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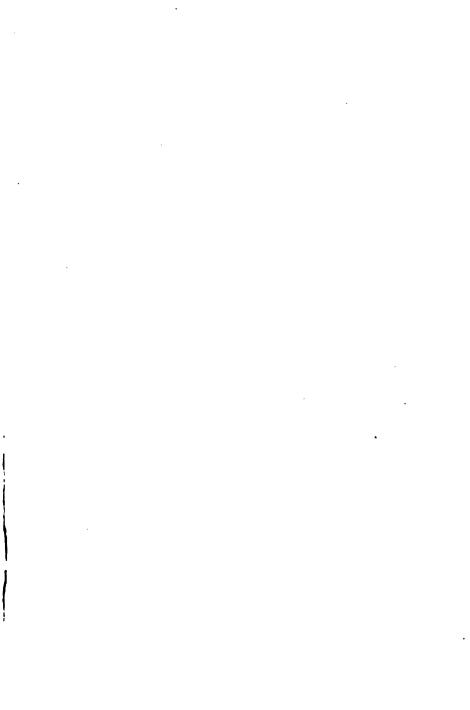
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AN ACCOUNT OF THE O'DEMPSEYS

CHIEFS OF CLAN MALIERE

THOMAS MATHEWS

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THE LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE CHIEFS

AND VISCOUNTS OF CLANMALIERE

THIS LITTLE VOLUME

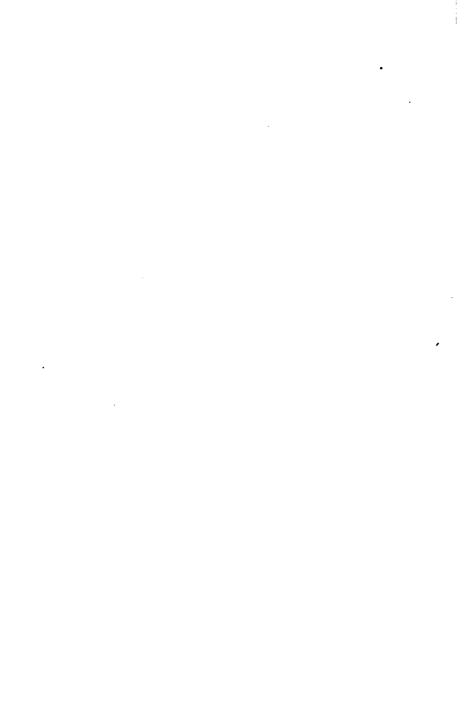
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CHAPTER I

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY

THE O'Dempseys of Clan Maliere, like the rest of the Offaly septs, derived their pedigree from Rossa Failghe, King of Leinster, eldest son of Cathaeir, surnamed the Great, monarch of Ireland, of the line of Heremon (a), who was slain at the battle of Tailtin, now Teltown, Co. Meath, and buried near the river Boyne, circa A.D. 373.

Cathaeir (pron. Cahir), who was the last Ard Righ of his line, had several sons, "most comely princes and heroes all"; and his will, to which Ross Failghe was executor, is still preserved in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote. Before he fell in battle, we are told, "he ordered his son Ross Failghe to give legacies to the rest of his sons and the other nobles of Leinster," and blessing him he said:—

"MY SOVEREIGNTY, my splendour, My nobleness, my vigour, My wealth, my strength,

¹ Keating; Note, Four MM., to A.D. 123, by O'Donovan.

My power of protection To my fierce Ross, to my vehement Failghe. That they may be the memorials of succession To every one (of his race) on whom they descend, For to him belongs to make presents. That he is not to hoard wealth perpetually. (But) let him give unto all fair wages; Clement is a great and comely hero. My vehement son smooth-minded. Victorious in his border-battles: He shall contend for the plain of Teamhair (Tara). He shall not abandon it to his relatives: He will give his aid to my steadfast sons Against the attacks of their enemies: To the multitudinous day of judgment (is this) blessing-Better than every man shall Failghe Ros be."

And he gave him ten rings, and ten shields, and ten swords, and ten drinking-horns, and he said to him:—

"NOBLEST SHALL BE thy descendants among the descendants of my children." 1

Ross Failghe, or "Ross of the Rings," gave his name to the territory of Ui Failghe, which at the time of the English invasion comprised about one-third of the present King's County, including the baronies of Upper and Lower Philipstown, as well as Geashill, Warrenstown, and Coolestown. About one-fifth of Queen's County, including the baronies of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch. And more than one-fifth of Kildare, including the baronies of East and West Offaly, which still retain the name anglicised O'Faly, or Offaly.

It seems to have varied in extent at different times

¹ Book of Rights.

until the twelfth century, and evidently at one time included part of Meath, East and West.

Ross was succeeded in the chieftainship of his tribe by his son Nathi, and in the lordship of Leinster by Daire Barrach (ancestor of the O'Gormans), second son of Cathaeir, for the latter's descendants—all the great O's and Mac's of Leinster—got possession of the entire province.¹

Nathi was father of Eogan Bruidne, or, as M'Firbis calls him, "Eogan of Breen da Choga," now Breenmore, Co. Westmeath. In his time the descendants of Ross Failghe were first called the Ui Failghe, that is, the grandsons or descendants of Failghe. This name afterwards applied to the tribe, which included others than the descendants of Ross Failghe (or Cathaeir), and also to the territory.

The Ui Failghe, until the latter end of the eleventh century, formed one single tribe, the chief of which had the Irish title of Righ Ua bh-Failghe, or King of Offaly.

In Eogan's time St. Patrick arrived in the territory, preached Christianity, and was well received; and in his time also St. Bridget, whose mother, Brocessa, was of the Ui Failghe tribe, received the veil at the hands of St. M'Caille, Bishop of Ui Failghe, and nephew of St. Patrick, the ruins of whose church are still to be seen on the Hill of Croghan.

St. Bridget, "in response to the invitation of the people of her native place," established herself at Drumcree in the territory, some time about the year 470, and constructed a cell under the shadow of "a goodly

¹ Keating.

² O'Donovan.

high oak" (b), afterwards known as Cill-dara, or the Church of the Oak, now Kildare. In the reign of Henry VIII. this saint's head was conveyed to Neustadt in Austria, and thence in 1587 to the Church of the Jesuits at Lisbon, to whom it was presented by the Emperor Rudolf II. A foot of the Saint is now in possession of the Archbishop of Cashel. Kildare, though now little better than a village, was in ancient times an important city and the metropolis of the Lagenians, or Leinstermen.¹

Eogan's death is not recorded in the Annals, but according to the Book of Leinster (introduction), "Cathaeir More, his son Ross Failghe, his son Nathi, and his son Eogan Bruidne," were buried in the same mound or grave called Tulach Eogan, or Eogan's Hill. This name (Tulach Eogan) might now be anglicised Tullyowen.

Eogan was succeeded by a son Cathal, or Cathaeir, who in turn was succeeded by a son Bruidgin, or Brudig.

In 579 A.D. the Annals of Ulster record "the death of Brudig, King of the Ui Failghe." In a list of the Offaly kings, given in the Book of Leinster (p. 40, col. 3), with the length of their reigns, this chief (Bruidgin M'Cathaeir) is placed third on the list, and in the pedigree of the Ui Failghe, with notes, given in the same volume (p. 314, col. 2), he is set down as fourth in descent from Ross Failghe.²

Brudig was succeeded by a nephew, Aedh, or Hugh Roin, the first chief mentioned in the Four Masters. Hugh, they say, was slain at Faitche-mic-mencin, thought to

^{1 &}quot;Collections," &c., by Dr. Comerford. Note, Annals Ult.

be Ticknevin, County Kildare, by Conal, son of Suibhne (Sweeney), in 604. In 596 the Annals record that this Conal's father, Sweeney, son of Colman Beg, Lord of Meath, was slain by his brother Hugh Slaine, King of Ireland, at Bri-damh, according to O'Donovan, in the parish and barony of Geashill, in Offaly. Conal, in revenge, attacked Hugh Slaine and his allies, Hugh Roin, and Hugh Boy, King of Hymany, according to Keating at Breen da Choga, where the three fell as we are given to understand in the following lines:—

"The martial Conal with his valiant troops
Three battles fought and fortunately conquer'd
The three renowned Hughs, Hugh Slaine,
Hugh Roin, and Hugh Buidhe, who bravely fell
With all their forces."

In 635 Cellini, son of Foranan (son of Maluma, son of Brudig), was elected to the chieftainship after the death of Aillil, son of Aedh Roin. This chief fell at the battle of Coolarn, near Galtrim, Co. W. Meath, in 648 and was succeeded by a nephew, Dimusach, son of Congal.

Dimusach was cotemporary with St. Eimhin, or Evan, to whom he granted the lands of Rosglas (i.e. the greenwood) on which to build a monastery, afterwards known as Mainister Eimhin, or Monasterevan. Colgan states that "from the number of monks that followed the man of God from his own county of Munster, who were most holily governed by him there, this place began to be called Rosglas na-miamhneach, i.e. of the Momonians, and in process of time grew up into a

of their carcasses, so as none or very few of the Lynstermen escaped." Another authority states that among the killed were the following leaders and chieftains of the Leinstermen, namely: "Aedh, son of Colgan, King of Ui Cennsealagh; Bran Beg, son of Murchadh, the second king who was over the Leinstermen; Fergus, son of Maenach, and Duvdari, two lords of Fotharta. The son of Ua Ceallaigh; the son of Trian; the four sons of Flann Ua Congal. . . . and many others whom it would be too tedious to enumerate."

In 746 (recte 739) the Four Masters record the death of Flan Ua Congal, Lord of Offaly.

In 752 Cinaedh, also called Thomas, obtained the chieftainship after the death of his brother Cumasach who was slain in that year.

In 763 a battle was fought between the Leinstermen themselves—namely, between Cinaedh, son of Flann, and Aedh—at Fortrinn, where Aedh was slain. And in 769 the Annals of Ulster state that another battle was fought at Ath-Orc, where Ceallach, King of Leinster, son of Donchad, was victor; and where Cinaedh, son of Flann, and Cathnio, son of Becc, and a great many others, were slain.

NOTES

(a) Heremon, son of Milesius, King of Spain, and Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Nectonibus, King of Egypt, according to all accounts was twenty-second in descent from Fenius Farsaidh, or Fenius the Antiquarian, King of Scythia, of the line of Japhet, and Professor of Languages at the Tower of Babel. Heremon, after the death of his

brother Heber (killed at the battle of Geashill on the borders of Clanmaliere), became the first Milesian monarch of Erin, *circa* 1000 B.C. From Heremon to Cahir the descent is as follows. Those marked in italics were monarchs of Ireland.

1. Heremon. 2. Irial Faidh. 3. Eithrial. 4. Follach. 5. Tighermas. 6. Eionboithad. 7. Smiorgall. 8. Fiacha Labhraine. 9. Ængus Ol-mucadha (Anglice, Enos Olmoye, i.e. Enos of the large hand). 10. Maen. 11. Roitheacthaigh, 12. Deman. 12. Dian. 14. Siorna Siogalach. 15. Olliol Olchain. 16. Gillocaidh. 17. Nuadhat Fionn Fail. 18. Ædham Glas. 19. Simon Breac (i.e. speckled, or freckled). 20. Muirchadha Bolgrach. 21. Fiacha Tolgrach. 22. Duach Ladhrach, i.e. the Vindictive. 23. Eochaidh Buadhach (Anglice, Eochy Bway, or the Victorious). 24. Ugaine More. 25. Laeghaire Lore (Leary Lork, or the fierce). 26. Olliol Aine. 27. Labhraidh Loingseach (Lavra Linshagh, or Lavra the mariner), alias Maen, slain at Dinn-Righ, i.e. the Hill of the Kings, Co. Carlow, according to O'Flaherty B.C. 293. On this hill is still to be seen a moat measuring 237 yards in circumference. 28. Olliol Bracan. 29. Aengus Ollamh. 30. Breasal Breaghamuin. 31. Fergus Fortamhail, i.e. the Powerful. 32. Felim 33. Crimihan Cosgrach. 34. Mogh Art. 35. Art. 37. Nuadh Folliod. 38. Ferragh Foglas. 39. Olliol 36. OllioL Glas. 40. Fiacha Fobruga. 41. Breasal Breac. 42. Lugaidh Loitfinn. 43. Sedna Sithbhaic (Sheevick). 44. Nuadhat Neact, i.e. the Snowwhite: slain at the battle of Cliach in Idrone, Co. Carlow. He gave his name to Magh Nuadhat, or Maynooth; and his brother Augen was father of Masg, a quo Dun Masg, now Dunamase, Oueen's County. At the Dun, near the Rock, a pagan sepulchral chamber, containing human remains, and the most beautiful cinerary urn ever discovered in Ireland, was found. Probably the remains of this Masg. His skull was presented to Sir Wm. Wilde (see Boyne and Blackwater) by O'Donovan. 45. Fergus Fairge, King of Leinster, had a brother Baosigne, father of Cumhal (Cuhal, or Cool), father of the renowned Finn M'Cool, the Fingal of M'Pherson's epics. The ruins of his palace are still to be seen on the Hill of Allen, in Kildare. 46. Rossa Ruadh (i.e. Red), King of Leinster. 47. Fionn Fili (i.e. the Poet), King of Leinster. This king wrote a genealogical poem on his own ancestors (from Nuadhat Neact back to Adam), a copy of which, O'Curry says, is contained in a MS. (preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford). compiled about the year 1100. 48. Conor Abraruadh (i.e. of the red eyebrows). 49. Mogh Corb. 50. Cu Corb, King of Leinster, granted

the territory of Leix to the Ulster chief Lugaidh Laeighseach (Lewy Leeshah, or Lisagh), son of Leesha Canmore, son of Conal Cearnach, Chief of the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, of the line of Ith. Lewy gave his name (Hy Laeighis, Leesh, or Leix) to the tribe and territory of the O'Mores, his descendants. Cu Corb was slain at the base of Mount Leinster in County Carlow, where a sepulchral cairn marks his grave. 51. Miadh Corb. 52. Cormac Gealta. 53. Felim Firurglais. 54. Cathaeir More, King of Leinster and Monarch of Ireland. His death is placed in the Annals under date A.D. 123, but there appears to be no authority for chronology until the fifth century; and according to the pedigrees, which we take to be correct, he must have reigned at the latter end of the fourth century. Fionn M'Cumhal's death appears to be correctly set down in the Four MM. under 283. And, according to M'Firbis, he flourished some generations before Cathaeir, as given above. In 437 was born, it is said, St. Fiac of Sletty, Queen's Co., great-grandson of Daire Barry, second son of Cahir; and in 483 the Annals of Ulster record the death (prematurely) of Crimthan, King of Leinster, great-grandson of Fiacha Baiceada, youngest son of Cahir. If the Four MM, were to be taken as correct this would be equal to saying that one's great-grandfather died at least 330 years back, or in 1573.

Further particulars of the above Kings and Princes will be found in Keating's History, and the Four MM.

- (b) In memory of this, O'Connor Faly and O'Dunne had for arms and crest respectively an oak tree, the former's acorned, in base vert.
- (c) The Book of Rights, or Leabhar na g Ceart, from which the extract from Cahir's will is taken, was revised by Cormac and his scribes at the end of the ninth century. This work was originally compiled by St. Benignus, disciple and successor of St. Patrick at Armagh.
- (d) This Congal, it appears, was buried on the Hill of Croghan, where the most or tumulus still occupies the apex.

CHAPTER II

FLORENCE, FIRST CHIEF OF CLAN MALIERE AND FIRST TO ASSUME THE NAME OF O'DEMPSEY, CIRCA 1080

CINAEDH (Kenneth, or Kenny) was succeeded by a brother Moron (Moghron).

In 777 (recte 782, O'D.) the Four Masters record that the battle of the Curragh (Cuirreach) by the side of Kildare was fought, on Tuesday, the 6th of the Calends of September, between Rory M'Faelan, and Bran M'Muiradach, where Moghron, son of Flan, Lord Offaly, and Dubhdachrich M'Laidghnen fell in single combat. The victory was gained by Rory; and the Annals of Ulster add that Bran was taken prisoner.

Donal, successor and nephew of Moron, was slain at Cloncurry, Co. Kildare, in the following year.

After the death of his son Ceallach, Hugh, son of Cinaedh, or Thomas, as he is called in the Annals of Ulster, and Ængus, son of Moron, disputed the succession. A battle was fought at Kilclonfert, near Philipstown, between the rivals, in which Hugh fell, by the hand of Ængus, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 789.

This Hugh was the chief of his family, and ancestor of the O'Dempseys of Clan Maliere. He had a younger brother Riagan (a quo Ui Riagan), ancestor of O'Dunne; and another, Flaithnia, who succeeded Ængus as chief and fell at Rathangan in 807.

ij

This event is thus recorded in the Four Masters: "A.D. 801 (recte 807, O'D.) Flaithiusa, son of Cinaedh, Lord of Ui Falghi, was slain at Rath-Imghain;" and in the Annals of Clonmacnoise under 803, "Flaithnia M'Kinoye, King of Offalie, was killed at Rathangan." This chief was succeeded by a first cousin, another Cinaedh (son of Moron, and brother of Ængus) who died in 827, and left a son Flanagan, father of Conor, chief of Offaly, burned to death in the Church of Clonfad, Co. Westmeath, in 887, ancestor of O'Conor Faly.

Flaithnia, who seems to have died without issue, was the only one of his family who gained the chieftainship of all Offaly, if we except Dermod O'Dempsey.

In his father's time (752-69) the territory of Offaly appears to have been divided. That portion assigned to Hugh, chief of the family, and ancestor of the O'Dempseys, of whom we shall now proceed to treat, comprised well-nigh 100,000 acres, called after the tribe, Clan Maolughra, a name derived from Maolughra (son of Conor, son of Hugh, son of Donal, son of Hugh), chief of his tribe, who distinguished himself in the Danish wars.

In his time the Danes invaded the territory, plundered the Church of Kildare, and carried off the prior and 280 persons into captivity. Some years later (926) Godfrey, at the head of the Danes of Waterford, made another incursion; but in 939, being encountered by the Offalians, under the leadership of Amerghin (grandson of Conor who died in 887), near Rahin, in the north of the present King's County, they were defeated with the loss of 1200 men. Soon after, Blacaire, son of Godfrey, at the head of the Danes of Dublin was again

defeated by the Offalians, and left, the Annals state, 1000 men dead on the field, besides Hugh Albanach and many other chiefs. To crown these victories. Braen, King of Leinster, in 942 marching his warriors from the Hill of Allen in Kildare, once more routed the foreigners, and burned the Danish city of Dublin.

In these wars Maolughra, or Maliere, gained renown: and from him his descendants took the tribal name of the Clan Maliere, which, as in the case of Ui Falghi, afterwards applied to the territory.

The territory of Clan Maliere included the present baronies of Upper Philipstown in King's County (37,100 acres); Portnahinch in Queen's County (35,900); and part of the baronies of West Offaly, and Narragh and Rheban in Kildare (about 26,000 acres, more or less).

This latter portion of territory, including that on which Lea Castle stands, was known as the Cantred (i.e. thirty townlands) of Lea in Clan Maliere: and was held by the O'Kellys, a sub-tribe of the O'Dempseys, though not of the same descent.

The O'Kellys, according to O'Hart, derived from Hugh Slaine, monarch of Ireland, who fell with Hugh Roin, Chief of Offalv, in 604.

The senior branch of this family were powerful chiefs in Meath at this time; and in 974 Congal, chief of the sept, ascended the throne of Ireland.

The Chief of Lea is thus referred to by O'Heerin, in his Topographical Poem:-

> "Delightful the territory long since it was heard. The Cantred of Leighe of green slopes, O'Ceallaigh of Leighe of the Eastern strand Is sub-chief of the plain of dells and yews."

O'Ceallaigh, or O'Kelly, had castles at Rathascul, or the Moat of Ardscul, and Inch. In connection with this castle a legend is told 1 of "fair Una More," and "M'Kelly's" son:—

"M'Kelly's son, fair Ulick, the Lord of Inche's hold,
Was a chief of noble stature, rich in serfs and lands and gold;
He loved the gentle Una—vowed he'd love till life was o'er,
He won her hand, he won her heart—unhappy Una More!"

Ulick jilted the lady, won another heart, and soon after at a banquet in the castle was seized with the plague. Deserted by all, he was carried to the plague-shed on a lonely moor, where he thought and repented of the injury done to the gentle Una, who, hearing of his fate and repentance, sped across the dreary moor. For three days she watched, but in vain; his hour was come, and "tended by that faithful one he sighed his parting breath." An hour later Una was found dead by his side in the plague-shed. And:—

"Next morn they burned the plague-shed, where the two lay side by side,

False Ulick and fair Una, like a bridegroom and his bride; And from the ashes of their bones, which mingled with the clay, Sprang seven fair trees of hawthorn, which are living there to-day.

In summer when their blossoms bright refreshing fragrance shed, In winter when their branches droop like plumes o'er the early dead, A bird of snow-white plumage oft is seen in those hawthorns fair, 'Tis Una More, the peasants say, revisits sweet Kildare."

¹ See Hall's "Ireland," vol. ii. p. 259. Written in verse for the February Session of Carlow College Academy, 1865.

The O'Kellys held a great part of their territory until the reign of Philip and Mary, and were the chief sept of the Clan Maliere after the O'Dempseys.

The O'Dempseys took their surname from Diumusaigh (pron. Dimesi, or Demesi) son of Corcran, and grandson of Maolughra, who fought at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. A brief account of this memorable fight, with the events that led up to the engagement, will doubtless be of interest, and may not be out of place here.

Malmorey, King of Leinster, desiring to present King Brian Boromha, or "Brian of the Tribute," with some masts for shipping, had three cut in the wood of Clonsast, on the borders of Clan Maliere, in Offaly. Between the Offalians and Ui Faelains, or O'Byrnes, who had the honour of carrying the masts, a dispute arose at a bog near the wood as to who should go first. The King (Malmorey), who was present, decided in favour of the Ui Faelans, and getting from his horse he clapped his shoulder to the mast carried by that tribe, and led the way. On arriving at Kencora (Brian's palace) he was welcomed by Brian and Queen Gormly (a), daughter of Fionn. Tanist of Offaly. Her majesty having a grudge against Brian, on being told of the affair at Clonsast, and being informed by Malmorey that he was proud to bear the mast on his shoulder as a mark of subjection to her husband, upbraided him with his meanness of spirit in thus humbling himself, and (worst of all) in submitting to Brian, and acknowledging him as his superior lord.

Departing next day, he resolved to throw off his allegiance; and having mustered his forces, and being

reinforced by 12,000 Danes, sent by the King of Denmark, he challenged Brian to battle on the plains of Clontarf.

Brian accepted the challenge though eighty-eight years of age at the time; and on the morning of Good Friday, 1014, presented himself before the Lagenians and their Danish allies, who were drawn up in three divisions.

The first, composed of the Danes of Dublin, was commanded by King Sitric, son of Gormly by her first marriage, assisted by Carol and Anrud, sons of Eric, King of Norway. The second consisted of the insular Danish auxiliaries, under the command of Sigurd, Earl of the Orkneys, and Brodar. And the third was composed of the Lagenians, commanded by Malmorey, King of Leinster; Baodin, King of the western parts of Leinster, and Brogarbhan Tanist of Offaly. The chief, Congallah, his grandfather (ob. 1017), commanded the Offalians, while Diumusaigh, chief of his sept, headed the Clan Maliere.

Brian gave the signal for the battle, thus vividly described by Malachy, king of the province of Meath, who deserted Brian. "I withdrew," he says, "with all the men under my command, and was no otherwise concerned than as a spectator, and stood at no greater breadth than the length of a fallow field and a ditch. When both the powerful armies engaged and grappled in close fight, it was dreadful to behold how the swords glittered over their heads, being struck by the rays of the sun, which gave them an appearance of a numerous flock of white seagulls flying in the air. The strokes

were so mighty, and the fury of the combatants so terrible that great quantities of hair, torn, or cut off from their heads by their sharp weapons, were driven far off by the wind. And their spears and battle-axes were so encumbered with hair cemented together with clotted blood, that it was scarce possible to clean, or bring them to their former brightness." In the dusk the Danes fled-some to Dublin-the foreigners to their ships at Howth. Brian, kneeling in his tent to give thanks for the victory, was slain by Brodar the sea-king, and was afterwards interred in the Cathedral of Armagh. The Leinstermen lost about 3000 men, including their king. Malmorev: Brogarbhan, Tanist of Offaly, and most of the nobles of Leinster. The Danes lost about 7000 men, including Carol and Anrud, and Earl Sigurd. who was cleft in two by Brian's son Murrough.

Nearly all the great Irish families, O'Donovan states, took their names from the chiefs who fought in this battle, or from those of their sons, or fathers.

Conor, father of Congallah, who died in 979, gave his name to O'Conor; and Diumusaigh who led his tribe gave his name to Ua Diumusaigh or O'Dempsey, which name was first assumed by his grandson Flan, or Florence M'Corcran (b) circa 1080.

To this chief's followers the tribe name of the Clan Maolughra, or Clan Maliere, appears to have been first applied, as even so late as 1142 the O'Dempseys are referred to in the Annals as "the Ui Failghe."

Up to his time there was a celebrated bell preserved in the territory which was used by the tribe as a

Swearing Relic; and was called the Bernan Eimhin, or Bell of St. Evan, of which 'twas said:—

"This Bell of the noble Kings Gives shortness of life to some; No person 'gainst whom 'tis rung, Shall possess earth, or Heaven.

A death-draught is the sound of its tone In any place after having been profaned. Woe! that profanes it in his warm abode, There will be satire and malediction!"

It had its virtues too, being-

"A protection to stock and cattle,
A safeguard 'gainst battles and quarrels."

On account of some hard swearing it is said to have rolled of its own accord into the river Barrow, where it now lies in a particular spot in the river called "The Bell Hole." The site of the little church where the bell was kept is still marked on the Ordnance Map, a little to the west of Lackagh, and north of Monasterevan, on a spot locally known as "The Yew-tree Graveyard." 1

Florence, whose death is unrecorded, was succeeded by a son Hugh; and in 1158 the Annals of Clonmacnoise record the death of "Hugh O'Dempsey, Prince of Clan Maliere."

This Hugh is the first of the name mentioned in the Annals, at least in any of those published. He was succeeded by a son Ceallach.

¹ Dr. Comerford.

In 1162 the Four Masters state that the Ui Diumusaighs, i.e. Ceallach, Coilen, and Conbrogha, were slain in the middle of Killeigh by O'Conor Faly (Malachy).

This quarrel appears to have originated in contests for the Chieftainship of Offaly, to explain which it will be necessary to go back some years.

After the death of Cuafnie O'Conor Faly in 1130, his two sons, Donogh and Malachy, disputed the chieftainship. Malachy was backed by the Clan Maliere, and in 1133 a battle was fought between the rivals, in which both fell. The Four Masters say "by each other," but the Annals of Clonmacnoise state Donogh was slain "by the Ui Failghe themselves, i.e. the Clan Maliere."

Donogh's men having gained the ascendancy, his son Hugh was installed in the chieftainship, with another Donogh as Tanist or heir, probably his son.

In 1142 the Four Masters record that Donogh son of O'Conor Faly was slain by the Ui Failghe themselves—
i.e. the Clan Maliere; and that in 1159 Hugh, son of Donogh O'Conor, Lord of Offaly, was slain by his cousin Malachy, son of his uncle Congallah, another aspirant.

This did not meet with the approval of the Clan Maliere, who now felt equal to asserting their rights as the senior representative of Flan Ua Congal, the ancestor from whom the Ui Failghe branched. Malachy was deposed, but in 1161 an army was led by Roderick O'Conor of Connaught and Tighernan O'Ruark, into Offaly, and they left Malachy in the lordship, with Donal as Tanist.

In the following year (1162) Donal fell in an affray

1 Four MM.

with the Clan Maliere; and in revenge the O'Dempseys were slain by Malachy as before mentioned.

These feuds were the inevitable result of the law of Tanistry or succession, which practically gave the inheritance to the strongest. This law is thus explained by Dr. O'Curry.1 "There was no invariable rule of succession in the Milesian times, but according to the general tenor of our ancient accounts the eldest son succeeded the father to the exclusion of all collateral claimants, unless it happened that he was disqualified by some personal deformity or blemish, or by natural imbecility, or crime: or unless (as happened in after ages) by parental testament, or mutual compact, the succession was made alternate in two or more families. The eldest son being thus recognised as the presumptive heir, and successor to the dignity, was denominated tanaiste; that is, minor or second; while all the other sons or persons eligible, in case of his failure, were simply called righdamhna - that is, king makings, or king material. This was the origin of tanaiste, a successor and tanaisteacht, successorship. The tanaiste had a separate maintenance and establishment, as well as distinct privileges and liabilities. He was inferior to the king, or chief, but above all the other dignitaries of the state.

"From all this it will be seen that tanistry in the Anglo-Norman sense was not an original, essential element of the law of succession, but a condition that might be adopted or abandoned at any time by the parties concerned; and it does not appear that it was at any time

¹ Introd. "Battle Magh Lena," printed for Celtic Society.

universal in Erin, although it prevailed in many parts of it. It is to be noticed also that alternate tanaisteacht did not involve any disturbance of property, or of the people, but only affected the position of the person himself, whether king, chief, or professor of any of the liberal arts, as the case might be; and that it was often set aside by force."

The latter appears to have been the principal factor in deciding the question when there happened to be a dispute, as in the case of the Chieftainship of Offaly at this time. Indeed these disputes were responsible for the downfall of many great old Irish families, and were the salvation of the English.

NOTES

(a) This lady was daughter of Murchad, son of Finn Tanist of Offaly, son of Malmorey, son of Conor, ancestor of O'Conor, mentioned above. She married, first, Amlave, or Aulaf, Danish King of Dublin, who founded Christ Church, and had a son, Sitric M'Aulaf, who led the Danes at Clontarf. She died in 1030. See note to Annals by O'Donovan. A detailed account of the battle is given in the "Wars of Gael and Gail," edited by Dr. Todd, who, if we remember rightly, states that Malmorey, King of Leinster, was her brother. So it is stated in Keating's History.

(b) See a pedigree of the Offaly septs (with a map of the territory) brought down to this time, by Lord Walter FitzGerald in the "Kildare Arch. Jrnl."

CHAPTER III

DERMOD, CHIEF OF CLAN MALIERE AND LAST SUPREME CHIEF OF OFFALY

AFTER the death of Ceallach in 1162, his nephew Dermod, son of Conbrogha, succeeded to the chieftainship of the Clan Maliere.

In 1163 his uncle, or grand-uncle, Gillabrighde, successor to the two Senchells (i.e. Abbot of Killeigh) died.¹ In the same year he defeated and slew Malachy O'Conor Faly,² after which he was elected to the chieftainship of all Offaly, with Muredach, son of Donogh, son of Cuafnie, O'Conor as Tanist.

In 1169 the English invaded Ireland; and in 1171 Henry II., having sailed from Milford Haven with 400 knights and about 4000 soldiers, landed at Croch near Waterford. The Munster chiefs submitted at once, and Henry, marching through Ossory, encamped in Dublin; and in a wooden palace, with walls of polished osiers, erected on the southern side of the present Dame Street, kept his court during the winter of 1171-2.

There he received homage from several chiefs, whom he royally entertained at Christmastide, but O'Dempsey was one of the few Leinster chiefs who refused to attend.

¹ Four MM. ² Idem.

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Shortly after, Strongbow, now Earl Marshal, or Commander-in-Chief, who had a grant of "the middle cantred of Offaly," with his son-in-law, Robert de Quincey, "Constable and Standard-bearer of Leinster," and several other knights, marched a powerful force into Kildare and Offaly, resolving to subdue him. After plundering and burning whatever came in their way, and getting together a great booty, they retired towards Kildare.

In the meantime Dermod, who had been collecting his followers, outmarched the English troops, and posted his men in a defile through which he knew they would have to pass. Soon the earl put in an appearance, marching in the vanguard with 1000 men, the rear commanded by De Quincey, Raymond Le Gros, Miles de Cogan, and many other knights. When the vanguard had passed Dermod charged upon the rear, slew De Quincey, captured the Banner of Leinster, and routed the English with great slaughter.

Maurice Regan, private secretary to King Dermod M'Murrough, wrote an account of this affair which is thus given in Harris's "Hibernica": "From thence the earl (Strongbow) went to Kildare, making many incursions into Offaly, upon O'Dempsey, lord of that country, who refused to come and deliver hostages; the earl, to subdue him, made a journey in person upon him. Offaly was burned and harassed and the whole prey of the country taken, when the army retired towards Kildare; on the return, the earl, with one thousand men, marched in the vanguard, and the rear was commanded by Robert de Quincey with many

others. In the pass, when the vanguard was passed, O'Dempsey gave upon the rear, at which charge Robert de Quincey, with many others, were slain, and the Banner of Leinster taken, and for his death great lamentation was made, as well by the whole army as by the earl."

After this the earl made no further attempts to subdue Dermod, nor does he seem to have been particularly anxious to repair his defeat. Some writers, on the authority of Giraldus (Hibernia Expugnata), state that the English under Raymond Le Gros afterwards made an incursion, but these writers mistake Ophelan, a territory near Waterford, for Offaly. The English never held an acre of the territory during Dermod's time, and though Giraldus states Strongbow had a grant of part of Offaly, he makes no mention of the reception he met with when he came to take possession.

Some time later Dermod founded the Cistercian Abbey of Rosglas, or De Rosea Valle, now Monasterevan, on the site of the old monastery dedicated to St. Evan. The precise period at which this monastery fell to decay is not known. Very probably it was amongst the many religious houses that suffered from the depredations of the Danes. The Annals of Clonmacnoise at the year 1002 well describe the work of destruction perpetrated by these infidel hordes: "The whole realme was overrunn, and overspread (by the Danes). The churches, abbeys, and other religious places were by them quite razed and debased, or otherwise turned to vile and base, and abominable uses. . . . But King Bryan (Boromha) was

a meet salve to cure such festered soares, all the phissick in the world cou'd not help it elsewhere; in a small time he banished the Danes, made up the churches and religious houses, restored the nobility to their antient patrimony and possessions, and in time brought all to a notable reformation."

Some say the Cistercian abbey was founded in the year 1178, and others in 1189. Grace's Annals, at 1178, record: "The Monastery of Rosea Vallis, that is, Rosglas, is founded." And a list of the Cistercian abbeys in Ireland, taken from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (E. 3, 8, p. 65), apparently copied from an ancient authority, not given, assigns the foundation to 1189. "Anni fundationum Monasteriorum Cisterciensium Hiberniæ et contributiones eorum antiquæ, ex vet. cod. MSS. de Statutis, bullis et aliis rebus ord. Cisterc. Hib. . . ., 1189. De Rosea Valle, Lagenia, vir"

The Charter of Foundation, translated from the Latin by Conal M'Geoghegan in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, is as follows:—

CHARTER

OF

MONASTEREVAN ABBEY

"Dermott O'Dempsey, King of Offalia, to all his nobles, clergy and laity both present and to come greeting: I make known to you all that I, Dermott O'Dempsey, King of Offalia, by the consent of Muredach O'Conor, have given and confirmed to God, and the monks of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Rosglas, land on

which to build a monastery, in honour of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, and of St. Benedict, the Abbot, as a perpetual elemosinary. These are the lands which I, Dermott O'Dempsey, King of Offalia, have given and confirmed to the aforesaid Monks of Rosglas in remission of my sins and the sins of my parents: the site of the Monastery of Rosglas, and all the lands of Eiothill (Oghill) and Racheaihar (Ratharces, alias Rathronsin, now Rath, Queen's Co.), with their appurtenances; Clonarkerhan (Cloncarlin), Clonaugay (Clonegath), Dere (probably Derry, Queen's Co.), Ardmidie and Kilmore (Kill), with their appurtenances; Glassigelly descending to the Barue (Barrow); Hadinesfot, as far as Hadhildred: Hadelonan as far as the Barue; Hensereden, with their appurtenances: Thacsartan, and Archadachafernan, with their appurtenances and with the men belonging to the same lands (a). All these lands aforesaid I give and confirm to the aforesaid monks, to be held as a free, pure, and perpetual elemosinary, for the health of my soul and the souls of my predecessors and successors. Wherefore I will and firmly command that the aforesaid Church of Rosglas, and the monks and their brethren serving God therein, may have and hold the aforesaid lands; and possess well and in peace, freely and quietly, entirely and fully, honourably and peaceably, all the aforesaid lands with all their liberties and appurtenances, namely, in woods, plains, meadows, pasturages, and morasses; in waters and fisheries; in roads and paths; in pools (ponds), mills and vivariis; in turbaries and all mountains and valleys, and in all other places and things appertaining to the same lands, free, quit, and solutas from all customs and exactions, and from secular duty.

"Witnesses, Nehemia, Bishop of Kildare,
Donatus, Bishop of Leighlin,
Faelan M'Faelan,
Flan O'Dempsey,
Hekineck O'Dempsey,
Fionn O'Dempsey,
Donogh O'Dempsey,
Hugh O'Dempsey,
Culballinus O'Dunne,
Congal O'Kelly,
Rocnur Dengulla,
Ceallach M'Aulaf,
and many others."

The Abbot of this monastery sat as a Baron in the Irish Parliament. John, the first Lord Abbot, was elected by the Chapter Bishop of Leighlin, though opposed by the English Deputy, Hano de Valois; ¹ and Hugh O'Dempsey, the last, had a pension assigned him, October 1549,² of £15 per annum.

At the Dissolution the abbey and manor were granted to George Tuchett, Lord Audley, who assigned the same to Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, nephew of Archbishop Loftus (b). Here, in the great hall of the present edifice the Court of Chancery, it is said, was held by Lord Chancellor Loftus in 1641. The abbey and its possessions passed to the Drogheda family by the marriage of Jane, only child of Arthur, third and last

¹ Dr. Comerford.

² Pat. Edw. VI.

Lord Loftus, of the creation of 1622, with Charles, Lord Moore, whose son Henry became fourth Earl of Drogheda.

The fabric of the abbey may be said to have disappeared, though a semblance is kept up in the monastic style adopted in the erection of the present massive and very extensive mansion, and also in the name of Moore Abbey. The only remains now are the old walls of the abbey precincts, the cellars, and some sculptured ornaments inserted here and there in the walls of the present building. From one of the cellars a door opens into a tunnel, popularly believed to extend to Kildare. On the east side of the abbey there is a very old window richly sculptured, which was placed in what was until recently the domestic chapel.

At Cloncarlan and Oghill (Clonarkerhan and Eiothill) two of the places named in the charter, which are divided by a bog, the peat-cutters have brought to light one of those cashes, or roadways, constructed of wood, to which such extreme antiquity is ascribed by some. The wood of which it is composed is chiefly of oak, but is mixed with vew. It lies about five feet below the surface, extends across the greatest part of a mile, terminating at the further end at a large knoll planted with ancient white-thorns. This place, according to tradition, was the burial place of the monks of Monasterevan, and was, it is said, abandoned in consequence of the burial in it of a person who had committed suicide. Dr. Comerford thinks that it was unlikely the burialplace of the monks of the Cistercian foundation, as there was a cemetery attached to the abbey, and one, too, he says, that was in extensive use up to a comparatively recent period, as was shown by the great quantity of human bones that were met with when the place was being laid out as a pleasure ground, not very many vears ago.

At the beginning of the last century a tomb was discovered in the ground adjoining the abbev, containing a skeleton, recognised as that of an ecclesiastic by the presence of a wooden chalice placed upon the breast.

There are several Raths in this neighbourhood, some very extensive. At Sean Realig, "the old burial-place," not far from a church established here by St. Maelduv, founder of the celebrated Benedictine Monastery of Malmesbury, human remains have been found; and at Grangebeg is to be seen a cromlech in which was found the jaw-bone of a man, described as of gigantic proportions. Probably that of some pagan chief.

But to return to Dermod. In 1103 the Four Masters record the death of "Dermod, son of Conbrogha O'Dempsey, a long time Chief of Clan Maliere, and Lord of Hy Falv."

Dermod was the great man of his family and the last Supreme Chief of Offaly, as, after his time, Clan Maliere, and Hy Regan-O'Dunne's territory-were practically separate countries, ruled by chiefs owning allegiance to no man. Besides, owing to internal dissensions the English got possession of a good part of Offaly in Kildare, which gave the title of baron to the Leinster FitzGeralds.

Up to Dermod's time the Offaly chiefs, like other independent Irish princes, coined their own money, some silver specimens of which, bearing the inscription, DALUIFALGHI, or the land of Ui Failghe, are still preserved, it is said, in the Museum of Trinity College.

These were dug up in June 1786 in a field near Ballylinan, Queen's County, by some peasants; and were contained in an earthen urn, in which were a number of other silver coins, some of which belonged to the O'Mores.

The list of the Offaly chiefs with the length of their reigns, given in the Book of Leinster, is brought down to Dermod's time. This work was compiled by Finn M'Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, for Dermod M'Murrough. A fac-simile has lately been published at a cost of £1500, half of which was defrayed by funds voted by Parliament, and the other half by the Board of Trinity College, in the library of which the MS. has been preserved. It contains pedigrees of all the Leinster septs, brought up to the fourteenth century in the Book of Ballymote, which has also been published; and notes on the Offaly clans.

At this time the noble families in Offaly whose pedigrees converged in Flan O'Congal, were (in addition to the O'Conors Faly, O'Dempseys and O'Dunnes) O'Brogarbhain (O'Brogain?) "who lived in walled towns" and "allied with O'Dempsey and O'Dunne"; M'Colgan, and O'h'Ængusa (O'Hennessey?) of Clan Colgan, now the barony of Lower Philipstown; O'Maolciaran of Tuath-da-Moy, or Totmoy, now Coolestown and Warrenstown; M'Carbery of Clan Carbery; O'Cinædh (O'Kenny); O'Murchaidhan, and O'Amerghin. The pedigrees of some of these chiefs are given by O'Hart.

Some were subject to O'Conor Falv, and others whose territory lay in East and West Offaly in Kildare were dispossessed at different times by the English. Others again were subject to O'Dempsey and O'Dunne, who, with O'Conor Falv, divided Offalv between them. These are "the Chiefs of Offaly" referred to in the ancient records.

Dermod was succeeded in the chieftainship of the Clan Maliere by his son Hugh, whose name appears on the Charter to Monasterevan. Hugh, following the pious example of his father. Dermod, founded an Augustinian priory at Aughmacart (in the territory of FitzPatrick of Ossory), a fine engraving of which is given in Grose's Antiquities.

In 1601 Florence FitzPatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, had a grant of this monastery, with a water-mill, and the tithes of hay and grain of the rectory. The remains stand on a gentle eminence, and close by are to be seen the ruins of one of FitzPatrick's castles. are now in possession of Lord Castletown.

Ware says the priory was founded between 1216 and 1220, but it was probably earlier, as in 1212 we find Hugh's son. Coilen, at the head of the clan. In that year Murtagh O'Brien, Donal, son of Donal O'Melaghlin, Coilen O'Dempsey, and Donal Clannagh M'Gillapatrick (FitzPatrick), gave an overthrow to Cormac M'Art O'Melaghlin, where were killed Gillechrist M'Murrough M'Coghlan, and Donnslieve M'Conor M'Coghlan, with many others.

In 1216 Malachy, son of Dermod O'Dempsey, was slain by the men of Fircall, and people of Meyler, in King's County.

In 1225 Coilen crossed the Shannon to the aid of Hugh, son of Cahal-Crov-Dearg, or the Red Hand, King of Connaught, who was opposed by Hugh and Tirlogh, sons of his uncle Roderick; and at the town of Ardrahen, near Galway, the latter's supporters were entirely routed, on which occasion Mahon, son of Hugh, son of Conor Moinmoy; Gillechrist M'Dermott; Nial, son of Ferral O'Tiege and others were slain, "but the man who slew Nial O'Tiege, i.e. the brother of Coilen O'Dempsey, was himself slain."

In the same year Malmorey O'Conor of Offaly fell at Monasterevan in an engagement with Coilen O'Dempsey; and in 1227 Malachy O'Conor Faly fell by the same hand.¹

¹ Annals.

NOTES

- (a) The cailas or husbandmen included free cailas and base cailas. The latter were similar to the Norman villein and Saxon ceorl.
- (b) This Loftus, a Yorkshire man, was the founder of the Ely family, and came to Ireland as chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy. He afterwards was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who appointed him Archbishop of Armagh and translated him to Dublin in 1578, where he was mainly instrumental in founding Trinity College. His nephew, Adam, was created Viscount Loftus in 1622, and made Lord Chancellor. His grandson, the last viscount, died in 1725. Nicholas, a descendant of the archbishop, was created a viscount in 1756.

The Drogheda family descend from Sir Edward Moore, a Kentish man, who had a grant of the Monastery of Mellifont. In 1616 Gerald,

his son and successor, was created Baron Moore of Mellifont. Subsequent creations—Baron Moore of Drogheda, 1621; Earl of Drogheda, 1661; Marquis, 1791; and Baron Moore in the peerage of the United Kingdom, 1801. (Lodge and Burke.) The late marquis was succeeded by a cousin who had to take the title of earl. Sir Edward had a younger brother, Sir Thomas, father of Sir John of Croghan, ancestor of the Earls of Charleville.

CHAPTER IV

FROM 1250 TO 1329

Coilen, according to O'Hart (a), died without issue, and was succeeded by a nephew, Malachy, son of Fionn.

This is doubtless the same Fionn, who in 1213, with his brother Donogh, was invited to a conference by Geoffrey Marisco, the Justiciary, and taken "most deceiptfully and conwayed hin to Dublin where he was bound to a horse taile and so hailed all through the streets and after hanged." Certainly Geoffrey was an accomplished assassin, and a worthy representative of Hervey, the first of the name who came to Ireland, of whom Hanmer, the English chronicler, says that "in him there was neither prudence in council at home, nor manhood in battle abroad."

Still we find Malachy apparently on good terms with the English. In his time Lea Castle was erected on the marsh, or waste grounds adjoining the abbey lands, for the English, as the guardians of religion, believed they had a claim on the abbey and lands. However, the abbots did not share in this belief, as in 1297 the abbot, being accused of receiving into his house many felons, plunderers, and robbers, as the Irish were called, of the country of Offaly, appeared and proved that his abbey was in the marches, and outside the pale, and

¹ Anls. Clonm.

that he had never knowingly received either felons or robbers.1

The castle, which, according to some, was built by De Vesey, and to others by the FitzGeralds, was designed to protect the pale on the north-west; and consisted of a three-storeved rectangular building, 60 feet by 46, flanked by round towers or bastions, and having walls varying in thickness from 8 to 10 feet. The west side has been blown up, but the remaining tower contains five rooms, one of them having thicker walls than the rest. i.e. 13 feet instead of 12.

The centre of the castle was built on arches, and the projecting angles of the towers were connected by a curtain wall nearly 8 feet thick.

The approach was by a causeway 100 feet in length. The north side was protected by the Barrow, which supplied with water a ditch that extended round the other sides; and the mount on which the castle stood being thus formed into an island, is said to have obtained the name of Port-na-hinch, or the Castle of the Island. from which the barony takes its name. Inside the moat, or ditch, was a low wall 8 feet high, which can still be traced.

Two drawbridges and two bastions defended the gate into the inner ballium, which contained a tennis-court and tilt-yard, and measured 140 feet by 130. The outer ballium which included the bawn, in which cattle were secured during the night, measured from east to west 410 feet, and from north to south 350. The remains of the barbican can still be seen.

¹ Dr. Comerford.

The town, which has now lost the appearance even of a village, was in front of the great entrance; and the church (built in 1307), of which a small portion of the masonry remains, stood close to the castle.¹

Though apparently a very formidable fortress, it was no proof against the fierce attacks of the Clan Maliere; and perhaps the following "item" in the account of Brother Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, King's Treasurer in Ireland in 1272, explains why it is that at this time, according to the Book of Howth, it was the only fortress in Offaly held by the English—" Paid to Robert Bagod, Justice of the Common Pleas, for horse bought of him and delivered to O'Dempsey by order of the Justiciary by writ—20 marks"—a pretty fair price for a horse at a time when "a bushell of wheate was at fourpence." This was evidently a present from the Justiciary, Robert d'Ufford, and is the first reference to O'Dempsey in the State Papers.

It must refer to Malachy, for Fionn, his son and successor, was a lifelong opponent of the Sassanachs; and in 1284, in conjunction with O'Conor Faly and O'Dunne, he took the town of Lea, burned the castle, and invaded the pale. Soon after, Theobald de Verdun, Lord Marshal, and Geoffrey de Geneville, on their way to avenge this, were utterly routed; and the next morning, Gerald FitzMaurice, who returned to the attack, was again defeated, and himself taken prisoner, along with Richard Petit, S. Doget, and many others.²

¹ Dr. Comerford; Ledwich's Antiquities.

² Grace's and Pembridge's Anls., &c.

In 1200 the Offalians again invaded the pale, "and divers English were slain."

In 1204 the Sheriff of Kildare and the Sergeants of Omurthy and Offaly were commanded to produce Adam Brokan; Philip, Thomas, Adam, Peter, and John de Staunton; Philip, John, and Peter Faliach; Martyn Meyn and several others, and have them at Kildare on the morrow of the decollation of John the Baptist; but they "present" that they were unable to execute the writ as the aforesaid were not found in the bailywick after the receipt of the same, but betook themselves to Offaly, "and their keep with Fyn O'Dymsy and other felons." 1

Fionn and his brother felon - O'Conor Faly obligingly enough, soon after appeared in the bailywick, stormed the town and castle of Kildare, and dispossessed De Vesey, then Lord Justice, of his lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, held by O'Conor for some years after.

Cox and Holinshed give amusing, though erroneous, accounts of how John FitzThomas, titular Baron of Offaly, afterwards (1316) Earl of Kildare, got possession of these lands.

De Vesey, they say, in this year (1204) accused Fitz-Thomas of felony. FitzThomas repelled the accusation, saying Vesey only wanted to get possession of his lands to make his son a "proper gentleman." The Lord Justice thus retorted: "A gentleman," quoth the Lord Justice; "thou bold baron, I tell thee the Veseys were gentlemen before the FitzGeralds were barons of Offalv.

¹ State Papers.

Yea, and before that Welsh bankrupt, their ancestor (Maurice FitzGerald), feathered his nest in Leinster." FitzGerald replied in the same choice language, calling Vesey a "singesole gentleman," and challenging him to single combat, a course approved of by the king, before whom they appeared, and who named a day for the purpose. "Wherefore," writes Holinshed, who draws largely on his imagination, "the parties being well thereof advertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small provision was made for so eager a combat as that was presupposed to have been, but when the prefixed day approached near, Vescie turning his great boast to small rost, began to crie creak, and secretlie sailed into France. King Edward thereof advertised, bestowed Vescie's lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, on the Baron of Offalie, saeing that albeit Vescie conveyed his person to France, he left his lands behind him in Ireland." The truth is, De Vescie despairing of ever getting back his "lordships," surrendered his title to the king in 1297.

But O'Conor held the lands until 1306, when a quarrel broke out between himself and O'Dempsey; and aided by his "friends"—apparently English—he invaded Clan Maliere, and carried off great spoils towards Geashill. Near the castle they were overtaken by Fionn at the head of his clansmen, and defeated after a protracted and sanguinary engagement, with great slaughter. Fionn, it appears, followed O'Conor into the castle, but fell in a hand-to-hand encounter with that chief, according to Holinshed, on the 13th of April.

A month later (14th May), John FitzThomas taking advantage of this defeat, and having received a grant of De Vesey's lands, known as the English Offaly, attacked O'Conor Faly (Calvagh), and retook the castle and town of Kildare. The best part of these lands, up to Dermod's time. belonged to the Church.

Fionn, styled in the Book of Howth and other records "Dux Reganorum," or Chief of the Regans, would seem to have had O'Dunne and his territory-Hy Reganat one time under his protection. After his death, his son Dermod was installed in the chieftainship. The installation, which always took place on a high hill, was a very interesting ceremony. Multitudes of the clan clustered on the top, the side, and by the foot of the hill. The chief himself, placing his two feet on a sacred stone, on which was marked the form of the first chieftain's feet, had the laws read to him by the Brehon, or lawver, and took an oath to preserve the customs of the country. After this he was given a straight white wand by the proper officers, with the words, or some such—"Receive, O Chief! the auspicious badge of vour authority and remember to imitate in your conduct the straightness and whiteness of this wand." He then, descending from the stone with the wand in his hand, turned himself round thrice forward and thrice backward. when, amid the clang of bucklers, the music of a hundred harps, and the ringing cheers of thousands of the Clan Maliere, THE O'DEMPSEY was proclaimed.

This ceremony is well described in the following (adapted) lines—

"His Brehons around him, the blue heavens o'er him—
His true clan behind, and his broad lands before him;
While grouped far below him, on moor and on heather,
His tanists and chiefs are assembled together;
They give him a sword and he swears to protect them;
A slender white wand and he vows to direct them;
And then in God's sunshine O'DEMPSEY they hail him,
Through life unto death ne'er to flinch from or fail him;
And earth had no spell that can shatter or sever
That bond from their true hearts, O'DEMPSEY for ever!"

O'Dempsey, immediately on descending from "the far-seeing hill," in accordance with ancient custom, unfurled his standard, and led his clan against the enemy, razed the castle of Geishall, built, it is said, by the Fitz-Geralds the previous year; and in "the vigil of the translation of Thomas Beckett, being the sixt of Julie," burned the town of Lea, and besieged the castle, but was constrained to raise the siege on the approach of a large force under the command of John FitzThomas, and Edmund Butler, afterwards Earl of Carrick.

In 1308 he marched on Kildare, but fell at Tully near the town in an engagement with the English, under Piers Gaveston the Viceroy. The Annals of Loche Ce say by Piers himself,—"A.D. 1308 Piers Gaveston, a very noble knight, and prime favourite of the King of the Saxons, came to Erinn this year, and O'Dimusaigh was slain by him in the same year." The Annals of Clonmacnoise simply record "the death of Dermod O'Dempsey, Prince of Clan Maliere."

¹ Holinshed's Chronicles.

Dermod was succeeded by a son, Fionn II.

In 1315 Edward II. directed a special letter missive to "Fyn O'Dymsy" for his aid to invade Scotland, at the request of Theobald Verdon, Justiciary.

There could have been no response to this invitation, as in the same year Bruce and his Scots, invited over by the Irish chiefs, was crowned King of Ireland at Coleraine; and soon after, most probably on the invitation of Fionn and O'Conor Faly, arrived in the territory and encamped at Geashill. Bruce, joined by Fionn and O'Conor, took Lea Castle, routed the English at the Moat of Ardscull, and plundered Castledermott and Athy.

On the way northward in the following year, he was encountered and defeated by the English under Sir John De Bermingham, afterwards Earl of Louth, at Faughard near the town of Dundalk, and his head, in accordance with the refinement of the age, was preserved in salt and presented to his Majesty.

The Annals of Loche Ce in recording the defeat of Bruce say that "no better deed was performed for the men of all Erinn since the beginning of the world, since the Fomorian race was expelled from Erinn, than this deed, for theft and famine and destruction of men occurred throughout Erinn during his time for the space of three years and a half; and people used to eat one another without doubt throughout Erinn." Rather hard on a crowned king of Ireland. In 1317 Sir John Darcy, Justiciary, had a grant of £100 towards his expenses in fighting O'Dempsey and O'Conor of Offaly, &c.

Fionn, after the departure of the Scots, took posses-

sion of and repaired Lea Castle, and some time later joined the Justiciary in attacking Lysagh O'More, who, having been entrusted by Lord Mortimer with the care of his estates in Leix, usurped the Lordship of the Clanna Rory, and cleared the territory of the English. Clyn, a palesman who wrote about this time, says, "He was a rich and powerful man and honoured among his own people. He expelled nearly all the English from his lands, and burned eight of their castles in one evening. He destroyed Roger Mortimer's noble fortress of Dunamase, and usurped the lordship of his own country. He was a servant, he became a lord; he was a subject, he became a prince." He was killed by his own servant in 1342.

In 1325 the king, on the recommendation of Sir John Darcy, Justiciary, orders the Treasurers and Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to pay £10 (b) to O'Dempsey for his expenses in fighting against "Lissagh O'Moyche and his accomplices." 1

In 1327 the Annalists record the death of Coilen O'Dempsey, probably a brother or uncle of Fionn's. Fionn died before 1329 and was succeeded by a son Malachy.

Malachy appears to have been regarded by the English as a "doubtful neighbour," and Sir John Darcy, thinking it well to get possession of the castle of Lea, negotiated for the surrender of the same, which was accordingly delivered up, and given into the custody of the Earl of Kildare to keep for the king.²

Some misunderstanding having arisen between Malachy

¹ Rymer.

² Grace.

and the earl in the same year (1329), he retook the castle 1 and ravaged the earl's lands. Hearing this, Darcy despatched Maurice FitzThomas (c), commander of the forces, who at this time happened to be at the head of an overwhelming force—10,000 men—to retake the castle.

Malachy, nothing daunted, marshalled his clansmen and advanced to the attack, but the battle was short and sharp, and Malachy, or Malahtlyn as Clyn calls him, was left on the field with 200 of his men. Dermod, his son, was now given the command, but this great slaughter, for a time, considerably weakened the power of the clan, which now numbered about 1000 warriors, more or less.

There were the horsemen, or Carrows, who "never would work"; rode with a brass bit, without stirrups, and whirled their spears round their heads as they galloped along. These were celebrated for their horsemanship, and were generally accompanied into the field by one or two grooms. An old writer says of them that "when they have no staie of their owne, they gad and range from house to house like Arrant Knights of the Round Table, and they never dismount till they ride into the hall and as farre as the table."

The Gallowglasses, or heavy armed infantry, wore iron helmets and coats of mail reaching to the knee. Had long swords by their sides, and in their right hands bore broad battle-axes, with very keen edges, by a single blow of which they often clove the skull of a warrior through his helmet.

The Kernes, or light infantry, were armed with javelins or darts, short swords, slings, and arrows, and were defended by a round shield or target of painted leather. Every two were attended by a servant who carried their arms, and, during an engagement, held their mantles. This garment Spencer characterises as "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." The Kernes, he says, drew a cross on the ground with their swords before a battle; and the clans marched clashing their swords and bucklers, and rushed on the foe with a wild cry—O'Diumusaigh Abu!

These warriors maintained by the chiefs up to the reign of James I. were remarkable for their agility, as the following little story will serve to show. It was told to Sir John Froissart, the French chronicler, by Henry Crystède, an English esquire, described as a very prudent man, agreeable, and speaking French well, bearing for arms a chevron gules on a field argent, with three besant 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 his treatise, "On Loves," to Richard II. "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 300 lances and 1000 archers to make war on the frontier of the Irish; for the English had kept up a constant warfare with them, in hopes of bringing

them under their subjection. The Earl of Ormonde, whose lands bordered on his opponent's, had that day mounted me on one of his best and fleetest steeds, and I rode by his side. The Irish having formed an ambuscade to surprise the English, advanced from it. commencing to 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 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 Brin Costerec, a very handsome man."

Brin no doubt was a lively gentleman, but not more so than hundreds of his fellows, for, as Sir John says, "a man of arms beying ever so well horsed. and ron as fast as he can, the Yrishman wyll ron afote as faste as he can and overtake hym. Yea.

and leap up upon his horse, and draw him from his horse."

For the support of the fighting men the chief levied a tax, or tribute, called by the English Coyne and Livery.

NOTES

- (a) O'Hart gives two pedigrees of the O'Dempseys. They are both the same. That of "the Lords of Clan Maliere" is as follows from 1 to 18. From this to 26 the names, which are a trifle mixed, are taken from "the Dempsey" pedigree, but are numbered as they should appear.
 - 1. Dimusach, son of Congal.
- 2. Flann: his son.
- 3. Cineth (by some called Thomas): his son.
- 4. Hugh: his son.
- 5. Conor: his son.
- 6. Moalughra: his son.
- 7. Corcran: his son.
- 8. Diumasach: his son.
- 9. Corcran (2): his son.
- 10. Flann: his son; in his time the family assumed the name of O'Dempsey. In the other pedigree he says he was the first Chief of Clan Maliere.
- 11. Hugh: his son.
- 12. Conbrogha: his son.
- 13. Dermod: his son.

- 14. Hugh: his son.
- 15. Coilen: his son, died s.p. had a brother named Fionn.
- 16. Maolseachlain (Melaghlin, or Malachy) son of the said
- Fionn.

 17. Fionn: his son.
- 18. Dermod: his son.
- 10. Fionn: his son.
- 20. Malachy: his son.
- 17. Fionn: his son.
- 21. Dermod: his son.
- 22. Maolmorra: his son.
- 23. Cahir: his son.
- 25. Hugh: his son.
- 24. Dermod: his son.
- 26. Terence: his son, ob. s.p. 1578.
- (b) This was a large sum at that time. In 1360 a knight received for his services two shillings a day; esq., one shilling; horseman, sixpence; footman, threepence.—M'Geoghegan's Hist. Ir.

(c) In this year (1329) for his services, Maurice FitzThomas, brother of John, Earl of Kildare, was created Baron of Lackagh, near Monasterevan, probably where the above battle was fought, and Earl of Desmond, titles now held by the Earl of Denbigh. The last Earl FitzGerald was attainted and executed in 1583. Maurice was the first of the English barons to adopt the tax called Coyne and Livery, in 1329. This they afterwards "used with such insolence," that several Acts were passed against it.

CHAPTER V

FROM 1329 TO 1490

DERMOD must have been quite a youth when he succeeded his father in 1329.

In 1339 he despatched a section of the clan on a predatory excursion into the pale. On the way they laid siege to Lea Castle, but were easily driven off by the earl. After collecting "a great prey," they started on the return, but before they had crossed the Barrow they were overtaken, the Book of Howth says, by "the gentlemen of Kildare," who, wonderful to relate, "followed them so valiantly" that several of them were drowned in the Barrow.

In April 1346 Dermod, assisted by O'Conor and O'More, attacked the English possessions, and on the same day took and dismantled the castles of Lea, Kilmead in Kildare, and Ballylehane in Leix.¹ Altogether a march back and forward of about fifty miles.

In the November following Lord Walter Bermingham, Justiciary, and the Earl of Kildare, having collected a great host, invaded Dermod and O'More and "attacked them so vigorously with fire, sword, and rapine, that although they amounted to many thousands, and made a resolute defence, yet after many wounds and great

slaughter, they were forced to yield and so submit to the king's mercy." ¹

It was doubtless in this engagement that Dermod was severely wounded by one Robert M'Maurice, an English soldier. Clyn says he (Dermicius) was killed, but the wish was probably father to the thought.

Encouraged by this success the English, under the command of the Lords Thomas Wogan and Walter L'Enfant invaded Clan Maliere in the succeeding year, but, being encountered near the Moat of Ardscull by O'Dempsey, they were compelled to retire with the loss of many of their men, after a brisk engagement, in which, according to Clyn, Dermod lost thirty men.

The English loss is not given; indeed it never by any chance is: but it must be remembered that in those days a conflict was like the Homeric battles, a series of duels. The spear, the sword, or the battle-axe, seldom failed to make a hit; and the Irish enemies, judging by the various ways and means adopted for keeping them at arm's length, did not always fare the worst. On one occasion, having "rudely interrupted" the deliberations of a parliament being held at Castledermott under the presidency of the Earl of Ormond, they had to be bought off with 100 marks. There being only nine in the treasury, the balance had to be supplied by the townsmen and legislators, who gave beds and bedding, horses, furniture, and small sums of money.2 after we read a mint was established here. In 1344 the Seneschal of the Liberty of Kildare was commanded to proclaim that no person should aid the Irish enemies

¹ Pembridge's Anls., in Camden.

² Bagwell's Hist. Ir.

with victuals, horses, or arms; that one peace and one war should prevail throughout the land, and that each adjacent county should aid whichever was harassed by the said Irish enemies. The Earl of Kildare, under pain of forfeiture, was also commanded to strengthen his castles in this neighbourhood; and in 1356 Edward III. directed his mandate to Thomas Gifford, Bishop of Kildare, on the petition of the palesmen of the diocese, to no longer delay to make solemn and public excommunication of "the Conghors and Dymsys," who were in the habit of invading them "with standards unfurled and great crowds of accomplices." 1

This could have had but little effect on the Conghors and Dymsys who, with good reason, regarded the clergy and laity of the pale most impartially. However, in 1368 Maurice FitzThomas, Earl of Kildare, brought to the king's peace Faly and Thomas, sons of Shane O'Dempsey; and in an indenture made between the parties and dated the feast of St. Barnabas, "David, son of Melaughlyn" is mentioned.²

This David was probably a brother of the chief, who, with O'More and O'Conor, some time later, made peace with the king's deputy.

Ignoring this, the English of Kildare and Carlow in 1374 invaded Dermod and O'More, who, in return, wasted the pale, took the town of Athy, which, as well as the priory, they pillaged and burned nearly to the ground. In April 1376 Maurice FitzThomas, Earl of Kildare, was empowered to inquire on oath in Kildare and Carlow, as to who violated the peace between the

¹ Dr. Comerford. ² Leinster MSS. Hist. MSS. Report.

king and "Omorthe de Leys, Odymcy, et O'Conghor de Offaly": to arrest the delinquents and keep them in custody, &c. (Pat. Edw. III.).

In this year also, Bebhyn, daughter of Donal O'Dunne. Chief of Iregan (a), and wife of O'Dempsey, died; and in 1383 Dermod O'Dempsey, Lord of Clan Maliere, was killed in an engagement by the English.1

Dermod was succeeded by a son, Maolmordha (Anglice, Malmorev or Myles), who carried on the war with the English with some success. In 1300 the Earl of Kildare was commanded to lodge in Dublin Castle for greater security his nephew. Conor, son of Donogh, or Donal O'Dempsey, the king's Irish enemy detained in the castle of Kildare.2 In 1302 the Annals record the death of the aforesaid Donal.

In 1304, when Richard II. landed at the head of 34,000 men, Malmorey, along with other chiefs, was invited to make his submission; and at the Monastery of the Friars Preachers at Drogheda the Book of Howth states "Art O'Dempsey of Leinster" was received with a rope about his neck, but this must be a mistake for Art M'Murrough, who, as the descendant of Dermod. claimed the Lordship of Leinster.

Art, riding without a saddle, on a horse of extraordinary swiftness, valued at 400 cows (for the cow was the unit of value in Ireland then), and wielding a long javelin which was hurled with such force as to pierce a steel cuirass, may be taken to represent the typical Irish chieftain of this time.

It is doubtful if any of the Offalians answered Richard's

¹ Four MM.

² Pat. Ed. III.

summons, as a division of the Royal Army having invaded the territory was routed with great loss at the Pass of Croghan, sixty horses being taken in the engagement. Thomas, Tanist of Clan Maliere, was slain on this occasion, some say at his own house, also Hugh O'Dempsey, who, the Annals say, "was in pursuit of a prey."

After Richard's departure, the Leinster chiefs uniting their forces, routed the English at the battle of Kellistown, Co. Carlow, and slew Roger Mortimer, the Viceroy, who was found after the battle disguised as a hobbler, or English horseman.²

In 1403 O'Dempsey ravaged the English possessions and in an engagement that ensued, Cathal, who succeeded his brother as Tanist, was slain, "and the people report," say the Annals of Loche Ce, "that his prowess and bounty were great."

"Brian O'Diumusaigh, his own brother, was slain before the end of a month afterwards; Fedlimidh (Phelim) O'Diumusaigh was also slain." In 1407 the same Annals record the death of "Maolmordha O'Diumusaigh, King of Clann Maolughra." His death is also recorded in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

Malmorey was succeeded by a son Cahir, or Charles of Ballybrittas. O'Heerin, who wrote about this time, thus refers to this chief:—

"The Clann Maolughra over every tribe
Noble the degree of their race
A smooth plain this sept have defended
The land is hereditary to O'Diumusaigh."

¹ Hist. Ir.

In 1410 Muirchertach (Murtagh, or Maurice) O'Dempsey died.¹

In 1414 Cahir, assisted by Gillapatrick O'More, stormed the castle of Lea, and, after establishing a garrison there, marched to invade the pale.

Thomas Cranly, Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord-lieutenant, being obliged to take the field in person, advanced at the head of the English as far as Castle-dermott, where he was met by the Earl of Kildare, to whom he gave the command of the troops. After exhorting them to do good service on the enemy, and promising that while they were absent against the Amalekites, he, like Moses of old, would be praying for their victory, he sent them forward.²

On the banks of the Greese River, not far from Kilkea Castle, and about three miles from Castledermott, the two armies met and a fierce battle ensued. Victory, for a long time doubtful, at length declared in favour of the English, who, being reinforced by the palesmen of the surrounding district, and doubtless inspired by the archbishop's prayers, obliged the Irish to retire with the loss of 100 men. The English loss is not given, but it must have been as great, if not greater. Marlborough, in recording this event, says, "The English slue of the Omordis and Odempsies, near to Kilka, Thomas Crawly, Archbishop of Dublin, then Lordlieutenant, praying in procession with his clergy, and the English with the help of those of the country slue 100 of the Irish enemies." A field to the south of

¹ Annals of Loch Ce.

² Art M'Murrough, by Darcy M'Gee.

Kilkea Castle is thought to have been the scene of this engagement.

But this was little better than a moral victory, though the archbishop had a solemn *Te Deum* chanted in its honour at Castledermott, for O'Dempsey held Lea Castle until 1421, when, after the defeat of "O'More and his terrible army" at the Red Bog of Athy, the Earl of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant, having invaded the territory, recovered the castle, and placed the Earl of Kildare in possession.

In the same year Campion records that "O'Dempsye being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the injury of the Earl of Kildare, intruding unjustly upon the castle of Lea, from whence the said deputy (Ormond) had just expelled him and put the earl in possession thereof," extending his charge, he says that "notwithstanding their oaths and pledges they are no longer true than when they feel themselves the weaker." Moore remarks on this passage (Hist. Ir.), that supposing this accusation to be well founded, we may, with but too much truth, answer, or rather retort on the part of the Irish, that it was only surpassed by the still grosser perfidy of those with whom they had to deal.

Cahir, immediately on getting possession of the castle, in company with O'Dunne, ravaged the pale and sacked Kilkea. Some say he was defeated by the Earl of Kildare, surnamed Shane Cam, or hunchback John, but this probably refers to the battle in 1414, as Cahir apparently held Lea until his death in 1445. In that year, according to the Annals of D.F., Trinity Coll. Libr., "O'Dempsey, King of Clan Maolughra, died."

This chief was succeeded by a son, Dermod, who appears to have enjoyed a comparatively peaceful reign, which may be accounted for by the fact that the clan had now recovered all, or nearly all, their ancient lands. In fact the English possessions, or pale, which formerly included a good part of East and West Offalv, had now shifted to within a few miles of the town of Kilcullen. Early in the reign of Henry VIII. it is described as "stretching from the town of Dundalk, to the town of Darver, to the town of Ardee, always on the left side, leaving the marches on the right side, and so to the town of Sydan, to the town of Kells, to the town of Dangan, to Kilcock, to the town of Clane, to the town of Naas, to the bridge of Kilcullen, to the town of Ballymote, and so backward to the town of Rathmore, to the town of Rathcoole, to the town of Tallaght, and to the town of Dalkey, leaving always the marches on the right hand, from the said Dundalk, following the same course to the said town of Dalkey." This would leave the pale to have shifted some eight miles away, and about two miles outside the Offaly of the first Dermod's time.

To secure what remained it was enacted by a parliament held at Drogheda that every inhabitant of the marches or inland borders of Kildare, &c., should, under a penalty of 40s., make and maintain a "double ditch of six feet above ground, at one end which meareth next unto Irishmen," the landlord forgiving a year's rent in consideration.1

The earthen ditch or rampart of the pale may still be traced for the length of about a mile, between Clane and Clongoweswood College, and again in the parish of Kilcock.

Outside this "force was law and might was right." The settlers purchased peace by buying off invasions, and paying to the chiefs a tax, or tribute, called Black Rent, which now altogether amounted to the considerable sum of £740.

That the "English Rebels" were in nowise backward in demanding their share, is evident from a letter addressed by the chief persons in the County Kildare in 1454, to "Our Righte hve and myghty Prince and our righte gracious lorde, Richard, Duke of York." This document states that "this lande of Irland was nevvr at the poynt fynally to be destroyed sithence the conquest of this lande, as it now is, for the trew liege people in this partiss dar not appier to the Kinges our said Soveraign lordes Courtes in the said lande . . . for dred to be slavne." William Butler, cousin of the Earl of Ormond, and Edmund Butler, cousin-german to the said earl, "with the sequelle of which the most partie was Irish enemyes came into the said County Kildare. and ther brandt an destroyed dyvers and many Townes and Paroche Chirches of the trew liege people . . . also the said William Bottiler after ther destruccione so done assessed upon small villages and Townes in the said Countie, certain sommes of money to be reryed according to his will, be cause of which he and his men rerved in dyvers of the said villages great and notable sommes of money, and in dyvers villages toke all the plow bestes and other bestes of the said villages, and the most sufficiaunts husbandes and held tham his prisoners, and ostages ther, to that ende that the might make fyne and raunsom with him."

Even the earl himself was not above suspicion. A complaint from the Parliament of Ireland to Henry VI. states "afore this time when the said earl stood your Lieutenant he took the Prior of Cullen, one of the Lords of your Parliament here, and sent him to O'Dempsey's castle that is an Irishman, and your enemy, the which put him in great duresse of prison and ransomed him at 100 marks without any reason or cause." 1

Whatever doubts we may have about the earl sharing the "swag." there can be none whatever as to the prior suffering great duresse, as these priors were renowned warriors, whose favourite weapon was the mace, for as one writer remarks, though their priestly vows forbade the shedding of blood, it said not a word about the dashing out of brains.

One of the chief accusers of the earl, who was lodged in the Tower of London, was a kinsman of his own-Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham, afterwards created Earl Kilmain—who having likewise impeached him of high treason, the earl appealed to arms, and a day was appointed to settle the quarrel by combat. Meanwhile Ormond obtained permission to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield, "for his breathing and more ease," and likewise in order to prepare and train himself for the fight; while the warlike prior employed the interval in learning certain "points of arms," from one Philip Treherne, a London fishmonger, whom the king paid to instruct him. The parties met,

¹ State Papers.

it appears, on the ground, but were prevented from proceeding to extremities by the interposition of the king.

In 1452 the earl, then Lord Justice, took Lea Castle from O'Dempsey, who permitted him to pass through the territory to Airem, or Irry, to rescue Bermingham's son, who was imprisoned there by the M'Donnells.¹

In 1455 Cahir, son of Murrough O'Conor Faly, was slain by Tiege, son of Calvagh O'Conor, and Coilen O'Dempsey was slain by him on the same day.²

In 1463 another Coilen O'Dempsey was slain by the English.

In 1489 Ross, son of Oweny O'More (b), chief of his sept, was slain by Cahir, son of Lysagh, and grandson of Cahir O'Dempsey. In the same year, according to Ware, Bibiana, widow of Malroney O'Carrol (c), and daughter of O'Dempsey, founded a Franciscan monastery at Roscrea. And, according to Burke, Conal, son of Malachy O'More, Chief of Leix, married a daughter of Cahir O'Dempsey.

In 1490 John Alleyn, Dean of St. Patrick's, complains to Pope Innocent VIII. of Milo Roche, Bishop of Leighlin, James De Lupe, alias Wolfe, an Irish captain, and Dermott and Charles O'Dympcy, who had usurped (?) and still retained his lands and tithes.⁸ The dean had his chief territory in O'Kelly's country, in Clan Maliere, five or six miles north of Athy, namely, the Rectories of Kilberry, Cloney, Bert, &c.; and the Lordship and

¹ Four MM. ² Idem.

³ Monk Mason: History of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Manor of Kilberry. Here there were a monastery, church, and two castles, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

The bishop and Wolfe probably held these lands from Dermott.

NOTES

(a) O'Donovan, in the Four MM., sub anno 1448, gives the pedigree of this Donogh, or Donal, back to Cahir More as given by M'Firbis. He was ancestor of the Dunnes of Brittas, &c., and Doynes of Wells, Co. Wexford (see Burke).

O'Heerin thus writes of O'Dunne:-

"Over the Hy Regan of the heavy onslaughts A vigorous band who rout in battle Rules O'Dunne, chief of demolition, Hero of the golden battle-spears."

Tiege Oge O'Dunne, the last chief of the sept, married, about the year 1570, Margaret, grand-daughter of Con O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and died in 1637, leaving a son and heir, Edward. O'Donovan traced the descent of the Dunnes of Brittas, who still hold about 10,000 acres of their ancient lands in the barony of Tinnahinch, for the late Right Hon. F. P. Dunne, from Cathaeir More.

(b) This Oweny had another son, Malachy, who died in 1486. Near the old Abbey of Leix (Abbeyleix), founded by Cucogher O'More in 1183, a large box tombstone has the following inscription in Gothic lettering around the margin, translated from the Latin: "Malachy O'More, Prince of Leix. May he rest in peace. Amen. 1486," Malachy, by his wife, daughter of Con O'Neill of Tyrone, was father of the above Conal, who had a son, Lysagh, whose son Murtagh was slain at Mullaghmast. Rory Caoch, another son, married Margaret Butler, grand-daughter of the eighth Earl of Ormond (who remarried with Sir Maurice FitzGerald of Lackagh), and had a son and heir, Callough, or Charles, ancestor of the O'Mores of Balyna, who had

grants of land in that neighbourhood "in consideration of the good services rendered to Edward VI." Rory Oge, brother of Charles, was father (by his wife, sister of Fiach M'Hugh O'Byrne) of Oweny M'Rory, the last Chief of Leix. A portrait of this chief's father (Rory Oge) is given in O'Grady's edition of the Pacata Hibernia. In 1607 the clan was transported to Tarbert, in Kerry.

(c) Malroney, surnamed "na Feisoge," or "of the Beard," son of Tiege O'Carrol and Joan, daughter of the second Earl of Ormond, had by the above lady a son Shane or John, Chief of Ely O Carrol, and a daughter Catherine married Sir Edmund Butler of Polestown. Tiege,

great-grandson of John, was created Baron of Ely in 1552.

CHAPTER VI

CONQUEST OF CLAN MALIERE

DERMOD, whose death is unrecorded, was succeeded by a son, Hugh, of Logyne. Early in his reign, and soon after the introduction of firearms (a), the English began to think of the conquest, or "reformation," of Ireland. And in 1515, by royal command, a report on the state of the country was prepared by Patrick Finglas, Baron of the Exchequer.

From "estimacions and descriptions" the land was reckoned as large as England. The maritime counties, from Louth to Wexford, and one inland County, Kildare, partially acknowledged English law. Sixty chiefs of the old blood and thirty great captains of the noble English folk "that keepeth the same Irish order and obeyeth the same rule," held the land, living by the sword.

After describing the state of the country it proceeds to give "the chief regions and countries and the chief Irish captains of Ireland," whereof "some call themselves kings, some king's peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that live only by the sword, and obey no other temporal person but him that is strong." The chiefs assumed the right of making peace and war at their own pleasure; and the clans,

¹ Given in the State Papers.

it appears, were not always in accord with their nominal lord, "but commonly rebelleth always against their chief captain," whose will was supreme in so far as it accorded with that of the sept, or clan.

In Leinster, not including Meath, the chief regions and countries and the chief Irish captains were: "M'Morgho of Idrone (M'Murrough Cavanagh); O'Byrne of Krybranagh; O'Toyll of Imayle; O'Nolan of Foghyrde; M'Gylpatrick of Ossory; O'More of Lex; O'Conor of Faly; O'Dempsey of Clynvalyry; O'Doyne of Iryisane." "The son of any of these captains," it adds, "shall not succeed the father, except he be the strongest of all his nation."

It was now resolved to gradually reduce these regions and countries, and Leix, Offaly, Clan Maliere, and Iregan being in many respects the most important, the idea was first tried on them.

In 1520 the Earl of Surrey came over as lord-lieutenant with 1100 horse and foot, and in 1521, on the pretence that the Irish had invaded the pale, marched into Leix and Clan Maliere, accompanied by Thomas Tue, Mayor of Dublin, and a "choice body of citizens." The Irish divided their forces, and attacked the carriages and baggage with such effect that the lord-lieutenant's soldiers fled, and "he himself escaped an imminent danger, for a sturdy rebel shot at him, and struck the vizor off his helmet without further damage. The fellow was seized and hewed to pieces, refusing to take quarter."

Having recovered Lea Castle then, they say, in possession of O'Dempsey, he turned his arms into Offaly,

took the Monastery of Monasterfeoris, on the borders. and carried off great spoils.1

In 1523 the Earl of Kildare, who was placed in possession of Lea Castle, and had a grant of all the lands he could reconquer from the Irish, again invaded the district, accompanied by John FitzSimons, Mayor of Dublin, but after burning a few villages he was attacked by the Irish, lost many of his men, and with difficulty made his retreat.2

For some time after this, owing principally to the Geraldine rebellion (b), the Irish were left to quarrel among themselves.

In 1534 Turlough Duv O'Dempsey was treacherously slain by his own kinsman Murtagh Oge, who, though he was under the protection of God and St. Evan, himself was slain soon after by O'More through the mercy of God and St. Evan.8

In 1537 the English resumed operations on a large scale. In this year Lord-deputy Leonard Grey, taking provisions for a fourteen days' campaign, marched into Offaly, accompanied by Sir William Brabazon, the Vice-Treasurer, and Sir Gerald Aylmer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. And attended by the Lords Delvin, Slane, and Kileen. After storming Brackland Castle and giving it into the hands of Cahir, brother of Brian O'Conor Faly, who sided with the English, they penetrated under the guidance of Lord Delvin (who when lord-deputy was taken prisoner by O'Conor) to a spot where "no English host had ever been known to enter." Here laying siege to Dangean they demolished the

¹ Harris, Hist, of Dublin. 2 Idem. ³ Four MM.

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castle, leaving only a small corner of it standing, "to the intent," as the lord-deputy expresses it, "that the Irish might see to what purpose their castles served." Cahir, brother of O'Conor Faly, was rewarded for his treachery by having the government of the territory committed to his care, and it was proposed to create him Baron of Offaly, as the "Irish would so hate him afterwards that he would have but little comfort of them, and so must look to the king's subjects for protection."

The deputy, after attacking O'Dempsey and dismantling Cloneygowan Castle, marched to Killeigh, plundered the church, and carried away a pair of organs and other articles for the King's College. In return the Offalians wasted the pale, burned Kildare, and rifled the castle of horses and cattle put there for refuge.

However, after a few more "hostings" or plundering expeditions of the above kind, the Irish, seeing that they could offer but little resistance to such overwhelming numbers, professed themselves willing to treat. The English were agreeable, though at first nothing less than "the extirpation and totall destruction of all the Irishmen of the land" would suffice.

The lord-deputy and council, in a letter to the king in 1540, says that this would be "a marvaillous sumptuous charge and great difficultie, considering both the lack of inhabitors and the great hardness and misery these Irishmen can endure both of hongre, colde, thurst, and evil lodging more than the inhabitantes of any other land," and "by president of the conquest of this lande,"

they proceed, "we have not hard or redde in any Cronycle that at such conquest the hole inhabitantes have been utterly extirped and banished. Wherefore we think the easiest way and least charge were to take such as have not heynously offended to a reasonable submission."

In 1542, in accordance with this policy, the Lord-deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, "took pledges from O'More's son, Tiege O'Doyne, or rather O'Dunne, O'Dempsey, and O'Conor." 1

Pretending that these had been broken in 1546, Sir Anthony again attacked the Irish, who, to create a diversion, marched to Athy, stormed and burned the town and monasteries and put the inhabitants to the sword. On this Sir William Brabazon, Lord Justice, took the field a second time, and remained fifteen days plundering monasteries and churches and spoiling crops and corn. At Daingean or Philipstown he left 400 men to oppose O'Conor, including 100 gunners; the new fort at Maryboro was garrisoned to oppose O'More; while the castle of Tinnahinch was garrisoned and fortified to oppose O'Dempsey and O'Dunne, also Lea Castle, which was given in charge to James FitzGerald of Osbertstown.

The following quaint description of Tinnahinch, which belonged to O'Dunne, gives us a fair idea of what the minor castles of those days were like: "The castle of Tinahinsie, the hall, the chambers at the end of the hall, the stone wall of an hall which joineth to the castle, the kitchen, the brew-house, the backe-house

¹ State Papers.

⁹ Four MM.

(bakehouse), the stables, the porter's lodgings, and all the houses within the Bawn, the two gardens, the four orchards, the park, and the meadowe on the south side of the castle, the myll and all the houses on the east side of the river of the Barrow in the town and fields of Tinahinsie, in the territory of Iregan."

The state to which the territories of O'More and O'Conor Falv were now reduced moved these chiefs to submit, and in 1548 they went to England with Sir Francis Bryan, Governor of Maryboro, "at the King's mercy," but were confined in the Tower of London, and their lands granted to Bryan and his kinsmen.1 As Clanmaliere and Iregan lay between the territories of O'More and O'Conor Faly they suffered much less from the English invasions, and O'Dempsey and O'Dunne still held out, retook Lea Castle, and besieged Tinnahinch. Francis Cosby and Oweny M'Hugh O'Byrne were sent at the head of a considerable force of the royal kerne to the relief of the castle, but they refused to go beyond Lea Castle, saying that "if Captain Cosby wanted wilfully to lose his life, they did not set so little by their lives," wild and all as they were.

The Earl of Sussex, Lord-deputy, soon after invaded the territory, and recovered Lea Castle; and in 1552, and the following years, nearly the whole of Clanmaliere, as appears from the patents of Edward VI., was granted on lease to various "English subjects." These grants included Cloneygowan, which contained "a broken castle," Ballybrittas, &c., but, needless to say, they were never taken advantage of. In an Inquisi-

tion taken in this reign the "Manor of Clonaguanie" is described.

In 1556 the Act 3rd and 4th, Philip and Mary, was passed, which entitled "the King and Queen's Majesties, and the Heires and Successors of the Queen . . . to the countries of Leixe, Slewmarge (c), Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily."

And "forasmuch," it recites, "as the O'Mores. O'Dempsies. O'Conors, and others of the Irishry, lately inhabiting the countries of Leixe, Slewmarge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily, and by their sundry manifest treasons after many pardons granted to them and sundry benefits showed to them, yet often rebelled, committing great hurts to the King and Queen's Majesties' most loving subjects, by the which they provoked the most worthy prince, King Edward the sixt, brother to our saide soveraign ladye the Queen's Majestie to use his power against them, who at length to his great charge did subdue the said Irish enemies. or rebelles, bringing into his possession the countryes aforesaid, sithence in them the said O'Mores, O'Conors, O'Dempsies, and others of the said Irishry, have trayterously contrary to their bounden duties, by force entered the said countries, and them so did hold against the King and Queen's Majesties, unto such time as their Majesties, by the diligent and painful travail of the right honourable, the earl of Sussex, their Majesties' Lord Deputy in Ireland, by the sword evicted and reduced the said countries out of and from the wrongful and usurped (?) possession of the said Irish enemies or rebelles, as of right appertayneth, and for that, that nevther of the said countries is known to be within the limits of any shire, or counties of the realm;" it enacts that, "the said King and Queen's Majesties, and the Heires and Successors of the said Oueen, shall have. hold, and possess for ever as in right of the Crown of England and Ireland, the said countries of Leixe, Slewmarge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily . . . and the countries of Leixe. Slewmarge, Irry, and such portion of Glinmalvre, as standeth, and is scituate of that side of the river Barrow whereupon . . . Mary Burgh standeth . . . bee from the first day of this Parliament, one Shire, or Countie, named, known, and called Oueen's Countie, and bee it also enacted that the new fort in Offaily bee from henceforth for ever called and named Phillipston, and that the said countrie of Offaily, and such part of the said Glinmaliry, as standeth and is scituateth of that side of the river Barrow . . . bee named, known and called the King's Countie."

According to an old map of Leix and Offaly drawn about this time, copies of which are preserved in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phœnix Park, and Trinity College Library, Clanmaliere only included the present baronies of Upper Philipstown in King's County and Portnahinch in Queen's, but according to the State Papers, and Inquisitions, &c., it also included a good part of West Offaly, and Narragh and Rheban in Kildare (d).

On the above map, O'Donovan says, the castles o Ballykeane, Raheen, Kilcooney, and Cloneygowan are placed in Clanmaliere North. Those of Lea, Tennechelly, Ballybrittas, Morett, Coolbanagher, and Shane in South Clanmaliere. On this side the territory was bounded by the Great Heath of Maryboro, which on this map is marked *Frig Mor*.

The following churches, or chapels, were in the territory at this time. In Southern Clanmaliere, now the barony of Portnahinch—Coolbanagher, Portnahinch, Emo, Ballyadan, Kilmolahy, or Kilmalaghah, now Kilmullen, Tyrchogir, or Tierogar, and Kilmalogue. In Northern Clanmaliere, now Upper Philipstown—Cloneyhurk, Ballinakill, Ballintemple, Urney, or Nurney, and Ballykean. In Clanmaliere east, now the barony of West Offaly, Co. Kildare—Nurny, Ballybrackin Ballyhoury, Kildangan, Derrylea, Glenmagho, and Braclone. The remains of some of these are still to be seen.

The Act quoted revoked all the grants previously made, except those to Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, whose rights are expressly reserved: "Provided always that this Act or anything conteyned, shall not in any wise be prejudicial or hurtful to any letters pattents made and graunted unto Gerald, now Earl of Kildare, and to his heyres by our said soveraign lady the Queen; or by her Highness' late brother, King Edward the sixth, of any honnours, mannours, lands, tenements, preheminences, dignities, privileges, jurisdictions, and other hereditaments whatsoever within this realm of Ireland, but that the said Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and his heyres, shall and may enjoy and hold all and singular the said honours, &c., &c., as if this Act had not been made, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding." This Gerald had large grants

of land in Clanmaliere and Offaly, including the castles of Morett and Geishall. In 1585 he assigned his lands of Morett, Timogue, &c., containing 2745 acres, to Gerald FitzGerald, his son, ancestor of the FitzGeralds of Morett and Timogue.

In 1572 the lord-deputy was empowered to restore Sir Maurice FitzGerald of Lackagh, who had a grant of "the bridge of Belan with boats and lands belonging in O'Dempsey's country"; Gerald FitzPhilip Fitz-Gerald of Allen, and other English subjects in County Kildare, to their possessions in Clanmaliere.

The "Irishry" might well have been pardoned if they failed to see the benefit of these grants, nor can they be blamed if "contrary to their bounden duty" they again "by force entered the said countries and them so did hold against the King and Queen's Majesties." Unhappily the English sowed such strife between them that, as was said of the Geraldines some time before, "they long after continued full of war and debate, the one destroying the other." O More (Rory Caoch, i.e. the blind or one-eyed), having sided with the English, was slain in battle by his brother Patrick, aided by the O'Conors: 1 and in 1558 "the son of O'Conor Faly, i.e. Donal, son of Bryan, son of Cahir, son of Conor, son of Calvagh (e), fell in an encounter with Owenv the son of Hugh O'Dempsey.2 Oweny, Tanist of his sept, was at the head of the clan at this time, as the chief seems to have been a very old man.

In 1560 Sir Henry Radcliffe, Kt., brother to the

1 Inq. Leinster.

2 Four MM.

Earl of Sussex, and lieutenant of King's and Queen's Counties, lately called Leix, Slewmargy, Glenmaliry, &c., being commissioned to treat with the Irish of the said countries, obtained from them a consent to hold their lands from the queen by letters patent.

O'Dempsey obtained letters patent for, or a regrant of the following: "Grant to Hugh M'Dermod O'Dempsey of Logyne, of the lands of Logyne, Megog and Gurtyn, and the moiety of Great Kynester and Little Kynester, and Kylnecourt, Queen's County." This grant was made under authority of the queen's instructions to the Earl of Sussex, dated at Westminster, July 4, 1552. Under the instructions the vearly rents reserved are for the first seven years, for every acre twopence, and after that for ever threepence.

The conditions were "that he should attend when called on with the greater part of his servants and tenants armed, with victuals for three days for the defence of the country, and after seven years to attend all hostings. To maintain one English horseman. To give one plough day for every plough on his land. lord-lieutenant to have power to take as much underwood as may be required for buildings in the county. Grantee not to use the Brehon laws against any subject answerable to the laws of the kingdom. His sons and principal servants to use the English language (f), dress, and rule as far as they reasonably can. Grantee to appear before the governor or sheriff of the county annually on the 1st September, with all the men under his government between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

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who bear arms, and deliver their names, answering for their deeds during the year, or in default to give satisfaction. He shall not maintain any man of Irish blood accustomed to bear arms born outside of the county without licence of the constable, and a majority of the free tenants of the county. He shall keep open or closed all fords on his lands, as the constable shall appoint, shall not destroy any castle, bridge, pavement, or togher, except fords adjoining the Irish country. Grantee not to receive pay to attend any one, or assist in incursions. All women having dower or jointure out of the lands to be bound to the same conditions. No alienations to be made except of one third for life to younger sons. Grantee not to marry any person of Irish birth, born outside the county; and not to suffer coyn or other exactions to be taken by outside persons. Reservation to the lord-lieutenant of power to alter watercourses." 1

In 1563 Hugh M'Dermod died and left three sons:

- Oweny, or Oweny M'Hugh, who succeeded his father.
- 2. Terence, died s.p.
- 3. Dermod, variously styled Dermod Ruadh, or Roe (i.e. red); Dermod Oge, or the younger; and Dermod Ower, or the pale. Red head and pale face.

¹ Fiants Elizabeth.

(a) To this event is attributed the downfall of the tribal system. In 1489 Lord-deputy Kildare is said to have received a present of six muskets, "made in Germany." These were used by the guards, who stood before his house in Thomas Street. The first cannon introduced was employed by the same earl in besieging Bileragh, a castle of M'Geoghan's.

(b) The ninth Earl of Kildare, being charged with treason, repaired to England in 1534, and deputed his son, Lord Thomas, called the Silken Knight, to act as deputy in his stead. Stung by a report that his father was beheaded, he flung down the Sword of State at a meeting of the council in St. Mary's Abbey, and took the field, but afterwards surrendered on promise of pardon. Before this his father died of grief in the Tower, and his five uncles, treacherously seized at a banquet, were carried over to London, where all-uncles and nephew-were beheaded in 1537. Elizabeth, sister of Lord Thomas, was the "Fair Geraldine" whose beauty Lord Surrey, one of the earliest English poets, celebrated in his Sonnets. Gerald, half-brother of Thomas, was carried to Rome by Dr. Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, and returning in the reign of Queen Mary, was restored to the estates and titles. This eleventh earl married, first, Miss Ellinor O'Kelly of Timogue, who died at Florence, but the children of this marriage were afterwards declared illegitimate, because, it is said, the ceremony was performed by Dr. Leverous. He married, secondly, Mabel, daughter of Sir Anthony

by a cousin, Gerald, fourteenth earl.

(c) Slievemargie and the neighbourhood belonged to the O'Gormans, but being dispossessed by the English, they removed to Hy Brecan in Thomond, shortly after the English invasion. Irry, partly in Iregan, and partly in Clanmaliere, was inhabited by the M'Donnells of Tinnakill, a branch of the M'Donnells of Antrim. They seem to have settled here at the latter end of the fourteenth century and paid tribute to O'Dempsey and O'Dunn. Hugh Boy M'Donnell, a great leader of gallowglasses, and chief of the sept, was one of the principal gents in Queen's County in 1599. His grandson James had a patent for the cantred (thirty townlands); took part in the Rebellion of '41; forfeited all his estates, and died in London in 1661.

Browne and was father of Gerald; Henry, twelfth earl; and William, the thirteenth earl, who was drowned at sea in 1599, and was succeeded

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- (d) Perhaps these were "Crown lands." Up to O'Donovan's time parts of East and West Offaly were included in the barony of Upper Philipstown.
- (e) Calvagh was son of Murrough O'Conor Faly, surnamed na madhman, or of the defeats, who founded in 1393 the Franciscan friary at Killeigh. O'Heerin thus writes of O'Conor:—

"Lord of Offaly, of the cattle abounding land, A fact not unknown to poets, Is O'Conor, hero of the plain Of the green smooth hill of Croghan."

O'Conor's castle lies in ruins immediately to the south-west of the hill celebrated in Spenser's "Faerie Queen." Murrough was interred in the monastery he founded, in 1421, and was succeeded by a son, Calvagh More, who married Margaret, daughter of Thady O'Carrol, and Ioan, daughter of the second Earl of Ormond. This Margaret, M'Firbis informs us, gave two great feasts every year, one at Killeigh and the other at Rathangan, to all persons, both Irish and Scotch, whereunto gathered to receive gifts of meat and money the number of 2700, including gamesters and poor persons. Margaret sat on the garrets of the Church of Killeigh "clad in cloth of gould," with Calvagh himself on horseback, with the clergy and Brehons about him. Calvagh died in 1458, leaving by this lady (ob. 1451), a son, Phelim, Tanist, who died of a decline an hour after his mother, and another son, Conor, who succeeded his father, and died in 1474. He was father of Cahir (slain 1511), whose son Brian was the last chief of Offaly. He married Lady Mary, daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare and sister of Silken Thomas, and left issue. After his time the territory, or that part which remained in possession of the sept, was divided between different branches, whose endless feuds materially hastened their downfall. Cox relates that in 1583 Conor M'Cormac, grandson of Brian, accused Tiege M'Gillapatrick of killing his men, they being under the protection of the English. This Tiege denied, and challenged his opponent to single combat. Next day the two met in the inner court of Dublin Castle. before the Lords Justices, Archbishop Loftus, and Sir Henry Wallop, and a large crowd of spectators. At the sound of the trumpet the contest began with sword and target, but Tiege, being strongest, stunned Conor with a blow, struck off his head with his own sword, and presented it on the point to Adam Loftus.

(f) Few if any of the Irish chiefs at this time, and for more than

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half a century after, spoke English, though they were good Latin scholars. John Lye, or Lee, of Rathbride, was the State interpreter or dragoman in this neighbourhood. His tombstone is still to be seen at Kildare. He got large grants of land for his services as well as a shilling a day fee. He was also a "messenger into dangerous places," and either he or his son received the thanks of Queen Elizabeth for leading the English cavalry from Birr to Athy, through the forests of Iregan.

The everyday dress of a chief consisted of a tight-fitting garment called a *trowse*, that comprised in one piece, "britches, stockings and socks, or sandals," a three-cornered mantle of coloured velvet or satin, richly ornamented and fastened at the shoulder by a large ornamented pin; and a bonnet and plume.

St. Leger, writing to the king (Henry VIII.), thus describes the dress of O'Donnell: "A coat of crimson velvet, with aiglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair; over that a great double cloak of crimson satin, bordered with black velvet, and in his bonnet a feather set full of aiglets of gold."

CHAPTER VII

REGRANTS, ETC.

In 1562 Oweny M'Hugh received a pardon, as did several of his clansmen, namely: "Kedagh MacOne, Lisagh MacOne, William O'Dolaine, Dermot FitzJames, Brian M'Shane, Girald MacShane, Kahir MacHue, Thady MacDonil, Dermot MacDonil, Thady duff O'Kellie, Hugh rowe O'Kellie, Cornelius O'Doran, Owen M'Felym riough, Redmond O'Ouyne, Hugh M'Nale, William MacBrian, Donogh MacBrian, Walter O'Doran, Calough MacOne, James Boy, Donogh MacJames, Cornelius MacWilliam, Morghe MacHue, Philip Kaiett, Fyne MacGillypadrick, Gillypadrick MacEdmund Boy, Davyd O'Kellie, Edmund M'Tiege, Thady O'Foraine, William MacHue, Dermott MacHue MacBrian, Shane O'Rachaine, William MacDowill, Donogh MacKey, Tirrelagh O'Dorrane, Rory MacMorghe, Dermod Oge O'Dempsey, Patrick Oge, Edmund MacTiege, Shane O'Horgan, Arthur MacHey, and Patrick MacDonowle."

In 1563 Oweny M'Hugh received a "grant" of the following: "The castle of Clonigawnaghe (Cloneygowan), King's County, the lands of Clonigawnaghe, Rahynaghirrin (Rahinakeerin), Kylclonbrennan, Ballyentample, Ballynakille, Ballynichille, Rathfianstone, Ballyegowe,

¹ The grants, commissions, &c., in this and the next chapter are taken from the Fiants of Elizabeth.

Gurtynemenan, Ballyentogher, Gurtingaple, Ballycristall, Ballyighen, Enaghan, Kylchowne, Kyllochrobertt, Corbally, Nowrny, Tyrechawglin, Farrendowkbane, Rahyne, Tyrillevalle, Rathfa, Cowillneeleraghe, Ballynivore, Kylmallnake, Downeheynene, Entaghmeantaghe. Kyllockene, Entardierene Ballywirin, Ballymacrossan, Gurtynenace, Sraenewre, Derguillan, Tyrne, Bayckeeghcrowe, Tampleshennett, Killoke, Kylkepaghe, Liskaylaghe. Ballyneclonaghe, Cloneighoyne, Clonehurk, Coyltiranagh, Enshaulangort, Kylkerhan, Enrathmore. Graignifynng, Ballycodylle, Kylmalaghaghe, Enorghoore, Cowlilowdry (Cooltoderry), Ellerdenny, Gallaneoghry, Shyanmocke, Pollaghmenan, Ennorachlowne, Ballymoryshe, Tyreoghir, Rathmoyles, Killoke, Ratheleyce, Ballykerrowill, Kylmorghe, Colbryde, M'Adowra, Ballybrittace (brittas), Kyllogarry, Garrycaddell, Ballyshanduffe, Ballypoble, Bortoban, Great Kinestone, Little Kinestone, Kylnecorte (Kilnecourt), Rathronchin, Killskertaghmore, Clonewughter, Cloneeighter, Kilbreckan, Deroghtagh, Gurtynishanlon, Leoghill, Megoge, Endacloghanollie, Aghentrench, Clonaghmore, Clonaghbeg, Killoke, and Ballynecaylaghe, in the country of Clinmalire on both sides of the Barrow in King's and Queen's Cos., to hold in tail male, remainder to Terence M'Hugh O'Dempsie, in tail male, remainder to Dermott M'Hugh O'Dempsie in tail male, to hold by the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee, at a rent of £27, 10s. 4d. during the first seven years and £41, 5s. 6d. afterwards, maintaining nineteen English horsemen and other provisions," as in the grant to Hugh. This grant is also given under date 1570, where it is stated that he is to maintain twenty-two able footmen on the lands in King's County, and six in Queen's. The King's County portion to be held as of the castle of Philipstown.

Oweny chiefly resided at Cloneygowan Castle, which he had repaired and improved. On a map of Offaly, given in the Kilkenny Arch. Journal, is depicted a square tower, having a bawn or courtyard attached and marked near a wood. Underneath are the words, "Oweny M'Hugh." This probably refers to Cloneygowan.

In 1564 Oweny M'Hugh, John Wackley, Henry and Robert Cowly, Sir Henry Radcliff, and Sir Francis Herbert, were appointed to be "justices, commissioners, and keepers of the peace" in King's County. And Sir Henry Radcliff, Oweny M'Hugh, Wi liam Girton, Francis Cosby, John Thomas, and William Portas for Queen's County, during the absence of the lord-lieutenant against Shane O'Neill, son of Con, Earl of Tyrone.

A month or two later, in consideration of his services against the enemy, in which without malice he may have offended against the law, "Oweny M'Hugh O'Dempsey of Ballibrittas, Captain of Glenmalyer," was pardoned, as were "Dermott O'Dempsey of Kilnecort, Tiege M'Oney O'Dempsey of Richardstown, Garrett M'Shane O'Dempsey of Kilclonbrennan, Brian M'Shane of same, Edmund M'James of Ballykean, Dermott M'James of Ballynekilly, gentlemen; Owen O'Leghan of Ballibrittas, clerk," and sundry kernes. Evidently Oweny's efforts to preserve the peace did not meet with success.

In 1568, under instructions dated at Greenwich 2nd

July, Oweny received a regrant of the lands of Derryville and Taghinure, King's Co., Kilmalaghn in the barony or parts of Clanmalry, Queen's Co., Balleteigedough, Graiggehowran, Ballenowlert, and Pullaghballenowe, Queen's Co., Garryridder, alias Kilpatrick, on the east side of the Barrow and Kilbegge this side of the Barrow. To hold in tail male, &c., by the service of a twentieth part of one knight's fee at a rent of £4. os. 6d. Maintaining four English horsemen, &c. The clause requiring attendance at hostings to be immediately operative.

In 1570 he received a regrant of the lands of Sraghmullaroo, Kyltumult, Kyllntryne, Ballenclogh, Kylmurre, Crancore, Kylcorkre, Ramelote, Aghenore, Syndvll, Umros, Eraghfekvlle, Ballecovle, Ballenoake, Ballekelly, Clondorce, Gortenfyn, Loaghmahon, Culsuckyne, Clonhyne, Keppagh krevan and Knockan breagh. To hold by the service of a fortieth part of one knight's fee at a rent of £4, 14s. Maintaining three English horsemen, &c. In this year a surrender was received of the lands granted in 1563 and 1570, which were regranted by letters patent.

In 1571 "Owin M'Hew of Clounegaune," King's County, and Richard Pepper of Limemarragin, same county, were commissioned to execute martial law in King's County and Clanmaliere, with power to search out after the order of martial law all disorders committed in the county, and on finding any persons to be felons, rebels, enemies, or notorious evil-doers, to punish them by death or otherwise. This power not to extend against any having a 40s. freehold or £10 in chattels.

or any of honest name unless taken in the act or duly convicted. With power also to treat with rebels and enemies, and for that purpose to grant safe-conducts, and to conclude good orders with them under instruction of the lord-deputy.

In 1572 Brian M'Geoghegan, some of the O'Conor's, and certain of Callough M'Tirralagh's sons and others, having committed great depredations on the lands and people of Oweny M'Hugh in King's County, and Ross M'Geoghegan in Kinelfiacha, County Westmeath, the said Oweny, Henry Cowley, Seneschal of King's County, and Francis Cosby, Seneschal of Queen's, were empowered to pursue the rebels in O'Molloy's country, and M'Coghlan's country in King's County; O'Donne's country in Queen's; and O'Melaghlin's, M'Geoghegan's, and M'Galle's country in Westmeath; and any other country they fly to; to confiscate all the goods in their possession; to call in the aid of the Tyrrels and the inhabitants of any other country; and to obtain provisions, but not oppressively.

Oweny had a niece married to Ross M'Geoghegan, Tanist of Kinelfiacha (a), who, in 1570, was appointed by the queen Seneschal of M'Geoghegan's country and Sheriff of Westmeath, and had a grant of thirty-four plough lands in Moycashel, Ballenorcher, &c., "all lately appertaining to the captaincy of the country with all other rights of the Captain and Tanist, as Conly (of Donore), reputed chief of the name (unlike some of his descendants), refused to surrender his name of M'Geoghegan, or captaincy of that name," and her majesty desiring to change the name from captain to seneschal,

"a degree or title more suited to places of civil governance." made this grant to his son and heir Ross, who had the support of Oweny M'Hugh. Brian, half-brother of Ross (whose mother was a daughter of O'Conor Faly), resenting this, invaded the territory, on which occasion Oweny received the above commission, a rather superfluous proceeding in his opinion, judging by the many pardons he received.

In 1575 he was promised a pardon on condition that he should appear before the commissioners in the county within six months, and give security to keep the peace.

In 1576 the Four Masters state that Owenv, the son of Hugh O'Dempsey, was treacherously slain at his own residence at Cluan-na-Gamhan, or Cloneygowan. The Annals of Loch Ce have it that he was treacherously slain by some of the Siol (i.e. descendants of) Mordha, or O'Mores. And Dowling, who places the event in the year 1577, says that he fell by the hand of Lysa M'Neil O'More.-" Eugenius M'Hugh O'Dempsie, de Clonagoony, miles ac dominus de Glanmolyra fuit in castro suo ibidem, interfectus per Lysac M'Neill v Mordha." 1577 appears to be the correct date, as the Inquisition taken in 1617 finds that he died "about forty years ago without issue males of his body."

Terence M'Hugh, brother of Oweny, died before 1577. and Dermott died before 1566, as in that year, Ellinor, late wife of Dermott O'Dempsey of Kilnecourt, was pardoned: later she is described as of Ballybrittas.

Dermod resided at his father's place at Logyne in Kilnecourt. These lands, now known as Courtwood, Queen's County, are marked on the Down Survey Map, near the Barrow. in the south-east corner of the barony of Portnahinch. After Dermod's death another branch of the family got possession of a great part of the lands, including the mansion house.

By his wife Ellinor, who, according to the Kildare Journal, was a daughter of Hugh O'Dempsey of Ballinin, Dermod had two sons and one daughter.

- 1. Terence, or Tirlough, who succeeded his uncle in the chieftainship and estates.
- 2. Lysagh of Cloneyhurk.
- I. Giles married Ross M'Geoghegan of Moycashel (a). In 1586 George Cowley had a licence for the purpose of alienating to Gyles Dempsey of Moycashel, widow, the Monastery of the White Friars at Kilharmuck, al Kilcormack, King's County, held under lease.

We shall here refer to the massacre of Mullaghmast, which took place about this time, and in which, it is alleged, the O'Dempseys took part. The facts are briefly as follows: Murtagh, grandson of Conal O'More, chief of his sept, having been invited to a conference by the English at the Rath of Mullaghmast, was there treacherously slain with about sixty of his men. Murtagh, or Maurice, was in alliance with the English; and Murtagh Oge had regrants of land at the very same time and on the same terms as the O'Dempseys. These lands were forfeited in 1600 by his grandson Patrick M'Lisagh, and granted to Sir Richard Greame, or Graham, Kt. Another section of the O'More clan was in rebellion under the leadership of Rory Oge, but

Murtagh's claim to the chieftainship was admitted, and this was the chief slain at Mullaghmast.

According to the Annals of Loch Ce, Dowling's Annals (both written at the time, and the latter by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin, who lived in the neighbourhood), the Four Masters, and other ancient works, this massacre was committed by the English troops and settlers, headed by Francis Cosby, the son of Captain Thomas, and Robert Hartpole, Constable of Carlow Castle.

But O'Donovan (Four MM.), relying on an account (b) written by Laurence Byrne of Luggacurran, about sixty or seventy years ago-compared to which the above are as nothing-would have us believe that the O'Dempsevs were implicated in the massacre; and to prove that they were deeply implicated he shows that one, Edmund Dempsey, was appointed Captain of Kerne under Cosby in 1556! (c).

Now it requires very little thought to see that this simply proves nothing, but it certainly might prove that an individual of the clan was present at the massacre had it shown that Edmund was appointed twenty minutes, and not twenty years, before that event: and even if he were present the whole clan cannot be held responsible for the acts of an individual.

However, this was not the only piece of "evidence" O'Donovan relied on. He tells us "it must be remembered the O'Dempsevs had not forfeited their lands at this time"; and in places states "they held a great part of Offaly until 1688"; further "they were in all probability on good terms with the government"; and

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"the inhabitants of the district now believe that a great curse rests on this family ever since."

The Act of Philip and Mary and subsequent regrants flatly contradict the first of these statements. They held about one-fifteenth part of Offaly, or less than one-third of Clanmaliere (28,000 acres), which was forfeited in 1665.

They were on the same terms with the government as their neighbours, and in saying that "they were in all probability" on good terms with the English, he entirely ignores what the Four MM. themselves say, that not alone were those slain on good terms with the English, but they were likewise "under their protection."

As for the inhabitants of the district—descendants of Cromwell's saints, Arlington's Cockneys, French Huguenots, "Dutch blue-guard and sundry black-guards"—the less said about them the better.

The truth is the O'Dempseys had nothing to do with Mullaghmast, except that some of the clan were slain in the massacre, as it was generally believed up to O'Donovan's time, and as it is stated by Daniel O'Byrne of Timahoe in his "History of Queen's County," and by Dr. M'Dermott in Connellan's Four MM.

NOTES

⁽a) Ross was ancestor of the M'Geoghegans of Moycashel of whom 'twas written—

[&]quot;Swim the Shannon at midnight, beard wolves in their den, Ere you ride to Moycashel on forays again."

In October 1580 he was slain at Newtown by Brian, afterwards pardoned at the suit of Giles. The Four MM., in recording the death of Ross, say that "though he was only a private gentleman he was nevertheless lamented by the greater number of the men of Ireland." The M'Geoghegans, like most of the Meath septs, were descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages, Monarch of Ireland from 379 to 405. From his son Fiacha they took the tribal name of the Clan Fiacha. According to a map published in 1567, the territory "contained in length 12 and in breadth 7 miles." Ross had four sons, Neal; Richard, celebrated in Irish history for his gallant defence of Dunboy, slain there in 1602 (see Four MM.); James, settled near Monasterevan; and Ross, al Roche, D.D., Bishop of Kildare, born at Cloneygowan in 1580. Neal, the eldest, succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of his grandfather, and died in 1593. He left two sons, Ross, whose only son Richard, "M'Geoghegan of Moycashel," the last chief, died s.p.; and Conal of Lismoyny, who wrote the "Annals of Clonmacnoise." In the preface he says, "This book was commenced to be written on the third day of the month of September, Anno Christi, 1644, at the house of Conal, son of Nial, son of Rossa M'Geoghegan." Conal, who was outlawed and attainted, left two sons, Conly, and Anthony, Bishop of Meath. Conly married Marion, daughter of Art M'Cahir Molloy, of Ralehyn, King's Co., chief of his sept, and had a son Charles, father of Connor of Moycashel, living in 1691. He had a brother Conly. This, the senior branch, appears to have been long extinct. Abbé James M'Geoghegan, who wrote (1750) in French a history of Ireland, was of this family.

Hugh of Castletown, third or fourth son of Conly, died in 1622, left by his wife, daughter of Walter Tyrrel of Clonmoyle, seven sons, one of whom, according to Dalton, was ancestor of the M'Geoghegans of Donore, represented in O'Donovan's time by Sir Richard Nagle (in the female line). Some good stories are told of these M'Geoghegans in Mitchell's "History of Ir." Arthur M'Geoghegan of Castletown married, 1728, Susanna, daughter and heiress of William Stafford of Northampton (and widow of Henry, son of Sir Donogh O'Brien of Dromoland) and changed his name to Stafford. A younger branch of this family settled in Galway and assumed the name of O'Neill. See Burke, 1848, for O'Neill of Bunowen Castle.

(b) This account, written a couple of centuries after the massacre, as one might expect, tells us what some of those present said and did; makes

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mention of a fort at Mullaghmast, never before or since heard of, and says that one Henry Lalor accomplished the impossible task of fighting his way back to Dysart "without ever seeing the Barrow,"—perhaps he was blind.

(c) This has been reproduced by several writers, who seem to think that it proves the case "up to the hilt."

CHAPTER VIII

FROM 1577 TO 1615

In 1577, soon after the affair at Mullaghmast, the O'Dempseys rose in arms, together with the O'Mores, O'Conors, and O'Duns, or, as the Four Masters express it, "all that were living of the race of Rossa Failghe and Conal Cearnach." And having taken Carlow and Leighlin Bridge, they burned the towns and put the inhabitants to the sword, then marching to Naas, "they," says Sydney, "ranne through the towne, being open, like hags and furies of hell, with flakes of fer fastened on poole ends, and so fered the low thatched howsies, and being a great windie night one howse took fer after another in a moment. They tarried not above half-an-hour in the town, neyther stood they upon killinge or spolvnge anv. There were above fvve hundred mennes boddies in the town, manlyke enough in appearance, but neyther manful nor wakeful as it seamed." In short, "they burned and destroyed large parts of Leinster, Meath, and Fingal," in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

After the death of Rory Oge O'More, who was slain by the Ossory Kerns, the clans made peace, and in 1578 the Lord-deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, "spent some time taking pledges of the O'Dempseys and other doubtful neighbours on that border." O'Conor received a pension, and O'Dempsey was given into the custody of "Master Franns." who was killed at Glenmalure in 1580.

In 1581 O'Dempsey had livery of his lands—"Livery to Terence O'Dempsey of Clonnegowney, son and heir of Dermott Ower, brother of Oweny O'Dempsey late of Clonnegowney." To celebrate this interesting event he headed the clan in an attack on the pale, but in 1582 he received a pardon, as did his brother Lysagh and many other gentlemen of the clan.

In the same year (1582) he had a licence for the purpose of settling a jointure upon his wife, Mary FitzGerald, daughter of Sir Maurice, Kt., of Lackagh (a), and Dame Margaret Butler, grand-daughter of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond.

At the Parliament held in Dublin in 1585, the Four Masters state, none worthy of note of the Clanmaliere attended, though in 1586 "Terris O'Demsie," the Earl of Essex, and other "creditors of Ireland" were paid for their services.²

In 1587 Lord Chancellor Loftus and Council petition in favour of Mr. John Lye of Rathbryde to have the town and lands of Rathbryde, Morristownbiller, and Crotanstown (between Newbridge and Kildare) on better terms, as they lie in a very dangerous place, near the great woods and bogs of Fews and Allen, subject to O'Conor, O'More, and O'Dempsey.⁸

In 1590 O'Dempsey was appointed Sheriff of King's

¹ State Papers. ² Idem.

³ Idem: nearly all the events in this chapter are taken from the State Papers and Patents of Eliz.

County; and in 1591, being accused of invading the Sassanachs, and various other crimes, in the castle chamber in Dublin, had a pardon granted him, "said pardon not to include intrusion into Crown lands, debts due to the Crown (he was in arrears with his rent), or any of those riots or offences of which he was accused."

In 1592 he was appointed with Sir Piers FitzGerald, Philip Flattisberry learned in the laws, and Captain Thomas Lye, "to inquire whether the lands of Bert and Newtown were in possession of Captain Macworth at his death, as the queen desired that Garret or Gerald, son and heir of the captain, who was slain by the O'Conors, should possess the lands purchased from Thomas Woulfe, and which were forfeited by the rebellion of Lord Baltinglass."

In 1598 the Irish broke out in rebellion, under the leadership of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and other chiefs; and swept the land in a desolating torrent. O'Dempsey, like most of the Leinster chiefs, remained loyal to the Government, while the clan joined with the rebels. Some joined O'Neill, others O'More, but the best part were under the leadership of Lysagh, and another warlike member of the clan (Glasny M'Tiege M'Oweny of Richardstown).

A writer in the State Papers says that "the Moores, Conors, bastard Geraldines, and Dempsies have spoiled and burned Kildare and the south and east parts of Meath." Maryborough was so closely besieged that the governor, Sir Francis Rush, had nothing to eat for twenty days but horseflesh.

The Earl of Ormond, Commander of the Forces, made

a great "hosting" to place provisions in the fort, and wrote to Sir Terence for his assistance. In reply he savs that to accomplish his purpose he has put £20 into a friend's hands, who promised to convey the value thereof unto the place nominated, as this is the only safe way "by reason of the multitude of enemies swarming in every corner which have mewed me up in my own castle so that I dare not come once abroad." His own brother, he says, is with the rebels and has drawn away most of his countrymen and followers, "in such sort that no one can come into the country or out, but is presently intercepted." The pride of the enemy and the small hope they have of success keeps him in good heart.

The earl, on his way to relieve the fort, was attacked by the Irish, and with difficulty made his retreat, after losing 1500 men and being himself wounded. O'Dempsey was apparently so much disheartened at this that he began to think of changing sides, and according to the account of a Government spy or "intelligencer" (contained in the State Papers), who was then at Durrow with Tyrone, he sent his chaplain to make terms with the earl, who answered that unless he came in person, or sent pledges by a certain date, he would be attacked with fire and sword.

Not approving of this, he resolved to hold out a little longer, and having still a good many of the clan at his back, he routed a detachment sent against him by Tyrone; and took prisoners some "famous rebels," for whose release the Earl of Essex was offered £2000 sterling. One, Captain Nugent, mentioned in the

Four Masters. "was reckoned to be one of Tyrone's best captains."

In April 1500 the Earl of Essex, Commander-in-Chief and Lord-lieutenant, marched from Dublin at the head of 22,000 horse and foot; and on May 16, after a short march, directed the army to Ballynockan, two miles wide of the fort of Maryboro, "towards the mountain of Sleaghnagree, going himself with the convoy of victuals, attended on with 200 horse and 500 foot, which he carried to place in the fort. By the way he sent 50 of those horse and 300 foot to a castle of Terence O'Dempsey, chief of that name, where remained two or three prisoners taken by the said Terence. Himself was commanded to go along with these troops and bring the prisoners who were famous rebels." A note adds, "they were delivered to Sir Francis Rush. Governor of Maryboro, to be executed, and their heads set upon the gates."

O'Dempsey joined the earl at Ballynockan, and accompanied him on the journey to Munster. On the way he parleyed with the rebels, who offered to have a fight with sword and target between fifty chosen men on each side. The earl agreed, but the Irish, probably suspecting treachery, failed to appear. However, they "materialised" later on at the Pass of Cashel near Ballyroan, and attacked the earl so fiercely that several hundred of his men were left on the field. From the number of feathers that strewed the ground, this engagement was afterwards known as the "Battle of the Pass of Plumes."

This check did not prevent the earl from pursuing

his journey into Munster, where, on arriving at Kiltenan (County Limerick, Burke says), Sir Terence was knighted on the field, on the 22nd May.

Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, in giving an account to Cecil of "those of quality," received by the earl, writes of Sir Terence that "he was never yet a rebel, and is lord of a little country called Glynmalyry adjacent to the Barrow side, part whereof is in King's County and the other part in Queen's."

In August O'Dempsey, as a "submittee of the Province of Leinster," promised to give as pledges his son Ownie or his son James. Ownie to be sent to Lord Delvin, and James to remain in Dublin at school.

Secretary Fenton writes: "The promise of the pledge was not performed."

A Report to the Lords of the Council in January 1600 states that in County Kildare "the bastard Geraldines, being two base brothers of the late Earl of Kildare, are still in rebellion, of whom one had a pension of three shillings a day at the time of his breaking out; and with whom is associated one of the Delahides; Glasny and Lysagh O'Dempsey with the retinue of the Dempseys; and certain of the Eustaces of kindred to the late Viscount Baltinglass attainted.

"The other parts of the county stand for her Majesty, saving a few straggling castles defended by the rebels, but they have now left them.

"All these particulars, with James FitzPierce, who was then in rebellion but now a subject, were first certified to contain in forces 350 foot and 30 horse; but since that time there are entered into rebellion a third Geraldine who was then a civil man, all the Byrminghams, except a few, and all O'Dempsey's country, except only Sir Terence, so as the rebels' forces in that county is increased at least 250."

In April the Earl of Ormond, Commander-in-Chief, having been taken prisoner by Owenv M'Rory O'More, at Corranduff, eight miles from Kilkenny, wrote to Sir Terence to have the use of one of his castles. Tyrone wished to get him into his power, but Oweny had no intention of giving up such a hostage; and supposing that the bonnoughs, or Ulster mercenaries, intended to carry off the earl to Tyrone, he had him removed from cabin to cabin in the woods every three hours.

On the 12th of April Lord-deputy Mountjoy writes to Cecil: "My Lord of Ormonde in his taking received no hurt; but his hat, George, sword, and dagger were taken from him. After he was taken, there fell strife among themselves, for one would have slain him, and others endeavoured to save him, and one was hurt that did defend him. They set him on a hackney, and that night carried him into Leix, six miles from the place where he was taken. The traitor Archer was his bedfellow. Oweny M'Rory useth him well. All this I know by a letter from him to his lady, wherein he prayeth her that no forces may be drawn down where he is, for fear, as he saith, of being killed. . . . They remove him from one cabin to another every night. and he is yet in custody of the bonaghs, for Oweny M'Rory durst not trust him in the keeping of any Leinster man." His position is further described in a letter dated April 26, 1600, written by Sir Geoffrey

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Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil: "The Earl of Ormond continueth still at the castle of Gortenclaogh, upon the debatable ground between Ossorv and Leix, where Oweny himself is his keeper, who giveth him the favour to have his diet dressed by his own cooks and brought to the iron gate of the castle by his own men, but where Oweny himself receiveth the diet, and carryeth up to the earl, not suffering any of his lordship's own servants to come within the gate." A Declaration of the Irish messenger employed by Secretary Fenton to communicate with Ormond, dated oth May 1600, states: "The earl is very full of grief and melancholy, specially since they took him out of the castle, where it was comfort to him to lie in a house covered. He is now in the woods of Leix, removed every three hours from one fastness to another."

The earl's sufferings were such that he now proposed, to Oweny, to apply to O'Dempsey for the use of one of his castles as a prison, and as Sir Terence was a trusted friend of Oweny's, and unlikely to seek to deprive him of his hostage, he agreed. On the 14th May Fenton writes to Cecil: "Where in one of my letters of the 5th of this month, I wrote that the Earl of Ormonde hath sent to Sir Terence O'Dempsey to have the use of one of his castles, for his lordship's more ease till his traitorous taker might consider further of his enlargement. Now this morning I have received advice that the earl is come to Ballybrittas, the said O'Dempsey's castle, and there is guarded by 20 of Oweny's men whom he trusted most. They brought him thither by night, not suffering the bonnoughs to know of it, lest

they might attempt to rescue him, and the more to abuse them, Oweny caused a trusty friend of his own of stature and resemblance like to the earl, to put on the earl's night-gown, which he was wont to wear, and directed him in that fashion to walk by the woodside, where the earl useth to walk, whilst Owenv and some twenty others, nearest him in trust, put the earl on horseback, and brought him to O'Dempsey's castle. This was the manner of their stealing of him thither, but what was their secret purpose will not as yet be disclosed, and I see by O'Dempsey's behaviour in leaving his castle to Oweny to be warded by his kerne, that O'Dempsey is apparently revolted and therefore small hopes to the earl of good measure at his hands."

On the 18th May he writes: "The Earl of Ormond is at O'Dempsey's house, at more ease than before, for that he lodgeth in a castle, but as strongly guarded as ever he was. And yet I am of mind that out of that house will be wrought his liberty, either upon condition or by surprise." In a letter from Kilkenny dated June 16, 1600. Ormond gives the following accounts of his liberation: "It may please your sacred Majesty to be advertised, that it pleased God of his goodness to deliver me though weak and sick from that most malicious, arrogant, and vile traitor of the world, Oweny M'Rory, forced to put into his hands certain hostages for payment of £3000 if at any time hereafter I shall seek revenge against him or his; which manner of agreement, although it be very hard, could not be obtained before he saw men in that extremity and

weakness, as I was like very shortly to have ended my life in his hands." 1

The earl believed he owed his liberty to the report that Leinster would be overrun with troops, to prevent which, the Irish of the province themselves offered hostages, and were ready to quarrel with Oweny should he refuse.

The hostages were twelve in number, one being Sir Terence's son Oweny, for whom, it appears, a ransom was paid.

O'More, while negotiating with Sir Terence with the object of surrendering, fell in a fierce battle on the borders of Leix, soon after which the Clanmaliere submitted (b), and in 1604 Sir John Davies, Attorneygeneral, writing to Cecil, says, "The O'Dempseys seem to conform to a civil life."

Theobald Butler, in a letter to Lord-deputy Chichester, gives an interesting account of the district at this time; he writes: "The day I left Philipstown I passed through O'Dempsey's country, which is as bad a passage as ever I saw for bogs and woods and one river, which is the Barrow, where a bridge were necessary, for that it lies in the right way between Philipstown and Maryborough. Some pretty castles are to be seen in the Queen's County, and some old ones repaired, and in some places English people making the harvest, but not so abundantly as would be looked for." ²

The Irish had no great regard for these settlers, and small wonder. In 1613 the freeholders assembled at Philipstown to elect "Knights of the Shire." Sir

¹ Gilbert's, "Nat. MSS." ² "Hist. MSS."

Francis Rush, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John M'Coghlan, and Callough O'Molloy were the candidates. The Irish, who were unable to speak English, had the most votes, but notwithstanding this the sheriff returned the English, alleging that the greatest number of voices given publicly were for them.

Sir Terence, being absent, gave his vote by proxy for his countrymen. In January 1614 his first wife died, by whom he had—

- I. Oweny of Cloneygowan, Tanist of the clan. A "note on noblemen's sons in Ireland," given in the State Papers, 1613, states that "O'Dempsey's eldest son is 20." Perhaps this should appear under 1603.
- 2. James, D.D., Vicar-general of Kildare.
- 3. Edmund, D.D., appointed Bishop of Leighlin, 10th March 1642. Edmund studied at the Universities of Douai, Louvain, and Alcala in Spain. According to an authority quoted by Dr. Comerford he was born about 1602.
- I. Anne, married Gerald FitzGerald of Timogue (c), and died 11th April 1633.

This is the only daughter mentioned in Burke's "Extinct Peerages," but he had two others, namely, Mary, who, Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," &c., states, "was persecuted" by Phelim M'Hugh O'Byrne's sons; and Ellinor, who married Peter Sarsfield of Tully (d), and had a son, Patrick, father of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.

Sir Terence married, secondly, Genet, daughter of Patrick Finglas of Westpalston, Co. Dublin, and widow,

first of John Bath of Drumcondra Castle, Co. Dublin, Chancellor of the Exchequer; second, of Sir William Warren, Kt. She died in June 1627, when he remarried with Margaret, widow of John Itchingham of Dunbrody. Co. Wexford. A petition of Charles Itchingham to the General Assembly in 1642, states that this lady enjoyed £320 out of seven plough lands, and half the tithes of Dunbrody as her third of the estate.

NOTES

- (a) The FitzGeralds of Lackagh derived from Sir Thomas, second son of the seventh Earl of Kildare, by Lady Joan, daughter of the Earl of Desmond. In 1484 he was made Lord Chancellor for life, and in 1487 fell at the battle of Stoke fighting for Lambert Simnel, leaving by his wife, daughter of Lord Gormanston, a son and heir. Sir Maurice, slain in 1520 by Conn O'More (Four MM.). He married Anne Eustace, and had a son and heir, Thomas, father of the above Sir Maurice, who married Dame Margaret Butler, daughter of Thomas, third son of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond, and relict of Rory Caoch O'More. His tombstone is still to be seen in Kildare Cathedral with the following inscription: "Domina Margareta Butler, hoc monumentum feri fecit ob memoriam Mauricii FitzGerald de Laccagh, militis quondam suf mariti qui obiit 20 Die December Anno Domini 1575." By this lady he had four sons and four daughters; one, Ellice, married Sir Pierce FitzGerald of Ballyshannon. Thomas his son and heir by Elizabeth, daughter of Mark Barnewall of Dunbroe, had a son, Maurice of Lackagh, married Ellenor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, and died in 1637. In 1655 the FitzGeralds of Lackagh were transported to Barbadoes, and the descendants of Sir Maurice are now extinct in the male line. See "The Fitzgeralds of Lackagh," in the "Kildare Journal," by Lord Walter.
- (b) The principal clansmen pardoned at this time were: Lisagh of Cloneyhurk, Murtagh of Kilnecourt, Dermott of Ballemorish, Queen's

Co.; Barnaby of Ballintogher, same county; Edmund and Owen M'Hugh of Ballyteigduff, ditto; Edmund Corragh (O'Dempsey) of the Killin, King's Co.; Lisagh M'Murrough of Rahinagerin, ditto; Owen, Murrough, and Murtagh M'Lisagh, ditto; Patrick and Tirlogh M'Gerald, ditto; Faly and Phelim M'Gerald of Cooltoderry, Queen's Co., gents.; Tibbot M'Edmund of the Clonin, same county; Owen M'Edmund of Clonbrock, ditto; Phelim M'Dermod of Ballenkill, King's Co.; Art M'Dermod of same: Murtagh M'Cahir of Ballyduff: Cormac Oge of Gurtinemanan, King's Co.; Glasny M'Tiege of Harristown, Teigh and Brian M'Owen of same; Murtagh M'Tiege of Graigneskerry, Queen's Co.; Edmund M'Donogh of Tieroghar, ditto; Melaghlin M'Donogh of same; Arthur of Ballibeg, Co. Kildare; Tirlogh Bane O'Kelly of the Rath, Queen's Co.; Tiege of same; Owen O'Beaghan of Braclone, chirurgeon; Edmund M'Evoy of Cloney, King's Co.; Maurice M'William of same; Richard M'Maurice of Dirrifunshin, Queen's Co.; William Maurice, and Dermott M'Maurice of same; Gerald M'Edmund of Graigneskerry, Shane O'Kellie, and Cathal O'Kellie of same; Brian O'Kellie of Ballybrittas, Nicholas St. Michael of Cloney, Kildare, gent.; Nicholas Wogan of Ballybrittas, Henry Lalor, Lisagh M'Edmund. Shane O'Farrel, Shane Brannagh, Thomas Reogh, James Boyle, Shane Reogh, Chr. White, Melaghlin M'Dermott, Teige M'Donnell, K'ahill O'Karrahill (Cathal O'Carroll), William M'Conor of same. George Comen of Cloneygowan, Gillpatrick M'Tiege, Malachy M'Conor, Dermott and Owen M'Donogh of same; Mulroney M'Tiege of the Rath, and Murtagh M'Tiege of the same; Richard FitzGerald of Kilnegurtie (Kilnecourt?), and William FitzGerald of same, gents.; Donogh O'Heden, Hugh Roe O'Kelly, Maurice M'Malmorey, and James O'Dermodie of same; Murtagh O'Brenan of same, gent., and Andrew Browne of the Killin, King's Co.

(c) This Gerald was the son of Gerald Oge of Morett and Timogue, by his wife, daughter of John Bowen of Ballyadams. He took an active part in the confederate movement and was living in 1652. His son and heir, Thomas, by Miss Pigott of Dysart, was father of Stephen, ancestor of the FitzGeralds of Morett, now extinct. Alexander, brother of Stephen and an officer in King James's army, was ancestor of the FitzGeralds of Timogue, now represented by General FitzGerald, R.A. George, brother of Thomas, was ancestor of the FitzGeralds of Moate, Oueen's Co., now represented by Gerald R. FitzGerald, esq.—See Burke.

(a) The Sarsfields of Lucan and Tully, a younger branch of the Sarsfields, Viscounts Kilmallock, derived from Sir William, Losd

Mayor of Dublin, anno 1566. Peter, son of Patrick, of Lucan and Tully, by his wife Mabel FitzGerald, had by the above Ellinor, a son and heir, Patrick, who married Anne, daughter of Roger, or Rory O'More of Ballyna, and had William and Patrick. William married Mary, daughter of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and sister to the Duke of Monmouth, and had an only daughter, Anne, married Agmondesham Vesey, believed to have been the same, whose bounty was commemorated in the lines:—

"Sir Agmondesham Vesey out of his bounty Built this bridge at the expense of the county."

Anne's daughter, Anne Vesey, married Sir John Bingham, and her son Charles was created Earl of Lucan in 1705.

Patrick Sarsfield, on the death of his brother William (s.p.m.), succeeded to the Lucan and Tully estates, worth about £2000 a year. In 1691 King James, for his services, created him Earl of Lucan (confirmed by William), Viscount Tully, and Lord Roseberry in the same neighbourhood. In 1693 he died at Huy of wounds received at the battle of Landen, leaving by Lady Honor de Burgh, daughter of the Earl Clanrickard (who remarried with the Duke of Berwick, son of James II.), a son who died at St. Omers in 1719, and a daughter, married Baron de Neuberg, styled King of Corsica—Crossley's "Peerage," &c.

CHAPTER IX

THE BREHON LAWS, INQUISITIONS, ETC.

ABOUT the year 1607 the Brehon laws were abolished, Tanistry ceased to have force, and the English customs and laws were introduced. The Brehon laws, as would be inferred from the conditions imposed in 1562, were in force in Clanmaliere up to the date of their abolition, as well as many other old customs.

These laws, after the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick, were committed to writing (after certain precepts had been expurgated, which did not agree with the New Testament teaching), and have been published by the Brehon Law Commissioners under the name of Seanchas Môr, or "Great Body of Laws," a name received from the greatness, in number and nobility, of the Assembly that passed them.

In the preface to this work it is stated that the Mosaic law was the law of Erin at the coming of St. Patrick in 432. This law, it is said, was received from Moses in Egypt by "Cain of the Fair Judgments," an Israelite, who had been sent into that country to learn the language, by the great master, Fenius Farsaidh, King of Scythia, from whom the Milesian brothers who conquered Ireland are recorded to have been twenty-second in descent.

Every tribe or territory, governed by a righ, or king,

O'Curry ("Manners and Customs") says, could make local laws for itself, binding only of course within the territory. The Nos Tuaithe, or Local Law, was drawn up by a committee of nine persons—a king; a bard, or poet; a brugaidh (sort of farmer); a bishop; a teacher, or professor of literature; a brehon, or judge; an advocate; an aire forgaill (sort of sheriff); and an airchinech, or lay vicar.

These laws were framed solely with a view to the special circumstances and wants of the tribe; and a general assembly of the tribe was convoked to give the required local sanction.

In the Brehon Code no capital punishment was recognised. In case of murder, the murderer had to pay an eric, or heavy fine, in compensation to the friends and relatives of the murdered man. Like the Anglo-Saxon were-gild, the eric varied in amount according to the rank of the slain. In certain cases when the murderer could not pay the eric he was set adrift on the sea.

Another peculiar law, which has no significance now, shows what a fine sense of justice the ancient Irish had. This was called the Bee-judgment. At one time bees formed a staple industry in Ireland. Mead, the favourite drink, was made from honey, and any dish that required sweetening, before sugar was introduced, was sweetened by honey.

Now as the bees used to gather the honey from the flowers that grew in the neighbouring fields, every three years the owners were compelled to give a certain portion of honey to their neighbours in lieu of that abstracted from their fields.

Again, according to the Brehon Code, there was a certain allowance made for the poor and sick of the tribe, who were rightly considered to have a claim on the strong and well-to-do. They had a public relieving officer for the poor, and a public physician for the sick, both of whom were salaried by the community.

There is a quaint description of the relieving brehon, humorously termed "a pillar of endurance," and "one able to stand the reddening of his face without insult to his tribe"—that is, able to stand the insolence of beggars without being put to the blush.

Certain lands were set apart for the support of the bards, brehons, and physicians. The Church lands were called Termon Lands.

Rank in society in ancient Erin, as in almost every other part of the world, depended upon the quantity of a man's property (particularly in land), and the nature of his ownership of it. Although there was no such thing as absolute property in land in any individual independent of the tribe, still within the tribe individuals held exclusive property in land, and entered into relations with tenants for its use, and these again with under tenants, and so on, much as we see it in our own day.

The flaith, or lord, was the absolute owner (within the tribe) of land for which he paid no rent. All other persons holding land, held it either from a flaith, or from some tenant of his; and their rank and precedence depended upon the amount of their possessions.

The farmers, or graziers, as we might now call them, were of different grades. The lowest was the bo

aireach febhsa, who should have sufficient land to graze twenty-one cows; a sleeping house, and an eating house of certain dimensions. He had a share in the mill of the district; had of his own a kiln, a barn, &c.; and received fees for the exercise of certain legal duties, such as being legal witness to a contract, and so on.

The next rank of bo aireach was the bruighfer, who should have enough to graze sixty-three cows, and was bound by law to have certain household and farm utensils; and to have always a stock of certain specified provisions, "to sustain the visit of a king, or bishop, or poet, or judge from the road." All trespass upon his house or stock was punished by severe fines; and he should have for wife "only the daughter of an equal."

The next rank of bo aireach (gentleman cow-owner), was the fer fothla, or leader of bo aireach. He was wealthier than the last, for he had more cattle than he could graze on his own land, and so let them to other persons, who became his tenants or vassals, in return for the stock they hired from him. This class of tenant became a flaith (noble, or lord) whenever he amassed property to the amount of double that which marked the lowest order of nobility among the flaith. However, he was only entitled to half the compensation that a full flaith might claim for property injured, or insult, or injury to his person.

The highest rank of bo aireach was the aire coisring, who entered into engagements with the king on behalf of the particular tribe, name, or family to which he belonged, they having consented to grant him the

leadership and power to speak for them. This bo aireach was the family chief, or ceanfinne, who answered the king, or chief, for the obedience of his tribe to the law. The same law that defined the different degrees of bo aireach, and appointed to each its rank and privileges, prescribed too the punishment of degradation for any breach of his official duties.

The order of flaith comprised seven degrees of nobility: the airé desá, the airé echtai, the airé ard, the airé tuisi, the airé forgaill, the tanaisé righ (or tanist of a king), and the righ (or king).

The airé desá was so called, as distinguished from the bo aireach, because he was paid diré (rent, value, duty) on account of his deis, or estate, and not for his cows, like the other. He had ten céilés, or tenants: five free and five bond, from each of which he was entitled to a fixed annual supply of food and cattle, as rent, or tribute. Certain houses and property he should have, as well as certain state equipments, such as a riding steed with a silver bridle. He wore a brooch. with a precious stone worth an unga (about ten shillings). His wife was of equal rank with himself, and equally richly dressed. But his rank and precedence among the flaith were according to his deeds; according to what he had done to deserve honour. He guarded at law the rights of the tenants among one another, and saw the law carried out between them.

The airé ard, or high aire, had twenty céilés, ten bond and ten free. His various possessions were greater in proportion.

The airé tuisi took precedence over all the former,

by being of superior race or family. He had twenty-seven chiles, of whom fifteen were bond. He wore a gold bridle on his riding steed as well as a silver one.

The aire forgaill was so called because he testified to the character of the other flaiths in court. He had certain duties and legal privileges; and had twenty bond and twenty free céilés. His property in land and stock was very extensive; his houses large and richly appointed, and his following powerful. But whatever the wealth of an aire, it was family alone that could give him rank.

The tanaist righ was next in rank, standing only second to the king or chief himself. He had five sen clithe (that is, adherents or dependants, such as servants, herds, horse-boys, cart-boys, dog and hawk-boys, &c.), more than the aire forgaill, and was always attended by ten men. In all the other points as to wealth, &c., the tanaist righ stood higher than the other nobles.

The righ, or king, as the chief of a large tribe like the Clan Maliere was called, maintained a standing army of between two and three hundred horse and foot horsemen, gallowglasses, and kerns. He had his brehons, bards, and physicians.

The brehons and bards assisted at his inauguration, and had some of the highest places allotted to them at the banquet.

The brehons were the advisers of the chief, and the ancient lawyers of Erin.

The bards accompanied the clan on the march, attended on the battle-field, recited their war-songs,

and animated the champions to the contest. They also recorded the heroic deeds of those who fell and preserved the pedigrees of the different septs.

The chief, who was elected by the freemen of the tribe, according to the Brehon Code should be "the most experienced, the most noble, the wealthiest, the wisest, and most truly popular man of the tribe."

"His frame must be stately, his step must be fleet,
His hand must be trained to each warrior feat,
His face as the harvest moon steadfast and clear,
A head to enlighten, a spirit to cheer,
While the foremost to rush where the battle brands ring
And the last to retreat is a true Irish king."

He was expected to give hospitality to strangers, to supply the sinews of war, to repair roads, and give stock to the needy; and for this purpose he was allowed a certain quantity of land, and certain cesses and tribute from the freemen of the tribe, apart from "his proper inheritance."

The duties exacted by Tiege O'Doyne who died in 1637 will give an idea of this system.

From his Castlebrack tenants, Tiege, on the death of each ceanfinne, or head of a family, received one penny per acre. His tenants of Kernymore paid yearly two beeves, twenty-four crannochs of oats, forty cakes of bread, fourteen dishes of butter, seventeen cans of malt, eightpence in money on the death of each ceanfinne; one reaping-hook (service) on one of every twenty acres; custom ploughs, one day in winter, and one in summer.

From the inhabitants of Ballykeneine quarter: meat and drink for twenty-four horsemen, or four shillings for their diet. From (the inhabitants of) Cappabrogan, like duties; from Garrough, like duties.¹

Spenser ("View of the State of Ireland") was of opinion that great injustice was done to the Irish lords by the abolition of this tax. "For all their tenants," he says, "being commonly but tenants at will, they used to take of them what victuals they list, for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning. Neither in this was the tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known custom, and his lord used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tenant disliked, he might freely depart at his pleasure, but now by this statute the said Irish lord is wronged."

Unhappily this was not the only wrong suffered by the Irish lords, for James I., in indulging his passion for plantations, had their titles and rights of land scrutinised and determined by Commissions of Inquiry, or Inquisitions. If a flaw were found in the title the lands reverted to the Crown, and were put up for sale. The judges were encouraged by receiving a commission on the forfeited lands; the juries were bullied; while the professional "discoverer" did a thriving business.³

In this way Hugh O'Dempsey's title to the lands of Kilnecourt, &c., "granted" to Sir Terence's grandfather in 1563, was found to be defective, and ordered to be sold off. Sir Terence proved his title to these lands, but several hundred acres of the tribe lands in King's County, now County Kildare, in the same neighbourhood, inherited from Ross Faly over 1200 years

¹ See "Lodge MSS." vol. i. p. 337.

² Hist. Ir.

before, did not fare so well, and were put up for sale.1

On the 20th March 1612 an Inquisition was taken at Philipstown to inquire what right the Crown had in the lands of Harristown, Meylerstown, Ballirickard, and Coshogowly, in Clanmaliere (Co. Kildare).

According to this the Crown held certain messuages, 70 acres arable, country measure, making 210 standard, I windmill, 80 acres, wood, pasture, and bog, country measure, making 240 standard measure, in Harristown.

Divers messuages, 39 acres arable, making 117 standard, in Ballirickard; with divers messuages, 48 acres arable, country measure, making 144 standard measure, and 300 pasture, &c., making 900 standard, in Meylerstown.

By letters patent, 19th March, 19th Eliz., same were granted to James FitzGerald under the name of 100 in Harristown; 100 in Ballirickard, and 100 in Ballymeyler, with a watercourse and water-mill in Harristown, being parcel of the Manor of Clanemaleere, and of the possessions of the O'Dempseys, in King's County, with all hereditaments, &c., and under conditions specified in said patent and recited in the Inquisition.

Said James had a licence granted him, 41 Eliz., to alienate the premises to Christopher Flattisbury of Johnstown, and John Sutton of Tipper in Co. Kildare and their heirs, under pretence whereof, on the 4th April 1599, he enfeoffed them therein. And on June 1, 1604, they enfeoffed therein without licence Sir James Fitz-

Gerald, knight, who, on the 10th November following, enfeoffed Sir Terence O'Dempsey, knight, without licence. And he about two years past re-enfeoffed therein the said Sir James, in confidence that he would re-enfeoff the said Sir Terence in fee when he should pay him a certain sum of money.

Within a year (1578) after the date of the first-mentioned patent, and before James Fitzgerald had taken actual possession, the lands of Harristown were ravaged by the O'Mores and O'Dempseys, the latter of whom claimed a title to them. And some time after having taken possession, the said James built a thatched house in Harristown, and drew thither stones for building, but this house was also burned and his goods destroyed by the said O'Mores and O'Dempseys.

The said James resided at Walterstown, and tilled the lands of Harristown. None of the parties herein named resided on those lands, &c., and Sir James Fitz-Gerald and Sir Terence O'Dempsey were of full age in 1604.

An Inquisition taken at Philipstown 25th September 1617 finds that Queen Elizabeth, by letters patent bearing date at Dublin 18th December and thirteenth year of her reign, did give and grant unto "Owen M'Hugh O'Dempsey, Esq.," deceased, all the lordships, manors, castles, towns, and lands, &c., hereafter following, her Majesty being then thereof seized in right of her Crown, viz., the townlands, or hereditaments called, or known as Rahinagrin (Rahinakeerin), being two plough lands containing 160 acres arable, in occupation of Murrough O'Dempsey, Conor O'Guyn, and Meyler M'Shane

(O'Dempsey), as tenants-at-will to Sir Terence O'Dempsev. The town, &c., of Ballinatemple, being two plough lands containing 160 arable acres in occupation of Pat M'Garret (M'Shane) O'Dempsey as tenant-at-will to Sir Terence O'Dempsey. The town, &c., called Kilclonbrennan, half a plough land containing 40 acres in occupation of the said Pat. Rathferristown, plough land, 80 acres, occupation of Phelim M'Dermod (M'James) O'Dempsey. Ballieghan, plough land, 80 acres; and Enaghan, 12 arable acres, occupation of said Phelim. Ballinakill and Ballitehill, three-fourths of a plough land. containing 60 acres, occupation of Shane M'Dermod Ballygowe and Ballyduff, (M'lames) O'Dempsey. plough land, 80 acres, occupation of Tirlo M'Murta (M'Cahir) O'Dempsey, and Owen M'Lysagh (M'Dermod) O'Dempsey.

Gurtinmanan and Ballintoher, plough land, 80 acres; Gurtingaple and Ballicrestle, 60 acres; Tirechoughlin, and Killoghean (Ballykean), 30 arable acres; Kikerrin and Raghmore, plough land, 80 acres; Farrendowkban, 20 acres; Nurney, plough land, 80 acres; Coulenarragh, Kilmalenack, Downeteynen, and Entaghmeanan, plough land, 80 acres; Rahin (a) and Tirelavlee, castle, town, and 15 acres; Cloneeighter and Cloneoughter (i.e. Upper and Lower), 20 acres; Rathfate, 7 acres, all in occupation of Sir Terence O'Dempsey.

Cloneygowan (b) and Shragmore, Dergwilliam, Beckeaghcrowe, Tampleshennet, two plough lands, castle, town, and 160 acres; Ardiernier and Ballywirin, plough land, 80 acres; Ballymacrissan, plough land, 80 acres; Gurtynenasse, water-mill and 20 acres; and Clonhoigin

(Cloneyquin?), plough land, 80 acres, all in occupation of Owen O'Dempsey.

Rathfate, 7 acres; Ballinvore, half plough land, 40 acres, occupation of Conor M'Swyne; Kilchoune, plough land, 80 acres, occupation Conor O'Downegan and Gillarnown M'Edmond; Corballe, half plough land, 40 acres, occupation same; Killeck, with Ballikellin, Kilkapagh, and Liscaylagh with Derrynaboylah, plough land, 80 acres, occupation Edward and Rory O'Behan; Cloneyhurk and Coilteconan, plough land, 80 acres, occupation of Lysagh O'Dempsey, without any estate made thereof unto him by said Sir Terence or any of his ancestors. Tanlowhert, half plough land, 40 acres, he holds in like manner. Graignesfinn, Ballycoddle, Kilmaleck, Enaghmore, Derryville, and Teigemine, half plough land, 40 acres; Ellerdene, Gallanahare, Shainemock, Polleghenan, 5 acres; Killya, Killybeg, and Killpatrick, three-fourths of a plough land, 60 acres; Deroghtniege and Colghill, 3 acres, all in possession of Murtagh O'Dempsey, lease from Sir Terence; Leighill and Megog, three-fourths of a plough land, containing 60 acres, in occupation of Hugh M'Brian's widow (c), Gartincowlan, 5 acres, ditto; Dougheclagumills, Aghentrench and Clonemore, 20 acres, possession of Sir Adam Loftus, but passed in letters patent made to Owen O'Dempsey. To hold aforesaid towns, lands, &c., unto said Owen M'Hugh and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten. In default to remain unto Terence M'Hugh, and for default unto Dermott M'Hugh, with certain other remainders over, to be holden as of her Highness' castle of Philipstown in capite by knight's service.

Said late queen by other letters patent did give and grant unto said Owen M'Hugh O'Dempsey all the lordships, manors, castles, towns, and lands lying and being in the territory of Clanmaliere in King's County, namely, the town and lands called Stragmillagree and Kiltomoult, containing 18 acres arable, 8 pasture, and 6 moor; Killentryne, 8 arable, 10 pasture and wood; Ballynaclogh, 2 cottages, 16 arable, 8 pasture and wood, and 16 arable; Kilmure and Cancere, 18 arable, 8 pasture, and 4 moor; Kilcorkie and Raymellet, 24 arable, 6 pasture, and 4 moor; Cappagh, 5 arable, 3 pasture; Aghamore, 16 wood, 26 pasture, 19 arable, and 12 moor and bog; Shragfakill, Ballycool, Ballyrock, 6 messuages, 40 arable, 12 pasture and moor; Shragmahon, 6 wood, 30 pasture, 7 arable, 13 moor; Knocknabreagh, 5 arable; Ballykell, Clondo, and Gortenfinin, I ruin castle, I water-mill, 8 messuages, 7 wood, 25 arable, 8 pasture, 4 moor. To hold aforesaid towns, lands, &c. All the premises are now in possession of one Margery FitzJames, late wife of Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald and her assigns.

An Inquisition taken at Maryboro at the same time, finds that said queen by other letters patent, bearing same date, &c., did give and grant to said Owen M'Hugh, &c., the town and lands called Cooltoderry, 80 acres which lieth south-west of the Barrow and abutteth upon the town and lands called Braclone, containing 30 acres; Ballymorrish, 40; Tereclogh, 40; Killoge, 20; Ballycarrol and Derryfunsin, 40; Tiercoger, 40; Ballecharlle, 40; Kilmoragh, 40; Kilnecourt, Kineskeraghmagna al Kineskeraghmore, Kineskeraghbeg,

Kilbrackan, and Killteragh, 80; Rathrousy, Ballypoble, Ballybrittas, Garrycaddle, Ballyshanduff, and Gragevorane, 140; Clonkelly, 40; and Killmaloghine, 30; Rathlish, 20; Ballyteigeduff, 40; MacDowra, Ballahtoher, Coolbride, 80; Ballynowlard and Pollaugh, 40; Graigneskerry, 40.

Lysagh claims 20 acres of the lands of Kilnecourt; 20 in Kineskeragh; 20 in Bohertoban; 80 in Cooltoderry; 60, Ballymorrish; 20, Rathlisha; and 20 in Braclone.

() in right of Gerald, now fifteenth Earl of Kildare, claims the villages of Ballycarrol, Ballytiegeduff, Ballyorchard al' Boydenstown, Derryfunchin, Ballinurcher, Clomany, and Kilmorchill as parcell of said earl's manor of Lea.

The said Owen M'Hugh entered into all the premises and died thereof seised in fee tail, about forty years ago, without issue males of his body. After his death Sir Terence O'Dempsey, son and heir to Dermott O'Dempsey, entered into all the said permises.¹

¹ Inq. Lein.

NOTES

- (a) Rahin, i.e. the little fort, marked west of Cloneygowan, in ruins on the Ordnance Map. Killokene, or Ballykean, mentioned above, appears to be the same marked O'Dempsey's Castle; and O'Dempsey's Ring is doubtless that referred to by O'Donovan as the Sconce said to be the fort that defended the castle.
 - (b) Cloneygowan is referred to in the Annals as Cluain-na-Gamhan,

i.e. the lawn, meadow, or pasture of the calves. And Cloneyhurk, two or three miles to the south, Cluan-da-dorc, i.e. the meadow of the two boars.

(c) Hugh M'Brian, ancestor of the O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt. died at Logyne in 1616, and left a son and heir, Brian M'Hugh, whose wardship was granted to John Felton, gent. This Brian died on the 17th July 1637, and left a son and heir, another Hugh, aged eight years and nine months. Further particulars of this family will be given anon. Murtagh, mentioned as having a lease from Sir Terence, appears to have been a brother of Brian, as he resided at Kilnecourt in 1600. Murtagh (or Maurice) had a lease of about 1000 acres in the neighbourhood of Kilnecourt, from Sir Terence and Lord Chancellor Loftus. He had a son and heir, Charles of Kileen, born in 1591, apparently the same who died at Cappagh, King's Co., in 1662. This Charles had a nephew, Terence, and an only son, Laurence. Another Charles married a Miss Glascock, and died at Glasneigh, diocese Leighlin, in 1672. The O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt held about two or three thousand acres in that locality.

James Dempsey, referred to in the same Inquisition, resided at Bally-kean (there were two) and is mentioned in the State Papers in 1575. In that year "Kildare refused to stay the spoilers, and James Dempsey and Laurence Sutton were in his company." This James had two sons, Edmund and Dermot of Kilclonbrennan. Edmund lived at Ballykean and had two sons, Charles and Richard. Charles lived at Lackagh, and with Thomas FitzGerald and James Gerrot of Ballefeighan held interests in lands there, and in the neighbourhood of Dunferth, Co. Kildare.—"Inq. Lein," &c. Charles died before 1636.

CHAPTER X

SIR TERENCE CREATED VISCOUNT CLANMALIERE

James I., having ordered a surrender to be received of the foregoing lands, gave a regrant on the following terms, namely: "To hold to the said Sir Terence and Owen O'Dempsey, and the heirs male of the body of the aforesaid Sir Terence lawfully begotten, and for want of such issue remainder to the heirs male of the body of Dermott O'Dempsey, father of the said Sir Terence, and for want of such issue remainder to revert to the Crown. To be held of the king by military service, namely, by the twentieth part of one knight's fee (a), and by the special service of the said Sir Terence and Owen O'Dempsey.

"The heirs male of the aforesaid will attend whenever called upon, with the major portion of their domestics and tenants, armed and accoutred in a defensive and warlike manner, with victuals for three days, to attend upon the deputy, for the defence of the several counties or to proceed upon the Irish adjoining the several counties. Paying annually £41, 5s. 6d. and a plough day yearly in both counties.

"All the lands and premises in the barony of Philipstown in King's County are erected into the manor of Clonegowne. And all the lands and premises lying in the barony of Portnahinch in Queen's County are

erected into the manor of Ballybrittas. With power to hold a court leet and court baron in each manor. A market at Ballybrittas on every Tuesday; and a market at Clonegowne on every Friday, with one fair on every feast of St. Mary Magdalene, and to continue for two days after; and one fair at Ballybrittas on every Lammasday, and to continue for two days after. Paying annually for the said fairs and markets thirty shillings. Dated 15th June, 16 James I."

The lands of Cloneyhurk and Kilnecourt, hitherto held of the chief, were now held of the king by military service. And the tenants-at-will were required to pay a fixed rent.

Most of those of the name mentioned in the Inquisition were near relatives of Sir Terence.

In 1631, as a reward for his services, he was created an English lord, by "the style, title, dignity, and place of Viscount of Clanmaliere in King's and Queen's Counties, and Baron Philipstown in King's County." In a letter dated from Westminster, 8th July in that year, Charles I. writes to Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, and the Earl of Cork, Lord Justices:—

"We are graciously pleased in consideration of Sir Terence O'Dempsey his faithful services done unto our Crown, whereof we have received good testimony, and for his better encouragement to persevere therein, do hereby require and authorise you to make a grant unto the said Sir Terence by letters patent, of the style, title, dignity, and place of Viscount of Clanmaliere in King's and Queen's

Counties, and Baron Philipstown in King's County, unto said Sir Terence and the heirs male of his body lawfully begot and to be begotten, with all the rights, privileges, pre-eminences, prerogatives, commodities, and immunities, belonging to the state and dignity of a viscount baron, and peer of that realm, in as large, ample, and beneficent a manner as any baron or viscount in that our kingdom doth hold and enjoy the like degrees." 1

The patent, given in the Lords' Journal, vol. i. page 85, describes Sir Terence as "among the more illustrious men of the kingdom, proudly descended (b) and chief of his name, who, for amplitude of estates, splendour of birth, and fame for heroic valour, well deserved the highest titles of honour."

In the Parliament held at Dublin in 1634, under the presidency of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, he sat for the first, and apparently the last, time.

In February in that year his brother Lysagh died, and left a son and heir Barnaby, and a daughter Mary, married to John, son of Terence Doyne of Kilcavan, ancestor of Dunne of Ards (see Burke).

Lysagh chiefly resided at Cloneyhurk Castle, where in 1601 he entertained Lord-deputy Mountjoy. The ruins of this castle are still to be seen; it was very solidly built, the walls being some five feet in thickness. This place is referred to in the Annals under date A.D. 1389, where it is stated that Maurice O'Conor Faly the Bald was slain in the church (close by the castle),

¹ Moran's "Calendar, Patent Rolls."

with an arrow, by one of the O'Kellys of Lea. In the little churchyard adjoining are some tombstones bearing the name of Dunne and Dempsey, but none, Dr. Comerford states, dating further back than 1732. Rahinakeerin, another castle held by Lysa four or five miles to the north, is marked on the map on the side of a hill in ruins.

Barnaby chiefly resided at Knockardagur Castle in the barony of Cullenagh in Queen's County. In 1628 he had a lease for fifty-seven years from Thomas Ridgeway, Earl of Londonderry, of the town and lands of Knocardagur, Boleybeg, Gragenehowne, Rossecashel, &c., certain lands in Graige, premises in Moyadd, with 1½ acres and a house, &c., all of which contain 720 acres of the small measure. In 1617-22 he married Mary, widow of Captain Thomas Vicars, and in June 1641 sat in Parliament as M.P. for Ballinakill.

In 1638 Oweny, Tanist of Clanmaliere, died at Cloneygowan Castle, a small part of the ruins of which are still to be seen in the now village of that name. This place has the distinction of being the birthplace of two bishops, Dr. Ross M'Geoghegan, Bishop of Kildare; and Dr. Edmund, Bishop of Leighlin.

Oweny, by Mary, daughter of Sir Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron Delvin (c), and Mary, daughter of Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, had seven sons and as many daughters.

- Sir Christopher, married Cleopatra (ob. 28th March 1628), daughter of Sir Henry Cary (d) K.B., first Viscount Falkland, and Lord-lieu-
 - ¹ Note, "Cockayne's Peerage," by Sir Arthur Vicars.

tenant of Ireland, by whom he was knighted 13th July 1623. He died without issue before his father.

- 2. Lewis, who succeeded his grandfather as second viscount.
- 3. Henry.
- 4. Charles, died young.
- 5. Stephen, unmarried.
- 6. John, beyond seas.
- 7. Matthew, unmarried.

Of the daughters only two married, namely: Ellinor, married Major Robert Reeves (e), a Sussex gentleman, who came to Ireland with Cromwell; and Giles, married Conn M'Geoghegan of Ballenorcher, the writer, apparently, of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, and nephew of the bishop (see note, Chapter VII.).

After the death of his first wife in 1618, he remarried with Jane, daughter of Sir John Moore, Kt., of Croghan, King's County, by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Dr. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland (see note, Chapter III.); and had an only son, Colonel James of Bishop's Court, Co. Kildare.

By his third wife, Dame Ismae, daughter of Sir Christopher Bellew, and relict of Sir William Taafe (ob. 1630), he had no issue.

Burke ("Extinct Peerages") states that he was buried in the Chapel of Kilmolahey, Queen's County, now Kilmullen, near Portarlington, but in his will, the original of which is not preserved, he desired to be buried in the abbey at Killeigh.

In the following copy, taken from the "Prerogative

Will Book," only the spelling of the proper names has been adhered to:—

"In the name of God. Amen. The four and twentieth day of February 1637. I, Ownie Dempsie of Clonaguanie in the King's County, Esq., being wasted in body, but of sound and disposing mind and of good memory (God be praised), do make this my last will and testament, in writing, in the manner and form following. Imprimis, I do submit my soul unto Almighty God my Maker and Redeemer, and my body to be buried in the Franciscan Abbey of Killihie. Item. I will and ordain all my debts to be paid out of my goods and chattels to the date hereof without delay or contradiction. Item. I will and do leave my wellbeloved son Lewis Dempsie, Esq., to be my lawful heir (as he ought to be); and to succeed me in all my lands, rights, titles, and interests. Item. I will and ordain that all my silver plate do perpetually remain to my Manor-house of Clonaguanie, without power in my heirs to alienate any of the said plate to any other house. Item. According unto the agreement made by my lord father wherein he did limit and give power unto me, that the daughter I prefer, and all the daughters, at the time of my death should have their portion and dowry out of his estate, I now by virtue of that power do limit and appoint that each of my four daughters, namely, Marie, Margaret, Ellinor, and Cicilie, shall have a dowry of £300 strg., out of the estate of mv lord

father, or as it otherwise shall please his lordship. Item. I submit my youngest son James to the virtuous care of my wife, the lady Taafe. Item. I do declare in this my last will and testament that the \$400 mortgaged upon the lands of Ballymacrissan, and Ratymore, are of my own proper and personal debts which I pray my loving wife the lady Taafe to answer for, as it appeared under my hand and seal in another instrument. Item. I do discharge, acquit, and exonerate Roger Dempsie M'Falv from all sum, or sums, for rent, or goods by him received afore the date hereof, and moreover do acknowledge myself indebted to the said Ross over and above the said sums. Item. I will and ordain that the younger colts in my stables in this town be given unto my man Richard Bath, together with 40s. wages. Item. I will and ordain that this my last will and testament be well and truly observed, with all clauses herein contained, and included, in witness whereof I fix my hand and seal the day and date above specified. And before disposing of this I will and ordain that whatever appeared under my hand and seal before good witnesses do be had and reputed as of this my last will and testament. And do acknowledge the debts left to me by the last will and testament of my cousin, to be all paid as of my own debts. Item. For the great hopes I have of my wellbeloved wife, the lady Taafe, towards myself and my children. I will and ordain her ladyship to be

my sole and lawful executor and administrator, if

it please her ladyship to undertake it, if otherwise I ordain my son and heir Lewis Dempsie, Esq., and Mr. Oliver FitzGerald of Dunany (?) to be my executors and administrators. Witness my hand and seal the day and date above specified.

"ARTHUR DUNNE.
ROSS DEMPSIE.
FR. FELIX DEMPSIE.
RICHARD BATH."

The above-mentioned Lady Taafe was the second wife of Sir William, by whom she had an only son, Sir John, created 1628, Baron of Ballymote and Viscount Taafe of Corren, Co. Sligo. His descendant, the late Count and Viscount Taafe, for many years Prime Minister of Austria, claimed and was allowed the title of viscount, as the descendant of the celebrated Lieutenant-general Francis Taafe, fourth Viscount (grandson of Sir John), and third Earl of Carlingford, Count, Imperial Chamberlain, and Veldt Marshal in Austria, who died in 1704. There is no record of the Lady Taafe's death.

In 1639 Sir Terence died intestate, and probate of his effects was granted in 1658. He was succeeded by his grandson Lewis, second Viscount.

NOTES

- (a) Camden says a knight's fee is as much as is sufficient to maintain a knight for one year, and in the reign of Edward II. was £20. A proprietor who held by knight's service had to pay a large fine on coming to his property, and could not alienate an acre without purchasing a licence. If the estate descended to a minor, the Crown was guardian, and was not only entitled to a great part of the rents during the minority, but could require the ward to marry any person of suitable rank under heavy penalties. At the Restoration this system was (necessarily) abolished.—Macaulay's "Hist. of England."
- (b) There are some Irish pedigrees, compiled in 1617, preserved among the State Papers, including that of O'Conor Faly, O'Dempsey, and O'Dunne, from Milesius to the English Invasion (1172). Another pedigree of "O'Dempsey, Lord of Glynvalyry, with notes," compiled in 1627, is preserved among the Harleian MSS., British Museum.
- (c) The Nugents derive from Sir Gilbert de Nugent, brother of Richard de Capello (i.e. of the Horses), Lord Justice of Ireland, who in 1264 was imprisoned in Lea Castle by Maurice FitzGerald. Sir Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron, son of Richard, eighth Baron, and Elizabeth, daughter of Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanston, married Mary, daughter of Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, and had six sons and six daughters, namely:—
 - 1. Richard, tenth baron, created in 1621 Earl of Westmeath.
 - 2. Christopher of Corbetstown, married Lady Ann Forth al Cusack,
 - 3. Gerald, married a sister of Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell.
 - Thomas of Dunferth, Co. Kildare, married Mary, daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall.
 - Gilbert, married Jane, widow of Sir Robert Nugent of Dysert, ob. s.p.
 - 6. William, married Margaret Leigh, and died s.p.

The daughters were:-

- Mabel, married, first, Murrough O'Brien, third Lord Inchquin; secondly, John FitzPatrick, of Upr. Ossory.
- II. Elizabeth, married Gerald, fourteenth Earl of Kildare.
- III. Mary, mentioned above.
- IV. Eleanor, married Christopher Cheevers of Macetown, Esq.
- V. Margaret, married FitzGerald, Esq.
- VI. Julia, married Sir Gerald Aylmer of Donadea, Co. Kildare, Bart.

In 1580 Sir Christopher and his father-in-law, Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, were arrested on suspicion of disloyalty, and confined in the Tower of London. Lady Nugent shared her husband's imprisonment, and here her second daughter, Elizabeth, was born.-Lodge's Peerage

- (d) The Carys, Viscounts Falkland, descended from Thomas, second son of Sir Wm. Cary of Cockington, Devon. He (Thomas) married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert Spencer, by Eleanor. daughter and co-heir of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and had Sir John, Kt.; and William, who married Mary, sister of Queen Anne Bolevn, and was ancestor of the Earls of Devon. Sir John, the eldest son, married Joice, sister of Sir Aubrey Denny, and by her had a son and heir, Sir Edward, Master of the Jewel Office to Queen Elizabeth and James I., who by Catherine, widow of Henry, Lord Paget, was father of Sir Henry, K.B., Viceroy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. Elevated to the Peerage of Scotland in 1620 as Baron Carye and Viscount Falkland, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and had a son and successor. Sir Lucius, the accomplished nobleman mentioned in Lord Chancellor Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643. - See Burke.
- (e) The Major, according to Burke ("Arms and Armoury"), came to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell, and had by the above lady (with one daughter married to James Lodge, Esq., of Dublin, ancestor in the female line of the Lords Frankfort de Montmorency), a son and heir, William, captain, we believe, in Lord Kenmare's Regiment of Foot, in King James's Army. He married Bridget, daughter of Richard Neville of Furness, Co. Kildare (great-grand-daughter of Lord Justice Parsons), and relict of James Malone, and left a son and heir. Robert Reeves, who, by Mary Bodley of Kilkenny, of kin to Sir Thos. Bodley, founder of the Library at Oxford, was father of Robert Reeves. ancestor of the Reeves of Burrane, Co. Clare (formerly of Platten, Co. Meath); of Tramore, Douglas, Co. Cork; of Castle Kevin, and Ballyglissane, Co. Cork, &c.

Robert Edward Reeves, M.A., T.C.D., formerly of Capard House, Rosenallis, great-grandson of the above Robert, is a Magistrate for Counties Queen's, Limerick, and Tipperary, and was High Sheriff of Queen's in 1882. To the great kindness of this gentleman's brother, Richard S. Reeves, who possesses a very fine vellum MS. pedigree of the Clanmaliere family, the writer is indebted for the descent of the chiefs as given in this volume.

The late head of the family, Robert William Cary Reeves, J.P. and D.L., of Bessborough, Burrane, Co. Clare, High Sheriff, 1869, married, 1866, Grace, daughter of Col. Crofton Moore Vandeleur and Lady Grace Vandeleur of Kilrush, and left an only son, William Vandeleur Reeves, the present representative.—See Burke's "Landed Gentry."

CHAPTER XI

THE CLAN MALIERE IN 1641

To the confiscations, plantations, and non-confirmation of *The Graces*, historians chiefly attribute the "Great Rebellion," which broke out on the 23rd of October 1641.

Charles, in 1628, having received from the Irish a sum of £120,000, by a royal proclamation, under the title of *The Graces*, granted fifty-one privileges, the chief of which permitted sixty years' possession of land to constitute a title superior to all claims of the Crown, but these were never confirmed by the Parliament; and Wentworth, in 1634, by holding out a hope that they would be, obtained six subsidies of £50,000 each. In spite of this four-fifths of Connaught were declared by subservient juries to have reverted to the Crown owing to defective titles. In Ulster over three and three-quarter millions of acres—the better part of six counties—were taken and planted by James, and here the rebellion first broke out and soon spread over all Ireland.

In Leix, where few of the Irish were left, the English settlers took the offensive; and in Barnaby's absence burned his house, castle, and haggard, and carried off

"all that was near and dear unto him." Poor Barnaby returned, to find his house and castle—scarcely a trace of which is now to be seen on the hill of Knokardagur—in ruins.

Even Clanmaliere was not exempt from their attacks, and so insolent did they become that, as the "Contemporary History of Affairs" informs us, "the Dempseys raised in arms, Barnaby Dempsy of Cnocard Ogurra, and Henry Dempsy, brother to the Lord of Clanmalirie (the Lord himself winked at the matter in the beginning)."

This writer states that "Bernaby M'Lisagh Dempsy, by dwelling in Leyse as aforesaid where there was none of note except Puritans, as soon as the North East wind blowed, the Puritans of Leyse made all their houses garrisons, and did put themselves into warlike habiliment to annoy the Irish, especially all Catholics to whom they bore an inveterate hatred. No other refuge had this gentleman that lived in those vipers' bosoms than to run the same score as his countrymen, to take arms, and rather defensive than offensive, until he saw his said neighbours spit out their venom against such of his profession as came under their lurch, and especially against himself, for they burned his house, castle, and haggard, and all that was near and dear unto him they carried away. Then, though late, he began to pay them to his ability in the same coin, and his son and heir, a young lad, being most forward in this business and full of mettle, was soon after killed upon great odds."

Henry, hearing of this, and "on the spoil of some bordering Puritans," armed his clansmen with the intention of clearing the country of some of the surrounding "enemy garrisons." He first "took the possession of the Castle of Lea (belonging unto the Earl of Kildare, though then in the hands of another Protestant), not by force, but other civil way." And after leaving a garrison there, marched to besiege Geishall Castle, which was held by his cousin the Lady Offaly (a). Having no artillery, and the castle, surrounded by bogs and woods, being difficult of access, he was obliged to try the effect of a little "moral suasion," which hitherto seems to have worked very well. Accordingly he wrote—

"We his Majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his Highness's service for the sacking of this your castle, you are therefore to deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise upon the non yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer and impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that here we brag. Your ladyship upon submission shall have a safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your

enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired with all expedition, and thus we surcease.

"Henry Dempsie.
Charles Dempsie.
Andrew FitzPatrick.
Conn Dempsie.
Phelim Dempsie.
James M'Donnell.
John Vicars."

To this she replied :—

"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his Majesty's authority. I have ever been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for the offer of a convoy wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his Majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do the best I can to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Although I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

Her ladyship seems to have set as much value on this castle as did Sir Jonah Barrington's great-aunt, wife of Stephen FitzGerald of Morret, who was besieged some years later by the Cahills of Timahoe, who claimed the castle from which they had been evicted in Oueen Elizabeth's time. The assailants were beaten off, but Stephen was captured, and his lady being told that his life would be spared if she surrendered the castle, replied, tartly enough: "I will not surrender; I may get another husband, but I may never get another castle!"

On the same day that the above was written, letters were sent to the Lords Justices, Parsons and Borlase, but the messengers were intercepted, and Charles, whose name appears on Henry's missive, in a letter to her ladyship, makes mention of this, and "admires" that "instead of matters of conscience in her letters" she should make use of "frivolous and scandalous words," expressly nominating them "enemies and Clanmaleroe kerns." ¹

Leaving her ladyship to be dealt with on a future occasion, as there was still much to be accomplished, Henry, without further delay, marched to Monasterevan and took great spoils from the Lord Chancellor, who was obliged to petition for a guard to protect the place. The petition ran thus: "To the Honourable ye Commissioners of Irish affaires, the humble petition of Adam, Lord Viscount Loftus of Ely, in ye kingdom of Irelande." "Humbly sheweth that ye Petitioners, House of Monasterevan, and being in ye County of Kildare, in ye said Kingdom of Irelande, contiguous to a mayne river which runs from ye Queen's County, along ye said County of Kildare, divided by it and not passable above or below it, but only in this place near where your petitioner's house stands, that on ye other

side of ve river towards ve Queen's County, are inhabiting ve Rebellious Irish Septs, of ye O'Dempseys, O'Connors, O'Duns, O'Molloys, and O'Donnells (M'Donnells), and ve Gerraldens his neighbours, and in all this tyme in actual Rebellion: that since ve Rebellion began ye Rebels have dispoyled your petitioner of a great personal Estate (£2106 a year) and rents to ve value of £8500 odd, as by certificate upon oath: appertaining where manye English families had planted, who, for safety of their lives did fly into your petitioner's House, where from tyranny of ye Rebellion they have continued and been fed and maintained at ve Petitioner's charge to the number of eighty besides his own family, who have been preserved from the fury of the enemy, though several times desperately assaulted, whereby they are lately driven to great distress for want of provisions of men and ammunition. Which place in former times of war was concluded by the state to be a fit place for a strong ward of men to man that passage, and to defend that part of the country, and for that purpose had soldiers placed there accordingly, and it is the same place still, if not of greater consequence and greater consideration at the present time. Now therefore your petitioner intends (God willing) to repair thither to preserve what is left. That for reasons before mentioned you would be pleased to grant unto him commission for a sufficient number of Warders with Horse, he is contented to raise upon his own charges, and to have pay and entertainment allowed for them out of ye Common Exchequer of ye army for safety and security of that house and country—a passage into

which this Ford is a Common Inlet, and he shall ever pray, &c." 1

The guard, sent by the Government, under the command of Lord Moore, seems to have had a lively time at the hands of "Ye Rebels." who now marched to Kilkenny to join the main body under the command of Lord Mountgarret. On the way they "brought those that kept the castle of Clonbrock under the Irish obedience," and took part in the capture of the town of Castlecomer.

The castle was surrendered, it being agreed that twenty-five of the garrison should be escorted to the English fortress at Ballvlinan. Barnaby consented to take command of the escort, on condition that there should be no violence or retaliation. However, Captain Greames, or Graham, Commander of Ballylinan, attacked him on his return, but was repulsed and put to flight, and some of the Comer gentlemen, who assisted Greames. having been taken prisoners, were promptly executed.2 He afterwards returned and laid siege to Ballylinan, at the head of five hundred men, but with what success is not recorded. This was one of the worst "crimes" laid to his charge in after years.

O'Dempsey, who had taken no part in these proceedings, received a summons from the Lords Justices on the 3rd December to attend at Dublin on the 8th. "to confer on the state of the kingdom in these times of danger." Suspecting that most of the danger was

¹ Some Account of the Ruinous Ecclesiastical Edifices, Forts, &-c., in Queen's Co. and Kildare, by M. C. Carey.

⁹ O'Byrne's "Hist. of Queen's County."

the creation of the Lords Justices themselves, he refused to attend, as did the Pale Lords, Fingal, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimbleston, and Netterville, as they said they had received "certain advertisement that Sir Charles Coote at the council board had uttered certain speeches tending to a purpose to execute upon those of their religion a general massacre, by which they were deterred from waiting on their lordships, not having any security for their safety."

On the same day that this letter was sent to the Lords Justices, a great meeting of noblemen and gentlemen was held on the hill of Crofty, on the invitation of Lord Gormanston, Governor of County Meath. After being there a few hours a party of armed men on horseback, with a guard of musketeers were seen to approach. These were the northern insurgent leaders, Roger, or Rory O'More of Balyna, Philip O'Reilly, M'Mahon, &c. The lords and gentlemen rode towards them, and Lord Gormanston as spokesman demanded "for what reason they came armed into the Pale?" O'More answered that "the ground of their coming thither and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making of the subjects of this kingdom as free as those of England." Lord Gormanston then said: "Seeing these be your true ends we will likewise join with you therein." 1

O'Dempsey, not being an ultra-loyalist, had no hesitation in joining the movement, and now began to

1 Haverty's "Hist. of Ir."

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take an active part in the proceedings, "for thither unto did act nothing since these commotions." He first served notice to quit on the garrison at Geashill, as elated by their successful resistance to Henry's demand, a party had raided his lands and carried off some prisoners. This not being attended to, he caused two pieces of ordnance to be moulded—a field piece and a batterer—and arriving before the castle, sent the following summons to her ladyship:—

"NOBLE MADAM,—It was never my intention to offer you any injury before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well known, if I were so disposed, you had not been at this time at Geashill; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion. However I will not thirst after revenge, but of my loving and wonted respects still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for vourself and vour children and grandchildren, and likewise for your goods. And I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them, either to Dublin or any of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election. And if you be not pleased to accept of this offer. I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house before I stir from hence. And if you please to send me any of the gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous

to confer thereof at large. And so expecting a speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

"LEWIS CLANMALEROE.

"P.S.—Madam, there are other gentlemen now in this town whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in this mine offer unto you.

"Lewis Clanmaleroe.
Art O'Molloy.
Henry Dempsie.
Edward Conor.
Charles Conor (b).
Daniel Doyne.
John M'William."

To this she replied:-

"My Lord,—I little expected such a salute from a kinsman whom I have ever respected, you, not being ignorant of the great damages done by your followers of Clanmaleroe, so as you can't but know in your own conscience that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of mine own goods where they found them, and with them some others of such men as had done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I am offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, and I hope you have more honour than to imitate their example by seeking her ruin that never wronged you. How-



TOM'S OF ECONCR KING OF



ever, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom, dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection, from all those which, without cause, are risen up against me. Your poor kinswoman,

"LETTICE OFFALY."

After receiving this, he discharged his piece of ordnance against the castle, but at the very first shot
it broke and flew in pieces, all the injury done to
the castle being a piece of chimney blown off. The
garrison were evidently well informed of the value
of this "great piece of ordnance," to the making of
which, Archdall's "Lodge" states, "it was credibly reported there went seven score pots and pans, which
was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy,
before they brought it to that perfection in which
it was at Geashill." But the Contemporary Historian states the fact that it was "industriously
contrived by its artificer, an Englishman, as may
be supposed."

The thing being renewed was again fired, but "ye second broke and thrived as formerly." Not finding it feasible to storm the castle without guns, he determined to starve the garrison into submission, so leaving a force under Tiege O'Conor to watch the castle, he marched at the head of four hundred men to take the forts at Philipstown and Maryboro, but

free pardon for all his or their offences." "And though such person or persons bring not to us, the Lords Justices... the head or heads of the sayd traytor or traytors yet being justly proved shall have by way of reward three hundred pounds and a free pardon for all his or their offences." 1

Some copies of this Proclamation also include "Lisagh Dempsey, Esq." of King's County. There is no account of this Lisagh to be had, but there was a gentleman of the name arrested a few years before by order of the Irish House of Commons, and lodged in Dublin Castle. On "the humble petition of Lisagh O'Dempsey, a very poor man," he was released without fee for diet or lodging after four years' imprisonment.² Perhaps he was Barnaby's brother.

Others denounced, though their heads do not appear to have been quite so valuable, were Henry of Ballybrittas, Robert of Ballybeg, Dr. Edmund, and James and Dominick of Tully, clerks. James was Vicargeneral to Dr. M'Geoghegan who got possession of Kildare Cathedral. In March (1642) Archdeacon Golborne deposed that in December the ornaments of the cathedral and the books belonging to the same, also the chapter chest, were taken away by Ross M'Geoghegan, titular Bishop of Kildare, and Dempsey his Vicargeneral, and the church and tithes and rents belonging to the chapter were seized by the aforesaid to the yearly loss of £130.

The cathedral suffered severely, having had the steeple beaten down by a cannonade.

¹ "Contemporary Hist." ² "Journal, Ir. Ho. of Commons."

NOTES

- (a) This lady was daughter and heir to Gerald, Baron Offaly (who died before his father Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare); and was created Baroness of Offaly for life, by her marriage in 1615 with Sir Robert Digby, of Coleshill, Warwickshire, she had seven sons, one of whom Robert, the eldest, was created Lord Digby of Geashill. Henry's mother, daughter of Lord Delvin, and the Baroness, were first cousins. An interesting article on this subject, with portraits of her ladyship, is given in the Kildare Journal for 1902.
- (b) This Charles was chief of the family at this time. He was grandson of Callogh, Calvagh, or Cahir Roe. The "red-headed Calvagh" satirised in O'Daly's Poems:—
 - "A handful of meal in a trough in his house,
 Lord save them from hunger, 'twould starve a good mouse t
 The Minstrels the harp strings do rattle and flitter
 With noise like a sow singing bass to her litter."

Callogh died at Derrymullen, 16th October 1576, and left by his wife, Margaret Bermingham, a son and heir, Bryan, named in the State Papers as one of the principal gents. in King's County in 1599. He died in September 1621, leaving the above Callogh, or Charles, his heir, age twenty-eight and not married. Charles forfeited some three or four thousand acres in the barony of Coolestown, which at the Restoration were granted or confirmed to the Cromwellians—Warburtons, Purefoys, Nelsons, Rochfords, &c. The last chief of the O'Conors was Maurice Nugent O'Conor of Mountpleasant, King's Co. (descended from Col. John O'Conor, M.P. for Philipstown in 1689), who became the heir of Lord Sunderlin, and died s.p.m.—See Burke for O'Conor Morris.

(c) This account of the siege of Geashill is chiefly taken from the "Contemporary History," written circa 1660 and ed. by Sir Jn. Gilbert. It differs considerably from those generally given.

CHAPTER XII

FROM 1642 TO 1652

Lewis and Barnaby, notwithstanding the Lords Justices' Proclamation, still remained intact, and in March 1642 joined with Lord Mountgarret and other leaders in an attack on the Earl of Ormond, who was returning from a plundering expedition in the south of the County Kildare. For some miles the armies marched in sight of each other on the heights that run parallel northward from Inch Castle, in the ancient Clanmaliere. The Irish, having the advantage in numbers and anxious for battle, outmarched Ormond's forces and posted themselves on Bull Hill and Kilrush, where an engagement took place. The left wing of the Leinstermen was broken by the first charge, but the right, commanded by Mountgarret, "and some of the principal rebels," maintained the contest for some time, but fell back on a neighbouring eminence since called Battlemount. Here they were entirely routed with the loss of six hundred men; the sons of the Lords Dunboyne and Ikerrin; all their artillery and ammunition, with Mountgarret's baggage-waggon drawn by eight oxen; twenty pair of colours. Ormond received a letter of thanks from the English Parliament, and a jewel worth £500.1

1 Carte's "Life of Ormond."

Taking advantage of this defeat, Lord Lisle, Lieutenant-general of the Horse in Ireland, son of the Earl of Leicester, Lord-lieutenant, with his own regiment of 600 horse carabineers and another of 300 dragoons, marched from Naas a few days after the battle to recover Philipstown and Geashill. He was accompanied by Sir Charles Coote, who, at a Council of War held previously, told the rest that if they made haste they might get there without much difficulty, whereupon another asked if an alarm were raised how were they to get back? 1 however, their march was so swift that they arrived at Philipstown without encountering any opposition, and having found the town deserted surprised the fort.

In the same way they recovered Lea and Geashill, and before Lewis could muster his clansmen, were well on their way to Trim, burning the country as they proceeded.

The inhabitants of Lea repaired the town, and "in joyful remembrance of their deliverance" planted an ash-tree in the market-place, which eventually became one of the largest and most remarkable in Ireland. About the year 1827 it was blown down by a storm, being consequently 180 years of age. Having become hollow in the heart, its enormous trunk had afforded for many years a habitation for a family of professional beggars, who generally had a good fire, and a large pot of potatoes boiling in the middle of it. A writer in the Union Magazine for March 1845 states that "on going some years ago to visit the Palace of Tervouren in

¹ Cox's Hibernia Anglicana.

Belgium (which had been built for the Prince of Orange by the nation after the battle of Waterloo), I was agreeably surprised to see a piece of my old acquaintance forming a portion of the inlaid floor of the saloon. This floor was composed of bits of different kinds of wood all more or less celebrated. On one of the tables lay a map or key to this, and in its proper compartment we read ancien frene du Ley en Irlande." At the time it was blown down the trunk was eleven yards in circumference, and the branches formed a shade of above sixty feet in diameter.

The castle, being held for the Government, was strongly garrisoned, as were Philipstown and Geashill, but not for long, as the old Irish and Anglo-Irish now made common cause.

On the 10th of May a national synod met at Kilkenny, and an oath of association was framed which all Catholics throughout the land were enjoined to take. Those who were bound by this oath were called the "Confederate Catholics of Ireland." A manifesto explanatory of their motives, and containing rules to guide the confederation, and a plan of provisional government was issued. It was ordained that a General Assembly comprising all the Lords spiritual and temporal, with the gentry of their party, should be held, and that the Assembly should elect members of its body to represent the different provinces and principal cities, and to be called the Supreme Council, which would sit from day to day, dispense justice, appoint to offices, &c. After three days the conference was brought to a close.\textit{1}

In the "General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics," which was projected by the above synod and met at Kilkenny on the 24th October 1642, Dr. Edmund sat as spiritual peer, Lewis as temporal, with Barnaby of Clonevhurke as commoner.

The Assembly, which comprised II spiritual peers, and 14 temporal, with 226 commoners, is said to have held its first meeting in the house of Sir Richard Shea in the market-place. The chancellor and judges were represented by Mr. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, and Mr. Nicholas Plunkett sat as Speaker of the Commons. Both lords and commons, who sat in the one hall, addressed their speeches to him.

After the oath of association had been administered. a committee was appointed to draw up a form of confederate government, which was formally sanctioned by both Houses. The Supreme Council, which was composed of 24 members, was then chosen, and a great seal, bearing the legend, Pro Deo, Pro Rege, et Patria Hibernia, Unanimes, was ordered to be made, and a mint established, in which, in a short time, half-crowns to the full sterling value of £4000 were coined. Under severe penalties all distinctions between old Irish, and old and new English, were forbidden. Generals were appointed to take the command of the army, and a remonstrance to the king having been adopted as a declaration of their loyalty, and an exposition of their grievances, the . Assembly broke up, fixing the 20th of May for their next meeting.1

Under General Preston, brother of Lord Gormanston,

¹ Haverty's "Hist. Ir."

who had the command of the Leinster army, with the Earl of Castlehaven (a) as commander of the Horse, under him, Lewis served as a colonel of foot, and Barnaby and James as captains. Laurence, who was apparently a grandson of Lysagh of Cloneyhurk, and Donogh, or Daniel of Kilnecourt, served as ensigns. Charles was appointed by the Leinster Army Committee, with Thomas Bagenal, and James Allen, for the letting of "enemies and neuters" estates in County Carlow, and at a later period was authorised with others to set the excise of the various villages, parishes, and corporations of the same county.

The confederates soon possessed themselves of most of the castles and fortresses in King's and Queen's Counties, including Philipstown, Geashill, and Lea Castle, in which, it is said, the copper money called St. Patrick's half-pence was coined. These have on one side the figure of a king kneeling and playing on a harp, over which is a crown with the inscription: Floreat Rex. On the reverse the figure of St. Patrick, with a crozier in his right hand and a shamrock in his left, extended over the people. On his left are the arms of Dublin with the inscription Ecce Grex.

After the battle of Ross (March 1643), in which the Confederates were defeated, the Lords Justices sent Colonel Crawford at the head of a large party to besiege and take Ballybrittas, as Henry, who, it appears, resided here though he held no regular command, did a little skirmishing on his own account. Preston, who was besieging Ballinakill Castle, having received intelli-

¹ State Papers; "Contemp. Hist."

gence of this, despatched Lord Castlehaven at the head of 1500 men to raise the siege, whereupon Crawford withdrew, and in crossing the Barrow had his thigh broken by a musket shot.¹

But the Lords Justices were intent on taking the castle, and in June a great supply of ammunition having arrived from England, they sent orders to Sir Michael Ernle to again besiege Ballybrittas, which he succeeded in surprising and blowing up, after carrying off a great booty of his lordship's household stuffs and goods.² He also took Ballyshannon, belonging to the FitzGeralds, and Kilkea, the old Countess of Kildare's castle, "being the three places that most annoyed our convoys and the garrison at Athy."

The countess here referred to was Henry's aunt, Elizabeth, wife of Gerald, fourteenth Earl of Kildare, who, having taken part in the rebellion, was outlawed and attainted by the Lords Justices.

The affairs of the Confederates were now so prosperous that the king, desiring to come to terms with them, in the hope of receiving help in his difficulties, sent an order to the Earl of Ormond (b) to arrest the Lords Justices on a charge of contravening his will in the management of public affairs, and on the 13th September Ormond was commissioned to conclude a cessation of arms for one year, and subsequently for a longer period.

In 1645 the king becoming more anxious for a definite peace, sent express orders for that purpose to Ormond. Lord Mountgarret and Sir Nicholas Plunkett were sent

¹ Castlehaven's Memoirs.

² Carte's "Ormond."

by the Supreme Council to confer with the marquis on the subject, but the majority of the Assembly rejected Ormond's terms.

Lewis and Barnaby were of the moderate party, while Dr. Edmund, like most of the clergy, was ranged on the opposite side.

Referring to the protracted debate on the subject, Bellings, a contemporary and a member of the Confederation, relates that "the Bishop of Leighlin, who always sat upon an eminent bench at the upper end of the house, could with waving his hat, raise such a storm from the middle seats and towards the door, that nothing could be heard for a long time but the repeated thunder of I (ave), or no, or that name which he first dictated to them;" noticing an address made by the bishop, the same adverse writer states that "citing the text of Scripture where Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, Removete lapidem, wished them to observe that when our Saviour came to perform that stupendous work, he gave his disciples no other share in it than that of removing the stone; so said he, perform you that which is within your power, remove the stone, reject the peace, proceed on vigorously, and God will do the rest." 1

At length the moderate party, or the Ormondists, as they were now styled, prevailed, and the treaty was signed and proclaimed at Dublin on the 1st of August 1646.

But the majority of the clergy were no party to this treaty, and on the 12th of August a synod, which was

¹ Desiderata Curiosa Hibernia.

held at Waterford under the Presidency of Rinucinni, the papal nuncio, declared that "all and every one of the Confederate Catholics that will adhere to such a peace, and consent to the furtherance thereof, or in any other way will embrace the same, shall be absolutely as perjurers esteemed, chiefly inasmuch as there is no mention made in the thirty articles, nor promise for the Catholic religion or safety thereof, nor any respect had for the preservation of the kingdom's privileges as were promised in the oath of association, but, on the contrary all remitted to the king's will and pleasure." The names of Dr. Edmund and James Dempsey appear amongst those attached to this decree.

In consequence of this declaration the General Assembly almost unanimously rejected the treaty, declaring that "the nation would accept of no peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives, and estates of the Confederate Catholics."

On the 4th August Preston marched at the head of 8000 horse and foot to manœuvre against the forces of the Parliament, commanded by Colonel Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin.

On the 8th the latter, at the head of 13,000 horse and foot, advanced to attack the Confederates who were strongly entrenched on Dungan Hill, in Meath. Preston, more eager than prudent, charged down the hill, but was encountered with such firmness that his men were thrown into confusion. His artillery was so placed as to be useless, and his cavalry were drawn up on marshy ground where they were at the mercy of the enemy. Desperate but vain efforts were made to retrieve the

fortunes of the day, which ended in a loss of 5000 on the Confederate side. Amongst the prisoners taken were Captain James Dempsey, Lieutenants Donogh and Roger, and Ensign Laurence.

In May 1648 the Supreme Council of the Confederates signed a truce with Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchquin, one of the Parliamentary generals, despite the most emphatic remonstrances of the nuncio, who, having reason to fear for his personal safety, with the Bishop of Clogher, privately took his departure from Kilkenny on the 8th May 1648, passing over the city wall which adjoined his residence, and pursuing his journey, accompanied only by two attendants in a litter which awaited him outside one of the least frequented gates of the city. He halted for a short time at Ballinakill Castle, then tenanted by Colonel Roger, or Rory O'More, from which place he addressed a letter to General Preston, exhorting him to uphold the Catholic cause, and thence proceeded to Maryboro where Owen Roe O'Neill, the Ulster general, was then encamped with a small body of troops hastily collected.

Owen Roe, who sided with the nuncio, and called his army the "Catholic army," was declared by the Supreme Council "a traitor and rebel against the king, and the fundamental laws of the land, a common disturber of the peace, tranquility, and quiet of the kingdom, and a manifest opposer of the government of the Confederates, contrary to his oath."

The nuncio, in turn, from the camp at Kilminchy in the vicinity of Maryboro, issued a document pronouncing sentence of excommunication and interdict against

all who adhered to the said truce, and remitted same to Kilkenny where it was fixed on the church doors. On the twelfth day after his arrival in Kilminchy. while the nuncio and O'Neill were in private conference. a messenger rushed into the apartment and announced that Preston, with 10,000 men, was marching on Birr. within four miles of the camp. Preston, however, did not advance, and ignorance of O'Neill's numerical inferiority saved the latter.1

Numbers deserted the Confederates after the nuncio's sentence of excommunication, and joined O'Neill (c), who declared war on the Supreme Council. On his way to attack Kilkenny, his secretary, the Contemporary Historian, tells us he marched by Portnahinch and Cloneygowan, where the garrison there, "by my Lord of Clanmalirie's appointment, did in bullets shout the forlorn hope of this Catholic army; the General hereon advertised, mighty sensible of such an affront offered (whereas the intention was to offer none), did promise to demolish the said castle, and to that purpose caused the body of his army to march thither. But my Lady of Clanmalirie (d) coming unto him desired to be foreborn the rather what was done was not either by Lord or Lady's command, but rather poor ignorant people out of their proper humour. The General desired these very men in satisfaction for their transgressions, but my Lady prevailed with the General and had her request granted, which was that both town and offenders were pardoned. But gave the Viscount of Clanmalirie the worst language he could

¹ Meehan's "History of the Confederation."

afford. The conclusion of these premises did end in beare and aqua vitæ (e), which then, and the Lady very thankful, the General took his leave.

"The Catholic army now marched forward to Portnahinch to arrive that night to Athy, and beat young Preston from the town, before he was aware of any such matter. But such a flood was then in the Barrow that the natives of them parts (at any time of the year) never saw the like. All the cotts (boats) were sheltered by Clanmalirie, and Captain Bernaby Dempsey, who sent word unto Preston of General O'Neill's arrival thither to relieve Athy, which was the cause that Deigo stole away at night."

Preston joined with Inchquin, and O'Neill, finding himself outnumbered, withdrew to Ulster.

In September Ormond was empowered to conclude a treaty with the Confederates, and his proposals being accepted, peace was proclaimed in January 1649.

A few days after, the news of the king's execution reached Ireland, and was received by all parties with horror and indignation. Profiting by the feeling of sympathy shown everywhere for the royal family, Ormond, who was then at Youghal, had the Prince of Wales proclaimed king, by the title of Charles II.

According to the terms of the treaty Ormond's power as Lord-lieutenant should still continue, but he should be assisted by a council of twelve men chosen by the Confederates, whose chief duty it was to look to the due performance of the articles, "until they should be ratified in a full and peaceful convention of the parlia-

ment." The Confederates were to supply 15,000 foot and 2500 horse.

Under the marquis, O'Dempsey served as a colonel of foot, with Walter, son of Thomas Tyrrel, as his lieutenant-colonel, the latter the Contemporary Historian calls "Thomas Tyrrel the lawyer," and "ould Captain Tyrrel's son." This Captain (Richard) Tyrrel, mentioned in the Four Masters, was a celebrated captain under Tyrone. Barnaby served as major; James as captain; Lewis's second son, whose name is not given, with Charles, Laurence, Roger, and Donogh, served as lieutenants or ensigns.\(^1\)

O'Neill, who was still at the head of a considerable force, having been refused a command by Ormond, for a time allied himself with the Parliamentarians, who, taking full advantage of these feuds, were now beginning to take the offensive. In this extremity of affairs, the "Contemporary History" tells us, "Ormond did nothing but pamper himself in Ticraghan (f), and in Clanmalirie's house."

At length the marquis took the field, and in June set out from Clogrennan, Co. Carlow, for Dublin, at the head of 14,500 foot and 3500 horse. At Kildare he halted for three days; and at Naas he was joined by Inchquin with 2000 Munstermen. Crossing the Liffey at Lucan, he advanced to Castleknock, and on the evening of the same day established his camp at Finglas. Inchquin, with a portion of the army, seized Dundalk, Drogheda, and the castle of Trim, but Ormond failed to take Dublin. Moving his camp to the south side of

^{1 &}quot;Cont. Hist.;" State Papers, &c.

the city, he took by storm Rathfarnham Castle, built by Adam Loftus, the archbishop; and attempted to fortify Baggotrath Castle, the ruins of which stood close to the place now occupied by Beggars' Bush Barracks. Jones, reinforced by Venables and Reynolds, who had brought a considerable force from England, made a sortie, surprised the royal troops, and drove them in confusion from their lines. Among the prisoners taken were Ormond's brother, Colonel Richard Butler; his half-brother, Captain George Mathew, ancestor of the extinct Earls of Landaff; and Christopher, second Earl of Fingal. Of the Clanmaliere, Lieutenant Roger Dempsie was captured.

Ormond narrowly escaped. Colonel Reynolds, who had taken his brother prisoner, threatened to pistol him if he did not point out the marquis who was then quite near with only a few horse. Reynolds and Captain Otway charged, but Ormond set spurs to his horse and escaped.¹

In August 1649 Cromwell, who had received his commission as Lord-lieutenant from the Parliament, landed with 8000 foot, 4000 horse, and a strong force of artillery.

Dublin, held by Jones, and Derry by Coote, were the only places now held by the Parliament, and if all parties had united their strength Ireland might not have been conquered even by Cromwell.

Ormond lay near Trim, and Drogheda, the key to the north, was held by Sir Arthur Aston, with a force

¹ Murphy's "Cromwell in Ireland." The events from 1649 to 1650 are chiefly taken from this work, and the "Contemporary History."

of 2221 foot and 320 horse. The latter was divided into five troops, in one of which, Major Butlers, O'Dempsey's son served.

On the 3rd September Cromwell arrived before the town, and after a week opened fire on the churchyard wall of St. Mary's. Next day, after two storming parties had been beaten back from the breach, Oliver, in the dusk, led a third in person. Aston was forced back upon his inner lines, which in turn were stormed, and before night Cromwell was master of the town. Aston, the governor, was wounded, and a great dispute there was, says Ludlow, among the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reputed to be of gold, and was seized upon as a prize when he fell: finding it was of wood, they knocked out his brains with it, and hacked his body to pieces, from sheer disappointment.

Of Major Butlers' troop there fell, Lieut.-Col. Finglas. Captain Plunkett, "the Lord of the Demses'" son, and Colonel Fleming, nephew of Lord Slane. The inhabitants, men, women, and children, were put to the sword, and thirty that survived were shipped to the West Indies. Captain Tiege O'Conor, who took part in the siege of Geishall in '41, and was left among the dead, escaped at night and afterwards recovered.

Wexford was next taken, and Taafe (g) soon surrendered Ross. Cork and Youghal, through the contrivance of Lord Broghill, son of the Earl of Cork, declared for the Parliament, and Cromwell, making a bridge of boats across the Barrow, forced Ormond to centralise his forces at Kilkenny. At Clonmel, in May 1650. Cromwell was repulsed with the loss of over 2000 men, but the garrison, for want of ammunition, had to desert the place.

In the meantime Colonel Hewson, the "one-eyed cobbler," was busy in Kildare and the neighbourhood. In December 1649 he sent a party to quarter at Naas, and from thence to take in Ballysonan, and the Black Ditch thought to be Nurney on the borders of Clanmaliere, "a place that 20 men might hold against 20,000." Not being feasible to storm, the castle was surprised on a stormy night and garrisoned by 24 men under Lieutenant Moor, who also attempted to surprise Ballybrittas, which had been repaired.

In February Hewson marched from Dublin with 2000 foot, 1000 horse, and three field pieces, and next day (25th) came to Naas, which had been fortified by O'Neill the previous year. The day following the "strong fort of Ballysonan," now Ballyshannon, near Nurney, was taken; and a day or two later Lea Castle was dismantled. The confused masses of towers and broken arches show the merciless havoc then wrought. Ballybrittas, a small portion of the ivy-covered ruins of which are still to be seen in the lawn of Glenmaliere House, was next taken, and a fine piece of rising ground which overtops the modern village of Ballybrittas, from whence Hewson cannonaded the castle, is still called Cromwell's Hill. Cloneygowan was stormed, and garrisoned by a force under the command of one Major Hodden, one of the halberdiers that guarded Charles I. to the scaffold.

Castlehaven, Commander of the Leinster forces, finding his numbers not at all equal to those of the enemy,

and ill supplied with ammunition, could do little more than watch their movements. However, he succeeded in taking Athy by storm, where Hewson had a magazine, the garrison, 700 in number, being taken prisoners at discretion.

Hewson marched to join Colonel Reynolds at Leighlin Bridge, which castle and garrison surrendered on terms agreed on between the "Honourable John Hewson, Governor of Dublin," and Lieutenants Laurence Dempsey and William Brereton, commissioners appointed by Captain Piercy Brereton. The officers and soldiers were to march away with their arms, "muskets laden, bandoleers filled, drums beating and matches lighted" to Kilkenny. Near Gowran, the Contemporary Historian states, "Captain Laurence Dempsey, Captain Naisse (Nash), and their adherents," killed three score of the Parliamentary Horse.

At Kilkenny Hewson joined Cromwell, who, on the 20th May 1650, sailed for England, having deputed his son-in-law Ireton, Commander of the Parliamentary forces.

Ormond sailed to St. Malo, in France, and the Earl of Clanrickard then assumed the position of lorddeputy.

Soon after, commissioners were deputed by the Parliament to treat with the Royalists for a final submission of the nation on favourable terms, but the extremists scouted such an arrangement, and held out for two years longer.

After the reduction of Galway, which surrendered to Coote after a nine months' siege, in April 1652, the Leinster forces of the Irish came in upon articles which were completed at Kilkenny on the 12th of May.

The delegates named by the Earl of Westmeath, Commander-in-Chief of the Leinster forces, to meet the commissioners appointed by Ludlow, Commander of the Parliamentary army (among whom were Colonels Axtell, R. Laurence, and H. Prittie), were Sir Walter Dungan, Bart., Commissary-General of the Irish Horse; Lewis, Lord Clanmaliere; Sir Robert Talbot, Bart.; Sir Richard Barnewall, Bart.; Colonel Sir Walter Bagenal; Colonel Lewis Moore, and Thomas Tyrrel.

The terms agreed upon were that the Leinster forces should lay down their arms by the 1st June following, except that each colonel of foot was to be allowed to have three horses and two cases of pistols, and other officers according to the measure specified in the first of the articles.

By the second article, the officers, except such as were thereafter excepted, were to have pardon for life and protection for their personal estate, with liberty, if they should not be willing to accept such terms as the Parliament might hereafter impose, to retire within three months into any foreign state in amity with England.

By the seventh article, the benefit of the articles was not to extend to the exemption of any persons being questioned according to the due course of law, who had a hand in any of the murders committed upon the English, or Protestants of Ireland during the first year of the war. The Parliamentary commissioners further qualified this by declaring that the exception

should not extend to questioning the acts of soldiers in arms against any of the field forces of England, or others retained in public pay in the defence of any castles on behalf of the English.

These articles having been signed by the delegates, hostages were given for their due performance. O'Dempsey gave his son and heir Maxmillian.

On the 25th May the terms of the peace having been condemned under ecclesiastical censures by the Congregation of the Clergy of the Province of Dublin, assembled at Ballydrohid in Clanmaliere, under the presidency of Dr. Edmund, the Bishop and Vice-Primate of Leinster, Colonel Richard Doyne seized upon some of the parties to the treaty at Castlebrack in Iregan, and carried them "to a place of safety." The Contemporary Historian states that "Lieut.-Colonel Richard Dovne, resident in his native country, Iregan, daily waiting on neighbouring enemy garrisons, informed of the agents' return from Kilkenny, and what there done, as many of the clergy as conferred with him did both disclaim the act and the authors thereof, whereby egged this young warrior on to work some memorable deed, as was thought; having received intelligence of their lodging at Castlebrack, in Iregan aforesaid, thither taking his course, arrived at the dawning of the day, where finding Westmeath, Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnewall, and Thomas Tyrrel, the lawyer, on whom he laid hands, and carried them in the nature of prisoners to a place of safety which was most grateful to all well affected, where they continued for forty-eight hours." He was afterwards induced by representations that

were both "deceitful, forged, treacherous, and untrue, to enlarge the said agents, to the mighty prejudice of the cause, the grief of all well-affected, and the proper blemish of the Lieutenant-Colonel himself."

Lewis and his clansmen, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, laid down their arms at Kildare in June, soon after which, he, with Barnaby and Henry, Sir Walter Bagenal, Lord Mayo, and over one hundred others were arrested and brought before a High Court of Justice at Kilkenny, composed of officers of the army, and presided over by Sir Gerald Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

One of the first tried was Sir Walter Bagenal, a first cousin of Ormond's, who pleaded that as one of the parties to the Leinster Articles, and as a hostage for their due performance he should be free from trial. This plea, however, was rejected, and having been found guilty of shooting "an English boor" in 1641, on suspicion of being a spy, he was shot to death on the Parade at Kilkenny.

Barnaby and Henry, having been found guilty of offences of the like nature, met the same fate, and the Contemporary Historian, still concerned with the question of the peace, adds the pious wish that "God may forgive them their errors."

Lewis was charged with murder, committed by his men in surprising the Fort of Maryboro in 1641; and with burning the town. Like Othello, knowing little more than pertained to feats of broil and battle, he amused the court by his simplicity. He had never been in such a place before, he said, and wondered why

that little man (William Basil, the Attorney-General) was so vindictive against him. He confessed that he came with 400 men to surprise the fort, and was angry with them for burning the town as well. As the killing of soldiers in arms was no murder, but the death of simple townsmen was, and as this was against his intention, his life was spared, but he was kept a close prisoner in Dublin Castle until the Restoration.¹

Dr. Edmund, James, Charles, and Laurence, and several others of the clan retired to the continent. The bishop received a pension of sixty ducats a month from the King of Spain; and having remained some months at Madrid, finally settled in Galicia, the old home of Milesius, and died at St. Mary's, Finisterre, on the 6th September 1658 (h). Some kind friend composed the following epitaph for his tomb—

"EDMUNDUS MUNDUM TEMPSIT, CHRISTUMQUE SECUTUS, DOMINICUS TERRIS ALTER ET ILLE FUIT."

The bishop was a member of the Order of St. Dominic, and was the author of a work entitled "Feed Your Sheep," which, however, was not printed, the MS. having been lost on its way to Louvain, whither it had been sent for publication. His brother James was living in 1666, being then Vicar Capitular of Kildare.

His nephew James organised an Irish regiment, and offered his services to Charles II., but these not being accepted, he was placed in the army of the Prince

¹ Prendergast, "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution."

² Dr. Comerford.

Condé, and in 1665 retired with the rank of Mareschalde-Camp, or Major-General.

In the prince's army many of the clan served, and never returned to Ireland. John Dempsey, probably James's half-brother, had the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and Charles that of captain. Laurence entered the Portuguese service. Maxmillian seems to have kept possession of most of the lands in Queen's County until 1665.

NOTES

- (a) James Touchett, Lord Audley in England, and Earl of Castlehaven, was descended from that Lord Audley who had a grant of Monasterevan Abbey from Henry VIII. He died at Kilcash, near Clonmel, in 1684.
- (b) Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash succeeded his uncle, Thomas, the tenth earl, surnamed the Black, imprisoned at Ballybrittas in 1600; married Helen, daughter of Lord Mountgarret, and had a son and heir, Viscount Thurles (drowned on his way to England), who, by his wife, daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton, Co. Gloucester (who re-married with her cousin, George Matthews, son of Edmund of Llandaff, Glamorgan), had a son James, the twelfth earl, above mentioned, created Marquis, and Duke of Ormond at the Restoration. By the Act of Settlement and Court of Claims, Petty says he got 130,000 acres of land.
- (c) Owen Roe was a grandson of Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, great-grandson of Con, first Earl of Tyrone, and nephew of Hugh O'Neill, the last earl, who died at Rome in 1616. Some say Owen was poisoned by Sir Charles Coote at a banquet given in his honour. He died 6th November 1649 and was buried at Cavan. His grave is not known.
- (a) This lady was a daughter of John Itchingham of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford. The Itchinghams were descended from Sir Osborne

Itchingham, Knight Marshal, who had a grant of Dunbrody Abbey from Henry VIII. in 1545. His second son, Charles, was father of John who married Margaret Whitty, a kinswoman of Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, and died in 1616, leaving a son and heir, Osborne, born 1597, married, first, Ellinor, daughter of Sir Arthur Savage, Knight, of Rheban; secondly, Anne St. Lawrence, by whom he had no issue. He died in 1635, leaving by his first wife a son and heir, John, born 1618, married Sarah, daughter of Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and had a daughter Jane who, Lodge states, became sole heir to the estate which by Act of Parliament was settled on her husband, John Chichester, Earl of Donegal, whom she married in 1660. Lodge; Hoare's "Hist. Wexford," &c.

- (e) Usquebagh, or whisky. M'Geoghegan (Anls. Clonmac.), early in the fourteenth century, records that Richard M'Rannal died from drinking to excess of this spirit, which the English call aqua vita. "Not so to Richard." he says. "but rather aqua mortis!"
- (f) Tecroghan, held by Sir Luke FitzGerald. His wife was called by the soldiers Colonel Mary. Thomas, seventh Earl of Kildare, married Dorothy, daughter of Oweny O'More of Leix, and by her was ancestor of the FitzGeralds of Tecroghan, Ballyshannon, &c. He married, secondly, Joan, daughter of the Earl of Desmond, and was ancestor of the Fitzgeralds of Lackagh, &c.—Dr. Comerford.
- (g) Sir Lucas Taafe, son of the first Lord Taafe. His brother Theobald was created, in 1661, Earl of Carlingford.
- (h) He was interred with solemn pomp in the Cathedral of Compostella, where a marble monument was erected to his memory.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CLAN MALIERE DISPOSSESSED BY CHARLES II.

In 1660 Lewis was released, and James and some of his fellow-clansmen returned from the continent in the hope of sharing in the "Restoration."

Charles II. during his exile acknowledged great obligations to the Irish, but on his accession these were speedily forgotten, and following the pernicious advice of Clarendon, to make friends of his enemies, all his rewards were reserved for men like Coote and Broghill, who had been in rebellion for the last eighteen years, and helped to bring his father to the scaffold.

With such men in power it soon became apparent that so far as Ireland was concerned, the country was still at the mercy of the Cromwellians.

The king's manifesto received from Breda declared: "let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them to the least endangerment of them, either in their lives, liberties and estates," but notwithstanding this and the articles signed by Ormond in 1648, and confirmed by Charles himself, an Act was

passed in Dublin in 1661, in a Parliament composed chiefly of the "new interest," which practically dispossessed the Irish Royalists, and confirmed the Cromwellians in their possessions.

This Act of Settlement, or as it has been aptly styled, "Act of Robbery," which was framed by Broghill, now Earl of Orrery, enacted "that all confiscations distinctly caused by the rebellion of 1641 should remain in force, but to those who could prove their innocence their lands should be restored, while the adventurers and soldiers in possession should be compensated in some other district."

To receive evidence, a Court of Claims was established which performed its work so well that whereas before 1641 two-thirds of the fertile lands of Ireland were in possession of the old Irish and Anglo-Irish, they now were left with less than one-third.

This being so, it is not surprising to find that O'Dempsey's claims were disallowed, and his estates withheld as a forfeiture, as were those of Hugh O'Dempsey of Kilnecourt, who, according to the Inquisition of Leinster, was but thirteen years of age in 1641.

Orrery, "as a good preliminary step towards supplanting his colleague Ormond," suggested specially a grant of these estates to Sir Henry Bennett, the favourite of Charles II., and one of the famous, or infamous Cabal, who, though originally a groom in the royal stables, now held the position of first Secretary of State, and needed but the "amplitude of estates" to be enrolled in the list of the English nobility. Such an opportunity was not to be lost, and having put in his claim the grateful Charles, by privy Signet dated

at Hampton Court, 6th August 1662, ordered that he should have a grant of all the Clanmaliere estates, comprising 10,837 acres in Queen's County, and 17,015 acres in Counties King's and Kildare, "reserving to Sir Francis Beasley, Knight, his right to a mortgage of £500 upon the lands of Diskert," or Rahinakeerin, and to Maurice FitzGerald his right to a mortgage of £100 upon the lands of the O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt (Lughill and Gurteen). See "Report on Public Records in Ireland, 1821–25," p. 84.

Soon after, the trustees of forfeited estates awarded him the lands. But the grant did not take effect until 1666, and O'Dempsey, apparently unaware that his lands were thus disposed of, petitioned the king and reminded his Majesty of all he had suffered in the royal cause.

At the same time, James, who had retired from the Prince Condé's service with the rank of major-general, petitioned for himself and the following officers of his regiment:—

Lieutenant-Colonel James Shorthall, heir of Oliver of Ballylarkin.

Major Pierce Shorthall.

Captain John Cantwell.

- " Michael Shorthall of Claragh.
- " Myles Reyly.
- .. Edward Butler.
- " James Dempsey.
- " Charles Reyly.
- " James FitzGerald of Burntchurch.

Ensign Myles Dempsey.

- ., Will FitzGerald.
- " Tirlagh O'Brenan of Clonin.

Quartermaster Edmund Reyly.

The petition states that on laying down their arms in Ireland, they served under the Prince Condé and offered their services to his Majesty; and prays for a provision in the Act of Settlement to restore them to their estates.

In 1664 O'Dempsey petitioned the Earl of Ossory (son of the now Duke of Ormond), Lord-lieutenant, as follows:—

"Lewis, Lord Viscount Clanmaliere.-That the undernamed lands were part of your petitioner's ancient estate whereof he was seised until outed by the late Usurped Powers, by whom the same were assigned to one Major Hodden, and were by him. or his assignes, enjoyed till after his majesties happie Restauration. The said Major and such others as pretend to have had any interest therein, being conscious of their own guilt, and enormous crimes committed against his late Majestie, absented themselves, and never durst appear, or own the said lands, but the profit thereof is taken without any title or colour of right, whilst your petitioner, whose restoration is provided for by the Act of Settlement, and whose loyalty and good affection to his Majesty is well known, hath this twelve years past lived in great necessitie, having had

no lands, pension, or relief from the late Usurped. Wherefore your petitioner humbly prayeth your lordship to give orders for a custodiam to be granted to your petitioner of the said lands, reserving the quit-rents if the terre-tenants thereof show not good cause to the contrary, and your petitioner will pray.

"Kilcappagh, Ballykillen, Ballykeine, Ballychristall, Gorteene, Ballentoker, Ballyduff, Ballynekille, Rahenkeren, Garrymoney, Garryhenge, all lying in the Barony of Upper Philip's Town, in King's County."

A William Jans, who had an interest in some of these lands, also petitioned the earl, and says the above "Mr. Richard Hadding was one of the halberteers that garded his late Majestie to that execrable massacree and murther . . . for which service the late Usurped (Government) rewarded him with lands in Ireland whereof he continued seised until his Majestie's happie Restauration, and then fled leaving the possession and management to one Richard Hadding, nephew to the said Major, the traytor lately deceased." In another petition he states, "That whereof your petitioner is credibly by divers persons informed that there has been of late discovered, and taken from the ruins of an old crosse in the King's Countie in one of the manor townes of Lewis (O'Dempsey), Lord Viscount Glanmalira, great summes of money (£1700), and treasure by one Donogh Farrel, a smith, and divers other country swayne, to a great value, in or about and neere the towne of Clonnegowney which properly appertains to his Majestie as your petitioner supposeth and hopeth to make good. And forasmuch as your petitioner expecteth the benefit and proportion of a discoverie and to the end he may be inabled to make a full and perfect discovery of the same to his Majestie and your petitioner's advantage. May it therefore please your Excellencie to arm him with a warrant, or order, delivered to his Majestie's Justices of the Peace, High and petty constables in the said countie, and other his Majestie's officers, and other loving subjects to apprehend said parties every one of them, and them securely to keep in safe custody until they and every of them doe bring in the treasure, so by them found and digged up, upon the oath of an Esquire of undoubted credibility, as by the examination of Maxmillian O'Dempsey." It would be interesting to know how much of the treasure William received.

In reply to O'Dempsey's petition, the earl writes to the Barons of the Exchequer:—

"Dublin Castle,
"7th November, 1664.

"If the lands within mentioned be not passed in his Majesty's letters patent lately granted Sir Henry Bennet, Knight, nor already in custodiam to any other person, we pray and direct the Barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer to cause a custodiam thereof to be issued to the petitioner, to continue during his Majesty's pleasure, at such rents as they shall think fit.—Ossory." 1

^{1 &}quot;Hist. MSS. Ormond Papers."

It was likely in anticipation of another petition that at this time Baron Povey at the Maryboro' assizes, sentenced ten of Barnaby's men to death for taking part in the siege of Ballylinan in 1641. This disciple of Jeffrey's declared from the Bench that the whole 500 men were all guilty, and he would have hanged the survivors if Lord Ormond had not stopped the proceedings. The intervening events were now conveniently forgotten and nothing remembered but "the horrible and abominable massacres" committed (chiefly in the imagination) in '41.

Meanwhile Bennet, now Lord Arlington, alias Harlington, obtained a second patent dated 28th July, 18th Chas. II., which was subsequently confirmed by a clause in the Act of Explanation (17, 18, Car. 2, C. 2), which states that Lewis Viscount Clanmaliere had been but tenant entail and had exhibited his claim as such to the trustees of forfeited estates, and that Lord Arlington claimed the reversion in fee by virtue of the patent of the 5th November, 14, Chas. II. It being doubtful whether the estate tail was not extinct, and O'Dempsey's claim of innocence not being allowed, to obviate the doubt, the section enabled Arlington to enter upon and possess the land whereof Lewis, Lord Clanmalira, was seised, 22nd October 1641, as fully as if the estate tail had been spent or expired. The following is the section in full:---

"And whereas Lewis, Lord Viscount Clanmaliere, being but tenant in tail of certain lands in Ireland, exhibited his claim before the Commissioners for

¹ Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement."

execution of said former Act, but the same remained undetermined, and no other claim was exhibited by any other person to any part of the lands of the said Lewis, Lord Viscount of Clanmalira, either in possession, or reversion, or remainder, except only the claim of Sir Henry Bennett, Knight, now Lord Arlington, his Majestie's principal Secretary of State, to the reversion thereof in fee, being granted to him the said Sir Henry Bennett, now Lord Arlington, by his Majestie's letters patent, bearing date the fourteenth year of his Majestie's reign, which claim was by the said Commissioners allowed, insomuch that the estate and interest of such soldiers and adventurers. who were formerly planted thereupon, are become very doubtful, and that as at the best they were not to continue longer than during the said estate tail, so now it may be doubted in law if they be of any continuance at all, and whether the said estate tail be not extinct in law by the forfeiture of the said Lord Clanmalira, whose claims of innocence hath not been allowed, and so by consequence the reversion granted to Sir Henry Bennett, now Lord Arlington, as aforesaid, comes to take effect in present possession. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Sir Henry Bennett, now Lord Arlington, shall and may enter into and upon, and shall have, hold and enjoy, to him and his heirs, all and singular the Messuages, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and

Hereditaments, whereof Lewis, Lord Viscount Clan-

malira, or any other person in trust for him, was seised or possessed, the twenty second of October. one thousand six hundred and forty-one, in as full and ample manner as the said Sir Henry Bennett, now Lord Arlington, might have held or enjoyed the same by virtue of the same letters patent, in case the said estate has been spent or expired, or otherwise determined or extinguished; which said letters patent and all and every the clauses therein contained, are hereby confirmed, and declared to be good, valid and effective in law to all intents and purposes; and that all and every the adventurers and soldiers, their heirs, executors, asignee, or assignes, who are to be removed in order to the quiet and peaceable of the said Sir Henry Bennett, now Lord Arlington, shall be satisfied their full two third parts respectively in like order and manner to and with other adventurers and soldiers: any clause, matter or thing, in this or the said former Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

Thus the Hoddens, and other soldiers and adventurers who were to be removed off the lands, were to be provided for elsewhere, while the Clanmaliere, after being in possession for over 1300 years, were left without an acre, to provide for themselves, and to lament bitterly all they had suffered and lost for their adherence to the cause of the worthless and treacherous Charles II.

It is too late now to enlarge on this subject, but it may be said that, of the many thousands, few were

more unjustly and shamelessly robbed. The Act of Settlement includes only Ensign Phelim, who served abroad under the Duke of Gloucester, but he apparently received nothing more substantial than honourable mention, except perhaps a letter of thanks indited by the noble Arlington.

For the benefit of "his Lordship," who was naturally anxious to efface all ancient recollections, a clause was inserted in the Act of Explanation which empowered the Lord-lieutenant and Council in the posting of all letters patent to give "new and proper names more suited to the English language and tongue." with an alias, for all towns, lands, &c. Under this clause the old town of Cooltoderry received the alias of Portarlington, but Petty's survey having been made before this name was bestowed, the lands are still called by their ancient name in the quit-rent and county books. Part of Portarlington is still known as Cooltoderry; and Cloneygowan, Cloneyhurk, Rahin, Ballybrittas, and several other places are still to be found on the map. In Gale's "Corporate System" there is an interesting account of the town.

By a charter bearing date 3rd August, 19th Chas. II., Portarlington was created a borough. This charter, the only one relating to Portarlington, after stating the adjudication of the lands forfeited by Lewis, Lord Clanmaliere, to Henry, Lord Arlington, and his heirs for ever, reciting the patent 27 July, 18th Chas. II., to Lord Arlington and stating that he had expressed a desire that the lands should be planted with English Protestants, &c., proceeds to erect certain of these

lands which lay in the King's County, into a manor to be called the Manor of Charlestown; and further ordained that the lands of Cooltoderry, alias Portarlington, and other lands therein named, all in the barony of Portnahinch and Queen's County, and the lands of Cloneorke, alias Portarlington Woods, and other lands in the barony of Philipstown in the King's County, should be one entire manor to be called and known by the name of the Manor of Portarlington.

The Clanmaliere who were still in possession of a great part of the "Manor of Portarlington," from which even Cromwell never succeeded in evicting them, were not likely to surrender these lands without some compensation, and resolved to hold out.

In 1661, on the complaint of Thomas Vincent, a member of the Irish House of Commons, Maxmillian, Edward, and Peter Dempsey were summoned to appear before that House for "riotously resisting" certain persons whom petitioner had employed to fell and saw timber on these lands, but for some years they held possession by the sword, and resisted every attempt to oust them, till at length, Arlington, hopeless of being able to effect a clearance, and alarmed by the frequent petitions of the chief himself, compromised matters by giving a lease of 2786 acres to the O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt at a nominal rent.

O'Dempsey, apparently through Ormond's (a) influence, received a Civil List pension from the king, while Maxmillian's lady, "Mrs. Anne Dempsey," and Colonel James, also received pensions, as appears from the

^{1 &}quot;Ir. Ho. of Commons Jrnl."

following extract from the king's letter, dated 13th September 1671, and addressed "to John, Lord Berkley, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or other, the chief governor in his absence":—

"CHARLES R.

"The King taking notice of the distressed condition of several of his subjects of that Kingdom, orders the Lord Lieutenant to pay the following pensions out of the Concordatum Fund:—

Richard, Earl of Westmeath		•		£150
Lord Viscount Rochford .				100
Lord Viscount Netterville .				150
Lord Viscount Avagh (Iveagh)				150
Mrs. Anne Dempsey				150
Lord Trimblestone				100
Lord Castleconnell				150
Lord Upr. Ossory				100
Dunboyne				100
— Brittas				100
Louth				150
Sir Wm. Talbot				150
Sir Pk. Barnewall				150
M'Carthy Reagh				100
Mr. Edw. Goffe				50
William Talbot of Robertstown	٠.			50
Colonel James Dempsey .				50

"Payable half yearly, the first payment on the 1st November, and so till further order." It will be seen from this what rewards were reserved for most of the Irish nobles that sided with Charles. Indeed peers and commoners suffered alike so unjustly from the effects

^{1 &}quot;Carte Papers."

of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, that they never despaired of securing their repeal, and of finally being restored to their estates.

Colonels James and Laurence were given commissions in the Royal Army. In 1678 Patrick Sarsfield, grandson of Peter of Tully, and the future Earl of Lucan, deposed before the Mayor of Chester that, "In May, June, or July last" he had come from France to London, lodging at the house of the King's saddler at Charing Cross, and receiving pay during that time from Mr. (afterwards Sir Patrick) Trant, "about three or four weeks ago" he received a commission as captain ir Colonel Dungan's Regiment, dated 9th February last, which commission was delivered to him by Lieut-Colonel Dempsey, or Mr. Trant, "they being then together at the Crown and Sceptre Tavern in Pick-adilly." This apparently refers to James.

Lewis, undeterred by his bad fortune, seems to have "embarked on the sea of matrimony" a second time, as the will of Dorothy, Lady Viscountess Clanmaliere, dated 26th May 1707, proved same year, is still preserved. Her ladyship re-married with Ciaran Molloy, chief of his name, and by her will left the aforesaid Molloy all her "worldly estate, fortune, dower, portion, jointure, or inheritance" which she has "or ought to have." She appoints her "well beloved Richard FitzPatrick, Esq." probably her brother, and Mr. Symon Bradstreet, executors. "Witnesses present at signing, sealing, and delivering of written will," John Molloy, and Catherine FitzPatrick. No children are mentioned.

¹ Todhunter's "Life of Sarsfield."

By his first wife, Martha, daughter of John Itchingham (b) of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford, he (Lewis) had issue:—

- I. Maxmillian, third and last Lord Viscount.
- 2. killed at the siege of Drogheda. In the official list of the killed given in Murphy's "Cromwell in Ireland" he is styled "the Lord of the Desmes' son." According to Fr. Murphy, who doubtless saw the name in some other place, this is meant for Demse, or Dempsey.
- 3. Terence, ob. s.p.m.
- May or Mary, married John Quin (c) of Quinsboro,
 Kildare.
- II. Elizabeth, married Hugh O'More (d) of Ballinakill Castle, Queen's County.

O'Hart states that Captain Felix O'Neill, of the O'Neills of Clannaboy and an officer in Lord Galmoy's Horse, married a daughter of Viscount Clanmaliere; was killed at the battle of Malplaquet, and left no issue.

Also a Captain Walter Johnson is said to have married a daughter (Mary) of Lord Clanmaliere, after the battle of the Boyne, and settled in Queen's Co.

NOTES

- (a) Ormond was well hated by Bennett, having refused to be drawn into a Cabal to make him Secretary of State. He also refused his brother a troop of horse as he says, "I told him (Bennett) that many who had been deservedly officers of the field among the Horse, and some Colonels were with great industry and earnestness desiring to be lieutenants of that (Sir T, Armstrong's) troop. . . Figure to yourself how he and the rest would take it to have a man, never heard of, made Captain of Horse over their heads. . . If Mr. Secretary's brother were near upon a level with others he had reason to reproach me."—Will's Life of Ormond.
 - (b) See note on this family, Chapter XII.
- (c) John Quin seems to have been of that family now represented by Lord Dunraven. Quinsborough (alias Coolsuck) in the neighbourhood of Monasterevan still bears that name. John had a son and heir Dominick (ob. August 1732), married, 1721, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas St. Lawrence, twenty-fifth Baron of Howth (and relict of Edward Rice, of Mount Rice), and by her, who died in 1727 and was buried at Howth, he had one son, Maxmillian, who died s.p. in 1739; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Martha, and Mabel, the two younger of whom dying infants, the eldest became sole heir. She married, in 1744, Robert Longfield, Counsellor-at-Law, and died 21st April 1747. By a private Act of the Irish Parliament her and her husband Longfield's estates were vested in trustees to pay off encumbrances. The Quins' burial-place was at Tierogher, near Portarlington. Dominick had a brother Terence of Ballykelly, who left a will.—Lodge; Dalton's Army List, &c.

(d) Hugh appears to have been a son of Colonel Roger or Rory O'More, who in 1648 resided at "Ballinakill Castle in Leix." The Contemporary Historian calls him (Roger), "a well-spoken gentleman though no military man," and "all the while for General Neyll." This was undoubtedly Rory O'More of Balyna, one of the chief actors in the rebellion, as the old ballad tells us.

"Tis the signal our rights to regain and secure, Through God and our Lady and Rory O'Moore."

Dr. Comerford states that a Conal O'More, Parish Priest of Ballina-kill, according to tradition, was of this family. Rory O'More was a

colonel in 1652, and in the "Book of Postings" we believe his name is set down for lands in Ballinakill neighbourhood. The castle was built by Thomas Ridgeway, Vice-treasurer in the reign of James I., afterwards Earl of Londonderry. Rory married a daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall of Turvey, and, according to Burke, had several daughters though only one son, Colonel Charles, killed at Aughrim, s.p. Lewis, brother of Roger, was ancestor of the O'Mores of Balyna, now represented by the More O'Ferrals—See Burke.

CHAPTER XIV

LAST BATTLES OF THE CLAN

WHEN James II. ascended the throne in 1685 the pensions granted by Charles II. were renewed, though Maxmillian's name appears to have been inadvertently omitted from the Civil List, as we find him writing to Lord Hatton asking to have the Civil List pension granted by Charles II. continued, and desiring his lordship to recommend him to the Lord President for same. Soon after he was appointed by his Majesty, Lord-lieutenant and Governor of Queen's County.

James was given the command of a Regiment of Foot, and Laurence was appointed Colonel or Lieutenant-colonel of Horse. James and Laurence, the only two officers of the name in the service at this time, are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the Earl of Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law and viceroy from 1685 to 1687.

Of the great outcry raised in England against employing "Popish" officers, he writes to the Earl of Sunderland: "People cannot help but being frightened when they see the sons of the very men who were most active in the rebellion now in commission. The truth is, some of these officers are so very indiscreet as to

say, now they have got the power, when they have moulded their troops and companies to their own minds they will quickly get their lands again. All this would be easily remedied if men were discreet in their stations as some are, among whom ought to be remembered Sir John FitzGerald, both the Demosevs. Colonel Sheldon, Lacy and many others, who have moulded their troops and companies to their own mind without the least dissatisfaction to any one. They are beloved in their quarters; they cherish and comfort the people; and punish those who talk impertinently. But there are likewise several of whom I cannot give so good character; and those who ought to reprove them for indiscretion, will only say, 'Alas! poor man, he has lost his estate, you must give him leave to talk.' I have taken the liberty to entertain vour lordship with these stories that you may see something of the temper of persons as well as things, and to show you that it is not so much the king's employing Roman Catholics in his army, which disquiets men, as that there are such, from whom by their own words and actions they fear to be oppressed instead of being protected."

Laurence seems to have been a favourite with the earl. In a letter to Lord Rochdale in 1685 he writes: "The 'Providence' is cast away upon the coast of Carlingford, and but one man of all the company saved, in her were Colonel Dempsey's horses, and servants and all his goods which I doubt not will almost undo the poor man." In another letter he says: "I have known him for many years and always for a man of honour

and a good officer." When Tyrconnell was appointed viceroy on the recall of Clarendon, he resigned his commission and sailed to the Continent. On his way through London he was arrested under the Act for the removal of Popish Officers outside the city; and being called before the House of Lords to account for his presence he said he received a pass from Lord Newport, and designed to go to Ostend, "as I said I never would draw a sword in Ireland while Tyrconnell was there."

The earl (a), who was also at the head of the army, laboured to restore his countrymen to their earlier supremacy, and boldly avowed his intention of securing the repeal of the Act of Settlement, against which the Irish had never ceased to agitate. He was active in calling in the Corporation Charters which were renewed in 1687.

These new charters have Colonel James a burgess in that to Athy, and Charles a burgess in that to Kildare.²

James, it appears, was one of those officers who accompanied the king in the expedition which sailed from Brest in France, and landed at Kinsale in March 1689.³

The king, passing by way of Cork to Dublin, summoned a Parliament which assembled at the King's Inns on the 7th May 1689. The peers, of whom five were newly created, amounted to fifty-four, and the commons numbered 224.

Maxmillian sat in the Upper House; and Sir Patrick

¹ Hist. MSS. Report. ² Dalton's Army List.

^{3 &}quot;State of the Protestants in Ireland," by Archbishop King.

Trant, first Commissioner of the Revenue, who had purchased his lordship's inheritance from Arlington some time before, was returned as M.P. for Queen's County, with Sir Henry Bond, Bart., and Sir Thomas Hackett, Knight, as members for the new borough of Portarlington.

One of the most notable Acts of this Parliament was the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and as its opinion of these enactments is expressed in the first section of the Act of Repeal, we think it sufficiently interesting to quote in full:—

"WHEREAS the Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom have for several Years to the apparent hazard of their Lives and Estates under the Royal Authority, defended this kingdom, until at last they were overpowered by the Usurper Oliver Cromwell: in which guarrel many of them lost their Lives, and divers of them (rather than take any conditions from the said Usurper) did transport themselves into Foreign Parts, where they faithfully served under his late Majesty, and his present Majesty, until his late Majesty was restored to the Crown. And whereas the said Usurper hath seized and sequestered all the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments of the said Roman Catholicks within this kingdom, upon the account of their Religion and Loyalty, and disposed of the same among his Officers and Soldiers, and others his Adherents; and though his Majesty's said Roman Catholick Subjects, not only on account

of the Peace made by his late Majesty in the Year 1648, but also for their eminent Loyalty, and firm adherence to the Royal Cause, might have justly expected to partake of his late Majesty's Favour and Bounty upon his happy Restoration, which was then extended to many notorious Rebels in other his Countries and Dominions, which would make amends for the Oppressions and Injustice they lay under for many Years in the time of the said Usurper; vet such were the contrivances set on foot to destroy his Majesty and Catholick Subjects of this Realm that two Acts of Parliament passed here, and one Entituled, 'An Act for the better Execution of his Majesty's Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Soldiers, and other his Subjects there.' The other Act Entituled, 'An Act for explaining of some Doubts arising upon an Act Entituled, an Act for the better Execution of his Majesty's Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland . . . and for making some Alterations of and Additions unto the said Act for the more speedy and effectual Settlement of the Kingdom." by which many of the said Roman Catholick Subjects were ousted of their ancient Inheritances, without being so much as heard, and the same were distributed among Cromwell's soldiers, and others, who in Justice could not have the Pretensions to the same, contrary to the said Peace made in the Year 1648, and contrary to Justice and natural

Equity. And Whereas it is now high time to put an end to the unspeakable Sufferings of the said Roman Catholicks, natives of this Realm (who have eminently manifested their Loyalty to his Majesty against the Usurper the Prince of Orange) and to remove the unparallel'd Grievances brought upon them under Colour of the said two Statutes. which cannot be otherwise redressed than by repealing the said Acts, and restoring the former Proprietors to their ancient Right, the compassing whereof is much facilitated by his Majesty's Royal condescendion to apply towards the Satisfaction and Reprizals of honest Purchasers under the said Act part of the Lands and Tenements forfeited to him by the late Rebellion and Treason committed by Estated Persons within this kingdom, who, contrary to their Duty and Allegiance, joined with the Prince of Orange. Be it therefore enacted by your most excellent Majesty, with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by the authority aforesaid: And it is accordingly enacted by authority of the same, that the said two several Acts hereinbefore mentioned. commonly called the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and the Acts of State, or Acts of Council, commonly called the Resolution of Doubts by the Lord-lieutenant and Council upon the Acts of Settlement and Explanation thereof, and all and every Clause, Proviso, Article, and Sentence in them, and every of them contained, and all and

every Grant, Patent, and Certificate pass'd by vertue of, or under colour or pretence of the said Acts and Resolutions, or any or either of them (except what is hereinafter preserved, or mentioned to be preserved), be and are hereby absolutely repealed, annulled and made void to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes whatsoever, as if the same had never been made or passed, notwithstanding any mis-recital of the Title to them or either of them, or of the exact time when the said Acts or either of them were made and passed."

By this Act the dispossessed landowners were restored, and a large portion of the lands of the Williamites were set apart in satisfaction of the claims of "honest purchasers" like Sir Patrick Trant, who got a grant of the Earl of Meath's estate.

After Poynings' Act had been repealed—a virtual declaration of Irish independence—and an Act of Attainder passed against the Williamites, most of whom, like the Duke of Ormond, owed their possessions to the Act of Settlement, Parliament was dissolved on the 20th of July after sitting for less than three months.¹

The army was now reorganised. Colonel James served on the king's staff, and Laurence, who returned to serve "his king and country," was appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of horse commanded by Piers Butler, Lord Galmoy. Patrick Dempsey

^{1 &}quot;The Patriot Parliament of 1689," by Thomas Davis.

served as a captain in FitzJames's infantry. And Thomas, son and heir of Colonel James, was appointed a lieutenant in the horse regiment of his cousin, Patrick Sarsfield; while Terence, brother of the Chief, who seems to have been very young at this time, was attached to the horse regiment of Walter Dungan, Earl of Limerick, as a lieutenant.

On the 14th June 1600 William landed at Carrickfergus, and found himself at the head of 40,000 men. "The king having received an account that the Prince of Orange was landed and resolved to march up to Dublin, sent out of his camp, 22nd June, a party towards Newry to take some prisoners that he might learn the strength of the enemy. The party consisted of four Companies of Grenadiers under Colonel FitzGerald. at that time Lieutenant-colonel to the Lord Bellew: and of sixty horse under Colonel Lawrence Dempsey, at that time Lieutenant-colonel to the Lord Galmoy. They had orders to remain at the near end of the Fivemile Pass (midway between Dungannon and Newry). They were not very long there when they discovered a force of between two and three hundred English foot and dragoons coming to Newry towards Dundalk to know the king's strength and how his army lay. The Irish suffered them to pass the causeway, then they poured their shot in amongst them. There was a return made, but the English dragoons being more numerous charged the Irish horse with such fierceness that they disordered the troop. Colonel Dempsey suddenly again brought them into order, and returned

¹ Blake Foster's "Irish Chieftains."

the charge with that violence that they broke the enemy, and in the confusion a party of the Irish grenadiers fired in among them, which caused a general flight of the English of whom there were nigh thirty killed. Captain Farlow and another officer (and ten men) made prisoners. About ten Irish were slain. Colonel Dempsey received a mortal wound, of which he died within three days after at Ouldbridge, a village on the Boyne. He was regretted because he had been a good horse officer, and was a Colonel in the King of Portugal's Warres." 1 This little success greatly encouraged the Jacobites, and King James, who had advanced to Dundalk on learning that William was marching on Dublin, fell back to the southern bank of the Boyne. On the 30th June William reached the northern bank with his army, which, on the morning of the 1st July proceeded to ford the river in three divisions. The king with his staff and Count D'Avaux, the French ambassador, took up a position on the summit of the hill of Donore, in the little chapel on which, it is said, he slept the night before the battle.

William led his cavalry across in person. In vain the Irish made gallant efforts to check the advance. Schomberg, trying to rally a body of French Huguenots who had broken under the Irish resistance, received a fatal bullet in the neck. By the time he was killed William traversed the river with the rest of his army. The Irish retreated to the hill of Donore, where they drew up, horse and foot, in good order. William, advancing towards the Irish position at the head of the

^{1 &}quot;Jacobite Narrative of the War," ed. by Sir John Gilbert.

Danish horse, was charged so hotly by the Irish that his men were thrown into confusion, and he was in considerable danger for a time. At last the Irish made an orderly retreat under the Duke of Berwick, son of James, and Lord Galmoy, the horse protecting the foot, until they rejoined the king at the Pass of Duleek, two miles from the Boyne. "Change Kings," cried Sarsfield, when the day was lost, "and we will fight vou again." The heat of the action lasted not above an hour, and the loss on either side was not considerable. The loyalists lost about 1000 men, "amongst whom was the Earl of Carlingford, a volunteer, by whose death his honours and estates descended to his brother, Count Taafe, then in the emperor's service. The Lord Walter Dungan, the only son and child then living to William Dungan, Earl of Limerick, upon which account he was much regretted; Colonel James Dempsy, Major Frank Meara, Captain Richard Plunkett: Sir Neil O'Neill, a brave gentleman, was mortally wounded of which he died eight days after at Waterford; Major Thomas Arthur of Hackettstown was also wounded and died in a few days. Several other officers were killed, amongst whom were several English gentlemen." 1

King James fled to Dublin escorted by Sarsfield's horse, who, throughout the day, had acted as his bodyguard. A writer of that day describing his arrival in the city says: "Dusty, wounded, and tired soldiers, and carriages coming in till one o'clock—several of James's guards straggling in without swords, or pistols, and could not tell what had become of himself. Near

^{1 &}quot;Jacobite Narrative of the War," ed. by Sir John Gilbert.

ten that night he came in with about 200 horse, all in disorder, we concluded now that it was a total rout, and that the enemy were just ready to come into town, but were greatly surprised when, an hour or two after, we heard the whole body of the Irish horse coming in, in very good order, with kettledrums, hautboys, and trumpets; and early next morning the French, and a great body of the Irish foot." The king was received at the Castle gate by Lady Tyrconnell, and immediately retired to rest, telling her ladyship that he had "no stomach for supper, after such a breakfast." Next day, after entrusting the command to Tyrconnell, he embarked for France.

The prisoners in the Castle were released, and Captain Farlow who had been taken prisoner in the first encounter, immediately took possession for William, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to take Limerick, returned to England.

In this, the first siege of Limerick, Sarsfield and his men had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Having learned that a siege train was expected by William from Dublin, the colonel determined to intercept it, and, in the darkness, making a sortie, he so succeeded in the brilliant exploit as to capture and blow up the guns with their own powder while within but seven miles of the English lines.

William, tolerant by disposition, and "touched by the fate of a gallant nation that had made itself the victim of French promises," offered the Irish half of their old possessions as held before 1641; but, as in 1650, they unfortunately held out, and at Aughrim, in July 1691, fought with such desperate valour that at one time St. Ruth, the French general in command, cried "the day is ours." Luck was against them, however, and St Ruth's death, caused by a cannon ball that carried off his head, turned the day.

Sarsfield now succeeded to the command of the Irish army, which made its last stand at Limerick, where Tyrconnell lay dying. After the siege had been withstood for a month, De Ginkell suddenly attacked the Clare end of the Thomond bridge, cut to pieces a body of 600 Irish troops, and took prisoners Lieutenant-colonel Francis Dempsey, Majors French and Nevill and 97 men. Soon after, a treaty, afterwards broken, was signed by Sarsfield on the one side, and by De Ginkell, and the Lords Justices, Coningsby and Porter, on the other, which brought the war to a close.

The Outlaws of 1691 have Maxmillian, the chief; Colonel James of Moone, and Laurence of Drynanstown, both in County Kildare.

Laurence had five sons, serving in Flanders in 1687. He lived at Cloncurry, near Rathangan, in the neighbourhood of which his descendants still reside.

James forfeited a moiety of the Manor of Moone, 800 acres, afterwards purchased at the Court of Claims for £45 by Thomas Ashe of Dublin; 300 acres in the barony of Moydow, Co. Longford, and interests in Meath. He resided, it appears, at Bishop's Court, Straffan. His son and heir, Thomas, living in 1700, emigrated to the Continent, and died in the French service.

Maxmillian, who did not live to see the end of the

1 Lenihan's "Hist. Limerick."

war, would doubtless have led his clansmen to battle were it not that he was struck down by his last illness shortly before the army was reorganised.

In the churchyard of Killeigh is still to be seen a large slab tombstone with the following brief inscription:—

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF MAXMILLIAN O'DEMPSEY LORD VISCOUNT CLANMALEERE, ETC. DEPARTED A.D. 30TH NOV. 1690

To his wife, Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Walter Bermingham, Esq. (b), of Dunferth, Co. Kildare, and Margaret, daughter of Thomas FitzMaurice, eighteenth Lord Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, by whom he had no issue, he left all his property, and after her to his brotherin-law, John Quin, Esq., of Quinsboro. He also left a sum of £2500 to be divided between his nephews, Dominick and Terence Quin. Her ladyship was summoned before the Commissioners of Revenue to account for this, which it was alleged, she held as trustee, and was supposed to have been forfeited by the rebellion of the Viscount.

Terence (c), his only brother, emigrated to the Continent shortly after the defeat of the king, who even in exile was not unmindful of the sacrifices and services of the Clanmaliere.

In 1694, on the recommendation of his Majesty,

¹ Prerog. Grant.

² Hist. MSS.

"King of England, Ireland and Scotland," John Dempsey, D.D., of the Clanmaliere family, was elected R.C. Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. This prelate was born about the year 1644, studied at the University of Paris, and died before 1713. His nephew, for many years, was agent for the Lady Clanmaliere.

In 1696 the O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt were dispossessed by Henry de Massue, Marquis de Rouvigny, one of William's generals (afterwards created Earl of Galway, and made a Lord Justice of Ireland), who had a grant of the Clanmaliere estates. Brabazon, Earl of Meath, petitioned William, and got over 1000 acres in King's and Queen's Counties.

Hugh O'Dempsey of Kilnecourt, dispossessed by Cromwell and Charles for taking part in the rebellion of '41, seems to have died without issue. He had a brother Daniel, who served in the Confederate Army, and afterwards under the Marquis of Ormond. In 1652 he retired to the Continent and served under the Prince Condé; and in 1675 he got a lease from Arlington of 1600 acres at a nominal rent. In 1698 he died and left a will, or memorandum. He desired to be buried in the Church of Tierogher; left all his worldly goods to his son and heir, Michael, and his wife, Ellinor; and appoints as overseers Mr. Laurence Dempsey and Mr. Luke Dempsey.

Captain Richard Dempsey, another member of thisfamily, whose name appears among the signatures of the R.C. nobility and gentry, attached to Walshe's famous Remonstrance, had a lease from Arlington

from 1681, of 1187 acres, also at a nominal rent. He had a son and heir, Luke.

All these lands were now taken by Lord Galway and parcelled out chiefly among his French and Dutch followers; but the lavish grants made by William to his officers and others caused such discontent with the English Parliament that in 1700 the Act of Reassumption was passed.

Under this Act all the grants made by William to his favourites, were to be resumed and sold for the benefit of the public; and a Court of Claims was set up something like that in 1662. Here the Clanmaliere claimed the following:—

CLAIMANT.	Interest Claimed.	By What Deed or Writing.	On What Lands.
Ellen Dempsey, widow, and Michael Demp- sey, gent., ad- ministrators of Daniel Demp- sey, deceased.	Term of Years.	By Lease from Lord Arlington, dated 13th January 1675, for 31 years, from 1st May after the date, to Daniel Dempsey. Witnesses: Wm. Rosewharre. Simon Donnelly. James Whitt.	and Lower Kilnecourt,
Luke Dempsey, administrator of Richard Demp- sey deceased.	Term of Years.	Lease from Lord Arlington dated 11th November 1681, for 21 years from May 1690. Witnesses: Chrs. Taylor. John Wilson. Morgha. Coghao.	Pavington, alias Ballintogher, Balligowen and Killi- glish, Queen's County.

Only the claims of the O'Dempseys of Kilnecourt were allowed.

The above Honora, daughter of Thomas Brown, Barrister-at-Law of Dublin, died in 1701 (d).

In 1703 Lord Galway's interest in the Clanmaliere estates were sold to the Hollow Sword-blade Company, a wealthy English Corporation; and in 1707 this company again sold its rights to the ancestors of the present owners.

In June 1708, Anne, Lady Viscountess Clanmaliere, died; and in July 1714 administration of his lord-ship's (Maxmillian's) effects was granted to his nephew Dominick Quin.

About this time the O'Dempseys, who held the lands of Kilnecourt, were again dispossessed, on which occasion the celebrated Raparee chieftain, Charles, surnamed *Cahir na Capol*, or Charles of the Horses, took the field, determined to hold by the strong hand.

Charles established himself in Lea Castle, and having been joined by many of his clansmen made fierce war on the new settlers. Towns and villages were burned, and cattle, sheep, and horses driven off. The former were killed, and the latter supplied him with mounts and remounts for his followers.

Many of his exploits and narrow escapes are still on record among the traditions of the peasantry.

On one occasion he was beset in a pass near Monasterevan, with a few of his men, by a posse comitatus under the sheriff, who, finding it impossible to force the pass, had a large tree cut, painted, and mounted at the entrance, in the form of a cannon, which so intimidated the Raparees that they all surrendered at discretion except Charles, who escaped to the castle of Ballymaddock, near Stradbally, now marked on the Ordnance Map, Cahir na Capol's House. Here he

often sought refuge during the tenancy of William FitzGerald, of the Timogue, or Morett branch, who, we believe, was his uncle.

On another occasion he was hemmed in, with about twelve of his followers, by a force of some thirty soldiers, in a spot on the banks of the Barrow, now known as the *Dark Walk*, or *Capol's Wood*. Finding all his men were soon either killed or disabled, he made a desperate effort and succeeded in cutting his way through his enemies, and eventually in escaping, having to swim the river in their faces.

The following lines, written on the supposition that Cahir was the son of the chief, appeared in the *Union Magazine* for March 1845, in an article by Chidley Coote, Esq., on the castle of Lea and the O'Dempseys.

"CAHIR NA CAPOL'S VOW

" Poor fellow, he had many things to wound him,

It was a trying moment that which found him Standing alone beside his desolate hearth, Where all his household gods lay shiver'd round him.

-Don Juan, Canto i.

"The wind sang round the ivy tower, and blustery blew the night, O'Dempsey stood by his lonely hearth, and thought on his injured right,

He thought how his father's loyalty had been requited by wrong, And when he thought of his noble birth, his heart beat high and strong;

But louder sang the wintry wind, and fiercer flew the gale,
And darkly the river lashed the shore—the shore of the Saxon Pale.
O'Dempsey's blood but boiled the more, as the tempest louder became,

And the lightning lit, as it flickered by, in his breast a brighter flame.

- Old Clanmalira's sword hung up in the cold dismantled hall,
 O'Dempsey sprang at its jewelled hilt, and plucked it from the
 wall:
- It was the sole remains of wealth that fell to the outlawed man, And he swore that it yet should blaze afar, at the head of its ancient Clan.
- Around the ponderous blade he swung, and swept it to and fro,
 'Till he fancied his arm of brawn had met with the wished-for
 Saxon foe:
- 'Come on, ye spoilers!' he cried, 'and meet that wrath which yourselves have nurst,
- Come on! till this blade feeds on your flesh, in your blood till it quench its thirst.
- 'No, never, forefathers! can I forget the feats of your former fame, For the blood that coursed through your veins of yore, now rushes through mine the same.
- When hot was your blade in the blood-red fight, and frequent your flashing spear,
- And when loud o'er the roar of the battle arose, the cry of the Clan-na-malier.
- 'When linked with O'More and O'Dun of the Woods, ye dug the invaders' tombs.
- And left Essex to wail for his gaudy band that ye slew at the Pass of Plumes.
- But now, by my father's grief I swear, by his broken and buried heart,
- And by his long honours and titled wealth, set to sale in a lawless mart.
- And by his green acres and castled lands, that for ages had owned our sway,
- All wrenched from his loyal and trusty hands, for a crouching courtier's pay,
- By a heartless king who forgets his true friends, to cherish a worthless crew,
- As the chief of the Butlers of old forgot the chief of the Bakers too.

- 'By these, I swear, that never shall rest this busy and vengeful brain.
- To work out the woe of a stranger foe, while its unwarped powers remain.
- And never shall sleep, when slumber would come, by my side this unstrung arm,
- If it have not wrought while its vigour was fresh, some foreigner forman's harm.
- 'And never shall close this wearied lid by night o'er its throbbing ball.
- If it have not witnessed while daylight shone, some red invader's fall.
- I'll harry their lands by night and by day, and I'll fire their granaried grain,
- And I'll sweep their flocks in herds and droves, from mountain, valley, and plain.
- 'No shot of theirs shall e'er reach my ranks, nor shall bullet for bullet exchange,
- But they shall not possess one inch of earth beyond their cannons' range.
- And they shall watch and shall not know sleep either by night or by day;
- And when they march, with an ambushed wile, I'll cover their painful way,
- And if they go on, let them go where they will, through a desert shall be their path.
- And they shall know it and curse the day, they first fired O'Dempsey's wrath.'"

At length, after defying the powers for many years, he was captured, and executed, with his brother, at Maryboro in 1735.

Poor Cahir's worst crime was that he refused to budge at the bidding of some beggarly squireen, and trusting in his own right arm dared to live on the lands held by

his ancestors, without a break, for close on 1400 years. In the little old churchyard of Ballyaden, near Ballybrittas, his tombstone was pointed out, in a nook of the enclosure, up to a few years ago.

Many of the clan—descendants of the kernes and gallowglasses of former days—are still to be found in the territory, but the last clansman of any consequence to reside there was Mr. Luke Dempsey, who afterwards removed to Kildare and died about the year 1770. He was son and heir of Luke Dempsey, who died in 1732, and grandson of Captain Richard.

On the Continent many of the clan served with distinction, and Captain William Dempsey, grandson, we believe, of Colonel Laurence, fought at Fontenoy in 1745, where the English and their allies, under the Duke of Cumberland, were defeated with the loss of 21,000 men. Hence the stirring words of Prince Charles Edward, when, soon after, he drew his sword before the disastrous Battle of Culloden—"Come, gentlemen, let us give Cumberland another Fontenoy."

William, taken prisoner in the service of the prince after this battle, was executed at Tyburn; and Edward and Patrick at York, in 1746.

In 1760 Don Juan Dempsi, and Don Bartelemi, were officers in the Irish Brigade in the Spanish service; and an obituary notice of 1771 informs us that in May of that year Major O'Dempsey died at Dresden, an Officer in the Saxon Guards, and Chamberlain to His Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, adding that

he was the last in remainder of the ancient and illustrious family of the Lord Clanmaliere.

The major, in the service of Augustus II., King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, and fought under Prince Xavier of Saxony, Commander of the Household Cavalry of France. In Walker's Hibernian Magazine his death is recorded: and in the Freeman it is given as follows: "On the 13th May, died at Dresden, Major O'Dempsey of the Saxon Guards, Chamberlain to His Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, and the last of the ancient family of the Lord Viscount His death is sincerely lamented by all Clanmaleer. his acquaintances, particularly by Prince Xavier, under whose command he often had the honour of distinguishing himself in the last war." The major was the last male heir to the titles.

Sir Bernard Burke in his "Arms and Armoury" gives the Arms of the different branches of the clan thus:—

O'Dempsey, Chief—Gules, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued azure, between two swords, points up, pommels and hilts or. One in bend dexter, the other, bend sinister. Crest—a demi-lion rampant gules, langued azure, holding in dexter paw a sword argent, pommel and hilt or. All proper. Motto, Elatum a Deo non deprimat.

O'DEMPSEY OF BISHOP'S COURT, same arms, &c.

O'DEMPSEY OF KILNECOURT, Ditto.

Dempsey (Ireland).—Vert, a lion rampant holding a dagger argent. Crest—out of a mural coronet seven battle-axes erect.

Dempsey.—Vert, a lion rampant or., between two swords, wavy in fesse of last. Crest—Sphinx with wings expanded (e).

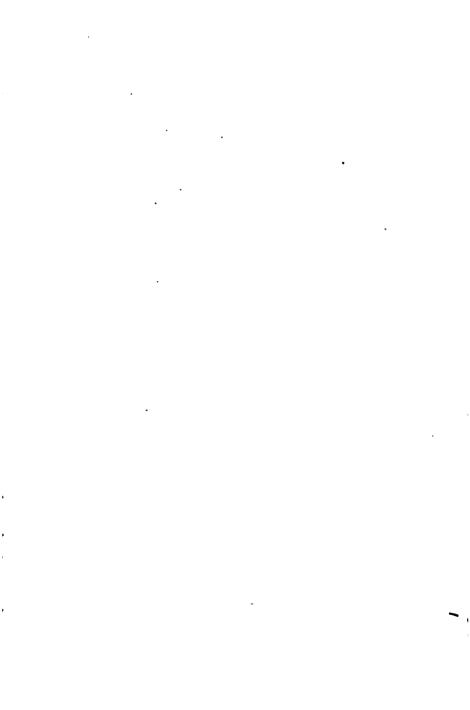
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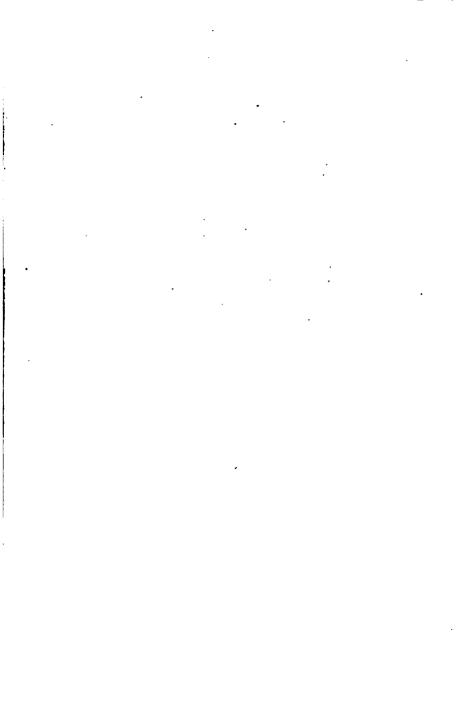
- (a) Richard Talbot, son of Sir William, was created Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell by James, and had a grant of Lord Ely's estate, with Monasterevan Abbey. His second wife was sister to Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, and widow of Anthony Hamilton, author of "Grammont's Memoirs." After the Duke's death at Limerick his widow had to earn her living by keeping a stand in Exeter 'Change, where she sold millinery, the work of her own hands. She wore a mask as was then the custom of women appearing in public, but her rank being accidentally discovered, her case was reported at Court, and she received a pension.
- (b) Walter, son of Walter Bermingham, and Mary, daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall, Kt., died in 1638, and left by the above lady two sons, John and Thomas, who, dying unmarried, the two daughters, Mary and Anne, became co-heirs to a property worth about £1500 per annum. Mary, the eldest, married, 1663, Sir John Bellew, Kt., created, 1686, Lord Bellew of Duleek. The inscription on his tom in the church there states that it was "erected by Dame Mary Bermingham of Dunferth, wife to John, Lord Bellew, who was shot in the belly in Aughrim fight, 12th July 1691." And died in January 1692. The fourth and last lord died in 1770. The Berminghams of Dunferth were a branch of the Berminghams, Barons of Carbury and Earls of Louth.—See Lodge, and Kildare Journal.
- (c) Terence married Joan, daughter of Conly M'Geoghegan, major of Lord Dungan's regiment, and had a daughter, Alice, married Thomas O'Gorman, Esq., of Inchquin, Co. Clare. His only son, Mahon, was father of James of Ennis, ancestor of the O'Gormans of Kilrush, now represented by Col. N. P. O'Gorman,—See Burke.

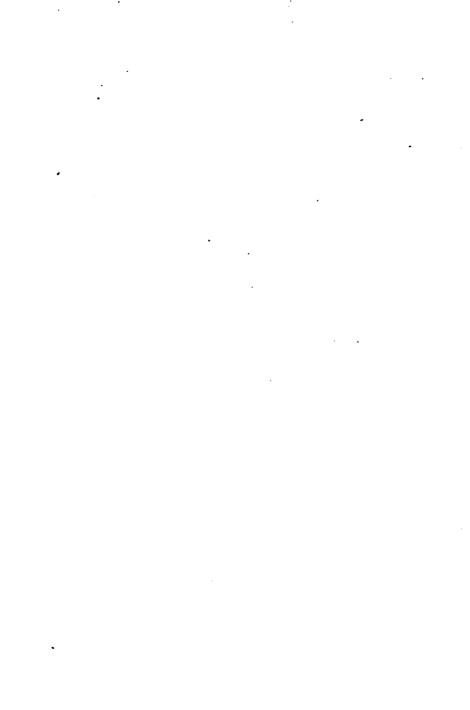
- (d) Thomas Brown, B.L., of Dublin, married Begnel, daughter of Nicholas Stephens, and had a son and heir John, who died in 1693, and left by his wife, daughter of the Viscount FitzWilliam of Merrion, a son and heir, Christopher, ancestor of the Browns of Castle Brown (Clongoweswood College), Co. Kildare, now represented by Col. Wogan Brown.—Burke, and Kildare Journal.
- (c) In the Mortuary Chapel of the Berminghams at Dunferth is a tombstone (erected by Patrick Dempsey, to the memory of his wife, daughter of Maurice Bermingham, Esq., who died in 1719) with these and the Bermingham arms impaled, and carved in relief. This family resided there up to a few years ago.

THE END

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