co-operation of Viceroys with King Rury O'Conor, page 38.

"Et si eos [rebelles] per se justiciare non poterit, Constabularius Regis Angliæ, et familia sua de terrâ illa juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipso fuerint requisiti; et ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit."—*Finis et concordia inter Regem Angliæ et Rodericum, Regem Connactensem.*[1]

Fitz-Gislebert, Vicegerent in Ireland, page 39.

"Comes Ricardus, Vices Domini Regis Angliæ in Hibernià agens, omnibus has litteras videntibus vel audientibus, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse ex parte Domini Regis Angliæ, Aldredo Galafre, Dochlon, quæ est una carucata terræ cum omnibus ejus. . . Et cum hoc concessi ei ex parte Regis Angliæ unum burgagium infra Castellum Dublin."[2] The grant of Aghaboe, mentioned at page 40, was addressed by Fitz-Gislebert—"Omnibus amicis suis et hominibus, Francis, Anglicis, Walencibus, Hibernensibus, tam præsentibus quam futuris."[3]

Death of Fitz-Gislebert, page 40.

Sir W. Dugdale writes:—"By others it is reported that [Fitz-Gislebert], being by treachery abused and wounded, he departed this life, the fifth year after his acquisition of the province of Leinster—viz., 21 Henry II."[4]

[1] Rymer i., 1816, 31.
[2] Lib. Nig. MS. T.C.D., F. i. 8. Other grants made by Fitz-Gislebert as "Vices Domini Regis Angliæ," appear in Alani Regist. MS. f. 21; and Antiquiss. Lit. Pat. Hib. Calend., 4, no. 52.
[3] Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc. 1853, 503.
[4] Baronia Anglicana, 1675, i., 210.—"Ex fragm. Hist. Hibern. in Bibl. Cotton." For a notice of "Strongbow's Tomb," see Hist. of Dublin, by J. T. Gilbert, 1854, i., 102, 112.

Fitz-Aldelm appointed Viceroy, page 41.

The earliest extant Viceregal letter of credence sent to Ireland, was that notifying the appointment of Fitz-Aldelm, and addressed by Henry II. :—"Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Regibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Hiberniæ:"—"Nunc autem ad vos mitto Willielmum, filium Aldelmi, Dapiferum meum, cui commisi negotia mea tractanda et agenda, mei loco et vice. Quare vobis mandò et firmiter precipio, quòd ei, sicut michimet, intendatis de agendis meis, et faciatis quicquid ipse vobis dixerit ex parte mea; sicut amorem meum habere desideratis, et per fidem quam mihi debetis. Ego quoque ratum habebo et firmum quicquid ipse fecerit, tanquam egomet fecissem, et quicquid vos feceritis erga eum stabile habebo."[1]

Jean de Curci, page 42.

The Anglo-Norman poet chronicles that Henry II. gave—

"A un Johan Uluestre,
Si à force la peust conquere.
De Curti ont à nun Johan."

De Curci appears to have enjoyed the confidence of Fitz-Gislebert. In a document addressed by "Johannes de Curcy"—"dilectis amicis"—he wrote:—"Scire vos volo quod dum Ballivus fui Domini mei Comitis."[2] A roll of 1218 mentions De Curci as the son of Roger de Chester—"Rogerus de Cestria, pater ipsius Johannis."[3]

Sir Almaric Tristram de Saint Laurent, page 43.

This founder of the Howth family is styled by his companion, De Curci, in one of his grants to Down, "Amauricus de Hauethe."[4] His son is referred to as follows in John's grant:—"Johannes, Dominus Hiberniæ, comes Moretoniæ, dedit Amalrico de Sancto Laurencio, terram de Houede . . sicut pater suus illam . . tenuit."[5]

[1] Rymer, i., 1816, 36.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4789.
[3] Excerpta ex Rot. Fin. in Turr. Lond., 1835, ii.
[4] Monast. Anglic. 1661, 1021.
[5] Antiquiss. Lit. Pat. Hib. Calend. 2, no. 16.

Mother of all the Churches of Normandy, page 43.

"Quia Ecclesia Rothomagi supra omnes alias [ecclesias] Normanniæ venerari debemus, diligere et tueri, sicut matrem omnium ecclesiarum Normanniæ; et sicut illam un' Ducatus nostri honorem accepimus." Rotulus factus tempore Guar' de Glapion, tunc Senesc' Normanniæ, anno [1200] secundo regni Regis Johannis.—*Rotuli Normanniæ*, 1835, 3.

John invested as Lord of Ireland, page 44.

"Venit Rex [Henricus ii.] Oxenford, et in generali concilio ibidem celebrato, constituit Johannem, filium suum, regem in Hibernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri, Summi Pontificis . . . Postquam autem Dominus Rex, apud Oxenford . . terras Hiberniæ et earum servitia divisisset, fecit omnes, quibus earundem custodias commiserat homines suos et Johannis filii sui devenire: et iurare eis ligantias et fidelitates de terris Hyberniæ."—*R. de Hoveden Annal. Pars post.*, 566-7. "By the title of Lord of Ireland," argued Tyrrell,[1] "it is plain there was no more intended than Viceroy, or feudatory King at most, since King Henry himself never was styled otherwise than Lord of Ireland, and the oath of fealty was taken to the King, in the first place, and then to Earl John, his son."

John, Lord of Ireland, son of the King of England, page 44.

These charters usually commenced:—"Joannes, filius Domini Regis Angliæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Constabulariis, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis, Francis, Anglis et Hibernien-sibus." Some writs of John, previous to 1189, were also addressed—Omnibus Ballivis suis de tota Hibernia."[2]

[1] The General History of England, by James Tyrrell. London: 1700, ii., 411.

[2] Alani Regist., MS. f. 19; Regist. Cœnob. S. Thom. MS. ff. 21, 22, 23; Rot. Mem. Hib. 20 Ed. IV., m. 16; Brit. Mus. Mss. Tiberius, A. xi. f. 19.

First Anglo-Norman Coinage in Ireland, page 44.

It has been conjectured that the full face on these coins was intended, not for the Prince's portrait, but as an emblem of Saint John the Baptist.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, ii., 1839, p. 187; and new series, iii., 1864.

Recal of Fitz-Aldelm in 1179, page 44.

On this subject the Abbot of Peterborough writes as follows:—"Illuc [Windeshoveres] confluebant ad eum [Henricum II.] Hibernenses, conquerentes ei, quod Willelmus, filius Aldelmi, et Hugo de Lasci, et ceteri, quos Rex eis præfecerat, illos injuste et violenter tractaverant; et clamoribus suis concitaverunt Regem in viam adversus suos, ita quod Willelmum filium Aldelmi et prædictum Hugonem à pristina familaritate suo multo tempore removit."[1] The "injustice and violence" referred to by the Abbot Benedict, may be illustrated by a passage in the history of Hugues de Lasci's kinsman, Roger, who, from his persecution of the Welsh, was by them styled "Roger of Hell."—"Johannes de Lacy, dictus Constabularius Cestriæ . . duxit in uxorem Aliciam Vere, uxorem Willielmi Mandevill, et genuit Rogerum de Hell, à Vallensibus ita cognominatum, eo quod eosdem Wallicos, Regi Angliæ rebelles, tanquam inferni, undique devastavit."[2] Roger de Lasci, "of Hell," founded the Anglo-Norman Monastery of Stanlaw, in Wirral, in the County of Chester, in 1168, and died in 1183.[3]

Hervi de Mont-Marreis, page 45.

In the charter of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin at Dunbrody, or "de portu S. Mariæ," the founder styled himself "Herveius de Monte-Marisco, Marescallus Domini Regis de Hibernia, et Senescallus de tota terra Richardi Comitis."[3]

According to the Dunbrody Leger[4]—"Richardus [Fitz-Gislebert]

[1] Benedict. Abbas, de vita Hen. II., Oxon.: 1735, 287-8.
[2] Monast. Anglic. ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, 1825, v. 534.
[3] Monast. Anglic., ii., 1661, 1026.
[4] "Ex Legiario Monasterii de portu Sanctæ Mariæ, de Dunbrothy, in Hibernia," MS.

et Herveius de Monte Mauricii fundaverunt domum de portu Sanctæ Mariæ." On Christ Church, Canterbury, Hervi bestowed some of the possessions which he had acquired on the coast between Wexford and Waterford.[1] In 1245, Christ Church set these lands to the Cistercian house at Tintern, in Wexford—"omnes terras et predia urbana seu rustica quæ possidemus et tenuimus hucusque in Hibernia ex dono pie memorie nobilis quondam viri Hervei de Monte Mauricii." The Abbot and Convent of Tintern covenanted to maintain continually a chaplain to celebrate Mass in the chapel of Saint Brendan, at Bannow, for the dead, especially for Hervi and the other founders and benefactors of Christ Church, Canterbury—"Exhibebunt competentem idoneum capellanum qui continue celebrabit missam defunctorum in capella Beate Brandani apud Banewe, specialiter pro nobili quondam viro Herveo de Monte Mauricii et pro aliis fundatoribus et benefactoribus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis."[2]

Crown of peacocks' feathers, page 46.

"Hic certè mos componendi pennas pavonum cum galea regali sive ducali et principali hodieque viget, præsertim in Germania, cæteraque ditione Imperii, propter huic aui, ut opinor, ingenitum ornatum non aliunde accersitum, non subditum et suppositium, sed talem, ut fateri necesse habeamus, esse pulcherrimum naturæ donum. Et verò pavo dicitur aureum genus avis, id est, pulchritudine insigne."—*Caroli Paschalii, Regis in sacro consistorio consiliarii, et apud Rhætos Legati, Coronæ.* Parisiis: 1610, p. 705.

Philippe de Worcester, page 47.

"Revocato Hugone de Lacy, Philippus Wigorniensis, vir militaris, dapsilis et liberalis, circa cal. Septemb. cum militibus 40, *procurator* est in insulam transmissus."[3]

"Quidam Philippus, de Wigornia dictus, *Constabularius* Hiberniæ factus, contulit Monasterio Glastoniensi villam de Kilcumyn, cum

[1] Hib. Expug. lib. ii., chap. xviii.
[2] MS. in Library University of Cambridge, Ee. v. 31. Kilkenny Archæol. Trans. iii. 1856, 217.
[3] Hib. Expug. lib. ii., cap. xxiv.

ecclesia ejusdem villæ et centum carucatas terræ."[1] Sir James Ware[2] wrote of Philippus Wigorniensis :—"Hic fundavit Prioratum SS. Philippi et Jacobi de Kilcumin, et monachis Benedictimis implevit cœnobio Glastoniensi, in Anglia, cui cellam fecit. Primus loci Prior fuit Jacobus, quidam monachus Glastoniensis."

Design of De Lasci to assume the Crown of Ireland, page 51.

"Inter proceres Regis Anglorum, qui erant in Hybernia, Hugo de Lasci præcipuus et præpollens habebatur . . cui Rex suorum dominiorum administrationem commiserat. Ille vero in brevi ita dilatavit terminos suos, et prosperatus auctusque magnitudine est opum et virium, ut jam non solum hostibus, verumetiam sociis, id est aliis Proceribus regiis, esset terribilis. Nam et his infestus erat, si forte minus parerent, videbaturque *sibi* jam magis quam Regi Anglorum *regnum Hybernicum æmulari*, in tantum, ut *diadema sibi regium* parasse diceretur. Quibus Regi nuntiatis, revocatus ab eo mandatum contemsit, et per hanc inobedientiam fidem fecit præsumptionis vulgatæ."

Cambrensis alludes as follows to the suspicions entertained of De Lasci :—"Tanta terrarum in brevi pace stabiliuit, tam ampla manu alios opprimendo suos ubique ditauit : tanta liberalitate populum Hibernicum alliciens, et familiaritate nimia demulcens, sibi maiores in populo confœderavit, ut qui *regni dominium, coronam simul ac sceptrum, fidelitate postposita, sibi usurpare voluerit*, valde suspectus haberetur."[4]

Government of De Curci, page 50.

A deed, attested by him as Justiciary, in 1185, was enrolled in the register of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, f. 67. b.—"Teste Joh. de Curcy, tunc temporis Justic." One of his grants to the Monastery at Down was made by him "ex parte Domini mei regis Angliæ."[5]

[1] Monast. Anglic. ii., 1661, "Ex cod. ms. in Bibl. Cotton, authore Joh. monacho Glastoniæ, f. 101, a.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4796.
[3] Gul. Neubrig. Hist. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. ix.—Rer. Brit. Scrip. Vetust. Heidelbergæ : 1587, p. 423 ; and Oxon. : 1719, 285.
[4] Hib. Expug. ii. cap. xx.
[5] Monast. Anglic. 1661, 1021.

Henry's satisfaction at the death of De Lasci, page 53.

The Abbot of Peterborough writes as follows on the subject :— "Interim nuntiatum est Regi quod quidam Hyberniensis amputavit caput Hugonis de Lasci; de cujus nece Dominus Rex plurimum gavisus est; quia ipse Hugo in multis agebat in Hibernia contra voluntatem et præceptum Regis."[1] William of Newbury tells us :—"Huius rei nuntius Regem Anglorum, in extremis regni finibus (ut dictum est) constitutum, ingenti perfudit lætitia, moxque res Hybernicæ cautiorem ab eo ordinationem suscepere."[2]

Proposed Mission of Prince John to Ireland, page 54.

"His ita gestis, Rex misit Johannem filium suum ad transfretandum in Hiberniam, ad saisiandam terram et castella Hugonis [De Lasci] in manu sua."[3] Benedict adds that Henry, on learning the death of Geoffroi, "revocavit Johannem, filium, qui adhuc expectabat ventum itineri suo prosperum, ad transfretandum in Hyberniam."

Writs of Earl John, page 54.

"Johannes, Dominus Hybernie, Comes Moretonii, Omnibus hominibus et amicis suis, Francis, et Anglicis, Hiberniensibus et Walensibus, presentibus et futuris."[4] Some of his charters were addressed—"Archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vice-comitibus, constabulariis et omnibus ballivis et ministris suis tocius Hiberniæ;" or "de tota Hibernia."[5] Also, "omnibus fidelibus suis hominibus pro Hibernia constitutis."[6] "Testibus: Stephano Ridel, meo Cancellario; Willielmo de Kahanger, Senescallo meo."

Title of Dominus Hiberniæ, or Lord of Ireland, page 55.

The author of the "Libel of English Policy," early in the fifteenth century, deploring the loss of much of the English territories in Ireland, writes as follows :—

[1] De vita Hen. II. Oxon. : 1735, 451.
[2] Gul. Neubrig. ib. 1719, 286.
[3] Id. ib. ib.
[4] Munim. Civit. Dub.
[5] Reg. Cœnob. S. Thom. ms.; Rot. Misc. Hib.
[6] Rot. Mem. 13-14, Ed. II. m. 2.

"Well I wotte that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this word *Dominus* doe long.
Then mee seemeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande : and it were piteous
To us to lese this high name *Dominus.*
And all this word *Dominus* of name
Shuld have the ground obeysant wilde and tame,
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subiect to the *Lord.*"[1]

The title of "Domina Hiberniæ," or Lady of Ireland, was included in the style of the Queens of England from the close of the twelfth century to the year 1542.[2]

Guillaume le Petit, Viceroy, page 55.

"Willielmus Parvus et Petrus Pipard, tunc temporis Justiciariis."—*Add. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 4789. Cambrensis styled Le Petit "Gulielmus Modicus."—*Hib. Expug.* ii. 34.

The Anglo-Norman poet records that Hugues de Lasci gave—

"Chastel-Brec, solum l'escrit,
A barun Willame le Petit."

A deed is extant by which Willielmus Le Petit granted two carucates of land, near Kylsenocan, to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, "pro," he wrote, "salute animæ meæ, uxoris meæ et heredum meorum, et pro anima Domini mei, Hugonis de Lacy."

Bridge and fosse of Dublin Castle, 1194, page 56.

"Contigit autem . . quod idem Willielmus, per preceptum Justiciarii, venit ad Castellum de Diuelin . . et ipse esset super pontem et . . Robertus et Rogerus, et Philippus et Henricus cum eo. Viderunt ipsi . . Warinum, Eliam, Ricardum, Thomam, Robertum, et quendam alium . . qui tenuit i. hacham et per preceptum predictorum percussit ipse Willielmum Brunum, ita quod ipse cecidit in fossa Castelli, et tercio die post obiit. Et cum duo de predictis descenderent in fossam, ut domino suo auxilia-

[1] Principal navigations, voyages traffiques and discoveries of the English nation. By Richard Hakluyt. London : 1599, ii. p. 200.
[2] Seldeni Opera, 1726, iii. 151 ; Rot. Parl. Angl. xxii. Ed. iv.

rentur, duo alii levaverunt clamorem et huthesium."—*Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, 1835, ii., p. 172. A fragment of the vellum chartulary of St. John's Hospital, "extra novam portam," Dublin, contains a copy of a deed under which Osbert, Prior of that house, set to Warin de London, mentioned at page 56, a portion of land which had been granted to the institution of King John :—"Carta facta Warino de London, de quadam terra jacente prope viam quæ tendit versus Kylmaynan."

Salmon brought to royal kitchen in Dublin Castle, 1197, page 58.

"Concessi etiam eis [Canonicis Monasterii B. Thomæ, Martiris, de Dublin] decimam salmonum veniencium ad coquinam meam de Castello Dublinie."—*Cartular. Cœnob. S. Thomæ, MS., fol.* 22.

Hamon de Valognes, page 58.

Pope Innocent, in his letter to Earl John, styles him "Ha. de Valon., ministerialis tuus."[1] Hoveden mentions "Hamo de Valoins et cæteri custodes Hyberniæ, homines Comitis Johannis, fratris Richardi, regis Angliæ."[2] John, while Earl of Mortagne, gave Hamon two carucates of land, styled "Hochenil," in Limerick, to be held by service of ten knights; and this grant was confirmed by him as King, by charter, dated at Rouen, in 1199, the first year of his reign. The acts of De Valognes, as Justiciary in Ireland, are referred to in the Close, Patent, and Charter Rolls of England.[3] In a letter of 1200, the King mentions him as disabled, from infirmity, to execute his employments in England. The custody of his lands in Ireland was granted, in 1202, to Hugh de Neville, and subsequently to William de Burgh. His Irish property, including the castle of Iniskisty, in Kerry, was, in 1212, restored to his son, Hamon.[4] Theobald Gaultier, in his foundation charter of the Benedictine Monastery of Arklow, stipulated that the Canons should pray for

[1] Epist. Innocentii. iii. à S. Baluzio. Parisiis : 1682, i. 215-16.
[2] Annal. pars poster. p. 773.
[3] Rotuli Litt. Claus. in Turr. Lond. 1833, 96, 225, 308; Rotuli Litt. Pat. 1835, 8, 67, 72, 77, 147; Rotuli Chart. 1837, 19, 20, 28, 30.
[4] Rotuli de oblatis et finibus, 1835, 556.

the soul of his mother, Matilda de Valognes.[1] King John, in a writ of 1206, to the Justiciary, Meiller Fitz-Henri, referred to the exile of the Archbishop of Dublin, and his spoliation by the English bailiffs, during the rule of Hamon de Valognes—"catalla . . ei ablata per ballivos nostros, tempore spoliacionis et exilii."[2]

Acquittance from Viceregal accounts, page 58.

"Hamo de Valoniis dat Domino Regi mille marcas, pro habenda benevolentia Domini Regis, et pro habenda pace de computo suo de Hibernia."—anno primo Johannis, 1199.—*Rotuli de Oblatis et finibus*, 1835, 26.

Separation of Ireland from England, page 58.

"Let us then suppose that Richard the First, King John's elder brother, had not died without issue, but that his progeny had sat on the throne of England, in a continued succession, to this day: let us suppose, likewise, the same of King John's progeny, in relation to the throne of Ireland; where, then, had been the subordination of Ireland to the Parliament, or even to the King of England? Certainly no such thing could have been pretended."—*The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England.* By William Molyneux, 1698, p. 42.

Meiller Fitz-Henri appointed Justiciary, page 59.

"Rex, etc., Achiepiscopis, etc. Sciatis quod multum commendamus dilectum et fidelem nostrum Meillerium, filium Henrici, et bonum servicium suum quod nobis fecit; et ei tanquam dilecto et fideli nostro commisimus curam et custodiam tocius terræ nostræ Hyberniæ et ipsum in capitalem Justiciarium constituimus. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ei tanquam capitali Justiciario nostro sitis intendentes, et negocia nostra secundum quod ipse vobis dixerit promoveatis."[3]

[1] Monast. Anglic. 1661, ii., 1024; Carte's Life of Orm. i. xvi.
[2] Rotuli Selecti, 1834, 3.
[3] Rot. Chart., 1837, 98.

Castles and March Lands, page 59.

This precept, dated at Winterburn, 28th of October, containing the earliest official reference to the "march," or border lands, in Ireland, was addressed—"Omnibus habentibus terras in marchiis Hyberniæ." "Mandamus vobis et precipimus quod castella firmetis in terris vestris in marchiis . . ita quod per defectum vestri non accidat dampnum terre nostre sic hactenus fecistis: alioquin terras vestras de marchiis in manum nostram capi precepimus et aliis eas dabimus qui eas firmabunt."[1]

Cambrensis described the "marches" as the lands nearest to the hostile Irish—"terræ penitimæ, hostique propinquiores, quæ Marchiæ dicuntur, seu potius à Marte Martiæ dicuntur." The Normans, he tells us, declined to serve in the inland castles or marches of Ireland—"in remotis marchiis et castris, procul à mari constructis, moram facere modis omnibus recusabant." For such warfare he declared the best soldiers were those trained in the Marches of Wales—"gens in Cambriæ marchiis nutrita." These Welsh marches he described as abounding in murderers, rebels, and criminals. In recording the transfer of Leix to Meiller Fitz-Henri, Cambrensis wrote—"terram quidem hostilem, asperam et syluestrem remotam, ex industria vero *Marchioni*, et *Martis* alumno, *marchiam* assignantes."[2]

Jocelin and De Curci, page 60.

"Illustrissimi, nihilhominus, Joannis de Cursi, Vlidiæ Principis, super hac re, petitio adiungitur, qui S. Patricii specialissimus dilector et venerator esse dignoscitur, cui obtemperare dignissimum arbitramur."[3]—*Prologus Jocelini in vitam S. Patricii.*

King John's summons to De Curci, page 61.

"Rex, etc. Meillerio filio Henrici, etc., et Waltero de Lascy, etc. Mandamus vobis quod summoneri faciatis Johannem de Curcy

[1] Rotuli Chartarum, 1837, 98.
[2] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cap. xviii., xxi., xxv.
[3] Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum. Parisiis: 1624, 2.

quod sine dilacione veniat in servicium nostrum sic se venturum juravit et unde obsides suos dedit, et per consilium baronum et fidelium nostrorum Hiberniæ ad hoc ei terminum statuatis competentem. Et si infra terminum illum non venerit, tunc in judicium curiæ nostræ fieri faciatis. Et si judicium curiæ nostræ terram ei abstulerit, tunc faciatis habere de terra illa octo cantredos Waltero de Lascy et Hugoni, fratri suo, proximiores terræ eorum de Midia, tenendos de nobis per servicium quod inter nos convenerit et ea conventione quod residuum terræ illius nobis deliberent cum rationabili auxilio terræ nostræ Hiberniæ quod nobis debetur semel in anno. Teste Domino Norwicensi [episcopo] apud Getinton xxxi. die Augusti [1204]."—*Rot. Litt. Pat.* 1835, 45.

King John's monition to the Barons of Ulster, page 61.

Rex, etc. Omnibus Baronibus de Ultonia, etc., qui juraverunt et obsides dederunt pro J. de Curcy, salutem. Mandamus vobis, et vos distincte summonemus, quatinus venire faciatis dominum vestrum J. de Curcy in servicium nostrum unde jurastis et obsides vestros nobis tradidistis, sic eosdem obsides et feoda vestra diligitis, scientes quod nisi venerit in servicium nostrum infra terminum qui ei in' a Justiciario nostro statutum fuerit, nos ad obsides vestros et ad feoda vestra nos capiemus. Et in hoc rei. etc., Teste Domino Norwicensi [episcopo] apud Gatinton, j. die Sept. [1204].—*Rot. Litt. Pat.* 1835, 45.

Earliest record of creation of Anglo-Norman dignity in Ireland, 1205, page 61.

"Johannes, Dei gratia, etc. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Hugoni de Lascy totam terram Ultoniæ, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, de qua ipsum cinximus in Comitem, habendam et tenendam ei et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, adeo bene, libere, quiete et integre sic Johannes de Curcy eam melius, liberius quietius et integrius habuit et tenuit anno vel die quo idem Hugo ipsum Johannem vicit et cepit in campo."—*Rot. Litt. Chart.*, 1837, 151.

Stories of De Curci, page 62.

Dr. Thomas Leland considered that these relations had "no claims to any reasonable or plausible support."[1] The stories respecting De Curci were elaborately discussed by O'Donovan, who supposed them to have been devised in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and first committed to writing in the Book of Howth, compiled towards 1580.[2] The legends of De Curci were, however, placed on record much earlier than the sixteenth century, and are to be found in the annals written by Christopher Pembridge, about 1360.[3] These stories were first printed in English, in Holingshead's Chronicles, A.D. 1577-1584,[4] and published at greater length, in Latin, by Stanihurst, in his work issued at Antwerp in 1584.[5] They were also embodied by Grace, in his "Annales Hiberniæ,"[6] compiled about 1550; and by Meredith Hanmer, in his "Chronicles," written before 1604, and published in 1633.[7] Rapin treated the statements respecting De Curci as authentic, and represented the circumstances, as follows, to have occurred in 1204, after negociations had been broken off between England and France, in consequence of John's refusal to give Eleanor of Bretagne in marriage to Philip's second son :—

"Peu de temps après le départ des Ambassadeurs Anglois, Philippe fit passer en Angleterre un homme en qualité de son Champion, qui fit un défi a tous ceux qui voudroient soutenir que le Roi, son maître, avoit eu tort dans ce qu'il avoit fait contre Jean. La Cour d'Angleterre ne jugea pas à propos de commettre à la décision d'un combat particulier le droit qu'elle avoit de se plaindre du procédé du Roi de France. Néanmoins on fit entendre à ce brave Champion que, s'il avoit tant d' envie de se battre, on lui trouveroit un homme avec lequel il pourroit mesurer ses forces. Il y avoit alors, dans les prisons de la Tour, un Seigneur Irlandois,

[1] Hist. of Ireland, 1773, i. 180.
[2] Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, 1848, i. 139.
[3] Britannia Camdeni, 1607.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 11, pag. 60.
[5] De Reb. in Hibernia, pag. 212.
[6] Irish Archæol. Soc., 1842, 21.
[7] "Historie of Ireland," p. 182.

nommé Jean Curcy, Comte d'Ulster, homme d'une taille de géant, et d'une intrépidité reconnue, qui fut jugé propre à rabattre les bravades du gentillhomme François."[1]

The following passage, in Hoveden's annals, might seem to countenance the part of the tale which refers to John seeking the services of such a champion :—"Johannes, Rex Angliæ, volens appellare Barones Pictaviæ de sua, et fratris sui proditione, multos conduxit et secum duxit viros arte bellandi in duello doctos, et de terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis electos."[2] That De Curci returned to Ireland before he accompanied John thither, in 1210, appears from an entry on the Roll of Fines in England, of 1207, as follows :—"Cumberland : Ricardus, filius Troyte, dat viginti marcas pro habenda terra sua in ballivâ Vice-comitis Cumberland, unde dissaisitus fuit ultimo, per preceptum Domini Regis, eò quod ivit in Hiberniam cum Johanne de Curcy."[3] Orders concerning De Curci's pension, of one hundred pounds per annum, occur on the Close Rolls[4] of England during the reign of John, and payments to him, during that King's sojourn in Ireland, are also on record.[5] John specially mentions that he sent De Curci from Carrickfergus to carry thither Matilda de Braose and her companions :—"Misimus propter eos Johannem de Curcy et Godefridum de Craucumbe, cum balistariis."[6] From the "Rotuli finium"[7] of 1218, we learn that De Curci had relinquished to Henry III. rights to lands in Ireland, which he had claimed as having belonged to his father, Roger de Chester ; and the Justiciary, Geoffroi de Marreis, was ordered to take security from him to the amount of ten marks for the King's use.

Cambrensis mentioned that he left De Curci's exploits to be recorded by his own chroniclers—"grandia eiusdem gesta suis explicanda scriptoribus relinquentes."[8]

[1] Histoire d'Angleterre, par M. de Rapin Thoyras, A la Haye : 1724, ii. p. 300 ; Hist. by N. Tindal, Lond : 1738, i. 266.
[2] Annal. pars post. p. 823.
[3] Rot. de Oblat. et fin., 1835, 376.
[4] Rot. Litt. Claus., 1833, 144, 152, 153.
[5] Rot. de Liberate (1844), 149, 227.
[6] Lib. Nig. Scacc., Oxon. : 1728.
[7] Excerpta è Rotulis finium, 1835, i. p. 11.
[8] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. xvii.

A life of De Curci was translated from the Latin by George Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1543.[1] Grose, in 1784, published an engraving of "an ancient suit of bright armour, exhibited in the Tower of London, as the armour of the famous De Courcy;" also "two views of De Courcy's helmet, with the visor lifted up."[2]

De Curci's wife, Affreca, page 63.

She was so called from her grandmother Affreca, daughter of Fergus of Galloway, the wife of Olaf, King of Man in 1102.[3] In his foundation charters to the Benedictine establishments, in his Ulster territories, De Curci stated that he made these grants for the welfare of the souls of himself, his wife, Affreca, their ancestors and successors; as well as for the souls of those who gave him counsel and aid towards acquiring Ulster, and for those who fell or might fall in his service—"Pro salute animæ meæ, et uxoris meæ, Affricæ" . . "et pro animabus omnium illorum, qui consilium et auxilium michi impendent ad conquisendam Ultoniam, et pro animabus omnium qui mortui sunt ut qui morientur in servicio meo."[4]

Affreca's brother, Ragnar, the warlike King of Man and the Sudreys, granted to the Cistercians of Dublin his peace, both by land and sea, wheresoever his power extended. This concession he stated, as follows, to have been made for the welfare of his soul, and those of his father, Godred, and his sister, Affreca—"Reginaldus, Dei gratia, Rex Insularum, Universis, etc. Noverit universitas vestra me, intuitu Dei, et pro salute animæ meæ et patris mei, Godredi, et matris meæ, et animæ sororis meæ Affrecæ, antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, dedisse Deo et Beatæ Mariæ firmam pacem meam sibi et suis in terra et in mari ubicunque potestatem habuero."[5] Stanihurst[6] repeated, in the sixteenth century, the statement of Cambrensis, that De Curci had no chil-

[1] Works of Sir J. Ware, 1745, iii. 94.
[2] Treatise on Antient Armour, 1785, pp. v. vi.
[3] Chron. Reg. Man. Christiania, 1860.
[4] Monast. Anglic., 1661, 620-21-2.
[5] Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 4789.
[6] De reb. in Hibernia, Antwerpiæ, 1588, p. 218.

dren by Affreca. Had she left descendants they would, as members of the royal line of Man, have probably been noticed in the chronicles of that island.

Writ for new Castle at Dublin, A.D. 1204, page 64.

"Rex, etc., dilecto et fideli suo Meillerio, filio Henrici, justiciario Hiberniæ salutem. Mandastis nobis quod non habuistus locum ubi thesaurus noster reponi possit apud vos. Et quia tam ad hoc quam ad alia multa neccessaria essent nobis fortilicia apud Dublin, vobis mandamus, quod ibidem castellum fieri faciatis in loco competenti, ubi melius esse videritis ad urbem justiciandam et, si opus fuerit, defendendam, quam fortissimum poteritis, cum bonis fossatis et fortibus muris; turrim autem primum faciatis ubi postea competencius castellum et baluum at alia percunctoria fieri possint, et vobis hoc mandavimus."—*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1833, p. 6.

Justiciaries or Viceroys for Ireland, page 64.

On this subject Camden wrote as follows:—"Ex quo Hibernia Anglici juris facta fuerit, Reges Angliæ eò Proreges ad rempublicam gerendam transmiserunt, quos primum *Custodes* Hiberniæ, deinde, pro arbitrio, Hiberniæ *Justitiarios, Locum-tenentes, et Deputatos* vocarunt in codicillis, sive literis illis patentibus, quibus eis authoritas et iurisdictio mandatur. Quæ sana ampla et regia, videlicet bella gerendi, pacem componendi, magistratus et munia omnia, prætera paucula, conferendi, crimina, præter quædam læsæ Maiestatis, remittendi, equites auratos creandi, etc. . . Nec alius sane est in orbe Christiano Prorex qui propiùs ad regiam maiestatem sive iurisdictionem, sive authoritatem, comitatum et apparatum spectes, accedat."[1]

Coke tells us that "the Prorex there, in former times, hath been called Custos, Warden, Lieutenant, Chief Justice [Capitalis Justiciarius], Deputy of Ireland."[2] Selden, in his "Mare Clausum, seu de dominio maris," observed:—"Etiam et Hiberniæ Prorex Custos

[1] Britannia Camdeni. Lond.: 1607, 733.
[2] Fourth part of the Institutes. Lond: 1648, p. 358.

Hiberniæ, et dignitas ejus Hiberniæ Custodia, stilo solenni, Joannis et Henrici tertii regum maxime ævo nuncupabatur."[1]

Sir James Ware, in the same century, made the following observations on the titles given, at various periods, to the English Governors for Ireland:—"Titulus ille Locum-tenentis Hiberniæ, potestatis et honoris plenissimus habitus (ut hoc obiter adnotem) olim ab Angliæ Regibus, non solùm iis concedebatur qui in Hiberniam transmissi sunt ad Remp. ibi administradam, sed interdum iis etiam, qui in Anglia detenti, eo quidem titulo gavisi sunt, atqui administratio in eorum Deputatos collata est. Porrò ut facti erant aliquando *Deputati Locum-tenentium*, sic interdum, pro Principis arbitrio, *Deputati ipsius Regis*, interdum *Justitiarii*,[2] et, antiquioribus temporibus, *Custodes:* sed plerunque unâ eademque authoritate, quæ sanè ampla erat et Regia, neque absimilis illi Proprætorum et Proconsulum, apud veteres Romanos."[3] The native Irish usually styled the Viceroy *Iustis;* or *fear ionad Righ Saxan i n-Erinn*—the man in the place of the King of the Saxons in Erin.[4] Carte notes that "Deputatus," or "Custos terræ Hiberniæ," was equivalent to "Jnsticiarius."[5]

King John, page 69.

The following hitherto unpublished document is preserved among the Manuscripts of Sir James Ware,[6] and marked—"Ex Tur. Bermingham. Translated out of French by Bartholon Delamare, a Frenchman":—

"King John's Letter to John Commin [Archbishop of Dublin], concerning the Castle of Dublin:

"We received yours concerning our Castle of Dublin, how necessary and convenient it might be to us for our Cyty of Dublin.

[1] J. Seldeni Opera. Lond.: 1726, vol. ii. c. 1331. For his statements the author quotes—Rot. Cart. [Angl.] 2 Johann. R. in dors.; Rot. Pat. [Angl.] 17 Johann.; Rot. Pat. [Angl.] 3 Hen. iij. m. 4, etc.

[2] See "Diatriba de Justitiariis; eorum origo species et munera:" "Glossarium Archaiologicum, auctore Hen. Spelmanno." Lond.: 1687, p. 329; Madox Hist. of Exchequer, i. 31, 37.

[3] Rerum Hibernicarum, Hen. vij. regnante, Annales. Lond.: 1658, p. 76.

[4] Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848, ii. p. 1114.

[5] Life of Orm., 1736, i. xxviij.

[6] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4789, f. 38, b.

Therefore prepare all conveniences, for we intend the next, by the assistance of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin, to visit you all, if we by any other misfortunes be not hindered, leaving you to God and the Queen of Heaven; [and] asking you blessing. J. R., at Chester, the callands of April, 1208."

Musters of Men-at-arms at Dublin Castle, page 75.

Theobald Le Botiller, ancestor of the Earls of Ormonde, referred to this service as follows, in a petition of the year 1290 :—

"Celuy Theobald . . tient un terre en chief du Rey kad noun Bree, en le Conte de Divelyn, par servise a trover un cheval covert de fer a la port du Chastel de Divelyn quant le servise le Rey est somuns."[1] We also find the service of a man-at-arms at Dublin Castle specified in a document of 1307 :—"Ad peticionem Roberti de Bagod, de Hibernia, demonstrantis, quod cum antecessores sui fuerunt feoffat, de certis terris ten de Drandroni, pro servicio inveniendi unum hominem ad equum et arma ad quemlibet clamorem ad Castrum de Dyvelyn, que servicia antecessores sui fecerunt a primo conquestu Hiberniæ."[2]

Under the head of "Il que tient per un fee de service de Chivalier covient estre ove le Roy per 40 jours," Littleton[3] writes that "for every pound of the ancient value of a knight's fee, accounting twenty pound land, the tenant must go with the King two days, which cometh just to forty days for a whole knight's fee."

Fate of Matilda de Braose and her Companions, page 76.

A Flemish chronicler gives the following horrible details of the closing scene of this tragedy :—

"Quant il fu arrivés en Engletierre il mist en prison Mehaut de Braiouse et Guillaume son fil el castiel del Corf, si fist metre avoec els une garbe d'avaine et i. bacon cru; onques plus de viande n'i lassa metre. A l'onzisme jour fu la mere trovée morte entre les

[1] Documents from Records of Exchequer, 1844, 81.
[2] Placita Parliamentaria, 1661, 350.
[3] Table to First Part of Institutes, 1629, 69, b.

jambes le fill, toute droite seans, fors tant qu'ele clinoit arriere sour le pis son fill, comme morte feme. Li fils, ki mors estoit autresi, seoit toz drois, fors tant que il clinoit deviers la paroi comme uns mors hom; si li avoit la mere par destrece toutes les joes mangies. Quant Guillaumes de Braiouse, qui à Paris estoit, sot ces nouvieles, il mouru tost apriès; si tiesmoignent plusieur que ce fu de duel [deuil]."—*Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,* d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothéque du Roi. Paris: 1849, p. 114.

Principal Authorities.

Monasticon Anglicanum, 1655-61.—Baronage of England, 1675.—Anglica, Normannica, etc. ed. Camden, 1601.—Transactions Kilkenny Archæological Society, 1853.—Les Montmorency de France et Les Montmorency d'Irlande, Paris: 1828.—Capgrave, Liber de illustribus Henricis, 1858.—Anglia Sacra, a H. Wharton, 1691.—Monasticon Hibernicum, by M. Archdall, 1786.—Works of Sir J. Ware, 1739, 45.—J. Grace, Annales Hiberniæ, 1842.—Rerum Brit. Scrip. Vetust., 1587.—Rerum Anglic. Scrip., 1601.—Rotuli Curiæ Regis, by Sir F. Palgrave, 1835.—History of the Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, by Rev. J. Graves, and J. G. A. Prim, 1857.—Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, by T. Carte, 1736.—Epistolæ Innocentii à S. Baluzio, 1682.—Rot. Litt. Claus., 1833.—Rot. Litt. Pat., 1835.—Rotuli Chartarum, 1837.—Chronica Regum Manniæ, à P. A. Munch, 1860.—Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, by W. Reeves, D.D., 1847.—Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, 1624.—On inedited silver farthings coined in Ireland; by Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A., 1863.—"The historie of Ireland collected by three learned authors," 1633.—The Antient and Present State of the County of Down, 1744.—Annals of Inisfallen, Ms. R.I.A.—Liber Niger Scaccarii, à T. Hearne, 1728.—Annals of Connaught, Ms. R.I.A.—Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et præstitis, 1844.—Matt. Paris Historia major ed. W. Wats, 1645.—Scotichronicon Johannis de Fordun, 1759.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

Viceroy ordered to carry treasure from Ireland for Papal tribute, page 82.

An epistle of Honorius III., demonstrates that the commands contained in the royal letter, although seconded by the Pope, were not promptly complied with by the Viceroy; and it would appear that a division, unrecorded by the chroniclers, prevailed at this period between the guardians of Henry III. and the heads of the colony in Ireland. On the 27th of March, 1219, Honorius enjoined Pandulf, his Legate in England, to issue the censures of the Church against the Viceroy for Ireland, should he longer postpone obedience to the Papal and Royal orders:—"Mirari cogimur et moveri, quod sicut ex parte Karissimi in Christo filii nostri H. Regis Anglorum illustris nobis extitit intimatum, cum nobili viro [Galfrido de Marisco] Iustitiario Hybernie olim nostris dederimus litteris in mandatis, ut ad presentiam Regis eiusdem accedens, et de redditibus et aliis, que de bonis eius perceperat, redderet rationem, idem consilio inconsulto seductus, non solum accedere hactenus contempsit ad eum, verum etiam presumit eidem multipliciter adversari, non attendens, quod preter infidelitatis notam, quam exinde inviolabiliter contrahit, grave sibi potest perhiculum imminere, maxime cum causam Regis eiusdem propriam reputemus. Ut igitur offensam redimat precedentem et gratie se coaptet, de qua ipsum non convenit desperare, iterum sibi dedimus in mandatis, ut ad presentiam Regis eiusdem indubitanter accedens, et villicationis sue reddat debitam rationem."[1]

Keeper of King Henry's forests excommunicated, page 86.

The claims of the chief English Royal officers to immunity from excommunication, without the King's assent, was questioned by

[1] Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot. disp. A. Theiner, Romæ, 1864, p. 9. The erudite Mgr. Theiner has left a blank for the name of the Justiciary supplied above.

Archbishop Henri Fitz-Adam, in his letter to Henry III., wrote on this subject:—"Quidam vero dixerunt archiepiscopo . . quod ad me excommunicandum non debet procedere, et etiam propter privilegium quod habetis, ut dicunt, quod capitales ballivi vestri non sunt excommunicandi, vobis inconsultis. Ad quod respondit Archiepiscopus, quod cum videret privilegium illud tunc crederet nos illud habere sed non antea."[1] That such privileges were granted by the Pope to the English officials in Ireland, appears from the following entry in the Red Book of the Exchequer of Ireland:—"Memorandum quod litteræ quæ venerunt de curia Romana pro ballivis Domini Regis ne possint excommunicari, sunt in magno coffro in turri [Castri Dubliniæ] in quadam pixide."[2]

Guillaume, second Earl Maréchal, page 89.

He was styled "the younger," to distinguish him from his father and namesake, known as the "old Maréchal."[3]—"Willielmus Mareschallus . qui dictus est Vetus Mareschallus." In another manuscript we read—"Cui successit Willielmus, filius suus, qui dictus est Willielmus le puisne, ad differentiam patris sui, dicta Isabella, matre ipsius, vivente."[4]

Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary, page 93.

Although mentioned by the Anglo-Irish chroniclers as having been appointed to the Justiciaryship, the name of this eminent man, uncle to Richard de Burgh, does not appear in the published lists of Viceroys. His appointment was dated at Woodstock, 16th of June, 1232.[5]

Death of Guillaume, second Earl Maréchal, page 93.

His relict, Eleanor, sister of Henry III., became the wife of the renowned Simon de Montfort. On this alliance a French chro-

[1] Prynne's Hist. of King John and Henry iii., 1670, 66.
[2] Lib. Rub. Scacc. f. 73.
[3] Ex Legiario Monasterii de portu Sanctæ Mariæ de Dunbrothy in Hybernia. Ms.
[4] "In quodam antiquo Rotulo."—MS. T.C.D., E. 3, 20.
[5] Rot. Pat. Ang. 16 Hen. III., m. 4.

nicler wrote :—"Deus ei [Simoni] providit sororem Regis Angliæ, relictam videlicet Marescalli Gulielmi, qui unus erat de regulis Hiberniæ."[1]

After her second marriage, which caused much contention in England, this lady continued to receive a dowry from the Irish lands of her first husband.[2]

Amongst those on whom the posthumous miracles of De Montfort were said to have been performed, were Christiana of Ireland [Christiana Hiberniæ], and Sir Richard de Feipo, Baron of Scryne, in Meath, his wife, and his child, who was consequently baptized by the name of Simon :—"Revixit puer et sanata est mater; et dederunt nomen Simon de Montfort. Item, dictus Ricardus, habens cardiacam passionem per annum, simili modo convaluit. Testes hujus rei, dictus Ricardus, cum tota familia sua."[3]

Richard was the heir of Adam de Feipo, or Faipon, to whom Hugues de Lasci gave twenty-one knights' fees in Meath. Adam established himself in a castle at Scryne (*Scrin-Coluim-Cille*), and his first acts were to appoint his brother Thomas to his chapel of Saint Nicholas, and to labour to enforce the payment of tithes in his district. That Thomas de Faipon was the first Anglo-Norman ecclesiastic imposed upon the diocese of Meath, appears from the following document of the year 1185 :—

"Ego, Adamus de Faypon . . assignavi capellæ S. Nicholai, quæ sita est in castello meo, juxta Scrinium, per assensum Eugenii Midensis episcopi, omnes decimas totius terræ meæ quam tunc possidebam in episcopatu Midensi. Ad titulum ejusdem capellæ tunc dotatæ ordinavit et instituit predictus episcopus Thomam, fratrem meum antequam alicui hominum dedissem terram in Hibernia. Sciat etiam vestra paternitas quod ego sum quem primò certum est dedisse decimas in illo episcopatu, et predictum Thomam primum omnium de lingua nostra in episcopatu illo fuisse ordinatum et primum per episcopum fuisse institutum, quia omnes alii tunc temporis per manum laicam sibi decimas usurpabant." The child

[1] E Chronico Alberici Monachi Trium fontium.—Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, xxi., Paris : 1855, 619.
[2] Rot. Pat. Angl. 28 Hen. III.
[3] Chron. W. de Rishanger, 1840, p. 73.

stated in the legend to have been named after De Montfort, became third Anglo-Norman Lord of Scryne, and in his charters styled himself "Simon de Faipon, miles, filius et hæres Ricardi de Faipon, ac dominus de Scrin."[1] Simon de Feypo is mentioned in the Anglo-Irish official records of 1310.[2]

Earl Richard Maréchal incited to assume sovereignty of Anglo-Norman territories in Ireland, page 95.

"Respondit Galfridus [De Marisco] quid times? Credendum est te nunquam fuisse filium victoriosissimi Willielmi, veteris Marescalli, qui, irrumpentibus hostibus, nunquam dedit terga. Ecce victoria pro foribus, ecce jus tuum avitum, quod te contingit jure lineari; quod invicti antecessores tui, qui de Strangbowe cognomen acceperunt, strenuè conquisiverunt. Nunquid incipis degenerare?"—*Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl.* 1644, 273.

Curragh of Kildare, page 96.

That this noted plain was regarded as a common pasture by the Anglo-Normans, appears from the following document of the year 1299:—"Inhibitum est, sicut antiquitus fieri consuevit, quod porci de cætero non pascant in Coraghto de Kildare, quod est communis pastura, et in solio Domini Regis. Et Vicecomes puniat illos qui porcos suos fugent vel habeant ibi fodientes vel pascentes; prius per finem et postea per amissionem porcorum illorum et gravius si sæpius sic delinquant."[3]

According to an old Gaelic scholiast, the Curragh was so named from having been, from ancient times, used as a race-course—"*Currech*—a cursu equorum dictus est."[4] This belief is alluded to in the following description of the Curragh, in an unpublished poem, written at the close of the seventeenth century, in the library of the Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide:—

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4789.
[2] Rot. Pat. Hib. 3 Ed. 2, Calend., 13, 14.
[3] Placita Parliamentaria apud Dublin, coram Johanne Wogan, Justiciario Hybernie et Concilio, term. Pasch. 27, Ed. I., m. 20.
[4] Liber Hymnorum, by Rev. J. H. Todd, for Irish Archæol. Society, 1855.

"Est locus almus apex ubi se Kildarius astris,
Inserit et socium lambunt fastigia cœlum,
Quem prope campus adest, immensi jugeris æquor,
Vomere quem nulli, vel adunci vulnere aratri,
Sulcavere boves; nullæ secuere lacunæ.
Non illic surgunt virgulta, lapisve superstes
Limes, agro positus; nullis hic terminus arvis;
Terra patens, præbens promiscua pascua, nullo
Limine septa scrobis, sed toti libera regno.
Si foret hic lapidum jactu reparanda virum stirps
Perdita diluviis, hic frustraretur inanis
Deucaliona labor: silices nec Pyrrha morandis
Hoc reperire queat, mulieribus irrita, campo.
Planities tantum in spatium se extendit utrinque,
Quantum oculus nusquam cernit. Confinia metæ
Tam longinqua patent; facies tamen unica campi est
Qualis tranquilli pelagi tenor, Æole, vestris
Flatibus, immunis solet esse et flamine quovis.
A fessis, huic nomen, equis, vernacula quondam
Lingua loco dederat, quem Graia vocabula rite
Hippodromum indigetant, a quadrupedante frequenti.
Scilicet hæc toties prata ungula trivit equorum
Lassa, Geraldiadum, cum se Mavortia pubes
Exerceret ovans; et equis, quæ maxima virtus,
Expertura suis varium certamen iniret."

Treachery to Earl Richard Maréchal, page 96.

The chronicles of Dunbrody, of which Richard's grandfather, Fitz-Gislebert, had been one of the founders, tells us, "a proditoribus, apud Kildare, in bello, vulneratus est."[1] The following rhymes on this subject have been preserved by John Clyn,[2] a Franciscan Annalist of the fourteenth century:—

"Post incarnatum,
Lapsis, de Virgine Natum,
Annis nongentis
Tribus triginta trecentis;
In primo mensis
Aprilis, Kildariensis
Pugna, die Sabbati,
Fuit, in tristicia fati,
Acciderant stallo
Pugne Comiti Mariscallo."

The Monk of St. Alban's[3] records that, in 1235, an ecclesiastic was cruelly assassinated in London, for having unwisely boasted that he had compassed the death of the King's enemy, Richard, Earl

[1] Ex Legiario de Dunbrothy, Ms.
[2] Annals of Ireland, Irish Archæol. Society, 1849, 7.
[3] Mat. Paris. Hist. Angl. 1640, 285.

Maréchal :—"Quidam clericus, dum minus sapienter se gereret, jactitando se causam fuisse mortis Richardi Comitis, Mareschalli, vocando eum proditorem et cruentum inimicum Regis et regni, miserabiliter Londini, Rege ibidem existente, est interfectus."

Gislebert Maréchal, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Leinster, page 98.

This nobleman applied to the Pope to annul the "peace" into which, at the King's request, he had entered with the Viceroy, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who had been implicated in the plot against his brother, Richard :—"Quod forma pacis provisæ et concessæ inter ipsum [Gislebertum] et vos [Mauricium] omni auctoritate domini Papæ infirmetur, et quod intendat aliam formare pacem inter ipsum et vos et alias fideles nostros Hiberniæ."[1]

Gislebert Maréchal, and his brother Anselme, received a Papal brief, in 1236, by which Gregory IX. took them, and their lands in Ireland and Wales, under the special protection of the Apostolic See, without whose permission he decreed that neither excommunication nor interdict should be issued against them.[2]

Maurice Fitz-Gerald in Wales, page 100.

Sir James Ware tells us, from the records, that this Viceroy carried three thousand foot soldiers from Ireland to Henry III. in Wales :—"Ex Hibernia in Walliam transfetasse cum tribus peditum millibus, ad servitium Domini Regis, ex archivis regiis liquet."[3] From the Patent Roll of England, we learn that the pay of these soldiers was twopence per day.[4]

Anglo-Normans of Ireland and Henry III. in France, page 100.

The King ordered his Justiciary and Treasurer in Ireland, in 1243, to transmit to him, in Gascoigne, with the greatest speed, all

[1] Royal Letters, edited by Rev. W. Shirley, 1862.
[2] Monumenta Vet. Scot. et Hib. disp. Theiner, 1864.
[3] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4796, f. 66, b.
[4] Rot. Pat. Angl. 29 Hen. III.

the moneys they could send, so that he should at least receive three thousand marks from them:—"Mandatum est Justiciario Hyberniæ et G. de Turvill, Thesaurario Hybernie, quod, sub quanta poterint festinacione, Regi mittant in Wasconiam omnes denarios quos mittere poterint; ita quod Rex adminus habeat tria millia marcarum."[1]

This writ was issued from Bordeaux, on the 23rd of April, 1243. The following entries, connected with the transmission of treasure from Ireland, and payment to the agents of the Maire and citizens of Bordeaux, appear in the accounts of the executors of Geoffroi de Turvill, Bishop of Ossory, and Treasurer for Ireland, under Henry III.:—"Predicti executores computant ccclxvj. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. liberatos Domino Regi, apud Cestriam, in manu Abbatis Sancte Warburge, per Willielmum del Rath et Johannem de Coventria, missos cum predicto thesauro, per breve Domini Regis. Et liberasse iiij. li. iisdem Willielmo et Johanni, pro expensis suis, euntibus cum predicto thesauro. Et liberasse ii. s. i. d. pro saccis, laqueis, cera, et barillis, ad predictum thesaurum. Et lib. xii. d. in predicto thesauro cariando usque ad navem. Et lib. xxx. s. viij. d. Willielmo Fadir, pro frecto navis sue ad conducendum predictum thesaurum usque Cestriam. Et lib. duo millia marcarum ibidem eidem domino Regi, in manu ejusdem abbatis per Thomam de Clafford. Et lib. x. li. Thomæ Clafford, ad expensas suas eunti cum predicto thesauro. Et lib. quinque marcas pro frecto cujusdam navis ad predictum thesaurum conducendum, cum vi. nautibus et duobus garcionibus, pro stipendiis suis. Et lib iij. marcas quatuor aliis nautis transfretantibus cum predicto thesauro. Et lib. x. s. Colino Achard, eunti cum predicto thesauro. Et liberasse v. s. viij. d., pro bordis, cleiis, virgis et aliis ad predictam navem reparandam, cum predicto thesauro. Et lib. vj. s. viij. d. pro saccis, laqueis, barillis, clavis, portagio et omnimodis aliis ad predictum thesaurum. Et liberasse m. marc. Willielmo Burdon, Petro de Querseyn, nunciis Majoris et civium de Burdegalia, per breve Domini Regis."[2]

[1] Rot. Claus. Angl. 27 Hen. III. p. 1, m. 9.
[2] Roy. Mss. Brit. Mus. 18, c. xiv.

Proposed Visit of Henry III. to Ireland, and orders respecting Dublin Castle, page 100.

The document quoted in the preceding note contains the following order of Henry III., issued from Bordeaux, on the 23rd of April, 1243:

The Justiciary of Ireland and the Treasurer are commanded, out of the King's perquisites, to cause to be built in the Castle of Dublin, a hall, containing one hundred and twenty feet in length, and eighty feet in breadth, with sufficient windows and glass casements, in the style of the hall at Canterbury. They shall have made in the gable, beyond the dais, a round window, thirty feet in circumference; beyond the dais, they shall have painted a king and queen, sitting with their baronage; and they shall also cause to be built, at the entrance of the hall, a great portal, so that the King shall find this hall completed on his arrival.[1] The original of these orders is as follows:—"Et de perquisitis Regis fieri facient in Castro Dublinie unam aulam continentem sexcies xx pedes in longitudine, et quater xx in latitudine, et cum fenestris et verinis ad modum aule Cantuarie, quam satis viderunt, et fieri facient in gabulo ultra deisium unam fenestram rotundam xxx pedes in qualibet parte rotunditatis continentem. Depingi eciam facient, ultra idem deisium, Regem et Reginam sedentes cum barnagio suo; fieri eciam facient ad introitum ejusdem aule magnum portallum; ita quod Dominus Rex aulam illam ex toto factam in adventu suo inveniat." A Pipe Roll of Ireland,[2] eight years earlier in date than the above-cited Close Roll of England, mentions the falling of portion of Dublin Castle, and records payments for constructing a house for the engines of defence, building the kitchen, repairing the benches and ruinous windows of the hall, restoring the great well, mending the bridge, the chapel, and other edifices in the castle, and constructing a house within its precincts for the delivery of meat. The original entries are as follows, under the heading of "Compotus Comitatus Dublinie, per Hugonem de Lega,

[1] Henry's intention of visiting Ireland is also referred to in the protection, issued, two years after the above date, to Felim O'Conor—"Usque ad proximum adventum Regis in Hiberniam."—Rot. Pat. Angl. 29, Hen. iij.

[2] Rot. Pip. Hib., xix. Hen. III. m. 3, fac.

Vice-comitem, de toto anno decimo nono regni, Regis Henrici, tercii": "Lib. Domino Dublin, in reparacionem dampnorum ecclesiarum suarum occasione Castelli Dubliniæ, x marc. Et eidem [Hugoni de Lega] lxviii. sol. iiii. d. quos posuit in construccione domus ingeniorum Castri Dublinie, per manum Johannis de Sancta Clena et Simonis de Felda. Et eidem xii. li. x. s. v. d. ob. quos posuit in construccione coquine Castri Dublinie; et xxx. s. quos posuit in fenestris ruinosis aule et scamnis faciendis et magni putei replacione et emendacione pontis et [. . [1]] pontis pavimento, et emendacione capelle et aliorum domorum Castri Dublin. Et eidem ii. s. iiii. d. quos posuit in empcione vi. serularum . . et lxv. s. viij. d. quos posuit in construccione unius domus infra Castrum, ad liberacionem ciborum."

The chapel of the Castle of Dublin is mentioned so early as 1225, in a Close Roll of England, from which we learn that William de Radeclive, then King Henry's Chaplain in the royal chapel in Dublin Castle, received, annually, fifty marks, as a gift from the Crown—"Capellanus in capella nostra in Castro nostro Dublinie."[2]

On an Exchequer account of 1250 are entered payments for improving and repairing the royal wardrobe in Dublin Castle; for repairs of the great hall, kitchen, windows of the houses, chapel, and chambers of the Exchequer.[3] A Plea Roll of 1278 records the indictment of Fingola, wife of Walter Mac Torkoyl, for having carried to the Castle of Dublin linen cloths with which he and others made ropes to descend the walls of the fortress :—"Fyngole, uxor Walteri Mac Torkoyl, indictatus quod ipsa venit ad Castrum Dublinie et deferebat linteamina, etc., de quibus ipse et alii fecerunt cordas per quas descendisse muros Castri predicti voluissent." —*Rot. Placit. Hib.* 6 Ed. I.

Extinction of male line of family of Maréchal, page 101.

King Dermod Mac Murragh's grand-daughter, Isabel, wife of the first Earl Guillaume, was said, in England, to have predicted that, although her five sons might successively inherit the high

[1] Roll decayed.
[2] Rot. Litt. Claus., 1844, ii. 52.
[3] Mss. Reg. Brit. Mus. 18, c. xiv.

titles of their house, they should quickly pass away, like shadows, and leave no male heirs. Isabel died in 1220, and was buried in the Maréchal Abbey of Tintern, in Wales, from which the establishment in Wexford was styled "New Tintern."[1] The fulfilment of her prediction, twenty-five years subsequently, and the extinction, in 1245, of the Maréchal name, once so formidable to the foes of England, was pathetically chronicled, as follows, by Matthew of Westminster:—"Eodem tempore [Kal. Decembris] obiit Comes Marescallus Walterus Londoni. Et cito post, scilicet, Nonis Decembris, obiit Anselmus, frater ipsius, elegans et egregiæ indolis adolescens, ipsum comitatum cum Marescallia, qui ei iure hereditario contingebat, recepturus: unde, ante mortem, 'Comes' appellabatur. Et sic omnes filii Magni Marescalli Gulihelmi (nescitur quo peccato exigente) iuxta Comitissæ, matris eorum, vaticinium, sine liberis post se relictis, quasi umbræ ab hoc sæculo migrauerunt. Omnes tamen successive Comites (prout mater predixerat, quasi spiritu prophetico) extiterunt. Et sic nobilis clipeus ille Marescallorum, tot et tantis hostibus Angliæ formidabilis, euanuit."[2]

Partition of Leinster among the five grand-daughters of Richard Fitz-Gislebert, page 101.

The details, hitherto unpublished, of this important division, are recorded as follows on the Patent Roll of England of the twenty-second year of Edward III., part 2, m. 45:—

"Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Inspeximus quendam rotulum inter memoranda Cancellariæ Domini, H. quondam Regis Angliæ proavi nostri inventum, tenor cujus rotuli sequitur in hæc verba: Participacio terrarum Comitis Marescalli inter heredes ipsius Marscalli de terris in Anglia et Marchiis, post mortem ejusdem Marescalli.

"Participatio facta inter eosdem heredes de terris quæ fuerunt ipsius Marescalli in Hibernia.

"Pars Comitis Gloucestrie: Kilkenny Burgus, lxxiii. li. iii. s. x. d. Corpus Comitatus cum assisis et perquisitis cxxx. li. xvj. s. iii. d.

[1] Ex Leg. Monast. de Dunbrothy, ut ante, MS.
[2] "Flores Hist.," 1570, 204.

Dunfer, xxxvij. li. xvj. s. iii. d. Locmadran, xix. li. viij. s. vi. d. ob. Grenan, x. li. viij. s. xi. d. Summa, cccxlvj. li. vij s. iiii. d. ob.[1] Et excedit quintam partem lxi. s. x. d. et assignantur parti de Dummas in villa de Callan.

"Pars Johannis de Monte Kaniso: Weseforde Burgus, xlij. li. xvij. d. Corpus Comitatus, ut supra, L. li. xii. s. vj. d. Odoch, xlij. li. x. s. iiii. d. Rosclar, lxviij. li. xix. s. xi. d. Karret [*sic*], xxiij. li. xv. s. Fernes, lxxxxj. li. xv. s. In villa de Tamminie de superplusagio de Kildar, xxxv. s. ii. d. ob.[2] Summa, cccxlj. li. x. s. iv. d. ob.

"Pars Willielmi de Vescy et participum suorum: Kildar burgus xxiij. li. iii. s. iiii. d. Corpus Comitatus, ut supra, lxxiij. li. xi. s. Karberie, lx. li. xix. s. viij. d. Ballimadan, liij. li. xix. s. x. d. Mon, lxxxiv. li. xiij. s. ix. d. Kumbre, xxxij. li. xviii. d. Tamminie, vij. li. xvi. s. ii. d. Clumena, ix. li. xviij. s. viij. d. Summa, cccxlv. li. iij. s. xi. d. [*sic.*] Et excedit quintam partem xxxviij. s. iv. d. ob. Dequibus assignantur parti de Wodesford in villa de Taminie. [*sic.*]

"Pars Comitisse Warrene: Katherlak Burgus, xxiiij. li. xii. s. iiij. d. Corpus Comitatus, ut supra, xxiiij. li. xxiij. d. Ballidunegan, xi. li. xvij. s. ii. d. Futherec, liij. li. v. s. ii. d. Taumlyn, xxxviij. li. xviij. s. i. d. Castrum de Ros, lxxij. li. iij. s. iiij. d. ob. Burgus de Ros, lij. li. xiii. s. iv. d. Insula, xliij. li. vj. s. Balisex, xxviij. li. v. s. vij. d. Summa, cccxlix. li. ii. s. xi. d. ob. Et excedit quintam partem cxvij. s. v. d. et assignantur parti de Dummas in villa de Balisex.

"Pars Rogeri de Mortuo Mari et participum suorum: Dummas Burgus, ciiij. li. xix. s. i. d. Obboy, lxxxii. li. viij. s. v. d. ob. Athkbo, lxxij. li. vi. s. v. d. Karnebo, lxxiiij. li. viij. s. iij. d. In villa de Balisex de superplusagio de Katherlak, cxvij. s. v. d. In villa de Kallan de superplusagio de Kilkenny, lxj. s. x. d. In villa

[1] The figures as above enrolled produce £271 13s. 9d. instead of the given total of £346 7s. 4d. Portion of the deficiency of £74 13s. 7d. is explained by the omission of "Callan, x. li. viij. s. x. d.," which appears in a MS. entitled "Partitio terrarum et tenementorum que fuerint Walteri Mareschalli in Hibernia, facta inter heredes ipsorum Walteri et Anselmi in curia Domini Regis Henrici tercii, Regis Anglie, anno regni sui xxxj. to, apud Woodstocke." Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4791, & T. C D.—E. 3, 20.

[2] These items produce £30 1s. less than the total given. The deficiency is accounted for by the following entry omitted on the Patent Roll, but given in the "Partitio," already cited: "Banno, xxxj. li. x. d."

de Mon, de superplusagio de Kildar, iij. s. i. d. Summa, cccxliij. li. iiij. s. vi. d. ob.

"Nos tenorem rotuli predicti omnibus quorum interest duximus significandum per presentes.

"In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxviij. die Februarii."

Jean Fitz-Geoffroi, Justiciary, page 102.

Dr. Hanmer, in his "Chronicle of Ireland," 1633, page 198, erroneously set down this eminent personage as son of Geoffroi de Marreis, and the mistake has been followed by all succeeding writers and compilers of catalogues of the Viceroys of Ireland.

Legal instruments of the colony in Ireland, issued in the name of "the Lord Edward," page 103.

Much money was drawn by England from the colony in Ireland at this period, under writs to the Exchequer at Dublin, addressed as follows :—

"Edwardus, illustris Regis Anglie, primogenitus, Thesaurario et Camerariis Scaccarii sui Dublin, liberate de thesauro nostro," etc.

One of these writs for 1257, mentions that two thousand and eighty-six pounds and ten shillings had been transmitted to Chester from the Treasury at Dublin.[1] A loan of two thousand and eighty marks was, at the same time, obtained by "the Lord Edward" from the citizens of Waterford; and from the Exchequer in Ireland were also drawn moneys to pay for soldiery, provisions, and ships for the wars in Wales.[2] The Pipe Roll of Ireland of 1266 contains the following entries in connexion with the Castle of Dublin :—

"Eisdem [Simon Unred et Reymundo le Peyteney] c.s. quos posuere in reparacione quarumdam domorum Castri Dublinie, per breve Domini Eduardi.

"Et eisdem viii. solidos quos, per preceptum ejusdem Domini, posuere in octo doliis vini usque in Castrum Dublinie cariandis et

[1] Rot. Lib. Hib. xlv. Hen. iij., term S. Mich.
[2] Rot. Pip. Hib. xlix. Hen. iij., term. Pasch.

liberatis Radulfo de Norwich, Constabulario ejusdem Castri, ad municionem ejusdem."[1]

Alain de la Zouche, Justiciary, page 103.

In the Public Record Office, London, is preserved a letter addressed by him, as Justiciary, to Henry iii., stating that the Abbot and Convent of Mellifont had complained to him that the Bailiffs of Geoffroi de Joinville, in Meath, had usurped the liberties which the King's grandfather and father, and the King himself, had granted to them by charters, and praying to have the King's commands thereupon.[2]

On a roll of 1258 is entered a payment of sixty shillings, which the Justiciary, Alain de la Zouche, had borrowed at Dundalk, for one day's victuals for three hundred of his retinue, sent with the Seneschal of Ulster for the protection and defence of the King's land in Ulster :—

"Sexaginta solidos, quos dilectus et fidelis noster, Alanus de la Zuch, Justiciarius noster Hiberniæ . . mutuo apud Dundalk, recepit, ad cibum trecentorum satellitum de familia, per unum diem, quos, cum Senescallo nostro Ultoniæ, misimus in terram nostram Ultoniæ, ad tuicionem et defensionem terræ ejusdem."[3]

Emmeline de Longespée, Countess of Ulster, page 105.

Impressions of her seal and counter-seal are preserved in the British Museum.

Sir Robert D'Ufford, page 108.

A portion of Sir Robert's Viceregal accounts are recorded on the Pipe Roll[4] of Ireland for 1275–6. His expenditure included payments for bread, wine, ale, flesh, fish, fees of castles, freights of ships, wages of Welsh, and other soldiers. The original headings are as follow :—

"Compotus Roberti de Ufford, Capitalis Justiciarii Hybernie, de

[1] Rot. Pip. Hib. 50 Hen. iij.
[2] Appendix III. to the fourth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of England, 145, 1843.
[3] Rot. Lib. Hib. 42 Hen. iij.
[4] Rot. Pip. Hib. 5 Ed. i.

omnibus receptis, expensis, et misis suis, per manus Michælis de Hayton, a die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, anno regni Regis Edwardi, quarti, usque ad vigiliam Natalis Domini, anno regni Regis ejusdem quinto."—"In expensis predicti Roberti, videlicet in pane, vino, cervisia, carnibus, feodis castrorum, et omnibus aliis necessariis expensis, factis per manus predicti Michælis, tam in Anglia quam in Hibernia, tam in fretto navium, vadiis balistariorum Walencium et aliorum satellitum, et omnibus aliis minutis expensis factis per eumdem per totum predictum tempus."

Geofroi de Joinville, Lord of Vaucouleur, page 108.

Jeanne la Pucelle.—Sir John Talbot.

"Universis Christi fidelibus præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Gaufridus de Genvyle, dominus de Vaucolour, miles, et Matildis de Lacy, filia Gileberti de Lacy, uxor ejus, salutem in Domino sempiternam."—*Carta Gaufridi de Genevile Abbatiæ Dorensi in agro Herefordensi.*[1] In 1290, Edward III. confirmed the rights of Geoffroi de Joinville and his wife, Matilda, within their liberty of Trim: "Breve quod homines de Trim non placitentur extra libertatem illam"[2] The De Joinville district of Vaucouleurs is memorable for having been the birthplace of the "Maid of Orleans."

De Joinville's decease, as a Dominican friar at Trim, is chronicled as follows by Pembridge:—"Dominus ac frater, Galfridus de Genevile, obiit decimo secundo calendarum Novembris [1314] sepultus in suo ordine fratrum, Prædicatorum de Trym, qui fuit Dominus Libertatis Midiæ." Michelet observes, that had Jeanne d'Arc been born a century earlier, she should have been a serf of De Joinville, Lord of Vaucouleurs, and, we may add, of Meath:—"Ce fut justement entre la Lorraine des Vosges et celle des plaines, entre la Lorraine et la Champagne, que naquit, a Dom Rèmy, la belle et brave fille qui devait porter si bien l'épée de la France. Quelques siècles plus tôt, Jeanne serait née serve de l'abbaye de Saint-Remy; un siècle auparavant serve du sire de Joinville. Il était en effet seigneur de la ville de Vaucouleurs dont le village de Dom-Remy

[1] Monast. Anglic., 1655, 863.
[2] Rot. Placit., Hib. 17-18, Ed. i.

dépendait. Mais en 1335 le roi obligea les Joinville de lui céder Vaucouleurs. C'était alors le grand passage de la Champagne à la Lorraine, la droite route d' Allemagne, non seulement la route d'Allemagne, mais aussi celle des bords de la Meuse, la croix des routes. C'était encore, pour ainsi dire, la frontière des partis."[1] Sir John Talbot, who led the soldiery of England against "the Maid," was, by a strange coincidence, Lord of portion of Meath, in right of his connexion with the representatives of Marguerite, sister of Matilda de Lasci, wife of De Joinville, sire de Vaucouleurs:[2] "A Orléans, l'invincible gendarmerie [Anglaise], les fameux archers, Talbot en tête, avaient montré le dos; à Jargeau, dans une place et derrière de bonnes murailles, ils s'étaient laissé prendre; à Patay, ils avaient fui à toutes jambes devant une fille."[3]

Guillaume de Vesci, Lord of Kildare, page 111.

De Vesci's claims as descendant of Sibilla, fourth daughter of the Earl Guillaume Maréchal, are detailed as follows:—

"Sibilla, quarta filia Willielmi Marescalli, nupta Willielmo de Ferrariis, Comiti de Derby, de quibus Agneta, et Isabella, Matilda et Sibilla. Agneta de Vescy, nupta Willielmo de Vescy, de quibus Johannes de Vescy, de quo Willielmus de Vescy."[4]

Among the records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer in England, is preserved a memorial, written towards the close of the thirteenth century, which mentions the town of Tristledermot, in Kildare, as within the franchise of Sir William de Vesci, who there "ad sa chauncelerie, ses pleez, et plenere conoissaunce de pleintes."[5] The Anglo-Irish chroniclers exalted the Geraldines at the expense of the extinct male line of De Vesci, by misrepresenting that Sir Guillaume fled to France to avoid single combat with Jean Fitz Thomas.[6] Agatha de Mortimer and Cecilia de Beauchamp petitioned the Parliament of England

[1] Hist. de France, par M. Michelet, 1841, v. 49.
[2] See page 304.
[3] Michelet, ib. 159.
[4] Add. MSS. Brit. Mus, 4791.
[5] Documents from Records of Exchequer, 1844, xvij.
[6] Grace Annales Hiberniæ, 1845, 42; Camdeni Britannia, 1607, 802.

against the acts of their partner, De Vesci, who, they alleged, had, to their prejudice, transferred to the King their portions of Kildare, with those to which he himself was entitled.[1]

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

Matt. Paris Hist. Major, 1645.—Matt. West. Flores. Hist., 1570.—Lib. Rub. Scacc.—Rot. Litt. Claus., 1833.—Rot. Pat. Angl.—Rot. Pat. Hib.—Rot. Scacc. Hib.—Rymer.—J. Grace Annales Hiberniæ, 1845.—Pembridge Annales Hiberniæ.—Prynne's Records.—Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum. disp. A. Theiner, Romæ : 1864.—Royal and other historical letters, by W. Shirley, 1862.—Annals of Clonmacnoise, Ms. R.I.A.—Memoirs of C. O'Conor.—Bart. Cotton Historia Anglicana, 1859.—Baronage of England, 1675.—Mss. T.C.D. E. 3, 20.—Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848.—Annals of Lacock, by W. L. Bowles, 1835.—Miscellany of the Celtic Society, 1849.—Gul. Neubrig. Hist. Anglic., 1719.—Memoirs of Joinville, 1807.—Historie of Ireland, 1633.—Vincent's Discoverie of errors in the catalogue of nobility, 1622.—Exchequer Records, 1844.—Placita Parliamentaria, 1661.—Monast. Anglic. 1655-1661.—Monasticon Hibernicum, 1786.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

English Landholders on the Marches, page 114.

"Concordatum est et concessum quod quilibet tenens xx. libratas terre, sive in marchia, sive in terra pacis, cujuscunque fuerit condicionis, habeat unum equum competenter coopertum una cum ceteris armis quæ ad hoc pertinent continue promptum in sua mansione. Alii autem tenentes habeant hobinos et aliis equos discoopertos juxta suas facultates."—*De Concilio Hibernie.—Miscellany Irish Archæol. Soc.*, 1846.

[1] Rot. Parl. Angl., 33 Ed. i.

Salary of Viceroy, page 120.

"Feodum Capitalis Justiciarii: Liberate Johanni Wogan, Capitali Justiciario Hibernie cxxv. li. a xxxi° die Marcii anno regni Regis Edwardi [i.] usque ad xxx. diem Junii proximum sequentem, viz., pro uno quarterio anni in parte solucionis feodi sui D. li. quod ei concessit Dominus Rex, singulis annis, quamdiu steterit in officio predicto."[1]

Inability of Government at Dublin to execute King's orders, page 124.

The certificate of the Treasurer and Baron of the Exchequer at Dublin concluded as follows:—"Propter locorum distanciam et guerram inter quosdam Magnates terre Hibernie motum in partibus predictis, ad partes illas accedere non audemus et juratores parcium illarum ad nos venire nequeunt ex causa premissa; ita quod per patriam inde inquirere nondum valemus."[2] The charter to Limerick, in 1291, contained the following memorandum respecting the difficulties attendant on attempts of the colonists to communicate with the English Government at Dublin:—"Irrotulatum, propter viarum discrimina et alia pericula, que poterint immineri quoad portandam dictam cartam ad Dublin, et illam ibi ostendendam Justiciariis in diversis placitis, quod frequenter fieri oportet."[3] Among the goods of the Templars seized in Ireland, are enumerated chalices, books of antiphons, graduals, processionals, vestments, steeds, and vessels of silver and brass.[4]

Templars of Clontarf,—Giraldus Cambrensis in Ireland, page 125.

Archdall did not succeed in recovering any details of the history of this preceptory. That it was established soon after the Anglo-Norman descent is, however, evidenced by a deed of 1185, among the witnesses to which were Gaultier, a Templar of Clontarf, and

[1] Rot. Lib. Hib. termino Pasch. xxx. Ed. iij.
[2] Certificatio Thesaurarii et Baronum de Scaccario Dublinie pretextu brevis Domini Regis sibi directi, xviij. die Feb. 2° Ed. ii., Ms.
[3] Rot. Pat. Hib. 31 Ed. I., n. 13.
[4] "Particule de bonis Templariorum captis in manum Regis . . de quibus Alex. de Bykenore, Archiep. Dub. nuper Thes. Hib. in compoto suo ad Scacc. redd. oneratur."—Ms.

the noted Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of St. David's, in Wales. No other instrument has hitherto been discovered bearing the attestation of Cambrensis during his sojourn in Ireland:—"Conventio inter Johannem Archiepiscopum Dublinie et Leonardum, Abbatem [domus] Beatæ Mariæ, juxta Dublin. Testibus. R., Abbate de Bildewas: Henrico Priore Omnium Sanctorum de Dublin; Simone, Priore S. Thome; *Giraldo Archidiacono de Sancto Davide;* Hugone de Clahul et Andrea, Hospitilariis; *Waltero, Templario, de Clantarf;* Hamone Passelino, Constabulario de Dublin, et aliis." The Templars of Clontarf and Henri Foliot, Master of that Order in Ireland, were parties to a deed executed about 1210.

Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Viceroy, page 126.

"Erat hic Petrus Italus natione, corpore elegans, ingenio acer, moribus curiosis in re militari satis exercitatus."[1] Walsingham tells us:—"Iste Petrus filius fuerat cujusdam generosi sed alienigenæ de Wasconia." The latter writer incorrectly represents Gaveston's marriage to have taken place after his return from Ireland.[2] On the Issue Roll of England for 1307, is entered a payment for divers tassels of gold, a chaplet and frontal of gold, an alb, with pearls and silk, and other mercery given by the King to the Countess of Cornwall, and to other ladies and maids of honour then with him.[3] Gaveston's mission to Ireland is noticed as follows by his contemporary, Thomas de la Moor:—"Rex, quo detineret animos nobilium in Petrum, eum in Hiberniam transmisit cum satis magna manu adversus Hibernos rebelles; stipendium ex ærario suo assignavit solvendum. Is prospere primum pergressus est, sed, fortuna statim mutata, nondum transacto anno in Angliam rediit ad Regis contubernium."[4] An old Evesham writer, quoted by J. Leland, says that the King assigned his entire revenue in Ireland (totum proficuum) to Gaveston, who lived there in royal state—"ubi regaliter vixit."[5]

[1] Vita et mors Ed. II. ed. Camden, 1601, 593.
[2] Historia Brevis, ib. 98. See Tyrrell's observations "Gen. Hist. of England," iii. 1704, 228.
[3] Issues of the Exchequer, 1837, 120.
[4] Vita et mors Ed. II., ut sup.
[5] J. Lelandi Collectanea, 1784, i. 248.

Dissensions among settlers, page 129.

"Anno Domini, 1311. Willielmus de Burgo venit cum magno exercitu versus Dominum Richardum de Clare, apud Bonrath, et eum insultavit, et Dominus Richardus de Clare eum cepit et in castro suo de Bonrath in custodia tenuit, et multos de suis, sine numero, occidit."—*Mss. T.C.D.*, E. 3, 20.

Supplies drawn by England from Ireland for wars in Scotland, page 131.

Entries on this subject appear on the Exchequer[1] and Chancery Rolls of Ireland.[2] During the wars of Edward I., corn was occasionally sent from Scotland to be ground in Ireland, and thence re-shipped to the former country. Among the vessels engaged by Edward I. in carrying men and victuals for his army in Scotland, were "la Godyere, de Divelyn," "la Mariote de Drogheda," "le Grace-Dieu de Ross." "Henri de Crokfergus," or of Carrickfergus, is also mentioned as master of a ship employed in this service by Edward I.[3]

Aymer de Valence, Commander of the English Army in Scotland, page 132.

This important personage, Lord of Wexford, visited Ireland, in 1315. The Issue Roll of England, for that year, contains an entry of a payment to the messenger of Lord Aymer de Valence, for certain news which he brought to the King from the said lord from Ireland.[4] Aymer's charter to his burgesses of Wexford is dated at Radclive-on-Trent, 25th of July, 1317.[5] An account of De Valence and of his tomb will be found in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments," London: 1786, vol. i., part 2, page 86. De Valence's connexion with Wexford is explained by the

[1] Rot. Lib. Hib. term. S. Trin. an. xxx. Ed. I.
[2] Rot. Claus. Hib. 5 Ed. II. nos. 5, 6, 7.
[3] Liber quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ, anno regni regis Edwardi primi, vicesimo octavo. Lond.: 1787, 272-3.
[4] Issues of the Exchequer, 1837, 126.
[5] Rot. Pat. Hib. 1 Eliz. m. 18. d.

following details:—"Johanna, secunda filia Willielmi Marescalli Comitis, nupta Warreno de Monte Caniso, de qua procreatus est Johannes de Monte Caniso, qui obiit sine herede de se, et post, mortem dicti Warreni, Johanna, antedicta filia dicti Willielmi Marescalli, fuit nupta Willielmo de Valentia, de quo Adomarus, Isabella, et Elizabeth."[1]

Descent of Bruce from Dermod Mac Murragh, page 133.

Isabella, great-grand-daughter of King Dermod, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, whose daughter, Christiana, became mother of King Robert Bruce.[2] Marriage with Elizabeth, a direct descendant of Jeanne, second daughter of the Earl Guillaume Maréchal, connected Bruce's rival John Comyn, "Red Comyng de Scotland," with the same Leinster stock.[3]

Lough Sueedy, in Westmeath, page 135.

"*Baile-Mor-Locha-Semhdidhe*, now Ballymore-Loughsewdy, in the county of Westmeath, situated midway between Athlone and Mullingar. The lough from which this ancient Anglo-Irish town (now a ruined village) took its name, is now corruptly called in Irish, *Loch Seimhdile*, and, in English, Lough Sunderlin, from the late Lord Sunderlin, of Baronstown; but its correct name of Lough Sewdy has been adapted on the ordnance map."—*J. O'Donovan—Annals of Ireland*, 1848, ii. 970. In Anglo-Irish records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Loch Semhdidhe*, is styled "Loghsuedy," or "Lokseudy."[4]

The Viceroy, Edmund Le Botiller, defeated by Edward Bruce and his Irish allies, page 135.

The position of the English territory in Ireland at this juncture, is illustrated by the following precept, issued in February, 1316, authorizing the English Judges to postpone, by proclamation,

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4791.
[2] Grace, Annales Hiberniæ, by Irish Archæol. Society, 1842.
[3] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4791, f. 75, a.
[4] Rot. Pat. Hib. 48 Ed. iij., no. 106; 2 Hen. V., no. 137; Calend. 89, 207.

the business of their law courts for Hilary Term till the ensuing Easter, as suitors could not reach Dublin without risking their lives:

"De prorogando termino propter invasionem Scotorum:

"Edwardus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, et Dux Aquitaniæ, Justiciariis suis de Banco Dublin, Salutem. Quia, occasione turbacionis, per Scotos inimicos et rebelles nostros, in terra nostra Hiberniæ subortæ, Populus terræ coram vobis in Banco prædicto, placitans, propter viarum discrimina, et inimicorum insidias, coram vobis, in eodem banco, absque vitæ variis periculis accedere non potest, sicut multis est manifestum. Nos, indemnitati ejusdem Populi, in omnibus, quibus juste poterimus prospicere, volentes, vobis mandamus, quod, habito inter vos super hoc tractatu diligenti, omnia placita instantis termini sancti Hilarii coram vobis incohata, vel incohanda, per publicam proclamacionem, usque ad quindenam Paschæ, proxime futuram, prorogetis; ita quod placita prædicta tunc sint in eodem statu quo nunc sunt in Banco prædicto. Teste, Edmundo Le Botiller, Justiciario nostro Hiberniæ, apud Dublin, quarto die Februarii anno regni nostro nono."[1]

Engagement of Anglo-Irish Lords to resist Bruce, page 135.

"Come par mauvoyte d'aucunes gentz de loinz, compassauntz et purchasauntz damage et desheriteson a nostre seigneur, Monsieur Edward, par le grace de Dieu, Roi d'Engleterre, seigneur d'Irlande, et ducs d'Aquitaine, et a ses heirs, et a nous, et a noz heires, les treytours nostre dit seigneur, le Roi, et ses enemys d'Escoce soient entreez en la terre d'Irlaunde, a purprendre la dite terre sur nostre dit seigneur, le Roi, et sur nous, et eient attrete divers eux touz les ireys d'Irlaunde, et graunde partie des grauntz seigneurs, et menes gentz Engleis de la dite terre, soient donez as ditz enemys, nostre seigneur le Roi, et les noz, countre lour foie, et lour liegeaunce:

"Nous, eiauntz regarde a la liegeaunce, foie, leaulte, et homage que nous devoms, et avoms fait a nostre dit seigneur, le Roi, coment

[1] Rot. Pat. 9, Ed. II. This document escaped the researches of the Record Commission for Ireland.

que nous veoms overtement nostre grant damage, aussibien en perte de noz gentz, terres et chateux, come disheriteson nostre dit seigneur, le Roi, pur nostre bone foie tenir et leaute vers nostre liege seigneur, le Roi d'Engleterre, avantdit, et a ses heirs. Conoissoms, et loialement promettoms, par cestes lettres pur nous, et pur noz heires, que bien et loialement maintendroms, garderoms, et defenderoms, a tote nostre poer, totes les dreitures et les resons nostre dit seigneur, le Roi, contre tote manere de gentz qui porront vivre, ou morir; e nostre leale peine y mettrons a destrure les ditz enemys nostre seigneur, le Roi, saunz nule manere de fraude, ou de feyntise; e a ce conoissoms chescun de nous estre jurez sur seintz evangel."[1]

The Viceroys, Le Botiller and De Mortimer, pages 135-6.

Barbour, throughout his poem of "The Brus," erroneously represented Sir Richard de Clare to have been Viceroy for Ireland during these wars:

"at Dundalk was assemble
Mad of the lordis of that cuntre
In host tha war assemblit thar:
Thar was first Schir Richard of Clar,
That in all Irland was luftenand
Mad be the King of Ingland."

In another part of his work, Barbour writes of

"Richard of Clar,
That was the Kingis luftenand
Of all the barnage of Irland."

—*The Brus, from a collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Mss.* Aberdeen: for the Spalding Club, 1856, 326, 330.

Castle of Ley, sacked by Edward Bruce and his Irish Allies, page 136.

The remains of this fortress, situate near Portarlington, in the present Queen's County, were described as follows, towards the close of the last century, by Dr. Edward Ledwich:—

The Castle of Ley was erected on a hill or gently rising ground.

[1] Rymer, ii. pt i., 1818, p. 283.

Its length externally is sixty feet, its breadth forty-six. The works are eight feet thick, and in some places ten. It was three stories high; the arches are all circular, except one pointed leading from the causeway into the bawn, probably a later construction. On the north ran the river Barrow, the other sides were secured by a ditch twenty-five feet broad, which could occasionally be filled with water from the river. Within the ditch was a wall, the foundations of which only remain. The approach to this fortress was by a causeway one hundred feet in length; the outer ballium from East to West is four hundred and ten, and from North to South, including the bawn, three hundred and fifty in diameter. The inner ballium from North to South is one hundred and forty, and from East to West one hundred and thirty feet. The bawn was a common appendage to castles. Stanihurst describes it as connected with castles, and being a large area surrounded with great ditches and ramparts; within these cattle were driven and protected from an enemy or thieves."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, 1804, p. 297.

Castle of Kildare beleaguered by Edward Bruce, page 136.

William de Wellesley, in a petition to the Parliament of England, in 1320, stated, as follows, that, at the cost of more than two hundred pounds, he victualled and garrisoned this fortress, which he defended during three days and lost two of his cousins in the assault: —"En qi temps le Escotz enemys nostre Seigneur, le Roy, vindrent en Irelaund, pur qei covendroit au dit William de vitailler le dit chastiel [de Kildare], et tenir gentz des armes, issi qe le dit chastiel ne fust surpris, ne perdu par defaut de vitaille ne de eide, lesqueux coustages amountent a plus de cc. li. Estre ceo it perdist deux de ses cosynes par l' assaut de meymes les felonnes, laquel assaut dura iii. jours."[1]

John Cadel, in a memorial, praying for the office of porter of Dublin Castle, stated as follows that his brother and his cousin were slain in these wars:—" A nostre seigneur, le Roy, prie pur Dieu, Johan Cadel d' Ireland, q' ad este sovent en sa guerre en Irelaund, et a l' asaut De Berewyk, q' il lui plese graunter en reward de son

[1] Rot. Parl. Angl. 14 Ed. II.

service l' office destiere portier du Chastiel de Dyvelyn, a terme de sa vie a tenir, et en reward del meschief que lui avient quant il perdit son frere et son cosyn par les Escotz en Ireland."

Death of Neill Fleming, at Carrickfergus, page 138.

" Quhen end was mad of this fichting,
Yhet than was lifand Nele Fleming.
Schir Eduard went him for to se:
About him slane lay his menhye
All in a lump on ather hand,
And he ready to de thrawand.
Schir Edward had of him pite,
And him full gretly menit he,
And regratit his gret manhed,
And his worschip and douchty ded;
Sic mane he mad, tha had gret ferly,
For he was nocht custumabilly
Wont for till mene onything,
Na wald nocht her men mak mening.
He stud tharby quhill he was ded,
And syn had him till haly sted
And him with worschip gert he be
Erdit with gret solemnite."

—" *The Brus*," *by John Barbour*, Aberdeen: 1856, page 341.

Encampment of Scotch and Irish at the Salmon Leap, page 140.

The Salmon Leap—" De Saltu Salmonis" was of one of the manors of the English Crown in Ireland. In 1320 Thomas de Warilave, " Constable de Chastiel du Roy de Saut de Salmoun en Irlande," declares that " Diverses, mesouns et tours en le dit Chastiel sont ruynouses et descovertz et empeirent grauementz de jour en autre."[1]

The Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer and the De Lascies, page 142.

No official muniment has yet been discovered so minute in details connected with the movement in favour of Bruce in Ireland as the following hitherto unpublished record respecting the outlawry of the De Lascies in King Edward's court at Dublin before the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, in July, 1318. From this process we learn that, on Friday after Trinity Sunday in 1317, the Vice-

[1] Rot. Parl. Angl., 14 Ed. III.

roy with the King's troops routed Gaultier de Lascy and his forces, captured his standard, and slew its bearer. Gaultier, himself, escaped with the loss of his coat of mail; but on the following day, with his brothers Hugues, Robert, Almaric and others, he again unsuccessfully attacked De Mortimer, who subsequently at Dublin, in the Council, caused process of outlawry to be decreed against them.

"Placita de Corona et Deliberacione gaole coram Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Tenente-locum Domini Regis, in Hibernia, apud Dublin, die Lune, proxima ante festum Sancte Marie Magdalene, anno regni Regis Edwardi, filii Regis Edwardi, undecimo :

Dublinia. Midia.

"Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, Tenens-locum Domini Regis, in terra Hibernie, et Custos ejusdem terre, convocatis coram eo, apud Dublin, die Lune proxima ante festum Sancte Marie Magdalene, anno regni Regis nunc undecimo, omnibus de Consilio Domini Regis, recordabatur in plena Curia Domini Regis, in eorum presencia, qualiter, ex testimonio fide-dignorum, et aliis diversis evidenciis, primo intellexit quod Walterus de Lacy, Hugo de Lacy, et alii eis adherentes, fuerunt, de consensu, assensu, et confederacione Roberti de Bruys, Edwardi de Bruys, et aliorum Scotorum, inimicorum Domini Regis, contra ligeanciam, fidem et fidelitatem, in quibus Domino Regi tenebantur. Propter quod idem Locum-tenens, appropinquans partes Midie, mandavit predicto Waltero et Hugoni, quod se redderent ad pacem Domini Regis. Ipsis, mandato illi non obedientibus, pupplice proclamari fecit in partibus quo iidem Walterus et Hugo tunc temporis extiterant, quod ipsi et eorum homines ac eis adherentes venirent ad pacem Domini Regis, et quia ipsi, habita noticia proclamacionis predicte, recusatoque mandato ipsius Locum-tenentis, ad pacem Domini Regis venire non curarunt. Idem Locum-tenens, ratione illius inobedience, vexillo Domini Regis displicato, adivit partes quo ipsi Walterus et Hugo extiterant, ad eorum rebellionem reprimendam, ubi predictus Walterus, cum magna multitudine armatorum, vexillo suo displicato, videlicet, die Veneris proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis, anno regni Regis nunc decimo, occurrit ipsi Locum-tenenti, et ei hostilem

dedit insultum in quo vexillator ipsius Walteri et plures de hominibus ejusdem fuerant interfecti, captisque vexillo ejusdem Walteri cum tunica sua armature, et idem Walterus confusus abcessit. Et post predictum conflictum dictus Walterus, die Sabbati proximo sequenti, congregatis sibi Hugone de Lacy, Roberto de Lacy, Almarico de Lacy, Johanne, filio Hugonis de Lacy, bastardo, Johanne, filio Walteri de Lacy, bastardo, Waltero de Say, Waltero le Blound, Johanne de Kermerdyn, et Simone, fratre Almarici de Lacy, et aliis, venit cum vexillo ipsius Hugonis displicato contra vexillum Domini Regis displicatum, et, unanimiter insurgentes, prefato Locum-tenenti et hominibus suis insultum fecerunt hostilem, ipsisque in fugam conversis, idem Locum-tenens inde recedens partes Dublinie adivit, premissa recordaturus in forma predicta. Et quia constat Curie, per recordum predictum, predictos Walterum, Hugonem, Robertum, Almaricum, Johannem, Johannem, Johannem, Walterum, Walterum, Johannem et Simonem, esse felones et inimicos Domini Regis, ob felonias et inimicicias predictas, sic, contra fidem et ligeanciam suam, per ipsos commissas, de consensu et assensu omnium de consilio predicto consideratum est, quod ipsi Walterus, Hugo, Robertus, Almaricus, Johannes, Johannes, Walterus, Walterus, Johannes et Symon sint convicti de predictis feloniis et inimiciciis et de cetero pro talibus habeantur. Et preceptum est Vicecomiti et Senescallo Libertatis in quorum balivis terre et tenementa eorundem existunt quod omnes terre et tenementa eorundem in manu Domini Regis capiantur, tanquam escaeta ipsius Domini Regis, una cum bonis et catallis earumdem ad quorumcunque manus devenerint Dominó Regi forisfactis."

Sir Piers de Bermingham, page 144.

A payment to him for the men and horses which he carried from Ireland to the service of Edward I. in Scotland, is entered on the roll of the English Exchequer at Dublin for 1301, as follows :—

" Petro de Byrmengham lxxxx. li. xvi. s. viij. d. qui ei aretro sunt de vadiis suis dum stetit in ultima guerra Domini Regis in Scocia, et pro restauro equorum et repassagio hominum et equorum suorum de Scocia in Hiberniam."[1]

[1] Rot. Lib. Hib. term. S. Trin. an. r. r. Ed. xxx.°

One of the earliest extant specimens of Anglo-Irish poetry, is a "song made A.D. 1308, in praise of the valiant knight, Sir Piers de Bermingham, who, while he lived, was a scourge to the Irish." The following verses occur in this composition, which was printed by Ritson from the Harleian Mss.[1]

"Ful wel ye witte his nam,
Sir Pers the Brimingham
Non nede hit is to telle.

"His name hit was ant isse,
Y sigge you ful, i wisse,
That uppe ssal arise;
In felle, flesse ant bone,
A better knight was none,
No none of more prise.

"Noble werrure he was,
A gode castel in place,
On stede ther he wold ride,
With his sper ant scheld,
In hard wodde ant feld
No thef him durst abide.

"Do thenchith al in him,
With weepin who wol win,
Hou gode he was to nede
In batail stif to stond,
I wis is pere was nond,
Alas he sold be dede!

"Al Englis men that beth
Sore mow wep is deth,
That such a knight ssold falle;
Thos knightis everich one
Of him mai mak mone,
As pervink of ham alle."

Defeat of Edward Bruce, page 146.

The sentiments of the Colonial Government on this victory were expressed in the following entry in the Red Book of the English Exchequer at Dublin :—

"Per diem Sabbati, A.D. 1318, fuerunt disconfusi omnes Scoti inter Dondalke et le Faghered, et Edwardus le Bruys, Johannes de Soules et alii proceres de Scotia quamplurimi occisi per Johannem de Byrmengham, Milonem de Verdoun et Hugonem de Stapleton, capitales duces communis populi Urielis et Midie. Et sic per manus

[1] Ancient songs and ballads, collected by Joseph Ritson, 1829, i. 70.

communis populi et dextram Dei deliberatur populus Dei a præcogitata et machinata servitute."

Roger de Mortimer, Viceroy, and the adherents of Bruce, page 147.

Amongst the charges brought against De Mortimer in 1330, was that he had obtained two hundred charters of pardon for those in Ireland who, having slain nobles and loyal subjects, should rather have been punished than forgiven :—

" Item, Le dit Roger, par son dit Roial poer, fist le Roi grantier a la mountance de cc. chartres a ceux d'Irland que avoient tuez les Grantz et autres de la terre d'Irland que furent a la foi le Roi en celes parties : Par la ou le Rois devoit plus tost par reson aver venge lur mort que pardone, contre fourme de statut et assent du Parlement."[1]

Johan de Gernon's right hand maimed in conflict with Bruce, page 147.

" A nostre seigneur, le Roy, prie Johan Gernoun de Irlaund, que en son service fuist mayme de sa meyn destre, a la mort Sire Edward Brus a Dundalk."[2]

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

Discoverie by Sir J. Davies, 1612.—Miscellany of Irish Archæological Society, 1846.—Rot. Pat. Hib.—Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer, 1836.—Dignities, Feudal and Parliamentary, by Sir William Betham, 1830.—Lib. Rub. Scacc.—Hibernica, by W. Harris, 1770.—Rot. Scacc. Hib.—Proceedings of Kilkenny Archæological Society, ii., 1854.—Archæologia, vol. xxviij.—Records of Exchequer, 1844.—Placita Parliamentaria, 1661.—Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, 1737.—Add. Mss. Brit. Mus. 6165.—Procès des Templiers, publié par M. Michelet;

[1] " Les tresons, felines et malveistes, faites a nostre Seigneur, le Roi, et a son poeple, par Roger de Mortimer, et autres de sa covyne."—Rot. Parl. Angl. iv. v. vi. Ed. iii.

[2] Rot. Parl. Angl. 14 Edw. ii.

Paris: 1841–51.—Peerage of Ireland, by J. Lodge, 1754.—Thomas de la Moor Vita et Mors, Ed. ii., 1601.—Hist. Anglic. Scriptores x. Lond.: 1652.—Annales Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, juxta Dublin, Ms.—Pembridge Annales Hiberniæ.—Annals by Grace and Clyn for Irish Archæological Society.—Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andreæ in Scotia; Edin., 1841.—Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral, by W. M. Mason, 1820.—Lib. Nig. Scacc. 1728.—Issues of Exchequer, 1837.—Ulster Journal of Archæology, v. vi., 1857–8.—The Bruce by John Barbour; Spalding Club, 1856.—Scotichronicon J. de Fordun, 1759.—Buchanani Opera, 1715.—Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, 1770.—Rymer.—Mat. Paris Hist. Major, ed. W. Wats, 1644.—Rot. Parl. Angl.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

Familiar demons in forms of cats, page 156.

Sir Richard Baker gives the following account of a demoniac feline contemporary in England of the Kilkenny cat of Dame Alice:

"One John Powdras, a tanner's son of Exeter, gave forth that himself was the true Edward, eldest son of the late King Edward the first, and by a false nurse was changed in his cradle, and that the now King Edward was a carter's son, and laid in his place. But this wind was soon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar spirit in his house, in the likeness of a cat, that assured him he should be King of England; and that he had served the said spirit three years before to bring his purpose about."[1]

Bartholomæus de Spina devoted chapter xix. of his "Quæstio de Strigibus, seu de maleficiis," to evidences of the apparent mutation of witches into cats—"Experientiæ apparentis conversionis strigum in catos."[2]

[1] Chronicle of the Kings of England, 1679, p. 109.
[2] Malleus Maleficorum, Basileæ: 1588.

Sorceresses in Kilkenny, page 156.

Bernard Basin, a Canonist of Saragossa, explained as follows why women were more prone than men to sorcery. "Sed unde est, quòd feminæ in maiori multitudine reperiuntur superstitiosæ et maleficæ quam viri? Respondeo, quòd triplici ratione. Primò, quià pronæ sunt ad credendum. Fidem autem malam Dæmon principaliter quærit. . Secundò, qui à natura facilioris sunt impressionis ad revelationes capiendas per impressionem separatorum spirituum. . Tertiò, quia linguam lubricam habent, et ea qua mala arte sciunt, comparibus fœminis vix cælare possunt, seque occultè cùm vires non habeant, per maleficia vindicare quærunt."—*De artibus Magicis ac Magorum maleficiis, opus præclarissimum, eximii Sacræ Legis disquisitoris, Magistri Bernardi Basin, Cæsaraugustanensis Ecclesiæ Canonici*, 1588, p. 19.

Attempt of Edward II. to reach Ireland.—The Irish Sea in winter, page 162.

"Rex vero, cum Hugone, juniore de Spencer, et Roberto Baldock, ingressus aquam, primo ad insulam de Londay inexpugnabilem, vel certe in Hiberniam, disposuit confugisse, sed, inter maris discrimina positus, miserabiliter per unam hebdomadam vacillavit."[1]

Eight years previously, Edward, in a letter to the Pope, had written as follows on the perils of the Irish Sea during winter:

"Mare Hibernicum adeò periculosum est, et tempestuosum, tempore yemali, quod vix audeat aliquis in dictum mare, durante dicto tempore, navim conscendere; quod veraciter sentimus, cum de arduis negotiis, nos in terra illa in præsentiarum contingentibus, scire certitudinem non valemus."[2]

The difficulty of communication between England and Ireland, formed the subject of an application, in 1317, from the Dominicans of the latter island to Pope John XXII.[3]

[1] Walsingham, Hist. Angl. ed. Camden, 1601, 125.
[2] Rymer, ii. 1818, 82.
[3] Theiner, Mon. Vet. Hib. et Scot. 1864, 196.

Necromancers, heretics, and anti-christians, in Ossory, page 169.

The prosecution of Dame Alice, and the burning of Petronille, failed to produce the anticipated reformation in Ossory. Nine years subsequently, Benedict XII. enjoined Edward III. to order his Viceroy and officers in Ireland to aid the Church with the secular arm, in repressing the evil-doers and worshippers of demons in Ossory, whose enormities are stated as follows in the Papal letter, on the authority of Bishop De Ledrede :—

"Nuper ad apostolatus nostri, prohdolor ! pervenit auditum, dum Venerabilis frater noster Ricardus, Episcopus Ossoriensis suam diocesim inre odinario visitaret, apparuerunt in medio catholici populi homines et eorum fautores heretici ceno pravitatis heretice labefacti, quorum quidam asserebant Ihesum Christum fuisse hominem peccatorum et iuste crucifixum pro suis extitisse pectatis ; 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 colendum, nec adorandum ullo modo sacramentum prefatum ; et etiam asserentes quod decretibus et decretabilibus, ac etiam mandatis apostolicis credere vel obedire minime tenebanter, nec non ad consulendum demones in agendis iuxta ritas et sectas gentium et paganorum, spretis ecclesie Catholice sacramentis, Christifideles suis superstitionibus attraxerunt. . Datum Avinione viii., Idus Novembris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo."[1]

From an epistle of Pius VI., in 1353, we learn that these delinquents evaded prosecution in Ossory, by retreating into the diocese of Dublin, where they were said to have been protected by Alexander de Bicknor, the English Archbishop of the latter See, who was himself for a time under sentence of excommunication.[2]

Gaelic and Anglo-Irish legends of ancient date, represented the people of Ossory, comprising all the County of Kilkenny and part of the Queen's County, to have been endowed with magical powers, through which they assumed at will the forms of wolves.[3]

[1] Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot. disp., A. Theiner, 1864, 269.
[2] Ibid. 299.
[3] The Irish version of Nennius, by Irish Archæological Society, 1848.

Prisage of Wines, page 170.

Theobald le Boteler, in 1290, detailed this right as follows :— "Prie celuy Theobald la grace nostre Seigneur, le Rey, re la ow sun pere e ses auncestres de la prise de vins en les cytez nostre Seigneur, le Rey en Irlaunde. Cest a savoir a prendre de chescun nef avenu des vins un tonel de vin devaunt le maste, et un autre derere, payant pur chescun tonel xl. souls a nostre Seigneur, le Rey; prie le avaunt dit Theobald kil put aver lestat son pere e ses auncestres kil unt use e eu ke par ceo ly a ses auncestres sont Botyellers nostre Seigneur, le Rey, de fee e le surnon emportent."[1]

In 1355, Theobald's descendant, James, first Earl of Ormonde, asserted his claims to the prisage in the following terms :—

"Item monstre a nostre seigneur, le Roi, le soen lige James le Botiller, Counte d'Oremound, que come ses auncestres, de temps dount memorie ne court, ount eu la prise des vins en Irlaunde, dount ils portent le nom de Botiller, c'est asavoir en quatre villes, Divelin, Droughda, Waterford et Lymerik, de chescune neef deux tonneaux, rendaunt pour chescum tonel xl. s., a l'Escheker nostre Seigneur, le Roi, en Dyvelin."[2]

Sir John de Bermingham, page 172.

Four years previously to his murder by the colonists, the conqueror of Edward Bruce obtained license from John XXII. to endow and establish a Franciscan Monastery in his town of Totemoy, or Totomoy,[3] a name formed from the Irish *Tuath-da-mhuighe*, or the cantred of the two plains, now comprising the baronies of Warrenstown and Coolestown, in the King's County.[4] In the Papal letter, dated from Avignon, on the ides of August, 1325, the Earl of Louth is styled, "Dilectus filius, nobilis vir, Johannes de Breningham de Ibernie Insula, Comes de Lonche [Louede]."[5]

From the patronymic of the founder, Mac Pheoris, or the son of

[1] Documents from Records of Exchequer, 1844, p. 82.
[2] Rot. Parl. Angl. 9 Ed. iii.
[3] "Pers in Totomoye."—Ritson's Ancient Songs, 1829, i. 74.
[4] Topographical Poems, by Irish Archæol. Society, 1862, lj.
[5] Vet. Mon. Hib. disp. A. Theiner, 1864, 231.

of Piers, this establishment was styled, by the Irish, *Mainstir Pheorais*, and subsequently known as Monasteroris.[1]

Richard Talbot, of Malahide, page 173.

"Richardus Talbot de Malaghide, validus in armis."—*Pembridge.* The Talbot family acquired Malahide and its vicinity at the era of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland. Before the close of the twelfth century, the Cistercians of Dublin obtained grants in Portmarnock (Portmyrnoch) and Mullachyedbeg from Richard Tallebot and his son, Reginald "de Wassunville," in Normandy.[2] The name of Reginald de Wassunville appears amongst those of the witnesses of a grant made by John, before 1199, to the Monastery of St. Thomas, at Dublin.[3]

Lordship of Clare, in Suffolk, page 182.

The accurate and laborious Lodge erroneously represents this as "the honour of Clare in Thomond."—*Peerage of Ireland*, edited by M. Archdall, 1789, i. 125. John XXII., in 1327, granted to William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, dispensation to marry a noble woman of England, related to him, within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This concession was made on the Earl's representation that the proposed alliance would tend to establish peace more firmly between the English and Irish—"Quod at solidandum firmius, Deo Duce, inter Anglicos et Ybernicos futuris temporibus pacis bonum, necnon propter alias rationabiles causas."—*Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.* disp. A. Theiner, 1864, 236.

Results of Murder of Earl of Ulster, in 1333, page 183.

This event, and the extinction of the male line of Maréchal, are alluded to as follows, by the author of a Treatise on the State of the English Government in Ireland in 1515 :—

"Many folke doth inquyre the cause why that the Iryshe folke be

[1] Monasticon Hibernicum, 1786, 403.
[2] Cartular. Abbat. S. Mariæ, Dublin, MS. ff. 31. 3 2.
[3] Regist. Cœnob. S. Thomæ, MS. f. 21.

growen so strong and the Kinges subgettes so feble, and fallen in so great rebellyon for the more parte. Some sayen, the deathe of thErlle Marshall, and thErll of Wolster, withoute eyre male, that was the twoo strongeyst lordes that ever was in this lande. Yf they hadde not dyed withoute heyre male, the lande hadde never rebellyd ayenst the King."—*State Papers, published under his Majesty's Commission*, 1834, *ii. part iii.*

Sir John de Cherlton, Viceroy, page 186.

"Decimo tertio Octobris, anno xi. Edwardi iii., venit Dublinie, Johannes de Cherlton, Justiciarius Hybernie."—MS. T.C.D., E. 3, 20.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

Instructions of Edward III. to Sir John Moriz, page 202.

This document, unnoticed by the historians of Edward III., ran as follows:—

"Instructiones pour Jean Morice, Justicier d'Irlande, sur son arivee icy.

"Edward, par la grauce de Dieu, Roi D'Engleterre, et de France, et Seigneur D'Irlande à nostre chier et loyal Jehan Morice, salutz. Pur ceo que puis vostre departir de nous avons entendutz que nostre Justice D'Irlande est ferment malade, et en graunt peril, vous mandons et chargeons, que vous vous hastez, tant come vous purriz, verz celles parties, et en cas que Dieu face sa volonte de luy, facez monstrer et user vostre commission, en manere come vous estez chargez; et a vostre venu illeosques nous facez distinctement certifier de l'estate du pays, et des novelles vers celles parties, ensemblement ove vostre avys et counseill.

Don soutz nostre Privi Seal a nostre Toure de Londres le x° jour de Avrill, le'an de nostre regne d'Engleterre vintizme et de France septisme.

Saying of Sir Thomas de Rokeby, page 205.

Sir John Davies,[1] Thomas Fuller,[2] and every other writer treating of De Rokeby, have assumed this "golden saying" to have originated with him. Rokeby's contemporary, the annalist Pembridge,[3] chronicles the subject as follows:—"Bene expugnavit Hibernicos, et bene solvebat pro victualibus suis, et dixit, Ego volo comedere et bibere de vasis ligneis, tamen et solvere aurum et argentum pro victu, et vestitu et stipendiariis."

The "golden saying" was, however, portion of a song composed

[1] "Discoverie of true causes," &c. London: 1612, p. 28.
[2] Worthies of England, 1811, ii. 526.
[3] Britannia, 1607, 830.

against the taxes levied by Edward I. This composition, consisting of alternate lines in Latin and French, contains the following rhymes :—

" Si le Roy freyt moun consail,
Tunc vellem laudare ;
D'argent prendre le vessel,
Monetamque parare ;
Mieu valdreit de fust manger,
Pro victu nummos dare,
Qe d'argent le cors servyr,
Et lignum pacare.
Est vitii signum
Pro victu solvere lignum."

" If the king would take my advice, I would praise him then,—to take the vessels of silver, and make money of them. It would be better to eat out of wood, and to give money for victuals—than to serve the body with silver, and pay with wood.—It is a sign of vice, to pay for victuals with wood."[1]

Viceroyalty of First Earl of Desmond, page 211.

W. Lynch,[2] by a strange oversight in his treatise on the Desmond family, stated that this Earl was Chief Governor of the English in Ireland for nearly five years, and represented William, Earl of Ulster, who was slain in 1333, to have succeeded Sir John Moriz, as Governor in 1344.

Dominico a Rosario, in the sixth chapter of his history of the Geraldines, falls into a complication of errors through confounding the first with the sixth Earl of Desmond.[3]

Colonists imprisoned and tortured by English officials, page 212.

" Quidam Justiciarii nostri Hibernie diversos homines Hibernie, majores et minores, per brevia, præcepta, billas et aliis modis voluntarie, et absque indictamentis, præsentacionibus seu debitis processibus, arrestaverint, ceperint et imprisonaverint in prisonisque obscuris, et in ferris ligatos detinuerint, donec per duricias, imprisonamenta, et inflictas pœnas, fines, et redemptiones cum ipsis Jus-

[1] Political Songs of England.—Camden Society, 1839, 186.
[2] View of Legal Institutions, 1830, 242, 243.
[3] Initium, Incrementum et exitus Giraldinorum, Desmoniæ Comitum, in Hibernia.—Ulyssiponæ : 1655.

ticiariis, et eorum privatis consiliariis et broccatoribus, pro eorum voluntatibus ad ipsorum singulare et non nostrum commodum fecerint, contra formam Magnæ Chartæ, et aliorum statutorum nostrorum inde editorum, et contra legem et consuetudinem dictæ terræ."[1]

Malatesta Ungaro, page 212.

"Nel mese di Luglio [1364] dell' anno presente si ammalò il vecchio Malatesta, Signor di Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, et Fossombrone, rinomato Signore per tante sue imprese di guerra, e per la molta sua saviezza. Per attestato della Cronica di Rimini in tutto il tempo della sua infermità attese ad opere di molta virtù e di grande edificazione, sì per la sua compunzione, come per le grazie e limosine ch' egli fece."—*Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, tomo ottavo, Lucca, 1763, 261.

Hawks obtained from Ireland by Edward III., page 213.

That this King also sent to the nobles of Ireland for deer-hounds, appears from the following document of 1335, directing payment of fourpence per day as wages to his huntsman Reinand, threepence halfpenny a day to his two attendants; one halfpenny per day for the food of each dog; and ordering that a ship should be procured to transport them and the dogs which they received to England:—

" Pour liverer les gages a Reynand, le venour, pour chiens le cerfe faire procurer en Irelande.

"Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, seigneur Dyrland, et Ducs Daquitain, a nostre Clerick Johanne de Ellerker, Tresorer Dyrland, salutz. Come nous soms escrit par noz autres letres as plusers Graunts es parties Dyrland, qu'ils nos voillent donner de leur chiens corantes pour le cerf, et meismes les-chiens liverer a Reinand, le veneour, portur de cestes parties mesme a nous, sicome nous lui avons chargez. Vos mandons que au dit Reinand facez liverer ses gages, cest assavoir, quatre deniers le jour, et por deux garceons qui sont en sa compagnie trois deniers et maille le jour, en jour que ils vendront a vous en Irland pur tut le temps qu'ils y

[1] Rot. Stat. Angl. 31 Edward iii.

demoroient pursuantz nos besoignes, et aussint facez trover a chescun des chiens que le dit Reinand vous tesmoignera, que nous serra done en la dite terre une maile le jour pour sa pature, pour le temps quils y demoroient. Et facez trover a mesme celui Reinand une niefe pur lui, et ses ditz garceons et les chiens, que nous y serroient donez, fesaunt endenture entre vous et le ditz Reinand, et quonque vous lui averes ensuit levere et trove par testmoignance de quele, et de cestes nos voilons que vous ent eiez due allowance sur vostre accompte.

"Donnes suz nostre privie seal a Chipstou le xviii. jour Daverill lan de nostre reigne noefisme."

Earl of Ormonde, Viceroy, page 214.—*Details of expenditure on Castle and Royal Chapel at Dublin*, 1358-1361.

During Ormonde's temporary absence, the government was administered by Thomas Fitz-Maurice, Earl of Kildare, who, in 1361, attested the following account of the expenditure above referred to :—

"Edwardus, Dei gratiæ, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario suo Dublin, salutem. Allocate Johanni Scrop, clerico, custodi operum et garnesture Castri nostri Dublin, et Scaccarii nostri ibidem, quadraginta et duas libras ac decem denarios, quos idem clericus posuit et expendidit in stipendiis cementariorum, carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum ibidem operancium et eisdem deserviencium, et eciam in maeremio, bordis, cindulis, gotteris et clavis, emptis ad diversa opera ibidem facienda, et pro stauro habendis, ac in portagio eorundem maeremii, bordarum, gotterorum, ac clavorum, necnon in ferro empto pro twystes, barres, hokes, genell, spykynges, magnos clavos, et aliis diversis necessariis, ibidem faciendis ; et in stipendiis fabrorum, pro eisdem faciendis, de dicto ferro, et pro duobus pykis de ferro de stauro, de novo faciendis, pro stauro habendis ; in stangno empto pro soudeare ad diversa gottera ibidem emendenda, et in stipendis unius plumbarii pro eisdem gotteris faciendis et reparandis de plumbo de stauro ; et in calce, sabalono et argillo emptis, pro diversis ibidem faciendis, et reparandis. Et in aliis diversis necessariis ibidem emptis et factis, a primo die Aprilis, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii, post conquestum Angliæ, tricesimo secundo

usque decimum diem Marcii anno regni Regis ejusdem tricesimo quinto, videlicet per duos annos et dimidium, unum quarterium anni et decem septimanas, sicut continetur in Rotulis de particulis, quos predictus clericus liberavit ad Scaccarium predictum, super compotum suum. Et viginti et duas libras octo solidos et sex denarios, quos idem clericus posuit et expendidit in sex centum libris vitri empti pro fenestris in Capella dicti Castri vitriandis, et in bokerame, pannis, lineis, diversi coloris, et filo empto pro duobus robis chesible, una capa, duabus tunykes, cum stolis, fauonys, amytis, aubes, ac uno supellicio, manutergiis, et in emendacione unius veteris chesible et aliis diversis ornamentis in dicta Capella faciendis et emendandis; et eciam in emendacione unius calicis, cum patena deauranda, et in factura et pictura unius parvi Crucifixi pro dicta Capella de novo faciendi, et eciam in pictura magni Crucifixi, ymaginibus Marie et Johannis, et ymagine Beate Marie, cum tabernaculo ejusdem; ac in factura unius stage pro tabernaculo Sancti Thome, Martiris,[1] patroni dicte Capelle, portando; in uno tabernaculo empto pro eodem et in pylleris et clavis emptis pro eisdem faciendis, et emendandis; et in pictura eorundem, et in una parva campana, et in uno pixide de laton, pro Corpore Christi imponendo; et aliis necessariis in dicta Capella emptis et faciendis per idem tempus, sicut continetur ibidem. Et quinquaginta et septem solidos quinque denarios et unum quadrant, quos idem clericus posuit ac expendidit in stipendiis carpentariorum et operariorum; pro diversis defectubus faciendis et emendandis in Scaccario predicto, et eciam in maeremio, bordis, clavis, sclatis, et sclatenaylys, emptis pro diversis ibidem faciendis; et in stipendis unius cooperatoris, locati pro diversis domibus ibidem cooperiendis et emendandis per idem tempus, sicut continetur ibidem. Et quatuordecim libras, quatuordecim solidos, tres denarios et unum quadrantum in feodo predicti Johannis, clerici, custodis operum et garnesture Castri, et Scaccarii predictorum, per tempus supradictum, capiendi per annum centum solidos, prout alii clerici in eodem officiio ante hæc tempora percipere consueverunt, sicut continetur in rotulis de particulis supradictis, nisi allocacionem inde prius habuerit in toto aut in parte.

[1] See page 116.

"Teste, Mauricio Fitz-Thomas, Comite de Kildaria, Justiciario nostro Hiberniæ, apud Dublin, xiii. die Maii, anno regni nostri Anglie tricesimo quinto, regni vero nostri Franciæ vicesimo secundo.

"Pretextu hujus litere, quartodecimo die Maii, anno ut infra, per Thesaurarium et Barones hujus Scaccarii concordatum est et concessum, quod predictus Johannes Scrop habeat allocacionem de summis predictis juxta formam litere predicti. Et quod sit ingrosseta in magnis rotulis hujus Scaccarii."—*Rot. Mem. Hib.* 34-35 *Edward III.*

Countess of Ulster and Burgesses of Galway, page 216.

"The arms of Galway, which were adopted about this time, were composed of the armorial ensigns of the Earls of March and Ulster. They were quarterly of four; in the first and fourth for Mortimer, barry of six, or and azure, on a chief of the first, three pallets between two esquires dexter and sinister of the second over all an inescutcheon argent; and in the second and third for De Burgo, or a cross gules. These arms continued to be occasionally used in the official proceedings of the corporation of Galway, even so late as the last century."—*History of Galway*, by James Hardiman, 1820, page 57.

The famous Knight, Sir Gaultier de Mauny, page 216.

De Mauny became a proprietor of lands in Wexford through his marriage with Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, widow of John, Lord Segrave.[1]

Repairs of Dublin Castle during Viceroyalty of Lionel, page 219.

The following details, attested by Lionel, at Ross, on 27th of July, 1366, are recorded on the unpublished Memorandum Roll of Ireland of the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Edward III. :—

"Edwardus, etc. Thesaurario et Baronibus suis Scaccarii Hiberniæ salutem. Allocate Johanni Scrop, clerico, custodi operum et garnesture Castri nostri Dublin, et Scaccarii nostri ibidem, et aliorum operum nostrorum quorumcunque in partibus Dublinie, super compotum suum, ad Scaccarium predictum, redditum, xxv. li.

[1] Rot. Pat. Hib. 48 Ed. iii. no. 87; 49 Ed. iii. no. 119, Calend. 89, 93.

iii. s. ob., quos predictus clericus posuit et expendidit in stipendiò cementariorum et carpentariorum, ad diversa opera tam parve aule et magne camere, parve closette, juxta capellam, diversarum camerarum camerariorum, hostiorum, et fenestrarum ac pontis jactabilis[1] dicti Castri; de novo construendo operarum, selarum pistrine, domus aurifabri et magne turris cooperiendo. Necnon in stipendiis duorum hominum, cum quatuor equis et duobus trokettis, locatis, pro Castro predicto, de diversis firmis, mundando, ex precepto Leonelli, filii nostri carissimi, Ducis Clarencie, Locumtenentis nostri in Hibernia; aliorumque diversorum operariorum dictis cementariis et carpentariis deservientibus, et alia diversa opera in dicto Castro facienda, a decimo die Marcii anno regni nostri xxxviii., usque xxv. diem Julii anno regni nostri xl. sicut, continetur in rotulis de particulis, quos predictus clericus liberavit ad Scaccarium predictum, super compotum suum. Et viginti et tres libras, sex solidos, et septem denarios quos idem clericus posuit et expendidit in maeremio, bordis, clavis, spikenggys, bordenailles, florenailles, lathnailles, emptis et provisis, pro operibus predictis, et in quodam grosso ligno pro axe pontis predicti, aliisque minoribus lignis pro eodem ponte, et eciam in ferro empto pro boltis, pro lokkys, ringis, spikynggys, magnis stapulis, pro dicto ponte; in stipendiis fabri pro eisdem faciendis et operandis, et pro duabus magnis cablis, aliisque minoribus cordis, pro diversis operibus in dicto Castro et pro viginti squartrem pro reparacione pistrine predicte, guttaris, dorbordis, et decem et octo squarspiris emptis, pro novem scalis de novo componendis, et eciam in pice, cepo, calce, seruris, et reparacione diversarum serurarum aliis que minutis necessariis in dicto Castro emptis et provisis, et in portagio eorundem per idem tempus, sicut continetur ibidem. Et xiv. s. quos idem clericus posuit et expendidit in stipendia Petri Arthor, Johannis Baret, et Roberti Russell, existentium in domibus ubi Scaccarium et recepta nostra apud Dubliniam tenebantur, pro diversis magnis hustengis disjungendis pro libris nostris in capella Castri Dublin imponendis, necnon ad predicta hustenga in Capella predicta reparanda et jungenda, ex causa predicta, videlicet per quatuor dies quolibet carpentario capienti per diem quatuor denarios. Et eciam in stipendiis Johannis Badowe, Wynhaler, et soci-

[1] The drawbridge, see page 117.

orum suorum, pro portagio dictorum librorum de dicto Scaccario et recepta usque Castrum predictum, et in stipendiis duorum hominum cum duobus equis, et carris pro cariagio hustengorum et librorum predictorum; et in septem seruris de Flaundris, pendentibus, cum totidem clavibus pro eisdem hustengis claudendis. Et ciii. s. iii d. in quinque garbis sagittarum pro garnestura Castri de McKynegan,[1] xxv. saccis, cxlvij. pairibus, v. et dimidio peccis farine bastinelli, una pecca brasei frumenti, uno crannoco brasei avenarum, ii. vaccis, piscibus, tribus arblastis, cum totidem bauderykes, bastardbowys, et in tribus duodenis de bowestringes emptis et provisis pro custodia dicti Castri, que victualia cum aliis dictis necessariis Nicholao Cadwely, Constabulario ejusdem Castri, liberavit, per breve nostrum et indenturam inter prefatos clericum et Constabularium inde factam. Et xliv. s. eidem Nicholao pro feodis diversorum in dicto Castro pro dimidio quarterii anni, tempore Johannis Wafre, nuper Constabularii ibidem; liv. s. v. d. ob. pro stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum pro reparacione et emendacione batelli prefati Locumtenentis in Hibernia, tempore passagii sui versus partes Angliæ et eciam in uno magno cable, uno hausour, uno doublestay, uno bowelyn, et uno yarderop, emptis et provisis pro dicto batello, necnon in plankys, doubil bordenailles, flornailles, et aliis necessariis emptis et provisis pro eodem batello faciendo et emendando, sicut continetur ibidem."

Privileges of Constable of Dublin Castle, page 226.

"Et que nul Constable des Chastelx telx dedinz franchise ne dehors ne preigne de nul persone mys en sa garde prison fee fors solement cinc deniers, forspris le Constable du Chastell de Dyvelyn que est le Chief Chastell le Roy en Irland, pour ceo que tesmoigne est au Conseil quil doit plus prendre, et de auncient temps ad fait."—*Statute of Kilkenny.*

Viceroyalty declined by Sir Richard de Pembridge, page 232.

Coke, in the second part of the Institutes, 1642, page 48, cites the Close Roll of England for details of this case; but the entries to which he alludes are not now to be found on that Roll.

[1] Newcastle Mac Kinegan, see pp. 126, 240.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

Rymer.—Baronage of England, 1675.—Peerage of Ireland, by J. Lodge, 1754.—Annals of Ireland, by Pembridge, Clyn, Grace, and Dowling.—Rot. Pat. Hib.—View of Legal Institutions, by W. Lynch, 1830.—Ancient Funeral Monuments within Great Britain, by John Weever, 1631.—Abbreviatio Rot. Orig., 1803.—Transactions of Kilkenny Archæological Society.—Chroniques de Froissart, par J. A. C. Buchon, 1835.—Muratori, Annali d'Italia, viii. 268.—Art de verifier des dates, iii., 1787, 647.—Annals of Ireland, 1848.—Discoverie why Ireland was never entirely subdued, 1612.—Statute of Kilkenny, edited by J. Hardiman for Irish Archæological Society, 1843.—Prynne's Records.—Titles of Honour, 1672.—Works of Sir J. Ware, 1739-1745.—Patent Rolls of England.—History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, by W. M. Mason, 1820.—Rotuli Parliamentorum Angliæ.—Coke's Institutes of Laws of England.—Issues of the Exchequer, 1837.—Issue Roll of T. de Brantingham, 1835.—Ayloffe's Calendars, 1774.—Ypodigma Neustriæ, 1601.—Abridgment of Records, by Sir R. Cotton, 1657.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

March herald established by Edmund de Mortimer, third Earl of March and Ulster, page 245.

Sir William Dugdale,[1] tells us that this Earl constituted "his servant," John Othelake, "his herald at arms by the name of March." Froissart refers to him as "le roi, Marke [Marche] heraut."[2] Edmund, the last De Mortimer Earl of March and Ulster, during his Viceroyalty in 1425, noticed at page 320, assigned an annual pension of sixty shillings and eightpence, from the profits of his mills in Callan, County Kilkenny, to his herald,

[1] Baronage of England, 1675, i. 149.
[2] Chroniques ed. Buchon, 1840, iii. 213.

"March." This grant, made by De Mortimer at his Castle of Trim, and confirmed by Henry VI., was as follows :—

"Pro confirmando pensionem Marche Heraldo, concessam per Edmundum, Comitem Marchiæ, etc.

"Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes, quas Edmundus, Comes Marchie et Ultonie, Dominus de Wyggemore, Clare, Trym, et Conacie, fieri fecit in hæc verba: Edmundus, Comes Marchie et Ultonie, Dominus de Wyggemore, Clare, Trym, et Conacie, omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, Salutem: Sciatis, quod nos, considerantes grata et laudabilia obsequia, que dilectus nobis Marche, Heraldus noster, nobis impendit et impendet in futurum, dedimus eidem Heraldo nostro sexaginta sex solidos et octo denarios, percipiendo singulis annis, ad terminum vite sue, de exitibus et proficuis molendinorum nostrorum aquaticorum de Callan, in Comitatu Kilkennie, per manus receptoris ibidem, pro tempore existentis, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cujus, etc.

"Datum sub sigillo nostro in Castro nostro de Trym, secundo die Januarii, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti, post conquestium tertio.

"Nos autem donationem predictam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, de avisamento dilecti et fidelis nostri Johannis, Domini de Talbot, militis, Justiciarii nostri, terre nostre Hibernie, et Consilii nostri in eadem, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, et corfirmamus, prout litere prædicte rationabiliter testantur.

"Teste præfato Justiciario nostro, apud Trym, xxv° die Januarii."

Arms of the Marquis of Dublin, page 254.

"Rex concessit quod Robertus de Veer, comes Oxoniæ ac Marchio Dublinie, in Hibernia, durante vita sua geret arma de azuro, cum tribus coronis aureis et una circumferentia, vel bordura de argento, ac quod ea gerat in omnibus scutis, vexillis, penonibus, tunicis armorum, armaturis, etc.—*Rot. Pat. Angl.* 9 *Ric. II.*

The three crowns or on the azure field, are supposed to have been the first arms devised for Ireland by English heralds. A

dissertation on this subject, by the late Rev. Richard Butler, M.R.I.A., will be found in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix.

Condition of colony at period of transfer to Marquis of Dublin, page 254.

Previous to the arrival of Sir John Stanley, the government was administered by Richard White, Prior of the Hospitallers, as representative of the Marquis of Dublin. From a roll of the tenth of Richard II., we learn that on the 18th of July in that year, 1386, the "council of the Marquis of Dublin" assembled at Trim, including Prior Richard White, the Deputy; Alexander de Balscot, Bishop of Meath, Chancellor; Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Kildare; the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Thomas, at Dublin; the Treasurer's Deputy, and others. It was here declared that Mac Murragh and O'Carroll, having confederated and assembled a great multitude, both horse and foot, of the Irish enemies of the Marquis, from Leinster, Munster, Meath, and Connaught, were then destroying, burning, and devastating the properties of the subjects of the Marquis in the County of Kilkenny, and labouring to make a final conquest of the land. The malice of these enemies, it was stated, could not be resisted without a great force of soldiery; but the Lord Justice, Prior White, might not quit the Marches of Meath, Louth, Dublin, Kildare, and Carlow, on account of the great destructions, burnings, and damages, then being worked in those parts by the Irish, who were at open war. It was, consequently, agreed by the Justice and Council, that the Chancellor should, with all his forces, march towards Kilkenny, to resist the Irish enemies, and to aid and comfort the English of that and the adjoining counties. The episcopal Chancellor, however, declared, that from the time when the "land and dominion of Ireland" came into the hands of the Marquis of Dublin, he had been at such excessive and great charges beyond his power, for its preservation, that he could not longer maintain such burthens; and that the great seal of the Marquis, in his custody, yielded no profits in aid of his expenses. There being no money in the treasury of the Marquis in Ireland, to pay for defences at this juncture, and as, without funds, the Chancellor could not make resistance against

the Irish enemies, the Council agreed that, from the Marquis, he should receive, for himself and his retinue, twenty shillings per day as his wages, besides the fees of office, from the following day till he returned to the County of Meath; and that writs in the chancery of the Marquis in Ireland should issue for these payments, from time to time. The measures by which peace was, about four months subsequently, obtained by Sir John de Stanley, Lieutenant of the Marquis, are exhibited in the following English version, from the Exchequer Roll of Ireland of the tenth year of Richard II. :—

"Memorandum. That on the first of November, X Richard II., by advice of the Lieutenant and Council of the Marquis of Dublin, Art Mac Murragh, Captain of his nation, was admitted to the peace of the King of England and the Marquis; and took his oath on the Evangelists that he would faithfully keep said peace towards the King and the Marquis, and their liege subjects in Ireland. It was then agreed by the said Lieutenant and Council, that the said Art should receive yearly, out of the Exchequer of the said Marquis in Ireland, eighty marks, i.e., twenty marks every quarter, in the name of fee, so long as he should continue faithful towards the King and the Marquis, and their loyal subjects, in the same manner and form as the said Art and his predecessors received the said fee from the King of England and his progenitors; and that writs of liberate should issue from time to time for this purpose."

Bishop of Chichester exiled to Ireland, page 258.

On the 10th of March, 1390, Richard II. granted a pension of forty marks to this prelate, until he should obtain some moderate see in Ireland, or be provided by the Pope with another benefice."—*Rymer*, vii., 663.

Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, appointed Lieutenant for Ireland by Richard II., page 264.

The following copy of the indenture between the King and the Duke is preserved among the Manuscripts in the British Museum, Titus, B. xi. :—

"Ceste endenture fait parentre nostre Sire, le Roy, d une parte,

et Thomas, Duc de Gloucestre, dautre parte, tesmoien, que le dict Duc est demores devers nostre Sire, le Roy, son Lieutenant, en la terre Dirlande pur quinze ans, comme dessus est contenu, commenceants le jour que le dit Duc sera premierement venuz et arrivez en sa personne en mesme la terre, de laquelle terre il aura la governement durants mesmes les quinze ans sans repelle, en manere comme dessus est contenue, par sufficeant comission dessous le grand seal nostre dit Sire, le Roy, ent affaire en due forme. Et prendra le dit Duc de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, pur luy et pur touts ses gents quele il retiendra ovesque luy, pur la guerre et governance de la terre avant dit: pour le premiers trois ans de les quinze ans susditz 34,000 marks; et outre ce, pur le passage, et repassage de luy et ses dits gents, et lour custages a la meere, attendants lour dit passage et repassage 2,000 markes. De lesqueles, 34,000 markes le dit Duc sera payez de 19,000 markes, cest ascavoir, a la feste de St. George prochein venant, de 9,500 markes en cas que le Roy soit certifiez de part le dit Duc, devant la feste de Pasques prochain venant ou a [. . [1]] la feste, que le dit Duc soit en retournant en Angleterre hors de parties de dela, pour aler en ladite terre Dirlande, pour le gouvernement dicelle sil amegne le dit Duc faire le viage vers les parties de Prusse.[2] Et de 9,500 markes il sera payez quand il sera prest a la meere sur son passage vers la dite terre Dirlande. Et de la remenant desdits 34,000 markes, cest ascavoir de 10,000 li. le dit Duc serra payez au commencement del second an desdits premier trois ans, de 2,500 li.; et a la commencement del demy an prochain ensuivant de 2,500 li. Et semblablement il serra payez ledit tiers an desdits premiers tres ans de les residues.

"Et outre ceo aura ledit Duc, pour la governance de la dite terre Dirlande, touts les issus, profits et revenus que pourroit estre levez ou receux al nostre dit Sire, le Roy, de sa dite terre Dirlande, par lesdits premier 3 ans. Si bien des taxes, tailleages et subsidies et grantez par le clergi, et par layez gents illeoques comme des autres profits et revenus queconqes. Et touts tiels profits, issus, revenues,

[1] Blank in MS.

[2] A fashionable rage for travelling in Prussia prevailed towards the middle of the fourteenth century. "That county, inhabited partly by idolaters, had long attracted the curiosity and exercised the valour of the gentlemen of England, Scotland, and France."—*Archæologia*, xx. 1823, 167.

taxes, et taileages, seront levez pur les ministres nostre dit Sire, le Roy, en la dite terre Dirlande, et liverez audit Duc par le Tresorer et Chamberlain que pur le temps seront en la dite terre Dirlande, en eaide de governement de ladite terre Dirlande, sans rien ent rendre a nostre dit Sire, le Roy. Et ne serra le dit Duc tenus dacompter de sa retenue, ne de les sommes avant dit, ne de les profits, issus et revenus taxes ou tailleages avantdits, ne de nule percele dicelles.

"Et les dits trois ans finies, le dit Duc serra payez chascun an, de atant de somme pur la governement de mesme la terre comme pourra estra accordés perentre le Conseil de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, et le Conseil du dit Duc.

"Et aura le dit Duc a luy et a ses heoires a touts jours, touts les terres et tenements des enemis Irrois, quels il pourra gaigner par conqueste, en la dite terre Dirlande, et par le temps que il demoura Lieutenant nostre dit Sire, le Roy, illoeques.

"Et si par cas ledit viage del aler, ledit Duc vers Irlande, soit contremandé, ou autrement destourbé, non pas en son defaut, ne serra ils tenus, de repayer a nostre dit Sire, le Roy, nulles deniers, de les sommes susdits, quels il aura despendue a cause de la viage susdit. Et ne serra tenus le dit Duc a departir hors Dangleterre de vers la dite terre Dirlande tant que il soit payé el 19,000 markes avant dit, ou la somme avant dit.

"Et en cas que payement de 10,000 li. ne soit fait au dit Duc pur les dits deux ans, desdits premiers trois ans, en manere sudit, ou dedeins un mois apres ascunes des termes susdits ou si ascunes des comissions que seront faites de son pover de lieutenancie et governement et des autres eschoses contenus en ceste presente indenture ou ascune article diceaux, qui sont ou seront expressés en les dits comissions, ou en cestes endentures, soient ou soit par nostre dit Sire, le Roy enfreint, ou repellés deins les dits trois ans, ou dedeins les ans accordés comme dessus avantdits, que de lors en avant bien lise audit Duc de cesser del dit office de Lieutenant, et de tout la gouvernment de la dite terre, et ent puisse franchement departir oue ses gents ou il luy plaira. Et auxint a la fin des dits quinze ans, nonobstant ceste present endenture, sans blame ou offence encourir envers nostre dit Sire, le Roy, et nient-

meins luy seroit allouez et payez par nostre dit Sire, le Roy lafferant que luy poierroit estre due, pur le temps quil y aura demoréz sans payement apres ascuns des dits termes, par vertu des covenants avant dits en la terre susdite. Et aura le dit Duc par tout le temps des dits iii. ans, et des ans despuis a accorder comme dit est, sufficeant poair, par lettres desoubs la grand seal de nostre dit sire le Roy, a presenter a touts benefices de Seint Eglise, curez, jesqes a la taxe de xl. markes par an, a faire collation, de touts benefices de Seint Eglise, nient cures jesqes a la taxe de xx. markes par an, si seront voidez de deins les ditz 3 ans, et les ans que apres ce seront accordez, en la dicte terre Dirlande regardans a la donacion presentements ou collation, de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, en son droit, tant en eglises cathedrales, et collegiels, comme des autres benefices queconques ; forprises touts dignitez. Et auxint a ratifier et confirmer lestat des possessions des touts tielles benefices de Seint Eglise en ladite terre Dirlande que pur le serront en la dite terre Dirlande, durant lesdits iii. ans. Et le temps que despuies sera accordez comme avant est dit. Et a remouer le Banke le Roy, le Commun Banke, Lescheker et Chancelerie de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, en la dite terre Dirland, as lieux ou mieux semblera au dit Duc illoeques, pur le profit de nostre dit Sire, le Roy et la dite terre Dirlande.

"Et aura le dit Duc sufficeant poair de remouer toutes les officiers et ministres nostre dite Sire, le Roy, en ladite terre Dirlande, quels semblera audit Duc estre meins sufficiants. Et autres bones et sufficeants en lour lieux mettre, tanque comme le dit Duc serra Lieutenant illoeques, comme dessus, forspris le Chanceler, et Tresorer, de mesme la terre Dirlande, que pur le dit temps, de quinze ans, seront et ceux qui ont leur offices par pattent du Roy a terme de vie, sils ne forfacent lours offices. Et quant il semblera au dit Duc, pur le meus del governement de la dite terre Dirlande, que les Justices de lone Banke ou de lautre, ou la Cheif Baron de Lescheker ou ascun de eux serront ou serra removez de lour dit office, le dit Duc le signifiera a nostre dite Sire, le Roy, et nomera al office de celuy que serra issint removez, deux ou treys personnes suffiseants de quoy le Roy esliera un a son plaisir.

"Et qil eait tiels personnes apres de la ley hors Dengleterre pur

estre Juges en la dite terre Dirlande, comme semble au dit Duc estre busoignables, en cas qils purront surce entre accorder.

" Et le dit Duc et touts ses gents que serront ouesques luy en la service de Roy sudit, que pur le temps quils ensi serront en la dite service auront lettres de protection dessous le grand seal de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, ouesque la clause de volumus, parmy le certification dudit Duc sur ceo affaire, dessous son seal au gardien de prive seal de nostre dit Sire, le Roy, en manere accustumez. Et que toutes les Estatuts faitz en Angleterre touchant la terre Dirlande soient tenus forspris envers 8 ou 10 personnes que serront nommez par nostre dit Sire, le Roy."

On the 7th of May, 1393, Richard issued orders from Westminster to provide ships and victuals at Bristol for Gloucester's voyage to Ireland.[1] The Issue Roll of England, for the year 1392, contains an entry of a payment of £6,333 6s. 8d. to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the King's Deputy for Ireland—" in money paid to him by the hands of Edmund Brokesburn, his esquire, at divers times, for the wages of himself, his men-at-arms, and archers, going with him in the King's service to Ireland for the safe custody of that land." Richard's letter,[2] discharging Gloucester from the Viceroyalty, was as follows :—

"Trescher et tres ame unkle, il nous souvient [. . [3]] commant aurez tard a nostre conseil, tenuz a Staunford, nous vous chargeasmes au demorer en nostre royalme, combien que vous feussez en purpos de avoir allez en nostre terre Dirlande pur la governance et sauvegarde dicelle, selont les endentures ont faitz parenter nous et vous, et ce par cause que allors nous ne saivens de certain si le pees si prendroit parenter nous et nostre adversaire de France, ou non nient voulants desporter vostre presance hors de nostre royalme, sur la greindre suerté dicelle. Si nous considerants yce mesme au present, pource que nous ne sumes uncore, certifiez si parenter nous et nostre dict adversaire pees le prendra ou la guerre : Voulons, de lassent des grands de nostre Royalme, et autres de nostre grande conseil, et vous mandons que vous ne preignez le dit viage vers nostre dite terre Dirlande, eins que vous demorez deins nostre

[1] Rymer, vii. 713.
[2] Brit. Mus. Mss. Titus, B. xi.
[3] Erasure in Ms.

royalme susdit pur la dicte cause, nient contre esteant aucunes couenantez par vous faits a nous par les endentures susdits. Entendant, que par avis de mesme nostre conseil, nous ordeyerons dautre part par la governance de nostre dicte terre Dirlande. Et nous vous voulons avoir purtant pur deschargez et autrement excusez, touchant mesme la governance. Donné, etc., a Windesor le 23, jour de Juilet l'an, etc., 16me. [1393].

"A nostre Trescher et tres ame unkle Le Duc de Gloucestre."[1]

In August of the same year, the King issued orders to pay John de Karlell, cleric, for his labours in making preparations for the arrival of the Duke of Gloucester in Ireland. Gloucester also obtained an acquittance for 9,500 marks, which he had borrowed from the Exchequer, for the service of Ireland."[2] Of nineteen butts of Gascoigne and Rochelle wines, which, by royal order, had been provided for Gloucester's use in Dublin Castle, five were consumed by the officers of the Justiciary, Ormonde, while employed there on the King's business. Richard ordered an acquittance as follows, for £25 6s. 8d., the price of the five butts of Rochelle, in consideration of the services rendered by the Earl of Ormonde :—

"Pro allocando vina Jacobo le Botiller, Justiciario, in auxilium expensarum suarum.

"Richardus, Dei gratia, Rex Anglie, etc. Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario suo Hibernie, salutem. Supplicavit nobis, per petitionem suam, Consilio nostro in terra nostra Hibernie exhibitam, dilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster, Jacobus le Botiller, Comes de Ormond, Justiciarius noster Hiberniæ, ut cum decem et novem dolia vini de Vasconia et Rochell, pretii quatuor viginti decem et septem librarum, sex solidorum et octo denariorum, de providentia karissimi avunculi nostri, Thome, Ducis Glocestrie, infra Castrum nostrum Dublinie, posita, ex ordinatione nostra, in terra predicta, a provisoribus ipsius Ducis empta, clerico nostro Thome de Everdon, nuper clerico nostro ad vadia et rewarda hominibus ad arma et sagittarrios, in obsequio nostro super guerris terre nostre predicte in comitiva Venerabilis Patris, Alexandri,

[1] Rot. Pat. Hib., 16 Ric. ii., no. 3; Issues of Exchequer, 1837, 247.
[2] Baronage of England, 1675, ii. 170.

Episcopi Midensis, dudum Justiciarii nostri Hibernie, comorantibus, solvenda assignati, predictorum deliberata extiterint: de quibus quidem doliis vini, quinque dolia vini de Rochell, pretii viginti, et quinque librarum, sexdecem solidorum, et octo denariorum, per circa ministros predicti Comitis, dum ipse infra Castrum predictum, diversos tractatus et consilia nostra ibidem, tenta fuerint expendita; consideratis grandibus sumptibus et expenditis, quos ipsum Comitem tam in guerris nostris terre predicte, quam in consiliis, et tractatibus in eadem terra tenendis, ultra feoda que de nobis singulis annis percipit in officio predicto, apposuit, et cotidie apponere opportebit, sibi quinque dolia vini predicta, in auxilium expensarum suarum predictarum, de dono nostro, nomine rewardi, ipsumque Thomam de eisdem doliis, et dicto pretio eorundem, erga nos debite exonerai, jubere dignaremur. Nos, de avisamento Consilii nostri predicti, advertentes premissa veritatem continere, volentes supplicationi sue prædicte gratiose annuere, concessimus eidem Comiti, dicta quinque dolia vini, habenda, de dono nostro, nomine rewardi, in auxilium expensarum marum, volentes utique, quod prefatus Thomas de eisdem quinque doliis vini et pretio eorundem, erga nos totaliter exoneraretur et quietus existat: et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ipsum Thomam de dictis quinque doliis vini et de dictis viginti et quinque libris, sexdecem solidis, et octo decem denariis de pretio dictorum quinque doliorum in compoto suo nobis ad idem Scaccarium, coram vobis reddendo, erga nos totaliter exonerari et quietum esse faciatis. Teste, Jacobo Le Botiller, Comite de Ormond, Justiciario nostro Hibernie, apud Dubliniam, primo die Marcii, annoque regni, xvij^{mo}."

Sir William Le Scrop, Justiciary, page 276.

Campion, in his "History of Ireland, 1633," page 93, confounded Sir William with Sir Stephen Le Scrop, of Masham, Deputy in Ireland under Henry IV. This error, followed by every succeeding writer on the history of Ireland, also misled three of the most profound genealogical and historical investigators of England—Sir William Dugdale,[1] the Rev. John Webb,[2] and Sir Nicholas Harris

[1] Baronage of England, 1675, i. 659.

[2] Archæologia, xx. 1823, 90.

Nicolas.[1] That the appointment was, as noticed in the text, page 276, is evidenced by the following enrolment on the Patent Roll of England of the twentieth year of Richard II., part i., m. 16 :—

"De Locum-tenente terre Regis Hibernie constituto.

"Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem: Licet per literas nostras constituerimus dilectum ac fidelem consanguineum nostrum Rogerum de Mortuo Mari, Comitem Marchie et Ultonie, Locum nostrum tenentem in partibus Ultonie, Connacie et Midie, in terra nostra Hibernie, usque ad festum Pasche proximum futurum; et per alias literas nostras patentes constituerimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum Willielmum Lescrop, Camerarium nostrum Hibernie, Justiciarium nostrum in partibus Lagenie, Momonie et Urielis, similiter usque ad terminum predictum, prout in literis nostris predictis plenius continetur. Volumus, tamen, et intencionis nostræ existit, quod omnia et singula carte, litere patentes et brevia nostra, cujuscunque nature existant, que nomine et stilo nostris sub magno sigillo nostro terre nostre predicte, in absencia nostra, durante termino predicto, transire contigerit, sub solo testimonio predicti Comitis, ut Locum nostrum tenentis, in terra nostra Hibernie, sub istis verbis: Teste, Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Comite Marchie et Ultonie, Locum nostrum tenente in terra nostra Hibernie, de tempore in tempus sigillentur et consignentur, ac si et adeo plene sicut temporibus Loca-tenentium tocius terre predicte ante hec tempora fieri consuevit; solida potestate eidem Willielmo ut Justiciario nostro in dictis partibus Lagenie, Momonie et Urielis, per nos attributa non obstante. Et hoc omnibus quorum interest innotescimus per presentes. In cujus, etc.

"Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxvj. die Septembris. Per ipsum Regem."

An order, dated 18th November, 1395, for the payment of Sir William Le Scrop, as Constable of Dublin Castle, is entered on the Patent Roll of Ireland of the eighteenth year of Richard II., no. 25.

[1] "The Scrope and Grosvenor controversy;" edited by Sir N. H. Nicolas, 1832, ii. p. 47.

Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, Marshal of England, appointed Viceroy, page 278.

The following details of the stipulations made by Surrey, are found in the British Museum MSS., Titus, B. xi. :—

"Les pointz pur la saufe garde de la terre de Irlande demandez par le Counte Mareschall :—

"En primes, qil ait suffisauntez commission de lieutenancie pur vij. ans, en manere come le Counte de Marche ou Mons. William Wyndelsore [*sic.*] eurent en lour temps, ou meillour, si besoigne soit pur le profit du Roi, pur le pays ou pur le lieutenant.

"Item qil ait d. hommes darmes et m. archers, pur la terme de iij. ans, et suffisaunte poiar pur iiij. ans, ensuantz, perceuant gages et regardes acoustumes pur la terre Dirlande; et que comense chacun homme son terme le jour qil soit arrivez en Irlande, sibien luy mesme come autres soudeours.

"Item qil soit paie, en mayne, pur la primer an, et apres de demy an en demy an devant la mayne; et a quelle heure que luy faille paiement en manere come dit est qil peuist departir ovesques sa retenue saunz ascune enpechement.

"Item qil ait, pur especiale regarde pur sa persone ou pur fee, mille marcz per an; et qil eit resonables coustages pur luy et ses gentz demurantz al mer, sur son passage, ovesque suffisauncte eskippisione, et reskippisione, al fyn de son terme; et a queconque heure qil departe qil soit paie pur luy et sa retenue pur la rate du temps qils auront serviz.

"Item que certeins deniers de custumes, ou dautres biens du Roi, soient assignes par les paimentz Dirlande, en manere come est ordene pur la ville de Calais,[1] au fin que les soudeours ne faillent pur defaute du paiement pur faire le service le Roy.

"Item qil poet amenoiser et encresser sa retenue, solonc le seisone de lan, eust qil eit solonc lafferant des soudeours un temps ou autre, solonc ces que luy semblera meulx pur le profit du Roy.

"Item qil ait poair de remouere les officiers de dons les benefices,

[1] Surrey also held the office of Captain of Calais.—*Rymer*, vii., 713.

ovesque cure et sainz cure; et remouer le commune bank et lescheker, ovesque touts autre poinctz queux asomis des lieutenants du Roi ou les parties ount den deuant aux heures.

"Item que suffisauntz personnes eient poair de veere sa monstre, de temps en temps, oue les venues de sa dite retenue, et de la certifier le treserer et Barons de lescheker, par quelle certificatte il poit avoir due allouaunce son sur acompte.

"Item en case que nostre seigneur, le Roi, voise en ascune arme, en sa propre persone, qadonqes il puis aler en son compagnie, lessant en son lieu suffisant lieutenant.

"Item qil poet avoir de chacune paroche Dengleterre, ou de chacune deux paroche,[1] un homme ou [esque] sa femme enuoies as costages du Roi en la terre Dirlande, pur diverses temps pur la dite terre enhabiter laou ele est destruyte sur les marches, al profit du Roy, et qil poet douner as dites hommes, en fee, terrez, competenz en lour estatz.

"Item qil ait coustages et nouelle eskippisione pur nouelle retenue amener en Irlande a toutz les foitz qui sa retenue soit affieble par guerre ou par pestilence, solonc le noumbre que busoignie par continuer sa dite retenue toutz jors en estat pur le profit du Roy.

"Item a toutz manere dounz, dones per patent des appurtenance a le coroune soient repellez et annullez; et que lestatute des absentes hors del terre Dirlande soit gardez en toutez pointz et toutz patentes grauntez a le contrarie soient repelles pour le profit du Roy."

[1] A similar proposal for transplantation from England to Ireland was made as follows to Henry VIII., in 1515, by the author of a treatise on the state of Ireland:—

"Also, yf it please the Kinges Grace to sende one man oute of every paryshe of England, Cornwale, and Wales, into this lande, to inhabyte not only the sayde landes of the County of Wolster, but also all the Iryshe landes that lyeth betwyxte the Cyttye of Dublyn and the townes of Rosse and Wexford; for then the Erlldom of Wolster wolde be, within a fewe yeres, of as greate value, as ever it was, soo that the sayd inhabytauntes be acqueynteyd with tylleing of the lande, for there is no better lande for all maner grayne, than the sayd landes fro the Grene Castell to the Banne, and fro the Cyttye of Dublyn to the port-townes of Wexford and Rosse. This matter shuld not onely not hurte the communaltye of Ingland, but hyt shulde increse to the King, and his heyres for ever, yerely, to more than 30000 markes."—*State Papers*, published under his Majesty's Commission, vol. ii., part 3, 1834, page 25.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

Rot. Pat. Hib.—Rymer.—Prynne's Records.—Monasticon Anglicanum, 1661-1665.—Archæologia, vol. xx., 1823.—Walsinghami Historia Anglicana, 1863-4.—Yypodigma Neustriæ.—Peerage of England, by Collins, 1768.—Rotuli Parliamentorum Angliæ.—Issues of the Exchequer, 1837.—History of Galway, by J. Hardiman, 1820.—Les Montmorency de France et d'Irlande, 1828.—Catalogue of Honour, by T. Milles, 1610.—Topographical poems, by Irish Archæological Society, 1862.—Proceedings and Ordinances of Privy Council of England, 1834.—Chroniques de Froissart, per J. A. C. Buchon, 1835.—Historia Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, 1621.—Annals of Ireland, by T. Dowling, 1849.—English Chronicle, ed. by Rev. J. S. Davies, 1856.—Duo rerum Anglic. Scrip. Vet. Oxon. : 1732.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

Confederacies of colonial Nobles with natives to oppress and plunder loyal subjects of England, page 288.

"Item, les nacions Engleis qi sont rebelx en tous les parties de la terre, come les [. . . [1]] Butyllers, Powers, Gerardyns, Bermynghams, Daltons, Barettes, Dillons, [. . . [2]] et les autres qi ne veullent obeire a la leye, n' estre justifiez, mes destruiont les poveres gents liges de la terre, et preign nt lour vivre de eux et les desrobbent, et voillent estre appellez gentillemen de sank et Idelmen, la ou ils sont fortz larons, et ne sont ny justifiez per la ley, et voullent prendre prisoners de les Engleis, et faire, et reindre duresse a eux qi sont les Irrois enemis, et ce per defaut de execucion de justice.

"Item eutre ce, les ditz Engleis rebelx sont de covyn ovek les Irrois enemis, et ne voillent displere a eux; et issuit entre luns et lautres les loialx Engleis sont destruitz et a meschief.

"Item par la rebellion et faucyne des Engleis rebelx dune part,

[1] & [2] Erasures in MS.

et par la guerre des Irroys enemys dautre part, le Roy ad nul profit de les revenues de la terre per ce que nulle execucion ne poet estre fait de la ley, ne nul ministre n'ose faire n'aler pur faire execucion.

"Item, pluseurs [contees] qui sont obeiantz a la ley ne sont my en les mains du Roy; fors les contees de Devylyn, et partie del contee de Kyldare."—*Brit. Mus. MSS.* Titus, B. xi.

In another official document, also written towards the commencement of the fifteenth century, these statements are repeated as follows :—

"Item qe la terre Dirland este degaste et destructe graundement par coyngez dez kernys et udifs gentz, sibien a cheval come a pee, qui riens paiount pur nulle maneres vitailles pur hommes ne pur chivaux; les queux kernes et udifs prenent destressez sibien hommes foiaux lieges nostre seigneur, le Roy, come lour biens et chatelx pur lez ditz vittailles quant eux ne purront aver tieux vittailles a lour volunte en plus graunde plentee et deutee que lez ditz foialx lieges sount powerouse pur lez a eux donner et teignent lez ditz distressez sils soient hommes liez en manycles et liences de ferre et biens et chateux tanqe eux averont diverses soumes de money dez ditz lieges pur lez ditz coyngez a lour voluntee."

"Et faite a remembre qe par force dez gentz queux les Geraldyns, Bourkeyns, Powers, et autres graundes nacions de la terre sibien [dez] hoblours come kernes ount euz a lour retenue et trovez par, extorcions dez coynges sur lez foiaux lieges es parties de Monestere, Uluester et Connaght, mesmes ceux lieges sount destructez et mesmes nacions, sount devenuz rebeux par qi par la greyndre partie la terre est degastee."—*Proceedings and Ordinances of Privy Council of England*, ii., 1834, 49.

Illiterate colonial legal officials, page 290.

"Item, qant a les ministres de l' Escheqr, fait assavoir que nul Baron est illoques apris de la ley come grant boisoigne seroit.

"Item, les autres offices de l' Escheqer sont malement occupiez par ceux qi ne sont my apris ne lettrez, ne n'ount nul conissance de leur offices; mes ont purchacez patentes de les dites offices par covetise de les fees, et aussi ont en leur absence qi n'ont cure s'ils vient leurs profits et gaine. Cestassavoir les offices de Remem-

brancer, l'office de Chief Grosser, et l'office de seconde Grosser, et autres, dount les greindre partie d'eux ne connussent my un lettre; et boisoigne seroit q'ils fuissent gentz tres bien apris de leur office: et ensi il est grant mischief en celle partie."—*Brit. Mus. MS.*, Titus, B. xi.

Despondence of colonists, page 291.

"Issint . . les ditz foiaux Prelates, Seigneurs, gentils et communes haiont lour vies et suyttes en overt anientisement et empoverisshement dez ditz foiaux lieges."—*Proceedings of Privy Council of England*, ii., 1834, 45.

Viceregal housekeeping and Purveyors, page 294.

The Viceroys' Purveyors, styled also "harbingers" and "aveners," were, by their commissions, authorized to seize all kinds of cattle, victuals, drink, provender, and fuel, in every district under English control, with the exception of the Church lands. The Purveyors were likewise licensed to impress horses, steers, and conveyances for the transport of these supplies to the place where the Viceroy might sojourn at the time. The payment made by the Purveyors was at the reduced rate styled the "King's price," mentioned at page 120; but, instead of money, they usually gave "tallies," which frequently lay long in arrear, and were, in some cases, never discharged. The extortions, defalcations, and chicane of the Viceregal Purveyors, formed the theme of many appeals from the colonists to the King of England. Thus, in 1343, the nobles, prelates, and commons of the colony wrote to Edward III.:—"Ensement, Sire, coment vos ministres pernent vitailles et cariages en pays par lour garrantz sans rien pair . . coment qils purront trover assez des vitailles en villes marchetz pur lour deniers; et quant ils paient pur lour vitailles ne serra a lour volente sanz rien paier pur cariage et ce ausibien de gentz de Seinte Eglise come dautres."[1]

On this representation, Edward made the following order:—"Soit defenduz qe les ministres le Roy ne facent prises de

[1] Lib. Rub. Scacc.

vitailles nene preignent cariages sanz necessite, ne la demande pur les besoignes le Roy, ad adonques paient ils pur vitailles et cariage, covenablement come est fait en Engleterre. Sauve tote foiz qe la chief justice et son lieutenant puissent prendre vitailles et cariages par lour deners, paier solonc la prise le Roi et les usages resonablement avant ces hures illoeqes usez."[1]

In his "Ordinance for the state of Ireland," noticed at page 211, the same King mentioned that his subjects there were lamentably injured through the seizure of their victuals and goods by the Purveyors of the royal officials. Edward consequently ordained that the English statutes respecting Purveyors should be observed in Ireland; that the commodities should be levied by upright and loyal men; that commutations for money should not be admitted; that, in fixing the "King's price," regard should be had to the current rates in neighbouring markets; and that payments should be promptly made. It was also decreed, by the same ordinance, that the Purveyors should be sworn on the Evangelists, in presence of the Council, to levy the supplies in such places as might be most for the convenience of the State, and least prejudicial to the subjects; and that no Purveyors should be allowed to act without a commission under the Great Seal of Ireland. The nature of the levies made for the Viceregal establishment,[2] is exhibited by the following writ of 1393, addressed by the Viceroy, James, third Earl of Ormonde, to the Seneschal of the Liberty of Wexford. By this instrument, the Seneschal was ordered, under penalty of one hundred pounds, to have provided at Ross, where the Earl intended to pass Christmas, all needful supplies for the Viceregal housekeeping, including forty crannocs[3] of pure flour, sixty crannocs of oats, sixty good bullocks, four boars, eighty large and sixty small pigs, one hundred geese, one hundred ducks, two hundred pairs of rabbits, one hundred trusses of litter, and two hundred trusses of hay, six hundred of poultry, six lambs,

[1] Lib. Rub. Scacc.

[2] Commissions to Viceregal Purveyors appear on the Patent Rolls of Ireland:—Edward III., an. 48 (122); an. 49 (252); an. 51 (281-2). Richard II., an. 5 (211-12); an. 13 (192, 200); an. 16 (91-2). Hen. IV., an. 1 (110); an. 4 (241); an. 10 (179). Hen. V., an. 1 (165-175, 177); an. 3 (117, 130). Hen. VI., an. 3 (114).

[3] An Irish measure, containing about sixteen bushels and two quarters.

five meases[1] of herrings, one hundred cod and ling fish, and one hundred salted salmons. Sufficient conveyances for these supplies, from day to day, were also ordered to be provided, and payment was to be made by the Treasurer of the Viceregal household :—

"Pro victualibus providendis apud Ross, in Hospicium Justiciarii, ad natale Christi sequens.

"Richardus, etc. Seneschallo Libertatis Weyesforde, salutem. Cum dilectus consanguineus et fidelis noster Jacobus le Botiller, Comes de Ormond, Justiciarius noster Hibernie, hospitium suum apud villam de Rosse, durante festo natalis Domini proximi futuri tenendum, favente Deo, duxerit ordinandum. Ac eidem Justiciario nostro de quampluribus victualibus pro expensis dicti hospitii contra festum predictum necessario indigeat provideri, vobis mandamus quod quadraginta cranocos frumenti puri, sexaginta cranocos avenarum, sexaginta martos idoneos, quatuor apros, quatuor viginti grossos porcos, sexaginta porcellos, centum aucas, centum maulardos, ducentas copulas cuniculorum, centum trusses littere, ducentas trusses feni, sexcentum de pulteria, sex agnos, quinque meysas hallecum, centum mylivellas et lingues, et centum salmones salsos, una cum omnimodis aliis victualibus pro expensis dicti hospitii pro tempore predicte Nativitatis, una cum sufficienti cariagio pro victualibus predictis ad eandem villam, de die in diem ducendis et cariandis, ubicunque eadem victualia et cariagia infra libertatem predictam absque nocumento communi libertatis predicte melius invenire potuerint et haberi, pro denariis ipsius Justiciarii nostri, per manus Thesaurarii sui ejusdem hospitii sui inde rationabiliter solvenda, capi et provideri faciatis indelate, ita quod victualia predicta prompta sint et preparata pro expensis hospitii solvendis ipsius Justiciarii nostri supradicti. Et hoc, sub pena centum librarum de bonis et catallis vestris, ad opus nostrum levandarum, nullatenus omittatis. Teste Jacobo Le Botiller, Comite de Ormond, Justiciario nostro, apud Kilkenniam xi^mo^ die Novembris anno regni 17°. Per literas ipsius Justiciarii, de privato sigillo."

By another writ of the same date, the Provost and municipality

[1] A quantity of five hundred fish.

of the town of Ross were likewise ordered to provide for the Viceroy four thousand good loaves, two thousand gallons of ale, forty good bullocks, twenty hogs, two large and good boars, two hundred geese, forty small pigs, a quantity of candles, forty trusses of hay, one hundred pairs of rabbits, ten boats of firewood, five meases of herrings, one hundred cod and ling fish, one hundred salted salmons, and a thousand whiting, with supplies of all other necessaries and victuals.

The extortions of the Viceregal Purveyors were complained of as follows, in the early part of the fifteenth century, among the chief grievances of the English subjects in Ireland :—

"Item monstrent lez ditez communes qe la dite terre est graundement destruycte par extorcions des purveiors pur les houstielx dez Lieuxtenantz et autres Governors de mesme la terre, les queux purveiors prenent bleez, boefs, motons, pultrie, et divers choses sauns riens ou poie ent a paier et fount lour purveiaunce moult pluys qe necessite demaunde et prenent divers soumes de money pur relesser lor prises as uns, trope oppressantz les autres."

In 1413, Henry VI. ordered the statutes against the illegal proceedings of Purveyors, to be proclaimed in all the market towns under English control in Ireland.[1] During the same century, a clause, as follows, was usually inserted in the patents[2] of the Viceroys, authorizing them to take, through their Purveyors, victuals and other necessaries for their households, which, with the cost of conveyance, were to be paid for at reasonable rates, and in conformity with the statutes enacted on these subjects :—

"Et victualia, sufficientia et necessaria pro expensis hospitii sui ac soldariorum suorum, in quocumque loco, infra terram predictam, per provisores hospitii sui et alios ministros suos, unà cum cariagio sufficienti pro eisdem, tam infra libertates quam extra (feodo ecclesiæ duntaxat excepto), pro denariis suis rationabiliter solvendis, capere et providere possint, juxta formam diversorum statutorum de hujusmodi provisoribus ante hæc tempora factorum."

A special act of the Colonial Parliament in Ireland dealt, as

[1] Rot. Pat. Hib. 14 Hen. IV., no. 115, Calend. 201.
[2] Rot. Pat. Angl. 1 & 49 Hen. VI. ; 10 Hen. VII.

follows, in 1440, with the extortions of Purveyors, "Harbingers," and "Aveners:"[1]

"For that the said land of Ireland is greatly weakened and impoverished by misgovernance, extortions, and oppressions, by the Purveyors, Harbingers, and Aveners: That, from henceforth, no Purveyor, Harbenger, nor Avener, be within the said land, but that the Justice of the said land of Ireland that now is, and the Lieutenants, Justices, or Governors, that for the time shall be, shall pay or agree with them, from whom any goods shall be taken by their achatours. And if the said Lieutenants, Justices, or Governors, by their achatours, do not, in the order aforesaid, it shall be lawful to him whose the goods are, to make resistance to such achatours or officers without offence or impeachment of the King."[2]

Sir John Fastolf, page 300.

A royal grant of two forfeited horses to John Fastolf, squire, in 1402, is entered on the Patent Roll of Ireland of the third year of Henry IV. Nicholas Fastolf, supposed to be of the same Norfolk family[3] with Sir John, held the post of Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland,[4] in 1326. A covenant of the Mayor and Commons of Dublin, with him and his wife, Cecilia, for supplying their house with water, in 1329, will be found at page 414 of vol. i. of "History of the City of Dublin," by the author of the present work.

Charges against Sir John Stanley, page 302.

"Item, monstront vos dites Lieges a vostre dite Hautesse que com prymerment apres vostre coronacione, Monsieur Johan de Stanley, qui Dieu assoille, estoit Lieutenant de vostre dite terre, a quele temps, et auxi en temps de nostre tres redoute Seigneur, le Roy, vostre pier, et de vostre predecesseur, le Roy, Richard, suisdite, riens ou poy il paya a mesmes vos lieges, mais diverses extorsions et oppressions fist de temps en temps encontre la fourme de vos leyes, en graunt anientissement de vostre dite terre. Pour quoi

[1] "Avenarius Locum-tenentis."—Rot. Pat. Hib. 4 Hen. IV., no. 241.
[2] Statutes passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland. Dublin: 1786, vol. i., 3.
[3] Biographia Britannica, 1793, v., 697.
[4] Rot. Pat. Hib. 18 Ed. II., no. 81; and 20, no. 45 and 72.

pleise a vostre tresgraciouse seigniorie de compeller les heires et executours del dit Johan Stanley, quieux par biens de vostre dite terre graundement sount enriches et enhansez, de venir en ceste terre de faire paiement dez dettes del dit Johan Stanley, et pour amender les defautes par devaun par le dit Johan Stanley faitez come mieuylx sembleret a vostre dit hautesse."

Sir John Talbot, Viceroy, page 306.

Talbot, in 1416, appointed John Coryngham to the offices of keeper of the royal palace in the Castle of Dublin, and clerk of the works within that fortress, at the annual salary of one hundred and eight shillings and fourpence. This appointment was confirmed, as follows, in 1422, during the government of Talbot's brother, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin :—

"Rex, etc., omnibus at quos, etc., Salutem. Sciatis quod cum carissimus Dominus et pater noster, Henricus quintus, nuper Rex Angliæ, vicesimo octavo die Januarii, anno regni sui tercio, per literas suas patentes, sub testimonio Johannis Talbot, de Halomeschire, Chivaler, tunc Locum-tenentis ejusdem Patris nostri, terre sue Hibernie, concesserit dilecto nobis Johanni Coryngham, officium Custodis Palacii dicti Patris nostri, infra Castrum Dublinie, unacum officio Clerici operum ejusdem Castri, habenda, occupanda officia predicta, per se et Deputatos suos, pro termino vite predicti Johannis Coryngham ; percipiendo annuatim in officiis illis centum et octo solidos, et quatuor denarios, prout per literas predictas plenius poterit apparere. Nos, de gratia nostra speciali, de assensu Venerabilis Patris, Richardi [Talbot], Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, Justiciarii nostri terre nostre Hibernie, et Consilii nostri in eadem, dedimus et concessimus eidem Johanni Coryngham officia predicta, habenda et occupanda per se et deputatos suos pro termino vite ejusdem Johannis Coryngham ; percipiendo annuatim in officiis prædictis centum solidos ad receptam Scaccarii nostri Hiberniæ, per manus Thesaurarii nostri Hiberniæ et Camerariorum de Scaccario nostro prædicto, pro tempore existentium, ad festum Pasche et Michælis, per equales portiones. In cujus, etc.

"Teste prefato Justiciario nostro, apud Dubliniam, xxviii° die Octobris anno regni nostri primo."

On the Issue Roll of Ireland for 1413, appear various entries connected with the Chauntry of the Exchequer; repairs of that court; payment for re-building and covering a ruinous tower of the Castle of Dublin; disbursement of forty-five shillings and fourpence to the Carmelites, for celebrating service in the Chauntry of the Exchequer, in part payment of their fee of one hundred shillings; also, allowances for requisites for the altar.

The coiner of money ("Percussor monete") within Dublin Castle, is referred to in a Close Roll of Ireland for 1425-6—3 Hen. VI., no. 35. An apartment, styled "le counseill chamber," near the Exchequer in the same Castle, in mentioned in the Patent Rolls of Ireland for 1427 and 1432—5 Hen. VI., no. 30; and 10, no 40.

Extortions practised by Sir John Talbot in Ireland, page 310.

"Item pleignent voz ditz lieges que come en temps que Monsieur Johan Talbot, chivaler, estoit Lieutenaunt de vostre dite terre, fist plusours greindres et excessives extorsions et oppressions, sibien sur gentz de religiouses et autres de seynt Esglise, come sur vos dites lieges en cele partie ne furent faitz en nos jours, et lour biens et chateux parprist saunz ent a eux poy ou rien paier; par que voz dites lieges en cele partie sount tres graundement anientise et empauverez; perount pleese a vostre hautesse considerer la matier suisdits et commander le dit Monsieur Johan, en la mellioure fourme come myelx semblera a vostre royal Mageste, pour envoier ses Deputes, attornees et officiers en vostre terre suisdits, pur faire amendes de sez extorsions et oppressions suisdites, et due paiment faire a voz ditz lieges, en graund succour et relevement du pouvere estate de voz dites lieges.

"Les Peticiones des grievaunces presentes par Seigneurs et Comunes du Parlement Dirlande au Roy.—9 Hen. v."—Ms.

Feud between Sir John Talbot and Earl of Ormonde, page 316.

Carte, in his "Life of Ormonde," i. xxxix., erroneously assigns the arraignment to the year 1446. Lodge, in the "Peerage of Ireland," ii., 1754, 10, confounds this with the subsequent charges made by the Prior of Kilmainham, noticed at page 346.

Edmund de Mortimer, Viceroy, 1423, page 320.

Thomas Fuller, by an extraordinary mistake, represented this Earl of March to have been "kept, as a poor prisoner, twenty years in restraint in his own castle of Trim."[1] This error is repeated by Sandford in his "Genealogical History," London: 1707.

James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, page 324.

Letters of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh.

The following hitherto unpublished documents, illustrative of this period are preserved among the muniments of the See of Armagh:—

"Magnifico et Illustri domino, domino, Comiti Ormonie, domino meo singularissimo.

"Magnifice et illustris comes et Domine mi singularissime, debita recomendacione premissa, per venerabilem virum dominum, Patricium Preen, clericum vestre magnificencie, literas accepi mihi vehementissime gratas, cum intellexerim virtute vestre dominacionis multas Hibernie partes, que in vestri absencia defecerant per adventum et reditum vestrum esse recuperatas. Itaque mihi consulitis quod in festo sancti Michaelis iter arripiam versus partes vestras et Hiberniam, pro utilitate ecclesie et Sedis Apostolice, quod libenter fecissem, nisi adventus domini Cardinalis Wyntoniensis ad Angliam me impedisset; nam ex commissione domini nostri Summi Pontificis cum ejusdem domini Cardinalis dominacione multa conferre habeo et expedire, sed quam primo secum finem fecero preparabo istuc et ad vestras partes adcedere et secundum vestre dominacionis consilium me regam et gubernabo. Video enim utilitatem ecclesie et honorem Sedis Apostolice ut decet magnificenciam vestram excolere et me non meis meritis sed pro vestra in me benevolencia summe diligitis. De omnibus tamen ante adventum meum dominationem vestram cerciorem faciam interimque procurabo potestates, illas mecum afferre quas mihi utiles fores monuistis in facto . . . .[2] prefati Domini Patricii, sanctissimo domino nostro et domino Cardinali Placentino diligentissime commendabo; et profecto n on

[1] Worthies of England, 1811, ii. 327.

[2] Blank in MS.

dubitetis favores quos sperat reportabit intuitu vestre magnificencie, et aliis racionibus quas novistis et quantum michi dominacio vestra scribit, super, facto prebende domini mei domini Placentini, tantum ejus dominacioni notificabo, et omnia referam que pro ejus dominacione vestra magnificencia facere intendit et cupit. Ego de beneficiis per vos in me collatis, et de magnificis et veris oblacionibus mihi factis summas vestre magnificencie gratias ago, et me vestris mandatis semper paratum offero. Datum Londoni die xxvii^mo^ Septembris, Anno Domini millesimo cccc^mo^ xxviij^vo^."

"To my most speciale lorde Jamyse Botcler Erle of Ormonde, ye letyr betake.

"Moste reverente and moste wordy lord and my moste special sukour, I recomend me your oude pour servante to your graciose lordshipe doynge youe to wytte that ate the tyme that I came to cestere[1] there was there mene of lorde Grey abydynge apone my comyng, me nozt wyntyng, and the tyme that I lede Cestyre the sayde mene folwyte me alonge tyle the tyme that I come to heywode, and there they toke here[2] hyne be syde the hyne that my fewlaschipe, and I were hynyt no maner quarelys schoyinge to me but assonde as my felaschipe and I toke owre waye oute of the sayde towne the forsaide mene lefth hare dyuere and folwyde ows oute of the towne, and owrtok ows at the town end and haylytte ows and saide that they wold ryde to Coffyntre[3] and so we rode to gyddyre tyl that we come in to the grete hethe be towx heywode and Regley, the moste thenlyte place be towx Cestyr and Coffyntree, save basette crosse, and ther they sayde that they me. w. . l. . yhade to the lord Grey so wold I odyr noldy; and they sayde that I had take of the Lord Grey hobyys in herlonde and also that I rode with the sonnes of lynam to destrue lege pepyll of the king, and because of so hy offense they sayde that I schold come to the lord Grey and there to hyre whate he wold to me sey; and they seyd also that to my fewlaschipe hade they none callange and I answord ond sayd that to the lord Grey wold I nogh go; but I bade hame to torne agayne to the bisschoppe at Heywod, and there be fore the bischope I wold answore to all maner accyons that the lord Grey to

[1] Chester. [2] Their. [3] Coventry.

me had; and they seyde schortly that to the bisschoppe wold they noght goo nedyre with hyme hade ado than . . . to the bisschoppe wold I agayne goo for to hyme . . . . lar . . . . tho . and to the bisschoppe I went and one of the sai . . . ."

The remainder of this document has been lost, but in the same volume are found the following letters, written by Primate Swayne, on the state of the English territories in Ireland at the period of the Viceroyalty of Sir John de Grey, noticed at page 323 :—

"Item odire meschef ther be in this land, whiche will be gret cause of the distrecion ther of with oute that ye of youre gracious lordschipe ordeyne some remedy therefore; for in good faithe the englissch grounde that ys obeyng to the kyngis laue in this lande, as I suppos, is not so moche of quantite as is on schir[1] in englonde; and al the leutenantz that hath be in this contre for the more parti whar thi come ther odir here soudioris leven on the hosbondis, noght paynge for hors mete ne manmete[2] and the lieutenantz purvioures[3] take up al maner vitalle for hare[4] housholdes, that is to say, corne hay, bestaylle,[5] and pollaylle,[6] and al odir thingis nedful to household, and pay no thing ther fore to a counte, taillys,[7] so firforthe that as it is tolde me ther is ouyng in this londe by leutenantz and her soudioris within this fewe yeris xx. mille. l.[8] and more. Also at parlementz and grete conseilles the lieutenantz hath grete subsidies and talagis grainted to theym, and all this the pouere housbondy berith and paithe fore and. The were[9] on thodirsayde distroyth hem and the governances byfore sayde which the were hath broght this countrey to this plite so ferforth that but if ye my lorde of your good and grecious lordshepe ordeyne hasti remedy for the meschefe aboves aide, by my trouth as y suppos the enmys wyll over ride and fynally conquere this londe or[10] hit be Ester or Whitesontyde, that no man schall kepe hym but if hit be in castellis or in wallis touns.

"And the housbonde pepill for the meschefe and governances aforsaide be gone out of the londe, with in fewe yeris, into englonde, and in to odir contreys, that in good faith, as I suppos, there is mor

[1] One shire in England. [2] Man's meat. [3] Purveyors. [4] Their. [5] Cattle.
[6] Poultry. [7] Tallies. [8] £20,000. [9] War. [10] Ere.

gone oute of the londe of the kyngis lege pepyll then be in it. If ye, my lorde, of your goode and grecious lordschipe, wold ordeyne a gret power hedir to withstonde the malice of the enmyes; and who so ever that schall have the governances of this londe that he fynde suffisaunt suertee to kepe the londe, that it be noght fynally conquered, in his tyme; and that he make trewe payment to the comyne pepill for hym and his soudioris, and that he take no subsides ne talagis of hem; then I suppos with godis grace this contre will be relevid and savid unto the kyngis age;[1] for then who so taketh the governance of this londe he will be well a visid and caute hym fully for the salvation and profit there of.

"Ryght hey and myghti prince and my richt worchepfull and gracious lorde here I have let you know of the governaunce of the saide londe, and the meschefe ther of be seching you, if hit like your gracious lordschip, al thes materis by yowe tenderly consederide to order some hastie remedy ther for."

"Right heigh and right myghty prince, and my right Wirshupfull and gratiouse lorde, hit likyth to youre goode and gratiouse lord shupe to be remembred that ye now late wrot to me comaundyng me, that I scholde sertifye un to you the trewth of the governaunce of this Irlonde, noght sparyng, for hatdrede love or frendschepe of any man, to obeye and I, youre man and servant, am reddy and woll be at all tymys to obeye youre comaundement, and by the feith that I owe to gode and to yow I woll sertiffe[2] yow bot of the werry trouth of the governans of the saide londe.

"Item first as tochinge the governans of Irlonde sith my lord Grey come in to hit first. Whan he come in to the seyde londe he brogth with hym bot fewe men for he hade no shippyng for all is men; and hit was longe or his men come to hym, and so he was noght of pouer to wer[3] and the kyngys enmys of the south partyes of Irlonde, seyng that he hade so fewe men with hym, all of oon assent they went to were and makmorth[4] was hare[5] capyteyn, and he haide with hyme, as men seide, viij batayllys[6] of fotmen, arrayde of the gyse of this contre that

[1] Henry IV., born on 6th December, 1421. [2] Certify [3] War.
[4] Mac Murragh. [5] Their. [6] Battallions.

ys, ewry man acton,[1] habirchon,[2] pischane,[3] basnete,[4] and in evry batayll comunely they have cccc. men. And this makmorght[5] with his men come in to the english contre to atonn that is called Connalle, and ther they brente the ton and thei brake in to feyr abbaye that ys in the ton and thei brent the ouses of offyse of the same abbay, bot the gret chirche of the same abbay and the cloys, and the stepyll was savyde, as gode wolde; and they brent that same day many othir tounes, in goode feithe I can noght tell the names of haisse. And the same day my lord Grey, the lieutenante, had warnynge of the enmys, and he rode to a ton is callyde the nase[6], the which is tree myle from Connalle, a ton that they brent, and when my lord Grey come to the nass, he wold have ride to have sete on his enmys, and men consaylled hym that he schold noght set on hame, for he hade but fewe men with hym, and his enmyes were right strong; and so ate that tyme the enmyes went safe out of that place they went and they logede in english contree, at a ton is called Rathinghaim,[7] a lityll from Kyldare, ij. dayes and twey nighthis. And than thei maide a grete journe in to myth,[8] and there brent many tounes and moche corne and slew men and toke prysonnyrs[9] . . . . . l. wyne and . . . othir jentilmen of the contre toke . . . . . lord come in tho that . . . . . was come in to that costys. And they went fast out of that contre, and than my lorde Grey maide a good journe on a gret irishmane that is callide Oconhour,[10] and he brent moche in hare contree and toke many bestis and than Mcmorgh, with al is ostis,[11] went in to the Counte of Wexeforde, and ther he brent moche of the contre and toke moche goode. And with schort tyme aftyr he wente agayne in to the forseide Counte of Wexforde and there he brende and slewe men and toke prisonnerys, and lay styll in the contre ij dayes and they nyghtys and than all the hoold Counte[12] rannsonned hame schelfe and payde cclx. marke to Mcmorgh, that he sholde noght destruye hame[13] all.

[1] Acqueton—defensive armour, covering body, chest, and stomach.
[2] Haubergeon—coat of plate or chain mail without sleeves.
[3] Gorget.
[4] Light helmets.
[5] Mac Murragh.
[6] Naas.
[7] Rathangan.
[8] Meath.
[9] The blanks denote defects in MS.
[10] O'Connor of Offaly.
[11] His hosts.
[12] The whole county.
[13] Them.

And frome thens Mcmorgh went to Trestildermot, a walled ton, and maide asawte to the ton, and whan the thon brent hit all saue xl. or l. housen; and ther they toke a knygh is callyde Sir Thomas Wogan, lorde of the same ton, and all that contree they rode and destruyde; and than my lorde made pees with Mcmorgh and all the irismen of that costys and Mcmorgh wolde noght make pees bot if he hade lxxx. marke evry yere, lyke as is fadyr hade; and so he is paide of x. marke than Obryn[1] and Otoule[2] that wer with Mcmorgh, and outdire Iris seis they wold noght stond to that pees; and they brent many twones after that and dide moche harme.

"Item than the enmyes of the northsyde of the contre went to were and they brent many tounys; and slew men and toke prisonnerys and did moche harme. Bot in good feith ther is com meschefe and that is this for the pore housbond men, that have no thyng to liw by bot hare housbondrye, hare corne is brent and they have noght sowe, and they be noght of power to by come, and so they be undo for evyer.

"In goode feith ther is moche harme do in this contre, and this contre was never in so gret a meschefe as hit ys nowe, I have told you of the harmys that been do; and now I wold lette youe knoe the harmys and the mischevs that will fall and be lyke to fall in righte schort tyme, but God of his goodnys and ye of your gracouse lordschipe ordenye some[3] . . . . . tyme the ennmyes where never so stronge as . . . . . proud of the harme that the have d. . . . . ylmas whan the g. . . . . . woll owre ryde all this contre and fynaly conquere hite, bot if ther be hasty remedy ordeyned for hite. In goode feyth, some tyme with in thes iij. yeres a man myght have kepyne this contree betyre with cccc. bowes than nowe with dccc.

"Righ heygh and rygh myghty prince, and my righ wirshufull and gracious lorde, I have lete you knowe trowth of the governans of this lond by the feyth that I owe to gode and to yowe, and, if hitt lyke un to your gracious lordschipe, I woll lett yowe knowe what

[1] O'Byrne. [2] O'Toole. [3] MS. defective.

hath be the cause of the gret harme that hath be do to the kingys lege pepill in this londe I woll lett youe knowe woth goodes grace what may helpe this londe.

"Whan my lord Talbot was in this contre ther was grete wariouns betwene hym and my lorde of Ormond, and yut they be noght acordede, and some jentylmen of the contre ben well wyllede to my lorde of Ormond they hold with hym and longen hym and helpyn hym, and be noght well willed to my lorde Talbot, nor to none that love hym, and they that love my lorde Talbot done in the same maner to my lorde of Ormond . . . [1] and so all this lond is severed. More harme is both jentyllmen and communes and they love noght othir, nor helpe not othyr; and this debate betywx these thwey lordes is cause of the gret harmes that be do in this contre. The of this lond schall be this hardelich as I suppose if ye my lorde, of your gracious lordeshipe, would ordeyne a wey that thes twey lordes were veriliche accordeded, and that the acorde myght dure, and that ye wold send hame both hyddyre, or oon of hame with ciii. bowes or lenton[2] this contre schold be sawede with goddes grace, for in goode feith the enmyes dredith hame both more than they do all the world. I trow for if any of hame both where in this lond all the ennmyes in irlond wold be ryght fayn to have peese. My Righ wirchepfull and graciouse lorde Rygh hye &c I wol . . . . [3] a schort tyme with goddes grace and than I woll enforme your Lordschepe of the trewthe of the governaunce of this lond."

Archbishop Swayne's description of the reduction of the English territories in Ireland, is confirmed by the following passage in the "Libel of English Policy,"[4] written at about the same date with these letters :—

——— "remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Under England, and Wales another :
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeaunce due unto the king.
But I have pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with avisement :
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent :
It must awey, it wol be lost for us,

[1] MS. defective. [2] Before Lent. [3] MS. defective.
[4] Principal navigations of the English nation, London : 1599, ii., p. 200.

But if thou helpe, thou Jesu gracious,
And give us grace al slought to leve beside.
. . . . .
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten
That wild Irish so much of ground have gotten
There upon us, as likewise may be
Like as England to sheeris[1] two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish have woune on us unable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
. . . . .
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is governance
For so minisheth parties of our puissance
In that land that wee lese[2] every yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here."

English government in Ireland, A.D. 1430-31, page 328.—*The Castle of Dublin.*

In the above years, Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, governed as Justiciary, and the two following documents are connected with his administration. The first records a grant of twenty marks for the repair of the great hall, towers, and buildings in Dublin Castle, which had been damaged by rain and storms, to the injury of the books and records of the Chancery, King's Bench, and Exchequer. The second details that the Archiepiscopal Justiciary, on the 5th of August, 1431, repaired to the Castle of Dublin, solemnly cited the Constable and his Deputy, in the King's name, and, on their non-appearance, seized the Constableship, and took measures for the safe custody of the Castle, and of those confined in its prison:—

"Memorandum, quod vicesimo tercio die Octobris anno presenti, habito tractatu inter Venerabilem in Christo Patrem, Richardum, Archiepiscopum Dublinie, Justiciarium Domini Regis terre sue Hiberniæ, et Consilium Domini Regis terre in eadem terra qualiter Castrum Domini Regis de Dublin, ac magna aula, et alia edificia infra Castrum prædictum in quibus libri et recorda Cancellarie utrusuque Banci, et Scaccarii Domini Regis Hibernie existunt, ruinosa sunt, et maxima indigent reparacione; et pro defectu reparacionis aulæ turrium, et edificiorum predictorum, libri et recorda predicta per pluviam et aeris tempestates, multipliciter damnifi-

[1] Shires. [2] Lose.

cantur; habitaque consideracione quod majora dampna Domino Regi et ligeis suis per defectum reparacionis dicti Castri de facile possint evenire, nisi remedium in ea parte celerius ordinetur: Concordatum est per Justiciarium et Consilium predicta, quod viginti marce per annum de revencionibus terre predicte expendantur circa reparacionem Castri, aulæ edificiorum, et turrium predictorum, per avisamentum Thesaurarii Hibernie, pro tempore existentis, et quod Johannes Coryngham habeat viginti marcas pro anno proxime futuro de revencionibus terre predicte, per manus Thesaurarii et Camerariorum Scaccarii predicti pro reparacione Castri, aulæ, edificiorum, et turrium predictorum; et quod dictus Johannes compotum inde reddat coram Baronibus dicti Scaccarii, et quod tot et tanta brevia fiant pro solucione dictarum viginti marcarum quot in ea parte necessaria fuerint; Et quod premissa irrotulentur in Cancellaria et fiant de recordo."

"Pro seisiendo Castrum Dublin in manum Regis, propter malam Custodiam ejusdem.

"Memorandum, quod quinto die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti nono, Venerabilis in Christo, Pater, Richardus, Archiepiscopus Dublin, Justiciarius Domini nostri, Regis, terre sue Hibernie, pro certis causis dictum Dominum nostrum, Regem, et salvam custodiam Castri ejusdem Domini nostri, Regis, Dublin, et prisonariorum in eodem existensium, specialiter concernentibus, infra Castrum predictum venit, et prefatus Justiciarius ibidem Constabularium Castri predicti, et ejus Deputatum, hiis de causis, solempniter vocari fecit. Et quia predictus Constabularius, seu pro eo aliquis Deputatus, coram prefato Justiciario ad mandata Regia ibidem exequenda, vel ad Castrum et prisonarios predictos in Castro predicto salve custodiendos, non venerunt, prefatus Justiciarius, hoc considerans, et eminens periculum quod in defectu Constabularii predicti, et Deputati sui hujusmodi eidem Castro, pro defectu salve custodie ejusdem, et prisonariorum in dicto Castro tunc existencium, evenire potuisset, officium Constabularii Castri predicti in manus dicti Domini nostri, Regis, cepit et seisivit, et incontinente pro salva custodia Castri et prisonariorum predictorum, ordinare demandavit. Que omnia et singula prefatus Justiciarius inactitari jussit, et in Rotulis Cancellarie Hibernie de recordo irrotulari."

On the Patent Roll of Ireland for 1432, is recorded a grant of twenty marks, to be expended on the great hall of the Castle of Dublin, described as then requiring repairs and leaden covering.—*Rot. Pat. Hib.* 10 Hen. VI. no. 40.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, 1834.—Mss. Brit. Mus. Titus, B. XI.—Rot. Pat. Hib.—Hist. of Galway, by J. Hardiman, 1820.—Rymer.—Archæologia, vol. xx.—Royal and historical letters during reign of Henry IV., 1860.—Account of the territory of Farney, by E. P. Shirley, 1845.—Annals of Ireland, by Henry Marleburgh, 1633.—Statutes of the Realm, 1816.—Proceedings of Kilkenny Archæological Society.—Lib. Nig. Scacc., 1728.– Tracts relating to Ireland, by the Irish Archæological Society, 1843.—Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848.—Miscellany of the Celtic Society, 1849.—Original Letters, edited by Sir H. Ellis, second series, 1827.—J. Lelandi Collectanea, 1774.—Memorials of Henry V., 1858.—Monstrelet, Chroniques de France, 1826.—Baronage of England, 1675.—Rotuli Parliamentorum Angliæ.—Life of Ormonde, by T. Carte, 1736.—Rotuli Selecti, 1835.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

Tuscan ancestors of Earls of Desmond, page 334.

Dominico de Rosario, of Lisbon, in 1655, addressed the Cardinals Antonio and Francesco Barberini as follows on this subject :—

"Creuit siquidem in Hethruria Troianus aliquando pampinus idemque à Florentia florentissimus extendit palmites suos usque ad mare et usque ad flumen propagines eius. A flumine scilicet Arno pelagoque Mediterreo, Vergiuium ultra mare processit nobilis et antiqua propago Geraldina ad arctöos Hyberniæ fines (eos usque scilicet, quos nunquam Romana carbasa batuere, Hetrusca vexilla

penetrarunt) in quibus, quingentorum ferè annorum spatio, Kildariæ Comitibus, ac Desmoniæ Dinastis, floruit ramus iste Florentinus."—*Initium, incrementa et exitus familiæ Geraldinorum*, 1655.

Castle of Dublin, page 345.

Giles Thorndon, who had been appointed Constable of Dublin Castle, in 1435, noticed it as follows in his "articles" to the King and Council:—"Item lyke it you to understonde that the grete frostes and weders that han been thise iij. yere han so empeyred and hurte the walles of the castels of Develyn and Wygelowe [Wicklow] which woll drawen to ryght grete and notable sommes lesse than they been the souner reperailled and amended."—*Proceedings of Privy Council of England*, v. 1835, 323.

Appointment of Richard, Duke of York, to the Viceroyalty, page 352.

This event is dramatized as follows by Shakespeare. "Scene, the Abbey at Bury." Present: King Henry, Queen Margaret, Cardinal Beaufort, Suffolk, York, Buckingham, Somerset, Gloster, and others:—

Enter a POSTE.

Poste. Great lords, from Ireland am I come amaine,
To signifie that rebels there are up,
And put the Englishmen unto the sword.
Send succours (lords) and stop the rage betime,
Before the wound do grow uncurable:
For being greene, there is great hope of helpe.

. . . . . .

Cardinal. My lord of Yorke, try what your fortune is.
Th' uncivil kernes of Ireland are in armes,
And temper clay with blood of Englishmen.
To Ireland will you lead a band of men,
Collected choycely, from each countie some,
And try your hap against the Irishmen?
Yorke. I will, my lord, so please his Maiestie.
Suffolke. Why, our authority is his consent,
And what we doe establish, he confirmes:
Then, noble Yorke, take thou this taske in hand.
Yorke. I am content. Provide me souldiers, lords,
While I take order for mine own affaires.

. . . . . .

My lord of Suffolke, within foureteene dayes
At Bristow I expect my souldiers:
For there Ile ship them all for Ireland."

—*King Henry VI., Part II., act* 3, *scene i., edit.* 1623, 132.

Richard, Duke of York, Viceroy, 1449, page 353.

Ten days after his arrival in Ireland, the Duke despatched letters to John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, "to send to him all defensible people he might gather and have of archers and others, purveyed with victuals for six days, to go on hosting with him, and to mete him at the Bree [Bray] on Lammas day now next coming, by ten att the bell by fore none." Archbishop Mey, in a letter addressed to his "mighty and high worthy prince, his trusty and full gracious lord," alleged that, by reason of a proposed visitation of his diocese, he could not comply with the despatch of the 16th of July to "visit his gracious presence." The following extract from the Primate's letter,[1] exhibits the condition of part of the Duke's Earldom of Ulster at this period:—

"When we were redy bound to our said visytassy,[2] we were lett[3] by Oneyll[4] ys sones, so that we mowe noght freely to passe as for this time to our said vysytassy, and so for the said lettyng and undewe occupying of owre Chyrche landys, injurys and excesses to us and owres, we have made processe and opynly accursed Oneyll, his sons, and his subjectys, all gylty yn thes partee, and included them and all Oneyll lordshippe and peres[5] under generall interdiction under certayne fourme, as yn our processe ther uppon more pleyner appereth of the which we opynly and withe all solempnite dyd execution yn the market of Dundalk on Monday now last passed. And where ye desyreth us from tyme to tyme to certify yowe of our tydings and of the disposicion of this countrees, blessed be God as yit this partees of Iryell[6] stondyeth in gode poynt but hit ys to drede of perell that myght lykly fall the which God forbede so shold yn your tyme ought but gode so worthy a prince by cause that a trewe[7] was take by twene english and yrish by auctorite of your depute and the Eirle of Ormond, ynto a certayn day, so that they douteth whether hit plesith your highe wurthy estate to observe the same trewe and as hit is semyng to us hit were

[1] Registrum Johannis Mey, ms. Munim. Armac.
[2] Visitation.
[3] Hindered.
[4] O'Neill's sons.
[5] Peers.
[6] Uriel—Louth and Monaghan.
[7] A truce.

godely to wryte or to send to such as semeth you best yn this partees to have these maters demened and declared as semeth yowe best. And full gracious lorde assone we mow be certayne of youre graciouse comyng within our provynce, we shall be redy to visite your gracious presence to do you all lowly servys as humble chapleyne to your highe worthy astate all what we can. And may ever the blisful Trynyte for the best expleyte rewle and kepe your highe worthinesse. Writ the x. [.] of Julie."

Cade, Captain of Kent, page 359.

"Unde dictus eorum Capitaneus, mox elatus in superbiam, et ab insipienti populo, velut rex honoratus, cum nemine resistente, omnia sibi ad nutum crederet jam licere."—*Hist. Croylandensis Continuatio.—Rer. Anglic. Scrip. Vet.* i., Oxon : 1684, p. 526.

To the "Mirrour for Magistrates" (ii , 156-165) Baldwin contributed a poem, describing "How Iacke Cade, naming himself Mortimer, trayterously rebelling against his King, in June, 1450, was, for his treasons and cruell doings, worthely punished." "This Cade," he wrote, "being an Irisheman, but of mean parentage, of no ability and less power—but," he adds, "whom King Henry, with all his puissance, was no more able for a while to destroy—yet was he his rebellious enemy—than he was to preserve the Duke of Suffolke, his dearest friend." At the conclusion of the poem, one of the author's friends is represented as exclaiming: "By Sainct Mary, if Iacke were as well learned as you have made his oration, whatsoever he was by birth, I warrant him a gentleman by his learning."

York quits Ireland, page 362.

"Please it your Grace to be advertised
The Duke of Yorke is newly come from Ireland ;
And with a puissant and a mighty power
Of gallow-glasses and stout Kernes,
Is marching hitherward in proud array :
And still proclaimeth as he comes along,
His armes are only to remove from thee
The Duke of Somerset, whom he tearmes a traitor."

—*Shakespeare, King Henry VI., Part II., act iv., scene* 9, *edit.* 1623, 142.

Custom of Irish to renew wars on English after Easter, page 366.

The statute containing this statement was as follows :—

"Item al requisicion dez communes : Que come la custume de la terre Dirlaund est, et ad este de temps dount memorie ne court, que ne luist a ascune Lieutenant, Depute Justice, ou aultre ascun Governour, desouthz nostre Seigneur, le Roy, en Irlaund, de ordiner, summoner, ou tenir ascun Parlement nostre Seigneur, le Roy, deinz la dit terre, sinoun une foitz par an. Et pur ceo que la necessite de cest terre ore est, que comment que un Parlement nostre Seigneur, le Roy, soit tenuz deinz un an apres le darreine Parlement nostre dit Signeur, le Roy, ore tarde tenuz devaunt le haut et puissaunt Prince Richard, Duke de Everwyk, Lieutenant nostre Seigneur, le Roy, en Irlande, par ceo que la fest de Paske proscheine aveigner est cy haut en la temps estivale que un Parlement nostre Seigneur, le Roy, ne poet estre tenuz proffitablement apres le dit fest de Paske, pur les eminentes guerrez dez Irrois enemyz nostre dit Seigneur, le Roy, en Irland, qui soloient aler al guerre continulement apres la fest de Paske, Ordeine est et establie, par auctoritie du dit Counseill, que un foitz bien luist a nostre tres graciouse Seigneur, ore Depute, al dit Duke, Lieutenant nostre Seigneur, le Roy, en Irlande, de sumoner et tenir un Parlement nostre Seigneur, le Roy, parentre cy et la feste de Paske proscheine avenant, le dit custume nient obstaunt ; et que apres celle foitz le dit custume sera tout temps en sa force."—*Rot. Stat. Hib.* 29 *Hen. VI.*

Duke of York nominated to the Viceroyalty in 1454, page 367.

"A dispute having arisen as to who was legally Lieutenant of Ireland, it was ordered that all grants assigned for that country should be paid to the Treasurer of England only, until the question was decided ; but the matter having been settled, the Council, on the 15th of April [1454], rescinded its former order."—*Proceedings and Ordinances of Privy Council of England*, vi., 1837, lii., 172.

Viceregal authority of Duke of York acknowledged by Colonial Parliament in Ireland, page 368.

The terms of the Duke's compact with Henry VI., dated 7th April, 1457, were as follows :—

"Ceste indenture, faicte parentre le Roy, nostre souverain Seigneur dune part et son trescher et loyal cousin, Richard Duc de York d'aultre part, tesmoigne que la ou nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, pars ses lettres patentes dessoudz son grand seal, portant date le sisiesme jour de Mars, lan de son reigne trente et cinqiesmes a ordonne et constitue son dict cousin Lieutenant de sa terre d'Irlande par l'espace de dix ans prochain ensuyans le huitiesme jour de Decembre prochainement venant, pour le quel temps le dict Duc est retenu devers nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, par force et vertu de ses lettres patentes, son Lieutenant de sa dicte terre d'Irlande, de la quelle il aura la governaunce.

"Nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, veult et graunte que pour le premier an des dicts dix ans, commenceant le dict huietiesme jour qu'il ait et preigne de nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, pour luy mesmes, et pour touttes les gens qu'il retiendra avec luy, pour la guerre et gouvernance de la dicte terre, quatre mille marques, des quelles il sera paye en main pour le premier demez an desz dix ans deux milles marques; et des aultres deux mille marques, parcell des quatres milles marques, pour le dict premier an, le dict Duc sera paye un moys avant le commencement de second demy an du dict premier an, par les mains des Tresorier et Chamberleins de son Exchequier en Inglaterre, pour le temps estants. Et pour les autres neuf ans, residuz de ces dix ans, nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, veult et graunte que le dict Duc ayt et preigne de luy chascun an, pour le guerre et governance de la dicte terre, deux milles livres, dont il sera paye ung moys avant le commencement de chascun demy an des dict derniers neuf ans, par les mains des Tresorier et Chamberleins de l'Exchequier en Anglaterre du Roy, nostre souverain Seigneur, pour le temps estants.

"Et aura mesme celuy Duc suffisant eskippison pour luy et toute sa retenue pour leur passage et repasse de la mer a costages de nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy.

"Et nostre dit Seigneur, le Roy, veult et grante que le dict

Duc ayt touttes yssues et profitz appartenantz a nostre dit Seigneur, le Roy, dans sa dicte terre d'Irlande, tant par terre comme par mer, selon la forme et tentur des dictes lettres patentes.

"Et aussi nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, veult et graunt que mesmes lettres et cestes indenturez, ensemblement avec tous les articles que en mesme lettres et endenturez sont contenuez, soient en leur force et vertu sans estre en quel point repellez, et que nul grauntz, pardon ou confirmacion des offices, ne des revenues de la dicte terre, soient grauntez, pardonnez ou confirmes durant le terme de dix ans sans lassent du dict Duc; et nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, veult et graunte que le dict Duc faie et ordonne ung Depute suffisant en son absence, pour qu'il en vourra respondre. Et ne sera la dict Duc tenu daccont des gens de sa retinue, ne des sommes de deniers qu'il receura de nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, pour l'office de la Lieutenancie de ladicte terre d'Irlande, ny des revenues dicelle, par force de ceste indenture; et bien sirra aloue a dict Duc de remouvoir aussi tous meniere sofficiers royoux en sa terre, et aultres faire en leurs lieux [solonc] le teneur effect et pourporte des lettres patentes avant dict, durant le terme des dix ans avant dict. Et aura le dict Duc lettres de protection pour luy mesme et touttes sa retinue qui iront avec luy vers les dict parties ou demourant illoecques dessoulz luy sur les succour et sauve governaunce et garde dicelles en maniere accoustome durant le temps dessus dictz.

"En tesmoinage de quelle chose a la partie de ceste indenture demourante vers le dict Duc, nostre dict Seigneur, le Roy, a faict mettre son prive seil. Donne a Westministere le 7^{me} jour davril, l'an du reigne du Roy, nostre dict souverain seigneur, 35."—*Brit. Mus. Mss.* Titus, B. xii.

Duke of York and Anglo-Irish, page 369.

Hall, in his "Union of the two noble houses," wrote, in 1548, that York "got him such love and favour of the country. [Ireland] and the inhabitants, that their sincere love and friendly affection could never be separated from him and his lineage." His successful administration in Ireland, notwithstanding the opposition of his rival, Somerset, are alluded to as follows in the "Mirrour for Magistrates," vol. ii. p. 189 :—

" And maugre him, so choyse, lo, was my chaunce,
Yea though the quene, that all rulde, took his part,
I twise bare rule in Normandy and Fraunce,
And last lieutenant in Ireland, where my hart
Found remedy for every kinde of smart:
For through the love my doinges there did breede,
I had their helpe at all times in my neede."

The " Epitaph for Richard, Duke of York,"[1] recorded :—

" En Erllande mist tel gouvernement
Tout le pays rygla paisiblement."

Parliamentary assertion of right of colonists to separate laws from England, page 369.

"Et pur ceo que nient solment le Ducherie de Normandie, mez auxi le Ducherie de Guyenne, quant ils furent desouth le oubeisaunce del dit reaume d'Engleterre, nient meyns seperat de lez leiez et statutez dicel, avoient auxi coynes par ceux mesme, ceperat de le coyne del dit reaume d'Engleterre. Et issint, en semblable manere, la dit terre Dirland que, sil soit desouth le obeissance de le mesme reaume, est nient meyns seperat de icel, et de toutz leiez et statutez dicel, forprise tielx quex sount illeosqez de lez Seigneurs espiritualx, temporelx, et communes, de lour propre liberte, et frankment, admisez et acceptez en Parlement, ou Graund Counseille."—*Rot. Stat. Hib.* 38 *Hen. VI.*

Warwick's expedition to Ireland, page 371.

This affair is chronicled as follows by Samuel Daniel :—

" Whose shipping and provisions Warwick takes
For Ireland, with his Chieftain to confer;
And within thirty days this voyage makes,
And back returns ere known to have been there:
So that the heav'ns, the sea, the wind partakes
With him, as if they of his faction were;
Or that his spirit and valour were combin'd
With destiny, t' effect what he design'd."

—*Poetical Works of S. Daniel*, London: 1718, ii., 231.

Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire beheaded, page 375.

"As for tidings, in good faith we have none, save the Earl of Wiltshire's head is set on London Bridge."—Letter of Thomas Playter, April, 1461, to John Paston : *Paston Letters*, vol. iv.

[1] Political Songs of England, 1861, ii., 257.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, Deputy Governor, page 377.—*The Castle of Dublin.*

During the administration of Fitz-Eustace, in 1462, the Parliament voted an annual grant of one hundred and eighty shillings from the issues of the Courts and Hanaper, and twenty shillings

from the profits of the Master of the Mint, to be expended for repairs in Dublin Castle, where the courts were held, and which is described in the Act as "ruinous and like to fall, to the great dishonour of the King." From an Act thirteen years later in date—15 Ed. IV., no. 4—we learn that these repairs had been deferred, in consequence of divers assignments having been made on the sum allocated for the Castle buildings. The Roll of receipts for Ireland, from 1474 to 1479—14 to 18 Edward IV.—contains entries of payments for repairs of the Castle of Dublin, by John Fleming, Henry White, and Christopher Fox, clerks of the works; the two latter being styled "keepers of the palace in the castle." Similar entries occur on the Miscellaneous Roll of Ireland for 1476-7—15 Edward IV.

Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, page 378.

Sir Richard Cox, confounding this Earl with his father, James, noticed at page 334, erroneously styled him the godfather of the Viceroy, Clarence.—*Hibernia Anglicana*, 1689, i., 168-170.

Execution of Thomas, Earl of Desmond, page 386.

The Annals of Ross record that the Earl was decapitated at Drogheda on the 14th of February, 1467, at the second hour after noon.[1] Dowling, in the sixteenth century, wrote that the Earl's father was alive at the period of the execution, and added that the Earl Thomas, "usurping upon his father, and going to Tredaff [Drogheda], he gave him his curse, and said thou shalt have an ill end."[2]

From an unpublished statute[3] of 1464, we learn that James Dokeray, merchant, of Drogheda, soon after the accession of Edward IV., passed into England, and accused Desmond, then Lord Deputy, of extorting coigne and livery from many inhabitants of Meath, and of being "of counsel and support to several rebels and traitors."

[1] Annals of Clyn, by Irish Archæol. Soc., 1849, 46.
[2] Annals of T. Dowling, by Irish Archæol. Soc., 1849, 30.
[3] Rot. Stat. Hib. 3 Ed. IV., no. 25.

Desmond and the Viceroy, Worcester, page 386.

The alleged execution of Desmond's sons is unrecorded by the chroniclers of Ireland. The historiographer, Edward Hall,[1] in the middle of the sixteenth century, wrote that "Lord John Typtoft, Erle of Worcester, lieutenant for King Edward in Ireland," exercised "there more extreme cruelitie (as the fame went) than princely pity, or charitable compassion, and in especial on two enfantes, being sonnes to the Erle of Desmond." A Dublin local chronicler[2] recorded, under 1469 :—"This year the Earle of Desmond and his two sonnes were beheaded by the Earle of Worcester in Drogheda." The following soliloquy on this subject was introduced, in the sixteenth century, in a poem ascribed to Baldwin,[3] and entitled "The infamous end of the Lord Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester, for cruelly executing his Prince's butcherly commaundementes, an. 1470 :"—

"The cheifest crime wherewith men doe me charge,
Is death of th' earle of Desmund's noble sonnes,
Of which the Kinge's charge doth me clere discharge,
By strayt commaundement and iniunctions :
Th' effect whereof so rigorously runnes,
That eyther I must procure to see them dead,
Or for contempt as a traytour loose my head.

"What would mine enemies doe in such a case,
Obay the king or proper death procure?
They may well say theyr fancy for a face,
But life is sweet and love hard to recure :
They would have done as I did, I am sure,
For seldom will a welthy man at ease
For other's cause his prince in ought displease.

"How much lesse I, that was liuetenaunt than
In th' Irish isle preferred by the king :
But who for love or dread of any man,
Consents t' accomplish any wicked thing,
Although cheife fault therof from other spring,
Shall not escape God's vengeance for his deede,
Who 'scuseth none that dare doe ill for drede."

Dominico de Rosario,[4] a descendant of the O'Daly clan, which held the office of hereditary bards to the Earls of Desmond, wrote on

[1] Chronicle of England, 1809, 286.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4791, f. 142, b.
[3] Mirrour for Magistrates, 1815, ii. 203.
[4] Initium incrementa, etc., Geraldinorum, 1655, 20.

this point:—"Prorex [Tiptoft] verò **euocatus in Angliam, ac in** iudicio rationem reddere **coactus**, quanquam mandatum sigillo regis **munitum in sui** defensionem protulerit, capite nihilominus **amputato** infensis Desmonii manibus victimæ litatus est." Mr. J. O. Halliwell observes that the following passage, coming from a partizan of the same side with the Earl of Worcester, "at a period when party politics necessarily ran so high, is strikingly conclusive of that nobleman's character."—"His diebus captus est ille trux carnifex et hominum decollator horridus, Comes de Wacester, et in Turri Londonie incarceratus, et in breve prope dictam turrim decapitatus, et apud Fratres Predicatores, juxta Ludgate, obscure sepultus. Ms. Arundel, Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 171, v°."—*Wavkworth's Chronicale*, 1839, 63.

Richard Earl of Warwick, page 392.

The following entry is inscribed on folio 303 of the Registry of John Bole, Archbishop of Armagh, now extant among the muniments of that See:—

"To all Cristen men unto whose knowledge this present wrytyng atteyneth or shall come, We, John, Archebishop of Armagh, Primate of Irelande, for as much as we understand and knowe hit ryght helefull and merytory to ber record and witnesse unto the trowth, therefore certyfy and declare, because that sum men shold not deme or suppose a thynge to be feyned which is rite trewe yn hitself, that Henery Dowdall, gentilman, of the countey of Loueth, ~~yn~~ Ireland, the 8th day of December, the yer of our Lord, 1470, in the towne of Termonfeghin, of the said county, toke a mewed goshawke from Nic. Venwale, yeman, which goshawke Nicholas Palmer, marchand, of Bristow, as he said, boght to the use of the right noble and worshipfull lord, Richard Erle of Warwicke, which goshawke the said Henry yitt witholdeth. In witness of the same [we] do put our signett."

Precept issued by Edward IV. to Colonial Government in Ireland, page 407.

This important document, now for the first time published, was as follows:—

King Edward's directions concerning two Parliaments held in Ireland, of the subsidies therein granted, as also of y^e^ demeanor of y^e^ great officers, mint, etc.

In thes articles folowing been comprised the kyng's will, determinacione, commaundment and plesures upon the Parliaments holdyn late at the Naase and Drogheda ; and upon the Parliament that shall be nowe next holdyn within his lande of Ireland.

Where as have been gret variences of late in our said land of Irland upon two Parliaments ther last holdyn the oon at the Naase, the other at Drogheda, whother of theym shuld be of auctorite, we have therupon taken suche direction as folowith.

Furst, we considere, that in the said two Parliaments were communed and concludet pryncipaly two actes, the oon touchyng the grauntes of certayn subsidies far the wele and defence of our said land, the second concerned resumpcions as well of offices as of our revenue.

As touching the subsidies graunted in our Parliament holdyn at Drogheda, for as moche as we understand that it was granted, and also in gret part, as we ben enformed, leveed for the wele and defence abovesaid, we will that the same graunte, with all that thereto apperteyneth, be gode and effectuell, and also auctorised by the Parliament in our said land now next to be holdyn.

As touching th' acts of resumcions in eather of the said Parliaments passed, which of parcialte and malice been and have been more hurtyng to our subjects ther, than to us or the wele of our said land profitable, we will that the same acts be maad void, and of none effect in the lawe ; except the resumcion of offices, and of chancellership and Tresererships made in the Parliament holdyn at Drogheda, the which we will that hit stand in his force and effect ; consideryng that theruppon we have made the Bishop of Meth our Chanseler, and S^r^ Rouland Eustace Knyght our Tresorer there ; and we will that a generall act of Resumpcion fro' the furst day of Kyng Herry the VI^th^ be had and made in the next Parliament touching our Revenue, and that such Provisions be made upon the same by our Depute Lieutennant there accordyng to our plesure ; which our plesure we have showed unto our Right Trusty and

welbeloved cosyn, th' erle of Kyldare, whom we have ordered to be Depute Lieutennant, and to the Reverend Fader in God the Bisshop of Mythe, whom wê have ordeyned, as is above said, to be our Chanselor.

As touching the Resumpcion of offices, forasmoche as the offices of Chanseler and other, in the Depute's commysion named to us oonly reserved, we will that the offices of Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Maister of our Mint there bie resumed in this same Parliament, and our leters patents be mad theruppon under our gret seall there to thes persons to whom we have made our grantes upon the same.

And as to other offices to us in the said commysion not referred, we be contented that suche of theym be resumed, and they for the wele of us and our said land by our said Depute Lievetennant, so disposed as shall be thought by hym most expedient.

We will also that at thys said Parliament be resumed th' office of Seneschalce of the liberte of Methe, wyth the fees wages and rewardes therfor by us or otherwye to any person graunted, and soo to remayne in our handes at our plesur. We will also that if any act have be made to the prejudice of us, and in derogacione of our crowne in restreyning of Tonnage and Pondage it be utterly revoked and adnulled, and in this Parliament the old graunt therof be renovelled and established, as that be best for our right wele and honor.

Item, the Kyng wylleth, that suche an act as hertofore haith ben made in the land there restreyning that noo man within that land shuld be called out of the said land by any precept or commaundment made under the Kyng's grete seall, prive seall, or signett in England be utterly revoked and adnulled.

Item, the Kyng willeth, that upon resumpcione of the Kyng's revenues to be made in this Parliament, the towns of Dyvelyn and Drogheda be providet fore al suche grauntis as have ben made unto theym by the Kyng's auctorite his Progenitors or Predecessours; so that they promisse to be redy to doo the Kyng service at suche tymes as by the Kyng's Lievtennant or his Depute they shall be desyred.

Of the Demeanor of the great Officers.

Thes Articles folowying conteyne the Kyng s comaundements and plesere how his Chanselere of Ireland, Clerc of the Rolles, and the Clerc of the Hanaper ther shall demene theym there in executyng of ther offices.

Furste, they and everiche of thems shall well and trewly serve the Kyng and his liege peple of the same land in the doyng of ther offices. Item, that they ne none of them shall assent to the hurt, damage, or alienacione of y^e^ Kyngs lands, revenues or rights, but they shall endevoir themselfe for the vauncyng, and encresyng therof, and lette all theym to the best of their powere that wold attempt the contrary therof.

Item, that the sead Chaunseler do sete[1] alweyes in suche place and tymes, as the Clerc of the Rolles, the Clerc of the Hanaper, and other ministres of y^e^ Chaunsery may be ther and then present.

Item, that the said Chaunseler do delyvre to the Clerc of the Rolles all suche warrants cummyng to his handes, so as he may kepe theim as the King's recordes accordyng to his office.

Item, that the said Chaunseller sele no pardons under the King's grete sele unto any man upon his provisione from the Court of Rome, without the Kyng's knowledge or consent.

Item, the Chaunseller in person shall in true tyme make his abidyng in the place wher the Kyng's courts be kept, unlesse ther be a grete and urgent cause by the Depute, wyth the advice of the more part of y^e^ Kyng's Consele it be thought his absence to be allowed.

Of the Clerc of the Rolles.

Item, that the Clerc of the Rolles do enroll all patents under the Kyng's gret seall befor that they be deliveret to the parties, and kepe so the Kyng's recordes that none of them be rased ne besoiled.

Item, that he see and write at every sele what profite growith on to the Kyng therof, and the specialtees of the same ; so that his boke so made may be a controllement uppon th' accompts of y^e^ Clerc of the Hanaper to be made yerly in the Kyng's Eschequer there.

[1] Sit.

Item, that no lyvere be made to the Kyng's tennant, ne yet restitucion to be made to any Bishop, Abbot or Prior, without that the Kyng be furst answered of his duete accordynge to the rate of y^e^ tyme that the lands have ben in the Kynges handes.

Of the Clerk of the Hanapier.

Item, that the Clerc of the Hanapier continuelly receive the fees of the sele of writts, comisssions, and patents, and also all suche fynes as shall be made in the Chaunsery, and thereupon pay the Chaunsellor his fees, wages, and rewardes accustomed, and delivre the remnant unto the Kyng's Exchequer upon his accomptes, which he shall make yerly therof. And to th' entent that noone ignoreunce may be pretendit what fines ben to be made there within th' Kyng's Chaunsery, the specialties of them herafter.

Of fynes upon Writts to be paid in Chancery.

	s.	d.
All Writts of Covenant, every assise, and writts in nature of assise, and other writts of entry above the value of xl. shillings unto the value of five marks -	vi.	viii.
Every special assize, be hit ever so litill, it maketh a fyne, and streitly every five Marks - - -	vi.	viii.
Every Formedowne above forty shillings unto viii. marks	vi.	viii.
Every Pone of Justicies, pone of writts of right, every writt of conspirici, writts of atteynte, and writts of false judgement, the fine, - - - - - -	vi.	viii.
Every recordare of dette or trispasse, and every Dedimus potestatem upon writt of Covenant - - -	vi.	viii.
Every writt of dette or trispasse, exceding the some, value, or prise of 40 unto the some of 60 - -	vi.	viii.
Also, an attachment of the privilege of dette or trispasse according to the same, and if it exceeds more to pay more - - - - - - - -	vi.	viii.
All respite of homage - - - - -	vi.	viii.
But more after y^e^ quantiti of the livelod.[1]		

All Oyer and Determiner at the sute of the partie, if gretter

[1] Livelihood.

trispasse the gretter fyne. All manner lycence to purchase temporell livelod to Mortmayne the fine five yere value of the same.

All manner licence of spirituell livelod, as appropriacions of chirches, or of benefices spirituell of Holy Chirche four yere value of the same.

All maner licence of alienacione by the Kyng's tenaunt the third part of the value thereof.

All pardons of alienaciones made by the Kyng's tenaunt the value of an hole yere.

All maner licence of marriage of the Kyng's widdows[1] the third part of ther dower.

All manere of confirmaciones of offices the third part or the fourth part of the value therof by the yere.

All confirmaciones of libertees and Franchisees the third part or the fourth part of the profites or value of the same Franchisees.

All patents of devysing the thirde part of the value of his godes.

All pardons of the Kyng's widowes maried without licence the value of her dower by y^e^ yere.

Item, that the Clerc of the Kyng's Hanapier leave for him a depute in the court of the Kyng's Bench, another in the court of the Common Place, whych shall receve for the Kyng all the profites growing of the Kyng's sele in eyther of the said Courts, and therupon shall yeld his accompte in the Kyng's Exchequer.

The Tresorer's Duty.

Here folowyth the Kyng's commaundements and plesure to be showed unto Sir Rouland Eustace, knyght, whom his Highnesse haith deputed to be Tresorer of his lande of Irland.

Furst, the said Sir Rouland shall well and trewly behave hym in the occupieng of his said office, and justely and righteuisly exercize it, as well betwix the Kyng and his subjects, as betwix the Kyng's subjects.

Item, he shall not assent nore agre to the hurt, dammage, or disheretyng the Kyng of his landes, revenues, rights, regalie, or prerogatifs, but in all that in hym is he shall uphold, mayntene, encrese, and avaunce them.

[1] In ward.

Item, that the said Sir Rouland continuelly endevour himself that the Kyng be yerely answered of all suche revenues and rights, as shall belong unto his higheness within his land of Irland, and that he do send unto the Kyng's gode grace yerely a trewe and pleyn vewe therof, comprysing the particulars and specialtees of the same.

Item, that the same Sir Rouland remitte and forgete all malice, and evill will, that he haith borne and berith unto the Bishop of Mythe,[1] Bermingham,[2] the Justice, and all others the Kyng's subjects, within y^e^ said land: For the Kyng's Highenesse haith commandet them in semblable wise to do toward hym. Also, the King wol that he delivere his gret sele beying in his kepyng unto the said Bisshop of Mythe, whom he haith deputed and made his Chaunsellor of his said land of Irland.

Item, that the said Sir Rouland kepe th' appointment by the Kyng taken betwix him, and Sir Roberte Eustace in thes articles folowyng, which comprised the Kyng's comaundments and plesure to be executed and accomplished by his Juges and Barones of th' Eschequer within his land of Ireland.

Furste, that thei and everich of theym duely and trewly behave theym, as well towards the Kyng's Higheness, as towards his subjects, in executyng and doyng of their offices, and aftir ther cunyng and discrecione justely and indifferently ministre justice to all the Kynges subjects in thoose parties.

Item, that nether thei ne eny of theym assent nore agree to the hurtyng or endamagyng of any suche revenues, enheritances, prerogatifs, rights, or interests to the Kyng in eny wise belongyng; but that thei and everich of theym endevoir theym to their power to the avauncing and encrecyng thereof.

Item, that thei and everith of theym employ theym as effectuelly as thei can, that all fynes, amercements, and all other issues and profites that shall or ought rightwisely to grow within the Kyng's Courts, wher they have or shall have administracione of Justice, be trwely and duely cessed and ordered, and that therof a due comptes be made yerly in the Kyng's Eschequer ther; soe that their fees,

[1] William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, see pages 399, 400.
[2] William Bermingham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

wages, and rewardes may be paiet and contented of the same as far as it shall stretche unto.

Item, in caas that eny variences grow amongest the Kyng's subjects in thes parties, which God defend, wherby the Kyng or the comon wele of his land ther by eny liklyod shuld be hurted, that thei endevoir themself to the best of ther power to appeyse thos variences, and that suche directione be takyn theruppon as shall best acorde to reson, and to the wele of the Kyng, and of his land of Ireland.

On the Juges Demeanor.

Item, that the Juges of both the places aid, assiste, and favoir suche persones as the Clerc of the Hanapier shall depute for hym there for the recoveryng of profites of the Kyngs seles within the same places; so that the Kyng may be therby answered therof, as he ought to be.

In the Articles folowing ben comprised the Kyng's plesure howe, and in what forme Gerard, th' Earle of Kildare, Depute unto his Lievtennant, shall be demeaned in the peerceifing of his office of the said Depute within his land of Irland.

Furste, the said Erle shal wel and trewly serve the Kyng, as depute to his Lievtennant of Irland, in all and everith thing comprised in his comisscione.

Item, he shall to th' uttermoost of his power defend the Kyng's lands, and his subgects within the said land against the Kyng's rebells and Irish Ennemyes.

Item, he shall not assent to the hurt, damage, or alienacione of the Kyng's lands, revenues, or rights within that land, but to the best of his power avance and encres them, and lete those that wold attempt to do the contrary.

Item, he shall not pardon th' entre of eny of the Kyng's tennants upon the Kyng's possessions, nor yet graunt to eny suche licence without a resonable fyne furste to be therupon made and certyfied unto the Kyng's Eschequer there, soe that his Higheness may be always lerned therof.

Item, he shall graunt no pardon to eny man upon his provision purchased, or to be purchased, from the Court of Rom, ne therof he

shall adresse no warrant unto the Chaunselor, without ye Kyng's knowleche and assent.

Item, he shall favor, aide, and assiste ail ye Kynges Officers within the same land in the doing of their offices, and resist all theym that wold maliciously attempt agens theym for the doying of ye same.

Item, he shall effectuously endeavour hymself, that Sir Rouland Eustace delivre unto the Bisshop of Methe, whom the Kyng haith deputed to be his Chanseler of the same land, the Kyng's gret sele.

Item, in noo Parliament to be holdyn herafter ther shall no subsidie be axed ne graunted in the same upon the Commouns, ne levied, but one in a yere, whiche shall not excede the extent of twelve hundrith mark, as haith ben accustumed.

Of the Councill.

Item, that noo thing that is, or shall be, commowned and concludet in consele be taken in strenth as an Act of Consele, unless the Kyng's Lieytennant, or his Depute, give his assent therunto by the advis of the more part of the Kyng's Consell there, that is to say, the Chanseler, the Tresorer, the Kyng's Chief Justys, the Chief Baron of the Kyng's Eschequer, the Clerc of the Rolles, and the Kyng's Serjant.

Of the Mynte.

Item, the Kyng will alsoo that the Maister of the Mint work his cuinage oonly in the Castle of Dyvelen.

Item, that in the sam cuinage touching ye fynesse it be according to the standard of England, and that an unce of syllver of that fyness be coyned 4s. 8d., whereof to the merchant 4s. 2d, to the Kyng, the Maister of the Mynt for hym and the odyr officers and the coyners sixpence.

Item, that all and every of the peces to be coyned ber a notable difference on eyther side, on the cross side a Rose, and upon the pile side a notable difference of the [device] easy to be known to every body, accordyng to suche prints as ben delivered unto the Maister of the Mynt here."

Viceregal indenture between Edward IV. and the Earl of Kildare, 1481, page 409.

"This endenture made betwix the King our souerain Lord, Edward the iiijth, on the oon partye and his Right trusty and welbeloved cousin Garrot Erl of Kyldare, on the other partye, witnessith that where our said souerain lord by his letters patente ondre his great sele of England, bering date the ixth day of August the xxth yere of his reigne, hath ordeyned the right high and mighty prince, his right trusty and right entierly beloved sonne, Richard Duc of Yorke, his lieutenunt of his land of Irland. The whiche Duc for certain resonable causes may not personelly goo towarde the said land nor there abide, for the saufgarde therof, but, by the avys and commandement of oure said souerain lord, hath made and ordeyned the said Erl of Kyldare to be his depute from the vth day of May next cummyng, for and during the terme and space of four yeres than next ensuying, as by letters patente of the same Duc ondre the Kings prive sele more plainly it doth appere. Whereupon the same oure souverain lord, willing the profite peace and tranquillitie of his said land and subgetts, by the advys of his counsell hath reteyned towards him the said Erl of Kyldare, deputie of his said sonne, in the said land of Irland, for and during the tyme and space above said, the whiche Erl hath taken upon him surely and saufly to alle his power to kepe the said land to thuse and prouffitte of oure said souverain lord during the tyme aforesaid. And the said Erl shal have contynually during the said tyme with him for the saufgard and keping of the same land lxxx. yomen, hable archers and xl. other horsemen called speres. And the said Erl shal have and perceyue for the fynding of the said archers and speres and for thexercise of his said office of Deputy yerely, during the said yeres, six hundred li. be to payed and contented of our said souerain lord of the revenues of his said land of Irland over the ordinary charge thereof by the hands of the Tresorer of the same for the tyme being, at the termes of the feste of nativite of Saint John Baptist and nativite of oure Lord, by even porcions, yf so be the same revenues wol amounte therunto. And in caas the said revenues

will not extend therto, that duely certifyed onto the King our said souerain lord, the said Erl shall have his payment owt of England by thandes of the Tresorer and Chamberlains of the Kings Exchequier for the tyme being of that that shal lak of the said soume of six hundred li. And the said Erl byndith himselfe to make moustres of himselfe and his retynue, from tyme to tyme, during the said terme afore suche persones as thereto shalbe deputed on our said souverain lords behalve, whenne and as oft as therto he shalbe duly warned and required.

"In witnesse wherof, etc. To the Lord privy seale.

"Dat. xii. die Augusti A°. rr. E. iiij^{ti} xx^{mo}."—*Brit. Mus. Mss.* Titus B. xi.

Principal Authorities.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

Date of accession of Richard III., page 411.

The following document on this subject is preserved on the Memorandum Roll of Ireland :—

" Richard by the grace of God, King of England, and of Ffrance, and lord of Ireland, to all oure subgietts and liegemen within oure land of Ireland, hering or seing these oure letters, greting : Fforasmuch as we are enfourmed that there is grete doubte and ambiguyte amoung you for the certaine day of the comensing of our ragne : We signifie unto you for the trouthe that, by the grace and sufferaunce of oure blessed Criatour, we entred into oure just title, taking upon us oure dignitie royall and supreme governaunce of this oure royme of England, the xxvi day of Juyn, the yere of oure Lord m,cccc, lxxxiii. And after that we woll that ye doo make all writing and records among you. Yeven, under our signet, at our Castell of Notingham, the 11th day of Octobre, the second yere of our reigne."

Negotiations of Richard III. with Earl of Kildare, page 413.

In a recent publication[1] the instructions to Estrete are ascribed to Henry VII. That the compiler of the catalogue of the Cottonian Mss. was, however, correct in assigning the document to Richard III. would appear from the fact that the manor of Leixlip, to which it refers, was granted to the Earl, on the 6th of August, in the second year of the latter King,[2] " for services in the wars against the Irish." That John Estrete held the office of sergeant-at-law in Ireland to Richard III., is proved by the statute Roll of Ireland of 1485.[3]

Sixtus IV. and James, Earl of Desmond, page 416.

" Sixtus, Episcopus, etc. Dilecto filio nobili viro Iacobo Comiti Comitatus Dessemonie Artfertensis diocesis, salutem, etc. Sane pro parte tua nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod licet tu

[1] Letters and papers, edited by J. Gairdner, 1861. i. xxxi. 92.
[2] Rot. Pat. Angl. 2. Ric. iii. p. i. 119.
[3] Rot Stat. Hib. 2 Ric. iii. cap. 8.

et Comites Comitatus Dessemonie Artfertensis diocesis pro tempore existentes a tanto tempore citra cuius contrarii hominum memoria non existit, semper in possessione vel quasi iuris patronatus Prioratus Monasterii per Priorem soliti gubernari beate Marie de Belloloco, ordinis sancti Agustini, Artfertensis diocesis . . fueritis . . Ius patronatus huiusmodi tibi tuisque posteris ac successoribus dicti Comitatus Comitibus pro tempore existentibus, prout illud hactenus habuisti, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium approbamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus . . Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno etc. m.cccc. lxxxiiii."[1]

Book of Lismore, or of Mac Carthy Reagh, page 418.

The following Gaelic entry appears at folio 134, col. b, of this manuscript, now the property of the Duke of Devonshire :—

"*Aonghus O Callaidh doscribh so, do Magh Carthaigh. i. Finghin, Mac Diarmata ocus bennacht leis do.*"—"It was Aonghus O Calladh who wrote this for Magh Carthaigh, that is, Finghen Mac Diarmata, and a blessing with him for it."

At folio 53, col. 2, of the same volume, we read :—

"*Tabrad gach nech legfas in betha-sa Brighdi bennacht for anmanaib na lanomna d' a r' scribad.*"—"Let every one who shall read this life of [Saint] Brigid give a blessing on the souls of the couple for whom it was written."

County of Carlow, page 421.

The nominal English Lordship of Carlow, after the disappearance of Richard, Duke of York, in 1483, descended, through the female line, to Sir William de Berkeley, created Earl of Nottingham by Richard III. De Berkeley, as Lord of Carlow, in 1484, transferred the advowson and patronage of the parish church of the Blessed Virgin there to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin :—"Omnibus, etc. Willielmus, Comes Nottingham, Vice-Comes Barkley et Carelagh alias Catyrlagh, salutem. Sciatis nos, prefatum Comitem, dedisse et concessisse Waltero Champlower, Abbati Monasterii B. Marie, advocacionem et patronatum ecclesie parochialis B. Marie Virginis de Carelagh, sive Catyrlagh, Leghlinensis diocesis. Dat 10 Februarii, anno regni Regis Ricardi tertii post conquestum Angliæ, secundo."[2]

[1] Vet. Mon. Hib et Scot. disp. A. Theiner, 1864, 491.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 4789.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

Anglo-Irish and Richard III., page 422.

"About the same time [1499] there was a base son of King Richard III. made away, having been kept long before in prison. The occasion, as it seemeth, was the attempt of certain [Anglo] Irishmen of the West and South parts, who would have got him into their power, and made him their chief; being strongly affected to any of the House of York, were they legitimate or natural, for Richard, Duke of York's sake, sometime their Viceroy."[1]—*History of Life and Reign of Richard III.*, by George Buck, London: 1646, 105.

Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald of Laccagh, page 426.

The townland of Laccagh, or Lackagh, on the borders of King's and Queen's Counties, containing 2,438 acres, in the parish of Lackath, Barony of Ophaly, County of Kildare, was in possession of James Fitz-Gerald, "Irish papist," in 1641, and restored to him under

[1] See also Ware Annal Rer. Hib. Hen. VII. 1659, 70.

the " Act of Settlement and Explanation."—Book of Survey and Distribution of Forfeitures of 1641, MS. Bacon, in his history of Henry VII., confounded Sir Thomas Fitz-Gerald of Laccagh with the Earl of Kildare.[1]

Francis, ninth Baron Lovel, page 426.

That he was not unconnected with the colony in Ireland, appears from the fact, that his grandfather William had acquired the hereditary English marshalship for that country through marriage with Alianore, only child of Robert Lord Morley.

Battle at Stoke—Swart's-field, page 431.

" 1487. This yeare in Ireland, the Earle of Lincolne, the lo. Lovell, with other lords of England, did crowne a lad in Christchurch, and said he was a sonne [nephew] of King Edward. This yeare was Martin Swartz field given in the kingdom of England and there Morris Fitz Thomas was slain."—*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 4792.

Simnel in the Tower of London, page 432.

His imprisonment is alluded to as follows in the " letter sent by the Maior and inhabitants of the citie of Waterford unto Walter, Archbishop of the citie of Dublin, the Maior and citizens of the same, in the time of their rebellion" :—

" It is a great pitie that ye be deceaved
By a false priest, that this matter began ;
And that ye his child as a prince receaved
A boy, a ladd, an organ-maker [h]is sonn,
Which is now kept in the Tower of London ;
His keepers there, to all men declaring,
This is of Dublin the first crowned King."

Anglo-Irish Yorkists and Henry VII., page 433.

In treating of these Yorkist movements, writers have in general lost sight of the fact, that the accounts transmitted to us emanated

[1] Works, 1846, i. 741.

from Polydore Vergil[1] and Bernard André[2] pensioned panegyrists of Henry VII. On these works were founded the accounts published by Edward Hall, and the History of Henry VII. by Francis Bacon. A special act[3] of Poynings' Parliament, in 1494, decreed the destruction of all statutes and ordinances enacted in Ireland in the name of "the lad," by which title the Tudor lawyers designated the boy who had been crowned at Dublin, as King of England. This statute was so effectively carried out, that no vestiges have hitherto been found of the Yorkist official proceedings in Ireland in 1487, with the exception of these incidentally referred to in acts 8 and 22 of the Colonial Parliament, held in 1493.

The movement has thus been involved in designed obscurity. Sir James Ware represented the Anglo-Irish to have sued for pardon immediately after the defeat at Stoke, in June, 1487, although as noticed, at page 433, the letter of Henry VII. to the citizens of Waterford, mentions that the Earl of Kildare and his confederates in Dublin were still in open opposition to England in October of the same year.

Sir James Ormonde, page 443.

Carte[4] incorrectly styles him son of James, Earl of Ormonde and Wilts. Ware[5] accurately tells us that Sir James was the child of that nobleman's brother John, sixth Earl of Ormonde, who died on a pil-

[1] "Rogatu Henrici, ejus appellationis Septimi, Regis præstantissimi, res ejus populi gestas scripsi, in historiæque stilum redegi."—"Three books of Polydore Vergil's English History," edited by Sir H. Ellis, 1844, vi.

[2] "Historia Regis Henrici Septimi, a Bernardo Andrea Tholosate," edited by J. Gairdner, 1858. It is remarkable that this paid encomiast of Henry VII. erroneously represented (page 50) the boy crowned at Dublin to have been received there as the son of Edward IV., whereas he was accepted as son of George, Duke of Clarence, as mentioned at page 425 of the present work. Buck, in his History of Richard III., incorrectly represents "Simnel" to have visited the Duchess Margaret in Flanders, and to have thence sailed with Swart and his companions to Ireland.

[3] Chapter xiv.: "All records, processes, stiles, pardons, liveries, acts, and ordinances of Council, and all other acts done in the 'Laddes' name, annulled, and persons keeping, concealing, or receiving them after proclamation deemed traitors attainted."

[4] Life of Ormonde, i. xli.

[5] Rer. Hib. reg. Hen. vii. 1658, 36.

grimage to Jerusalem :—"filium nothum Johannis, tum nuper Comitis Ormoniæ—in peregrinatione Hierosolymitana defuncti, circa annum Domini, 1478." Lodge[1] confounds Sir James with Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde. Ware's statement is confirmed by the following passage in the unpublished Gaelic genealogical collections of Duald Mac Firbis, which elucidates the confederation of the O'Briens[2] with Sir James :—

"*Sean Builter . . do chuaid da oilithre, agus do chuaid go Hiarusdaleim, agus fuair bas ann : agus do imthig gan t-sliocht, acht aon mac rug inghen Ui Bhriain do i. Seumus Dubh.*"[3]—Shane Butler, who went on two pilgrimages and travelled to Jerusalem, and found death there, and he departed without children, except one son, Shemus Dubh, who was borne to him by a daughter of O'Brien.

Conference between Deputy and Sir James Ormonde, page 444.

This affair is recorded as follows, by a Dublin local chronicler :—"1493. This year in Ireland was y^e^ first sweating sickness; it began at Good-tide, and many died. The harvest following Ja : of Ormond.came downe to this country with a great host of Irishmen, and camped in Thomas-court wood, and then began great mischief betweene y^e^ Earle of Kildare, that lieth in Christ Church, and the Butlers."—*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 4791.

Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., appointed Viceroy for Ireland by his father, page 449.

The preamble of the Prince's Viceregal patent was as follows :—"Sciatis quòd nos, sinceram affectionem præcipuumque amorem versus dilectissimum filium nostrum, Henricum, secundogenitum, gerentes et habentes, et de ejusdem filii nostri carissimi, fidelitate et circumspectione plenissimè confidentes, ordinavimus et constituimus ipsum Henricum nostrum terræ Hiberniæ Locum-tenentem, habendum et tenendum officium prædictum a decimo die mensis Septembris, jam instantis, quamdiu nobis placuerit."

[1] Peerage of Ireland, 1754, ii. 13.
[2] Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848, ii. 1197. 1240.
[3] Leabhar Genealach Dubhalthich Mhic Fhirbisich, fol. 814. MS. R.I.A.

English Administration for Ireland, page 450.

Giovanni Francesco Biondi described there arrangements as follows :—

"Ma la morte de' conspiratori, e la dissipatione de' complici non bastarono per sodisfare alla quiete d' Arrigo, se non se disfaceua il nido, ch' era in Irlanda: vedutoui Lamberto prima, e Perchino dopo con tanta inclinatione riceuuti. Gli conueniua stabilirui la sua autorità in maniera, che non ne fosse da dubitare. Fece eletione di due soggetti da seruirlo in due cose diverse : Il Priore di Lanthoni, con titolo di Commissario, per che veggiasse sù'l gouerno civile del Regno, facendolo Cancelliere : e Odoardo Poinings sù la militia, dandogli buon numero di soldati, con commissione di Maresciallo, ed autorità di Luogotenente, alla quale fosse sottoposta quella del Vice Rè, ch' era il Conte di Childare. Non ebbe alcuna difficultà il Priore : le leggi essendo le sue armi, e le genti pacifiche materia della sua iuridicione. Ma Poinings, il cui negotio era contra contumaci, e ribelli, non ebbe l'istessa fortuna."—*Historia delle guerre civili d'Inghilterra trà le due case di Lancastro e Iorc*, Bologna, 1647.

Measures devised to ensure enactment of Poynings' law, page 451.

On this subject, and the Act of Resumption, the late learned William Lynch wrote as follows :—

"To oppose the Crown [of England] in such a case would be worse than useless; and members of both Houses, through motives of fear, were easily found, in sufficient numbers, to carry the Act, and by so doing, and generally forwarding the other measures of the Crown, they secured themselves from loss of their estates. Hence it is that to this statute are added numerous savings or clauses in favour of particular peers and other persons who were to be left in possession of their property; and in some of these clauses, such as that for Dundalk, whose burgesses were in that parliament, the saving is only made in their favour, '*until such time as the King command the contrary*,' and so their estates were left wholly at the will of the Crown; but the strangest fact connected with this statute is, that there are stitched to the roll several

separate pieces of parchment, with the original autograph of King Henry the Seventh written at the top, and these pieces of parchment contain savings in favour of several other persons, exempting them from the operations of the act; such savings are written, not in the form and language of Parliamentary enactments, but in the style royal; and when they call this act 'the Acts of Resumption, before this time made or had in our *last* Parliament, holden at our town of Drogheda, within our land of Ireland, before Sir Edward Poynings, Knight, *then* Deputy to us in our said land,' it is clear that the King, according to the conduct or deserts of the parties, added these riders or clauses to the statute after the Parliament was over, and thus showed himself in Ireland (as he was in England) vested with the authority of Parliament, and so indeed freed from the constitutional restraints of law. This Act of Resumption, as a piece of State machinery, was never equalled by any enactment anterior or subsequent, for throwing all civil rights and liberties into the hands of the Crown; and lately, when the Statute Roll that contains it was produced in the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, and there read as evidence, the enormity of such an enactment created general amazement, and the Chief Justice then presiding (late Lord Chancellor of Ireland) lamented the state of society where such daring injustice and palpable tyranny could be even attempted."—*Case illustrative of the law and usage of the Prescriptive Baronies of Ireland*, London: 1835, 38.

Hospitallers in Ireland, page 452.

The unpublished acts of Poynings' Parliament dealing with this Order were as follows:—Chap. 15—That the Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem in Ireland should, in future, be of English blood, and have a livelihood in England by the religion. Chap. 16 annulled all grants by James Keating, and the Priors, his predecessors. Chap. 17 decreed that persons having relics, jewels, or ornaments, that belonged to St. John's of Jerusalem in Ireland, sold or pledged by the Priors, and particularly a precious relic, a piece of the Holy Cross, should restore them, and be paid back their money. In a petition to the Parliament of England in 1496, John

Kendall, who succeeded Keating as Prior of Kilmainham, alleged that the latter "had committed and done against his Highness [Henry VII.] great treasons and other offences."—*Rot. Parl. Angl.* xi., Hen. VII.

Coigne, livery, and pay, page 453.

These exactions are referred to as follows in an unpublished letter of Archbishop Ottaviano:—"Illas exactiones detestabiles, quæ vulgariter dicuntur Coyn et lyvery, Cudhees, et Ffoyes, hospiciumque pro se et suis equis quasi . . . ex debito vendicantes; alimentaque et hominum et pabula equorum, carnes, cervisiam, et alias quoque illicitas exactiones."

Recall of Poynings, page 459.

Sir James Ware places his return to England in January, 1495—"Poynings, in Anglia revocato, mense Januario, 1495, successit Henricus Deane, Episcopus Bangorensis."—*Ware Mss.; Brit. Mus. Add. Mss.* 4796.

Thomas Garth, commander of the English forces in Leinster, 1496, page 459.

Poyning's Parliament voted a benevolence, for the contribution of £454 to Captain Thomas Garth, for the service of his soldiers, as, during a year, he had kept them together for the defence of the country when they were about to disband and go to England.—*Rot. Stat. Hib.* 8 Hen. VII., no. 46.

The following official document is preserved among the Royal Mss. in the British Museum, 18 c. xiv., f. 129:—

"Anno xi. mo. Domini nostri, Regis Henrici Anglie vij. mi.

The nombre and charge of the Kinges armie in Irland apoynted in thabsence of my lord depute begynnynge the iiij. day of the monyth of Januari.

Sir James Ormond.

xl. basnettes, every of theym takyng by the day
xij. d. amountith in the monyth, - - - lvi. li.

Thomas Garth.

ij. speres, either of theym at xviij. d. by the day, amountith in the monyth, - - - - - iiij. li. iiij. s.

vi. pety capitaynes, every of theym at xij. d. by the day, amountith by the monyth, - - viij. li. viij. s.

lx. archers horsed, every of theym takinge by the day viij. d., amountith in the monyth, - - lvi. li.

c. archers fotemen, every of theym taking by the day vi. d. amountith in the monyth, - lxx. li.

c. kerne, taking by the monyth x. marcs, - - x. marcs.

Will'. M'mawn.

iiij. basnettes, every of them at xii. d. by the day amountith in the monyth, - - - - - cxij. s.

The Castel of Dublyn.

xxiiij. archers, every of theym at vi. d. by the day —by the month, - - - - - - - xvi. li. xvi. s.

Lexlep.

i. at xij d. and vi. at vi. d. by the day—by the monyth, - - - - - - - - cxij. s.

The Chauncellor.

xij. at vi. d. by the day—by the month, - - viij. li. viij. s

The Under Tresarer.

viij. every of theym at vi. d. by the day—by the monyth, - - - - - - - - cxii. s.

The Clerk of the Signet.

O[*sic.*]. at xij d. by the day—by the monyth, - xxviij. s.

ccxliiij. li. xiij. s. iiij d.

Parcelle que postea onerantur per Cancellarium et Consilium.

Thomas Garth, viij. basnettes, every at xij. d. - - - - - - - - xxviij. li.

Edmond Purson, xij. basnettes every at - xij. d. - - - - - - - - xxviij. li.

Theobold Walsh, xx. basnettes in holding by the month. - - - - - - viij. li. xvij. s. ix. d.

William Oge, xxiiij. basnettes in like holdyng, - - - - - - - - x. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

i trumpet at x. d. by the day, by the monyth, - - - - - - - [*sic.*] xxviij. s.
ii taberyns, either at vi. d. by the day, the monyth, - - - - - - xxviij. s.
xlix. li. xvij. s. ix. d.
Summa totalis ccxciiij. li. xi. s. i. d."

First Parliament under Poynings' Law, page 463.

This Parliament's acts, supposed to have perished, will be found, with a dissertation by the author of the present work, in vol. xxv. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

Huks and Faldings, page 466.

Huks were party-coloured dresses, similar to retainers' liveries. Faldings—coarse cloth mantles, resembling frieze.

Geraldines of Ireland and of Tuscany, page 473.

The tradition of the Italian origin of the Geraldines is alluded to by the Earl of Surrey, in his "Description and praise of his love" [Elizabeth], Geraldine, daughter of Gerald, noticed at page 467, who, on his father's decease, became ninth Earl of Kildare :—

"From Tuscane came my Lady's worthy race ;
Fair Florence was sometime their ancient seat.
The western isle, whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat.
Foster'd she was with milk of Irish breast ;
Her sire an Earl ; her dame of Prince's blood."

Ariosto introduced Kildare and Desmond in the tenth canto of his "Orlando Furioso," the first edition of which appeared eight years after the date of the Earl's letter to the Gherardini of Florence :—

"Or guarda gl' Ibernesi : appresso il piano
Sono due squadre ; e il Conte di Childera
Mena la prima ; e il Conte di Desmonda,
Da fieri monti ha tratta la seconda

Nello stendardo il primo ha un pino ardente ;
L'altro nel bianco una vermiglia banda."

Translated as follows by W. S. Rose :—

"Now see the Irish, next the level land,
Into two squadrons ordered for the fight.
Kildare's redoubted earl commands the first;
Lord Desmond leads the next, in mountains nursed.

A burning pine by Kildare is displayed;
By Desmond on white field a crimson bend."

Principal Authorities.

Annals of Ulster, MS. T.C.D.—Rot. Pat. Angl. reg. Hen. VII.—Annales Hibern., Hen. VII. regn., a J. Ware, 1658.—Chronicle of England, by Edward Hall, 1809—Life of Ormonde, by T. Carte, 1736.—Peerage of Ireland, by J. Lodge and M. Archdall, 1789.—Hist. of St. Canice, by Rev. J. Graves and J. G. Prim, 1857.—Mac Firbis' Leabhar Genealach, MS. R.I.A.—Unpublished Statutes, enacted in Ireland during reign of Hen. VII.—Polydori Vergilii Anglic. Hist. 1570.—Historia Regis Henrici VII., 1858.—J. Lelandi Collectanea, 1774.—Popular Songs of Ireland, by T. C. Croker, 1839.—Transactions Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix.—Hist. of Ireland, by E. Campian, 1633.—Complete Hist. of England, by W. Kennett, 1719.—Works of Francis Bacon, 1846.—Regist. Octaviani, MS. Munim. Armac.—Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England, by T. C. Banks, 1807-9.—Camden's Britannia, edited by R. Gough, 1789.—Rymer.—Hist. of Waterford, by C. Smith, 1774.—Letters of reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., 1861-3.—Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, 1737.—Hibernica, 1770.—Chronicles of England, by R. Holingshead, 1586.—Hist. of England, by T. Carte, 1750.—Brit. Mus. Add. Mss., 4791.—Original Letters, edited by Sir J. Fenn, 1823.—Rot. Pat. Hib.—Rot. Parl. Angliæ.—The Earls of Kildare, by Marquis of Kildare, 1858-1862.—Original Letters, by Sir H. Ellis, 1824.—Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by Irish Archæological Society, 1846.—Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848.

THE END.