The Plantation of Leix and Offaly

Of all the allies of 'Silken Thomas' there was none more loyal to him in the hour of his distress than his brother-in-law, Brian O'Conor, prince of Offaly. When Gilapatrick O'More, chief of the O'Mores of Leix, allowed himself to be seduced to the English side, O'Conor remained faithful to his allegiance, and together with O'Brien, prince of Thomond, bore the brunt of Lord Leonard Grey's displeasure. In the spring of 1587, only a few weeks after Kildare's head had fallen on Tower Hill, a great hosting was instituted against him, and the lord deputy advancing by unaccustomed paths into his territory, then a vast wilderness of bog and forest-land, expelled him from the country, razed his fortresses to the ground, and appointed Cahir O'Conor, whose ambition had led him into treasonable practices again his brother, chief in his stead. The expedition was deemed 'a notable exploit;' but before the year had expired O'Conor had returned to his old haunts and was soon as strong as ever. Truly, as St. Leger wrote to Cromwell, the country was much easier won than kept; 'for unless it be peopled with others than be there already, and also certain fortresses, there built and warded, if it be gotten the one day it is lost the next.'

The task of suppressing O'Conor seemed hopeless, and partly for this reason, partly also perhaps because his conscience reproached him for his excessive severity, Grey offered him terms of peace. The negotiations begun in the open fields of Offaly were concluded at Dublin, where O'Conor humbly submitted himself to the king's mercy. He promised for the future to behave as a faithful and loyal subject, to renounce the pope and to abstain from levying black-rents and other unlawful exactions on the lieges of the Pale. To his submission he added a petition that he and his issue might be made freemen and liegemen after the manner of the English, that he might be created baron of Offaly, that he might be allowed to hold to himself and his heirs of the king's gift, and according to the English laws 'that portion of Offaly which he possessed there by partition, after the manner of the country,' that the same privilege might be extended to his brothers and other possessors of

1 State Papers, Hen. VIII, ii. 596.
land in Offaly on condition of paying an annual rent of 3s. 4d. per plough-land, and of allowing their lands to be 'burdened with and occupied by men of war for the defence of the subjects of the king,' whenever the lord deputy thought fit, or necessity required, after the manner of the inhabitants of the Pale. No attention appears to have been paid to his petition, but during the remainder of Grey's viceroyalty O'Conor faithfully adhered to the terms of his submission. No sooner, however, had the reins of government been transferred to lord justice Brereton, than he was again up in arms. His conduct greatly irritated Henry, who wrote:—

Our pleasure is you shall have good regard and specially to that traitor O'Conor, with whom we would you should in no wise take any peace, unless necessity enforce; but rather, if you may, expel him entirely his country, which we shall be content to give to his brother Cahir, so as the same Cahir will leave the Irish faction and be obedient to our laws and frame himself and those which shall be under him to the manner and kind of living of the English Pale.

Brereton accordingly did his utmost to bring the rebel to his senses, 'to the destruction,' as he wrote, 'of his corns, prostrating of his habitations, burnings, spoilings, and other annoyances to him extremely committed;' nevertheless it proved beyond his power to expel him from his country, and he was fain to make a virtue of necessity and accept O'Conor's offers 'which were to stand to his first covenants comprised in indentures.' O'Conor subsequently repeated his request to be made a baron, and to hold his lands by grant of the crown. His petition was supported by Sir Anthony St. Leger mainly on the ground of the estimation in which he was held by Irishmen generally, 'and the rather, for that he desireth the same but during his life, whereof we be very glad for that thereby his brother Cahir, which hath always served his majesty, when the other was an offender, is not excluded to succeed him in that seignory, wherunto by their custom he is entitled.'

Thus supported, his petition was favourably received by Henry, who intimated his intention of creating him a viscount. But unfortunately before this was done O'Conor had again incurred the royal displeasure. What precisely was his object or reason in throwing off his allegiance on this occasion it is difficult to understand. But whatever his reason or whether indeed he had any reason except an innate dislike to all authority whatever, no sooner had the ship which carried St. Leger to England faded beyond the horizon than he and Gilapatrick O'More were again up in arms, nominally on behalf of the exiled house of Kildare. Without a moment's loss of time Sir William Brabazon invaded Leix and

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* Col. Carew MSS. i. 197.  
* State Papers, Hen. VIII, iii. 388.  
* Ib. iii. 241.  
* Ib. iii. 519.
Offaly, which he burnt and plundered as far as the hill of Crogkan, but 'without receiving either battle or submission;' for, as usual, the Irish, on the approach of the enemy, had at once retired into their bogs and fastnesses, where it was impossible to follow them. But no sooner had the royal army retired than O'More and Rory O'Connor, Brian's son, emerged from their hiding-places, burnt the town and monastery of Athy, ravaged the borders of the Pale and slew a number of persons both English and Irish. Thereupon the lord-justice again invaded Offaly and remaining there for fifteen days burnt and destroyed whatever had escaped in former raids. Leaving a garrison at the Dingan (the modern Philipstown) he proceeded into Leix, where he was joined by the Earl of Desmond. Here also he remained for fifteen days ravaging the country far and wide with such ruthless severity that the minor chieftains were glad to accept the amnesty offered them and to abandon O'Connor and O'More to their fate. Thus deserted, the two chiefs with their more immediate retainers fled across the Shannon into Connaught.

About the beginning of 1548 the fugitives recrossed the Shannon at the head of a considerable body of wild kerne; but so cowed were their uriaghs and tribesmen, through terror which the power of the English inspired, that none dared even afford them food or protection. Nevertheless with such forces as they could muster, O'Connor and O'More managed for a time to maintain a most determined guerilla warfare along the borders of the Pale, and it was not till the winter brought them face to face with starvation that lord-chancellor Alen was able to report that the 'arch-traitor' O'Connor had been compelled to submit. His life, Alen added, had been promised him in order to induce O'More and the rest to follow his example. When that happened he advised that they should have 'honest entertainments' provided for them in Calais or Boulogne; but on no account were they to be allowed to remain in Ireland, in which case, he predicted, Offaly and Leix would be as easily kept in order as was the Pale. Before the year expired O'More had likewise submitted, and he and O'Connor were shortly shipped off to England, where they were promptly clapped in the Tower. They were probably not very harshly treated, but the close confinement of prison life ill-agreed with them, and before many weeks had passed away Gilapatrick O'More died.

The two chiefs being thus safely out of the way the government proceeded to direct its attention to the settlement of Leix and Offaly. The idea at first seems to have been to restore the natives to their lands on conditions similar to those granted by Henry VIII to Turlough O'Toole. The plan received the sanction of the privy council, and in June 1549 the lord deputy was instructed to trans-

* State Papers, Ed. VI. i. 129, 130.  
† Morrin, Cal. Pat. Rolls. i. 81.
mit 'the names of such as you think good to have restored, with
the certainty of the lands to be restored.' But some time in the
following year, probably in October, a petition was presented to
the Irish government on the part of a number of gentlemen,
government officials for the most part, in which they offered in
return for a grant of 'all the possessions, both spiritual and
temporal, of Leix, Irry, and Slievemargy, which were under the
O'Mores and their followers at the time of their rebellion within
Leix, with all the Dempsies country,' except such portions thereof
as should be reserved to the castles of Lea and Carlow, or to the
natives, who, it was stipulated, should not be removed 'for that they
served the king's majesty' against the rebels, to undertake the
plantation of these countries, to pay an annual rent of 600l. Irish,
to keep fort Protector wardable and garrisoned, and in general to
provide for the defence of the marches. Amongst the signatures
attached to the petition appeared the well-known names of Sir
Gerald Aylmer, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Thomas
Luttrell, chief justice of the common pleas, Sir John Travers,
master of the ordnance; Patrick Barnwall, master of the rolls;
Walter Peppard, and Francis Cosby.

It is possible that this scheme, so moderately conceived, may
have originated with Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had again, though
much against his will, been appointed lord deputy in succession to
Sir Edward Bellingham. That he was in favour of a judicious
plantation policy in Leinster, and more particularly on the borders
of the Pale, is undoubted. His appointment took place in July 1550,
but before leaving England he had submitted three points for the
consideration of the privy council. First, as to their intention in
regard to O'Conor; second, as to his authority to make grants of
land in Leix and Offaly; third, as to the advisability of treating
Irishmen with 'more humanity, lest they by extremity should
adhere to other foreign powers.' To his queries answer was
returned that for the present O'Conor was to remain in England,
that the granting of lands in Leix and Offaly was to remain an
open question, and that he was to use his discretion in regard to
the treatment of the Irish, 'to use gentleness to such as shall show
themselves conformable, to others to do as occasion shall show.'
In the meantime, as a temporary expedient, he was instructed to
cause a survey to be made of Leix and Offaly, and to lease out
portions, for periods not exceeding twenty-one years, at such rents
as might be deemed advisable, allowing the farmers one or two
years rent free, as he might deem fit, in order 'to encourage them
to dwell upon the same.'

Accordingly, in the month of February 1551, and at different
periods throughout the year, a number of leases were made to

* State Papers, Ed. VI, ii. 46.  
* Ib. ii. 69.  
* Ib. ii. 55, 67.
gentlemen resident in the Pale, and to soldiers who had been instrumental in suppressing the rebellion. The lands assigned comprised portions of the modern baronies of Warrenstown, Coolestown, Upper and Lower Philipstown in King's county, and of Portnahinch, Maryborough East and West, Stradbally, Cullenagh, and Ballyadams in Queen's county. According to the terms of the lease, as finally settled, it was provided that the lessee, and after his death his sufficient assignee, should dwell upon the premises; that no assignment should be made without the approval of the lord deputy and council; that the lessee should not cause any of the lands to be inhabited by any of the name of O'More or O'Conor, or of such surname as were possessors in the country of Leix or Offaly; that every person inhabiting should have sufficient weapons to serve the king and for his own defence; and, finally, that he should bear his proportion of all cesses for the safeguard and furniture of the king's forts. In some of the leases also there is inserted, sometimes in St. Leger's own handwriting, a reservation to the crown of all goshawks and tercels reared on the premises.

The scheme, however, was not immediately successful. On 17 August, 1551, Sir James Croft, who had succeeded St. Leger, was instructed to report as to the working of the plan, and whether it had led to a diminution of the expenses of government and the strengthening of the royal authority in the country. In his reply the lord deputy strongly urged the necessity of reducing Leix and Offaly to shire ground, of erecting manors, and of letting the land by copyhold tenure. His suggestions were accepted by the privy council, and Croft was authorised to take order:

That the said two countries be reduced into the nature of a shire or of two shires, if the largeness of the country be answerable, and thereof to make either one or two shireeves as the case shall require. And then for the letting of our lands within the same countries we would they were reduced into manors in such sort as the same shall by you be thought most convenient; and then upon the lands and tenements severally let as by copy of court roll for three lives at the most, as the like custom is used in divers parts of our realm of England, especially in the west parts of the same.

At the same time he was charged to take special care ' for the preservation of our woods and such other royalties as the same for lack of good foresight in the beginning be not wasted and destroyed.'

The proposal to constitute them copyholders did not, however, meet with the approval of the planters, and on 26 Jan. 1552 the lord deputy and council signified to the privy council—

11 Cal. of Plants, Ed. VI, No. 599, 661.
12 See lease to Francis Cosby of Kildare, gent. 16 March, 1551. Cal. of Plants, Ed. VI, No. 724.
13 State Papers, Ed. VI, iii. 48.
14 Ib. iii. 54.
15 Ib. iii. 73.
That the said countries being upon a frontier and many of the freeholders yet living, some in exile and some in extreme poverty, will be glad to take advantage and by all ways and means possible to fatigate the inhabitants, so as they shall not be able without great cost and charges in building and defending thereof to keep it; which cost and danger no man will sustain without estate of inheritance.

To this communication the privy council replied on 29 May, regretting that the work proceeded so slowly, but rather than that the scheme should fail entirely they had resolved that—

As much of the same lands as may be letten by copy of court roll for certain lives, according to the custom of the west part of this realm and in like cases, shall be so granted with the reservations of the rent according to the surveys, or better rent as the same may be borne. And the rest of the land, specially whereupon the tenants shall be forced to build and bestow great cost for the guard and defence thereof to be granted by copy of court roll to the tenants and heirs males in estate tail, with like reservations of rent according to the survey or better if the same may be.

But in the distribution of lands great regard was to be had that there may be such a multitude of tenants in regard of the farms than to have many farms heaped into one man's hands, whereby both the lands shall be worse used and the country weaker of people.

Here, however, the matter rested for a time, either because the government was too much occupied with other and more pressing business, or because the terms offered were not sufficiently tempting. But with the accession of Mary and the reappointment of St. Leger as deputy, the question of the projected plantation was resumed. This time the lord deputy was instructed to make grants by 'piece-meal' of the said countries of Leix and Offaly, in fee simple, with reservation of a small rent, and of such services in time of war as should be thought necessary, at the same time carefully providing that the grantees should be 'bound to build houses for husbandmen, appointing to every tenant a mean portion of ground to be kept in tillage as near as they conveniently may, so as the said countries may be well replenished with houses and inhabitants for the manuring and defence of the same.'

But now, just when the scheme seemed fairly afloat and preparations were being made to carry it into execution, the energies of all were paralysed by a rumour of O'Conor's release and restoration. Already, in the spring of 1552, the news that he had managed to escape from the Tower had caused considerable excitement in official circles, which had only been allayed by the report of his speedy recapture. On the accession of Mary, however, his daughter, Margaret O'Conor, repaired to England, and by the influence of her connexions at court and her own knowledge of the English

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11 State Papers, Ed. VI. iv. 4. 17 Ib. iv. 48. 18 Ib. Mary, i. 2.
language, succeeded in obtaining her father's release. His restoration, hailed with satisfaction by the Irish, was by no means so pleasing to the Irish government, and shortly after landing he was re-arrested on a charge of fomenting disturbances in Offaly and promptly confined to Dublin Castle. There he remained until 1560 when he managed to effect his escape, after which he disappears from history, and his son Donough takes his place.  

About the end of May 1556 St. Leger resigned the reins of government into the hands of Sir Thomas Radcliffe, subsequently created earl of Sussex. His instructions in regard to Leix and Offaly were most explicit. It is our special desire, so ran the order, that the said countries and the rest of our whole realm should by authority of parliament be made shire ground and divided into sufficient and reasonable counties as our realm of England is. Further, provided the O'Conors, O'Mores, O'Dempseys and other native inhabitants showed an inclination to submit, it was thought desirable that their countries should be divided into three parts, and that the third part lying to the west, along the Shannon, should be assigned to them in free socage tenure at an annual rent of twopence an acre, with the proviso that no man of the same sept should have above two ploughlands or 240 acres in his own possession. It was to be left to the Irish themselves to decide which of their own septs should be created freeholders; but every one so chosen was required to answer the laws of the realm at sessions and assizes, to keep on his estate not more than one man for every ploughland 'except the same be English, or of their own sept, and he to be no idleman but a labourer,' to pay his rent duly twice a year, to attend the constable of the fort when summoned to do so, to answer for himself and his household personally once a year, to avoid the woods and to dwell in houses built of stone or timber, to keep open all fords and fastnesses between his lands and those occupied by the English, to keep weapons only for his own protection, to refrain from intermarriage with the Scots and to reside continually on his estate. A persistent neglect of these conditions was to be punished by forfeiture of the estate; while the wanton destruction of his neighbour's castles or houses, or the keeping of unlicensed fire-arms was to be treated as felony punishable by death. Nevertheless it was to be left to the discretion of the lord deputy and council to temper or modify these conditions in any particular they thought advisable. If the terms were accepted by the O'Conors, the lord deputy was authorised to restore their old chief to liberty, 'to end the rest of his days in peace, among his children and kin.' So much for the third part to be assigned to the natives. As for the other two-thirds lying along the border of the Pale, three ploughlands were to be assigned to each of the two forts 'for maintenance of the constables and guards thereof.'  

18 State Papers, Eliz. ii. 7.
The rest was to be distributed amongst English subjects, ‘as well such as be born in England as Ireland, having respect to men of honesty and good service, and such as have most need and be likeliest to do good thereon.’ Like the natives they were to hold their estates in socage at a yearly rent of two-pence an acre and generally under similar conditions and restrictions. Only in addition they were to be obliged ‘to keep for every ploughland one man at the least of English birth, a native and he to be an archer, and not above one of the Irish blood and birth upon pain of forfeiture;’ and to provide ‘harness’ for themselves and for one man for every ploughland. Three ploughlands, or about 860 acres, was to be the outside limit of any estate, which was to be immediately forfeited by non-residence.

We desire, concluded the instructions, that all other lands, conquered and evicted from rebels, traitors, and enemies shall be ordered, demised, and granted to our loving subjects, English and Irish as well in Leinster as Ulster and the rest, i.e. two parts to Englishmen born in England or Ireland and the third part to Irishmen of birth and blood, heartily praying our said deputy to consider every man, specially our good soldiers and such as serve well, as we doubt not he will, with such indifference and reasonable good favour in the distribution of the said lands that the good may take courage to continue their well doing and be example to evil to amend their faults and to do better hereafter as well for duties sake as preferment.²⁰

At first there seemed a fair prospect of inducing the O'Conors and the rest to submit quietly to the new order of things, and the letters of Sussex detailing his efforts in that direction were couched in a most hopeful strain. On 4 Oct. 1556 he wrote, he had an interview at the Dingan with Donough O'Connor and his brother Rory ‘with the rest of the gentlemen and usurped inhabitants of Offaly,’ who showed themselves willing to surrender their lands and to receive back such portions of them and upon such condition as should be granted them. As a pledge of good faith Donough placed himself in the deputy's hands. A second parley followed on 15 Dec. and so amenable to reason did the O'Conors appear that Sussex released Donough, merely binding him and his brother to repair to Leighlin in Christmas week, there to receive for themselves and the rest, whose names they were to bring with them written in a bill, such portions of their territory as should be then assigned to them. But before the time appointed arrived, Donough had changed his mind and broken out into open rebellion followed by Connel O'More. Whereupon the lord deputy, after giving him one or two days' grace hanged his hostages and prepared to prosecute him with fire and sword.²¹ Ere long O'More's body was swinging in chains from Leigh-
lin Bridge and O'Conor was being hunted from one fortress to another with daily diminishing strength.

It was under these circumstances that the parliament, which was to authorise the confiscation of Leix and Offaly, assembled at Dublin on 1 June, 1557.

Where, so runs the Act 8 & 4 Philip and Mary, cap. 7, the countries of Leix, Slievemargy, Offaly, Irry and Glenmalier, which belong of right to the King and Queen's most excellent majesties were of late wholly possessed by the Mores, the Conors, the Dempsies and other rebels, and now by the industrious travail of the Earl of Sussex, now Lord Deputy of Ireland, be brought again to be in the possession of their majesties, and so remain to be disposed as to their highnesses shall be thought good: forasmuch as the well disposing of the foresaid countries and planting of good men there, shall not only be a great strength to those quarters, but also a wonderful assurance of quiet to all the rest of the English countries and a great terror to all Irish countries bordering upon the same, therefore, at the humble request of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of this realm, be it enacted by our sovereign lord and lady the King and Queen's majesties, etc., that the aforesaid Earl of Sussex, now Lord Deputy, shall have by virtue of this Act full power and authority, during the time he shall be Lord Deputy there, to give and grant to all and every their Majesties' subjects English or Irish born within this realm or within the realm of England, at his election and pleasure such several estates in fee simple, fee tail, leases for term of years, life or lives of all and every the lordships, manors, castles, patronages of benefices, lands, tenements and all other hereditaments temporal, with their appurtenances, parcel of any of the said countries or to any of the said countries of right appertaining or belonging, as for the more sure planting and strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient.

Accompanying this act was another, 8 & 4 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, entitling the crown to Leix and Offaly, and erecting those countries into shire ground as Queen's county and King's county respectively.

But it was one thing to pass an act of parliament, and quite another to be in actual possession, as Sussex soon discovered. Expelled from one stronghold after another, the O'Mores and O'Conors rallied amongst their woods and bogs, whence they issued forth from time to time spreading disorder and desolation to the very borders of the Pale. The few settlers that still clung to their homesteads trembled for their very existence. One of them, Walter Peppard, who had a lease of some lands in Slievemargy, afterwards declared that he had lost seventeen 'tall' men, while defending his property at this time. In May 1558 the rebels with Donough O'Conor at their head mustered in such force as actually to

21 The act, it may be remarked, curiously enough restricts the power of making estates to Sussex.

lay siege to the castle of Maryborough, or, as it was then called, Fort Protector. The garrison under Sir Henry Radcliffe had, however, little difficulty in beating them off, and in a skirmish that followed Francis Cosby managed to slay 'thirty or forty of the best of them,' killing with his own hand, 'which could not have been done by no man else,' one Richard Oge, a bastard Geraldine and a man of enormous stature and strength. But it was quite clear that until the country was reduced to a more settled condition, and the turbulent spirits that disturbed it either expelled or killed, any successful plantation was out of the question. The disorders of the realm were acknowledged to be such, owing to the rebellion of the O'Conors and O'Mores and the daily access of the Scots, as to require extraordinary force for their suppression. The army was accordingly augmented, the salary of the deputy raised, and instructions issued for a more vigorous suppression of the rebels.

The death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth did not materially affect the situation. In July 1559 the Earl of Sussex, who still retained the reins of government, was instructed to lose no time in putting the plantation into execution. But the year passed away without anything having been accomplished. In 1560 the instruction was renewed still more explicitly. If the season of the year was too far advanced for building houses and towns 'as were best,' the deputy was to exert himself to reduce Leix and Offaly to order, distributing certain portions thereof 'as ye shall perceive that ye may have convenient persons to take and inhabit the same.' The lord deputy's answer was not encouraging. Ireland, he asserted, would never be reduced to order until the Earl of Kildare was removed. Then and not till then would it be possible to plant Leix and Offaly with good effect. But after dabbling in treason for a time, Kildare, before it was too late, came to the conclusion that loyalty was his best policy. Not so, however, the unfortunate O'Mores. About Christmas 1560, a number of them assembled in the neighbourhood of Holy Cross Abbey in Tipperary for the purpose, apparently, of settling some dispute amongst themselves as to the chieftainship of one of their septs. But their movements were suspicious, and it was reported that messengers from Shane O'Neill and the Earl of Desmond were busy instigating them to rebellion. Before, however, they had time to mature their plans, whatever these may have been, the Earl of Ormonde suddenly swooped down upon them, dispersed them, and took several of their principal men prisoners. How far, indeed, Shane O'Neill was con-

21 State Papers, Mary, ii. 60.  23 Cal. Carw. MSS, i. 277.  
22 Ib. i. 231.  24 Ib. i. 291.  
25 It was admitted that Shane O'Neill had offered them protection and assistance if they would remove into his territory; but they had replied 'that so long as they could get whereby to live in their own country they would be loth to go so far.' State Papers, Eliz. iii. 2.
cerned in fomenting these disturbances it would be difficult to say: but of the fact itself there can be little reasonable doubt. His attitude at this time wholly absorbed the attention of the government. Perplexed and baffled by him, Sussex would gladly have taken his life by fair means or foul, only Shane was too wary to allow himself to be entrapped. But in Oct. 1561, he consented to a truce negotiated by the Earl of Kildare, and shortly afterwards left Ireland on his memorable visit to Elizabeth.

To Sussex, the occasion seemed a favourable one to put into execution the long deferred plantation of Leix and Offaly. Accordingly, on Nov. 27, he announced his attention of dividing the confiscated countries into baronies and of making estates to the inhabitants. He was sanguine of completing the business within a fortnight, but a fresh obstacle immediately presented itself. The survey upon which the plantation was to be based, was found on examination so imperfect in many important respects as to be absolutely useless, and until the defects were remedied nothing could of course be done. So ordering a new survey to be made, Sussex returned to Dublin. It was not till the beginning of 1568 that matters were sufficiently advanced to allow the plantation to proceed. In that and the following year, however, a number of grants were made to Englishmen and Irishmen, servitors who had been mainly instrumental in suppressing the rebellion, and who, having won their lands by the sword, might be safely trusted to defend them with the same weapon.

Very different was the appearance of the country thus allotted to the planters then-a-days, to that which it now presents with its luxuriant green crops and fields of waving corn. The Slievebloom and Slievecomar mountains, the bog of Allen and the great heath of Maryborough still, it is true, remain its most distinctive features. But the vast forests of oak, of wild pine and yew, with their tangled underwood of alder and hazel that then covered the whole country, rendering it almost inaccessible to any save the wild wood-kerne, have long ago disappeared, though here and there, as in the demesne of Droughtville, vestiges of them still remain. Lord Leonard Grey's expeditions and those of Sir Edward Bellingham had done much to open up the district lying along the Pale. Passes had here and there been cut through the woods, bridges thrown across the rivers, and forts erected in commanding situations to curb the natives. But between the Slievebloom mountains and the Shannon the country was practically a terra incognita; while the woods of Glenmalier and Iregan and the mountainous district

* State Papers, Eliz. iv. 61.  
** Ib. iv. 75, 81.  
* Instead of burdening these pages with a list of the original grantees, it may perhaps suffice to refer the reader to the accompanying map, where I have endeavoured to indicate the locality of their estates, and to the summary of the inquisition of 1622, at the end of the present article.
between the Barrow and the Nore long remained the impenetrable strongholds of the O'Mores and O'Conors, and of such as in the official language of the day 'pretended ownership' to the lands which they saw gradually passing into the hands of Englishmen. Even in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the woodman's axe had played sad havoc among these ancient forests, the country was described by Boate as throughout full of woods 'some whereof are many miles long and broad.' Interspersed among the woods and bogs were wide tracts of rich arable and pasture land, which in other and more peaceful times would have rendered the planters an envied race of men. As it was, living exposed to the constant attacks of the ancient proprietors and in danger of having their houses fired over their heads, their crops destroyed, and their cattle houghed or stolen, the prospect before them was very far from enviable. Of the former plantation, if we may dignify it by the name, not a trace remained. Of the lessees for twenty-one years hardly one was left. Some had perhaps fallen in the struggle, but the most had fled ignominiously at the first rising of the Irish.

According to the conditions of the new plantation each grantee was required to hold his estate in tail male by knight's service at an annual rent of twopence per acre during the first seven years and of threepence ever afterwards. He was to attend when called upon 'for the defence of the country, with the greater part of his servants and tenants, armed, and with victuals for three days; to maintain a certain number of foot and horse proportionate to the size of his estate; to give one plough-day for each plough on his lands, or to do such work as the constable of Philipstown or Maryborough might appoint. Further he was required not to use the Brehon law in respect to any subject answerable to the laws of the kingdom; his sons and principal servants were to use the English language, dress, and manner of life in so far as they reasonably could. Once every year, on 1 Sep.' he was to appear personally before the constable or sheriff of the county with all the men under his control, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to answer for their behaviour during the past year. He was not to maintain any man of Irish blood accustomed to bear arms and born outside the country except with the permission of the constable of the fort and of a majority of the free tenants of the county. He was to keep open or closed as required all fords and passes on his lands. He was not to destroy any castle, bridge, pavement, or togther, except such fords as adjoined the Irish districts. He was not to take part in any forays or receive payment for the same. All women having dower or jointure out of his lands were to be bound by the same conditions. No alienation was to be made except of one-third for life to younger sons. He was to reside continually on his estate and not to marry or make confraternity with

* Natural History ch. xv.  ** State Papers, Eliz. xv. 29, 80.
Sorry, Mac Cilftrick's Country
Plantation of Leix Sepa 1563.
any Irish not amenable to the laws of the kingdom: nor was he to suffer coyné and livery or any other exactions of the nature of black-rent to be levied by outside persons. Finally there was reserved to the deputy or his representatives power to alter such watercourses as was thought fit, and to cut down as much wood and underwood as might be necessary for building purposes in the county. 35

Certainly the conditions attached to the grants were not such as will justify the ordinary opinion that the planters obtained their estates on easy terms. Whatever it might be elsewhere, every foot of ground in the eastern marches of King’s and Queen’s county was deluged with blood before it passed finally into the hands of the English colonists. It is also worthy of notice that, whatever may subsequently have been the policy of English statesmen, there was at this time no intention or wish on their part to rob the Irish natives of their lands. The one object they had at heart was to secure Ireland to England; to establish the supremacy of the English laws in the island; to reduce the Irish to one homogeneous mass by substituting for the old Celtic relations of chief and clansman the more modern ones of landlord and tenant. Had the Irish been content to accept this new system, had they been willing to abandon their wild and free and, to Englishmen, lawless manner of life, there would have been no question of a plantation at all. Each chief would then have become simply the owner of the lands of his tribe, with his clansmen for his tenants. That the change would have been in the direction of a higher standard of civilisation can hardly admit of question. Doubtless the old Irish life had many charms, but it had its disadvantages at the same time. So long as the clan system prevailed, no sense of a national unity was at all possible. Its destruction entailed terrible suffering on the Irish, but I cannot allow that there was that wanton display of cruelty on the part of the English which has been attributed to them by certain writers. It is a doctrine born of modern thought that the English had no right to interfere in Ireland at all; that, left to themselves, the Irish would have developed into an independent and united nation. But, however this may be, and there seems little ground in history for its justification, it is certain that to the statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the heritage of the Norman conquest was not a thing easily or lightly to be abandoned. For the Irish there is much to be said. They fought bravely and died heroically in a cause which must ever arouse our interest and claim our sympathy.

At first everything went as well as could have been expected with the planters. Small predatory bands of dispossessed proprietors, taking advantage of the long winter nights, wandered up and down the country stealing cattle and burning outlying haggards; but

35 Cal. of Plant, Eliz. No. 474.
they were few in number and the garrisons at Philipstown and Mary-
borough had little difficulty in holding them in check. But as the
year 1564 advanced, their depredations grew more frequent, and those
who were familiar with their movements predicted a new rebellion. In February they made a raid into county Kildare and narrowly
missed capturing Sir William Fitzwilliam's sister, who owed her
escape to the fleetness of her horse. The necessity for vigorous
action was apparent. On 15 March the earls of Ormonde and Kildare
and Sir Henry Radcliffe were appointed to hold a parley with them.
If possible they were to persuade them to abstain from keeping
armed retainers, from levying blackmail, from wandering up and
down the country in riotous companies, and to give pledges for their
future peaceable behaviour. If these conditions were rejected then
the O'Mores and O'Conors were to elect representatives to confer,
with the lord deputy and council, and a modus vivendi to be arranged
satisfactory to both parties. In the meantime both sides were to
abstain from all acts of hostility.

The plan, no doubt, was well adapted to meet the wishes of the
planters, who were anxious at all costs to avoid open war, the burden
of which would have fallen upon them most heavily. But Eliza-
beth's pride was touched, and she sharply reprimanded the council
for tolerating the rebels, instead of suppressing them with the sword. Sussex, who was heartily sick of Ireland, pleaded illness and was
allowed to retire to England, but his deputy, Sir Nicholas Arnold,
was only too ready to take Elizabeth at her word. Cormack O'Conor,
old Brian's son and his younger brother Cahir, were reported to be
hanging about the borders with six score idle wood-kerne, ready for
any mischief so soon as the nights began to lengthen out, and Arnold,
suspecting that Callough O'Conor, to whom Sussex had allotted a
small estate, was only waiting his opportunity and the approach
of Cormack to return to his old courses, promptly arrested him and
clapped him in the fort of Philipstown. It was an ill-advised step.
Callough's brothers, Art and Lisagh, were immediately up in arms,
and Callough himself, though heavily ironed, soon managed to effect
his escape. Even then he offered to go to Dublin and exonerate
himself if the lord justice would grant him a safe conduct. But
Arnold would listen to no terms. Thereupon the war broke out.

The O'Conors, being joined with the O'Mores, burned and pillaged
in all directions. They were few in number, but they were sup-
ported by the neighbouring Irish septs, and in a short time inflicted
an enormous amount of damage on the Pale. Several of the
planters, including John Appriss, lost their lives. Houses and
villages went up in flames, and it was estimated that no less
than 3,000 head of cattle that they were unable to drive away

" Ib. x. 31. " Ib. x. 17.
" Ib. x. 47. " Ib. xi. 1, 65.
were slaughtered by the rebels. The country was immediately raised against them; they were proclaimed traitors by name; all outlets from the King's county and Queen's county were closed; pledges taken from the Macgeoghegans, O'Carrols, and other neighbouring clans; the forts strengthened; the planters admonished to stand on their defence as required by their patents, and special instructions sent to the earls of Ormonde and Kildare, Sir Francis Cosby and Captain Colley, to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. Against such a sudden display of force all opposition was useless. Callough O'Conor, who had fallen sick shortly after his escape, was killed by the hand of a near kinsman at the instigation of Kildare and his head sent to Dublin. His followers were everywhere hunted down like wild beasts. Before the end of October the rebellion had been practically extinguished. At least ninety of the O'Conors and thirty-five of the O'Mores, it was calculated, had been slain or executed by martial law. Small bands of eight or ten individuals still prowled up and down among the bogs, especially in Leix, where the nature of the country rendered their retreat secure; but nothing further was to be apprehended from them than the occasional burning of an outlying house or barn, a thing impossible to be avoided, Arnold averred, even had the rebels been fewer in number and the garrisons four times stronger than they were. During the winter the grim work of extirpation still went on; but there was little to reward the zeal of the hunters save now and then the head of some insignificant rebel, hardly worthy of being sent to Dublin, 'pickled in a pipkin,' like that of Shane O'Neill. Utterly prostrated by the storm that had swept over them, it was a long time before the O'Mores and O'Conors caused any serious anxiety to the government.

Meantime the plantation flourished apace. The planters, it is true, were not without their grievances, and as a rule indifferently fulfilled the conditions of their grants; but Sir Henry Sidney, who paid a visit to Maryborough in January 1667, reported that there was such obedience showed and used as well of the soldiers and English there lately planted as of the Irishry there inhabiting, as considering the infancy of any good order in that country, was marvelled at by as many as saw it, and so was also the great increase of tillage that through quiet was there seen.

During the 'Butlers' war' (1569) Leix, and more particularly the eastern parts, suffered severely from midnight raids and border forays, but the damage done was of a temporary nature and speedily repaired, while Offaly under the wise and temperate government of Henry Colley continued to increase daily in strength and prosperity, to the gratification of all concerned. For the misfortunes that followed, Elizabeth was herself largely to blame. Already in

41 State Papers, Eliz. xi. 97. 42 Collins, Sidney Papers, i. 18.
the beginning of 1571 Sir William Fitzwilliam and others noticed that the O'Mores were growing restless. In the summer of the preceding year, Sir Henry Sidney had executed two notable malefactors, Lisagh M'Kedagh O'More and his brother Cahir. But the removal of Lisagh had only raised into prominence a much more formidable disturber of the peace in the person of Rory Oge O'More. Rory, who appears to have anticipated a like measure of justice for himself, gathered together the remnants of his tribe, to the number of six score swords, and went upon his keeping, which was invariably the preliminary step to open rebellion; 'how be it,' wrote the council on 23 March, 'he hath as yet done no harm.' But the time was ripe for rebellion. Everywhere the Irish were up in arms expecting assistance from abroad. Only a fortnight after their last despatch the council had to report that Rory had joined Feagh M'Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and that together they had done incredible damage to the Pale.

A year passed away, but the situation instead of improving grew perceptibly worse. Yet this was the moment taken by Elizabeth to reduce the army. Well might Fitzwilliam's heart sink within him when he read the 'Book of Articles' and saw the 'general jolity' which the order had infused into the Irishry. Rory, who had recently shown himself more peaceably inclined, now broke loose again, successfully eluding every effort to capture him. Finally, after rejecting any offer of protection or pardon, he consented to parley with Ormonde and Kildare at Kilkea Castle. When required to disperse his followers and give security for his good behaviour, he flatly declined unless assured of his life and estate. Harvest time was approaching, and after consulting with Cosby, a fortnight's truce was arranged, Rory undertaking meanwhile not to damage the corn. But he had no intention of keeping the peace, and hardly was Ormonde's back turned, than he was again up in arms, burning and plundering in the usual fashion. There were plenty willing enough to help him, now that the days of the English rule seemed numbered. The O'Conors, the sons of Macgeoghegan and Feagh M'Hugh, were all anxious to lend a hand in expelling the hated intruders, and in recovering the land for themselves. The districts that suffered most severely from their ravages were Kildare, Queen's county, and parts of King's county and Westmeath. So bold were they, Fitzwilliam wrote, that companies of forty, eighty, and sometimes even more than two hundred would march twelve and even fifteen miles through Kildare, breaking up the bawns, driving off five or six hundred head of cattle at a time, plundering the inhabitants of their household goods, and that 'by fair daylight with bag-pipes and by night with torch-light, because they should neither be heard of nor seen.' Some sort of

43 State Papers, Eliz. xxxi. 93.
44 Ib. xxxii. 2, 9.
45 Ib. xxxvii. 87.
46 Ib. xxxviii. 51.
order was preserved in King's county by the exertions of Owen M'Hugh O'Dempsey, the 'wise government' of Colley and the hearty co-operation of the settlers; but as for Queen's county it was 'in a very dangerous case,' and like to be lost entirely unless speedily provided for. When the news reached Elizabeth she railed loudly against Cosby for his culpable negligence and ordered his immediate punishment. Fitzwilliam, more just than she was, refused however to condemn him for what he had been unable to prevent.

Few men knew Ireland and Irishmen so well as did Fitzwilliam. In his opinion there was only one way by which the safety of the menaced plantation could be permanently secured. He was anxious to submit his plan to the queen and council personally, but was ordered to commit it to writing. The 'device for recovering the Queen's county from the O'Mores' is too lengthy to quote in its entirety, but the following extracts from it possess considerable interest.

There is in the upper part of the Queen's county west a waste plot of ground called Galin, containing in arable, pasture, wood, and mountain two thousand acres. And there Rory Oge O'More now dwelleth. This Galin is a gap out of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Ossory and Ely, and the rebel being once within that waste plot hath a scope of twelve miles all mountain, wood, and bog to the Barrowside joining upon Carlow and Leighlin direct south from Galin. . . . Out of these wastes, as out of fortresses, in small companies or great, as occasion requireth or as the turn is best served, the rebel issueth into the heart of the Queen's county and thence into every part of the Pale adjoining, spoiling the same at pleasure. . . . To banish the rebel of the said mountain and bog, first must Galin be inhabited by dutiful subjects: and for the inhabiting thereof there are three commodious seats joining upon it—the Abbey of Leix, the castles of Cullenagh and Ballyroan. The two first are the earl of Ormonde's and Sir Bamaby Fitzpatrick's, who are to occupy them either by themselves or by such as they will answer for. The third is one Davy Hetherington's who hath utterly forsaken it, being unable to keep it. Galin itself is her Majesty's, wholly unprofitable to her. In both Ballyroan and Galin one Owen M'Hugh, a dutiful Irish subject, hath undertaken to dwell and inhabit, yielding therefor as other freeholders so he have presently, or else not at all, estate thereof made unto him. And then presently this spring and summer, for prevention of the injuries of winter, he hath further undertaken to dwell there himself and to plant there at his own cost one hundred householders at the least.

It had long been a grievance with the planters that by the terms of their grants they were prevented from making longer leases than for twenty-one years. A movement had been set on foot to obtain the alteration of the tenure of their estates in tail male into one in fee simple; but nothing had been done in this respect though the proposal seems to have met with Cecil's approbation. 46 To this

46 State Papers, Eliz. xxx. 88.
neglect Fitzwilliam now attributed the present miserable condition of the country.

For (not being themselves able to occupy their lands, nor no other dutiful subject willing to bestow his time, travail, and cost for so uncertain a term in a place where he must be in continual hazard of his life and goods, for the O'Mores being banished it will be but a border) of necessity they have been enforced and shall be to use the manurance of the natural followers of the O'Mores—a great cause of their increase to the decrease of the Englishry. By alteration of the states there shall grow not only advantage to her majesty but also furtherance to her service. For where now the freeholders are tied to habitation but by a covenant which maketh no forfeiture, the words in the new grant may so be inserted as shall either tie them to habitation and not suffer the lands to be possessed by the O'Mores as now they are, or else cause them in default to forfeit the states.  

Elizabeth expressed her approval of Fitzwilliam's suggestions, especially as to making a grant of Galin to Owen M'Hugh, and some modifications were subsequently introduced into the patents of the freeholders, but for the nonce nothing could be done.

Bad as was the state of affairs in the spring of 1578 it rapidly grew worse, and the lord deputy trembled to think what might happen during the long winter nights. In Queen's county Rory Oge, like another Robin Hood with his merry men, reigned supreme, living at free quarters wherever he went. Too terrified to offer any effective resistance the inhabitants gladly secured immunity from outrage by paying blackmail to the rebels; for Rory was quick to retaliate, as a certain Mr. Fitzharris, who had shot one of his kenne discovered when he found himself besieged in his castle, and his cattle and crops destroyed.

As the summer advanced the disordered spread into the King's county. So dangerous indeed was the aspect of affairs that Colley, to whom the queen owed 2,000l. for the defence of Philipstown, found it necessary, at the hazard of his life, to make his way to Dublin in order to solicit an additional hundred men for the defence of the country. The total force at Fitzwilliam's disposal amounted only to 664 foot and 100 horse. Half the horse were at Lecale, and the other half at Newry. Of the foot 100 were in Munster and 264 at Newry; 300 only remained. Of these 100 were forthwith sent into King's county under the command of Captain Furres; while with the remaining 200 Fitzwilliam prepared to go in person to suppress the O'Mores in Leix. The resolution was not taken a minute too soon. A number of O'Conors, some of great lineage, had recently been captured, and it was intended to execute them at Philipstown. Their companions attempted a rescue and attacked the fort. They were repulsed, but in the struggle

* State Papers, Eliz. xli. 8.  ** Ib. xli. 59.  *** Ib. xli. 48.  
* * State Papers, Eliz. xli. 9.  ** Ib. xli. 60.  *** Ib. xlv. 72.  

Robert Colley, Captain Colley's nephew and a brave servitor, was slain. His death was felt to be a severe blow to the plantation; he left an only daughter, 'a comely young maiden of sixteen,' and Burghley was urged to repair the loss as speedily as possible by matching her to some 'young lusty gentleman.' She subsequently married Captain, afterwards Sir Edward, Moore, who did valiant service against the O'Conors.

It was the end of July before Fitzwilliam was able to take the field against Rory Oge and his allies. With the force at his disposal he could make little impression upon the rebels, except 'by plaguing some of their maintainers.' After two months' harassing warfare the O'Mores offered to submit, and to put in pledges, 'liable to hanging,' 'for their quiet and dutiful manner of life.' It was an impotent conclusion to come to, as Fitzwilliam well knew, but he was fain to accept the conditions offered.

'I seemed,' he wrote to the privy council, 'of favour to grant, though indeed I saw cause of necessity to condescend to this conclusion, as well for that I wanted every man wherewith to prosecute the matter and perform it to the full. . . . as also for that I am presently to employ the force I had there, partly against the O'Conors, who now infest the King's county as much as ever the O'Mores did the Queen's, and partly for the guard of the northern borders where things wax very suspicious.'

In truth the state of King's county was as bad as it well could be.

'If your honour,' wrote Colley to Fitzwilliam, 'do not send better force than is here, both of horsemen and footmen, and that with speed, here will be neither corn nor anything else left without the castles and the town of Philipstown. . . . On Thursday night last they burned the last of the Englishmen that were without castles.'

Every day witnessed a fresh increase in the forces of the rebels. Cormack O'Conor, who had spent several years in exile, was at their head with a body of Scotch islesmen, lying securely in Fox's country, and taking meat and drink at his pleasure in Macgeoghegan's country, ready to emerge whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself. Fitzwilliam accordingly, having settled with the O'Mores for a time, posted to Jordanstown; but finding the country so miserably wasted proceeded no further. After a hurried consultation with Colley, when it was determined to increase Furres's company and to raise 200 kerne under the leading of Owen M'Hugh, and 80 more under Edmund Cary, the lord deputy moved on to Dublin.

During the winter King's county continued in a state of siege. In all his forty years' experience of Ireland, Colley declared he had never seen it in a worse state than it then was. It grieved him to the heart to see so many Englishmen slain and murdered, 'weeded

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11 State Papers, Eliz. xli. 80. 12 Ib. xlii. 70. 13 Ib. xlii. 40. ii. 14 Ib. xlii. 40. ii.
15 Ib. xliii. 6, 20. 16 Ib. xliii. 6, 20. 17 Ib. xliii. 6, 20. 18 Ib. xlv. 72.
out as the butcher would choose fat wethers, and so put to slaughter accordingly.' As for Fitzwilliam, he was at his wits' end. The queen contended herself with railing at Cosby as the cause of all the mischief; but neither money nor men seemed forthcoming. To add to his misfortunes Rory Oge delayed so long in putting in his pledges that it was manifest that he was only waiting his opportunity to revolt again. In his desperation the deputy determined, hazardous though he knew the experiment to be, to levy a cess on the Pale, and, much as he disliked the idea, to entrust the prosecution of the rebels to the earl of Kildare. But the arrival at this critical juncture of 800 veterans under Captain Morgan rescued him from his dilemma. The task of recovering the King's county was at once committed to Captain Edward Moore, who laboured with such success that on 10 June, 1574, the lord deputy was able to notify that he had effectually expelled the O'Conors and done everything to provide against a recurrence of similar disturbances by taking pledges from O'Molloy, Macgeoghegan, and the rest of the Irish borderers.

All immediate danger was at an end, but what a scene of desolation presented itself to the planters as they retook possession of their estates. Nothing remained of all their years of toil and trouble save a heap of charred timber and blackened stone. At Colley's earnest request a number of them were retained in the queen's pay till they had time to rebuild their houses. But the damage done was not easily or for a long time repaired. Fitzwilliam was authorised to make regrants of estates vacated either by death or treason of the original grantees to suitable persons. But the prospect before them was not sufficiently attractive to induce Englishmen with capital at disposal to embark in the enterprise, while as for those needy adventurers, who were beginning to swarm into Ireland and who would gladly have jumped at any offer, they were not the sort of men government wanted. It was difficult to find English labourers willing to cultivate the land on the most advantageous terms, and as a natural consequence the farms fell mostly into the hands of Irishmen. Sir Henry Sidney, who succeeded Fitzwilliam, declared that the whole revenue of King's and Queen's counties did not equal one-twentieth part of the charge the crown was at in preserving them. The purchase had been a dear one, but not to be abandoned at any cost, though in Sidney's opinion it furnished 'an example how the like hereafter is attempted, considering the charge is so great, and the honour and profit so small to win lands from the Irish so dearly as these two countries have been to the crown.' The misfortune was that Cormack O'Connor and Rory Oge were still at large. When Sidney was at Kilkenny in December 1575, Rory came to him on a safe conduct of the earl of Ormond and in the cathedral church

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80 THE PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY Jan.

* State Papers, Eliz. xliv. 14.
* Ib. xlvi. 79.
* Ib. xlvi. 71; xlvi, 54.
* Ibid. 1. 8.
* Sidney Papers, i. 83.
of St. Canice humbly submitted himself, 'repenting his former faults and promising hereafter to live in better sort.'

During 1576 the situation rapidly improved; so much so that the garrisons in King's county were considerably diminished. It was a fatal blunder, and one of which the rebels did not fail to take instant advantage. Uniting their forces, Rory Oge and Cormack made a raid into King's county on Christmas eve, burning haggards and houses, and doing damage to the extent of 200L. Before the colonists had well recovered from their surprise the rebels had advanced as far as Naas in county Kildare, which they almost utterly consumed. It was night time, the gates were wide open, the walls broken down, and not a single guard on duty. The rebels, wrote Sidney,

Ran through the town, being open, like hags and furies of hell, with flakes of fire fastened on poles ends, and so fired the low thatched houses; and it being a great windy night one house took fire of another in a moment. They tarried not half an hour in the town, neither stood they upon killing or spoiling any.

From Naas, Rory proceeded to Leighlin Bridge, his force ever increasing as he went till it numbered between two and three hundred men. At midnight they attacked the town. Roused from his slumbers Carew boldly sallied forth with seven horsemen and five musketeers and drove the rebels off, but not before half the town had been consumed by fire. Such outrages were not, of course, committed with impunity. Numbers of the rebels were cut off daily by the queen's forces, but for the nonce fortune seemed to smile on Rory. Not only did he successfully elude every effort made to catch him, but by a piece of good luck he managed to entrap Captain Harington, the lord deputy's nephew, and Alexander Cosby, who had incautiously attempted to parley with him. To recover them by force was out of the question, and Sidney was placed in the humiliating position of having to treat with Rory for their release. But Rory declined to treat at all, except on such terms as Sidney indignantly declared he would never consent to, even to liberate his son Philip. However, after many futile attempts, 'spiced with that policy to allure the rebel better to bite at the bait that all things almost he required were agreed unto,' a plan was at last hit upon which proved successful. What the plan was we are not explicitly informed by Sidney; but we may well understand his silence if the event he records is the same as that which is known in history as the massacre of Mullaghmast. In describing the event to the privy council he merely says that Robert Harpole, to whom the honour of having conceived the plot is attributed, having surrounded the cabin, wherein Rory O'More

* Sidney Papers, i. 216.  
** Ib. i. 166.  
† Ib. p. 216.  
# Cal. Carew MSS. ii. 255.
lay with fifty soldiers, beset the place, recovered Harington and
the rest of the prisoners, and killed all that were in the house,
save Rory and another, who, 'by reason of the darkness of the
night and the greediness of the soldiers, each man to win credit,'
managed to escape. He, however, adds that—

In the interval, betwixt Harpole's coming unto the house and the
breaking open of the doors upon the rebels, Rory, hearing a sudden noise
and suspecting he was betrayed, put on a resolute and desperate mind to
do some mischief, and guessing at the place where Captain Harington
lay (the house being dark and without light) gave him in a moment divers
wounds, though none deadly or maim unto him save only the loss of his
little finger on the left hand.68

Undismayed by this hair-breadth escape Rory soon collected a
fresh band, and on 8 Nov., just as day was beginning to break,
made a sudden descent on the town of Carlow. Harpole, with
half a score of horsemen, was soon on his track, and coming up
with him as he was about to recross the Barrow, inflicted a sharp
defeat upon him, killing seventeen or eighteen of his followers.69

His persistence, and the support he received from the neighbouring
clans, obliged Sidney to adopt more effectual measures for his sup-
pression. Ordering Sir William Drury and Sir Nicholas Malby to
close the outlets on the side of Connaught and Munster he himself
advanced to Kilkenny, arriving there on Christmas Day. He had
heard that it was in Kilkenny and the surrounding district that
Rory was in the habit of deriving his chief support. A few pre-
liminary inquiries soon satisfied him.

both that the mechanical and mean sort and some of the principal and
best sort of the town had from time to time relieved the rebel both with
victuals and all other necessaries for feeding and defence; and the
country in like sort, to be the retreat and sink to receive the rebels' goods,
foster their children, maintain their wives, and in any other sort they
could from time to time to relieve and help them.

A number of suspected persons were accordingly arrested and a
sessions appointed for their trial; but the juries refused to convict,
and Sidney was obliged to cite both juries and prisoners to appear
in the council chamber, where he promised they should speedily

* Sidney Papers, i. 229; Cal. Carew MSS. ii. 355. In thus identifying the event
here recorded with the massacre at Mullaghmast, I frankly admit I may be mistaken.
Mr. Bagwell, to whom I desire to take this opportunity to express my very great
obligation!, relying on an entry in the

** Sidney Papers, i. 280.
be taught their duties in the queen's causes. Meanwhile, the chase after Rory waxed hotter and hotter. So close on his heels were his pursuers at times that his escape seemed little short of miraculous. His followers had been cut down from 500 to 50; there was a heavy price set on his head, but there is no saying how long he might have contrived to hold out had he not, with characteristic foolhardiness, ventured to put his head in the lion's mouth. Of all his pursuers there was none more vehement against him than Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory. In order, therefore, to entrap him, Rory caused a story to be brought to the baron's ears how that he, with a small company of rebels, laden with a great store of 'pots, pans, pewter, nappery, linen, and other household stuff and implements,' might be easily waylaid, provided sufficient care were taken not to alarm him by coming with too many soldiers. The bait took; but not in the way Rory anticipated. For the baron coming to the appointed place with a strong force, Rory had no sooner shown himself on the edge of the wood than he was immediately attacked, and being thrust through with a sword was hacked to pieces by the soldiers.

'And this,' wrote Sidney, 'was the end of this rank rebel, the last day of June in the morning, who by the maintenance of his neighbours and supply of aid and relief of some of his friendly borderers, which he wanted not in the time of his necessities, had so long continuance to the charge of her Majesty and disquiet of the State.'

Rory Oge's death relieved, but it did not materially alter, the situation. His rebellion had indeed been only a part of a much wider movement directed against the extension of the English authority in the island. There were plenty to take his place, though few could expect to play the part of Robin Hood so brilliantly as he had done. In Queen's county small detachments of rebels still combined to prowl about, pilfering whatever they could lay their hands upon; but they were easily dealt with. A much more serious matter was a rumour of an intended rising on the part of the O'Conors in conjunction with the Burkes of Connaught; which, however, was frustrated by the sudden and unexpected appearance of Sir William Drury, to whom Sidney had committed the government, at Philipstown on Christmas day 1578. Drury was not the man to deal in half measures, cordially approving of Burghley's suggestion that the only way to 'reform Leix and Offaly was by extirpating the natives, the continual gall of these parts.' But the practical difficulties in the way of such a course were so great, and the situation of the planters so deplorable, that he was the more easily persuaded to listen to certain proposals made to him.

"Sidney Papers, i. 240."
"State Papers, Eliz. lxii. 8."
"Ib. i. 263."
"Ib. lxv. 5, 6."
by Teige M‘Gilapatrick, Cahil O‘Conor, and Conor M‘Cormack, on behalf of themselves and the O‘Conors generally, for an amicable settlement of the question. Professing their willingness to abandon their old manner of life ‘by taking other men’s goods,’ they begged him to assign certain portions of land to them, whereon they could settle and ‘live by their own labour,’ paying rent for the same as the rest of the planters. Without giving any definite answer to their petition Drury arranged that they and the O‘Mores should meet him at Dublin on Candlemas night to discuss the subject more fully. Meanwhile he communicated with the home government. To Elizabeth and her advisers such a solution of the difficulty could hardly fail to be acceptable. There was no desire on their part to push matters to an extreme issue, or oust the Irish from their lands, provided they would consent to live peaceably after the English fashion. All this business of plantation had sprung simply from the fact that the Irish would not accept the authority of England or consent to live after the English fashion. They refused to acknowledge themselves a conquered nation. Like the reed, they bent before the repeated storms that swept over them; but they would not break. Nevertheless, it was an expensive policy, and so far not a very successful one, and Elizabeth was only too eager to grasp at any pretext which promised to relieve her of the constant drain on her purse. Accordingly, Drury was informed on 8 April, 1579, that his plan of providing for the O‘Conors and O‘Mores ‘by assigning them some portion of land in the outward parts of Leix and Offaly, which be not already given to others,’ had received the sanction of the privy council, with the proviso that he should take sufficient pledges from them for the due performance of the conditions of their grants.

Unfortunately, just when things seemed ripe for a settlement, came the news of James Fitzmaurice’s landing in Kerry on 18 July, 1579. Instantly all Ireland was in a state of excitement bordering on open rebellion, and it was hardly to be expected that the O‘Mores and O‘Conors, who had only been driven to submission by the extremity of their position, would fail to take advantage of this new opportunity to prolong their struggle for independence. Letters were intercepted from the earl of Desmond to Teige M‘Gilapatrick, O‘Conor, Conor M‘Cormack, and the other chiefs, imploring them in the name of the pope and Philip of Spain to rise in defence of their religion. But the government were wide awake to the danger of a general insurrection and kept a tight rein over them—a course which was rendered easier by reason of a feud that had broken out amongst the O‘Conors themselves. In the spring of 1581 their attitude became slightly more menacing, and as the year advanced their disturbances on the borders of the Pale grew more and more

serious. But the reckless severity with which these outrages were punished did not improve the situation. The new deputy, Lord Arthur Grey, Spenser’s ‘champion of true justice, Artegall,’ was regarded by the Irish with suspicion, and his pardons pronounced to be delusive and treacherous. For one of his most trusted agents, Captain Mackworth, they conceived almost as deadly a hatred as they did for Captain Harpole, the prime mover in the massacre at Mullaghmast.

In May 1582 matters were brought to a crisis by the capture of Mackworth by Cahil O’Conor. Mackworth, it appears, was returning to Philipstown from Dublin late one Saturday afternoon, when he was met at Rosbrye in county Kildare by Cahil and a number of his followers who, under pretence of parleying with him, threw him off his guard, and carried him off to the woods. The news of this daring outrage no sooner reached Grey’s ears than he ordered the sheriff of King’s county, Henry Warren, to command Cahil to release his prisoner. But this Cahil absolutely refused to do, unless assured of his own safety under a royal pardon; Grey’s, he declared, being absolutely worthless. This not being forthcoming, and doubtless recalling to mind the fate of Rory O’More, Cahil promptly put Mackworth to death. After this nothing remained for Grey except to make sharp war upon him, which he instantly prepared to do in person. But his success was by no means commensurate with his exertions. For the O’Conors, perceiving what must necessarily be the consequence of their action, dispersed themselves amongst their woods and bogs, where they determined to remain until the approach of harvest and the lengthening of the nights gave them a chance of retaliating with success. After Grey’s recall most of the O’Conors submitted, and, being pardoned, affairs returned to their normal condition. Only Cahil, for whom there was no hope of pardon, still continued to hold out, eluding every effort on the part of the garrison at Philipstown to catch him.

But the situation of Leix and Offaly was far from satisfactory. The plantation was in a languishing condition. Half the planters were either absentees, or were trying to dispose of their estates to others. The expenses of government not only consumed all the revenue derived from it, but constituted a heavy annual drain on the exchequer. It was under these circumstances that the plan of apportioning lands to the natives again suggested itself. The advisability of adopting this policy was fully developed in what purported to be a ‘private memorial’ addressed to Sir John Perrot,
who had just been appointed lord deputy; 'It is no policy,' so runs the memorial, 'to keep them (i.e. the O'Mores and O'Conors) in subjection by the sword without provision how they may live in a peaceable sort.' The best plan would doubtless be to transplant them into different parts of the realm, where they would have no chance of combining in rebellion.

But for that it may be doubted that the said parties, pretending a right to those countries where they do now remain, will hardly be drawn to remove out of the same, it may be considered if they cannot be persuaded to dwell in other places, how they may be placed to dwell in the said countries with allotment of some convenient portion of land thereof for their maintenance, and to live in such sort by such good order as may be taken in that behalf as they may be answerable to justice without annoying the inhabitants of the adjacent countries bordering upon them.22

Curiously enough, there was at this moment presented to the government a scheme for the transplantation of one entire sept of the O'Mores into Munster. The proposal seems to have been made on behalf of one, James Meagh, alias O'More, by his brother, Thomas Meagh, long time a prisoner in the Tower, where his name, cut in the walls of the State prison, is still to be read. By him the scheme was communicated to a Mr. Ralph Lane, an Irish servitor, by whose co-operation it was to be carried into execution and by him in turn submitted with Perrot's approval to the queen. In his letter to Elizabeth Lane explains that

There are two septs or nations bred within the English Pale in Ireland, the one called the Mores, the other the O'Conors. These were sometimes lords and tenants of the two English countries called Leix and Offaly, and for their demerits, or otherwise upon such causes as seemed good unto their governors, were dispossessed of that their inheritance and the same lands given to divers Englishmen, who and their offspring do presently enjoy the same, and the other two nations afore mentioned and their offspring are quite thrust out and are sought daily to be cut off as they may. Nevertheless there be a great many of them still remaining that do live very savagely and very hurtfully to the government there in woods and bogs. And where aforetime they were gentlemen whilst they were in possession of the said land, now they are become kerne, they and their progeny, who are bred up in nothing but in robberies and murders, lying still in wait by all opportunities they can find to kill and spoil the present possessors of that which they take to be their right. And as themselves are never obedient to the government there otherwise than under protection, so are they ever ready to assist any whomsoever to rebel, as lately Baltinglas had a chief assistance by the sept of the Mores who are approved as valiant men generally as any Ireland breedeth. Now where the State hath out of necessity been heretofore enforced and still is constrained even to use great cruelty, sparing no sex of them, to the rooting

22 State Papers, Eliz. evii. 35.
of them up, and yet by no means can either reduce them to good subjection or restrain them from doing daily spoils to the whole country and from procuring your Majesty's great charge whilst they remain there in the view of their daily eyesore, it is therefore offered by one of the chief of the sept to your Majesty's appointed deputy, Sir John Perrot, that the whole sept of the Mores shall be presently drawn out of your Majesty's country of Leix claimed by them into any part of Munster now uninhabited and fallen into your Majesty's hands, provided that they may have lands there laid out for them to manure and to live upon.  

It was further urged that a similar course should be pursued in regard to the O'Conors, and that in the event of their refusing to transplant, the O'Mores should be authorised to make sharp war upon them.

Nothing, however, came of the scheme, owing possibly to the death of the prime mover in it, James Meagh, in the spring of the following year 1585. The chief interest it possesses for us lies in the vivid glimpse it affords of the feelings with which the Irish regarded the plantation, and in the fact that it originated with one of themselves. Of its subsequent revival by Sir Arthur Chichester we will speak presently. When Perrot visited Leix and Offaly in the summer of 1585 he found those countries in a state of unusual tranquillity, and the rigorous precautions which he then took to prevent a recurrence of the disturbances were attended with very beneficial results. From 1585 to 1596 the State enjoyed a practical immunity from the attacks of the O'Mores and O'Conors. Doubtless the fact that their leaders had either perished in the rebellion or, like Teige McGilapatrick O'Conor, had bowed to the force of circumstances and settled down for the nonce on lands allotted them by the State, contributed most of all to this result. The poorer sort, for whom no special provision was deemed necessary, doubtless entered into the service of the planters. It was from this class that the chief danger in the future was to be apprehended. They never, amid their new associations, forgot their old manner of life, and ever looked forward expectantly to the time when Owny O'More, the son of Rory Oge, the rising hope of their nation, should appear amongst them.

Meanwhile, however, the plantation took firm root. Houses and bawns arose here and there, woods were cut down, fields ploughed, and an era of prosperity began to dawn after the long years of constant fighting and bloodshed. But, as the period drew to a close, it was noted with some alarm that the O'Mores and O'Conors were again manifesting symptoms of restlessness, and that their 'garboils' on the borders were growing more and more frequent. Owny O'More, who had been fostered under Feagh McHugh O'Byrne, and

* State Papers, Eliz. cvii. 61 (1).  
* 7b. cvii. 82.
had from his boyhood been versed in the wiles of Irish warfare, was, it was well known, only waiting his chance to emulate the deeds of his father, whose valour had doubtless formed the theme of many a stirring ode at his foster-father's feasts. He began his career, after the most approved fashion, by an attempt, while enjoying the lord deputy's protection, to surprise Alexander Cosby at Stradbally on 19 May, 1596. The attempt was not altogether successful, for his movements had been espied, and at the bridge across the Bauteogne he found himself confronted by Cosby, his two sons, and seven or eight retainers. After a brief parley, Owny, whose force outnumbered Cosby's by at least four to one, made a dash at the bridge, and, after a fierce fight, succeeded in forcing his way across. Cosby, his eldest son Francis, and several of his men fell in the fight; but Owny also suffered severely, and, after burning one or two villages in the neighbourhood, he withdrew with the remnant of his band.85 Owny's attack was followed by a brief cessation of hostilities, Irishmen and Englishmen, as it were, holding themselves in readiness, while the great drama in which Tyrone played a principal part approached its climax. On 13 Oct. 1597 lord deputy Burgh died, and the government was entrusted to the lords justices Loftus and Gardiner. The opportunity was one which the Irish were not likely to neglect, and only a few days afterwards it was noticed that their attitude was everywhere becoming more menacing. In Leix and Offaly, indeed, the fire had already broken out. At Edenderry, Sir George Colley had his cattle driven off and his country harried to the very doors of his castle; while in Leix the zeal of the rebels was still further inflamed by a victory which they won over Sir Warham St. Leger and Captain Hovenden.86 About Christmas the earl of Ormonde patched up a truce with the earl of Tyrone, and there was again for a brief season a nominal cessation of hostilities. But it was impossible to control the rebels of Leinster, who fancied they saw the hour of their deliverance at hand, and burned eagerly to expel the hated intruders. In April 1598 a letter was intercepted from Brian Reagh, a reputed son of Rory Oge's, and a notable rebel, to Tyrone, urging him 'to suffer us have open wars, for, by God's grace, there is no stand in the churls if your honour would set upon them now, for all Ireland had been at your command by this if it had not been for your truces.'87 Every day the situation of the planters grew rapidly worse. Unable to cope with the rebels, the government were obliged to connive at their outrages, and, by granting them protections, to gain a momentary respite from their attacks. It was a worse than useless expedient, and, under colour of their pro-

85 State Papers, Eliz. clxxxix. 46 (2). Cl. Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, ii. 161.
86 Ib. 31 Oct.; 14 Dec. 1597.
87 Ib. 6 April, 1598.
tectations, the rebels burned and harried at their pleasure, so that
the poor settlers did not dare to manure (cultivate) one foot of their
land, or almost to look out of their castles, which they are now
ready to abandon for lack of means to relieve them, their tenants
being already departed from their dwellings and become rebels with
the rest.' A few of the colonists, like Peter Leicester and Sir
Henry Warren, made a determined stand and drove the rebels off;
but the earl of Ormonde complained that many of them yielded up
their castles 'most vilely and cowardly without resistance.' But
surrounded as they were by enemies, their own tenants taking part
against them, it is hardly to be wondered that they should have
grown timorous and lost their presence of mind. Ormonde and his
brother, Lord James Butler, made several efforts, in one of which
the latter lost his life, to relieve them; but after the fatal battle of
the Yellow Ford on 14 August the colonists were left to their fate.
During the autumn, Castle Croghan and Stradbally Castle, two of
the strongest posts in Offaly and Leix, were captured by the rebels
and their inmates put to the sword. Ballybrittan Castle, the seat
of Sir Henry Warren, shared a similar fate, but was almost imme-
diately recovered by the valour of the constable. Several of the
planters, like David Flood, an old man of eighty, were foully
murdered by the rebels. Their houses were burnt to the ground,
their bawns pulled down, and years of patient toil and industry de-
stroyed. The advent of the earl of Essex in the spring of the fol-
lowing year did not improve the situation. An expedition which he
undertook through the heart of Leix narrowly escaped disaster, and
it was with considerable difficulty and no little loss that he managed
to cut his way out of the woods and defiles of southern Leix into the
safer country of the earl of Ormonde. A subsequent expedition, in
which Sir Conyers Clifford played a prominent part, proved equally
useless, and when lord deputy Mountjoy arrived in the beginning
of the new year, the situation of affairs was about as bad as it well
could be.

On Wednesday night, 9 April, 1600, the newly appointed president
of Munster, Sir George Carew, passing to the seat of his government,
arrived at Kilkenny Castle, the residence of the earl of Ormonde,
attended by the earl of Thomond and one hundred horsemen.
Learning from Ormonde that it was his intention on the following
day to hold a parley with Owny O'More on the borders of Idough,
he determined to accompany him. Accordingly next morning they
set off for the place of meeting, which was 'upon a heathy
ground, descending towards a narrow strait having on either side
a low shrubby, hedgy wood,' attended only by a small body of cavalry.
Arrived at the spot, Owny O'More, with five hundred foot and twenty
horse, 'the best furnished men for the war and the best appareled' that Carew had seen in Ireland, soon appeared in sight, and leaving his men at some distance in the plain advanced to the parley. After an hour and more had been spent in talking to no purpose, Ormonde expressed a wish 'to see that infamous Jesuit, Archer,' with whom 'he fell into an argument,' reproving him 'for seducing, under pretext of religion, her Majesty's subjects into rebellion.' While he was thus occupied Carew noticed with suspicion that Owny's men under cover of the shrubby ground on either side had managed to surround them. Calling Ormonde's attention to their danger they were preparing to withdraw when the Irish suddenly rushed upon them and dragging Ormonde from his saddle made him prisoner. Carew and Thomond, thanks to their horses, managed to escape; the latter, however, not without a bad pike wound in his back. But whether it was that he was alarmed at the probable consequences of his action, or because he hoped thereby to secure better conditions from the government, Owny shortly afterwards released the earl. But he was soon to learn that the government of lord deputy Mountjoy was not to be thus insulted with impunity. Carefully inquiring from Ormonde how far he had compromised himself in order to secure his freedom, Mountjoy prepared to execute his purpose of extirpating Owny and his band of thieves. On 15 August he crossed the Barrow at Carlow with eight hundred foot and one hundred horse, and advancing slowly through Slievemargy he ravaged the country right and left, paying little heed to Owny's expostulations 'to stay his execrable and abominable course of cutting down the green corn.' The following day, dividing his forces, he sent a detachment under Sir Oliver Lambert through the upland districts, while with the rest he 'coasted along the plains,' still spoiling and burning as he went. Reuniting their forces at nightfall, they were joined by the earl of Ormonde with a considerable body of men. The same evening a messenger from Owny came into the camp with a letter 'desiring some gentlemen might be sent to him for conference.' Disdaining to answer him, Mountjoy handed the letter to his Irish fool, Neal Moore, who replied 'that there was none in the camp so base as to confer with him, but if he would come and submit himself on his knees to him, the said Neal, he would undertake that either his submission should be accepted or he should return safe.' The next day, as the army was marching along the valley of the Douglas, they spied the enemy on the neighbouring heights 'waving us to them with their swords and calling us, as their manner is, with railing speeches.' In the skirmish that followed Owny was mortally wounded, and, 'fearing his head would fall into the deputy's hands,' 'willed it to be cut off after his death and

His death practically put an end to the rebellion; for his successor, Owny M’Shane was a man of no spirit, and the O’Mores rapidly dispersed themselves ‘by six and ten in a company, every man seeking to save his own.’ Passing by Ballyroan, destroying the rebels’ property as he went, and amused to find in one of their houses a picture of Queen Elizabeth fastened up behind the door, and at the other end of the room one of King Philip, Mountjoy crossed the Nore and entered the country of Upper Osseory; but meeting with no resistance he retraced his steps. At the pass of Cashel, Donnel Spaniagh Kavanagh and a rout of rebels, collected from all quarters, threatened to intercept him. But at the last moment, deeming prudence the better part of valour, Donnel and his company ‘drew up to the hill to see the success of the fight between us and the rest of the rebels, who charging us hotly were driven back through the wood and bog.’

It was a long time before the O’Mores recovered from the effects of Mountjoy’s invasion, and the executions that followed. ‘There is now,’ he wrote in April 1601, ‘no force left in all Leinster against her Majesty, but a few scattered thieves of the Mores and Conors, whom I refused to take to mercy.’ Ere long the English settlers flocked back to their old abodes, and began to rebuild their ruined mansions. A season of peace and prosperity set in which was not seriously threatened till the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641. During the remainder of Elizabeth’s reign events of much greater importance absorbed the attention of government, and it was not till the alarm occasioned by the landing of the Spaniards and the rebellion of Hugh O’Neill had passed away, that the affairs of Leix and Offaly again attracted notice. Making a circuit through that district in 1605, Sir John Davis reported that, owing to the English colonies planted there, the inhabitants went willingly enough to church, or rather would do so if there were churches for them to go to. At Maryborough a petition had been presented to him on behalf of the O’Mores, complaining that they had no church or priest to marry, bury, or baptise them, and Davis strongly urged the government to provide for their spiritual wants. Meanwhile he took order that the vicar of Maryborough should every Friday say divine service near the ruins of an old church within the parish. But to Sir Arthur Chichester, who had succeeded Lord Mountjoy, the general tranquillity of the kingdom seemed to furnish an admirable opportunity for putting into execution a more radical scheme of settlement than had hitherto been possible. Eighteen several times within the last sixty years, he declared, had the O’Mores and O’Conors risen in rebellion, only to be suppressed after great loss

**Cal. Caren MSS. iii. 430-3; 489-40.**

**Ib. iv. 40, 48.**

**Russell and Prendergast’s Cal. i. 245, 468.**
of life and treasure to the crown. At present their attitude was one of loyalty, but in a few years, when their strength increased, they would assuredly break out again, 'shooting at the recovery of their lands taken from them for their rebellion,' and prudence dictated that it was better to attack them than to wait to be attacked by them. His proposal was to transplant them bodily into some other parts of the kingdom, beginning first with the O'Mores and their followers, the Kellies, Lalors, M'Loughlins, Clandeboies, Dorans, and Dowlings. A certain Mr. Patrick Crosby, 'who hath a great interest in some of the chief of them,' had offered his services to remove them, and Chichester, warmly applauding his patriotic conduct, recommended that a grant should be made to him for that purpose of the seignory of Tarbet in Kerry, which had been passed to Sir John Hollis, 'who was soon weary of it, so that hitherto it hath yielded no benefit to the crown.'

Chichester's scheme received the approbation of James and his privy council, and authority was given him to employ force should other means fail to induce these recalcitrant rebels to transplant. As for the O'Mores, when they heard of the project they instantly petitioned against it, declaring it to be contrary to equity and law, and to his Majesty's general and gracious pardon bestowed upon them by public proclamation, to dispossess them of their lands, holding them as they did by leases which they were ready to produce. From James, however, they received little satisfaction. But Mr. Crosby soon discovered that he had undertaken a more difficult task than he had imagined. For a year and a half he laboured incessantly, but without the slightest success, to induce them to quit their holdings. Thereupon Chichester took up the business himself, and sending for one of the chiefs of every sept reprimanded them for their disobedience, and ordered them immediately to depart with Mr. Crosby. This, however, they flatly refused to do, 'making suit that they themselves might be made freeholders of Tarbet, for which (where Crosby was to give but 5l. to his Majesty per annum) they would give 40l. and so would depart without further trouble or coercion.'

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88 Russell and Prendergast's Cal. ii. 59; 140-2. Patrick Crosby, or Mac Uí Ciosain, was himself a mere Irishman, whose ancestors had been a sort of hereditary bards or rhymers to the O'Mores. I am indebted to Dr. Norman Moore for the following interesting note: 'The prefix Mac Uí, i.e. son of the grandson (of so and so),' says Dr. Moore, 'was used in old times by branches of a great tribe who had established themselves as independent tribes in another district, as e.g. in Antrim, a sept of O'Neill was known as the Mac Uí Neill Buide. And in our own times, I have known a native of Breffine who went by the name of Smith, and who was sent to herd cows in Connacht by the shores of Loch Ormsen. Irish was almost extinct in the district he had come from, but he and his excellent wife were soon at home among the Connacht men, who always called him in Irish, Mac Uí Grábhain, i.e. son of the grandson of Smith. Thus it is easy to see how the name Mac Uí Ciosain, son of the descendant of the bard, was borne by the family who were bards to the chiefs of Leix.'

89 Ib. ii. 403.

90 Ib. ii. 104-5.
The council readily assented to their proposal, and the chiefs were dismissed to make preparations for their removal.

But upon their return into the country, when they had imparted their resolution to their friends and followers, and debated the matter jointly amongst themselves in their own factions, the septs would not yield superiority one to another, but in the end agreed with a general consent to make choice of Mr. Crosby, for whom they sent and desired him to undertake the business, promising that they would at his pleasure depart with him, some to Tarbet and others further into his land in Kerry, where he would dispose of them.⁹⁶

At last the matter seemed to have been satisfactorily settled. On St. Patrick's day, 1608, an agreement was arrived at between Crosby and the heads of the seven septs, whereby the former promised for himself and his heirs not to bear any malice for anything that had happened in the past; to assign lands to each chief and his heirs in Tarbet at a yearly rent of 1l. the ploughland, with other services; to provide for the rest, to the number of 289 persons, elsewhere in Kerry; to stand surety with the government for them, and to maintain and defend them in all lawful causes, and not to suffer them to be wronged or oppressed by any officers or others. On these conditions the O'Mores and the rest promised to quit their abodes in Queen's county and to migrate with him into Kerry before Midsummer day 1608.⁹⁷ But the year passed away and the summer of 1609 found the O'Mores still in their old haunts. At last Chichester was compelled to add force to persuasion, 'and so,' he wrote to the Earl of Salisbury on 17 June,

With the terror of the one and the travail and charge of Mr. Crosby, with the good assistance given by Mr. Pigott, an honest and discreet gentleman of that county, the business is now fully brought to pass and all the seven septs are departed thence, some into Thomond, more into Connaught, and most into Kerry with Mr. Crosby.⁹⁸

All that were left of these firebrands of sedition were some few children, 'bastards of that name,' living on the borders under foster-parents. These Chichester proposed to send into England, 'to put to occupations and other services, where they might forget their fierceness and pride.'⁹⁹ But the privy council thought it unnecessary to go to this trouble and expense for the sake of a few 'young imps,' who might very well be left to receive their 'breeching' from Patrick Crosby.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the hint was sufficient for Chichester, or the experience he had acquired of the difficulty of transplanting the O'Mores may have taught him the advisability of letting well alone. At any rate he made no attempt to carry out his further project of transplanting the O'Conors; and when it was reported that the O'Mores were gradually flocking back to their old abodes he deemed

- Russell and Prendergast's Cal. ii. 444-5.
- Ib. ii. 455-7.
- Ib. iii. 216-8.
- Ib. iii. 240.
- Ib. iii. 264.
it best to wink at their disobedience.\textsuperscript{101} In 1622 the O’Mores were again so numerous in Leix that the lord-deputy Falkland found it necessary to suppress them with force.\textsuperscript{102} But to the English settlers their presence was a matter of small consequence. The plantation had taken firm root, and was as well able as any other part of the kingdom to resist any attempt on the part of the descendants of the dispossessed proprietors to restore the old order of things. In this same year 1622, a commission was issued to inquire into the general state of the plantations throughout the kingdom. After quoting the provision of the Act 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, cap. 7, and the original conditions of the plantation, and noticing how these were subsequently modified, the commissioners in their report held it their duty to inform your Majesty that this plantation in the King’s and Queen’s counties, as it was well begun, so it hath prosperously continued and is for the most part well built and peopled by the English, and a great strength to the country and ready for your Majesty’s service and their own defence; and none of those English undertakers were disloyal at anytime since, but served the State and maintained their houses in the greatest extremities. And the owners of the said lands are most of them such as dwell and inhabit upon their plantations, which it were to be wished were pursued in all places of the plantations.\textsuperscript{103}

R. DUNLOP.

The following summary of the inquisition of 1622, giving the names of the proprietors in 1622, the extent of their estates, the original grantees, and how they were acquired, will probably be scanned with interest.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Proprietors in 1622</th>
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<th>Original Grantees</th>
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<td>Ormonde, Earl of</td>
<td>Abbey of Leix . 870 acres</td>
<td>Earl of Ormonde, 8 Eils.</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Londonderry, Earl of</td>
<td>Dallymuhilly . . .</td>
<td>Arthur Tomsen, 5 Eils.</td>
<td>Query</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Leger, Sir William</td>
<td>Dallymoyler . . .</td>
<td>(1) Alex Cosby and Derces</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Colleenrey . . .</td>
<td>Sidney, 11 Eils.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ballymoyleran . . .</td>
<td>(2) Alex King and Richard</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colnewen . . .</td>
<td>Sutton, 9 Eils.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metcalfe, Dr.</td>
<td>Crougheatsteele . . .</td>
<td>Robert Byrne, 11 Eils.</td>
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<td>Stranalaugh . . .</td>
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<td>Tyre . . . . . .</td>
<td>Walter Keating, 5 Eils.</td>
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<td>Comrask . . . . .</td>
<td>John Keating, 5 Eils.</td>
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<td>Parsons, Sir William</td>
<td>Downe and Ballylud . .</td>
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<td>Kilnudkilly . . .</td>
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\textsuperscript{101} Russell and Prendergast's Cat. iii. 468. \textsuperscript{102} Ib. v. 895. \textsuperscript{103} Sloane MS. 4756, f. 81.
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<th>Estates in Queen's County</th>
<th>Original Grantees</th>
<th>How acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graham, Sir Richard</td>
<td>Ballynegook, 120 acres</td>
<td>Mulmory, M'Edmond, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Forfeiture of original grantee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kelough, M'Ter, 4 flx.</td>
<td>Grant, 42 flx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prayne O'Kelly, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Murtagh O'More, 12 flx.</td>
<td>Grant, 18 Jac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Piggott, 2 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Harpole, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Grant, 18 Jac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Terence M'Donel, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Patrick Crosby, 4 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) George Delves, 3 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edward Berrett, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles M'Turlough, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hugh M'Callough, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mathew Skelton, 8 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thady O'Dowling, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Query</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Owen O'Dempsey, 6 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Donnel M'Quiggert, 5 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barnaby Pilkirpatrick, 12 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barnaby Pilkirpatrick, 6 flx.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Persyramy O'Kelly, 6 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Barrah, 13 flx.</td>
<td>Purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Francis Cosby, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Alex Cosby, 4 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Francis Cosby, 11 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Davids, 8 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) David M'currowey, 5 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Francis Cosby, 11 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Richard Cosby, 6 Jac.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Edmund Medimber, Jan. Thomas Lamen, 11 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) John Ralph, 11 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Thomas Lamen, 13 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Rye, 6 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Patrick Hetherington, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Jenkin Hetherington, 20 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas White, 6 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Finney, 11 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Bowen, 40 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Proprietors in 1633

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proprietors in 1633</th>
<th>Estates in King's County</th>
<th>Original Grantees</th>
<th>How acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Sir Henry</td>
<td>Ballybryan, 620 acres</td>
<td>Henry Warren, 6 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Pepper, 8 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Colly, 6 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Herbert, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Robert Colly, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Edward Moore, 20 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anthony March, 8 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) John Till, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Brian Pilkirpatrick, 8 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) John Davy, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Roos Macgeoghegan, 18 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walter Berrington, 8 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Lescotun, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>David Sumpeter, (vancied)</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) William Forres, 6 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Edward Forres</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Wakesley, 5 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Morris, 8 flx.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Edward D'Arcy, 11 flx.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Earl of Killurn, 20 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lymag M'Mcurrowey, 8 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Thady M'Cahill, 9 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Sir Francis Amusley, 18 Jac. Thomas Tyrrell, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) David Flood, 8 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Humphrey Roddings, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Sankey, 5 flx.</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Henry Dicks, 6 flx.</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) William Brown, 40 flx.</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
96 THE PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY Jan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proprietors in 1613</th>
<th>Estates in King's County</th>
<th>Original Grantees</th>
<th>How acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soare, William</td>
<td>Bannewey (mol-</td>
<td>(1) John Baynam, 5 Eils.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>esty of)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips, Henry</td>
<td>Casharough</td>
<td>(2) Edmund Soare, 18 Eils.</td>
<td>Conveyance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Geoffrey Phillips, 5 Eils.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips, Colley</td>
<td>Killenodellick</td>
<td>Prancis Edgeworth, 15 Jac.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) John Apprice, 5 Eils.</td>
<td>Purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Bostock</td>
<td>Ballymakillen</td>
<td>(4) Earl of Kilclare, 9 Jac.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reymond Oge Fitzgerald, 6 Eils.</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzgerald, Redmond</td>
<td>Claneboig</td>
<td>(1) Thady O'Mulloch, 5 Eils.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oge</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) William Burke, 6 Jac.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrimham, Gerald</td>
<td>Ballycommon</td>
<td>Charles O'Conor, 6 &amp; 18 Eils.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy, Millerus</td>
<td>Ballyrayne</td>
<td>Sir H. Colley, 19 Eils.</td>
<td>Purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Connor, Brian</td>
<td>Killantockes</td>
<td>Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, 5 Eils.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayne, Henry</td>
<td>Bannow</td>
<td>John Alce, 11 &amp; 15 Eils.</td>
<td>Inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzgerald, Maurice</td>
<td>Chillaghton</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloe, John</td>
<td>Monastery of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Blane, John</td>
<td>Killaghy</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ballyrown</td>
<td>(1) Francis Appleyard, 5 Eils.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Francis Leyney, 50 Eils.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following genealogical tables may perhaps be of service to the reader:

**CONNEL O'MORE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lissyagh</th>
<th>Kedagh Roe</th>
<th>Piers</th>
<th>Gilapatrick</th>
<th>Rory O'Coich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morris,</td>
<td>Lissyagh,</td>
<td>Oahir, Thomas (Massagh)</td>
<td>James (Massagh)</td>
<td>Rory Oge Kedagh Callough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. at Mullagh.</td>
<td>Ex. 1670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Owny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rory O'More, leader in the rebellion of 1641</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OONOR O'CONOR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patick</th>
<th>Oahir</th>
<th>Brian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teige</td>
<td>Teige</td>
<td>Teige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian</td>
<td>Callough</td>
<td>Callough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. All these sons of Brian died without heirs male, except Bosse, who had a son that was alive in 1617.