

GROUND PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF ENISH-KILLIN, being the oldest copy in existence, probably about 1550 A.D., as taken from the original in Trinity College Library, Dublin. The King's Regulations provide that from two castles in Ulster the Union Jack shall fly on State days and anniversaries, and one of these is the castle of Enniskillen, the other that of Carrickfergus. Note the moat all round the castle. The drawbridge leads into the foot of what we call Castle street, once named William street.

Enniskillen

THE HISTORY of ENNISKILLEN

WITH REFERENCES TO SOME

MANORS IN CO. FERMANAGH

AND OTHER LOCAL SUBJECTS,

BY

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VOLUME I.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

ENNISKILLEN,

Printed and Published by William Trimble,
1919.

SUBJECTS OF CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.—PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

Plan of Plantation.—Flight of the Earls.—Maguire's Rebellion.—Survey of Ulster Lands.—Three Corporate Towns.	1
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CHAPTER II.—CHOICE OF A SITE.

State of the Country.—Lough Erne and the Marshes.—
Selection of a County Town.—First selection of
Lisgoole.—Finally of Enniskillen Island. ... 6

CHAPTER III.—LISGOOLE.

Abbey of Lisgoole.—Its Burning and Repair.—Upkeep of the Abbey.—The Building again in 1583.—Succession of Owners.—Particulars of the Abbey.—Lord Maguire's Will.—Chalice at Manorhamilton.—The Armstrongs of Lisgoole.—Succession to Mr. Jones and Mr. Johnston. 11

CHAPTER IV.—DEVENISH AND THE FIRST ASSIZES,
Devenish Ruin.—Site of First Assizes.—St. Molaisse's
House.—The Round Tower.—The Board of Works.
—The Right of Way.

CHAPTER V.—THE MAGUIRES.

The Maguire Family.—Their Territory.—Its Boundaries.—The Maguire Tribute.—Revolt of the Under Chiefs.—The Sick King's Plan.—What His Army Accomplished.—The O'Flanagan Punished.—Feasting at Port Dobhrain.—The O'Donnells Overlords.—Family Chiefs.—Treacherous Attacks.—Fights of the Clans.—Sir Hugh Maguire and the English Army.—Red Hugh—Ballyshannon Castle. ... 30

SUBJECTS OF CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.—PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

Page

Plan of Plantation.—Flight of the Earls.—Maguire's Rebellion.—Survey of Ulster Lands.—Three Corporate Towns. 1

CHAPTER II.—CHOICE OF A SITE.

State of the Country.—Lough Erne and the Marshes.—
Selection of a County Town.—First selection of
 Lisgoole.—Finally of Enniskillen Island. ... 6

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CHAPTER VI.—THE MAGUIRE CHIEFTRY.

O'Neill's Raid.—Service of The Maguire.—Election of the Chief.—Sometimes at Lisnaskea.—Blind Teague O'Higgins.—Description of the Castle.—Sir George Bingham. 50

CHAPTER VII.—SIEGE OF INISH-KELLIN CASTLE.

Picture of the Siege.—Letters of Dowdall.—Attack on the Castle.—How it was Captured.—Maguire and the Battle of the Biscuits. 59

CHAPTER VIII.—THE LAST PRINCE OF FERMANAGH.

English Attack Maguire.—Surrender of the Castle.—The Case of Sir Hugh Maguire.—His Various Pardons. Again asks Queen Elizabeth for Forgiveness.—He Dies near Cork.—English Retake Castle.—Niall Garv O'Donnell Demolishes Enniskillen.—O'Neill also Ravages the Lands. 69

CHAPTER IX.—THE MAGUIRE ESTATES.

The Three Collas.—Private Estate of the Maguires.—Rearing of their Children.—Rents of the Maguires.—Septs of the County.—Jurors at Devenish.—Maguire Property and Customs.—Division of the County.—Lord Maguire of Enniskillen.—The Later Maguires. 81

CHAPTER X.—1641 AND LORD MAGUIRE.

The Massacre of 1641.—Four Parties in Ireland.—Sir Wm. Cole receives a Warning.—The Party at Crevinish.—Owen M'Mahon Betrays the Secret.—Arrest of Lord Maguire.—Failure to Seize the Castle.—The Sentence on Maguire.—His Execution. 97

CHAPTER XI.—THE MASSACRE OF 1641.

Local Details of Massacre.—Depositions of Witnesses.—Captain Rory Maguire.—At Castle Hassett.—Castle of Monea.—Lisgoole and Tully Castle.—More Depositions.—Dromore, Co. Tyrone.—Angher.—Castle Coole.—Lowtherstown.—Sir Phelim O'Neill.—Callow Hill.—Kinawley. 109

CHAPTER XII.—SOME PLANTATION CASTLES.

Castle Archdale.—The Estate.—The Johnson Family.—Manor of Drumragh.—Archdale's Town.—Burning of Castle Archdale.—The Family Succession.—Crevinish Castle.—The Blenerhassetts.—Castle Hassett.—The Famous Dinner.—Nekarne Castle.—Mr. Thos. Barton.—Sir Gerard Lowther.—Manor of Rossgweer. Dr. Christopher Irvine, M.D.—Irvine of Killadeas.—Other Members of the Family.—Tully Castle.—The Hume Family.—The Scotch Presbyterian Settlers.—The Hume Estate.—Largest in Fermanagh.—Succession of Owners.—Castle Destroyed by Fire.—Castle Hume built.—Castlecaldwell.—Family Connections.—Visit of Mr. Arthur Young.—Beauty of the Surroundings.—The Castle of Belleek.—Monea Castle.—The Manor.—The Hamilton Family.—Castle Balfour.—Lord Balfour of Burleigh.—Sells to Sir James Balfour.—The Grant.—Village of Lisnaskea.—Quarrel with Bishop Spottiswoode.—General Ludlow's Visit.—The Castle Burned.—Crom Castle.—Michael Balfour.—The Estate.—Aghalane Castle.—Succession of Owners.—Rebellion of 1641.—Castle Waterhouse.—Manor of Derryanye.—Castle Burnt.—Its Description.—Beautiful Surroundings.—Portora Castle.—Captain Wm. Cole Obtains It.—Particulars of Estate.—First Settlers.—Oath of Supremacy.—Bishop Spottiswoode.—Quarrel with Sir John Wishart.—Trouble with the High Sheriff and Lord Balfour.—Finding of Grand Jury.—More Trouble. 121

CHAPTER XIII.—THE SHIRE TOWN.

Birth of the Town.—Lisgoole.—Grant to William Cole.—Castle of Cornagrade.—Court Leet and Court Baron.—Grant for the Town.—Name of the Town.—Church, Prison and School.—The Twenty Burgesses.—The Burgess Acres.—Townland of Drumclay.—The Commons in Toneystick.—Captain Cole.—Clerk of the Market. 161

CHAPTER XIV.—THE BOROUGH CHARTER.

Creation of the Borough.—The Corporation.—Power to Demise.—Two Members of Parliament.—The Writs of Election.—First Sovereign and Corporation.—Oath of Supremacy.—Election of Sovereign.—Suc-

cessor in Case of Death.—Filling of Vacancies.—
The Provost's Court.—Guild of Merchants.—Favour-
able Interpretation.—Townland of Kilnaloo.—Plan
the Town. ... 171

CHAPTER XV.—THE CORPORATION.

The Free Burgesses.—Certificate of Freeman.—The Pro-
vost's Court.—Neither Catholic nor Dissenter on
Corporation.—Its Officers.—Market Place.—Market
Charges.—Loss of Corporation Records.—Their Three
Volumes.—List of Provosts. ... 181

CHAPTER XVI.—THE TOWN DEVELOPS.

Camomile Hill.—Grant to Sir Wm. Cole.—Repairs to
the Castle.—His Timber Houses. ... 190

CHAPTER XVII.—THE HOUSES AND BRIDGES.

Fire in 1618.—Description of the Houses.—And of the
Country.—The Two Bridges.—And Their Successors. 194

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE TOWNSFOLK.

List of the Townsmen.—And Their Arms. ... 197

CHAPTER XIX.—MUSTER ROLL OF COUNTY FERMANAGH.

The Border Clans.—On the Estates of Lord Balfour—
Sir Wm. Cole—Mr. Archdale—Mrs. Hamilton—
Sir John Hume—George Hume—Sir Gerard Lowther
—Mr. Honings—And Mr. Flowerdew. ... 200

CHAPTER XX.—ENNISKILLEN AND 1641.

Charles I. Comes to the Throne.—Lord Wentworth the Lord
Deputy Impeached and Executed.—Persecution of
Catholics.—The Tories.—Lord Maguire's Trial.—
Judge Bacon's Decision.—The Witnesses.—Free
Confession.—John Carmicke's Testimony.—Report of
State Trials.—Rory Maguire's Warning to Catholics.
—Not to go near Enniskillen and West of River
Arney.—Barony of Glenawley set to Irish Natives.
—Four Armies in Ireland, ... 226

CHAPTER XXI.—CONFEDERATION AND BISHOP M'MAHON
Confederation of Kilkenny.—Plight of Protestants and

English Soldiers.—Confiscations by English Parlia-
ment.—Armed Revolt.—Owen Roe O'Neill and
Bishop M'Mahon.—Help Sent by the Pope.—The
Nuncio.—Sketch of the Time by Monsigneur
Massari.—Arms Sent by the Pope.—Death of Owen
Roe.—His Dying Declaration.—In Castle of
Cloughouter. ... 236

CHAPTER XXII.—MANOR HAMILTON AND SIR WM. COLE

Grant in County Leitrim to Sir Frederick Hamilton.—The
Castle.—He hastens from Derry on Outbreak of
Insurrection of 1641.—Colonel M'Donogh Attacks
Manor Hamilton.—Sir William Cole Marches to its
Relief.—Defeat of Colonel Taaffe.—Owen Roe
O'Neill and his Irish Creaghts.—He is Defeated
near Clones.—Recruits His Army in Connaught.—
Attacks the Castle.—Escape of Sir Frederick.—The
Hamiltons and the Gores. ... 251

CHAPTER XXIII.—LETTERS OF 1641 AND A DIARY.

Diary at Castle Hamilton.—Letters of Prisoners at Droma-
haire Castle.—Reply of Sir Frederick.—He is called
upon to Surrender.—Insurrection of 1641.—Catholics
Help Each Other.—Letter of the O'Connour Sligo.
—Letter of Owen O'Rourke.—Burning of Iron
Works at Garrison.—Sir Frederick Hamilton comes
from Londonderry, relieves Ballyshannon Castle and
reached Castle Hamilton.—A Gallows Erected.—
List of People Hanged.—Diary of a Soldier.—The
Raids, Plunder and Killings. ... 258

APPENDIX.

Beauty of Fermanagh.—Claim of an Irish Chief.—The
Corporation Court.—Ederney.—Enniskillen Castle.—
Hospitality at Enniskillen Castle.—Brian Maguire.—
Family Tree of Maguires.—Sir Hugh Maguire.—
Scotch Proclamation of Plantation.—Hugh Mont-
gomery of Derrybrusk.—Shire Ground.—The Fer-
managh People.—Oath of Allegiance.—The Wickerwork
Houses. ... 269

INDEX ... 282

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I.

ENNISKILLEN CASTLE ABOUT 1550	...	Frontispiece.
" " OF 1610	...	Page Opposite 1
LISGOOLE AND KEEP OF ENNISKILLEN CASTLE	...	" 16
DEVENISH	...	" 24
PORT DOBHRAIN	...	" 32
AN IRISH CHIEFTAIN	...	" 33
M'MAHON'S LETTER AND TEXT	...	" 95-6
SIR PHELM O'NEILL, THE TRAITOR	...	" 112
TULLY AND MONEA CASTLES	...	" 113
CASTLE ARCHDALE	...	" 128
CREVENISH CASTLE	...	" 129
CASTLE IRVINE	...	" 130
ROCKFIELD	...	" 131
BELLECK CASTLE	...	" 136
CASTLE CALDWELL	...	" 137
CASTLES BALFOUR AND AGHALANE	...	" 144
CROM CASTLE	...	" 147
PORTORA CASTLE	...	" 160
CAPTAIN WILLIAM COLE	...	" 176
WEST BRIDGE OF ENNISKILLEN ABOUT 1730	...	" 196
THE SECOND WEST BRIDGE	...	" 197
CASTLE HAMILTON	...	" 256
EXAMPLE OF WICKER WORK HOUSE	...	Appendix.

DIFFERENT SPELLINGS OF ENNISKILLEN.

1567—Inyskillen.	1620—Eniskiln.
1593—Inis-kellin.	1626—Eniskillen.
—Iniskellin.	1630—Iniskillen.
1603—Inish-kellin.	1633—Inniskillyn.
—Inishkillin.	1638—Enishkillen.
—Inis-Sceillin.	—Eniskilln.
—Inis-Sgeillin.	1645—Iniskilline.
—Eniskillin.	1646—Encikillin.
1607—Enic Kelling.	1652—Iniskiln.
1609—Eniskilline.	—Iniskillin.
—Enishkeelyn.	1690—Enniskilling.
—Enishkillin.	—Inniskilling.
1610—Inniskillen.	—Inniskilling.
—Enis Kelling.	1698—Iniskollin.
1611—Iniskilline.	—Enishkyllyn.
1612—Iniskillin.	
1613—Eniskellen.	Modern—Enniskillen.
—Inniskillen.	

IRISH LAND MEASURE.

10 acres equal to 1 greeve (or gneeve).	
2 greeves	„ 1 sessiagh.
3 sessiaghs	„ 1 tate or ballyboe, grazing of 20 cows, (sometimes said to be 100 acres English).
2 ballyboes	„ 1 ploughland or seiscreagh (or carrow) as much as could be turned up by a plough in the course of a year.
4 ploughlands equal to 1 ballybetagh or townland.	
1 ballybetagh	„ 4 quarters of land.
30 ballybetaghs	„ 1 tuath or barony.
5 mor tuaths	„ 1 province.

PREFACE.

THE need of a History of Enniskillen has long been apparent. Many inquiries have been addressed to me from time to time as Editor of the *Impartial Reporter* concerning the procurability of such a work; and I was so impressed by the want of it that I thought I would try—since no one else had attempted it,—to supply the deficiency.

As I proceeded with the task of procuring the necessary materials, of obtaining searches among the archives in Dublin, the British Museum, and elsewhere, for particulars relating to old Enniskillen, it became obvious to me that certain difficulties beset the task—

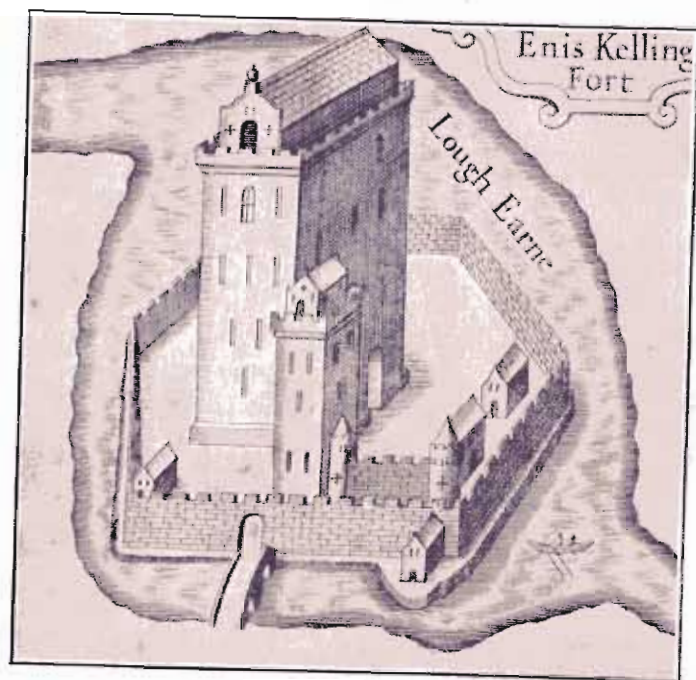
(1) that amid the toil and numerous engagements and employment of a strenuous career I could not possibly give the continuous time necessary for a satisfactory production of what I had proposed; and that it must suffer in consequence, as it has in certain places;

(2) that the cost, owing to the greatly increased price of materials, would so materially surpass the first estimate and owing to the limited circulation of a work having interest only for a comparatively small area, and double cost caused by the war, that it was a question if the receipts would even defray the expenses involved in procuring the wealth of numerous illustrations with which the three volumes will be embellished; and

(3) that in order to bring the work within reasonable dimensions I must condense the matter largely. Much against my will, therefore, I have been obliged to abbreviate, curtail, and to omit matter otherwise of interest.

It will be understood that this book does not enter much into genealogical details or family estates or ecclesiastical history: it is intended for the man in the street, not for the student; and that to publish it, such as it is, with numerous illustrations of each period, means a considerable drain on my own pocket.

I am induced, however, to proceed, lest some of the materials which have been gathered



The Castle of Enis Kelling of 1610, as restored after the siege of 1593 by Captain William Cole, the Governor, for the Crown. This picture shows the actual condition of the Castle at the time that the town was founded in 1612.

[Face page 1

HISTORY OF ENNISKILLEN.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

THE TOWN OF ENNISKILLEN owes its birth, in 1612, to the Plantation of Ulster. Other towns have sprung from a favourable situation such as proximity to a ford, the mouth of a river, or a place of natural strength; but the site of Enniskillen was selected, and the village grew into a town after a definite plan. A county town was needed for the Maguire territory, which had been converted in 1569 by Sir Henry Sydney, the Irish Lord Deputy of Queen Elizabeth, into a county under the name of Fermanagh,* which was described at that time as lying "waste.†" The want of a central town for county purposes and authority led to the conception, the conception to a choice of site, the selected site

* This word is written in Irish as *Feara Manach* also *Fearmanach*, and *Feara Monach*, supposed to be derived from *Feara* men, and *monach*, in allusion to Devinish, the celebrated monastery on Lough Erne, or *monach*, of marshes—men of the marshes.

† In Fermanagh there was neither town or civil habitation.—*Preface of Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1611.*

The habitations of the people are so wild and transitory, there is not one fixt village in all this country.—*Davys' Tracts.*

to a grant, and the grant to the construction and plan of the infant settlement whose progress will be developed in these pages.

The Flight of the Earls on the 14th of September 1607 (old style), by abandoning all pretension to an independent Ulster or Ireland unless by the intervention of foreign aid, afforded King James I., who had ascended the throne in 1603, a good opportunity to put into execution his plan for the plantation of the province of Ulster with English and Scotch settlers.* Before the end of the very month in which the Earls had fled, King James desired that information be sent to him "respecting the lands to be divided; what countries are most meet to be inhabited; what Irish fit to be trusted; what offers are or will be made there; and what is to be done for the conviction of the fugitives, because there is no possession or estate to be given before their attainder?"

King James I. was particular lest his Lord Deputy should dispose of this matter himself, and His Majesty took care to show that he and he alone would deal with the pardoning of "traitors" and restoring of them to their ancestral lands; for a letter of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, dated July 20, 1608, contained the following:

And now that all Ulster, or the most part, has fallen into His Majesty's power, he intends to order it so as it may redound to his honour and profit. And as a fair opportunity

* Six counties of Ulster, embracing the territory of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Dogherties, O'Hanlons, O'Cahans, [O'Kanes], Maguires, O'Reillys, and other chiefs, were confiscated, and by the scheme known as The Plantation of Ulster, was transferred to colonies of English and Scotch settlers, under British undertakers, to whom grants of land were given. For details see Hill's Plantation of Ulster and Pynnar's Survey. We are told by Stuart that it was in 1586 that the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, formed a part of Ulster into seven new Counties—viz.: Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan. In the following year Hugh O'Nial obtained a grant of the Earldom of Tyrone subject to certain conditions, one of which was that some places such as Blackwater should be reserved for forts and garrisons.

is given by the absence of the fugitive earls, the death of the traitor O'Dogherty, and the imprisonment of Sir Neal Garvey, and some others of the disturbers of the peace [principally Sir Cormack O'Neill and Sir Donnell O'Cahan] of those northern parts. Now in order to prevent for the future that it shall be in the power (as it heretofore has been) of any rebellious companion that chooseth to make himself head of any sept by presuming on a rabble of his base followers to disturb the peace, and put his Majesty to the cost and trouble of prosecuting a vagrant company of wood kerne, there must not be so great a facility for granting pardons and taking submissions. He [Chichester] is to abstain from making promises of any of the escheated lands, and to assure himself that not an acre will be disposed of till the survey and certificate of the lands be returned over to them [the Council in London] at the coming of the Chief Justice and the Attorney [General].

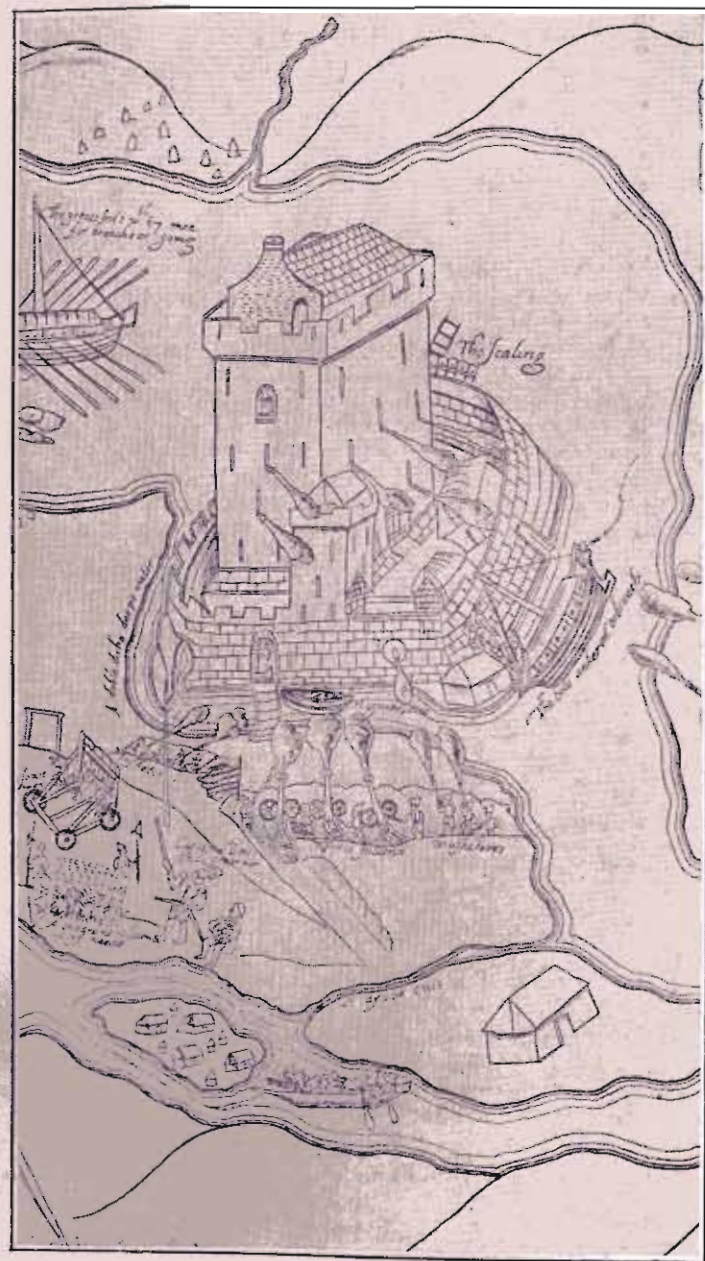
The English "servitors" or military men engaged in watching the Irish natives and who had been engaged in the seven years' war against O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had looked forward to being rewarded by the division of the lands of those who had fled from the country and those whose estates had been confiscated. Sir Hugh Maguire, head of the "Magwire" sept, had in 1595 or a year later joined his father-in-law, O'Neill, in rebellion against Elizabeth, and he had fallen in combat with Sir Warham St. Leger near Cork. His estate was forfeited, and then arose a dispute in the sept Maguire. The chieftaincy was claimed by Sir Hugh's younger brother, Cuconaght, as his legal representative; but Sir Hugh's cousin, Connor Roe, also claimed it as from a senior branch. The latter, acknowledging the English sovereignty, became known as Mag Uidhir Gallda or the English Maguire; and he succeeded in obtaining a patent as chief of the whole Maguire territory. Cuconaght pressed his claim, and Lord Deputy Carew

and the Government, admitting his claims, as the rightful successor of his brother, Sir Hugh, altered their views; persuaded Connor Roe to yield up his patent, with the view of securing peace between the contending clansmen, and promised him three baronies and a half or one-half of the county. The other four baronies were allotted to Connor Roe's cousin, Cuconaght, who thus obtained *the Castle of Inish-kellin*, the half barony of Coole, the barony of Lurg, and the baronies of Magheraboy, Clanawley, and so much of the barony of Knockninny as lay to the west and south sides of Lough Erne, together with such islands in the lough as belonged anciently to the divisions thus named. Cuconaght Maguire was not satisfied with this arrangement, deeming himself entitled to the whole of the county, and, feeling hurt, sympathised with the other chiefs of Ulster, and ultimately threw in his fortunes with the O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.

When the Ulster lords heard of the intention of the Government to arrest them on certain charges* of

* Cox in his *Hibernia Anglicana* relates the matter thus—"On the 7th of May 1607, a letter, directed to Sir Wm. Usher, Clerk of the Council, was dropped in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle, which discovered a conspiracy of the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell, Maguire, O'Cahan, the Lord of Delvin, and almost all the Irish of Ulster, to surprise the Castle of Dublin, and murder the Lord Deputy and Council, and set up for themselves. They had sent a baron to the archdukes [of Austria] to solicit assistance, and probably had employed some one else to Spain; but as soon as they had notice that their plot was discovered, the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell and the Lord Maguire fled beyond seas to get Spanish aid, and the rest did shift for themselves as well as they could, but some were taken and executed."

In Anderson's *Royal Genealogies* another account is given of the affair, that the plot was contrived by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Secretary of State in England, to entrap the Irish chiefs, who afterwards acknowledged their having attended a "secret conference," concerning religion, but repelled the calumny of having entered into any treasonable plot against the State; and no evidence having been proved against them, they were allowed to depart free from arrest, but were ordered to appear the following day. In the meantime, says MacGeoghegan, some false friends in the Council advised them privately to consult for their safety on which, fearing that hired witnesses would be produced against them, and their lives endangered, they fled from Ireland. Constantine Maguire died at Geneva in the same year while preparing to go to Spain, and the Earl O'Donnell died at Rome in 1608, and Hugh O'Neill himself died at Rome in 1616, old, blind, and broken down by many misfortunes.



INISH-KELLIN CASTLE IN 1593.

conspiracy and treason they fled in a ship provided for them by Cuconaght Maguire from Rathmullan, on Lough Swilly on the 14th September, 1607. They never returned. Maguire died of fever shortly after his arrival at Geneva, on the 12th August, 1608, when on his way, it was said, to Spain. He was described by the Four Masters as "a learned, well-featured, cheerful, high-spirited, and rapid marching warrior; a man of superior figure and personal figure, and of all other good qualifications." Thus passed away the legal representative of Sir Hugh Maguire.

Sir Arthur Chichester, who had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1605, pursuing the English object, and having the Irish leaders out of the way, prepared a large military force, which set out on the 5th of July, 1608, from Dublin, to survey the lands of all these "rebels" in Ulster. Sketches were made in 1609 of six of the northern counties, "Armagh, Tyrone, Colrane, Donegall, Fermanagh, and Cavan," a scheme was made for their plantation with British settlers; and the "Project of Plantation" was prepared by His Majesty's Commissioners—the Bishop of Derry, Sir James Ley [Lord Chief Baron], Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir Henry Docwra [Governor of Derry] Sir Oliver St. John, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir John Davys, Attorney-General. This scheme provided among other things that three corporate towns were to be formed in Fermanagh, one at Lisgool, another at Castleskeagh [modern Lisnaskea], and the third in the middle way between Lisgoole and Ballyshannon, the place or seat of the town to be chosen by the Commissioners.

CHAPTER II.

CHOICE OF A SITE.

The country looked different in the early part of the 17th century from what it does to-day. It was, as Sir John Davys wrote, "waste and desolate." An unbridled lake, dammed in many places by shallow fords, spread its floods over low-lying lands: it entered the various rivers and, raising their level, extended its borders over thousands of acres now fertile and yielding crops. Fen, marsh, and bog, since reclaimed, were abundant; roads, as such, did not exist; bridle paths may have led from monasteries like Gola to others like Devenish, though the lake was the natural highway; or there may have been a well defined track towards Derry or Dublin. The people, when free of the almost continuous wars of contending chiefs or with the royal troops, were given to the care of cattle, which did not involve much agriculture; and the beauty of Lough Erne lay in the centre of a country "altogether waste and desolate."

It must be remembered that the Lough Erne of 1606-12 was different from the Lough Erne of the 20th century. A series of shoals impeded the flow

of the water from the Upper Lake in its 14 miles of course as a river towards the Lower Lake. Eel weirs assisted the shallows at Killyhevin to hold back the water in time of flood; and the west ford at Enniskillen and its companion at Portora Stream still further blocked the outfall, so that the Upper Lake and River, finding but small vent in time of heavy rain, overleaped the ordinary barriers, and converted low-lying lands into shallow lakes. The level of Lough Erne would at the Lammas floods be from eight to ten feet higher than at present, so that there were periods when Portora townland would be converted into an island, when some of the present road-ways like those along Wellington Place and Strand Street would be submerged, and when the wave of the lake flowed over the Dublin Road into the present Fair-green. Mr. Robert Barry, the first occupier of the Railway Hotel, Forthill Street, caught fish with a rod during the forties of the last century from where his house stands. The writer when a boy caught tiny eels in the bog holes of the Fair-green during the fifties; even when the canal had been cut through the river shoals from Belleisle to Portora Castle, thus affording a greatly increased outlet for the water, floods so covered the Dublin road in Breandrum near Enniskillen that a cot had to be placed there to bring wayfarers across, and the road had finally to be raised so as to escape the effects of flood-water.

In the island of Inish-kellin itself, the Castle stood on an island. The site of the present Main Barrack was an island; and in times of high flood the water on the east and west sides almost met at the central hollow or depression, where Margaret's

Gutter subsequently was provided, to carry off town sewage towards the Broad Meadow.

So that the island did not make an impression upon the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, when he visited the locality in 1606, before the Flight of the Earls. It was the hills in the neighbourhood of Lisgoole*, and the broad expanse of Killyhevlin, on either side of the narrow neck of the river at this point, which captured his fancy as the site of the future shire town. On the 12th of September, 1606, he wrote to King James's Secretary of State, that

he found this county [Fermanagh] divided with the river of Lough Erne, which runs in the midst thereof, over which there is seldom passage but by boat, which those people make only of a great oak hewn hollow, which they call "cots." These are dangerous, and a great hinderance to the commerce in these parts. Upon this river [between Lough Erne and the sea] he observed two places fit to be made passages by bridge, the one at Ballyshannon, near the Castle, and the other at Lysgoole, which lies about the midst of the county. Wishes there were at this part some beginning of a town, whereby the bridge would be defended, and the passage secured.

Clearly, the Lord Deputy conceived two things. He required (1) a central situation for a county town, and (2) a place suitable for a bridge; and these two things the Commissioners found better provided for at the island of Inishkellin, a mile further down the river. Yet, on his first view of the situation Sir

* Lisgoole appears to have been applied generally to the lands in the vicinity of the ancient monastery, and more particularly here to what we now call Drumsna on the west, divided by the river Erne from the opposite eastern shore of Killyhevlin. It is a beautiful spot, and might well captivate the eye of Sir John Davys. The land rises on either side from the water in graceful hills, and clad as these hills now are, with trees, the place forms one of the several beauty spots around Enniskillen. A camp meeting was held here under Wesleyan Methodist auspices in 1857 and another in 1862 following the great revival of 1859, and cots ferried thousands of people across to the religious services, held under the shade of the trees, where the seats were of rude logs. Tents provided sleeping accommodation. Sir John Davys secured a grant of these lands of Lisgoole for himself, to the extent of 1,500 acres, on which he built, says Fynnar, "a fair stone house."

Arthur Chichester had determined upon Lisgoole, for he ordered houses to be built there for the shelter of the soldiers which he had with him at Devenish, when holding the assizes for the county there in 1609; and he provided for the building of a goal and sessions house there, and a weekly market; but these provisions were never put into effect. The late Mr. Michael George Burke, of Drumkeen, Ballinamallard, told the writer that he paid on behalf of some landlord the Crown rent for a weekly market to be held at Lisgoole in an old grant, though the market was never held. Nor were the buildings ever erected, nor did the Free School intended to be placed at Lisgoole, with the same idea of its being the county town, rise here; for Chichester's choice had fallen upon Inishkellin in these words—

Inishkellin is the fittest place, in his opinion, for the shire town, and to be made a corporation, which will require charge or forcement to bring men of wealth and substance to dwell there, in regard is now altogether *waste and desolate*.

When the Commissioners of Plantation set out from Dublin on the 31st July, 1609, to among other things "summon the assize" of the counties recently formed under Act of Parliament of Her late Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, arrived at Eniskillen on Thursday, the evening of the 14th September, 1609, they found the Castle of the Maguires under the charge of Captain William Cole, who had command of a ward therein, and the superintendence of a certain number of war boats and barges on Lough Erne. His name appears in the list of servitors drawn up by the Council who sat in London who were available as undertakers, and on the 20th May, 1610, they recommended to

Sir Arthur Chichester as follows:—

Captain William Cole, whose name already appears in a list of those fit to be undertakers, furnished by Sir Arthur. They are satisfied of his sufficiency to maintain a reasonable proportion,* and are aware of his merits. And as he has a commission for the charge of his Majesty's boats in Lough Yearne [Erne], and for the keeping of the castle of Enniskillen, they suggest that he should be assigned a servitor's portion as near as may be to the said castle, which otherwise will be very destitute of demesne, as the lands next adjacent to the castle have fallen to the lot of some Scottish gentleman in the distribution of the precincts, and cannot be altered.

Thus we arrive at the choice of this site of the new county town. Sir John Davys had an eye to the beautiful. He was, we have already seen, impressed with the beauty of Lisgoole; and so much so that he subsequently secured an estate there for himself. He knew a good thing when he saw it. But he was evidently also fascinated with the beauty of the Lower Lake. Looking at Magheraboy he gave a description which is true at this day of the lands "rising in little hills" from the side of the lake; and of the county generally as "the fattest and richest soil in all Ulster."† But the island of Enniskillen lay as a great green sward, surrounded by a belt of water, and encircled with emerald hills. It displaced the pre-conceived ideas in favour of Lisgoole, and here were laid the foundations of the town afterwards to become famous in history.

* There were three classes of proportions—(1) of 1,000 acres, the second of 1,500 acres, and the third of 2,000 acres, with bog and wood in addition to each, to be held at the rate of 6s 8d for every 60 English acres.

† Sir John mentions also that at this time there was "a Dutch merchant called Maximilian [Van de Leve], who like the rest of his nation, is diligent and industrious to improve the commodities of this Kingdom. He makes suit to the Lord Deputy, that a colony of Hollanders may be planted in the islands in this lough. If his demands be not unreasonable, they wish that his suit may be granted, for a plantation of the Dutch in this place will be a great encouragement and benefit to the undertakers." That is the last we hear of Maximilian. Evidently, his prayer was not granted, for no Hollanders ever came to the islands or shores of Lough Erne.

CHAPTER III.

LISGOOLE.

Lisgabhal or Liesgabhail (Ford of the River Fork) sometimes called Lisgold, and corrupted into Lisgoole, has figured so much in the early days of Enniskillen that it deserves more than passing attention. We have already seen that its locality was first selected as the situation of the future county town, and by the word "locality" I mean the neighbourhood; for the river Erne opposite the old abbey of Lisgoole was too broad and too deep for the construction of a bridge in those days, while a narrow strait about a furlong further down, at Drumsna, at the bend of the river, afforded a likely site; and a ford, not much over two feet deep at summer level,* suitable foundations for the piers of a bridge. Lisgoole never had the county town, nor the corporation, nor the school intended for it, nor the fairs and markets. These all passed to the island of Inish-killen about one mile further down the river.

The Abbey of Lisgoole had a character and

* The bed of the river was dredged over half a century ago to afford deeper water for navigation, and Scarlett's eel weirs were then swept away, but the place is still locally called "The Weirs," though the weirs have long since disappeared. The shoal was further dredged during the operations for the drainage of Lough Erne at Killyhevin in 1882.

history of its own. Lough Erne was the great natural highway of the Maguire country before roads came into being, and therefore we find churches* and castles along its borders. Monks could find their way readily from Gola to Lisgoole and from Lisgoole to Devenish; and in the year 1106 the religious house of Saint Hugh was endowed by MacNoelus MacKenlif, King of Ulster, and it became an Augustinian monastery under the protection of "Our Lady." Lisgoole monastery was to have been rebuilt on a more suitable site by the Maguire, but the intention was never carried out.

From that time onward, until the 16th century, abbots and friars occupied the monastery. It appears to have been a burial place of the ruling Maguire family, though no outward symbols now remain of their place of interment. The Abbey was burnt down in 1360, a not uncommon thing in those days of rapine and raid.

Fitzcuchonnaght, the Maguire of 1567, was grieved to see the Abbey "falling" into ruin and base decay for want of repairs, and considered that religion would be benefited by a change of tenants in a house which he asserted had been founded by one of his ancestors; and accordingly he sought and obtained the consent of the Bishop of Clogher and the assent of the Pope to the Order of St. Francis taking over the monastery. A copy of the deed of transfer still exists which the Rev. James M'Kenna, M.R.I.A., has summarized as follows:—

The Abbot exchanged the *tathe* whereon the

* There were religious houses at Galloon, Aughalurcher, Belleisle, Gola, Innismore, Derryvullen, Derrybrusk, Cleenish, Inishkeen, Lisgoole, Rossorry, Devenish, Inishmacsaint, and the White Island.

Abbey stood, and the adjoining *tathe* of Drumcon with all their rights and privileges, for the *tathe* of Lattragh, while he retained all the other lands belonging to the monastery. He was, moreover, to be paid ten dry cows yearly, and to get a free house and garden close to the monastery. His lands were to receive at the hands of The Maguire, and all other Maguires, his successors, all honours, privileges, and liberties, whatsoever, by them formerly enjoyed when the monastery flourished, without taxing them with any county charges, incumbrances or impositions. The Abbot and his monks were to be in the affectionate and special prayer, honour, and counsel of the friars above all men in the whole community, Maguire only excepted; while the Abbot was to keep and observe towards the friars and theirs, all honours and privileges in spiritual and temporal matters.

In order to enforce this agreement, it was provided that anyone who should gainsay or contradict it should be liable to the following fines and forfeits:— 100 cows, payable to Maguire and to each Maguire him succeeding, together with 20 cows payable to the race of Brian Maguire, and 20 cows payable to each of the clans of Fermanagh, viz., MacManus, MacCaffrie, Hughes, and O'Hoins. Besides these fines, the disturbers of the *Monks* or *Friars* were to suffer perpetual exile from Fermanagh. The hereditary poets, the O'Hosies and MacCrifferties, were commanded to *reprove*, *defame*, and *reprehend* the disturbers in their taunting poems, or in default to suffer a fine of 20 cows.* O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, who was a party

* This sentence in the Deed of Transfer of Lisgoole to the Franciscans, commanding the Poets O'Hussy and MacCrifferty to reprove, defame, and reprehend the disturbers of the arrangement in their taunting poems, recalls one of the many duties of the Irish Bard. Besides singing the praises of

to the agreement, bound himself to assist in punishing the offenders, and was to receive for his services 100 cows. All these goods and fines were to be levied out of the lands of the person who violated the agreement, or of his clan.

The document was signed by Cornelius MacArdle, Bishop of Clogher; the Dean; Official; Minister Provincial; Maguire; and the Abbot—in presence of William MacCormack, the newly-appointed Guardian of Lisgool; three of the Augustinian Monks; MacCaffrie, MacManus, and many others.

The building of the Abbey was begun by the Cuconaght Maguire about 1583, but we read that it was never finished because of "the wars which broke out on every side, and the persecution raised by the heretics." The friars continued to occupy it till 1598, in which year they were driven from its shelter, and the place laid in ruins. In 1616, a residence was erected in the vicinity "where the friars reside at present, faithfully devoting themselves to the salvation of souls."

The property of the Abbey, according to Archdall, consisted of

Drumcion [Drumsna], two tates; Gortret [Gortdraight], one tate; Colkie [Culky], three tates; Grangeth, [Gransha] three tates; Cappoge, one tate; Lanchall [Lankill], two tates; Drumkeen, two tates; Moyleat [Moylehit], four tates; all of the ancient measure, with their tithes, in the County of Fermanagh. They had six quarters of land, containing 24 tates, each tate being 30 acres of this county measure, with the tithes thereof, and certain liberties, payable out of the lands of Ballynasagard, all in this county. Temple Mollin (a chapel of ease) in the parish of Boghæ [Boho], and barony of Clonawley, in MacGaeraghan's country, paying yearly to the Abbot five

his chieftain and clan, he was bound by the duties of his office to satirize and lampoon their enemies when they acted dishonourably, so that the Irish were educated, in a manner, in the art of abusing an opponent, an act in which, I may observe, they still excel.—Rev. J. McKenna.

gallons of butter and an axe; and also the Rectory and Vicarage of the parish of Rossinerie, in same barony, were appropriated to the abbey; one-fourth part of the tithes did belong to the Bishop of Clogher (excepting only the tithes of Ballinbort), and the other three parts were the property of the Abbot; a moiety of the tithes of Ballinbort was appropriated to the use of the parson of Inniskeen, one fourth part to the Vicar of Rosberry, the half of the last fourth to the Bishop of Clogher, and the remaining half to the Abbot. The Chapel and Gauge of Ballymacataggart, containing one tate of the new [English] measure (which is two tates of the old measure), together with the tithes of the same; the lands of the sept of Munteraran paid annually to the abbot four meathers of butter and five of barley, each meathers to contain six quarts; and it also paid 6/- for tithes of the said lands, and 2/- yearly to the Bishop.

The friars, therefore, were at work when Sir John Davys in 1606—[see page 8]—considered the locality a suitable one for a county town; and he himself became so enamoured of Lisgoole, that when he had got the county town transferred to Inishkellin, and the Reformation was followed by the suppression of the monasteries and confiscation of their estates, he preserved its beautiful site and surroundings in his memory.

Sir Henry Bunckar obtained a grant of the Abbey and grounds, on the 12th November, 1606, and Sir John Davys purchased from Sir Henry "the site and precincts of the late dissolved Abbey of Lisgool, viz., an old church and churchyard situate on the south side of Lough Erne, 6 quarters containing about 30 acres, county measure, with the tithes of the same and certain other liberties, and customs to the said Abbey due and payable out of Ballinsaggart, and other lands lying as well within as without the lake; also, the site, &c., of the late Abbey of St. Francis, situate near Lisgool Abbey,

wherein are the old ruined walls of a small church, a churchyard, certain gardens or tofts [Scotch, crofts], and a small close containing 3 acres."

Thus Sir John Davys* obtained a handsome property; and on account of its religious associations for a long period with the Church of Rome, the perversion of the old Monastery and the new buildings, consisting of a chapel and part of a new convent erected by Cuconnacht Maguire, from their accustomed uses, aroused some ire. Thus we find the Rev. Donagh Mooney, of the Order of St. Francis, saying that—"A certain heretic, a lawyer and supervisor of the King's revenue, has constructed a house for himself in the church; and regardless of the profanation, has destroyed the ecclesiastical form of the establishment."

By the terms of the grant Sir John Davys was bound to construct a strong stone house, with a bawne around it, and when Captain Pynnar visited "the proportion" of 1500 acres in 1618-19 he reported officially that "upon the Abbey Lands there is built a fair stone House, but no Bawne." It was likely this house which was destroyed by fire during the Rebellion of 1641 by James and Cahill Maguire, when many were put to the sword.

Sir John Davys died about the year 1626 [also stated at 1630] and was succeeded by his only child and heir, Lucy Davys, who married Ferdinando Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh (26), (37), and (44) Car. I.

There must have been some portion of the lands

* Sir John Davys went to England, and was about to be made Chief Justice there when he died. It is said that he was buried in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.



LISGOOLE, as it is, showing portion of ancient Monastery on the right.



THE KEEP OF ENNISKILLEN CASTLE at present, showing in the outer walls the difference between the ancient and modern masonry. (See page 193.)



ROUND TOWER AND MARY'S ABBEY, DEVINISH, showing how part of the Monastery walls had been used as a shelter for cattle before the Board of Works undertook the conservation of the buildings. [Face page 17

of Lisgoole permitted to be appropriated for religious uses, after it had been laid in ruins, for according to the Ward Manuscripts a small house was erected by the Roman Catholics of the district close to the Abbey for the Franciscans ; and there they maintained themselves well into the 17th century. The Abbey was partially restored about 1830-1. " Lisgold " is marked on the Speede map of 1610 as a place of note, and was a famous monastery.

The Annals of the Four Masters supply us with some knowledge of the Abbey, which had become an Augustine Monastery. The references to it are brief, like the rest of its details, and we find as follows:—

1287—Matthew Macatasaid was consecrated Bishop of Clogher in this Abbey.

1320—Nicholas Macatasaid was consecrated Bishop of Clogher in the Abbey.

1329—Augustin, Abbot of Lisgool, died.

1345—Gilla-na-naemh O'Keenan, Abbot of Lisgool, died.

1360—Lisgool, Devenish, Roscommon, Sligo, Fenagh and Drumlias were burned.

1373—Adam O'Keenan,* a canon and learned historian, died at Lisgool.

1380—Donnell O'Lennan Prior of Lisgool, died.

1390—Bartholomew O'Congaile, Canon and Sacristan of Lisgool, died.

1419—Hugh O'Flanagan, Prior of Lisgool, died.

1430—Gilla-na-neev O'Leannain, Canon and Sacristan of Lisgool, died.

1431—Simon Mac Garraghan, a Canon of Lisgool, died.

1431—Lucas O'Leannain, prior of Lisgool, died.

1445—Thomas O'Leannain, Canon and Sacristan of Lisgool, died.

1446—John O'Leannain, Prior of Lisgool, died.

1447—Donnell Ballagh Maguire, who was slain by John, son of Philip Maguire, was interred in the Monastery of Lisgool

* As Canon O'Keenan died at Lisgoole during a time when it was in a destroyed or decayed state, it looks as if some of the buildings may have been sufficient for habitation.

450—Pierce Maguire, Bishop of Clogher, died at Cleenish, and was interred at Lisgool.

1465—Thomas, son of Maurice, son of Matthew, Abbot of Lisgool, died.

1466—Brian, son of Gillepatrick Maguire, Abbot of Lisgool and Donnell O'Leannañ, a Canon of the family of Lisgool, died.

Alba, daughter of Hugh Maguire, retired from the world in 1476, and gave all her worldly goods to the monastery. She died the following year, and was interred in the family vault at Lisgool.

In 1516 a boat accident at Lisgool resulted in the death of two members of the community—Tiege O'Higgins and Walter Walsh.

In 1522 died Redmond Roe Maguire, Prior of Lisgool, and in 1527 the Abbot Lawrence was gathered to his fathers.

The *Annals of Ulster* contain a number of references to Lisgool, which are more for the ecclesiastical student than the ordinary reader.

The next circumstance of note in the history of Lisgoole is thus referred to by the Rev. James M'Kenna, M.R.I.A., in *Lough Erne and its Shrines*—

When in 1631 Michael O'Clery, the chief of the *Four Masters*, on his weary journey in quest of materials for the History of Ireland, came to Lisgool, he found the convent of his Order able and willing to afford him shelter and assistance. And there, under the patronage of Brian Roe Maguire, Baron of Enniskillen, he compiled the *Laebhar Gabhala*, the Book of Invasions, a narrative in Gaelic of the successive colonizations of Ireland. In the dedication prefixed to his manuscript, the veteran chronicler tells us that he undertook to purge from errors, rectify, and transcribe the old chronicles, that it might be to the "Glory of God, to the honour of the Saints, and the Kingdom of Erin, and to the welfare of his own soul." Having secured the patronage of Maguire, he selected as his assistants O'Mulconry, Cucoigry O'Clery, O'Duigenan, and Gilla Patrick O'Lennon, Chief Chronicler to the Prince of Fermanagh. On the 22nd October, 1631, the work was commenced, and it was completed on the 22nd December in the same year, and on that day it received the approval of Father Francis MacCraith, Guardian of the Convent of Lisgool.

The Franciscans of Lisgool lost a good friend in Connor, Lord Maguire, who was hanged for treason at Tyburn, London, in 1644. A short time previous to his execution he made his will, and it clearly proves that he was not unmindful of the convent on the shores of Lough Erne, at whose altar he often knelt in youth, and at which he desired to be remembered after his heroic soul had gone to its account. To the Convent of Lisgool he bequeathed £20 to have Masses said for his soul, and he earnestly requested that the money should be given without delay. The will continues: "I do desire these my friends herein mentioned, and all others my friends, to have many Masses and prayers said for my soul; and last of all I do appoint this my will to be and remain in the custody of the Friars of Lisgool, whom I entreat to keep it safely in custody, until it please God that the contents be fulfilled, and also to send authorised copies of it to my friends, entrusted and mentioned by me as above mentioned. I do likewise beseech the said Friars to solicit frequently and earnestly all those that ought from time to time fulfil and perform this my Last Will and Testament to be mindful of their duties in discharging their parts; and also I do desire the said Friars to be mindful always in their Masses and prayers to pray for my soul."

The original copy of this Lord Maguire's will was said to have been carefully preserved by a descendant of the family named Thomas Maguire, who occupied a small shop* in High Street, Enniskillen, from 1830 till 1834. I have heard him spoken of by those who knew him as "Lord" Denis and Lord "Thomas." The Viscount Cole of those days, who afterwards became third Earl of Enniskillen, was wont to call on this Thomas Maguire and address him as "My Lord." Viscount Cole was generous to him, and furnished his hardware shop for him. It was held locally that this Thomas Denis Maguire was descended from Rory, a younger brother of the

* The shop was afterwards occupied by Messrs. S. & T. Johnston, grocers before they removed to their present premises, and by a Mr. Bannon. It was then incorporated by Messrs. P. & J. Maguire into their establishment, and was again separated for a Mr. Cowan, saddler, who left it in 1907. It is now a house of refreshment, kept by Miss Johnston.

foregoing Connor, Lord Maguire, and that he preserved Connor's will in a strong box. A special seat was retained for him in the Roman Catholic Chapel of Enniskillen—indeed it was for some time the only seat in the building. This Mr. Maguire was accorded great respect, on account of his family, and he died, the last of his kind, without leaving any descendants.

Lisgoole appears to have had six friars, according to Dr. Oliver Plunkett, in 1671, and in the year 1739 a chalice was presented to the Abbey by Sir Bryan Maguire. This chalice found its way to Manorhamilton (Cloonclare) Roman Catholic Church, through its parish priest, Rev. Dr. Maguire, V.G., who obtained it on the death of Dr. Peter Maguire of Enniskillen, who had been married to a relative of the Most Rev. Denis Maguire,* Bishop of Kilmore. The Bishop, as one of the house of Maguire, obtained possession of the chalice when the Franciscans left Lisgoole; and after his death in 23rd December, 1798 the chalice found a new home with Dr. Peter Maguire, and subsequently went to Rev. Dr. Maguire, parish priest of Manorhamilton, in whose Roman Catholic Church it is now used.

Rev. James M'Kenna discovered a chalice in the church of Fernyhalgh, near Preston, which bears the inscription—"Conosus [Cuconaght] Maguire rex Fernanæ me fi: fe: mcccc xxix [1529]" and another in the possession of the Very Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P., Holywood, Co. Down, the gift of the same Sir Bryan Maguire, who presented the chalice to Lisgoole, which contains this inscription—"This cup was bestowed by Sir Bryan Maguire, baron, to Peter Maguire. Whoever

* Most Rev. Dr. Denis Maguire was buried at Devenish. This monument describes him as a "good shepherd," and a "true and real follower of His Master."

uses it after his death is to say twelve intentions for him, 1751."

A Mr. Thomas Smith is reported to have "kept a creditable house" at the Castle of Lisgoole in 1718-20. The history of Lisgoole becomes hazy about the time of the Revolution, but I learn from a lease dated 1st August 1698 that Charles Wallis and his wife, who succeeded the Earl of Huntingdon in the ownership, had conveyed the property to Mr. Thomas Smith. Through him the Armstrongs obtained possession.

An indenture of 22nd September, 1724, between Charles Hume of the one part and Thomas Lindsay of the other part, gave a lease of the lands to John Armstrong, which was renewed on 2nd April, 1750, to James Armstrong; and also stating that Wm. Hamilton was entitled to the rent reserved by the indenture of lease; that James Armstrong purchased the interest of Joseph Lindsay* in said premises, and that the interest of Wm. Hamilton became vested in Archibald Scott and Barbara his wife, Thos. Saunders and Jane, his wife, Charles John Graydon and Elizabeth, his wife.

This date brings us close to the 18th century; and I am not certain whether the head of the house was the Mr. James Armstrong who obtained a lease on 16th December, 1736, of the Homestead house, a plot or tenement in the town of Enniskillen, which I cannot now identify; and also obtained a lease dated 17th January, 1739, from Messrs. Thomas Lindsay and Joseph Lindsay, distillers, of Dublin, of the lands of Lisgoole, containing 49 acres, then in possession of said James Armstrong, to hold for the lives of said

* Whether this Mr. Lindsay was a descendant of the Mr. Jerome Lindsey of the Plantation I cannot say. A Matt. Lindsay was one of the townsmen of Enniskillen who signed the address to King William and Queen Mary 60 years before.

James Armstrong, Thomas Armstrong, his brother, aged 21, and Jane, his sister, aged 30, at rent of £30, with clause of renewal for ever. On the 13th February, 1758, Mr. James Armstrong obtained a lease of other lands in Lisgoole; and whatever trouble he got into, two judgments were allowed against him and James Armstrong each for £2,000 and costs; and two judgments had also been obtained against each of them in 1794 for £800 and costs. Was it in connexion with this latter there was a charge of £800 against the lands of Lisgoole, made by deed of 21st August, 1818, released?

In 1800 judgment was recorded by Thomas Faris for £500 and costs, and this was released in 1820. The Rev. Alexander Auchinleck had also a judgment against the lands of Lisgoole for £2,000 in 1819, so that there was trouble at Lisgoole, and Mr. John Armstrong of the time went into to live in Enniskillen town, where he had a "homestead."

Mr. John Armstrong of Lisgoole married in 1788 Sophia, daughter of the ninth Baron Blayney, and had an only child, Elizabeth. It was either Sophia, or her daughter Elizabeth, was the heroine of the well known and popular novel, *The Children of the Abbey*, by Miss Maria Roche. Elizabeth was married in 1808 to Sir Charles Dodsworth, third Baronet, of Newland Park, Yorkshire, and she died in 1853. She was grandmother of the present fifth baronet, Sir Charles E. Dodsworth.

We now come to the next occupiers of Lisgoole. By articles of agreement dated the 13th of May, 1819, between Mr. John Armstrong, a lieutenant in the Fermanagh Regiment of Militia and Michael Jones of Cherrymount, Donegal (also stated to be of Camlin),

Mr. Armstrong sold and conveyed to Mr. Jones the freehold inheritance and possession of the lands of Lisgoole for the sum of £12,300.

As the name Michael was one of the family names, I conjecture that the new owners of Lisgoole were descended from Michael Jones, one of the captains of the Parliamentary army in Ireland.

Perhaps it was John's grandson, Mr. Michael Jones, died at the age of 45 years in 1860. Mrs. Jones was predeceased by her son, Michael Obins, who died on the 2nd June, 1878, at the age of 49 years; and she (Mrs. Isabella Diana Jones) died on the 10th April, 1892, at the age of 72. Her will directed that the property should be sold for the benefit of certain charitable societies, including the Fermanagh Protestant Orphan Society. It was finally sold to Mr. Robert Johnston, of Stuttgart and New York, one of the old Johnston family of Drumshemuck, Derrylin, and he was resident until removed by death in 1913, and was succeeded by his nephew Robert William Johnston, the present owner.

A small portion of the old Abbey, with its castellated massive walls, four or five feet thick, is incorporated in the present house; and this Mr. Johnston extended the castellated style to the whole front of the building.

In reference to the Sixth Earl of Huntingdon referred to on page 16 of this chapter, the *Evening Packet*, which has been incorporated with the *Impartial Review*, mentioned in the year 1816 the joy experienced in Enniskillen when a Mr. Francis Hastings, a churchwarden, was able to prove his claim to the manor of Huntingdon. This gentleman came as the Ordnance storekeeper of Enniskillen at a salary of £300 a year; and the inhabitants illuminated the town in honour of his becoming the Earl of Huntingdon. Houses were decorated, tar barrels were burnt and candles were put in windows. Porter was sent from the brewery at the West Bridge to the market place, and "the populace" drank in honour of the event.

CHAPTER IV.

DEVENISH AND FIRST ASSIZES.

As Devenish has been intimately associated with Enniskillen, and situated as far north westwards from it as Lisgoole is south eastwards, it may be well to refer to it specially, omitting those ecclesiastical details which are of chief interest to Churchmen. The Abbey at Devenish was founded (says Archdall, p. 259) by St. Lasarian, and others say it owes its origin to Saint Molaise. We are not concerned with it here as a great monastic school, which it afterwards became, so much as its part in connection with Enniskillen. Round an ancient building of the kind fictions, legends, and superstitions will and did gather. The strange thing is, that considering the notable place Devenish Abbey once occupied, first among the religious houses of Lough Erne, so little should be known of its past. It became so important that it was alleged its Abbot was chosen as the umpire to decide disputes between the Chiefs of Ulster. Hugh O'Connor and Bryan O'Naill held a conference at Daminis on Lough Erne, in 1259; and in 1360 the church was burned as well as the monastery of

Lisgoole. We have no particulars of the final disaster which laid the buildings in ruins during the time of Henry VIII, and the suppression of monasteries.

Devenish was a ruin in 1610 when the Lord Deputy visited it, and the Judges of Assize, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice, opened the first Assizes of Fermanagh within the ruins of the Abbey. This very circumstance points to Devenish as a place of central and local importance. Sir John Davys tells us that on this occasion, after travelling from the Abbey of "Clunys" [Clones] in the adjoining County of Monaghan, "we came the second night after to the south side of Lough Erne, and pitched our tents over against Devenish, a place being prepared for the holding of our sessions for Fermanagh in the ruins of an abbey there." It is not unlikely that the scene of that camp was Derryinch, where funerals were ferried to Devenish; or perhaps the field at Tully-Devenish which contains the great stone on which coffins were laid prior to embarkation, where prayers were said by a priest in case of a storm preventing his crossing to the "holy" island.

Being within the see of Clogher, Devenish was within the Bishop's jurisdiction, and the jury which sat in September, 1670 "over against the island of Devenish," determining some local matters on the requisition of the Commissioners of Assize and of Plantation, found the following in relation to the Abbey of St. Mary and the hospitality it was bound to extend to the Bishop on visitation:—

That the said abbey or house of chanons of Devenishe, with one orchard or moore thereunto belonging, are scituate and being in the iland of Devenish; and that out of the said

abbey the bushopp of Clogher hath yerelie a refecon for a daie, or tewn shillinges in lieve thereof in his visitation and not else, but not to staie all night; and they [the jury] alsoe saie uppon their oathes, that the late priorie or house of secular priests of Collidea, with an orchard thereunto belonging, is likewise scituate on the said iland of Devenish.

In his report on the subject to Robert, Earl of Salisbury, Secretary of State, Sir John Davys, the Attorney-General, says:—

It remains I should inform your Lordship somewhat of the service performed by the Justices of Assize in this county: albeit they had little to do here, no matter being prepared for them to work upon; for the gaol delivery must needs be quickly despatched, where there were no justices of the peace that had either the will or the skill to commit malefactors, and where there was no gaol of any fastness to keep them, being committed: howbeit we had a full appearance of all the country, and there came in upon recognizances taken over-skilfully enough by the sheriff and other Irish justices of the peace, twenty persons in number or thereabouts; the greatest part whereof were loose and idle people bound over to find masters or sureties for their behaviour; others were committed for felonies, whereof some few were indited; but in the end all were acquitted for want of evidence; which happened by the negligence of the justices of the peace, who had not bound their accusers to prosecute against them; we rebuked the justices of the peace for this omission, and imposed fines upon them; and so ended our gaol delivery. Then we made the like inquisition; here touching ecclesiastical livings, and published the like orders for the civil government of their country, as we had done in Monaghan, and so dissolved our sessions.

The matter of the building of a gaol, a sessions house and school were also referred to in this report, and the matter of the school was left over for the coming of the Bishop of Clogher. It was on this occasion the Lord Deputy favoured Lisgoole as the site of the new county town, which was to provide both the gaol and the session-house afterwards, but

Lisgoole, as we have seen, was put aside for the island of Inish-killin.

The oldest building on Devenish island is believed to have been the house or cell of Saint Molaisse, of which we have only small remains. It has fallen more and more into decay. It was perfect half a century ago, and had then the stone roof, of which we have good examples in the vale of Glendalough. The ruins of the Abbey or Priory give evidence that it was once a handsome building. A stone containing raised Irish characters tells the story that "Matheus O'Dubagan Hoc Opus Fecit, Bartholomeo O'Flanrigan* Priori de Damynis, a.d. 1449." The great central tower, containing the belfry, and the side walls alone remain. The door-ways, windows, arches, tracings and interlinings, are handsome specimens of design.

St. Molaisse's bed or coffin was whole during the last generation, but it is now broken.

The round tower is one of the most perfect and the largest in Ireland. Its circumference varies from 4ft. 9in. at the base to 4ft. 7in. at the cornice; and its height is a little over 81 feet. The supporting stones placed in the inside of the tower for floors, show that the tower had five stories. A seed took root in the tower in the early part of the 19th century, and the Hon. and Rev. J. Chas. Maude, rector of Enniskillen organised a subscription fund for the repair of the tower, which was carried out in 1835 by Robert Rexter. The alder seed had at this time grown to a tree of some dimensions and threatened to destroy the building.

When the premises came under the control of the

* He died at Lough Deary in 1462.

Board of Works the remains of a fine cross were discovered, hidden in the grass and ruins. The pieces were then fastened together, and the cross is now erected in the graveyard, which has a wall round it to keep cattle from trespassing on the graves of the dead. Those who wish details of the Abbey and ruins, and to preserve copies of the mouldings, &c., will find them delineated in the late Mr. W. F. Wakeman's paper—the first on the subject—delivered before the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and in the Rev. James M'Kenna's interesting book on the subject.

Devenish was a noted burial place, as well as Lisgoole, but the oldest monuments remaining do not go farther back in date than 1712. It was used by Protestants as well as Roman Catholics for interments, but principally by the latter. Devenish parish had a chapel of ease at Monea, and the present Monea Protestant Church has a beautiful stone window transported from Devenish.

During the summer season Devenish is the resort of tourists and pleasure-seekers. A great charm still lingers round the spot because of its past. Here lovers came as well as archæologists, and ambitious youth probe its mysteries as much as the aged find a solace in its surroundings and "atmosphere." A right of way exists over the island; and the ancient right of way, which according to Lord Chief Justice Whiteside no lapse of time can destroy, when it leads to a graveyard, also exists on the path by way of Tully, through the farmyard; by Derrygore, through the farmyard; and the Deadman's Pass at Trory.

The right of way from Enniskillen existed from the old Ballyshannon road which ran up Portora hill. The pass led by the right towards the lake, and

then along the lake side to Portora Point, or "the pier head" at the Old Castle. A right of way also existed by this route to Derrygore House, on the other side of Portora stream, which was reached by boat. When the Rev. Wm. Steele, M.A., was Master of Enniskillen Royal School at Portora a new road was constructed by him and Mr. Ed. Irwin, J.P., Derrygore, at a cost of £1,200 from the Old Castle to the Ballyshannon road near Lakeview (Mr. W. R. Cooney's); and the old pass was closed. The public thus lost the right of a beautiful walk by the river side. When the Fermanagh Protestant Board of Education got control over the Royal School they altered matters for the benefit of the public, and resort is still had between daybreak and nightfall to one of the loveliest spots in the locality.

Danger sometimes attended funerals when crossing the water to Devenish, especially if, as was not uncommon in past times, the mourners had partaken of strong refreshment. The last great calamity took place in the year 1824, when a large cot overturned, and about 26 people were drowned. The coffin was left floating on the water.

About 1630-40 Devenish island was owned by Lord Hastings, a name that also had a connexion with Lisgoole. From him it passed to "Bishopp Montgomerie" of Clogher; and about the time of the Revolution to the Boyd family of Derryvullen and Enniskillen, through whom it passed to the Deany family. In the year 1917 it was sold to Mr. Ed. D. Kerr, Farmhill, the Coagh, Enniskillen.

CHAPTER V.

THE MAGUIRES.

The Maguire family already alluded to were "lords" of the Lough Erne* country, generally spoken of as The Maguire Country. They appear to have succeeded in power a family of the name of O'Dubhdara, which had the local chieftainship of this territory during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Donal More, lord of Tirconnell [Donegal], who died in 1241, is mentioned by the Four Masters as having also been lord of Fermanagh; and his successor, Malachy O'Donnell, who died in 1247, is also spoken of in the same manner.

The oldest picture of life in Fermanagh is presented to us in Father Dineen's translation from the Irish of a manuscript either written by John MaGabhrahan (John Magovern) or copied by him from an "old historical book."

About 1189 a Mulrooney (O Maolruanaidh) had

* Lough Erne was first known as Lough Saimer, from Partholan having killed Saimer, the favourite greyhound of his queen on the small islet near the falls of the Erne at Ballyshannon, which circumstance gave its name to the whole river and Lough. It afterwards derived its name of Erne from Erna, waiting maid of Meav, a famous queen of Connaught, who was drowned in the lake. The Erneans are said to have been the earliest inhabitants of the territory. It is stated by various historians that the Danes had a fleet on Lough Erne in the 10th century.

1247]

been the local chief, and he had been dispossessed by O'h'Eighnigh (O Heeney) and he in turn by O'Dubhdara. In the year 1207 the overlord of Fermanagh and all the north-west, one of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, was slain by Fermanagh men, which led to the succeeding O'Domhnaill making war on Fermanagh, and destroying every place through which he passed, respecting not church property any more than lay property. The O'Donnells seemed to have been continually at war in Fermanagh, so that it was from time to time laid waste and there was no village or town in it. We find one Donn or Dond Maguidheir—[the letters dh are silent]—was "king" of Fermanagh in 1297, who was followed in 1302 by Donn Carrach Ma Guidhir. (I give the spelling of Maguire as I find it).

The territory of Errigal or Oriel (Oirghialla) had been divided between two brothers; and while Monaghan (Muineachán) had fallen to the Nadshluaigh Ma Guidhir, ancestor of M'Mahon (MacMathghamhnaigh), the district of Fermanagh (Fearmanach) fell to Cormac Maguire, and the boundary of Fermanagh was from the Finn river (Finnaghlas), "at the extremity of Cluaneois" (Clones) to Belleek (Leac na nArm, the flagstone of the Arms) in the north (sometimes described as Beal Leice); and crosswise from what we now call Drumane (Béal 'Atha ma Meirlach) in the west to what we call Lisnadurk (Lios na dTorc) in the parish of Currin near Clones; and it stretched again from here to Brághaid na Caoil or the Caol's Gorge, near Lough Dearg. [The Caol is said to have been a monster slain by Patrick, the Irish Apostle, or by Prior Patrick.]

Thus we learn the ancient boundaries of the county, and it will be noted that the O'Reilly (O Raghallaigh) country, a portion of Connaught joined Fermanagh at Drumane, sometimes termed in Irish the Mouth of the Ford of the Biscuits from the battle fought there when Maguire defeated the English in 1594, four miles from Enniskillen.

While the Maguires became lords of this county there were under-chiefs who recognised Maguire sovereignty, and each of these seven sub-chieftains apparently ruled over a tuath or what we would call a barony. (1) The clan Mulrooney (Mhaolruanaidh) ruled over what we call the barony of Magherastephena, (2) MacDonnell (MacDomhnaill) over Clankelly (Clann Cheallaigh), (3) MacGulshenan or Gilsenan (Meig Uinnseannain), over Tyrkenney (Tir Cheannada), (4) Muldoon (O Maoladuinn) over Lurg, (5) Flanagan (O Flannagain) over Tuath Ratha (which was a more extensive territory than the present Magheraboy), (6) MacLinnen or Leonard (MacGiolla Fheinméin) over Munter Fodaghan (Muintear Fhoadachain) *Anglice* Swift, (7) and MacGilla Coisgle over Coole (Baile Mhic Ghiolla Coimhdhe.)

The Mss. also gives the termoners over the county, namely the termoners of Drummully (Drom Uilche), Machaire Mhilioc, Clontivern (Clann Tibhrinn), Galloon (Gabhal Linin), Aghalurcher (Achadh Lurchair), Aghavea (Achadh Beithe), Derryvullen (Doire Mhaolain), Cleenish (Claininis), Farnamullan (Fearann an Mhiulinn) Devenish (Daimhinis), Ballycassidy (Baile Ui Chaiside), Ballynaseggart (Bile Mhic an tSagairt),* in the barony

* Ballyneygart or Bally McSagort, was a grange of the Abbey of Lisgoole,



PORT DOBHRAIN—remains of the chief house of The Maguire at Knockniny of the 13th century. [Face page 32



AN IRISH CHIEFTAIN OF 1574.

(From a woodcut in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

The ancient Irish kerne were bare-legged, as were Shane O'Neill's gallowglass when they escorted him to Queen Elizabeth. The foregoing print is a portrait of Captain Thomas Lee in the national dress of the period. Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, in the latter period of the 11th century adopted the Irish custom, and went with feet and legs bare from the knee.

(See article on "Costume in ancient Ireland" in the *Irish Archaeological Journal*, vol. 12.

of Lurg, sometimes called Templemaghery; Ballyconnell (Baile Mi Chonghaile), in barony of Lurg; Kilterney (Cill Tighearnach), Termon Magrath (Tearmonn Mhe Graith), around Pettigo, Inismacsaint (Inis Mherighe Sainh), Boagh or Boho (Both Ui Fhialáin), Killesher (Mhic Ghiolla Lasair), Templenaffrin (Teampull an Aifrinn), Kinawley (Cill Nádhaill), Donaghmoyline, a chapel of ease in parish of Drummully, and a burial place in Tulnagoran, in townland of Tattynuckle (Tullonagerhon) and Templemoyle (Teampull), in the parish of Clones.*

It will thus be seen how ancient parishes and burying places correspond to many that we have to-day, and that some parishes are omitted—Iniskeene (now parish of Enniskillen), Rossorrie, and Derrybrusk.

The ancient church at Devenish referred to above was not the abbey on the hill, built in 1449 by Matthew O'Dubagan, when Bartholomew O'Flanagan was prior, but the smaller church a short distance north-eastward, which had been built about the sixth century.

When Manus, son of Donn Mor, reigned in Fearmanach he collected his tribute as overlord yearly, and he began his collection at Ràith Mhòr

situate in the parish of Derryvullen, and believed to be represented by the church buildings on Downishbane or White Island and Davys island in Castle Archdall bay. The new church of Castle Archdall, provided in 1841, represents the ancient chapels. The ancient half barony of Coolmakernan seems to have included these islands.

* It will be observed by local people that Enniskillen is not once mentioned in this chronicle—from which I conclude that the Maguire subsequently found his house at Knocknanny not sufficiently central, and that he chose for his new abode a position commanding the fords of the narrow river at Inish-Cethlenn. The Castle built here, and of which the keep still remains in the central portion of the Castle Barrack, was built subsequent to the period to which our story relates. It is first mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* as having been captured from The Maguire, who was taken prisoner and kept as such in his own castle, by Donnall Mac Uidhir, and the castle was in turn taken from him by The O'Neill, who released Maguire in 1439. See page 43.

Mhiodhluic, sometimes described as the Hill of Rathmore, which I take to be the hill on which the barrack now stands at Belleek, a place at which Maguire had a permanent guesthouse. Maguire went along the natural highway of the time, by boat or barge along Lough Erne, to receive his subordinate chiefs, and summoned to his presence The Flannagáin, of Toora (now Magheraboy) and the O'Muldoon, of Lurg, and also a half brother by his mother's side, O'Donnell, from Beal Atha Senaigh, or what we now call Ballyshannon. According to what we read, the present Irish idea of princely hospitality, of the "height of good 'aitin', and drinkin'," came down from those days, because we read in every page of banquets and flowing ale and wine.

Having remained about one month at Beal-lice (or Belleek) where feasting was the order of the day, Maguire proceeded to Termon (Pettigo) for one night, and embarked on his boat or fleet, which must have been composed of what we would call big or 5-ton boats. He would then pass up the lake towards Devenish, over the ford at Portora, and by the ford at Innish-Caithlenn along the river to Ligoole, past Inniskeene, Cleenish, and monastery of Gola to Galloon (Gabhal Luin), where he kept another guesthouse, for the space of a month, and there he would meet M'Donnell, chief of Clankelly, Mulrooney, and the rest of his vassal chiefs. His own royal residence does not appear to have been at what we now call Enniskillen, but at Port Dobhráin at Knockninny.

It came to pass that Maguire fell ill of "a wasting of the joints," and when his vassal chiefs learned of the affliction they embarked upon an ancient Plain of Campaign; as the writer puts it,

and it is true of modern as well as of ancient Irish—

When they saw that there was not a penny of their lord's tribute collected from them for a long time back, as what one has long borrowed is usually regarded as one's own, they conceived in their deceitful wayward minds that the children the lord had were young and tender, and that they were not able at that time to enjoy or to defend the country, and resolved not to pay the tribute to any one else till himself should come to take it in the customary manner.

Accordingly Maguire sent out his bonaghs or stewards to proceed on circuit for the tribute on his behalf; and the Flanagan, of Toora, was the first to refuse it, "till he saw his lord, to whom he would give it on his feet": and to show the guile of this artful chief, he added with Irish blarney—"that they would not store it more faithfully for him than himself." With this rebel refusal the stewards seized the cattle of Flanagan, and Flanagan pursued the bonaghs to where we now call Glack, or Aghanaglack, sometimes called Carn (Clais an Chairn), at Boho, where a fight ensued for the cattle, in which many were killed on both sides, including Flanagan and 15 of Maguire's party, and while the conflict was taking place "the women and youngsters" of Toora took back the cattle.

The Maguire therefore consulted with O Braislín, O Lúinín, and O Caisidie and other notables, and finally resolved to send for his brother Giolla 'Iosa Ma Guidhir, who lived with his grandfather, O Reilly (O Raghallaigh), the King of Breffny, and he received O'Reilly's permission to obey his brother's summons. A touching picture is drawn of the meeting of the two brothers at Knockninny, and of the royal welcome accorded the visitor, who obeyed the commands of

The Maguire. Giolla 'Iosa, therefore, proceeded to the residence of the King's half brother at Ballyshannon, and informed him of the revolt of the chief, of the Maguire's directions to raise an army from Gallagher (O Gallchubhair) and Bohill (O Baoighill) and the three Sweenys (Mac Suibhnes), and to proceed to Glenn Dha Chon, which I take to be in the vicinity of the Dogs near Derrygonnelly. A milk cow or heifer was to be given to every soldier *before* the campaign, and the constables of the county were to accompany the host to punish the rebel lords. There was more feasting and the "choicest of strong drink."

O'Donnell swore by the shrine [the Cathac* or Battle Book, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy] to avenge the violence and rebellion offered to his brother, and summoned the hosts of Tyrconnell, who numbered 700 armed men, and the constables swore allegiance to him as to their own lord. It is reported that Giolla 'Iosa said—

"Come ye with me, good people," said he, "now on this propitious occasion and time, for I will not demand a day or a night of your service until I give you your reward before you engage in service.

And then O'Domhnaill said, "Do you, my good friends set out on these conditions of the son of the king of Fearmanach and with my blessing: and know you that it is my instruction to you to follow every direction that Giolla 'Iosa Ma Guidhir will give you until you return; to behave towards him as you would behave towards me, if you found that I was expelled from Tir Chonaill."

Then their constables or leaders said—"Beloved son of Donn Ma Guidhir, be not anxious or afraid that we shall not

* A shrine was an ornamented box or case in which to preserve some of the Gospels or Scripture, and was regarded with great veneration by the Irish. Three of the oldest in Ireland are the Domnach Airgid, a silver shrine, gins. wide by gins. high, which contains on it traces of the word "Cioachar," the shrine of Cumdach of St. Molaise of Devenish, and the Lough Erne Shrine, taken by a fisherman from the bed of Lough Erne, who brought it to the writer, and he had it sent to Mr. Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A., who placed it in the keeping of the Royal Irish Academy.

be true and faithful to you, for we will swear to you that we will be as faithful to you as we would be to O'Domhnaill as long as we shall be with you in this way."

Each soldier then received his cow or heifer, and the 700 of them were driven to Tyrconnell by "wage-earners;" while the army marched to Toora. Giolla 'Iosa seized the head of every house of the Flanagan country, and then proceeded to teach the Muldoons a lesson, and encamped the first night in Lurg on the top of Gleann Dorcha or what we know as Shranadaroe.

Muldoon was wilier than Flanagan. Learning of the arrival of the heir-apparent of Fermanagh, Muldoon, M'Grath, and the other nobles brought plenty of food and drink ("mild intoxicating beverages") with them and bade Giolla 'Iosa welcome, but Giolla 'Iosa was no fool when he said—

"But then, O Maoladuín, I will not accept that tribute from you as long as my brother lives; for much disobedience and sedition have been reported of you, people of Tuath Luirg, and of yourself in particular, and it is my advice to you to go yourself now to Port Dobhrain [Maguire's residence at Knockninny] with that tribute and to tender to him your apology, for I will not desist until I break you off from your disobedience; for I promised my brother that I would not leave the head of a house or of a tuath behind me in Fearmanach whom I would not bring to him, as well as to obtain his tribute from them with or without their consent. And, therefore, O Maoladuín, go you to my brother and let Ma Graith be with you, for he is a chief adviser to him and let him report the state in which this country stands."

So there was more drinking and merriment after the roystering fashion of the time, and the Gilsenans, the (f) Dewanes (Duibhin), Shannans, M'Anaspies and other chiefs of other tribes took note; and the army proceeded to Craobh ni Fhuadachain, or the modern

Crieve Hill; and O Shannean and Fodaghan entertained the visitor with "choice meats" and "every sort of intoxicating beverages." But Giolla 'Iosa was not to be humbugged. He said -

"I will teach you not to be disobedient in future in the matter of paying your tribute every time you ought to pay it."

And he ordered them to meet him at Port Dobhrain, their lord's royal residence at Knockninny. Thus he went round the seven baronies of Fermanagh; and on the appointed day all the chiefs assembled at Knockninny, and were received with the customary hospitality of eating and drinking. Subsequently, when they offered payment of tribute, Giolla 'Iosa said it would not be accepted without an eric [compensation] for all that had been slain by the reason of the insubordination, and he threatened to send them to his prison in Lough Oughter until his brother had received every penny due. So they swore on the shrine to repay all, and there was more feasting, and nights were spent, we are told, "in drinking;" and therefore we have no difficulty in recognising how the Irish people were given to these drinking habits.

Up till this time The Maguire had not made peace with Flanagan, who was the origin of the revolt: so the other chiefs interceded on his behalf, and an eric was imposed upon Flanagan of 700 milk cows for the 700 men who had come from Tyrconnell, and to renew the oath of fealty, and the Flanagans obeyed. Then there was renewal of the feasting, and numerous banquets "to the high and to the lowly, to the laity and to the clergy, to druids and ollambs in the royal household," and in particular to the Tyrconnell (Tir Chonnail) party. Then we are told—

The same day Giolla 'Iosa returned to the royal mansion of Port Doahrain, where his brother was, and having entered he did not rest till he came to the sleeping chamber in which Magnus was; and he sat down on his bed post and what he said was: "Dubhrnach, brother," said he. "That is right now," said the lord, "and do you give help to make merry." "I certainly will," said Giolla 'Iosa. And then Giolla 'Iosa ordered the players in general to be assembled in their presence in the sleeping chamber. Thereupon there came druids and good players and those skilled in every composition and the musicians of the royal household and they played bouts highly melodious and harmonious on the strings of peaked harps, and they recited the poems and comic songs of their elders and their ancestors for them; and they set to drinking and enjoyment in each other's company in remembrance of those good friends who had left them the day before.

For three days and nights the feasting continued, and The Maguire named his half brother to be his successor, which Giolla declined to be, as the young heir was living; but the King defined certain lands for his heir, pointed out that he was too young to hold the chieftainship and appointed Giolla 'Iosa as having his "right and sway over this county of Fermanagh from this day onwards, and do you weld together these tuaths and enjoy them."

The position of Giolla in this interview was a noble one, and he undertook to fulfill all conditions imposed upon him. O Breislin (historian to Maguire), and O'Cassidy (physician to Maguire) wrote a poem in honour of the occasion. And Giolla 'Iosa and the young heir ruled Fermanagh for three half-years till the old King died, and Magnus the son of Donn was no more.

At this period the O'Donnells must have been princes over nearly all West Ulster, for in 1281 Donal Oge O'Donnell is spoken of by the Four Masters as "lord of Tirconnell, Fermanagh, and Orgeall [or Oriel

or Monaghan], and of the greater part of the Irish of all Ulster, and nearly of all Connaught, with the entire of Brefney [in Cavan] on the other side." His over-lordship of Fermanagh at this time receive some support from the fact that at the battle of Disirt-da-Chrioch, on the borders of Donegal and Tyrone, he had in his army among the minor chiefs the Chief of Lurg (Fermanagh), Giolla-an-Coisde O'Muldoon, and Dowal Mac Gilfinen, chief of Muintir Feodhachain in County Fermanagh. In this battle the O'Donnells were defeated by the O'Neills, and henceforward the O'Neill, known as the Earl of Ulster, became the prince to whom the lord of Fermanagh owed sovereignty, as dynast: But the O'Donnells "sailed with a fleet of long ships and boats on Lough Erne" to Enniskillen in 1514, after the lapse of nearly three centuries to regain their former sovereignty, and they subdued the country.

The first Maguire is referred to in the Phillipps-Betham M.S., (written in 1719) which had formerly belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart, Ulster King at Arms. It deals with the County of Fermanagh and "the Ancient Families of the same." At page 42 it recites regarding the Three Collas already referred to—

Colla Mean had noe heires to succeed but Colla tha Clirioch, of whom we design to place our chiefest discourse relateing ye antiquity of this county of fferm. He was blessed with many good offsprings and families, as first Maguire of fferm.

It was from this, the youngest of the Three Collas, that the Maguires were descended, and the ninth generation in descent assumed the surname of Uidhir or Guire.

The Maguires appear to have grown from having

been petty chiefs of a clan or district to the control of the country, for we read that in 1302 Donncarrach Mag Uider (or Mac Guire) as being the first lord of Siol Midir (the Clan Maguire) "in Fermanagh." Next in order came Manus, Gill Patrick and Cathal (Cathal Oge was compiler of the *Annals of Ulster*.) In 1310 we find a Macraith Maguire designated as the "tanist of Fermanagh," or the heir presumptive to the lordship; and in the year 1327 there is definite mention of the death of Flaherty MacGuire as "lord of Fermanagh;" in 1355 of Hugh Roe Mac Guire as ~~occupying~~ the same rank; and in 1369 Philip ~~Mac Guire~~ is described not only as lord of Fermanagh, but as "lord of the seven districts," meaning perhaps the seven baronies. In 1375 Art is spoken of as "son of Maguire," or The Maguire, and as "of Fermanagh" no longer "in" Fermanagh.

The O'Donnells were over lords of Fermanagh ~~at~~ about or near the 13th century, though they claimed the right later. We may draw the inference from a battle fought at Dreche (supposed to be Draga, near Newtownbutler), that the Maguires came under the dominion of the O'Neills in 1379. Niall More (or the Great O'Neill) fought against Mac Guire, who was supported by different clans, and defeated the Fermanagh Chieftains. Philip's son, Cuchonnacht† was, apparently, the first of a name which became ~~henceforward~~ a family name. He was slain by the Clan Donnell of Clankelly. Life was held very cheap

† I suspect that this Philip is the same as is referred to by the Four Masters as Philip of the Battle Axes.

* Cuchonnacht in Irish means a warrior of Connaught. One Anglicised form of this word is Connor, and another is Constantine. It was a "Connor" the Maguire became the first Baron of Enniskillen, and a Constantine Maguire resided at the Manor House, Tempo, so late as the early part of the 19th century.

in those days. Cuchonnacht's son John went on the invitation of the people of the barony of Tullyhaw to their county in Cavan in 1431, and he was "treacherously" slain by one of the clan M'Govern. The word "treacherously" figures frequently in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to describe the manner of death of various Irish notabilities, which gives a shock to those who have been accustomed to hear the Irish chiefs described as patterns of chivalry and virtue.

In his article "Gleanings" &c., in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* Lord Belmore states that not only did the Castle of Enniskillen but the Castle of Monea—[previous to the building erected by Malcolm Hamilton]—belong to Hugh Neinagh Maguire, [probably a son or younger brother of Thomas More,] who died at Cork on the 3rd August, 1428, on the night of the day on which he had returned from a pilgrimage to the Shrines of the Saints in Spain. This MS. refers to the various branches of the Maguires, their retainers &c., and states that "Ballycassidy" was given to O'Cassidy, who was Maguire's approved doctor of physic; Ballyhosa to O'Hosa, who was Maguire's chiefest poet or bard; Bow to O'Ffelan, who was chronologer to Maguire," so that Maguire was a prince of some state in his way.

Thomas Maguire (or Maguire More) lord of Fermanagh described as the Giolla Dub, and as having been "a man of unbounded hospitality to rich and poor, a founder of monasteries, chapels, and many images; a defender of his territory against aggressors; a man beloved both by the laity and clergy for the justness of his government," died in 1430, having lived longer than most heads of Irish septs in that period

of tribal warfare. He was succeeded by his son Thomas Oge, who had a curious experience in the year 1439. It seems that The Maguire was taken prisoner by Donal Ballach MacGuire on his own island of Inis Ceathleann (Enniskillen). A certain Philip MacGuire had been held prisoner by The Maguire, and Donal Ballagh* took the chains off the prisoner and bound the chief with them in his own castle.† When Henry O'Neill heard of the imprisonment of his friend he marched to Port-Abla-Faolain, where he met both Donald and Philip, and their prisoner. Maguire was liberated, hostages were received in his stead, and the castle of Inis Ceathleann was delivered up to Donal Ballach Maguire.

Thomas Oge then regained his castle, but gave it over to Philip in 1442, a period when to judge by the raids and depredations and wars neither life nor property were safe from relative or stranger. Philip took part with the O'Donnell and the sons of Hugh MacGuire in burning Sligo in 1445 and slaying MacDonagh, lord of Tirreril [Sligo], and many others; but Thomas Oge remained lord of Fermanagh, and presumably regained command of his castle. He proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1450; and his brother, Donogh Dunchadhach, within a week of his departure proceeded to the residence of his brother's son, Cathal, at Cnocnindidh (Knockninny), and having plundered the place, brought Cathal to Gort-an-Fheadain and slew him there; and he then proceeded to Tullyhunco in County Cavan to attack Edmond and Donagh Maguire, where he eventually

* Donal was finally slain by John, son of Philip Maguire, and was buried at Enniskillen, see page 27.

† This is one of the earliest references to the castle.

made peace with his kinsmen; but Edmond finally took Donogh Duncadhach at Glangevlin by surprise, on his way towards Fermanagh, and brought him to Aghalurcher, where he cut off one of Donogh's hands and feet for the murder of his nephew Cathal.

This, however, was only one of several reprisals among the MacGuires.* The Four Masters record several instances of cousins making war on and killing cousins. Within the few years from 1450 till 1477 five of the prominent MacGuires were killed by their own relatives, and two of them were "treacherously" dealt with. In addition to these, in 1481 Torlogh was "treacherously" slain on the 5th October in his own castle by Donogh Oge MacGuire, his own cousin; and next year the murderer, Donogh, was himself "killed by the cast of a dart," a favourite method of dealing with an enemy in Irish feuds. Three years after Gillpatrick Maguire was "treacherously" killed by his five brothers at the high altar, at Aghalurcher; and this murder led to a bloody family feud.

Thomas Oge, lord of Fermanagh, died in 1480, and was buried, according to his own request, in the monastery at Cavan. His son, Rossa, bishop of Clogher, died in 1483, and was interred at Aghalurcher, else he might have become The Maguire. Gillpatrick's death at the hands of his own brothers led to the nomination of two of the family for the chieftry—John, the son of Philip, and grandson of Thomas More; and Thomas, son of Thomas Oge, also grandson of Thomas More. They were second

* In 1500 Owen Maguire killed his two nephews, James and Redmond, sons of his brother Donogh Oge. In 1531 Owen MacGuire was slain by his own brother, Edmond.

cousins. Apparently the various Clans Maguire favoured the claims of Thomas, for John collected a force and made war on his own kinsmen, and slew many of them, and took others prisoners, on the 13th September, 1484; and in the same year the sons of Edmond Maguire, made war on another kinsman, five of whom he slew, and took two other prisoners; and depredations were made by the same sons of Edmond next year on their own clansmen. Edmond, therefore, established his lordship, having removed all who opposed him, but in 1486, and he resigned the lordship in favour of John, son of Philip Maguire.

To further illustrate the nature of the family and times, the Four Masters narrate that Donn Maguire was "treacherously"—[another case of treachery]—killed in the doorway of the church of Aghalurcher by six of his own uncles!! Indeed, the characteristic of these Maguires seems to have been a passion for slaughtering each other. There were more of these family feuds and killings in 1499 and 1500.

John Maguire, lord of Fermanagh, grandson of the Glolla Dub,* died on a Sunday in April, 1503, and was buried, according to his own request, in the monastery at Donegal.

Edmond Maguire appears to have succeeded as chief, preceding Cuchonnacht, who took part in many fights and forays. He became through his father Cuchonnacht, the great grandson of Philip, lord of

* One of the most worthy of the chieftains of Ireland in his time, and most successful and humane Irishman, and who best protected and defended his territory and estate, the most valiant in war against opposing tribes and distant enemies, the most distinguished for good government, laws, and regulations both in Church and country.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

Fermanagh and has been described as the most distinguished of the race of Clan Colla that had lived for a long time, and who had brought all the county from Clones to the river Erne at Ballyshannon under his jurisdiction. He, like many others of his name, was "treacherously" slain by some of his own clansmen at the Island of Friars, and his body was buried first at Devenish and afterwards removed to Donegal. Much burning and plundering took place in the county once his authority was removed. He was succeeded by his son John. The Castle of Enniskillen was taken and destroyed by Manus O'Donnell, who in 1542 conferred the chieftry of Fermanagh again on John, when John submitted himself to the powerful Tirconnell noble, who in order to put down the outrages in Fermanagh, bound Maguire to pay an eric (fine) for every person who was killed throughout the entire country. At this time O'Neill was the only Earl in Ulster, Earl of Tyrone, and to obtain the title had to abandon his Irish name and customs, use only English dress, and manners, and language, and keep no kerns [light armed troops] or galloglasses [heavily armed infantry].

In 1565 Callogh O'Donnell signed a treaty with Sir Henry Sidney, by which he resigned certain rights to Queen Elizabeth, and in return received assistance from the Lord Deputy to regain several castles which had been seized by O'Neill. The compact appears to have been observed till 1587, until fear of young Hugh Roe O'Donnell's desire for independence led to his being captured by Sir John Perrott and confined in Dublin Castle, which made him dislike the English all the more, and when he escaped in 1592 he showed his mettle. It was in the castle of Ballyshannon that

Hugh O'Donnell received his son, Hugh Roe, when he had escaped from prison.

In the year 1593 Sir Hugh Maguire, who had raided Connaught, attacked the town of Monaghan, which held an English garrison; and Sir Henry Bagenal and O'Neill of Tyrone are said to have followed Maguire and inflicted a defeat upon him at the fords over the Erne at Belleek* on October 11th. Bones of skeletons have been found in recent years in the ground near one of the fords, which Mr. John Beacom pointed out to me.

Wright in his History of Ireland gives a picture of the Maguire country being invaded and ravaged in 1562 by Shane O'Neill, because the Maguire of the day refused to admit his sovereignty. The destitution of the country induced Maguire to seek the help of the Earl of Sussex, and to beg the Lord Deputy to—"Send me word if ever I shall have any succour against this O'Neill.

Driven out of a large portion of his inheritance, Maguire soon after repaired to the Deputy, and was apparently encouraged by his counsels; but immediately on his return he was subject to a fresh invasion, and complained again by letter of 25th November [1562] that "the last journey that Shane O'Neill made into this country, with the help of Hugh O'Donnell, they left neither house nor corn in all my country, nor sentory [sanctuary] unrobbed; but they have certain islands in my country, in which islands I have all my goods. But yr. lordship shall understand

* The ford used above the waterfall at Ballyshannon was named Casan-na-
 na-
 the ford of Altonagh; another half-a-mile west of Belleek, the ford of
 the ford of Laputa, which was commanded by a
 part of the walls of which may still be observed on the

that Hugh O'Donnell has prepared and provided twelve boats for to rob and waste all those islands, and Shane O'Neill is coming by land, with all his power, so that I cannot escape, neither by water nor by land, except God and yr lordship do help me at this need; for I do presume to God and yr Honor that all my country are against me, because of their great losses;" and he adds—"If the said Shane should take the possession of any country once into his own hands, I do promise you that he would give enough to do to all the Queen's subjects to get him out of this country; and, furthermore, all the North of Ireland will hold with him for fear to be handled as I am."

In 1597 a large military force, consisting of as many as 22 regiments of infantry and 10 of cavalry, assisted by the forces of some of the Irish nobles, amounting in all to 4,000 men, was sent under the command of Sir Conyers Clifford, Governor of Connaught, to reduce the castle and power of the lords of Tyrconnell, but the English were defeated, and many were destroyed in trying to cross a dangerous ford of the Erne named Casan-na-g-Curaidh, immediately above the waterfall from their camp at Mullinashee. The English are said to have lost 600 killed. It was also said that the garrison consisted of only eighty men, who were commanded by a Scotchman, Capt. Owen Crawford.

Red Hugh O'Donnell also defeated another English force at a ford on the Avonmore, and went to Spain in 1602 for the purpose of inducing the King of Spain to send an army with a fleet, which likely led to the coming of the Spanish fleet to Kinsale; but Red Hugh died on the 10th September in that year, and his body was buried with pomp at Valladolid, Spain.

Within five years however, the English, under Captain Digges, aided by a cousin of O'Donnell named Gary O'Donnell, marched on Ballyshannon castle, and were provided with heavy ordnance for the purpose of the attack; and in 1602, the very year which saw the entrance and death of Red Hugh, the castle was taken, and the power of the O'Donnells broken. After that came the flight of the Earls in 1607, and the confiscation of the territory of the Earls of Tyrconnell. Then followed the entrance of the Folliotts, as "governors of Ballyshannon."

Baron Folliott was raised to the peerage as Baron Folliott on 22nd March 1606, and in charge of the castles of Ballyshannon and Bundrowes, and the castles became his property.

Ballyshannon was incorporated under a charter of James I. in 1606, the local authority being "the Portreeve, Free Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town of Ballyshannon." The town returned two members to Parliament but it was disfranchised at the time of the Restoration and was paid to the Earl of Albemarle as compensation.

James I. in his patent of James I. 1606 to 1608, at page 402, gave the town of Ballyshannon to the government by letters patent, with the fee of ten shillings per diem.

The town of Ballyshannon, which maintained a force of 1,500 foot and 40 horses, was kept at his residence, which was specially placed to the east of the present market yards, and a portion of the wall, about four feet thick, to tell of its location. The castle was situated in old times, stretched to the top of the hill, and extended westward to the river Drowes, which flows from the south of the town.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAGUIRE CHIEFRY.

O'Neill went to visit Queen Elizabeth about the 1st November, 1561, and, probably to regain his sovereignty over the Maguire country, expelled The Maguire, who died in the Lord Justice's army on the 29th September, 1566. He was well spoken of by the chroniclers of the period, and was succeeded by his brother Cuchonnacht. This Cuconnacht, lord of Fermanagh, is reported as having attended the Parliament summoned to meet in Dublin in the May of 1585, and was distinguished for his profound learning in Latin and English.

When Lord Deputy Sydney led an expedition to attack the forces of Shane O'Neill in a crannoge near Omagh, setting out for the purpose from Drogheda on the 17th of September, 1566, he mentioned in his report parenthetically:—

By the way, in the day's march died Magwier, to no small prejudice [of your] Highnes service, for had he lived but 20 days longer, this journey should have recovered more land and more castles to your Highnes' obedience from the rebel, than are left with him, which now remain in doubtful suspense—namely, Magwiere's country, called Fermanaghe, for that Kuconnoghe Magwier, the second person to him that is

dead, and he indeed that according their custom ought now to be Captain, and natural brother to the last, was, before his brother's death, in company with O'Neill, and under arrest and guard, as it is said.

And yet, when the army was in that country, we were advertised that he had gotten into his country, and bare a devout mind to your Majesty. But whether he will more regard the lives of his pledges than the liberty of himself, or the fear he hath of the tyrant than the duty he oweth to you his sovereign, we much doubt; and the more that we cannot have commodity to treat or persuade with him. But great confidence hath O'Donnell in his loyalty, who is brother by the mother's side unto him, as he was to the other Magwier, and in proof of his good meaning saith that he did write to the ward of Inyskillen—the strongest hold in all Fermanaghe, and such a one as cost Seane almost 1,001 of his men's lives, and yet went without it—that they should render it to O'Donnell if he came for it, but we saw no means show, during this journey, to possess it; for O'Donnell without the army could not go to it; and after the death of Magwire, and the advertisements aforesaid known, when we were nearest to the castle, it was not possible for us to approach it, being about 30 of difficult ways to pass, our victuals scanting sore upon us, and utterly wanting, artillery, a thing impossible to be conveyed in these countries by land.

What will come of the rendering or keeping of it we are able to yield no assurance; but doubtless your Highnes, minding the reformation of that most disordered and barbarous province, that is a place of great consequence, for upward from it a boat of 30 tons may pass by water, through the Lough Erne, within eight miles of the Cavan, a great town and castle in O'Reylie's country, which Cavan is distant from Kells but twenty miles of open and plain land, and Kells is an English town within the English Pale, and from thence downward a boat of far greater burden may pass to Ballyshanen, where there is a rock which traverseth the river, and is not to be defended by any boat, albeit the river runneth over. But to the best of that work the sea floweth eighteen feet plun, so as from that work to the sea, through the great water of Asserowe—where there is a good harbour—there wanted not so much water to convey any vessel at every tide into the sea.—(From documents in Public Record Office, London, and reported in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Society Proceedings 1870.*)

This Cuconnaght Maguyre, "captain of his nation,"

had held under a grant of 1567, to be Captain of the County of Fermanagh, on payment of a fine of 100 cows to the Deputy, delivered at Cavan. Of this grant Cuconnaght had made a surrender, and obtained a fresh grant "of the whole country of Fermanagh, *alias* Maguire's country in the province of Ulster." The conditions of this grant (of 1585-6) stipulated that it was

To hold to him and to his heirs for ever by the service of two knight's fees,—rendering yearly to the Queen, as soon as he shall be discharged from contribution to Tirlagh O'Neile, captain of his nation, £120 English: and rendering to the Deputy two [a cast] of good goshawks. He shall answer to all hostings with 20 horsemen and 80 footmen armed; of which footmen 30 shall be good shot, and the East Kerns, with victual for 40 days to serve in the Province: and to general hostings to serve in other parts of the Kingdom, 10 horsemen and 30 footmen, of whom 15 to be armed as shot, for 40 days. He shall not maintain traitors. When his country is made a country, he shall aid the Queen's officers there. He shall form it the free tenants in the country to enjoy their lands, then rendering the rents and services accustomed. He shall, when required, retain 80 men with victuals and tools, to serve in any part of the Province for 6 days. He shall deliver to the Queen's forces, when within his country on her service, sufficient cattle at the Queen's rate. Provided he fulfil these rents and services, and the orders of the Deputy, he shall have a moiety of the goods of felons, forfeited recognizances, and of goods of outlaws, waifs and strays; and also shall have a Court Baryn and view of frankpledge within the country. All tenants within the country shall hold of Cuconnaght and his heirs by military service, by such part of a knight's fee as the Deputy shall order. All which courts, tenures, and privileges, the Queen wills shall be established at the next Parliament. (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1585-6, No. 4809, and date of 17th January.)

Old Cuconnacht left three sons, Hugh (afterwards Sir Hugh Maguire), had died in arms near Cork when surprised by English troops under Warham St. Ledger; Cuconnacht (died 12th August, 1608) and Bryan (of

Tempo) died in 1655. Connor Roe claimed the sovereignty by reason of the seniority of Connor Oge. It ran this way:

1. Thomas More

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Thomas Oge | 2. Philip |
| 3. Connor | 3. Bryan |
| 4. Connor Oge | 4. Cuconnacht |
| 5. Connor Roe of Derryheeney | 5. Cuconnacht |
| | 6. Cuconnacht (Old) |

(Died in 1599)

Hugh, Cuconnacht, Bryan (of Tempo).

Killed 1599-1600 d. 12th Aug. 1608 d. 24 Apl. 1685

Hugh, however, was elected chief of Fermanagh, and arranged for the ceremony, according to the custom of his ancestors.

The Maguire, according to tradition, was sometimes inaugurated as Lord of Fir-monach on the top of Culciagh* Mountain, which overlooks the valley of the Erne country, and for this reason we assume that Culciagh now inside the border of Cavan or Breffny, must have been within the domain of The Maguire. Sir Bernard Burke, describing the ceremony of installing the chief in office, says that the Chief himself stood before a stone chair of state: the laws were read to him by the Brehon, the oath was administered, and the blessing given by the Coarb† of Clogher; the white wand of sovereignty was placed in his hand, the standard unfurled, and the slipper put on, when amid the clang of bucklers, the music of a hundred

* Because Dr. O'Donovan says so, I give the statement, but I take it with the proverbial grain of salt. Culciagh [Quilkiagh] mountain was difficult of access within the Breffny territory, and so far away from Lough Erne as to be unlikely to be used as the crowning place. The high moat at Lisnaskea was used for the purpose, we know: so also may have been Knocknanny; and whether Culciagh, involving four days travelling, and far apart from the facilities for feasting, I entertain doubts. Nor was Culciagh in Clogher diocese.

† A Coarb or Corbe was an ecclesiastic not as high in dignity as a bishop, but presided over the inferior clergy. In the Cathedral he had a stall in the choir, and a voice in the chapter. Sir John Davys, in his report on Irish ecclesiastical arrangements, ascertained through inquiries at Devenish, also that: "This lordship was in a manner hereditary; for though the name were ever in orders, yet was he in this Irish country usually married."

harps, and the ringing cheers of thousands of the Clan Mac Uider, he was proclaimed "THE MAGUIRE."

Sometimes this ceremony took place at Sciath-Gabhra-an-tSainridh, near Lisnaskea; and Hugh a son himself of Maula O'Donnell, sent to his kinsman Donal O'Donnell, son of Hugh O'Donnell, to come to his aid to assist the tribe of Philip MacGuire as against the other tribe, so that he should be appointed chief. Connor Roc had the aid of the chiefs of the upper part of Fermanagh, and left his leathas or documents at the place that he would be chosen as chief on the next day.* But Donal O'Donnell and the other chiefs confirmed the title of Fliath (prince or chief) on Hugh Maguire, who afterwards turned out to be one of the greatest soldiers of his time. Sir Hugh appears to have been a warrior of the type of whom bards loved to sing and of whom chroniclers related deeds of prowess—an ideal chief of his period,—always fighting, and he died, as he had lived, fighting. When O'Dugan in the Fourteenth Century sang of the Chief of Fermanagh, he described The MacGuire of the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century:—

MacGuire is leader of their battalions,
He rules over the mighty men of Monach,
At home munificent in presents,
The noblest lord in hospitality.

Blind Teigue O'Higgins sang of the greatness of the Maguire when he went to see the famous court of Enniskillen by the blue hills, and how beyond all dreams was the bright reality. From afar the blithe

* O'Grady, catalogue 431, Manuscript in the British Museum. (Poems of Teigue Dall O'Higgins, 1554-1617.)

uproar of the chase greeted him, wolf-dog and greyhound in field and wood, and the horses trying their speed.* By the mansion the masts of the Lough Erne flotilla stood as a grave along the shore. The courtyard was thronged with gentlemen of the Clan-Colla, who dispensed largesse; the hall crowded with minstrels and poets; ladies and their women in another room embroidered rare tissue and wove golden webs; "of wrights a whole regiment is there—of artificers also, that finish beakers—of smiths that forge weapons; mantles and rugs are taking a crimson stain, swords are tempered to a right blue, spearheads riveted to shafts; 'pledges' are enlarged, others again brought in; gallant men hurt are tended by the leech, brave men uninjured are being damaged."* Part of the day was spent in listening to romances, in comparing genealogies; there was drinking and music: and so much to see and hear that the full day seemed but an hour till at even they sat in due orders for supper.

Fighting men were to be seen on all sides pervading all the house; as they sat in their own quarters each man's harness hung ready above his head, for those were the days when Sir John Perrott was out, and Bagenall, and the terrible captains Merriman and Willis, to break up the patrimony of the tribe, to burn the corn in field and haggart, to hang the freeholders at his door and "plant" a soldier on his land, with sheriff and provost-marshal to protect him. At night couches were strewn for the gentlemen with down covers. A short nap and Maguire was heard with his picked men in harness

* Punishment of malefactors must be intended.

making ready to ride at break of day, returning with wounded prisoners, lowing cattle, things of price,—the spoil of an English camp, of a foreign planter's fort, of the house of an Irish renegade who for gain had taken the foreign oath and found himself under foreign guard.

The Maguires were famed for husbandry, crafts and commerce that occupied the men of Enniskillen (*sic*). It was such markets as these that the English legislators deplored, exhorting all English traders to clear out of them, and by a rigid boycott down those busy Irishmen to ruin.

Speaking of a fleet of boats for merchandise, he writes (p 12) of the "Lower Erne where at Enniskillen the masts of Maguire's fleet stood as it were a grave along the shore."

So sang the poet of Enniskillen Castle.

Writing of the Maguires and learning the Four Masters wrote of a Cuconnaght Maguire as "The unhappy Cuchonnacht, born in an evil day to see his fair land scorched and withered before the firebrands of English troops and parcelled out by their measuring rods, was a learned scholar in Latin and Irish, and lord of munificence after the tradition of the Fermanagh chiefs. (Four Masters p. 1875; cf. O'Grady, Cat. 449 n i.)

Hugh [The] Maguire did not wait long after the ceremony at Lisnaskea to flesh his sword. Sir George Bingham, Queen Elizabeth's Governor of Connaught, did not receive the whole of the Queen's rent from Breffney (Cavan and Leitrim) in the May of 1593. Bryan O'Rourke replied that he was not liable to pay any rent on waste land. In reply, Sir George's soldiers seized Bryan's milk cows for payment, and

O'Rourke plundered two territories in revenge. MacGuire thought he would imitate the chieftain of Breffney, and set out on a predatory expedition, quite a common thing in Irish history in those days. He marched his force past Culciagh mountain and past the Dowry of to-day, along the eastern shore of Lough Allen, into the plains of Roscommon where MacGuire's cavalry detached and pursued a party of the Governor's soldiers until Sir Richard was reached, when he turned the tide of battle. Then the hunted became the hunters, and pursued Maguire and his party, who escaped, leaving the Archbishop of Armagh and the Abbot Maguire dead amongst those that were slain.

This battle took place on the 3rd July, 1593, and led to the conclusion of an alliance between MacGuire and O'Rourke, who were also joined by the MacMahons of Monaghan, and they jointly carried on a war against the English during the summer.

Sir George Bingham determined to punish MacGuire, and the Lord Justice organised a large army from Leinster and Munster to march into Ulster, at the same time ordering Bingham, the Governor of Connaught to meet him at the river Erne. The Lord Justice handed over command to Sir Henry Bagnall, the marshal of Newry, and to Hugh O'Neill, who at this time was in alliance with the English. The lord of Fermanagh heard of the advance, sent his property and cattle into Donegal for security, and marched his forces along the western bank of the lake till both forces met at a ford described as Ath-Cul-Uain [Query—Coratistune]. The English possessed artillery, so that the Irish had to give way, and O'Neill, having dismounted the ford, crossed at the head of his cavalry, but was severely wounded by an arrow discharged by

one of MacGuire's men. MacGeoghagan says that MacGuire rallied his forces and defeated the English, but the Four Masters state that Maguire was defeated, and that O'Neill took much spoil from Fermanagh, after leaving some companies in the country to aid Connor Roe, who, still claiming the lordship of Fermanagh, was hostile to The MacGuire.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, the Lord Deputy, was not satisfied to permit things to remain in that condition. MacGuire was too powerful an antagonist to be permitted to harass the English and must be crushed; so he organised another large force in the February of 1594, and, marching unperceived through the intervening territory, laid siege to the castle of Inniskilling,—of all of which fuller details will be found in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER VII.

SIEGE OF INISH-KELLIN CASTLE.

The picture of the assault on Inish-kellin castle in February 1593-94, "made and drawn by John Thomas, solder," gives one of the earliest representations of this stronghold on Lough Erne. The original is in the British Museum.

The inaccuracy of the outline of the island is obvious; but it shows other things not inaccurate. The Castle was surrounded by water: the ground of the present "Royal" or Main Barrack and square was also surrounded by water [as shown by "A dycke cutt"]: the Cherry [Piper's] island was occupied; the summit of Windmillhill and the slope of Toneystick hill, afterwards the Cow Green, were utilized as "campes," or forts: and a gallows was placed on the highest point in the island. (The scale is placed upside down about Cornagrade hill.) Thus the three important hills commanding the island were occupied, for Derryhara hill was too distant for the field guns of that date to be of much service. It will be observed, too, that Captain Bingham had two boats at "The Passage to ye Iland," commanding the ford of what is now the East Bridge; and the lower islet

of Inish-Cethlen with stakes shown close to it. The picture also shows the "cottes" fitted with scaling ladders with 30 men, and "the greate bote with 67 men" for entering the breach. The Sally [or Castle] island appears to have been flooded at this time of high water, February, as it does not appear; and we know from a letter of the Lord Deputy of 15th January that—"There has been a great deal of rain this season, more than the Lord Deputy has known."

Hugh MacGuire, the Lord of Fermanagh, designated as Sir Hugh Maguire by Queen Elizabeth, is depicted by Sir R. Lane, writing from Dublin to the Queen's Secretary of State, Lord Burghley, as having "600 or 700 beggars with him" and looking for more out of Scotland; that his greatest stay [strength] was the Castle of Enniskillen. Manus M'Shane O'Rourke having played the spy upon Maguire, wrote to Sir Richard Bingham, saying that Maguire had not more than 500 men, and had many cows—[an Irish chief's property consisted chiefly of cows]—in the islands along the lough side, and that he would come out with his forces to help the British, and guide them on their way. How Captain Dowdall fared is made plain by the following letter from Captain Dowdall of 26th January, 1593-4, as found among the State papers (vol. 173, No. 17, iv.):—

Right Hono: I had a draught the 18 of this instant moneth [January 1593-4] upon the Traitors upon the Lough on Ulster side, below Iniskellen, and was guided by the messing that yo^u sent me, who discharged his dutie honestlie, at the w^{ch} tyme we tooke 700 coves from the Traito^r, and putting out a troope of loose shott Maguire came in a cott towards them, thinckinge it had bene his owne companie, but discovered by a shott, and fledd, and twoe of his men in the same cott were slaine, and at w^{ch} tymes we tooke a

aconce, and w^{thin} a small Lough, and put the defend^{rs} to the sword, and burned the same.

Cap^{en} St. Leger's companie came unto us, and Cap^{en} Willies, and Cap^{en} Fuller wth their companies, leaving a garde at the Cavan; and also were at the taking of the prea. The 24 daie we passed Iniskellen, where we were provoked to land men by reason of certain sconces and stakes w^{ch} they had made to hinder the passing of o^r boate, w^{ch} night wee did incamp right over against them. The 25 we intrenched and placed o^r shott wth in one calyver shott of the Castle, and in the same night we placed o^r three Faukonets, and had iiiii boats wth them before the writinge of this Ire [letter] upon their battlem^{ts} and higher fights, the ordynnce being of small force, yet I trust that God will blesse o^r aconcs, and o^r canoniers of small skill. All o^r prea we keepe for victuells.

Our companies here I assure you are verie weake and yo^r Hono^r [The Lord Deputy] I hope will take order that they maie be relyed to gather their strength, as you shall understand their state more in my next Ire. Wee had an intent to scoure the Lough donewarde, but we were prevented by their insconcent^t, w^{ch} we did surprise, and were loth to forge them.

I had notice that S^r Richarde Bingham would come wth 200 men on thoth^r side, but as yet he is not com. I have taken in sundrie p^{sons} upon yo^r Ho. direcons, and o^r bysnes hath been such that I could not well make my booke orderlie, but yet shall be made and sent by the next. Thus moste humbly taking leave, I commit you to God. From o^r camp at Iniskellen this xxvith daie of January, 1593, yo^r Hono^r, &c.,
John Doudall.

[Endorsed] "a copie of Cap^{en} Doudall's Ire of the 26 January, 1593, rec primo February, 1593."

Evidently, the Maguire held his Castle well, and made it hot for the besieging party, and Dowdall pleaded the weakness of his force, and its need of rest, and he looked for help. The help came to him on the 30th January, 1593-4. Captain George Bingham arrived with 300 soldiers, probably from Manorhamilton; and Dowdall reports his victory by letter of the 2nd February, at the same time asking that more soldiers be sent to him, and stating his suggestion for the garrisoning of "the Castle of Eniskillin":—

Righte Honable, my approved good Lo: the 9 daie of o^r siege of Eniskillin, wee did assault the said Castle by boates, by engins and by Sapp, and by scaling the gott the Barbican, and after had the Castle, w^{ch} Castle is nowe (our good God be praised) in her Ma^{ty} hand, with smale losse. Nowe I do intend to p^{re}cede in ransacking of all their sconces* they have in their Loughes and Ilands wheresoever, and that I hope, wth in these 10 daies, they shall not saie they have anie one thing in Fermanaghe that they holde against her M^{ties} pleas^r. For them that have her Ma^{ty} word by yo^r hono^rs direction, I have not that leasure co make upp their bookes to send unto yo^r Lordship. But I will do it as soone as I maie, at w^{ch} time I will certefie yo^r Hono^r of all o^r p^{re}cedings in p^{ar}ticular.

The 30 daie of January, S^r Richard Bingham sent 300 soldio^{rs} and kern on the othside of the Loughes undre the conduct of Cap^{em} George Bingham. My good Lo: o^r companies here are verie weake, not habile to continue in the field aine longer, wherefore I moste humblie praie yo^r Lo: that there maie be some oth^r companie or companies sent in these parts, untill such time as these men may be gotten to some good place to relieve themselves, and gett them apparel, whereby the maie gath^r their full strength. If it maie be to yo^r hono^rs good liking, I will put into the ward of Eniskillin thirtie of o^r companies, Tenn out of everie companie, and I will laie upon the countrie for the defence thereof. Fuller's companie to lie upon the creaghts† of the said countrie, and to be borne by them w^{ch} I do think wth the help of the Loughes and Ilands wilbe sufficient for their defence, untill Marche be past. Maguire his force is viii horsemen and sixteen footemen, and they were of late at Cloghar in Tirone. Thus praieng yo^r hono^rs spedie answere, I moste humble take leave. At the Castle of Eniskillin, the first daie of o^r entrie being the second of February, 1593,—Yo^r Hono^rs to be commanded,

"John Dowdall."

(Endorsed) "a copie of Cap^{em} Dowdall's letter."

In what manner Captain Bingham took the castle

* A Sconce, such as that which still exists on the Broad or "Great" Meadow, Eniskillen, was an earthwork for defence.

† *Creaghts* in Ulster were a community of relatives in a sept, and the title was used both towards the herd of cattle as well as to the *creaghts* who herded them. The cows were common property. A cow was value at this time at about 15 shillings, a garron (or horse) at 26s 8d, and a sheep at 1s 6d. Sometimes a rent was paid for a cow at 4s a year; and rent might be paid partly in money and partly in provisions. Cows were counted each May and November, which probably accounts for the present Irish rent paying terms being at these times.

of "Iniskillen" on the 2nd of February 1594, Connor O'Cassidy, "late messing to the Traytor Maguire," made the following "declaracon:—

The said Conno^r saith that on Satturdaie, the second of February, Cap^{em} Doudall attemptinge soundry meanes to take the Castle of Iniskillen, did bestowe one houndreth men in the greate boate (w^{ch} he caused to be covered with hurdells and hides) and amongst them this Conno^r, who did guid them close to the wall of the Barbicane, where wth pykeaxes and other instrum^{ts} they made a breach and entered the said Barbicane, uppon w^{ch} entree the warde of the castle betooke themselves for their safetie to the castle, but beinge threatned by the Cap^{em} and such companies as entered to be blownen upp wth poulder unless they did submit themselves, the p^{ar}tly [presently] set open the dores of the castle and came forthe, and yelded, being in number xxxvi fighting men, and women and children about 30 or 40. There was no one souldio^r of all the companies killed by the warde, but onelie twee hurt by their shott. He saith he came from thence on Sunday last, and left the Cap^{em} and his companions there. This Connor is the messinger that brought the Ires from Cap^{em} Doudall.

[Endorsed] "A copie of the messinger's Declaracon, 2nd February."

The last report of Captain Dowdall on this subject is one of the 7th February, which gives particulars of the assault, and taking of the Castle, and of his scouring of the islands of the Lower Lough towards "Bealiche" [Belleek].

The letter below gives fuller details of the attack on the Castle and how it was carried:—

Right Ho: and my verie good Lo: The 23 daie of January, having o^r boats, ordinance, munition, and victells soe [necessarie as wee could in that quantetie that we might, w^{ch} was small, we marched forward towards Iniskillen, and in o^r way came to the camp, where I did appoint Cap^{em} St. Leg^r, Cap^{em} Wyllies', and Cap^{em} Fuller's companies, and the next daie we came before the Castle, where wee did encamp, and the 25 day we did intrench aboute the said castle, and

placed the said night 3 Faucons, and the next daie we battered their spikes, flankers, and upp fights.

The 29 daie Cap^m George Bingham* came upon thoth^r side, where I mett him, and prickt oute his campe, and assigned his trenches ts lay his small shott, and placed 3 Gabyons, between the w^{ch} I placed that night the Fauconet, and the Rowbenet to Flanke from that mount [this would be the hill where the military hospital now stands] the inner syd of the Barbicane, to defend o^r assaultants. The fine (? end) of January wee made o^r boate wth a deck fourth and af (? fore and aft) and placed uppon that hurdells, and hides uppon the same to the preff of musket, and alsoe we prepared an engyn of timber to be driven upon wheeles unto the gate, and skaling ladders. The second of this instant we elected oute of ev'ry companie vii men of good sufficiency, besydes the Cap^m of the boate, maryners, and rowers, w^{ch} made iiiⁱⁱ men (three score and three men) and we had iiiⁱⁱ of like eleccion, which stood in a squadron upon the Island to second them (as I should have said before) having never a good canonyer, and the engyner sent being sicke. Three gentlemen of my companie, one named Thomas Browne, I made him Cap^m of the boate, and alsoe was forced to use him as canonyer to batter, Lykewyse George Flower as a Canonyer, and alsoe Rob^t Hewes for a canonyer on the further side, wth Fauconet and Robbenet. These 3 made soundrie good shott and slew certain men through their spikes.

I found out a sufficient man named Henry Harp, one of S^r George Bouchier's companie, and also one Randoll Eggerton, one of Sir Henry Wallop's Companie, whom I did imploy as engyners: Delyv^ring them crowes of Iron, and other Instruments, and caused them to mak a shoore, assigning them in the Barbicane where they sholde myne through the wall to make a breach where five men might enter on front (? abreast) w^{ch} thing they did verie sufficientlie p^rforme wthin one hower and halfe, all w^{ch} tyme wee laied upon them wth ordynance and small shott, and killed xi of them through their secret fightes, and soe the boates arrived landing her men at the breach, and two cotts landing men on the other side with skaling ladders, so made their entree through the breach, and the rebels set twoe houses on fyre wthin the Barbicane, w^{ch} made o^r men retract during the furie of the fyre, in w^{ch} tyme they burned the water gate, and the fire being somewhat staid, they most valiantlie made their entree at the breach

and water gate, and alsoe opened the bridge gate, and beat upon the spikes and dore of the castle, and extended to fyre the same, upon the w^{ch} the rebelles craved a parley.

Thus was the Maguire's Castle of Enniskillen captured.

The perils of the sea to the small ships of this period are illustrated in a letter of the Lord Deputy of February 7th from Dublin Castle to Burghley, concerning the Castle and the messenger, O'Cassidy. Three times were his messengers driven back by contrary storms from Holyhead:—

Some of the letters now sent by this bearer, my servant Skelton, have been 4 times on the sea . . . But he shall now the 5th time attempt his passage with such men as shall content her Majesty and your Lordship; and that is the taking of the traitor's late Castle of Enniskillen. That your lordship may know how O'Cassidy, an ordinary messenger of Maguire's and of his father before him, came to be an instrument in achieving of this service, it may please you to understand that Maguire, feeling his declining estate, sent him with letters to the Bishop of Meath [Thomas Jones] and to me, craving mercy in some manner. My Lord [of Meath] very dutifully apprehended him and sent him to me, craving mercy in some manner. I presently threatened to hang him for his presumption, but he promising to do some service if he might be pardoned, I accepted his offer, and sent him to Captain Dowdall in a handlock, with another, to the end that he might be forthcoming and hanged, if he failed in performing as much as he undertook; and how well he hath acquitted himself I humbly refer to the enclosed letters and declaration. He prays for some money for the relief of the soldiers who have deserved so well and endured so much in this hard winter season.

Captain Dowdall remained ten days in the Castle, repairing the breaches, strengthening the doors, and making it "wardable." He "elected" a constable [James Cursall] with 30 soldiers, laid in three months'

* Afterwards Sir George Bingham, Governor of Connaught.

victuals, and awaited the coming of "Marshall Bagenell."

The Maguire did not tamely submit to the loss of his stronghold. He speedily wrote to and obtained assistance from Hugh Roe O'Donnell, lord of Tirconnell, and attempted to regain it forthwith. He commenced the siege of his own castle on the 1st of June, and with such vigour that Eccarsall was put to his wits' end to retain the Castle. As this defence forms a most interesting chapter of the Castle's history I will quote what the Warder has to say for himself in a report to the Lord Deputy and Council:—

Maguire and the Earl of Tirone's brother, Cormick M'Barron, with about 600 horsemen and 1,400 or 1,500 foot, came into the country with intent to take the castle of Enniskillen either by treachery or force. Failing to do so, some of them passed over the ford at Lisgoole* to prey on the west country. Eccarsall managed the great boat, with a "robbinet" in her prow, and rowed up the river till he almost came there. The *Irish* fired on him. He sent the boat home, the river being not very broad owing to the fall of the waters and the boat open and unprovided [with shelter], and went ashore within the island, with 20 shot [musketeers] and skirmished with them until they were glad to retire. He played on them that day with a falcon and falconet [guns], mounted upon platforms, and with the "raboneth" in the boat, and killed and hurt divers of them. They camped about the next day and night, and kept themselves more closely than before.

Three weeks pass, and on the 8th June the Warder writes again to the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam and Council that the Castle was besieged by Tirone's

* This sentence conveys that, as already indicated, that the now woody height of Drumsna, opposite Killyhevlín, was called by the general term of Lisgoole. This spot was originally intended as the site for Enniskillen. (See footnote page 8.) Lord Belmore says that by a chart in his possession dated 1818, the ford here would be almost three feet deep at low water. It was at this place the weirs were fixed which, removed for the navigation of the lake early in the nineteenth century, gave the local application of The Weirs to it.

force, and asking relief. On the 11th June he wrote to Sir G. Fenton, and made mention of the wicked practices of Maguire by draughts, ambushes and treachery. On 26th June 1594, Eccarsall managed to get a message through the besieging lines to Walter Bradie, the Constable of Cavan, saying that Maguire had a strong camp by the forde of Lisgoole [at Killyhevlín strait], and beseeching food for his garrison. In consequence Walter Bradie sent a spy to discover Maguire's strength at Lisgoole, and this worthy one, Denis M'Skollog, or O'Skalcon, reported that Maguire had 1800 or 1900 men there, and that the creaghts [shepherds in time of peace and cattle drivers in time of war]—of Fermanagh had for the most part returned.

The Earl of Tirone appears to have been playing a double part. Apparently in reply to a letter of complaint from the Lord Deputy that he had lent assistance to the Maguire, his lordship writes on 29th July that his brother and O'Donnell had gone to Fermanagh to guard their creaghts, and he had signified to them their Lordships' pleasure that they should leave Maguire. He wrote again on 8th August, that he would go himself to Fermanagh, when he heard of Sir Richard Bingham going with a force to relieve the Castle.

It was a case of the Siege of Derry, only a century earlier. The garrison had been reduced to living upon dogs, horses, cats, rats, and salt hides, and the last horse was to have been slaughtered and divided among the garrison the next day. The Lord Deputy reduced the strength of the garrison from 40 to 30, deeming that enough for its care and for the "service of the boats," and re-provisioned the Castle

for six months, leaving cattle there, and biscuit, cheese, salt, and malt. His Excellency found the castle to be "by building" of an extraordinary strength, according to the manner of building in Ireland, which "was not for defence against the greater artillery fire."

Lord Fitzwilliam had been succeeded as Lord Deputy by Lord Russell, and he wrote on 15th January, 1594-5 to Lord Burghley, the Queen's Secretary of State, that if forces were not sent to Enniskillen the North would be lost.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST PRINCE OF FERMANAGH.

We now come to the battle of Drumane or of the Mouth of the Ford of the Biscuits. The Lord Deputy caused a force collected from Meath and Connaught, with prisoners, under the command of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Herbert, sheriffs of Cavan, and Marshal Foal to proceed to the aid of Eccarsall, and they marched by way of Belturbet along the western shore of Upper Lough Erne. Sir Hugh Maguire had his spies abroad, and learned of the enemy's approach, and chose his scene of action at the ford of the Arney river, close to the present Drumane bridge. Philip O'Sullivan Beare gives a detailed account of what followed, speaking of the respective armies of Catholic and Protestant, another of the many indications of the religious nature of the struggles of those unhappy days. O'Sullivan Beare says:—

Duke halted not more than 300 paces from a ford on the Arney River, where after nightfall he was suddenly overwhelmed by Maguire and Cormac O'Neill with a dense shower of leaden bullets discharged from muskets, against which he also sent his musketeers. Thus, both parties fighting at a

distance, the Queen's people were deprived of sleep by the danger and report of the muskets. On the morrow, after the break of day, Duke, drawing out three lines, supported by flank companies of cavalry and musketeers, because he had a great baggage of garrons, which carried the provisions, of asses, and camp servants and followers; these he divided into two parts, placing the one between the first and second line, and the other between this and the last. Having drawn out his soldiers in this manner, he advanced from the camp, his soldiers overwhelmed with sleep from the last night's wakefulness, he was frequently compelled to stop short by the Catholics continually hurling darts at them, and to remove them in turn to a distance. At the eleventh hour of the day he came within musket shot of the Ford of Arney, where he ordered his horsemen to dismount, because the place was not fit for a cavalry engagement.

Here Maguire and Cormac O'Neill, with 1,000 foot, contended with all their might. Their musketeers first fought bravely with the first line, and ultimately not only their musketeers but their pikemen press on. But the first division opening a way with the sword and dividing the Catholics on both sides, enter the ford. In the meantime, the Catholic musketeers who fought with the last division, drove the wings of the Protestant musketeers into that division, and by a continual discharge of leaden bullets caused a trepidation amongst them, and their ranks being now disturbed, the Catholic pikemen rushing forward completely threw them into disorder, and they co-mingled with the first division of the lines: they afterwards drove them into the central position. Here the middle division underwent a double struggle: the one by arranging the last division, the other by resisting the Catholics; but the Catholics by pressing on threw both into confusion, and driving them through the other part of the baggage, confounded them with the first division. So the whole army being thrown into disorder, entered the ford with confused tumult, leaving behind the provisions and all the baggage, having saved their horses only, which were of great moment to the horsemen.

Duke held a consultation to see what was next to be done. He decided that George Bingham, jun., should return home, lest all should perish of hunger, and meet the same fate as the defenders of Enniskillen, whom they were not able to relieve. On the other hand, Marshal Foal foolishly exclaims and protests that they should relieve the Royal Fort. The place where the Protestants had stood was encumbered with great moisture, where the horses, being stuck in the

mud, could be of no use. He was therefore wounded by the Catholics with the greater impunity. For this reason Foal led forth the wing of the Musketeers against the Catholics, that he might remove them, while the army should again be drawn into array. But sooner than begun he desisted, being pierced and slain with a lance, by which the whole army of the Protestants was thrown into consternation; having deserted even their horses, they returned to the ford which they had recently crossed, without any command, from which they were driven by the Catholic Musketeers, who partly seized upon the baggage, and partly blocked up the ford.

Now, being doubtful as to what counsel they should adopt, they betake themselves in quick course to another ford, which they observe a bow-shot higher on the river, and precipitate themselves into it before it could be seized by the Catholics. But in the ford, which was deep and entered with such celerity and trepidation, about one hundred soldiers were drowned, over whose bodies the others crossed it. A few of the Irish followed the Protestants, whose paucity they despising, stood for a short time, while Duke, the commander of the English army, with other leaders of companies, cast off their arms and clothes to their shirts, by which stripping, however, not sufficiently lightened for running, he is dragged along between four Irish horsemen of his followers. The Catholics, turning their attention to seizing the baggage, allowed them to escape from their hands, flying and trembling, for the few who had followed them across the ford returned immediately. In this conflict somewhat more than four hundred persons perished by the sword and in the river. Horses, a great pile of arms, and all the baggage were taken, among which a vast quantity of biscuits, found strewn in the very ford, gave new a name to the place. The news of the Royal army being defeated and routed having spread abroad, the fortress of Enniskillen, besieged by O'Donnell's men, surrendered, the defenders being dismissed by agreement, and it was again restored to Maguire.

Other writers give a different version of the capture. Lewis's Topographical Dictionary states that the garrison, after holding out to the last extremity, being compelled to surrender, were inhumanly slaughtered by the assailants, who pleaded the like cruelty on the part of Bingham, when he took it, as a justification for their revenge.

Sir Henry Duke and Sir Richard Herbert fled back to their own county of Cavan, and writing from thence on 10th August, 1594, informed the Lord Deputy of their "severe repulse by shot and Scots, when attempting the relief of Enniskillen. They are glad that they escaped alive, considering the immense number of the enemy." Maguire captured with the castle, three falcons (or cannon) with their carriages and "ladies."

The success of Maguire in driving back the relieving force, wrote Sir Richard Bingham on 19th August towards Enniskillen, was "very insolent and proud. It were most dishonourable to suffer so many of our countrymen as are in Eniskillen to have their throats cut." And then he fastened responsibility on the man who was showing another face to the Lord Deputy, by saying—"The siege of Eniskillen is the Earl of Tyrone's action, although he be *come in* in person."

Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam got a force together, and led it in person, accompanied by some of the Privy Council, and after a rough and difficult journey by way of Athlone and Boyle, and there joined by the Connaught forces, they relieved the Castle of Enniskillen.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that the Ulster chiefs complained bitterly of the oppressions inflicted upon them by government officials, and it was for this cause Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam was dismissed from office, and Bagenal, who was bitterly complained of, died at the Yellow Ford. The Carew Manuscripts have preserved to us the complaints of the Ulster chiefs, first of whom in importance was O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; second, O'Donnell, Earl of

Tyrconnell, and third, Sir Hugh Maguire, baron of Enniskillen. It is well to quote what Maguire has to say in his complaint of 1593, as he speaks for the loyalty of his predecessor and himself:—

1. His predecessors have been of long time loyal subjects. When Fermanagh came into his hands he began therein a most dutiful course of obedience: and when first he went [to Dublin] after being placed in his father's room, the late lord deputy and council gave him special letters of favour, that neither the Bingham nor his other bordering neighbours should molest him, but assist him in his lawful causes. Yet Sir Richard Bingham [the English Governor of Connaught], and the rest of his name in Connaught, came with forces and arms into his country, burned it, killed divers men, women and children, and took from him 3,000 cows beside 500 garrons, and mares, and certain women prisoners whom he was fain to ransom.

2. Magwire sent letters to the lord deputy and council to desire restitution, and they addressed letters to Sir Richard Bingham and the rest for causing amends to be made; but the said Bingham came forthwith into Fermanagh at two several times, and prayed Magwire of 6,000 cows, besides much murder.

3. Captain Henshawe,* seneschal of Monaghan, came several times with his forces to places in Fermanagh called Clankally and Cowle [now the baronies of Clankelly and Coole], captured 3,000 cows, and killed men, women, and children; but Sir William Fitzwilliam caused no redress thereof.

4. In the several sheriffships of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Sir Edward Harbert in Co. Cavan, they killed and preyed Maguire's tenants in Knockclangorie, the Coole [Coole], and other places, to his and their damages of 3,000^l ster.

5. Afterwards, the said lord deputy being in Monaghan, Magwire obtained faithful oath and promise that he should not be charged with sheriffs or other officers in regard of his coming to do obedience, for one whole year; for which grants he paid as a bribe to his lordship and others 300 beoffs [fat cattle], besides 150 beoffs to the marshal [Bagenal]; but

* Mr. Hill's note on this request gives the recommendation of Captain Lee that Henshawe (the new seneschal) be removed, his place to be taken by Sir George Bouchier, and to assist Sir George that Sir Henry Duke, sheriff of the county, be placed in the Abbey of Clones (now in the Queen's hands) with a company of light foot, and a band of 100 more to be there in garrison. The abbey of Clones was afterwards let to Sir Francis Rushe, but ultimately restored to the Irish proprietor, Sir Brian McHugh Oge McMahon.

Captain Wallis having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent with commission to be sheriff there, and preyed the country. They cut off the head of the son of Edmond McHugh McGwyre, and hurled it from place to place as a football.* These hard courses compelled him to entertain forces to repulse the said Wallis, and his companies, whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers, and their banishment out of the country.

Two other infamous officers with Wallis were named Coulk and Fuller, "whose behaviour," says he, "being such as a well-advised captain of the kingdom would not admit any officer of that company."

Sir Hugh's aunt was mother of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and he was fully as proud as his cousin. When Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam acquainted him that the county of Fermanagh had now become shire-ground by an Act of Parliament, and that he must admit and recognise the sheriff to execute Queen Elizabeth's writs, Sir Hugh gave him a bold reply, which is preserved as characteristic of the man—"Your Sheriff shall be welcome, but let me know his eric—[that is, the value of the price put on his head]—that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."

This laconic reply was not comforting to Sheriff Willis. This eric or price upon injuries, fatal or otherwise, was an Irish custom, and was generally levied in cattle.

A second pardon had been granted to Sir Hugh,

* Hill comments on this complaint, that this account of the wicked doings of these officers is not overdrawn, and quotes against them an English officer, Captain Lee, who expressed his indignation that Fitzwilliam should have employed such men. His [Fitzwilliam's] greedy desire at that time in respect of his own gain, made him careless of these officers, and of those good servants who would freely offer themselves: he esteemed less of the baser sort, as of one Willis, and such as he was, when he made captain and officer in the Irish countries, who with their great troops of base rascals, behaved themselves so disorderly, as to make the whole country to rise in an uproar, and to drive them out, which advantage given by those bad and lewd fellows to the ill-disposed Irishry, hath emboldened them ever since to land in no fear or subjection of your highness's state or forces there. These, and many the like services, as bad or worse, did Sir William whilst he had authority in that place.

"chief of his name," in 1591-2. It was shortly after this in 1593, Captain Willis* found himself shut up with his party and besieged in a church in Fermanagh, so that he got an inkling of what The Maguire had conveyed. The Sheriff was reduced to great extremities, but was relieved by Sir Hugh O'Neill, who was at that particular time an ally of the Queen.

After the castle of Enniskillen had been taken from Maguire, Captain Lee recommended Queen Elizabeth to adopt the following course, which, if costly, to the Maguires by the surrender of Lisgoole, the Castle, and the islands, was kindly towards the natives:—

For Maguire's country, called Fermanohan, Sir Dudley Loftus with his 25 horse (whereof he also wanted five, taken as aforesaid is mentioned, to be restored to him), and he to be sent seneschal of that country; Henry Warren, his brother-in-law, to be sent as sheriff and assistant unto him, and to have 100 footmen under his charge. Your Majesty to bestow on those two gentlemen (to be inhabited by them and their friends) all these islands upon the lough [Erne], and that one abbey which is in the country [Lisgoole] and the lands belonging to it, and the castle of Enniskillen lately taken from Maguire; and the rest of that country, to remain to the chief men inhabiting there, so as they defray the seneschal's fee and charge of the 25 horse, to be levied in butter, meal, and beef, both for the diet and wages of the horsemen, and their horsemeat, in such as the Irishry themselves shall set down, which will be a greater proportion than your Majesty would demand.

Maguire did not long enjoy the use of his recovered stronghold. The British knew that the Castle of Enniskillen was essential to their hold in

* This officer's descendants are stated to be the Willis family, now of Moneen, Florencecourt, of whom the senior representative is Mr. William Willis.

Ulster. Indeed, so much did they reason one place reacted on another that they held the loss of The Blackwater on the 16th February, 1594-5, involved the loss of Enniskillen, and Enniskillen commanded the pass to Connaught. The Erne, writes Sir Calisthenes Brooke, four years later, under date of 20th May, 1598, is "the convenientest place of garrison to hold the people on both sides to obedience—a strait between those countries; and at all times if the Kingdom were in rebellion, it may be victualled."

About this time or the next year of 1595 Maguire wrote to the Queen asking forgiveness, and protesting

that his disloyalty proceeded not from any conspiracy with any domestic or foreign enemy, or of malice towards her Majesty, but through hard wages, yet he craves pardon for himself and his country, 1. He will yield the usual rents and services. 2. He craves that himself and all the inhabitants of his country may have free liberty of conscience. 3. That no garrison may be placed in Fermanagh, but that for the government hereof the like course may be taken as shall be for M'Mahon's country or other parts of the Irishry.

If we are to judge by what followed the Queen and her advisers had either found pardons to Sir Hugh of no avail, or that he was too troublesome, for we find him again plundering Brefney O'Reilly, an ally of the Queen's known as the Queen's O'Reilly. Sir Hugh O'Neill about this time left the standard of the Queen, after having fought for her, and was joined by the O'Donnell and Sir Hugh Maguire and they formed a powerful trio. Maguire went out, therefore, again, in rebellion. He fought at the battle of Clontibret in Monaghan where Sir John Norris was defeated; at the battle of Kilcloony, where the joint armies of the Lord Deputy (Sir Wm. Russell) and

Sir John Norris were routed with a loss of 600 men, and at Mullaghbrack, in 1596. The Magwire was now in continual warfare, and along with O'Neill an avowed rebel against the English Government.

Next year in 1597 Maguire was at Mullingar, with the O'Feeralls, plundering the English of the Pale; and in 1598 he was with O'Neill and the dauntless "Red Hugh" in the defeat of the English at Bealanabay—(?) better known as Benburb where Marshal Bagenal and 3,000 of the English were laid low. In the succeeding year of 1598 Sir Hugh went south, with Red Hugh, in his expedition to Thomond or Munster, where Sir Hugh Maguire captured the castle of Inchiquin, and rejoined O'Donnell at Kilfinora, with a great quantity of spoils, having swept the whole country.

The O'Neill requisitioned Maguire's services next year, 1600, for his expedition into Munster, and Sir Hugh never returned. What occurred is thus told by Sir Bernard Burke:—

One day in March shortly before the festival of St. Patrick he went, accompanied by Telvin M'Caffrey, his standard-bearer, and a small party of horse,—[of which Magwire was officer commanding in the army] and some foot, to reconnoitre the country towards Cork. Sir Warham St. Leger, Vice President of Munster, was informed of the movement by a spy, and placed a strong party in a narrow defile about a mile from the city. On approaching the place, Maguire discovered the ambush, but nothing daunted, though the odds against him were fearfully great, he stuck spurs into his horse, and, at the head of a small troop, dashed into the midst of his enemies. St. Leger and Maguire met; Sir Warham discharged his pistol and inflicted a death wound, but Maguire, though mortally stricken, summoned all his strength, and cleft his adversary's head through buckler and helmet, leaving him dead on the spot. He then fought his way through the ranks of opposing horsemen—five of whom he killed with his single arm

and escaped; but gashed and cut fearfully, he fell exhausted, and being borne to O'Neill's camp, he survived only to the following day, when he delivered up his gallant spirit to heaven. O'Neill and the other Irish chiefs mourned his loss, and laid him in a southern grave. The Four Masters styled Hugh Maguire "the bulwark of valour and powers, the shield of protection and shelter, the tower of support and defence, and the pillar of hospitality and achievements of Orighialla and almost all the Irish of his time." He was the last Prince of Fermanagh, for none of the chiefs of the Magwires after his time possessed the power or property sufficient to sustain the rank.

All that we know of Sir Hugh Maguire seems to justify what Sir John Davys wrote of him in 1607 in his *Historical Tracts* (page-264-5) after Sir Hugh's death in Munster:—

For albert Hugh Maguire, that was slain in Munster, was indeed a valiant rebel, and the stoutest that ever was of his name; notwithstanding generally the natives of this county are reported the worst swordsmen of the North, being rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen than to be kerne or men of action, as they term rebels in this kingdom: and for this cause M'Guire, in the late wars, did hire and wage the greatest part of his soldiers out of Connaught, and out of the Breny O'Relie—[Breffny, Co. Cavan],—and made his own countrymen feed and pay them: and therefore the Jury enquiring of Escheates found only two freeholders in this country, besides Hugh Maguire himself, to have been slain in the late rebellion.

It was, apparently, while Maguire was in the South that the Castle was retaken in 1607 by the English and possession handed over to Captain William Cole.

Maguire, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other Ulster lords who went into rebellion, were subsequently pardoned, to the great chagrin of the English servitors in Ireland who imagined that the Ulster lands were to

be divided amongst them, as the lands of the Desmond chiefs had been divided in Munster. O'Neill was received even with marks of respect at the court of James I. But when Chichester became Lord Deputy, he found flaws in some of the grants, exposed some of the northern earls to insults and litigation, and stirred up discontent to give him the opportunity he wanted of escheating the northern lands. The Flight of the Earls in 1607 played into his hands, and enabled him to accomplish his purpose.

In 1602, according to the Four Masters, Niall Garv (O'Donnell) with his brethren and the English, proceeded in boats on Lough Erne, and took and demolished Enniskillen. They also took Devenish and Lisgoole, and left guards in them.* The O'Neills, who claimed the lordship of Ulster, ravaged Fermanagh from time to time as well as the O'Donnells. One State paper of the 16th century contains a memorial of Shane Maguire, the chief of Fermanagh, to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, praying for help against Shane O'Neill. Maguire had acknowledged the sovereignty of Queen Elizabeth, and thereupon O'Neill who claimed the lordship of Ulster, ravaged the lands of what he deemed to be his subordinate sept, closing his letter with these words—"Send me word if ever I shall have any succour against Shane O'Neill." He must have been in straits at this time. Wright's *History of Ireland*, says that after Maguire returned from a visit to the Lord Deputy in Dublin, he was subjected to a fresh invasion, and complained again, by letter of 25th November, 1562, in which he said

* One State paper yet preserved, a memorial from Shane Maguire to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, shows that Maguire, having acknowledged Queen Elizabeth's sovereignty, had his territory raided by Shane O'Neill in October 1562.

that the last journey that Shane O'Neill made into this country, with the help of Hugh O'Donnell, they left neither house nor corn in all my country upon the mainland unwasted, nor church, nor 'sentry' (sanctuary), unrobbed; but there are certain islands in my country, in which islands stand all my goods. But y^e lordship shall understand that Hugh O'Donnell has prepared and provided twelve boats for to rob and waste all these islands, and Shane O'Neill is coming by land, with all his power, so that I cannot escape, neither by water nor by land, except God and y^e lordship do help me at this need; for I do promise to God & to y^e Honor, that all my country are against me, because of their great losses;

and he adds—

If the said Shane should take the possession of my country once into his own hands, I do promise you that he would give enough to do to all the Queen's subjects to get him out of this country; and, furthermore, all the North of Ireland will hold with him for fear to be handled as I am.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MAGUIRE ESTATES.

Fiery Irish orators have spoken from time to time of driving out the Cromwellians, as the generic term for all planters of different periods in Ireland who obtained their lands by confiscation and the sword, forgetting that the rights of the predecessors of the planters were no better than those of the planters themselves—that of the strong hand. It is remarkable that what happened to Ulster in the 17th century by the Plantation of Ulster happened previously in the 4th century, when the Three Collas—[Cairell, Muredhach, and Aedh]—who had been sojourning in Alba (Scotland), responded to the appeal of Muredhach Tirech, the Ard-ri or monarch of all Ireland, and led the campaign against the Irian princes of Uladh or Ulster. They led 7,000 men, many of them from Scotland, against Fergus Forgha, the Irian or Rudrician King, and for seven days the battle was fought at Farney in the present County Monaghan, when Fergus and three of his sons were killed, and the Ulster army cut to pieces. The territory of the Northern province at that time was

bounded by the four great rivers of Uladh, the Bann and the Boyne, the Erne and the Finn, which is remarkable as being equal in extent to the five counties of Ulster planted in the 17th century; but whereas the invasion of the 4th century included Louth and Monaghan, it omitted Cavan and Donegal.

What the Collas won by the sword the English won by the sword; the right of the latter was as good as that of the former. The English confiscated what the Three Collas had confiscated. The Irians had to give way to the powerful Clan Colla or Oirghialla, "of the Golden Hostages," because when any member of the clan became hostage to an enemy, he was entitled to be bound with golden fetters during the time of duress. Some of the Oirghialla survived from the invasion of the 4th century until the influx of the English in the 11th and 17th centuries, and the most noteworthy of those who survived were the Maguires (Mac Uidhir) of Feara-Monach or Fermanagh. And now in these days of the 20th century when we see the remains of this once powerful sept scattered, and destitute of power or position in the land of their fathers, the thought arises—how many of the conquering British families of the 17th century will survive in like manner for thirteen centuries?

We obtain an idea of the private estate of the Maguire—[quite apart from what the various MacGuire tribes rendered to him]—from the account of the inquisition held "over against the island of Devonish" in the year 1606 by the Lord Deputy [Sir Arthur Chichester], the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and Sir John Davys, the English Attorney General. In the course of the report on Sir Hugh

MacGuire, who died in rebellion, the Davys Tracts state—

It is sufficient to show of what qualis these mensall duties are, and for the quality thereof, in respect of the land out of which these provisions were taken, which being taken together doth not exceed four ballibetaghs (as I said before), yet such commodities in those parts are of little or no value, and therefore he never made any civil use of them, but spent them wastfully in a sordid and barbarous manner, among his loose and idle followers: besides these mensalls, M'Guyre had 240 beeves, or thereabouts, yearly paid unto him out of all the seven baronies, and about his castle of Enniskillen he had almost a ballibetagh of land, which he manured with his own churles, and this was M'Guyre's whole estate in certainty, for in right he had no more, and in time of peace he did exact no more, marry in time of war he made himself owner of all, cutting where he listed, and imposing as many bonaghtes, or hired soldiers, upon them, as he had occasion to use.

From the inquisition taken at Enniskillen on the 15th of March, 1614, it appeared that Sir Hugh MacGuire was owner in fee of the Slewbagh mountain [between Fermanagh and Monaghan], and also of the Turlew mountain.

The care exercised by the Maguires in the rearing of their children in fosterage was told thus at one of the Inquisitions at Devenish:—

For noe wonder y^t this honerable family did surpass others in princely qualities, being from their ancestors addicted to one peculiar custome which was not observed in others, viz^t Maguire never admitted his children should be fostered or taken up by mean families, least they might practice or harbour any kind of ill disposition by seeing or hearing ill man^r or course behaviour among vulgars; but still taken up by the very best and chieftest families in y^e country, soe that none of estimation in y^e county was free from this practice, for they were held to be of least estimation who had not the honour of adopting these children, each taking more than ordinary care to breed up their own child to y^e highest pitch of princely qualities, so that he might surpass others of

his rank in all degrees, whereby this family consequently bore a great sway in manhood and magnificence, &c.

In the plan drawn up in the year 1606 to settle the dispute between the two native chiefs, Connor Roe and Cuconnaght, it is mentioned that the chief lords in ancient times had a certain rent of 42 cows out of each barony, for Shane M'Hugh paid 21 cows for his half-barony of Clanawley, and O'Flanigan paid 21 cows for his half barony of Turath [now included in Magheraboy barony]. The value of one cow was estimated at 26s 8d. As there were seven baronies in Fermanagh, and the rent was 42 cows per barony, it follows that Maguire's chieftainship or lordship of the county brought him in 294 cows per year, equivalent to a royalty or rent of £383 a year, in addition to the four ballybetaghs* or 4,000 acres and ballybetagh (1,000 acres) near the Castle of Enniskillen.

The two reports do not differ much as to the number of cows, 240 and 294. In addition to this The Maguire quartered as many of his soldiers (very often out of Scotland and Connaught) as he pleased on his own people, and held as personal lands some islands in the lakes, where he sent his cattle to graze.

There were minor chiefs in Fermanagh who owned The Maguire as lord, and for the sub-division of land, it seems to have been the custom then, according to gavel-kind; for the Attorney-General, wrote the Commissioners, set to find out the owners

* A barony was supposed to be composed of 30 ballybetaghs, and four ploughlands or seisreagh formed a ballybetagh. The ploughland was estimated at about 120 acres of arable land, not including marsh or water; and the ploughland was composed of two ballyboes or tates. The tate was supposed to be as much grazing land as would feed 21 cows.

of all the lands, beginning with the barony of Magherie Boy, "wherein we camped."* Calling before the Commissioners "certain of the clerks or scholars of the county" who knew "all the septs and families, and all their branches, and the dignity of one chief above another, and what families or persons were chiefs of every sept, and who were next, and who were of a third rank, and so forth," they took upon them "to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of their country, which is of the nature of gavel-kind, whereby as their septs or families did multiply, their possessions have been from time to time divided and sub-divided, and broken into so many small parcels as almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a Lord, and his portion of land his country." These, then, were the minor Chiefs, such as the head of the O'Flanragans, Muldoons, O'Cassidys, &c.

But, we are told, "M'Guyre himself had a chiefry over all the country, and some demesnes, that did ever pass to him only who carried that title—[in addition to the 5,000]—; so was there a chief of every sept, who had certain services, duties, or demesnes, that ever passed to the tannist† of that sept, and never was subject to division."

We obtain the names of the septs into which Fermanagh was divided at this time, and of the district which these occupied, from a survey made of the county in the summer of 1603, as given in the Ulster Inquisitions, Preface p.p. xviii-xl. Thus in the barony of *Knockninny* were situated the Sleught

* I conclude that the site of the camp must, therefore, have been in the townland of Tully.

† The tannist was the chosen or elected successor of the chief, not of necessity his eldest son.

[Sliocht descendants] Gilpatrick Maguire, the Sleught McArt Maguire, the Clann-Corry, the Sleught Edmond Maguire, the Sleught Doon Maguire, the Clandonnell O'Comenshee, up the Covill by east of Lough Erne. The leading freeholders and families in the barony of *Magheryboy* were the sept descended from the Brian Maguire, the sept descended from Edmond Maguire, and the sept of the O'Flannigans. The principal freeholders and families in the barony of *Clinawley* were the sept descended from Tirlagh Maguire, the septs of Senawley, Monterey Doelan, Clancanon in Muintirflodoghan, and the sept descended from Donnell Ballagh Maguire. In the barony of *Clankelly*, the chief freeholders and families were the sept descended from Donnell Calvagh Maguire, the sept known as the M'Donnell or descendants of a chieftain called Donnell Maguire, and the sept McMullrany. The chief freeholders and families in the barony of *Magherastephana* were the sept Connor Maguire, the sept Flahertie Maguire, the sept Brian MacConnor Oge Maguire, the clan M[?ag]inis, the clan Gaffrey, the Clan Brian Maguire, and the clan M'Gillrevagh. The barony of *Lurgue* contained, as chief freeholders and families, the sept Eyny Maguire, the sept McMulloon O'Lurgue, the sept James Maguire, and the sept Rory Keogh in Collome Kearmony [Magheraculmoney]. The half barony of Covill [Coole], (to be distinguished from Coville, or Coollenerer, in *Knockninny*) contained the principal freeholders and families of Clan Art, the sept of old Tirlagh Maguire, the sept Carbery Maguire, and the sept Shane Maguire. The half-barony of *Tyrcannada* had, as chief families, the Shane Clancannada and the Muintir Kariffonda. (*Ulster Inquisitions*, Preface. p.p. xviii-xl.)

When the Commissioners of Plantation held an inquisition at Devenish near Enniskillen on the 18th September, 1609, they had a jury sworn regarding the Maguires and their property, and local customs. The jurors on that occasion were - (1) Donnell McGuire, deane of Logherne; 2, Shane M'Hugh; 3, Brian O'Corchran; 3, Owen O'Flanigan; 5, Brian McThomas; 6, Shane McEnabbe McGuire; 7, Rorie O'Corrigan; 8, Patrick McDonnell; 9, Patrick M'Hugh McGuire; 10, Brian McDoile McCabe; 11, Cormocke O'Cassidie; 12, Hugh O'Flannigan; 13, Gillegaire O'Hoane; 14, Richard O'Hoane; 15, Cahill McGuire.

These men were obviously natives, and thus reported—

Upon their oaths that old Coconnaght McGuire did in the late Queene Elizabeth's time, surrender upp to the crowne the whole countrie of Fermanagh als McGuire's contre, as by the record thereof appeareth, unto which record the said jurors doe herein refer themselves, and that thereupon the said late Queene did, by letters patents under the greateseale of Ireland, re-grant unto the said Coconnaght an estate of inheritance in the said countrie, by virtue whereof the said Coconnaght was seised, and being soe seised thereof died, and that by and after his death, the said countrie descended to his sonne Hugh McGuire, who was likewise thereof seised, and that the said Hugh McGuire being so seized, was slaine, in actual rebellion against the said late Queene Elizabeth.

In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Anno 1585-6, No. 4809 (4032), 17 Jan., xxviii. Eliz. there is recorded the

grant to Cuconnaght Maguire, Captain of his nation, of the whole country of Fermanagh, *alias* Maguire's country, in the province of Ulster, and the manors, lands, rents, services, and other hereditaments appertaining. Recites his surrender No. 4682 [1 June, xxvii. Eliz., made with the intention of its being re-granted to him.—Signed, "Macwyre."] To hold to him and his heirs for ever by the service of two knights' fees,

rendering yearly to the Queen, as soon as he shall be discharged from contribution to Tirlagh O'Neile, Captain of his nation, £120 English; and rendering to the Deputy two (called a cast of) good goshawks. He shall answer to all hostings with 20 horsemen and 80 footmen armed; of which footmen 30 shall be good shot, and the rest kerns, with victual for 40 days to serve in the Province: and to general hostings to serve in other parts of the Kingdom, 10 horsemen and 30 footmen, of whom 15 to be armed as shot, for 40 days. He shall not maintain traitors. When his country is made a county, he shall aid the Queen's officers there. He shall permit the free tenants in the country to enjoy their lands, they rendering the rents and services accustomed. He shall, when required, retain 80 men with victuals and tools, to serve in any part of the Province for 6 days. He shall deliver to the Queen's forces, when within his country on her service, sufficient cattle at the Queen's rate. Provided he fulfil these rents and services, and the orders of the Deputy, he shall have a moiety of the goods of felons, forfeited recognizances, and of goods of outlaws, waifs and strays: and also shall have a Court Baron and view of frankpledge within the country. All tenants within the country shall hold of Cuconnaght and his heirs by military service, by such part of a knight's fee as the Deputy shall order. All which courts, tenures, and privileges the Queen wills shall be established at the next Parliament.

No sooner was the news of Sir Hugh's death in 1599 brought north than the chieftainship and estates were for a second time claimed by his cousin Connor Roe (elder Tempo branch), and by his (Sir Hugh's) younger brother Cuconnaght. Connor Roe's claim prevailed at first, and therefore we find that on the 30th December, 1600, Connor Roe Maguire, described as "chief of his nation," obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth, of the whole of Fermanagh or Maguire's country, as formerly granted to "Cuconnaght," or Constantine. Cuconnaght Maguire had paid a rent to the Queen of £120 a year and two goshawks. He surrendered that grant in 1604 on the 16th January, in the reign of James I.; and received in lieu thereof a grant of the barony of Maghera-

staphena, dated 27th May, 1615 [6480 profitable acres] along with a pension of £200 a year of English currency, with another pension, on his death to his son Bryan. At this time Cuconnaght was known as Mag Uidhir Gallda or the English Maguire. Connor Roe Maguire was described as "Chief of his name" in a pardon of 21st April, 1602, which pardon was extended to Bryan Maguire, his son Cuconnaght,* Donagh, Bryan Roe Maguire and others.

If it be difficult to withhold sympathy from Cuconnaght Maguire in not obtaining his legal right, it is still more difficult to express it concerning Connor Roe. He was the son of Connor, son of Connor, son of Thomas Maguire, who was father of Sir Hugh and of Cuconnaght Maguire, who secured the ship for the flight of the Earls. Connor Roe had offered himself twice as candidate for the lordship or chieftaincy of the Maguire country, but Lord Deputy Carew put him aside, first for Sir Hugh, and then for Cuconnaght. It was after Sir Hugh's fall, with the forces of the O'Neill near Cork, that the whole of Fermanagh was granted to Connor Roe, who fought for the English Government. Lord Deputy Carew [during Elizabeth's reign]—induced Connor Roe to surrender the grant in order that a better division of the estates might be made between him and Cuconnaght, who was really the rightful heir to the whole estate, and promising him at the same time half of the

* Bryan Maguire being, as I think, the brother of Hugh and Cuconnaght, received a grant dated 31 Dec., 1610, viii. Jac. I., from the King, of the manor of Tullowegle in Tirkeanedy and Clanawley (Monterfoddan), of 2,000 acres, at a rent of £21 6s. 8d. per annum. Another and later patent was dated 10 Sep., 15 Car. I. (1639). This comprised the Tempo estate. Pynnar, in 1610, described the property as one of 2,000 acres; and added that Bryan had another 500 acres, "which were his brother's, lately deceased." This brother must have been Tirlagh Maguire, who received a grant of 410 acres at a rent of £4 9s. 8d. (Carew MSS. 1611, p. 241.)

county. The Commissioners of Plantation in their report remembered this promise as follows:—

"Connor Roe Maguire hath his Majesty's word for the whole barony of Magheri-Stephna, the whole barony of Knockninny,* which contain 390 tathes or 12,287½ [acres] and to take up 5 of the least proportions, 2 of the middle, and 2 of the greatest, and are to be passed unto him according to His Majesty's Royal Word."

"His Majesty's royal word" does not appear to have been of much value, though it was thus backed up by the Commissioners themselves in their recommendations for the Plantation of Fermanagh, for Connor Roe was deceived again, and this matter affords an instance of the allegations about English perfidy in Ireland. Chichester found this excuse for rendering his royal Master's "word" and his own predecessor's promise of no account:—

"O'Connor Roe expects to have three baronies, upon some promise made to him when the traitors Tyrone and Tyrconnell and more Irish lords were restored to their grants; but a more prudent course being now in hand, sees not that the King is bound in honour to make so barbarous and unworthy a man greater than his neighbours, but rather, in true construction of State, to suppress him, for all his actions declare an ill mind, and is sure he will do much harm to the plantation, if he be made so great. The barony of Magheri-stephana will contain him, and all his followers and goods that depend on him, and that quantity in his [Chichester's] opinion, is rather too much than too little for him."

It is small wonder, then, that Connor Roe became "barbarous" when instead of three baronies and a half he had to finally content himself with over 3,000 acres, for† which he was to pay 13s 4d for every

* The barony of Knockninny is shown in the *Irish Historical Atlas* as including Castlekeagh, with a piece of Clancally between it and Maghera-stephana, near Maguiresbridge.

† Sir Bernard Burke says 13,000 acres.

quarter of land to the King. In the division of the county between himself and Cuconnaght, Connor got the Knockninny and Magherstephana area of the county, and Bryan, son of Cuconnaght, got 2,000 acres at Tempodessel.

A grant of 1612 gave Connor 6,480 profitable [arable] acres at a rent of £20 a year Irish currency, and a market and yearly fair at Derryheeny, and he must have been well off when he by deed of 1st Dec. 1615 engaged to convey to his son Donagh on his decease £10,000. Lord Belmore's view was that there was a clerical error in this sum, which should be £1000. His lordship's view that the English Government considered whichever branch of the Maguires was most submissive to itself as the principal one, appears to be well-founded. Connor Roe Maguire, of Augherlurcher and Aghavea, Co. Fermanagh, who paid £15 yearly rent to the King for the 74½ great tates of Magherestaphena, was knighted in 1616, and he died on the 25th December, 1625. His son was "Sir Bryan M'Gwyer, Knt.," who, aged 36 years at the time of his father's death, was created (the First) Baron of Enniskillen by Charles I. on the 3rd March, 1627-28. According to an inquisition taken at Enniskillen on the 14th September, 1638, this Bryan, "late Baron of Enniskillen,* died on the 15th September, 1633, and the funeral entry in Ulster's office in Dublin states:—

"S^r Bryan McGwyer, Knight, baron of Enniskillyn, he deceased the xvth of December, 1633. He had to wife Rose, daughter of Arte *Mac Avernau O'Neile*, of Caricestikin, in the County of Armagh, Esq^r, by whom he had issue Connor, now Lord McGwyer, Baron of Inniskillyn, married Mary, Daughter

* The peerage was conferred by Charles I. on the 3rd March, 1627-8.

of Thomas Fleming of Castle Fleming, in the County of Cavan; Rory, Bryan, Thomas, Rose, Eleanor, Sarah, and Anne. His Lo^p is buried in Aghive [Aghavea], in the County of Fermanagh, the xxiith of December."

The O'Neill there referred to was the celebrated Owen Roe O'Neill, and thus some of the defiant O'Neill blood flowed in the veins of him who planned the capture of Dublin Castle, and the rescue of Ireland from the English.

It was this Connor (son and heir to Sir Bryan), and second Baron of Enniskillen, who was executed for high treason in London in 1644. On the 14th of July, 1634 this Lord Maguire took his seat in the Irish Parliament. When the roll of the House was called on the 6th of April, 1634, "Connor, Lord Maguire," was represented by proxy; and amongst the peers "as they ought to sit on the first day of the Parliament holden at Dublin the 16th day of March, 1639," we find Con. Lord Maguire of Enniskillen. He was represented by proxy when the House was called on 29th October, 1640, and was present on a like occasion on 9th November. He seems to have attended pretty frequently the ordinary sittings of the House before "the rising of the Irish in 1641." Further particulars of this unhappy time and his fate, are dealt with in a special chapter hereafter.

The estates of Connor,* Lord Maguire, were confiscated for his treason and the title legally became extinct, but it was assumed by his son, also Connor (third lord), and by his son Hugh (fourth lord). Lord Belmore is my authority for stating that both these lords must have died between 1689 and 1698. Hugh

* Stated to be 6,000 acres, in addition to mensal duties, out of five ballybetaghs.

was succeeded by his son, Connor (fifth lord), who died without issue in 1750, being succeeded in the title by his younger brother, Lawrence (sixth lord), who also died without issue, when this branch of the family became extinct. The title then went to Alexander Maguire, seventh lord, who had been a captain in Col. Buckley's regiment of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. He also died unmarried and without issue in Pau, about February, 1801, when all the descendants of Sir Bryan Maguire, first Baron of Enniskillen, became extinct.

But though the title passed away, a good portion of the family estates remained, and Constantine Maguire, the next legal representative, retained the land, and lived at Tempo, Co. Fermanagh, in the ancestral house, where he was locally known as Captain Maguire. He was described by Sir Bernard Burke as a gentleman of refined education and polished manners, and some letters of his to the *Impartial Reporter* of the period show that he was a man of considerable ability. A man named John Rutledge, an Orangeman, was charged with shooting at him and was tried for the offence. Rutledge admitted that he took aim at Captain Maguire, but did not fire; others said that he did fire; but although Captain Maguire was not hit, such was the state of the law at the time that Rutledge was sentenced to death and was hanged at Enniskillen gaol on the 2nd April, 1829.

This Constantine Maguire* was the last of his

* An entry in the Enniskillen Vestry Book shows that Robert Maguire once owned the Tempo estate. He was the second son of Bryan More Maguire, son of Colonel Cuconaght, grandson of Bryan of the 1641 rebellion, the commanding officer of King James' 43rd regiment, who was killed at the battle of Aughrim on the 23rd July, 1691. Bryan's fourth son was Philip, whose son was Hugh of Tempo, High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1780 (and therefore a member of the Established Church). It was his son Constantine who sold the Tempo estate, and was subsequently murdered in Tipperary.

race who resided in the ancestral house at Tempo. He sold the place to a Mr. Kyle, a merchant who resold to Sir James Emerson-Tennant, Bart., a successful merchant of Belfast, who rebuilt Tempo Manor; and Captain Maguire went to County Tipperary to live, at Toureen Lodge, near Cahir, where when walking on Saturday, 1st November, 1834, on the lawn adjoining the high road in front of his house, a few minutes after being in company with a lady of his family, he was shot dead through the heart. His head was found to be battered to pieces. Two men were seen running away, and notwithstanding the offer of a large reward the murderers were never discovered. It was believed that Mr. Maguire had become mixed up in an agrarian dispute.

Captain Bryan B. Maguire, his younger brother, was the next inheritor of what remained of the estates. His life, as told by Sir Bernard Burke, reads like a romance, through his passion for duelling. He became entangled in a Chancery suit for his wife's fortune; it did not succeed, and he became greatly reduced in circumstances until he was reduced to begging loans out of sheer poverty, "loans" which no one expected him to repay, such was his condition. When the news of the assassination of his elder brother was communicated to Captain Bryan, writes Sir Bernard Burke, Bryan Maguire, the once dashing officer and dare-devil, the chief of the proud lords of Fermanagh, was found in a large old-fashioned waste-house at Clontarf Sheds, denuded of every comfort. On the floor was a mattress of the poorest description, on which he lay, with hardly any covering, day and night, for his wearing apparel was in pawn; his old gun and a brace of rusty pistols, last remnant of

former days, hung over the chimney-piece, and the embalmed body of his eldest son still rested in a shell in the corner. His second and only remaining child, Charles Maguire, a fine strong enduring boy of 14 years of age, a mere drudge and servant of all work to his father, was his sole companion. In the next year, 1835, Captain Maguire was ejected from this, his last asylum, at the instance of one who had in better times professed himself his friend. The unfortunate man did not long survive his eviction, but died a few months after, somewhere about Finglas, and not a stone marks where he sleeps in death. Charles Maguire, his last surviving son, remained with him to the last, and then went on board a merchant vessel as a common sailor.

The last sentence of Sir Bernard Burke's narrative is that "he was never heard of more." But this was incorrect, and what followed reads like a romance.

Charles Maguire went to Australia, and after the lapse of many years was traced respecting the inheritance of the little that remained of the ancient estate. His son, Hugh Maguire, was informed of his patrimony, and he came to this country from Australia, in 1907. Settling down at Tempo, he claimed the title of Maguire. He resided in Tempo village, but, losing his mind, he died in 1915 in a lunatic asylum. Hugh's brother Philip then claimed the property, and he also lost his mind; and whatever remains of the ancient Maguire estate is now in Chancery.

CHAPTER X.

1641 AND LORD MAGUIRE.

One of the terrible tragedies that left their mark on Irish life, in the murder of thousands of hapless victims, left Inniskillen scatheless. The mention of 1641 still sends a shudder through those who read of or listen to its barbarous details: how much more so was its influence felt in Inniskillen when, though the town itself was saved from the destruction which was marked out for it and surged round the island settlement, its horrors occurred so close as Lisgoole, as Tully Castle and Irvinestown, so that while Inniskillen itself was saved yet it partook of the horrors of that fearful time.

The Irish chieftains finding themselves persecuted on account of their religion, harassed on account of their race, and deprived of their estates, and fearful of still further persecutions, and of more convictions, thought the time had arrived when in their own defence they must recover control of the country and obtain security for the future or drive British rule out of the country. They also hoped that the Scotch Presbyterians, who had somewhat successfully

A.11.

EXAMINATION TAKEN AT THE RACK, A.D. 1641-2.

Trinity College, Dublin.

First page of report of examination of Hugh Mac Mahon, with autograph of Sir Francis Willoughby, Governor of Dublin Castle, by whom it was signed.

Howe ma: mahorne
his examination, the 22^d
of march 1641

taken at the rack.

He sayth, that Sir phelim oncale, the lords maguire, and phillips ma: Hewe O Realye, wer the firsts Complottores, and Contriveres, of the late Rebellioun in Irelande.

He further sayth that the sayde Sir phelmie the sayde lords maguire, and the sayde phillips ma: Hewe O Realye, did tell him this Examinante; that all the parties whos wer parlamente men, att the sessions of parlamente, howden aboute maye laste that wer papistes, did knowe of the Intended Rebellioun, in Irelande; and did approve of the sayde Rebellioun.

He further sayth, that phillips ma: Hewe O Realye, and Col: ear: Malone did tell to this examinant aboute maye laste att Dublin that the Committee, or agentes whos wer Employed into Inglande by the parlamente, would procure an order, or Commissione from the Kinge; to authorise the poor papistes of Irelande, to prosceide, in ther Rebellioun courses, and that the sayde phillips ma: Hewe O Realye, did also tel him the same againe, in October laste, in the countie of Monahone, a little before the 23 of October, att which time this examinate came to this towne.

Fr. Willoughby.

Face page 96]

Howe ma. mahone
his examination, 7. 22.
of march 1641

He sayth, ^{4. 5.} phillips onely, & lord mag
wre, & phillips ma. thos O'Reilly, were
the first complottors, and contrabors, of the
late Rebellion in Ireland.

He further sayth, ^{4. 5.} phillips
said to magwre, and ^{4. 5.} lord phillips
ma. thos O'Reilly, did tell him this
examinant, ^{4. 5.} all the parties who were
parliamentary, were at the same time
parliamentary, had been a while more
to the papists, did know of the intended
Rebellion in Ireland; and did approve
of the said Rebellion.

He further sayth, ^{4. 5.} phillips
ma. thos O'Reilly, and ^{4. 5.} lord magwre
said to the said ^{4. 5.} phillips
ma. thos O'Reilly, ^{4. 5.} all the parties who were
parliamentary, were at the same time
parliamentary, had been a while more
to the papists, did know of the intended
Rebellion in Ireland; and did approve
of the said Rebellion.

H. M. Mahone

combated Charles I., would come to their aid; but there was one great difference between the Scotch and the Irish—altogether apart from the matter of religion, the former were united, the latter were not.

There were four parties in Ireland: there were the ancient Celtic Irish, who insisted on complete separation from England; the English Catholics of the Pale, and elsewhere, who were Roman Catholics, like the Irish, but only demanded liberty for the exercise of their religion and their actions: the Puritan Party, including the Scots of Ulster, under General Munro, who favoured the Parliament against the King: and the small Protestant English Party who held Dublin and the district known as the Pale. The Catholics had nothing to hope for from the Parliament; and as to the King, they had received from him a promise of the restoration to their properties of some who had been stripped of their estates during the previous 60 years, and did not like to rise against him.

But events pressed matters. The real rulers of Ireland at this time were the Lords Justices—Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, who were rather in favour of the Parliament and against the King, and they were execrated by all classes. It had been openly declared in the House of Commons by Sir John Clotworthy that "the conversion of the Papists was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other." Others said that there would not be a priest left in Ireland, and Sir Wm. Parsons, one of the Lord Justices, was reported to have said that in a "twelvemonth not a Catholic would be left in the country [Ireland]," which was

exaggerated into a threat of a massacre. Parsons and Borlace frustrated the promise of the King to restore the estates seized during the previous sixty years by proroguing Parliament. Irritated and suffering under repeated exactions and insults, Lords Ormond and Antrim, who had sought the assistance of the King for the Irish, counselled delay till after the meeting of Irish Parliament in November, when they hoped to announce the concessions of the King as to religion and the restoration of some of the dispossessed owners, but the native Irish would not wait.

Mr. Roger [Rory] O'Moore of Leix, a man of high character, had associated with him several of the Irish chieftains, notably Sir Phelim O'Neill of Tyrone, Turlogh O'Neill, his brother; Connor, second baron of Inniskillen, with his brother Rory* Maguire, an inhuman monster, O'Reilly, Magennis, and Hugh Oge MacMahon of County Monaghan.

There was the usual hope of help from Spain, from France and the Netherlands. Owen Roe O'Neill, who had risen to high place in the service of Spain, was sent for to lead the insurgent army; and he urged that a rising take place and that he would procure French help from the great minister who controlled the destinies of France, Cardinal Richelieu.

The day fixed for the insurrection was the 23rd day of October, 1641, when the Castle of Dublin was to be seized by 220 men, its arms and

* The Very Rev. Professor M'Caffery, of Maynooth, in a lecture on this subject described Lord Maguire and his brother Rory as the "very heart and soul of the conspiracy that was arranged in 1640, and which ended in the rising of 1641." Professor M'Caffery described Rory in this lecture as the "gallant brother" of Connor Maguire. We shall see how "gallant" he was in what is to follow.

ammunition utilized for the insurgent army, and several fortresses were to be captured.

But as in many cases in Irish history the unexpected happened.

Captain Wm. Cole of Inniskillen, who had in this year of grace become Sir William Cole, had a fortunate deliverance from a plot against himself, and sent a messenger to apprise the authorities in Dublin Castle of the intended outbreak. Whether the messenger was waylaid on his errand, is not fully known, for it is said that the Lords Justices and Council did not learn of the plot until the day before, October 22.

What occurred to Sir William Cole was related by Mr. Johnston, who was a descendant of Mr. John Johnston of Drumkeen and Ederney, who was in Crevinish Castle at the time. Captain Rory Maguire, who had married Mrs. Deborah (widow of Sir Leonard) Blennerhassett, had fortified Crevinish Castle in 1641, and invited a number of the leading gentlemen of the County Fermanagh to dinner, including Sir William Cole, intending to seize them as hostages for the cession of Inniskillen. But among those present was Mr. Bryan Maguire* of Tempo and he informed Sir William Cole of the intended seizure or massacre, and Sir William hastily made his exit. There is also a story that Sir William Cole had whispered in his ear an instruction by a man named Coughlin that his horse would be ready for

* Bryan was of the Tempo (the senior) branch of the Maguires, and was favourably inclined to the English, according to John Cormick's evidence at the State Trial; and he remained in undisturbed possession of the Tempo estates till his death in 1655, when they passed in succession to his grandson Cuconnaght, at that time seven years of age. It was this Cuconnaght who mortgaged the Tempo estate (though warned that he was ruining it) to raise the regiment for King James II. of which he became colonel, and he died fighting at the battle of Aughrim on the 23rd July, 1691. He had been King James's Deputy Lieutenant in County Fermanagh in 1688.

him in a few minutes, which was a sufficient warning in those days to put a man on his guard. Anyhow, Sir William Cole learned of the intended rising and made his escape to Enniskillen; while the rest of the gentry, alarmed at Sir William's absence, became uneasy, rose, and made their escape.

The story also was that Rory Maguire was so much enraged at what occurred that he struck his servant man with the key of the cellar, and the man servant complained to the mistress of the household, who in the confusion managed to secret Johnston in a matted conveyance used for carrying billet-wood, and was left till night on Sarnier Hill, from whence he made his escape to Enniskillen.

That Bryan Maguire did inform Sir William Cole of the intended rising is proved by the deposition of Bryan Maguire himself, as preserved in the Trinity College collection, as follows:—

The examination of Bryan M^cGuire taken the xiii day of June, 1643, before us, S^r Gerald Lowther, K^t., Chiefe Justice of his Mat^{'s} Chiefe Place, and Sir Robert Meredith, K^t., Chancellor of his Mat^{'s} Court of Exchequer, and two of his Mat^{'s} Justices of the Peace for the Countie of Dublin.

Who, being sworne and examined, saith that y^e 10 of October, 1641, hee this exam^t understood by a fryer called ffarrell oge M^cAwarde, that there was a generall purpose and resolution amongst the Papists and inhabitants of the Kingdom to take up armes wthin a fortnight after, and then to seize on all the strongholds throughout the Kingdom, w^{ch} they purposed to reteyne untill they might procure for themselves libertie of Conscience and free exercise of the Romish Religion; unto w^{ch} Report this exam^t gave then more credit, in regard he had observed the unusuall and frequent meeting between Lord M^cGuire, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill, K^t., Tulagh Oge M^cMichle, Oge O'Hosie, and others of the chiefe of the Countrie and their followers: whereupon hee this exam^t made known the said discoverie unto Sir William Cole, K^t.

And this exam^t further saith, that soon after the Lord

M^cGwire going unto Dublin, there to perform his part of the worke, Rorie M^cGwire, Brother unto the said Lord, went from the Castle of Crevenish, in the countie of ffermanagh over Lough Herne, and there hee moved and stirred upp unto Rebellion the Hosies, the ffanagans, and other Septs of the Irish inhabiting that side of the Lough, of whom hee took a oath that they should rise in Rebellion with him; and directed the said Septs to beg to fall upon the spoile and pilladge the British as soon as they saw the Towne of Lisnarick on fire; w^{ch} accordingly being set on fire on the xxiiith day of October, 1641, by the said Rorie M^cGwyre, the said septs pillaged the Brittish, and in particular the Lord Hastings' house, called Lisgold.

And this exam^t saith, upon the same day Richard Nugent, who married the Lady Dowager of Inniskillen, Patrick — M^cCaffrey and Phelim — M^cCafferie, by the appointment of the said Rorie, tooke possession of Mr. Hugh Dairs his house and Town in the said countie of ffermanagh, called Archdalestowne, and pillaged the said house & Towne, and afterwards placed a ward therein. And the exam^t further saith, that amongst other the cruelties and murthers committed by the said Rorie M^cGuire and the Septs of the Irish in the said Countie of ffermanagh about Christmas, 1641, the said Rorie, haveing given quarter unto many of the Brittish who held the Castle of Tully, belonging unto S^r George Humes, after the Quarter soe given, hee, the said Rorie, and his followers, first stripped, and then murdered, man, woman, and child of them that came out of the Castle upon assurance of Quarter.

And this exam^t further saith, that about this time twelvemonth hee received a letter from one O'Relie, Titular Archpp of Armagh, whereby hee the exam^t was directed to repaire unto the said Archpp, there to take an oath of confederation sent from the Generall Assemblie or Council of the Rebels at Kilkenny. But this exam^t not appeareing according [to] those directions, soon after the said Rorie M^cGwyre came unto him this exam^t, and acquainted him that hee himself had brought the said oath from Kilkenny, and that the whole Kingdom was to joine therein. And in case any should refuse to take the same, the partie soe refusing was to be despoiled of his Estate and suffer Death. And that for the execution thereof there was a running Army appointed and raised.

But this exam^t being not satisfied with the contents of the said oath, desired tyme for three or foure days to resolve himselfe the better. In w^{ch} tyme hee this exam^t quitt his

owne habitation, and went unto S^r William Cole, wth whom hee hath since remayned. And this examinant further saith, that a true Coppie of the said Oath, to the best of his memorie, is conteyned in a paper now attested under the exam^ts hand. and delivered by him unto S^r Gerald Lowther and Sir Robert Meredyth, K^{ts}., and now annexed unto this his Examination. And lastly, this exam^t saith, that dureing the present Rebellion he received severall Letters from Owen Roe O'Neale, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neale, K^t., Philip Oge O'Relie, and Hugh Connor, [blank in original] him this exam^t to joyne confederacie and Rebellion wth them, w^{ch} hee ever refused to do, and would never answere any of their letters, but upon the receipt thereof delivered the same unto S^r William Cole, K^t., in whose possession they now are.

"Copia Vera.

"Nich Connor."

Endorsed—

"The examination of Bryan Maguire, Esq., taken the xiii day of June, 1643, before us, Sir Gerald Lowther, K^t., Chief Justice of his Mat^s Chief Pleas, and S^r Robert Merdith, K^t., Chancellor of his Mat^s Court of Exchequer, and two of his Mat^s Justices of Peace for the county of Dublin.

Endorsed—

"Copie of Brian M^cGwire, his examination taken the xiii of this June, 1643."

It is certain that Sir William Cole had early information of the rising, and that while he took measures for the protection of his own town he dispatched a messenger to Dublin to apprise the authorities of the danger ahead. Nor was that the only information which the Government received.

On the night before the intended outbreak Owen MacMahon, when in a drunken state, betrayed the secret to Owen Connolly, a Protestant servant of Sir John Clotworthy. Sir William Parsons was quickly informed, the bridge of the castle was drawn up, the portcullis let down, the gates of Dublin were closed, a search was made for the conspirators, some of whom got timely warning and escaped, but Lord Maguire and M'Mahon were secured, along with other

conspirators, at the Globe Tavern, "over against the Castle Gate." These two Ulster leaders were imprisoned in Dublin Castle for about six months, and were then placed in irons and sent to London in charge of Captain Cosby of the parish of Cavan.

It seems as if Maguire had received warning of his danger in the street, and that he returned to his lodgings, for a tailor named Kinsella was examined on the 2nd of November concerning the matter and he deposed that having learned that the Lord Maguire had been inquiring for him, he went to "the cock-loft and hee espyed his lordship lying upon a bedd with an old caddoo [woollen rug or horse cover] rapped about him and discerned him by his haire."

Whereupon, his Lordshipp wished him to sitt him downe by him upon a chest by the bedd-side, and to put on his hatt, and told him that his life and goodes and all that hee had was in this examinant's hands, and desired him, if possible he could, to convey him secretly out of that howse. And the examinant answered that he could not. Hee told this examinant that there was a place in St. Owen's Arch (*sic*) where, if he were conveyed, he might be kept secretly. Whereunto hee answered, that hee could not convey him thither. The Lord Maguire replied, that hee thought if he were disguised in Women's apparell, hee might bee conveyed thither. And this examinant told his Lordshipp that hee thought if he were so disguised hee might bee conveyed some better way, which was to goe on the other side of the streete, about five or six of the Clock at night, and soe bee conveyed by Colmau's Brooke.

And thereupon his Lrdshipp wished him this examinant to walk abroad and heare what newes there was. Soe this examinant departed, and locked the doore. And before this examinant could return back again, he mett his Lordshipp, apprehended by ye sheriffs, cominge through Fishamble street towards the Castle.

There is therefore a probability that if Lord Maguire had made his escape as early as the Leinster leaders, before the gates of Dublin were closed, he

might have got safely away. Borlase tells us that "MacGuire was the one principally designed for the surprisal of the Castle of Dublin, and the securing and murdering of the Lords Justices and Council, for which intent he came purposely the day before to Dublin." The design was not a difficult one to accomplish, as only one old man kept the gate, so that 80 armed men might have surprised and taken the Castle. Two hundred men were "appointed for the job," but only 80 of the 200 men turned up. These men were ready for the attack, but became apprehensive lest so small a party should be shut up in the Castle if they succeeded in taking it, for want of succour from their friends in the country. Therefore, they parted on that night to meet the next morning, and it was then too late: the opportunity was lost.

Maguire and MacMahon were imprisoned in Newgate, London, on the 18th June, where, it is said, they had one bed between them. Three months after being lodged in Newgate to the very day, on the 18th August, the prisoners effected their escape, and were hidden in a house in Drury Lane for some time until the 20th October, when they were detected, and lodged in the Tower.

Maguire was not brought to trial until the 10th February, 1644, when he, in the King's Bench, had to answer the charge that he had made

an attempt to deprive and disinherit the King's Majesty of his Royal Estate and the Kingdom of Ireland—to levy open, bloody, and fierce war against the King in that Kingdom, to change and alter the Government in that Kingdom, and the religion therein established and totally subvert the well-ordered state of the common wealth, &c.

The full details of the trial are given in the reports of the State Trials. It is surprising to see the length of the report. Maguire pleaded that as a Baron of Ireland he should be tried by his Peers in Ireland, and this good point was overruled by Mr. Justice Bacon, who held that a Baron of Ireland could be tried by a common jury in England. The House of Commons was of the same opinion and urged on the trial, which lasted for several days. Maguire throughout conducted himself with dignity, and showed ability in his defence. He admitted that he was privy to and party to the plot to seize the Castle of Dublin, but denied that there was any intention to murder the Protestants. He was finally convicted, and judgment was pronounced upon him in the following words:—

Connor Maguire, you are found guilty of the treason whereof you are indicted. Your judgment is that you shall be carried thence to the place whence you came, that is the Tower, and from thence to Tyburn, the place of execution; and there you shall be hanged by the neck, and cut down alive, your bowels taken out, and burned before your face; your head to be cut off; your body to be divided into four quarters, and the head of your body to be set up and disposed of as the State shall appoint, and may the Lord have mercy on your Soul.

All of which may seem to be barbarous to us now-a-days, but it was the manner of the time. Maguire asked to be remitted to Newgate, in order that he might see a minister of his own religion, but the request was refused. His old schoolfellow and friend, Sir John Clotworthy, interested himself on Maguire's behalf, and a petition was presented to Parliament in London asking for a mitigation of the severity of the sentence. But in vain, and after the

manner of the time the Lord of Inniskillen was borne on a sledge-car from his prison in the Tower to Tyburn on Thursday the 20th February, 1644.

Maguire's first act on reaching the scaffold was to pray. The dignity into which he comported himself at this trying moment is well illustrated with the dialogue between himself and Sheriff Gibbs, when the latter wished him to confess to the shedding of innocent Protestant blood by being privy to a conspiracy to murder the Protestants. The matter is thus reported, omitting some trivialities:—

Gibbs—Did you believe you did well in those wicked actions?

Maguire—I have but short time. Do not trouble me.

Gibbs—Sir, it is but just I should trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever.

Maguire—I beseech you, sir, trouble me not; I have but a short time to spend.

Gibbs—I shall give you as much time after as you shall spend to give satisfaction to the people. I, as an instrument set here in God's stead, require you to make acknowledgment to the people whether you are sorry for what you have done or no; whether it be good or no.

Maguire—I beseech you not to trouble me.

They continued to worry the unfortunate man, after the manner of the time, regarding his apprehended share in the plot to murder the Protestants, which he all along denied—

Dr. Sibbald—Give glory to God, that your soul be not presented to God with the blood of so many thousand people.

Gibbs—You are either to go to heaven or hell. If you make not an ingenious confession your case is desperate. Had you any commission, or no?

Maguire—I tell you that there was no commission that I ever saw.

Gills—Who were actors or plotters with you; or who gave you any commission?

Maguire—For God's sake, give me leave to depart in peace.

This last question referred to a point which was put in plain words that Maguire had authority or a pardon from the Pope for what he had done, and he answered—"I saw none of it. I beseech you to let me depart in peace."

They kept worrying Maguire to abjure his religion, also after the manner of the time, as the Romanist friars did to Protestant martyrs, until Maguire got his opportunity of making a statement, which he read from a paper in his hand—

Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a good Christian; that is, asking forgiveness first of God, and next of the world. And I do forgive from the bottom of my heart all my enemies and offenders, even those that have a hand in my death. I die a Roman Catholic; and although I have been a great sinner, yet I am now by God's grace heartily sorry for all my sins; and I do most confidently trust to be saved, not by my own works, but only by the passion, merits, and mercy of my dear Saviour Jesus Christ, into whose hands I commend my soul.

Any Protestant might have uttered these words, in a like case. Even then Maguire was tortured with more questions to abjure his religion; but he steadily refused, called on all Catholics to pray for him, and laid his head on the block. And so passed away Connor, Second Baron of Inniskillen.*

* The Rev. James M'Kenna, M.R.I.A., says that Lord Maguire "was then murdered." Clearly, he was not murdered but paid the penalty which as a brave man he knew he would incur, for the offence to which he pleaded guilty, of complicity in the plot to seize Dublin Castle. And the penalty was the common penalty of the time for treason. Hanging for the theft of a sheep existed within living memory.

NOTE.—Line 18, page 99. The representatives of Deborah Blennerhassett, Lillias Squire and James Irvine, sold Crevinish Castle and grounds to Mr. George Vaughan, of Buncranagh, County Donegal, the founder of the Vaughan Charity, in 1740.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MASSACRE OF 1641.

With the general details of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and its blood-curdling butcheries and memories we have nothing to do here, but we have to do with its manifestations around Enniskillen. The town itself, owing to the information which Sir Wm. Cole had received at Crevenish Castle, was saved from the horrors of that time; but they came close to the town; and Captain Rory Maguire, the brother of Lord Maguire, was an active participator in the deeds until he died sometime afterwards at Carrick-Drumbrusk [Jamestown], County Leitrim. It was estimated that 80,000 Protestants lost their lives in this effort to exterminate the British, but this number may be an exaggeration, and 20,000 would be nearer the mark.

The library at Trinity College, Dublin, contains the original depositions of survivors of the rebellion and anyone can for himself read there of what occurred, as sworn to on oath by the deponents, and see the signature of the Fermanagh Magistrates of the time. From those depositions we extract the information given here.

Captain Roger Atkinson of Castle Atkinson [modern Castlecoole] deposed that on the 23rd day of October, 1641, he was constrained to depart from it, whereby with the loss of "castle, houses, and plantinge, and closing of his gardens and groundes:" the loss of cattle, "house-hould stuffe," goods, and rents he suffered to the extent of £2,918 11s 6d.

Captain Rory "Magwier" had a hand in this plunder, along with other Maguires; and they proceeded to "the Castle" at Lisgoole, at that time in the possession of Lord Hastings, which was set on fire

so that many Protestantes seeking to essaye out of the said castle were burnt, and cruelly murdered.

Mrs. Alice Champion of Shannock, Clones, deposed that she heard the "rebells" boast that they did "burne the said castle, and of Scotch and Englishmen, women and children the number of nyntie persons or thereabouts."

And that after one of the said women, who leaped out of a window to save herself from being so burned, was cruelly murdered and killed by them, and the next morning they finding a young chyld of his [!] lying suckling the dead mother's breast, they killed the said child. And when the said house was so burning, the said rebells said among themselves rejoycingly, Oh, how sweetly doe they fry! She heard them alsoe say that they had killed so many Englishmen that the grease or fatt that thereby remained upon their swordes or speares might have made an Irish candle.

In the chapter on the same subject in later pages will be found a reference to how Irvinestown suffered during the Rebellion. John Cormick, who gave evidence at the trial of Lord Maguire, deposed that Captain Rory Maguire went to what I judge to

be Lissenskeagh [Ballybalfour], and hanged one Eleazar M., whom I conclude to be Eleazar Middleton, perhaps a relative of Geoffrey Middleton, first Master of the Royal School. He compelled Middleton to hear Mass, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his wife, and children to be hanged up: and hanged 100 persons at least in that town. Captain Rory then went to Newtown, four miles off, took the town and stripped and disarmed all the Protestants that were in the church; and the next day marched away, "killing and destroying" most of the English in those parts.

What this blood-thirsty Rory did "in those parts" is in part related by Mrs. Champion, who tells of the murder of her husband in her deposition, part of which I produce here:—

Presently after, upon the 29th October, one Captain Rori MacGuire took upon him the managing of all businesses in his absence; he fortified first the Castle *Hasen*,* the house wherein he dwelt himself; he took in the castle of one *Edward Aldrith*, Esq.; he put out all the *English* there; he went to the town, burnt that, but killed none of the men; went thence to another place, and hanged one *Eleazar Middleton*, one that was Clerk of the peace of the county; and from thence he went to Newtown, four miles off from it, took in the town, stript and disarmed all the Protestants that were in the church; the next day after marched away, and killed and destroyed most of the *English* in those parts; murdered Arthur Champin, Esq.; and many more.

The following information respecting Arthur Champion's death is extracted from the Fermanagh Volume of the Depositions of 1641, in Trinity College Library, page 25, No. 31.

Alice Champin the late wife of Arthur Champin late of

* Castle Hassen was Castle Hassett, the modern Crevinish Castle near Kesh, now in ruins. The name Aldrith apparently means Archdale.

Shanoge in the county of Fermanagh, esq., being duly sworn deposeth and sayth that the 20th day of October, 1641, her said late husband was assaulted and cruelly murdered before his owne gate at Shanoge aforesaid, by the Maguires and others theire adherents, whereof she well remembreth that there were present at the same murdering of him, Don Carrage Maguire of (blank) in the countie of Fermanagh, gent., Edmond Carragh Maguire of Annaghhard in the said county, gen., Redmond Macowen Maguire of (blank) in the said countie, gent., and Patrick Oge Macrosse Maguire of Borfadda in the said countie, gent., and others to the number of 100 persons or thereabouts, and that they murdered and killed also with him the said Arthur Champin six others at Shonoge aforesaid, as, namely, Thomas Champin, Thomas Iremonger, Humphrey Littlebury, and Christopher Linis, gent., John Morrice, and Hugh Williams, yeomen. And that afterwards they killed and murdered thereabouts about the number of xxiv. Englishmen more.

And she hath heard the said Rebels say, that they were severally commanded and directed by the Lord Maguire (now in the Castle of Dublin), that they should not spare the said Arthur Champin her husband, but murder and kill him, and the two * that were his followers and tenantry: and sayth that after they had kild him the said Arthur Champyn they murdered and killed Henry Crosse, and did hang viz., Joseph Crosse, as they were demanded by the said Lord Maguire. And that afterwards they forcibly entered the said Castle of Shanoge,† and upon all ‡ the goods and chattles, jeweles, money, plate, household stuff, stock of cattle, corne, manor and lande aforesaid within the county of Fermanagh aforesaid. And immediately after they had so entered the said Castle, they burned it downe to the ground. Also they burned the Castle of Coole alias Castle Atkinson, which said Castle and buildings are valued at one thousand six hundred pounds.

Mrs. Champion also testified that she heard that "at the towne of Belturbett, in the county of Cavan, the said rebels had drowned of English women and children the number of 30 persons or thereabouts."

Sir John Temple says that 100 British were slain at the Castle of Monea. Mr. Thomas Winsloe (son

* ‡ An unintelligible abbreviation.
† Shannock, near Clones.

of Guy Winslow), of Derrivore,* stated that he had been taken prisoner by James Maguire, gent., and Cahill Maguire, gent., brothers, of Knockninney, and others, and that, after they had ransacked his house, &c., they forced him to stay amongst them, and do them, as he did, some unwilling service for about a month altogether. They took him first to Lisgoole, which 2,400 Irish burned, where they killed 80 men, women and children. From Lisgoole they took him to the Castle of Monyegh [Monea], "when and where the said rebels slew and murdered eight more Protestants."

From Monea the rebels under this "gallant" ruffian, Rory, proceeded to Tully Castle on the 24th December at the head of 800 men; and having promised the Ladies Hume and their household and all in the Castle their lives and safe conduct to Monea or Iniskillen if the Castle were yielded up, this promise was confirmed upon oath and in writing, and Rory Maguire accordingly obtained admission. The Protestants were then stripped of their clothes

* Barony of Knocknianny. Guy Winslow became a freeholder on the original Aghalane estate circa 1610, and obtained the 520 acres of Derryvore from Capt. Thomas Creaton [Creighton]. He also purchased the lands of Derryree and Geaglum, which had been sold by Captain T. Creighton to Sir S. Butler. Guy Winslow was succeeded by his son Thomas, who made the deposition here referred to. This Thomas Winslow purchased from John Wardell and Elizabeth his wife the freehold lands of Cloughan, Cornahoule, and Ferryglass in the manor of Dresternan. He died between 1684 and the time of the Revolution, and left two sons, Thomas (the younger), and Charles, the elder of whom succeeded his father, and it was this Thomas Winslow who was attainted by King James's Parliament. He was succeeded by John Winslow, who died in 1725, possessor of a large property. He left three children, Daniel, eldest son and heir, Elizabeth, and Blayne, a Christian name ever since perpetuated in the family.

Daniel Winslow succeeded to the Derryvore estate in 1725, and he left three children, the eldest of whom, Charles, succeeded him in 1765 in a property which continued to grow; John, and Daniel who built the mansion house at Dresternan in 1779-80, died in 1825. Charles Winslow, who died in 1801, had two children, Daniel, his heir, and Blayne (a lieutenant in the Fermanagh Militia), who succeeded to the estate of Mount Prospect, Derrylin, on the death of his father. This Blayne Winslow had a son Blayne, junior, born in 1804, and left a son Blayne Thomas Winslow, J.P., who as Major in the Fermanagh Regiment of Militia and 3rd Royal Inniskillings, was well known locally. His eldest son, Wm. Gresson, is now resident at Mount Prospect; and his second son, Blayne Leslie Winslow, is a solicitor practising in Enniskillen.

*S^r Phellom O
Cheife Traytor* *neale
of all Ireland*



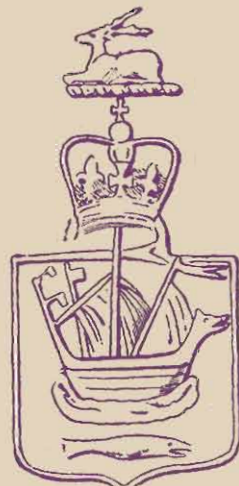
SIR PHELM. O'NEILL.

(From an Engraving at Ardrie.)

He was hanged in February, 1653, for his share in the Massacre. He admitted before he leaped off the ladder that he never had any commission from the King to prosecute the war, as he had pretended.



TULLY CASTLE (looking towards Lough Erne).



The Maguire Arms.

and imprisoned in the cellar; and next day, Christmas day, they were led forth--as if to be sent to Iniskillen, and the rebels "did most cruelly, bloodily, and barbarously murder"* 15 Protestant men and three score women and children, some of whose names are given in the following deposition by Captain Patrick Hume:--

FFERMANAGH.

The Examinacon of Captaine Pattr^r Hume taken upon oath at Iniskillen, in the County of ffermanagh, the first day of Aprill, 1654, before Will^m Hamilton, Lieuten^t Jo: Closslin, Will^m Hamilton, John Cormick, Rob^t Browning, Commissioners thereunto authorised by Vertue of a commission of the nynth day of March, 1653, signed by the Honor^{ble} S^r Gerard Lowther, K^t Lord President of the high Courte of Justice, erected at Dublin, and to the said Court, or any two or more of y^m directed.

The examinant uppon his oath sayeth that uppon the 24 day of December, 1641, Rowry M^c Gwire, brother of the Lo: M^c Gwire being on the head of a company of Rebels to the number of eight hundred p^{sons} or thereabout in armies, did march in hostile manner to to the Castle of Tully, where, having sumoned the Ladie Humes, Alexander Hume, John Greene, and this Examinant (who then did Labor to preserve the Lives of them and of many other Brittish p^{testants} w^{ch} by theire defending the same) to yield upp the said Castle unto their hands, the said sumoned, through dread and despair of their Lives, came to pli [parley] with the s^d Rowrie at Tully hill, the s^d day and yeare as there it was agreed uppon by [?] that the s^d La: Hume, John Greene, Esq., Examin^t and the rest of all the men, women, and children who were there with them in that Castle, should have quarter For their Lives and all theire goods with free liberty and safe conduct to go either to Monea or to Iniskillen, at their choice, provided the s^d Castle and Armes in the same should be yielded and rendered upp into the hands of the s^d Rowry M^c Gwire, all which was granted and promised yea upon Oathes, and confirmed by Writ by the s^d Rowry unto y^m. And thereupon the s^d Rowry did enter into the Castle the day and yeare before^d and received the Armes that were there. And after-

* The pronunciation of this word as spelt is still common among the peasantry.

wards the same day the s^d Rebels having stript the s^d protestants of all their cloathes (except the s^d Ladie Hume), they imprisoned them in the Vault or Cellar of the s^d Castle, where they kept them wth a strong guard on them all y^e night. And the then next day morning, being the Lord's Day, and the 25th of December, 1641, they took the s^d Lady Hume, Alex^r Hume Jo: Greer, this examn^t, with their wives and children from amongst the rest of the s^d prisoners forth of the s^d Castle, and placed them in the barne of one John Goodfellow, at Tully afores^d, with [-in a] stone's cast from the Castle, putting them in hopes that they would convey them to the Castle of Monea* upon horses which they had provided for them; but as for the rest that were left there behind them in the Castle at Tully, the s^d Rebels tould those in the barne that they should goe on foot after them to Monea aforesaid.

But immediately after, upon the said 25th day of December, 1641, at Tully Castle, within and about the Bawne and Vault of the same, in the Com of ffermanagh, the s^d Rebels did most cruelly, bloudily, and barbarously murder and kill the s^d protestants to the number of fifteen men and three score women and children or thereabouts: the names of these p^{sons} followeth, viz.;

Tho. Trotter,* ffrancis Trotter, Alex^r Chirmfild, Alex^r Bell, George Chirmside, Robt. Black, James Barry, Thos. Anderson, James Anderson, and many others, both men and women and children, whose names this examn^t at this tyme doth not remember. The Actors of which massacre and murthers this examn^t saith for the most p^{te} are since that tyme dead or slaine, as he heard; and as for such of them as surviveth them this examn^t remembers not their names; and this examn^t further saith that after the s^d Rebels did plunder and pillage the good that were within that Castle, they did burne the s^d Castle the day and yeere before^d. And further this Exam^t deposeth not

any thing on [acc]

PA HUME.

Taken before us the
first of Aprill, 1654.

WILL^m HAMILTONE.
ROBT. BROWNING.

JOHN CORMICKE.
EDWD. BARRINGTON.

*The Trotter family still remain near Derrygonnelly.

+In 1704 William Hamilton, eldest son of Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor of Inniskillen, conveyed to Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly and Robert King of Lisneshall, Swords, the Manor of Castletown. King obtained the Castletown portion of the estate, with the house and customs, fairs and markets, and his share descended through his daughter Mary to Wm. Smith of Drumcree, Co.

Following that deposition came the recognizance to compel Captain Patrick Hume to appear to prosecute, and it is interesting to note the language of the Commonwealth period in this matter. The "John Cormick,"* who signs as a magistrate, was thought to have been employed by by Sir William Cole in the Castle of Inniskillen, and the Rev. W. H. Dundas discovered that he came from Boho.†

COM FERMANAGH, page 1763.

Capten Pattrick Hume of Moyglasse, in the County of ffermanagh, doth acknowledge him to owe unto Thos. Bringhurst, Register of the saide Courte of Justice erected in Dublin for the use of the Commonwealth, the sum of fifty pounds ster., to be levied as his body goods and Cattels, Lands, Tenements, and hereditaments for the use of the Commonwealth afores^d upon condicon under written.

Elicted at Inniskillen the first day Aprill, 1654.

The condicon of this recognisance is such that if the above bounden Capten Pattr. Hume shall personally before the Lo. President and other the Judges in the said high Court of Justice, or any other Courte of Justice in Ireland (as by Sumons from the s^d Courte or Courtes shall be directed), [attend] to give Evidence on behalf of the Commonwealth according to his Examination dated with these presents taken, touching the murder or massacre comitted by the Rebels the 25 of December, 1641, upon Thomas Trotter and other protestants, at the Castle of Tully, in the County of Fermanagh,

Westmeath, who served as High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1736. This portion of the original Hamilton estate comprised 3,000 acres, including Rossenure, Ramelslogh [Randalsough], two Drumgorinlys, Derrymogh (Derrynaughter), Knockmore, Drumcorban, Lughans, Giltagh, and Shaull, with the customs of Monea fair. A change from the Smith to the Brien family took place by purchase about 1804. When Mr. John Dawson Brien died in 1881 the Castle-town estate passed to his sisters, and on the death of Mrs. Braddell, his grand-nephew, John Henry Loftus Reade, succeeded to the property. When this officer died during the world war in 1914 his sisters, the Misses Reade, came into possession.

* John Cormock is thought to have been the son of Cormick M'Cormick, who received a grant of land in Drumboy, Boho. He gave evidence in the trial of Lord Maguire in London—(see Chapter X)—and was appointed one of the Commissioners to take evidence of the massacre in 1653. He subsequently lived at Aughaherrish, and changed his name to Carmock, as if ashamed of the Celtic name, being a Protestant and Cromwellian. He left his estate in the parishes of Cleenish and Boho to his wife for life and to his nephew, William Cormock, or M'Carmick, who is known to posterity better as the writer of the *Impartial Account of the Inniskilling Men*, and a prominent actor in the doings of the men of Inniskilling during the Revolution. See later.

and shall not depart said Courte or Courtes without licence of the s^d ffu^d.

Taken and acknowledged
before us the first of April,
1654.

JOHN CORMICK.
EDWD. BARRINGTON.
ROBT. BROWNING.

Not far off at Dromore, County Tyrone, the Protestants were able to repel the attacks of the insurgents for a time, and the latter revenged themselves by burning the church and killing many of the inhabitants, which obliged the British to retire.

At Augher,* a garrison was placed in the castle by Colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyringham, and the garrison was able to repel all the attacks to take it by storm. This defeat so exasperated Sir Phelim O'Neill that in revenge he ordered his agent, MacDonnell, to massacre all the English Protestants in the three adjacent parishes.

The manner in which these Protestants were in some cases murdered outright and in other cases murdered by being stripped of their clothing and left to perish is told by Mrs. Dorothy Rampayne of Agharainey near Enniskillen. Her deposition is in No. 73 of the depositions in the Fermanagh Book in the Trinity College Library, and her deposition was made

* The castle, which was finally dismantled by order of Parliament, continued in a state of dilapidation and neglect till 1832, when it was restored, and a large mansion built adjoining it by Sir J. M. Richardson Bunbury Bart. One of the round towers of the old castle was restored and preserved. The castle is now owned and occupied by Mr. John Carmichael Ferrall, D.L.

The charter of Augher was granted in 1613 to incorporate the inhabitants under the style of "The Burgomaster, Free Burgesses and Commonalty of the Borough of Augher." It had the privilege of holding a civil court of record, with jurisdiction to the extent of five marks, and of returning two members to the Irish Parliament, which they continued to exercise till the Union, when John Marquess of Abercorn obtained £15,000 as compensation for the abolition of its franchise. Since that date no corporate officers have been appointed. The seneschal of the manor used to hold a court there every third Monday regularly for the recovery of debts to the amount of 40s, the jurisdiction of which extended into the parishes of Errigal-Keerogue, Errigal-Trough, Ballgawley, and Clogher; and a manorial court leet was held once a year.

in September 1643. This lady lived within the present demesne of Castlecoole, so that Rory Maguire carried his fire and sword from Lisgoole across the water to the other side of the Erne also close to Enniskillen. As to Castle Atkinson itself [the first castle of Castlecoole] it was plundered, and Captain Atkinson and his wife were "constrained to forsake and depart from Castle Atkinson for safeguard of his life," and was allowed, Lord Belmore says, by the very Bryan Maguire as "so abundantly inclined to the English" to go for safety with his wife to the town of Enniskillen. Mrs. Rampayne deposed *inter alia*:—

That at the beginning of the rebellion she and her husband were by fire and sword at Agharinagh, aforesaid, and near the same deprived and disposed of their goods and monies worth £1,730, by Rory Maguire, brother to the Lord of Enniskillen, and others of the Maguires, &c. About five days afterwards, her said husband, her brother, Humphrey Holloway, and Robert Wheeler, all Englishmen, were granted a pass by Bryan M'Coonagh McGuire* and Captain Rory Maguire, and being sent away with a of rebellious soldiers, to be carried out of the country within 24 hours after the date of the pass, upon pain of death, were, however, all murdered within the time limited for their pass, upon a wild mountain next Donagh† MaGuire's house, by the cruel and rebellious servants and soldiers of the said Donough Maguire—now Lord Maguire, who left their bodies unburied for beasts and fowl to feed on.

And this deponent and her four children, and a mayd called [] Holliwood, were stripped of all their clothes, and what else had they left, and turned away by the rebels in frost and snow upon a mountain eight or nine miles from their dwelling, in the place where her husband and the rest were murdered aforesaid. And when she came back again to Captain Atkinson's house and castle, where she and her husband had left some of their household goods, Bryan Cuconnagh Maguire had possessed himself of that house and

* Bryan Maguire, who informed Sir Wm. Cole beforehand of the insurrection.

† Lord Maguire's name was Connor

castle and of all the arms, provisions and goods therein. She was denied by his followers to come into the said castle at all, or to have any relief out of her own goods, but had to fly away.

And then she saw her said husband's gelding with and in the custody of the said Cuconnagh Maguire, at his own house at Tempedesse.* Also, she saw the said Bryan McCuconnagh Maguire, after he came in, to wear her husband's own cloak, which was left in Captain Atkinson's said castle. The said Bryan McCuconnagh Maguire is now in Dublin, and walking up and down the streets among the King's liege people, as if he had not robbed any of the English, nor been an actor in the late Rebellion at all.

Wright's History of Ireland states regarding this insurrection:—

The insurgents were at this time marching to Enniskillen, and their whole route was marked by a continued repetition of similar outrages. About a hundred and fifty men, women, and children had taken refuge in the castle of Lisgoole, apparently a mansion of no great magnitude or strength. The insurgents appear to have made no attempt to enter, but they collected waggon loads of straw, piled them up against the walls, and thus set fire to the building, and as the inmates attempted to make their escape, they thrust them back into the fire with their pikes and swords. They are said to have been in this instance encouraged in their work of slaughter by their priests; and they pursued it with so little remorse, that when they saw the whole in a blaze they were heard to shout joyfully, "O, how sweetly do they fry!" One woman in despair leaped from a window to the ground, where she was immediately stripped and killed: next morning the insurgents found her dead body with a child clinging to her breast, upon which one of the murderers seized it and dashed out its brains.

We learn what occurred at Lowtherstown from another of the depositions. Anne "relict of Francis Blennerhassett, late of Hassetsford," in her deposition, after recounting the death of her husband by the rebels at Ballyshannon Castle, added—"The rebels at

Lowtherstown most barbarously and cruelly hanged up to death on tenterhooks Thomas Redmon, this deponent's son-in-law; and after many tortures to his wife to make her confess her money, at length murdered her, and her children also, and robbed and stripped them of personal estate worth £500 at least."

The names of some of the British settlers who were leaseholders at Lowtherstown were—Peter Bland, Thomas Johnston, Wm. Burfitt, John Johnston, Charles Levett, Wm. Hillman, Thomas Lister, Thomas Redman, William Wilson, John Redmore, John Wilson, Richard Good, Thomas Peacock, &c.

The following excerpts relating to Enniskillen and County Fermanagh are taken from the Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-1652, as edited by J. T. Gilbert, 1880:—

1641—Vol. I., p. 23, No. 37.—"Sir Phelim Oneyll* and the rest of the Ulstermen departed from Drogheda aforesaid, the chiefe of every familie with their proper parties went to their severall counties and was not idle there . . . Colonell Roger Maguire, brother of my lord of Iniskillin, did cleere of enemies the countie of Fermanagh, except Iniskillin.

1642—p. 467.—"Relation by Col. Audley Mervyn," of the Rebellion in Ireland.—"Hitherto is rough drawne the general estate, and condition of the British, who were now betaking themselves to better resolutions, in opposition to the enemies' fury.

"I shall beginne with the County of Fermanagh, where those that had escaped the fire and sword of Rory MacGuyre, the arch-rebell in that county, brother to the Lord of Eniskillen, drew themselves into Enniskillen, a place fortified by nature, under the command of Sir William Cole, Colonell . . . MacGuyre having without any opposition in that county, wasted, burnt, killed, and pillaged, betooke himselfe, with the united forces thereof to beleagere Eniskillen, which divers times with great bodies, and threats equall, but neith fictions exceeding them both, as that all Ireland was taken,

* Tempo. Sometimes called Tempodessel.

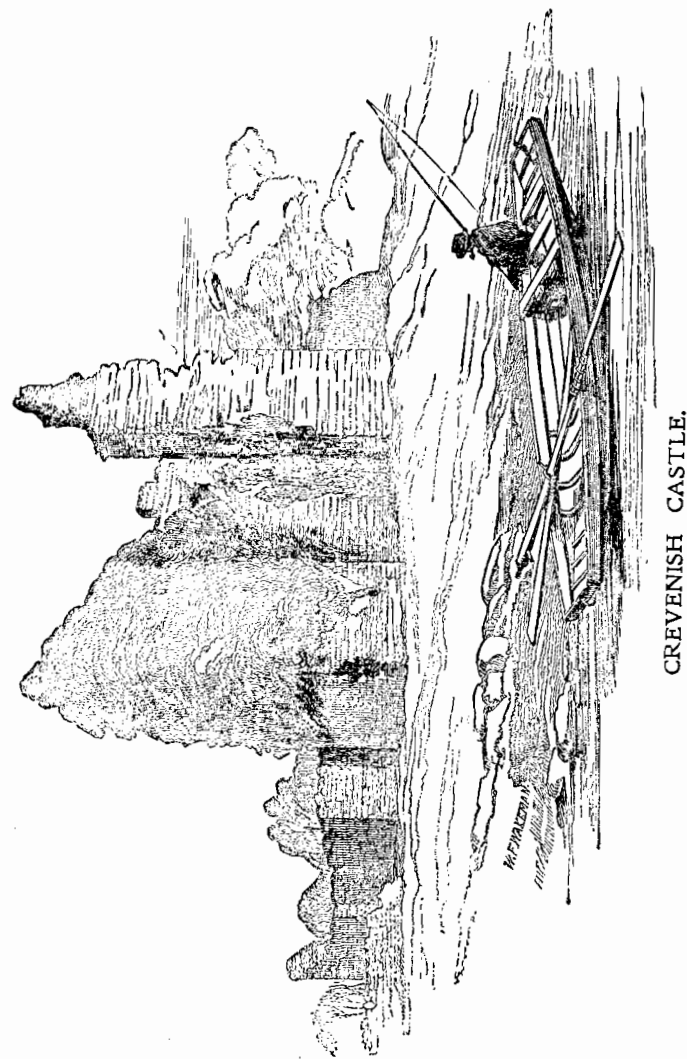
* He was one of the Irishmen who, in 1641, agreed to the Earl of Antrim's proposal to make a diversion in Ireland in favour of Charles I.

which for a great while we might all of us easily, but with griefe, beleeve. Howsoever it pleased God, that Colonell Cole, with great resolution and valour maintained the same, and made divers sallyes in the night, upon his quarter, doing very good execution, insomuch that MacGuire thought it an unseasonable aire to quarter so neare Eniskillen, and then began to adventure his fortunes upon the other side of the Lough*"

One of the depositions in Trinity College Library was made by Ed. Slacke "of Gorteen o mucklogh in ye psh of Knaly," presumably a brother of the Rev. James Slacke, rector of Inishkeene, Cleenish, Kinawley, and Killesher, whose four churches were "ruinous." Edward Slacke gives details of his losses, amounting to £355 18s 4d in his deposition dated Jan. 4, 1641-2, and

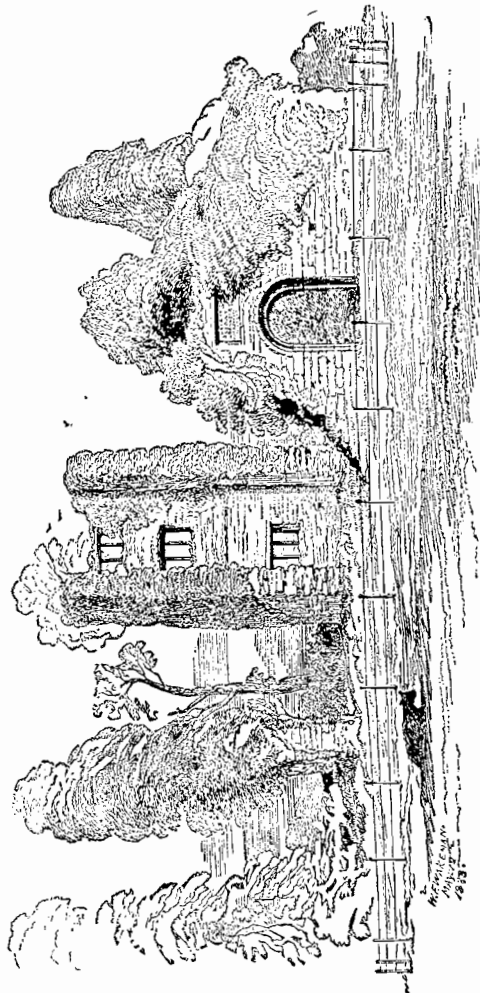
further sayth that on the 24 of Oct. last the said rebels took the depnt's byble, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of water lept and stampd upon it, saying "a plague on't, this book hath bredd all the quarrell," and they hopt that within 3 weeks all the bibles in Ireland should be used as that was or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom; and then the rebels burnd this depnt's. house, and some other rebels robbed, and cutt and wounded him twice in the head.

Martha Slack, of Callowhill, widow, deposed . . . "She asked them not to frighten her children, they said they would have her goods, they broke her chests and cupboards, ripped her feather beds up, threw the feathers on the dunghill, &c."



CREVENISH CASTLE.

* The above is from a relation of the occurrences that happened during the Rebellion in Ireland sent to the English House of Commons, June, 1641.



CASTLE ARCHDALE, showing the stone with the inscription. (See page 121.)
[Face page 121]

CHAPTER XII.

SOME PLANTATION CASTLES.

All the Castles of the Plantation in the County Fermanagh have been destroyed by fire, some of them of malicious purpose, others by accident; while the Castle of the Maguire, in the Castle Barrack yard, continuously occupied, has survived them all. As some of these castles have had a direct connexion with Enniskillen they are dealt with briefly here, along with a few others of local repute.

There were four Castles of the Plantation period in the barony of Lurg: of these the ruins of three remain—in Castle Archdale demesne, at Castle Caldwell and at Crevinish; portion of the old Castle of Nekarne is embodied in the modern Castle Irvine. Perhaps the foundations of the old Castle of Belleek of the Elizabethan period have assisted in the building of Belleek Pottery.

It is singular that Castle Archdale at no time of which we have any record, either in public document or by paper in private office, has had any such connexion with the County town during the Rebellion of 1641 or during the Revolution, as appertained to

its sisters of Monea and Crom. The patentee was John Archdale,* and he came from Norsom Hall, Norfolk, and in 1612, he obtained for the sum of £5 6s. 8d. a Middle Proportion of 1,000 acres of "profitable" land, like the other Undertakers, meaning what we would call arable land, and not including marsh or bog which subsequently became reclaimed. Upon this Proportion he had to build a castle, and when Captain Pynnar called at Castle Archdale in 1618-19 he reported—

"John Archdall hath 1000 acres called Tullana. Upon this proportion there is a bawne of lime and stone with 3 flankers 15 feet high; in each corner there is a good lodging slated, with a house in the bawne of 80 feet long and three stories high, with a battlement about it; himself with his family are there resident. He hath also a water mill, and in two several places of his land he hath made two villages, consisting of 8 houses a piece.

"I find planted and estated upon this land, of British families—

Freeholders 6, viz. :
 1 having 200 acres.
 1 having 120 acres.
 2 having 40 acres le piece.
 2 having 30 acres le piece.
 Lessees for years 10, viz. :
 4 having 240 acres jointly.
 2 having 30 acres le piece.
 1 having 60 acres.
 1 having 20 acres.
 1 having 40 acres.
 1 having 15 acres.
 Cottagers 4, viz. :
 These having each of them
 a house and 1 acre of
 land.

And these 20 are able to
 make 42 men, and 7 of these
 have taken the oath of supre-
 macy."

Mr. Archdale subsequently purchased on 26th February, 1617, the interest of James Hamilton in a grant to James Gibbs or Gibb of the manor of

Drumragh in the barony of Magheraboy; and here Captain Pynnar reported that there was a Bawne,* with one house building, and six freeholders, five lessees for years, and three cottagers, in all 14 resident British families, able to make 26 armed men.†

At an inquisition held in Enniskillen on the 27th April, 1629, it was ascertained that among others John Archdale "did grant 2 tates or $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of land to *William Johnson*‡ and *Owen Griffith*, their heirs and assignes for ever. The said John Archdale, by coppie of court-rowle, at a court held for the manor of Tallanagh, did grant one and a half tate, or 3 parts of $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter unto *William Johnson* and *Thomas Clarke*, their heirs and assignes; and half a quarter, being two tates, unto *Thomas Moore*, *Edward Moore*, and *David Byas*, their heirs and assignes."

* A bawne was a walled enclosure for cattle, usually the length of the building. A perfect bawne still exists near FAVOR ROYAL in South Tyrone.

† When Mr. Nicholas Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, who inherited the estate through his mother, Catherine, daughter and heir of Richard Dunbar of Derrygonnelly, married Miss Angel Archdall, and changed his name to Archdall in consequence, he added the Derrygonnelly estate to that of Drumragh as the Archdall property in Magheraboy. Drumragh has been identified as Cosbystown, but no evidence remains of the Drumragh house.

‡ The name and clan of Johnston is numerous in Fermanagh, and the founder, John Johnston, called "old Lurg," appears to have come here about 1602-3. The Betham-Phillips Manuscript (Cheltenham) makes mention in its account of one Watty Roe (or Rufus) Johnston who was "particularly noted for sallying [sallying] out one morning upon Philip M'Hugh o'Reyley, who had besieged Iniskillen nine weeks with about 1500 men, but he surprising them they took ye flight and ye brave and valliant Sir John Cole, a bright young gentleman, son of ye said Sr William, backing him with his galant foot Company and some Volentieres Rushing upon the Irish they had ye pursuit of ym 7 miles as farr as Maguires-Bridge, upon which ye Irish taunted and jeered, saying—'Red Watty and his twelve followers, in pursuit of Philip M'Hugh and his fifteen hundred [as translated].'" It will be observed that mention is here made of Maguire's Bridge, indicating that a bridge spanned the Colebrooke river early in the 17th century.

This Walter Johnston was father of Mr. James Johnston of the Magherameena family. The last male member of this family was Captain James C. Johnston, who was A.D.C. to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1912, and subsequently became adjutant of the 5th Royal Irish Fusiliers. With them he went out to the great war, and took part in the landing at Suvla Bay. It was when here one day while his commanding officer, Colonel F. A. Greer, and he were conferring together, with the signal officer of the battalion, Lieut. R. S. Trimble (Enniskillen), that a shell killed Captain Johnston, took the arm off the C.O., and left Mr. Trimble suffering from shell shock. Both Colonel Greer and Lieut. Trimble subsequently recovered and were enabled to resume duty.

There was another member of the clan—Mr. John Johnston at Edernagh

* He died on the 31st August, 1621.

Edward Archdall, son of the undertaker, obtained a re-grant on 22nd December, 1629, of two small proportions in the precinct of Lurg and Coolma^c Kernan—one called the Small Proportion of Tullanagh, and the other the Small Proportion of Dromra, with 400 acres in demesne; for which he had to pay twice the original rent, with a fine of £30 for every 1,000 acres. The manor of Drumra or Drumragh, had been granted originally to James Gibb, the son of John Gibb, a Scottish servant in the Royal Household, and lay close to the properties of Sir John Hume and Robert Hamilton (Monea) on the western side of Lough Erne in the Barony of Magheraboy. It was a Small Proportion of 1,000 acres including the townlands of Drumskeewly, Cavankeile, Drumra, Moyfadden, Drumdowne, part of Urrishe, and the island of Innishmac-Moile [Innish-màcsaint], and was sold by Mr. Gibb to James Hamilton of Keckton, Esq., who in turn on the 26th February, 1617, "did give and grant the said manor of Dromra to John Archdalle, in the County of Fermanagh, Esq., his heires and assigns; by force and in virtue whereof the said John Archdalle is lawfully seized as of fee-simple, forever."

or Ederney, described as a man of "free estate," and I assume that the William "Johnson" spoken of above must be a member of this family.

There was also a Mr. James Johnston of Aghamuldoon, a freeholder on Sir John Dunbar's estate in Magheraboy, who married a daughter of Learde [Laird] Weir [of Hail Craig]. There was also a Mr. Robert Johnston, described as a gentleman freeholder of Gannan in Magheraboy, related to the others by "consanguinity and affinity," and it is noteworthy that the same Christian names have been preserved in the different branches of the family, as we often find to be the case.

A James Johnston, a Lieutenant of Horse in King William's army, is believed to have founded the Snowhill (Lisbellaw) family, of which the present representative is Captain James Johnston.

The Johnstons of Gobluisk, Killadeas, are an offshoot of this old family; Stephen Johnston got a lease in the year 1708 of lands, &c., in Gobluisk, from William Archdall which still remain in the family. Mr. John Johnston residing there at present. This William of 1708 was (as I understand matters) the son of James and Mary Irvine of 1684, and he was the son of John Johnston who was grandson of James Johnston of 1602. The ancient lease is still preserved of the Gobluisk property.

This Edward Archdale, who was born in 1604, and was described as of Archdale's-town, also obtained 340 additional acres in the barony of Lurg, including four tates of Corrabane, the tate of Tullinagoagh, and the tate of Clonkeine [Clonkeen]; and it was he was the lord of the manor when the insurrection broke out. When John Cormick was giving evidence in London in the trial of Connor Lord Maguire he deposed that Captain Rory Maguire on the 29th October, having fortified the house in which he (Captain Rory) resided, "took in the castle of one *Edward Aldriih* [Archdall], Esq.; he put out all the English there. He went to the town [Archdale's-town],* burnt that, but killed none of the men."

We have no further historical record as to the burning of Castle Archdale in 1641, but there is a tradition that the nurse of the infant heir of the house, William, was saved by the nurse thrusting him out of a window in time to save the child's life.† The house was pillaged, but there is no record of life having been lost. The castle was repaired and re-inhabited.

It was this William Archdale who was attainted by the Parliament of James II. in 1689.‡ He had been Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1667. In 1662 he had married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Mervyn

* Supposed to be Lisnarick, which was also called Hunningstown.

† There is another tradition, that the nurse caused her own child to be saved on the occasion, and that the Archdale child was lost.

‡ Mr. Wm. Archdale had fled out of Ireland for the safety of his life at the time of the Revolution, like Sir Michael Cole, Sir James Caldwell, Sir John Hume, and others; and he was returned as having an estate yielding £500 a year.

The name is spelt both ways. It was originally Archdale, as it is to-day in Co. Norfolk; it became altered to Archdall, a mode of spelling which was retained by the late Colonel Edward Archdall of Clifton Lodge, Lisnaskea, and the late Captain James Montgomery Archdall, of Drumadray; but the other members of the various families of the house have reverted to the original method of spelling, Archdale.

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of Trillick, from whom the Mervyn estate was derived and added to the Archdale property.

John Archdale was succeeded in 1621, by his son Edward, born in 1604, who having married Angel, daughter of Sir Paul Gore, thus introduced the name "Angel" since perpetuated in the family. Mr. William Archdale succeeded before 1662, and it was his daughter Angel who was married to Mr. Nicholas Montgomery who assumed the name of Archdall.

This Mr. Nicholas Archdall was the eldest son of Mr. Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly by Catherine, daughter and heiress of Mr. Richard Dunbar. Mr. Nicholas Montgomery assumed the name of Archdall in 1728, four years after his marriage, and thus brought the Montgomery estate of Derrygonnelly into the Archdall family; while Mr. Archdall's younger brother, Hugh Montgomery, remained at Innishmore. This Mr. Hugh Montgomery was the ancestor of the present Mr. Hugh de Fellenburg Montgomery, D.L., of Blessingbourne.

Colonel Mervyn Archdall, who succeeded his father, Nicholas, built the present mansion of Castle Archdall in 1773. Colonel Archdall became Member for the County of Fermanagh in 1761, and sat continuously till the last Irish Parliament of 1798, in which he refused the bribe of a Peerage to vote for the Union.

He was succeeded by Colonel Archdall, junior, who rose to the rank of General in the army, and he retired from Parliament in 1834, and was succeeded by his nephew, son of Edward Archdale of Riversdale, Mervyn, shortly after attaining his majority. This Mr. Mervyn Archdale rose to the rank of Captain in the Inniskilling Dragoons, and in that rank he is represented in the oil painting in the

Grand Orange Hall of Enniskillen presented to him in recognition of his service as Member of Parliament till the Parliament of 1868. He was in time succeeded by his younger brother William, who sat in the Parliament of 1874 and 1880. He was followed in the headship of the house by his nephew, Edward, eldest son of the Rev. Henry Archdale. This Mr. Archdale died in 1916 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Colonel James Blackwood Archdale, at Castle Archdale. Subsequently Mr. William Archdale's nephew, Edward Mervyn, eldest son of Nicholas Archdale of Crocknacrieve, and therefore cousin of Colonel James Blackwood Archdale, was induced to enter Parliament as representative for the county, but he retired in 1903, returning again to Parliament for North Fermanagh in 1916, thus continuing a remarkable record of the Archdale family representing the county Fermanagh for a century and a half.

The masonry of Castle Archdale is in some places 3ft. 3in. thick. Over the arch-head is a tablet set in the masonry telling in Latin that "John Archdale built this house in the year of our Lord 1615." Four of the original windows remain. The building, as usual in these erections built for defence, is pierced with shot holes: in Castle Archdale they resemble a pear. No care had been taken of the building until the last decade, and what was undoubtedly a fine example of the Plantation Castles was allowed to go to ruin.

CREVINISH CASTLE.

Crevinish Castle was built by Thomas Blennerhassett, who obtained his grant on the 30th June,

1610. He also obtained one half of the Proportion at Edernagh (Ederney), and portion of one at Tolmacken. He had altogether 95 Irish tenants* in the year 1624, while on the neighbouring southern estate of Nekarney the tenants were all British. Crevinish Castle did not remain long in existence till it fell into decay, for we find in a letter of Henry Blennerhassett of 1662, who was High Sheriff from 1658 to 1661, dated 22nd May, 1697, to his wife says —

"I did give John Moffett power to set a new Manor Hassett. Mr. Kirkwood did no good in Crevinish. *The house is ruinous* and the orchards spoiled. I did cause to set it and the mill to Mr. Hamilton,† who will take more care of it, and is to dwell in it himself."

Pynnar found upon this Proportion a bawne of Lime and Stone, in length 75 feet and in breath 47 feet, and 12 feet high, having four flankers. "Within this bawne there is a house‡ of the length thereof and 20 feet broad, two stories and a-half high, his wife and family dwelling therein. He hath begun a church.§ He hath also a small village consisting of six houses, built of cagework, inhabited by English."

* An Inquisition of the time of Charles I. shows that some of the yearly tenants held on this estate two tates or half a quarter of land, namely—Teig M'Caffery, Neel M'Caffery, Teig M'Caffery, Brien roe Cassidie, Patrick oge M'Caffery, Philip M'Caffery, Cormac O'Rowarty, Loughlan M'Caffery, Neece O'Corra, Art O'Mullan, John Maguire, Patrick O'Rowherty, Brian M'Enney, Patrick duff M'Caffery, Cormac merga O'Muldoone, Neil M'Caffery, and Patrick modder M'Caffery.

† I should not be surprised if this Mr. William Hamilton was the ancestor of the Hamiltons of Pettigo and subsequently of Bundoran. The name of Moffett reminds one of a family of the name in the vicinity of Irvinestown.

‡ The names of the men who guided the work were—Maurice Cowper, Robert Rakins (Rankin), Thomas Andrew, Thomas Poe, William Cox, Clinton Ogeil.

§ Inside the church, alongside the Castle, is a large monumental flagstone, bearing a coat of arms and traces of an inscription now rendered illegible, believed to have been placed there in memory of Mr. Thomas Blennerhassett, the founder. The present church of Castle Archdale represents this church of Crevinish.

Portion of the church and house still remain. The village was the village of Kesh.

Leonard, the son of this Thomas Blennerhassett, on the 27th October, 1630, obtained a re-grant of these lands and constituted them into the Manor of Castle Hassett. He also procured a licence for a "corn-mill upon the river of Cash or Letterkeene," and a market each Wednesday in the town of Cash or Letterkeene, and two fairs, on the 20th September and the 20th May. This Mr. Leonard Blennerhassett was knighted. His son Henry succeeded him at Castle Hassett, and on his death the property reverted to his widow, Phœbe, and on her death to her daughters, Debora and Mary, between whom it was divided. It was on the death of Debora's son, Henry Cochrane, that her representatives, Lillias Squire and James Irwin, sold her estate to George Vaughan (of Buncrana), who became High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1744, and the founder of the Vaughan Charity at Tubrid, to which the Castle and grounds finally passed. Mary Blennerhassett's son, Henry Bingham, sold the rest of the family property to Colonel Chris. Irwin, of Castle Irwin, and others on 16th September, 1719.

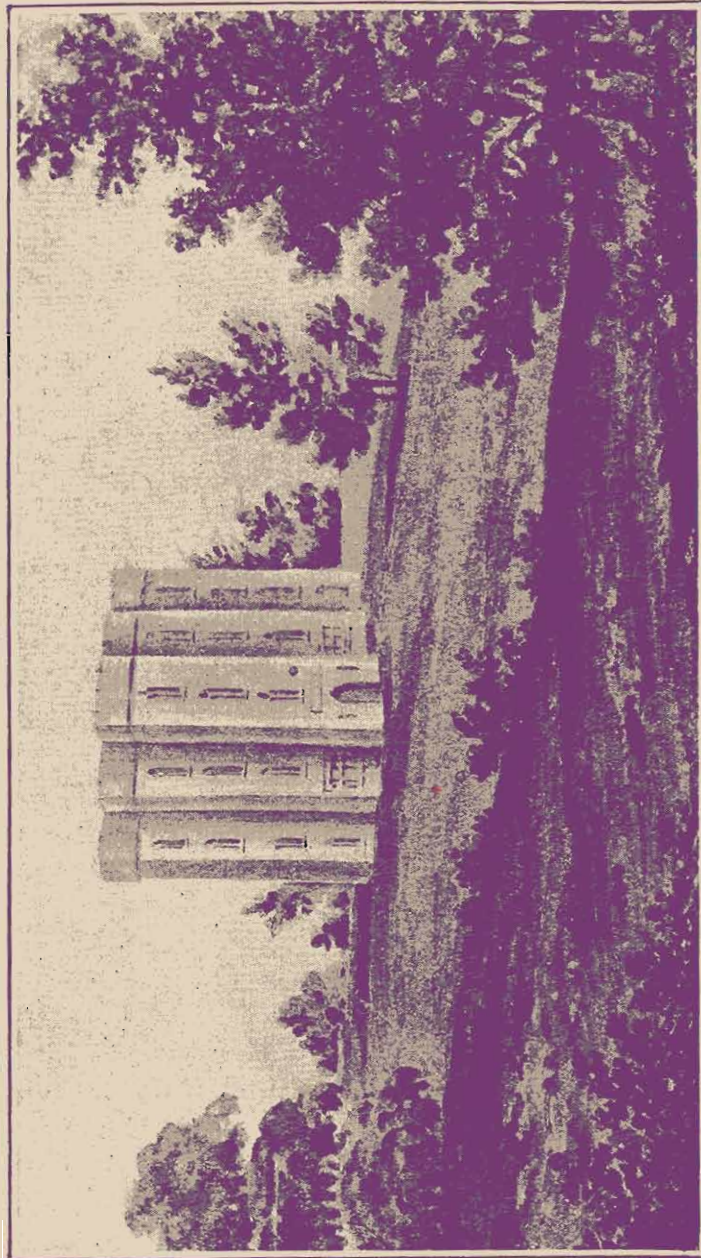
What is stated to have occurred at Crevinish Castle before the Rebellion of 1641 has already been recorded in these pages, but another account of the same incident is preserved by some members of the Johnston family in America, that it was held locally that the flames of the village now called Lisnarick [Lisnarrog] were to have been the signal for the rising in this district; and that it was Bryan Maguire, of Tempo House, who gave the warning to Sir Wm. Cole and other gentlemen, at Crevinish, as to the Rebellion.

NEKARNE CASTLE.

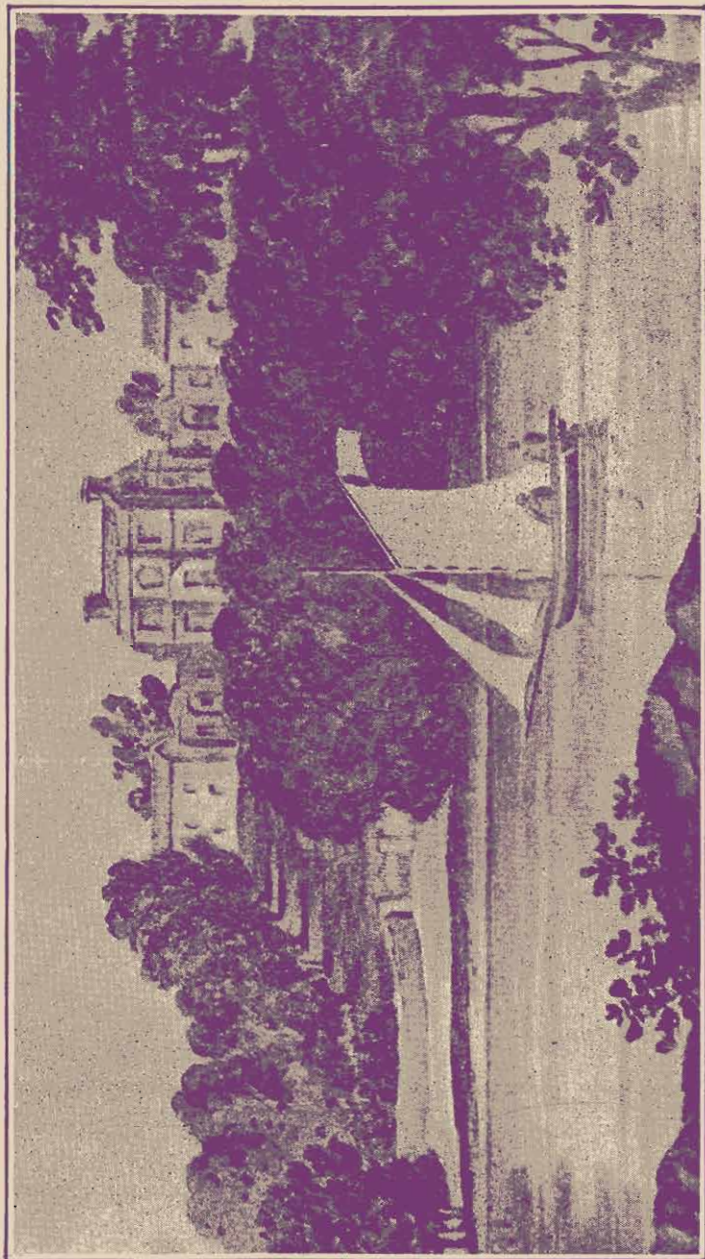
The Castle of Nekarne or Nekarney was erected on the Proportion of 1,000 acres allotted to Edward Warde by grant of 13th May, 1611. He did nothing himself to carry out his undertaking, according to Pynnar, and he conveyed it to a Mr. Edward Sutton from Nottinghamshire, and he conveyed it in the same year to Mr. Thomas Barton,* who had already acquired a considerable portion of the barony of Lurg. Mr. Barton sold in turn to Gerard Lowther, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Dublin. Lowther had already acquired a Proportion at Drominshin, and he obtained a patent on 20th February, 1618, to constitute these two manors into the Manor of Lowther (Lowtherstown), with a licence to hold a weekly market there on Tuesdays, and a fair on the 1st-2nd May and 15th-16th August. Sir Gerard Lowther also obtained the manors of Ross-gweer in 1629 (first granted to Edward Flower) and in 1630 of Hunnings (first held in 1610 by Henry Hunning or Gunning†), and subsequently by Henry Flower (1623), his son Thomas Flower and Edward Hatton and John Greenham.

* Thomas Barton, of Norwich, was an applicant for a "Small Proportion" of 1,000 acres, and obtained a grant of Dromynshin, which included the island of Innishclare, also in Lurg, on the 27th September, 1610; and he parted with Lettermore in 1613 to Mr. Christopher Irvine, Rossfad to Mr. Lancelot Carleton in the same year, Sydare, &c., in 1618, to Henry Lord Ffolliott. Rosscclare to Henry Flower in 1616, and the rest of the Proportion to Gerard Lowther. Rosscclare afterwards passed to the Irvine family. Mr. Chris. Irvine also purchased from Mr. Barton the lands of Coolgarren, &c., part of the original Manor of Drumkeen or Newporton [Ballinamallard], which had been granted to Lord Ffolliott, but he exchanged with Mr. Barton other lands for them. The Manor of Bannaghmore, extending from the river Bannagh at Clonelly to Belleek, granted to Sir Edward Blennerhassett on 3rd July, 1610, and it was divided; and from Bannagh river to beyond the Waterfoot was purchased and controlled by the Barton family. Mr. Thomas Barton was one of the first Burgesses of the town of Enniskillen. Captain Charles R. Barton, D.L., of the Waterfoot, is a direct descendant of Mr. Thomas Barton.

† Hunningstown is believed to be the modern Lisnarrick, also called at one time Archdale's town. "Near to the Bawne there is a village in which there are 14 houses, inhabited with English families." The grant was to Henry Honnyng or Hunning of Darsham, Suffolk, of 1,000. He sold the lands.



ORIGINAL CASTLE IRVINE OR NEKARNE



ROCKFIELD.

[Face page 131]

On the death of Sir Gerard Lowther his son Henry Lowther of Cockermouth, succeeded to possession, and on the 23rd December, 1667, the lands were sold to Christopher Irvine, a connection by marriage of Sir Gerard's, who already with him had possessed the Manor of Rossgweer,—so that the whole Manor of Lowther containing the original lands of the manors of Nekarney, Dromynshin, Rossgweer, and Hunningstown passed to the Irvine family.

This Dr. Christopher Irvine, M.D., was a member of the ancient Scottish family of Irvine or Erwin of Bonshaw in Dumfries and the grandson of Christopher Irvine who came to Fermanagh as a Commissioner for levying subsidies in 1631. His grandson, Dr. Christopher Irvine, M.P., married the widow of Henry Blennerhassett (see *ante*) who became High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1689 and 1690 during the Revolution, and in 1693 succeeded his uncle Sir Gerard Irvine (on his death in the Williamite camp at Dundalk) at Castle Irvine, and as Member of Parliament for Fermanagh. Dr. Christopher Irvine was followed in the ownership of the Castle Irvine estate by his cousin Colonel Christopher Irvine, son of his uncle Mr. Wm. Irvine of Ballindullagh; while about the same time Colonel Christopher Irvine's younger brother obtained the property for a long time known as Rockfield, but named Killadeas by his great-great-grandson, Colonel John Gerard Irvine, father of Major Gerard Irvine the present owner of the Killadeas estate.

Pynnar found that at Irvinestown there was in 1619 a strong bawne and a house, and near the bawne a village of ten houses and a market house and a water mill, with 16 British families, and under-tenants, to make 28 men with arms. This

village was known as Lowtherstown till Mr. Henry Mervyn D'Arcy Irvine about 1860 changed the name to Irvinestown. It is the second town in the County Fermanagh.

On the death of Mr. H. M. D'Arcy Irvine, the heavily mortgaged property passed to his son, a minor, and finally in trust to the boy's uncle, Captain Wm. D'Arcy Irvine, who sold the property under the Irish Purchase Acts, to the tenants, while he purchased the castle and demense for himself. On the death of Captain Wm. D'Arcy Irvine he was succeeded by the surviving son, Major Chas. Cockburn D'Arcy Irvine, who resides at the Castle.

TULLY CASTLE.

The Castle of Tully, the original home of Sir John Hume or Humes in this county, has already been referred to (pages 112 and 113) in connection with the massacre of 1641. It remains a black ruin on the westward shore of Lough Erne, not only as a memento of the terrible tragedy of that year but of the largest Plantation in Fermanagh, exceeding the extent of the largest Proportion, and extending to as many as 4,500 acres. It was planted chiefly with Scotch Presbyterian settlers whose names proclaim their origin—Elliott, Dundas, Cathcart, Spence, Trotter, Gordon, Hamilton, Saunderson, Crawford, Graham, Ferris, Kerr, Somerville, Porteus, &c.

Pynnar visited Sir John's residence in 1619, and thus described it—

Sir John Humes hath 2,000 acres [very large acres!] called Carrynoe. Upon this portion there is a bawne of lime and stone 100 feet square and 14 feet high, having four flankers for the defence. There is also a fair strong castle

50 feet long and 21 feet broad. He hath made a village near unto the bawne, in which are dwelling 20 families.

The village in question was likely that of Churchhill, which until that time and until the present highway was constructed about 1825 lay on the direct road* to Belleek, and was a frequent halting place for soldiery as late as during the first part of the 19th century to and from Enniskillen.

Pynnar found planted upon this estate four freeholders, "two having 20 acres le piece," and two having 100 acres; nine lessees for years, one having 240 acres, one having 120 acres, six having 60 acres le piece, and one having 40 acres; and 11 cottagers (with lots from 30 acres to two acres)—total 24 families, most of whom had taken the Oath of Supremacy, being able to make 30 men with arms.

But this Proportion was not the whole of the Home† or Hume estate. Sir John purchased from his brother Alexander the adjoining manor of Drumcose, 1,000 acres, on which there was "a Bawne of 80 feet square of Lime and Stone 12 feet high," but no house on it; and the Manor of Moyglasse, 1,500 acres, from William Fuller or Fowler. Nor on this Proportion was there any house. But of British

* The old road of to-day still shows its track. It left Enniskillen West Bridge over the then high hill crowned by the present military hospital, along by Willoughby Place, over Portora hill, swerving to the left over Drumlyon hill, along by Kinarla to Dunbar. Then swerving to the left it goes by Rabron, and skirts Cullen hill on the east towards Claragh, and Tullynadall to Churchhill; and keeping to the side of the mountain (not the low level of the present main road) it pursued its way to Belleek. This road was re-fashioned in parts. Portora Hill was avoided about 1775 by the present line round its western base, by Lough Gallagh, and onward by a new bridge over the inlet to Kinarla lake, as at present; but this road ran also by way of Churchhill, and is shown on a map in my possession dated 1821,—after which time the present and lower road by the western shore of Lower Lough Erne was constructed, leaving the older road at Levally. The County Sligo formerly extended to that portion of the present county of Donegal west of the river Erne to Bundrowes.

† Sir John Hume's name was also spoken of as Home or Humes. The latter pronunciation is preserved by the peasantry till this day when, e.g., they speak of Castle Humes. The former spelling is preserved on the ordnance maps in Home Bay, close to Tully Castle.

families Pynnar found that Sir John Humes had here—

Freeholders 3, viz. :

3 having been nominated for freeholders but not resident.

Lessees 12, viz. :

2 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 90 acres.

9 having 60 acres le piece.

These 15 have tenants under them, and are said to be able to make 30 men. There is good store of tillage, and no Irish families thereon, as I am informed.

By these additions to his original property Sir John Hume became the largest land owner in the County Fermanagh, and his estate had most British tenants. It extended from Enniskillen to Garrison, and in modern days was supposed to yield a yearly income of £30,000, which under the average landlord could have easily been swelled to £50,000 as the rents on the Ely estate were always regarded as low.

Sir John Hume died in the year 1639, and was succeeded by his son Sir George, and grandson, Sir John (Governor of Fermanagh during the Revolution), and finally by Sir Gustavus.* Failing male succession, the estates; passed to Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Gustavus, who in 1736 was married to Viscount Loftus of Ely, not an ancestor, be it observed, of the late Ely family. Henry, fourth Viscount, succeeded to the estates; and on his death in 1783 they passed to the Right Hon. Charles Tottenham, son of his sister, who was created Baron Loftus in 1785, and finally Marquis of Ely for selling his vote to the Irish Parliament for the Union with England. It was from these Tottenhames that the Ely family as we know them are descended.

John, the second Marquis, was succeeded by John

* These Christian names are maintained in the Ely family.

the third Marquis, whose wife, Lady Ely, was for many years a lady of the Bedchamber to the late Queen Victoria, and maintained the state and dignity of the house at Ely at Ely Lodge.* Her ladyship's only son, John Henry Wellington Graham, succeeded to the title and estates, and it was during his lordship's time that Ely Lodge was demolished—*circa* 1872—to make way for a new and grander house, but the purpose was never carried out, as he had no son to succeed him, and his cousin, John Henry,† succeeded in 1889. The Marquis has one brother living.

When Tully Castle was destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants (including the British settlers who had fled there for safety) put to death by Rory Maguire, it remained for Sir George Hume (who had not been there at the time) to find a new residence, and he provided Castle Hume in the townland of Drumcose, amid beautiful surroundings, within little over three Irish miles of Enniskillen‡; and it was finally converted into the Land Steward's quarters§ and a farm yard when Ely Lodge was built on an island a mile away as the mansion house, and spacious grounds were converted into an extensive demesne.

Sir John Hume (who died in 1695), son of Sir George, fortified Castle Hume during the Revolution.

* This Lady Ely, who was well known as a trusted friend of the Queen possessed a charming personality. Often as a boy, I used to listen to her discourse with my father on public and estate affairs during her visits to Enniskillen. Her ladyship died in 1890.

† The Marquis was a pupil at Enniskillen Royal School about 1862.

‡ It was here the Enniskillen Horse in 1912 had their camp during the Ulster movement, and the officers' quarters were portion of Castle Hume.

§ The last land steward to reside there was Mr. Dow, during the sixties of the last century. A Miss Dow was married to Mr. John Johnston, draper, of Enniskillen, and their family are still alive. Mr. Robert Johnston, the eldest son, resides in Enniskillen.

and raised 100 horses and 200 foot, with arms, at his own cost. He had been an invalid, and retired to England, like Sir Michael Cole and others; it was James Humes, the son of Sir John, whose name appeared in the Attainder List of 1689.

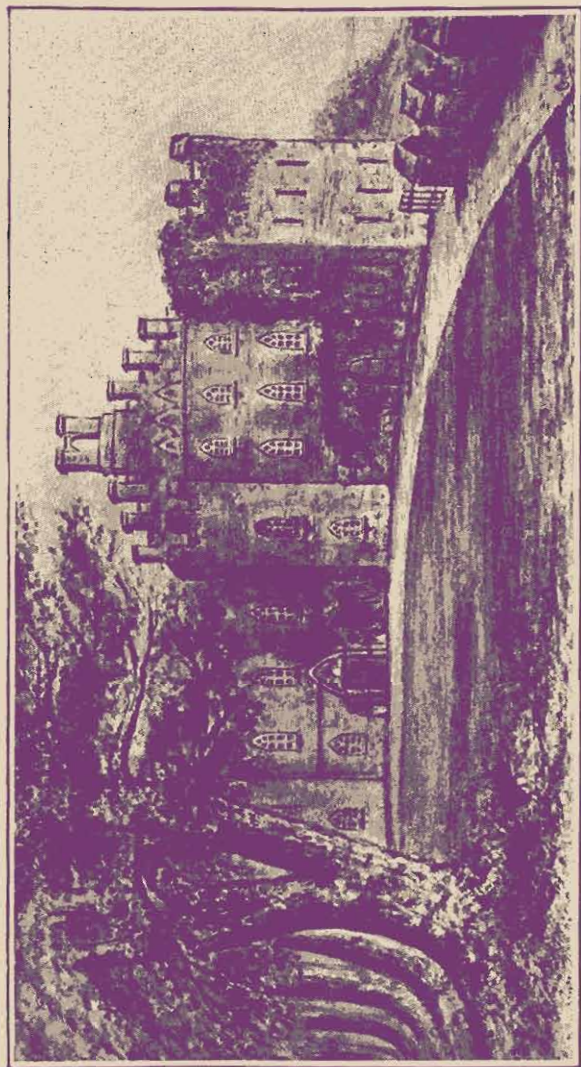
Tully Castle has wonderfully survived the storms of the centuries, considering its exposed position. Several or most of the cut stones of the building have been removed. One low large apartment extends the length of the building, and another room overhead is of the same large dimensions. A winding stair, as in Scottish castles, gave access to the different floors and apartments.

CASTLE CALDWELL.

The Castle of Belleek,* on the ground of the present Pottery, was built during Queen Elizabeth's reign, and is shown on a map of 1602. Castle Caldwell was built by Francis Blennerhassett, son of Sir Edward, who obtained it by letters patent on 3rd July, 1610. Pynnar found "a strong bawne" and a "stone house" built in 1619, and Francis also founded a village which we believe to be the modern Belleek. The property was purchased about the year 1662 from the Blennerhassett family by James Caldwell, a merchant of Enniskillen, who was created a baronet in 1683. He died in 1717. For further particulars see the account of "James Caldwell" in the List of Crown Tenants in Fermanagh for 1678, in volume II. The present living representative of the family is Mrs. Grierson, wife of the Dean of Belfast, only daughter of Mr. John Caldwell Bloomfield, D.L., who



* The Castle was a ruin when seen by Arthur Young in 1776.



CASTLE CALDWELL.

[Face page 137]

died in 1897. The Castle, which is situated on a beautifully-wooded promontory on Lower Lough Erne, is now a ruin. The property, being encumbered, was taken over by an Insurance Company, who sold the timber on it to Mr. Fred. R. Browne, of Abbey Lodge, Maguiresbridge.

When Arthur Young visited Ireland he visited Castle Caldwell in the August of 1776, and he was charmed with the beauties of the place, as well as with the hospitable owner, Sir James Caldwell. He found the people industrious but "remarkably given to thieving;" and "they bring up their children to *hoking* potatoes, that is, artfully raising them, taking out the best roots, and then replanting them, so that the owner is perfectly deceived when he takes up the crop." Mr. Young in his book dwells with delight on the loveliness of Castle Caldwell surroundings, and said—"It was with regret I turned my back on this charming scene, the most beautiful at Castle Caldwell and the most pleasing I have anywhere seen." He left on Sir James Caldwell's six-oared barge, with colours flying and a band playing, and was gratified anew at "the sylvan glories" of Lower Lough Erne on his way to Enniskillen. But since then the glories of Castle Caldwell have passed away while those of Lower Lough Erne remain.

MONEA CASTLE.

The Castle of Moyneagh or Monea is of interest as having been the home of Gustavus Hamilton, chosen to be Governor of Enniskillen during the wars of the Revolution. Erected in the townland of Moyneagh, it must have been a handsome building,

and occupied a pretty site overlooking a mere containing a crannoge. We learn of it from Captain Pynnar's report:

Sir Robert Hamilton was the first Patentee. Malcolm Hamilton hath 1,500 acres, called Derrinfogher. Upon this Proportion there is a strong Castle of Lime and stone, being 54 feet long and 20 feet broad; but hath no Bawne unto it, nor any other defence for the succouring or relieving his Tenants.

I find planted and estated upon this land of British Birth and Descent:—

Freeholders* 3, viz.:—

- 1 having 384 acres
- 1 having 120 acres
- 1 having 60 acres

Lessees 11, viz.:—

- 3 having 180 acres jointly
- 3 having 120 acres le piece
- 2 having 40 acres le piece
- 1 having 20 acres

Of all these 14 Tenants there are seven of them have taken the Oath of Supremacy, and these have divers under-tenants under them, all which are able to make 77 men with reasonable arms. There is a good store of Tillage, and not an Irish family on all the land.

From which it will be seen that this was a strong Protestant settlement, and that tillage of the land was the rule. The Monea estate first belonged to the Rev. Malcolm Hamilton (1612), rector of Devenish, who became Archbishop of Cashel.† He

* The freeholders of 60 acres on this estate were Robert Weir (represented in recent years by the Weirs of Hall Craig), Gabriel Coningham (Cunningham), and James Somerville.

The leaseholders were—Daniel Elliott, Gabriel Coningham, junr., Alex. Coningham, Matt. Chambers, David Cathcart, Gilbert Lavigne, John Watson, William Crawford, John Hall, George Deibane, John Greer, Wm. Hall, and Thomas Cranston.

It was a descendant of this Cranston who in 1743 bequeathed a legacy to the Enniskillen Presbyterian Church for which see Chapter on same in volume III.

The most appropriate lands mentioned for letting yearly to Irish tenants were parts of the tates called Aghasillas, Aghakeirine, Lestead, Kilroe, Rosseure, Knockbeg, Derrinafogher, Dromorchin (Drumcrin), Tullacreeeny, Kilduff, Drumgormeny (Drumgormly), Laglan, Cromscobbe, and Carrenmore. Pynnar reported in 1619-20 that there was not an Irish tenant on any of the land, but in 1630 the natives had begun to gather in.

† One of his Grace's daughters, Anna became the wife of Gabriel, son of Adam Cathcart, and mother of Malcolm Cathcart of 1688-9, and of Anna, who was married to Joseph Haire in 1697. His son Robert was married to Phoebe, one of the daughters of Captain Hamilton of Belcoo (the great grandson of the Archbishop of Cashel already alluded to), and their eldest son Robert, whose widow, Phoebe, was burned to death in Castle Balfour, Lisnaskea, when destroyed by fire on the 16th of February, 1800. His grandson, Hamilton Haire, solicitor, born in 1872, lived at Glassdrummond, Lisnaskea, who by his second marriage to Anne, daughter of Dr. Hugh Chittick, of Muckross, became the father of Captain Henry Haire, of Armagh Manor, Lisnaskea, and Anna married Mr. Richard King, solicitor, Enniskillen, whose two daughters reside at present in Willoughby place, Enniskillen.

The estate of Charles Hamilton of Belcoo referred to above appears to have

bequeathed to his fourth son, also Malcolm, all his lands in Fermanagh, including a lease of Moyneagh (the name of the townland on which the present parish church stands), and Malcolm died without issue.

Archbishop Hamilton was succeeded at Monea Castle by his fourth son Malcolm, who married a daughter of Robt. Wilkin of Sackton Hill, and all trace of him is lost. His youngest brother, Lewis, was the father of Gustavus, who in 1688 became Governor of Enniskillen*.

A market was held on Mondays at Derrynafoagher† in the village of Castletown, and a fair upon the Monday in the week of the feast of Pentecost; and it was reported that the Saturday in each week would be more convenient for the holding of the market and the 22nd September each year for the holding of the fair. Lord Belmore thought that the three freeholders whom Pynnar found at Derrynafoagher were Robert Weir, of Tullymargy, Gabriel Conyngham, and James Somerville, of whom the Weirs were the last to hold land in the locality, in the townland of Moynaghan, in my own experience.

The estate of Monea, however, was escheated to the Crown for violation of the rules of the Plantation,

passed on to the Hamilton-Jones family, who built the cottage at Belcoo, now owned and resided in by Mr. John Nixon, D.L., J.P. Robert Morris Jones, of Ivybrook, married Letitia Hamilton in 1770, and their son Kenrick assumed the name Hamilton before that of Jones. Part of the estate in Monterfoden (between Lough M'Nea and Belmore mountain), Glanawley, which Archibald Hamilton got from Sir James Balfour—(according to account of the family in the Philipps-Betham MSS.)—forms part of the Hamilton-Jones property. I can distinctly remember the late Mr. Thomas Morris Jones of Moneyglass, Toomebridge, Co. Antrim, driving the judges of assize from Enniskillen to his Cottage at Belcoo in his four-hand coach about the year 1871.

* The mother of Gustavus, the late Lord Belmore ascertained, was married three times afterwards, her second husband having been Richard Dunbar of Derrygonnelly, who died in 1666-7; for the third time to Capt. W. Shore, a widower; and in 1677 she became the wife of Mr. James Somerville of Tullykelter. This lady was again a widow in 1688 when her son Gustavus became Governor of Enniskillen, and he died about 1691.

† The term Derrynafoagher was used to describe the district, as Monferfoden was applied to the district between Belmore mountain and Lough M'Nea.

and a fresh grant of it was made on 2nd December, 1631 to James Hamilton, Viscount Clandeboyne and Robert Lord Dillon, which is supposed to have been a family arrangement. In 1693 an assignment was made of the townland of Rossenure to Adam Cathcarte; and the rest of the lands were constituted into the Manor of Castleton, with 400 acres in demesne, and a power to hold Courts Leet and Baron.

One of the lessees on this estate, Mr. James Somervill of Tullykelter, was married to the Archbishop's third son, Captain John Hamilton, from whom descended two families of Hamilton in Sweden, of Hugh and Ludovic. Hugh's eldest brother, Archibald, who had been created Lord Glenawley by James I., and lived at Ballygawley, Co. Tyrone, married Anna Balfour, daughter of Sir James Balfour, and thus brought the Balfour property at Lisnaskea into the Hamilton family. Hugh (who returned to Ireland) was created Lord Glanawley on the death of his elder brother at sea, and died at Ballygawley in 1679; and his daughter married Ludovic, third son of the Archbishop, whose son Gustavus Adolphus came to live at the Castle of Monea. It was this Gustavus Hamilton who was chosen by the Enniskillen men to be their Governor in 1688, and was appointed by King William to be Colonel of the Enniskillen regiment of infantry:—of whom more hereafter. The younger brother of Gustavus, Malcolm, was major in his brother's regiment, and afterwards joined Colonel Abraham's regiment of foot, which was disbanded in 1698.

There were two castles—one at Tullymargie, townland of Gillyholm, and one at Tullykelter, townland of Drumscollop, in the barony of Magheraboy,

connected with the families of Carleton* and of Somerville respectively. There were also Somervilles of Drumadown, where Mr. Porteus now resides, Crawfords or Craffords, Cranstons, and Conninghams, all men of substance, so that I assume this Scotch Presbyterian barony to have been the wealthiest and best nurtured in the County of Fermanagh at the period.

The buildings on this property, says the Rev. George Hill, are described in 1630 as consisting of a house 50 feet high, 20 feet wide, and 50 feet in length; the want of a bawne for defence, complained of by Pynnar, in 1620, had been supplied at some time during the following ten years, for in 1630 there was a bawne reported, the walls of which were nine feet high and 300 feet in circumference. These structures stood at the village or town called Castletown. It was found also by the inquisition already quoted, that the chapel of Moyneagh, situated in the centre of the parish of Devinish, was a more suitable and commodious place for the parish church than the church of Devenish, situated in the island so called, and in a remote part of the parish. It was found, also, that the most appropriate lands in this Proportion for letting yearly to Irish tenants were parts of the latter called Aghasilles, Aghakeirine, Lestead, Kilroe, Rossinure, Knockbeg, Derinefogher, Dromorchin, Tullacreney, Kilduff, Dramgormeny, Laghan, Cromscobbe, and Carrenmore. Pynnar reported in 1619-20 that there was not an Irish

* The Carletons were of an ancient Cumberland family. Captain Christopher Carleton of Tullymargie, who signed the Address at Enniskillen to William and Mary, married Anne, a daughter of Mr. George Hamilton of Tullymargie Castle. She died in 1722, leaving a son, Mr. Alex. Carleton of Tullymargie, George, Lancelot, and daughter Anne, who was married to Mr. Robert Weir of the Hall Craig family.

tenant on any of the lands, but in 1630 the natives had begun to gather in.

The Scotch style of architecture is noticeable in the castle of Monea by the quadrangular box-like turrets which rise from the two semi-cylindrical towers. The usual stone rests for flooring remain in the towers, and the winding stairs were in the towers. The late Mr. William F. Wakeman, F.R. Irish Academy, one of our best known antiquaries, when drawing master at Enniskillen Royal School in my boyhood, wrote that when he visited the place he met an old resident in the neighbourhood, who stated that about forty years previously

Mr. John Brien had given leave to Mr. Weir, of Hall Craig, to take off the corner tower (bartizan) of the north-eastern angle of the castle, in order to use the stones as building materials. Nearly all the coigns and jambs within easy reach of the ground have disappeared, those only of the doorway, which, owing to the action of fire, are valueless for ordinary purposes, being allowed to remain *in situ*. It would appear from the same authority that about five years ago the spiral stairs already referred to remained intact. They were, he said, broken down by one Owen Keenan, whose family of boys were always climbing, by their aid, to most perilous positions amongst the crumbling walls and parapets. He further stated that about a like period, a weird woman, named Bell M'Cabe, took up her residence in a vault beneath one of the towers. The place is still pointed out. From this romantic, if not desirable, lodging, the poor creature was, not without some difficulty, expelled by Captain Brien, the then proprietor, who feared that the "squatter" might be found dead on the wretched premises, and that some inquiries might ensue, involving the trouble incident to a coroner's inquest.

CASTLE BALFOUR.

As Castle Balfour is mentioned frequently in these pages it is desirable not to overlook it, though the Balfours have long since passed away. The

Castle lies close to the village of Lisnaskea and to the line of the ancient road which ran from the Moat by way of the Pound along the Back Lane past the Castle and through the present Workhouse grounds to the ancient church of Aghalurcher.* Although now a ruin, the description given of the Castle in *Henry's Upper Lough Erne* in 1739 tells that it was at that time the seat of Harry Balfour, Esq.,

and a large old castle, encompassed with groves and plantations. By the several improvements and ornaments added to it by the present owner, it makes a shining figure from the lake, all along the country lying on the opposite side of the lake.

It is stated that this castle was erected on the site of a former stronghold by Connor Roe Maguire, of 1610, whose clan was strong in the Lisnaskea region. The grant was made to Michael, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, of Fifeshire in Scotland,

of a patent of naturalisation, and the lands, &c., following. Fermanagh Co. In Knockinny Bar. The great proportion of Legan Mullolagha q^r. 4 tates; Intramatta $\frac{1}{2}$ q^r. 2 tates; Rameaw q^r. 4 tates; Carne q^r. Magallon q^r. Macarrigio q^r. Drombrouchas q^r. Legan q^r. 4 tates each; Corrodawre $\frac{1}{2}$ q^r. 2 tates, next to Drombrochus; the islands of Inishlaght, Inishlinne, and Inishgree, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate each, all in Lougherne, with free fishing therein; in all 2,000 acres. The presentation, advowson, and patronage of the vicarage of Drummully, the small proportion of Carowshee, Ballini-Caffer q^r. 4 tates; Carowshee q^r. 4 tates; Castlekeagh q^r. 4 tates; Coragh, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Corrodore $\frac{1}{2}$ q^r. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ tates; the island of Inishcorkish, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Tranish, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Dirrinish, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; all in Lougherne with free fishing in that Lough; in all, 1,000 acres. The islands of Inishturke and Trassna, 1 tate, containing 60 acres, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ q^r. of Intramatta, containing 120 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Legan and Carroshee, with 900 acres in demesne, and a court

* Most probably not used since its sanctuary was violated by one of the Maguires who slew his kinsman on the altar in 1484.

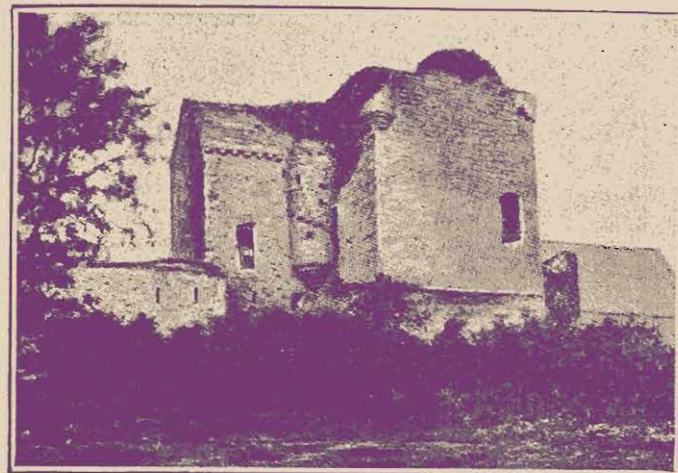
baron. Total Rent, 16z Eng., to hold for ever as of the Castle of Dublin, in common soccage. 29 Jun. 8th. [James 1.]

This Lord Burleigh was one of the failures of the Plantation. He sold the property to his brother-germayne, Sir James Balfour of Pitcullo in 1615, who four years later was created Lord Balfour of Clanawley, and was appointed "commander and governor of the County of Fermanagh" in succession to Lord folliott* of Ballyshannon, on the 3rd of December, 1624. We learn what was done in pursuance of the grant by the report of Captain Pynnar:—

Precinct of Knockninny, allotted to Scottish Undertakers, 3,000 acres. The Lord Burleigh was first Patentee. Sir James Belford, Knight, hath 1,000 acres called Carrowshee, *alais* Belford, and 2,000 acres in a remote place, and out of all good way. He hath begun his building at Castle-Skeagh,† and hath laid the foundation of a Bawne of Lime and Stone 70 feet square, of which the two sides are raised fifteen feet high. There is also a Castle of the same length, of which the one half is built two stories high, and is to be three stories and a half high. There are great numbers of Men at work, which are bound to finish it speedily, and all materials I saw in the place. This is both strong and beautiful. There is also a Plot laid out for a church, which must be 75 feet long, and 24 feet broad, all which is now in hand, and promised to be finished this summer. There is also a school, which is now 64 feet long, and 24 feet broad, and two stories high. This is of good Stone and Lime, strongly built; the Roof is ready framed, and shall be presently set up. Near the Castle there is a House in which Sir James and his Family are now dwelling; and adjoining to this there is a town, consisting of 40 houses of Timber-work and Mud-wall. All these are

* Sir Henry Folliott of 1609 acquired by purchase from the patentee, Auditor Gofton, the monastery of Asheroe, four cottages, fields, &c., with many townlands, 12 ruinous eel weirs upon the river Erne between Lough Erne and Ballyshannon Castle, with two loops upon the salmon leap for taking salmon near the said castle, and liberty to fish, and boat to fish, &c., all of which belonged to the Earl of Tyrconnell and had become forfeited to the Crown. Sir Henry Folliott was created Baron Folliott of Ballyshannon in 1619, and the title became extinct with the death of his grandson in 1716.

† This district was included in the barony of Knockninny (now restricted to the other side of the lake) in those days.



CASTLE BALFOUR, Lisnaskea. (See page 142.)



AGHALANE CASTLE.
On the Fermanagh border, near Belturbet. (See page 148)

Face page 144]

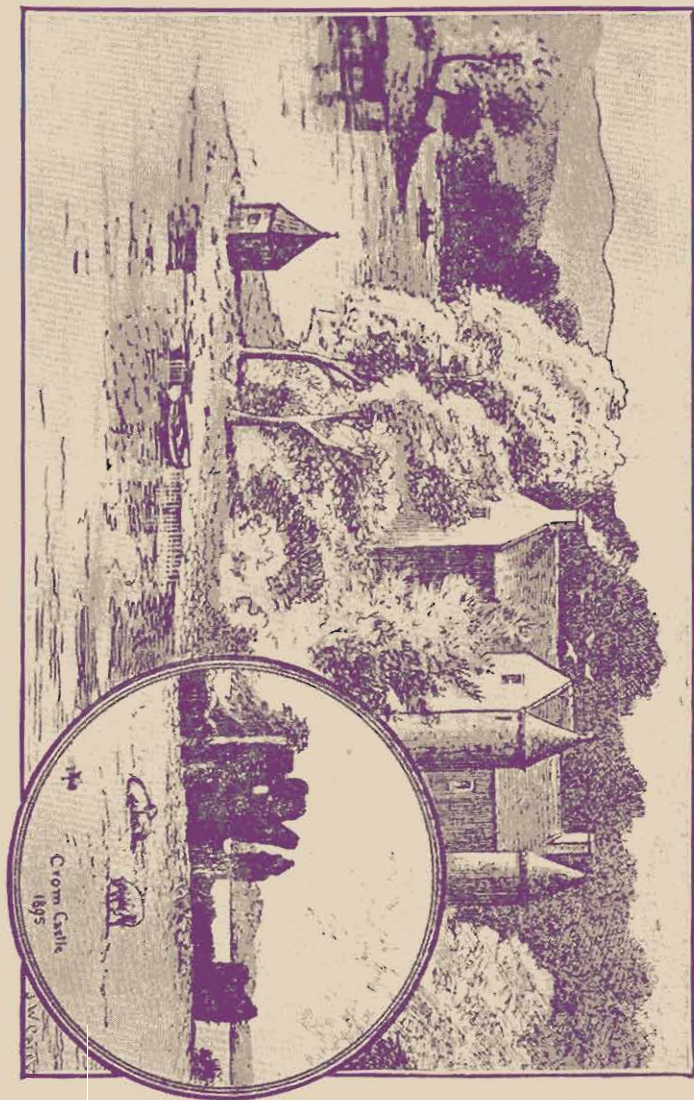
inhabited with British Tenants, and is the only Thoroughfare into the Country. I find planted in these two Proportions 82 Men armed, which I saw; but not any of these have any Estates as yet, as they told me, or at leastwise they did not show me any.

The number of armed men on this Proportion and the beginning of the village of Lisnaskea tells of work done. The village in those days must have run alongside the old road. It was burnt during the Revolution, and apparently was reconstructed along a newer road running up towards Clifton Lodge (by the Loan Fund Office); and a still further advance was made when the broad Dublin Road was constructed along the new line towards the present workhouse.

The Lord Balfour had a contention with Bishop Spottiswoode regarding the Free School to be placed at Enniskillen for the County Fermanagh, which will be found dealt with in the chapter on Enniskillen Royal School hereafter. Lord Balfour was evidently a man fond of having his own way, and when he placed the Royal School at Lisnaskea he thought he could retain it there and pocket the revenues of the estate allotted to it. But in this design he failed. Sir William Balfour, his brother, purchased the estate, including the Manor of Dresternan and another, but he did not reside permanently at Castle Balfour, being Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

General Ludlow, Cromwell's Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, tells us of a visit in 1652:—

I marched to Inniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, that I might take a view of the Place, and likewise provide Materials to fortify Lesneskey, otherwise Ballybalfoar, and to reduce an Island kept by the Irish in Lougherne, with another Fort they possessed near Belturbet. Being at Lesneskey I was met by . . . Having fortified this Place, and made some



preparations for the reduction of the Island before mentioned I received . . .

Sir William Balfour was succeeded by his son Charles Balfour in 1660, who lived during the Revolutionary period but made no mark on the time, so that I conclude he was one of the refugees to England. The castle was much injured in March 1689, as we read in M'Carmick's *Impartial Account*:—

Ere Galmoy came the length of Lisnaskey, a cursed fellow, one Kemp, with some of the rabble of the country, his consorts, burnt that pretty village, to the great loss of the inhabitants and the worthy gentleman that owned it, as also a prejudice to Inniskilling, it being capable of quartering a regiment of men. . . . But ere the town was burnt, we had brought from thence a many tuns of iron belonging to Mr. Belfore, and most of the lead of his house, which proved very serviceable to us, both to horse and foot.

When Mr. Charles Balfour died in 1713, the three estates passed to his son William, who died without issue in 1738; and the estates passed by will to his nephew Harry Townley, who was the owner at the time of Dean Henry's visit in 1739 already alluded to. On the death of Mr. Harry Townley in 1759, the estates passed to Blayney Townley, of Townley Hall, Drogheda. The castle was subsequently occupied by Mr. James Haire* (see page 137), during whose tenancy the house was destroyed by fire about 1803. The estates eventually passed into possession of John, first Earl of Erne in the year 1821 for a sum of £82,500: and the ruin beside the Church of Lisnaskea remains to tell of the vicissitudes of the past.

* Mr. James Haire's descendants declare that he was offered the title of Lord Glenawley owing to his ancestry (see page 137), but as all the title deeds and documents were burnt in the fire it would have cost him too much to prove his claim.

CROM CASTLE.

The ancient Castle of Crom, of which the ruins remain by the waters of Upper Lough Erne, was another Castle of the Plantation period, having been begun in 1611 by the Patentee, Michael Balfour, the laird of Mountwhanny, in Fifehire, who got a Middle Proportion of 1,500 acres. It was included in the ancient barony of Knockninny, though on the east side of the Lough, and south of the grant of Carrowshee (Lisnaskea) to the other Michael Balfour, Lord Burley or Burleigh.

Mr. Balfour, according to the Carew manuscripts, brought over eight freeholders from Fifehire with him and eight women servants. He felled 200 oaks, provided lime, and brought over a dozen horses and mares with household stuff, &c. It was eight years afterwards, in 1619, that he sold the Manor of Crom or Kilspinnan to Sir Stephen Butler, who had acquired property at Newtownbutler and Belturbet. Then Captain Nicholas Pynnar came along and found—

Upon this proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, being 60 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers. Within the Bawne there is a House of Lime and Stone. I find planted and estated upon this land, of Brittish Tenants, Lessees for years, 12, viz., 1 having 180 acres, 3 having 120 acres apiece, 1 having 140 acres, 1 having 90 acres, 6 having 60 acres apiece. Total: these 12 families*, consisting of 15 men, do dwell dispersedly here; not one Freeholder but many Irish.

Later, in the year 1629, we find that at an Inquisition held at Newtown [Newtownbutler] there is a recital in Latin of the foregoing information, and adding that "upon the tate or parcel of the land of Doohat is built in like manner one other Castle, or

* It would be interesting to learn what families these were.—Author.

message, of lime and stone, containing 22 feet in each way, and in height 20 feet. About 1624 the lands of Crom, along with Drumbrochas and Inishfendra were leased to Bishop Spottiswoode, consecrated Bishop of Clogher in 1621, who next went to live at Portora Castle. The Bishop's third daughter, Mary, was married to Colonel Abraham Creighton *circa* 1655, and thus passed into the hands of the Creighton family. It was this Colonel Abraham Creighton who was at Crom during the Revolution.

AGHALANE CASTLE.

Of Aghalane Castle, on the county verge, within two-and-a-half miles of Belturbet, there are only ruins. The grant in this instance was to another Scotsman, Thomas Money Penny, laird of Kinkell, Fifeshire, of 1,000 acres, created the Manor of Aghalane, at a rent of £5 6s 8d a year. But the laird did not fulfil the conditions of the grant: he sold it to Thomas Creichtone, nephew of Abraham Creighton, who got possession of Crom.

When Captain Pynnar came round he found in possession a Mr. Adwick, brother of Katherine, the widow of Captain Thomas Creichtone and guardian of her infant son. Mr. Adwick also held the neighbouring Manors of Monaghan in County Cavan and Dresternan (near Derrylin). An Inquisition of 1623 held at Enniskillen gives the following particulars of settlers on the Manor of Aghalane:—

Teige MacMurchie, tate Grate (paying rent to Abraham Creighton); Thomas MacCorrie, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate Kinroshe (paying rent to Thomas Robinson, an English tenant); Coll O'Rely, Donogh Maguire, Bryantagh M'Corrie, and Farrell O'Rely, tate Dromborrie (paying rent to Thomas Shittleton); James MacManus, Philip MacMarten, tate Gortegorgan (paying rent to Abraham Creighton)

Knoghor MacCorrie, upon one parcel of a tate of land (paying rent to Francis Robinson); Owen Maguire, and Manus Maguire, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate of Dromlett (rent unknown); Brian MacIllvine, and others, two tates Faneshkenragh, Enisterk (Inisterk), Giglam, and Derricree (rent unknown).

On this Manor Abraham Creichtone built a house in 1616, in the townland of Drumboory, which lasted so long as about 1840-45, and was burnt, and a farm house was built upon the site. Among the settlers on the estate was Mr. Guy Winslow, who acquired the freehold of Derryvore; Mr. Wm. Morton, Mullinacough; and Mr. Wm. Green,* who made a deposition on 4th April, 1643, as to the visit of the Irish during the rebellion of 1641 to Aghalane, on the Saturday, 24th October, and he fled with Rev. Dr. Teale of Dresternan to Virginia, Co. Cavan, when they informed the Rev. George Creighton of the rising. He stated that the rebels "hanged John Sealy and one John Ogle, but spared my own life, because I was so very old."

The Rev. George Crichton himself was taken and kept as a prisoner at Virginia for some time, and was treated with some consideration. The lives also of his wife and children were spared. He saw 1,400 refugees from County Fermanagh pass his door, to several of whom he was able to administer relief. The rev. gentleman subsequently became rector of Kinawley.

* This William Green I assume to be the father of Marmaduke Green of Drumnasklin or Drumnisklin (died 1681) who was married to Jane, sister of Col. Abraham Crichton of Crom, and the grandfather of the Rev. Wm. Green, rector of Killesher, attained by King James's Parliament, who resided at Dresternan, near Derrylin. Although the house he lived in has long since passed away, a meadow on the place is still spoken of as "Mr. Green's orchard." Rev. Wm. Green had two sons, of whom one, Mr. Henry Green, who resided in the townland of Dresternan, was High Sheriff of the county in 1721; and the other, Mr. Brookhill Green, married Sarah, daughter of Mr. Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly. The eldest daughter of the Rev. W. Greene married Mr. Charles King of Corrad, and the younger Major Christopher Irvine of Cules, ancestor of Major Irvine of Killadeas.

His second daughter and sole heiress, married John Crichton, of the Dumfries branch of the family, and it was this Mr. Crichton was in possession of Aghalane during the Revolution.* His eldest son, Robert, succeeded to the Manor in 1693, and he conveyed it to his brother John. It was during his tenure, the Castle having fallen into disrepair, that Colonel Crichton built a new house at Killynick. On his death in 1738, the house at Aghalane and lands were sold to Sir Samuel Cooke, Bart., M.P., Alderman of Dublin; and his grand-daughter, who inherited it, having married in 1797 the Hon. John Crichton, son of John, first Earl of Erne, the Manor of Aghalane thus became part of the Erne estate.

MANORWATERHOUSE.

Under the Plantation 1,000 acres were allotted to George Smelhome or Smethorne to be the Manor of Derryane, lying near the lake between Lisnaskea and Newtownbutler. This Scotch gentleman soon returned to Scotland, not having fulfilled any of the obligations of his trust, and sold the property to Sir Stephen Butler on the 26th of August, 1618. Captain Pynnar found planted upon the land three leaseholders, who were Richard Buckland, Robert Montgomerye, and Charles Waterhouse. Charles Waterhouse,† by his marriage with Etheldred, sister of Sir Stephen Butler, seems to have acquired the whole property, and died in 1638. His eldest daughter and heiress Elizabeth, who died in 1671, was married to John

* A meadow where the river of Aghalane enters Lough Erne was termed the Bloody Pass—not the Bloody Pass between Innishendra and the Cavan side—where other fugitives from the battle of Newtownbutler were killed by Inniskilleners.

† Sir Samuel Waterhouse had been Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

Madden* of Maddenton, Co. Kildare, and of Enfield, Middlesex, in 1635, and thus brought the estate of Manorwaterhouse to the Madden family.

Castle Waterhouse, as the place was called, was burnt down by the Irish army during its retreat from Lisnaskea to Newtownbutler before the battle of 31st July, 1689; and the house, which was of three stories, built from the site of the old castle was visited in 1739 by the Very Rev. Dean Henry, of Kilmore, who described the ascent from the eastern front by several steps into

a hall twenty-four feet square, wainscotted and curiously carved; in this a beautiful gallery for music. From the hall is continued a great parlour of the like dimensions, which, through a long avenue, affords a prospect that terminates in a broad basin of Lough Erne. This room and the hall are almost covered with fine pieces of painting,† several of which are

* His grandson was the Rev. Samuel Madden, D.D., T.C.D., who was rector of Newtownbutler, one of the founders in 1740 of the Royal Dublin Society, and left large bequests to Dublin University. He is remembered as "Premium Madden" by reason of these bequests for premiums, and his gift of £100 to be distributed by the Royal Dublin Society, from 1740, which he increased to £275 in 1751, and also because he established the system of giving premiums at Dublin University. It was he who wrote the History of the County of Fermanagh families in what is known as the Philips-Betham manuscripts, purchased in 1860 for the great library at Thirlestaine House, Thirlestaine, Cheltenham. He died in 1765, and was succeeded by Mr. Samuel Molyneux Madden, who was the last of the family to live at Manor Waterhouse, as when he died in 1784 childless, the Manor Waterhouse estate passed to his brother, Mr. John Madden, of Maddenton, now Hilton, who was the ancestor of the present Col. John C. W. Madden of Hilton Park and, Manor Waterhouse, and of the late Mr. John Madden of Roslea Manor, previously the Manor of Slatmulrooney. Mr. Justice Madden is descended from a younger brother of the Rev. Samuel Madden.

† In his will dated 9th March, 1761, the Rev. Samuel Madden, D.D., made the following bequest:—"I leave and bequeath to the Provost, and Fellows of Dublin College, and their successors, twenty of my best pictures at their choice, but none to be sold, but to be hung up in the room of the Provost's House, where they shall hold their consultations, and there always to remain; and also all such editions of books as I have, of which they have no edition whatever, I leave and bequeath to the said Provost and Fellows, and their successors, to be put up in separate classes in the Public Library, with this inscription,—the gift of a Private Clergyman."

In March, 1766, the Bursar of T.C.D., accompanied by "two painters" who received twelve guineas each, were sent to Manor Waterhouse to choose the pictures. Of the pictures thus bequeathed, only 15 can now be accounted for with certainty, and their subjects and painters are fully set out in the Catalogue of Pictures, "Busts, and Statues in T.C.D., by W. G. Strickland."

The remainder of his pictures went to Hilton Park and Roslea Manor. On 20th November, 1911, 27 of these pictures from Roslea Manor were auctioned by Messrs. Bennett, in Dublin, and Lieut.-Col. John C. W. Madden bought fifteen of the best, which are now at Hilton Park.

over Europe. On each hand of the hall, and from the parlour, go off large apartments.

Over the doors which lead into the house are engraved sentences out of the classics, expressing the beauty and agreeableness of the country and fine situation, and, indeed, the whole seems to be finished with a classical taste and elegance. On the south side of the house are large gardens, with several walks and terraces that descend steeply to a deep, solemn glen, through which runs a large rivulet, which, in some places, murmurs gently, in others roars, through the hollowest part of the glen, by the several artificial cascades over which it pours. The north side of the hill, which descends from the house, is covered with a thick, young wood, which is cut out into an infinite number of shady walks, terraces, recesses, and labyrinths.

At the bottom of this wilderness winds a rivulet as large as the former, in a great number of meanders, some originals, done by the names that have been most famous times gliding in a deep, clear channel, again breaking in cascades; all along its bank is a small, serpentine gravel walk, which attends all its twistings through the wilderness which make up an English mile. Along this walk, here and there, pleasant bowers interwoven of branches of trees and flowering shrubs, which hang over the brook; the banks are diversified with a variety of flowers, succeeding one another through the seasons; in several places there opens into this walk little winding alleys, which lead into the darkest parts of the wilderness, and generally terminate in something agreeable; one of these winds into a circle, in the centre of which is piled up a pyramid of bones, and round the circumference are erected tombstones with curious inscriptions. Throughout all the wilderness nature appears in her native beauty and charming wildness; the strokes of art are scattered with so loose and easy an hand as serve only to display nature the more, while they are scarce perceived themselves. The whole seat seems a fit retreat for the Muses, and it is but a just compliment to the numerous, agreeable family that inhabit it, to say it is not without the Graces!

The house has long since disappeared, the stones probably having been used to make the road which now passes just below the site. One of the stones containing one of the Latin inscriptions is to be found in a lime-kiln in the locality. Part of

the garden walls only remain to tell of what must have been a lovely residence.

PORTORA CASTLE.

When Captain Cole obtained the Manor of Portdorrie or Lurgaveigh or Learganaffeagh, he constructed, according to obligation, a strong house with a bawne overlooking the shoal at what we now call Portora Stream—a point of vantage in those days before artillery was common. When the Drainage Works were being carried out and the bed of the river was excavated so as to deepen the channel, many ornaments of flint and bronze were discovered, and stone and bronze weapons, showing that from the De Danaan and Firbolgic times down to the time of the Plantation this ford (easily crossable except during a time of flood) situated between two commanding hills was the scene of many an encounter. The river empties itself here into the Lower Lake amid a scene of great beauty, encircled by green hills leading down to the water's edge, and clad with luxuriant vegetation.

The original grant was issued on the 17th September, 1612, to Jerome Lindsey of the small Proportion of Dromskeagh [Drumscue], which included Drumskeagh [Drumscue], Cannerlagh [Kinarla], Drom-eagh [Drummee], Dromelane [Drumlion], and Lurgaveigh [Porttdoreigh or Portora] one tate; Callogh and Nerry, one tate; Urrisse [now Windmill Hill and Cole's Hill]; Mullycreagh [Mullinacaw], two tates; Clonihawla, two tates; half of Lurgandarragh, one tate; Derrilacka, two tates, and half of Doonconly [Drumconlan], two tates; in all 1,000 acres, with free

fishing in Lough Erne. To hold for ever, as of the Castle of Dublin, in common socage.

This Manor was purchased by Captain Cole from the patentee one month later, on the 15th October, and Captain Pynnar reported—

Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 68 feet square, 13 feet high, with Four Flankers and a stone House or Castle three stories high, strongly wrought. He also hath an excellent Windmill.* I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British* families

Freeholders 2, viz. :—	} These 13 families have all taken the Oath of Supremacy, and have 11 tenants under them, being able to make 34 men.
2 having 120 acres le piece	
Lessees for years, 11, viz. :—	
1 having 120 acres	
2 having 90 acres jointly	
7 having 60 acres le piece	
1 having a tenement at will	

We find further particulars in a later report of the Inquisition of 1629, which stated :—

Sir William Cole erected upon the tate called Lurgaveigh al' [*alias*] Larganaveigh *alias* Portdorrie one fort and bawne of lyme and stone, containing 60 foote square every way, and 10 foote in height; and hath likewise erected, adjoining thereto one castle or capital messuage of lyme and stone, containing 66 foote in length, 23 in breadth, and 30 in height, with two flankers† of lyme and stone, containing 30 foote in height and ten foote wide. There is also built and planted uppon and within the sayd proportion 22 English-like houses, and therein now dwelling and inhabiting 22 British tenants, with their families.

There is a slight error here, as the castle was 68 feet square, with the two flankers in addition, and these were 10 feet in diameter.

* Hence the name Windmill Hill.

† The flankers mentioned in the Inquisition report overlook the ruins till this day. They were pierced with loopholes, which command the external walls. As the report states, there were three storeys, but the stairs and the floors have long since disappeared. The chief portion of the castle was two storeys high and amongst the rooms was apparently a kitchen (for near it was a large oven) and a store-room. It must have been a handsome building in its day, with a splendid state apartment; and it commanded a beautiful and extensive view of rolling hills and of Lower Lough Erne.

It seems strange that while Captain Pynnar reported that all of them had taken the Oath of Supremacy* the Inquisition reported to the contrary, for it stated:—

The said Sir Wil' Cole, knight, did not take the said oath, notwithstanding which he, on the 1st of July, in the 11th yeare of his late Majisties raigne [1613], by his [Cole's] deed of feoffment, did enfeoffe *Thomas Shaw* of Enniskillen, gent., of that parcell of lande called Dromskeagh and Cannarlagh, containing two great tates with their appurtenances. The said *Thomas Shaw* did not take said oath. The said Sir *William Cole* also, by his deede of feoffment, bearing date the 20th February [1613], did enfeoffe *Clinton Ogle*, of Kewnunan, in the county of Cavan, gent., his heirs and assignes forever, of that parcel of land called Derrilackagh, containing two great tates, with their appurtenances. The said *Clinton Ogle* did not take the said oath. The said Sir *William Cole* likewise, on the 1st of May [1613], did demise and lett to *Richard Orme* of Drummeagh [Drumme], gent., all that parcell of lande called Drummeagh, containing one greate tate, to hold the same for the terme of 61 yeares. The said *Richard Orme* did not take the said oath. The said Sir *Wil' Cole* likewise, at sundrie times and places, by his several deedes of lease, bearing date since the 15th October, 1612, did demise and lett the rest of the severall tates and parcells of lande, to the several lessees named in the said severall leases showed in evidence to the jurors. The said several tenants did not take the said oath."

The portions chosen for the Irish on Sir *William Cole's* estate, were the tates, sessiahs, and parcels, called Lurgaveigh al' Learga; Portdorrie being one great tate; Dromclane al' Dromclare, one great tate; Callough and Nerry, one great tate; and Clonconilly al' Clonconidie, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (4) Car. I.) On the 6th of May, 1629, there was a re-grant to Sir *William Cole*, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of the small proportion of Dromskeagh [Drumsue], containing 1,000 acres, in the barony of Maghera-

* The Oath of Supremacy was—"I doe swear that I doe from my heart abhorre, detest and abjure as impious and hereticall this damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I doe declare that no forgyne prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preminence, or authoritie, ecclesiastical or spirituall within this realme. Soe help me, &c."

boy, and other lands containing 120 acres, with liberty of fishing in the lake or river of Lougherne. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Portdorie*, with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres in demesne, court leet and court baron, waifs and strays, free warren, and liberty to impark 300 acres; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to his Majesty's instructions for re-grants of manors escheated to the Crown by neglect of covenants.

The house had not been long constructed until it became the diocesan residence. Portion of this Manor of Drumscoe, the Castle and townland of Portdorie, was let by Sir William or sold by him to Dr. James Spottiswood, (second son of the Rev. John Spottiswood, parson of Calder in Scotland). He had been promoted by King James from being rector of Welles in Norfolk, and was consecrated bishop of Clogher in November 1621. He had gone to Clogher to live, but life in a village did not suit him. The Bishop thought a house should be built for succeeding bishops in the better country of Lough Earne, and he put his precept into practice by getting Portora Castle as a residence, which he occupied from 1621 till 1628. A stone over the doorway once bore the armorial bearings of the See of Clogher between the letters J.S.

As Mary the younger daughter of Dr. Spottiswoode was married to Colonel Abraham Creighton, who raised a regiment during the Williamite wars, he became the grandfather of David Creighton, the defender of Crom Castle, of which we shall read more hereafter.

A quarrel having arisen between the Bishop and Lord Balfour of Lesneskey, owing to the Bishop preventing the scheme of Lord Balfour to alienate the lands given to Fermanagh Royal School into the

keeping of Lord Balfour, which will be found dealt with in the chapter on Portora in Volume III. of this work, Lord Balfour retained rancour towards Dr. Spottiswoode, as is shown in the incident and encounter which caused the death of Sir John Wimbles. When the Bishop was in Dublin in the year 1626 on the King's service, "sixe or seaven of Balfour's and Sir John Wimbles*" and Sir John Wishard's† servants came to Portora, the Bishopp's dwelling place, by Inniskilling, and drove awaie between 40 and 50 English cowes, worth three pounds apiece, w^{ch} cowes belonged to Sir Henrye Spottiswood, the Bishopp's sonne."

The offence was intended for the father, not for the son, whose cattle was taken. Previous to this the Bishop had sent to Sir John Wishart many times for the rent which he owed for church lands lying near the Manor of Laytrim or Leitrim; and to one particular demand for payment returned such an uncivil reply that the Bishop's servants asked leave to distress for the rent. "Soe by his [the Bishop's] direction they went to his [Sir John's] dwelling-place at Clantivern [near Clones], and brought away 16 poore beasts, kows and heyfars, prised at nine pounds six. Sir John took this in great snuffe, and by Balfour's advice tooke out from the sheriff of the county a writt of replevin, to fetch back the goods upon security. There was no formality kept in takeing out the writ, nor in the execution thereof, and Sir John Wishard scornd to redeem his goods; the Bishop's bailiff, therefore, sold the cattle."

* This name seems to have survived in the locality in the appellation of Mr. D. Wymbes of Garrison, County Fermanagh. Other ancient names likewise survive, like that of Latourney in Lack from Letournel of the Revolution.

† Sir John Wishart was a patentee of the Manor of Leitrim near Newtownbutler, which he subsequently sold to Sir Stephen Butler.

But when Sir John Wishart's servants wanted revenge for the act of law, the result was very different. The story of what occurred is thus told by Sir Henry:—

S^r Henry's servants and some of the Bishopp's servants that were left at home, informed hereof, they followed the cattell, and overtaking them at the Bridge of Inniskilling, when they would not shewe theire warrant for takeing away the catell, they rescued them" * * * * * But the verie next daye after came S^r John Wimbess, highe sheriff, wth 30 or 40 of Balfour's tenants and servants, and did drive awaye all the goods about the Bishopp's howse, and thoughte there was good suretie offered him that the goods should be forthcominge, and the Bishopp should aunswere what could be iustlye demanded of him, yet the sheriff would not render three fayre mares and theire coltes. They were so lovelye beasts, He tooke them awaye wth him."

There was also trouble between Balfour's men and some of the bishop's servants, who had driven off some cattle of Lord Balfour's pasturing on the bishop's lands (near Lisnaskea), and, when within a few miles of Inniskilling, were overtaken by Sir J. Wimbess and about sixty of Balfour's tenants and retainers. In the fray that followed, Sir John having wounded one Wm. Galbraith,* his brother Humphrey,

* The Rev Geo. Hill in his *Plantation of Ulster* refers in a footnote (page 511) to the matter thus—

Several brothers [Galbraith] came to Ulster at the time of the plantation, and two of them, Humphrey and William, were retained by Spottiswoode, the Bishop of Clogher, as upper servants or agents in the management of his various and apparently very troublesome affairs. Among their numerous duties they seem to have, at times, acted as bailiffs for the bishop, at least during the period of his great quarrel with Lord Balfour already mentioned. In the course of this feud, the belligerents adopted the rather provoking tactics of driving off each other's cattle. Indeed, this appears to have been a species of warfare in which the Scottish settlers showed themselves suspiciously expert—their adroitness at such work suggesting the conclusion before coming to Ulster. An opportunity for the bishop's retainers to do a little business in this line had come, and we shall permit the writer of that prelate's "Life," to tell the result of their movements as follows:—"They found three or four horses of Sir John Wimbess [Wemyss, son-in-law to Balfour], which they brought away and prized them at Inniskilling. Some two days after, the 20th of Decembre, the bishop's servants went out again, some five in number, to take a distress for Sir John Wishart's rent, who as they were passing by the Lord Balfour's town, perceived the Lord Balfour's

"took hold of a long skeane was about Sir John Wimbess, and therewith did give him a deadlie wound." This act of violence was the occasion of a series of troubles to the bishop for many years, resulting in his being tried in Dublin for procuring his servants to murder the sheriff. "The Grand Jurye having consulted long upon the evidence, and fyndinge it not sufficient, returned the verdict 'Ignoramus.'"

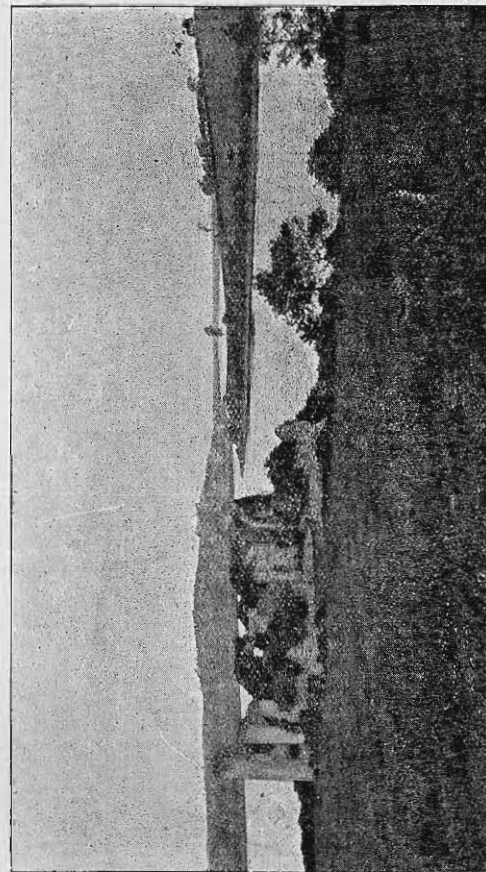
I find yet another record in the Inquisitions of Tyrone, where the Bishop had obtained a Proportion (originally belonging to Edward Blunthe) in addition to the lands which he held in Fermanagh. As the death of Sir John Wemyss had left Lady Wemyss and three children without means, and the lady was a daughter of Lord Balfour, she moved the King to intervene, and His Majesty appointed arbitrators, who decided on the 17th June, 1628, "that the Bishop of Clogher, in whose cause and by whose servant the said John Wemyss was slain, should pay unto the lady 100*l.*, and make her a lease of fifty or sixty years of lands to the clear value of 50*l.* per annum;

stood of mares to be pasturing on the bishop's lands, for which Balfour refused to pay rent; they resolved therefore to goe no further, so severed a part of the stood, and drove them towards Inniskilling; and were gone near seven miles from the place before Sir John Wimbess, and above three score of the Lord Balfour's tenants and servants, overtook them.

Sir John, incensed with the indignity he thought done him so lately, he without any worde att the very first, thrust William Galbreith through the shoulder with a pyke, then two or three of his company gave him divers other wounds. Humphrey Galbreith, seeing his brother in this case, he called to Sir John to forbear, and he should have all content, to whom Sir John answered—"Devill have my soule if we part so;" whereupon Humphrey grappled [grappled?] with Sir John, and while they were wrestling in a dirty bog, one David Balfour wounded Humphrey in divers places. Humphrey laying his account his brother was killed, and himself could not escape, he took holde of a long skeen that was about Sir John Wimbess, and therewith did give him a deadly wound. So they parted, for Sir John's company gathered all about Sir John himself, and pursued the bishop's servants no further. The bishop's men were all sore wounded, and lost much blood, so had much ado to get home. They did not acquaint the bishop with that was done, neither did he suspect that unhappy accident, till Sir William Cole came to Portora [the bishop's dwelling-place], and affirmed that Sir John was deadly hurt, and therefore required the bishop to enter into a recognisance of a thousand pounds, to make his servants forthcoming at the next assizes." (*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 113-114.)

or, in default of such a lease, should by a certain time pay 600*l*."

There was more trouble between the parties which I need not enter into, as to the townlands offered to her ladyship being worth £50 yearly, which ended in the Bishop (who always appears to have been in trouble) having to give her more townlands, so that all the lands given to her soon afterwards let at £100 yearly. And there was more trouble as to whether the lands so given really belonged to the bishoprick or were part of the Mervyn heritage, and a Commission sat, and inquiries were made, with the result that the unfortunate Bishop had to purchase the lands for the bishoprick, and then leased them to the lady. This story, and all that it involves, is an illustration of times.



PORTORA OLD CASTLE, built by Sir Wm. Cole.

[Face page 160

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SHIRE TOWN.

Having strayed thus far into digression, yet having connexion with Enniskillen, we now retrace our steps and approach the birth of the town spoken of in Chapter II.

An extract from the "Project of Plantation" as framed by the Irish Government in 1608, states:—

. . . . The odd Tathes are 89, or 2,790 acres; whereof 30 tathes or 93½ acres may be equally allotted to three corporate towns to be erected, one at Lisgoole, another at Castleskagh, and the third in the middle way between Lisgoole and Ballyshannon, the place or seat of the town to be chosen by the commissioners . . . Thirty-nine tathes or 1,228 acres to the College of Dublin as aforesaid, and 20 tathes, or 625 acres for the maintenance of a free school to be erected at Lisgoole. . . .

The Rev. George Hill in his *Plantation of Ulster* comments on the foregoing:—

Lisgoole was thus recommended as the site for a corporate town because it had specially attracted Chichester's attention during a visit which he had recently paid to that district. When writing to Salisbury, 12th September, 1606, the Deputy referred to the locality in the following terms:—"He found this county divided with the river of Lough Erne which runs in the midst thereof, over which there is seldom passage but

by boat, which those people make only of a great oak hewn hollow which they call "cotts." These are dangerous and a great hindrance to the commerce in those parts. Upon this river he observed two places fit to be made passages by bridge, the one at Ballyshannon near the castle, and the other at Lysgoule, which lies about the midst of the county. Wishes there were at this point some beginning of a town which he would have built on both sides of the river whereby the bridge would be defended and the passage secured." Chichester indeed was so enamoured of the position at Lisgoole that he forthwith ordered houses to be built there for the accommodation of soldiers then stationed at Devenish, together with a gaol and sessions house, the essential beginning of a settlers' town. He also proclaimed a weekly market there, and promised to have the forthcoming town blessed with corporate privileges even in its infancy. But Lisgabhal, corruptly Lisgoole, seems to have utterly declined even the blandishments of a lord deputy. No town ever grew there, and the name at this day is only associated as it has been for very many centuries before with a religious house founded probably in the 5th century; rebuilt or repaired afterwards, and constituted an abbey for canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine, in the year 1106; and renovated once more about the middle of the 16th century, the Augustinians then giving way before the more vigorous and faithful Franciscans. . . . Neither did Castleskagh, or Lisnaskea, ever aspire to corporate honours. It has been a favourite locality of the Maguires, who built a castle there at an early period, but Connor Roe was compelled to abandon it in favour of a Scotch undertaker, Lord Balfour of Burley. . . . The place chosen by the Commissioners was Enniskillen, and this town was the only one in Fermanagh district to enjoy corporate honours. In 1608 Chichester recommended this position in his "Notes of Remembrances" and seems to have forgotten Lisgoole. His words are:—"Inishkellin is the fittest place, in his opinion, for the shire town, and to be made a corporation, which will require charge or forcement to living men of wealth and substance to dwell there in regard it is now altogether waste and desolate."

The Free School originally intended to be built at Lisgoole was eventually placed at Enniskillen, and got a grant to build and endow of 2,160 acres.

On the 15th of May, 1607, Captain William Cole*

* Captain Wm. Cole, who was of the 12th generation in the direct male line from William Cole (1243) of Hunsleigh of Devonshire, had served Queen Elizabeth in Holland; and raised a regiment of horse in Devonshire for

had been appointed by patent to be Captain of the long boats—[war boats or barges]—at Ballishannon and Lough Earne, with a daily allowance of 3s 4d per day for himself and 8d per day for each of his men. He had been also appointed Captain or Warder of the Castle of Iniskillen—(Patent Roll 5th James I., skin 46, Article 62)—and this grant was renewed again on 10th September, 1607.

The name of Captain Cole appears on the list furnished by Sir Arthur Chichester of those fit to be undertakers, and the Council in London, writing to the Lord Deputy (Sir Arthur Chichester) on 20th May, 1610, approved of the recommendation.

"They are satisfied of his sufficiency to maintain a reasonable proportion—[of extent of land]—and are aware of his merits. And as he has a commission for the charge of his Majesty's boats in Lough Yearne [Erne],* and for the keeping of the castle of Enniskillen, they suggest that he should be assigned a Servitor's portion, as near as may be to the said castle, which otherwise will be very destitute of demesne, as the lands next adjacent to the castle have fallen to the lot of some Scottish gentleman in the distribution of the precincts, [meaning Mr. Jerome Lyndsey, of Portora, &c.] and cannot be altered.

It was in the following year, on the 16th November, 1611, that a grant was made to "William Cole, Esq.," as shown by the Patent Rolls of James

service in Ireland which included such names as Coulter, Frith, Willis, and Walmsley. [These names are still largely represented in and near Enniskillen till this day.] The prominent Fermanagh family of Hassard, which had held the Treasurership of the county for 150 years, is said to have had his founder in the same regiment, coming from Lyme Regis. The present Earl of Enniskillen is the eighth in direct descent from this Captain Wm. Cole who subsequently was knighted for his services. Sir Wm. Cole was buried "in St. Michan's church over the water" in Dublin, October 1653. The Cole family claim to be descended from William the Conqueror, and it is so described and certified by Garter and Lancaster and the Ulster Kings of Arms.

* The main island of Enniskillen obtained its name from the islet of that name near the East Bridge. It is said that a Formorian heroine, Kethlen or Kethlen, wife of Balor of the Mighty Blows, who fought at the battle of Moytura, wounding the King of the Tuatha da Danaans, was buried in this islet, and therefore it was called Inish-Kethlen or Kethlen, Kethlen's Island.

I.,—The towns and lands of Tawnestick [Toneystick] and Corrigrade, one tate; $\frac{1}{2}$ Cavanlecke, one tate; Lavue, two tates; Dromyea [Drumgay], one tate; Ballindowla [Ballydoolagh], 2 tates; Carrownagillagh [Carrownagiltagh], one tate each; Breaghwy [Breagho], two tates; Gortinessan [Gortmessan] one tate; Mullyneskar [Mullymesker], Dromore, and Gortanoghoe [Gortdonaghy], one tate each; Dromean and Rosse, one tate; Killibrackan and Drombranagher, one tate; the five last mentioned tates being in the barony of Clinawly; in all 1,000 acres. Rent 8/ English. The premises created the Manor of Corrigrade [Cornagrade] with 300 acres in demesne, power to create tenures—[create fee-farm grants and give leases]—and a court baron.* To hold forever, as of the Castle of Dublin, in common socage.†

It was upon this Proportion that Captain [afterwards Sir William] Cole constructed what was called at the time the Castle of Cornagrade, which was a strong stone house, with a bawne around it for cattle. The site was that of the house known in the early part of the nineteenth century as Billy

* The Court Baron was the court of the estate in which the freeholders sought justice and protection from wrong. This Court has long ceased to exist. A manor (supposed to be derived from the word *maneo* to remain, because a manor was the result of long established settlement) had Courts Baron twice every year. There was a Court Leet as well, (from the Dutch *laet*, a peasant farmer,) a Court at which copyhold tenants (a lease being deemed a servile tenure) had justice administered; while the Court Baron was the Court in which the freeholders sought justice when necessary. Both the Court Leet and Court Baron have now fallen with desuetude, although more than one effort has been made in the province of Ulster to revive them in recent years. They are out of date. The Court Leet was the most ancient form of court known to the law.

The Court Baron had a jurisdiction on the manor, in the matter of debt, to the amount of £2. The lord of the manor had no profit from the Court, but the seneschal had all the fees from the Court as his salary. The seneschal was equivalent to the modern Petty Sessions Clerk. Every manor under the Plantation had a Court Baron and a Court Leet, by which some local rates were raised.

† Socage. Many grants to undertakers of escheated lands were granted by the tenure known as free and common socage—[from *Soc*, French word for coulter or share of a plough.] It implied services in husbandry to be rendered by the tenant to the lord of the manor of the fee. These services included not only ploughing, but making hedges and carrying out manure to the fields.

Morrison's* house, on Cornagrade hill, facing Kilmacormick hill, and from the old road on Kilmacormick a road led at right angles to the Manor house. A pathway or roadway was constructed from this Castle or house, of which we shall hear later, at the battle of Kilmacormick across the hill of Cornagrade towards the town, to the pass at the Sally [or Piper's†] island, and from this point direct to the Castle, where the lord of the manor resided.

The grant to Captain Wm. Cole of the island of Iniskilline, was the subject of two different documents. The first was dated the 19th June, 1611. It was a lease to him from the King of the Castle and Island of Iniskilline, except the third part of the island situate on the north side thereof, 40 acres, including two small islands near the same—[Cherry and Sally islands]—all within Loughearne, with all the fishings and weirs, to hold for 21 years if he should so long live, for a fine of £1 Irish.

This lease, which was found for me lately among the Patent Rolls of James I., affords an explanation of how the other two-thirds were mentioned in the subsequent grant of 320 acres. First the two-thirds were granted by the lease of June, 1611; and the other one-third by the grant of 28th May, 1612, at 20 shillings Irish. Of this 320 acres eighty were assigned for the county town, with the exception of the Castle, together with covenants for planting, building, and inhabiting the said town, soon to be provided, with the grant of a market and fair, the

* William Morrison, of Cornagrade, was the father of Mr. Hamilton Morrison, Deputy Governor of Enniskillen Prison, and grandfather of Rev. W. R. Morrison, Methodist minister, Canada, and of Mr. Thomas Quinton Morrison, late of the Inland Revenue and now of Rastington, Stonehouse, Glos.

† Lying between the workhouse grounds and back streets. It obtained the name of Piper's island from its occupier, Robert Piper, who lived during the middle of the 18th century.

clerkship of the market and keeping of a toll both within the said town; and a prohibition that none should sell by retail within three miles of the town but such as Captain Cole should plant there or be resident; for performance of which covenants he entered into bonds to the Crown.

Captain Cole also obtained a grant on the 28th May, 1613, of lands in Dromclea, containing 2 tates, Oughterneneragh [Watnerry], and Aghoard [Aghaward] 2 tates, Derrihillagh 1 tate, and one-third part of the island of Iniskilling lying on north side of Inishkilling Castle towards Tannystick [Toneystick], total 320 acres—the castle and the other two-third parts of the island of Inishkillen reserved to the Crown; so that before he became invested with the responsibility of providing of the Enniskillen he was endowed with some property to enable him to maintain his position as the founder of the town, the First Provost, and the Warder of the Castle.

The following particulars as to the founding of the town are taken from the letters patent, and I have placed some words in italic letters and added cross headings to help the reader to learn the main points of each paragraph:—

Name of Town.

And further we will, and by these presents firmly enjoining, we instruct and command, and the aforesaid William Cole, for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, agrees and covenants to and with us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that he, the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, shall bring or cause to be brought, within the space of four years next ensuing after the date of these presents, in or to the aforesaid third part of the aforesaid Island of Inniskillen, lying and being on the northern part of the said Castle of Inniskillen aforesaid, towards Tonystick aforesaid, *20 persons,*

being English or Scotch, and chiefly artificers and mechanics, to make, erect, and construct a town in a convenient place in and upon the aforesaid third part of the said Island of Inniskillen aforesaid, lying and being on the eastern part of the said Castle of Inniskillen aforesaid, towards Tonystick aforesaid, by the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs or assigns to be appointed; and he or they shall there plant and allocate those to be burgesses of the said town. And that thenceforth the said town, so to be made, erected, or constructed, shall be named, styled, and called by the name of the town of Inniskillen.

Church, Prison, School, &c.

And the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs and assigns, shall, within the space of the aforesaid four years, procure and cause the same persons to be *incorporated there into one body politic*, to endure for ever, as is necessary for the defence and security of the town aforesaid, as well for the defence and protection of all our faithfull liege subjects there inhabiting, as for repressing and restraining rebels, and other our enemies whatsoever. And that they, the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs or assigns, shall mark out and set apart *one convenient place for the site of the said town there*, and shall build and erect edifices and buildings there, within the said town, in streets and squares, in such manner and form as shall best suit with the site and situation of the same place, and for the defence and decency of the said town; and that in like manner the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs and assigns, shall mark out and set apart *a convenient place for a church*, to be built within the said town, and for a cemetery of the same; and a convenient place within the said town for *a market-house*, and another convenient place for *a gaol or prison*, there to be built for the custody and safe keeping of prisoners and other malefactors whatsoever, in or within the limits, mearings, and bounds of the said county of Fermanagh, from time to time, for ever, to be taken; and also another piece of *ground for a public school*, there to be built, together with *a court and garden* to the said school adjoining.

The 20 Burgages.

And that the said town shall consist of *20 burgesses*, besides the cottagers, and other inferior inhabitants therein; and that the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs and assigns, shall build or cause to be built, in a decent or uniform manner, within the said town, *20 burgages or houses of stone*, or framed of timber, according to the form of building usual in England, within the space of the aforesaid four years after the date of these presents, so that five of the aforesaid

burgages be built and perfected, annually, in each of the aforesaid four years. And that every burgage aforesaid shall contain a convenient quantity of land for a mansion-house, court-yard, and garden of the said burgage.

The Burgess Acres.

And that the aforesaid William Cole, his heirs and assigns, within the time aforesaid, shall assign and let apart 20 acres of land within the aforesaid two tates of Drumclea aforesaid, next adjoining the said town of Inniskillen aforesaid, according to the measure of 21 feet for each perch, for 10 of the principal burgages of the said 20 burgages, viz., *two acres of land for each burgage*. And that in like manner he and they shall assign and let apart, within the aforesaid time of four years, 10 other acres of land of and in the aforesaid two tates of Drumclea aforesaid, next adjoining the said town of Inniskillen aforesaid, for 10 other burgages of inferior place and condition, viz., *one acre for each of the said ten burgages*; and that the aforesaid 30 acres of land shall be assigned and appointed conjointly and not separately in the lands of Drumclea aforesaid, by our Surveyor-General, for the time being, and by other our commissioners on that behalf to be authorized, and thenceforth for ever to be called the burgage-field; and in like manner we will and direct, and the aforesaid William Cole, for himself, his heirs, executors and assigns, covenant and agree to and with us, our heirs and successors, by these presents that he the said Wm. Cole, his heirs and assigns within the space of the aforesaid four years, shall assign or grant, and every of them shall assign or grant, the aforesaid 20 burgages, together with the land to the same burgages, as is aforesaid, severally and respectively to be assigned, to 20 several persons of the *English, Welsh, or Scottish* nation, to have, hold, and enjoy the aforesaid burgages and lands, with the appurtenances, to such persons so to be named and assigned severally and respectively, *to their heirs and assigns for ever, in fee farm, to the sole and proper use and behoof of such persons, their heirs and assigns for ever*; rendering thereout to the aforesaid Wm. Cole, his heirs and assigns, for each of the said burgages, together with the land to be assigned to each, to be built or erected by the aforesaid Wm. Cole, his heirs or assigns, at his own expense, a certain annual rent according to the rate of £10 in the £100 *bona fide* expended, or to be expended, in the said buildings; and in like manner reserving to himself, his heirs and assigns, for every burgage to be built or erected by the burgages themselves at their own expense, and the lands of the same, for each of the said greater burgages the value of 5*s.* current money of England

by the year, and for each of the lesser burgages the value of 2*s.* 6*d.* of like money of England by the year.

The Commons of 30 Acres.

And we will and direct, and the aforesaid Wm. Cole, for himself, his heirs, administrators, and assigns, covenants and agrees with us, our heirs and successors, that it may and shall be lawful for our Surveyor-General of this Kingdom of Ireland, for the time being, and our other commissioners authorised in this behalf, to set apart and mark out a certain scope or parcel of land, containing 30 acres, of the aforesaid measure, within the aforesaid 320 acres of land by these presents granted as aforesaid, ~~most~~ conveniently adjacent to the said town, and fitting for the *commonage of the cattle* of the inhabitants of the said town of Inniskillen. And that hereafter he the said Wm. Cole, his heirs or assigns, after the incorporation of the town aforesaid, and of the inhabitants of the same, being made or to be made, shall assign and convey to the said inhabitants and corporation and their successors, the said 30 acres of land, and his whole estate and interest in the same, for the commonage of the inhabitants of the said town for ever, without any rent or reservation, or anything else thereout to be rendered or paid to the aforesaid Wm. Cole, his heirs or assigns, or any other person, except 4*d.* current money of England, to be annually paid to the aforesaid Wm. Cole, his heirs and assigns, by every such burges and inhabitant having common of pasture in the said 30 acres of land.

It was also provided that a Thursday market should be held, and a fair yearly on Lammas day (1st August) and the day following at Enniskillen, unless when the said Lammas day happens on Saturday or Sunday, when the said fair shall commence of the following Monday, with courts of Pie-Powder* and the usual tolls; Captain William Cole to be clerk of the market and no person to sell goods by retail within the circumference of three miles of the said town except the freemen thereof without licence,

* So called in common parlance, but originally the Norman *Pie-Poudre*, the Court which had jurisdiction in disputes in fairs and markets, a power since transferred to Justice of the Peace, but one very rarely exercised, and falling into abeyance.

saving to the Bishop of Clogher all his rights and privileges in the island of Devenish.

The natural increase of the population and the demands of the community required more fairs, and accordingly the Earl of Enniskillen applied for and obtained a patent from King George III., in 1748, for the holding of fairs on the 10th of each month (except in March, May, and August), and this privilege was subsequently extended in the year 1813 to the 10th of every month, at the same time retaining two old fairs of 26th day of May and 26th of October.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BOROUGH CHARTER.

A patent for the creation of a town was not sufficient. There had to be particular powers given for definite purposes; and these were provided by subsequent means. The real charter of the town is a portentous document, and though it be long, owing its importance, it is desirable to quote it in full. I denote by headings (which are my additions) the subjects of the various passages in it, and break the solid Mss. into paragraphs to assist the reader. The Charter itself is enrolled: Rot. Pat. 10 Jac. I. p. 4, m. 38.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and soforth: To All to whom our present Letters shall come, GREETING:

Creation of the Borough.

Know that we, as well at the humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Inishkillen, in our County of Fermanagh, within our Province of Ulster, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, as to inhabit and plant those northern parts in our said Kingdom depopulated and laid waste, according to the form of the Republick in our Kingdom of England excellently established, and for the better Progress and perfection of that new Plantation lately there happily

begun—Of our special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, with the assent of our well-beloved and faithful Counsellor, Sir Arthur Chichester, Knt., our Deputy General of our said Kingdom of Ireland; Also according to the Intent and Effect of our certain Letters with our proper hand signed, and under our Signet dated at our Honor of Hampton Court the 26th Day of September, in the 10th year of our Reign of England, France and Ireland, and 46th of Scotland; and now in the Rolls of our Chancery of our said Kingdom of Ireland, Enrolled; Do appoint, ordain and Declare by these presents, that the aforesaid Town or Village and the entire Island of Inishkillen, and all and Singular messuages, Lofts, Mills, Houses, Edifices, Structures, Orchards, Gardens, Curtillages, Wastes, Farms, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, whatsoever with the appurts. lying and being within the aforesaid Towne or Village or Island aforesaid, or within the precincts of the same or any of them (our Castle or Fortilage of Inishkillen only Excepted); hereafter being and at perpetual future times, shall be one Entire and free Borough of its self by the name of the Borough of Inishkillen, and hereafter may be called, known and named the Borough of Inishkillen; and all those into one Entire and free Borough of its self by the name of the Borough of Inishkillen, We Erect, Constitute, make, and Ordain by these presents.

The Corporation.

AND FURTHER we will Ordain and Constitute by these presents, that within the Borough aforesaid there be one Body Corporate and politick consisting of one Sovereign, fourteen free Burgesses and the Community; And that all the Inhabitants within the aforesaid Town and Lands aforesaid hereafter for Ever may and shall be by force of these presents one Body, Corporate and Politick in thing, deed, and name, by the name of a Sovereign, Free Burgesses and Community of the Borough of Inishkillen; and them by the name of a Sovereign, free Burgesses and a Community of the Borough of Inishkillen aforesaid, One Body Corporate and Politick in thing, deed, and name, really and fully for us, our Heirs and Successors,—we Erect, make, Ordain, and Constitute by these presents, And that by the same name they may have perpetual succession: And that they by the name of a Sovereign, free Burgesses, and Community of the Borough of Inishkillen may and shall be at perpetual future times persons fit and capable in the Law to have, acquire, receive and possess Lands, Tenements, Libertys, priviledges in Jurisdictions, Franchises, and Hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever kind nature or

appearance they shall be to them and their successors in Fee and perpetuity.

Power to Demise.

AND ALSO Goods and Chattels and whatsoever other things of whatsoever kind nature or appearance they shall be: Also to give, grant, demise, and assign Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels; and to do and execute all and singular other Deeds and things by the name aforesaid; and that by the name of the Sovereign, Free Burgesses and Community of the Borough of Inishkillen may plead and be impleaded to answer and be answered to, defend and be defended to before us our heirs, and successors, and before whatsoever our Justices and Judges of our heirs, and successors, and others, howsoever in whatsoever our Courts of our heirs and successors, and elsewhere wheresoever of and in all and all kind of Actions, Suites, pleas, plaints and demands, whatsoever towards them or by them in any manner to be prosecuted or committed.

Two Members of Parliament.

AND THAT they, the aforesaid Sovereign and free Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors for ever, have full power or authority of Electing, sending, and returning two discreet and fit Men to serve and attend in every Parliament in our said Kingdom of Ireland hereafter to be held; And that such Men so Elected, sent and returned may have full power and authority to treat and consult upon those things and matters which to them and others there shall be Expounded or declared, and thereupon freely to give their Votes and Voices, and to do and Execute other things whatsoever so fully and freely which and as any other Burgesses of any other antient Borough in our said Kingdom of Ireland or in our said Kingdom of England in Parliament there used to do or Execute.

The Writs of Election.

WHEREFORE WE Will, and by these presents, for us our heirs and Successors do, give and grant to the aforesaid Sovereign, Free Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, and also Enjoyn and firmly for us our heirs and successors Command, all our Sheriffs, Officers and Servants of our heirs and successors whatsoever of our said County of Fermanagh for the time being to whom any our writt or writts of Election of Burgesses of Parliament within our said County of Fermanagh at any time shall be directed that every such Sheriff, Officer, or Servant to whom any such our writt or writts so as aforesaid shall be directed, shall cause his

precept to the Sovereign and Free Burgesses of the said Borough of Fermanagh for the time being for the Election and return of the same two Burgesses according to the form and effect of the same writt or writts.

First Sovereign and Corporation.

AND THAT these our Letters patent or the Enrollment of the same shall be, as well to the said Sovereign and free Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their Successors as to all and singular our Sheriffs, Officers, and Servants of our heirs and Successors whatsoever, a sufficient warrant and Exoneration in this part, and with that intention as at future times may appear: that this new Incorporation being now first composed of Just and honest Men, We make, Constitute and pominater William Cole, Esq., to be the first and modern Sovereign of the said Borough, to be continued in the same Office until the feast of Saint Michael the Arch Angel next after the date of these presents; And likewise we make, Constitute and nominate Sir John Wisher, Knight, Roger Atkinson, Esq., Robert Calvert, Esq., Henry Hummings, Esq., Thomas Barton, Esq., Edmond Sibthorpe, Gent., Thomas Shaw, William Hall, Nicholas Ozenbrook, Alexander Dunbar, Edward Moore, Alexander Wigham, Ferdinand Burfield, and Joseph Walters, to be the first and modern fourteen free Burgesses of the aforesaid Borough to be continued in the same Offices of Free Burgesses during their several Lives, unless in the mean time for bad behaviour or for any other reasonable Cause they or any of them from the Offices aforesaid shall be removed: And all inhabitants of the Town aforesaid and so many of such other Men whom the Sovereign and free Burgesses of the said Borough for the time being shall admit into the liberty of the Borough aforesaid We Will Constitute and Ordain to be of the Community of the Borough aforesaid.

Oath of Supremacy.

AND FURTHER We will that the aforesaid William Cole, whom by these presents we make Sovereign of the Borough aforesaid, shall come before our Justices of Assize at the General Sessions next after the date of these presents within the County of Fermanagh aforesaid, to be holden and in due form shall take the Oath commonly called the Oath of Supremacy as his Corporal Oath, well and faithfully to Execute the Office of Sovereign of the Borough aforesaid until the Feast of St. Michael the Arch Angel next to come as aforesaid, And that the Sovereign of the Borough aforesaid be annuall and Elected; and therefore We Will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors Grant to the aforesaid Sovereign, Free Burgesses

and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their Successors that the aforesaid Sovereign and Free Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid for the time being for Ever may and can yearly on the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist assemble themselves in any convenient place within the Burrough aforesaid:

Election of Sovereign.

AND the said Sovereign and free Burgesses so assembled, or the major part of the same, before they shall Depart there, can Elect one of the more discreet Burgesses of the Burrough aforesaid to Exercise the Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid for one year from the Feast of Saint and Michael the Arch Angel then next following, and untile one other of the Burgesses of the said Burrough to that Office in due manner shall be Elected, preferred, and Sworn; And that Every Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid so Elected before he may be admitted to Execute the Office aforesaid or be a reputed Sovereign shall take as well the aforesaid Oath, Commonly called the Oath of Supremacy, as his Corporal Oath of well and faithfully exercising the Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid on the feast of Saint Michael the Arch Angel next after such Election before the Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid, who had presided in the some Office the preceding year; And we grant full power and Authority to every such last predecessor of whatsoever Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid for the time being to receive the aforesaid Oaths of every such Sovereign newly to be Elected.

Successor to Sovereign in Case of Death.

AND MOREOVER of our like, special Grace, Certain knowledge and meere motion We Will, and by these presents for us our heirs and Successors Grant, to the aforesaid Sovereign, free Burgesses and Community of the said Burrough and their Successors, that if and as often as it shall happen the Sovereign of the said Burrough for the time being to Dye or in any manner vacate the Office aforesaid within one year after he shall be so as aforesaid Elected and Sworn to the Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid, that then and so often the free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid, and their Successors, may and can Elect an other fit person of the aforesaid number of the Free Burgesses as Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid to rule and govern the said Burrough for the remainder of that year within fifteen days next after such Vacation, and that every person and persons so as aforesaid Elected to the Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid, may and can Execute that Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid untile the feast of Saint Michael the Arch Angel next following after such Election, the Oath aforesaid called the Oath of Supremacy and also the

aforesaid Oath for the due Execution of his Office of Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid so as aforesaid first to be taken.

Filling of Vacancies.

AND FURTHER of our Special Grace, Certain knowledge, and mere motion We Will and by these presents for us our heirs and Successors grant to the aforesaid Sovereign, free Burgesses and Community of the said Burrough and their Successors, that if any of the aforesaid free Burgesses of the Burrough aforesaid so as aforesaid in these presents named or any of the Free Burgesses of the said Burrough hereafter to be Chosen shall Dye or from them Offices shall be removed, which free Burgesses hereby and every of them or any not behaving himself in that Office, We Will to be amovable at the pleasure of the Sovereign and major part of the free Burgesses of the said Burrough for the time being, that then the Sovereign and the rest of the free Burgesses of the Burrough aforesaid for the time being within seven days next after the death or removal of such free Burgess may and can assemble themselves in any convenient place within the Burrough aforesaid, and that the said Sovereign and free Burgesses so assembled, or the major part of them before they shall depart, may and can Elect one or so many as shall be deficient of the the aforesaid number of the fourteen free Burgesses of the better or more honest of the Inhabitants of the Burrough aforesaid into the place or places of such free Burgess or Burgesses so dead or from their Offices removed, to be continued in the same Office during their natural lives unless in the mean time for bad Government or bad behaviour in that part they shall be removed or any of them shall be removed; And that every person so Elected in the Office of free Burgess of the Burrough aforesaid before he may be admitted to Execute that Office shall take his Corporal Oath well and faithfully to Exercise the Office of free Burgess of the Burrough aforesaid within seven days next after such his Election before the Sovereign of the Burrough aforesaid for the time being or before such of the rest of the free Burgesses of the said Burrough then surviving and in their Offices remaining on the major part of them, to which Sovereign truly for the time being or free Burgesses on the major part of them for the time being, We Give and Grant by these presents full power and authority to receive the aforesaid Oath from every such free Burgess duly to be Elected and thus so often as the Case shall so happen.



CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS COLONEL SIR WILLIAM) COLE,
Constable of H. M. Castle of Iniskillen,
and Founder of the Town 1612.

Provost's Court.

AND FURTHER of our Special Grace, certain knowledge and mere motion We will, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors grant, to the aforesaid Sovereign, free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their successors, that they and their successors for Ever have and hold and may and can have and hold one Court in any convenient and open place within the Borough aforesaid, to be held before the Sovereign of said Burrough for the time being and in the same Court to hold pleas *Every Thursday* from week to week of all and singular Action, Debts, Conventions, Transgressions, Detinue, Contracts and Demands, personal whatsoever, not exceeding the sum of five Marks Sterling happening or arising in or within the aforesaid Burrough of Inishkilling or liberties of the Same; And that that Court be reputed and hold a Court of Record for Ever we Will also, and of our more abundant special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion by these presents for us our heirs and successors grant, to the aforesaid Sovereign free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their successors for ever that they and their successors from time to time as often as it will be seen more expedient to them may and can meet and assemble themselves in any convenient place within the Burrough aforesaid and in their assemblys there make, Elect, ordain and establish such and the like Acts ordinances and statutes called bye Laws for the good regimen and sound Government of the Borough aforesaid as and which to them or the major part of them shall be seen necessary. And that they have power and authority by fines and penalties of Money to punish, chastise, and correct, whatsoever persons Delinquent against such Acts, Ordinances, and Statutes, provided the aforesaid Acts, Ordinances, Statutes, fines, and penalties, be reasonable and not contrary or impugnant to the Laws or statutes of our Kingdom of Ireland.

Guild of Merchants.

AND FURTHER We will, and by these presents for us our heir and successors grant, to the aforesaid Sovereign, free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their successors for Ever, that they have a Guild of Merchants within the Burrough aforesaid and one common Seal of such form and remarkable Sculpture as to them shall seem better for the affairs of the said Burrough to serve for Ever. And that they may and can for ever from time to time as often as there shall be occasion of themselves Elect, constitute, and ordain two Serjeants at Mace and other inferior Officers and

Servants necessary for the better government of the Burrough aforesaid and the Inhabitants of the same and every person so from time to time Elected, Constituted, and Ordained, We make Constitute or Ordain to be hereafter Serjeants at Mace and other Officers and Servants of the said Burrough respectively and to continue in their Offices during their good behaviour or at the good will and pleasure of the said Sovereign free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid; And that every such Serjeant, Officer and Servant before to be admitted to Exercise his Office shall take before the Sovereign of the said Burrough for the time being his Corporal Oath of Executing his Office well and faithfully.

A Favourable Interpretation.

AND FURTHER of our more ample special Grace, Certain knowledge and mere motion, We grant to the aforesaid Sovereign free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their successors for ever that these our Letters patents and Every article and Clause in the same contained or the Enrollment of the same be construed, interpreted and adjudged to the greatest advantage benefit and favour of the aforesaid Sovereign, free Burgesses and Community of the Burrough aforesaid and their successors toward and against us, our heirs and successors as well in all our Courts as elsewhere within our Kingdom of Ireland as elsewhere wheresoever without any Confirmation Licence or tolleration hereafter to be procured or obtained, Notwithstanding that our writt *de ad quod Damnum* shall not issue to Enquire of the premises before the making of this our Letter patent, and notwithstanding any other defect or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever to the Contrary notwithstanding Therefore because, &c., We Will also &c., without any fine in the Hanaper, &c.

IN WITNESS whereof We have Caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witness our aforesaid Deputy General of our Kingdom of Ireland at Dublin the 27th day of February in the Tenth year of our reign of England, France and Ireland and 46th of Scotland. [1612-13.]

Captain William Cole was now endowed with power to provide his town and saddled with certain responsibilities, which he proceeded to carry out. He selected the highest land for the site of the church and cemetery, removing the gibbet of the Maguire to an elevation in the Toneystick townland,

afterwards known as The Gallows Green; he placed the school with court and garden near the church; he selected the north side of the other hill for the market-place; and he placed the goal near the East Ford. He provided "burgage" acres, not in the townland of Drumclea, as specified, unless we are to assume that Toneystick be a sub-denomination of Drumclea; and provided Commons of the town in the townland of Toneystick, extending east and north-east from the East Ford.

But while we cannot understand how it was that the townland of Drumclea, specially assigned by the Charter to the town, never really belonged to it, on the other hand we cannot glean how another townland, in the barony of Magheraboy, came into the possession of the Corporation. Petty's Down Survey Maps and the Book of Survey and Distribution in the Records Office show that the early Corporation possessed the tate or 60 acres arable and 20 acres of pasture, total 80 acres, in the townland of Killinsillow or Killynalow (modern Kilnaloo), 75 Irish acres, and unless an exchange were effected by authority of the two townlands I cannot understand it. Kilnaloo remained in the possession of the Enniskillen Urban Council until they sold to their tenants.

We can imagine the new town springing up. The track through the grass that led from the East Ford over the two hills to the castle, on the dry high ground, became the main street, according to a plan "set down" by Sir Ralph Bingley and Captain Basil Brooke:* some houses were provided for the

* Of the Donegal family, from which the Fermanagh family of Colebrooke is descended. His son, Sir Henry, received grants of land in Fermanagh for his services during the rebellion of 1641. By his second wife, daughter of Sir George St. George, he had a son Thomas, who was the father of Henry

burgesses of a better character than the rest, and we may assume that the rest of them were at first constructed of cage-work or of wattles and clay; and that they extended from the East Ford towards the market-place.

We can in fancy see the two-storey burgage houses built of stone, and thatched one-storey cottages along the main thoroughfare, uneven, and, I fear, muddy; while here and there a laneway or pass led to the lake. The thatched cottages gave way in turn to thatched houses of two storeys, a gradual improvement taking place in the conditions of the people, as the years proceeded.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CORPORATION.

Captain Cole was constituted the first Provost under the new charter, and the following were the first Burgesses with my notes (in small type) upon them:—

1 JN. WISHER, Kt. [Wishart]

Sir John Wishart was the patentee of 1,500 acres in South Fermanagh, between Newtownbutler and Clones, constituted into the Manor of Leitrim; at a rent of £8 a year, which he subsequently sold to Sir Stephen Butler.

2 ROGER ATKINSON, Esq.

Roger Atkinson obtained a grant, as a military servitor, of 1,000 acres, (really 4,500 acres,) in 1611, for £8 a year, including the townlands of Killyvilly, Carrownacnea, Garvary, Ballyreagh Lisson, &c., constituted the Manor of Coole. He had been in command of 100 foot at Lough Foyle, and was described as Captain Roger Atkinson, born in England. He was the first member of Parliament for the Borough of Enniskillen having been returned on 20th April, 1613, and was described as 'of Coole.' But he changed the name of his house by patent in 1639 to Castle Atkinson. The late Lord Belmore said that tradition ascribed the site of this house to Killynure hill. In 1640 he sold the estate to Arthur Champion, of Shannock, (near Clones,) for £1,650. This Mr. Arthur Champion, was slain at Shannock during the rebellion of 1661, by Rory Maguire, who also burnt down Castle Atkinson. Mr. John Corry, merchant, of Belfast, purchased Manor Coole (or Atkinson) in 1656 for £860, one half the sum paid for it by his predecessor, perhaps owing to the unsettled state of the country; and the acreage was set down as 5,400 acres, or 8,099 statute. From this Mr. Corry descended the Corry family of Castle Coole.

3 ROBERT CALVERT, Esq.

Robert Calvert was a patentee of 1,000 acres in that portion of the barony of Clonkelly set apart for English undertakers, the Small Proportion of Gortgrunan, including such townlands as Lisnashilliday, Clongownagh, Agharooksey, &c., for £5 6s 8d per year, created the Manor of Mount Calvert. He sold the lands on 4th November, 1620, to Archdeacon Heygate of Clogher, who subsequently became bishop of Kilfenora. The Manor finally became known as Manor Heygate (or Heigate).

4 HENRY HUNNING,* Esq.

Henry Hommings (or Honyng) was patentee of the Manor of Dewross in Lurg, 1,000 acres, near Lisnarick. He came from Darsham in Suffolk, made no attempt to plant his Proportion, and sold to Henry Flower and Edward Sibthorpe.

* Sometimes spelt Honyng or Honings, was an undertaker in the barony of Lurg and a kinsman of the Archdales. His second sister, Frances, married John Archdale of Dereham, Suffolk, who was a first cousin of John Archdale, of Norsom, Norfolk, the founder of the Fermanagh family.

Brooke who was one of the Members for Parliament for Fermanagh in 1727. This Henry was the grandfather of Sir Henry Brooke, Bart., of 1822. His son, known as the good Sir Arthur, was father of the late Sir Victor Brooke, Bart., whose grandson is the present Sir Basil Brooke of Colebrooke.

5 THOMAS BARTON, Esq.

Thomas Barton of Norwich, obtained a grant of 1,000 acres constituted the Manor of Drumynshin between Irvinestown and Enniskillen, and purchased the estate of Nekarne (now Castle Irvine). He also acquired other lands in Lurg and sold to and exchanged with others. The land from Pettigo to Clonelly is still in the family. The Barton family has ever since resided in the county, and the present representatives are Captain Chas. R. Barton, D.L., the Waterfoot, and Mr. Ffolliott W. Barton, Clonelly.

6 EDMOND SIBTHORPE, gt.

Edmond (should be Edward) Sibthorpe bought lands in Clonkelly from John Sedborough, who had in turn purchased from Henry Flower the townlands of Drumsara, Aghe-Drumgallaghe, Boysallowe, Golan, Tatnegearagh, Mullanclohoghe, and Tateconnell, and among his tenants were Robert Allen, and Faithful Teate, Stephen Allen, Randolph Day, and Joseph Dickinson. John Sedborough had been styled as of Mount-Sedborough. The widow of Mr. Edward Sibthorpe married Mr. Robert Newcomen; and the lands were in after years re-sold.

7 THOMAS SHAW.

Thomas Shaw, described as of Enniskillen, gent., obtained the townlands of Drumsue and Kinaria, in the Manor of Drumsue from Capt. Wm. Cole in 1613.

8 WILLM. HALL.

William Hall I believe to be the leaseholder of this name on the Castle-town estate of Deerrynfogher. There also was a John Hall; and from these gentlemen I believe the Hall family sprang long connected with Enniskillen.

9 NICH. OZENBROOKE.

One of Sir Wm. Cole's men on the Manor of Portora.

10 ALEXANDER DUNBAR.

Alexander Dunbar was the patentee of 1,000 acres called Kilkerhan, near Fintra, County Donegal, who sold to Sir Robert Gordon.

11 EDWARD MOORE.

Edward Moore was granted two tates of land on the Castle Archdale estate (Manor of Tullanagh) by Mr. John Archdall, the original patentee. Thomas Moore and David Byas got a share of the lands.

12 ALEXANDER WIGHAM.

13 FERDINAND BURFIELD.

14 JOSEPH WALTERS.

The Burgesses were to hold office for life and most of these seem to have all been undertakers or recipients of grants from the Crown or Patentees, and had little or nothing to do with the town except that some formal grant may have been made to qualify them as burgesses of the capital of the newly formed county.*

The Provost was elected from the Free Burgesses yearly, on St. John's Day, the 24th June, by the Provost and Free Burgesses; and he held office from the 29th September till the election of his successor.

* Sir Arthur Chichester did not favour the selection of patentees from the county representing the town. He wrote (State Papers 1611-14)—"These cannot well stand, for those he should name must be of the town." Another copy of the list includes the names as Captaine Roger Atkinson and Edward Siphthorpe.

The Provost received as salary £100 a year, fees in the Borough Court, and a fee of half-a-guinea for affixing the Corporation seal to a document not belonging to the Corporation. He had not much to do except preside as judge of the Borough Court, exercise supervision over the fairs and markets, for which purpose he had the assistance of the town sergeants. He also regulated the weights and measures and determined disputes in markets or fairs and in the linen market. Sometimes the Provost did not live in the town; sometimes he paid a deputy to discharge the duties of the office at £16 a year.

The Free Burgesses held their office for life, and as they were virtually appointed by Captain Cole and his successors, there was no doubt as to their views on matters concerning the township. Vacancies in the Corporation were filled by the remaining Burgesses and all Burgesses had to be Freemen. The Freemen were free of certain tolls in use, and were supposed to own a small parcel of ground. One of the oldest families of the town of Enniskillen is that of Frith; and Mr. John A. Frith,* Lawnakilla, lately High Sheriff of the county, has supplied me with a copy of the form of appointment. It runs as follows:—

CORPORATION OF INNISKILLIN.

Be it Remembered that the Day and Year under Written James Frith was Elected and Sworn a Freeman of said Corporation by the Provost with the Consent of the Burgesses then present, and therefore the said James Frith is hereby admitted to have and Receive all Privileges and advantages which any other Freemen ought to have by Right or Custom. In Testimony Whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of Said Corporation this 24th day of June 1769 (nine). ART. JOHNSTON, Recr.



[The foregoing copy of the Corporation seal is its exact size.]

* Both Mr. J. A. Frith, and his cousin, Mr. John Brian Frith, of the Cross, have served in the office of High Sheriff of Fermanagh.

There were generally about 20 Freemen in the Borough, in addition to the Provost and Free Burgesses, and in addition to being free from tolls they enjoyed the privilege of free grazing for cattle on the Commons. But they were never consulted as to affairs in the Borough, and had no power, except occasionally in the framing of By-Laws.

The Provost's Court was a court of record within the Borough, with jurisdiction to the extent of five marks (£3 6s 8d Irish), which could issue an Attachment against the goods of the person, and when the Marshalsea was provided the goods were stored here, and a debtor was also imprisoned here until his debt was discharged. Those who remember the first Town-hall (not the Market-house) of Enniskillen, which was provided about 1817, may remember two rooms with barred windows. The debtors were confined here and attended to by the keeper of the Marshalsea. As an example of the manner in which the nature of a Plaintiff's case was presented I give here the copy of a process issued by a prominent Enniskillener in the year 1833, as follows:—

Corporation Court of Enniskillen, to be held 6th June 1833.

<p>Malachy Doyle and Co. Michael Honan, Defendant.</p>	<p>The plaintiffs Malachy Doyle* and Co. came in their proper persons into this worshipful court, and complain of Michael Honan, in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of said corporation, before Hamilton Irvin, Esq., the Worshipful Provost thereof, of a plea of trespass in the case, and so forth.</p>
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For that whereas the defendant became indebted to the plaintiffs in the sum of two pounds fourteen shillings and three pence sterling, being the amount of a book account due for goods sold by plaintiffs to defendant in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833, which sum plaintiffs desire to recover, they therefore bring their suit, and so forth.

<p><i>Dated Enniskillen, this 1st day of June 1833.</i></p>	<p>Pledges to prosecute JOHN DOE and RICHARD ROE</p>
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* Mr. Malachy Doyle owned property in Barrack Lane (Queen-street), and elsewhere, and was the grandfather of the late Mr. Thomas Armstrong, Manager of the Enniskillen and Sligo Railway.

And a Notice of Trial was also served in the following form:—

Corporation Court of Enniskillen.

<p>Plaintiff. Defendant.</p>	<p>Take notice, that the Provost of said corporation will hold a court in the townhall on Thursday the _____ day of 183____, at _____ o'clock in the forenoon, when and where you are desired to come forward and make a defence if any you have. Dated this _____ day of 183____.</p>
<p>To</p>	<p>..... Recorder.</p>

The use of the two words John Doe and Richard Roe will appear strange now-a-days. In those days neither the plaintiff nor the defendant was allowed to give evidence: and fictitious names were used, of which John Doe and Richard Roe were the most common, and the real plaintiff and defendant appeared as witnesses for Doe and Roe, and persuaded the judge to regard them as the real partisans in the case. It is astonishing to us that these legal fictions existed so long as 1852. Those fictitious names also entered into proceedings as securities.

The Clerk of the Court was the Recorder or Town Clerk, who summoned the juries (generally of 18) by means of the Sergeant at Mace—an officer who bore the silver mace on state occasions. The juries, like the Provost and Corporation and its officers were exclusively Protestant. The Provost had to take the Oath of Supremacy as well as the oath of office, and the Corporation had to officially attend Communion in the parish Church at least once a year, until the statutes were passed for the Relief of Nonconformists. No Roman Catholics or members of the Church of Scotland (Dissenters in Ireland) were elected to the Corporation; but when the Board of Town Commissioners was formed in 1847 one-third of

the number were elected from the Roman Catholics in the town, being their proportion of the rating of the Borough. The officers of the old Corporation were

The Recorder
Two Town Sergeants
A Sergeant at Mace
A Clerk of the Market

A Billet Master
A Weighmaster
And an Agent.

The Clerk of the Market was usually one of the officers of the Corporation, who received in later years £10 a year for the office, and the Weighmaster was supposed to be the Provost, who performed the duty of the office by deputy.

The Market Place extended from the Diamond over the ground now covered by the Town-hall and premises between it and Water-street and the river; and here the butter market and butter crane were placed. It was obligatory on sellers of butter to have their casks and butter weighed by the Weighmaster, until the use of private cranes was allowed by law (10th Geo. IV, Chap. 41). The change in the law led to abuses. Publicans provided stores for the storage of butter at 2d. per cask and a small sum for whisky money or an order for a noggin of whisky (3d. or 4d.) per each firkin sold. These practices led to complaint, as well as the custom of publicans entertaining buyers of butter free of cost, and influencing sales to them; the purchaser, in return, getting orders for whisky from the sellers, who were chiefly farmers. The Provost and Corporation, therefore, made new rules, providing small fees for custom, weighing, inspection, and cooperage, and for storage when necessary, the whole charges not exceeding 10d., and no money to be demanded for liquor, or liquor to be drunk on any pretence whatever.

This last rule was made on the 18th of July, 1818, when the Rev. Dr. Burrowes, headmaster of Enniskillen School, was Provost. An outcry was raised against these charges, and they were reduced. Private cranes were then introduced by the publicans, and further troubles arose which I may refer to hereafter.

Owing to the loss of the Corporation Records we are unable to examine in detail the composition of the Corporation down the years. I thought I had succeeded in finding them when the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records Office, having had a search made, produced a large book, but it showed only the following entry, made in the year 1812:—

I have books stating the Resolutions of the Corporation enacting By-Laws, and appointing the Provost every 24th of June and swearing him into office on the 29th day of September following, and also appointing a Macebearer and two Town-sergeants; also the Charter granted to the Corporation in the year 1612 by King James the First. The above-mentioned books, &c., go as far back as the year 1706; cannot state the cause of the deficiency prior to that date.

The old Townhall having been thrown down and a new one not yet completely finished, the Books and Charter are kept in the Provost's House; and the Court for the Recovery of small debts, not exceeding £3 6s 8d is held in the Townhall. The said Records are in a good condition, and the Books numbered 1, 2, 3. Original Charter in the Rolls Office.

THOMAS WHITTEN,

Recorder and Towns Clerk of Enniskillen.

We have evidence here, therefore, that the three volumes of the Records of the Corporation survived the great fires of the town. I knew in my youth a Miss Whitten, a daughter of the Recorder. It was a good local name for over a century in Enniskillen, and the name is now locally extinct. Thomas

Whitten was living in 1823 when Moses Frith became Recorder.

We have, however, in the Vestry Book of Enniskillen, now preserved in the Records office, the names of several Provosts who signed the minutes of Vestries from time to time, and I give with them the names of others in italic obtained from other sources:—

- 1618—WILLIAM ROSCROW.
- 1638—RICHARD GUTRIDGE, of Lisgoole.
- 1666—THOMAS PICKEN.
- 1667—HENRY FFWALL.
- 1668—HENRY BALL.
- 1670—WILLIAM SMITH.
- 1671-2—THOMAS PICKEN.
- 1674—WILL. COOPER (dpt. Prost.)
- 1675-6—PHILIP BROWNING.
- 1677—WILL. COOPER.
- 1678—JOHN COLE.
- 1680—WILLIAM SMITH.
- 1681—WM. BROWNING.
- 1682—DAVID RYND.
- 1684—JA. EWART.
- 1687-89—PAUL DANE.
- 1694—THOMAS LATOURNEL*
- 1697-89—JAMES CORRY (Capt.).
- 1702—THOS. LETOURNELL.
- 1710—JOHN COLE.
- 1719—JOHN COLE.
- Later LUTTERNAL HUDSON.
- years WALTER HUDSON (Kt.)
- WILLIAM STEWART.
- 1769—ARTHUR JOHNSTON.
- 1781—WM. SCOTT.
- 1818—ROBERT BURROWES.
- 1824—THOMAS JOHNSTON (rector).
- 1825—MAJOR IRVINE.
- WILLIAM GABBET, Capt.

* This name occurs a few times in old chronicles as a citizen of distinction, and one of the Hudson family. Sir Walter was knighted by the Viceroy. I believe that the name borne by a Thomas Latourney in Lack is that of the old family name corrupted, the first of whom was probably a French Huguenot.

- 1826—THOMAS JOHNSTON, Ck.
- 1827—HAMILTON IRVINE.
- 1828—THOMAS JOHNSTON, Ck.
- 1829—HAMILTON IRVINE.
- 1830—THOMAS JOHNSTON, Ck.
- 1831—HAMILTON IRVINE.
- 1832—CHARLES OVENDEN, M.D.
- 1833—HAMILTON IRVINE.
- 1834—CHARLES OVENDEN, M.D.

It will thus be seen that Major Hamilton Irvine, of the local Militia, and the Rector often enjoyed the honours and salary between them; and it was locally understood that the Earl of Enniskillen was consulted as to every appointment. The Provost of 1832 was father of the Very Rev. Chas. T. Ovenden, at one time rector of Enniskillen, and now Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TOWN DEVELOPS.

We have not, unfortunately, any direct testimony (the main sources failing) as to the growth and development of the township for some time. We can well understand, however, that owing to the character of the time, guards had to be placed on the two chief fords, until bridges were placed over them, that roads were made, and that probably the first road was that from the town to the Near Mill, for long connected with the ancient name of Frith, in Toneystick. It proceeded up the steep gradient from the East Ford, along the side of the hill (called Camomile Hill during the 18th century) across the then fair green; and dipping along the present avenue of Fort Lodge proceeded (right across the present broad road to Irvinestown) past the Pound, swerving to the left from the then Dublin road (above the present railway bridge) towards Moneynoe or Chanterhill on its way to Derrykeeghan,* the site of the Far Mill, for about two centuries connected

* The flow of water from Ballydoolagh lake to this mill, when owned by Mr. Christopher Wilson in 1870, was considerably reduced by the diversion of the water of the lake to supply Enniskillen waterworks, for which Mr. Wilson was awarded compensation.

with the name of Wilson, provided for this section. Till this day will be observed the diagonal line of old trees leading from the old road marking the track of the way to the Near mill, and another diagonal line of trees marking another track eastward up to the same road, further on. A small house close to the present Presbyterian Manse, was built on the site of this last road, as was usually the case when it was sought to put an end to right-of-way traffic, when the broad road to Irvinestown was opened in 1824.

The town had not long embarked upon its independent existence when on the 15th December, in 1617, Mathew and Edward Davis of Dublin, gents., obtained a licence to sell during their lives spirituous liquors in Eniskillen and throughout Fermanagh County: and on the 22nd no less a personage than Sir William Cole himself (for he had been knighted) and Dame Susan, his wife, obtained a licence to keep taverns and make and sell ardent spirits in Eniskillen and within three miles round about.

Hitherto Sir Wm. Cole had been Warden in the Castle for the sovereign of the realm, mention of which was specially excluded from his grant, but we find in the year 1820 a new state of things arise. In this year a King's Letter directed that the inland forts of Ulster, including the Castle of Enniskillen, be granted to their present custodians; and that within three years they were to build castles 40 feet long by 20 feet broad by 30 feet high, with bawns 200 feet square where such were not already built. Therefore it was that Sir William Cole received a grant of the Castle, fort, and baron of Inishkillen and two-thirds part of the island of Inishkillen, containing 40 acres with two small islands adjoining the said island of

Inishkillen with all their buildings, lying within the Lake called Loughearne, and all the lands and tenements belonging to same. Rent £5 Irish: to hold as of the Castle of Dublin by fealty as well as common soccage. To keep the Fort and all the premises therein in repair, and in time of rebellion or any general disturbance the King to have power to place a Governor therein with troops both horse and foot with all the munitions for defence, and in case of a minority the Lord Deputy to have power to place a Governor in the Castle. Not to alien any part of the premises to a recusant or to any person that does not conform to the established religion, and in case the descendants of said William Cole be not of the same faith the Lord Deputy for the time to have power to take possession of the Castle or Fort and place therein a Governor of the established religion. And not to alien to the mere Irish for a longer term than 21 years.

But before this time Captain Cole had repaired the Castle, after it had suffered from the siege, for we find from the Carew Manuscripts under the heading of "Enishkellin" and the year 1611, that

There is a fair strong wall newly erected of lime and stone, 26 foot high, with flankers, a parapet, and a walk on top of the wall, built by Captain William Colle [Cole], constable thereof, towards which he had 200^l sterling from the King. A fair house begun upon the foundation of the old castle, with other convenient houses for store and munition, which, besides the laying out of the captain's own money, will draw on some increase of charge to the King. The bawn is ditched about with a fair large ditch, and the river on one side, with a good drawbridge. The King has three good boats there ready to attend all services. A large piece of ground adjoins the fort with a good timber house, after the English fashion, built by the captain, in which he and his family now dwell.

Which leads us to conclude that the present Keep in the square of the Castle Barracks was largely the work of Captain Cole, who also built the towers at the water gate, and that very little but the lower walls are left of the original Castle of the Maguires. In fact the difference in the masonry in the side walls seems to mark the junction of the new masonry with the old. (See illustration, page 16.)

The timber houses built by Captain Cole were likely constructed on the higher ground of the Broad Meadow near Wellington Place.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HOUSES AND BRIDGES.

We have extremely little information as to the character of the houses of the gentry of the period or of the better classes. The first dwelling of Captain Cole, as we see, was constructed of wood; the most of the houses in the young settlement were likely fashioned with the same material, and therefore became an easy prey to fire. A great conflagration occurred in Enniskillen in 1618, which was so disastrous that certain persons were authorized to collect money throughout Ulster to relieve the sufferers. We might conclude that some pains would be taken to guard against a similar occurrence when new houses were raised, and we do not read of another disaster of the kind till the beginning of the next century, in 1705.

The only information which I can procure respecting the housing of the period is that from the writings of a Scottish gentleman named Lithgow who visited Ireland in 1619-20—about the same time as Captain Pynnar, and whose observations were not published until 1692, in the course of which he said

that the residences of the gentry were, as a rule, extremely mean in appearance, and that most of them were thatched. As to the peasantry, their homesteads were from nine to twelve feet high, circular in form, with a conical roof. The walls were composed of a frame of wattles, interlaced with straw and filled up with turf. "One room served for barn, kitchen, hall, and stable; and that room, probably surrounded by a dung heap, under which roof in foul weather scarcely can they find a dry part wherein to repose their 'cloud-baptized heads.'"

Few of the gentry could read or write, and as for the peasantry, they were not only illiterate but ignorant and superstitious, some of the old Druidical beliefs and charms influencing them.

He also said that there were more rivers, lakes, brooks, strands, quagmires, bogs, and marshes in Ireland than in all Christendom besides; for, travelling there in the winter, his daily journeys were rendered disagreeable through his horse constantly sinking up to the girths in the boggy roads; his saddle and saddle-bags were utterly destroyed: he was often compelled to cross streams by swimming his horse; and in so doing, he *and his guides* (!) ran risk of their lives. In five months he foundered six horses, and felt himself in the end as worn out as any of his steeds.

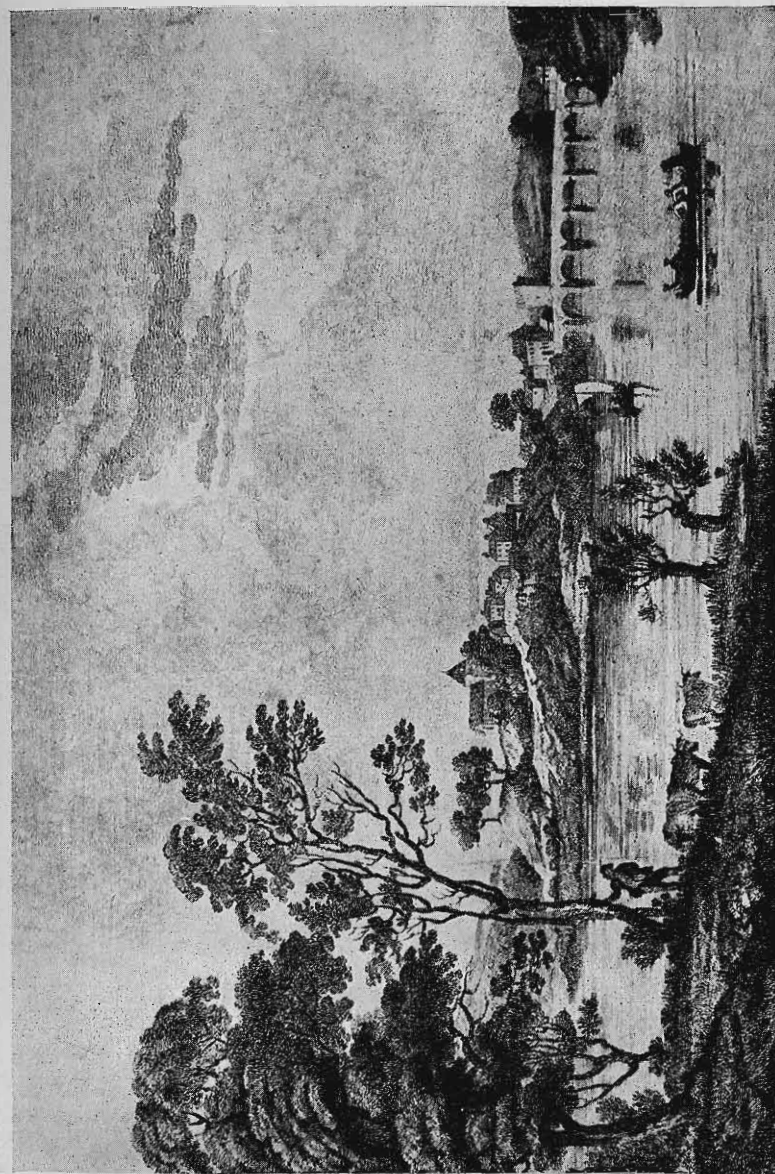
Among the improvements provided by the planters were two bridges—one at the East Ford, and another at the West Ford. The character of the former is not known, but I take it to have been a very narrow and temporary structure, perhaps eleven feet wide, as a new and a wider stone bridge was built, and was only being completed before the

Revolution in 1688, at the East Ford, which remains till this day as the western side of the East Bridge.

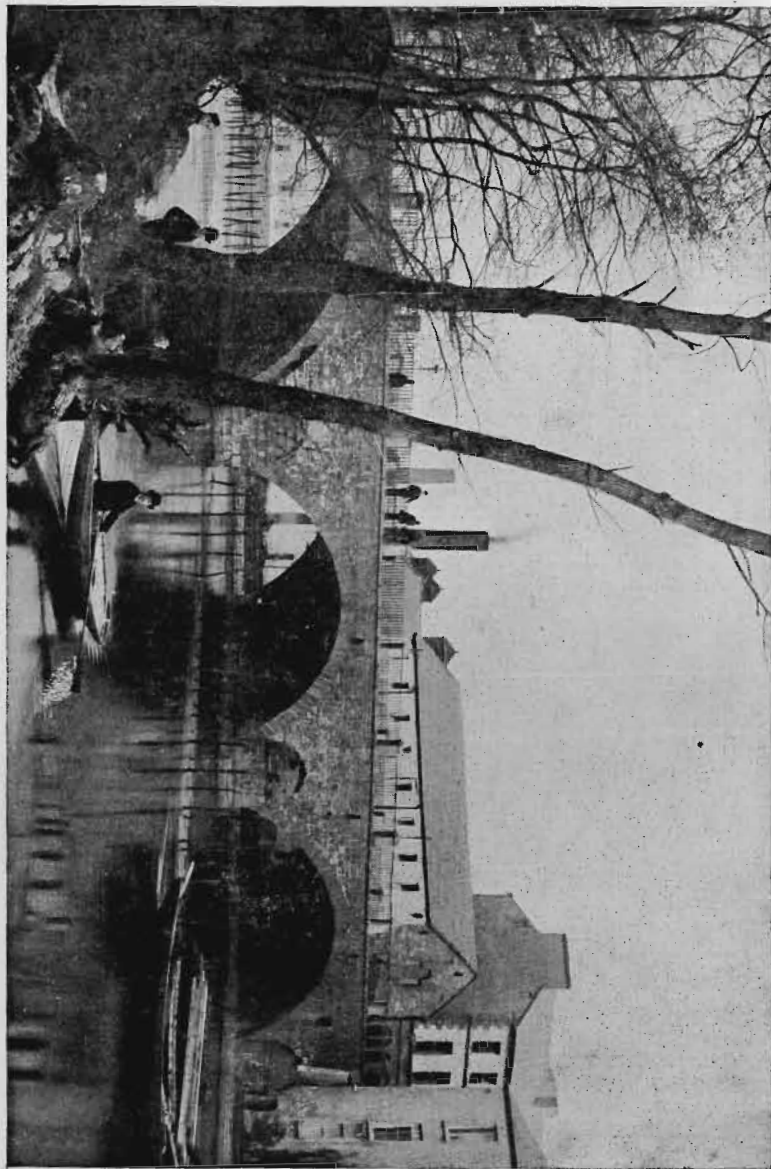
To protect passengers from passing cattle or vehicles, it had the V-shaped man holes, which were generally occupied by beggars, till the bridge was widened about 1825, giving a carriage way of 14ft. 6in. wide, places of refuge were done away with, and one flagged side-walk was laid down on the north western side. This bridge was again widened in 1892, during Mr. Thos. Plunkett's Chairmanship, to remove a sharp angle on the north-east side, which had caused an accident. The sloping roadway to the Forthill was dug away at the same time, (to be replaced by the present steps), the excavated earth being flung into the low ground beside the river towards the islet, and on this ground the new houses of Mr. Dawson, V.S., and others stand. When the Lough Erne Drainage Works* of 1887 were completed, the level of the lake was so reduced that the wooded islet of Enniskillen became part of the mainland.

The first bridge at the West Ford was composed of eight arches, and was spoken of as being identical in number of arches, and size, and recesses to the present bridge at Ballyshannon, and it remained there till about 1773-5, when a new stone bridge of three arches was constructed in every way like the East Bridge. This last bridge was sufficient for the public traffic until the Lough Erne Drainage Board (appointed in 1887) finding it necessary to remove one of the piers, and to deepen the water way, built the new stone bridge, with one central pier, in 1892.

* The contractor for the Lough Erne Works, was Mr. Best, whose son Mr. Allen Best married Miss Galt, Enniskillen, daughter of Mr. Wm. Galt and granddaughter of the Rev. Alex Cooper Maclatchy, M.A., Presbyterian Minister, Enniskillen.



First West Bridge of Enniskillen from Cornagrade, about 1730, showing the Eight Arches and the Guard-house.
Face page 196]



CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TOWNSFOLK.

Seeing that the town was planted in 1612 we cannot expect much from it at this period ; and while we would like to peer into its appearance, its social and political conditions, and surroundings, the only glimpse afforded of it is a sort of census of Enniskillen* taken about the year 1630. The exact date is not filled in, nor the name of the Provost, but it is about 20 years after the town was founded. It is interesting reading as showing the names of the earlier inhabitants, and of these names several survive. As to John Frith, the name survives in the name of Mr. John Brien Frith, J.P., and of Mr. John Arthur Frith, also a High Sheriff of the county lately ; and in the name given to Frith Alley, convenient to the cottage at one time known as Island View, with a pretty outlook towards Derryhara and the islet of Enniskillen, but obscured by the construction of the Gas Works in 1849 and by the erection of other

* Compare those names with the list of townsmen who signed the address to King William and Queen Mary nearly 50 years later and only a few of them appear.

buildings. Numbers 46 and 47 also show the names of ancestors of two well-known local families—the Caldwells and the Carletons. Here is the extract, from The Muster Roll of the county of ffarmanagh :

"THE NAMES OF THE TOWNESMEN OF ENESKILLIN AND THEIR
ARMES, A.D. 163—.

Provost,		
1 Frauncis Bird	...	Sword onely.
2 Gerrard Wiggan	...	" "
3 David Williams	...	" "
4 Thomas Browning	...	" "
5 Thomas Smith	...	Sword and pike.
6 Andrew Lewis	...	Sword onely.
7 Ralph Pickring	...	" "
8 Andrew Ward	...	Sword and pike.
9 William Johnston	...	Sword onely.
10 John Harrison	...	" "
11 Thomas Little	...	Sword and pike.
12 Gilbert Johnston	...	Sword onely.
13 William Wheatlow	...	Sword and pike.
14 Thomas Hogg	...	Sword onely.
15 James Johnston	...	" "
16 Mungo Rotherfeild	...	Sword and pike.
17 Thomas Hill	...	Sword and callener.
18 William Orum	...	Sword onely.
19 James M'Kilmay	...	Sword and callener.
20 George Bochanan *	...	Sword onely.
21 John Davis	...	Sword and pike.
22 Robert King	...	Sword only.
23 John Amerson	...	Sword and callener.
24 John Ford	...	Sword and pike.
25 John Hays	...	Sword onely.
26 Richard Nyst	...	Sword and pike.
27 John Padge	...	" "
28 William Hogg	...	" "
29 Richard Smyth	...	Sword onely.
30 John Davison	...	Sword and callener.
31 William Boochannan	...	" "
32 John Blany	...	" "
33 John Radcliff	...	Pike onely.
34 John Carroll	...	Sword and Halbert.
35 John Mouse	...	" "
36 David Logan	...	Sword onely.
37 Richard Major	...	No armes.
38 William Grible	...	No armes.
39 John Frith	...	" "
40 Jeremy Gleene	...	" "
41 John Maxwell	...	" "

* Robert Bochanan, Enniskillen, who died about 1880, was the only one I know of who spelt his name this way.

42 George Gylesby	...	No armes.
43 Robert Rea	...	"
44 Rynyon [Ninian] Watson	...	"
45 Georg Nichols	...	"
46 John Caldwell	...	"
47 Christopher Chareilton	...	"
48 Rynyon Armstrong	...	"
49 Thomas M'Cartan, younger*	...	"
50 David Minshaw	...	"
51 Brian Johnston	...	"
52 Thomas Yates	...	"

* The use of the word "younger" for junior shows the use of the Scotch form in this and other cases.

CHAPTER XIX.

MUSTER ROLL OF CO. FERMANAGH.

Fermanagh was largely planted with moss-troopers from the Scottish border, men used to fighting and cattle-reiving; and tradition hath it that they were specially selected, by reason of their training, to form a rampart against the Connaught border. Thus it is that we find the Johnstons of Annandale in such profusion in the county, the Armstrongs, Elliots, Beattys (of Beattock) in Drumfries, the Scotts, Nixons, Kirkpatrickes, Grahams, Creightons, Maxwells, Moffetts, &c. Other Scotch names like those of Morrison, Campbell, Dundas, Cathcart, Mitchell, Gregg, Murray, Henderson, Irvine, Stewart, will be found in the Muster Roll, as illustrating the point. It will reveal the antiquity of several of the local farming families, and the predominance of the Scottish race in some baronies. The copy of the original transcript (Mss. 4770 in British Museum) was kindly supplied to me by the Rev. W. H. Dundas:—

THE MUSTER ROLL OF THE COUNTY
OF FERMANAGH.

James Lord Ballfour, Barron of Clannally, Under-

taker of 5,000 acres—the names of his men and armes as followeth [Castlebalfour estate]:—

1	Donnall Lenox	...	Sword and pike.
2	Robert Calwell	...	Sword only.
3	James Rosse	...	" "
4	James Hendry	...	" "
5	Walter Murray	...	" "
6	Richard Murray	...	" "
7	John Michell	...	" "
8	William Greg	...	Sword and pike.
9	Robert Graham	...	" "
10	Robert Michall	...	Sword only.
11	Robert Scot	...	Sword and pike.
12	John Gregg	...	" "
13	William Little	...	Sword only.
14	Robert Scot	...	Sword and pike.
15	Robert Gregg	...	" "
16	John Little	...	Sword only.
17	Archbell Johnston	...	Sword and snaphance.*
18	Robert Tallyfeare	...	Snaphance onely.
19	George ffrizall	...	Pike onely.
20	William Murray	...	Sword and pike.
21	William Porter	...	Sword onely.
22	John Mundall	...	Snaphance.
23	Symon Henderson	...	Sword onely.
24	Adam Armstrong	...	" "
25	Alexander Grindeston	...	Pike onely.
26	John Beaty	...	Sword onely.
27	John Beaty	...	Pike onely.
28	Andrew Irwin	...	Sword onely.
29	John Goodman	...	" "
30	ffrancis Johnston	...	" "
31	ffrauncis Johnston	...	" "
32	John Beatty	...	" "
33	James Johnston	...	" "
34	Quinton Noble	...	" "
35	James Graham	...	" "
36	Robert Graham	...	Pike onely.
37	Adam Beaty, younger	...	" "
38	Christopher Carruddas	...	Sword onely.
39	Archball Scot	...	" "
40	Lodwick Steward	...	" "
41	James Clarke	...	" "
42	James Armstrong	...	" "
43	William Dunweedy	...	" "
44	Malcolm M'ffarlan	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes":—

45	John Sympson	73	George M'Kenrick
46	William Ricarby	74	William Little

* An early form of flintlock musket, which had no rest to support it.

47	John Rathborne	75	Richard Henderson
48	William Glene	76	William Mophat
49	John Grahame	77	Symon Mophat
50	John Little	78	Robert Gradin
51	John Chyrnesyde	79	John Irwin
52	Arthur Beaty	80	David Irwin
53	James Balfoore	81	Matthew Beatty
54	John Johnston	82	William fargisonne
55	Symond Little	83	William Little
56	William Elliot	84	Walter Little
57	James Rea	85	James Little
58	William Beaty	86	John Beatty
59	David Beaty	87	Andrew Little
60	Adam Beaty	88	Robert Christoll
61	William Duncan	89	Walter Ranick
62	Robert Armstrong	90	Gabriell Gibson
63	George Read	91	Robert Somerwell
64	Daniell Leonax	92	James Byny
65	Alexander Balfoure	93	Thomas Smyth
66	David Story	94	Martin Moorhead
67	Alexander Shere	95	Robert Smith
68	John Browne	96	Michael Wilson
69	John ffarwhere	97	Thomas Little
70	Gilbert Adamson	98	David Scott
71	Thomas Cragg	99	James Mountgomery
72	Thomas ffarbouse		

BARONY MAGHERBUY.

Sir William Cole Knight, undertaker of 1,000 acres,* the names of his men and armes as followeth—

1	John Paggett	...	Sword onely.
2	John Gibbs	...	Sword, pike, curace and headpece.
3	Roger Skales	...	Callener† and sword
4	Adam Johnston	...	Sword and pike.
5	James Johnston	...	Sword onely.
6	Adam Browne	...	" "
7	Arthur Johnston	...	" "
8	Adam Nixon†	...	Sword and pike.
9	Thomas Beaty	...	" "
10	Robert Johnston	...	Sword onely.
11	William Nordus	...	Sword and pike.
12	ffrancis Johnston	...	Sword onely.
13	Thomas Johnston	...	Sword and musket.
14	William Johnston	...	Sword and pike.
15	Robert Johnston	...	" "
16	John Armstrong	...	Sword and musket.

* This roll refers to Sir Wm. Cole's Manor of Drumskeagh [Drumsue] which includes Portora. See page 153.

† A callener or caliner was a light kind of musket or arquebus, introduced during the 16th century.

‡ This name seems to be one of the earliest of one handed down through generations of the Nixon family. He is probably the first of the line.

17	William Johnston	...	Sword and pike.
18	Lancelut Armstrong	...	Sword onely.
19	John Gillpatrick	...	" "
20	John Hadson	...	Sword and callener.
21	Thomas Upparry	...	Sword and pike.
22	Charles fforrest	...	Sword and callener.
23	William Grocer	...	Sword onely.
24	John Oglee	...	" "
25	Alexander Ogle	...	Sword and callener.
26	William Scot	...	Sword onely.
27	Nicholas Ossenbrooke	...	Sword and halbert.
28	William Ossenbrooke	...	Sword and pike.
29	John Taylor	...	Sword and callener.
30	John Johnston	...	Callener and sword.
31	Roger Pearse	...	Sword and pike.
32	Randell Pearse	...	Sword and callener.
33	Henry Bradley	...	Sword and pike.
34	Christopher Harlore	...	" "
35	Symond Charlesworth	...	Sword and musket
36	George Courser	...	Sword onely.
37	John Elliot	...	" "
38	Abraham Wadsworth*	...	Sword and callener.
39	Thomas Abbot	...	Sword and pike.
40	Richard Beaty	...	Sword and callener.
41	James Brinan	...	Sword onely.
42	ffargus Graham	...	Sword and pike.
43	Henry Johnston	...	Sword onely.
44	George Smala	...	" "
45	William Wiggin	...	Sword and pike.
46	Thomas Pockridg	...	Sword onely.
47	Thomas Little	...	Pike and sword.
48	John Johnston	...	Sword onely.

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

49	Richard Whitinge	59	John ffare
50	Phillip Ossenbrooke	60	John Portis
51	ffrauncis Charlesworth	61	John Thomson
52	Thomas Harlore	62	James Armstrong
53	Thomas Perry	63	Alexander Skeares
54	Thomas fforrest	64	John Car
55	James Raikie	65	Robert Portis
56	James Dundoes	66	Patrick Ewart
57	William Souage, younger	67	Thomas Sanderson
58	George Graham	68	James Ewart

BARONY DE MAGHERBUY.

Mr. Archdale, undertaker of 2,000 acres, his men and armes as followeth—

1	James Johnston	...	Sword and callener.
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* There have been Wadsworths ever since on Drumsue Manor, and the present Mr. George Wadsworth of Enniskillen was born on the estate.

2	Robert Johnston	...	" "
3	David Johnston	...	Sword onely.
4	Henry Jarvis	...	" "
5	Archball Armstrong	...	Sword and snaphance.
6	William Marshall	...	Sword onely.
7	Andrew Johnston	...	" "
8	John Jackson	...	Sword and callener.
9	Thomas Robert	...	" "
10	William Elliot	...	" "
11	Symond Hudson	...	Sword onely.
12	James Coulter	...	Sword and callener.
13	William Browne	...	Sword onely.
14	Thomas Little	...	" "
15	William Elliot	...	Sword and callener.
16	Alexander Armstrong	...	" "
17	Robert Willson	...	Sword and musket.
18	John Irwin	...	Sword onely.
19	William Elliot	...	No armes.
20	George Irwin	...	" "
21	Robert Willson	...	Sword and musket.
22	John Irwin	...	Sword onely.
23	John Houlden	...	Musket onely.
24	Peter Gourdy	...	Halbert onely.
25	Charles Cute	...	Pike onely.
26	John Armstrong	...	Sword and snaphance.
27	David Bigers	...	Sword onely.

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

28	George Irwin	35	Henry Robinson
29	Thomas Lewes	36	John Robinson
30	Edward Brama	37	Richard Widson
31	Nicholas Richmond	38	Izack Trott
32	Thomas Whitby	39	Thomas Moore
33	Richard Foster	40	John Wilson
34	Thomas Anderson	48	John Birs

BARONIE DE MAGHERBUY.

Mrs. Hammelton, widdowe to the Lord ArchBp of Cashell, deceased, undertaker of 1,500 acres, the names of her men and arms as followeth [Castletown estate]—

1	William Crawford	...	Sword onely.
2	William Beaty	...	Sword and pike.
3	John Willson	...	" "
4	David Johnston	...	" "
5	John McCreeke	...	Sword and callener.
6	Gowan Elliot	...	Sword and pike.
7	James Sommervell	...	Sword only.
8	William Elliot	...	" "
9	Robert Foster	...	Sword and Pike.
10	William Rennick	...	Sword only.
11	John Graham	...	Sword and pike.

12	James Necall	...	Sword and pike.
13	William Waterson	...	" "
14	Mungo Elliot	...	" "
15	William Sympson	...	" "
16	Thomas Sympson	...	Sword only.
17	Robert Elliot	...	Sword and pike.
18	George Armstrong	...	" "
19	William Elliot	...	" "
20	John Young	...	" "
21	Alexander Young	...	Sword only.
22	Thomas Steele	...	" "
23	Marke Elliot	...	No armes
24	James M'Calstander	...	" "

BARONY DE MAGHERBOY.

Sir John Hume, Knight, undertaker of 3,500 acres, the names of his men and armes as followeth—

1	Thomas Cranston	...	Sword and pike
2	John Lemington	...	Sword and snaphance,
3	Thomas Pott	...	" "
4	George Galder	...	Pike onely.
5	William Cranston	...	Sword and pike
6	Thomas Smyth, elder	...	Pike onely.
7	John Thompson	...	Sword only.
8	Alexander Carr	...	Sword and snaphance.
9	James Skrese	...	Sword and pike.
10	John Miller	...	Sword onely.
11	William Chirsies	...	" "
12	James Dundas	...	" "
13	John Allen	...	Sword and pike.
14	William Savage	...	" "
15	George Graham	...	" "
16	George Rankin	...	" "
17	George Atkinson	...	" "
18	John ffayre	...	" "
19	John Portish	...	" "
20	John Neall	...	" "
21	James Graham	...	" "
22	William Wilkin	...	" "
23	Thomas Spence	...	" "
24	Alexander Atkinson	...	Sword onely.
25	Mortin Elliot	...	" "
26	Alexander Morison	...	Sword and pike.
27	William Roberts	...	Sword and snaphance.
28	James Hermiston	...	Sword and pike.
29	John Greere, younger	...	Sword onely.
30	George McMillane	...	" "
31	William ffayre	...	Sword and pike.
32	William Ayre	...	" "
33	John Spence	...	" "
34	John Waterson	...	Sword and snaphance
35	David Browne	...	Sword and pike.

36	James Browne	...	Sword and pike.
37	Thomas Goodfellow	...	" "
38	James Wood	...	Pike onely.
39	James Anderson	...	" "
40	Thomas Trotter	...	Sword onely.
41	George Gibson	...	Pike onely.
42	frauncis Trotter	...	Sword and pike.
43	John Goodfellow	...	Sword onely.
44	John Hall	...	Sword and callener.
45	Thomas Lawhart	...	Sword and pike.
46	Alexander Anderson	...	Pike onely.
47	William Brock	...	Sword and Pike.
48	John Brock	...	" "
49	John Black	...	" "
50	William Kinge	...	" "
51	Robert Black	...	" "
52	John Clarke	...	Sword onely.
53	Henry Black	...	Sword and pike.
54	Alexander Hume	...	Sword and Halbert.
55	Patrick Hume	...	" "
56	John Thompson	...	Sword and pike.
57	Michael Dixon	...	" "
58	George Robinson	...	Sword onely.

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

59	Alexander Spence	75	William Ross
60	Alexander Patterson	76	Thomas Coningham
61	George Armstrong	77	Gabrahell Coningham
62	George Chirsyde	78	Alexander Chirsyde
63	John Goodfellow, younger	79	George Dick
64	James Brock	80	David Anderson
65	John Rannick	81	Christopher Anderson
66	Ranyon Bell	82	Robert Younger
67	John Thomson	83	William Henderson
68	John Trimble	84	Thomas Younger
69	Thomas Atkinson	85	Patrick Smelly
70	Vincent Cocking	86	John Clarke
71	Nicholas Roger	87	Alex. Anderson, elder
72	Adam Williamson	88	John Greere
73	John Huggins	89	John Renton
74	George Car	90	Alexander Bell

BARONY DE MAGHERBOY

George Hume, Esq., undertaker of 1,000 acres, his men Drumcose Manor:—

1	Alexander Hogg	...	Sword onely
2	John Richardson	...	Sword and snaphance
3	James Hermidston	...	Sword onely
4	John Hermidston	...	" "
5	Andrew Hume	...	Pike onely
6	Robert Henderson	...	Sword onely
7	John Ripeth	...	Pike onely

8	George Craford	...	Sword and snaphance
9	Robert Bowmaker	...	Sword and pike
10	John Gibson	...	Snaphance onely
11	John ffayre	...	Sword onely
12	John ffayre, younger	...	Sword and musket
13	Clement Nixon	...	Sword and pike
14	Robert Portas	...	" "
15	Patrick Ewart	...	Snaphance onely
16	William Michell	...	Sword onely
17	William Liddall	...	Sword and pike
18	Andrew Herit	...	Sword and snaphance
19	John Croser	...	Sword onely
20	Thomas Sanderson	...	Sword and pike
21	William Dunsy	...	" "
22	Alexander Johnston	...	" "
23	James Vaugh	...	Sword and snaphance
24	James Armstrong	...	" "
25	William Armstrong	...	Sword and pike

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

26	Alexander Trotter	28	John Bowmaker
27	James Trotter	29	James Elliot

BARONY DE LOURGG.

Sir Gerrard Lowther, Kt., undertaker of 2,000

acres

1	Walter Ares	...	Sword and musket
2	Richard Good	...	Musket onely
3	John Smith	...	Sword and musket
4	John Maxwell	...	Sword and pike
5	Andrew Bayty	...	Sword and callener
6	George Bayty	...	Sword and pike
7	John Johnston	...	Sword onely
8	Wm. Bayty, younger	...	Sword and pike
9	Robert Baity	...	Sword and callener
10	Leonard Slater	...	Sword and musket
11	Christopher Cawart	...	" "
12	francis Johnston	...	Sword and pike
13	Peter Blare	...	" "
14	Lancelot Carleton	...	" "
15	Ambross Carleton	...	" "
16	francis Carleton	...	" "
17	William Moffet	...	Sword and musket
18	William Irwin	...	Sword and pike
19	James Irwin	...	Sword and callener
20	Andrew Johnston	...	Sword and pike
21	James Johnston	...	Sword and callener
22	Hugh Baetye	...	" "
23	David Baetye	...	" "
24	William Thompson	...	" "
25	John Thomson	...	" "
26	John Reedman	...	Sword and musket

27	James Davison	...	Sword and musket.
28	Christopher Calvert	...	Sword and pike
29	Robert Maxwell	...	Sword and musket
30	Robert Johnston	...	Sword and callener
31	David Watson	...	" "
32	John Little	...	" "
33	John Tynoin	...	" "
34	John Graham	...	" "
35	Walter Beatty	...	Sword onely
36	Robert Good	...	Sword and pike
37	John Peacock	...	" "
38	Thomas Noble	...	" "
39	John Nixon	...	" "
40	James Maxwell	...	" "
41	Francis Irwin	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"

42	John Good, younger	45	William Baety
43	Rolph Wyndstones	46	John Smyth
44	John Baety	47	Robert Johnston

BARONY DE LURGG.

Mr. Honings, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Rossgweer] .

1	William Ameres	...	Musket onely
2	Edward Scammell, younger	...	Sword and snaphance
3	Edward Brampton	...	Snaphance onely
4	Thomas Wilson	...	Sword onely
5	Sammuell Bruner	...	Sword and pike
6	Thomas Richardson	...	Sword and snaphance
7	John Woke	...	Sword onely
8	John Smith	...	Pike onely
9	John Ellis	...	Callener onely
10	Homan ffather	...	Pike onely
11	Richard Orme	...	Halbert onely
12	Ralph Whittaker	...	Pike onely
13	Edward Browne	...	Sword and pike
14	William Ogle	...	" "
15	Evance Westhead	...	Sword and callener
16	Allen Gabb	...	Sword and pike
17	Christopher Johnston	...	" "
18	William Bell	...	Sword onely
19	Richard Reynick	...	Sword and callener

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"

20	Robert Hantsworth	23	John Hyde
21	John Roggers	24	Joseph Wats
22	Matthew Helswords		

BARONY DE LOURGG.

Mr. fflowerdew, undertaker of 2,000 acres . . .

1	Christopher Irwin	...	Sword and pike
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2	Christopher Calvert	...	Sword and callener
3	John Fymaying	...	" "
4	Edward Readman	...	Sword and pike
5	William Barefoote	...	Musket onely
6	John Yedding	...	Sword and pike
7	Richard Glover	...	" "
8	Vincent Reede	...	" "
9	John Irwin	...	Sword and callener
10	Thomas Browne	...	Sword and pike
11	Stephen Smith	...	Sword and snaphance
12	Thomas Lifer	...	Pike onely
13	Richard Coult	...	Snaphance onely

And the following are reported as having "no armes;"

14	Ambross Carleton	23	Thomas Harrison
15	Francis Carleton	24	Thomas Laughlane
16	Andrew Johnston	25	William Widson
17	John Readman	26	Edward Thomson
18	Francis Irwin	27	Patrick Wallace
19	Thomas Johnston	28	Humphry Carfit
20	George Yeddin	29	William Mason
21	Thomas Barefoote	30	John Little
22	Thomas Hayg		

BARONY de LOURGG.

Francis Blennerhassett, Esq., undertaker of 1,000 acres [Bannaghmore] . . .

1	Robert Askin	...	Sword onely
2	William Helliard	...	" "
3	William Crome	...	Snaphance onely
4	Bryan Kellare	...	Pike onely
5	Richard Heskatt	...	Sword onely
6	Richard Beard	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"

7	Thomas Johnston	16	Richard Hill
8	William Mawe	17	Walter Notley
9	Richard Lilly	18	Christopher Thwinton
10	William Cox	19	John Bird
11	Richard Notley	20	Mathew Erskin
12	William Notley	21	William Armstrong
13	Richard Hall	22	William Slater
14	Teig Bire	23	Thomas Barton
15	George Harrison	24	Richard Bucket

BARONY DE LOURGG.

Mr. Leonard Blennerhassett, undertaker of 2,000 acres [Edernagh or Ederney] . . .

1	Thomas Roe	...	Sword and snaphance
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2	William Powell	...	Sword and pike
3	Edward Martin	...	" "
4	Robert Westby	...	Sword onely
5	John Kirke	...	Pike onely
6	Thomas Satcheverell	...	" "
7	Robert Rycroft	...	Sword and snaphance
8	Christopher Fhoxtor	...	Snaphance onely
9	Robert Barton	...	Pike
10	William Savadge	...	Snaphance onely
11	Jeromy Emery	...	" "
12	Leonard Toby	...	Sword onely
13	William Hallard	...	" "
14	T. (sic) Rackins	...	Sword and pike

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

15	William Grace	19	Thomas Westby, elder
16	Richard Notley	20	Thomas Westby, younger
17	George Barton	21	John Vernan
18	Thomas Palmer	22	William Hammliton

BARONY OF CLANKELLY.

Sir Hugh Woorell, Knight, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Armagh Manor]

1	Hugh Worrell	...	Sword onely
2	George Worrell	...	" "
3	Charles Worrell	...	" "
4	Thomas Dewsberry	...	Pike onely
5	Robert Moore	...	Sword and snaphance
6	William Armstrong	...	" "
3	Thomas Armstrong	...	Sword onely

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

8	Thomas Bent	14	Thomas Graham
9	Michael Amerson	15	John Bell
10	Arthur Graham	16	John Wesson
11	William Graham	17	William Amerson
12	George Graham	18	Rise Moore
13	Edward Graham	19	Walter Graham

BARONY DE CLANKELLY.

James Higgett, Lord Bishop of Killfanora, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Manor Heygate]

1	Thomas Lane	...	Sword onely
2	John Presby	...	Sword and pike
3	Thomas Dillon	...	Sword onely
4	William Little	...	Sword and pike
5	Richard Hayle	...	Pike onely
6	Arthur ffoster	...	Sword and pike
7	Thomas Little	...	" "

8	Symond Presby	...	Pike onely
9	Morish Middlebrooke	...	Sword onely
10	Thomas Knowells	...	Snaphance
11	Thomas Presby	...	Sword and snaphance
12	Lewis Ridg	...	Sword and pike
13	William Wallis	...	" "
14	Anthony Barlow	...	Snaphance onely
15	francis Tod	...	Pike onely
16	Andrew Little	...	Sword onely
17	David Lenton	...	Sword and pike
18	William Graham	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

19	Symond Burny	21	William Tomson
20	Edward Clarke	22	James Burny

BARONY DE CLANKELLY.

Charles Waterhouse, Esq., undertaker of 1,000 acres [Manor Waterhouse]

1	John Wright	...	Sword and snaphance
2	William Bishop	...	Sword and pike
3	Richard Nevill	...	Pike onely
4	Nicholas Wally	...	Sword onely
5	Christopher Bowser	...	Pike onely

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

6	William Kettle	10	John Pagest
7	Thomas Bulman	11	Henry Clarke
8	Christopher Wilkinson	12	Nicholas Pagest
9	Humphrey Holland		

BARONY DE CLANKELLY.

Edward Hatton, Archdeacon of Ardagh, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Cloncare or Knockballymore]

1	John Beaty	...	Sword and pike
2	George Beaty	...	Pike onely
3	William Beaty	...	" "
4	James Steward	...	Sword and pike
5	Jo Little	...	" "
6	Thomas Little	...	Sword onely
7	John Tibs	...	Sword and callener
8	Maximillion Tibs	...	" "
9	John Breaton	...	Sword and pike
10	Bashyn Cottingham	...	Pike onely
11	Myles Acree	...	Sword and pike
12	John Burse	...	Pike onely
13	Richard Aston	...	" "
14	Thomas Aston	...	" "

15	William ffulka	...	Snaphance onely
16	Roger Maddeson	...	Sword onely
17	John Beaty younger	...	Sword and pike
18	Coleiston Maird	...	" "
19	Peter Maddyson	...	" "
20	John Irwin	...	Snaphance onely
21	Robert Graham	...	Sword and pike
22	John Wayst	...	" "
23	James Birney	...	Pike onely
24	Richard Bradarne	...	Sword and snaphance
25	John Vick	...	Pike onely
26	Archdall Armstrong	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes:—"

27	William Wilson	36	Thomas Michell
28	Martin Little	37	James Burney
29	Thomas Seaton	38	Archball Johnston
30	John ffelix	39	John Slack
31	John Hall	40	John Burse
32	James Little	41	Arch Armstrong
33	John Carver	42	Archball Wilson
34	John Each	43	John Beaty
35	Gavin Johnston	44	John Little

BARONY OF CLANKELLY.

Mr. Sedburrough, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Mount Sedborough] . . .

1	Thomas Tybball	...	Pike onely
2	Joseph Dixon	...	Callener onely
3	William Baxter	...	Pike onely
4	Richard Crosse	...	" "
5	Thomas Childermis	...	No armes
6	William Holliwood	...	Snaphance onely
7	Edward Holliwood	...	" "
8	Robert Hudson	...	Pike and sword
9	Thomas Pearson	...	Sword and pike
10	Robert Clearetowne	...	" "
11	Richard Roland	...	Pike onely
12	Hugh Tokes	...	Sword and pike
13	John Padge	...	" "
14	William Lackbone	...	Pike onely
15	Thomas Day	...	" "
16	William Dye	...	Sword and snaphance

BARONY OF MAGHERBOY.

Sir John Dunbar, Knight, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Manor of Drumcro—Dromore, Dromadown, &c.]

1	William Johnston	...	Sword and pike
2	John Mophat	...	" "

3	John Gilmore	...	Snaphance onely
4	George Sluano	...	Sword and pike
5	Thomas Trotter	...	Sword and musket
6	William Graham	...	Sword and pike
7	Thomas Graham	...	" "
8	George Torkington	...	Sword and musket
9	Randall Bowen	...	" "
10	Walter Johnston	...	" "

THE HALFE BARONY OF KNOCKNEENEY.

Mr. Adwick, undertaker of 1,000 acres [Aghalane]

1	Otywell Bridghowse	...	Sword and pike
2	Christopher Dallson	...	Snaphance onely
3	John Bryare	...	" "
4	Hugh Sherwood	...	Pike onely
5	Stephen Cooke	...	Snaphance onely
6	Thomas Sherwood	...	No armes

BARONY DE KNOCKNYNY AND COLE [COOLE].

Sir Steaphen Butler, Knight, undertaker of 3,000 acres, the names of his men and armes [Dresternan and Laytrim] :—

1	Edward Rogers	...	Sword and snaphance
2	Thomas Midlebrooke	...	Sword onely
3	Bartholemew Caps	...	" "
4	Thomas Meanese	...	" "
5	John Meanese	...	Sword and snaphance
6	John More	...	" "
7	Oliver Wyndser younger	...	" "
8	John Kettle	...	" "
9	Thomas Cooper	...	Halbert onely
10	Thomas Walker	...	Sword and pike
11	William Morton	...	Sword and snaphance
12	Richard Morton	...	" "
13	Robert Allen	...	Snaphance onely
14	William Berry	...	" "
15	William Rogers	...	Sword onely
16	William flent	...	Sword and pike
17	Henry Dalmore	...	Pike onely
18	Robert Heaklefield	...	Sword and pike
19	Edward Knowels	...	Sword and snaphance
20	Laurence Knowels	...	Snaphance onely
21	Robert Barton	...	Pike onely
22	Thomas Pearce	...	Sword onely
23	John Penne	...	Pike onely
24	Martin Evance	...	Sword and pike
25	Thomas Turner	...	Sword onely

26	John Mayres	...	Sword and snaphance
27	Edward Mayres	...	" "
28	George Bradshaw	...	Pike onely
29	Symond More	...	Snaphance onely
30	Robert Willson	...	Sword and pike
31	Philip Skelton	...	" "
32	Humphrey Whaler	...	Sword onely
33	Edward Kent	...	" "
34	Robert Williamson	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes:"—

35	Thomas Greene	64	Walter ffree
36	John Rogers	65	John Tuttle
37	William Troleman	66	Thomas Middlebroke
38	Thomas Sympson	67	Thomas Tutle
39	William Seatwo	68	Thomas ffreman
40	Roger Marchand	69	Thomas Handbridg
41	Robert Lunne	70	Thomas Adwick
42	William Wyndsor	71	Thomas Sprag
43	Robert Walker	72	Roger Machan
44	Thomas Allen	73	ffrancis Sympson
45	William West	74	Henry Woods
46	John West	75	Christspher Bridon
47	William Bootes	76	John West
48	Matthew ffreman	77	John Chadwick
49	James Booth younger	78	William Machan
50	John Booth	79	John Browne
51	Robert Temple	80	Henry Barry
52	Christopher Cotes	81	Henry Rogers
53	Thomas Laurence	82	John Barton
54	Valentyne Cranly	83	William Antryn
55	Walter Newborne	84	Thomas Hancock
56	Bennet Taylor	85	William Parsons
57	Robert Walker	86	Symond Wentford
58	Richard Walker	87	William Parkins
59	Thomas Piper	88	William Bignall
60	Thomas Bell	89	Thomas Ganderton
61	George Ward	90	ffrancis Chonall
62	William ffeuton	91	William Morris
63	Jonathan Allen	92	Thomas Whittaker

BARONY DE TYRKENEDY.

The Lord Dillon's servitors' land being 1,500 acres the names of his men and armes as ffolloweth:—

1	Randall Elliot	...	Sword onely
2	Hugh Nixon	...	" "
3	Christopher Nixon	...	" "
4	Robert Elliot	...	" "
5	Martin Elliot	...	" "
6	John Armstrong	...	" "
7	John Nixon	...	" "

8	Martin Elliot elder	...	Sword and pike
9	John Nixon	...	Sword onely
10	Gavin Baiteye	...	" "
11	Richard Graham	...	" "
12	John Armstrong	...	Sword and pike
13	William Armstrong	...	" "
14	Rynnyon Armestrong	...	" "
15	Quinton Nixon	...	Sword onely
16	Gavin Nixon	...	" "
17	William Armstrong	...	" "
18	John Elliot	...	" "
19	Thomas Armstrong	...	" "
20	Rober Elliot younger	...	" "
21	William Armstrong	...	" "
22	Andrew Armstrong	...	Sword and pike
23	Walker ffrizall	...	Sword onely
24	Robert Crosby	...	" "
25	Symond Armstrang	...	" "
26	Thomas Noble	...	Sword onely
27	Thomas Noble elder	...	No armes

BARONY DE TYRKENEDY.

Sir William Cole for his servitors' lands being a thousand acres, his men and armes:—

1	Edward Carnaby	...	Sword and pike
2	William Skayles	...	Sword onely
3	Alexander Wiggon	...	" "
4	Symon Rutleidge	...	Sword and pike
5	William Armstrong	...	" "
6	John Armstrong	...	Sword onely
7	Symon Armstrong	...	" "
8	John Steales	...	" "
9	John Hayes	...	Pike and sword
10	Andrew Wiggan	...	Sword onely
11	John Steale	...	" "
12	David Elliot	...	Sword and pike
13	Andrew Armstrong	...	Sword and pike

BARONY DE TYRKENEDY.

Captaine Roger Atkinson his servitors lands 1,000 acres, the names of his men and armes [Castlecoole]:—

1	George Wilson	...	Sword onely
2	William Moore	...	" "
3	Peter Duffin	...	" "
4	John Skarlet younger	...	" "
5	John Skarlet elder	...	" "
6	Thomas Izacke	...	" "
7	John Hunter	...	" "
8	John Brewer	...	" "

9 Zackary P[R]ampayne ... Sword onely

There are no words written opposite 10-25: probably they had no armes.

10 William Barret	18 Robert Story
11 Robert Prowing	19 John Ellott
12 John Duffyn	20 Thomas West
13 John Duffyn younger	21 Toby Brewer
14 Thomas Calbrath	22 Thomas Atkinson
15 ffrauncis Brangan	23 Andrew Williamson
16 John Shearerton	24 Thomas Calbreath
17 William Johnston	25 William Izack

Sir Ralph Goer, Knight, his servitors' lands being 1,000 acres, the names of his men and armes [Manor of Carrick]:—

All had no arms—

1 Charles Brookes	17 William Hall
2 Edward Maxwell	18 Nicholas Ossenbrooke
3 David Johnston	19 Phillip Ossenbrooke
4 John Micheall	20 Richard Johnston
5 John Ellot	21 John Johnston
6 Symond Creighton	22 John Armstrong
7 Christopher Sympson	23 Lancelot Armstrong
8 John Ellot younger	24 William Johnston
9 William Ellot	25 David Johnston
10 Thomas Beaty	26 Symond Armstrong
11 John Beaty	27 Thomas Ellot
12 Thomas Atwill	28 Archall Ellot
13 Philip Hall	29 Thomas Armstrong
14 Steaphen Hall	30 Archball Ellot, younger
15 James Gray	31 William Ossenbrooke
16 John Kidly	

BARONY DE TIRKENEDY.

The Lord Hastings' Churchlands being 1,500 acres, [Lisgoole] the names of his men and armes as ffolloweth:

1 Thomas Slack	...	Sword and pike
2 Richard Gutridge	...	Sword onely
3 Thomas ffauslet	...	Sword and callener
4 John Beaty	...	Sword onely
5 John Ellot	...	" "
6 William Ellot	...	Sword and callener
7 Thomas Ellot	...	Sword onely
8 Archball Ellot	...	Sword and pike
9 Thomas Armstrong	...	" "
10 Gawin Cooke	...	Sword onely
11 John Murdo	...	" "

12 John Craford	...	Sword onely.
13 Thomas Humprey	...	" "
14 Thomas Armstrong you...	...	Sword and snaphance
15 John Baws	...	" "
16 Richard Cooke	...	Pike onely

And the following are reported as having "no armes":—

17 Archball Armstrong	30 Gilbert Johnston
18 Thomas Bews	31 Symond Armstrong
19 Robert Teckison	32 John Humphrey
20 Thomas Blayny	33 Richard Crowcke,
21 Anthony Prior	younger
22 Robert Nixon	34 William Graham
23 John Jackson	35 Patrick ffrizell
24 Thomas Beaty	36 Andrew Sympson
25 John Pog	37 William Jengs
26 Steaphen Hall	38 James Irwin
27 Phillip Hall	39 George Crawford
28 John Reilly	40 William Mopet
29 James Gray	41 Thomas Ellot

BARONY DE MAGHERBOY.

Mr. Archdal's Tenants on his Churchlands, being 1,000 acres, the names

1 William Johnston	...	Sword onely
2 William Johnston, younger	...	Sword and pike
3 Richard Packrag	...	" "
4 George West	...	" "
5 William Balls	...	" "
6 Symond Johnston	...	Callener onely
7 John Little	...	" "

And the following are reported as having "no armes":—

8 Arch Little	12 Alexander Wiggin
9 Ralph Wyndstanley	13 Thomas Wiggin
10 George Chittock	14 Ralph Armstrong
11 Andrew Cockaine	

BARONY DE LURG.

Leonard Blennerhasset, his Churchlands being 1,000 acres his

Richard Cardy	Robert Ellot
George Irwin	George Crozer
Richard Irwin	7 Henry Greene
Edward Cutler	

BARONY DE LURG.

The Lady Brewerton's Churchlands being 2,000 acres, the names

1	John Wallas	...	Sword onely
2	William Morris	...	" "
3	John Moore	...	Sword and pike
4	Thomas Abrow	...	" "
5	Thomas Beaty	...	" "
6	John Ore	...	" "
7	George Beaty	...	" "
8	William M'Cullin	...	Sword onely
9	John M'Cullin	...	Sword and pike
10	Walter Beaty	...	Sword onely
11	John Beaty	...	" "
12	James Henderson	...	No armes
13	Robert Gower	...	" "
14	William Moore	...	" "
15	James Beary	...	" "

HALF BARONY DE CLANKELLY.

Lieutenant William Graham, his Churchlands being 500 acres, the names

1	Edward Graham	...	Sword and pike
2	Hugh Graham	...	" "
3	William Graham	...	" "
4	John Graham	...	Sword and musket
5	William Graham	...	" "
6	Francis Graham	...	Sword and snaphance
7	Herbert Graham	...	Sword and callener
8	John Bell	...	" "

THE BARONY DE

Mr. Fullerton's Gleeblands being 120 acres, his men and armes as appeared—

1	James Euerat	...	Sword and snaphance
2	Thomas Tutlar	...	" "

BARONY DE CLAN.

Mr. Willoby, his Churchlands being 300 acres, his men and armes as followeth—

1	John Johnston	...	Sword onely
2	Robert Johnston	...	Sword and pike
3	Edward Johnston	...	" "

4	Edward Johnston, younger	...	Pike onely
5	John Mihell	...	No armes
6	George Lawesdall	...	Sword onely

BARONY DE TYRKENEDY.

Mr. Hugh Mountgomery, his Churchlands being 1,000 acres, his men and armes [Derrybrusk]:—

1	Edward Weare	...	Sword onely
2	John M'Gregory	...	" "
3	Thomas Greg	...	" "
4	Sammuell Hetton	...	" "
5	Charles Murray	...	" "
6	Neal Mountgomery	...	" "
7	William Clarke	...	" "
8	Abraham Wilkinson	...	Pike only
9	William Mungomery	...	Sword and pike
10	John Mungomery	...	Pike onely
11	James Hay	...	No armes

TOTAL—971 names.

NOTES ON PRECEDING NAMES, AND
NUMBER OF TIMES THEY OCCUR.

Some are counted together where only a slight difference as of a letter. Others in list of those occurring once may also be considered duplicate.

55	times	Johnston.
41	"	Armstrong, (Armstrong, Armstrange).
36	"	Beaty, (Beatty, Bayty, Baetye, Baiteye).
33	"	Ellot.
29	"	Graham.
25	"	Little.
17	"	Irwin.
10	"	Nixon.
9	"	Smith, Wilson.
8	"	Brown, Hall, Moore, Thomson.
7	"	Simpson.
6	"	Anderson, Bell, Clarke, Michell, Ossenbrooke, Rogers (Roger), West (Wayst), Wiggan.
5	"	Barton, Carleton, ffayre, Henderson, Maxwell, Mophat (Moffet), Scot, Trotter.
4	"	Allen, Atkinson, Crawford (Craford), Ewat, Greg, Montgomery (Mungomery), Murray, Noble, Notley, Portis, Rennick, Walker.
3	"	Amerson, Burney, Brock, Black, Burse (Birs), Car, Cooke, Duffyn, frizell, ffoster, Gibson,

Good, Goodfellow, Hayes, Harrison, Hemiston, Hogg, Hume, Knowells, Middlebrooke, Ogle, Pageot, Presby, Readman, Robinson, Souage, Spence, Steele, Wallis, Westby, Widson, Williamson, Warrall.

UNUSUAL CHRISTIAN NAMES IN LIST.

Archball (Archibald), Quinton, Lodwick, Symond (Simon), Gabraell, Lancelot, Randell, ffargus, Gawin, Mungo, Rynyon, Vincent, Clement, Ambross, Haman, Teig, Jeromy, Rise, Morish, Maximillion, Bastyn, Myles, Colinton, Otwyall, Zackary, Toby, Neal, Valentine.

A glance at the 971 names will also reveal the presence of several English names, such as—Aston, Addison, Barefoot, Beard, Barton [which means Briton], Boots, Bridghowse, Bucket, Carver, Carnaby, Cottingham, Caps, Cranley, Cooke, Emery, Glover, Kettle, Hall, Hollywood, Little, Middlebrook, Newborne, Savage, Skales, Slater, Wyndson, Westby, Wiggan or Wiggins, Woods. It looks as if the enumerator spelt the names in his own fashion. In those days learning was scanty and schools were few, and there were no forms left at the houses for the occupiers to fill. The enumerator spelt the names as pronounced to him, and after the fashion of the time, such as Elliott for Elliott, Mungomery for Montgomery, Craford for Crawford, Baiteye for Beatty, &c.

SUMMARY OF MUSTER.

Acres.	Barony.	Name.	arms	No arms
5000	Clannally	James Lord Balfour	44	55
1000	Magherabuy	Sir Wm. Cole	49	19
2000	"	Mr. Archdall	27	14
1500	"	Mrs. Hammelton	22	2
3500	"	Sir John Hume	58	32
1000	"	George Hume	25	4
2000	Lourgg	Sir Gerrard Lowther	41	6
1000	"	Mr. Hanings	19	5
2000	"	Mr. fflowerdew	13	17
1000	"	ffrancis Blennerhasset	6	18
2000	"	Mr. Leonard Blennerhasset	14	8
1000	Clankelly	Sir Hugh Worrel	7	12
1000	"	Jas. Higget, Ld. sp. Kil-	18	4
1000	"	Chas. Waterhouse [fenora	5	7
1000	"	Edward Hatton, Archu.	26	18
1000	"	Mr. Sedburrrough [Ardagh	15	1
1000	Magheraboy	Sir John Dunbar	10	—
1000	half B of Knockneny	Mr. Adwick	5	1
3000	Knockneny and Cole	Sir Stephen Butler	34	58
TOWNSMEN OF ENISKILLIN.			36	16
1500	Tyrkenedy	Lrd. Dillon's sservitors' lands	26	1
1000	"	Sir Wm. Cole's do	13	—
1000	"	Capt. Roger Atkinson's do	9	16
1000	—	Sir Ralp Gower's do	—	31
1500	Tirkenedy	Lord Hasting's churchlands	16	25
1000	Magherboy	Mr. Archdall's tenants in do	7	7
500	Lourgg	Ld. Blennerhasset ch'lands	—	7
2000	"	Lady Brewerton's do	11	4
500	½ B Clankelly	Lieut. Wm. Graham do	8	—
120	Clankelly	Mr Fullerton's glebelands	2	—
300	Clan—	Mr. Willoby's churchlands	5	1
1000	Tirkenedy	Mr. Hugh Montgomery do	10	1

CHAPTER XIX.

INQUISITIONS OF FERMANAGH.

There were what were called Exchequer and Chancery Inquisitions in those days, which required juries, and these juries were composed of leading citizens. I give a few of them here, the first having reference to the celebrated George Montgomery, Bishop of Clogher, a man of great prominence in his day, who brought several of his family to Ulster and did well for them. The recurrence of local names of distinction and the designations of the townlands of residence on the juries will be observed:—

JURIES OF EXCHEQUER INQUISITIONS OF CO. FERMANAGH.

No. 2. Jas. I. Taken about George [Montgomery] the bishop of Clogher, on 2 March 18th Jas. I (1621), at Magheraveelick [Magheraveely].

Clinton Maude, Symon Munford, Hugh Montgomery, Jn. Presly, Jn. Clarke, Thomas Tateringham, gents.; Jas. Owen, yeoman; Rory Maguire gt.; Donel Boy O'Mulpatrick. gt.; Cormock M'Manus, yeoman; Patrick M'Coronie, yeoman; Gillernow O'Beran, yeoman; and Xtopher Dixenson, yeoman.

No 3. Jas I. Taken about Bryan O'Skallan [Scollan], on 3rd Oct. 20th, Jas. I. (1622), at Eniskillen.
Clinton Maude, Jas. Arnot, Hugh Stokes, Thos. Teballs,

Thos. Presly, Thos. Simpson, Edw. Rogers, Charles Brookes, Alex. Hughmes, and Hugh Montgomery, all gents.; and Jas. Dundas, Donnell M'Cormack, and Teige Reagh O'Bryan, yeomen.

No. 1. Jas. II. Taken about Roger Boyle, the Bishop of Clogher, at Lisnaskea 19 April 4th, Jas. II. (168--).
Cuconoght oge Maguire, Edmond oge Maguire, Bryan Maguire, Rabt. Ellett, Phelim Maguire, Tirlogh Maguire, Jas. Montgomery, Arthur M'Cawley, Wm. Moore, Alex. Gredin, Christopher O'Keenan, and Alex. M'Donnell, all gents.

No. 1. Wm. and Mary. Taken about Cuconaght Maguire on 5 May, 1693, at Eniskillen.

Jason Hassartt, of Mullymesker	Jn. Maynes, of Mountsid-
Laurence Crafford, of Bonny-	borough
brook	Richd. Evatt, of Tully
David M'Custian, of Iniskillen	Jas. Dundas, of Derrymeanagh
Jas. West, of Killymaddue	George Rankin, of Iniskillen
Alex. Forquer, of Iniskillen	Wm. Bell, of Corrick
[sometimes spelt Forker]	
George Rankin, of Monymarget	Wm. Cottington, of Iniskillen
Monymarget is the Irish name of the townland known as Silverhill. The Rankins of Tully (next townland) was one of the oldest families of the county, and was occupied by members of the family until about 1872, when the Misses Rankin went to Dublin.	
all gents.	

All the seals are apparently the same.

No. 39. Charles I. taken 14 Sep., 1638, at Eniskillen, about Charles Waterhouse, before Richd. Guttridge, Provost of Eniskillen, by following Jury—

Thomas Knowles, of Castlecoole,	Jn. Aderson, of Enniskillyn, gt.
gt.	Thos. Serjent, of Killikey, gt.
Pat O'Quigley, of Clonlyferyn,	Phelim O'Case, of Mointagh,
gt.	gt.
Jn. Pulloge, of Shean, gt.	Jn. Johnson, of Tully, gt.
Pat M'Hugh, of Cosclavdin, gt.	Chas. Handel, of Mullaghna-
Cahel oge Maguire, of Lary, gt.	gowan
Thos. Furbor (?) of Maguires-	Cormack M'Collo Maguire, gt.
bridge	Thos. Grosse, of Clankelly, gt.

No. 38. Charles I. taken 14 Sep., 1638, at Eniskillen, about Phelim Maguire, before Richd. Guttridge, Provost of Eniskillen, by the following Jury—

Francis Wootten, of Monaghan Pat Murphy, of Monaghan

Thos. Harris, of Ballyneshallen Owen M'Hugh, of Bally-
 Hugh M'Loughlin, of Ballysheske neshallen
 Pat M'Brien M'Mahon, of Bally- Corn O'Clearion, of Bally-
 lackey clerin
 Hugh M'Gillduffe M'Mahon, of Ballylackey, Brien Roe
 O'Duffy, of Ballyduffy
 Owen M'Patrick Conn O'Duffy, of Ballyduffy
 Mahon M'Mahon, of Ballydromgowlagh
 Rosse M'Laghlen M'Kenna, of Ballaghreske
 James M'Phillip M'Terence, of Ballaghreske
 Ardell M'Phillip M'Kenna, of Ballenveagh
 Dunslevy Boy M'Kenna, of Ballentenney.

No. 40. Charles I. taken at Eniskillen, 9 Sept., 1639,
 about Jn. Sedborough, by the following Jury—

Phelim O'Cassidy, of Muntiagh Alex. Wiggins, of Larvey
 Thos. Presley, of Lisneshilly Jerome Emery, of Cash, yeoman
 Thos. Tibballs, of Knappagh, yeoman; Chas. Heynolds, of
 Mullaghnegowan, yeoman; Wm. Amer, of Downsee, yeoman;
 Jn. Patterson, of Drumreah, William Wilson, of Clabby, and
 Jn. Mynes, of Mullaghsillagh, yeomen; Jas. M'Manus, of
 Lismalower, gt.; Manus M'Manus, of Aghalane, gt.; Anthony
 Barton, of Bogheallan, gt.; Wm. Ayer, of Carrickreagh, gt.;
 Archibald Armstrong, of Dromsken, gt.; George Dickeson, of
 Lettergren; Jas. Johnson, of Drumadown, gt.; George
 Bradshaw, of Castleroe; George Ward, (?) of Castlenew.

No. 1. Charles II. Taken 1st Feb. 13th, Chas. II.
 (1661), at Eniskillen, about Bryan Maguire, by following
 Jury—

Jn. Dane, Wm. Duncan, Wm. Wilkin, Jn. Emerson, Jn.
 Campbell, Jas. Buchanan, Jn. Russell, Edw. Dixon, Edw.
 Copeland, Pat M'Elevee, Robt. Clarke, and Hugh Donelson,
 all gents. of Eniskillen.
 Seals in very bad order.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5. Charles II. all taken 9 April,
 1662, at Eniskillen.

No. 2, about Allen Cooke, Jury—

Edw. Bampton, senior, Jn. Johnston, Adam Kearnes, George
 Burne, Jn. Wales, Edw. Bampton, junior, Rowland Betty,
 Will Bennett, Henry Notley, Jas. King, Will Barton, Robt.
 Johnston, Jas. Arnot, Jn. Wardell, and Jn. Johnston, junior,
 all gents.

No. 3, about Ralph Gore, by Jury—

Edw. Bampton, senior, Jn. Johnston, senior, Robt. Johnston,
 Jas. Arnet, George Burne, Jn. King, Jn. Wardell, Rowland
 Betty, Henry Notley, Edward Bampton, junior, Jn. Johnston,
 junior Will Barton, Jn. Miles, Adam Kearnes, and Will Boid.

No. 4, Jn. Higate, and No. 5, Martin Baxter.

Names of Jury almost illegible but almost the same as
 Nos. 1 and 3.

No. 6. Charles II. taken 2 Sep., 1662, at Lowtherstown,
 about Gerard Lowther, contains copy of his will dated 14
 Nov., 1659, Jury—

Edw. Bampton, senior, of Drum-	Thos. Bell, of Drumshean
cunny	Jn. Armstrong, of Cullenfield
Thos. Humphrey, of Drumard	Thos. Chittocke, of Cash
Wm. Graham, of Drumcrin	Wm. Johnston, of Temple-
Walter Erwing, of Ballynent	maghery
David Graham, of Derrynany	Wm. Miles, of Lissnarrogg
Wm. Wilson, of Liscreevin	Edward Humphrey, of Rosquar
Leonard Amery, of Drumnerenagh	Miles Hollywood, of Durass
and Cawen Blackley, of Manakee	all gents.

No. 29. Charles II. taken 16 March, 1630/1, at
 Iniskillen, about Symon Presley, by Jury—

Christopher Irwin, of Lowthers-	Wm. Hall, of Lisbofin
town	Wm. Atkinson, of Inishkillen
Thos. Edwick, of Clankillew	Jn. Doen, of Coirknishe
Jn. Young, of Coytilton	Cormock M'Colloe, of Kil-
Edward Skaniell, of Dromoule	creen
Pat M'Hugh, of Cossarly	Cormic M'Awly, of Derry-
Donald Deane Maguire, of	colaghtyen
Brackagh	Phelim O'Cassidy, of Moutar
Thomas Oge Maguire, of Tullaghone	

No. 1. Charles I. taken 22 Sep. 2nd, Chas. I. (1626),
 at Eniskillen, about Connor Roe Maguire, kt., Jury—

Alex. Creaghton, of Aghaward	Thos. King, of Eniskillen, gt.
Edward Skamill, of Drumaw	Richd. Guttrich, of Lisgoule
Jn. Skarlett, of Killhola	Gerald Wiggins, of Eniskillen
Thos. Mayne, of Castlecoole	Patrick oge M'Coadd, of
Wm. Parkins, of Trowry	Drumbrochus
Pat Fitsimons, of KILLSallogh	Thos. Mantan, of Castlecoole
Nicholas Osenbrook, of Mullagh-	Richd. Jackson, of Ruskearne
veagh	Edw. Rogers, of Latrim
Wm. Atkinson, Eniskillen	all gents.

CHAPTER XX.

ENNISKILLEN AND 1641.

Charles I. came to the throne in 1625, but he brought no peace to Ireland. He was always in straits for money, and Roman Catholics and Protestants were tortured alike to provide it by the Lord Deputy, Lord Wentworth, who afterwards became Earl of Strafford. The former had had little relaxation of religious persecution, and the latter had titles confiscated,—to extract money for the King. Strafford was recalled in 1640, to proceed against the Covenanters in Scotland, but was impeached by the House of Commons* for his cruelties and executions in Ireland, and in 1641 suffered death on Tower Hill. He contributed largely to the irritation which produced the Irish Rebellion. The persecution of the Roman Catholic religion, the exclusion of Catholics from civil and military employment, and the wholesale exactions and extortions and confiscations from the landowners and chiefs, combined to create the disaffection which resulted in conspiracy† and massacre: the deprivation

* Sir William Cole was one of the Committee of the Irish Parliament, which went to London as bearers of the Irish Remonstrance against the administration of Lord Strafford.

† Harris's *History of Dublin* states that a plot was discovered on the 20th of September, 1625, in which the Maguire family was concerned to surprise the King's Castle at Enniskillen.

of their land led some of the sufferers becoming what men termed "Tories" or robbers, who often preyed on their former tenantry or people, on account of old connexion, or robbed and murdered the hated English, as the authors of all their woes. With all the miseries of those times, and their causes, this work has nothing to do; and some local consequences of the Rebellion of 1641* have been dealt with in Chapter XI.

In addition to what is stated in that chapter I summarize other particulars as follows. On Monday, 11th November, 1644, Connor Lord Macguire was arraigned at the bar of the King's Bench, London, for treason. He pleaded not guilty. He and Hugh Oge M'Mahon were said to have been the principal instigators. They had been committed as prisoners to the Castle on 23rd November, 1641; from thence sent to England on the 12th June following, and continued prisoners till the 18th August, 1644, when they made their escape, but were re-taken on 20th October following.

Maguire pleaded that by Magna Charta 10th February, 9th Henry III., that none should be condemned but by trial of his peers, and that by the 10th of Henry VII. all statutes made in England should apply to Ireland, that his father had been created Baron of Enniskillen, that he as successor had sat in the Irish Parliament, and that he had been brought against his will to Westminster, and he prayed that he might be judged by his peers in Ireland.

Judge Bacon decided that a Baron of Ireland was

* Bishop Spottiswoode and his son Sir Henry received an intimation of the rising of 1641 and fled to England. In his absence his house was besieged and his servants were slain without any mercy. In 1626 there were 40 or 50 English premises on the lands of Portora.

triable by a jury in England, and the House of Commons by a vote on the 8th February, 1645, approved of his judgment; and the judge was required to proceed with the trial according to law and justice. The House of Peers endorsed the vote of the Commons.

As his plea of peerage was declared to be invalid, he was arraigned as Connor Macguire, alias Cornelius Macguire, Esq., that at Charlemount and other places on 22nd October, with banners, drums, staves, guns, &c., he had levied war, and seized the King's fort at Charlemount and murdered Toby Lord Calfield, Francis Davies, and others of the King's subjects that were Protestants.

Macguire challenged 35 jurors peremptorily, and the oath was precisely the same as if it were administered to-day—

You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between our sovereign lord the King and Connor Macguire, Esq., now prisoner at the bar, and a true verdict give according to the evidence, so help you God.

The witnesses were—Lord Blaney, Lord Calfield, Sir William Loftus, Sir John Temple, Sir William Stewart, Sir Francis Hamilton, Sir Ed. Borlacey, Sir William Cole, Sir Charles Coote, and five or six others.

Amongst other things Lord Macguire's own "examination" was read, dated 26th of March, 1642, and in it he declared

that Roger [Rory] Moore had acquainted them that if the Irish would rise they might make their own condition for the regaining of their own lands and freedom of their religion; that a number in Leinster and Connaught would rise for the purpose, and asked him [Macguire] to join them

"and thereupon moved this examine [Macguire] to join likewise with them, with all he could make, unto which he this examine yielded." He then referred to the general rebellion in preparation, acknowledgeth that the Castle of Dublin was to have been surprised by himself, Capt. Bryan O'Neale, Con. O'Neale, Capt. MacMahone, one Owen Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh MacMahone, col. Plunket, and capt. Fox; and likewise further acknowledgeth, That Hugh M'Phelim, captain Con. O'Neale, and Bryan O'Neale, brought from Owen O'Neale, out of Flanders, the very same message which the said priest [one Toole O'Coole] had brought. And this examine further saith, that he was told by Roger Moore that a great man was in the plot, but he might not name him for the present.

And at another time, and during the sitting of the Parliament the last summer, he, this examine, was informed by one John Barnewell, a Franciscan friar then resident in the city, That those of the Pale—[the English Catholic settlers]—were also privy unto the plot. And lastly saith—That of those persons who came to attend him, this examine, for the surprise of the said Castle of Dublin, only Cohonagh Macguare was privy unto the business in hand: and that the last meeting when the day appointed for execution thereof was resolved on, was at Lough Rosse, when were present only Ever MacMahone, vicar general of the diocese of Clogher, Thos. M'Kearnan, a friar of Dundalk, sir Phelim O'Neale, Roger Moore and Bryan O'Neale.

This "free and voluntary confession" was read in court, and other examinations of the prisoner, in one of which he said he was but a mean instrument in the design of Ireland; he confessed he intended to seize upon the Castle of Dublin and the magazine there, and keep it till they had redress of some grievances which they proposed to propound to the parliament there; one whereof was, to have a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion. He admitted that he went to Dublin for the purpose of putting the design into execution.

Of the other witnesses, the evidence of one only may be quoted here:—

John Carmicke's* testimony—"That upon 21st October, 1641, Fergus O'Howen, one of the followers of Brian Macguire Esq., came to his chamber in the castle of Eniskillin, and after he endeavoured to bind him to keep secret a matter of great concernment, which Fergus said he had to disclose, and particularly to conceal it from Sir William Cole, and all other Englishmen. He discovered unto him that all the castles, forts, sea-ports and holds that were in the possession of the Protestants in the several counties and provinces in the Kingdom of Ireland were to be surprised and taken by the Irish Papists; and the Protestants in every of those castles, forts, sea-ports and holds, to be then also put all to the sword by the Irish Papists in Ireland in their owne several parts and limits by men thereunto chiefly and particularly appointed by the contrivers thereof, and that especially the town and castle of Eniskillin, with the rest, would be taken, and all the Protestants in it put to the sword."

He then informed Sir William Cole, who was also informed to the same effect by Flartagh Mac Hugh, a gentleman and freeholder of Fermanagh, who was sent by Brian Mac Conagh Macgwir, Esq., to so inform Sir Wm. Cole, and desired to be put on his guard; and that Lord Macgwir had appointed his brother, Rori Macgwir (in his absence) to command the Irish Papists of the County of Fermanagh, for the surprising of the castles and houses of the Protestants.

It was also declared upon oaths by Flartagh Mac Hugh, John Oge Mac Hugh, and Terlagh Oge M'Hugh, before the said Sir William Cole, that 150 men were appointed to surprise the Castle of Enniskillen; for which service they were not only to have the spoil and riches of the said castle and town, but to have also the Barony of Clanauley granted and confirmed in fee to them and their heirs from the said Lord Maguire, and his heirs. He also produced (John Carmick) a letter written in Irish from the Lord Maguire to his cousin Brian Maguire, taking notice that he was abundantly inclined to the English, which did very much trouble him, and therefore desired to banish such thoughts out of his mind.

Here we have the authority of the Maguire as

* John Cormock or Carmick is suspected by Lord Belmore to have been a member of the Castle household, or to have been a resident of Drumbov, parish of Boho. He became one of the Commissioners in 1653 to take evidence of the massacre, and retired with the rank of captain to his place at Boho, where he had ten tenants. We find his name changed, lest he should be suspected of Irish origin, to MacCarmick, of the townland Aghaherry [Aghaherrish], and he is believed to have been the father of Captain William MacCarmick, of local Revolution fame in 1688.

Governor of Fermanagh under the King transmitted to his brother Rory. As to Captain Rory, one example may be given here of the manner in which he dealt with the Protestants.

Presently after, upon the 25th of October, one Captain Rori Maguire took upon him the management of all business in his absence; he fortifies first the Castle Hasen, the house wherein he dwelt himself, he took the castle of one Edward Aldrith, Esq., he put out all the English there he went to the town, burnt that, but killed none of the men, went thence to another place, and hanged one Eleazar M. [Middleton] one that was clerk of the peace of the county: and from thence he went to Newtown, four miles off from it, took in the town, stripped and disarmed all the Protestants that were in the church, the next day after marched away; and killed and destroyed most of the English in those parts, and murdered Arthur Champion, Esq., and many more. Two and twenty castles were seized upon, and the church of Moneah, with 18 Protestants burnt in it. 771 Protestants were destroyed in that county, and I did hear that there was about 152,000 that they had destroyed in the province of Ulster, in the first five months of the rebellion.

The evidence was all very strong, and the report of the State Trials Charles I., 1645, tells us—

The Judge, in giving sentence said—The judgment that I am by the law to pronounce against you is this: Connor Maguire, Esq., you being proved guilty of the treasons whereof you are indicted, your judgment is:—That you shall be carried from hence to the place from whence you came, that is the Tower, and from thence to Tyburn, the place of execution, and there you shall be hanged by the neck, and cut down alive, your bowels taken out, and burnt before your face, your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and the head of your body to be set up and disposed of as the State shall appoint. And the Lord have mercy upon your soul.

As for Rory Maguire * (brother of Lord Maguire),

* Captain Rory M'Guire joined the forces of Owen Roe O'Neill, and when

and one of the chief butchers of the rising, who called himself Governor of Fermanagh, he escaped the punishment of his many crimes till, pursuing his unrepentant course, he issued the following proclamation on the 25th November, 1643:—

COM. FERMANAGH.

Forasmuch as the daily resort and concourse of CATHOLICS since the cessation, into English garrisons, might bring a great deal of inconveniency into our proceedings, I do hereby, by virtue of the Lord General's authority, given me in that behalf, and especially to avoid the imminent peril that hereafter might arise thereof, straitly charge and command all manner of persons, of what rank, quality, or condition whatsoever they be, of THE IRISH NATION, in this country, NOT TO VISIT, CONFER, TALK, OR PARLEY to or with any persons or persons, of, in or belonging to the garrison of Enniskillen, UPON PAIN OF DEATH, AND OF FORFEITING ALL THE GOODS AND CHATELS BELONGING TO SUCH OFFENDER OR OFFENDERS, and likewise that none of the inhabitants of this country, on the west side of Loughern, live, dwell, or inhabit any nearer to Enniskillen, than the river of Arney, until further directions be given to the contrary, upon pain of the aforesaid forfeiture and penalty.

(Signed.)

RORY MAGUIRE.

(*Bor. App. xiz.*)

Thus were the Roman Catholics, by the order of their own leader, confined to the west side of the river Arney, which till this day is almost a boundary mark in its course from Lough Macnean to Lough Erne, between the Protestant and Catholic districts of the barony of Glenawley,—not so noticeable in the Florencecourt side as farther down the river. For the Roman Catholics occupied nearly the whole of the barony.

In the barony of Glenawley we find that allot-

besieging Carrickdrumrush (Carrick-on-Shannon) he and most of his regiment were slain, in revenge for which Owen Roe put the whole garrison, being all Papists, as the narrative hath it, to the sword.

ments were made to only three Planters—and they were servitors [had rendered military service]—Sir John Davis, Mrs. Harrison for Captain Harrison, and Pierce Mostion [Mostyn]. This barony was estimated at 75,469 acres, of which a great deal is mountain, and of that acreage only 5,000 was granted to the undertakers or planters. Sir John Davys or Davies, Attorney General, took care of himself when he took a slice of land near Lisgoole extending to Lisbofin, Rehollan, and Drumconlan,—altogether 1,500 acres, constituting the Manor of Moyeghvane [Moybane], with fair and market at Lisgoole. The grant of 500 acres to Mr. Samuel Harrison was for the Manor of Harrison, of which all trace has been locally lost, but the inclusion of the townland of "Mullyar" points to the modern Mullyard, beyond Belcoo; in which district, that of Munterfodoghane, the small grant of 246 acres was made to Peter Mostin [spelt differently in different places], to which I get a clue by mention of such a townland as Latoone. Several of those townlands bear modern names, different from those in the grants.

With those three exceptions the rest of the barony of Glenawley was set to Irish natives, and the lots were generally of 100, 150, or 200 acres. Thus we read of the grants to Cormock O'Cassida, gent., five-sixths of the half quarter of Montagh, to Donnell dean Magwire and James M'Donough Magwire, gents., Bohevny, Drumlaghy, Rahalton, &c., 300 acres; and grants to Rorie McAdegany Magwire, Owen M'Coconaght Magwire and Donell Oge Muldoon, and so on. Some of the names of townlands, with old spelling I cannot trace, as Carrickmegliferty or as Carrickmeglearty, but I presume the last named must

be near to Lisblake when I find that word spelt Lisbloyhick in the same grant. I am quite at home, however, when I find a grant to Shane McHugh, gent., of half of the quarter of Crotton, and other lands in Coolearkan, Gortgullinan, Mullylosty, &c.

The names of Maguires are in shoals in this barony. A Patrick M'Donnell, gent., got Crowdrin [Croaghrim] and Moher, Tulladear and Aghterorke [Aghatirouurk]; while Shane M'Enabb [or M'Cabe] got Dromm-Envernier, part of Aghorerishe [Aghaherrish], &c. We also get such names as Corcoran, M'Brien, M'Tirlagh, M'Mulroney. Donnell Groome M'Art, O'Flanagan, O'Hossy, O'Scanlan, M'Elynan, and dozens of Maguires—about 40 grants in all of the barony of Glenawley or Clinawley, the grants being for ever, and the dates 1610 and 1611. These men were ordered by Rory Maguire to remove westward of the Arney.

The rising left bitterest memories in Enniskillen, though the town escaped, and in the troublous and disturbed condition of the times there were raids and counter raids, assaults, and robberies. Sir William Cole considered it necessary for the protection of the town and neighbourhood to raise a regiment and obtained authority* to do so in 1643, and it was not long in commission till it was making reprisals on the Irish, so that the Irish leaders complained to the Lord Lieutenant concerning Enniskillen robberies, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from Owen M'Neill to Ormonde:—

Besides what I have written to your Excellencie last, Sir William Cole and the Scots of Iniskillin [presumably some of

* Mr. Robert King, whose name appears in the Enniskillen Muster Roll, is believed to have been the merchant of Enniskillen who supplied clothing materials to Sir Wm. Cole's regiment, as he obtained a licence to transport broadcloth, buttons, swordbelts, hats, &c., to Iniskillin at that period.

Sir George Monroe's troops] have within 20 or 30 daies after notice had of the cessation, taken the castle of Crevenish in the Countie of ffermanagh, and all the wealth that was therein, together with a prey of 120 coves, &c.

Briefly put, the country was continually at war, at war with itself and against England, and with so many different parties engaged that one gets bewildered in reading the dreadful accounts of those frightful times, when Ireland was soaked in blood. There were, after the rising, no fewer than four different armies in the country—(1) The Irish-Irelanders under Rory O'Moore who wanted total separation from England; (2) the Anglo-Catholics of the Pale and elsewhere who did not desire separation, but demanded freedom for the exercise of their religion and for themselves, (3) the Puritan Army of the Commonwealth, which included the Scots, under Monro, a severe General; and (4) the Protestant Party of the Pale, who held Dublin and stood by the King.

The two sections of the Roman Catholics were brought together by the clergy on October 24, 1642, and formed what has been called the Confederation of Kilkenny, consisting of 11 bishops, 14 lords, and 226 commoners.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONFEDERATION AND BISHOP
M'MAHON.

The Confederation of Kilkenny aimed to restore the Catholic religion, to get returned the six escheated counties of Ulster to the natives, and to set aside the penal laws of Henry and Elizabeth. The Confederation raised an army, established an administration under O'Neill for Ulster and under Preston for Leinster, and won and governed parts of Ireland. They were termed rebels, but they denied the charge, as they claimed to have acted in support of the King, and Charles himself was rather willing to come to terms with them. In some places the Protestants and English soldiers were reduced to such a plight that they had to eat horse flesh, being in want of "bread for their bellies, clothes for their backs, and shoes for their feet." Carte, speaking of the Scotch forces, under General Monroe, says:—

They were much better provided in the respect of pay and Provisions than the British forces raised by Sir Ralph Gore, Sir Wm. Cole, Sir W. and Sir Robert Stewart in the county of Donnegal, the Lords Chichester, Ardes, Clandeboye, Sir James Montgomery, Sir Arthur Tyringham, Colonel

Chichester, Colonel Hill, and others in those northern parts, in virtue of His Majesty's commissions, who, though they had borne the brunt of the war, in the height of the rebels' fury and power, had endured all the hardships of a winter campaign, and had done eminent services, had not yet been put on the establishment, nor received any pay, nor been supplied by the Parliament with any provisions, ammunition, or clothes, though their extreme wants in all these respects had been frequently represented to the two Houses—[meaning English Parliament]—and relief solicited by agents sent expressly for the purpose.

The English Parliament had confiscated 2,500,000 acres of land, which they had allotted at the rate of

1000	acres in Ulster from	£200,
1000	„ in Connaught „	390,
1000	„ in Munster „	450,
1000	„ in Leinster „	600,

showing how poor was the soil in the Northern province that it was valued at much less than the rest. These confiscations roused intense resentment, and General Preston was commissioned by the Confederation in 1642 to oppose the Parliamentary Party and policy, which was condemned as having involved "unparalleled cruelties, massacres, breaches of public faith and quarter, burnings and destruction carried out by commands of the malignant party in England, and exercised on every party in Ireland," &c. The armed revolt was led by Owen Roe O'Neill, and with him we obtain the local connexion, for one of his lieutenants was a friend of his own, Heber M'Mahon, Catholic Bishop of Clogher. The Norman Catholics or Anglo-Irish joined in this insurrection with the native chiefs, and thus a Catholic party was formed as against the English Puritan Parliament party and policy, which were held by the Catholic party to intend the extirpation of their church out of Ireland.

Help was sent to the Confederates in 1645 by the Pope not only in money and arms but also in accrediting to them a Nuncio in the person of Archbishop Rinucinni of Palermo, to accomplish three purposes—To unite the Ireland-Irish and the Anglo-Irish and advance the Catholic religion, and to help Charles I. as against the Puritan Parliament.* Monsigneur Massari, who accompanied the Nuncio, presented a sketch of the Kingdom at this time, and it is well to learn the Roman Catholic point of view of the Great Rebellion and Confederation, and what were regarded as "miracles." In his report he said—

In the year of Our Lord 1641, finding themselves constrained to make a stand against the iniquitous designs of the English and Scotch heretics who had determined not only to destroy the monarchy but also to wipe out the Catholic religion in that kingdom, the Catholics of Ireland, with noble resolve, took up arms to defend themselves against the danger hanging over them to deliver themselves once for all from the hard yoke that bound them down under the tyrannical rule of heretics, and above all to establish the free use and exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion. The province of Ulster was the first to take this step, a province always most tenacious of the true faith and ever ready to defend it against the schismatical sovereigns of England—Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, and James, who had sought to destroy it if they could, not only in their own kingdom, but outside as well.

Accordingly, many of that province and some from the other three provinces of Connacht, Leinster and Munster, entered into a union, and at a time fixed on between them (which was precisely October the 21st, 1641,) made a concerted attack on some of the enemy cities and fortresses, under the guidance and leadership of Connor Maguire, Phelim O'Neill, Rory O'Moore and other confederates. Fortune smiled on them, and with the God of armies at their head they succeeded

* Cardinal Rinucinni's address, delivered in Latin to the Confederation, declared the object of the Pope's mission through him to be "to sustain the King, then so peculiarly circumstanced, but above all to rescue from pains and penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the churches and church property, of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors."

in chasing the enemies of the true faith from many positions of great importance. Though left without proper arms owing to the severe edicts enforced by the heretical government against those of the kingdom who possessed or kept fire-arms, ammunition and the like, and though the leaders of the movement had no experience in the art of warfare, yet divine Providence enabled them to gain several victories, until with the arms taken from their adversaries in two or three encounters they were able to organise well armed bands, few indeed in point of numbers but manned with soldiers of great courage and determination, who hitherto had had to fight with pikes, staves and axes, against enemies armed to the teeth with shield, cannon and musket. All the victories won by the Catholics were wonderful, but their first victories were regarded as downright miracles!

Bishop M'Mahon was not satisfied with being the spiritual leader of his people; he became a militant leader also, and offered his help in the field to his friend Owen Roe O'Neill. 6,000 stands of arms had been procured at Antwerp. The Pope had sent over 2,000 muskets, 4,000 swords, 4,000 pistols, 2,000 pikes, 20,000 lbs. of powder, and 36,000 dollars in gold, with the Papal envoy, Rinucinni; and thus the Confederation were prepared to fight with the Puritan Generals, Monroe, Sir Charles Coote, and Lord Inchiquin. It was Catholic against Protestant; and the first honours lay with the Catholics. Owen Roe defeated Monroe at Benburb on 15th June 1646, a victory which has been quoted down the years as a spur to renewed militant measures.

The unity of Catholic Ireland did not long remain. The hereditary fissiparous tendency broke out. The Papal Envoy was made President of a new Council; it was arranged to seize the Castle of Dublin, but quarrels ensued. O'Neill's army was to be disbanded. Negotiations were opened up. O'Neill demanded the restoration of the confiscated lands in

Ulster to their original owners and a port in Ulster. Sir Charles Coote (on behalf of the Parliament of England) refused the terms. Bishop M'Mahon brought about some sort of arrangement whereby O'Neill should submit to the King, but O'Neill died on the 6th November, 1649, at Cloughoughter,* Co. Cavan. He was an able general and in a time of general cruelty a humane officer. Really a Royalist, and therefore a supporter of Lord Deputy Ormonde, he was afraid of the excommunications of Rinucinni, the Cardinal (who was finally driven from Ireland) and the Bishops, and though he had served the Confederation faithfully yet he came to terms with Ormonde some days before his death. Some nobility of character is shown by O'Neill's last letter to Ormonde, written only a few days before he passed away at Cloughoughter, Co. Cavan:—"Being now in my death-bed, I call my Saviour to witness that, as I hope for salvation, my resolution, ways, and intentions from first to last of these unhappy wars tended to no particular ambition or private interest of my own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservation of my religion, the advancement of His Majesty's service, and just liberties of this nation, whereof and of my particular reality and willingness to serve your Excellency (above any other in this Kingdom).

* The Castle of Cloughoughter (Cloch-Locha-Uachtair) the rock of the Upper Lake) was one of the strongholds of the clan Reilly (O'Raghallaigh), and was situated on an island about two furlongs from the shore. Originally belonging to the Red Earl of Ulster it was captured by the Reillys, and made a stronghold in Breffny. It was here Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, who first translated the New Testament into Irish, was imprisoned by the rebels in 1641 from the 18th December till the January of 1642. He died shortly afterwards on the 7th February in a farm-house at Drumcorr on this lake, belonging to the Rev. Denis Sheridan, a convert from Roman Catholicism, whom the Bishop had promoted to the cure of Killesher. Two sons of this Rev. Mr. Sheridan became bishops of the Established Church.

I hope that God will permit me to give ample and sufficient testimony in the view of the world ere it be long."

Bishop M'Mahon was elected as General* of the Confederate forces in place of O'Neill, over the head even of Sir Phelim O'Neill, in the month of March 1650, and on April 1 the Lord Lieutenant of King Charles I. sent a General's commission to him. It was in this month that General Monroe surrendered Enniskillen to Coote "for £5,000 and other trivial things," and thus was the Castle of Enniskillen transferred from the King to the Parliament.

Mr. Bagenal in *Ireland under the Stuarts* says. (vol. 2, page 227) that by the fourth article of his agreement with Owen Roe O'Neill, Ormonde [the King's Lord Lieutenant] was bound to give the command in Ulster to the person nominated by the nobility and gentry in that province, who assembled for that purpose in March, under the presidency of Eugene Swiney, who had been Bishop of Kilmore since 1628. [Lord] Antrim, who had always been in communication with Cromwell, and was soon to be

* According to agreement the gentry and nobility of Ulster met at Belturbet on March 18, 1650, to choose a successor to Owen O'Neill. The rival candidates were many; some of the principal officers of the army were naturally mentioned, and Antrim, in spite of his recent tergiversations, was suggested as being likely to reconcile the Scottish Royalist Presbyterians under Munro with the Catholic Celts who abounded around them. In the midst of distracted counsels the clergy steadily pushed their way, and in the end, on the pretext of avoiding a ruinous competition, they obtained the election of one of themselves, Emer Macmahon, Bishop of Clogher. The bishop was a man of energy and capacity, but he was singularly unfitted by his profession for exercising military command, and it was hardly likely that the old warriors, the Ferralls and O'Neills who had supported Owen's authority without a thought of rivalry, would willingly submit on the field of battle to even the most majestic priest.

"Nothing could have served Cromwell's interest better than this election. In it the Celtic element in the Irish resistance asserted itself without contradiction. In Ulster the children, or grandchildren of the men who had been expelled by the great Plantation threw themselves on the lands still remaining in the possession of the settlers, and appropriated them without scruple. Munro, who had charge of the garrison of Enniskillen and had long been discontented with the turn of events, now admitted a parliamentary force into the castle."—Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. 1, p. 17c.

in alliance with Ireton, was a candidate, and had many supporters among the officers. It was thought that Sir George Monroe and his Scots might follow him, though they would dislike an Irish, and especially a clerical, general. Hugh O'Neill, who would have been by far the fittest man, was absent in Munster; and Daniel O'Neill was practically disqualified by being a Protestant. The other candidates were Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had never shone as a soldier; Owen Roe's son, Henry; General Ferrall, and Bishop MacMahon of Clogher. The Bishop professed no great anxiety for the post, but there seems little doubt that he left no stone unturned. These intrigues were successful, and Ormonde signed his cousin's ruin on April 1. He now says "the British Officer" [who wrote an official report] a great politician, but no more a soldier fit to be a general than one of Rome's Cardinals.

A letter of the period mentions one of the Bishop's successes:—

The rebels, being about 4,000 foot, and 600 horse, under the command of [Emer MacMahon] the Irish Bishop of Clogher, fell down into our quarters about the end of last month [June], and immediately took by storm, on the frontiers of this county, a place called Dongeven [Dungiven], where was only placed 20 warders, with Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Bedisford* [Beresford], whose estate lay there; all they found in arms they put to the sword, except the Lt.-Colonel himself, whom they wounded and sent prisoner to Charlemont. . . .

MacMahon displayed some skill in generalship. He overcame his opponents in several directions, but was finally met between Dungiven and Letterkenny

* The Bishop wrote to Colonel Beresford—"If you shed one drop of my soldiers' blood I will not spare to put man, woman, and child to the sword;" and he did put all to the sword except Beresford himself.

by Sir Charles Coote, the Cromwellian General, and defeated. M'Mahon, with Sir Phelim O'Neill and Lieut.-General Ferrall, fled southward towards his own county of Monaghan, but did not get so far. He passed Omagh and had reached Kilskeery, where he was met by Major King, the governor of Enniskillen, who had three troops of horse and 300 foot. The Bishop-General was wounded in the encounter and taken prisoner, having been promised quarter.* He then received every consideration both there and at Enniskillen at the hands of his captors,† and a month or so afterwards was hanged by order of Sir Charles Coote, the place of execution being the Sconce on the Great Meadow at Enniskillen; and his body was buried at Devenish. Sir Phelim was taken prisoner,

* This binding obligation was grossly violated, and that the promise was given is proved by the following letter quoted at page 165 of the English Official Chronicle of the Irish Wars, under the date of 23rd June:—

"The Bishop of Clogher encountered not far from Londonderry with Sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English rebels in those quarters, and was then inferior in foot to the Bishop, though otherwise he had a great advantage of him, by having near treble the number of horse, notwithstanding which inequality, the Irish behav'd themselves with courage, but in the end were totally defeated, so that the Bishop was compelled, after he saw the day totally lost, to quit the field with a small party of horse that attended him, and the next day in his flight he had the misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the Governor of that town, in the head of a party too strong for him, against which, however, the Bishop detented himself with notable courage, but after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become prisoner upon promise first that he should have fair quarter,—contrary to which Sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hang'd, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty he could devise."

† Father Meehan writes: "The close of MacMahon's career was such as might have been expected from one whose life had been divided between the Church and the camp; and much as the Cromwellian troopers admired his undaunted resolution, they never were so deeply impressed by it as on that July evening when they escorted him to the ancient Castle of Enniskillen—the place appointed for his execution. Marching some paces in advance of the musketeers, his bearing was calm, dignified, and martial; so much so, that a casual wayfarer might have taken him for the officer in command, were it not for the presence of an ecclesiastic with whom he conversed in tones inaudible to everyone else, and a small gold crucifix that he kept constantly moving between his lips and eyes. On reaching the scaffold he knelt and prayed for a while, and then turning to the troops who kept the ground, he told them that he thanked God for having given him that opportunity of laying down his life in the cause of religion, king, and country." "He met his fate with the fortitude of a martyr and the calm dignity of a saint." His soul had scarcely gone to his account when the executioner, in compliance with the barbarous custom of the period, flung the corpse to the ground, hacked off the head, and spiked it on a tower of the Castle, where it remained till birds of prey, rain, storm, and time destroyed every vestige of the ghastly trophy.

and he finally accepted what was known as the peace of 1649.

A British Officer who wrote the official account (*Confed.* and Warr, iii, 166) says—"Now the readers may observe the sequel of making a Bishop a General that was nothing experienced in that lesson, nor becoming his coat to send men to spill Christian blood: and how that for want of conduct and pendency in martial affairs he lost himself and that army that never got a foil before he led them."

The Rev. J. E. M'Kenna, M.R.I.A., Adm., Dromore, writing on this subject, says—

Heber M'Mahon was treated with kind consideration by Major King, who admired his Christian fortitude under his adversity. He procured him medical aid, and did everything to alleviate the sufferings from his wounds, which must have been severe, since we find King urging the impossibility of his ever again being able to take part in the affairs of his country as an additional reason why Coote should respect the *promise of quarter* under which he gave up his sword, and spare his life.

By various devices the humane Governor delayed the execution of Coote's "tigrish and inhuman order that the Bishop should be forthwith hanged," and when resistance to it became no longer possible, he procured for his prisoner the services of a priest, who had free access to his prison, and accompanied him to the scaffold. When the day fixed for the execution arrived, Major King, having taken an affectionate leave of the Bishop, rode away from Enniskillen, lest his presence there should give a semblance of approval to an act that he and all right-minded men regarded as a disgrace to civilized warfare.

In the *Aphorismicall Discovery of Treasonable Faction* I find the story thus told—

Sir Phelim Oneyll with a partie tooke his course for Tyrone [after being routed at the battle of Letterkeny], and so beguiled theemie. The Bishope-General [Ever MacMahon] and Lt.-Gen. Ferrall, with the matter of 200 horse, goinge

both daie and night for 24 howers the way of Fermanagh without meate, drinke, or rest, both horse and man tyred, next morninge in that poore plight were discovered and noted in that sadd condition by one Maguire, a gentleman of the countrie (O inhumaine treacherie!) boasted to *Iniskillin* garrison, gave notice there of the distressed deportment of the fugitive Irish Generall; facilitatige in the best language* he could the surprize of that wofull partie by a farr lesser number, as out of breath and courage, both beaste and man. By those surmishes, he edged on the enemie garrison, whoe made up a matter of a 100 horse, a sufficient number to quell the alreadie vanquished behaviour of this starvlinge and forlorne partie; advancinge therefore towards them, an easie taske, fallinge upon them, incapable of the leaste resistance, the Prelat-Generall was taken prisoner and wounded. The Lt.-Gen. narrowly escaped, wounded; verie fewe escaped, but all were either killed in the same place or taken prisoners, and soe caried into *Iniskillin*, where continued upwards of 2 months, at the expiration wherof was hanged and quartered by Sir Charles Coote.

No local tradition remains as to the particular Maguire, who, knowing the short cut across the country, made his way quickly to Enniskillen and gave the information which led to Major King's sudden and successful rally.

Col. Phelim MacTuoll O'Neill was taken prisoner, and when pleading for the life of Colonel Hugh O'Neill, son of Owen Roe, was ordered to be knocked on the head with tent-poles by Coote. An officer present, however, drew his sword and ran Colonel Phelim through the heart, in compassion, it is said, to save him the brutal indignity, of his head being exhibited at Derry, as M'Mahon's was at Enniskillen. All the other officers arrested at Letterkenny—Col. Henry Roe O'Neill, Col. Hugh Maguire, Col. Hugh M'Mahon, Art Oge O'Neill, Mac Shane Deemis, who had also been promised quarter, were executed relentlessly.

Coote's callousness were not confined to the Papists who fell into his hands, but extended also to the Protestants who had supported the King, and among these was Captain Gerrard Irvine, of Castle Irvine, Lowtherstown. Captain John Creighton, in his Memoirs, as revised by Dean Swift, tells the following story, regarding the escape of Captain Irvine from Coote at Derry:—

Alexander Creighton, my father, was about eighteen years old in the year 1641. The Irish Rebellion then breaking out, he went to Captain Gerrard Irvine, his relation, who was then captain of horse, and afterwards knighted by King Charles the Second. This gentleman, having a party for the King, soon after joined with Sir Robert Stuart, in the County of Donegal, where, in the course of those troubles, they continued skirmishing, sometimes with the Irish rebels, and sometimes with those of the English Parliament, after the rebellion in England began; till at length Captain Irvine, and a Mr. Stuart, were taken prisoners, and put in gaol in Derry; which city was kept for the parliament against the King, by Sir Charles Coote.

Here my father (then resident with a young family in the town of Castlefen,) performed a very memorable and gallant action, in rescuing his relation, Captain Irvine and Mr. Stuart. Having received information that Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Derry, had publicly declared that Captain Irvine and his companion should be put to death, within two or three days, he communicated this intelligence to seven trusty friends, who all engaged to assist him with the hazard of their lives, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them.

They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of six in the morning, when the west gate stood open, and the drawbridge was let down, for the governor's horses to go out to water, should ride in one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themselves in a friend's house till night; at which time, my father was to acquaint Captain Irvine, and his fellow prisoner, with their design, which was to this purpose, that after concerting measures at the prison, my father should repair to a certain place on the city wall, and give instructions to the four without, at twelve at night; accordingly, next morning, as

soon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the same night, having settled matters with the two gentlemen, that they should be ready at six next morning, at which hour he and his three friends should call upon them. He then went to the wall, and directed the four who were without, that as soon as they should see the gate open, and the bridge drawn, one of them should walk up to the sentry and secure him from making any noise by holding a pistol to his breast; after which, the other three should ride up and secure the room where the guard lay, to prevent them from coming out. Most of the garrison were in their beds, which encouraged my father and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprise.

Therefore, precisely at six o'clock, when the byguard and sentry at the western gate were secured by the four without, my father, and the other three within being mounted on horseback, with one spare horse, in the habit of townspeople, with cudgels in their hands, called at the gaol door on the pretence to speak to Captain Irvine and Mr. Stuart. They were both walking in a large room in the gaol, with the gaoler, and three soldiers attending them; but these not suspecting the persons on horseback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father asked Captain Irvine whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going; the Captain made some answer, but said they should not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the soldiers to buy a bottle of sack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewise some errand for another soldier, sent him also out of the way.

There being now none left to guard the prisoners, but the gaoler and the third soldier, Captain Irvine leaped over the hatch-door, and as the gaoler leapt after him, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing, Mr. Stuart tripped up the soldier's heels, and immediately leaped over the hatch. They both mounted, Stuart on the horse behind my father, and Irvine on the spare one, and, in a few minutes, came up with their companions at the gate, before the main guard could arrive, although it were within twenty yards of the gaol door. I should have observed that, as soon as Captain Irvine and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad swords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and, at the same time, drawing their own, were all six determined to force their way against any who offered to obstruct them in their passage, but the dispatch

was so sudden, that they got clear out of the gate before the least opposition could be made.

They were no sooner gone than Coote, the Governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the streets in his shirt, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in great rage at the accident. The adventurers met the Governor's groom coming back with his master's horses from watering; they seized the horses and got safe to Sir Robert Stuart's, about four miles off, without losing one drop of blood in this hazardous enterprize.—*Memoirs of Captain John Creighton, p. 8, Dublin 1752.*

When Lord Maguire was being examined on the 26th March, 1642, before Lord Lambert and Sir Robert Meredith, he acknowledged that his brother, Rory Maguire, had dispatched a message to Owen Roe O'Neill in Flanders (before he came over to Ireland) with purpose of the design of the Irish rebellion of 1641;* and amongst those who were present at Loughross when the day was fixed for the rising was Heber M'Mahon, Bishop of Clogher.

As to that trying time of 1641 Sir Frederick Hamilton at Manor Hamilton complained that Sir William Cole had not supported him (of which something in the next chapter), and this plaint became the subject of inquiry by the British Parliament, but, most likely, the Warden of Enniskillen Castle had sufficient to do to keep off Captain Rory Maguire,† who frequently tried to capture Enniskillen but

* Rev. John Graham's *Annals of Ireland* state that on Thursday, October 21st, 1641, John Cormack and Flaherty M'Hugh being sent to Sir William Cole by Bryan Mac Cohauaght Maguire, gave information of the intention of the Irish Papists to seize upon the castle and city of Dublin, to murder the Lord Justices and Council of Ireland and the rest of the Protestants, and to seize upon all the castles, forts, seaports, and holds that were in the possession of the Protestants of Ireland.

† Collonell Audley Mervyn wrote a pamphlet which was presented to the House of Commons, in which he said respecting the rebellion and Sir William Cole—I shall beginne with the county of Fermanagh, where those that had escaped the fire and sword of Rory MacGuire, the Arch Rebel in that county, brother to the Lord of Enniskillen, a place fortified by nature, under the command of Sir William Cole, Collonell. The inhabitants of that county on the other side of Loghearne resorted to Mester Cathcart, then High Sheriffe of the county, and garrisoned the castles of Moneigh [Monea], Lisgoid [Lisgoole], and Tullagh [Tully]. MacGuire having without any

failed. Sir William Cole maintained his watch and ward. Captain Ffolliott also maintained Ballyshannon safe; and Derry and Coleraine were preserved throughout; but Dungannon, Charlemont, Fort, Mountjoy, Tanderagee, and Newry and many other places were taken by the rebels. Owen Roe O'Neill was about to besiege the Castle of Enniskillen in 1647, when he probably thought that discretion was the better part of valour and proceeded instead to Leinster with 12,000 men, and pitched his camp between Portlester and Dungan-Hill.*

END OF THE FEDERATION.

The progress of the Papal Nuncio through Ireland was royal in its character. He was borne on a litter, nobles held a canopy over him, and he was paid deference to by the bishops and nobility, municipal bodies, and magistrates. He found the nobility and bishops and clergy quarrelling; he endeavoured to pacify matters, to accomplish unity and promote the cause of the King and the advancement of the Church to the position in which it was during the reign of Henry VII. He advanced monies, subsidized armies, became President or virtually governor of the country, and the Confederation

opposition in that county, wasted, burnt, killed, and pilleged, betooke himself, with the united forces thereof to bleagre Enniskillen, which divers times with great bodies, and threats equal, but with fictions exceeding them both, as *that all Ireland was taken*, which for a great while we might all of us easily, but with grife, beleve. Howsoever, it pleased God that Collonell Cole with great resolution and valour maintained the same, and made divers sallies in the night, upon his quarter, doing very good execution, insomuch that MacGuire thought it an unreasonable aire to quarter so neare Enniskillen, and then began to adventure his fortunes upon the other side of the Lough, when Mester Cathcart and many brave Scotch Cavaliers against so great a body, though not able to maintaine a field, by divers resolute and discreet sallies chased and slaughtered the enemy.

* Mr. Bagwell writes, in *Ireland under the Stuarts*, that with 8,000 men more O'Neill could have retaken Siigo, subdued Connaught, and "marched into Ulster to reduce the fort of Enniskillen, and to take possession of the Holy Place of St. Patrick's Purgatory now about one hundred years in the hands of the heretics."

made such headway that he wrote to his Papal Master—"This age never witnessed such a sudden change. The clergy, hitherto flouted by the Ormondists, *are now masters of the kingdom*, and the late Supreme Council [of the Confederation] is amazed to see all authority devolve on the clergy"*

Here was the great opportunity for the Church in Ireland, with money, armies and power, to show its competence to govern; but the ancient divisions of the Irish race showed themselves, quarrelling ensued, one plot was discovered against the life of Owen Roe, the Nuncio himself and Bishop M'Mahon, dreading arrest, escaped by a garden wall on one occasion, and the Nuncio pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who adhered to the articles of cessation,—a dreaded sentence which was openly repudiated and disregarded by some of the very Catholic lords and Bishops who would have at least been expected to obey it; the document itself was trampled upon by Lord Castlehaven and Dr. Fennel; and finally the Nuncio was ordered to quit the Kingdom as a rebel to the English Crown. He fled to Normandy in 1649, was received by the Pope who had sent him on the Irish mission, and he died in 1653. Thus perished the greatest opportunity Catholic Ireland ever had of showing constructive statesmanship and of promoting peace and order, and the utter failure of clerical government, bathed in the blood and tears of civil war, left its mark on the fortunes of Ireland.

* In the course of his report to the Pope the Nuncio wrote—"I may also observe that no other nation is less given to industry, or more phlegmatic than this; for the people are quite satisfied with what nature dictates and does for them."

CHAPTER XXII.

MANOR HAMILTON AND SIR WILLIAM COLE.

Sir Frederick Hamilton, a Scottish undertaker, received a very extensive grant of land, 5,000 acres of arable land and 10,000 acres of mountain and bog, in the territory of Breffney O'Rourke; and he established his fortress by the Owenmore, a stream which rises in the mountain of Glenfarne, Lugnacullagh (1,485 feet high), and swells on its way through Glenfarne past Manorhamilton until it reach the Bonet, and thence by Dromahaire into Lough Gill. The Manor house of Sir Frederick* was perhaps the stoutest fortress in the province of Connaught, larger than any in Co. Fermanagh, and its ruins of to-day tell of its strength. Built of stone, it was 105 feet in length, 93 feet in breadth, and about 40 feet in height, and was surrounded by a bawne, with "flankers" at the four corners.

As in most cases of the kind, a village grew up in the vicinity of the castle, the whole bearing the

* Not to be confounded with Sir Francis Hamilton of Castle Hamilton, Killybegs, who took an active part in suppressing the Irish Rebellion of 1641. This estate was sold in 1844, and the present owner is Mr. William Joseph Hamilton, J.P.

name of Manor Hamilton. The artificers, tradesmen, mills, smiths, and other accompaniments of a fortress formed the hamlet which grew finally into a village; and as these were for the most part Scottish, they were termed "Albanach" by the Irish, or "*bodagh* Albanach." These Scottish Presbyterians were regarded as intruders and enemies, and the ill-will of the Irish was returned with the contempt with which Scotch and English have generally regarded the native Irish as an inferior race, which boded no good for local relations.

Sir Frederick Hamilton, described as a combination of moss-trooper and fanatic, a man of blood and iron, was the younger son of Claud Lord Hamilton of Paisley.

On the outbreak of the insurrection Sir Frederick Hamilton, who was in Derry at the time, hastened homeward, and according to the accounts of the period was a relentless and cruel foe of the native Irish, so that when they grew strong enough they sought to cripple their enemy. Colonel M'Donogh led a force of about 1,000 men against the Castle, and set fire to the hamlet and mills, and Sir Frederick, obtaining reinforcements, made raids by way of reprisal in several directions, capturing the town of Sligo on July 1, 1641-2 and killing 300 of the enemy.

Subsequently, 400 men of the regiment raised by Sir Wm. Cole, with whom was his son-in-law, Dean Berkeley, of the diocese of Clogher, and Colonel Acheson,* marched to the relief of Sir Frederick, who

* Colonel William Acheson, son of Alexander Acheson, laird of Gosford, in Scotland, was the first of his family to come to Ireland. The other branch in Co. Armagh took the title of Gosford. It was one of Capt. William's family, Guy, who settled at Grouse Lodge, Co. Donegal, in 1697. Guy had two sons, Alexander (born in 1705, died in 1787) and was married to Prudence Johnston of Kilskeery, and Guy, born 1712, died 1764). George was great-great-grandfather

said he was in need of assistance. Manor Hamilton was ascertained to be free of the enemy, and the whole force was led to an assault on Owen O'Rourke's castle of Dromahaire; but the defenders got word of the design, were prepared for the attack, and Sir Wm. Cole having had some disagreement with Sir Frederick,* the Enniskillen men returned to their own country.

Sir Frederick, who complained that he did not receive sufficient assistance from Sir Wm. Cole, received help in the matter of arms and ammunition both from Enniskillen and Ballyshannon; nor were the Confederation idle. They drilled and disciplined their forces, strengthened their garrison at Dromahaire, under Colonel Luke Taaffe of Ballymote, and posted a strong force at Creevelea abbey; and these furnished an army to march on Manorhamilton in April 1643.

When the Irish forces were discovered a party of men on foot were observed to set out towards the hills where another armed party had been guarding a drove of cattle, and Col. Taaffe hurried his men to prevent the two forces of the Puritans becoming united. He formed three columns of 200 men each, and pressed forward to the attack, when, after firing a volley, the Puritans pretended to fall back, and the impetuous Irish leaped forward with a wild hurrah. Then volleys came from concealed lines of the Puritans, and Sir Frederick hurled his pikemen on the Irish.

of Dr. Acheson Aiken, now of Drumadavey, Lisnarrick; and Guy was buried in the family grave at Templecarne, where the Acheson arms are engraved on the tomb stone. Martha, daughter of Wm. Acheson of Roscagh (grandson of Guy) married to Catherine Humphreys, was their ninth child (born in 1800) and she was married to Acheson Black of Roscor. Their daughter Catherine married Wm. Gibson of Kesh, and their daughter Margaret married Mr. John Aiken of Kesh, whose eldest son is the present Dr. Acheson Aiken.

* In *The Annals of Ireland* it is stated that the one did not like a superior and the other an equal, and Sir Frederick said that Berkeley "carried himself more like a devil than a Dean." The Dean of Clogher acted as agent for Sir Wm. Cole, and in the obtaining of goods for his regiment.

who were thrown into disorder, and Colonel Taaffe was killed with about 60 of his men.

But Sir Frederick Hamilton was not to be allowed to continue to dominate Breffney O'Rourke. From Tiereragh and Tirreril came the men of Sligo under O'Connor; and from Killargy and other districts in Breffney, under Owen O'Rourke, men went from Dromahaire to meet a celebrated chieftain from Breffney O'Reilly known as Miles the Slasher, with his men, and also to welcome the great chief of Ulster who came with his creaghts,* as daring and ferocious in battle as skilled in the art of stealing and guarding cattle. The creaghts are described as being native of the natives—inheriting old Irish customs, and dressing in the Irish manner. "The men wore their hair in long shaggy coulins, their upper lips being covered with the Cromwell or heavy moustache, while their brawny muscular bodies were clad in the large flowing, and many plaited yellow garment, gathered in at the waist by a broad belt of undressed hide in which

* According to Murray's *New English Dictionary*, the word Creaght (spelt Creaght) applied in Irish history to a nomadic herd of cattle driven about from place to place, or, in time of war, with the forces of their owners; and the word was also applied to the herdsmen of these creaghts.

Spenser's *State Ireland*, 1596—"He shall finde no where safe to keepe his creete . . . that in shorte space his creete, which is his moste sustenance, shalbe . . . starved for wante of pasture."

Davies, 1612 *Why Ireland* . . . page 123—"In these fast places they kept their creaghts or herds of cattle."

1646, Sir J. Temple, *Irish Rebellion* 1746, page 121—"Commonly bringing their cattle into their own stinking creates."

1658, Ussher, *Annals*, 227—"The country people . . . dwelt scattered in cretes and cabans."

1855, Macaulay *History of England*, III., 673—"He was soon at the head of 7, or 8,000 raparees [Irish freebooters], or, to use the name peculiar to Ulster, creaghts."

Facsimiles of Irish Nat MSS. Appendix XIV. (6). "John Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil."—" . . . Tyrone is now in campe harde by the Newrye, att his old campaigne place, and hath brought all his creatts with hym, and is determyned to come neare to Dundalke, wher he meaneth to campe, tyll the Lord Leiftenant's comynge into these parts."

Appendix XVI. (1). "Sir William Warren's account of his first journey to the Earl of Tyrone, 1599."—" . . . Sir William did conceive a disposition in Tyrone to drwe upp all the forces, that he could make to the borders as neare Dundalke as he could, and all his creatts to bringe thither with hym, which maketh the sayd Sir William to doubte of any good or conformitie at his hands."

glittered the inevitable skian, and their nether limbs covered with the tight-fitting bracca. The tall and stately forms of the women were enveloped in the graceful folds of the flowing bright-coloured cloak, and heads surmounted with the white, spiral fileadh of Milesian womanhood."

The leader was the great Owen Roe O'Neill, who had been elected at Clones as general-in-chief of the Catholic Army of the North, his kinsman, Sir Phelim, a former leader, being satisfied with the designation of President of Ulster.

O'Neill Abao rent the air as the chief came along, his green ensign being that of the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny, bearing an Irish Cross within a red circle, with a crown and the initials C. R. standing for Charles Rex. Here was the Ulster leader fighting for the English King. He had saved his force with great skill at Charlemont when attacked by General Monroe; and though badly beaten in an ambuscade laid for him at Clones by Lord Balfour and by Colonel Mervyn, of Trillick, and Colonel Stewart, he had made a clever retreat; and he had retired to the plains of Leitrim to train his indisciplined forces for the great object before him. But he had beaten Lord Moore of Mellifont at Portlester in County Meath, and had refreshed and trained his army, and was now to destroy the English fortress in North Leitrim.

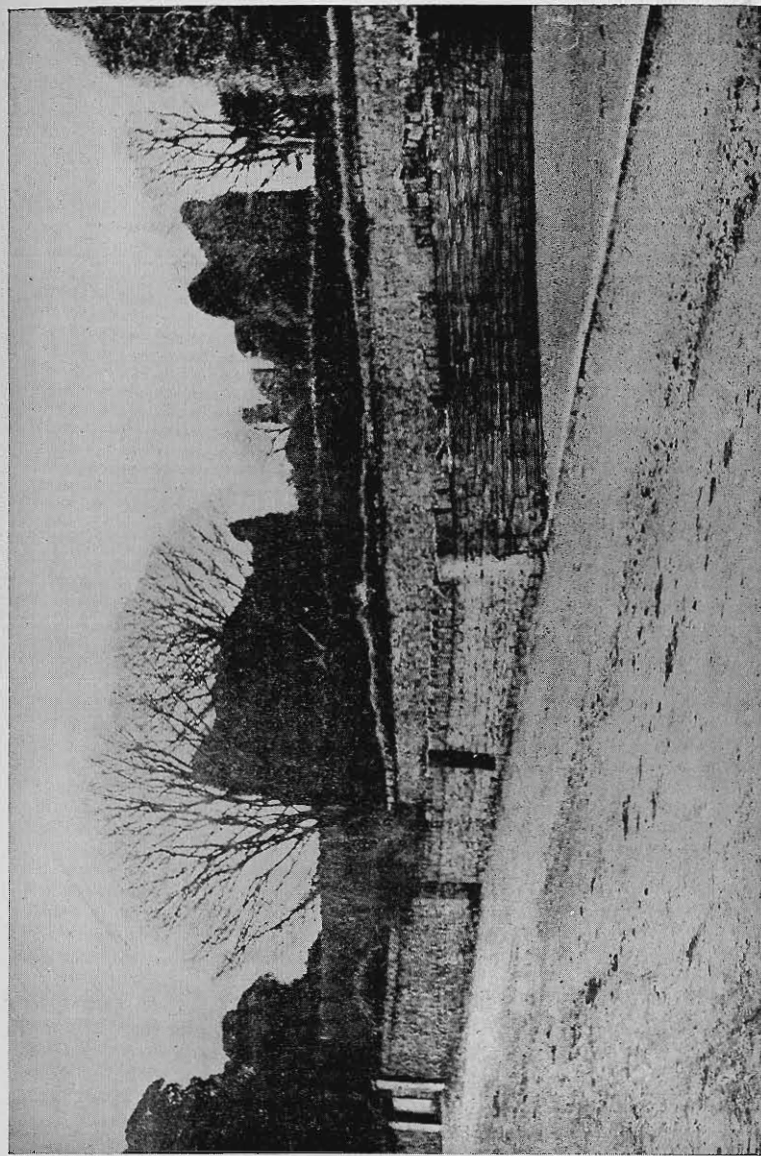
The Castle of Manor Hamilton was a difficult one to take in those days, with its strong and high walls, and powerful garrison, and Owen Roe felt the want of cannon to attack it by assault. A secret entrance was made known to him, according to local tradition, by a simpleton named Murty M'Sharry.

Miles the Slasher led a party in silence, helped by the bare feet of the Irish kerne, stabbed the sentinels, the Scotch guard was overpowered in the suddenness of the attack, and slaughter ensued, some of the women and children being saved by O'Neill's orders. The Castle was set on fire to its destruction and its ruins have never since been tenanted, though still a bold feature in the landscape.

Sir Frederick Hamilton escaped from the catastrophe. He left three sons:—the eldest, James, succeeded to the estate; the second, Frederick, who fought and died in the Irish "warres;" and the celebrated Gustavus (who had been sometimes confounded with the Gustavus Hamilton, governor of Enniskillen) who was created Viscount Boyne by William III. in 1717. Failing male issue, the Hamilton estate was divided between two daughters of Sir Frederick. Hannah married Sir William Gore: thus Manor Hamilton passed into the possession of the Gore family; and the other daughter, Sidney, was married to Sir John Hume, *Fermanagh*, who thus obtained a Leitrim in addition to his Fermanagh estate.

Paul Gore had commanded a troop of horse in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and having successfully brought Rory O'Donnell (created Earl of Tyrconnell) to Athlone and O'Connor Sligo to make their submission to the Queen, was rewarded with a grant in Donegal, for which he received as substitute the Manor Gore in Fermanagh, 1,348 profitable acres, subsequently known as the Manor of Carrick or Belle Isle, also known as Ballymacmanus,* where the Annals of

* Ballymacmanus (known as the modern Belle Isle) was the spot where Cathal MacManus wrote in the 15th century his *Annals of Ulster*, which



THE CASTLE OF MANOR HAMILTON.

Ulster had been written. Created a baronet in 1629, Sir Paul died later, and was succeeded by Sir Ralph, his heir, whose son was Sir William, the third baronet, who married Miss Hannah Hamilton. Sir Robert, the fourth baronet, succeeded to the Manor-hamilton estate. He changed the name of Manor Gore to Belle Isle, and sat in Parliament. He died in 1723. The fifth baronet, Sir Ralph Gore, was created Viscount Belle Isle and Earl of Ross in 1772, and he married secondly Alice, daughter of the Right Hon. Nath. Clements, and sister of the Earl of Leitrim. Viscount Belle Isle dying before his father, the Leitrim estate passed into the Clements family. The Belle Isle property was finally purchased by the Rev. John Grey Porter, by him given to his son Mr. John Grey Vesey Porter (who died without issue) for life, and subsequently to his nephew, Mr. John Porter Archdale, second son of the late Mr. Nicholas Archdale of Crocknacrieve, Mr. Porter Archdale assuming the name of Porter,

record important northern events from 431 a.d. till 1498; and Rodrick Ca-sidy is said to have continued them till about 1540. The Annals are written chiefly in Latin and partly in Gadhaelic,

CHAPTER XXIII.

LETTERS OF 1641 AND A DIARY.

An interesting diary of events at the Castle of Manorhamilton was kept by one of the soldiers, Sergeant Scott, who saved several articles from the burning of the castle, as also did a fellow-soldier named Pye, a descendant of whom lives in the townland of Moneenlum, near Manorhamilton, I am informed by the Rev. Joseph Meehan, P.P. The original diary was seen as lately as 1858 in the home of Mr. O'Donel, D.L., J.P.,* at Larkfield. A few copies were taken of it in manuscript. The document itself was published in London, in the year 1643, and is headed as being

A true Relation of the manner of our Colonell Sir *Frederick Hamilton's* return from *Londonderry* in *Ireland*, where he was at the beginning and breaking out of this Rebellion, with the particular services performed by the *Horse and Foote Companies* which he commanded, garrison'd at *Manor Hamilton*, in the county of *Leitrim*, in the province of *Connaught*.

We get a glimpse of the "Colonell" in a few letters which passed before the Rebellion of 1641 broke out referring to some local relations. The first

* Descendant of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, and for this reason the family has been highly respected around Manorhamilton.

of these is from some British prisoners at Sligo and Dromahaire, regarding whom an exchange was proposed.

Sir Robert Hannay his Letter and others being Prisoners at Sligo, and sent to Dromahere Castle.

Honourable Sir,—We the undernamed persons having suffered in all our whole estates, and being upon our banishment out of this kingdom, under the safe conduct of Mr. *Edmond Bourk Ragagh*, and Mr. *Walter Bourk of Ardagh*, towards the North, but most opposed at Castle *Connour*, *Ennis-crone*, *Esagagh* bridge, *Dawne Neale*, *Armaghlesse*, and *Tomler*, go by several bands of armed men purposely set for our lives, were not their extream violence suppressed by the discretion, worth, and care of those Gentlemen, and we taken prisoners by the *Mac Swines*, brought before *O'Connor Sligo*, where we now remain, and intended to be sent unto the Castle of *Dromaheere*, to be kept until you, Sir, deliver such prisoners of the *O'Rourke's*, and others as you have in your custodie, or to be dealt with, as you do unto them. Sir, you are nobly disposed, so that in honour we hope the meanes of relief, being now in your self, you will not suffer us to perish, who will ever remain, Sir,

Yours truly obliged to serve you,

ROBERT HANNAY, ANDREW ADARE, ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY,
WILLIAM LISTON, THOMAS FULLERTON.

These be the names and number of Prisoners, Sir *Robert Hannay*, his Lady, his two daughters, two boys, two men, and a Gentlemen. Mr. *Andrew Adare*, and his wife and sister's sonne. Mr. *Alexander Montgomery*, his wife and eldest son. Mr. *William Liston*, his wife and daughter. Mr. *Thomas Fullerton* and his wife. *Patrick Desmond*, Mr. *Adare's* man.

Sir, after the writing of this Letter we are brought to *Dromaheere*, and orders left by the Captaines to bring us unto the Camp at *Manor Hamilton*; where we must suffer death, if those Prisoners with you, Sir, be not delivered.

The following letter was the reply of Sir Frederick Hamilton, in which he assigns reasons, on account of the alleged treachery of the native Irish, for his refusal of all terms:—

Sir Frederick Hamilton's answer to the Letter afore-mentioned.

Sir, I have received your Letter, whereby I am given to

understand of your treacherous surprisal, notwithstanding of your safe conduct promised, for the which I am very sorry, but such is the treacherous falshood of those disloyal traytours generally throughout this whole kingdome, that hath made me vow and sweare in the presence of Almighty God, that I will never give nor take quarter with them, or any of them, yea though my own sons who have descended from my own Loins were in your estate.

I had rather they should die gloriously for the cause of Christ, then I should so abase my self as to deal with such traitours to God and his Majesty. Thus beseeching God Almighty to strengthen and encourage you, that you may continue constant till it shall please God to give you deliverance, either by life or death. In the meantime I am perswaded that they will use you with no worse measure than their Prisoners, who were apprehended by me in the action of Rebellion, are used. So recommending you to God, I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Castle Hamilton, January, 19, 1641.

F. H.

Another letter² of the period, showing how the Roman Catholics had vowed to help each other and advising Sir Frederick to agree to terms of peace:

This Paper was found in a Priest's pocket, being killed and stript.

Whereas we are certified that the unexpected insurrection did arise in defence of our good faith, and holy Mother, the Catholick *Romane* Church, and of his Majesties prerogative Royall, both which being lately intended by the Protestants of *England* and *Ireland* to be abolished, wherefore I *Teig O'Connour Sligo*, Collonell of the *Irish* Regiment for the county of *Sligo*, doe hereby command all the inhabitants of the parish of *Cadbury*, as you are naturally obliged to obey the *Romane* Church, to pay or cause to be payed unto father *Connour O'Hary*, Pastour of the said parish, all such tithes and other duties as he can find out were impayed unto the former Minister of the said parish, and in failing hereof I promise to assist him as I best can, as witness my hand this 17 of *January*.

Noble Sir *Frederick Humilton*, I cannot forget that in times past there was a mutuall correspondency of love and affectionate friendship between my father and your self, which on your part, hath been approved by severall of your favourable

courtesies, which had left such an obligation upon me his sonne and heire as I cannot but wish your happiness before your hurt. Though the general matter now in hand requires the contrary, I am perswaded you cannot but know or imagine, as true it is, that there is so fast an union made amongst us all, the *Romane* Catholicks, as members of one body, we have vowed to help one another, so that if one member receive hurt, the other must apply his best endeavours for the cure, all tending to the defence of our Christian Religion, and the preservation of his Majesties most Royall power and prerogatives, being the chief reasons of this our most Christian quarrell: Therefore, when I saw the most miserable distractions and afflictions which my most neare Cousins and Neighbours of this county suffered under this pretence by your cruelty and meanes, my heart could not for the brotherly Christian charity I owe unto them, besides the several invitations and persuasions of many of my friends and alliance, but make this present expedition. I have here with me lying about me, besides a many more drawing towards you for the places to seek redresse and revenge of these great miseries and calamities you have put upon them, which I wish to have in the gentlest sort I may.

Wherefore, I thought fit to acquaint you more for your own good, than any end of mine, That I am here strong enough from the County of *Sligo*, having all the best and chiefest men of that county about me, besides the strength of the county of *Leitrim* under the command of my cousins, the *O'Rourke*s, whom you have much harmed, who have procured by their friends from the county of *Maio* these great supplies, daily drawing towards us, so that you will find it impossible for you to resist, wherefore, out of my unfeigned goodwill, do advise you that, before we go to extremity, you will take the best course for your own safety and relief, which great Potentates and Nobles are not ashamed to doe, when they are in the like extremetie as we hold you to be, in desiring that you and we may agree upon quarters and a cessation of Arms, untill Articles propounded upon either side may be agreed upon, I desire to be free from giving way to shed your blood, if otherwise I may compasse my pretences: If you will not make use of this friendly offer instantly before delay, and before the county of *Maio* Gentlemen join me, I feare they being so near and great in numbers, I shall hardly stay their hands from seeking revenge for killing and hanging so many of their kinsmen, the *O'Rourke*s, others of their friends of this county, whom you have destroyed herein. I will expect your present answer, and desire that our

messengers on both sides may freely passe without harm or danger, as is usual in all leaguers. Mean time I shall remain
Yours at pleasure and heart's desire,

TEIG O'CONNOUR SLIGO, Colonell.

Manor Hamilton, March the 15, 1641.

To that letter Sir Frederick replied in words which show the character of the man and how he "scorned" his foes:—

This Letter answered thus:

Your loyalty to your king, your faith to your friends once broke, never more to be trusted by me, but revenged as God shall enable the hands of him who was loving to your loyall Predecessors, whose course will contribute to your destruction, for extinguishing the memory of their loyalties. Thus I rest with contempt and scorn to all your base bragges.
Your scourge if I can, F.H.

How watchful they were at Dromahaire Castle against Sir Frederick Hamilton may be surmized from the following letter, alleged to have been found on the body of Mulmurry MacTernan, Esquire, "being kil'd and stript":—

*For my worthy Friend Mulmurry Mac Ternan, Esquire,
Found in his Pocket, being kil'd and stript.*

Kind Gossip, the only thing that keeps me from you is the report that Sir Frederick Hamilton promised to come last night, or this day to see me at this Castle, which report hath made me and all mine to watch all night: I pray you have a care if you heare any such thing, to march hither with all post-hast with your Company; And so I bid you farewell, and rest

Dromaheere Castle,
Feb. 21, 1641.

Your own faithful Gossip,
OWEN O'ROURKE.

We thus have an eyesight into the relations between the owner of Manor Hamilton and his neighbours of the Irish clans in this year of 1641, during the October of which the Irish Rebellion and Massacre broke out. The Diary already referred to

begins with mention of the setting on fire and burning of the "Iron Works called the Garrison," Co. Fermanagh, by the MacLaughlins and MacMurrays of the County Leitrim, and that seven or eight score of the sufferers, most of them English, wounded and robbed, fled to Lady Hamilton for relief. Sir Frederick was at Londonderry at this time, and word having been sent to him of the occurrence he returned home through the enemy's country by way of Barnesmore Gap and Donegal, at which latter place he found Sir Ralph Gore, Mr. Brooke,* and all the British of that country "robbed of their cattell, shortly expecting themselves to be destroyed."

Sir Frederick relieved Ballyshannon Castle on his way, and finally reached Manor Hamilton, and on the 31st of this bloody month of October was visited by Connour O'Rourke, High Sheriff of the County of Leitrim. The diarist, who speaks of the natives as "rogues," mentions names of Irish chiefs like Hugh MacCahill MacMurray and Con MacTernan. The O'Rourke most probably continually rebelled at the confiscation of portion of his country and the deprivation of his lands by Sir Frederick, and considered any reprisals fully justified,—so that he stole cattle in some cases, robbed Englishmen and tenants and others, &c., until finally in December Sir Frederick made reprisals, and on the 4th December—

This day by our Colonell's command a gallows was erected upon the top of an hill neare the castle, and having about 24 prisoners in the castle, he caused eight of them to be hanged up which had been at the burning of *Ballyshannon*,

* Sir Ralph Gore is referred to already in another part of this work. The Mr. Brooke was most probably Mr Basil Brooke, of Manor Brooke, an undertaker in Donegal, who was afterwards knighted. His son and heir was Sir Henry Brooke of Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh.

in the county of *Donegall*, and at the burning of the iron works in the county of *Fermanagh*.

That gallows was kept busy, for we find that a number of men were tried by and executed under martial law since the beginning of this Rebellion, whose names are given as below:—

The names of such as have been hanged at Manon Hamilton, by Martial Law since the beginning of this Rebellion.

Dec. 3.	Turlogh Mac Clevor	Cormack O'Hay's wife, neare kinswoman to O'Connour
	Neale Mac Cluan	Hugh O'Hart
	Manus O'Gallogher	O'Donnell O'Hart
	Manus O'Hay	Granny ny Kewe
Dec. 12.	Phelemy Duff Mac Cob	Phelomy Mack A Naw
Dec. 18.	Gelpatrick O'Kan	Gilpatrick O'Mullane
	Brian O'Moriice	Laughlin O Degannian
Dec. 20.	Turlogh O'Cally	Call boy Mac Garty
Jan. 2.	Brian O'Cannan	Donnogh O'Hart
	Con O'Rourk, the Colonell's brother	Hugh O'Flin
Jan. 8.	Connour Mac Shane Glasse	James Roch, the chief Murtherer of the British at Sligo.
	MacLoughlin, the chief of his name	Donnell O'Clery
Aug. 23.	Owen Mac Garraghy	Hugh O'Cullen
	Cormack O'Cornan	Glaney O'Regan
Aug. 31.	Shane Mac Skerrie	James Wytherspin
	John Spence	12. James Halfpenny
Sept. 10.	Capt. Con O'Connour	26. Hugh O'Fay
	Credagh Mac Derno	4. Captain Charles Mac Guire.
	Cor Mac O'Hay, had been a Minister	26. Phelomy Mac Pierce
	Teig Mac Goane.	Dec. 22. M Gwyre
Sept. 1.	Brian Mac Diffit	Jan. 7. Edmond MacGawran
Sept. 17.	Donnogh O'Dowde	Turrogh Beagh
Sept. 19.	Grany O'Dowgan	O Mortelan
	Patrick O'Neale	Brian O'Cuer
Feb. 2.	John Wytherspin	3. Cormack O'Cuer
Feb. 11.	Donnogh boy O'Bane	Cormack O'Quillan
	Mewe Mac Loughlin	18. Kahill Mac Kan
Feb. 22.	Owen Mac Thomas	Donnell Mac Glanaghy
	Murray	William Mac Roregan
Feb. 26.	Ferrall Mac Regan	
	Tutmultagh Mac Gar- raghy, subsheriffe deputy of Donegall	

The better to give an insight into the raids and warfare of the day, the cheap value set npon human

life, and the beheading of bodies, I give here a continuous extract from the diary; and from it we can well glean that Sir Frederick's name inspired terror among his enemies:—

April 7.—By this time the rogues grew so confidant of their securities in their campe, that the Colonell *O'Rourke* brought his cattell to graze upon some waste land within two miles of us, wherewith our colonell, being acquainted, that night sent out a party of horse and foote, and seized upon all their cattell, driving them homewards by breake of day, whereupon they raising their campe, brake out upon us, thinking to have destroyed us, and rescued their colonell's cattell; but it pleased God we so paid them, that we not only made good our prey, but killed a number of their ablest men, bringing with us to the castle, six of their chiefe officers' heads, of which number was *James Murrah MacGlan-naghy*, the chiefe man of that name, chasing all the rest to their campe, where we found three stand of pikemen's armes, two drummes, six muskets with bandaliers, two serjeant's halberts, with a many pikes and skeans, most of those armes formerly belonging to the Lord President of *Connaught's* officers and souldiers, having layne in garrison at *Sligo*, till it was lost and they cut off. Thus we destroyed their great campe, where our souldiers' wives and boyes plentifully victualled themselves, bringing from the rogues a great many iron-crowes and such like instruments, made and marked with the sign of the crosse, making their poore churles beleve, that with those irons they were to pull down our Colonell's castle and bawne.

April 9.—A party of foote was this night sent to *Glenden*, from five or six miles off, where we kil'd and burned in their houses neere twenty rogues, bringing home a number of cowes and goates, and burning a many of *Irish* houses.

April 18.—Our Colonell this night in person marched forth with a party of horse and foote into the county of *Sligo*, where within two miles of the towne, he burnes of some villages called *Berfuther*, and other houses there, killed some rogues, he returnes by *Mr. Parke's* castle of the *New-Towne*, finding that towne and castle untoucht or troubled, being in the bosome of the rogues, where our Colonell being informed the rogues were daily relieved by that towne and castle, their cowes having grazed peaceably about the castle all the while

theire campe lay about *Mannour Hamilton*, Mr. Parke never permitting a man of his either to meddle with their cattel or themselves, as they went and came with their provisions from *Sligo* to their campe, he having in his castle neare sixty able men, which might have done good service if Mr. Parke and the *O'Rourke*s had not so made their bargaines, that until our Colonell's castle were destroyed, he should not be meddled withall, so as he made them no interruption whilst they were encampt about us. In the meane time Mr. Parke causing his weaver to weave forty yards of broad cloath for the use of Mr. *Bryan Ballagh O'Rourke*, whilst he and his brother *Owen* were lying in campe about us; and the next day after we had beate them from their campe, Mr. Parke not only suffered them to carry their cattell, which all that time they grazed neare to his castle gates without any garde save one coward, as also that day lent *Bryan Ballagh* the cloath-weaver in his castle, with divers such like informations proved by Mr. Parke's owne servants, whereupon our Colonell thought fit presently to burne that towne, which so long had relieved and sheltered the rogues, and killed some of them at that instant in the towne.

April 21.—Our horse-men this morning scouring the fields, killed one of the rogues centries bringing his head home to the castle.

April 23.—This night a party was sent towards *Dromahere*, where we killed about forty of the rogues, burnt many good houses, brought home seven or eight score cowes, with many horses, sheepe and goates, by this march we diverted another great gathering, intended to have encamped about us the next day.

May 1.—A party of foote is sent into a wood-land mountaine country, ten miles from our castle, where by the dawning of the day we fell upon some houses belonging to the great Lord of that country *Mac A Nawe*, where we burnt and killed in the houses upwards three score persons, taking *Mac A Nawe* himsele, with his two daughters, and a kins-man prisoner, his wife being killed unknown to the souldiers; amongst the rest we brought home our prisoners, with eight or nine score cowes, and neere two hundred sheepe, and goates.

May 10.—That night a party of horse and foote are sent into the country of *Sligo*, where we burnt the houses of *Teig Mac Phelomy O'Connour*, *Teig bog O'Connour*, neere cozens and captaines in *O'Connour's* regiment. Whilst he lay about us

we killed some ten or twelve of the rogues themselves, being then at *Sligo*, most of the people of the barony being fled to the towne for feare of our men; that country being almost wast, we brought home onely a prey of sheep.

May 13.—This night we marcht into the county of *Fermanagh*, where we kil'd the wife of *Donnogha Mac Flagharty Mac Gwire*, with about forty more, whom we surprised in houses before day, and brought with us nine score cowes, about two hundred sheepe and goates, and forty-seven horses and mares, thirty swine, and five prisoners which we hanged.

May 18.—Intending towards the fryers of *Crewly*, we found that house uncovered, and the fryers fled; this morning we encountered a number of *Owen O'Rourke's* men neare to the castle of *Dromahers*, where we killed above twenty of them; our souldiers got good pillage in their cabins, brought home above an hundred, most of them *Scotch* and *English* cowes, seven or eight score sheepe, some lusty mares and horses, with a many pikes, and the lord president of *Connaught's* halbert, his serjeant being taken when they left *Sligo*.

May 20.—This morning our castle is attempted to be taken by four or five hundred rogues from the *Dartey* or *Rosenver*, but our centries timely giving us the alarmes, they are rescued, and the rogues retyred to the mountaines.

The cool manner in which these raiding expeditions are described and the matter-of-course method of hanging prisoners causes one to shudder, so that it is not much wonder that Dr. O'Rourke in his *History of Sligo* described Sir Frederick Hamilton as the Tamerlane of the West. He might have been remembered as Hanging Hamilton. It is no surprise that Sir William Cole could not agree with him.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

BEAUTY OF FERMANAGH.

Sir John Davis appreciated the beauty spots of Fermanagh, and enriched himself with them, as he did in other counties. When writing in 1609 from the camp at Enniskillen he said of this county:—

We have now finished our service in Fermanagh, which is so pleasant and fruitful a county that if I should make a full description thereof, it would, rather be taken for a poetical fiction than a true and serious narration. The fresh lake called Lough Erne—being more than 40 miles in length, and abounding in fresh water fish of all kinds—divides that country into two parts. The land on either side of the lough, rising in little hills of 80 or 100 apiece, is the fattest and richest soil in all Ulster.

NOTE B.

CLAIM OF AN IRISH CHIEF.

The claim of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell to the overlordship of the Maguire country in contradistinction to that of the O'Neills, in consequence of which the Fermanagh district was raided and ravaged by both of them frequently, had no other claim—to the persons of the people, as is told in Docwra's Narrative, Page 249.

The claim of the O'Donnells to the lordship of Tyrconnell was that it included not only Donegal but Tyrone, Fermanagh, yea and Connaught. Wheresoe'er any of the O'Donnells that at any time extended their power, he made account all was his; he acknowledged no other kind of right or interest in any man else, yea the very persons of the people he challenged to be his, and said he had wrong if any foot of all land, or any of the persons of the people were exempted from him.

It was of this period that the brother of Maguire wrote to Sussex, 25th of November, 1562—

they [Shane O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell] lefe nother [neither] howse nother [neither] corne in all me coutrey upon the mayne land on wastyd [unwasted] nother churche nother santory [sanctuary] on robyd [unrobbed]; butt there is sartayne [certain] ylonds [islands] in me coutrey in the wytche ylonds standys all me goods, but your lordshypp shall understand that Hyu O'donnell has prepyrd and prouyded xii bottes [boats] for to robe and waste all thos ylonds.

NOTE C.

THE CORPORATION COURT.

As a sample of the tautological verbiage employed in legal suits in those days I quote here a Declaration in the Corporation Court made against Mr. Charles Oliver.

"Charlie," as he was popularly called, was the clock-maker of Ennis Killen, as he put on the face of his clocks, and made all the works, &c., in his own workshop. His house was one of the first built in the new street we now call Belmore-street, on the Belmore-street side of the present steps leading to the Forthill. The slanting old broad road ran up the ground of the present steps to the Bower Lane and onward by the present Forthill Road along the side of Camomile Hill, by way of the present Fort Lodge, up the Pound Brae, onward by the upper and ancient road to Chanterhill. Mr. Oliver's house, after his death, was used as a police barracks. He was a craftsman and a gentleman, and the county gentry made frequent calls at his house as a place of rendezvous and as a place of observation to see all who crossed the narrow bridge. One of his clocks is preserved at Florencecourt, the writer possesses one, and there is one other extant somewhere. The following is a copy of the wordy Declaration, whose substance might have been expressed in three or four lines:—

CORPORATION COURT OF ENNISKILLEN.

County Fermanagh } Foulk Moore in his proper person comes
and Corporation of } into court and complains against Charles
Enniskillen to wit } Oliver present here also here in court;
Foulk Moore, Pltf. } For that whereas the Plaintiff Foulk
Charles Oliver, Deft. } Moore did sometime in the months of
January or February in the year of our Lord One Thousand,
Eight Hundred and Eighteen at Enniskillen aforesaid, in the
county aforesaid, did then and there make agreement with the
said Defendant, Charles Oliver, and did then and there pur-
chase one looking glass from him the said Charles Oliver for
the sum of sixteen shillings and threepence sterling, which
said sum of sixteen shillings and threepence sterling the said
Plaintiff Foulk Moore handed over and paid to the said
Defendant Charles Oliver, which said looking glass the said
Charles Oliver was to have delivered to the said Foulk Moore,
and which the said Charles Oliver at different times after
promised so to do but failed in his the said undertaking,
which said sum of sixteen shillings and threepence sterling
the said Foulk Moore is justly intitled to have and receive
from him the said Charles Oliver in consequence of him the
said Charles Oliver not having completed with the said
Agreement and several promises as aforesaid, which said sum

as aforesaid tho' often demanded he the said Charles Oliver hath hitherto Refused and still doth refuse to pay to the Damage of the said Foulk Moore of Three pounds, six shillings and eightpence sterling; and therefore he brings his suit and prays the Judgment of this Court.

Rec.' 6th December, 1819.

F. Moore, Ptf. W. Whitten, Recorder.

Pledges to } John Doe
and
prosecute } Richd Roe.

NOTE D.

EDERNEY.

Six British settlers on the Edernagh Proportion were given in the Inquisition of Charles I. as—Maurice Cowper, Robert Rakins [? Rankin], Thomas Andrew, Thomas Poe, Wm. Cox, and Clinton Ogle,

On the 2nd August, 1634, also declares the Inquisition, Leonard Blennerhassett indented to Robert Flack, a clergyman, the lands of Mullschmore and Gortkeron, for a yearly rent of 40s. On the 24th of February, 1632, he leased the half-tate of Dromrollo to Jerome Emery for an annual rent of 20s 4d. We also learn that other British tenants obtaining lands from Leonard Blennerhasset were—John and James Vernan [Verner], Joseph Walker, Christopher Irving of Lowtherstowne, John Maxwell of Quilles [? Cules], and John Betty of Ballyscillan.

NOTE E.

ENNISKILLEN CASTLE.

The Castle of Enniskillen was, according to the Four Masters, surrendered in 1439 to Donall Balluch Maguire, and three years later Thomas Oge Maguire gave it to Philip Maguire. In 1592 Maguire had the houses round the Castle burnt for fear of attack. It was in the next year during his absence that Capt. Dowdall laid siege to the fortress as already related in Chapter VII. On the ninth day he attacked the castle "by boats, by engines, by sap, by scaling." He placed 100 men in a great boat covered with hurdles and hide which with Connor O'Cassidy as guide drew up close to the wall of the barbican. Here a fierce onslaught was made and the garrison retreated to the Keep. This Capt. Dowdall threatened to blow up unless they surrendered, which they accordingly did.

The steersman of the boat gives the number as 36

fighting men and nearly the same of women and children. Whereas, Capt. Dowdall states he put 150 to death, which is most likely an exaggeration. He says it came into her Majesty's hands with small loss, though it was very strong with walls seven feet thick and "soundrie secret fights within it of great annoyance upon the barbican." He remained ten days mending the breeches, gates, and doors, and laid in three months' provisions. He elected a constable and garrisoning it with thirty soldiers, took his departure. Marshall Bagnall was on his way to ward the castle but Dowdall reported that he was too ill to await his coming.

The same year Maguire laid siege to the fortress, it is said at the instigation of the Earl of Tyrone. The relieving party was defeated and the Lord Deputy himself set out to the rescue of the garrison. They had been reduced to eating horse flesh and had only one more animal when they were relieved. The ward was then reduced from forty to thirty and the castle victualled for six months, which supply was to be augmented by fishing for eels under the walls. Shortly after this the bawn was seized and seven warders killed; and in 1595 the whole fortress surrendered. In the State Papers the Lord Deputy declares he cannot understand why this should have been, as the castle was well provisioned. He says that he hears the constable and fifteen warders were promised life and goods, but that when they came out they were all put to death. It does not seem that this report was confirmed. In 1596-97 the Lord Deputy asks for three falcons with their carriages and ladles to replace those which Maguire had taken with the castle and which had been belonged to Dublin. Maguire's brother held the fortress in 1598. It was again in English possession in 1607, and Capt. William Cole was constable in 1610, when he asked for some land to be allotted to his office. That immediately round the castle was in the hands of Scotch settlers, and there was no demesne land attached to the building. In 1611 he built "a fair house" on the old site adding numerous outhouses. A moat surrounded the bawn and the river was crossed by a drawbridge. He also erected a wall 26 feet high with flankers and parapet which still remains.

The castle was granted to Sir Wm. Cole in 1620 on a lease for 21 years and he was responsible for its repair. The Earl of Enniskillen at present represents the family. Four Hundred pounds was granted for State repairs in 1646, some of which had been expended on the Castle of Enniskillen. During the famous siege of the town in 1689—[there was no siege]—the governor, Gustavus Hamilton, took up his residence

in the castle, which belonged to Sir Michael Cole, who was absent in England. In 1749 the fortress was in ruins.—From "Castles of Ireland," by C. L. Adams.

The Castle was reduced one storey in height when repaired in modern days, and, as I have commented in above, there was no siege during the Revolution, but there had been during the reign of Elizabeth.

NOTE F.

HOSPITALITY AT ENNISKILLEN CASTLE.

Extract from poem by O'Higgin, folio 98, col. 1, Eg. III, Mss. Department British Museum, begins "M airg fhéus or inis cheithleann. na geuan nédrocht na neas mbinn." &c., i.e.

"Alas for him that looks on Enniskillen of lightsome bays* and of sweet sounding falls: for to us it is a peril (for sure 'tis impossible to quit it) that e'er we have gazed on the white fortress with its sod of smooth greensward."

It was this Poet who also wrote a poem commemorating hospitality enjoyed once at the hands of Maguire (Cuchonnacht Oge,† son of Cuchonnacht the Coarb) referred to at opening of these pages, and the Catalogue describes it thus:

Long enough before ever he saw it, common report of its charms had whetted Teigue Dall's desire to visit Maguire's residence by the blue hills: so much so that his dreams were of the place. The time comes when he turns his face that way, and while he is yet for off blithe uproar of the chase greets him: in wood and afield wolfdog and greyhound severally work; nearer, the horses of the foet in great numbers are at exercise and their speed is tried. Abreast of the mansion the masts of a flotilla stand up as it were a grove along the shore. The wayfarer arrives, euters, and (great as were his expectations) the scene strikes him:—in the courtyard gentlemen of Clan-Colla dispense largesse; the hall is crowded with minstrels and with poets; in another apartment ladies and their women embroider rare tissues and weave golden webs; yet elsewhere fighting men abound (indeed more or less they pervade the whole edifice), while as they

* See Page 430 and Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts, referring to Poem by Blaid Teigue O'Higgin (Bonaventura in religion) O'Hosey Gilla Brigde, who also wrote a plea for the fusion of silo g Colla) the seed of Colla) under one head, who should be the reigning Maguire (Cúchonart art. 90 son of Cúchonacht "the Coarb" son of Cuchonnacht More mac Brian). This last never was "Maguire." He was slain in 1484 in a clan battle, which cost the losers 20 killed and 10 prisoners. In 1527 the "Coarb" was in orthodox style inaugurated by O'Donnell, and in 1537 slain on the Friars' island of Crechan in Lough Erne by the race of Thomas and Turlough Maguire. The inextricable feud began on the 25 of August, 1484, when Gillpatrick, son of the actual Maguire Edmond Mac Thomas) was by his own five brothers slain in treason at the altar of the church of Achadh urchair [Aghalurcher]. Immediately upon which two Maguires were proclaimed [IV Masters ad. an. p. 1130.]

† Inaugurated on the death of his brother Shane, 29th Sept. 1566; went to Dublin for Perrot's Parliament, but did not sit; described in the Four Masters as a lord in his munificence towards churches, professors, soldiers, and their attendants; a learned and a studious adapt [in Latin and in Irish. His letters are in Latin (e.g. Aug. 28th, 1586).

sit in their own special quarters, over each man's head his arms hang handy on the wall. Of wrights [masons and carpenters] a whole regiment is there—of artificers, also, that finish [or bind as with silver] beakers—of smiths that forge weapons; mantles and rugs are taking crimson stain, hostages are enlarged, others again brought in; "pledges" tendered by the leech; brave men uninjured are being damaged; * all manner of valuables are given away and more pour in; a spell of this particular day [seal do'n ló sin] is passed in listening to romances, in comparing of genealogies; another while being devoted to fluid refection with accompaniment of music. Now all disperse till supper time, and so much there is to see and to hear that the full day seems but an hour. As ever, the y sit in due order, Maguire in the chief [central] place, Teigue at his right hand. Bedtime is there: for the gentlemen couches are strewn, his host, surrounded by picked men in harness, is on the move. Before day break one party took to javelin and to spear; others saddle the horses, and with the point of dawn they ride; by and by they return successful. That day many a woman's wail for husband that is not goes up beside Lough Erne, and many a prisoner with his face slashed is led in. Now are there in the fort things of price that in the morning were not theirs, and hard by the same graze cattle that yesternight were far away; all of which makes a very harvest for the poets, who have no whit of false delicacy in the reaping. Lastly he tears himself from Maguire, who is as reluctant to bid him go: never will he forget the day of his farewell, and the universal judgment of bards is that Maguire's fame is not greater than the reality.

NOTE G.

BRIAN MAGUIRE.

Brian Maguire had 2,500 acres at Tempodessel in 1611, according to Lord Carew, and a note was made that all the tenants did plough after the Irish manner—namely by the tail, which Arthur Young found people doing in County Cavan in 1777. He said that they do so every season. "Nothing can put them beside them, and they insist that take a horse tired in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better; quite fresh again. Indignant reader this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth! It is so all over Cavan." A heavy penalty of 10s was provided for in 1612 to suppress this barbarous practice, which in 1612 brought in £870 from all Ulster.

This Brian Maguire was son of Old Cuconnaght. It was Brian's grandson, Cuconnaght More, who raised a regiment for James II. and died at Aughrim. There is a tradition in his family that a follower of his named O'Durnian cut the head off the body with his sword, and brought it to Devenish in a bag to be buried. The great grandson of this Cuconnaght More was Mr. Hugh Maguire of Tempo, described by the Four Masters as "one of the most puissant, high-minded, and accomplished gentlemen that ever came of the Maguire family." It was this Mr. Hugh

* Punishment of malefactors must be intended here.

Maguire who entertained lavishly, who mortgaged the Tempo estates, and left his family in great distress.

There were two principal families of Maguire in Fermanagh in the seventeenth century, writes the late Earl of Belmore, viz., the Lords of Enniskillen and the Maguires of Tempo, descended from a common ancestor, Thomas Maguire. [At page 77 of the *Phillips-Betham M.S.* I find as follows:—"The true successor [i.e., living in 1718-19] of the Lords of Inniskillen is Theophilus, son of Philip, son of Rory y^e son of Bryan Roe, who was y^e first of y^e family created Lord of Inniskillen by Queen Elizabeth as before intimated." The peerage was really granted by King Charles I. 3rd March, 1627-8.

The Maguire pedigree is not free from difficulties, and there are differences of opinion as to which was the elder branch. On comparing authorities (Betham, Burke, O'Ferrall, Dalton, and Webb), the following descent from a common ancestor, Thomas Mor Maguire, living in 1400 A.D., died 1430, down to the time of Theophilus, seems to be at least probable.

1. Thomas Mor married Margaret O'Neill.	
<i>The Lords of Enniskillen Branch.</i>	<i>The Tempo Branch.</i>
2. Thomas Oge	2. Philip
3. Connor	3. Bryan
4. Connor Oge	4. Constantine or Cuconnaght
5. Connor Roe (Knight), d. 1625	5. Constantine
6. Bryan (1st Baron), d. 1633	6. do. (d. 1589), m. Naula O'Donnell
7. Connor (1st Bar.), 7. Rory, d. 1648	7. Hugh (Knight), Constantine Bryan killed by St. Aug. (d. 24th 1608). Apr., 1655
8. Connor (3rd Baron), d. 1644.	8. Rory Oge (5th Baron) and Philip, sons of Rory above.
9. Hugh (4th Baron), d.s.p.	9. Alexander and Bryan, sons of Rory Oge d.v.d. and Theophilus, son of Philip
	8. Hugh, d.v.p. (killed at Aughrim, 2nd July, 1691).

An electioneering incident which Lord Belmore also notices is in connection with the election for the county of Fermanagh in 1613. It appears from the Calendar of State Papers (Jac. i, 1611-14) that a petition was lodged on 31 May, 1613, against the return of Sir Henry Folliott and Sir John Davies, alleging that—

"Connor Roe McGwire and Donnell McGwire were elected; notwithstanding the Sheriff falsely returned Sir Henry Folliott and Sir John Davys, who have no residence there. Captain Goare pulled the beard from the face of Brene Thomas McGwire, for giving his voice with Connor Roe and Donnell McGwire (page 362).

The result is mentioned (page 440, No. 871) 12 November, 1613:

"The Commissioners examined witnesses on both parts, and for anything appearing to them, the Sheriff made a just return of Sir Henry Folliott and Sir

John Davys. Concerning the force said to have been used, it is confessed on oath by Bryan Maguire, whose beard was said to be pulled from his face, that Captain Gore* did shake him by the beard, but pulled no part of it away, nor did him any hurt."

NOTE H.

SIR HUGH MAGUIRE.

When Sir Hugh Maguire recited his grievances in the reign of Elizabeth, 1553, he presented them as follows:—

1. His predecessors have been of long time loyal subjects. When Fermanagh came into his hands he began therein a most dutiful course of obedience; and when first he went [to Dublin] after being placed in his father's room, the late lord deputy and council gave him special letters of favour, that neither the Bingham's nor his other bordering neighbours, should molest him but assist him in his lawful causes. Yet Sir Richard Bingham, and the rest of his name in Connaught, came with forces and arms into his country burned it, killed divers men, women and children, and took from him 3,000 cows, besides 500 garrans and mares and certain women prisoners whom he was fain to ransom.

2. Maguire sent letters to the lord deputy and council to desire restitution, and they addressed letters to Sir Richard Bingham and the rest for causing amends to be made; but the said Bingham came forthwith into Fermanagh at two several times, and preyed Maguire of 6,000 cows, besides much murder.

3. Captain Henshawe, seneschal of Monaghan, came several times with his forces to places in Fermanagh, called Clankilly and Cowle [now the baronies of Clankilly and Coole], captured 3,000 cows, and killed men, women, and children; but Sir William Fitzwilliam caused no redress thereof.

4. In the several sheriffships of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Harbert in Co. Cavan, they killed and preyed Maguire's tenants in Knocklangorie, the Cowle, and other places, to his and their damages of 3,000*l.* ster.

5. Afterwards, the said lord deputy being in Monaghan, Maguire obtained faithful oath and promise that he should not be charged with sheriffs or other officers in regard of his coming to do obedience, for one whole year; for which grant he paid as a bribe to his lordship and others 300 beoffs [fat cattle], besides 150 beoffs to the marshal [Bagenall]; but Captain Willis, having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent with commission to be sheriff there, and preyed the country. They cut off the head of the son of Edmond McHugh McGwyre, and hurled it from place to place as a football. These hard courses compelled him to entertain forces to expulse the said Willis, and his companies, whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers, and their banishment out of the country.

And when he craved terms of peace, this Sir Hugh protested

"that his disloyalty proceeded not from any conspiracy with any domestic or foreign enemy, or of malice towards his majesty, but through hard usages: yet he craves pardon for himself and his country. 1. He will yield the usual rents and services. 2. He craves that himself and all the inhabitants of his country may have free liberty of conscience. 3. That no garrison may be placed in Fermanagh, but that for the government thereof the like course may be taken as shall be for M Mahon's country [Monaghan], or other parts of the Irishry."

But it was too late. Queen Elizabeth had decided against the Ulster lords. Then followed the war, the battles

* Afterwards Sir Paul Gore, ancestor of the Earl of Ross (title extinct) and of the Earl of Arran, and Sir Joselyn Gore-Booth, and Lord Harlech.

of Clontibret, Benburb, and in the Curlew mountains; and last of all the Flight of the Earls on the 3rd of September, 1607

NOTE I.

SCOTCH PROCLAMATION.

THE PLANTATION IN IRELAND.

The following is portion of the Scotch proclamation respecting the taking of land in Ireland in 1609, for which application was made:

Forsameikle as the Kingis Maiestie haueing resolved to reduce and setle vnder a perfyte obedience the north pairt of the Kingdome of Ireland, which now by the providence of Almightie God, and by the power and strenth of his Maiesties royal army, is fred and disburdynit of the former rebellious and dissobedient inhabitantis thairof, wha, in the justice of God, to thair schame and confusion ar overthrawn, his Maiestie, for this effect, hes tane a verie princelie and good course, alsweil for establischeing of religoun, iustice, and ciuillitie within the saidis boundis, as for planting of coloneis thairin, and distributeing of the same boundis to lauchfull, ansuerable, and weil affected subiectis, vpon certane easie, tollerable, and profitable conditionis, and although thair be no want of grite numberis of the cuntrey people of England, although thair be no want of grite numberis of the cuntrey people of England, who, with all gladnes, wald embrace the saidis conditionis, and transport thame selfis, with thair familieis, to Yreland, and plenische the saidis haille boundis sufficientlie with inhabitantis, yit, his sacred maiestie, out of his vnspicable love and tender affection toward his maiesties antient and native subiectis of this kingdome, quhome his heyneis wald haue to communicate with the fortunes of his saidis subiectis of England, hes bene pleasit to mak chose of thame to be partinaris with his saidis subiectis of England, in the distributioun foirsaid. Thairfore ordanis lettres to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof be oppin proclamatioun at all places neidfull, and to warne all his maiesties subiectis of this kingdome quho or deposit to tak any land in Yreland, That they come to the Lordis of his Maiestie, prevy counsaile and present thair desyris and petitiois to the saidis lordis, be quhome they salbe acquentit with the particular conditionis to be performed be thame for thair land.

4th July, 1609. The quhilk day in presence of the lordis of secrete counsaile comperit personalie Robert Montgomerye, of Kirkcubright, and maid humble sute vnto the saidis lordis That he might be ressaue and inrolled as one of the undertakeris in the intendit plantation and distributioun of the foireyted and escheated landis of the province of Vlsiter for Twa thousand aikeris of the said land vpon suirtie and band to be given be him for the performance of the haille articles and conditionis set down be the King his most excellent Maiestie.

NOTE J.

HUGH MONTGOMERY OF DERRYBRUSK.

Among those who desired to be so "ressaued and inrolled" as one of the undertakers of the escheated lands was Hugh Montgomery. This settler prospered in worldly affairs after his coming to Fermanagh.

The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* says:—"He was in esteem with our two viscounts [of Ards] as being come of Braidstane, and his Coat Armoriall is the same with the bearing of the old lairds of Braidstane, with the distinction of a Cadet, but the kindred I know not; the coat is the same with Bishop George. Sr. James Montgomery [nephew of the Bishop], when he courted his

and lady [Margaret, Sir Wm. Cole's daughter], stayed several nights in this Hugh's house; and the morning he was Bridegroom, went from thence, being attended by him and many Montgomerys (his tenants, all well-mounted), of which surname I saw near one hundred living within the 12 tates of Derrybrosk, when I was ther.' When William Montgomery was there, he stayed at the house of this Hugh's grandson, also named Hugh, and residing at a seat called *Derrygonnelly*, near Derrybrosk, and having for his wife the granddaughter and heiress of Sir John Dunbarr. This lady had brought him as her dowry Sir John Dunbar's estate, of which Derrygonnelly was the chief mansion-house. (See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 389.)

The original residence, Derrybrosk, was situate in the southern district of the parish of that name, and was superseded [1877] by a much larger and handsomer house, [Innishmore Hall,] the seat of a family named Deering, and subsequently of Mr. Richard Hall, the last of the Halls of Euniskillen town. The grounds are beautiful, and distant about four miles south-east from Euniskillen. The Derrygonnelly mansion stood at or near the site of the present village of that name, in the parish of Inismacsaint, and about seven miles north-west from Euniskillen.

NOTE K.

SHIRE GROUND.

(From *Life of Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy* (circa 1572-1578).

"The People . . . desired to hold theye Landes by Tenure from hir Majestie, to have theyr contries divided into Shier Grounde, and accordingly to live under peaceable Government

"Where the corrupt Costume of Taniste and Captence was the the Roote of all the Barbarisme and Disorder in Ireland, if the same were conserted to state of Inheritance. Men would more willingly buyld, plant, and preserve for their Posterity; wheras no Man careth but for his owne time, and thereafter spondeth and spoileth first his own, and then his Neighbours. This people being brough to see theyr owne Error, did desier more dayly to hold theyr Lands by English Tenure, offering to make Sarrenders, but the Lord Deputy did not accept the same (as he approved) because he had noe perfect Warrant to make them any Estates back agayne. Therefore, he besought the Lords of the Privey Councell to procure from his Majestie such a Warrant (whereof there had byn a former President) that thereby her Majestie's Profit together with the Good of the State might grow in time by these Tenures."—Page 177-178.

Also we have this statement:—

"did reduce all Ulster into shiers, using the Advice of the severalle Lords for binding of the same and soe made fix new Shiers, where never any was before the least of them being xxiiij Myles over at the least."

In 1588 Sir John Perrott "sent for the Chiefe Lords of each contry requiring them to put in Pledges for the

Mayntenance of Peace [against a Spanish invasion], and defending the Realme agaynst forayne Invasion,

and the two pledges for "MacGwere and his Contry were (1) Owen MacHugh and (2) James MacManus."

and Sir John then left Ireland in peace, and the new Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, declared—

I must needs confess that I Guide the Contrie quiett, and all Things here in good Order. I pray God that I may leave it halfe so well, and then I shall thinke that I have done my Queene and Contrie good Service.

NOTE L.

THE FERMANAGH PEOPLE.

The septs of Fermanagh were of a more peaceful temperament than other tribesmen, and more given to learning than to the sword. Sir John Davys says that they were reputed to be "the worst swordsmen of the north," and "rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen than men of action." For this reason Sir Hugh Maguire drew his soldiers from Breffny O'Reilly [Co. Cavan] or Connaught.

At the time of the Plantation, so placid was the Fermanagh temperament, that we are told "there was no man that pretended any title against the Crown, and there were very few who seemed unsatisfied with their portions assigned unto them only Connor Roe McGuyre, who has an entire barony, and the best barony in Fermanagh allotted unto him, seemed ill contented with his allotment; yet he did oppose the Sheriff when he gave possession to the undertakers of lands wherein himself was then possessed; but affirmed he would forthwith pass into England, and there become a suitor for better conditions."

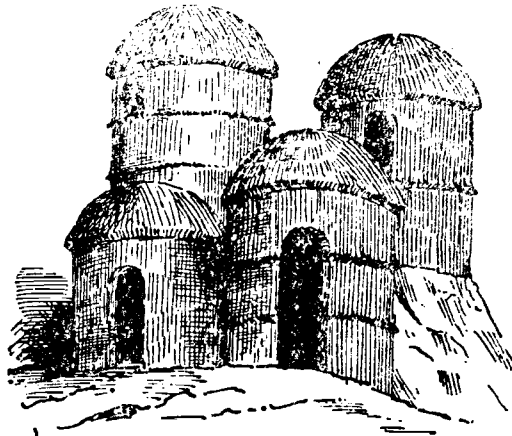
We are left uninformed as to whether Connor Roe ever did go to England for such a purpose; and before the whole assignments were over he got even less than a barony, and had cause to complain of a breach of English faith.

Sir John Davys reported in 1600 that some Fermanagh middlemen claimed to be free holders of their several possessions, and that having received the King's pardon for their part in the rebellion, had never been attainted and stood upright in law. Days, however, speaking of the free lands of the third kind, chroniclers, galloglasses, and rimers, amounting to about two ballitetaghs, said that they belonged to men who were enemies to the British Government, and the lands might be added to the demesne lands of the chief lords.

NOTE M.

THE WICKERWORK HOUSES.

I have not been able to obtain any picture of the houses of the local minor gentry of the 17th century. The major gentry lived in their castles, of which there are illustrations, and the minor gentry lived in dwellings which would be regarded now as ordinary farmhouses, or perhaps not so good as the better class farmer of to-day occupies. Mr.



Group
of
Circular
Wicker Houses

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

Lithgow's description (page 195 of this volume) says that "the residences of the gentry were, as a rule, extremely mean in appearance and that most of them were thatched."

As to the wickerwork houses (also referred to by him) the only representation I can find is the picture given here from the Bayeux tapestry.

NOTE N.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

The Oath of loyalty to the Commonwealth as against the King, ran—"I . . . do hereby declare that I renounce the

pretended title of Charles Stuart and the whole line of the late King James, and of every other person pretending to the Government of the nations of England and Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and that I will, by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, be true and faithful to this Commonwealth against any King, single person, and house of peers, and everyone of them, and thereunto I subscribe my name."

The Oath of Allegiance contained a promise "to be true and faithful to the King and his heirs, and truth and faith to bear of life and limb and terrene honour, and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him without defending him therefrom (Blackstone).

The Black Oath bound those who took it never to oppose Charles in anything.

INDEX.

Acheson, Colonel	252	Bingley, Sir 'Ralph	179
Adwick	148	Biscuits, Ford of the battle of	70
Agharaíney	117	Bishop McMahon's Successes	242
Aghalurcher	143	Black Oath	281
Aghalane Castle	148	Blennerhasset, Thos. 127 128	129
Aldrith, Edward	125	Blennerhasset, Henry 131	128
Archdale, John 122 123	182	Blennerhasset, Leonard	129
Archdall, Miss Angel	123	Blennerhasset, Phoebe, Mary	
Archdall, Edward	124	and others	129
Archdale's town	125 130	Blennerhasset, Sir Ed. 130	136
Archdale, William 125	127	Blennerhasset, Francis	136
Archdall, Col. Ed.	125	Borough Charter	171
Archdall Capt. J. Montgomery	125	Book of Invasions	18
Archdall, Col. Mervyn	126	Bower Lane	270
Archdall, General	126	Boyne Viscount	256
Archdale, Mervyn, M.P.	126	Braddell, Mrs.	115
Archdale, Col. J. Blackwood	127	Brian family, Monea	115
Archdale, Nicholas 127	257	Bridges	195 196
Archdale, Ed. Mervyn	127	Brien, Mr. John	142
Archdale, John Porter	257	Browne, Mr. Fred R.	137
Armstrongs of Lisgoole	21	Browning, Philip	188
Armstrongs (see Muster Roll)	200	Browning, Wm.	188
Arney and Rory Maguire	232	Brooke, Capt. Basil	179
Assize, the First, 25	29	Brooke, Sir Henry	179
Atkinson, Roger	181	Brooke, Sir Arthur, Sir Victor	
Augher	116	and Sir Basil	180
Balfour, Anna	140	Burgesses, Enniskillen	167
Balfour, Michael 143	147	Burgess Acre	168
Balfour, Sir James	144	Burgage Acres	179
Balfour, Charles	146	Burfield, Ferdinand	182
Ball, Henry	188	Burrowes, Doctor Provost	187
Ballygawley	140	Butler, Sir Stephen	147
Ballymacmanus	256	Byas, David	123
Ballyshannon	84	Caldwell, Sir James	125
Ballyshannon Castle	144	Caldwell James	136
Ballyshannon, Relief of	263	Calvert, Robert	181
Bannaghmore, Manor of	130	Camomile, Hill	190
Barton, Capt. Chas. R.	130	Camp Meeting (footnote)	8
Barton, Thomas 130	182	Capt. Cole purchases	154
Battle Book The	36	Carew, Lord Deputy 3	4
Beattys (see Muster Roll)	200	Carleton Lancelot	130
Beauty of Fermanagh	269	Carleton family	141
Belcoo	233	Carrowshee	147
Belturbet Meeting in 1650	241	Castle Atkinson, the Massacre	
Belleisle	256	1641	109 117
Best, Allan	196	Castletown Estate	114
Bingham Sir George, March		Castle Archdale	121
into Ulster 57		Castle Tully	132

Castle Hume	133	Confiscation by English	
Castle Hume Camp	135	Parliament	237
Castlecaldwell	136	Cormick, John	115
Castle of Monea	137	Cornagrade, Manor of	164
Castle Tullymargie	140	Corporation, The	172
" Tullykelter	140	Corporation, First	181
Castletown Village	141	Corporation, Officers of	186
Castlebalfour	142	Corporation Records	187
Castleskeagh	144	Corporation Court	270
Castle, Enniskillen	191	Corry, James	188
Castle of Enniskillen given to Coote	241	Cosbystown	123
Castle, Maguires	193	Counties, Formation of	2
Cathcart, David	138	Court Baron	16
Cathcart, Gabriel	138	Court Leet	164
Cathcart, Malcolm	138	Court of Piepowder	169
Cathcart, Anna	138	Cowper Maurice	128
Cathcart, Adam,	138	Cox William	128
Catholics help each other	260	Cranston, Thos.	138
Ceash or Letterkeen	129	Crawford, Wm.	138
Chalice of Lisgoole	20	Creaghts, The Irish	62 254
Chambers, Mat.	138	Creighton, Col. Abraham	140
Chanter Hill	190	Creightons (see Muster Roll)	200
Charles I.	226	Cathcart do	200
Chichester, Sir Arthur, Lord Deputy	2 163	Calwell do	
Children of the Abbey	22	Campbell do	
Churchill	133	Clarke do	
Church and Cemetery	178	Carrothers do	
Claim of Irish Chief	269	Crawford do	
Clarke, Thomas	123	Crevenish Castle	99 127
Clements, Rt. Hon. N.	257	Creevalea Abbey	253
Clifton Lodge	145	Crichton, Thos.	148
Cole, Capt. Wm.—Warden of Lough Erne	9	Crichton, Rev. Geo.	149
As servitor	10 169	Crom Castle	147
Cole, Capt. William gets Enniskillen Castle	74 79 163	Cunningham, Gabriel	138
Cole, Sir William and Rebellion 1641 99, 100, 191,	252	Dane, Paul	188
Cole, John	188	Davis, Matt. and Ed.	191
Cole, Sir John	123	Davis, Sir John	233
Cole, Sir Michael	125	Dawson, V.S., James	196
Cole, Dame Susan	191	Depositions in Trinity College	101
Collas, The Three	81	Derrygore	149
Complaints of Ulster Chiefs	73	Devenish Abbey	24
Commissioners of Plantation	5	Dowdall, Capt.	60
Commissioners Inquiry, Castle Hume	113	Drumane, Battle of	70
Commons, Enniskillen	169	Devenish, Inquisition The at 1606	82
Confederation forces at Dromahaire	253	do do do 1614	83
Confederation of Kilkenny do Bishop M'Mahon	235 236	do do Jury at 1609	87
Cooper, Will	188	Diary at Hamilton Castle	264
		Doe, John	185
		Dow, Mr. John	135
		Doyle, Malachy	184
		Drainage Works	199
		Dresternan	148

Dromahaire Castle	253	259	Flower, Henry	130
Dromclea, grant of		166	Folliott, Lord	144 130
Dromore		116	Folliott, Capt., Ballyshannon	249
Drumboory		149	Fosterage, Maguire Children	83
Drumcose Manor		133	Fowler, Wm.	133
Drumclay, Townland		179	Fowall, Henry	188
Drumminshin		130	Free Burgesses	183
Drumkeen, Manor of		130	Freemen	183 184
Drumragh Manor		123	Freedom of Corporation	183
Drumskea Proportion		153	Frith, John A.	183
Dunbar, Richard		123	Frith, John B.	183
Dunbar, Richard	126	139	Frith, James	183
Dunbar			Frith, Moses	188
Dunbar, Alexander		182	Funeral Fatality, Devenish	29
Dundas (see Muster Roll)		200		
Dungiven		242	Gabbet, Capt.	188
East Ford	179	180	Galbraith, Wm.	158
Eccarsall and Siege of Ennis-			Galbraith, Humphrey	158
killen		67	Galt, Wm.	196
Ederney	128	271	Galt, Miss	196
Eel Weirs		11	Gallows' Green	179
Electioneering in 1613		275	Gallows at Manorhamilton	263
Ely, Marquis of		134	Garrison	134
Ely, Lady		135	Garrison, Iron Works	262
Ely Lodge		135	George, St. George, Sir	179
Elliott, Daniel		138	Gibbet of the Maguire	178
Elliotts (see Muster Roll)		200	Gibbs, James	122
Enniskillen Castle, taken by English 79, 191, 192, 193,		271	Glenawley, Lord	140
Enniskillen demolished by O'Donnell		79	Glenawley, barony to native Irish	233
Eric of Sheriff		75	Golden Hostages	32
Erne, Lough		6	Gore, Sir Paul	126
Ewart, James		188	Gore, Sir William	256
			Gore Manor	256
			Gore, Sir Ralph	257
Fairs, Enniskillen		170	Gordon, Sir Robert	182
Farney, Battle of		81	Goodfellow, John	114
Favourable Interpretation Charter		178	Grahams (see Muster Roll)	200
Fermanagh (desolate)		6	Gregg do	200
Fermanagh Families (see Muster Roll)		200	Green, John, Esq.	113
Fermanagh Freeholders Loyal		279	Greene, Wm.	149
Fermanagh People		279	Greer, Col.	123
Ferrall, Mr. John C.		116	Grierson, Mrs.	136
Ffolliott, Sir Henry		48	Guild of Merchants	177
Fire in 1618		194	Gutridge, Richard	188
Fire in 1705		194	Haire, Joseph	138
First Sovereign and Corpora-			Haire, Hamilton	138
tion		174	Haire, Capt. Henry	138
First Corporation		181	Haire, James	146
Flack, Rev. Robert		271	Hall Craig	138
Flanagan of Toora		35	Hall, John	138
Flight of the Earls	2 5		Hall, Wm.	138 182
			Hamilton Estate	115
			Hamilton, William	182

Hamilton, Bundoran	128	Irvine Capt., his escape	247	248
Hamilton, Sir Robert	138	Johnston, Mr., of Lisgoole	23	
Hamilton, Malcolm	138	Johnson, Wm.	123	
Hamilton, Major Malcolm	138	Johnston, (Old Lurg)	123	
Hamilton, Rev. Malcolm	138	Johnston, Walter	123	
Hamilton, Capt. Charles	138	Johnston, James	123	
Hamilton-Jones, T. M.	139	Johnston, Capt. James C.	123	
Hamilton, Col. Sir Gustavus	140	Johnston, John	124	
Hamilton, Malcolm Major	140	Johnston, Goblusk and others	124	
Hamilton, Sir Fredk. 248 251	256	Johnston, Mr. John	135	
Hamilton, Sir Francis	251	Johnston, Arthur, Recorder	183	
Hamilton, Miss Hannah	257	Johnston, Thos.	188	
Hamilton, Sir Frederick	258	Johnstons, (see Muster Roll)	200	
Hamilton (see Muster Roll)	200	Jurors on Inquisitions	222	
Hangings at Manorhamilton	264	Jury at Devenish	87	
Harrison, Capt.	233			
Hassett Castle	129	King, Robert	114	
Henderson (see Muster Roll)	200	Killadeas	131	
Henshaw, Captain	276	King, Richard	138	
Holloway Humphrey	117	Killynick	150	
Hospitality Enniskillen Castle	273	Kilnaloo	179	
Houses and Bridges	194	Kirkpatrick's (see Muster Roll)	200	
Hudson, Sir Walter	188	Kilkenny, Confederation	235	236
Hudson, Luternal	188	of	243	
Hume, Capt. Patk.	113	Kilskeery	243	
Hume, Sir John 125 132 137	256	King, Major	243	
Hume, Sir Geo.	134	Knockninny	38	
Hume, Sir Gustavus	134			
Humes, James	136	Last Prince of Fermanagh	70	
Hunning	130	Larkfield	258	
Hunningstown	130	Letters of 1641	258	
Hunning, Henry	181	Le Tournal, Thos.	188	
Inish Kellin, Castle on island,		Lisnaskea and Maguire chiefs	54	
site of shire town	7	Lisgoole, 11 &c.	161	
Inish-kellin, Castle besieged	59	" Massacre	118	
Inquisitions, juries on	222	Lisgoole Fair and Market	233	
Invasions, Book of	18	Lisblake	234	
Irish Rebellion 1641, warning	248	Lisnaskea burnt	146	
of		Lindsey, Jerome	153	
Irvine, Mr. Christopher	130	Lithgow, Mr.	194	
Irvine, Dr. Chris.	131	List Fermanagh names	200	
Irvine, Sir Gerard	131	Lisnarick 125 129	103	
Irvine, Col. Christopher	131	Lord Maguire's Will	19	
Irvine, Mr. Wm., Ballindullagh	131	Lowther, Sir Gerard	113	130
Irvine, Col. John Gerard	131	Lowtherstown	119	
Irvine, Major Gerard	131	" Leaseholders	119	
Irvinestown	131	Lowther Manor	130	
Irvine, Henry M. D'Arcy	131	Lowther Henry	131	
Irvine, Capt. W. D'Arcy	132	Loftus, Lord of Ely	134	
Irvine, Major C. C. D'Arcy	132	Ludlow, General	145	
Irvine, Major H., Provost	189	Margaret's Gutter	8	
Irwin (see Muster Roll)	200	Magheraboy, Description	10	
Irvine, do		Maguire, Cuconaght	3	4
Irvine, Capt. Gerard at Derry	245	Maguire, the chiefly	50	

Maguires, The	30	Manse, Presbyterian	191
" Revolt of under chiefs	50	Maclatchy, Rev. A. C.	196
Maguire, Old Cuconnacht	52	Maxwell (see Ulster Roll)	200
" inaugurated at Cuilcagh	53	Massari, Monsigneur,	238
" at Lisnaskea	54	Manorhamilton 251, 253, 254-5	
" Sir Hugh	54	Manor Hamilton Castle	251
Maguire's fleet	56	" planters	252
Maguire & O'Rourke Alliance	57	Manor Hamilton, insurrec-	
" greatness of, song of		tion at	252
O'Higgins	54	Manorhamilton, Owen Roe	255
Maguire, Sir Hugh, pardon	75	at	
" in Munster	77	McGuire, Bryan Cuconagh	117
" a valiant rebel	78	McCaffrey and others	128
" Estates	81	McGuire, Bryan, Tempo	129
" Fosterage of Children	83	McMahon, Bishop 237, 239, 240,	
" Rent to	84	241, 242, 243.	
" Septs and Families	85	McDonagh, Colonel	252
" Conditions of Service	88	Members of Parliament	173
" Connor Roe's pro-		Mervyn, Henry	125
perty	90	Mervyn, Col. Audley	248
" Last of the Race 4 5 93		Meehan, Rev. Joseph	258
" Cuconagh, Colonel of		Mill, Enniskillen	191
Regt.	99	Miles the Slasher	254
" Lord and MacMahon		Morrison	
imprisoned	104	Morrison, Wm.	165
" Connor, Lord, trial		Morrison, Hamilton	165
of	105, 106, 123,	Morrison, Rev. W. R.	165
Maguire, Rory, 113, 117,	231	Morrison, Thos.	165
232, 248		Moore, Edward	182
Maguire, Colonel Hugh	245	Moore, Thomas	123
Maguire, Hugh, Tempo	274	Moore, Edward	123
Maguire Pedigree	275	Moore, Foulk	270
Maguire, Sir Hugh	276	Montgomery, Nicholas	123
Maguire, Brian	274	Montgomery, Hugh, Derry-	
Maguire, Sir Hugh, estate		gonnelly.	114
forfeited	3	Montgomery, Hugh de Fellen-	
Market, Enniskillen	169	berg	126
Massacre, The, of 1641	108	Moneypenny, Thos.	148
Maguiresbridge	123	Monea Castle and	
Manor of Dromynshin	130	Massacre	111
Manor of Drumkeen	130	Monea (Tully Castle)	4
Manor of Bannaghmore	130	Moyglass	115
Manor of Drumcose	133	Moffitt	
Manor of Moyglass	133	Moffatt, John	128
Manor of Newporton	130	Mostion, Pierce	233
Monterfoden	139	Moyvane, Manor of	233
Manor of Castletown	140	Monroe, General, (surrenders	
Manorwaterhouse	150	Enniskillen)	241
Montgomerye, Robt.	150	Murty Mac Sharry	255
Madden, John	151	Moneenlum	258
Madden, Rev. Saml.	151	Moreton, Wm.	149
Madden, Lieut. Col. J. C. W.	151	Murray	
Marshalsea (Enniskillen)	184	Mullyard	233
Market place Old	186	Munterfodoghane	233
Market charges	186	Muster Roll Fermanagh	200

Names on Muster Roll	200	Provost's Court	177	184
„ Jurors on Inquisitions	222	„ „ Process	183	184
Nekarne, Castle	130	Provosts, List of		188
Newporton	130	Proportions of Undertakers		
Nixon, John	139	and rents	10	
Nixons (see Muster Roll)	200	Presbyterian Manse	191	
Nuncio Papal	238 239 249	„ Church	191	
		Proclamation of Rory Maguire	232	
Oath of Allegiance	280			
Oath of Supremacy	155, 174, 185	Rampayne, Mrs. D.	116	
O'Connor's Letter	260	Rankin, Robert	128	
O'Cassida, Cormock	233	Rebellion of 1641	96	
O'Dogherty and others	3	Residences, Gentry	195	
O'Donnells as over lords	41	Reade, The Misses	115	
Q'Donel, D.L., J.P., John	258	Rinuccini, Archbishop	238 239 240	
Officers' Corporation	186	Rory Maguire, Capt. 99	110 111	
Ogell, Clinton	128	Round Tower, Devenish	27	
O'Higgin's Poem	273	Rossgweer	130	
Old Road to Belleek	133	Rossgweer	130	
Oliver, Charles	270	Rossgweer	130	
O'Neill, Shane, attacks Maguire	80	Rossgweer	130	
„ Owen Roe 92, 237, 239,	240	Rockfield	131	
O'Neill, Sir Phelim	116	Royal School, Lisnaskea	145	
O'Neill, Hugh	242	Roe, Richard	185	
O'Neill, Sir Phelim	242 243 244	Roscrow, Wm.	188	
O'Neill, Colonel Phelim		Roll, Muster	200	
McTouoll	245	Ross, Earl of	257	
O'Neill, Col. Henry Roe	245	Rynd, David	188	
O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone	3			
O'Rourke's Letter	262	Scotch Settlers, Tully Castle		
Orme, Richard	153	estate	132	
Ovenden, Charles	189	Scotch Plantation	277	
Owen Roe and Enniskillen	249	Scott, Sergt.	258	
do at Manorhamilton	255	Scott, Wm.	188	
Ozenbrooke, Nicholas	182	Scotts (see Muster Roll)	200	
		Scots, the of Inniskillen	234	
Pardon of Sir Hugh Maguire	75	Sconce, The	62 243	
Patent of Inniskillen	166	Septs in Fermanagh	86	
Peasantry Homesteads	195	Shaw, Thos.	155	
Preston, General	237	Shaw, Thos.	182	
Persecution of Roman		Shore, Capt. W.	139	
Catholics	226	Shire town	161	
Piper's Island	163	Shire Ground	278	
Pickin, Thos.	188	Siege of Inish-kellin Castle	59	
Plantation of Ulster	1	Site of town	167	
Plantation Castles	121	Sibthorpe, Edmond	182	
Plunkett, Thos.	196	Slack, Edward	120	
Poe, Thomas	128	Slack, Martha, Callowhill	120	
Portora Castle	153	Sligo Captured	252	
Pope and Confederates	238	Smith, Wm.	188	
Porter, Rev. John Grey	257	Somerville, James	138 139	
Porter, John Grey Vesey	257	Socage	164	
Pye	258	Spottiswoode, Bishop	145	
Project of Plantation	161	Spottiswoode, Sir Henry	157	
Provost elected	183	Stewart, Wm.	188	
		Stewart	„	

Strafford executed	226	Tyrconnell, Earl of	4
State of Scotch forces	236		
Summary, Muster Roll	221	Ulster put into Shires	278
Successes of Bishop McMahon	242		
Suvla Bay	123	Vaughan Charity	129
Sutton, Edward	130	Virginia	149
Sydney, Sir Henry, Irish			
Lord Deputy	1	Ward, Edward	130
Sydare	130	Watson, John	138
		Wakeman, Wm. F.	142
Tempo Branch Maguires	275	Waterhouse, Chas.	150
Tempodessel	118	Walters, Joseph	182
The Town Develops	190	Weirs, the Killyhevlin	66
Tottenham, Right Honble.		Weir, Laird	124
Townley, Harry	146	Weir, Robert	138
Tonestick	179	Will of Lord Maguire	19
Townsfolk, Enniskillen	197	Winslow, Guy, Derrivore	112 149
Townsmen, 1630 (list)	198	„ Blaney Leslie	112
Tories or robbers	227	Wimbs, Sir John	157
Trotter and others	114	Wishart, Sir John	157 181
Trinity College Library		Wigham, Alex.	182
Trimble, Lieut. R. S.	123	Whitten, Thos.	187
Tully Castle Massacre	112	Wilson, Christopher (mill)	190
Tubrid	129	Wickerwork Houses	280
Charles	134		
Tullykelter	139	Young, Arthur	137