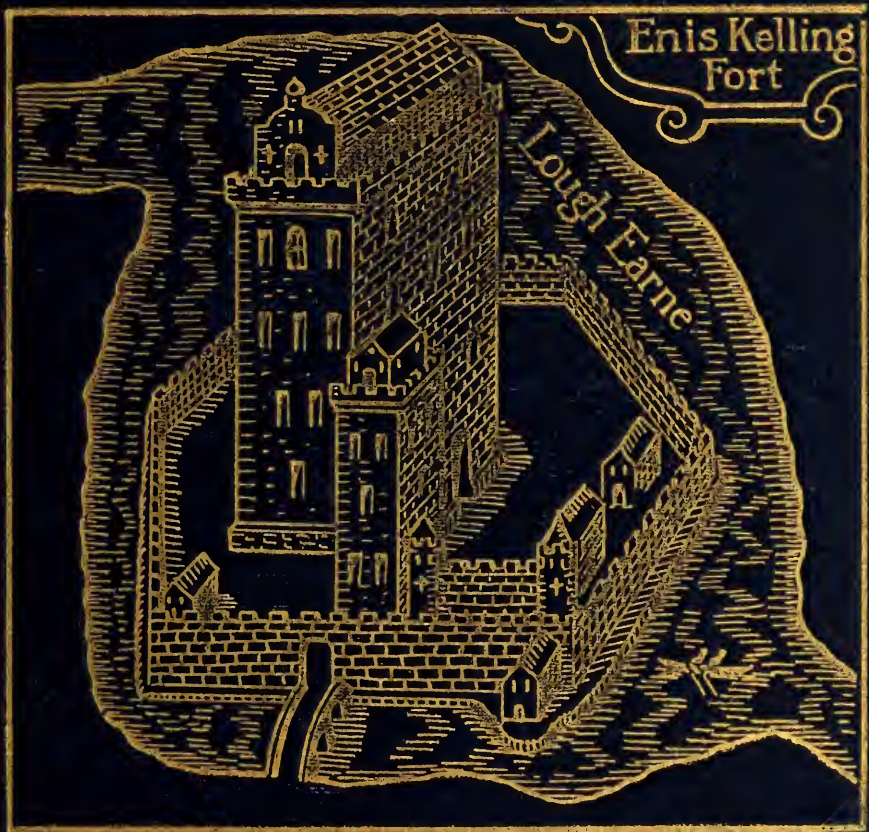



TRIMBLE'S HISTORY OF ENNISKILLEN

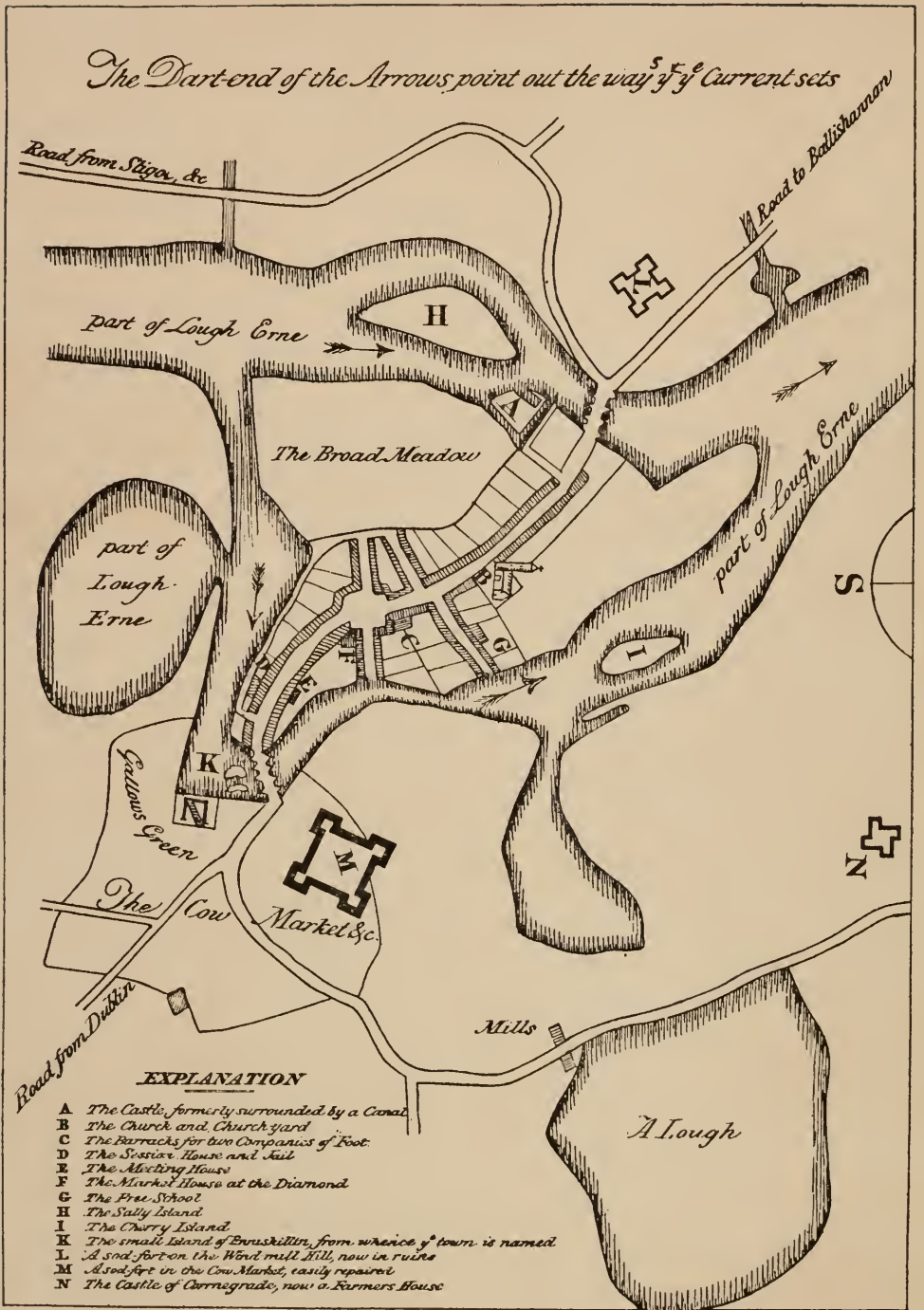


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The Dart-end of the Arrows point out the way ^S of ^E Current sets



EXPLANATION

- A The Castle, formerly surrounded by a Canal
- B The Church and Churchyard
- C The Barracks for two Companies of Foot.
- D The Squire's House and Jail
- E The Meeting House
- F The Market House at the Diamond
- G The Free School
- H The Sally Island
- I The Quarry Island
- K The small Island of Bruskillin, from whence ^y town is named
- L A sod-fort on the Windmill Hill, now in ruins
- M A sod-fort in the Cow Market, easily repaired
- N The Castle of Cornegrade, now a Farmers House

Inniskillen in 1683 as outlined in 1750.

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THE
HISTORY of ENNISKILLEN

WITH REFERENCES TO SOME

MANORS IN CO. FERMANAGH

AND OTHER LOCAL SUBJECTS,

BY

W. COPELAND TRIMBLE,

Author of the Historical Records of the 27th Inniskilling
Regiment, and Lyrics of Lough Erne; Justice of the
Peace, President of the Irish Associated Press;
Fellow of the Institute of Journalists.

VOLUME II.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

ENNISKILLEN :

Printed and Published by William Trimble,
1920

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

THIS Volume of the History of Enniskillen continues the relation of its development, and tells of its experiences during the Commonwealth and the Revolution. At this period the country was in a very disturbed state, and its condition was described by Lord Clarendon in the course of a Letter of 1686 to Lord Rochester in a passage which it is well to quote, as showing the actual condition of the country. He stated that

within a few miles of Dublin he saw miserable hovels, where dwelt half-naked savages, and the aboriginal peasantry were almost in a savage state. Their underclothing was home-made, roughly spun, and woven from wool or from native flax. A long frieze mantle covered their bodies, such as Spencer had described a century previously. Their food was of the poorest description, and consisted of badly ground corn and potatoes, which were then

becoming generally cultivated, occasionally with the flesh of animals captured in the chase, and fish when near the sea coast.

Names of men and places may be found differently spelt in these pages in different places, according to the original text, as explained in the Preface to Volume I.

There have been a few duplications, in order to assist the reader.

While I deal with the Inniskilliners as Volunteers in this Volume, we will pursue their career further as regiments in the Royal Army in Volume III., which will bring this record of the town's history to a close. The next volume will be enriched profusely by illustrations from photographs specially provided for it by Mr. Mercer.

I have to thank various gentlemen for assistance as to their family history and connexions, as bearing upon the text.

I have identified men of action in these pages with their living representatives of to-day as well as I could obtain the necessary information, procured often with great

trouble; and I have told the story of a glorious chapter in the history of the town as accurately as the materials available afforded me the information. May I hope that this recital of the deeds of a historic past will stir up those who are unaware of them to-day to attach more importance to their ancestors, and, while not forgetting the deeds or the men of Derry, Enniskilleners will pay more heed to those who made their island town famous by a defence imperishable in its glory.

THE AUTHOR.

Enniskillen, February, 1920.



Enniskillen.

All hail, Enniskillen! fam'd island of story;
A rampart of refuge, illumined with glory;
Thy Danger's dark day flashed forth leaders of men,
Who conquered in conflict again and again.

Enniskillen! O name of renown thro' the world
Wherever our empire's broad flag be unfurl'd!
By the bivouac watch, beneath sultriest noons,
Are thy bold Fusiliers and thy dashing Dragoons!

Thou sittest enthron'd like a queen of the wave,
With the Erne in its beauty thy footstool to lave;
Encompass'd by hills in a mantle of green,
And woodland and mountain enriching the scene.

'Tis music, each sound—ev'ry stir on thy street,
Where the troops gaily tread and the martial drums beat!
Thy castle, thy church, thy old Fort we adore,
Enclustered with child-laden mem'ries of yore.

And our loved ones—Ah, hush! well may the tear start!
From them what can sunder the sorrow-riv'n heart?
Our life's early passion, our manhood's full bloom,
Are there, with our dead, in the embrace of the tomb!

They, too, gave thee homage, who rest by thy side:
In death as in life, with thee they abide:
And thy children, on far foreign field or the deep,
Share one passionate hope—that with thee they may sleep.

Ay, there to repose, while the zephyr above
Waft the carol of lark, or the coo of the dove;
And the bells from the steeple swing out their sweet chime
As in days when to live was a poem sublime—

There to lie, while the bugle will echo once more
Round the borders of Erne's elysian shore,
And the voices of kindred float over our grave
By the isle of the free—the proud home of the brave.

W. G. T.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

On page 21, line 21, after John Graydon and Elizabeth, his wife, add "and the Rev. Andrew Story Young and Mary Anne, his wife," who obtained a fourth portion of the estate. The last mentioned pair had an only child, who was married to Mr. Geo. C. Cowell, in 1836, and the only surviving issue of that marriage is the Very Rev. George Young Cowell, who lately retired from the Deanery of Kildare, and now resides at 14 Ely Place, Dublin.

VOLUME II.

On page 394, second line of paragraph, read James II. for James I.

The Rev. Chas. Grierson, Dean of Belfast, has, since page 415 was printed, been elevated to the bishoprick of Down, Connor, and Dromore.

The figures denoting page 520 have been accidentally transposed during the printing; and on page 585, read LXV. for LV.

THE HUMPHRYS OF DROMARD AND CLAREVIEW.

Page 613 -The Humphrys attained in 1689 were from Dromard, Kesh. The first Humphrys to come to Ireland and who had lands in County Fermanagh in 1638, was Thomas Humphrys of Holbrook, in County of Suffolk, afterwards of the City of Dublin, Esq., the second son of Charles Humphrys of Rishangles, in County of Suffolk. This Thomas Humphrys was tenth in direct line from Sir Peter Humfrey (no record of name spelt Humphrys till after 1600, though it was spelt in various other ways according to the fancy of the writer at the moment) of Cirencester in County of Gloucestershire. The second son (Thomas) of the seventh generation married a Suffolk heiress, and was great grandfather of the Thomas who founded the Irish branch. This latter (Thomas') right to the family Coat of Arms (as in Irish Landed Gentry) and his relationship to Charles Humphrys of Rishangles is certified to by William Camden Clarenceux, King of Arms, and Thomas Preston, (Ulster) King of Arms, dated 6th January, 1638, From this Thomas the descent runs as follows:—

Thomas H., of Tullynagin, County Fermanagh, also of Drumcose and Dromard in 1660, who married a Miss Nisbett of County Donegal, succeeded by his son, William H., of Drumconly, by Lisnaskea, Dromard, Dromore and many other lands in County Fermanagh. He built the mansion house at Dromard, and died there in 1685. He married Margaret, daughter of William, third son of Christopher Irvine of Castle Irvine, and niece of Sir Gerard Irvine, Bart., of Ireland, and of Col. Irvine. Initials of self and wife were on mantel piece in dining room at Dromard. Succeeded by son, Thomas H., who married Mary, daughter of Christopher Irvine of Castle Irvine, succeeded by his son, William H.; succeeded by his son, Christopher H., who married Maria, daughter of Roland Beatty, of Tullacohick, County Fermanagh; succeeded by his son, Christopher H., the last Humphrys of Dromard, which passed to the Archdales of Castle Archdale and now belongs to Mr. George Archdale, brother of Col. Archdale of Castle Archdale. This Christopher's son obtained Clareview by marriage. This line is extinct except for the three daughters of Robert Humphrys, who now live at Clareview.

Christopher's brother William was the founder of the Ballyhaise branch and was great grandfather of the present Brigadier General C. V. Humphrys.

The head of the family now is Major Nugent Humphrys, of Ballyhaise, who is nephew of Brig. Gen. C. V. Humphrys, and 20th in succession to Sir Peter Humfrey.

VOLUME II.

THE

COMMONWEALTH, RESTORATION,

AND REVOLUTION.

HISTORY OF ENNISKILLEN.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

Charles I. was beheaded on the 30th of March, 1649, and on the 15th of March of the same year Cromwell was appointed Governor of Ireland, but in the years between the Rebellion of 1641 and the coming of Cromwell, many events had taken place at Enniskillen, of which we can only obtain brief references, and not a connected narrative.

The wave of Puritanical reform spread from England to Ireland. Charles had quarrelled with the Parliament, and the Long Parliament had resolved to overthrow Prelacy, and to establish what they considered a more Scriptural form of Church government. The celebrated Archbishop Ussher, of Armagh, had tried to unite Episcopacy and

Presbyterianism in a common form of Protestantism, and had failed. The Parliament in London passed a Bill for the abolition of Prelacy, and summoned the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643 (Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents), which formulated the Larger and Shorter Catechism.

Then followed the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, whose main heads, as briefly described by Rev. Thos. Hamilton, were—

1. The preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and the bringing of the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, form of church government, Directory for Worship, and catechizing.

2. The extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.

3. The preservation of the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and the preservation and defence of the King's Majesty's person and authority, and the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms.

4. The discovery of such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from the other.

5. The maintenance of peace between the kingdoms.

6. The assistance and defence of all who should enter into the League and Covenant.

People banded themselves in Ulster to sign the Covenant, and amongst Royalists who signed it in Ulster in 1643-44, was Colonel Sir William Cole, of Enniskillen. Sir George Monroe,* one of the Royalist

* When the Scots Parliament united with the English Parliament to send troops to aid the King in suppressing the Irish rebellion, Major-General

Party, made Lord President of Connaught, had brought some Scottish troops over to Ulster, and some of them were stationed at Enniskillen, for, as we have read in a letter of Owen O'Neill's* to the Marquis of Ormonde, (see Chapter XX.) Lord Deputy, who held Dublin for King Charles, that Sir William Cole and the Scotts of Enniskillen had taken the Castle of Crevenish in the countie of Fermanagh, and all the wealth that was therein, together with a prey of 120 cows.

Apparently the old practice of the Irish Chiefs in making raids on one another, was not forgotten, and a raid on the Castle [Crevenish], held by Rory Maguire, of 1641 fame, was deemed to be lawful prey. There was more of it, because we read in another letter of Owen O'Neill's to the Lord Deputy of the 4th February, 1643-4—

I made bould to certifie your honour howe the garrison of Enniskillin have by way of preyes taken from the Irish inhabitants of this county of Fermanagh the number of 300 coves; wherein I can get noe satisfaction from Sir William Cole, although I often in a frindly maner requested him thereunto.

Sir William Cole's reply seems to have been to the point. The townsfolk, he said, were in great straits for food, their lands having been for the most part seized by the native Irish, "a little castle called Crum then, and now detained by Rory Maguire, only excepted."

It is not easy for the Man in the Street to-day

Robert Monroe was sent over with about 2,500 men, and landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th April, 1642-3.

* The Irish leader was the son of Art Mac Baron O'Neill, brother of the great Earl of Tyrone, and for this reason Owen Roe was sometimes called Owen M'Art. He had seen service in the Spanish service as Don Eugenio O'Neill, and became colonel of Henry O'Neill's Irish regiment in Flanders about 1633.

to comprehend the tangle of the time, for as Carlyle put it—"There are Catholics of the Pale demanding freedom of religion under my Lord This and my Lord That. There are Old-Irish Catholics under Pope's Nuncios, under Abba O'Teague, of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neill demanding not religious freedom only, but what we now call "Repeal of the Union," and unable to agree with Catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormonde Royalists, of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without covenant, Ulster and other Presbyterians strong for King *and* Covenant ; and lastly, Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither King nor covenant."

Sir Charles Coote had carried his war into Connaught, and he looked for help from Sir William Cole. Sir William tells the story of one encounter, in which he fought against Rory Maguire, in a letter of 1645; and reprinted in Hill's Montgomery Manuscripts :—

Sir William Cole, upon Sunday morning November 23, received a letter from Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaught, who, to satisfye his Lordship's desires, commanded his Troop to march unto him, to be at Sligo on Thursday night 27 November to join in some expedition, by his Lordship's orders, against the Rebels in that Province.

The greatest part of his Troop with their horses, were then in the Island of Baawe [Boa], 16 miles Northward from Iniskilline, who, upon his notice, did march away upon Monday 24 November together with almost all the foot-soldiers of companies of his Regiment, that quartered with their cattle and many of the cows of Iniskilline, in that Island, unto Bellashanone * which was their place of rendezvous.

* The borough of Baliyshannon (or Baileshannan), was incorporated by a Charter of King James I., granted in the tenth year of his reign (23rd March). It was then a village.

The Title of the Corporation was "The Portreeve, Free Burgesses, and

The Cornet of that Troop, upon Tuesday, 25 November, with about 70 horsemen, marched from Iniskilline to the Westward of Lough Erne, with resolution to lodge that night, by the way, within 15 miles of Sligo. But a little snow falling, altered their determination, and so took their course to Bellashanone without appointment,—God, in his high providence, directing them thither, where, as soon as they got their horses shod, they were still hastening towards Sligo, whither sundry of their foot-companies aforesaid on horseback rid before them.

And a great part of the Troop were advanced as far as Bundrowes, where the Alarm overtook them, with orders to return to resist the Enemy, to the number of four or five hundred men of Owen Mac Arte's Army, under the command of several Captains, led by Roury MacGuire in chief, who, upon Wednesday morning, 26 November, being provided with two of our own boats by the treachery of one Bryan O'Harran and others of our bosom snakes protected synons, and entered the said Island of Baawe at the South end of it, and was burning, spoiling, preying their goods, wherein they prevailed, even to the stripping naked of all our women, plundering and taking theirs and our still absent soldiers' clothes, victuals, and arms, away.

That party of our Horsemen speedily returning to Bellashanone, whence, with the Cornet, the rest of the said Troop, some of the Foot-soldiers on horseback, and Captain

Commonalty of the Borough of Ballyshannon." The Corporation consisted of the portreeve, twelve free burgesses and the commonalty.

The Portreeve was elected annually on the feast of St. John the Baptist, by the then Portreeve and Free Burgesses, or the major part of them, from the Free Burgesses, and held his office for one year from the ensuing Michaelmas day, and until another Portreeve should be chosen. In case of the death of the Portreeve within his year of office, a Portreeve was to be elected by the Free Burgesses and Commonalty.

The Free Burgesses were elected for life, but were removable by the portreeve and the major part of the free burgesses. The charter directed that a free burgess, when a vacancy occurred, should be elected by the portreeve and free burgesses from the better and most honest of the inhabitants of the borough.

The Commonalty, according to the charter, consisted of all inhabitants within the borough, and such and so many other men as the portreeve and free burgesses for the time being should admit into the freedom of the borough.

The Provost was required to take the Oath of Supremacy, and the Oath binding to a due fulfilment of the duties of his office.

The charter created a Court of Record, with civil jurisdiction within the borough to the amount of five marks, £5 6s 8d.

The charter also gave the corporation a power of making bye-laws; of creating a Guild of Merchants; and of appointing two Serjeants at Mace, and other inferior offices; and required that of these functionaries, as well as each free burgess, should take the oath well and faithfully to discharge the duties of his office.

The Provost was, by the charter, Clerk of the Market; and it prohibited any other person from exercising that office within the borough.

This borough sent two Members to the Irish House of Commons, elected by the Provost and free burgesses.

John Folllott, accompanied with as many horsemen as he could make, hastened towards the North-end of that Island, which is distant from the South-end thereof three English miles. But the Enemy having driven the Prey of cows, horses, and mares, forth at the South-end, our Horsemen, with Captain Folllott* followed by Termon-Castle, [Termon Magrath] whence they marched through very inaccessible woods and bogs in the night, to the Cash [Kesh], distant 16 miles from Bellashanny, being the first place that they could guide themselves by the track of the Enemy and Prey, which they still pursued to Lowtherstowne, where, overtaking them in the morning of 27 November, 1645, about one o'clock, their Trumpet sounding a charge, they followed it home so resolutely that after a fierce confliction, in a short time they routed the Enemy, and had the execution of them for a mile and a half, slew many of them in the place, rescued most part of their Prey, recovered their own soldiers who were then the Enemy's prisoners, with some of the Rebels' Knapsacks to boot.

Which sudden and unexpected flight did so amaze Owen Mac Arte and his Army, consisting of about 2,000 foot and 200 horse, as prisoners do inform, who, after they had made their bravado on the top of a hill within a mile of Iniskilline, in the evening of November 26, to keep the town from issueing forth to resist or stay the Prey, encamped that night at Ballenamallaght, within four miles of this town, that they all in a most fearfull and confused manner ran

* Captain Henry Folllott [a servitor], was recommended as an undertaker in February, 1608-9 by the Lord Deputy in a letter to the King, in which Sir Arthur Chichester said—"Sir Henry Folllott having purchased the Abbey of Assheroe of Mr. Auditor Gofton, and Bellicke of some other patentee, was suitor for the castle of Ballyshannon and Bundrowes, with their adjoining lands, which generally lie between the two castles now named, and which, with the castles, he recommends in fee farm to Folllott." Sir Henry became Baron Folllott of Ballyshannon in 1610 and the title became extinct at the death of his grandson, the third Lord Folllott in 1716.

Sir Henry obtained a grant of 1,500 acres to form the Manor of Drumchine or Drumkeen, in Co Fermanagh, around the present Ballinamallard. The tates mentioned in the grant are—Coolecurragh, Sydcher [Sydare], Cinliartinleigh [Kingartualeague], Saly, Drumkyn, Deumroonagh, Dromeiye, Clynaghdy, Coolecanana, Killigh [Killee], Kildrume, Cowlanghie, Killysittle [Killymitten], Rosscorr, Dromcune, Ardglea, Relaghe, Curryn, Knocknemaweal [Knockm nowl], and Drumcoilin, at £12 a year rent to the King.

Lord Folllott exchanged two tates of his own lands in Donegal, Coolegarron and Coolecorgh, with Mr. Thomas Barton, who had got the Manor of Drumynchin with Drumurer, Sylann, Farnaugh, Baraugh and half of the half quarter of Sydauger. Lord Folllott also purchased from Shane McGilpatrick Mc Gregor, gent., two tates, Roch and Killbrassill, mearing on the lands of Sir William Cole, and Capt. Roger Atkinson on the south and south-east, and from townlands in the barony of Lurg being part of abbey Assaroe church lands. Lord Folllott demised the whole of the Manor or Newporton and grange of Killerna to Sir Wm. Cole, and Sir Robert King for his (Folllott's) use during his life, and after his death for the use of Lady Anne Folllott, and after her death for his legitimate offspring.

away to the Mountains, so vehemently scared and affrighted, that their van thought their own rear were my Troops, and their rear likewise imagined those that escaped by flight from Lowtherstown, to have been also my party that pursued them. Whereby their mantles, clothes, and all that could be an impediment to a more speedy flight, were cast upon the ground and left behind them. And so continued until they passed the Mountain of Slewbagha into the county of Monaghan, where they are quartered upon the county creaghts, which lies from Arthur Blaney's house, and from Monaghan Duffe, near the Town of Monaghan, all along to Droghedah, consisting of the banished Inhabitants of Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, and Louth.

My Troop returned with Captain Folliott in safety, praised be Godd, without hurt of man or beast, save one horse of Lieutenant Edward Grahame's that was shot and killed under him.

And having put the said Prey again into the said Island, upon 28th November, they marched to Bellashanny, whence again they came hom to Iniskilline on the North side of Logh Erne, the 30 November, 1645.

Among those that were slain, the grandson of Sir Tirlagh Mac Henry O'Neal was one.

One Captain killed, Two Lieutenants killed.

And I find there is some man of more eminent note than any of these killed, but as yet cannot learn certainly who is.

Lieutent Tirlagh O'Moylan of Captain Awney O'Caghan's company, taken prisoner, who, upon examination, saith that Inchiquin hath given a great blow of late unto Castlehaven and Preston in their quarters near Youghal, and also saith that the intent of this Army was that if they could come off with our said Prey without check, they purposed then to have beseiged this town, and, according as fortune favoured them, to have proceeded against the Lagan, and other places in Ulster.

And yet I find by the answers of some others of the prisoners that by direction from the Supreme Council of Ireland, this Army of Owen Mac Arte's are to serve in nature of a running party to weaken our forces of Iniskilline, Laggan, and Claneyes [Clanneboy], by sudden Incursions to kill, spoil, and prey us upon all occasions of advantage, according as by their successes therein they shall assume encouragement to themselves to go forward against us, but especially against Iniskilline, which they conceive is worst able to resist their attempts.

Captain Folliott had 16 Horsemenn, with four of

Mannor Hamilton's men, and four of Castle-Termon Horsemen, that joined very fortunately in the service, with my Troop; for which God Almighty be ever glorified and praised by
 WILLIAM COLE.

Not long after this letter was written Sir Wm. Cole went to England, and the command of the Castle fell into different hands.

As we approach the momentous years 1649-50, it becomes increasingly difficult amid the haze of rumour to discern exactly what was going on in Enniskillen. Thus we find in "A Relation taken at Havre de Grace the 13th Aprill, 1649, from a gentleman that came newly out of Ireland,"

Inniskilling, a strong castle in the north of Ireland, which was held by Sir Wm. Cole *for the Rebels* [the Parliament] *in England*, is taken by one Capt. Graham, a Scotsman, who hath there declared for the King.

This letter--if true--seems to convey that Sir William Cole after signing the Solemn League and Covenant had sided (to some extent, at least) with the Puritans, and that after Cole's departure for England a certain Captain Graham held it for the King: and this view seems to be confirmed by a letter from Daniell [? General] O'Neill (who was against the Parliament) to Lord Clanricarde of 28th September, 1649, in which he speaks of the fear that Graham would sell the place to Sir Charles Coote:—

From *Inniskillin*.

. . . . "I have from Derry intelligence that the Graimes have a design to sell *this place* to Sir Charles Coote. I came hither to aquainte the Governour with it, and to offer him what men he pleases from Owen O'Neale to secure the place. I finde him shy of takeing any men out of that army before their agreem^t with his Ex^{ty}, w^{ch} made me importune Major Moore, to promise to send hither presently

100 muskettiers, with out which this place of very greate consequence can not be well secured.

Whoever the "Grahams" referred to were, there were some Grahams in Enniskillen, of whom we shall read presently, for their names appear in a Memorial or letter from officers of the army at Enniskillen (including the chaplain, Rev. W. Shedow) to Ormonde of February 26, 1648-9, as follows:—

The news of your Excellencies comeing into this Kingdome furnished with authoritie did revive and refresh our wearied spirits long prest under the burden of affliction; but that from which we expected our salve occasioned our greater woe and grieffe, we being brought into such extremitie that there was noe probabilitie left that ever we should be able to contribute our help in that service for the which we were ready to sacrifice our lives or what we had in this world; and this stirred us up to venture all for our releefe, in the attempt whereof we have found a speciall testimonie of God's singular providence. And least we should be wanting in the use of meanes and so tempt God, it hath emboldened us to have our recourse unto your Excellencie that some course may be taken for securing of us from the imminent dangers of our threatening enemies. And seeing our late service hath advanced and much set forward the common cause (there being many who by our example have expresst their willingness, as Captaine Juiney [?] employed by our dear friends of Laggan. can certifie) our hopes are that there shall be such a care taken of us that none shall reape the fruits of our service or the reward of our labours. And for the more particular relation of former passages, our proceedings, the state of our garrisone, the necessities and dangers thereof, and our humble desires we referre to Captaine Hugh Ross whom we have employed and intrusted in all as one sufficientlie acquainted therewith, by whom we expect some encouragement to be given unto Your Excellencies most humble servants,

William Acheson.	Enoch Johnston,	James Arnot.
Will Gisborne.	Francis Graham.	Robert Graham.
William Shedow.	James ffortune.	John Wilkin.*
Edward Graham.	David Graham.	John Armstrong."

* This is the first mention I have observed of the name of the old Magheraboy yeoman name of Wilkin.

The first on record was Lieut. John Wilkin, an officer in the army in Ireland

Then on March 16 of the same year 1648-9 the Lord Deputy writes as follows, showing that Enniskillen was held for the King:—

Sergt-Major Ross gave account of your successful attempt to free yourselves from any dependency upon the bloody rebels that have murdered our King . . . We shall make it our special care that His Majestie (Chas. II) have a timely and advantageous relation of your actions and intentions. Authorities and commissions are sent by Sergt-Major Ross. As a small earnest of His Majestie's future bounty and favour he has sent £40 to be distributed.

There is other proof that Enniskillen was at this time held for the king in a letter of April 15, 1649, from two townsmen or officers to the Lord Deputy,

before the year 1649. With other Fermanagh officers he was granted houses in Dublin and Wexford, and the lands of Humphrey's town in Talbotstown Barony, Co Wicklow, the trustees being Sir Hans Hamilton, Bt., Gabriel Cathcart, and Gabriel Hume so that he must have been a man of some consequence. He appears to have been the father of John Wilkin, of Carrickreagh, (whose name is recorded in the Ms Census of 1659 Royal Irish Academy Library, and in the Hearth Money Roll 1665-7 Pub. Rec. Off.) He died 24th Nov. 1708, and was buried at Monea (see tombstone). He was probably the father of the three following—

(1) David Wilkin who died 16 April, 1773 aged 96, buried at Monea. (2) James Wilkin, who died 19 March, 1727, aged 48, buried at Monea. (3) Eleanor Wilkin, who was married to John Patterson of Faugher, 1735.

In the next generation the following names are on record—

(1) John Wilkin, of Carrickreagh, who died 1776, leaving all his lands to his brother James (2) James Wilkin, of Carrickreagh, died 1792. (3) Thomas Wilkin, of Cullen, who married 1744 Susanna, daughter of David Irvine, of Coolgarron. (4) David Wilkin died 1802. By his will which was proved 22 June. 1805, he bequeathed lands in Cullen, Crott, Mullykivet, Longrob, and Scallians, Co. Tyrone, and £2870 in money. (5) Margaret Wilkin, married to Walter Graham, of Drumharriff. (6) Mary Wilkin, married 1749 to Richard Bell, of Gortaloughan.

The above James Wilkin, having died unmarried in 1792, was succeeded at Carrickreagh by his nephew, James Wilkin, of Lettermoney, near Irvinestown, (who was probably a son of the above Thomas and Susanna Wilkin). James Wilkin of Lettermoney and Carrickreagh, was married but had no issue. He died 14th February, 1795, aged 45, at Carrickreagh (see Tombstone at Monea)

James Wilkin of Lettermoney was succeeded at Carrickreagh in 1795 by Gerard Wilkin (who was probably his brother). He appears also to have had a sister Elizabeth Wilkin, who was married to Gerard Irvine of Feglish. Gerard Wilkin of Carrickreagh, was owner of the whole townland. He married Jane Irvine, of Feglish, who died in 1816, and was buried at Monea, had issue as follows:—

(1) Thomas Wilkin of Carrickreagh, who died January 1864, aged 80 He married Anne Hendersou of Beagho

(2) David Wilkin of the Point, Carrickreagh, who died 9th January, 1853, aged 76 He married 9th October, 1802, Jane, daughter of Christopher Graham, of Kilmore, and four others James, Gerard, John and Mary.

The above Thomas Wilkin, of Carrickreagh, who married Anne Hendersou, had issue as follows:—

(1) John Wilkin of Carrickreagh, born 1802, died 1873.

(2) James Wilkin, of Beagho, who succeeded his brother John at Carrickreagh, died in 1889, having married Margaret Armstrong of Brookeborough, by

respecting the dangerous approach of the Confederates under Owen Roe:—

. . . We are in a dangerous posture, many of this former regiment left us at Sir Wm. Cole's departure. Those that remain are much discouraged for want of means as also from the neare approach of Owen O'Neale.* There is one of his regiments already come doune to our quarters and one other draweing doune: wee have reason to feare he has no good mynd to us because of the great desire he hath to possess our garrison, as also his protestations which are come to our eares since we have declared ourselves and proclaimed our King. . . . He hath entered into some of our Ileands and gathers all the boats he can gett. This is ominous and for the present dangerous when our waters are soe lowe and daylie falling more, and we are the unabler to resist because we want the help of our horses who are now assisting the Laggan† forces against Sir Chas. Coote . . . "(Our friends) in Laggan laid siege to Derry on the 4th. The game goes prettily on if well played . . . This Regiment cannot subsist without horse, the former troope was under Sir Wm. Cole, then Colonel, but now under a Captaine who it may be will not answer the commands of the chiefe officers, or may remove himself and troop to some other part. Our greatest danger is now by water, for if the enemie command us by water we are gone, yet there is no order for the command of the boats, and lastly the castle is not settled, which is a

whom he had issue viz.:—Dr. Thomas Wilkin, Lisbellaw, of Carrickreagh and Beagho, (now living). He married Lily Saunders, and has issue.

The above named David Wilkin of the Point, who married Jane Graham, had issue as follows:

(1) Catherine Wilkin who was married to Dr. James Wilkin, of Blaney, who died 15h December, 1876; (2) Christopher Wilkin; (3) James Wilkin, of the Point, Carrickreagh, married to Elizabeth Eleanor, daughter of George Rogers, of St. Katherine's; (4) David Wilkin, of Church Street, Enniskillen, died June 1874, aged 60, married to Mary, daughter of Wilkin Irvine of Feglish, by whom he had issue, (among others) Jane Mary married to John Kerr, J.P., of the Coagh, whose son (see Chapter VI., and volume I, page 29), Mr. Ed. J. Kerr, now resides at the Coagh; (5) Anne Jane Wilkin died 28th January, 1849, aged 33, married 14th December, 1840, to John Wilkin, of Carrickreagh, (see above).

The third son above James Wilkin of the Point, also married Elizabeth Eleanor Rogers, had issue as follows:—

(1) Jane Wilkin, married to James Armstrong of the Coagh; (2) Anne Wilkin; (3) Catherine Wilkin (4) David Wilkin, who married Mary Jane, daughter of Gabriel Waterson of Enaghan. He sold the Point, and all his portion of Carrickreagh in 1890, to F. E. S. Pakenham and removed to New York, where he is now living and has issue. (5) Eliza Eleanor Wilkin married in 1883 to John M'Brien of Derrygonnelly, where she is now living.

* The Laggan forces were raised by Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart whose levies came to be known as the Laggan forces because raised in the low lying lands about the Foyle and the Swilly.

† See page 249., vol. I.

special thing to be looked into, it being the strength of our town. WILLIAM ACHESON, HUGH ROSS."

There seems to have been some intrigue proceeding as to the fate of Enniskillen. Monroe, who had been in the King's service, was about to sell himself to the winning party, to the Parliament, and arising out of suspicion of that event Lord Deputy Ormonde writes to Bishop Heber M'Mahon,* who was General of the Confederate forces, as we saw in the XXI. chapter, on the 25th April as follows:—

. . . We have receaved late advertisement of Sir Geo. Monroe's inclination to quit his Ma^{ties} service, and that he expects by the delivery of *Inniskellin* into the rebells hands to make good conditions for himselfe; but the greater part of the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants there beinge of other resolutions, determine to maintaine the place for his Ma^{tie} and y^e preservation of his interest, uppon discovery wheof, it is to be believed, that the rebells forces in that province will endeavor to distresse the towne.

The reliefe wherof beinge of soe absolute necessitie for his Ma^{ties} service, and the preservacion of soe well affected subjects as are there from the fury of their merclesse enemy, upon notice from Cap^{ne} Arnott, or any other well-affected officer of that garrison, we pray and require your Lordship to send what party of the army under your comand as shall be needful for the reliefe of that place.

Another letter from Ormonde, addressed to Colonel Philip Reilly, shows his great anxiety about the retention of Enniskillen for the King. Colonel W. Acheson [see page 252, vol. I] appears to have held the command in Enniskillen at this time.

Wee understand of a designe intended by Sir Charles

* Mr. Humphrey Galbraith writing to Lord Deputy Ormonde as to the meeting at Belturbet held for the purpose of choosing the Confederate General, says that 'a great (if not the greater) parte of the captaines of that party of Owen O'Neill's have discovered their aversion against the election of Bishop McMahown to be generall . . . Nor have many of them spared to discover unto mee that the election of this man is the design of their clergy countenanced from Rome.'

Coote upon the garrison of *Inishkellin*, and therefore wee have [thought] fitt to give you advertisement and withall to pray and require you with all possible [speed] to send thither 200 foot, or as many as Coll. Acheson shall desire from you, the better to enable him to withstand any attempt that the rebels shall make uppon that important place; whereunto it will be requisitt you endeavor the keepinge of a good correspondence with him, and alsoe give him what encouragment you may for the mainteinige of the place.

The next information we have on the subject is a letter of 4th May 1650 from Bishop M'Mahon to Ormonde, saying that Monroe and Humphry Galbraith* had influenced the townsmen to yield up the castle, which the Grahams had held for the king, to the Parliamentary Party.

Notwithstanding that (by great offers and obligacions I laboured about *Iniskillin*) Sir George Monroe and Umphry Galbraith (onely authors of the treachery) seduced the people soe farr as that they gave up y^e castle to the Parliam^t; we are struggling about it as yet; for Monroe went away with his mony, and the towne is in the hands of the Scotts, whoe are very penitent for what they did, if they could remedy it.

From various sources we learn that *Enniskillen* was handed over to the Cromwellians in the month of April, and we get the date in a letter from Sir Charles Coote to Henry Ireton, at this time Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated 2nd July, 1650, in which he conveys that the bribe spoken of in previous correspondence had had its effect (see *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland 1641-1652*):—

Right Hon., on the 14th of April I marched forth with the strength I could make in this country, and intended to have attempted *Eniskillen*, but Sir George Munroe, and those in that garrison, Terence Mac-Gragh and Maurice

* See page 158, Vol. I.

Hamilton, sent one to treat with me for the surrender of those places, which for £500, and other trivial things, were given up to me.

B. Whitelocke's *Memorials* of 1732 gives under the date of May 1650—that “Sir Charles Coote had taken in *Inniskilling* and some other Forts; and also that *Iniskiling* was surrendered to Sir Charles Coot, according to the agreement;” so that there is no doubt about the fact.

Sir Charles Coote, had subsequently grave doubts of the loyalty to the Parliament of some of the officers of his newly obtained stronghold, for we find that in the month of December following he had seized Sir Robert Stewart, Major Areskyn, [Erskine] and Colonel Mervyn, officers in the regiment which Colonel Sir William Cole obtained authority to raise in 1643, for Carte tells us—

Coote did not like the chief officers of Sir William Cole's regiment; and, therefore, about the same time (Dec. 22) issued a warrant for seizing Lt.-Col. W. Acheson, Major Graham, Captain Hugh Rosse, and others of the garrison of Eniskilling. Those gentlemen were seized and clapped up in the castle of the place, pursuant to the order; which was not attended with those consequences which the authors of it expected. These officers were exceedingly beloved by the soldiers, as well as by their brother officers; and had not been many days in prison before all the regiment, meeting with a favourable opportunity, took arms in their behalf, seized Sir W. Cole, and made themselves masters of the town and castle of Eniskilling. The officers being released, took upon them the command of the place and regiment, and sending Captain Rosse to the Lord Lieutenant, obtained from him proper commissions for that purpose, Acheson being made colonel of the regiment, and the others advanced in their order. (Carte, vol. ii., p. 59).

Thus was Enniskillen, which had been bought over by £500 for the Parliament by Coote, by the

action of these officers been wrested back for the King.

The Duke of Ormonde had been successful in arranging terms with the Confederates by exempting them from the Oath of Supremacy, but he could not offer any resistance in the field to Cromwell, and fled from the country in 1650, having first yielded up Dublin to Colonel Michael Jones,* who became its first governor. Thus the Parliament was supreme in both London and Dublin.

Peace did not come with the beheading of Charles I. The Confederates adopted the Prince of Wales as their king under the style of Charles II. Cromwell came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant and Commander-of-the-forces, having for second-in-command his son-in-law, General Ireton; and the fearful tragedies of Drogheda and Wexford, in which those who surrendered were basely massacred, created such terror throughout Ireland that all over the country towns surrendered. The butcheries of these towns may really have saved much greater effusion of blood in unavailing resistance. The name of Cromwell became a terror. He was the unquestioned master of Ireland;† and after the

* I have had the impression, but no proof, that the late Mr. Michael Obbins Jones of Lisgoole was a descendant of this Colonel Michael Jones.

† As a sample of Cromwell's correspondence with the Irish hierarchy I quote from Gardiner's History one passage giving a letter of his to the bishops, as follows:—

On the 13th Dec. 1649, the Irish Prelates at Clonmacnoise set out a declaration, that from henceforth they would be united "for the interest and immunities of the Church and every prelate and bishop thereof, and for the honour and dignity, estate, right and possession of all and every said archbishop, bishop and other prelates, &c., and Cromwell dashed off a reply at this assumption by the clergy of the right to guide the laity; and as to the call to Irishmen to combine against the "common enemy" Cromwell said—

"Who is it that created that common enemy? I suppose you mean Englishmen. The English! Remember, ye hypocrites, Ireland was once united to England; Englishmen had good inheritance, which many of them purchased with their money they or their ancestors from you or your ancestors. They had good leases from Irishmen for long time to come, great stocks thereupon; houses and plantations erected at their cost and charge. They lived peaceably and honestly among you; you had generally equal protection of England with them, and equal justice from the laws—saving what was necessary

surrender of Clonmel in 1650 he returned to England, leaving the command with Ireton in Dublin. Ireton captured Limerick and then died of the plague; he was succeeded by Lieut.-General Edmond Ludlow. Galway was captured. A Court was appointed in 1652 to punish persons charged with having been concerned with the rising of 1641; Sir Phelim O'Neill† and 200 of them were hanged; famine followed for a few years, severe restrictions were placed upon the Catholics and their religion, and then came the Cromwellian Plantation of Ireland.

for the State, upon reasons of state, to put upon some few people apt to rebel upon the instigation of such as you. You broke the union; you, unprovoked put the English to the most unheard-of and most barbarous massacre, without respect of sex or age, that ever the sun beheld, and at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace, and when through the example of perfect industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the natives' hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession and not an Englishman in it; and yet then, I say, was this unheard of villainy perpetuated by your investigation who boast of peace-making and union against the common enemy. What think you by this time? Is not my assertion true? Is God—will God be with you? I am confident He will not."

† Sir Phelim was hanged, and after the manner of the time drawn and quartered, one quarter being sent to Lisburn, which he had burned; the second to Drogheda, which he besieged but failed to capture; the third to Dundalk, which he had captured; and the fourth, with his head, to the capital, Dublin, which he had contemplated capturing by surprise.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE RESTORATION.

We would like to have peered into the main street of Enniskillen during those eventful years of Charles and the Commonwealth and learned what the people themselves were saying and doing in such troublous times, but we obtain no peep into its social condition or the names of its citizens until after the Restoration of Charles II. Cromwell had died in 1658. The English people had not cared for the severity of dress, manners, and government of the Puritans, and went wild with joy over the accession of the new king, whose influence in Ireland was as baneful as in England and brought no satisfaction to a distressed people. The population at this time was estimated to be about 100,000 Episcopalians, belonging to the Established Church; about double that number of Presbyterians; and about 1,000,000 Roman Catholics, both Anglo-Irish and natives. All the new Cromwellian settlers were Presbyterians: most of them drifted during the after years of persecution of Nonconformity into the Establishment. In after years thousands of Presbyterians, refusing to submit

to the intolerance of the Act of Uniformity, left the North and enriched the United States with many of its best men; and they and their descendants in course of time took revenge upon the English government for its narrow bigotry. Presbyterian and Roman Catholic had a common cause until both finally obtained the religious freedom for which they had contended.

But we have to deal now with 1660, and we find in that year names of some Tituladoes at Enniskillen—of adults over 15 years old who paid for their titles of Esquire, Gentleman, Knight, &c., who paid poll tax, and they were—

John Paget
John Dean *
Jason Hassart
David Rynd

Willm. Helyot [Elliott]
Lieut. Mordekay Abbott
Ensign William Webster
Sarah Caldwell, gents.

* Seven generations of this family have been intimately connected with Enniskillen and the County of Fermanagh during the last 280 years.

O'Harte states that John Dane was one of the "Forty-five Officers," and in 1647-8 John Dane of Hambledon or Hambleton (Devonshire) came to Ireland, having been assessed by the Irish Committees, and according to family tradition he was a Captain of Dragoons. The first positive evidence of his connection with Enniskillen is in the foregoing note, and shortly afterwards he signed the minutes of the Vestry on 17th July, 1666; and on the 23rd March, 1667, "John Deane was chosen Church Warden of that Parish," and "1668, May 24, in ye room of John Deane there was chosen Churchwarden Philip Browning in behalfe of ye Corporation." He also signed the vestry minutes Easter Tuesday, 1669. On authority of the answer of "Sir Michael Cole, Esq.," and John Cole, his son to an Exchequer Bill filed by Paul Dane, in 1710 we find that his father, John married Mary, daughter of Peter Veldon of Enniskillen, and that the latter gave as her marriage portion two acres in Enniskillen and a house and tenement and known as Burchill's Burgage Tenements and Backside. This house of Burchill's was the second house on the left-hand side of Water Lane and Mr. Dane's was below it. Mr. Dane's name is returned in the Hearth Money Rolls 1666 as one of eight persons out of some 84 who owned two hearths, the remainder of the householders only having one. In his will (Noncupative) of 20th January, 1678-9, he mentions his son Paul to whom he left his "brick house" He was buried in Enniskillen, 5th February, 1678. John Dean, or Dane, seems to have been known by each of these names, but after him the name Dane was regularly used.

Paul (I) was the eldest of several children, but it is intended in this notice only to deal with the lineal descendants of Paul (I), who would appear to have been married three times, and it was he who was Provost (i.e. chief magistrate of Enniskillen, during the ever memorable Defence of the Town in 1688-9-90. Like many others of the day he appears at first to have been opposed to re-

Note that "Sarah" is included among the "gents." This lady's name appears again in the Hearth Roll. Here also is the first appearance of the name of Dane,

fusing admission to the troops of King James II., and no doubt was nervous about doing so owing to the fact that he was "Provost," and as such was the supreme Authority of the town and as Magistrate responsible to the King, and the fact that some of the principal gentry about were opposed to such action may have influenced him. But once the inhabitants decided to refuse admission to King James' troops it is clear from many authorities that he joined in this movement loyally, and did all in his power for the defence of Enniskillen and the cause of Protestantism, and of William III., which is evidenced by the fact that he was not only Provost in 1688 but also in the years 1689 and 1690; and had he not been true to the town, there can be no doubt that he would not have been re-elected to that office in 1689 or again in 1690.

The following notice respecting him is from Lodges MS. in the British Museum:—"Dane Paul, Provost of Enniskillen, died 4 January, 1745, aged 98," whilst *Faulkner's Journal* from Saturday, 11th January, to Tuesday, 14th January, 1746," has the following about him:—

Saturday 7th night, died at Enniskilling, Mr. Paul Dane in the 98th year of his age. He was Provost of that town three years together, during the late wars in this Kingdom, and did in the execution of his office such singular service to the Government in which he spent his private fortune as induced King William of immortal memory to send for him and to say that such of his family as were capable of serving the Government should be provided for.

According to family tradition he was present at the Battle of the Boyne, and after it was sent for, and personally thanked by King William for the part he had personally taken and for the good work done by the Enniskilleners. He had premises in Water Lane, Enniskillen, where he occupied a long frontage. His house was burned on the 13th July, 1689, the day of the Battle of Kilmacormick, and by the Enniskilleners lest it should be of use to the Jacobites, and the late Earl of Belmore, who tried to locate his place of residence, inclined to the belief that it was somewhere about Toneystick. Paul was Churchwarden of Enniskillen in 1698 and 1699.

That he was a man of considerable position and substance is shown by the fact that he was awarded £1,500 compensation as a suffering loyalist, a very large amount of money in those days and it is recorded that his losses occasioned by the great fire in Enniskillen on Saturday, 2nd June, 1705, amounted to nearly £400.

How exactly he acquired the lands of Killyhevlin, Slee and Drumsna, and the eel weirs attached, situated about a mile out of Enniskillen, is not known, but it is believed that after the fire in Enniskillen he went to reside in the Cottage there, and he is described as of Killyhevlin in 1710. The tradition of the family is that the thatched portion of the house, shown in the illustration as covered with ivy represents the original house, without however the kitchen apartments, which were to the rear of it and were subsequently removed and replaced by the slated buildings which appear in the picture.

Paul Dane appears to have transferred Killyhevlin to his eldest son John, a considerable time before his own death, which occurred at Levaughey, the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Ball in 1745. He had a considerable family. His son Christopher married Mary Hamilton, daughter of Gustavus Hamilton of Monea Castle, Governor of Enniskillen in 1688-9 and he lived to see his son, the Rev. Martin Dane, not only curate of Enniskillen 1726 but rector of Roddanstown, Co. Meath.

"The Provost," as he is called in the family, was buried in a vault under Enniskillen Church, and about April 1876 the Sextoness of Enniskillen told

which we were accustomed to think of in connexion with the Revolution hereafter.

Jason Hassart was the eldest son of George Hassart (who came to Ireland with the Coles), and

one of his descendants that before the alteration of the Church about 1840, when the vault would appear to have been closed, she had seen his coffin.

John (II) the eldest son of the Provost, who also, like his father, signed the Enniskillen address to King William III, was one of the original officers of and served in Brigadier Wolsely's Regiment of Horse, and was a lieutenant when "the Regiment was broken in 1698." He subsequently fought under the great Duke of Marlborough in the Low Countries as a captain and was presented by him with a jewelled sword, which unfortunately his widow did not preserve for the family, but sold for her own benefit. He married in 1730, Elizabeth (died 1772) youngest daughter of Captain James Auchinleck of Thomastown, and his wife Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Colonel James Corry, of Castlecoole, ancestor of the Belmore family. He was Churchwarden of Enniskillen in 1732. By his will he desired to be buried in Enniskillen Church, and thereby appointed as his executors Charles Grattan of the Royal School, Enniskillen Margetson Armour of Castle Coole, and his brother, Rev. Thos. Dane, but Mr. Margetson Armour only acted. He left two daughters and an only son Paul (II), who succeeded to Killyhevlin.

He signed the vestry minutes of Enniskillen 1757, and on 5th November, 1783, was elected and sworn as a burgess and freeman of the Corporation of the Borough of Belturbet and signed the minutes. He was Provost of Belturbet frequently from that to 24th July, 1796, when he resigned his resignation under seal. He married Margaret Swords of Belturbet, Co. Cavan. He died 17th March, 1800, aged 68, and was buried in Enniskillen, apparently not under the Church, as there is a tomb stone in the yard, bearing the inscription "erected to the memory of Paul Dane, Esq., who departed this life 17th March, 1800, aged 68, also his son Alexander, aged 13." He appointed as the Executors of his will, his sons Richard and Paul, the Rt Hon. Baron Belmore and Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Castle Hume. The latter, however, predeceased him.

Paul (II) left seven sons and two daughters:—

1. Richard Martin.
2. William, 101st Foot, Captain, 13th Regt., believed to have been killed at Wexford during Rebellion.
3. James of Dromard.
4. John, Captain of 6th Regiment Foot, A.D.C., to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester and served in Ireland during the Rebellion and also in America.
5. Paul, in Tyrone Militia.
6. Christopher, died unmarried.
7. Alexander, died young.

And two daughters: Catherine, married Dr. Trimble, and Elizabeth who married Captain George Willis.

Richard Martin succeeded to Killyhevlin, was appointed at least 13 times a Church Warden of Enniskillen Parish, was a J.P. for the Counties of Fermanagh, Longford, Tyrone and Cavan, a Deputy Lieutenant for Fermanagh, and Provost of Belturbet every alternate year from 1810 to 1840 having been admitted a Burgess and Freeman of the Corporation of that town 19th July, 1796. He was a very retiring man but a good man of business and added considerably to the family estate. He served the office of High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1819, and was a frequent member of the Grand Jury, and with Lord Belmore was appointed

was described as of Mullymesker and Carn [Boho]. Jason at this time was quartermaster of the Fermanagh Militia, and he afterwards became High Sheriff in 1676. He acquired much property in the barony of Glenawley, very much more than many

by the Grand Jury as overseer to lay out and get made at least part of the existing main road from Enniskillen towards Dublin.

He married 12th August, 1809, Anna, only daughter of Rev. Alexander Auchinleck of Lisgoole Abbey, rector of Rossorry, and of his wife, Jane Eccles, great niece of Galbraith Lowry Corry and a descendant of Daniel Eccles of Shannock Castle near Clones.

He left surviving him three sons and four daughters and was succeeded by his eldest son.

1. Paul (III) born 5th July, 1810, m. Georgina Saunderson and died in Canada, 23rd October, 1872. He, like his ancestors, was four times elected Church Warden of Enniskillen, and was for many years Local Inspector of the gaol. A frequent member of the Grand Jury, J.P. for Fermanagh, to whom he sold the eel weirs at Killyhevlin to improve the navigation of Lough Erne when it was removed to permit of the bed of the lake being lowered between Killyhevlin and Drumsna. He served as High Sheriff for Fermanagh 1849. Economy was not one of the many good qualities that he possessed.

2. Somerset Dane, a doctor in the army, born 1811, died 1842 when on service abroad in Demerara.

3. The third son, Richard Martin Dane, Inspector General, M.D., C.B.

4. William Auchinleck Dane of Killyreagh, Co. Fermanagh, born 1816, was a solicitor and lived for some years at Belnaleck, Co. Fermanagh, was Secretary Fermanagh Grand Jury; he was Church Warden of Enniskillen 1842, sub-Sheriff 1849, the year his brother was High Sheriff and was a keen politician taking an active part in the Conservative interest in the politics of Enniskillen, and was largely instrumental in the return of James Whiteside, Q.C., as member of the Borough of Enniskillen; was Grand Secretary of the Loyal Orange Institution and one of those mainly responsible for the laws and constitutions under which that Society still works. He built the existing house on Killyreagh, which had been the property of his mother. At the passing of the Irish Church Act he was elected by the members of the Church in Enniskillen as one of the lay delegates to represent the Parish of Enniskillen in the General Convention of the Church by which the future constitution of the Church was to be prepared and whilst addressing the General Church Synod on 26th April, 1873, on the question of the Revision of the Prayer Book, he was struck down with apoplexy and died on the 28th April, 1873, and was buried in Derryvullen, leaving four sons surviving him.

A Paul, born 1847, died 1889, solicitor, practised at Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, Clerk Crown and Peace for Co. Wicklow.

B. Rev. Benjamin Frith Foster, M.A., T.C.D., some time on the stage and afterwards Clerk in Holy Orders.

C. Richard Martin Dane (II), K.C., County Court Judge for Mayo 1898-1903, died leaving (1) James Auchinleck, D.S.O., Major, Royal Field Artillery, mentioned four times in Dispatches, fought continuously in France and Belgium from August 1914 to March 1918, when he was "gassed."

D. James Whiteside, born 22nd June, 1856, solicitor, 22nd June, 1878, Clerk Crown and Peace, Co. Kildare, March 1889; D.L. Co. Fermanagh, served for some time as a Town Commissioner of Enniskillen, a member of the Vestry Enniskillen 1877.

people of now-a-days are aware of.* He also acted as agent for the Countess of Huntingdon's property at Lisgoole. His most notable office, however, was that of County Treasurer,† an office held by his descendants for 150 years, about as long as the Archdales have held the representation in Parliament of the County Fermanagh. Mr. Hassard also kept a tanyard. His place at Mullymesker was a freehold, on the Cole estate, given him by Sir Michael on account of his services during the war of the time. His name appears among the Crown tenants of 1678, as hereafter recorded. He was buried at "y^e Church of Eniskilling," according to his request, and his will was dated 1692, so that he survived the Revolution.

David Rynd, of whose family we shall also have mention later, was one of the Crown tenants recorded in the return of 1678, having obtained forfeited land in Aghavea in 1666. He was ancestor of the Rynds of Derryvullen, a local family of some consequence.

* Amongst his townlands were Aughaherrish, Mace, Drumrainey, Drum-bucan and Clout (with corn mill), Dooletter, Kilnamaddoo, Stranameltogue, Legnagaybeg and Legnagaymore, Carricknamaddy in the parish of Boho; Cornahowla, Urbal, and Lisbravin; part of Carrickmacflaherty and Garroghill; Killycreen and Knockabchony in the parish of Cleenish; Legnaveigh, Mullygunchegagh and Drumsillagh, in parish of Killesher.

† The Hassards, one of the most notable families in Fermanagh and now extinct locally, had been treasurers of the County Fermanagh for over 157 years. The first Treasurer was

1. Jason Hassard, Mullymesker, who was an old man when he died in 1690.
2. His nephew, Jason Hassard, of Skea and Mullymesker, succeeded and was alive in 1725.
3. Jason Hassard, of Skea, who sold the Mullymesker estate to Mr. Cole, ancestor of the Earl of Enniskillen, who sold it to Mr. George Nixon, by whom the name was changed to Nixon Hall.
4. Robert Hassard, of Skea and Levaghy (and sometime of Stoneville), elected treasurer on 5th October, 1769
5. Jason Hassard, Levaghey.
6. Richard Hassard of Carne, succeeded.
7. William Hassard, of Gardenhill, who was treasurer from 1813 till he was shot on his own avenue when returning from Enniskillen in 1847.

There were four residences of the Hassard family in Fermanagh, Mullymesker, Gardenhill, Carn, and Mount Hassard.

William Helyott (or Elliott) represents a numerous clan of the name in the county, who lived most likely in Magheraboy.

Sarah Caldwell, who appears to have been a lady of property and is described in the Subsidy Roll as Mrs. Caldwell, was probably mother or grandmother of Sir James Caldwell who built Castle Caldwell.

Coming onwards to 1663 we obtain further particulars of "Eniskillen town and Corporation," in the Subsidy Roll, showing the taxes which the persons named paid.

Michael Cole, in terris 10s.

35s Mr. David Rynd.*

8s Wm. Helllott, Mrs. Caldwell, & Wm. Campble.

8s Thos. Shore, Jn. Frith, widow Finglass.

7s George Alexander, Alex. Newman, Jn. Rathborn.

5s Jn. Pollard, Jn. Smedley, Jn. Cooke, Jn. Kennedy, Jn.

Pemberton.

* The name of Rynd occupies a prominent place in the annals of Enniskillen of the 17th and 18th centuries. Whether David Rynd who received a patent under the Act for the Settlement of Lands in the County Fermanagh came here from County Meath, the home of the family, I am not certain, but it is certain that he occupied the position of a county gentleman, and was married to Margaret, daughter of Christopher Irwin or Irvine of Necarne Castle, who must have been a lady of singular personal attractions, as she had been twice previously married (to a Colonel Richard Bell and Captain Thomas Maxwell.) Mr. David Rynd's burial is recorded as on the 1st December 1677. His son David Rynd, junior, J.P., of Derryvoland or Derryvullen, within three miles of Enniskillen, became High Sheriff in 1681, and was here during the Revolution. He became Provost in 1682, and died in 1723.

To the memory of the wife of Mr David Rynd, sen., a tablet was placed in Enniskillen church stating of her—

Here lies enshrined, beneath this monument,
She whom ev'n hearts of flint must needs amen ;
The lose of who (if birth, wealth, charitie,
Could life deserve) had not known how to die.

Colonel Edward Denny, a member of the Denny family of Tralee, married Mary, daughter and co-heir of David Rynd, Esq., junior of Derryvolan and Drumlone, Co. Fermanagh. She died in 1774. Her second son was Mr. Anthony Denny of Derryvolan and Drumlone, who married a daughter of Mr William Blennerhassett of Ballyseedy, Co Kerry; and his second son Anthony (born 1823) left a son Anthony, born in 1854; and it was his son Anthony junior or "Tony", born in 1883, who having risen to the rank of major in the Great War, sold the Island of Devenish to Mr. Edward D. Kerr, of Farmhill, The Coagh, Enniskillen.

- 5s Ensign West, Jn. Abbot, Robt. Surfflitt, Wm. Whitlaw.
 8s Wm. Barwick, Robt. Bankes, Joseph Dane, Alex. Gordon.
 9s Michl. Wilkinson, Christ Martin, Jn. Russell.
 10s James Reed, James Warnock, Jn. Barber.
 10s Hugh Donelson, Wm. Palfrey, Morgan Murphy.
 10s Wm Dunkan.
 . . s Thos Coan.
 10s Thos. Hermiston, Robt. Clarke.
 6s Edw. Griffin, Will Mansell, Geo. Sanders.
 8s Wm. Elliott, Robt. Davis, Jn. Dermott.
 10s Pat More, Wm. Cole, Wm. Barker.
 10s Sargt. Will Browning, Jn. Marshall.
 12s Hugh King, Jn. Browne, Robt. Hassartt.
 20s Ringan Weston, widow Hamilton, Alex. Hogg.
 30s Thos. Clough.
 6s Thos. Quin, Will Wilkin, Jas. Tegart, Wm. Crook
 9s Thos. Jenkes. Thos. Scott, Jn. Dane, Jas. Bohanon.
 5s Jn. Lennox, Pat m'Teere, Jn. Amerson.
 3s Robt. Kernan, Wm. Cottington.

Total £14

Subsidy Roll, 1665, Enniskillen town.

David Rynd 30s, Jn. Dane 20s, James Warnock 20s, Jn. Fulton 20s, Walter Finglass 20s, Thomas Hermiston 20s, Alexander Hogg 10s.

Total £7

Subsidy Roll, 1666, Eniskillen town.

David Rind & partners £2, Alex. Hogg & others £1, Thos. Hermiston & others £1, Jas. Warnock & others £1, Jn. Dane & others £1, Wm. Webster & others £1.

Total £7

Here we observe several old local names in addition to those already mentioned—Shore, Gordon, Martin, Reed, (not unlikely the ancestor of Mr. Andrew Reed,)*

* Not unlikely this Mr. Reed was the ancestor of Mr. Andrew Reed who kept the celebrated White Hart Inn during the 18th century, which afterwards became the property of the Willises. Mr. George Willis, who married Miss Parkinson, succeeded the Armstrong family in the Imperial Hotel during the seventies of the last century, and took the business from the White Hart, which is now let in offices and tenements

Clarke, Cole, King, Hogg, Wilkin, Crook,* Bohannon, and Kernan.

There was a hearth Tax in those days, and the Money Roll for the year 1665 for the town shows that there were only five people in the town of such consequence as to keep two hearths alight. The list runs—

Wm. Webster, 2 hearths.	Jn. M'Dermond.
Wm. Whitla.	Jn. Cheslyn.
Wm. Whittoppe.	Jn. Marshall, 2 hearths.
Thos. Fisher.	Wm. Browning, 2 hearths.
Wm. Campbell.	Edward Barrett.
Robt. Bankes.	Jn. Browne.
Jn. Chandler.	Robt. Hassartt.
Wm. Paulfry.	James Wright.
Jn. Barber.	Wm. Barker.
Michael Wilkinson.	Widow Hamilton.
Christopher Martyne.	Mr. Abbott.
James Hamilton.	Thos. Mathews.
Jn. Finla.	Thos. Cloff.
Jn. Russell, 2 hearths.	Thos. O'Quyne.
James Reade.	Alex. Hogg.
James Warnocke.	Wm. Wilkin.
Robt. Clarke.	Wm. Cottington.
Robt. Kearnan.	Thos. Jukes.
Hugh Donnelson.	James Meredey.
Morgan Murphy.	Jn. Deane.
Nathaniel March.	Joseph Deane.
Jn. Harden.	Evelyne nick A-Tyre.
George Sanders.	Jn. Amerson.
Laughlin O'Dowy.	David Rynd, 2 hearths.
Philip Griffin.	Sarah Caldwell.
Edward Coplen [Copeland].	Thos Shore.
Thomas Hermiston.	Jn. Frith.
Thos. Dunbar.	Thos. Scott.
Wm. Crooke.	Widow Finglass.
Wm. Mansfield.	George Alexander.

*The Crook or Crooks family existed locally until the seventies of the 19th century, when Mr. Thos. Crooks, the parish sexton, was the last of his name here.

Philip Smith.	Alex Newman.
Wm. Elliott.	Jn. Rathborne.
Thos. Eson.	Jn. Kennedy.

Dated 25th April 1665.

There were only four cases of two hearths in the year 1666 and the roll ran:—

Henry Foules.	(Tho)mas Hermiston.
Philip O'Drume.	— Adams.
Wm. Webster, 2 hearths.	— Crooke.
Jn. Finlay.	At least 5 names missing here.
Thos. Fisher.	Wm. Mansfield.
Wm. Campbell.	Wm. Cottington.
Robt. Banks.	Thos. Jenkes.
Wm. Paltrey.	Jn. Fulton.
Jn. Barber.	Jn. Deane, 2 hearths.
Walter Finglass, 2 hearths.	Robt. Fargeston.
Michael Wilkesson.	Joseph Deane.
Christopher Martin.	Jas. Sumervell.
Abraham Ball.	Richd. Rapp.
James Ried.	Widow Amerson.
James Warnocke, 2 hearths.	David Rind.
Robert Clarke.	Robt. Dissmanier.
Robert Bernan	Sarra Caldwell.
Thos. Stott.	Thos. Shore.
Jn. Lennox.	Jn. Smith.
Morgan Murphy.	Mylles Hollywood.
Nathaniel March.	Widow Finglass.
Jn. Hardine.	George Alexander.
George Sanders.	Alex. Newman.
Edward Copeland.	Jn. Rathborne,
Wm. Kenedy.	

Dated 24th April, 18th. Chas. II.

All with one hearth each in both lists except those marked 2.

The military, who, often performed duty now allotted to the police, were generally stationed by companies in the various towns; and from an abstract of All Ordnance in H.M. Kingdom of Ireland dated 24th March 1685-6, we learn that there were four brass falcons—[a sort of

cannon, having a diameter at the bore of $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and carrying shot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4lbs.] in the Castle, and that the following Companies were quartered as stated :—

Sir John Cole's Company of 100 men quartered at Enniskillen 5th May 1662.

Jn. Cheslin, ensign ; Robt. Cole, Lieut., of Sir Jn. Cole's company 5th May 1662.

Troops in Ulster all concentrated into Londonderry, Carrickfergus and Charlemont, 23rd September 1663. Sir Jn. Cole's Company in Charlemont.

Sir Jn. Cole's company quartered at Enniskillen, 26 November, 1664 to move to Charlemont on June 1, 1665.

Henry Ball, ensign ; Arthur Graham, Lieut., of Sir Jn. Cole's company 26th November, 1664.

Sir John Cole's otherwise Cap. Chichester's company quartered at Enniskillen, 4th May 1667.

Capt. Jn. Chichester's company quartered at Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, 20th April, 1667.

Capt. Jn. Chichester's company quartered at Carrickfergus, 27th August, 1670.

Capt. Chidley Coote's company at Enniskillen same date.

No troops quartered at Enniskillen, 17th September, 1672 or 22nd March. 1674.

Capt. Fred Hamilton's company at Enniskillen, 24th January, 1678-9.

No troops at Enniskillen 25th December, 1678 or 10th July, 1680.

No troops quartered at Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, 1685-6.

The Poll Tax Commissioners for Enniskillen borough in March, 1660 were—The Provost for said Borough for the time being, and Jason Hassard, Thomas Picken, and John Chilling, agents.

Sir Michael Cole was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the County on the 28th July, 1663.

It was during this period that Captain James Curry of Castle Coole, whose name will appear frequently hereafter. obtained on the 11th July, 1666, a commission signed by the Lord Lieutenant, to raise a company of foot. He was the son of John Corry, merchant of Belfast, who purchased Manor Coole or

the Castle Atkinson estate for £860, and was born about 1633 or 1634. The purchase included the castle, cottages, water-mill, dower-house, &c., forming 5,400 Irish acres, equal to 8,099 statute acres; and the sum given for it was little more than one-half the amount given for it by Arthur Champion to Roger Atkinson in 1650. The Commission of Captain James Curry, still extant at Castlecoole, runs as follows:—

BY THE
SEAL. Lord Lieutenant General,
AND
GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND

ORMONDE **T**O Our Trusty and Welbeloved *Captain James*

Curry, Greetinge, We reposing special trust and confidence, as well in the Care, Diligence and Circumspection, as in the Loyalty, Courage and Readiness of you to do His Majestie good and faithful service, have nominated, constituted and appointed, and We do by virtue of the Power and Authority unto Us given by His Majestie, nominate, constitute and appoint you the said *James Curry* to *Capt. of a Company of foote*, raised, or to be raised in the *County of Fermanagh*, for His Majesties service, and the defence of his Kingdom, which *Company* you are to take into your charge and care as *Captaine* thereof, and duly to exercise both Officers and Souldiers in Arms, and as they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *Captaine*, so you are likewise to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from Us, or other your Superior Officer or Officers: And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant and Commission in that behalf.

*Given under Our Hand and Seal of Arms, at His Majesties Castle of Dublin,
the 11th day of July, 1666, in the 18th year of His Majesties Reign.*

G. LANE.

*Verbatim copy of Captain James Curry's Commission, from the original at
Castle Coole.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

CROWN TENANTS FOR 1678.

The list of Crown tenants in Fermanagh for 1678, is interesting reading, and in adding explanatory matter I may mention that the material of much of the smaller type given here has been kindly furnished to me by Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry:—

ALDRIDGE, EDWARD.

Living 1638 (Inq. Ult.) Edward Aldrithe* [Archdale] Castle was taken by Captain Rory Maguire in 1641.

ALLEN, STEPHEN.

About February 1631 Stephen Allen, Esq. with Sir Thomas Rotheram, Knt., and Martyn Baxter, clk., were granted certain lands in the small proportion of Ardmagh, Co. Fermanagh, in the Barony of Clankelly (Inq. Ult.) Hill, in his Plantation of Ulster page 454 states that these three persons had obtained a re-grant of the Manor of Ardmagh, in 1629. Stephen Allen seems also to have held lands as a tenant in the Sedborough's manor of Latgar.

ANCKITTELL, MATTHEW.

Matthew Anckitell of Anckitell's Grove was killed in action near Glasslough, Co. Monaghan in 1688, aged 37. From him descend the family of Ancketill of Ancketill's Grove, whose present representative is Mr. William Ancketill.

* Aldrith and Aldridge are accepted as the same person, and it is accepted that the real name is Archdale. But there was an Aldrith in South Fermanagh.

The story is thus told of Matthew Anckitell's death. The son and heir of Oliver, he came to the rescue of the Protestants who were besieged by the Irish in the Castle of Glasslough, which he effected at the expense of his life in an engagement locally called "The Battle of Drumbanagher." In March 1688, about 3,000 of the Irish being garrisoned in the fort of Charlemont, and attempting to plunder the Protestants of the neighbourhood of Armagh, Lord Blaney had frequent skirmishes with them, in which he constantly prevailed until the 13th day of the month, when, on being informed that his Castle of Monaghan was taken by the Rapparees and that all the Protestant forces in that quarter had retreated to Glasslough, where they were closely besieged by the enemy; and hearing that Sir Arthur Rawdon had quitted Loughbrickland, of which the Irish army, under Gen. Hamilton, had taken possession, he marched to join his friends at Glasslough, where they were relieved by the valour of Matthew Ancketill, Esq., a gentleman of considerable property in the neighbourhood (which is now possessed by his immediate descendant W. Ancketill, Esq., of Ancketill's Grove,) who had collected two troops of horse and three companies of foot. The Irish, commanded by Major M'Kenna, with a force of 600 men, intrenched themselves in an old Danish Fort, called the fort of Drumbannagher, in a commanding situation, and from this eminence kept up a heavy fire on the Protestants who advanced against them, but Mr. Ancketill, who was of undaunted courage, burst into the fort, at the head of his troops, routed and pursued the enemy with considerable slaughter, but was himself slain in the hour of victory. Major M'Kenna and his son were both taken prisoners, and the former was destroyed in the moment of excitement, in revenge of the death of the spirited leader of the Protestant force.

ARCHDALE, WILLIAM.

He was High Sheriff of Fermanagh 1667, and was grandson of John Archdale, original patentee of the Manor of Tullanagh (Castle Archdale). William Archdall's daughter and heiress, Angel, married Nicholas Montgomery, of Derrygonelly, who assumed the surname of Archdale. They are the ancestors of Lieut.-Colonel J. B. Archdale the present owner of Castle Archdale.

ATKINSON ROGER.

Granted the Manor of Coole (Castle Coole) 1611-12. He sold it in 1640 to Arthur Champion of Shannock, Co.

Fermanagh, from where he entered it as a tenant at the time of the Rebellion of 1641. Mr. Champion sold to Mr. John Corry, of Belfast, the ancestor of the Earls of Belmore, Castle-coole. The living representatives of Sir Roger Atkinson are Mr. T. D. L. Atkinson, Glenwilliam Castle, Ballingarry, County Limerick, and Lord Atkinson.

AUSTIN, JOHN.

BALFOUR, JAMES, LORD.

Of October 1634. James Lord Balfour of Clanawley, purchased the Manor of Legan and Carrowshee (Lisnaskea) in 1615 from his brother, Michael, Lord Balfour of Burleigh. He sold this property together with the Manor of Dresternan (bought in 1631 from Stephen Butler) to his younger brother Sir William Balfour, who was succeeded in turn by his son and grandson, when on the latter's death in 1738 the estates and Castle Balfour passed to the descendants of Sir William's granddaughter Lucy, who had married Blaney Townley. These Townleys assumed the surname of Balfour and retained the property until Blaney Townley Balfour (great grandson of the above Lucy) sold it in 1828 to John 1st Earl of Erne.

BAXTER MARTIN.

Living in 1631. See foregoing reference to Stephen Allen.

BLENNERHASSET, SIR LEONARD, KNT.

Sir Leonard Blennerhasset was the second son and eventual successor of Thomas Blennerhasset, the original patentee of the Manor of Edernagh on which was situated Crevenish Castle. Sir Leonard Blennerhasset's second son and eventual successor, Henry Blennerhasset, died in 1677, and Crevenish Castle passed to his eldest daughter Debora., who married lastly Captain John Cochrane, and was succeeded by her son Henry Cochrane. From him Crevenish passed into the possession of George Vaughan, who was High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1744, and the founder of the Vaughan Charity at Tubrid, Kesh.

BLENNERHASSET, FRANCIS.

Francis Blennerhasset was son of of Sir Edward Blennerhasset the original patentee of the Manor of Bannaghmore. Francis Blennerhasset seems to have taken possession of the manor for his father, and to have built a house at Rossbeg (now Castlecaldwell) and started building a church, but the Rebellion of 1641 prevented his completing it. In 1660 Edward

Blennerhasset of Parkthorpe, near Norwich, was in possession of this property, and in his will ordered it to be sold. This was accordingly done, and it was purchased about 1662 by James Caldwell, who was afterwards created a Baronet.

BLENNERHASSET, WILLIAM.

Together with Francis Cock he acquired certain forfeited lands in Boho Parish in 1666 and 1668.

BROOKE, SIR HENRY, KNT.

He acquired in 1666 a large portion of the forfeited estates of Conor Mac Guire, 2nd Lord Enniskillen, whose castle or house was in Largy Deer-park. Sir Henry Brooke succeeded in his Fermanagh property by his son by his second wife, Thomas Brooke, from whom Sir Basil Brooke, Bart., the present owner of Colebrooke, descends. Thomas Brooke's grandson, the Right Hon. Arthur Brooke, M.P. for Fermanagh, was created a baronet, 1764, which honour expired at his decease in 1785, but the Baronetcy was recreated for his nephew Henry Brooke in 1822.

BULL, SAMUEL.

A Samuel *Ball* acquired certain lands in Aghalurcher Parish in 1668.

BUTLER, FRANCIS.

Grandson of Sir Stephen Butler, who had acquired from the original patentees of the Manors of Dristernan, Kilspenan, Leytrim and Derryanye. The two former Manors eventually became the property of the Earls of Erne. Sir Stephen Butler resided at "Castle Coole" or Newtownbutler on the manor of Leytrim, and also possessed a property in Co. Cavan. Francis Butler's descendants became Earls of Lanesborough, and his present representative is Charles John Brinsley, 7th Earl of Lanesborough.

CALDWELL, JAMES.

James Caldwell, who was created a baronet in 1683, purchased the Castle Caldwell estate about 1662 from the Blennerhassetts and died in 1717. His great grandson, Sir James, was created a Count of Milan* in the Holy Roman Empire, and was succeeded by his son Sir John. after whose death in 1830 the Caldwell estates passed to his daughter

* The first passenger steamer which plied on Lough Erne, after the deepening of the shoals, was named the *Countess of Milan* by Mr. J. C. Bloomfield.

Frances, wife of John Colpoys Bloomfield, and from her to her son, John Caldwell Bloomfield, who died in Enniskillen in 1897. Sir John Caldwell, who died in 1830, was succeeded in the Baronetcy and Countship by his cousin, John Caldwell, whose son and grandson inherited the titles after him. The male line finally became extinct after 1862, and Miss Bloomfield became Mrs. Grierson, wife of the present Dean of Belfast.

CAREW, ROBERT.

CATHCART, ADAM.

One of the 49 Officers of 1666. Presumably the father of Malcolm and Allen Cathcart, local leaders during the Revolution.

CHAMPION, ARTHUR.

Killed in the Rebellion of 1641 at Shaunock, Co. Fermanagh. He had purchased the Manor of Coole in 1640 from Roger Atkinson.

CHAMPION, EDWARD.

CHESLIN JOHN.

Acquired forfeited lands in the parish of Aghalurcher in 1666.

CLANDEBOY, JAMES, LORD.

James, Lord Viscount Clandeboy, who died in 1643, was granted together with Robert, Lord Dillon, the Middle Portion of Derrynefogher in Co. Fermanagh. This property was held and seems to have been continued to be held by Archbishop Malcolm Hamilton.

COCK, FRANCIS.

Together with William Blennerhasset acquired certain forfeited lands in the parish of Boho in 1666 and 1668.

SIR JOHN COLE, BART.

Second son of Sir William Cole of Enniskillen, created a Baronet 1660, acquired certain forfeited lands in the parishes of Boho and Kinawley in 1666. His eldest son, Arthur, was created Lord Ranelagh in 1714 or 1715, which title became extinct on his death in 1754. Sir John Cole's daughter, Elizabeth, married her cousin Sir Michael Cole.

SIR MICHAEL COLE, KNT.

Son of Michael Cole and grandson of Sir William Cole of Enniskillen, and ancestor of the Earls of Enniskillen.

(T.) COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

The Trinity College estates round Rosslea.

CONNYES, EDWARD.

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1666 and 1668.

COPELAND, EDWARD.

Acquired forfeited land in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1666. A family of this name owned much property in the village of Lisbellaw about 1840. One of them, Mr. Hugh Copeland, spoken of as "the good Hugh," was a merchant in Enniskillen, and the family emigrated to New York and became successful in business there. A shop assistant of Mr. Hugh Copeland's rose in business until finally he became Lord Mayor of London in 1881 as Sir William M'Arthur, M.P.

CORMUCK, JOHN.

Owned land in Cleenish Parish, believed to have been the father of Captain W. M'Cormick of the Revolution.

CURRY, JOHN.

Purchased the Manor of Coole from Arthur Champion in 1656. Castle Coole eventually passed to his great granddaughter, Sarah Corry, who married Galbraith Lowry, who assumed the additional surname of Corry. They were ancestors of the Earls of Belmore.

DILLON, ROBERT, LORD.

Robert Lord Dillon, Baron of Kilkenny West, eldest son of James 1st Earl of Roscommon. Together with Francis Lord Mountnorris in 1630, he was granted the small proportion of Latgar, Co. Fermanagh, and with James Viscount Claneboy in 1631 the Middle Proportion of Derrynefogher in the same County. Lord Dillon became 2nd Earl of Roscommon, which Earldom became extinct in 1746.

DILLON, CAREY.

Query was this the Honble. Carey Dillon, youngest son by his third wife of Robert, 2nd Earl of Roscommon, and became 5th Earl of Roscommon in 1684?

DILLAN, CHARLES.

DUNBAR, SIR JOHN, KNT.

He was the original patentee of the manor of Drumcro, in the barony of Magheraboy, and his residence was at Derrygonelly. His estates eventually passed to his great granddaughter,

Catherine Dunbar, who married Hugh Montgomery, eldest son of Nicholas Montgomery of Derrybrusk. The estate became divided between their eldest son Nicholas, who married Angel, daughter and heiress of William Archdale of Castle Archdale, and assumed her surname; and their younger son, Hugh, was ancestor of the Montgomerys of Blessingbourne, Co. Tyrone.

EVETT, MARGARET.

Margaret Evett and her children acquired forfeited lands in the parish of Aghalurcher in 1667. It is alleged the Maguiresbridge was at one time known as Evattstown. See Richard Evatt, of Tully, Maguiresbridge, p. 223, vol. I.)

EVETT, RICHARD.

Likely connected with the Evatt family of Co. Monaghan. The Evote or Ivet family came to Ireland from England in A.D. 1613. Very Rev. John Evatt was appointed by King James I. Dean of Elphin. This family still survives, of which one representative is Major General Sir George Evatt, C.B., K.C.B. M.D., of County Monaghan.

Rev. Timothy Evatt, brother of Rev. Richard Evatt, ordained at Peterboro Priest A.D. 1620-1638, acted as curate at Stamford town. The Laudian persecution of Evangelical parsons was then in full swing, and in the end Timothy Evatt migrated to Ireland, then a comparatively safe place for parsons of Evangelical views. Urban Evatt, Timothy's son, would be father of Richard Evatt, of Fermanagh. His family took part in the fight against the Laudian, or High Church views in Ireland, and they became the receivers of land in Fermanagh about 1649, under the settlement. They only held the lands for a generation or two, and sold them.

FOLLIOT, THOS. LORD.

Son and successor of Henry, 1st Lord Folliott of Ballyshannon, the original patentee of the manor of Newporton (Ballinamallard). (See Folliott in Index Vols. I. II.)

FORSTER, ARTHUR.

Acquired forfeited lands in Parish of Aghalurcher in 1667.

FRANCKLIN, RICHARD.

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Boho in 1668.

GORE, SIR RALPH.

Sir Ralph Gore, 2nd Bart., was the son of Sir Paul Gore, 1st Bart., original patentee of the Manor of Carick. Sir Ralph Gore's grandson, Sir Ralph, 4th Bart., beautified the

island of Ballymacmanus and gave it the name of Belleisle. Sir Ralph Gore, 6th Bart. (younger son of the 4th Bart.) was a distinguished general, and was created Baron Gore (1764), Viscount Belleisle (1768), and Earl of Ross (1771). He died in 1802, his only son having predeceased him. The property passed to his illegitimate daughter Mary, wife of Sir Richard Hardinge, Bart. The Belleisle estate was sold by Sir R. Hardinge or his representatives to the Rev. J. G. Porter. (See Vol. I. page 257.)

HAMILTON, JOHN.

HAMILTON, MALCOLM.

Malcolm Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel, of Monea Castle, Co. Fermanagh, acquired the Manor of Derrinefogher from Sir Robert Hamilton and died in 1628. But he had also a son Malcolm, who was alive in 1639. Col. Gustavus Hamilton, governor of Enniskillen, was son of the Archbishop's son Lewis. Gustavus' son, William, sold the estate about 1756 to Robert King and to Hugh Montgomery. Robert King's portion of the estate passed to his daughter Mary, who married William Smith of Drumcree, and their descendants sold it to the Brien family.

HANNINGTON, MARIA.

Obtained certain forfeited land in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1668.

HARRISON, GEORGE.

HASSARD, JASON.

Jason Hassard of Mullymesker and Carne, died 1692. He was ancestor of the Hassards of Carne, and of Gardenhill, and acquired an estate of forfeited lands in 1666.

This Jason Hassard [sometimes spelt Hassart] was either the eldest son or the grandson of George Hassard of Mullymesker and Carne, who (being fourth son of John Hassard of Lyme, M.P.) came to Ireland with Sir Wm. Cole early in the 17th century. Jason, the son, was a J.P. of the County, and High Sheriff in 1676, Treasurer of the County, and Quartermaster of the Fermanagh Militia in 1659. He acquired 450 acres in different townlands under the Act of Settlement, and much other property. He was agent to Fernando Davies, who succeeded to the Lisgoole estate of Sir John Davies. Both this Jason Hassard and his nephew Jason were attainted by King James's Parliament.

If the signator to the Address were Jason Hassard,

nephew of Jason, senior, and son of his brother William, of Carne and Legnageymore, as it most likely was, as he took an active part in those troublesome times, he was an officer of the Enniskillen Horse, and fought in the battle of the Boyne. He was a member of the Corporation of Enniskillen, and was included in the Commission of Array of 1707. He was High Sheriff in 1695, and a J.P., and the first of a long line of the family to be the County Treasurer. It was he who acquired the lands of Skea, Skaffogh, &c., from Sir John Hume, first by lease, and then by fee-farm grant in 1711, which was sold by his g-g-grandson, the Rev. Ed. Hassard, 9,830 acres in all, in the Landed Estates Court, in 1860, and was bought by his brother George. Skea House, now occupied by Mr. Geo. Atkinson, Coroner for North Fermanagh, (of the Cavangarden family, near Ballyshannon,) was built in 1830, and sold to him by Mr. T. D. L. Atkinson, of Glenwilliam Castle, Ballingarry, Co. Limerick, whose ancestor was the Roger Atkinson, of Castle Atkinson who sold his estate to Mr. Campion, whose representatives re-sold it to Mr. John Corry, ancestor of the Earls of Belmore.

GARDEN HILL.

Jason Hassard, of Mullymesker, High Sheriff, Co. Fermanagh, 1676. left much of his property to his nephew Jason, ancestor of the Skea line, but a considerable proportion to his own two sons, Robert and Richard, who were then young. His will was dated 21st October, 1690. Robert was ancestor of the Hassards of Carne, now extinct, and Richard was the first of Gardenhill. He was gazetted High Sheriff for the County in 1728, but for some reason did not serve. His elder son Jason, of Gardenhill, was High Sheriff 1748, but left no issue. The property devolved on the next brother Richard, who had a large family. From his third son John, Captain 64th Regiment, the Waterford branch, descended, while the eldest was Jason Hassard, of Garden Hill, High Sheriff 1771, Lieutenant 92nd. Regiment. Among his children were William, of Garden Hill, County Treasurer, shot by an assassin in his own avenue, on the 13th November, 1847, Alexander, and John, of Bawnboy, (who was father of the late Sir John Hassard, K.C.M.G.) The above Alexander was Captain 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, and was wounded at Waterloo. He married his cousin, daughter of Captain Jason Hassard, 74th Highlanders, of Waterford, and sister of the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Jason Hassard, 57th Regiment, who died of wounds in the Maori war, of 1856. Captain Hassard's son, Alexander Jason, Lieutenant 84th Regiment, sold Garden Hill in the Landed Estates Court, in 1876.

The elder branch of this family has died out, but there are representatives of the Waterford branch, the senior being Mr. William Charles Hassard, of Streathan, grandson of Sir Francis Hassard, who was a son of Captain John Hassard, 64th Regiment. His younger son, Edward John Hassard, Lieutenant Royal Artillery, was awarded the Military Cross, (gazetted 24th September, 1918), for gallantry in the field, and died 7 Nov., 1918

MOUNT HASSARD.

This place was in Co. Fermanagh, and was the residence of Captain Robert Hassard, High Sheriff 1719, eldest son of Captain Jason of Skea. By his wife, a member of the family of King, of Corrad, he had, with several

daughters, (one of whom was ancestress of Lord Rathdonnell), two sons. The elder, Jason Hassard, of Mount Hassard, left Fermanagh to become a woollen draper in Dublin, at the sign of the Golden Fleece. He applied to Dean Swift for a motto, and received the following:—

Jason, the valiant prince of Greece
From Colchos brought the golden fleece;
We comb the wool, refine the stuff;
For modern Jasons that's enough,
O, could we tame yon watchtul dragon, (i.e. England),
Old Jason would have less to brag on.

Jason Hassard died 3 June, 1745, leaving a son Robert, living 1761, but the property came to Jason's younger brother, Thomas Hassard, Barrack Master of Charles Fort and Kinsale, who on 21 May, 1754 (perhaps as a trustee to his nephew) mortgaged Mount Hassard, Kilnemadda and Mullylust to David La Touche for £500. Thomas Hassard married 4 May, 1743, Henrietta, daughter of David Chaigneau, M.P. for Gowran, and died 1775. Jason Hassard and his brother, Thomas, were half-brothers of Lady Nugent and the Countess of Farnham, daughters of Mrs. Robert Hassard by a second marriage.

SKEA.

Skea was in the middle of the 17th century the residence of Colonel William Acheson (see page 252, vol. I.), whose family became allied at a subsequent period with the Hassards, the later possessors, by the marriage of his son Alexander's daughter Mary, in 1720, with William Hassard, of Skea, a cornet in the Fermanagh Militia, and second son of Captain Jason Hassard of the same place. William Acheson, according to the Betham-Phillips manuscript, written in 1718-19, came to Ireland from Scotland in the reign of James the First, and was Lieut.-Colonel in Sir William Cole's Regiment of Foot at Enniskillen. His will was dated 4 November, 1656, and he died before 21 February following, when John Charlton, Jason Hassard, and John Armstrong, gentlemen, were authorised to value and appraise his goods. His widow, Jane Cranston, was afterwards a Mrs. Hume.

On 22 and 23 March, 1711, John Hume made a lease of the lands of Skea, Skaffagh, &c. to Captain Jason Hassard, High Sheriff, Co. Fermanagh, 1695, and Treasurer of the County, nephew and heir to Jason Hassard, High Sheriff 1676. This was converted to a fee farm grant on 23rd November following. Captain Hassard, who died 29 March, 1726-7, had three sons, Captain Robert, of Mount Hassard, High Sheriff, 1719, William (who inherited Skea), and Jason, junior. William sold Skea and other properties to his younger brother Jason, by deed dated 18 June, 1728.

This Jason, who was County Treasurer, and Lieutenant Fermanagh Militia, had by his wife, Anne Johnston, three daughters Anne, Mrs. Rosborough of Mullinagoan, Rose, Mrs. Johnston, of Littlemount, and Nicholina, and two sons, James, who died unmarried, and Robert, County Treasurer, who married in 1765, Jane, daughter of George Nixon, of Nixon Hall, and had with several other children, of whom one was Mrs. Irvine, of Rockfield, now Killadeas (see illustration, vol. I.), two sons, Jason of Levaghy, County Treasurer and George of Skea, twice High Sheriff. Jason's descendants retained the head-rent of Skea, though they never lived there. His grandson was the late Robert Hassard, High Sheriff 1880. The above Robert Hassard, County Treasurer, alienated Skea to Lord Enniskillen's family, but his second son George bought it back, and was succeeded in the ownership by his eldest son, the late Rev. Edward Hassard, D.D. The property was sold by him in the Landed Estates Court, scheduled for sale 10th January, 1860, and consisted of 9,830 acres in all, of which 5,000 were in the hands of the D'Arcy family, who paid a head-rent. Skea House, as then standing, was built in 1830, and the demesne in 1860 consisted of 297 acres, with timber worth £1,500. The house and demesne were purchased by the Rev. E. Hassard's brother George, barrister-at-law, who died in 1871.

His branch has died out, and the present representative of the Hassards o Skea is Mr. Arthur Hassard, of Dublin, great-grandson of Jason, of Levaghy.

Between the years 1852 and 1876, properties belonging to the various branches of the Hassards were sold in the Encumbered Estates Court, amounting to 18,281 acres in Fermanagh, and 1,653 in Cavan.

HASTINGS, FERDINANDE LORD.

Acquired church lands of Devenish and Lisgoole after the suppression of the monasteries.

HASTINGS, AND LUCY HIS WIFE.

Lord Hastings married Lucy, daughter of Sir John Davies, who got a conveyance of the manor of Lisgowley, from Sir Henry Bruncker, the original grantee. (See p. 16 and 29, Vol. I.)

HATTEN, EDWARD.

Edward Hatten was Archdeacon of Ardagh, Chancellor of Clogher, Rector of Galloon, &c., had acquired the manor of Cloncarne, granted originally to Robert Bogas by 1619. Archdeacon Hatten's property passed eventually to Jane, daughter of his son, the Rev. James Hatten. Jane Hatten married William Davys, M.P. for Fermanagh, and her daughter married Bernard Ward, Esq., and succeeded to the property. Mr. Bernard Smith Ward, who was member of Parliament for the borough of Enniskillen in 1769, and died about 1770, bequeathed the real estate to his mother and on her death to his uncle, Abraham, Lord Erne, with remainder to his son and heir, the Hon. John Crichton and his male issue. Thus it was that on the death of Mr. Wards's mother, the estate of Cloncarne or Knockballymore, together with lands in Co. Sligo and Co. Mayo, which formed part of the inheritance of the Ward family of Knockballymore, became merged in the estates of the Earl of Erne.

HEYGATE, JOHN.

A son of James Heygate, Bishop of Kilfenora, who purchased the manor of Gortgunan in 1620, from Robert Calvert. John Heygate died in 1640, leaving a son James age 18 months old. Manor Heygate lies near Newtownbutler.

HUME, SIR GEORGE BART.

Sir George Hume, first Bart., was son of Sir John Hume, original patentee of the Manor of Carrynroe. Sir John had also acquired the manor of Drumcose, from his brother Alexander. After the death of Sir George's grandson, Sir Gustavus Hume, the estates passed to the latter's daughter

Mary, who had married Nicholas Loftus, first Earl of Ely. Their son Nicholas, second Earl, died unmarried in 1769, leaving his mother's property to his father's brother Henry, who succeeded him as Viscount Loftus, and was subsequently created Earl of Ely. On the latter's death without issue in 1783, he left his estates, including the Hume property, to his nephew, Sir Charles Tottenham, son of his sister, the Hon. Elizabeth Loftus, who had married John Tottenham. Sir Charles Tottenham became first Marquess of Ely in 1800, and the present peer is his great grandson.

HUMPHREY, THOMAS.

IRVINE, GERARD.

Sir Gerard Irvine, Bart., of Castle Irvine, purchased the manor of Lowther, in 1667, from Henry Lowther, heir of Sir Gerard Lowther. Sir Gerard Irvine's sons predeceased him, so after his death the Castle Irvine property passed to the son of his eldest brother Christopher, from whom it eventually passed to the descendants of Sir Gerard Irvine's younger brother, William Irvine, of Ballindullagh. From this latter are descended both Major C. C. D'Afey Irvine, of Castle Irvine, and Major J. G. C. Irvine, of Killadeas.

JOHNSTON, WALTER.

One of the 49 Officers.

Acquired certain forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher, in 1666. Query is he the same as Walter Roe Johnston, of Meellick, Co. Fermanagh, who was High Sheriff 1679, and died after 1693. This latter was ancestor of the Johnstones of Magherameena, Co. Fermanagh, and of Kinlough, Co. Leitrim. (See p. 123, Vol. I.)

JONES, ROGER.

KING, JAMES.

Vivens 1674.

James King acquired certain forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher, in 1667. He seems to have possessed other lands as well, and was ancestor of the present Sir Charles King, Bart., of Corrad.

LEONARD, JOHN.

Died July, 1861.

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher, in 1666.

LESLIE, DR. OF THEOLOGY.

Died February, 1700.

Rector of Derryvullen.

LOWTHER, HENRY

ASSIGN HENRY LOWTHER.

Sir Gerard Lowther, senior, who died 1624, acquired the manors of Drumynshin, and Necarne. The original Patentees were respectively Thomas Barton, and Harrington Suten. The property passed in turn to Richard Lowther, Sir Gerard Lowther junior, and to Henry Lowther. The manor of Lowtherstown, and that of Hunnings, was sold to Sir Gerard Irvine, in 1667.

MACKIE, THOMAS.

Acquired forfeited land in the Parish of Aghalurcher, in 1666.

MAGUIRE, LORD.

Conor, second Lord Enniskillen, hanged 1644. His father was Brian, first Lord Enniskillen, and his grandfather, Sir Connor Roe, possessed a large property in the barony of Magherastephena.

MAGUIRE, BRIAN M'CORAN.

MERRICKE, RICHARD.

Aged 76, in 1680,

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghavea, in 1667.

MONMOUTH, JAS. DUKE OF

His present representative and direct descendant is the Duke of Buccleuch.

GABRIEL, MONTGOMERY.

Died 1692

Acquired forfeited land in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1666.

MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM.

Acquired forfeited land in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1668.

MOUNT MORRIS, FRANCIS, LORD.

Francis Lord Mountmorris in 1630, was granted together with Robert Lord Dillon, Baron of Kilkenny West, the small proportion of Latgir.

On the road from Lisnaskea to Rosslea, between Ballagh Cross-roads and Aghadrumsee (as it is spelt), lies the Manor of Mount Sedborough, a Small Proportion of 1,000 acres (of profitable land), granted to John Sedborough from some place in England. He meant business when he came, for he brought his wife and children with him. The manor included the lands of Latgir and Coolenamarrow, and a number of other townlands like Tanittygorman, Cornamuckla, Kuappagh, Killeferbane, &c., at the usual rent to the Crown for

a Small Proportion, of £5 8s. 8d., English money. This townland of Latgir or Latgar, in this manor adjoined Sir Hugh Worrall's lands at Ardmagh.

Mr. Sedborough did little upon his Proportion. He built a poor bawne (for cattle) of sods, and provided a pound, and had six British resident tenants, and 12 others, British, some of whom did not live on the manor. The bawne was built in the townland of Lisnegoland, the walls being 12 feet high and 240 feet in circumference; and about 20 houses of the English kind were occupied by British residents. This manor was sold about 1630, and Lord Robert Dillon and Lord Mountmorris succeeded, so that the name of Sedborough is now forgotten as the planter of 1610 or 1613.

Mr. Sedborough himself died in 1629, and was succeeded by his granddaughter, who became the wife of Mr. John Mayne; and the lands were then sold in 1630 to Lord Dillon who got a grant for the manor of Latgar, with the usual manorial rights, and Mount Sedborough as a manor drifted out of existence. Of the original tenants I do not know if any of their descendants remain. Their names were—Hugh Stokes, Clinton Maude, Robert Allen, Faithful Teate, Christopher Gascoine, Robert Newcomen, William Stammers, Stephen Allen, Raedulph Daye, John Tybballs, Thomas Tybballs, Tobie Vesey, and Joseph Dickinson. These are English names, and there are Allens yet to be found in the neighbourhood of Newtownbutler.

One of the houses built by Mr. Sedborough was described as "an Irish house, divided into three rooms," on which he had built "a wattle chimney." He had one plough of mares and garrous; an English horse and mare, and 20 head of cows.

O'NEILL, ART OGE.

He was son and heir of Conn Shane O'Neale about 1630, possessed the Manor of Clabby, which had been granted to his father.

PIERCE, RALPH.

PITT, JOHN.

POTTER, GEORGE.

Obtained forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1667.

PUCKRIDGE, RICHARD.

The second oldest tombstone in Enniskillen parish graveyard states that William Pockrich, who died in April, 1628, was the son of Richard Pockrich (or Puckridge).

RHYND, DAVID.

Died Nov. 1677.

Obtained forfeited land in the Parish of Aghavea in 1666. He was ancestor of the Rynds of Derryvullan House, County Fermanagh, which passed from them to the Dennys (now represented by the Rev. Edward Denny and Anthony Denny) and of the Rynds of Ryndville, Co. Meath. David Rynd's great great granddaughter Mary married in 1769 Edward Denny.

Sir Charles King writes in 1892 of this family—

This surname is Scottish, and frequently to be met with on the Perth Registers. The first of the family in this county appears to have been "David

Rynd, of Inniskillinge, the elder." He was a Commonwealth tenant of the lands of Carrow in 1659; *m.* Margaret (*d.* 1675, *æt.* 67, buried at Enniskillen, where is a tablet to her memory), daughter of Christopher Irvine, Esq., widow of Colonel Richard Bell, and of Captain Thomas Maxwell. He was buried at Enniskillen, 1677, leaving issue—David Rynd, Esq., of Derryvullan, Sheriff for his county, 1681; Provost, Enniskillen, 1682; attainted, 1689; *d.* 1723, leaving issue by Margaret, his wife, three daughters and three sons, of whom the younger were Christopher, and Thomas, of Dublin, merchant (will proved, 1709); and the eldest, John Rynd, Esq., of Derryvullan, and Dartry, Co. Leitrim, Sheriff for Fermanagh, 1708, *d.* 1746, *æt.* 73, leaving issue one daughter and five sons; the younger were Rev. James Rynd, of Derryvullan (will proved, 1746), Thomas, John, Richardson; and the eldest, David Rynd, Esq., of Derryvullan; Sheriff, 1745; *m.* 1746, Mary, daughter of Oliver Moore, Esq., of Sanlistown, and *d.* (will proved 1758), leaving issue an only child, Mary (*d.* 1774), *m.* 1769, Edward Denny, Esq., M.P., Tralee (*d.* 1775), brother of Sir Barry Denny, first Bart., of Tralee Castle, and by her was ancestor of Rev. Edward Denny, M.A., the present Vicar of Kempley, Dymock, Glos. Also see footnote page 29, Vol. I, and page 300 this volume.

Lord Belmore in his History of Two Ulster Manors speaks of Mr. David Rynd as principal tenant of Leambreslin, which was "computed 90 acres, inhabited by snug farmers, lyes within 3 miles of Enniskilling on thereto, from Lisbelew, worth 2s per acre, £36," as noted in a valuation record in his lordship's possession, which also stated—"David Rynd, esq., lives therein, has laid out considerable sums in improvements, such as dwelling-house, offices and gardens, fitt for a man of five hundred pounds a year, which with 60 acres of said farm at 18s, I deem worth £45 a year." The present representative of the family is Mr. Fleetwood Rynd, Ryndville, County Meath.

ROSCOMMON, JAMES, EARL OF.

James, 3rd Earl of Roscommon, eldest son, by his first wife, of Robert Dillon, Baron of Kilkenny West and 2nd Earl of Roscommon. He was accidentally killed by a fall downstairs or died from the results.

ROTHERHAM, SIR THOMAS, KNT.

Living in 1631, when he acquired together with Stephen Allen and Martyn Baxter, clk., certain lands in the small proportion of Ardmagh, Co. Fermanagh, see also note to the above Stephen Allen.

SLACK, ROBERT, CLK.

Vivens 1634.

Not unlikely a relative of Mrs. Slacke, widow of Rev. James Slacke, of Callowhill, whose house was plundered by the rebels in 1641.

ST. GEORGE, GEORGE.

One of the family of Captain Richard St. George, who came from England to Ireland in the army and became Governor of Athlone.

WALMERSLEY, JOHN.

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1666. I cannot trace this grantee directly, but I find that sometime about 1680 a John Walmsley sold to James Corry, who was at that time the head of the family at Castlecoole, his interest in the townlands of Congo (or Ceoe), Killarmor, Aghanure, Drumliff, Coraghey, Drummack, Aghnaskue, Garvoghill, Finrah, Mullaghwond, Conard, and Mullinascarty—all of which lie on the lake side of Maguiresbridge.

WATERHOUSE, CHARLES.

Charles Waterhouse, of Manor Waterhouse, Co. Fermanagh, died *circa* 1638, and was father of a son named Charles and a daughter Elizabeth, who married, in 1635, John Madden, and whose son, John Madden, inherited Manor Waterhouse. The present representative of the family is Lieut.-Colonel J. C. W. Madden of Hilton. The Maddens of Rosslea are also descended from them. (See page 151, Vol. I.)

WEST, HENRY.

WILLOUGHBY, NICHOLAS.

A Nicholas Willoughby of Carrow, Co. Fermanagh, died in 1699. His property passed to Hugh Montgomery, who took the name of Willoughby. The latter's daughter, Elizabeth, married John Cole, 1st Lord Mountflorenc.

WYETT, DR. THOMAS.

Acquired forfeited lands in the Parish of Aghalurcher in 1666.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE COLE FAMILY.

Sir William Cole died in Dublin in October 1653 —[Funeral entry in Ulster's Office]—and was buried in St. Michan's Church over the water [North side], after a very strenuous life during a period of constant strain. He was the first British Constable of Enniskillen Castle, the founder of the town, and the constant guardian of the community which rose under his care to take a place among the important towns of Ireland.

A good soldier, he so protected Enniskillen that he saved it from the horrors of the rising of 1641, he kept the great Irish leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, at bay, so that even he and the Irish army avoided Enniskillen; and during the distractions of the Commonwealth period, Enniskillen was kept safe from assault.

I have not found one severe comment or reflection of censure upon Sir William Cole by either Irish foes or hostile critics during all that period, so that he may be judged as worthy of the confidence reposed in him by three Sovereigns, a confidence which he

does not appear to have abused at a time when personal responsibility had to be assumed on grave occasions.

Sir William Cole's eldest son and heir, Michael, succeeded him, and survived for only a short time, dying in 1671. The sole surviving child of this Michael,—Sir Michael Cole the Younger, who was the absent head of the family during the Revolution; and his absence during its fears, vicissitudes, and triumph is accounted for by a confirmatory record in a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, showing his name as amongst those who had "fled from" Ireland in 1688. The actual words are—"Cole, S^r Mich. Inniskilling, with 5 children. Real estate [£] 1070." This Sir Michael died in 1710, and was succeeded by his son John Cole, Esq., of Florencecourt, and when he died in 1726 was succeeded by his eldest son John (II.), who became Baron Mountflorencé of Florencecourt.

Sir William Cole had a second son John, who rose to the rank of Colonel in the army and was knighted. It was to this Sir John Cole that Sir William left the safe custody of the Castle of "Inishkillyn" during the minority of his grandson, Sir Michael. It was in honour of the afore-mentioned Sir John Cole that Cole's Lane in the North side of Dublin was named, as he had a residence in Mary's Abbey, or after his daughter Mary, Countess of Drogheda, whose family gave names to a number of streets near the General Post Office and Sackville street.

While the writer has stated in the Preface to the First Volume that this History does not give genealogical details such as are to be found in books on the Peerage and County families, it has become

necessary in this volume to enter into some particulars not found elsewhere. As to the family of Cole, details can be found in Lodge's and Burke's Peerage, and the descent of the family from the Baron referred to in a deed of William the Conqueror of 1070 when he sent his greetings to "Walkesedin, Bishop, and Hagan de Port: and Edward Knight, Steward; and Algerine and Allfus, Porveieur, and Cole, and Ardein, and all the Barons in Hampshire and Wilkeshire, friendly." Coming down, then, in the family tree we find the local chain in the male line from Sir William Cole as follows:—

Sir William, of the Castle of Eneskillin, M.P.
 |
 Michael.
 |
 Sir Michael, M.P.
 |
 John, M.P.
 |
 John, Lord Mountflorenc.
 |
 William Willoughby, Earl of Enniskillen.
 |
 John Willoughby, Earl of Enniskillen.
 |
 William Willoughby, Earl of Enniskillen.
 |
 Lowry Egerton, Viscount Cole (second son).
 |
 Hon. John Henry Michael (second son).

In the Manuscript History of Families of the County Fermanagh in the library of Thirlestaine House, Gloucestershire, the authorship of which is ascribed to a member of the Madden family of Waterhouse Castle, *circa* 1710, it is recorded of the Cole family:—

"The originall of y^e remarkable family of Cole in ffermanagh was Sr. William Cole, a brave forward prudent gentleman of considerable estimation and stroak (*sic*) in y^e Government both before and in y^e warrs of 1641. He was chief Landlord of y^e Towne, Castle, and liberties of Eniskillen. The two man^rs of Portora and Cornagrade were confirmed to

him him before y^e warrs affors^d and when the Rebellion of '41 begun, all y^e forces of ffermanagh did enlist under him. He was Gov^e nor of y^e said Garrison of Inniskillin and forces of the country dureing y^e said warrs, by whose prudent care and conduct the country and circumjacent neighb. were preserved dureing y^e said warrs, which, together with his forward exploits in other ptes of Ireland, made him remarkable to y^e parlim^t. of England and Ireland. His eldest son and heir the wors'pfull Michael Cole, Esq., was married to S^r. William Persons his daughter, who was Lord Chief Justice in Ireland, and by this lady begott his son and heire, the late Sir Michael Cole of Iniskillin, a Gentleman reputed excellent and wise, prudent, honest, and well natured. He was first married to Coll^l. Chitley [Chidley] Coote's daughter, whose brother was Earl of Monrath, and by this Lady had seven children, all deceased.

The second son of S^r William Cole, was S^r John Cole Barr^{tt} a famous remarkable gentleman of hon^r. and renowne of -p-o-r-t-e-l-y—b-r-g-h-t—a-n-d—b-e-a-u-t-i-f-u-l—p-s-o-n—a Coll^l. of horse and foot, and remarkable in military affaires, and married to y^e Earl of Doonagall's sister. Her maiden name, Chichester, a vertuous lady, by whom S^r. John had many children, one of whose daughters was married to y^e Lord Moore, Earle of Drogheda; and the aforesaid S^r. Michael Cole after y^e death of his first Lady Coll^l. Chittly Coote's daughter aforesaid, married y^e Lady Elizabeth, daughter to y^e s^d. Sir John Cole Barr^{tt}., by whom Sir Michael Cole had sixteen children, all deceased but three. And by Articles of Enter-marriage betwixt S^r. Joⁿ. and S^r. Michael Cole, the estates confirmed to S^r. John Cole, in y^e Barroney of Cluawly [now Glenawley] in fferm^h was settled upon y^e said Lady Elizabeth, his daughter, and the lawful heires of her body by y^e said S^r Michael, whose eldest son and heire is John Cole, Esq., who now possesses all y^e estates, in Town and Country, belonging y^e family of Cole, in y^e county of ffermanagh. He was first married in England to a daughter of S^r. Bouchier Wrey, Barr^{tt}. of Tavistock, in Devonshyre, a vertuous young Lady of great renowne, who died in Dublin, August, 1718, and left foure lawfull sons, the eldest Mr. John, y^e 2nd Mr. Bouchier, y^e 3rd Mr. Michael, y^e 4th Henry. The said John Cole, Esq., after y^e death of his worthy father, S^r. Michael Cole, who dyed in London, an^o. Dom., feb^r y^e 11th, 1710, manageth all his father's estates in Towne and Country, renewed and adorned the ancient buildings of his progenitors,

Charles II

Right Trusty & Right Entirely beloved Cousin & Counsellor We be grette
you with. We Resound unto you herewith the Petition of Our
Trusty & Wellbelov'd Michael Cole of Iniskillen Esq^r. humbly
desiring us that We wold graunt unto him for the consideration
therin expressed the Office of Constable of the Castle of Iniskillen
& Captain of all the Boats & Cotts that goe upon Lough Erne it
being our Will & Pleasure that if upon examination of the
allegations therein you finde that the said Office have been
formerly held & enjoyed by the Pet^r's ancestor & that the granting
the same may not be otherwise prejudiciall unto us that you cause
a Grant to be passed unto him under Our Great Seale of Ireland
of the said souldards & respective Offices of Constable of the said
Castle of Iniskillen & Captain of all the Boats & Cotts that
goe upon Lough Erne. to be hold for such terme of yeer or liues
& with such Entertainment & fees for himself & so many Wardens
as you shall thinke fitt. And for soe doing this shall be your
Warrant. Given at Our Honour of Hampton Court this 25th Day
of July in the fourteenth yeare of our Reigne

By my other ¹⁰⁷ Counsel

J. North

Copy of Appointment by Charles II. to Michael Cole, on 25th July, 1677, to be Constable of the
Castle of Iniskillen and Captain of all the Boats and Cotts that goe upon Lough Erne.
(Preserved at Florencecourt.)

built stables, coach houses, and forwarded seu^r all new buildings in y^e Towne of Iniskillin, besides, y^t in his time are made more new Roades in seu^r all places in this country than all his predecessors in their time did for many yeares. He also begins very costly and sumptuous buildings on his estate in Clinawley, soe that by his contrivance and notable emprouem^{ts}. many poore families are supported, being a man of high spirit, quick and sharp of apprehension, very forward in his undertakings, and of great Retinues. He is now married in y^e family of Coll^l. Robert Saunderson, of Castle Saunderson, in y^e county of Cavan. He is parliam^t man for y^e Burrough of Iniskillin, and one of y^e most leading men in the county."

THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INNISKILLEN IN 1688-9.

The Inniskillen of 1688 was just 76 years old. It constructed its one street from the east ford along the crest of the hills, at intervals, to the other ford at the west. We must blot out from our minds everything but that one line of main street, with perhaps a few thatched houses in Water lane, Pudding lane, and Schoolhouse lane. Meadows were around the island everywhere except that one row of primitive buildings. There were green fields beyond the newly-built East Bridge; green fields at Boston; green fields stretching from behind the church to near (for the Royal Barracks had not been then constructed) the Barrack-point,* and from the west side of Pudding lane to the Great Meadow and to the castle; and pleasant gardens stretched from the south back of the present Townhall-street to the lake. Everything was green, bordering on the river.

On the top of the highest hill the church was placed; the next highest was set aside for the market

* This Point was not raised above high water till the end of the next century.

place; the slope of Camomile hill, to the east, Toneystick hill, was constituted a fair green for the two yearly fairs; and the great stretch of 30 acres by the Pound and across by the bog below (the present Fair Green) to the high road to Dublin (through the present Castlecoole demesne) and up to the high Trillick road (by Albert and Alexandra terraces), was the Common, on which the burghers' cows grazed.

A steep descent from the old sod fort of Queen Elizabeth's time (to command the Castle), led down to the West Bridge with its eight or ten arches; and an equally steep descent from Camomile hill on the east side, led towards the East bridge. At the eastern side of the West Bridge is a square tower, with a gateway and guard-room standing near the middle. There had been a drawbridge for protection on the first East Bridge, but it had been dispensed with on the new bridge completed only a short time before the events we have to relate. I possess one large heavy stone slab which tells of the rebuilding of the Guardhouses, and the inscription upon it runs thus in old letters:—

ENNISKILLEN Guardhousef Rebuilt 98

The lettering of the words points clearly to the year 1698, or ten years after the Revolution, which view of mine the late Mr. Wm. Wakeman, M.R.I.A., the well known archæologist, declared to be correct.

The houses are small and mostly of wickerwork or mud, and a few of stone, where the burgesses

dwelt in their burgages. They were for the most part small cabins, like what exist to-day in some of the North of Ireland towns. All are thatched. Some have cross beams after the English manner, for this is a purely British settlement. The Celtic Irish had no concern with it except as employes in building. That must be clearly understood. There was no Irish town whatever here before Captain Cole commenced his undertaking to build the capital town of the newly formed shire out of the Maguire country. There was no town in Maguire's time, nor was there any "fixed place of habitation" in all that Maguire country when the Commissioners of Plantation visited it.

If there had been, it would have been burnt and destroyed only too frequently, as the O'Donnells from Tyrconnell and the O'Neills from Tyrone raided the Maguire country dozens of times, burnt houses, and carried off prey in cows—quite apart from the inroads of the British.

Nor was there a Maguire in the old "fortilage." The great Sir Hugh Maguire, a warrior to the backbone, at times friendly to the English, at times a foe, pardoned again and again, and a "rebel" again and again, had perished in his saddle near Cork, fighting the Saxon, and to assist the Spanish invader. Cuconacht (or Constantine) his brother, had fled with Tyrconnell and O'Neill to the continent; and Captain Wm. Cole had taken possession of the Castle in 1607 on behalf of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth; and his grandson, Sir Michael Cole, occupied the Castle this year of 1688, to hold it, with armed men, for the King of England, though he had gone to England, perhaps through infirmity, too weak to brave the storm.

The main roadway was rough and uneven. It was at least three feet lower in what we call East Bridge street, and in the Hollow, than it is to-day; it was four feet higher in Church street, and perhaps five feet higher opposite the church, so unequal and uneven were the gradients. And yet, though the roadway was lower in the present East Bridge street, the back of the ridge was so narrow that deep hollows lay on each side, so that some of the houses had to be built on arches or piers to bring them up to the street level. Notwithstanding this, in the old Turk's Head public house a few steps led downward into the shop; and while the ground floor of Mr. Gorges Irvine's house (opposite the Courthouse) was level with the street in 1798, it became two or three feet lower than the street a century later, owing to the constant raising of the roadway.

The little settlement in 1688 was governed by a Corporation, of which Paul Dane was the Provost, and his direct descendant, another Paul, is still alive to continue the name. Another descendant, James Whiteside Dane, occupied a seat at the dinner of the old boys of Enniskillen School on 30th September, 1910, in the Townhall, on the ground of the old market place where his ancestor as chief magistrate may have often stood and decided disputes in the markets,* which was also close to the Provost's tenements in what was afterwards called Water Lane.

The lake encircled the town of Enniskillen, and a valuable rampart it was. The city of Derry was encompassed by great walls on which two carriages could drive abreast. Little Enniskillen had only as

* This function still appertains to the Commission of the Peace, but has fallen into disuetude.

protection the river Erne, with four fords, which could be crossed during low water—at the East and West bridges, at Boston, and at the Cherry Island, and therefore these were the most vulnerable points to be guarded; while fords also lay to the east and west (at Killyhevlin and at Portora) to be watched; but while the lake was as high as it usually was then, the water was some protection, but a poor one, and for that reason the men of Inniskilling preferred to fight away from home in preference to allowing their enemies to see the weakness of their defences.

The Sessions House and Gaol were placed where the Courthouse stands now. The Sessions House was built on piers over the vaults which formed the prison. Parts of the walls there still are the original walls; an iron railing extended in front into the street. My father saw prisoners even in the early part of the last century in the lower windows of the old prison before they were transferred to the grand new gaol of the day, begun to be erected on the Gallows Green about 1818. The late Mr. John Graham, of Killynure, jumped across the ascending walls when he was a boy; and it was in the year of grace 1910, the high walls were lowered again, for there was no longer need for a prison here. The old prison of 1818 was pulled down, and what remains is the additional New Prison of about 1850, transformed into a County Technical Hall.

The first gaol, then in being, is under and alongside the Sessions House in 1688. You can see the iron bars across some of the windows yet on the East side of the Courthouse. Mr. W. F. Jones' Petty Sessions office tells the use to which it had been first put in the 17th century, when Mr. Thomas Wethered was governor.

Captain Cole had not only to provide a church and a prison, but to provide a school; and the Free School of Inniskillen, as it was named for over 150 years, was built in the same meadow as the church, midway to the east of it, and looked down from its height on what from that cause the people called Schoolhouse lane. The town had two other public buildings a military barracks, on the ground of the present Messrs. Cooper & Co.'s (formerly Whitley's) premises in High Street, at the Diamond, to contain two companies of soldiers*; and the Presbyterian Church on the ground of the present Post Office in East Bridge-street. The Rector of the parish church was the Rev. Ezekiel Webb, and the Presbyterian minister was the Rev. Robert Kelso.

There was no Roman Catholic chapel within the town, owing to the prohibitive nature of the law, but when the Act was repealed a chapel was built in the townland of Toneystick, (partly on the ground of the present Fort Lea, and partly behind Fort Lodge,) just where the road, after it had passed the Old Pound, made its way towards the Near Mill. (The Near Mill was at the Mill Lake, as distinguished from the Far Mill at Derrykeeghan). In 1688 what was called a Friary, called a convent a century later, was in the neighbourhood of Boston lane, so that the Inniskilleners of that period were not so

* In Gilbert's Calendar of Ormonde's MSS at Kilkenny Castle it is stated at page 350 that there were no troops quartered at Enniskillen in 1685-6, while it had been the custom to quarter one company or troop of horse here; and I conclude that what applied to 1666 may have applied also two years later, and that there were no troops at all in garrison in 1688, before Tyrconnell sent not one but the two companies at this time. I also find, according to the same authority, that there were four brass falcons at Enniskillen in the Ordnance Department on the 24th March 1685-6, and these guns therefore, were likely in the Castle stores in 1688. It was a curious coincidence that there were no troops in Derry city at the same time.

intolerant in those troublesome times as many people gave them credit for. There may have been some cottages in what we now call Darling street.

This, then, was the little settlement. Side paths had not been formed, and the street was uneven. Laneways ran down to the river close to both the East and West Bridges. A large open ditch, called Margaret's Gutter, cut across the Hollow, between the two hills, and this was crossed on large stepping stones when full of water. It made its exit towards what was called "The Great Meadow," and is there till this day, but it is now covered in at the Hollow, and runs under the houses. It sometimes emitted an unsavoury smell until about 1880, when the Town Commissioners constructed a tiled sewer to convey its malodorous contents to the running water near the Castle.

The Castle of Inniskillen bore still the marks of previous sieges, and was partly in ruins, the effect of the sieges at the beginning of the century. The moat or ditch ran round its defences, and a draw-bridge gave access to the once great stronghold of The Maguire, but a Cole instead of a Maguire issued the orders of command.

This was the Inniskillen of which I shall write, and its main street lay between the Church and the East Bridge. Its burghers were the sons and grandsons of the pioneers who had built their houses alongside the track to the Castle,—trained to the use of arms during stormy times, every man a soldier, depending upon his strong right arm by sword and halbert more than the new device of falcon, fusil, or matchlock for his protection.

The sketch of Inniskilling in 1688 given here

(from Harris's *Life of William III.*), was not pencilled until 50 years after the Revolution, and was attributed to a local Philomath named James Leonard. I question if there were so many houses in Darling street as the sketch seems to convey at the time,—it is scarcely possible that this is correct—as law documents of the period speak of meadows and gardens having been there; but additional houses were likely provided to relieve the congestion during the Revolution, and afterwards meet the demand for houses in a centre of security.

The sketch shows the old Gallows Green, the old cow market, the site of Cornagrade Castle, even at that time a farmer's house, most likely that of the family of Morrison, which continued to occupy it until during the thirties or forties of the last century. The little island of Inniskilling is quite distinct, and also another islet, both incorporated now with the main land. The Sessions House and Gaol are marked as described in these pages, as having been in East Bridge street, the Barracks at the Diamond, the two sod forts, afterwards repaired and strengthened, at West and East, the Free School in Schoolhouse Lane, and the Presbyterian Church on the ground of the present Post Office.

Care must be taken in comparing old maps with the outlines of the island of to-day to remember that the shape of the large island has altered with the addition of years, and that it is not now as it had once been. And now to the opening of the drama which made the name of Inniskillen illustrious in history.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RESOLVE.

Enniskillen won its name and fame during the Revolution of 1688. It was no better than a village at the time. Macaulay, Witherow, and others have accepted the statement of the Rev. Andrew Hamilton that there were only 80 inhabitants in Enniskillen at this period. Hamilton uses the word "dwellers." I do not accept the word in that sense, for this reason: eighty inhabitants would leave only 20 or 30 grown men in the village, after the women and children.

Seventy-six years previously Captain Cole had to plant at least 20 householders of British birth in the little colony, and he planted more; and during those 76 years the population must have increased. There would have been one or two generations added to the community of 1612, and, therefore, I translate eighty dwellers to mean eighty heads of houses, with perhaps treble that number of women and children.

I feel strengthened in the view I take of this matter by the sketch of Enniskillen in 1688, forming the frontespiece to this volume, and while I consider that Leonard gave a sketch of the town of the year

in which it was made—(probably about 1745 or 1746)—rather than that of 1688, the number of houses shown conclusively proves to my mind that instead of providing for eighty inhabitants merely it provided for something nearer 380 or 480. I am fully satisfied that the expression “eighty dwellers,” used by Rev. Mr. Hamilton, was intended to convey eighty householders; and it is the only possible view which could enable such a village as little Inniskillen to do what it did do before the neighbouring counties poured in their refugees.

Writing half a century later, in 1739, Henry in *Upper Lough Erne* says that there were at that time “scarcely in the whole town 150 houses, and *most of these but indifferent cabins*; so that I am still further strengthened in my idea of the eighty houses of 1688, and their eighty householders.

Yet this little community, who were not possessed of ten pounds of gunpowder or twenty muskets in good repair, risked terrible consequences against the whole might of their King, James II., and all the powers of the Irish Government at a time when there were 4,000 men of the Royal Army in Ireland.

Friction and war had from time to time broken out between the native Irish and their English conquerors, but during the reign of Queen Elizabeth the bitterness of religious strife was added to the contention. The native Irish clung tenaciously to their own religion, except such of their Bishops and clergy as had conformed to the Reformed Faith; and when the natives saw their conquerors, all of one form of religion, trying to impress it upon Ireland, they resented it, and it embittered them the more. The wars of Elizabeth left behind them not only

blood and rapine, but a desolate country in many places, and a keen sense of injustice and wrong. The events which followed had therefore a religious as well as a political significance; in brief, the terms Protestant and Planter, and Irish and Romanist, became synonymous; and the struggle of the Revolution became one of religious zeal and fervor as well as of military prowess and superiority of race.

The town of Enniskillen, as we have already seen, had sprung from the Plantation of Ulster.* The inhabitants were identified more or less with the English cause in Ireland both by blood and religion. During the Massacre of 1641† they had locally learned, by the bloody slaughter at Lisgoole, by the carnage at Moneah Castle, and at Tully Castle, how they were regarded by the native Celtic Irish. Many of the elder Enniskilleners of 1688, no doubt, remembered the shocking events of that time; the younger generations had heard of them from older lips; and these recollections assisted strongly to mould

* Altogether there were planted in the whole County of Fermanagh, according to Captain Nicholas Pynnar: Freeholders, 59; Lessees for lives, 10; lessees for years, 117; cottagers, 75—Total, 321 families; bodies of men, 645. The plantation over the whole six counties (Armagh, Tyrone, Donagall, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Londonderry) he represented as—Freeholders, 334; Lessees for lives, 99; Lessees for years, 1,013—Yielding 1,974 families, or 6,215 “bodies of men” with arms.

† The Fermanagh Volume of the Depositions of 1641, preserved in MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, has on pages 621-2—“And further sayth, as he had credibly heard, that the Irish rebels did set fire on the Castle of Lisgoole, so that many Protestants seeking to escape out of the said Castle were burnt, and cruelly murdered; and likewise sayth, that he heard that divers Protestants who had a while defended the Castle of Tully, belonging to Sir George Hume, after yielded it upon quarter; whereupon the Rebels contrary to their promise to them, did presently murder and kill them all (save only the Lady Hume). And also sayth that he hath heard that the said rebels killed and murdered divers persons at Lowtherstown; as namely, Mr. Flacke, Clarke, and his wife, Gerrard Redmond, and his wife, with many others whose names he remembereth not.

(Signed), ROGER ATKINSON.

the resolve of the heroic men who, in the little island settlement, were to risk their all in their famous declaration

The first Lord Deputy appointed by James II. was a Protestant, the Duke of Ormonde; the second another Protestant, the Earl of Clarendon, who was devoted to his master. But the Commander of the Forces was a zealous Roman Catholic, the Earl of Tyrconnell; he made no secret of his desire to have the Act of Settlement repealed, and he was a willing tool to further the designs of the King.

It must be remembered that at this time it was necessary to take the Oath of Supremacy* passed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth in reply to the Pope absolving his spiritual subjects of allegiance to the Queen, in order to obtain any public appointment. Conscientious Roman Catholics could not take that oath, and the consequence was that most of the public offices in the Kingdom, and places in the Army and Corporations, were filled by Protestants. The population of Ireland at this time, after the decimation of decades of warfare, was estimated to be not much more than one million of Roman Catholics, and 200,000 Protestants, or in the proportion of five to one. In these days of the 20th century the proportion is about three to one.

Tyrconnell understood the King's desires, and proceeded to carry them out. Archbishop King tells

* This oath ran thus:—I, A.B., doe swear that I doe from my heart abhor, 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 forreigne prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authoritie ecclesiasticall or spirituall within this realme. Soe, &c., &c.

us that the Corporations of Ireland were particularly obnoxious to James II., as almost all the members were Protestants, and Tyrconnell put pressure on the Corporations everywhere to admit those who were termed "Papists." Many of the new "Papist" [as they were called] corporators were from a very humble class, like several of the new magistrates, sheriffs, and Deputy Lieutenants made by Tyrconnell. King tells us that a "cowherd to his Protestant landlord, perhaps, was set before him as a Justice of the Peace," and that "the Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenants of counties were generally poor and mean people, many of whom had been servants in the meanest condition." It was computed that by the end of the year 1688 the Lord Deputy had dismissed about 6,000 Protestant soldiers and 200 officers from the service.*

When, therefore, Tyrconnell was appointed Lord Deputy, in succession to Clarendon, in 1687, it is not surprising that the Protestants felt uneasy. Tyrconnell admitted natives to the army, and Roman Catholics to the Privy Council; he removed Protestant Judges from the Bench and Protestant officers from the army, and supplanted them by Romanists; and all over the country there were the same reports of the Irish saying that they had now a King of their own religion and would soon have "their own" again; of Protestants being robbed in the South by the soldiers;†

* As to the inferior officers of the army, such as captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, some hundreds of them had been cowherds, horse-boys, or footmen, and perhaps these were none of their worst men, for by means of their education among Protestants they had seen and understood more than those who had lived wild in the mountains.—King.

† The Irish likewise assembled in great bodies, and were called Rapparees, armed with skeines and half pikes, killing the cattle of the English, and

of Protestants being disarmed, and of the Irish being allowed to retain or supply themselves with arms; of pikes and skeins being sharpened, and that another massacre was in contemplation.

The state of alarm in the country was expressed in *A True Account* as follows:--

The Popish Clergy has ordered all the People not to pay one Farthing to any Protestant, but to stand it out to the uttermost, till they are compelled by Law; the Design being visible, that they would utterly Exterpate the English there.

The wind no sooner blows Easterly but they are in great dread and fear; yet they tell us there is Confusion in England, and that there will no Succours come from thence; that they will land an Army in England suddenly; and that England fears an Invasion from Ireland, more than it doth from them: Their usual saying is "You Whiggish Dogs, we will make you know that the Prince of Orange is not come yet; and we will do your business before he comes, for when we come back from London Derry we will make an end of you all." And the Irish Tenants and Neighbours of the English that formerly lived in amity with and chiefly depended on them, do continually send the souldiers to the Protestants Houses, telling them that Whiggs live there; where they go and eat up their Provisions, taking away the Horses from the Plow, and whatever else they have a mind to, giving them horrid Abuses besides; so that many Families who formerly lived very plentifully, have not now left them Bread to eat.

It was while the little community of Enniskillen were thus perturbed and anxious for their safety in

stealing an hundred or two at once in a night, so that many substantial Protestants, who owned several hundred of black cattle and sheep. &c., had not one left; and for 40 miles together in the province of Munster, the Irish celers were full of beef stolen from the English, which they did not so much as bestow salt upon, but hung it up in the smoke, so that it cooked and stunk as bad as carrion; it was affirmed that in nine days the Irish stole 11,000 cattle in that one province, and at length to complete the miseries of the Protestants, they robbed and pillaged their houses, so that those who had lived in great hospitality and plenty, now wanted bread to eat, and had nothing left to preserve them from starving.—Burton's History of Ireland, p. 77.

a place destitute of fortified strength, that news came on the 7th December, 1688, of an alarming character. The Earl of Mount-Alexander* had received an unsigned letter, dated December 3, 1688, directed to him by an unknown hand. It had been found on the street of Comber, Co. Down, and warned him of an intended massacre. It was as follows:—

December 3rd, 1688.

GOOD MY LORD,—I have written to you to let you know that all our Irishmen through Ireland is sworn: that on the ninth day of this month, they are all to fall on to kill and murder man, wife, and child; and I desire your lordship to take care of yourself, and all others that are judged by our men to be heads, for whosoever of them can kill any of you, they are to have a captain's place; so my desire to your honour is, to look to yourself, and give other noblemen warning, and go not out either night or day without a good guard with you, and let no Irishman come near you, whatsoever he be; so that is all from him who was your father's friend, and is your friend, and will be, though I dare not be known, as yet, for fear of my life.

Anonymous letters to the same effect were received by a Mr. Brown of Lisburn, Mr. Maitland of Hillsborough, and others.

Whether these letters conveyed news of an actual conspiracy or were a hoax intended to harry the settlers out of the country, one thing was certain: it reminded the men of Inniskillen of the warning obtained by Sir William Cole before the massacre of 1641, and they thought it right to send copies of it to Dublin so that the warning should be conveyed to

* Hugh Montgomery, second Earl of Mount-Alexander, born on the 24th February, 1650, received the anonymous letter of December 3rd, 1688, and became one of the leaders of the Ulster defence. For this reason he was exempted from mercy by the Proclamation of Tyrconnell of 7th March, 1689, (see *supra*). After the Revolution, he was appointed a Privy Councillor, Governor of the County of Down, and a Brigadier-General.

the Protestants of the metropolis and throughout Ireland. The letter seemed to be confirmed by what they had observed around them; and a "Guardian of the Friary," one Anthony Murray, was overheard saying in Inniskillen to some of his own people that "he would soon have a red cross upon every door in town," as if to denote where there should be slaughter.

Fear of the impending massacre spread over all Ireland.* Protestants sat up all night on the 9th December, the men fully armed, dreading the worst. Many of the Protestant population fled to England or to Wales; and to relieve the fears of some others, Tyrconnell, the Lord Deputy, vowed that the rumour was a malicious and groundless lie. He tried to assuage the Protestant fears, but in vain. No one could trust "Lying Dick Talbot;" the exodus continued,† but in some parts of the country the Protestants prepared for defence, determined to sell their lives dearly, notably at Kenmare, Bandon, Mallow, and Charleville in the South; Sligo in the West; and Enniskillen and Derry in the North. Men went armed to church; even ministers in the pulpits carried arms, to be prepared for any sudden danger. Refugees came every day into Inniskillen.

The apprehensions of the Inniskillen men seemed to be confirmed when the Provost (Mr. Paul Dane) received on Tuesday, the 11th December, a letter

* A Faithful History of the Northern affairs of Ireland stated that the news of the letter so alarmed the city of Dublin that "above 5,000 appeared in arms that night, and many hundred families embarked from all parts in such confusion that they left everything but their lives behind them."

† Hamilton and Graham place this date on Thursday the 13th, but having regard to the Provost's letter of the 13th, I conclude that MacCarmick must be correct in fixing the day as two days after the day of the apprehended massacre.

from the Lord Lieutenant informing him that two companies of foot soldiers were on their way to be quartered on the garrison, and that he was to provide for them. This very letter itself was suspicious, as the usual course for the men coming to be quartered was to present their own patent. The letter aroused the townsmen to action. The next news received was that the two companies—Captain Nugent's and Captain Shirlo's,—had arrived at "Clownish" [Clones], and this announcement seems to have brought matters to a crisis.

The townsmen consulted together. They had learned of the Prince of Orange's arrival in England at Torbay, on 5th November, though the news had only arrived at Enniskillen about a month later. The circumstances were remarkably similar to those which occurred at Derry. The question for Inniskillen was, should admission be refused to the two companies? for once the soldiers were admitted,* the Inniskilleners would not be in an independent position to be free-will agents. They would be overpowered or overawed by the soldiers. They took counsel together. Sir Michael Cole,† their natural leader, was absent. They cherished hopes from the coming of the Prince of Orange, but he was not yet their King; there were doubts and fears. Not being learned in affairs of state, the townsmen resolved to invite the advice of Captain James Corry, J.P., at Castlecoole, which was about one mile out of the town. Captain Corry, like Bishop Ezekiel Hopkins, ‡ of Derry, knew well that

* The barracks for two companies were in the main street, exactly beside the Diamond.

† A MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, F. 4, 3, contains a list of Protestants who had left Ireland in 1688, and among the names is that of "Cole Sr. Mich., Inniskillings, with 5 children. Real estate [£] 1073."

‡ At Derry Bishop Hopkins lectured the young Presbyterian lads who had closed the gates on the enormity of opposin the King, "the Lord's anointed."

it was a grave matter to refuse admittance to the soldiers of the King, and thought it best to withhold the advice sought; and when the townsmen were divided in opinion, as at Derry, a few men, like the Apprentice Boys at Derry, decided the momentous issue.

Three men named William Browning, Robert Clarke* (an ancestor of Dr. William Mahood) and William MacCarmick, apparently the leaders in the idea of refusing admission to the King's troops, retired to a back room to consult. We have no clue as to where that "back-room" was, but in it they were joined by James Ewart [Ewart] and Allen Cushcart [Cathcart]. These five men, like the 13 Apprentice Boys of Derry,† took upon themselves the great responsibility of denying entrance to the two companies. Let us set the names of these bold men out in order—

WILLIAM BROWNING.

ROBERT CLARKE.

WILLIAM MacCARMICK.

JAMES EWART.

ALLEN CATHCART.‡

Immediately this daring quintette had come to this

But young Irwin cried out—"My Lord, your doctrines may be very good, but just at present we can't hear you out." And those humble men kept the gates closed. It was pretty much the same at Enniskillen. The gentry would not oppose the King; but the independent and Presbyterian part of the community led the way.

* Robert Clarke, merchant, served as churchwarden.

† The men who actually closed the Ferryquay gate were—Henry Campsie, William Crookshanks, Robert Sherrard, Daniel Sherrard, Alexander Irwin, James Stewart, Robert Morrison, Alexander Cunningham, Samuel Hurst, James Spike, John Cunningham, William Cairns, and Samuel Harvey. They were all—or almost all—Presbyterians. Mackenzie in the Preface to his account says that "the Episcopal party could not, according to the exactest computation we could make, claim above *one in fifteen* of the common soldiers."

‡ The descendants of Allen Cathcart are still to be found in the barony of Magheraboy.

resolve, they with remarkable promptitude and good generalship, arranged to dispatch on the very same night "expresses," (as special messengers were then termed,) to most of the gentlemen of the county, informing them of their resolution, requesting co-operation and timely notice of the approaching soldiers; and promising the gentry that while they stayed with them in town they should have free quarters for man and horse. Captain William MacCarmick, took the lead in these matters, perhaps from his military rank and social standing.

A stone bridge had been constructed only a short time previously across the ford to Toneystick at the east end of the town, and it forms part of the East Bridge of to-day. The drawbridge had not yet been put in position. Captain MacCarmick saw that to protect the town he must first place defences at this bridge. He, therefore, had timber cut and brought in to construct a drawbridge; and sent for the iron fittings of the former bridge, to equip it; and thus commenced the defence of Inniskillen.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DEFENCE.

Nor did MacCarmick content himself with urging the Provost and Corporation to set the carpenters to work at the drawbridge, (who had been stopped by Captain Corry,) but he rode out to Cornet Gustavus Hamilton, who lived at Monea Castle,* about four miles distant; and we may gather from his own words that he called on others on the way, as he wanted to know "the neighbouring gentlemen's resolutions." They all seemed inclined to join in the defence of Inniskilling, and as some of these gentlemen, including Cornet Hamilton, were coming into the town, they were met by an "express" from the Provost, bearing the following letter:—

Dear Sir;

MR. Latournall† came just now from Captain Corry,‡ and in his coming into the Town, commanded the Carpenters

* There was an older castle at Monea, which had belonged to Hugh Neinagh Maguire, who died at Cork, on the 3rd August, 1428, the day on which he landed from a pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints in Spain.

† A Thomas Letournell or Le Tournell died in 1708. He had been provost in 1694 and 1702, and is most likely the "Mr. Latournall" referred to here. Captain Corry became Provost in 1697.

‡ Son of Mr. John Corry of Belfast, the founder of the Corry family in this locality, from whom the present Earl of Belmore is the seventh in descent.

to leave off working at the Drawbridge, and also came to me and begged I should send for my Brethren, and dissuade them from the Resolution of denying the Soldiers entrance, and to provide them Quarters as speedily as I could. My request to you is, That you will immediately give the Gentlemen in these parts an accompt [account] of my design, which is to give them entrance, and that you will make all the haste you can home to assist me, is all from

Yours to serve you whilst I am

Inniskilling,
13th,

Dec.
1688

PAUL, DANE.

Two things seem apparent from this letter—(1) There were no military in barracks then in Enniskillen, and the soldiers were to be billeted; and it is worthy of note that there were no soldiers in Derry either. (2) That after the excitement of the most daring resolve to refuse admission to the King's troops had passed away, the danger of the situation grew on the minds of the townsmen, and the whole matter was discussed over again. They were in want of men, of stores, arms, and ammunition. The Irish royal troops, on the contrary, were well armed. Defeat for the townsmen meant certain death as rebels; Prince William of Orange had not yet been proclaimed King, and even if he had been proclaimed King in England, that did not necessarily determine the matter in Ireland, for the Irish Parliament still acknowledged James I. as their lawful sovereign.

Therefore, the Provost felt the gravity of this matter and that they should not "deny the soldiers entrance,"—and all this, too, after the resolve to defend the town. However, MacCarmick, who was a leading spirit throughout the struggle, was not dissuaded. He and the gentlemen of Magheraboy, on the West side of Lough Erne, and I surmise they included Lieutenant Christopher Carleton of Tully-

margy* Castle, second son of Lancelot Carleton of Rossfad (who died in the service of Charles I.) and the representatives of Mrs. Somerville of Tullykelter † [for Mr. James Somerville died in 1688,] and perhaps Mr. Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, and Sir John Hume ‡ came into town, and here met gentlemen from the other side of the lake, the west side, from the barony of Lurg.

The subject was considered over again, most of those present being in favour of admitting the two companies, seeing how strong the Irish were, while in Inniskillen they had neither arms nor ammunition, nor trained soldiers, with the possibility before them of a divided people, some of whom might throw down their arms when they saw the King's forces. But the townsmen, with Mr. Gustavus Hamilton and those who accompanied MacCarmick from Magherboy, adhered strongly to the previous resolution, and said they would "neither submit themselves to be slaves, nor assist in the making of others so." What compatriots

* Lieutenant Carleton died about the year 1716. Henry Peisley L'Estrange married his grand-daughter, Mary Carleton, and thus the Carletons became possessed of the Tullymargy property. Mr. Christopher Carleton L'Estrange was the last of the name to inherit the property. He was High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1876, and as High Sheriff gave a county ball in the Protestant Hall, Enniskillen, which may be remembered by some still living. On which occasion the late Mrs. William Archdale assisted Mr. Carleton L'Estrange to entertain his guests. The Tullymargy estate passed after his death into the hands of Surgeon-General Thomas Teevan, Raceview, Enniskillen, who went to Dublin to reside.

† Tullykelter. Mrs. (or Lady Hamilton) was amongst those attainted in 1689. The head rent of this estate now goes to Mr. Hugh de Fellenburg Montgomery, D.L., of Blessingbourne, Fivemiletown, the lineal descendant of the Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly whose name figures frequently in these pages.

‡ Sir John Humes or Hume, second son of Patrick, fifth baron of Polwarth, Scotland, obtained a grant of 4,500 acres in Magheraboy; and this large estate remained in the family till the death of Sir Gustavus Hume in 1731, when for want of male issue the estate passed through the female line to the Loftus family.

of John Knox these men were! for they appear by their names to have been chiefly Scotch.

Therefore, the carpenters were directed to resume their work at the drawbridge; and though Captain Corry* did not feel justified in joining what he considered rebellion against the King, yet he complied with the wishes of the townsmen by sending in from Castlecoole "the chains and irons which had formerly belonged to the bridge," by which we understand the East bridge made at the settlement of the town, which bridge was supplemented, (in 1688) after 73 or 74 years use, by the new stone structure.

It does not appear by what right Captain Corry became possessed of these irons for the drawbridge—whether he took them on the occasion of the demolition of the old bridge for safety, or retained them as curios. We would conceive now-a-days that these articles would have been taken care of by the Corporation.

There still remain in the arch over the deepest water of the East bridge the corbals on which the beams of the draw bridge rested. There are two or three blind arches (to carry the roadway to Toneystick)

* Captain James Corry, who had in 1663 married Miss Anketill, of Anketill's Grove, had one daughter Rebecca married to Mr. James Moutray, ancestor of Mr. Anketell Moutray, of Favour Royal, Aughnacloy. Captain Corry was a person of consideration as the owner of the Castlecoole estate, which his father John Corry had purchased from the heirs of Arthur Champion (or Campion) in 1655-6, and was great grandfather of Armas Lowry Corry, 1st Earl of Belmore. This Captain James Corry who had served as High Sheriff of the County in 1671, had a town house in Enniskillen, near the present Townhall, and apparently took an active interest in local concerns, as in 1684 he had been a churchwarden along with James Ewart; and was one of the local leaders. After this difference with the Inniskilleners he retired to Castlecoole when he retained an armed garrison. He acknowledged King William and Queen Mary in the next year, 1689, but that did not placate the townsmen towards him, and he left Ireland for England. He became elected M.P. for Fermanagh in 1692, and on 24th Nov., 1692 was appointed Colonel of a Horse Militia regiment to be raised in Fermanagh; and on 20th Dec., 1696, he was appointed a Deputy Governor of Fermanagh. For other particulars see what followed the battle of Kilmacormick.

not perceptible above ground, just as there are one or two at the Protestant Hall end of the bridge. The bridge of 1688 was about 15 feet wide. It contained three V shaped angles to afford pedestrians shelter from a passing vehicle. These angles became the resort of importunate beggars, and were filled up about 1820 or 1823, when the bridge was being doubled in width. John Maguire, grandfather of Mr. J. F. Wray, LL.B., was the contractor, and the iron railings were added. The bridge was again widened in 1894 during the Chairmanship of Mr. Thos. Plunkett, M.R.I.A., when a sidepath was added to the South side to correspond to that on the North side.

There was rejoicing at the completion of the drawbridge, as it would contribute to a sense of security; and invitations were again issued to the neighbouring gentry and farmers to join the townsmen, who promised free quarters for man and horse, as an inducement to do so. Some people did come to town, in response to the invitation, bringing their household furniture with them; and it was all needed, as the existing accommodation in small thatched cabins and larger houses became strained, and resort had to be made to the Sessions House, and the School for the refugees.

The Rev. Mr. Kelso, the Presbyterian minister of Inniskillen, had pressed upon the neighbouring inhabitants the necessity of resorting to the town for mutual defence, and greatly influenced the settlers in that regard; and so animated was he by the necessity of showing an example, that he bore arms himself, and marched at the head of the men on parade, after the manner of the Scotch chaplains of Scotch regiments, to inspire them with a sense of duty.



CAPTAIN WM. M'CARMICK calls on Inniskilleners in the market place to refuse admittance to the King's soldiers.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DERRY.

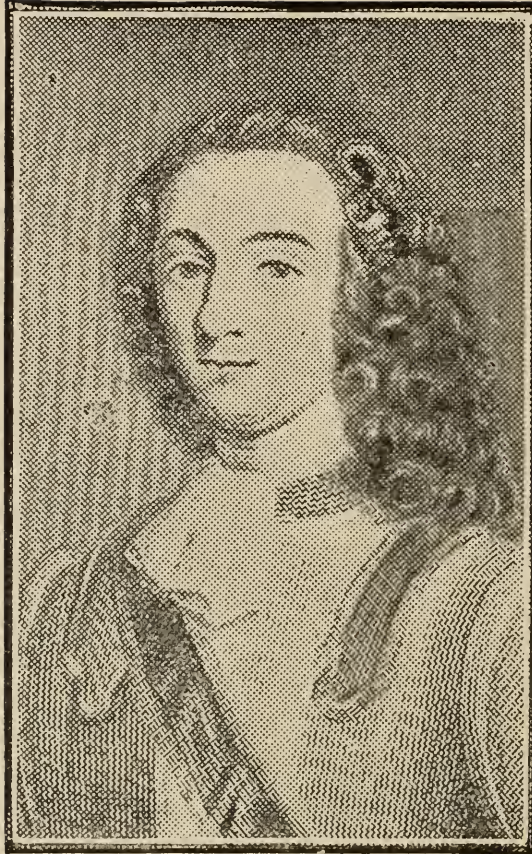
The apprehended massacre of the 9th December had not taken place. Some people imagined that the exposure of the plot had frustrated the execution of the design—now-a-days it is believed that the letters of warning of what was contemplated were a hoax; but the Inniskilleners conceived that the danger still existed, that the massacre had only been postponed, as the native Irish, it was noticed, were still assembling, were seen sharpening their skeans and carrying them even to mass; while to the Protestant mind the tendency of the Government to subject and extirpate Protestants was sufficient to satisfy them that they must make a resolute stand for their religion, their lives, and their property.

There were no Constabulary then, no organized force for the preservation of order, as we have now; a company of soldiers quartered in a town,—and soldiers were in those days not the most exemplary citizens—was supposed to overawe the disorderly.

The preservation of the peace depended in a great measure upon the citizens themselves; and, therefore, we in these days of the 20th century must make allowance for and understand the circumstances of the closing years of the 17th century to comprehend the situation in which those daring Inniskilleners found themselves. Few in numbers, cut off from assistance in case of need, they depended on their own resolute will and strong right arm,—and upon God.

We are amazed to-day at the wonderful courage and faith of those inhabitants of a small village in their resistance to the authority of him who was by law their King. It almost surpasses belief. Derry at least had broad and strong high walls, and a considerable population; she had access to the sea, by the Foyle; on the ramparts lay her cannon, and in her magazine was plenty of ammunition. In little Inniskillen, with only 80 householders, and their women and children, there were neither walls nor cannon; and hardly any arms or ammunition, for the few barrels of powder and 20 firelocks would not count for much during war.

Inniskillen's military leader (Sir Michael Cole) was absent in England. She had a girdle of water around her, it is true, but it was fordable in low water at three or four points,—though this particular winter the water was at high level, and, therefore, in a sense some protection. Yet such was the desperate nature of Inniskillen's plight, that it had not enough men to form a sufficient defence. When the aged and the young, and the unreliable were weeded out, those heroes found in their desperate condition that they had not enough men for a guard, for this is what they stated in a letter written on Thursday,



MR. DAVID CAIRNES,
of Augher and Londonderry, to whom the
Inniskilleners wrote.

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the 13th of December, 1688, to David Cairnes, Esq.,* or other officer commanding at Londonderry, when the advancing King's troops (the two companies) were supposed to be near Lisnaskea:—

Gentlemen—The frequent intelligence we have from all parts of this Kingdom of a general massacre of the Protestants and two companies of foot of Sir Thomas Neucomen's regiment, viz. ; Captain Nugent's and Shurlowe's, being upon their march to garrison here, and now within ten miles, hath put us upon a resolution of refusing them entrance: our desire being only to preserve our own lives, and the lives of our neighbours, this place being the most considerable pass between Connaught and Ulster; and hearing of your resolutions, we thought it convenient to impart this to you, as likewise to beg your assistance, both in your advice and relief, especially in keeping us with some powder, and in carrying on a correspondence with us hereafter, as we shall, with God's assistance, do with you, which is all at present, Gentlemen, from your faithful friends and fellow Christians,

THE INHABITANTS OF ENNISKILLEN.

We are not now in a condition to spare men for a guard, therefore must entreat your assistance in that.

Allen Cathcart	Archibald Hamilton
William Browning	Malcome Cathcart
Thomas Shore	James Ewart
William Smith	Robert Clarke

What pathos there is in that sentence, that they have not even men enough to form a guard! Yet here they were in actual rebellion against the King, knowing that their fate, if seized, would be to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and all their property confiscated; they risked them all in this great

* Mr. David Cairnes an elder of one of the Derry Presbyterian congregations, described as "of the Scottish nation," of Knockmany, Co. Tyrone, was, says Witherow, the first man of position in Ulster who publicly identified himself with the act of the humble Derry apprentices. Mr. Cairnes became Member of Parliament for Derry in 1692 and 1695, was a Presbyterian elder and one of the most prominent defenders of Derry. He went over to London to see the Prince of Orange, and brought back a letter from King William III. to Governor Lundy.

emergency, for principle, with such terrible odds against them! How puny and insignificant such a combination of those humble men seemed! Yet it was destined, under God, to transform rebellion into revolution, and, in partnership with their friends in Derry, to save Ireland as an integral part of what afterwards became a United Kingdom.

This letter had been sent to Derry by Allen Cathcart and Captain Wm. MacCarmick, who at the same time were to make arrangements for carrying on a correspondence with Derry, and request a supply of arms and ammunition; and they also brought with them the following letter from the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Mr. Kelso,* of whom we have heard already:—

Enniskillen, December 15, 1688.

Sir,—After an alarm of an intended massacre, there are two foot companies sent to be quartered in this small place, and though we be deserted by our magistrates yet we intend to repulse them. You are, therefore, entreated in this common cause to look on our condition, and if we come to be made a leading card, sit not still and see us sink. The bearer can more fully inform you of our condition. The Lord direct and preserve you and us, who intend hurt to none, but sinless self-preservation. This from yours, &c.

ROBERT KELSO.

* The Rev. Robert Kelso came to Enniskillen in 1685 from the Wicklow Presbyterian congregation, succeeding the Rev. James Tailyeur. As the Inniskillen Presbyterian congregation again became vacant in 1690, it is supposed that Mr. Kelso must have died shortly after the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RETURN OF THE EXPRESS.

The "express" which had been sent out in the Clones direction was speedily answered by his prompt return from Mr. Daniel Eccles. He arrived at Enniskillen about midnight on Thursday the 14th December, or within 24 hours of the time that the messenger had been dispatched on horseback. We can imagine the arrival of the courier in the dark of the night, during a dangerous period, passing the Gallows Green, and arriving at the gap in the bridge, demanding access. The old road to Clones at that time ran from Enniskillen at the back of the present Model School, and through the present Castlecoole demesne. Although it became closed to public traffic nearly one hundred years later, in 1783, its track is still discernible plainly in the demesne, to the south-east of the Breandrum gate lodge, sweeping over the hill beyond, and over Standing-stone Hill, towards the back gate lodge at what is locally known as the "Cross Causey," or Causeway. That old road still runs to Glassmullagh, then through the fields to the old Tanhouse water, and

on to Lisbellaw, Maguiresbridge, and Lisnaskea. Mr. Gilbert Eccles (born 1602, died in 1684), who had settled in Ireland in the time of Charles I., had obtained the manors of Shannock and Rathmoran, near Clones, and of Castlelee (Fintona). It was presumably his son Daniel who answered this call of the Inniskilling-men, and, as he addressed his communication to Mr. William MacCarmick, it looks as if MacCarmick had written the first letter. This is Mr. Eccles' reply:—

GENTLEMEN

PASSING all Compliments of Thanks: We are so assured that two Companies of Foot are Marching to Inniskilling that Capt. Nugent, with other officers, are in Clownish this night on their March thither; but as for their Soldiers, though they were expected there it's thought they will go by Newtown-butler, and it's supposed they are in Drum. We Pray God Bless you, and can only tell you That a Troop of Dragoons came to Ardmagh Saturday last, where the Inhabitants offered them Candle, Fire, and Salt; so that if they expected any further necessaries, they were to pay beforehand; whereupon the Lieutenant Marched to his Capt., Coll. Bryan Mac-Maghon, at Charlemont,* and the Townsmen went to Church with their Arms, of which two Centinels were placed on the steeple, to Fire their Firelocks and ring the Bells as a signal to the Countrey, if they had offered anything ill; of which we had no further account.

As to what other things you propose, assure yourselves we shall be ready to offer all Testimony of Frenship, as may be expected from such as are not wanting to pray for you; and are expecting a particular Correspondence from you, as you shall have from us, &c.

To Mr. William MacCarmick,
at Inniskilling.

The receipt of this letter encouraged the defence. All Roman Catholics—or Papists, as they were termed—were turned out of the town, while the “Friar-

Guardian," Anthony Murray, was imprisoned in the Castle. Murray had friends, however, for he escaped by a rope over the wall to a boat on the river that was in waiting.

* A strong fort had been built at Charlemont, County Armagh, to overaw the O'Neill, who lived some seven or eight miles away at Dungannon.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE ROUT AT CASTLECOOLE.

It is a strange circumstance that while the closing of the Gates of Derry on the 18th of December by the Apprentice Boys has been celebrated in Enniskillen and Fermanagh since that year of 1688, no heed is paid at all to the equally memorable and locally more significant denial of entrance to the troops of James II. at Inniskillen, on Sunday, the 16th of December, two days before the memorable event at Derry. Inniskillen took the first plunge into the breach.

The Episcopalian community had assembled in the first parish church in the forenoon on the eventful occasion, when the Rev. Ezekiel Webb, the rector, we may assume, was conducting Morning Prayer under more solemn circumstances, and with greater gravity, than usual. Some words in the Litany may have been thought applicable to the occasion, but the prayer to be recited "in the time of war and tumults" would be deemed specially

appropriate, in the following phraseology and old time spelling:—

O ALMIGHTY God, King of all kings, and Governour of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to them that truly repent; Save and deliver us we humbly beseech thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices; that we, being armed with thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of victory; through the merits of thy only Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

In the Presbyterian church the Rev. Robert Kelso occupied the pulpit, and I can fancy that on that occasion he gave out one of the psalms so dear to the old Covenanters,* to give heart to his hearers.

God is our refuge and our strength,
In straits a present aid:
Therefore, although the earth remove,
We will not be afraid.

Or that other old psalm full of encouragement to God's people:—

I to the hills will lift mine eyes
From whence doth come mine aid,
My safety cometh from the Lord
Who heav'n and earth hath made.

I have no doubt that both those psalms were sung often by the Presbyterians both in Enniskillen and Derry.

* If there be any one book in the Bible which has, as a whole, influenced Christianity more than another, it is the Psalms of David. We find them repeatedly quoted by Protestant and Roman Catholic writers; and their power was especially felt in the Scottish Church, where they were regularly used in Divine worship, and diligently read and quoted in the homes of the people. When the metrical version was provided the lines were easily committed to memory, and exercised a wonderful influence on the people in their every-day

It was not long past ten o'clock, when a messenger went to each congregation in haste. "The soldiers are near us!" A whisper went round.

life, soothing in times of trouble, encouraging in time of danger, strengthening in times of adversity, and affording rejoicing in a time of victory.

The old Scottish Psalms were in use in the Episcopal churches of England, as well as in the dissenting churches of Scotland, of which a full description is given in 'The Story of the Psalters' from 1549 to 1885, by Henry Alex Glass, (Keegan, Paul, Trench and Co., Paternoster Square, London). Glass says p. 12, "The singing of metrical psalms in the vulgar tongue first commenced in Scotland": also "The first complete metrical psalter had gone out of memory for nearly 200 years, when a copy of it was discovered in the library of Brazenose College, Oxford. Its date was 1549, and its author, Robert Crowley. He was a citizen of London, afterwards rector of Cripplegate, where he lies buried. He doubtless used them in his church, which was of course, Episcopalian. Archbishop Parker's Psalter (1557) is also referred to.

Thomas Sternbold, a gentleman of the Privy Council, 1540-9, translated some of the psalms, which were dedicated to Edward VI., to whom belongs the honour of having first authorized a part of the Metrical Psalter for public use. Metrical psalm singing at once became popular, but the accession of Queen Mary put an end for a time to all public practice of it.

Whittingham is the next name mentioned, and also Hopkins, and the psalter had increased to the Genevan 150. It was this psalter that was used in the Church of St. Antholine's, Watling Street, where the practice of psalm singing was first introduced. In addition to Sternbold and Hopkin's 100, Whittingham wrote 12, Kethe 10, Pullan 1, Nortou 26, Wisdom 1, 5 Anon, making 150 in all.

Hopkins was a clergyman, Whittingham a Puritan divine, and became Dean of Durham. Kethe was chaplain to the forces, 1563, was the author of the 100th psalm, the only composition in the Sternbold and Hopkins psalter, which is still generally sung. Pullan was Archdeacon of Colchester, &c.

The psalter was largely approved of by the Episcopalians at its origin. Ravenscroft psalter is described. The whole book of psalms is usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands.

It is from this and other tune books, and Andrew Hart's Psalter (Edinburgh 1615), that the old tunes are taken, which are still sung in Protestant countries. *St David's* is one of them; *Dundee*, *French*, and *Martyrs* are others.

In 1556 Wedderburn psalms in Scotland were superseded by Sternbold's "One and Fiftie," added to the Genevan form of prayer. "This was the Psalm Buik presented to Mary, Queen of Scots, by the citizens of Edinburgh in 1561."

Arrangements seem to have been made for the bringing out the first Sternbold psalms simultaneously in London and Edinburgh (1561). The Scotch psalm of 1650 is the revised version by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

In 1696 Tate and Brady appeared, and was permitted to be used in Churches. Only two or three Tate and Brady psalms have survived, but one verse, wedded to Spohr's tune is likely to be immortal.—

As pants the heart for cooling streams,
When heated in the chase, &c.

The old Scottish Psalter was so precious in the eyes of the Presbyterians, as well as established Churchmen, that its alteration and improvement was looked upon as sacrilege, almost.

Silently, every able-bodied man rose, and, invoking the help of God, made his way, most likely, to a central meeting spot at the Diamond, or if not already armed, ran home for whatever arms he could command.

What bustle! The soldiers were near! What had been feared had come close to them, and now was the time for action! On a Sunday, too! The better day the better deed. The women and children are anxious, and, perhaps, tearful, as the men rapidly foregather.

As the letter of Mr. Eccles had located the officers of the incoming troops at Clones, and the men themselves at Drum, some miles behind, two scouts, Mr. James Baird, and Mr. James Johnston,* had been sent out the previous day, Saturday, 15th December, to reconnoitre and bring intelligence of the approach.

The sentinel at Enniskillen observed the return of the Inniskillen scouts that Sunday morning hastening along the main road through Breandrum townwards. They came past the Gallows Green to the bridge; the drawbridge was lowered across the chasm; the scouts were admitted; the drawbridge again raised; and they proceeded to give the news that the enemy were within four or five miles of the town, about Lisbellaw.

Hastily each man took his sword or halbert, as the case might be, and when all were mustered it was found that there were 200 foot, half of them not armed, and about 150 horse, all untrained and unused

*I am unable to definitely identify this Mr. Johnston's family, there were so many of them in the county. It is strange that the tradition of this exploit was not handed down to posterity in the "spy's" own family.

to discipline. What hurrying and scurrying there was to find matchlocks or weapons of any sort! What restlessness of horses unused to parade!

The Inniskilleners, such as they were, resolved to fight, and the order was given to march, the horse being under the command of Captain Browning and Lieut. Christopher Carleton, and the foot under the command of Captain Malcome Cathcart.*

When the King's soldiers had arrived in sight of the old house at Castlecoole,—[the present building is the third house,]—about a mile from town—the officers were invited by Captain Corry to dine. The soldiers appear to have marched onward, seeking rest, their officers parting from them in the same way as they did at Clones and Drum, when the soldiers were met by some Irish who had been turned

* The Phillips Betham Mss. (1776) several times referred to in this book refers thus to the Cathcart family:—"The family of Cathcart, in ffermanagh, were gentlemen of considerable estimation and respect since the War of 1641 and before. The most remarkable of his family in forty-wan warrs was Adam Cathcart, Esqr., being High Sheriffe in ye county, and Captⁿ in ye Arme^y, remarkable for his prudence and good care in preserving ye county durement ye said Warrs. His eldest son, Gabriel, was married to Anna Hamilton, daughter to ye Archbis'p of Cashill, and sister to Hugh Hamilton, who was created Lord Barron of Clinawley, whose other brother Lewis, or Lodowics, was created Lord in Swedland. Another daughter of ye said Archbishop was married to Macarty in Munster.

The chiefest of ye family now in ffermanagh is Malcom Cathcart, Esq., ye eldest son and heir of ye said Gabriel Cathcart, Esq., whose mother was ye aforesaid Anna Hamilton, and is daughter to Mary, daughter of Sir James Caldwell, Bart., whose eldest son by the sd Lady is James a young hopeful youth. The said Malcom Cathcart, Esq., was a valliant Capⁿ in ye late Warrs '88, under ye command of Governr Hamilton: and after ye Warrs was tytled Major in ye Militia of fferm. His other brother, Captⁿ Hugh Cathcart, is married to Mary Carleton, a gentlewoman of great relations and sister to Guy Carleton, Esq.

There is another forward gent. of the sa family in this county, namely, Cornell James Cathcart, married to Col^{ll} Gustavus Hamilton's daughter, who was Governr of Iniskillin in ye late Warrs, and several others of this good family in fferm. needless to insert . . . the formr being ye most remarkable—all derived from ye Leard of Bardaraugh and other ancient houses in Scotland.

There is another gent. of estate remaining in ye towne of Iniskillin, namely, Allen Cathcart, Esqu., Justice of ye Peace, but formerly a rich merchant, whose antiquity I can't explaine, but ye former gent., who are derived from the Leard of Bardaraugh, beareth in their coate of arms (vizt):—"Azur three cross crosslets pitched issuing of ass many crescents argent, &c."

out of the town. The latter acquainted the royal troops of the intention of the Inniskilleners to fight, and, following the usual Irish habit, so exaggerated and magnified the numbers of the Inniskilleners that the troops (about 90 or 100 men) became discouraged and resolved on retreat. This resolution had scarcely been arrived at when the Inniskillen horse appeared in view, and the Irish soldiers fled, a quantity of the rabble with them; and the officers, alarmed, rose from dinner and followed their men, who did not pause along that old road which still runs its way past the old Carman's Inn and through the ford at the Drumlone river, till they reached "MacGuire's Bridge." This sudden flight did not please the men of Inniskillen, who wanted all the arms they could seize to arm their own men and those who had flocked into town from the country; and the Horse were about to pursue their retreating foe when they were dissuaded by Captain Corry, who said he had passed his word for their safety while in that country, at which the Inniskilleners were much disappointed, but they observed the pledge given.

Frightened but tired the royal troops remained at Maguiresbridge under arms for the night, and on next day, the 17th, they proceeded by the old road which still winds its way past Nutfield and the Moat to Fawney, and by Donagh to Newtownbutler.*

THE SPIES.

Meantime three spies had been sent forward by the Inniskilleners in advance to intercept them and

* As the ancient road had been constructed over the hill before Lord Balfour's castle had been built, it did not touch Lisnaskea proper, and a road was made from the Moat to the castle, passing the brook and the pound to provide for convenient access to the castle from the highway.

learn the strength of the enemy, namely, Captain William Browning, Mr. James Corry (cousin of Captain Corry), and another. They may have made their way by a new road by way of Congo, still partly in existence, which led to a ford near the present Ballindarragh bridge; (the track of the road may still be traced to Lisnaskea through the fields); and to avoid the troops they may have gone thence by way of Aghalurcher instead of Donagh, and along by the old road observable at each side of the present railway crossing on the north side of Newtownbutler.

The spies ran a great risk. When they mixed amongst the retreating troops at Newtownbutler to gain the knowledge they desired, some of the followers of the troops from Castlecoole disclosed their identity; and before the spies could mount their horses they were seized, and surrounded by a strong party of the enemy. Seeing the desperate nature of the situation and that it was a matter of hanging inside half-an-hour, the three Inniskilleners rushed the enemy, and, marvellous to say, escaped, making their way for succour and shelter towards Captain Saunderson's house [at Castle Saunderson]: and when the two companies had marched past them next day on their way to Cavan—(on the 18th December)—the spies returned to Inniskillen. But the companies fled further from Cavan to what was called Feimah, twelve miles away, still being under the impression that the Inniskilleners were following, to disarm them. It was remarked that the soldiers did not show their patent, nor did they demand to be admitted to Inniskillen.

PORTORA CASTLE.

Nor had Mr. Gustavus Hamilton been idle during

all this time. He had collected about 100 horse personally from among his tenants, as there were so few men in town, and had them stationed at Portora Castle, to guard the ford at that place.* Mr. Hamilton withdrew this party from Portora to support the party at Castlecoole, but their aid was not necessary.

Portora Castle, which Governor Hamilton used as an outpost during the Revolution, was then in good order, not as now, in ruins.† Under the Plantation scheme Jerome Lindsay had been awarded on the 17th September, 1612, "a small Proportion" of 1,000 acres, and the Patent Rolls of James I. acquaint us that his manor was called Drumskeagh [Drumskew]. This proportion contained the townlands lying close to Portora (divided from Enniskillen town by some tates of Church land), and will be recognised by their ancient titles—Drumskeagh [Drumskew], Cannerlagh [Kinarla], Dromeagh [Dromee], Drumclave, and Lurgaveigh [Portora], each one tate [30 acres]; Cullogh and Neery, one tate; Urrisse [Coleshill], one and a half tate; Mullycreagh [Mullaghree], two tates; Clonihowla [Cornahowla], two tates; half of Lurgandarragh, one tate; Dirrilacka, two tates; and half of Doonconyly, two tates; in all 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lough Erne. The other moiety of the land, one-half

* This ford was about two feet deep in ancient times, and was deepened during the first excavations for the Lough Erne navigation, and secondly in 1884, during the progress of the Lough Erne Drainage Works. The very fact that it had been a ford, doubtless led to its being the scene of attack and defence, and several stone hatchets, of prehistoric times, and Irish swords of later date, were dug up from the bed of the channel.

† A large block of the wall was blown down by an experimental explosion in 1858 or 1859, by which an Enniskillen schoolboy named Robert Purser, one of the brilliant Purser family, and elder brother of Louis Purser, F.T.C.D., lost his life. Another portion of the wall was blown down by the great gale of December 1893 or 1894.

quarter, called the tate of Lurgandarragh containing 60 acres, was excepted from this grant. The foregoing lands were created the Manor of Drumskeagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. The rent to the King was £5 6s 3d.

Mr. Lindsay apparently obtained the grant only to part with it for a consideration, for on the 15th October, little more than a month later, he sold this manor to Sir Wm. Cole, who immediately commenced to build in conformity with the conditions of the grant. He chose for the site of the Castle the high ground of the promontory commanding "Portoragh" Stream; so that he should have control of the ford at that place as against any attack from Derrygore or Tyrkennedy side of the lake, and have immediate access to the water.

The *Inquisitions of Ulster* show that Sir William Cole erected upon the tate called Lurgaveigh al' Learganaffiegh alias Porttdorie, one fort and bawne of lime and stone, containing 60 foot square, every way, 10 foote in height, with two flankers of lime and stone, each containing 16 foot in height; and [he] 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 foot wide! There were at this time built upon this proportion 22 English-like houses, inhabited by 22 British tenants and their families.

Sir William demised the two great tates of Derrilackagh to Clinton Ogle, on 20th February, 1613, and to Richard Orme, Drummeagh, one great tate for 61 years; and he also demised other portions of

the Proportion; but he chose the one great tate for the native Irish, to have them under his immediate eye near the castle. Then on the 6th May, 1629, there was a re-grant to Sir William Cole, his heirs, and assigns, for ever, of the small proportion of Drumskeagh, *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.

It was this castle of Porttdorie (toned down in 1688 to "Portoragh") which was subsequently tenanted for some time about 1626 by Dr. James Spottiswoode, Bishop of Clogher, whose daughter was married to Colonel James Creighton of Crom castle, (ancestor of the Earl of Erne).

The Spottiswoode arms and the monogram of the bishop (J.S.) were carved over the doorway of the old castle, which denoted his residence there. After Bishop Spottiswoode left Portora for Clogher, his son, Sir Henry, took up his residence in the historic building overlooking Portora Stream.

It was during his occupancy of Portora Castle that Bishop Spottiswoode* had so much trouble with Lord Balfour of Burleigh, caused by the Bishop's frustrating Lord Balfour's attempt to possess himself of the townlands set aside for the endowment of the Grammar School provided for the education of the sons of the planters in the County Fermanagh.

* Second son of the Rev. John Spottiswood, parish minister of Calder, Church of Scotland. Bishop Spottiswood left Portora in 1628 for Clogher.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

A CRITICAL MOMENT.

The very fact that the royal troops had been sent to Inniskillen had raised hopes in the breasts of the native Irish that perhaps they might be enabled to return to the condition which their fathers had occupied before their subjugation by Queen Elizabeth. They were looked upon with some degree of disdain as "meere Irish" by their conquerors; they had suffered because of their religion; their leaders had been driven abroad or subjugated, and they felt a burning sense of wrong that they had been despoiled in their own land. But war is no respecter of persons. War is war, and they were defeated. They little thought that just as their forefathers under the three Collas had subjugated the original inhabitants of Fermanagh, so they in turn had suffered from the English by reason of the same resistance. What had been won by the sword had perished by the sword.

The news that now came of the enrolling of Catholic troops and officers; of the Lord Deputy being a Catholic; his dispersal of Protestant regiments and

driving Protestants out of public positions, of the plundering Protestants in country districts, was a reversal of the subjection of the Catholics; and all these things afforded a gleam of hope that they might be able to regain some possession of the tribal lands that had been confiscated and had become private property. With the increase in the hope came an independence in bearing of the Irish, so that we are told that they "every day grew more insolent than usual." They gathered themselves in parties, exercised themselves in drill, and learned to handle arms.

If the local Irish had contented themselves with this advance, it might not have mattered so much, but when they took a fancy for the cattle of Protestants and gave way to murder it became too serious. Cattle were the wealth of the country. Cattle stealing and cattle raiding was an old Irish habit, to which we owe the inclusion in our statutes to-day of the Irish law requiring that compensation for malicious injuries should be levied off particular districts.*

On the 16th of December, the day of the fight

* One method of seeking remedy against robbers is found in Payne's *Briefe Description of Ireland*, made in 1589, as follows:—"And if any of the said kine be stolne, the owners doe track which way they were driven from the ground . . . for the law is there, if you tracke any stolen goodes into any man's land, he must tracke them for him, or answere them within forty days, soe where the tracke ceaseth the goodes must be answered.

"The early planters of Ulster were troubled with this cattle stealing; and they wanted a more efficacious method adopted than levying for malicious injuries. When £140 were apploted on the county of Armagh in 1611-12 as compensation for goods stolen, the British undertakers, as innocent men, refused to pay for the gnilty persons, and asked that they be relieved of such exactions, and to hang the offenders. And this recommendation was carried out, for we read that among other records of the Spring Assizes at Armagh on 8th March, 1613-14, the following appear:—

"Brien O'Mullen and William Drumallen stole a cow worth 4*l*, the property of Richard Hanley. Guilty. To be executed.

"Hugh O'Creggan, of Creena, yeoman, on the 9th of February, 1612-13, at

of the soldiers from Castlecoole, the Irish had seized some cattle belonging to man named Fossett [Fawcett], and when he followed the thieves and remonstrated with them, they seized him, and ripped up his abdomen, tore out his intestines, and left the body there. When this incident became known to the garrison at Inniskillen, it strengthened them in their resolve to defend themselves, and to "refuse a Popish garrison," "as in all probability" they feared they should meet with a similar fate if ever they were in the enemy's power.

A COUNTY MEETING.

Time was not allowed to slip by idly. What was termed a rendezvous had been summoned of the Protestant gentry and people of the county that would join the men of Inniskillen for Thursday, the 20th December; and into town came sympathisers and others who were still of another opinion. Captain Corry still stood by the King, and Sir Gerard Irvine,*

Drumullen, stole a grey mare worth 6*l* 6*s* 8*d*, the property of Richard Hanley, yeoman. Guilty. To be executed.

"Laghlín McDonnell O'Hanlon, of Carrickelaghan, yeoman, on the 10th December, 1614, stole three cows, value 20*s* each. Guilty. To be executed."

These culprits were hanged immediately after sentence had been pronounced upon them, the custom then being to put halters round their necks at the dock, and lead them along the principal streets or thoroughfares of the town to the place of execution.

* Sir Gerard Irvine, of Castle Irvine, was the second son of Christopher Irvine, a Commissioner for levying subsidies in the County Fermanagh in 1631, who in 1613 had purchased the Lowther or Necarne estate from Baron Lowther (of the Court of Exchequer), as the said Baron was without heirs, and godfather to the young Gerard (created baronet on 30th June, 1677). The Estate consisted of the three manors of Nekarney, Drumynshin, and Duross or Hunningstown. Sir Gerard was succeeded at Castle Irvine by his youngest brother, William, the father of Christopher of Castle Irvine and of John of Killadeas. The Castle Irvine estate has now been sold to the tenants under the Land Act of 1903, but the Castle itself was purchased by Captain Wm. D'Arcy Irvine, sixth in descent from this Wm. Irvine, and 13th in descent from Christopher Irvine of Bonshaw, killed at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513. The Killadeas estate is owned at present by Major Gerard Irvine, the sixth in descent, from John Irvine of Killadeas.

who had come in from Lowtherstown, was likewise in no doubt that the town should not resist the royal authority. Being of the same mind these two gentlemen probably conferred, and may have found others of the same mind as themselves, when one incident precipitated matters to a crisis, and determined the issue.

A CRISIS.

Mr. Wm. Browning* (afterwards made Captain) rode into town at the head of a party of horse. Captain Corry was not only an officer of the army, but a magistrate for the county, an office which in those days called for the exercise of higher and wider powers than are used at present. He and Sir Gerard Irvine observing the party of men under arms and in military array without royal authority, caused Captain Browning and Captain Baird to be arrested, as if to frighten the Inniskillen men out of their resolution to resist the King; and Captain Corry went to write his "mittimus" to send the officers to prison for appearing thus in arms. But before he had time to write it some Inniskillen men set those officers at liberty, and would not tolerate any further

* The name of Thomas Browning occurs in a list of the Townsmen of Inniskillen and their arms, a. d. 1635, and this Wm. Browning may have been a son of his. A respectable family bearing the name Browning also resided in the barony of Magheraboy. See Vol. I., Chapter XIX.

The following account of this matter is given in the Phillips-Betham MS. (1718) at Cheltenham:—

"In ye Month of Jan '88 two companies of King Jas his men came with a patent to Inishkillin, at which time Capⁿ Browning, Capⁿ Barde, and Capⁿ M'Carmick were ye chiefest officers in ye town at yt time; and in a riotous manner refused to admit them entrance, and drew ye Drawbridges agt ym Hereat ye Magistrates were much amased for such a riot agt ye King's commands, gave orders to secure ye said Captain in safe custody, and being so confined until one Captain Christopher Carleton wth a cocked pistol in his hand rescued ym and set them at liberty; but as nothing can be wthout a beginning their rescue was the efficient cause of preserving ye garrison of Inishkillin from King James his men, &c."

interference. Lieutenant Smith, an elderly gentleman, and a Justice of the Peace, was then sent to tell both Sir Gerard Irvine and Captain Corry that they must leave the town at once, and give no further trouble, or they would send both of those gentlemen where they had intended to send Mr. Browning. Two such influential and locally all-powerful squires must have been amazed at the stern and unyielding attitude of those burghers of Inniskillen!

Sir Gerard and Captain Corry showed their wisdom by realizing this quickly, and seeing that their purpose was all in vain, betook themselves to horse and left Inniskillen. Neither of these gentlemen, it may be presumed, felt kindly towards those Inniskillen revolutionaries for the treatment to which they, as men of position, had been utter strangers; and it was said that Captain Corry in consequence used his influence to prevent his tenants or others from joining the men of Inniskillen; but he finally interfered no longer in opposition, for he saw that he had made a mistake, as will appear hereafter. Meantime Captain Corry raised a troop of horse and a company of foot soldiers, at his own cost, for the defence of Castlecoole; and he left for England about the month of March, 1689. Both he and Mr. Henry Mervyn, of Trillick (father of Sir Audley Mervyn), afterwards testified that they had seen the oath administered to Colonel Lundy by Captain James Hamilton, in Londonderry, as if they had been on their way to England at that time.

ELECTION OF GOVERNOR.

The need of a competent military government in Inniskillen town had been felt, but no official record

remains of filling the appointment. While Derry has preserved the minutes of proceedings of her own Corporation during the siege, no record remains of what the Provost and Corporation of Enniskillen did during this trying time, as the regular minutes have been lost. The Provost, Mr. Paul Dane, may have been an efficient municipal officer, but something more was required by the exigencies of the situation; and the townsmen, having considered the matter in meeting, and probably judging him by their experience of his prudence, integrity, and valour, chose Gustavus Hamilton to be their Governor, although he was not present at the meeting.

The new Governor, who had been a cornet in the troop of horse commanded by his uncle, Lord Glenawley,* until it was broken up by the orders of Tyrconnell, was a Justice of the Peace, a member of one of the best county families, and had resided in the Castle of Monea, the seat of the Hamilton family, but that place of residence was altogether unsuited for Inniskillen purposes. He must live on the spot, and in a building suited to his position.

SEIZING THE CASTLE.

With a Governor elected, it was necessary for him to have some fitting place in which to reside, where he would be accessible. The better class houses were few, and it may be assumed that with the daily accretions of refugees these had become

* Son of Malcome, Archbishop Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel, who fled from Ireland to Sweden in 1641 and died at Stockholm in 1659 nearly 80 years old. The daughter of Sir William Balfour of Mountwhany (who died at Ballygawley in 1679) was married to Ludvic, and the Governor of Enniskillen was their son. When the Inniskilling Regiments were incorporated in the royal army in the summer of 1689, by William III., Governor Gustavus Hamilton was made Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Inniskilling Infantry.

quite full. The Castle was at the time unoccupied by Sir Michael Cole, as he was in England; and the townsmen resolved to request the use of it for their Governor. The barbican and other portions of the Castle were in ruins since the siege in 1593, but the keep was still there.

The servant in charge, however, could not yield it up without authority from his master, which disconcerted the leaders, but the men of Inniskilling thought it no time for ceremony, when their lives and property and the Kingdom were at stake; so Captain Malcome Cathcart* and Captain Henry Smith seized the Castle "by surprise," obtained whatever arms it contained for the use of their men; and placed a strong guard in it afterwards. So Governor Hamilton took up his residence in the Castle of Inniskillen, the ancient stronghold of the Maguires, and brought his family from Monea Castle for security there to reside with him and be under his personal supervision and protection.

Inniskillen had by this time learned of the refusal by Derry to admit Lord Antrim's regiment, and so Governor Hamilton wisely thought it prudent to arrange for a correspondence to be maintained between the two towns, especially to secure more arms and

* Captain (afterwards Major) Malcome Cathcart, of Glack, Boho, married in 1698, ten years afterwards, Mary daughter of Sir James Caldwell, first baronet, of Belleek. It was he who raised the second company of Inniskilling Foot from the "Dissenting" or the Presbyterian congregation. He was the son of Gabriel Cathcart, by his wife, Anna Hamilton, daughter of Malcome Hamilton, of Monea, Archbishop of Cashel, and the great great grand-uncle of the late Hamilton Haire, of Glassdrummond, Lisnaskea, father of the late Major Haire, Ballagh, and of Anna Catherine, widow of the late Richard King, solicitor. Mrs. King, who was named after Mrs. Lewis Hamilton, a Swedish lady, mother of Gustavus Hamilton, Governor of Enniskillen, with her two daughters, resided in Willoughby-place. Gabriel Cathcart had for father Mr. Adam Cathcart, who came to Fermanagh from Scotland.

ammunition, and ascertain the disposition of Lord Mountjoy's mind towards them. Accordingly, about the 21st December, two trusty messengers were sent to Derry in Captain Allen Cathcart and Captain William MacCarmick

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FEARS AND RESOLVE.

Before the envoys had reached Derry they learned that the city had made terms with Lord Mountjoy, and had admitted the Protestants of six companies of his regiment within the walls. The citizens received the messengers from Enniskillen "very kindly," and promised them assistance of ammunition and arms and to maintain a correspondence with them. On their way home to Enniskillen Captains Cathcart* and MacCarnick met Lord Mountjoy at Newtownstewart, and they delivered to him the following letter:—

YOUR Lordship cannot but know what dreadful Apprehensions we were struck with when from several parts of this Kingdom we received the sad Account of a designed Massacre of the Protestants; in the midst of which fears, to heighten our sorrows, we had news of two Companies of Foot, all Papists, ordered to garrison upon us; and further, to deject our despairing Spirits, the Threats of the Officers of these

* There were four Cathcarts in Enniskillen and vicinity:—Malcome (Captain) Cathcart, Gurteen; Lieutenant Hugh Cathcart, Scandally; Captain Ludovic Cathcart, of Derrinefougher (near Derrygonnelly); and Allen Cathcart of Iniskillen, merchant. The first three obtained possession of portions of the Hamilton estate in Magheraboy.

Companies treading us in the Kennels, and dragging of our Intestins about the Streets, was assured us; nay, my Lord, the frequent assembling of the Irish in great companies on all hands of us, their restless pains in making Skeins and Pikes; insomuch, that a man, and he of mean a fortune, dispers'd in one Week threescore; and having likewise the intelligence of your Lordship's being confined, for only desiring that Protestants might have liberty to buy Arms for their own defence, did create in us so great fear, that we could not propose safety, or preservation of our lives in any humane probability, but by refusing these two Companies entrance into our Town. My Lord, our Resolutions are firm and fully fixed to preserve this place, as a refuge for many Souls to fly to, if any Massacre should be attempted, which we daily fear and tremble to think of.

These things seriously considered, and seeing so great and apparent Danger hovering over our heads, we can do no less than unanimously resolve not to admit any Papish Garrison here; which we hope your Lordship will represent favourably to the Government. We return very humble and hearty thanks for your kind and prudent Message by Mr. Mervin [Mervyn,]* and do assure your lordship, That we will demean ourselves with all the sobriety imaginable; neither did it ever enter into our thought to spill one drop of blood (unless we be thereunto forced in our defence) or to take from any man the value of one Farthing; which we intreat your Lordship to believe from

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble
and Obedient Servants,

THE INHABITANTS OF INNISKILLING.

December 21st, 1688.

This letter explains the views of the men of

* Henry Mervyn of Trillick, eldest son and heir of Sir Audley Mervyn, had been second Member for Augher in the Irish Parliament of 1686; high sheriff of Tyrone in 1686; and afterwards sat as M.P. for the county of Tyrone in the Parliaments of 1692 and 1695. His daughter Elizabeth was married to Mr. William Archdale, and Deborah was married to Mr. James Moutray. He died about 1697-8 and was succeeded by his son Audley Mervyn, and he in turn by his son, Henry Mervyn, high sheriff of Tyrone and M.P. for Augher in 1713; and the family of Mervyn then became extinct in the male line; and what remained unsold of the Mervyn estate passed to the Archdale family, whose own male line had become extinct, and the name was preserved by Mr. Hugh Montgomery marrying Miss Angel Archdale.

Inniskillen. They had clearly no thought of rebellion against the King in their mind; they were peaceful towards the Irish; but they were resolute against admitting the Irish soldiers, in order to preserve, as they deemed, their own lives. It is abundantly evident that the fear of a massacre was constantly present to their minds, and haunted them.

A PRUDENT ENVOY.

Lord Mountjoy* having read the letter, apparently considering that the first duty of Inniskillen was to yield obedience to the King, inquired the strength of the little township; and, receiving the information, he said that the town must receive a garrison of the King's soldiers. This demand was apparently a preliminary for peace; and Captain MacCarmick was skilful as well as prudent in his reply. He said "he knew not how far the admission of the soldiers would be consistent with the safety of the town or the general preservation of the Protestant interest in Ulster;"—[Here he showed that Enniskillen stood not alone, but was one link in a line of confederation for common defence.]—Inniskillen, he said, was the only inlet from Connaught into that province, and that as it had the only pass in forty [Irish] miles of Lough Erne, they would as an inundation "flow" the country if Enniskillen were lost; and he believed they would not be in any way secure if they were to admit a Popish garrison there.

Lord Mountjoy had only for reply to this logic

* Lord Mountjoy was head of the family of Stewart, one of the many Scottish families who came to Ulster at the Plantation. Sir Wm. Stewart, the second Lord Mountjoy, joined the defenders of Derry in the absence of his father, who was flung into the Bastile (see *supra*). Sir Robert Stewart, the younger, had defeated a force under Owen Roe O'Neill at Clones on 19th June, 1643.

that—"The King will protect you;" and Captain MacCarmick answered with equally good logic that the King could not protect himself.

The retort set my Lord Mountjoy thinking, so that he walked up and down without speaking, as if gravely considering the matter. He then told the envoys that they might return home, and desired that his "service" [compliments] might be given to the townsmen, to whom he would go and converse on the succeeding Wednesday, and meantime begged that they be cautious about "falling into blood." Both gentlemen assured his lordship that they would obey his behest, and returned home. But Lord Mountjoy never went to Inniskillen: he sent Mr. Henry Mervyn "to excuse him," as he had been sent for by Tyrconnell to go to Dublin.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE FIRST COMPANIES.

On the return of Mr. Allen Cathcart and Captain MacCarmick from Derry, the Governor had deemed it necessary for the town to put itself in a better condition of defence, and gave orders that companies of 72 men each should be formed. The men were forthcoming, the most of them being Nonconformists* [Presbyterians]:—"that party," observed Captain

* As the Presbyterians in Ireland at that time were an offshoot of the Established Church of Scotland, they were not regarded as Dissenters until 1660; and although, in consideration of their services their Church received the Regium Donum of Charles I. and William III., yet they were bitterly persecuted by the very Protestant party whom they saved in 1688, so that many thousands of them emigrated to America—as many as 42,000 in one year—and built up the United States, to which the Ulster Scots gave President M'Kinley and other Presidents. And when toleration did arrive it was so fettered by the Test Act as to exclude the cream of Ulster Presbyterians from public office and emoluments in the land which their fathers had largely saved for the Crown of England.

Mr. Leslie in answer to Bishop King says (Page 78)—"The Nonconformists are much the most numerous party of the Protestants in Ulster, which is that is called the North of Ireland. Some parishes have not less nor six that come to church, while the Presbyterian meetings are crowded with thousands, covering the fields. This is ordinary in the County of Antrim especially, which is the most populous of Scots of any in Ulster (who are generally Presbyterians in that country). In other of the Northern Counties, the Episcopal Protestants bear a greater proportion; some more, some less. But upon the whole, as I have it from those that live upon the place, they are not one to fifty, nor so much; but they would speak within compass."

MacCarmick, in his *Further Impartial Account*, "effectually espousing our interest, and never declined us in the most dangerous times." The praise which Captain MacCarmick gave the Presbyterians led some critics to assume that he was a Presbyterian himself, but this was not so, as his name is found in the Enniskillen Vestry Book.

Rev. Mr. Kelso, then Presbyterian minister of Enniskillen, had been an active leader and participator throughout, and continued so until his early death. It seems strange that we have no mention, whatever, of the part played by the then rector of Inniskillen during this momentous period, as to whether his sympathies were with the King and the non-jurors or with the common people. The Rev. Andrew Hamilton, the rector of Kilskeery, was an eye-witness of the revolt. From his position as a neighbouring rector and from being in Inniskillen during the Revolution, and in whose parish church he most probably assisted at service, he must have been on intimate terms with the Rev. Ezekiel Webb, and in Rev. Mr. Hamilton's narrative of what took place in Inniskillen he never once mentions the Rector's name.

I assume that Rev. Mr. Webb was one of the many Church clergymen of the time who thought it right to support the legitimate King, James, but he may have been silent on the subject, and preferred a position of inactivity. It was the Rector of Kilskeery, not of Inniskillen, who was sent to express the congratulations of the men of Inniskillen on the Relief of Derry. It was the Rector of Kilskeery, not of Inniskillen, who was chosen to present the address of the town to King William and Queen Mary; and it is noticeable that Rev. Mr. Webb's name was not

at the foot of that address—a remarkable fact. Nor was Mr. Webb placed on the Committee of Defence, as the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Kelso, was. Possibly he may have been of the same mind as Bishop Hopkins of Derry that it was a sin to resist the “Lord’s anointed,” until the time that success crowned the Inniskillen arms, and he (with others) then identified himself with the Williamite cause. That he did so finally is deducible from the fact that Mr. Webb’s name appears on the list of those attainted by the Irish Parliament of James II.

THE FIRST OFFICERS.

Those two Presbyterian companies of foot were commanded, the first by Captain Allen Cathcart, with Wm. M’Carmick as lieutenant, and Ralph Picking* as ensign; and the second by Captain Malcome Cathcart.

These two volunteer companies thus formed became the foundation of what afterwards became the distinguished 27th Inniskilling Regiment of foot, and this regiment bears the ancient method of spelling in its name.

Other companies were also raised by gentlemen who likely received their title of Captain therefrom—Captain Robert Clarke,† Captain Will Browning,

* A Ralph Pickring or Picking occurs in the list of “Townsmen of Eneskillin who had “armes a.d. 1635,” with a “sword onely” opposite to his name,” and this ensign Picking was probably a son or grandson of his. Ralph Picking became as “Ralph Picken a lieutenant in Col. Abraham Creighton’s Regt. of Foote,” which was disbanded in 1698; and he appears on the half pay list of 1699 as “Pickin.” He was reported as possessing a licence in 1690, and a Robert Picking was reported as having a licence in 1692 and “poor.” The name has, disappeared out of Enniskillen, but a family of the name lives in the neighbourhood of Fintona.

† Son of Mr. Robert Clarke, merchant and churchwarden of Inniskillen. He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of James King of Corrad, son of

Captain Alex. Archison [Acheson], Captain Robert Stevenson, Captain Robert Corry,* Captain Hen. Smith,† Captain Archibald Hamilton, each of them raising a company. These eleven companies altogether represented a force of about 800 men, and one of great consequence in those days. These Inniskillen men appear to have been intent upon their defence, for we find that no sooner were the companies formed than they strengthened their protection at the fords, (1) the East and West Bridges, (2) between the island at the foot of Water lane, and Toneystick—[now the Convent grounds], and at Piper's ‡ island, and perhaps a little farther down at what we now call the Main Barracks. The winter was severe; the water high; and the frost became so hard that the ice could carry bodies of men over with safety. So the ice was steadily kept broken for protection, a task of no little difficulty, as the ice was thick, owing to the severity of the frost, and the water rapidly froze again.

James King, sen., who acquired freehold property in Inniskillen from Sir Michael Cole before the Revolution; and also in the baronies of Magherastephena, Tyrkennedy, and Lurg. Robert Clark was attainted by King James and died in 1716, leaving children.

* Capt. Robert Corry was generally known as of Newtownbutler.

† As to the other officers Captains Browning, Acheson, and Hamilton came from the barony of Magheraboy. Captain Henry Smith, probably son of an aged gentleman, Lieut Henry Smith, and not to be confounded with Capt. Wm. Smith of Cloverhill, Sligo.

‡ So called after its occupier *circa* 1749, a Mr. Robert Piper.

CHAPTER XL.

ON GUARD.

The nobility and gentry of the north-eastern counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Monaghan had been informed of the decisive step taken in Inniskilling, and towards the latter end of December an "express" came from Lord Blayney,* with the advice "not rashly to admit a Garrison of Papists" into the town, but to continue in the condition they were in. Lord Blayney enclosed a letter which had been sent to him from Belfast, and which ran thus—

My Lord,

WE herewith send you a copy of the capitulation between Lord Mountjoy and the City of Derry; Whereupon that Place was put into the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy: We also send your Lordship a narrative of what

* Henry Blayney was the fifth Lord Blayney, (captain of foot in 1678,) was chosen to be commander-in-chief of the Protestants of Ulster by the nobility and gentry of that province. His castle at Monaghan was besieged by the Irish and relieved by Mr. Matthew Anketell, at great risk and the cost of his own life. King James, on his arrival in Ireland, invited Lord Blayney to join him, promising him the Royal favour, but Blayney replied that—"he thanked God he had now a king upon whose word he could depend, but never could on his (James's), without a sword in his hand." Lord Blayney died shortly after the relief of Londonderry, and was buried at Monaghan.

passed betwixt my Lord Mountjoy and a Gentleman we entrusted from hence to manage both with his Lordship and the City; by all which your Lordship may perceive, that Lord Mountjoy proposing managing the Protestant Interest by less hazardous means than was intended: And we are unwilling to suspect his Lordship's sincerity, and think it may be prejudicial to us as yet to thwart his Lordship; whereupon we think it most advisable for us to defer putting anything in execution till a new notice is given; and that in the meantime we may take care that his Lordship be discoursed herein; and we thereby judge what are the measures most proper for us to pursue.

We believe your Lordship hath wrote Lord Granard and Lord Kingston,* and we now desire that you will, with the utmost speed, give them and other our friends intimation of this our altering our resolutions, with the motives thereunto. We also desire that you would acquaint Lord Granard, that we do however rely so much on him, that if he judges our methods best, and either hath or will make any step towards countenancing thereof, so as to think his Honour in the least engaged, that we will all unanimously stand by him. Your Lordship perceives that it is likewise intended that Inniskilling submit as Derry hath done [the admission of two companies in Derry was apparently deemed the "submission"] : we refer it to your Lordship to consider if means ought to be used, that they at least delay so doing; and for your Lordship to act, therein, or Prevent it, as you think fit, &c.

Belfast, December 6.

Even at this stage there seems to have been some doubt entertained of Lundy's sincerity or qualifications in Belfast.

NEWS FROM DERRY.

The return of the messengers from Derry was eagerly awaited in the island town. Christmas had passed and no news had come; but one day the

* Lord Kingston, leader of the Protestants of Connaught, was elected on the 4th of January, 1688-9, to be commander of the Protestant forces in the County of Sligo, and the Hon. Chidley Coote, of Co. Roscommon, second in command.

sentinels discerned them approaching, and we can well imagine the anxiety to learn the latest news, for those were not days of trains, telegraphs, or newspapers. Was it at the Castle they informed the Governor, or did he and some of the leading townsmen await them inside the drawbridge, eager to hear every word of what they had to tell? We know that they could and did tell of all that had befallen themselves, of their experiences with Lord Mountjoy, and of what had happened at Derry—that “the Papists” had been driven out of the city, which had also admitted two companies of Lord Mountjoy’s regiment (sent by Tyrconnell), but had refused admission to the Roman Catholic soldiers, who were quartered about Strabane, Newtownstewart, and Raphoe. Lieutenant Colonel Lundy, a Scottish Episcopalian, commanded these companies of regular soldiers, and therefore got admission into the city, and became the Governor.

It must be remembered that Derry had not rebelled against James I at this time. The city had resolved, so far, not to admit Papist soldiers, and remained loyal to the King. Lord Mountjoy had promised to obtain a pardon from the Lord Deputy for all those who had aided and abetted in the closing of the gates on the 7th December (old style). When he returned to Dublin to report how he had arranged matters at Derry, the news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange in England (on 5th November at Torbay) had arrived, and Tyrconnell, wanting to get the Protestant Mountjoy out of the way, sent him to France with Chief Baron Rice, to see James who had fled thither, and nominally to obtain the concurrence of Louis for making terms with the

Prince. Chief Baron Rice was a fanatical Roman Catholic who had boasted that he would drive a coach-and-four through the Act of Settlement, and he had secret instructions to denounce Mountjoy as a traitor.

(Mountjoy's own son and successor took an active part in the defence of Londonderry.)

MOUNTJOY DUPED.

Tyrconnell professed unwillingness to surrender the Government of Ireland up to the Prince without the King's consent; and Baron Rice was at the same time to tell the King that the Protestants regarded him as their leader, and that all Ireland was true to James. "Lying Dick Talbot" justified his soubriquet.

Mountjoy demurred to accepting such a dangerous mission, but finally consented, at the same time submitting these proposals to the Lord Deputy:—

January 10th, 1688-9.

Until his Majesty's pleasure be further known, it is humbly proposed to your Excellency:—

1st. That no more levies be made in this Kingdom, no more arms given out [to Roman Catholics], nor no commissions signed [to R.C.'s].

2nd. That all the new forces be kept in their present quarters (if no enemy lands here and that the Kingdom is quiet), and that no more troops be commanded into Ulster than are at present there.

3rd. That no workman, gentleman, officer, or common men in the Kingdom, shall be imprisoned, seized, or in any way molested for any tumultuous meetings, arming of men, forming of troops, or attempting anything that may be called riotous or rebellious, before this present day.

4th. That no private gentleman's house shall be made a garrison, or soldiers quartered in it.

The Lord Deputy accepted these proposals, and

promised on his honour that they should be carried out; and Mountjoy, pleased at accomplishing his purpose, and hoping thereby to secure peace, sent a letter dated the 10th January to the North, acquainting those in authority of what had been done. Thus the fears of Ulster were lulled to rest, while the crafty Tyrconnell, violating his promise, raised more Catholic troops, and sent them to occupy the chief passes to the North.

When Mountjoy reached Paris he was lodged in the Bastile. This Protestant nobleman then found that he had been duped by Tyrconnell. His companion, following his instructions, had denounced Mountjoy as a traitor; and when news of this act of treachery reached Ireland, Protestant indignation took the form of placing no reliance on "Lying Dick Talbot." This feeling was intensified when it was learnt that Tyrconnell had issued fresh commissions for raising additional regiments, and that the Protestants of Dublin and the South had been disarmed. No trust could be placed in the Lord Deputy.

Indeed one of the painful features of this period is the repetition of acts of dishonour, and breach of articles of war by the Jacobite party, so that the Inniskilleners and the men of Derry could place no trust upon any pledges of the enemy. This feeling, occasioned by numerous acts of perfidy, largely accounts for the intensity of the heroic defence of Derry: the defenders could place no reliance on promises, or any written guarantees of a party which had violated them so frequently. The local instances of this sort in 1641 were brought to memory. The Celtic nature is proverbially known to be volatile,

and the Protestants of the time heard that it was openly taught to the Irish by their clergy that no faith was to be kept with heretics; and whether this was true or false, it was accepted as true, and had its influence. We will come to a few of these breaches of faith further on.

CHAPTER XLI.

DEPUTIES TO PRINCE OF ORANGE.

A copy of the letter sent from Belfast to Lord Blayney [of Castle Blayney] had also been sent to the town of Sligo,* where Lord Kingston had been placed at the head of the Protestants of Connaught to protect them as best he could. They had also been alarmed by fears of a massacre; but although no massacre had occurred, a number of settlers had been plundered, Protestants had been disarmed, and they sought refuge in Sligo. On receipt of the letter referred to, Lord Kingston and the gentry of Sligo

* Sligo was described in the year 1653 in the following words—"Sligo being the chiefest town of that country was but a very poor one about the latter end of the year 1652, having been totally ruined by the late wars, and nothing left of it but some few bare walls and a company of poor Irish cabins, to distinguish the place where it stood. On the East there is a lake of about five miles in length, out of which runs into the bay a good stream of water, passing under a bridge, dividing the town into two parts, wherein are frequently taken great stores of brave salmons, pikes, and trouts, and overlooked also from a near hill by a very strong fort to protect it. The whole country about it enriched with as good land as any in Ireland. planted with a late English colony, the better to secure this pass, resorted to from far and near by very many people to buy cattle, as sheep and horses being one of the famousest marts for that purpose of any in that part of that Kingdom. . . . I say Sligo being thus happily situated, and accompanied with so many advantages, will, without doubt, become ere long a very handsome town."

resolved to send a trustworthy messenger to the County Association of Donegal, inviting them to assemble at Ballyshannon and the town of Donegal for their protection; and thus to be in a position to advance to the aid of the Connaught Protestants if they required help. These instructions were addressed to Mr. John Delap,* of Ballyshannon, and only those who were most trustworthy were to be communicated with, such as Mr. Ffolliott,† Mr. Whiteway, Lieut. Smith, and Mr. Atkinson.

Mr. Delap, of Ballyshannon, sent this letter to Inniskillen, and thus the town was kept informed of what was going on around. The letter ran;—

Sir,

THE occasion of this trouble to you, is to tell you, That we have undoubted and repeated advice, that many hundreds of men, Foot and Dragoons, are Arming themselves in the County of Roscommon and Mayo, with an intent to fall upon our Friends in Boyle, and this County; and consequently pursue their design down towards you. We have therefore agreed unanimously to secure this Town, and bring in the Country people to our aid, but before we stir in what we have said, there is a party of fifty or sixty to go hence; who are to joyn in the County of Roscommon, with some more to be commanded by Captain Coot, upon a very important design, which, if please God may be effected, will be of great consequence to us all, and no small disadvantage to our enemies, that if possible is to be done within two or

* The name of Robert Delap occurs among the list of Elders of the Presbyterian congregation of Ballyshannon. in the minutes of proceedings of the Lagau Presbytery.

† When Red Hugh O'Donnell fled to Spain, the English under Captain Diggs, aided and abetted by Niall Garv O'Donnell, a cousin of Red Hugh, captured the castle of Ballyshannon, in 1602. In 1607 occurred the flight of Red Hugh's successor, Rory O'Donnell, with O'Neill and Maguire to the continent, and the confiscation of the lands of Tyrconnell's followers. Sir Henry Ffolliott was appointed Governor of "Ballishanon," and was created a peer or Baron Ffolliott of Ballishanon on 22nd January, 1672. He purchased the lands lying between the Abbey lands at Assaroe (Ballyshannon), and the castle of Belleek, and thus became owner of the eel and salmon fisheries.

three days; now it is the desire of Captain Coot that all, or as many of the Protestants as may unite, may gather into Ballishanan, and Dunnigall, where you may be in a readiness not only to secure your selves against the Blow that is designed to be given, but also to be in a condition to relieve us, if by the multitude we be oppressed; Matters are come to a great height in our neighbouring Counties, there being no less than 24 Captains in one Barony in the County of Mayo; therefore as you tender your welfare, slight not this matter, communicate it with all prudence to Mr. Folliott, Mr. Whitway, Lieutenant Smith, and Mr. Atkinson,* and the rest of your Friends: What else is done here you shall know it; we hope to have all done by Thursday, for we find time is not to be slight; Lord Kingstone and Captain Coot† comes hither; it's their desire that you should send an express immediately to Derry to know if we may have any help of Arms and Ammunition from thence, for it is the only thing we lack, when at the time our Enemies are well stored. Pray desire your friends to tell what quantity of Arms we may expect, and the forts, and how much Ammunition, that we may immediately send for them; this design is not to be Communicated to any but to those you are sure of: Lord Granard‡ is now in the Country; Lord Kingston went to him yesterday, and this night or to-morrow morning we expect to know how his pulse beats. Let us know how Matters are with you: We are told Derry is surrendered.

Sligo, December 27, 1688.

The Protestants of Sligo then seized their town for their protection, on the 3rd January, 1688, and on the 4th January, drew up a manifesto, which, deserves mention here, as a statement of the Protestant view:—

THE DECLARATION OF THE PROTESTANTS OF SLIGO,
JANUARY THE 4TH, 1688-9.

WE, the Protestants of the County Sligo, at present assembled for our common safety, do hereby declare the

* Mr. Atkinson of Cavangarden, Ballyshannon, whose family is still at Cavangarden.

† Captain Chidley Coote was described as of Voughterhire, Co. Roscommon.

‡ Lord Granard was a Protestant nobleman, who attached himself afterwards to King James.

occasions and motives of this our association, and what is intended by it.

1. We resolve to adhere to the laws of the land and the Protestant religion.

2. We shall, as we ought, unite ourselves accordingly with England, and hold to the lawful government thereof, and to a free Parliament.

3. We declare that our taking up arms is only defensive, and not in the least to invade the lives, liberties, or estates of any of our fellow-subjects, whether Roman Catholic or others, while they demean themselves in peaceable manner to us.

4. Our reasons for thus doing are so urgent that we could no longer with prudence forbear putting ourselves in some necessary posture of defence; for the Roman Catholics, arming in such vast numbers throughout all the kingdom, do give us just apprehensions of ill designs in them, they pretending the king's commission for what they do, whereas we are assured that the king has commanded all Roman Catholics to lay down their arms, which we conceive should as well extend to Ireland as England; and therefore we doubt that the leaders of this Irish army do act from their own heads upon designs of their own, which we may justly fear will be prejudicial to the lives, liberties, and properties of the Protestant subjects of this kingdom if not prevented.

Lastly we declare that as we will assault none that molest not us, so we will, to our power, protect all from violence, even Roman Catholics themselves, whilst they behave themselves peaceably and neighbourly among us (though we will admit none but Protestants into our association), until we be ascertained from the lawful authority and Government of England what further orders we are to obey; and we doubt not but that all good Protestants in this kingdom will, when they are able, join with us in the same public defence, and that God will bless this so just, innocent, and necessary undertaking for our lives, laws, and religion.

And whereas, it will be necessary, for the more effectual and successful carrying on of these our mutual endeavours, for the preservation of our laws, religion, and country, and the security of our lives and properties, and to avoid confusions and distractions which in such cases might otherwise happen, to appoint some eminent person or persons to whose conduct we may entirely submit ourselves in this our undertaking.

We do, therefore, by these presents, unanimously

nominate, elect, and appoint the Right Honourable Robert Lord Baron of Kingston, and the Honourable Chidley Coote, Esq., or either, or both of them, jointly and severally, as they shall think fit, to be commander or commanders-in-chief of all the forces in the said County of Sligo.

And do hereby oblige ourselves to serve under his or their command, in such manner and in such place and station as they or one of them, in their direction and judgment shall direct. And that we will procure such horse and foot, and such a number of men, arms, and ammunition, as we or any of us can possibly provide, and that with all expedition immediately to be arranged and formed into troops and companies, and to be disposed of from time to time, accordingly to their or either of their orders.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our hands,

At Sligo, this 4th of January, 1688-9.

Sligo also was without arms and ammunition, as well as Inniskillen; yet it displayed great energy and ability in its defence. Some gentlemen and other refugees from the County Sligo, however, came to Inniskillen, and among them Mr. Hudson,* who was remarkable for "his sound and good advice and counsel." It is likely, too, that the ancestor of the Enniskillen Wood family, long identified with Inniskillen until recent years, came from Sligo at this time in the person of Mr. Edward Wood, of Court, County Sligo: and from that time till the last surviving member of the Wood family left Enniskillen for Blackrock, County Dublin, in 1909, there have been worthy burghers of the Wood family in Inniskillen.

Inniskillen had already resolved upon the advice tendered in the letter from Belfast to Lord Blayney

* Mr. Daniel Hudson, of St. John's, Co. Roscommon, ancestor of the Hudson family of Enniskillen, which included Mr. Laturnel and Sir Walter Hudson, who died about 1802.

not to submit. But it could not make that resolve efficacious without arms and ammunition. How were they to obtain them? They could not obtain assistance in Ireland, so they determined, when they heard that King James had fled from the Kingdom, to send an address to the Prince of Orange, inviting assistance, per Mr. Hugh Hamilton* and Mr. Allen Cathcart, who on their way to England *via* Donaghadee, should meet "the Lords and gentlemen of the North-East," explain how matters stood at Inniskilling, and deliver to the North-Eastern Association the following letter, which was a notable one, for one clause of one sentence marked the spirit of action of the Inniskilliners throughout the whole campaign:—

A copy of a letter sent to the Earl of Mount Alexander, Lord Viscount Massareene, and into divers others of the Nobility and Gentry in the North-east part of Ulster, from the Governor of Enniskillen.

Enniskillen, January 23, 1688-9.

MY LORD—

WHILST we and all the Protestants of this kingdom groaned under the fear of approaching Misery and there was nothing but a universal dread of imminent Ruin suggested to our thoughts, and that we see our Religion, our Laws, Lives, and our all at stake, so that nothing could be added to our danger, but our willingness to lye under whatsoever was imposed upon us: the Law of Self-preservation (one of the Ancientest of the world,) constrained us rather to choose a hazardous undertaking, than a voluntary Slavery; to which we were the more provoked by the Insulting Menaces of those who, under the pretence of Quartering upon us, came to

* The only Hugh Hamilton I can trace as alive at this time was the younger son of Captain John, third son of the Rev. Malcome, archbishop of Cashel, and owner of the Monea or Castletown estate; as Hugh, the second son of the archbishop, was created Baron Clanawley or Glenawley in 1660—after marrying a daughter of Sir Wm. Balfour of Lisnaskea; and created Baron Lunge in Swden,—died in 1678.

Pillage us, and designed to make this their entrance to the Devastation of this part of the Province. So that not being willing to be enslaved, and help to make others so, too—this Pass being the only Inlet from Conaght to Ulster, from whence, as by an inundation, it might have been overflowed—WE STAND UPON OUR GUARD. AND DO RESOLVE, BY THE BLESSING OF GOD, RATHER TO MEET OUR DANGER THAN EXPECT IT. We doubt not but your own Consideration hath suggested thoughts of this Nature to you also, which we do believe may induce you to a necessary Defence of your Selves and Neighbours: and therefore do entreat your lordship's candid and sincere advice in the management of this great Affair, too weighty for our weak Shoulders to bear alone, since we are sure to be the first shall meet with the dangerous and highly incensed revengeful Hands of our Enemies. Our great hope is, that God will incline your lordship to our Assistance, and give us Courage and Success in this so just an Undertaking. We entreat Credit may be given to these our Messengers, Mr. HUGH HAMILTON and MR. ALLEN CATHCART, who are well acquainted with the Proceedings of those who shall not fail to continue

Your Lordship's most faithful Humble servants,

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON,

and the rest of the inhabitants of Inniskillin.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Mount-Alexander, Lord Viscount Massarine, Sir Arthur Reiden [Roden], or any of them, &c.

A kindly response was received by the men of Inniskillen to that letter.

The following are the terms of the commission given by Governor Hamilton to the "deputies," Allen Hamilton and Cathcart:—

The Governor of Enniskillen his Commission, in behalf of himself and people, unto MR. HUGH HAMILTON and MR. ALLEN CATHCART, to present their Addresses to the [then] PRINCE OF ORANGE, and to solicit for Arms and Ammunition.

To all Christian People to whom these presents shall come.

WE, Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., elected Governor of Enniskillen, in the County of Fermanagh, and Kingdom of Ireland, together with the Inhabitants of the said town,

and a select number of Protestants united to them, send Greeting in our Lord God everlasting.

Forasmuch as we have drawn and signed an Address of Thanks to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange for his being the happy instrument under God of our delivery from Popery and arbitrary power; now know ye that we the said inhabitants of Inniskillen aforesaid, for divers causes and considerations us thereunto moving (but more especially that they have been eminent in concurring with us, and influencing the country against the designs the Lord Tyrconnel had against this place) have nominated, constituted and appointed our well-beloved friends, MR. HUGH HAMILTON and MR. ALLEN CATHCART, jointly or severally to offer the said Address to His Highness, and to be presented by the Hon. Earl of Clarendon, or any other Nobleman about Court; as also doe empower the said MR. HUGH HAMILTON and MR. ALLEN CATHCART to solicit His Highness for arms and ammunition for this place. We also desire that credit may be given to these our deputies, both for our trust to them as also in their characters in this country.

Given under the hand and seal of the Governor, this sixteenth day of January, one thousand six hundred eighty and eight [nine], by unanimous consent of the Inhabitants of the said Town.

And with this Commission the Deputies went to the Prince of Orange, crossing to England by the northern route by way of Donaghadee.

There must have been in 1688, as there are to-day, captious people taking exception to what had been done, and disputing the authorization given to Mr. Hugh Hamilton and Mr. Allen Cathcart to represent the town on this occasion; for we have a subsequent undated document referring to this matter, which emphasizes the nature of the credentials given to these gentlemen, as follows:—

Because some who delight to reflect upon others for reflecting sake, even where no occasion is given, have ventured to give out that neither Mr. Andrew Hamilton, who came

lately over, nor MR. HUGH HAMILTON and MR. ALLEN CATHCART, who were sent over hither from Enniskillen in January, 1688, had any commission or instructions from the governor and gentlemen of Enniskillen, but took upon themselves such employment merely to recommend themselves, whereby they have done what in them lay to obstruct what might be offered by them in behalf of that people, I have therefore subjoined to this narrative the credentials which they had from Enniskillen, with which I would not otherwise have incumbered this brief relation, desiring to having nothing in it but what was necessary to the subject in hand.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON.

CHAPTER XLII.

SIR JAMES CALDWELL'S ASSISTANCE.

The Sligo letter received by the Inniskilleners from Mr. Delap, of Ballyshannon, impressed them more than ever with the necessity for the stand they had taken, notwithstanding the fact that they were few in numbers and small in resources; but as Captain MacCarmick wrote: "God Almighty gave us an Heart with Courage and Resolution that supplied all our wants."

The importance of Enniskillen and Sligo holding out against James II was recognized at the time. If those towns fell, there was nothing to prevent the flank of a Williamite force in Ulster being turned. As was written in "A True Representation" in 1690:—

Of what infinite importance this town and the neighbouring forts would have been, in case Londonderry had been forced to surrender, is manifest to every person who consults the map. All the forts on Lough Erne might have been well fortified, Ballyshannon secured, and a free communication kept open with Enniskillen, and other strengths seated both on the same Lough and the Shannon, and the

war thereby protracted, until King William's affairs in England had been in such a situation as to make him to send a sufficient relief to his party in Ireland.

Day after day was spent in strengthening the weak places round the island; and making "rampiers" [ramparts] at the fords. A Committee of Safety or Defence, as we would call it now-a-days, was formed of a certain number of officers whose names are not given, to sit every day to provide for their needs; and to this Council or Committee was added one cleric in the Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. Robert Kelso, who seems to have been one of the leaders of the defence throughout. Amongst the regulations made by this Committee were the following Garrison Orders, as we would describe them to-day; showing the measures of precaution taken by these men:—

1. A Book to be made, to insert all Orders that were concluded upon; and these to be signed by them that were appointed to take inspection, and conclude upon matters fit, so firmly obeyed by all.

2. That the County were to do duty, by watching their turns in Town; whereby to secure that place as a sure refuge for them to fly to, if any mischief should be offered to them by the Natives; and while they were upon Duty to have free Quarters.

3. That Locks be forthwith Provided for the Bridges, and they to be Locked up at a convenient Hour, and the Keys carried to the Governour, or to the Captain of the Main Guard, if the Governour should think fit.

4. That expresses be immediately sent abroad, to engage a True Correspondence with the Gentlemen in the adjacent Counties, so to receive from them frequent Intelligence of their knowledge, or what their Resolutions or Observations were.

5. That a considerable quantity of provisions, viz. Beef, Butter, Cheese, and Meal, be laid up in Store to subsist the Garrison, if a Siege should happen; and that the Countrey be encouraged to send in, and lay up their Provisions, of Grain,

or other things, in Town; fearing lest it might be surprized by the Enemy, and so made use of against us.

6. That good store of Pikes and Sythes, fixed in long Poles be made ready, and kept in store to Arm all the Countrey, if occasion were.

7. That a Horse-Guard be kept, for scouring the Country in the night time, for fear of an Ambush or sudden Attack; and to see that the Watches there be duly kept.

8. That all the Boats and Cotes upon Lough Erne be secured, and brought to the Castle of Iniskilling; so to prevent the Enemies having the advantage of surprizing us by Water.

9. That all the fire-Arms that may be had, together with all the old Musquet-Barrels that are now in the Castle, be immediately fixed up, and made fit for Service.

10. That the four small Brass Pieces now in the Castle be put upon Carriages, and made fit for Service.

11. That the Papists and Natives of the Countrey be not admitted into Town upon Market-Days, with Skeens or Half-Pikes, neither allowed to stay in Town all Night.

12. That a General Rendesvouz of the Country be appointed, where lists may be taken of all that joyn with us, the better to know our strength, and there to be form'd into Companies and Troops, Officers made to Command and Discipline them, and they obliged to obey their Officers.

It was noteworthy, too, that the people were all loyal to their officers and to each other, loyal in obeying commands, no one grudging duty, although no one received pay.

The first practical assistance Inniskillen had from outside was that sent by Sir James Caldwell, of Belleek,* who brought a quantity of gunpowder from Belturbet by water for his own defence at Belleek, and left 60lbs. of this valuable material at Enniskillen, where it was prized all the more on account of its scarcity.

This, the first assistance rendered to the men of Inniskillen, brings in Sir James Caldwell, the first baronet, son of Mr. John Caldwell, a successful

merchant of Inniskillen. John Caldwell, born at Prestwick, was the son of William Caldwell * of Straiton, Ayrshire; and John's son Sir James, † played an important part during the Revolution, taking side with the Inniskilleners from the first; and here we have him sending relief to them.

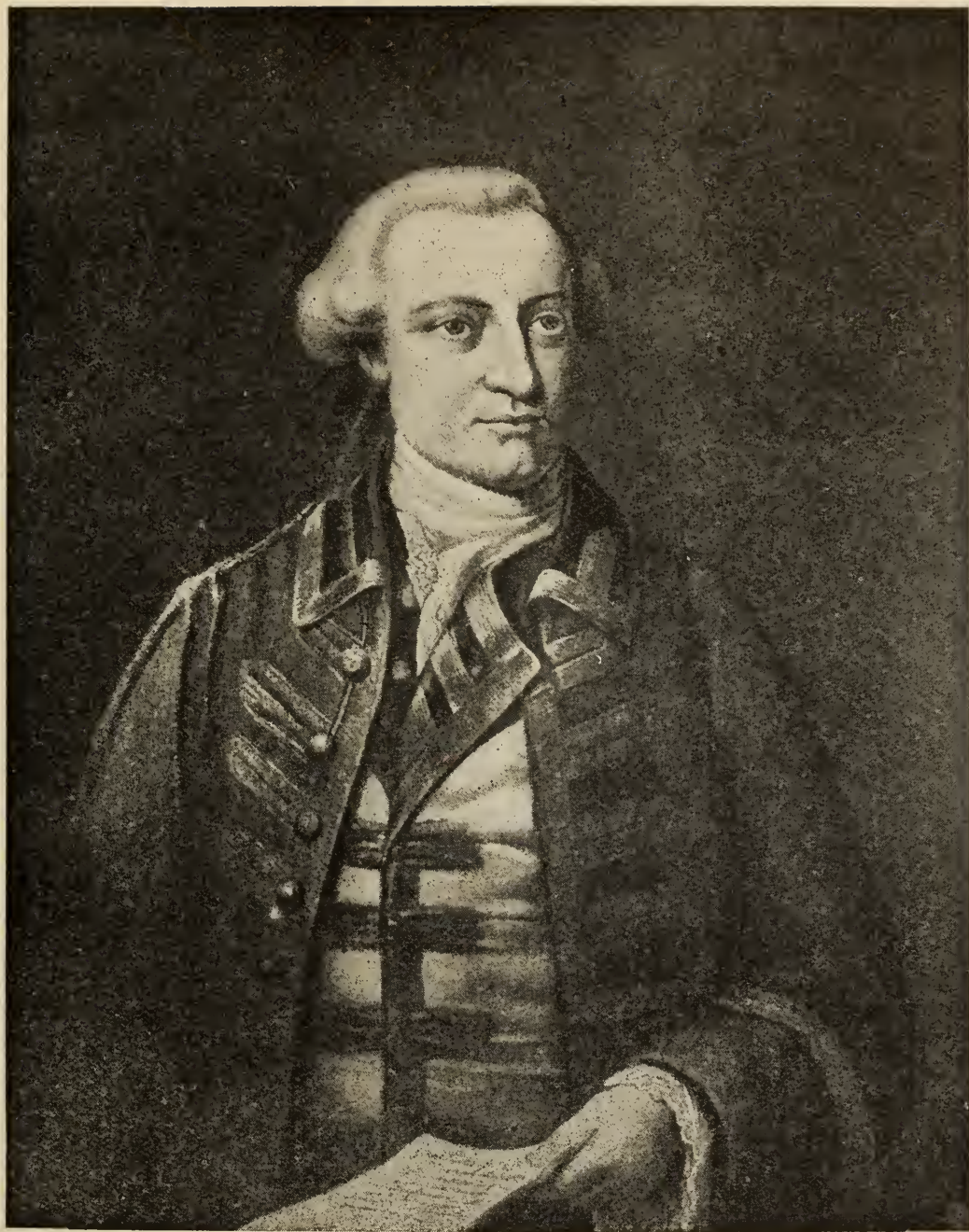
Edward Blennerhasset had built a castle or strong house on the Proportion given to him by James I., which he called Castle Hassett. ‡ This property was purchased from him by Sir James Caldwell, who preferred to designate the house by the name of the townland, Rossbeg, and it was, on being rebuilt, or improved in 1792, called Castle Caldwell. The whirligig of time has brought about many changes, and neither a Caldwell or Caldwell Bloomfield resides now at Rossbeg, but Sir James played an important part during the Revolution and in subsequent years in the County Fermanagh. It was said of him that he was extra generous, and that "since he succeeded to the castle he never once had a beast appraised, impounded or even driven to the pound, and never once had he a suit in a court of law." (See also Vol. I., page 136.)

Sir James Caldwell had taken up arms for the Prince of Orange in December 1688, and with his tenants and retainers he defended the pass across the bridge of Belleek towards Connaught. From that point to his own house at Rossbeg he threw up breast-works at all the fords, and maintained them

* The Cawdells of Renfrew and Ayrshire formed part of the army of the Covenanters, which accounts for the strong Protestant strain in the family down to the late Mr. John Caldwell Bloomfield.

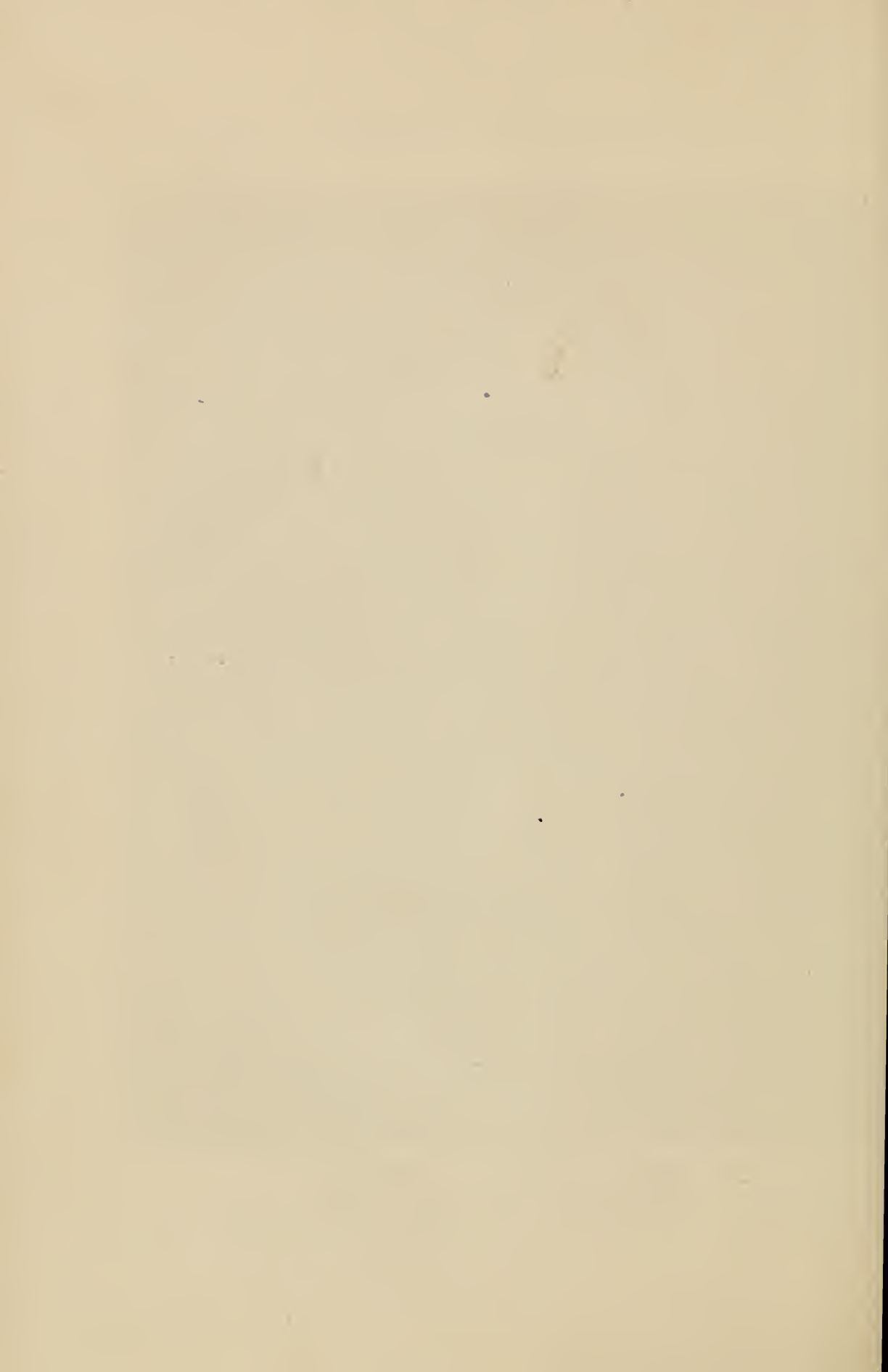
† Sir James Caldwell and Sir John Hume were the first and last in the field with troops raised at their own expense in support of the Revolution.

‡ I stated what I fear is an inaccuracy in Vol. I., that the Blennerhasset Castle at Crevinish was also called Castle Hassett. It was the Castle at Rossbeg was called Castle Hassett.



SIR JAMES CALDWELL, of Castle Caldwell,
Fourth Baronet, and Count of Milan.

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till May 1689, about which we shall read later. Sir James maintained his outpost well during the war, and was of assistance to the men of Inniskillen.

After the war Sir James made a claim for compensation for his losses, about the year 1694, in which he stated:—

I presume to send your Grace the following account of my case, which is plainly made to appear, not only by certificates of Brigadier Stewart, Brigadier Wynne, Colonel Wolsley, Colonel Tiffany, Sir John Hanmer, and many other officers of note, but also by the depositions of many good persons who were eye-witnesses to all, or most of what I here set forth; together with the recommendations of his Excellency the Lord Deputy of Ireland, by his letter to his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury.

I was the only person of my fortune and quality that stayed behind in Ireland, and that took up arms for the present Government, on behalf of which I encouraged the people of Enniskillen to take up arms, and made one Captain Malcolm Cathcart, who was a tenant of mine, to raise a company of my own tenants in and about the town of Enniskillen, and to possess himself of that Castle, in order to prevent the late Government from putting an Irish garrison therein, as they intended to have done, having sent for that purpose two Irish companies, who, when they came, were denied entrance, by which means the whole country got up in arms throughout the counties of Fermanagh and Cavan. That soon after, in January, 1689, I raised a regiment of foot, and two troops of horse for my two sons; armed, mounted, and maintained them at my own charge, and made my own house at Belleek a garrison, thereby preserving the country on the east side of the river of Lough Erne from the incursions of the Irish for near fifty miles.

That I then placed my son Captain Hugh Caldwell in the garrison of Donegall, over three companies of foot, and a troop of horse, as Governor of that place, being the only seaport the Protestants had, and the nearest frontier garrison to Londonderry. Here my said son was attacked by the Duke of Berwick with 1,500 horse and dragoons, who hoped, to have surprised the garrison, but my son repulsed them twice, and killed a hundred of his men at their entrance into the town. At length, having retired into the Castle, he was

offered by the Duke any conditions and preferment that he chose, if he would lay down his arms and surrender the place but he told the Duke that he would defend it to the last man; so the Duke burned the town about the Castle, and was scaling the walls, when my son beat him off.

In the meantime, news having been brought to me that my son was besieged, I immediately assembled all the forces we had at Belleek and Ballyshannon, and marched with about 700 men to his relief, but as soon as the Duke heard of our coming he marched away, and we pursued him to the Pass of Barnsmore, where we cut off a few of his men, and took some prisoners. That, on the 2nd of May, 1689, Colonel Sarsfield [afterwards Lord Lucan], having raised many men in the province of Connaught, sent down about 3,000, and besieged me, and Ballyshannon, another garrison within three miles, for the space of six or seven days. I then sent to Enniskillen and Castle Hume for assistance, which came about the 10th of May, when I drew together all the forces I had with me, being about 400 men and fell on the enemy and beat them.

That within ten days after, Colonel Sarsfield came down with an army of six or seven thousand men, and encamped at Manor Hamilton park, within seven miles of my house, and sent me a summons to surrender my house to make it a garrison for King James' army, or he would destroy me and the whole country; but I gave him an answer "that the Protestants were then divided from the Papists like the sheep from the goats, and that I would defend that river whilst I had a man to stand by me." That in the previous December, before the war broke out, I got conveyed to me, by a daughter I had then in Dublin, at the great hazard of her life, a considerable quantity of powder, which I distributed amongst all the garrisons, and it proved a great means to encourage the people, and preserve the country, which could not have maintained itself except for that supply, but in the process of time our ammunition again grew scarce. That I had spies in the Irish Camp, who gave me notice of Major-General Kirke's landing at the Lough of Londonderry from England, and I sent to the Governor of Enniskillen, to endeavour to get communication with the said Major-General, which could not be done any way but by sea, the enemy being between us and the Lough of Derry.

There could, however, be found none to go to get arms and ammunition for our forces. I then went myself, about the 24th of June, from Donegal, my son's garrison, forty

leagues round a most dangerous coast, all in the enemy's hands, in a small open boat, and acquainted the Major-General of the strength of the Enniskillen forces, and the other garrisons that had taken up arms for the Government, of which he understood nothing before. I also told him that if he could not relieve the city of Derry by sea, and would send a ship with arms for 1,500 men, the forces that we had would do it by land within ten days, or I would forfeit my life.

The Major-General then sent a ship with powder but no arms, and promised to send me away with arms in another ship within two days, but kept me twenty-eight days, and then sent me back, and gave me my commission to command my regiment of foot, and an independent troop of horse, and sent with me Colonel Wolsley, Major Tiffany, Captain Wynne, and some other officers. We landed on the 26th of July, and marched near forty miles, with all our forces, and fought the Irish under McCarthy's command, the last of that month, and killed at least 2,000 of them, and took 500 prisoners, with our own arms, before any came from the Major-General, and about the same time the siege of Derry was raised.

Soon after the Major-General broke my regiment, without shewing any reason for it, unless it were to make room for his own officers, and to magnify himself by our ruin, and the ruin of the people who did the service at Londonderry, whom he broke also. After all this I went to meet the Duke of Schomberg, when he landed at Carrickfergus, and stayed the siege of that place, and then went to Dundalk with the Duke, and stayed that campaign with him, and ever since, serving as a volunteer. My house was a frontier garrison during the whole war; my plantations cut down; my iron-works, and many of my houses in my town, and in other parts of my estate, burned to the ground by the King's army; my cattle killed, and my horses taken for his Majesty's service; and most of my estate laid waste to this day, insomuch that I cannot even get the King's rent out of it. I had four sons in the King's service all the war, and my eldest son is lately dead in his service; another of my sons was a close prisoner in Dublin fourteen months, till relieved by the King after the battle of the Boyne; my other two sons were Captains in Colonel Wolsley's regiment till the war broke, and then they took up arms in the Dragoon regiment of the late Brigadier Wynne, and now are in the same regiment in Flanders.

I therefore humbly throw myself upon your Grace to

move his Majesty on my behalf, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant me a commission to raise a regiment of horse of dragoons out of nineteen troops of horse that were broke after enduring the fatigue of the war from the beginning till after the siege of Limerick; or that the King will be pleased (till his Majesty may do something for me) to allow me some subsistence to live upon, having a family of eight children, and my estate lost in the service of his Majesty, as may appear by certificates, credentials, and affidavits aforesaid; and your Grace will not only oblige me, and my whole family, but also "encourage" those faithful and brave men of Enniskillen for ever to be devoted.

As a trifling acknowledgment of his sufferings, Sir James was permitted by the Crown to receive for three years (from 1696) the rents of the forfeited estates of the Bagnel family, amounting to £964 per annum, but subject to the payment of £400 a year to Mrs. Bagnel. He was also made Colonel of a regiment of Militia.

The first baronet was Sir James (1671), the second Sir Henry, married to a daughter of Sir John Hume, by Sidney, daughter and co-heir of James Hamilton of Manor Hamilton. The third baronet was Sir John Caldwell, and the fourth--Sir James Caldwell, who rendered such important services, both military and diplomatic, to the Empress Maria Theresa, that he was, on the 15th March, 1749, created Count of Milan, in the holy Roman Empire, an honour not granted to any Protestant previously except to the Duke of Marlborough. When he was recommended by the Lord Lieutenant, Duke of Dorset and other Peers for a peerage he selected "Enniskillen," "the city from which his ancestor led forth those troops that appeared so glorious in the defence of the laws and religion of their country," but at a later date he preferred the designation of Lord Wellsborough, a

name given by the Caldwells to their own village of Belleek. It may have been that it was feared by the King, when he did not grant the peerage, that Sir James would be too friendly in his influence to Austria, but the King took care to show Sir James personal favour and appointed him a gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

The fifth baronet was Sir John Caldwell, whose eldest daughter, Frances Arabella, became married to John Colpoys Bloomfield, of Redwood, Co. Tipperary (buried at Castle Caldwell), whose second son was John Caldwell Bloomfield of Castle Caldwell, married firstly to Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. D'Arcy of Nekarne Castle, by whom he had six children, including Blanche, second child, married to Rev. Chas. Grierson, Dean of Belfast. Mrs. Grierson has still preserved a sword of honour, the inscription on which states that it was "presented to Sir John Caldwell by the Fermanagh Militia as a testimony of their esteem and respect."

CHAPTER XLIII.

CONFEDERATION OF NORTH EAST.

The enrolment of men in companies of 72 men each, proceeded steadily, so as to be prepared for eventualities.

A letter received in the beginning of January, sent by Mr. Charles Leslie,* of Glasslough, did not assuage the fears of the men of Inniskillen. The letter, which had been intercepted by Sir Nicholas Atcheson, was written in a secret cypher, in the following manner:—

M17t27 Mc K2nnl,

945r s2lf2 t4g2th2r 553th R4b2rt & 34hn 7t51rt elpti3n
453nd4n 553l121m 224rth 1r2 15th4r3726 89 92 c45nc211 4f
6581341 t4 72372 6p4nch 1rl2s 127132 ln6 34hn kn4k7, capt3ne
34hnft4n, th2r2 1r2 11174 74m2 c4ntr3526 6273gn7 li36 3n

* Rev. Charles Leslie, M.A., was son of Dr. Leslie, Bishop of Clogher, and had been Chancellor of Connor, but being a non-juror, and Jacobite, like several of the clergy, was deprived of his office. He followed the fortunes of Charles Stuart, the Pretender, on the Continent, and returning to Ireland, died at Glasslough, in March 1721. Charles Leslie had been educated at Inniskillen School, and was admitted a Fellow Commoner of the Dublin University in 1664, and he took out his degree of M.A. in Trinity. He entered into Holy Orders in 1680. He became celebrated as a writer on controversy. On the Revolution he refused to take the oath to King William and Queen Mary from conviction, for which reason he was deprived of his preferments. He was one of the ablest of the non-jurors.

prlct37 t4 75rpr372 92 ch5rch22 4f Irdm1gh 14rlgn 137nlg1r592
 & 18452 4n 7c4r2 4f 92 pr3nc3p1ll Chr5ch27 4f 3r211n6 & all
 92 pr274n2r7 1r2 t4 83 71f2 k2pt 5431l f5rth2r 4r62r7 h45 252r
 g2ntl2m2n 915 1r2 t4 72171 1ll 3n gll7 45gh Ch5rch pr27n2r7
 & r1372 5p 1ll 92tr5gh t4 945r 1737tl72 th2r24f 945 m57tn44
 fl312, 17 945 5531l 1n7552r2 3t 52th 92 1472 4f 945r 13527 3f
 252r 92 554r16 t5rn7 17 3t 5531l 3f 92 p4p2 c1n 72n6 57 1n
 1rm32.

Fr26 11th 62c2m12r 92 26.

Flth2r Glr12n.

Flth2r 6119.

This letter was translated by Mr. Leslie in the following fashion :—

Mr. M'Kenna,

YOUR self, together with Robert and John Stewart, Captain Ovindon, William Betagh, are Authorised by the Council of Dublin to seize upon Charles Lesly, and John Knocks, Captain Johnston; there are also some contrived designs laid in practice to surprize the Churches of Ardmagh, Lurgan, Lisnagarvey,* and above one score of the principal Churches of Ireland; and all the Prisoners are to be kept while further orders: However Gentlemen, you are to seize all in Glaslough Church Prisoners; and raise up all the Trugh† to your assistance: thereof you must not fail as you will answer it with the loss of your lives, if ever the world turn, as it will if the Pope can send us an Army.

Tredagh, Dec. the 26.

Father Garland.

Father Daly.

All these letters were distinctly disquieting, and the men of Inniskillen, looking beyond the lines of their own Island to Lord Mount-Alexander, Viscount Massarene, and others of the Ulster leaders as to unity of action, were gratified to receive from Lord Blayney per Captain Thomas Cole, a citizen of

* The modern Lisburn.

† The Truagh district in Co. Monaghan has always been strictly Roman Catholic.

Londonderry, a record of proceedings of the Council of the North in the following terms:—

IT being notoriously known, not only to the Protestants of the Northern Counties, but to those throughout this whole Kingdom of Ireland, That the Publick Peace of this Nation is now in great and eminent Danger; and that it is absolutely necessary for all Protestants to agree within their several Counties in some method, besides those ordinarily appointed by the Laws, for their own defence; and the preserving as much as in them lies, the publick Peace of the Nation, which is so much endeavoured to be disturbed by Popish and Illegal Counsellors, and their Abettors. And for that Unity, Secresy, and Dispatch are necessary to the effecting of the said design: Therefore we the Persons here under Subscribing our Names, Do in behalf of our selves, and Protestant Tenants, Authorise and impower Sir Arthur Reidon, Baronet, Sir Robert Colvil, James Hamilton of Newcastle, John Hawkins, and James Hamilton of Tullimore, Esq.; or any three of them, to Assemble at such Time and Place, and as oft as they shall think fit, and to Consult, Advise, and Determine of all matters which relate to the Public Peace of this County and Kingdom. And we the said Persons hereunto Subscribing our names, Protestants in the County of Down, do hereby engage for our selves, and as far as in us lies, our Tenants aforesaid, To Perform and Execute all such Orders, Commands, and Directions, as shall from time to time be made publick, or given by the said Persons, or any three of them as aforesaid. In Witness where of we have hereunto Subscribed our Names, this 17th of January, 1688.

This resolution of the Council of the North to raise armed forces, and to appoint a Council of Five for the direction of the movement, required a corresponding effort from the places affected; and Captain Thos. Cole,* voicing the instructions from Lord Blayney, urged the Inniskilleners to do three things:—

(1) To form their companies and men into regiments.

* This gentleman was a citizen of Derry, and not one of the Cole family of Inniskillen.

(2) To unite with the North-East Association, and

(3) To send one or two of their number to Hillsborough, there to reside, as the agent of Inniskillen, to receive instructions from their own townsmen and to transmit these views to the Council.

To carry out these suggestions properly the townsmen again exercised great wisdom. They wished to move in harmony with the county, and to that end invited the county gentry to discuss these matters and arrive at a mutual arrangement, but the county did not agree with the town. The gentry seemed willing to join in the movement if they were allowed to direct it and obtain places of honour, which of necessity involved the setting aside of Governor Hamilton and those who could most be trusted and who had taken the direction of affairs from the beginning. Captain James Corry, who had opposed the resolution of the townsmen to refuse entrance to the King's soldiers, desired to be made Colonel of the foot regiment; and Sir Gerard Irving, of Lowtherstown, who had also joined in the opposition with Captain Corry, and wanted to imprison Captain Browning for leading the volunteer troops in arms, would not be satisfied with any position less than that of Colonel of Horse, but he would be graciously pleased to allow Governor Hamilton to be his lieutenant-colonel.

The county gentry scarcely yet understood the mettle of the Inniskilleners. What the latter must have at such a crisis was men, *men* whom they could trust, apart from social position; and apparently, while they were willing to admit Captain Corry and

Sir Gerard Irving into their counsels, being two of the local leaders, yet they were not disposed to put aside those who had come to them in their hour of weakness, who had enrolled men in a troop of soldiers, who had organised defence, and been active with them from day to day. So that nothing was resolved upon in full practical response to the letters of the Lords of the North-East, but the townsmen sent back the following letter by Captain Cole to Lord Blayney to explain matters:—

My Lords,

Yours we have, for which we return humble and hearty Thanks. The Methods of your Proceedings, we likewise received by Capt. Cole, a Messenger from Lord Blanii. We have several Meetings with the Gentlemen of this County, to joyn had our selves in your Association; and now look upon our selves obliged to deal plainly with your Lordships:—When first this poor Corporation unanimously joyned in a firm Resolution of refusing a Popish Garrison, having a regard to the Consequence at this Place, and the general Preservation of this Countrey, we addressed our selves to all the Gentlemen in it, to joyn with us, and stand by us, in this so necessary an Undertaking; *but found the most Leading Men, not only to refuse us, but to oppose our Resolution to that degree as to apprehend some of us, with intention to commit us to Gaol (if admitted).* When this failed, they used their Interest and Power in hindering the Countrey to joyn toward our preservation and their own, and endeavoured to represent us ill to the Government, as we are credibly informed: Yet notwithstanding these Discouragements, Gustavus Hamilton, a Gentleman of our Countrey, took us by the Hand, and hitherto hath used his diligence and uttermost endeavours to support us: He hath now *Ten Companies of Foot in Arms*, each consisting of *Seventy two Private Men*; a very good Troop of *an Hundred Horse*, well armed with Carbines and Pistols: And by an Instrument under our Hands, we have elected him *Governor* of this Place, and Colonel of our Forces.

The Gentlemen that at first opposed our Intentions, have had of late several Meetings, and now show a willingness to joyn, provided Sir Gerrard Ervin may be made

Colonel of Horse, and our Governour his Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain Corry, Colonel of Foot, so consequently our Governour here, who is the Man of the world we most doubt,* we having several Admonishmonts from very good Hands, That our fears are not groundless.

We hope your Lordships considering our weak Rise, the great Dangers we are now in, the extraordinary kindness and favour we have found from Gustavus Hamilton, and the Reasons we have to doubt the Sincerity of others, that your Lordships will be pleased to continue us in your favour, and believe that this is the true State of our Condition: we doubt not but evil inclined Spirits may set us forth otherwise, which we hope your Lordships will give no Credit to, but allow us the Liberty of subscribing our selves,

Your lordships faithful humble Servants

THE INHABITANTS OF INISKILLING.

Following that letter the townsmen issued the following declaration, expressing their "resolve to stand upon their guards," and notifying the people of the country to flee to Inniskillen as a place of refuge and bring provisions with them:—

WE the inhabitants of Iniskilling, with our Associates, having regard to the great and eminent danger hanging over our Heads; Receiving frequent Intelligence from all parts of this Kingdom of Ireland That the Irish Papists are with all Dilligence and Celerity arming themselves (as is believed) to our destruction; and being, with the Assistance of Almighty God, resolved to stand upon our Guards, we thereunto encouraged by a Declaration set forth by the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of Antrim, Down and Ardmagh, satisfying us, That they have taken up Arms in their own defence, we therefore think fit, and do hereby admonish all Protestants of this County, and the Countrey adjacent, to do the same:

And for their future security and preservation, we desire that all the inhabitants of this County, and the adjacent parts, may assemble themselves here with their Arms and Horses, on Monday next to joyn with us in this so necessary an Under-

* There must be some error in the copying here. The "doubt" is intended to apply to Sir Gerrard Irving, not to Governor Hamilton.

taking; and there to be inlisted, to the end that Men may be appointed to command them. We further desire, That all the Neighbourhood may bring in their Provisions to be secured for them in this Place, as a sure Refuge for them to fly to in time of Trouble; And those that do not now lay up Provisions for themselves and families, shall not be admitted to inhabit here, or relieved from hence hereafter.

Dated at Iniskilling the 27th of January, 1688-9.

That Declaration was sent to all the gentry, along with (2) a copy of the Declaration of the Lords of the North-East,* and (3) another letter calling a county meeting, to bring in forces for the purpose of enlistment and organisation, both horse and foot, and to take further measures for their defence, as follows :

Sir,

WE have here inclosed the Resolutions of all the Gentlemen of the Counties of Down, Antrim and Ardmagh, together with what we resolve to do: This day we had by Express, from an eminent Person in this Countrey Directions to be upon our Guard, and ready in Twelve Hours warning: Our earnest Request to you is, That you may give the same Instructions through your Countrey; and to appear here on Monday next, with what force you can raise, both Horse and Foot, to the end they may be inlisted, and officers appointed; where we will discover more to you, and consult what further Measures may be taken for our preservation, according to the Emergency of Affairs. Your Dilligence and Compliance in this is not doubted by, SIR,

Dated Jan. 27.
1688-9

Your loving Friends,

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON,
And the rest of the Inhabitants of Iniskilling.

* The Northern gentry formed themselves into a Council at Hillsborough, Co. Down, on the 15th January, 1688-9, and having sent letters out to the different local leaders, were enabled to get a few companies together.

They unanimously elected, says Harris, Hugh (Montgomery), Lord Mount-Alexander, and Clotworthy Skeffington, Esq., their commanders-in-chief for the county of Antrim, Lord Mount-Alexander for the county of Down, Lord Blaney for Armagh and Monaghan, and Colonel Lundy and Major Gustavus Hamilton for Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone; and appointed a general council of union at Hillsborough for all the associated counties of Ulster.

On the 14th of March nine Presbyterian ministers of Counties Down and Antrim appeared before the Council and offered to raise in their respective districts a number of able-bodied men ready to fight for King William and Queen Mary and the Protestant religion. The offer was gladly accepted. —Witherow.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SECOND COUNTY MEETING.

Monday, the 28th of January, 1688-9, was a stirring day in the little town of Inniskillen, when the "General Rendezvous of our whole Countrey that joyned with us" assembled, and the numbers that congregated made "a very pretty appearance." The invitation of Governor Hamilton to the country following the advice of the Committee of Safety recommending "that a General Rendezvous" be appointed, was accepted and acted upon; some of the minor country gentry came with whatever force they could command of men able to bear arms, and in many cases with their wives and families, who could not be exposed to danger of life if left behind in their country houses.

The drawbridge was likely kept down for a time, to admit all who approached from the East side, and the guards on the West bridge did not long detain the men of Magheraboy, from the western side of the lake: so that the main street of the little town was unusually busy, and all classes of men were deeply concerned with the immediate future, as the

warning to be ready at twelve hours' notice had indicated the gravity of the occasion.

There were no Reporters or Recorders present, and we are denied the details of the consultation; but the experience the men of Inniskillen had had of Mr. Hamilton as Governor confirmed to him that appointment.

SIR GERARD IRVING.

The Inniskilleners were not troubled by Sir Gerard Irving of Lowtherstown. When disappointed in not being appointed to the command of the Inniskillen troops as Colonel, he went to Dublin and offered his services to the other side. The Earl of Granard had received a commission to raise a regiment of horse for James II., and to this regiment Sir Gerard Irving was appointed lieutenant-colonel, at the same time receiving authority to raise a troop in his own County of Fermanagh. But he did not reach Lurg. He had arrived as far as the town of Cavan on his way to his own estate; and had such a number of swords, pistols, carbines, and other equipment for the troop or troops which he was to raise, that the Protestant inhabitants of Cavan became uneasy, and communicated the news to Belturbet. The Belturbet men acted promptly. Mr. Daniel French* and Mr. Henry Williams set out with about 60 horse soldiers for

* Major Daniel French was second son of Matthew French, of Belturbet, High Sheriff, Co. Cavan, 1677. Major French married, 1685, Isabella Bedell, granddaughter of the famous Bishop Bedell, and was ancestor of the families of Stamford of Carn, Co. Cavan, and Richardson of Summerhill, Co. Fermanagh. From his brother, Matthew French, junior, descend the families of Nixon, late of Nixon Lodge, Co. Cavan, and Swanzy of Avelreagh, Co. Monaghan. Avelreagh, having been in the Swanzy family since about 1690, was sold in September 1919. Daniel French, though domiciled at Belturbet, signed the address from Enniskillen and vicinity to King William and Queen Mary. He served as High Sheriff, Co. Cavan, in 1690.

Cavan, seized the arms, and accoutrements, took Sir Gerard Irving a prisoner, and sent him as a prisoner to Lord Blayney, perhaps at Monaghan; and Lord Blayney sent his aristocratic prisoner to Inniskillen. Here Sir Gerard's position must have been a painful one, for he must have been twitted with desertion and betraying the cause which he had offered to espouse if only he had gained his end of being made Colonel. On the other hand, the townsmen must have congratulated themselves that they had stood by the man and men who had stood by them, and that they had escaped the danger of placing reliance on so unreliable an opportunist as Sir Gerard Irving*.

He made this excuse on his own behalf to the men of Inniskillen, that he really was loyal to their cause in secret, that he had never intended to serve King James, and that his journey to Dublin was only a plan by which he intended to obtain arms and accoutrements for a troop of horse which he had intended to raise for the Prince of Orange. This excuse plainly conveyed that he had not played an honourable part. However, like others in Ireland, as the cause of James ebbed lower, Sir Gerard Irving joined the winning side. (See *supra*.)

The country gentry at the county meeting did resolve to raise two regiments of foot and a regiment of horse, but by reason of "backwardness to the service," a dislike of soldiering or the cause among the peasantry, these country regiments were not formed, so that the chief stress of raising troops was placed upon the town; and as the refugees from other counties swelled their numbers, they were able to place under the Governor's orders twelve companies

* *True and Impartial Account, Further Account, and Leslie's Answer.*

of 72 men each, or 864 men, quite a great force for the tiny township; and some troops of horse, of 50 men each troop.

CASTLE HUME.

Sir John Hume,* the largest landowner in the county, and the tenants of "the Scottish nation" in Magheraboy, were not backward at such a critical time. He was so infirm between illness and years that he was personally unable to take part in the stirring events of the time: but his personal influence, his interest, and his money were devoted to the cause, and he raised over one hundred horse and about two hundred foot among his tenants, and also armed them at his own cost. He sent to England for his eldest son, who had been some three or four years in the army and subsequently died in the service, to command these troops and defend Castle Hume, as Tully Castle† had been burnt down in 1641; and by furnishing Castle Hume well with a

* On the death of Sir Gustavus Hume, son of Sir John Hume, in 1731, says the Rev. Geo. Hill, the estates passed through the female line into the possession of the Loftus family. Nicholas Loftus, first Earl of Ely, married on the 18th of August, 1736, Mary, the elder daughter and heir of Sir Gustavus Hume, of Castle Hume, leaving by her their only son, the second Earl of Ely, who owned the united estates of father and mother. Sir Adam Loftus, who had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1619, was created Viscount Loftus of Ely in 1622. His son was created Earl of Ely, which title became extinct on the death of the third earl in May 1783. The sister of the first Earl had married Sir John Tottenham, and their son Charles, succeeding to the Loftus estates, assumed their name and was created a baron by the title of Lord Loftus in 1795. He received the title of Marquis of Ely and a bribe of £30,000 for voting in the Irish Parliament for the union of the Irish and English Parliaments.

† Tully Castle remains a ruin since the slaughter of the inhabitants and refugees in 1641 and the burning of the castle [which see in Vol. I., page 113 & 145.] The view from the castle over the broadest part of Lough Erne is beautiful, as the islands are visible in all their splendour. This castle was built on the manor of Ardgart or Carrynoe, and along with the Manors of Drumcose and Moyglasse (acquired from Wm. Fowler on the 26th July, 1615) now belong to the Ely family. After the burning of Tully Castle, the family residence was fixed at Castle Hume, within four miles of Enniskillen.

good garrison, and providing it well with provisions and arms, it became of assistance to an outpost of the garrison of Inniskillen. Sir John* retired to England, and sent his second son, John, under the command of Major General Kirke, to the relief of Derry; but the young man died of fever at sea.

SLIGO.

During the months of January and February the defences of Inniskillen were strengthened, notwithstanding the severity of the winter; and as no proper arms could be had the local smiths were kept busy in providing a number of pike heads and beating out scythes so as to be suited to the top of poles, to arm the foot soldiers as best they could. Correspondence was also received from Lord Kingston, the Governor of Sligo, where he commanded a "considerable" force of horse and foot raised from the Protestant planters of the Counties Sligo and Roscommon. The garrison of Sligo furnished outposts at Newtown, Dromahaire, and Manorhamilton on the way to Inniskillen, and thus were able to correspond with each other with some degree of ease, and to repress marauders who plundered the Protestants and stole their cattle. The stealing of cattle was a common practice in Ireland at the time, and cattle formed the chief wealth in the country.

A PROCLAMATION.

In the month of February a Proclamation was published from the Prince of Orange offering a pardon

* Sir John did not long survive, as he died in 1695. He was succeeded by his youngest son, Gustavus, third baronet. (See page 273, 1st vol. *Ulster Journal*.)

to all of the Irish who would lay down their arms; and it was followed by another on the 22nd February warning those who disregarded it that they would be deemed "rebels and traitors," and that their lands would be confiscated. One of its paragraphs ran:—

And we do hereby further declare that if, notwithstanding this our declaration, any of our subjects shall continue in arms in opposition to us, and we shall think ourselves free and clear of all the blood that shall be spilt, and the destruction and misery which, by reason, may be occasioned: that we shall look upon ourselves to be justified before God and man in our proceeding by force of arms against them as rebels and traitors, and such we declare all those to be who shall act as aforesaid against us and our authority, as is here expressed: and that all the lands and estates of all such as shall, after notice of this our declaration, persist in their rebellion, or be very wise abettors thereof, and which by law shall be forfeited to us, shall be by us distributed and disposed to those that shall be aiding and assisting in reducing the said kingdom to us due obedience.

Given at our Court at White-hall the 22nd day of February, in the first year of our reign.

TYRCONNELL'S PROCLAMATION.

This proclamation was answered on the 7th March by a Proclamation from Tyrconnell* on behalf of King James, offering a pardon to the Protestants of Ulster and Sligo who would submit, with exceptions whom the Proclamation named. The Proclamation although long, is worthy of reproduction here, as showing the language (such as the use of the word "nocent") and exact terms of the document: It ran as follows:—

BY THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL.

A PROCLAMATION.

TYRCONNELL.

Forasmuch as several persons in the Province of Ulster and

* The name is spelt both with one l and two l's.

Town of Sligo, in this, his Majesty's kingdom, have entered into several associations, containing no less offence than high treason, and thereupon formed themselves into several parties, dividing and marshalling themselves into several regiments, troops, and companies, marching well armed up and down the country, to the great terror of the king's liege people, in manifest breach of the law, and of the peace of this realm:

And having resolved within ourselves to prevent the effusion of blood, as long as it was possible, by using all peaceable means to reduce the said malefactors to their obedience, have of late issued out a proclamation, setting forth the said disorders, requiring all the said parties to disperse, and repair to their several habitations and callings, assuring every of them of his Majesty's pardon and protection:

And whereas we see the said offenders, instead of complying with our said proclamation, still do persist in their wickedness by continuing in actual rebellion, breaking of prisons and discharging of prisoners, secured by due course of law for robberies, felonies, and other heinous crimes; by seizing upon his Majesty's arms and ammunition, imprisoning several of his Majesty's army, disarming and dismounting them; killing and murdering several of his Majesty's subjects, pillaging and plundering the country, and daily committing several other acts of hostility:

And finding no other way to suppress the said rebellion, we, the Lord Deputy, have caused a party of his Majesty's army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton,* to march into the Province of Ulster to reduce the rebels there by force of arms, the consequence whereof cannot but be very fatal to that country and the inhabitants thereof, and will inevitably occasion the total ruin and destruction of that part of his Majesty's kingdom: the consideration whereof has given us great disquiet and trouble of mind, that a country well planted and inhabited should now, by the insolency and traitorous wickedness of its own inhabitants, be brought to

* Brigadier-General Richard Hamilton was a younger brother of Sir George Hamilton of Donelong, Co. Tyrone, who was son of Sir George Hamilton, sen. This brother Sir George on 17th February, 1631, got a patent to hold a Tuesday market and yearly fair at Clogher, and a fair on the 21st October at Ballymagorry, Co. Tyrone. General Hamilton fled with King James II. to France. John Hamilton, younger brother of this Richard Hamilton, fell in the Jacobite cause in the battle of Aughrim. Anthony Hamilton and Richard Hamilton (brothers) had been sent over from London to Dublin by Sir John Temple to work for William Prince of Orange, and when in Dublin they went over to King James. It was this General Richard Hamilton who afterwards laid siege to Derry for King James.

ruin and desolation, which we are still willing to prevent, if any spark of grace be yet remaining in the hearts of those conspirators; hereby declaring, notwithstanding the many affronts by them put upon his Majesty's Government, notwithstanding the several acts of hostility by them hitherto committed, that if they will now submit and become dutiful subjects, his Majesty's mercy shall be extended to them excepting the persons hereafter excepted.

And in order thereunto, we, the Lord Deputy and Council, do strictly charge and command all such persons in arms in Ulster or the town of Sligo, forthwith to lay down their arms, and that the principal persons among them now in the North do forthwith repair to Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, and deliver up to him their arms and serviceable horses, and give to him hostages as an assurance of their future loyalty and obedience to his Majesty, and that all their adherents do deliver up their arms and serviceable horses to such person or persons as he, the said Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, shall appoint to receive them.

And we do also farther charge and command all the principal persons of other commotions and insurrections in Sligo to repair forthwith either to us, the Lord Deputy, or to Colonel Macdonald, at the Boyle, and to deliver up their arms and serviceable horses, and to give hostages as security for their future peaceable deportment; and their adherents to lay down their arms, to be delivered up, together with their serviceable horses, to the said Colonel Macdonald; we, the Lord Deputy, hereby giving safe conduct to such of them as will submit according to this our proclamation.

And we do hereby farther declare, that such of the said persons as shall give obedience to these our commands, except the persons hereafter excepted, shall have his Majesty's Protection and Pardon for all past offences relating to the said commotions and insurrections; but in case they shall be so unhappy as to persist in their wicked designs and treasonable practices, we, the Lord Deputy, do hereby command all his Majesty's forces to fall upon them wherever they meet them, and to treat them as Rebels and Traitors to his Majesty. Yet to the end the innocent may not suffer for the crimes of the nocent, and that the committals of inhuman acts may be prevented, we do hereby strictly charge and command his Majesty's army now upon their march to the North, and all other his Majesty's forces, that they or either of them do not presume to use any violence to women, children, aged or decrepid men, labourers, ploughmen, tillers

of the ground, or to any other who in these commotions demean themselves inoffensively without joining with the Rebels, or aiding or assisting them in their traitorous actings or behaviours.

But in regard Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander; John, Lord Viscount of Massareene; Robert, Lord Baron of Kingston, Clotworthy Skeffington, Esq., son to the Lord Viscount Massareene; Sir Robert Colville, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Sir John Magill, John Hawkins, Robert Sanderson*, and Francis Hamilton, son to Sir Charles Hamilton, have been the principal actors in the said rebellion, and the persons who advised and fomented the same, and inveigled others to be involved therein, we think fit to except them out of this proclamation, as persons not deserving his Majesty's mercy or favour.

Given at the Council Chamber of Dublin.

March 7, 1688-9.

A. FYTTON, C.

WILL. TALBOT.

GRANARD.

THO. NEWCOMEN.

LIMERICK.

RICH. HAMILTON.

BELLEW.

FRAN. PLOWDON.

It is not to be wondered at that honest country folk felt puzzled as to their duty, in face of the commands and threats of both proclamations. Religion, however, left few waverers in the matter. Each side followed its own leader, and braved the worst.

* Robert Saunderson, eldest son of Colonel Robert Saunderson, who died in 1676, having served with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus, and settled at Castle Saunderson. The castle was burnt by King James's troops under Galmoy, in 1689. Robert was succeeded by his nephew, Alexander (son of James S. of Drumkeen), who married his own cousin, Mabella, daughter of Wm. Saunderson, of Westmeath (third son of James of Drumkeen). Whence, the late well-known Lieutenant-Colonel Edward James Saunderson, D.L., M.P. for North Armagh, to whose memory a statute was erected in the year 1910, in the town of Portadown, and he has been succeeded by his son Armar.

CHAPTER XLV.

ESCAPE OF SIR GERARD IRVING.

Before judgment be lightly passed in these days of the Twentieth century upon Sir Gerard Irving for not having at once espoused the cause of the Inniskilleners, we must go back somewhat to understand his position in 1688, and what had preceded it.

At the time of the Plantation some members of different border clans of Scotland came over to settle on part of the confiscated lands in Ulster. Three of them had been neighbours in Scotland—Gerard [originally written Gerrard] Lowther, Lancelot Carleton and Christopher Irving; and they acquired lands beside each other in the barony of Lurg, in the newly created county of Fermanagh. Gerard Lowther acquired the manor of Nekarne. Lancelot Carleton purchased Rossfad from Mr. Thos. Barton (ancestor of the late Charles R. Barton, D.L., the Waterfoot, Co Fermanagh), part of the manor of Druminshin; and Christopher Irving acquired Lettermoney, also by purchase from Mr. Thomas Barton. Christopher Irving also acquired the Ballindullagh property, part of the Proportion of Rosswire [Rossgweer].

LOWTHERSTOWN.

Captain Pynnar reported in 1619-20 that upon the small Proportion of 1,000 acres of which Harrington Sutton was the patentee :

Sir Gerard Lowther hath upon Necarn a strong Bawne of Lime and stone, and a House in it, and near unto the Bawne there is a village consisting of 10 Houses, and a Market-House, also a Water Mill. I find planted and estated upon the land, of *Brittish* Families.

Freeholders, 2, viz.—One having 120 acres; one having 90 acres.

Lessees for years—One having 73 acres, two having 40 acres jointly, one having 60 acres, six having 20 acres le piece, one having 11 acres, one having four acres.

In both these Proportions there are 16 *Brittish* families, besides Under tenants, the which are able to make 38 men with Arms. Nine of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

That was the beginning of the village or "town" of Lowther's-town. The Bawne mentioned by Pynnar was 324 feet in circumference, extra large for those days, and the walls were 17 feet high. The Inquisition of 1630 mentions the existence of several English-like houses, but makes no mention of the manor-house. Sir Gerard Lowther, who held these two Proportions of "Drumynshin" and Nekarne for a time, was fourth son of Sir Richard Lowther, high sheriff of Cumberland, who conveyed Mary Queen of Scots on her arrival in England to Carlisle Castle. Sir Gerard, who was appointed Second Baron of the Exchequer in 1628, and afterwards became Lord Chancellor during the Commonwealth, acquired a large amount of property in Ireland, and it was about 1628 that he disposed of these two Proportions in Fermanagh. The Proportion of "Nekarney" was first owned by Edward Ward, gent., and the patent

was dated 13th May, 1611; and he sold to Edmund Sutton, the son of Harrington Sutton, of Kallam, county of Nottingham.

Christopher Irving, being a Scotchman, and a great grandson of Christopher Irving of Bonshaw, who fell when commanding the Light Horse of Scotland at Flodden Field in 1513, had to take out letters of naturalization as an English subject, like the other Scotch gentlemen of Fermanagh,—Abraham Creighton, of Drumboorie; Malcolme Hamilton, of Monea; Thomas Creighton of Aghalane, &c., and became a Commissioner for Levying Fines in Fermanagh in 1631. In 1632 Christopher Irving took lease of all the Lowther property in Fermanagh, as Gerard Lowther had died in 1629, and his son and successor, Sir Gerard Lowther, who became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1654 and had no issue, preferred to reside in Dublin. Christopher Irving, by his lease, had incurred the responsibility of the patentee to “have always resident and dwelling upon the premises [Manor Lowther] five and 20 sufficient and able men to answer His Majesty’s service in the County Fermanagh, and also to be trayned and fittly armed and arrayed for the same, in all musterings and traynings, and to serve his Majesty in all traynings and musterings, and also against all rebels and enemies, within this realm of Ireland.”

The great rebellion of 23rd October, 1641, (see p. 108, vol. 1), in which 40,000 Protestants were murdered, left its marks on the little hamlet of Lowtherstown. 17 people were first half hanged and then buried alive; while some were hanged to death on tenterhooks. (Deposition of Anne Blennerhassett)

Christopher Irving, with his sons [Dr.] Christopher, Gerard, and Lancelot (who died shortly after) and family, removed to Inniskillen for protection, and the Castle was burnt in their absence. The Irvings were not only Scottish Royalists but Episcopalians, and during the time of Charles I., joined the King's men during the Civil War.

It was this second son, Gerard, who distinguished himself in the war of 1641 and who in his advanced years could not see eye to eye with the Inniskillen men, and the reason will be developed as we observe what manner of man he was. Having become captain of a troop of Horse, he continued in arms; and when on the outbreak of the great Civil War Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Londonderry, submitted to the Parliament and the Commonwealth, Gerard Irving, with Sir Audley Mervyn and others, stood by the King. When Charles I. was arrested Gerard Irving was deputed by his brother Loyalists to go to the Marquis of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, to ascertain from him what they should do, owing to the abeyance of the King's authority. And the result of the conference was, that they should continue in the King's service as officers of the army. Here, then, we have Gerard Irving an out-and-out Royalist and Loyalist.

It was during this period that Captain Irving fell into the hands of Sir Charles Coote, the Governor of Londonderry. Capt. John Crichton tells of Irving's escape, as related in vol. 1, pages 246, 247, 248.

In 1649 all resistance to the Commonwealth ceased; and when Charles II. was called to the throne of Scotland, Gerard and his brother William

offered their services to the King. They were accepted, and Captain Irving became Lieutenant-Colonel in Sir Arthur Forbes' regiment. Finally, he returned to Ireland, was restored to the Commission of the Peace, completed the purchase of Castle Fartagh or Castle Irvine begun by his father, and became High Sheriff of the County Fermanagh in 1672, and was made a baronet in 1677. James II. came to the throne in 1685, and we know what followed. The man who had fought for King Charles I. and served under Charles II., could not in his old age readily change his Royalist views, as James II. was his lawful King, and we have seen what occurred in his discussion with the Inniskillen men. Dissatisfied, he went to Dublin to consult Lord Granard, another Protestant, and the other Protestant Royalists there.

The allegation is made that Sir Gerard received a commission, and arms, and ammunition, to have a disciplined force ready for any event, and moved towards the North with a considerable cavalcade for that purpose; but he was not trusted by the men of Cavan, by whom he was seized, as already related. On account of his refusal to join the rebellion in Inniskillen he was not attainted by the Irish Parliament when they issued their famous decree.

During this time Sir Gerard having retreated to Castle Irving, the Duke of Berwick when he was marching on Inniskillen, had hoped to have been joined by Sir Gerard before the battle of Kilmacormick; and that Sir Gerard would allow him to make an outpost of his castle for the town which they were to capture. But Sir Gerard did not go out to the Duke, who, it is alleged, sought a retreat

to Castle Irvine. Admission was refused, and Sir Gerard called on the townsmen and his tenants to help him to resist. Finally, Sir Gerard, with a troop of Horse, joined the Inniskilleners, and took part in the movement against Sarsfield at Bundrowes, finally dying in arms in King William's service at Dundalk, in the month of October, 1689.

Having gone so far, we may pursue the family further. Sir Gerard had been married to a daughter of Captain Adam Cathcart, one of the gentry of Magheraboy, without issue, and had three sons by a second wife, all of whom had died before him; and he was succeeded by his brother, Dr. Christopher Irvine (sometimes spelt Irving or Irwin), of Edinburgh, who dying in 1693, was succeeded by Dr. Christopher Irvine, jun., who had taken part with his uncle, Sir Gerard, in the Williamite wars. Dying on the 9th May, 1714, at Castle Hume, he was succeeded by his cousin, Major Christopher Irvine, of Cules, eldest son of William Irvine, of Ballindullagh, youngest brother of Sir Gerard.

This William Irvine, although he had also fought for Charles I. and Charles II., took the side of the Inniskilleners, and it is his name, along with that of his son Christopher, whose name appears in the list of those attainted by the Irish Parliament of James II. Thus we have the head of the house of Castle Irvine attainted before he succeeded to the property.

Owing to a dispute about a will, Major Christopher divided his estate with Major Guy Carleton, of Rossfad, his cousin; and was succeeded by his son Christopher (born 1697), whose eldest son Colonel William Irvine (born 1734), succeeded him. He took part in the great meeting of Protestant

Volunteers in Dungannon in 1782, and is said to have presided at that famous meeting when the Volunteers demanded that their Irish Parliament should be relieved of all English interference and supervision, be free, and declared—

Hurra, 'tis done,
 Our freedom's won,
 Hurrah for the Volunteers!
 No laws we own
 But those alone
 Of one Commons, King, and Peers!

Major George Marcus Irvine (born 1760) succeeded, and he in turn was succeeded by his son William D'Arcy (born 1793), whose son Henry (born 1818) obtained the Royal licence to assume the surnames of D'Arcy and Mervyn. He died within living memory in 1870. His son Henry Huntly Mervyn D'Arcy Irvine (born 1863), died in 1881; and William D'Arcy Irvine, younger brother of Mr. Henry Mervyn D'Arcy Irvine, succeeded to the headship of the estate, which had become so embarrassed that the estate was sold in the Land Court to the tenants under the Irish Land Act of 1893; and Captain William D'Arcy Irvine purchased the castle and demesne for his private property in the Land Court, while the fee-simple of the village of Irvinestown and the rest of the estate passed to the occupiers by purchase in 1906.

The hereditary names of the Irving family, however, have been preserved in the nomenclature of the younger branch of Killadeas. William Irvine of Ballindullagh was succeeded by his second son John (as his eldest son had succeeded to the Castle Irvine estate). This John had taken an active part

in the army of William III., and succeeded his father in 1691 at Cules, and founded the branch at Rockfield (known in later years as Killadeas), having acquired the estate and died there in 1716. His son Major Christopher Irvine, who died in 1760, was succeeded by his eldest son, Major John, major in the Fermanagh Yeomanry Cavalry*; and dying in 1787, was succeeded by Joseph, a distinguished scholar of Trinity College, who died unmarried in 1797, and his younger brother Gerard succeeded. Then followed his eldest son, Major John Irvine (born 1788); and his eldest son Colonel John Gerard Irvine (born 1823) was a well-known figure in the County Fermanagh to the present generation. He rebuilt Rockfield and named it Killadeas; and on his death in 1891, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Major John Gerard Christopher Irvine, in 1892, the present owner of Killadeas; while his younger brother, Geoffrey (also a family name), lives at Goblusk.

* I find by the records of 1798 that the precedence of the Yeomanry Corps in Fermanagh that year, with the name of the commanding officer, was as follows:—

Corps.	Captain.
Lurg Infantry	G. Irwin
Enniskilleners	W. Stewart
Wattlebridge Infantry	J. Armstrong
Beleek Infantry	Sir J. Caldwell, Bt.
Lurg True Blue Infantry	E. Archdall
Colebrooke Cavalry	F. Brooke
Pettigoe Infantry	J. Aikin
Lisbellaw Infantry	J. Watkins
Lowtherstown Cavalry	G. D'Arcy Irwin
Magheraboy True Blue Infantry	E. Archdall
Fermanagh Infantry	Lord Viscount Cole
Magheracross and Kilskeery Infantry	G. Lendrum
Fermanagh Infantry	Lord Viscount Corry
Lisnaskea Cavalry	B. T. Balfour

CHAPTER XLVI.

LUNDY DECEIVES SLIGO.

Robert Lundy, had become Governor of Londonderry—by reason of being Lieut.-Colonel of Lord Mountjoy's regiment, when some of its companies were admitted into the city. He was a Scottish Episcopalian, and had been in the city previously, perhaps in his military capacity, as the registry of Derry Cathedral contains a record of the baptism of his daughter. His name has been execrated in Ulster ever since his treachery to the city and the Prince which trusted him. Had he boldly avowed his views of standing by James II. instead of William, whom he had sworn to serve faithfully, his principles could have been understood and appreciated; but he preferred the game of duplicity, of pretending to be a friend to the Williamite cause, and in that capacity to exercise his authority so as to weaken it, and hand over Derry and the North to the Jacobites.

LUNDY'S PLAN.

Lundy's first plan was to weaken the outposts so as to obtain a concentration of the troops on Derry; and with that end in view, when besought for arms

and ammunition by Lord Kingston for Sligo, he promised the assistance but did not give it, even though the Sligo men offered the price which Lundy himself had demanded. His next move was to notify the garrison at Sligo to repair to Derry to strengthen the forces there, and this order arrived shortly after Captain Coote had left Sligo for Derry for the ammunition which he was not permitted to bring back. The officers at Sligo having gone to great labour in strengthening their defences, and seeing the crowds of helpless women and children who had fled thither from the country depending on them for protection, were unwilling to desert them, a hope also existing that assistance might come to them by sea

EVACUATING SLIGO.

Lundy, however was clever. Before Captain Coote could return to acquaint them of the temper of the men of Derry and Enniskillen a second messenger arrived from the Governor, who descanted in a letter on the danger to the North, that Sligo itself could not make a long defence, that Derry might be lost unless the Sligo forces joined them; and that quarters and forage would be provided for them all along the line of march to and at Derry. A council of war* was again held, and as Sligo had only one barrel

* The names given by Colonel W. G. Wood-Martin of these officers are—

Major Owen Vaughan, Carrowmore, Co. Mayo.
 Major Thomas Harte, Ballinspor.
 Captain Hugh Morgan, Tireragh
 Captain Piercy Gethin, Sligo.
 Captain Edward Wood, Court.
 Captain William Ormsby, Court.
 Captain William Smith, Knocknasawer (now Cloverhill).
 Captain William Griffith, Sligo.
 Lieutenant Richard Brooks, Tullybeg.
 Lieutenant Adam Ormsby, Cummin.
 Coronet Oliver Brook, Tullybeg.

of powder and saw no means of replenishing this small store, they decided to obey; and on the morning of the 22nd March the march began, 50 horse comprising the advance guard, the infantry following, with baggage, women, and children, and two troops of dragoons forming the rear-guard.

THE FUGITIVES.

Through rain and storm of inclement weather along the route by the sea coast towards Ballyshannon the party made its way, the women and children suffering acutely from the pelting rain and cold. The Irish under Lieut.-Colonel Farrall with 180 musketeers and 400 men from Dartry, Co. Monaghan, harassed the fugitives, and tried to break down Bundrowes* bridge, but gave way before the advancing Protestants: and on the 24th they arrived at Ballyshannon. Here another messenger arrived from Lundy to tell the Sligo men that quarters were not ready for them at Derry and to remain at Ballyshannon, so as to guard the passes of the river Erne; and they had nothing to do but obey. They could not retreat, as Sligo had been occupied immediately on their evacuation of the fort; and their anger may well be conceived at being thus lured from the fort which they could easily have held in obedience to an officer trusted by King William. Walker quotes a letter of one of these officers to a friend in Derry, as follows:—

Sir—Having this opportunity, I think fit to let you know the great and most lamentable disappointment we are under. My Lord Kingston is basely used by your officers. They have drawn him from the Garrison of Sligo, which he had so bravely fortified, and had such a number of disciplined

* This old road from Tullaghan, avoiding the coast line, still runs along its ancient course without touching Bundoran.

men, both horse and foot, in, and so well armed, that he could not but have done service with them, and have made good that post against the enemy. But Colonel Lundy writ to him, that the blood of all the Protestants in the North will be upon him if he does not quit the garrison of Sligo and come to their assistance. . . . You may imagine what a distraction we were in With the most earnest entreaty we prevailed with my lord to go for England, to solicit relief from thence, and are resolved to take our shelter in Enniskillen. If anything happens amiss to us, our children, if they survive, may curse your great men for it.

BALLYSHANNON.

With the garrison thus reinforced at Ballyshannon, steps were taken to improve the position. The ferry boat was sunk, a fact which leads us to conclude that the bridge had not at that time been built. But there was a bridge at Belleek, and as one arch had been destroyed by Sir James Caldwell for his protection on the northern side against an incursion from Connaught, a second was now demolished, and a party left under Major Vaughan and Captain Arthur Cooper to guard the pass. At Ballyshannon, too, the houses along what we call the Port, upon the Connaught side of the river, were burnt and the walls razed, so as to afford no cover for the enemy. Another guard under Captain William Smith, Captain Francis King, and Lieutenant Toby Mulloy, was placed in the residence of Lieutenant Walter Johnston,* at Meelick, to watch the ford of the Erne at that point; another detachment of two companies was sent to Donegal under command of Captain Francis Gore and Captain Edward Wood; and yet another at Killybegs to keep the Rapparees in subjection, so that considerable skill was displayed in improving their position.

* Ancestor of late Captain Johnston of Magheramena.

COLONEL LLOYD.

Before Lord Kingston left Killybegs for England he left orders that all the assistance that could be spared should be sent to Enniskillen; and in the month of April Colonel Lloyd* set out with two troops of horse (100 men) and six companies of foot (about 300 men) for the island town. They probably marched to Sir John Hume's village, at what we now call Churchill, the first day; and on the second day traversed the old road whose track may yet be seen above the rocks of Carrickreagh, and near Levalley, till it crossed the hill behind Mullymarget (afterwards named Silverhill), and by Kinarla, across the present Derrygonnelly road at Drumlion, and—up the hill and down again—over Portora hill, to the west bridge, where the guard admitted this new reinforcement to the already greatly increased garrison of Enniskillen.

We may fancy the excitement that reigned among the townsmen, and the refugees from Cavan and Leitrim, at the welcome addition of this well-armed force; and how the street was lined with friends and cheers given as they marched to the

* Thomas Lloyd, of Croghan, colonel, was son of Captain Owen Lloyd, who died in 1664, and is buried in the Cathedral Church of Elphin. Thomas Lloyd married Margaret Cole, daughter of Sir John Cole, Bart., and died in 1689, at the early age of 32, without issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Richard Lloyd, who married Mary Guy, an heiress of Jamaica. Richard's son was Guy Lloyd, of Croghan, and Bylaugh Hall, Norfolk; and married a Miss Copping, and was followed by his son Richard, Lieutenant-Colonel of the West Norfolk Militia, who married a Miss Jeeks, of Bawdeywell Hall, Norfolk, and died in 1811, and was succeeded by his son Guy Lloyd, who married a Miss Bircham, and died in 1844. The same name was continued in his son Guy Lloyd, who married Miss Cann, daughter of John Stephenson Cann, of Wrampingham Hall, Norfolk, and died in 1860. Another Guy Lloyd, D.L., J.P., succeeded, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert King, Bart., of Charlestown, County Roscommon. He died in 1906, and was succeeded by his brother, John Merrick Lloyd, present owner of Croghan. One member of the Barton family (Waterfoot) was married to a sister of Col. Thos. Lloyd.

church, till it would be seen what quarters could be provided for them in a little town whose resources seemed already taxed beyond its capacity. Where did they find room in the little thatched cabins for them all? How did the Billet-Master of the Corporation place them? Alas, that all those Enniskillen records of the time are lost! How valuable they would be to us now!

This was a valuable addition to the Enniskillen forces, if only because it brought to them Colonel Lloyd, a leader who never failed, who inspired his men with confidence, and whose ability and bravery were shown on every occasion on which he led the Inniskilleners. Little wonder that he was named the "Little Cromwell" of Inniskillen, for he displayed singular aptitude in the art of war.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LUNDY AND SIR JOHN HUME.

It was early in March that the news arrived in Enniskillen that the English Parliament had declared William and his wife Mary to be King and Queen of these realms; and that James II. was deemed to have abdicated the throne. The loyal burghers considered that the event should be observed with "such joy and solemnity as the circumstances could bear:" especially as the crown was continued in the same royal line, Queen Mary being daughter of the deposed monarch. Accordingly, on the 11th of March the Governor proclaimed the new king and queen, and the oath of allegiance was taken to William III.

It was after this joyful event that the Governor had a letter from Colonel Lundy from Derry, directed to Sir John Hume. It was as follows:—

Gentlemen,

THE Inclosed is accompanied with several Letters, intimating the March of the Irish Army Northward: To oppose

* Sir John Hume not only raised and armed 100 horse and 200 foot at his own expense but he suffered the loss of his two elder sons during the Revolution. He was credited with having "the best estate" in Fermanagh, its only rival being that of Brooke. Sir John also fortified his house of Castle Hume and furnished it with provisions at great expense, whose garrison was a support to the defence of Enniskillen. Feeling obliged on account of age and ill health to retire to England, with his younger children, for security, he sent for his eldest son, James, who had been several years in the army to take his place, and dispatched his second son, John, to join Major-General Kirke in the relief of Derry.

which we are making all the preparations possible, altho our Scarcity of Arms, Ammunition and Moneys, render us not so fit as we ought for the Undertaking; But we will do what we can, and leave the Issue to Divine Providence, which orders all Events. On this occasion it is likely that you and all our friends may be alarmed, if not formally attack'd by their Forces, were it but to keep you from affording us your help, or from giving them diversion in their Attempts; wherefore you would do well to be strictly on your Guards, and if possible (by Espials) to open their Counsels and Designs; and what you know, pray communicate to your friends in this Countrey, and round about you, who, we hope, will observe the like Care, and continue a constant Correspondence with all friends, in these dangerous Times. I am resolved to march hence within a day or two, with what force I can raise in this Countrey, to Donganan, and desire you to have all Men ready to march that were designed for it, that as soon as I write for them, they may come immediately to the place assigned for our Rendezvous.

I remain,

For Sir John Hume,
and the rest of the
Gentlemen of the
County of Fermanagh,
These.

Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

ROBERT LUNDY.

The letter referred to as having been enclosed was dated March 9th, 1688, and was:—

Sir,

SINCE our last to you, dated the 6th, we have this day received the inclosed; and Mr. Osburne* was here

* When Rev. Mr. Osborne had an interview with the Council of the North and was asked to give them his opinion of the situation ("deliver his own private judgment,") says Boyse, he advised them "as they valued their lives and interests not to put confidence in Lord Tyrconnell, or any of his promises, but, if they possibly could, to defend themselves to the utmost." It was after that counsel, that the Council sent the following reply to the message of the Lord Deputy:—

"We declare the utter abhorrence of the effusion of blood, and that we will use all proper means to avoid it, but cannot consent to lay down our arms, which we were forced to take up for our own defence, nor to part with our goods by any other than legal means; and that we are ready to appoint persons to treat on such heads as are consistent with the safety of our religion, lives, and liberties."

himself, and confirms the Contents, with several Circumstances, which perswades us of the Truth of it; And therefore we most earnestly intreat you to march up towards Nury, with all possible diligence, with what Men you can, with as much Provisions and Necessaries as can be carried and let us know by Express of their March, and their Numbers. We remain,

Your Humble Servants,

Sir You are desired
to give notice to all
Friends.

To the Honourable
Col. Lundy, in Derry.

Mountalexander.

James Hamilton.

William Cunningham.

Richard Johnston.

Mar. Midleton.

The "enclosed" of that letter was from the Rev. Alexander Osborne, Presbyterian Minister of Newmarket (now Ormond Quay), Dublin, a congregation with which, tradition says, William III. worshipped after the victory at the Boyne, and to which he, a Presbyterian himself, presented some communion plate. Mr. Osborne, being in Dublin, was likely to hear of Tyrconnell's doings, and he kept Protestant party advised of the latest intelligence, at the same time advising them not to put confidence in the Lord Deputy. The letter of the Rev. Mr. Osborne was:

ON the 6th instant, I was introduced by my Lord Granard to my Lord Deputy's Presence, in the Castle of Dublin: I have his Pass to come and go through, and back from Ulster. And tho I have not his Excellency's express Commission, yet I assure you, I am at least permitted by the Lord Deputy, to acquaint the Chief, and others of the Ulster Association, with his discourse to me; which was to the effect following: That his Excellency doth not delight in the Blood of the Protestants of the said Province; but, however, highly resents their taking and continuing in Arms; the Affront done by them to Him, and his Majesties Government thereby, and by some Indignities done to the late Proclamation of Clemency, issued and dated.

Notwithstanding whereof, is willing to receive the said Province into Protection; Provided, they immediately deliver

to his Army, to His Majesties Use, their Arms, and serviceable Horses; and provided they deliver to his Excellency these Three Persons; Viz.* if they stay in the Kingdom, and they may be had. And for further manifestation of his design to prevent Blood, is willing to grant Safe Conduct, even to the said Three Persons, or any of their Party, from his Excellency, and to and from Lieutenant General Hamilton, Commander of a part of his Army, if they intend any Peaceable and Reasonable Treaty: But withal, will not, upon the said Account, or any other, stop the March of that part of his said Army, no, not for an Hour: And if it shall appear in such Treaty, that they took up Arms meerly for Self-preservation, he will pardon even the said Three Persons: But is hopeless that any such thing can be made appear, seeing many of them have accepted and received Commissions from the Prince of Orange, and displayed his Colours in the Field, as he is credibly informed. If these Terms be not immediately agreed to, he will, with a part of his Army, fight them; which part he intends shall be at Nury on Monday the 11th of this Instant, which will from thence march to Belfast, and from thence to Coleraine and Londonderry, as his Excellency intends: And that the Countrey Irish, not of the Army, Man, Woman and Boy, now all Armed with half Pikes and Baggonets, in the Counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone and Londonderry, &c., will on the Approach of the said part of the Army, and Resistance thereunto made, immediately enter into a Massacre of the British of the said Counties; which Force and Violence of the Rabble, his Excellency says, he cannot restrain. These are the Heads of what I can offer to you from his Excellency's own Mouth: but I intend to be at Hilsborough to Night.

Alex. Osburne.

The intimation in the last part of Mr. Osborne's letter of a massacre of the Protestants by "the Countrey Irish" on the approach of General Richard Hamilton's army, coming with the authority of the Irish Lord Deputy, served only to confirm the apprehension of the Inniskilleners, and instead of

* Two of these three were Lord Mount-Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon. Mr. Osburne failed to fill in the blank.

causing submission rather strengthened them into a sterner resistance.

This Presbyterian minister, however, did more than write that letter, containing the substance of his one conversation with Tyrconnel. He laid before the Council of the North on the 9th and 10th of March valuable information and advice to the following effect:—

1. That for the Irish army, though their horses were good, yet their riders were but contemptible fellows, many of them having lately been cow-herds, &c.

2. That their provisions of ammunition were not plentiful.

3. That, should those of the North comply with the offers made to them, they had no reason to expect any true performance; the Lord Tyrconnell having broken all such capitulations as he had lately made in the like case with those Protestants in the South and West of Ireland, and thereby reduced them to poverty and slavery.

4. That the eyes of all Protestants were upon them. A great interest depended on their carriage [their behaviour]; and it were better to die honourably than to live miserably under Popery and slavery; that their self-defence might be of great consequence to Britain as well as Ireland, either to their advantage or disadvantage, as their part should be well or ill acted.

5. It was advised that they should instantly gather all the forces they could from all parts, and choose out of their best armed and trained men to engage the enemy, and have the rest ready to fall on their wings and outskirts.

6. It was advised also, that the conduct of their military affairs should be committed to their best known and experienced officers.

7. That they should debate with them from pass to pass [contend with the Irish at every ford and pass], and so weary out their men, horses, and provisions, in expectation of relief from England.

The Council was impressed by this letter, and it rejected the proposals of Tyrconnel, and had Rev. Mr. Osborne's letter copied and circulated throughout the North of Ireland so as to stimulate their people to resistance, and let them know what might be expected from the Lord Deputy if he should obtain the upper hand. In Inniskillen the effect was to put its people "upon their more strict guard."

The result of that information and advice from Rev. Mr. Osborne and the decision of the Council of the North was seen a few days later.

CAVAN.

A curious incident as illustrating the state of the times and the temper of the people, is told by Harris as occurring during the end of this month of March, in these words:—

"At a Quarter Sessions held at Cavan,* on the 8th of January, several Irish justices of the Peace being on the Bench [created under Tyrconnell], Captain Robert Saunderson, of Castle Saunderson, with a body of 14 Horse entered the town, and,

* When Chichester visited Cavan in 1606, he reported that "in this country there is a poor town bearing the name of Cavan, seated between many hills, but the barony in which it stands is named Loghtie [Loughtee], and the best in the country, being one of the four designed to Sir John O'Reilly, and the fittest to be reserved in his Majesty's sole disposition for bringing it to a civil country." Sir John O'Reilly's son fought for the English government at the Battle of the Yellow Ford, and died there.

mounting the Bench, demanded by what Commission they sat there? They answered, by that of King James. He told them the authority was not good, while the laws were unrepealed, and told them to return home.

“Tyrconnell, being informed of this proceeding at Cavan, threatened to send some Troops of Horse into that rebellious country that would not submit to justices acting against the law, which so much terrified the people that almost every man put himself in Arms. And this was the cause of sending down Galmoy into that country, and of the fears and plight of the people as before mentioned.

“The Protestants acted much the same way in the County of Monaghan as Captain Saunderson had done in the neighbouring County of Cavan. The appointment of a Popish High Sheriff for that County alarmed all the gentlemen, who referred to the Rev. Charles Leslie [Glasslough] for advice, whose knowledge, as a magistrate, they much depended upon. He was then confined to his house by the government, and told them ‘that it would be as illegal in them to permit a Sheriff, unqualified by law, to act, as it would be in him to attempt it.’ They then insisted that he should appear on the Bench at the approaching Quarter Sessions, and promised to act as head; and he was accordingly carried thither in much pain, and with great difficulty. Upon inquiry, whether the pretended Sheriff was legally qualified, he answered perty, ‘that he was of the King’s Own Religion, and that it was His Majesty’s will he should be Sheriff.’ Mr. Leslie replied ‘that they were not inquiring into His Majesty’s Religion, but whether he had qualified

himself according to law for acting as a proper Officer.' The Bench therefore unanimously agreed to commit the pretended Sheriff for his intention, and arrogant contempt of the Court. Mr. Leslie committed also some officers of that tumultuous army, which the Lord Tyrconnell had raised to plunder the country. Thus steadily acted this learned divine as a magistrate. Yet upon the Revolution he was deprived of his preferments for refusing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, and continued a non-juror till the time of his death."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LUNDY AND ENNISKILLEN.

On the 16th of March Inniskillen learned that in obedience to the orders of Colonel Lundy the garrison of Dungannon had "deserted" or retired from that place upon Omagh, Strabane, and Derry followed by "all the British in that country." Lundy was carrying out his plan of clearing all the outposts, so as to leave open country for the advance of James's army and to place a greater strain upon the resources of Derry.

Lundy sent the same instructions to the Governor of Inniskillen, telling him that the directions of the committee were to concentrate all their forces in the north-west of Ulster, and that Inniskillen should move "towards Derry and the Laggan* to make good Finn-water against the enemy," or, in other words, to guard or command the fords of the river Finn in Donegal. He at the same time gave a poor and disheartening picture of the state they were in at Derry, hoping thereby to influence Inniskillen more towards the end he had in view.

* The Laggan was the district between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly to the south.

HIS ORDERS DISREGARDED.

But Lundy did not know Inniskillen. With them, too, being forewarned was forearmed. The Governor and his officers "positively resolved not to desert Inniskillen," as M'Carmick says, "being highly sensible that holding out that Place of Iniskilling was the only Let to hinder the Conaught Forces joyning with those of Ulster; and consequently all the Support that Derry could expect: For had we deserted that Place, all Ireland then was in the Papists' hands, save Londonderry, which of itself could not possibly subsist, or be able to hold out against the whole Power of of the Irish Nation: whereas, on the other Hand, our keeping that Place would, at last (if we could not assist to relieve Derry), be a great means of diverting their Force from uniting against it."

Here, then, the die was cast. Inniskillen suspected and detected Lundy. It flouted his orders, refused compliance, and put into actual practice the grand sentiment of its able young Governor--

"WE STAND UPON OUR GUARD, AND DO RESOLVE BY
THE BLESSING OF GOD TO MEET OUR
DANGER THAN EXPECT IT."

KING JAMES ARRIVES.

On the 12th March James returned from France and landed at Kinsale with 1,800 men, and marched to Cork, and a troop of English and Irish exiles with him. Tyrconnell met the King, and assured him that all was well, that Inniskillen and Derry were the only places that held out, and that Hamilton was on his way to exterminate them. But instead of the signs of prosperity of which he had heard tales there were waste fields, large areas without an inhabitant, and

swarms of ragged and wild-looking peasants, armed with pikes and skeans, shrieking in Irish welcomes to Shamus. On the 24th March James entered Dublin, and meeting a procession of friars and priests, with processional crosses, with the Host, he went on his knees in the mud and bared his head in lowest devotion.

THE PROTESTANT CLERGY.

So much for the Roman Catholic clergy. Now for the Protestant clergy. All along the way to Dublin the Protestant clergy made professions of allegiance and attachment* and on the 25th March, when James proceeded to form his Privy Council, he was met by the Bishop of Meath, Dr. Dopping† who implored His Majesty's protection and permission to lay before him the injuries that he and his flock had received. James gave a soothing reply about toleration, and the first translation of it into action was the dismissal of the only Protestant judge left on the Bench, Chief Justice Keetinge, of the Common Pleas. It was this same Protestant Bishop who welcomed King James, who extended a similar greeting to King William on his visit to Dublin. The Bishop was determined to be like

* Leslie's Answer to King. Page iii.

† Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, who, at the head of the Dublin clergy, had presented a loyal address to King James before the Battle of the Boyne, presented another to King William after it.

When King William was blamed for the alleged-to-be too favourable articles of the Treaty of Limerick, the same Dr. Dopping, bishop of Meath, when preaching before the Lords Justices of Dublin in Christ Church, denounced the Treaty of Limerick, and said that "The peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious that they kept neither articles nor oaths longer than was for their interest; and that, therefore, these articles, which were intended a security, would prove a sword, and would only make the rebels to play their pranks over again on the first opportunity."

King William was so angry at this perfidious prelate that he dismissed the Bishop from the Privy Council for daring to suggest that such an agreement should be violated.

the Vicar of Bray, and be friends of both, so that he might retain his bishoprick.

James set out for the North, attended by French officers, and they passed through a country blackened by the fires of demolition and war and robbery, in some degree laid bare by the retiring Protestants. The King's party could scarcely get shelter for their heads or forage for their horses; and plunging through bogs and marshes, exhausted, famished, and travel-stained, they reached Charlemont on the 13th April.

LUNDY AND CAVAN.

Colonel Lundy had meanwhile ordered the garrison of Cavan to fall back on Derry, and when the Protestants of Cavan learned of the advance of James they became alarmed and resolved to march to Inniskillen. They had four troops of horse and about four companies of foot, pretty well armed, and these, with women and children, set out in dreadful weather on their journey, and reached Inniskillen in great disorder on the 20th of March in a most pitiable plight, covered with mud and dirt, with tears and lamentations. Governor Hamilton had them immediately supplied with free quarters, and the Inniskilleners were uplifted with the hopes that these troops and companies would help them in their defence.

The difficulty was to find accommodation for so many fugitives, who were in a starving and deplorable condition. Already every house was full. The Assize House (Courthouse) was already full; the School in Schoolhouse-lane was full, and 200 families (not persons but families) had to be placed in the church, which was very much smaller than its successor of 1842. Fancy the overcrowding, the insanitation, the want of

cooking and domestic utensils, the need of clothing, of medicine, of ordinary conveniences!

The Inniskillen men hoped that these Cavan troops of horse and companies of foot would stand by them to defend the town; but the Cavan gentry and officers insisted on obeying the positive orders of Colonel Lundy; and the Cavan officers used their best endeavours to persuade Governor Hamilton to do the same thing, to forsake Inniskillen and flee to Derry. They tried to influence some of the Inniskillen men to adopt the same opinion—a policy, which, if it had been followed, would, as M'Cormick observed, “have ruined the whole Protestant interest in Ireland, and given the Irish army the opportunity of passing into Scotland or Ireland at their pleasure.”

INNISKILLEN DISGUSTED.

There was a Major John Rider in Inniskillen at this time, and he gave “such warning and forcible reasons of the necessity of holding the place” that he swayed the wavering and confirmed those who were resolute in their former attitude. When the men of Inniskillen reasoned further with the fugitives from Cavan they discovered that Cavan men were moved not so much by a desire to obey Lundy as to avoid Lord Galmoy* who was advancing at the head of a

* Lord Galmoy (Pierce Butler) born on 21st March, 1652, took the side of James, and having served in the Royal Guards he was transferred as a Colonel of foot in James's army. He was noted for his cruelty and allowing those under him to commit barbarous deeds. He was sent by Tyrconnell to prevent the Protestants of the North communicating with those of the South, and in his advance on Inniskillen, his name inspired terror, as we have seen was the case with the men of Cavan. Oldmixon in his *Memoirs of Ireland* (Lond. 1716) describes Galmoy as an “an infamous wretch whom no titles could honour.” Galmoy's name was associated with abominable cruelties. Burton in his *History* mentions that several of his troopers ravished the wife of a Protestant clergyman on her way to Derry, and afterwards cut open her body, leaving it exposed; and in Tipperary 16 of his dragoons pillaged



JAMES II., on his entry into Dublin, received by Roman Catholic clergy.

large army, and by means of his horse soldiers and dragoons had arrived at Belturbet, taking Dean Dixie's house on his way. So the men of Cavan only stayed three days at Inniskillen, sufficiently long to get refreshed after the fatigue of this part of their journey, and proceeded to set out for Derry. Governor Hamilton, feeling disgusted at their cowardice, and wishing to save his supplies, insisted on their taking their wives and children with them, as if left behind they would be turned out of town. This order had some effect, for most of the foot-soldiers had wives and children, and, being unable to take their families with them, remained in town; and these three or four companies swelled the Inniskillen forces, while the others were allowed to proceed to Londonderry.

At last we are near the clash of arms. Williamite and Jacobite are to meet hand to hand, and the men of Inniskillen are to have their first fight with the enemy. For Galmoy is marching on Cavan, regarded by many as a "frontier garrison toward Dublin," and the residence of Abraham Creighton,* and it will be Enniskillen to the rescue!

a gentleman's house, while 13 of them violated his young daughter before her father's face and expiring, and three of them when she was dead. Galmoy's name was as much execrated as dreaded.

The following story of Galmoy is told in Burton's rare History of the Kingdom of Ireland—"At Omev he took two men, on pretence of their having taken up arms for their own defence; they were father and son. He first caused the son to hang his father, and carry his head on a pole through the street crying "This is the head of a traitor," and then the young man himself was hanged."

Small wonder that people dreaded such a man!

* Abraham Creighton, High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1673, and member of Parliament for the County in 1692, was son of John Creighton and Mary Irvine of the Castle Irvine family. Abraham married Mary, daughter of Bishop James Spottiswoode, and died in 1705, leaving two sons, (I) Captain James Creighton, who died in 1701, who by his wife, Hester Willoughby, had (1) John of Cavan, who died unmarried, and 2 Mary, 3 Sidney, Mrs. Eccles; and II, David Creighton, who was the gallant defender of Crom Castle during the second siege, and a captain in his father's regiment till 1698, finally reaching the rank of Major General. John of Crom bequeathed his estate to his uncle, Brigadier

CHAPTER XLIX.

FIRST SIEGE OF CROM.

The castle of Crom was not a strongly fortified building, as many have supposed from its title and experiences, or such as was built at the time of the Plantation on the Large Proportion of 2,000 acres, like Castle Balfour. It was a stone House, as required for a Middle Proportion of 1,500 acres, with "a strong Court or Bawne about it" The house was built in 1611 by the original patentee, Michael Balfour, junior, commonly called the Laird Mountwhanny (not the Michael Balfour, Lord Burley of Lisnaskea), and it formed the manor house of the Manor of Crom.

David Crichton, of Lifford, who married in 1700, Catherine (d. 1759), daughter of Richard Southwell, and sister of first Baron Southwell, and died 1728, leaving (with daughters) a son Abraham, born 1703, who was created in 1768 Baron Erne of Crom Castle in the peerage of Ireland. His son, the second Baron, was advanced to the dignities of Viscount (1781), and Earl (1789). The third Earl, Sir John Creighton, K P., H.M.L., was created on 13th January, 1876, Baron Fermanagh of Lisnaskea, in the peerage of the United Kingdom; and his son the late and fourth Earl, Henry, succeeded him in the Lieutenancy of the County, and was also a Knight of St. Patrick. Lord Erne's eldest son, Lord Crichton, won the D. S. Order for services at Ladysmith, during the Boer war, and died early in the Great War, when a Major in the Blues, to the exceeding great regret of all who knew his personal worth and his charming personality. He is succeeded by his son, the present Earl of Erne. The family is of Scotch origin, and is descended from the ancient house of Frendraught, Aberdeenshire.

Pynnar reported on this Proportion in the year 1619, and he found it then in the possession of Sir Stephen Butler,* who had purchased it from the Laird. Captain Pynnar found at Crom, "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." And he found on the property 12 British families, consisting of 15 men, who held farms of from 60 to 120 acres, and "not one Freeholder, but many Irish.†" It appears from an Inquisition held at Newtown [Newtownbutler,] in the reign of Charles I., on January 21st, 1629, and referred to by the Earl of Erne in an article on the subject in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, that Butler claims to have built or improved a Bawne "containing 61 feet every way, and 15 feet in height," and a Castle 22 feet each way.

FIRST RESIDENT.

The first resident in Crom of which we have record is Dr. James Spottiswoode, who succeeded Bishop Montgomery of Clogher, when that prelate died in 1621. Dr. Spottiswoode obtained a lease of the lands of Drumbrochas, Crom, and Inisfendra, in 1625, within the manor of Kilspenan. There was no episcopal residence in the diocese of Clogher at the

* Head of the house now represented by the Earl of Lanesborough.

† The names of those Irish tenants on the estate of the year 1629, are given by Hill as: Patrick O'Terne, Edmond boy McMahown, Owen reagh McTengart, Cahill McGuire, Donell McTegarte, Patrick McGuire, Donagh Arman, Donagh McGuire, Ross McGuire, Arr McGuire, Owen McDonoghoe, Brian McGuire, Patrick McGuire, Patrick McCafferye, Cormock McCafferye, Owen McGuire, Donagh McAneny, Tiege O'Tamultie, Knogher McGuire, Rowrie McGuire, Knogher McBryan, and James McGwire; and it is stated that the most suitable places to plant then were the towulands of Lettergreen, Stra, Dromgoale, Dromsasericke, Cornevrán, Mullelahan and Gortleague, Killelahure, and Port and Derrebege.

time, and therefore we find him on one occasion here and on another in Portora old castle. The Bishop's third daughter Mary became married to Colonel Abraham Creighton, of Drumboory, about 1655, and thus Crom passed into the Creighton family on an 80 years' lease from Sir Stephen Butler.

Colonel Creighton was second grandson of John Crichton or Creighton, laird of Brunstown, County of Edinburgh; and his father, also Abraham, had applied on 6th July, 1609, for a Proportion in Ireland of 2,000 acres, and failed to obtain it. But his nephew, Thomas Creighton, having purchased the Manor of Aghalane from the first grantee, Thomas Moneypenny, laird of Kinkell, granted to his uncle one quarter of the townland of Derrycannon, called Drumboory, and here Abraham Creighton settled and built a house. His only son married Miss Spottiswoode, and thus acquired the leasehold of Crom, and the leasehold was subsequently converted into a perpetuity, subject to a small head rent of £15 sterling, on the 21st of November, 1655

SURRENDER DEMANDED.

Thus we have Abraham, Colonel Creighton (or Creighton)—at this time an aged man, in this Castle of Crom, when the chapter opens on one of the stirring episodes of the Williamite wars, in which the Inniskillings took a prominent part.

The Castle of Crom was situated on the shore of Lough Erne, and into it Colonel Creighton had gathered a number of Protestants from the surrounding country. Lord Galmoy, who had entered the County of Cavan on the 20th March, 1689, and had halted in Belturbet, proceeded towards Crom, to

take it, on his way to Inniskilling. A comparatively small house of that sort seemed to offer small power of resistance. It had neither fortifications nor fosse. The hills around commanded it easily; and all these things to his advantage must have been apparent to such an officer of experience as Lord Galmoy. The demand of surrender met with a prompt refusal; and the response which the sturdy little garrison made to his attack must have made a deep impression upon him, for he resorted to a device which has become famous in Irish history.

CANNONS OF TIN.

Harris, M'Carmick, Graham, and Hamilton agree as to the main points. The roads were so boggy that Galmoy could not bring up his cannon; so he had two cannon constituted of tin, "nearly a yard long in the chase, and eight inches wide," strongly bound by a small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram resembling a cannon. Eight horses were placed in order to draw them, as if their movement was attended with great difficulty; and when Galmoy had them within a suitable distance he threatened to batter the Castle, and summoned it to surrender. Some folly possessed him to fire one of the tin guns, which, of course, burst, wounding the gunner, and exposed the artifice. The little garrison were in nowise dismayed. They made a rally and seized it, and the other "cannon" in addition, which was carried away, we may presume, amid some laughter, on one man's shoulder.

INNISKILLEN'S RESOLVE.

A hot fire was then exchanged between besiegers and besieged, in which the Jacobites suffered. Galmoy

apparently thought he would have "a walk-over," for on Friday, the 22nd March, he sent a dispatch to the Governor of Inniskillen in the nature of a summons to surrender, informing him that King James had arrived in Dublin, and was provided with an army sufficient to reduce the country to obedience to him; and that he (Lord Galinoy) had power to treat them better now, if they surrendered, than if they were reduced by force afterwards. Governor Hamilton accordingly took counsel with his officers, and they, as before, resolved not to desert Inniskillen, "nor to submit to any but to King William and Queen Mary," to whom they had already proclaimed allegiance; nor would they submit to any but their Majesties or those commissioned by them. At the same time they considered the best manner in which they could assist the garrison of Crom, and they determined to fight Galmoy.

Next day, Saturday, the 23rd, the Governor paraded all the Inniskillen forces on the Commons hill, sometimes called the Cow Fair (now the Forthill), and kept them under arms, awaiting intelligence from scouts; for it was deemed better, pursuing the rule of Inniskillen policy, to go away from the town and meet the enemy before they should come to it. The scouts brought news that Galmoy had actually advanced as far as Lisnaskey; but on learning that the Inniskillen men had resolved to give him battle, he had retreated on Crom. Hamilton, therefore, dispatched 200 of his best men with firelocks, some by land and some by water, during the darkness of night, hoping that the latter would arrive, and thus be able to succour the garrison without the enemy being aware of it.

It was a long row for the boat party by night.

along the winding river, up through the islands of the Upper Lake; and delay was also likely occasioned by keeping the boats within proper distance of each other—a difficult matter by night, and rendered more difficult now by haste. Daybreak had come before the tired oarsmen saw the woods of Crom and Deryvore; and Galmoy's men spied the relief party. Volley after volley was poured on the boats to prevent the landing, but such bad marksmen were Galmoy's men that only one boatman was killed, while the Inniskilliners shot several of the enemy dead.

THE RELIEF,

We can imagine the joy of the besieged on witnessing the hoped-for succour, after their night of anxiety, and that it was with a shout of welcome they greeted the disembarkation from the boats. The relief party first repaired to the Castle. On their uniting forces they made a rally, routing the besiegers, killing between 30 and 40 of them, taking their firearms and two suits of armour and other things of value. Galmoy had then some experience of the Inniskilling men, and he thought it wise to raise the siege and retreat to Belturbet. He had also obtained one particular lesson as to Crom marksmanship which he was not likely to forget. He had been reconnoitering the castle from a hill "a mile distant from the scene of action," at this time, and as he stood with a glass of wine in his hand, toasting confusion to the rebels of Crom, an expert fowler from the battlements levelled one of the long fowling-pieces with double-rests, such as had been in use round Lough Erne for the purpose of killing wild fowl, and fired at Lord Galmoy with such precision as to break the glass in his lordship's hand, and to kill the man who stood near him.

BURNING OF LISNASKEY.

It was on his retreat from Lisnaskey* that one whom M'Carmick describes as "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" [Mr. Michael Belfore].

One object of setting fire to Lisnaskey was, after the manner of the time, to destroy any place that might be of assistance to an enemy; and as Lisnaskey was planted with settlers, it was deemed inimical to the Jacobites and it was destroyed, as it was "capable of quartering above a regiment of men." With the fire thus perished the first Fermanagh Free School building. But before the flames had devoured the whole of the village the Inniskilleners saved "many tons of iron belonging to Mr. Balfore, and most of the lead of his house, which proved serviceable—[for bullets]—for both horse and foot."

GALMOY'S BRUTALITY.

When Galmoy retreated to Belturbet a circumstance occurred of the basest perfidy, which led to the severest reprisals. A captain of the Irish forces named "Bryan Maguire † had been one of the prisoners taken by the victorious garrison of Crom. Desiring to obtain his release, Galmoy sent an express to Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, proposing an exchange of prisoners, promis-

* I use the spelling of the period.—Author.

† Bryan MacConogher Maguire was the third son of Connor Maguire, third Baron of Enniskillen and grandson of Connor Maguire, second Baron of Enniskillen, who was executed for complicity in the Rebellion and massacre of 1641. Bryan Roe, the first baron, was born in 1589. His patent was dated 1628, and he died in 1635.—*Latimer*.

ing on his honour to release Captain Dixie* if Maguire were sent to him. Colonel Creighton would not accept the proposal until he first consulted with Inniskillen; and he therefore dispatched an express to Inniskillen for "permission to make the exchanges." Apparently, Inniskillen was then regarded as headquarters. The necessary permission was obtained, and Captain Maguire was sent to Galmoy, with a letter from Colonel Creighton, requesting that Captain Dixie might be returned according to engagement. Lord Galmoy, however, instead of carrying out his promise, and what all sense of true honour dictated, called a courtmartial and put both Captain Dixie and his lieutenant, Carleton, on trial for high treason, as the Prince of Orange's Commission for levying men had been found in their pockets. They were condemned to death, but promises of life and preferment were made to them if they would renounce the Protestant religion and join King James's Army. To both these young officers life was sweet; but, like gallant and honourable men, they

* Captain Wolstan Dixie, captain of a troop of Inniskillen horse, defended against James' army the Deanery House, occupied by his father, Edward Dixie, M.A., Dean of Kilmore. His lieutenant was Edward Carleton. Being obliged to abandon the Deanery, they fled to Lough Oughter, and were seized. They were dressed in the rags of beggars; and, placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, were taken to Belturbet, where they were exposed to the derision of the rabble, and next day hanged on the side-post by the General's door. I suspect that Dixie commanded an outpost of the Inniskillen horse when on this duty. Mr. Edward Dixie was attainted in 1689.

It was in the Castle of Lough Oughter, whose walls were lapped by the waters of the lake, that Bishop Bedel was placed as prisoner at the time of the Rebellion of 1641, from the 18th of December till the 7th of January. He died not far off the house of Mr. Dennis Sheridan, a converted Irishman, whom the Bishop, because of his zeal for the Irish tongue, had promoted to the parish of Killesher. One son of this Rev. Mr. Sheridan became bishop of Kilmore in 1681; but though attainted by the Irish Parliament, he remained attached to the Stuart cause, and was therefore deprived, as a non-juror, of his bishoprick in 1691. He died in 1717.

It was in this castle, it is supposed, that Owen O'Neill, a near relative of Sir Phelim O'Neill, died by poison on the 6th November, 1649. Owen was described as a brave and honourable soldier by the Rev. J. R. Leslie, one who, from the time of his arrival with reinforcements from Spain in 1642, acted in accordance with the rules of civilized warfare, and disavowed the atrocities committed by other leaders.

preferred death to dishonour, and refused their lives at such a cost.

THE MCGUIRE'S INTERVENTION.

Captain McGuire, to his honour be it related, warmly interposed on behalf the unfortunate prisoners and offered to resign his own liberty for them. The perfidious Galmoy, who was known for his brutality, was deaf to every remonstrance, caused the trapped men to be hanged on Mr. Russell's sign-post in Belturbet, and when they were dead, he commanded that their bodies to be taken into the kitchen of the inn, had both of their heads cut off, and thrown out to the soldiers, who kicked them through the street like foot-balls. When this sort of foul sport had been indulged in for some time, the heads of the victims were set up on the same market house of Belturbet as is there till this day. MacGuire, says Harris, was so disgusted at the perfidy of his commanding officer that he returned to Crom, threw up his commission, and refused to serve King James any longer.

The brutality of Galmoy may be further illustrated by another act of callous enormity. When at Omagh on his way to Derry, says Burton, he took two men on the pretence of their having taken up arms for their own defence, father and son. He first caused the son to hang the father, and carry his head on a pole through the street crying "This is the head of a traitor;" and then hanged the son himself. What a fate would have been in store for the skeletons of Derry if the Jacobites had won the city, and Galmoy had had his way! But, to the eternal honour of the city, that terrible danger was averted.

It was this barbarity of Lord Galmoy's which fired

the resentment of the Inniskilleners, and made them thirst for vengeance. The day and the hour came at the "Bloody Pass" after the fight of Newtown-butler; and the blood-thirstiness of the Inniskilleners and their refusal to give quarter to the fugitives was due to the atrocious breach of faith and barbarity of Lord Galmoy at Belturbet.

CHAPTER L.

LUNDY THE TRAITOR.

The Jacobite army of 2,500 men dispatched by Tyrconnell under Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton to Ulster, had made rapid progress, and was on top of the Protestant Council of the North before they were well aware of its presence. It reached Newry on the 11th March, and drove Sir Arthur Rawdon* (with a small force) from Dromore (County Down); and it encountered Major Gustavus Hamilton† at Coleraine and crossed the Bann. Lundy had sent only small guards to the fords of the rivers so as to ensure that Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton should succeed. He (Hamilton) passed Derry on his way to Lifford, and having only 30 men to oppose him at Cladyford, the Jacobites passed over early, and when the main body of the Williamite army came in sight, the latter were seized with a panic and fled. The Williamites retired also, from what was known as the Long Causeway on Derry, so that

* Sir Arthur Rawdon, Bart., born on October 17, 1662, was of Moira, Co. Down. He was a zealous Protestant, and was exempted from Tyrconnell's proclamation of 7th March, 1689 (see *supra*). The fatigues he endured brought on an illness, from which he died on the 17th October, 1695.

† This Major Gustavus Hamilton, afterwards created Viscount Boyne, is not to be confounded with Colonel Gustavus Hamilton the Governor of Enniskillen.

they made but a poor show of their fighting qualities on these occasions.

Perhaps it was the cowardice of their leader that had infected the mass. Lord Mount-Alexander, who had been one of the Protestant leaders, it was told in Inniskillen, had made his way to Donaghadee, the nearest port for Scotland. His real object, however, was to obtain help in England and Scotland for the Williamite forces, but, as this purpose was not generally known, the news was depressing, and all the more so when the garrison of Inniskillen received the following letter from Lundy:—

Londonderry, April the 13th, 1689.

At a general Council of War, resolved unanimously, that on Monday next by ten o'clock, all Officers and Soldiers, Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, and all other Armed Men whatsoever of *our Forces and Friends* inlisted or not inlisted, that can or will fight for their Country, and Religion against Popery, shall appear on the fittes Ground near Clady-ford, Lif-ford, and Long Cassiway [Causeway] as shall be nearest to their several and respective quarters, there to draw up in Battalions to be ready to fight the enemy; and to preserve our lives, and all that is dear to us from them. And all Officers and Soldiers, of Horse, Foot, Dragoons, and others that are Armed, are required to be then there, in order to the purpose aforesaid, and to bring a Week's Provision at least with them, for they, and as much Forage as they can for Horses.

Fra. Hamilton.	Will. Hamilton.	Robert Lundy.
Kil. Brasier.	J. Barry.	Blany.
Jo. Richardson.	Will. Stewart.	James Hamilton,
	Nic. Atkinson.	Hugh Montgomery.

That letter of the 13th did not likely reach Inniskillen before the 15th or 16th, and the Irish army had passed Clady-ford on the 15th. An accompanying letter was also received pressing the Inniskillen to leave the town. The letter of the 15th

was also sent to Lord Kingston, at Ballyshannon, along with the following, which was received at 12 o'clock, on Sunday night:—

MY LORD,

YOU see the Result of our Counsel of War, and we hope your Lordship will give us your help and assistance. In haste, I am, Your Lordship's most Humble Servant,

ROBERT LUNDY.

April, 1689.

Lord Kingston was so moved by the appeal, that although his companies were dispersed, he marched with a few horse towards Clady, leaving orders for the rest of his troops to follow. But when on his journey, Lord Kingston learned that the enemy had passed the ford of Clady, and driven Lundy [all too eager to run] back; so Lord Kingston turned back, and apparently feeling disgusted, and, perhaps thinking that all was over, left Ireland, but before he went he rendered an eminent service to Inniskillen, by sending to its garrison two troops of horse, and six companies of foot, described by M'Carmick as "all brave men."

If Enniskillen men had suspected treachery on the part of Lundy, that feeling must have been intensified when the gallant Lieutenant M'Carmick, who never wavered from the first, received an anonymous letter from Derry, referring to those letters of Lundy, as follows:—

DEAR SIR,

WE know that there are some expresses gone from hence last night and this day, that gives an account of the ill success that attends our forces; and that it is to be feared it will be hard for any to escape from Coleraine hither. It is likewise believed by most that active advice is sent to Inniskilling to desert that

place, and retire to Derry, which will tend to the ruin of all the Protestant Interest in Ulster, and for aught we know in the whole Kingdom. There are many well-wishers to your Town and interest that believe it were better to stay here than retire. It is a nice point to advise a friend in! What is to be done must be done with expedition; either to come away immediately, or resolve to defend that place. Take speedy Counsel, and God of His infinite mercy direct you, that you may escape the cruelty of your Enemies. This place will be so thronged that the Walls will not contain the people. Sir, I am yours.

This letter confirmed the doubts of Lundy's good faith, especially when the men of Inniskillen remembered the manner in which Lord Kingston had been deluded, and also Lundy's promising him as an inducement to leave Sligo, provisions for both horse and men; and then when he had got Lord Kingston out of Sligo (so that it should fall into the enemy's hands), writing Lord Kingston that he had no forage for him nor room for him at Derry.

MORE TREACHERY.

Captain James Hamilton [no connexion of the Monea family] arrived at Derry from England on the 21st of March, bringing with him 8,000 stands of arms, 480 barrels of powder, and £595 in cash, of all of which the garrison stood badly in need. His instructions were as follows:—

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved James Hamilton, Esq., appointed by us to carry arms and other provisions of war to the town of Londonderry, in our Kingdom of Ireland.

WILLIAM R.

You are to receive into your charge, so soon as they shall be put on shipboard, the arms, ammunition, and stores of war, which we have directed to be sent to Ireland, with a commission and instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, and the sum of one thousand pounds, which we have ordered the officers of the Custom and Excise at Chester, to pay unto you, to be delivered by you to

the said Lieutenant-Governor Lundy, who is to dispose thereof for the necessary occasions of that garrison. And you are to take care that the ship in which the said arms and stores of war shall be laden do not leave the English coast without the envoy of a frigate, which we have appointed to accompany the said ship to the said town of Londonderry.

And at your arrival with the said ships upon or near the coasts of Ireland, you are, if you see convenient, to deliver fifty barrels of powder to any officer commissioned by us within the County of Down, or thereabouts, in order to the better defence of these parts, taking the receipt of the said officer for the same. And you are, as soon as may be, to inform yourself in the best manner, at what distance the enemy shall be at that time from Londonderry; and with what safety the said arms and provisions of ours may be put on shore, at or near that place, and secured within the said town for the use and defence of the Protestants against the Papists according to your directions on that behalf; and in case the same may be done without apparent danger, you are to proceed accordingly in the execution thereof, and to deliver the said commission and instructions, money, arms, and stores, to the said Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, or to the commander-in-chief of the said town, your first course being to take the oaths herewith sent, on board the ship wherein you shall arrive there, in the presence of the Mayor, or chief civil magistrate of Londonderry. But if he shall refuse the said oaths, or any of them, or that you shall find the approach of the town difficult, and the landing or delivery of the said arms and stores insecure, you are then not to land the said stores, or part with the said commission, instructions, and money; but to cause them to be brought back on board the said ship under the same convoy, to some part in England; wherevpon notice thereof being given to us, we shall signify our further order thereupon and for so doing.

Given, &c., Whitehall
the 22nd of February, 1688 [9],
By His Majesty's command,

SHREWSBURY.

It will be noted that King William in that document, stated that the arms, &c., were "for the use and defence of the Protestants against the Papists." Lundy did not take the oath, as directed in public



CAPTAIN JAMES CORRY, of Castlecoole.
Aged 62, 1695.



JOHN CORRY, (son of James), Colonel of the
Fermanagh Horse Militia, M.P. for Enniskillen,

before the Mayor or chief magistrate, but it was administered privately on board ship, as already mentioned, by Captain Hamilton in presence of Henry Mervyn and James Corry, and they were not adherents of the Williamite cause at this time

CHAPTER LI.

MISSION TO DERRY.

The news of the arrival in Derry of the supply of arms and ammunition reached Inniskillen on the 25th March, 1689, not so long after the ships had anchored in the Foyle; and it was deemed advisable to beg some assistance. Accordingly, two Inniskilleners were chosen (presumably by the Governor),—Nicholas Westby, Esq., and the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, rector of Kilskeery, with a guard of 24 men, to go to Colonel Lundy and Captain Hamilton for a supply of arms and ammunition for Inniskillen. Captain James Hamilton, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton tells us, was very desirous to supply the needs of the little town, but the crafty Lundy, who was in command of Derry as Governor, gave the messengers a cold welcome, refused to give even “one fixed arm”—and only gave them 60 musket barrels, without stock or lock, which had been thrown out of the Derry stores as useless; and only five out of the 500 barrels of powder. What a poor supply for struggling Inniskillen out of the abundance of Derry! The traitor, Lundy, was cunning in his plans, not to supply strength to the Williamites; and these were the only arms or ammunition which Inniskillen

obtained until Major-General Kirke arrived, except what its sons took from the enemy. They did not refuse the rejected musket barrels of Derry, however, but provided stocks for them and put them into use.

THE TOKEN.

It was when on his way back to Inniskillen that Rev. Andrew Hamilton met Rev. Dr. Walker, who subsequently became Governor at Derry, at Lifford* ; and there and then these two clergymen' agreed to a token between them to be used for the purpose of correspondence ; and it was of great use to them during the siege ; for, writes the rev. worthy of Inniskillen, and I had best quote his own words : "All the correspondence was concluded on, that all messengers that credit was to be given to by either party were to give that token, which if they could not give, no notice was to be taken of what they said. And during the first month or six weeks of the siege, the Irish army did not much scruple to let both men and women pass to and from Derry, whereby we had a constant correspondence with them during that time, but after that they would suffer none to go into the city, whereby our correspondence was in a manner wholly cut off.

"April the 15th, having intelligence that Colonels Cuninghame and Richards were come to the Lough of Derry with men, arms, and ammunition, the Governor of Enniskillen sent Mr. Andrew Hamilton to Derry

* Lifford was known in those days as Liffer (or Ballyduff). On the 31st January, 1611, the town and adjoining estate were granted to Sir Richard Hassard, Knight, and the charter of Lifford bears date 27th February, 1612. Sir Richard rendered service to the government during the rebellion of O'Neill. The proprietor of Lifford in 1689, Mr. Hugh Hamel, raised a regiment in his estate for the defence of Derry, and his name occurs more than once in the Armagh Manuscripts referred to in these pages.

again for a further supply of both; but the Lagan army happening to be broke near that time, and the Irish army coming before Derry, Colonel Cunningham returned to England without landing the men or arms he brought with him. And Mr. Hamilton, endeavouring to make his way back from Derry to Inniskillen, was taken up by a quarter-master of the Irish horse: but then, King James having issued out his proclamation, that all men that pleased should have liberty to go to their former dwellings, Mr. Hamilton procured Lieutenant-General Hamilton's pass to return to his house in Kilskeery, and so got safe back in Inniskillen.

“But before he left the Irish camp, he got a trusty messenger sent into Derry to Dr. Walker, and having given him the token that was between them, it was concluded on that Dr. Walker should not give credit to any report that might come to Derry of Inniskillen being taken by the Irish, unless he saw it under the governor's (Mr. Hamilton's) hand: and neither were we to believe that Derry was taken unless we saw it under Dr. Walker's hand; and this was very happily concluded on, for there was scarce a week after the siege of Derry began, but the Irish found means to spread a report among us that Derry was taken by them, which we gave no credit to since we did not see it under Dr. Walker's hand, which was well known to several of us.”

UNNATURAL CRUELTY.

“It will be but a small digression here to relate an unnatural piece of cruelty that I saw in the Irish camp before Derry, at the time I came to get

Lieutenant-General Hamilton's pass to return to my own house.

“ On Thursday, the 25th of April, with one Mr. Anthony Dobbin, a justice of the peace near Derry, I came to the Irish camp about nine or ten o'clock in the morning, at which time a considerable party of the men of Derry came from the town, and were skirmishing with some part of the Irish, where Lieutenant-General Hamilton went himself in person to encourage his men; and while we were expecting his return, Mr. Dobbin and I went as near the place where the fight was as in the circumstances we were in we durst venture; and coming among some of their tents, we met Lieutenant-Colonel Farrell, Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and his father, Mr. Nugent of Coolamber, with several others, who being of the county of Longford, and having some estate in that county, and being acquainted with those gentlemen formerly, they came to me and very civilly offered to do me any service they could in that place. Whilst we were together we heard several shots going off within a little way off us; and seeing a soldier coming from the place, Lieutenant-Colonel Farrell inquired of him what the reason might be, who made answer that there was very good sport there, for the soldiers had got an English or Scotch witch who came to bewitch their horses, and had been gathering their horse-dung; but the man had gathered up as much of the meal as he thought fit, the poor woman came, and was throwing the horse-dung out of the dirty meal that he had left, which an Irish soldier seeing, called out there was a witch gathering their horse-dung to bewitch their horses, that the men of Derry might get the better of them;

upon which the soldiers gathered about her, and brought her to that tragical end that I have here told."

Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards had under their command, in the nine ships sent from England (escorted by a frigate), two regiments consisting of 1,600 men. These officers had instructions to take their orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy. They arrived in the Foyle on the 15th April (Monday). Lundy said that affairs were in confusion, and that they had not provisions in Derry to sustain 3,000 men for ten days; but it would be well to let the soldiers remain aboard, and for the officers to come ashore and consult as to what was best to be done. The officers came ashore. A council of war was held, at which, among others, Zachariah Tiffin, afterwards colonel of the 27th Inniskillings, was present. Several officers who had been admitted to former councils of war were refused admission.

The officers were modest before strangers: Lundy repeated his story about paucity of provisions, that the city was untenable, that the enemy, 25,000 strong, were within one day's march of Derry, and that the garrison would probably do as they had behaved the day before at Cladyford, run away. Lundy, therefore, proposed that they should quit the town. Colonel Richards said that "in quitting the town they were quitting the Kingdom," recognizing the value of Derry holding out. On the other hand, another gentleman said that "he would be hanged for no man's pleasure;" and another said that "he would go home let who would be displeased;" so that the English officers were completely humbugged, and it was resolved that it was not convenient for

his Majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments, and that as in all likelihood the enemy would soon possess themselves of the place the principal officers should privately withdraw, so that the inhabitants by capitulation might "make terms the better with the enemy." All these representations were untrue, and the resolution was based on treachery. That night the principal officers boarded the ships, and returned to England.

THE TERMS OF SURRENDER.

King James had been led to believe that he had only to go to Derry to be welcomed, and the Episcopal Rector of Raphoe, Rev. Mr. Whitloe, was sent by him from St. Johnstown to Derry to find out whether Lundy would make terms in order to avert bloodshed. James also ordered a royal pass to be provided for 20 of the inhabitants to enable them to go to him. Whitloe attended a council of war which sat on Wednesday, the 17th April, and sat next to Colonel Lundy. It was then resolved that Arehdeacon Hamilton, who "knew the person of James," should see him as to terms of capitulation, and all the terms they should obtain was that if they surrendered the town they would be allowed to go in peace.

CHAPTER LII.

SHUTTING DERRY GATES.

When these messengers returned to Derry, they were met by closed gates. Admission was refused. The town had become alarmed. It saw officers going steadily away, that those who left did not return, and that the two regiments, which they were told daily would disembark, had not landed, and the ships had been seen to move from the river into the Lough. The people were alarmed and found they had been betrayed. Their anger rose to fury on the 18th, when it was ascertained that the English regiments were in the ships still, and that the ships were almost out of sight.

King James came from St. Johnstown, expecting the gates to open for his reception. Lundy had ordered that not a shot was to be fired: and again the critical moment found the man in Adam Murray, a Presbyterian elder from Faughan. He was returning with some men from an expedition to which he had been lured by Lundy, and came to the Shipquay gate. Lundy sent the Rev. George Walker (afterwards the Governor) to parley with Murray, and he consented to admit Murray alone by means of a rope, but not his men; and Murray demanded admission

for his men and horses as well as himself into the town he was prepared to defend. Another Presbyterian named James Morrison, one of the city guard, without waiting for orders, opened the gate and admitted Captain Murray and party, and in doing so admitted one of the finest men and doughtiest leaders of which Derry could afterwards boast, and one who might have been Governor if he had not refused the offer of the office.

MURRAY SAVES THE POSITION.

While Murray was asking Walker to admit him inside the gate, King James had arrived at the Strand, not far off, and Lundy and the officers were drawing up a paper of surrender. The fact became known. The gallant Murray addressed the populace, who knowing Murray for his integrity placed trust in him [one reason, perhaps why Lundy tried to keep him out], and he said he would refuse to surrender; and let all who agreed with him place a piece of white cloth on the left arm. Quickly did pieces of kerchief and white rags go on the arm. Lundy heard of the move and sent for Murray, and he along with some of his comrades (including Captain Noble of Lisnaskea) entered the Council Chamber. And when Lundy addressed him, the bold Murray, a blunt man in a blunt age, charged Lundy with having failed to secure the passes of the Finn river, with "having refused ammunition to men who were willing to fight, and with having deserted the passes on the road from Strabane."* Lundy replied as to the seriousness of

* Murray evidently did not know of Lundy's additional treachery at Dunganon, Sligo, and Ballyshannon, already noticed, nor how Inniskillen doubted him, or of the sending back of the English regiments. Captain Noble, of

the danger, and begged Murray to put his name to the paper; and Murray refused to do so except at a general meeting of the officers, "of which," said he, "this is not one, for I do not see one half of them present." Murray then made his way outside, and acquainted the populace with the Governor's policy.

Lundy still would not yield. He kept the Council sitting, and sent for the Presbyterian ministers* to exercise their influence on Murray (and also on the people) to consent to a surrender. None of the Presbyterian ministers would do what was requested. One minister did go to the Council, but he refused to accept the responsibility offered to him in any way.

FLIGHT OF LUNDY.

Meantime Murray and those officers and men of the city who agreed with him seized the keys of the city gates, placed guards on the walls, and the men on the walls fired on James's army in defiance of the Governor's orders. Lundy became afraid to show himself; he realised that Captain Adam Murray had the authority and not he; and, disguising himself as a private soldier, with a load of matchwood on his back, with the connivance of some friends, he obtained access to a boat, sailed down to Brockler, and fled to Scotland. Months afterwards Lundy and Colonels Richards and Cunningham were brought before the House of Commons, and examined as to the proceedings at Derry, and the result was that they were dismissed from the army. But this was not his only punishment.

Lisnaskea, in the County of Fermanagh, says *Derriana*, and a Captain Bashford, with many other gentlemen, declared the resolution to second the noble designs of Murray.

* There were at least eight Presbyterian ministers in the city.

His fellow-citizens dubbed him as a traitor ; they and their successors have burned him in effigy ; and no deeper stigma could they cast on anyone than that which they placed on the traitor Lundy.

The die had been cast. The people of Derry stood by Murray. He refused their solicitations to be Governor ; Major Baker was chosen by a majority of votes, with the Rev. George Walker, at Baker's request, as joint Governor ; about 1,000 non-combatants of young and old, women and children, fled from the city, as fighting had begun ; and 20,000 people, of whom only 3,000 were fit to carry arms, remained behind the walls of Derry to carry on one of the most famous and glorious sieges in history. The men were allowed to choose themselves new officers in place of those which had fled ; appointments were made, and arrangements made for the defence.

As it became known that Adam Murray was the life and soul of the siege, a brave officer and capable commander, General Hamilton sent for old Mr. Murray, the father of the uncompromising elder, who lived a few miles from the city in Glendermott. He pointed out to the old man the futility of resisting the King's troops, and the certainty of the defeat of the garrison by famine, and asked him to use his influence with his son not to hold out in such a hopeless struggle. The old man was admitted into the city and saw his son. But Captain Murray could not be moved ; and there is a story that the old man advised his son to continue resistance. It is to the credit of General Hamilton to relate that he honourably allowed the old man to return to his home.

The Rev. John Graham wrote in his *Derriana* (p. 147) :

The largest of the estates forfeited at the time would

have been not enough to offer him [the great and gallant Murray], and if he had a competitor in the number and importance of his services, it was Major Arthur Noble, of Lisnaskea, in the county of Fermanagh, who also went unrewarded in any other way than by an approving conscience and the enjoyment of liberty.

The incident is thus described in what is known as the Armagh Mss., found in the year 1790, in these words:

General Hamilton had intelligence
That Murray's father liv'd not far from thence,
Who's eighty years of age, and somewhat more,
For him he sent a guard with mighty power
To bring him pris'ner to their northern camp;
This great surprise did not his courage damp,
For with the guard the old man hastens on
T' appear before great General Hamilton.
With great courage the senior asked his will;
Quoth he, "Your son does 'gainst the King Rebel,
And forces them to hold the City out,
Whom you may counsel better without doubt.
In short, we'll hang you up immediately
If you'll not make him with our will comply."

To whom the Senior gave this answer straight:
"I'll use authority, and all my might,
But when all's done I'm sure he'll near disown
His firm allegiance to the English crown.
But if you'll guard me to the town, I'll try
If I can make him with your will comply."

In haste he's guarded to the loyal town
Where he's received with great joy by his son.
They tenderly do one another greet,
And his grave parent counsels him what's meet.

"Dear son, I am sent by Gen'ral Hamilton
To see if I can make you quit the town,
But by the sacred book I you conjure
Never to yield unto a Popish power;
Our holy faith in loyalty enjoyn,
A strict abhorrence of a Popish reign.

Thus Hannibal was at the altar swore
Eternal foe unto the Roman pow'r.
With kind embraces the old man departs,
And to the General the sad news imparts
That naught could force his son to quit the town,
And, therefore, humbly begs protection.
The Gen'rous Hamilton does grant the same,
Then to his dwelling the grave senior came,
Where all along he did in safety dwell
Tho' by his son the Irish army fell.

CHAPTER LIII.

ROUT AT TRILLICK.

The Inniskillen forces, which had grown with the recent additions from Cavan and Sligo, had been exercised from time to time in drill, most probably on the cow green (the present Forthill), but had not any opportunity of testing their powers. It soon came. Word was received that the enemy were planting a garrison in Trillick*, nine miles away, on the way to Derry; and as the men of Inniskillen thought the Jacobites "would be unneighbourly guests," they proceeded on the night of the 24th April, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd,† to prevent them settling

* The Proportion of Fentonagh (Fintona) of 2,000 acres was first held by Sir Francis Willoughby, who was succeeded by John Leigh. This proportion became the property of a Captain James Mervyn, son of Sir Henry Mervyn and Lady Christian, on the 29th August, 1626. On the 1st July, 1630, he had a re-grant of four Proportions—Brade, 2,000 acres; Fentonaghe, 2,000 acres, and two smaller ones, and 1,440 acres in the barony of Omev, forming a great estate. The lands were erected into three several manors, to be called Stoy, Tucket, and Arleston; with a market every Tuesday at Trelicke in the manor of Stoy, and a fair on the 3rd May; a market every Saturday at the town of Tucket, and a fair on 25th November; a market at the town of Omagh in the manor of Arleston, on every Wednesday, and two fairs—on St. James's Day and Michaelmas Day, to continue for two days. The widow of Hugh Baron Hamilton who lived at Ballygawley, and died in 1679, married Henry Mervyn of Trillick.

† "Under whose conduct," wrote M'Carmick, "we never failed accomplishing what we designed, but without him could not, or ever did anything." It was this Thomas Lloyd of Croghan (or Croghern) who married Margaret (widow of John Burdett, Dean of Clonfert), sixth child of Sir John Cole of Newlands, Co. Dublin, Bart., who had been Member for Fermanagh in 1660, father of Sir Michael Cole of the Revolutionary period, and grandson of Capt. Sir Wm. Cole Knight, "captaine and owner of the Castle of Eneskillyn in Ireland lieving 1630."

there. This party would most likely proceed by the oldest existing road about Enniskillen, which proceeds over the Pound Brae, past Chanterhill and Derrykeighan; past Relagh, Cavantillycormack [track still visible], and Coa on to Golan and Kilskeery direct, without touching at Ballinamallard. The Inniskilliners reached Trillick in the morning, when they discovered the enemy in advance. The Inniskillen horse was forthwith ordered to advance, while Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, alighting from his horse, led his men through the bogs and "the mountains" as best he could to the attack. But the enemy were quicker than he was, for they fled, leaving all their cattle and baggage behind them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd resolving, if he could, to come up with the enemy, sent Lieutenant M'Carmick with 100 men, armed with "fire locks,"* with all speed to overtake the fleeing foe, so as to provoke them to stand until the main body should arrive; but there was no means of traversing the country except by the roads, as it was so boggy, and as the enemy dispersed, every man looking to himself. The six hours' pursuit was wasted, and all they had as reward was their booty, as they made a raid on their way homewards, and returned with cattle and goods.

* The Manual of Drill for musketeers called "Perfection of Discipline" actually contained 26 different words of command for one volley—It seems incredible, but here they are:—

Musketeers have a care of the exercise, and see that you carry your arms well. Lay your right hands on your muskets. Rest your muskets. Cock your muskets. Guard your muskets. Present. Fire Recover your arms. Half bend your muskets. Clean your pans. Handle your primers. Prime. Shut your pans. Blow off your loose corns [of powder]. Cast about to charge [load] Handle your charges. Open them with your teeth. Charge with powder. Draw forth your scourers. Shorten them to an inch. Charge with bullet. Ram down powder and bullet. Withdraw your scourers. Raise your muskets. Shoulder your muskets. Order your muskets.

TAKING THE OATH.

It may have been upon this expedition that some of the private soldiers became insolent or insubordinate. Men unused to discipline may have felt galled more or less, as volunteers, at the necessary rigours of soldier-life; and it was found necessary to establish regular subordination and discipline after the usual manner by an obligation. Accordingly, the obligations were framed, and the following oath was taken by the Governor:—

I, Gustavus Hamilton, do swear by God, and the Holy Contents of this Book, That I shall Truly, Sincerely, and Faithfully execute and discharge the Office and Place of Governour of Inniskilling, according to my utmost Power and Ability; and that I shall with my Life and Fortune defend the Protestant Religion and Interest, together with the Inhabitants of this Town, and all others under my Command; and that I shall not act nor do anything contrary to the Consent and General Advice of the Officers under my Command, but shall from time to time and at all times stand by and support the said Interest; neither dissent [desert] it, nor this Place without being by Force beaten from thence. So help me God.

It will be noticed that there is no reference in this oath to King and Government; the aim was to defend the Protestant Religion and Interest; and the matter of the contending Kings was overlooked. The oath taken by the officers was:—

I, A.B., do hereby testifie and declare, and upon the Holy Evangelists swear, That I will own and acknowledge Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., Chief Governour of this town of Inniskilling; and shall give due obedience to him in all his lawful Commands; and shall to the uttermost of my Power and Ability protect and defend him and this Place, with the County adjacent, together with the Protestant Religion and Interest, with my Life and Fortune, against all that shall

endeavour to subvert the same; and that I shall be Just and Faithful, in giving my Sincere Opinion and Advice in all Counsels whereunto I am called, for the General Good and Preservation of the interest aforesaid. So help me God.

The oath of the private "soulders" was somewhat different in wording, and was as follows:—

I, A.B., do hereby Testifie and Declare, and upon the Holy Evangelists Swear, That I will Own and Acknowledge Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., Chief Governour of this Town of Inniskilling, and shall give due Obedience to him and my Superior Officers in all his and their Commands; and shall to the utmost of my Power and Ability defend him, them, and this Place, with the Country adjacent, together with the Protestant Religion and Interests, with my Life and Fortune, against All that shall endeavour to subvert the same. So help me God, and the Holy Contents of this book.

These oaths, we are informed, were taken by "every individual according to their respective Posts." So the Inniskillen forces settled down according to military manners and methods, and this is how Story describes them when he saw them at Loughbrickland afterwards:—

I wondered much to see their horses and equipage, hearing before what feats had been done by them. . . Most of the troopers and dragoons had their waiting-men mounted on garrons—(these are small Irish horses but very hardy). Some of them had holsters, and others their pistols hung at their sword belts.

Numbers of these soldiers must have been men of substance when they had their "waiting-men," like attendant esquires upon knights of the olden time, following them. They might not have presented a correct military array according to our Twentieth Century ideas of drill, but they clearly had the

necessary mettle in them of the soldier. Being volunteers, and unused to restraint in the privacy of their previous lives, they may have chafed at discipline, for we read that when told to drive away some of the enemy's scouts upon a hill, they replied--"With all their hearts, but they had orders to go no further than where they saw the enemy's scouts," adding in dissatisfied tones [and no doubt impatient at the restraint] that "they should never thrive so long as they were under orders."

Bonivert, in his *Journey to Ireland*, among the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, refers to these Dragoons when he saw them at Newry in 1690—"The Inniskilling Dragoons came there to us. They are but middle sized men, but they are, nevertheless, brave fellows. I have seen 'em like masty [mastiff] dogs run against bullets;" and Mackay, in his comment on the Campaign in Ireland in 1691 spoke of their promptitude in planning an expedition, and their rapidity in executing it. Their great commander-in-chief at that time, Count Schomberg, must have thought well of all the Inniskillings when he wrote to King William, on September 20, 1690,—"The Inniskilling troops appear to have good-will to the service, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of Irish lords." As Schomberg had served till he was 70 years of age as a Marshal of France, his opinion was of some consequence.

A True Account of the Present State of Ireland, published in 1689, quotes the saying of "one Brady, who is a Papist and an inhabitant" of Drum in County Monaghan, that the "Enniskillen People" were the finest Enemy that ever came into a Country, not

injuring any one who lived peaceably, leaving a Troop of Horse in the Town of Cavan, until all the army were marched away, to see that no injury might be done to the common people. He likewise says they drove along with them about four or five thousand head of cattle, that had lately been taken from the English.

AUGHER CASTLE.

On the 8th of April, word coming to Inniskillen that an Irish garrison had been placed in the Castle of Augher, which was a place of strength, with bawn and flankers, a force was again led by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd in the night. That was a distance, as we reckon it now, of 19 Irish miles, a long journey. The direct road would branch off from the Dublin road at the back of Castlecoole demesne at Thomastown, and then up the hills, past the right side of Toppaid mountain, and onwards—a stiff journey. Yet this party arrived early on the Sunday morning; but, notwithstanding their speed, the enemy had notice of the Inniskilliners' approach, and, like as at Trillick and Castlecoole, they ran away, at the same time taking with them whatever they could carry. The cattle of the Irish were seized, as well as any that could be found in the country; and the castle was burnt and levelled to the fortifications, lest it should afford shelter to any other party of the enemy.

The first castle of "Augher" was built by the "Lord Ridgwaie," who had a grant of 315 acres, and he was found by Captain Pynnar in 1620 to have built 15 houses, "whereof two of them are of Lyme and Stone; the rest are all Cage Work and Couples." Each of these has to their House that be principal

Burgesses two acres of Land, and to them that are single Burgesses one acre, besides Commons for Cattle; the whole number of Burgesses must be 20”

Lord Ridgeway, as we modernize it, was one of two brothers who obtained grants at the Plantation in the Barony of Clogher. Sir Thomas Ridgeway, afterwards Earl of Londonderry, got 2,000 acres in the “Precinct of Clogher;” Lord Ridgeway got 2,000 acres to form the manor of Portclare and Ballykillygirie, which he sold on the 19th of August, 1622, at Augher to Sir James Erskine [or Arsekine] on the 12th July, 1640, and his heir forever, of the great Proportions of Portclare and “Ballykiggar,” containing 2,000 acres, and the small Proportion of Ballymakell, containing 1,000 acres, and some other 450 acres in the barony of Clogher—all to be created into a manor to be called the manor of Favor Royall. Sir James Erskine died in 1636. His two eldest sons, Henry and John dying without issue, his third son, Archibald, married Miss Beatrice Spottiswoode, daughter of the Bishop of Clogher; and secondly, Letitia, daughter of Sir Paul Gore. His son pre-deceased him; his elder daughter, who inherited the whole property, married Mr. Wm. Richardson; and the younger daughter, Anne, who became the wife of John Moutray, gentleman.

The Richardsons inherited the Augher property, and the family of Moutray have inherited the Favour Royal* property till this day. The Richardson family is now represented by Sir George Mervyn Richardson-

* Favour Royal, the residence now of Anketell Moutray, Esq., D.L., J.P., was erected near the site of the ancient house, which was destroyed by fire in 1823. A handsome church, known as St. Mary's Portclare, was erected in the demesne of Favour Royal in 1835 at an expense of £1,000 by Mr. J. Corry Moutray, who also endowed the church, and provided a rectory with 40 acres of land.

Bunbury, Bart., but the estate was purchased by the late Capt. Carmichael-Ferrall, D.L., and the present John Carmichael-Ferrall now reigns in his stead in the building which incorporates part of the old castle built by Lord Ridgeway.

ANOTHER RAID.

Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd then made his way to Shannock house near Clones, which had been seized by the Irish from Mr. Daniel Eccles,* who has sent the letter of warning of the approach of the two companies to the Inniskilleners on the outbreak of the Revolution. It was a journey which few would care to undertake those days across the mountains, but these men found their way across what must have been a roadless moor. Arriving on Monday night, the Colonel rested his men, who were "toiled with their long march, and the boginess of the mountains," within a mile and a-half of the spot, with the intention of catching the "garrison" napping at break of day; but some of the country Irish, who had fled before the approaching Inniskilleners, had given them timely warning, and the departing soldiers set the house and office-houses on fire, so that they were burned to the ground, and fled. The Inniskilleners again pursued the retreating foe, but could not overtake them; and consoled themselves for their disappointment by bringing home with them great

* In Enniskillen Church there is a mural tablet to the memory of Mr. Daniel Eccles, who died here on the 5th March, 1688, as follows:—

Danielis Eccles, Armigeri, cujus exuvie, una cum Avi et Sororis Wiseheart, juxta sitæ sunt Natus est vii diè Maii, 1646. Pietate, Prudentia, Proprietate, Comitatus, et Morum simplicitate, conspicuus, obiit Martis v. 1688. Momentum hoc ingentis Doloris publici pre sertim sui, exiguum pro meritis, posui filium (sic) Gilbertus Eccles, Armiger xx^o die Decembris, Avim. Dom. 1707.

booty from those borders of Monaghan and Cavan in the shape of black cattle and horses, which they loaded with meal malt, wheat, oats, butter, bedclothes, and the like, and a number of sheep, and returned to Inniskillen on the 2nd May. While Derry was on short rations Inniskillen was suffering from abundance, so that cattle exchanged hands for next to nothing, for a milk cow was sold for one shilling and sixpence, and a dry cow for sixpence!!

CHAPTER LIV.

THE BATTERY OR FORT HILL.

It was while Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd was engaged in the expeditions to Augher and Clones that the fort of sods was raised by the order of, and at the cost of, the Governor, on the top of the "Commons Hill" at the East end of Inniskillen, seeing that "it commands the whole town, and clears the roads leading to it on that end." Major Hart and Major Rider, who are described as having been "good mathematicians," laid out the fortifications; and Major Rider followed up this battery with "a line of communication from it to the East Bridge."

A "COVERED WAY."

I interpret this description to refer to what I heard from the lips of two old men, that their fathers had told them that up till the end of the 18th century there was what was called "a covered way" leading from the battery down to the East bridge—that was, the pathway was sunk between raised high banks, which protected parties of soldiers relieving guard from fire on either side. This "Covered Way" was

ncted by Henry in his *Upper Lough Erne* in 1739. fifty years later He remarked at the same time that the hill was covered with camomile, hence the name Camomile Hill, a name which has quite been forgotten in local nomenclature, but which I heard long ago from old people.

There is no mention made of what guns were placed on the East Fort; but we have mention made in the Regulations for the Defence that four brass cannon had been found in the castle, and these were very likely placed on the four bastions of the new battery. Two cannon were subsequently taken from the enemy at Ballyshannon, so that six small cannon were available for use.

Early in the 19th century the disused battery became the general local resort for badger fights, cock fights, and dog fights, when the Crown had given it up after the war with Napoleon. During this period an armed party was always kept within its fortifications, and guards were regularly relieved from the Royal Barracks at proper intervals. Its disuse was attributed to Lord Anglesey, on the ground that it was commanded by Tonystick Hill, and was therefore of no utility for defensive purposes.

CONSTRUCTING BELMORE STREET.

When the military left the Battery it became the resort of idle people, especially when at the top of an unenclosed fair green. It was during the early part of the nineteenth century that a new roadway to Toneystick was designed to run round the foot of the hill, skirting the bog and water that constituted the present fair green, to the Pound, and there join the other road. The new track would avoid the

steep ascent and the winding course along the centre of the Battery hill to where it would descend (close to Fort Lodge) to pass the Pound.

Captain Wm. Gabbett,* a leading local citizen, when Provost in 1823, conceived the idea of utilizing the stones that faced or lined the outside of the East Fort to construct the new roadway. Many people thought such a conception was sacrilegious, to touch the stones hallowed by the memory of their fathers of the Revolution. But Captain Gabbett was a man of great local influence, being connected with the Cole family, and preferring to be practical, he employed men to pull down the stone face of the fort and transport the stones to the new roadway below, and thus was the roadway of a portion of Gaol-street (now Belmore-street) and of Forthill-street constructed.

It is difficult to realize in these days what the labour of making of that roadway involved, as the lake came from behind the Gaol overflowing the low-lying land, crossed the Great Road to Dublin, and made a bay for itself in what we now call the Fair Green. The water lapped the foot of Camomile Hill,† it ran close to the orchard (afterwards occupied by the Rev. Gorges Irvine), which gave its name to

* William Gabbett, captain in the Fermanagh Regiment of Militia, was married to Mary, daughter of Arthur Cole and Anne Aylmer (m. October 1768). This Arthur Cole was the third son of Rev. Henry Cole, A.M., of Brookefield (born 1716), only brother of the Right Hon. John, created Baron Mountflorencia in 1760; grandson of John Cole, Esq., who was son of Sir Michael Cole, of the time of the Revolution, who died in London on 11th February, 1710.

† An old man named Andy Duncau, who lived in Gaol Lane, and died in the eighties of the nineteenth century, when he was a boy caught fish where the corner house of Orchard-Terrace now stands; and Mr. Robert Barry, who built the Railway Hotel close by, caught fish from a spot that afterwards became its entrance door. The writer, when a boy, caught bog eels in the pools of the present Fair Green. The Fair Green during the fifties of the last century was placed in Coleshill, adjacent to the Sligo road.

Orchard Terrace; it skirted the Rope-Walk of the brothers Hogan in those early days of the nineteenth century, on which pleasant orchards looked down where now the Railway cuttings, yard, and station stand; and it extended to the present Breandrum boundary drain, along whose banks tall poplars sheltered the dwelling of the Rev. James Shiel, P.P., in the field from which its remains were cleared. It was the proximity of Father Shiel's residence to the junction of the Tempo and Dublin roads, which led to its being known as Shiel's Cross. Here the good priest, for he was both a good and a great man, used to recite his daily Office, walking up and down, and often he would be joined when on his way to or from the County Hospital by the rector of the parish, the Hon. and Rev. J. C. Maude, whose intimate friendship he enjoyed. Occasionally, Mr. William Trimble, proprietor and editor of the *Impartial Reporter*, whose garden adjoined the field of Priest Shiel (as he was termed) joined the duet, and thus three men who had great influence in local circles often exchanged views on the current topics of the day, at a time when newspapers were few and costly.

MURDERING PRISONERS.

It was on the morning of May the 2nd that some 20 or 30 cows were missing from the lands adjoining Inniskillen. The owners, observing that the tracks of the cattle led towards Omagh, induced some of their neighbours to accompany them "in quest for their cows," and overtook the thieves and the cattle near Omagh, but the thieves fled "to that garrison." The owners, having recovered the cattle, did not trouble

themselves further about the thieves, and turned the cattle homeward. When about half-way to Inniskillen, a party of 24 Irish dragoons overtook them, when three of the Inniskillen party left their own horses, and took refuge in a bog. The other five, knowing that they had only been doing right in recovering their own property, remained by the cattle and submitted to superior force. The dragoons left a guard with the five men, and followed the others who had escaped; but the men on foot made good their way through the bog and by the mountain and got home. The dragoons, perhaps feeling exasperated at their failure to capture the fugitives, brought the five men part of the way home with them, and then "most barbarously murdered them all, cutting them so in the face with their swords and bayonets that their friends scarce knew one of them when they found them."

WHAT NERVED THE WILLS.

This disgraceful incident, like Galmoy's conduct at Belturbet, and the kicking of Mr. Dixie's head like a football, made a profound impression when it became known in Inniskillen, and it nerved the wills and strengthened the men to resist all the more those in whom they could place no trust. For M'Carmick says :

And this for the most part was the fair quarter that the Irish gave our men whenever they took any of them, which was the principal cause of our so obstinate defence both of Derry and Enniskillen against such unequal odds; for these, with what I told before of the Lord Galmoy and other like barbarous usages and breach of faith, with the same yet in memory practised in 1641; and all agreeing with the principles of their religion, that faith is not to be kept with those whom they account heretics.

All this made so strong an impression upon the minds of the people that they were firmly persuaded that the Irish would

not keep articles with them, and therefore that it was in vain to capitulate. And they not only acted these inhumanities without remorse, but gloried in them; for the next day after that horrid and base murder, I have been told Bellew, the governor at Omagh, sent an express to Lieutenant-General Hamilton before Derry, acquainting him that a party of his garrison had gone towards Enniskillen, and killed about a hundred of our men, calling every man twenty, which good news soon went through the whole Irish camp, and caused a great deal of joy among them.

ROUT AT BELLEEK.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd had not a long rest. Only one day had elapsed from his return from Augher and Clones on the 2nd May when an "express" arrived from Captain Folliott, Governor of Ballyshannon, where there was a strong castle, that a considerable party of horse and foot had arrived from Connaught to besiege it, and demanding that the castle be yielded up to them. Governor Folliott forwarded this letter to Governor Hamilton, and begged speedy relief from Inniskillen.

Lloyd was again chosen to command the relief party. Men were called in from the out-stations, and on the morning of the 7th May, with a force of twelve companies (864 men) and some troops of horse, he set out to relieve Ballyshannon. Lloyd found that the enemy had come out to meet him at Belleek, and that they had chosen a good position, so that they could only be attacked by a narrow pass which they had blockaded by defensive works. A bog ran on one side, deemed to be impassable except by the road, all the way to Bundrowes, and the bridge on the road was destroyed, and could not be crossed in a hurry. The river Erne lay to the right. Lloyd caused his men to cut faggots to make a footway

for themselves through the bog, and advanced, while the enemy jeered and cheered and tauntingly cried to the Inniskilleners to come on and fight.

As the Inniskilleners were advancing "God Almighty sent a man," who offered to lead them safely through the bog to the left hand by such a firm ground that the horsemen need not alight, nor would they need their brushwood. The timely offer was accepted; and when the dangerous bog had been passed in safety Captain Acheson tried to get his advance guard between the enemy and the mountains so as to intercept them; but the Irish moved steadily for a time to the right to prevent their being flanked; and when the Inniskilleners quickened their pace, and before they had got within musket shot, the Irish broke their ranks and fled towards the mountains. The Irish horse, which were between the foot and the lough, had up till this time remained steady; but when the Inniskillen horse made ready to charge them they also wheeled to the left without firing a shot and fled. The Inniskilleners pursued them hotly for seven miles, and killed 190 of the horse, when darkness prevented any further pursuit.

HIS BRAVERY SAVED HIM.

Lieutenant Toby Molloy,* of the Inniskilleners, overtook an Irish officer named Fitzgerald, who fired three shots at Molloy, and would certainly have killed him had not Molloy's breastplate saved him. The two officers then fought with swords, when some of the Inniskilleners coming up took the Irish officer

* Toby Molloy, one of Lord Kingston's officers of Dragoons, from Sligo, described as of Knockvicar, Co. Roscommon.

prisoner. He was "very much wounded," but because of the bravery he had displayed he was carefully attended to and subsequently recovered. The Inniskilleners then marched into Ballyshannon, three miles away, and took 60 prisoners on the Fish Island and in the vicinity, and slew a few others which had been left to continue the siege, and who were not aware of the defeat of their comrades at Belleek.

Among the prisoners taken was Captain Terence MacDonagh,* better known as "Blind MacDonagh" of Colonel Henry Dillon's foot. The Inniskilleners did not lose one man, but Cornet King† received a shot in face from one of the Irish horse to whom he had given quarter, for which he was immediately slain by his relative James King, who happened to be close to the parties at the time. Cornet King subsequently recovered of his wound. The Inniskilleners plundered the Irish camp, such as it was, got several "good, serviceable horses, two small canou, some good arms, and a small quantity of ammunition;" and returned to Inniskillen, rejoicing that they had obtained such a signal success in their first actual encounter, without the loss of one man.

* MacDonagh was a burgess of the town of Sligo in 1687, and represented the borough in the Parliament of James II.—*Wood-Martin*.

† Believed to have been a relative of Cornet Francis King of Sligo.

CHAPTER LV.

THE REDHILLS EXPEDITION.

Shortly after the foregoing events Colonel (afterwards General) Sarsfield* sent an "express" to Inniskillen to propose an exchange of some prisoners of war which they had taken at Galway and Ballinrobe for those that Inniskillen had taken at Ballyshannon. How quickly the news went in those times without newspapers, telegraphs, or postal service! Governor Hamilton was quite willing to have an exchange, but the treachery of Lord Galmoy in the matter of Captain Dixie was not forgotten and made him cautious, and he first desired to know the names of the prisoners whom Colonel Sarsfield proposed to exchange. And because of this question delay ensued in the reply.

REDHILLS.

In the latter end of May the information was

* Patrick Sarsfield, who rose subsequently to great eminence as a soldier, and was promoted to be major-general and created Count of Iucan by James II. He was son, by his mother, of the celebrated Rory O'Moore, and after serving throughout the Irish war, went after the surrender of Limerick to the continent. He entered the French service, and died in the battle of Landen in 1693. Sarsfield was a brilliant soldier, and one whose memory has been treasured in Irish Ireland.

conveyed to Inniskillen that the Irish had planted a garrison at Redhills in "a strong and large house belonging to Francis White, Esq., and another at Ballynacarrig."* Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd was again sent out with a strong force, and, when the garrison of Crom joined him on the way thither, they found that they had "twenty-two pairs of colours," which conveys that there were 22 companies of foot altogether, or about 1,500 foot, and a strong party of horse. When Lloyd came up to (old) Wattle Bridge, on the borders of County Cavan, the enemy was seen on the other side of the river, and it was expected that they would dispute the passage, as the bridge had been destroyed and the water was pretty deep. But on the advance of the Inniskilleners, the Irish, who had heard that 15,000 or 16,000 men were in the Williamite army, retreated, and Lloyd and his men crossed the ford without opposition. The Irish having lost their opportunity retreated as Lloyd advanced, and part took refuge in Redhills house, while the other part went to Ballynacarrig.

It was now late in the evening, and Lloyd called on the Irish to surrender, and they surrendered, relying on mercy. Nothing was taken from the prisoners but their arms; and as the owner of the house was in England, and as his brother commanded a company of foot in the Inniskillen foot, the house was spared and not burned.

BALLYNACARRIG.

The troops rested that night at Redhills, and proceeded next morning to Ballynacarrig, which was

* A stronghold of Breffny O'Reilly in Co. Cavan.

reported to be one of the strongest castles in Ireland, having, according to repute, defied either the great Cromwell himself or his general, until Cromwell having overcome the rest of Ireland determined to take it. The Irish then surrendered. On this occasion Lloyd brought the prisoners of Redhills with him, and about four o'clock, p.m., he demanded surrender, to which the garrison yielded, on condition that they, with the prisoners from Redhills, and their wives and children, would be allowed to depart with the clothes* they were wearing.

These terms having been accepted, the prisoners and the others were set free, leaving all the belongings of the castle, the arms and ammunition, and a rich store of provisions, household goods, and "much rich plunder." Whereupon, as the Inniskilleners could not safely place a garrison there at such a distance from their head-quarters, they undermined the castle and set it on fire.

KELLS.

Nor were the Inniskilleners content with this store of plunder. The news of their captures had gone before them, as in the other previous cases, and, after the Irish manner, their number and successes had been exaggerated so that the party was reputed to consist of 15,000 armed men. The city of Dublin heard the story and felt uneasy, as the Inniskillen men were said to be on their way to capture the metropolis. There were only a few Irish soldiers in the city at the time, and if Lloyd had gone to Dublin, there is no knowing what might not have

* Stripping the enemy of clothing seems to have been common in those days.

occurred; but the risk was too great for the numbers of the force and the small quantity of ammunition they had with them at the time. So Lloyd did not penetrate farther south. He marched to near Kells, and, scouring the country, the troops brought home between 5,000 and 6,000 black cattle, 2,000 sheep, and 500 horses, laden with meal, wheat, and malt, and all this without the loss of one man!

It is not a matter of surprise that the Irish looked upon the Inniskillen men as cattle stealers, as they denuded the county wherever they went. The practice of those days in war was to ravage the country so as to leave nothing behind for an enemy to subsist upon, and the Inniskilleners seem to have cleared the country of everything portable or desirable. What an appearance they must have presented, driving that huge and long herd of cattle, drove of sheep, and richly-laden caravan of horses, as they came in by the old Dublin road (through Castlecoole demesne) to Inniskillen!

O, the pity of it! Here was Inniskillen too well supplied with food, with milk cattle selling at 1s 4d or 1s 6d, while in Derry behind the walls a rat was seen to bring 1s 6d, a mouse 1s, and a cat 4s 6d; and the blood of a horse brought two pence (equivalent perhaps to our shilling in purchasing power) per quart!!

What the sufferings of the besieged were in Derry during this time of affluence in Inniskillen may be gleaned from the letter of John Hunter, of Maghera, who served as a common soldier throughout the siege, and wrote as follows:

I could not get a drink of clean water, and suffered heavily from thirst, and was so distressed by hunger that I

could have eaten any vermin, but could not get it. Yet there was nothing that has any kind of flesh or food that I would not have eaten, if I had it. May the good Lord, if it be His pleasure, never let a poor woman's son meet with such hardships as I met with at that siege, for I cannot mention them as I ought!

O, none will believe but those who have found it by experience, what some poor creatures suffered in that siege! There were many who had been very curious respecting what they put into their mouths before they came to the siege of Londonderry, who before that siege was ended would have eaten what a dog would not eat—for they would have eaten a dead dog, and be very glad to eat it; and one dog will hardly eat another. I speak from woeful experience, for I myself would have eaten the poorest cat or dog I ever saw with my eyes.

The famine was so great that many a man, woman, and child, died for want of food. I myself was so weak from hunger, that I fell under my musket one morning as I was going to the walls; yet God gave me strength to continue all night at my post there, and enabled me to act the part of a soldier, as if I had been as strong as ever I was; yet my face was blackened with hunger. I was so hard put to it, by reason of the want of food, that I had hardly any heart to eat or walk; and yet when the enemy was coming, as many a time they did, to storm the walls, then I found as if my former strength returned to me. I am sure it was the Lord that kept the city, and none else; for there were many of us that could hardly stand on our feet before the enemy attacked the walls, when they were assaulting the out-trenches, ran out against them most nimbly and with great courage. Indeed, it was never the poor starved men that were in Derry that kept it out, but the mighty God of Jacob, with whom be praise for ever and ever.—Graham's *Ireland Preserved*.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

Colonel Sarsfield had had nearly a month's time to think over the matter of exchange of prisoners. He was encamped, with 6,000 or 7,000 men in the "stone deer" park of Sir William Gore at Manorhamilton; and to obtain the release of the Irish officers captured, he mentioned the name of Sir Thomas Southwell and

other prisoners of Galmoy as an inducement. But when Governor Hamilton demanded names, so as not to be deceived, Colonel Sarsfield, who really had no Williamite prisoners, caused all the Protestants who lived near Sligo who were under his protection to be placed in the gaol of Sligo, and barely allowed them enough food to keep them from starving. These men then sent their wives to Governor Hamilton, and besought him to have them released.

Governor Hamilton, knowing that these men were not prisoners of war, declined to treat on these conditions; but the wives so entreated the Governor to relieve their husbands from their misery that at last he consented, and an exchange was agreed upon. Captain Francis Gore, Captain of the Inniskillings, "with a party of firelocks," brought the Irish party eight miles on the road to Manorhamilton, and met Sarsfield's men with the poor Protestants. Among these latter was a Captain Jackson*, who, on arriving at Inniskillen, enlisted a number of his refugees, and formed a good company, who were provided with arms and were incorporated with the Inniskillen forces.

The action of Colonel Sarsfield in this matter of making prisoners of persons trusting to his honour and sense of protection, deepened the suspicions of the Inniskilliners of the Irish, and led them to be less merciful to them in battle than they would have been to any other enemy. Thus it was, as Hamilton says—"That for some time we enjoyed our quiet, being a terror to the Irish on all hands near us."

SEIZURE AT OMEY.

On the 3rd of June the intelligence was brought

* Probably Captain Edward Jackson, of County Sligo.

to Inniskillen that some of the Irish dragoon horses from Derry had been sent to graze on some waste land near Omey, and the Governor sent Captain Francis Gore* and Captain Arnold Crosby with their own troops of horse to Captain Mervyn's house at Trillick to capture the dragoon horses. Within three or four miles of them, at Newporton†, lay two captains with their foot companies, outposts of the Inniskillen forces; and these, joining the horse, the whole force marched in the night to Omagh, and captured the 160 dragoon horses, and other horses fit for labour; and with them some 300 black cows. The Irish soldiers actually saw the Inniskilleners removing the stock, but made no effort to prevent them. This was deemed a lucky capture; for by it they not only disabled about three troops of the enemy, but were able to provide their own men with additional horses. As the enemy had had time to secure the fort at Omey (or Omagh) no effort was made to capture it. Omagh was merely a village at this time. There were only 12 householders there in the year 1666.

* Captain Francis Gore was one of the Sligo officers who had joined the Inniskillen forces.

† This was the manor of Newporton or Drumkeen, near Ballinamallard, which originally belonged to Sir Henry Folliott, created Baron Folliott, of Ballyshannon, in 1619. The title became extinct on the death of his grandson, the third Lord Folliott, in 1716. There were 1,500 acres originally in the manor grant of May 16, 1611, but they were increased by purchase from Shane McGilpatricke McGwyer, gent., of two tates (190 acres); from Francis Gofton, 3½ tates; and by an exchange with Sir Thomas Barton he got five tates, and surrendered only two. Lord Folliott demised the whole manor of Newporton and Grange of Killeerne to Sir William Cole and Sir Robert King for his (Folliott's) use during his life, and after his death for the use of Lady Anne Folliott, and after her death for the use of his legitimate offspring.—*Inquisition of Ulster* (4), Jac. I. The traces are still to be seen in the grass of the old Castle of Newporton.

CHAPTER LVI.

ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE DERRY.

During all this time that the men of Inniskillen were revelling in abundance of cattle and sheep and food, Derry, as we have seen, was starving. All the efforts of General James Hamilton and devices to bring pressure on the garrison had failed to induce the heroic defenders to yield. The skirmish at Pennyburn on the 25th April was followed by the battle of Windmill hill on Monday, 6th May; and among various sorties and hand to hand fights, the attack on the fort above Creggan is worthy of note here. Captain Noble, of Lisnaskea, was along with Captain John Cunningham in the adventure. With one hundred men they penetrated into the fort on top of the hill, and drove the foot soldiers out of it, but a party of the enemy's horse dashed between them and the city, before they could reach it safely. Captain Cunningham was killed, and Captain Noble, who was one of the best soldiers in the garrison, succeeded in leading his party through with the loss of 15 or 16 lives. Next day the corpse of Captain Cunningham

was honourably delivered up to the garrison and interred with military honours. (*See next Chapter.*)

Inniskillen had heard of the piteous plight of their kinsmen; and Inniskillen also knew that if Derry should fall that they could not long withstand such a force as could be brought against them. Their cannon were few and puny. They had almost no ammunition; only two barrels of powder were left; and good arms were few. Nevertheless, the Governor resolved to see if Derry could be relieved, and its men were ready to do so or perish in the attempt.

Governor Gus. Hamilton paraded all his available force of nearly 2,000 men, but made the mistake of not yielding to solicitations to stay in the Castle to watch Inniskillen. Because his assumption of command caused Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd to remain behind; and by this time the Inniskilleners had known enough of their little Cromwell to know that where he led, success would follow, while the Governor was untried. However, it was proposed to march to the east side of Derry city, to the Waterside, and there attack any of the enemy that lay on that side, as the main force of the enemy lay by the Waterside on the west or other side of the Foyle; and to bring provisions across the river into the town.

On the 10th June the relief expedition set out, resting that night at Trillick, and reaching Omagh the second day. Some irregulars, known as free booters, hearing that Omagh had been evacuated, passed on before the advance guard of the Governor's party, and when within about three miles of Omagh were surprised by the enemy who lay in a hollow.

Yet these free booters escaped, retreating to the main body, except a Mr. Rowland* Betty, "a very honest gentleman," "in good esteem" among them, who was shot off his horse after he had discharged his pistol, and was taken prisoner and carried away to Omagh, and, some said, murdered. "For the most part," said Rev. Andrew Hamilton, "they so dealt with many of their prisoners, who had gotten fair quarter."

AT OMAGH.

As the Inniskilleners marched through the country they received accessions of strength. Their fame had gone abroad, and horse and foot of British settlers joined them, so that their numbers were said to have been double what they were on leaving Inniskillen. But they had only a small quantity of powder for so many, yet they hoped to gain some at Derry. They encamped that night within one mile of Omagh, and when they marched to it next morning they found that the garrison had burnt all the houses, on or near the road, and retired to a house or fort of Captain Mervyn's at the end of the town. This house was pretty strong, and had a bawn wall enclosing it.

Placing the foot soldiers in view of the fortifications, Captain Acheson and Captain Galbraith took possession of the walls of the houses in the vicinity or cover for the attack, and from this cover fired at the enemy. The Jacobites were in no manner daunted. They replied hotly, both at the marksmen

* As the Christian name of Rowland is unusual, I couple with this Mr. Betty the family of Betty associated for a long time with the townland of Killymitten, near Ballinamallard and Trillick, whose eldest representative is Mr. Rowland Betty of Aughnacloy. His brother, Rev. W. A. Betty, is rector of Clough, in the diocese of Cloghe

on the walls and at the foot-soldiers drawn up in front; and when a trumpeter was sent to demand surrender of the house, the reply was sent back in writing, that they knew of no authority possessed by the Inniskilleners to bear arms, or to summon them to surrender. Therefore they would defend that place until they received an order from King James to the contrary, and so defiant were they that they told the trumpeter not to come any more with such messages or they would fire upon him as a welcome.

The force of this retort was that it was true. The Inniskilleners had no warrant but their own to assume arms. They had no authority from any department or officer of State. They could not be said to be lawfully in the service of King William of England, because he had not as yet sent them the authority which he did forward subsequently; and they were in arms against their lawful King in Ireland as rebels. So, strictly speaking, the Inniskilleners had no authority to demand a surrender. They were revolutionaries, and the retort of the royal troops reminded them of that fact.

While this challenge and reply were proceeding the Inniskillen scouts brought in five prisoners seized upon the Dungannon road; and they gave the information that they belonged to a force of Lord Clancarty,* who had spent the previous night at

*Donough, Earl of Clancarty, Colonel of 4th regiment of foot, received and entertained King James on his arrival from France. Clancarty was forthwith appointed one of the Lords of the King's bed-chamber, and his regiment was constituted a Royal one. Queen Elizabeth had enrolled the MacCartymore of her day, which dissatisfied the O'Neill, who said he did not regard so mean a title as an Earl, that his own blood and power were better than those of the West; that his ancestors had been Kings of Ulster, and that as they had won it by the sword they would keep it by the sword. O'Neill's rebellion induced MacCartymore to dispose his new title of Earl, and he assumed that of King of Munster and broke out into rebellion, along with other Munster chiefs. Clancarty forfeited the title in 1691.

Dungannon with one regiment of horse, one of dragoons, and two of foot, and was on his way to join the army before Derry. Further, that he would be in Derry by three o'clock in the afternoon.

This news set the Inniskilliners thinking. They were aware that Colonel Sarsfield lay at Manorhamilton in Sir William Gore's Deerpark*; and they had not known of the approach of Lord Clancarty; and now they were in danger of being hemmed in between two fires. More than that, the want of Lloyd's generalship was felt, "there not being one hoof" driven along with them. They had not lifted their food as they went along. They "had not one ounce of provisions for themselves," much less to relieve their friends in Derry; they had no ammunition to spare, and they felt ashamed. They wanted to go to Derry, but the danger was too great. It was worth the risk if they were satisfied they could have beaten James' army, but they were not satisfied about that. Their men were too few, and they had no food with them. They had marched 18 miles without a morsel, and they had 22 more miles in front of them to Derry, with danger threatening Inniskillen in their absence; disaster threatening their rear, and on their flank if they advanced.

Moreover, several "expresses" had come to their camp from King William, stating that Colonel Sarsfield had gone to besiege Ballyshannon; and that Colonel Sutherland had come to Belturbet, while Inniskillen lay 20 miles equal distant between the two, and that grave danger threatened Inniskillen.

So they called a council of war, and deemed it

* For particulars of how the Castle Hamilton estate passed into possession of the Gore family, see Vol. I, p. 256.

best to return, and returned, as M'Carmick said, "meanly to Inniskilling, without doing anything." They did not burn Omagh, out of respect for Captain Mervyn, so the enemy escaped; but they burned it when leaving to join James' army before Derry. Clearly, Governor Hamilton was not such a commanding officer as Colonel Lloyd.

CHAPTER LVII.

RELIEF OF DERRY.

We cannot here follow the great defence of Derry. Suffice it to say that that great man who was the hero of the hour and an unpurchasable warrior, Murray, when, on the 20th April, King James sent the Earl of Abercorn to make a new offer to the garrison, and to grant them a pardon for past offences and the promise of freedom of exercise of their religion; and to Murray, a Colonel's commission in the army, with £1,000—a great sum in those days—for his services in connection with the affair, the brave Elder showed he could not be bought by bribes or promises, and Murray escorted Lord Abercorn back to the outside of the lines.

How the gallant defenders, starving and worn by illness, held out, has been a wonder to succeeding generations! As the Presbyterian Church was outside the walls, its congregation was allowed to worship in the Cathedral in the afternoon; and what is known as the Armagh MSS., discovered about 1750, tells of how the people were stirred up by clergy and elders in these words:—

In Saint Columba's church now every day
The Church and Kirk did jointly pray;

There Doctor Walker, to their great content,
Did preach against a Popish Government.
Master MacKinzie preach'd on the same theme,
Teaching the love and fear of God's great name.
Rowat of Lifford did confirm us still,
He preach'd submission to God's holy will.
When our deliv'rance pass'd all human belief
He prophesied with truth and quick relief.
The same was taught us by the Reverend Crooks ;
And Hamilton, too, show'd it from his books.
The ruling elder, Mills, declar'd the same,
Foretelling aid six weeks before it came,
While we against the Irish army fought
From morn till night these worthy Preachers taught ;
And He from whom all victories proceed
Bless'd their great labours in time of need.

So that Episcopal clergyman and Presbyterian minister and ruling Elder encouraged and stimulated the people to be resolute in their stand till God would deliver them, and deliver them He did.

The delay of the ships in the lough had keenly disappointed the famishing garrison, who had sent an urgent entreaty by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, minister of Glendermott, who gallantly taking all danger and the risks in which others had failed, swam down the river and out to sea to the ships. Hope began to flicker again on the morning of the 28th July (old style), when anxious eyes were directed towards the little fleet. The sun had passed from the east towards the south and still no sign ; and it was not till the afternoon that the cry went forth that the ships were seen to make sail for the city, and the defenders discharged eight pieces of cannon from the tower of the cathedral and waved a crimson flag to denote the extremity of their distress. Slowly came the ships—the *Mountjoy* of Derry, Captain Micah Browning, and the *Phoenix* of Coleraine, Captain

Andrew Douglas, laden with provisions, and these were convoyed by the *Dartmouth* frigate, Captain Leake. Guns played upon them from the fort at Culmore, the narrow neck of the lough, but the ships passed it successfully till the *Mountjoy* bounded off the boom and went aground. The enemy rent the air with cheers, and launched boats to board what they thought was in their grasp. In Derry grief and fear affrighted the people; they sank on their knees to Almighty God to preserve them at this moment of anxiety. Starving women and children shrieked with agony at the loss of the prospect of food and assistance. Darkness seemed to prevail over the scene as despondency deepened before God bared His arm.

A thunder sound was heard! The *Mountjoy* fired a broadside at the yelling Jacobites, and to their amazement the stricken ship rebounded with the shock; the incoming tide lifted the vessel, and the gallant Browning brought her again against the boom, broke it, and led the way for the little fleet, amid the sobs and tears of thankfulness and cries of joy from the beleagured city and the dismay of the enemy. The joy bells rang, bonfires were kindled, cannon echoed from the walls,—Derry was saved!

The people of Derry were fully confident that it was God who had relieved them; and no wonder that John Graham of Maghera wrote what I have already quoted:—

I am sure that it was the Lord that kept the city and none else, for there were many of us that could not stand on our feet before the enemy attacked the walls, who, when they were assaulting the out-trenches, ran out against them most nimbly and with great courage. Indeed, it was never the poor

starved men in Derry that kept it, but the mighty God of Jacob, to Whom be praise for ever and ever.

Prominent among the defenders was Major Noble, of Lisnaskea, who must have fled to Derry on the outbreak of the Revolution, passing Enniskillen on his way. One authority gives him third place among the chief defenders.

The same Armagh MSS. quoted tells of the doings of this Major Noble,* of Lisnaskea. Speaking of the action at Creggan, it relates:—

In a few days the Governor sends forth
 Full fifteen hundred soldiers to the North,
 Of Creggan burn, and this undaunted band
 NOBLE and CUNNINGHAM conjoin'd command.
 The foot towards Inch they seiz'd with matchless force,
 But were surpris'd by Galway's troops of horse.
 Thirty stout men in this affair were lost,
 And in brave Cunningham alone, a host.
 A prisoner, on articles, the foe
 Broke trust and martial law, and laid him low.
 In many a bloody fray, severely tried,
 By a base murderer the hero died.
 Such deeds as these, grown frequent, caus'd disgust,
 And no man would an Irish promise trust.
 Meantime brave Noble makes a safe retreat,
 At fair Brook-hall the enemy we beat;
 And turn their fascines, there the strong Monro
 Cut down an Irishman at every blow.

* The Nobles of Glasdrummond, Lisnaskea, are an old Fermanagh family. This Major Noble of Derry was James, who died in 1720. His grandson was the Rev. Mark Noble, first head-master at Portora of Enniskillen Free School, respecting whom see the chapter on Enniskillen School, in the succeeding volume of this History. James, the son of Major Noble of Derry fame, became High Sheriff in 1755, and was succeeded by his son, the Rev. Henry Mungo Noble, of Glasdrummond, and rector of Clongill, Co. Meath. He was succeeded by his second son, Rev. Robert Noble of Glasdrummond, born in 1796, whose eldest son, William Henry, Major-General in the Royal Artillery, born in 1834, succeeded him. He died recently, in 1892, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Shirley Newcome. His second son is Captain Vere D'Oyly Noble, of the 27th Inniskillings, who rejoined his regiment, and served during the Great War. Mr. Archibald Noble, of a junior branch, at present occupies Glasdrummond.

The fight at Sliny's orchard was referred to as follows, in the same composition:—

Crofton and Bashford did much honour gain,
By CAPTAIN NOBLE multitudes were slain;
From Lisnaskea, Fermanagh's pride he came,
And now he's MAJOR NOBLE of the same.

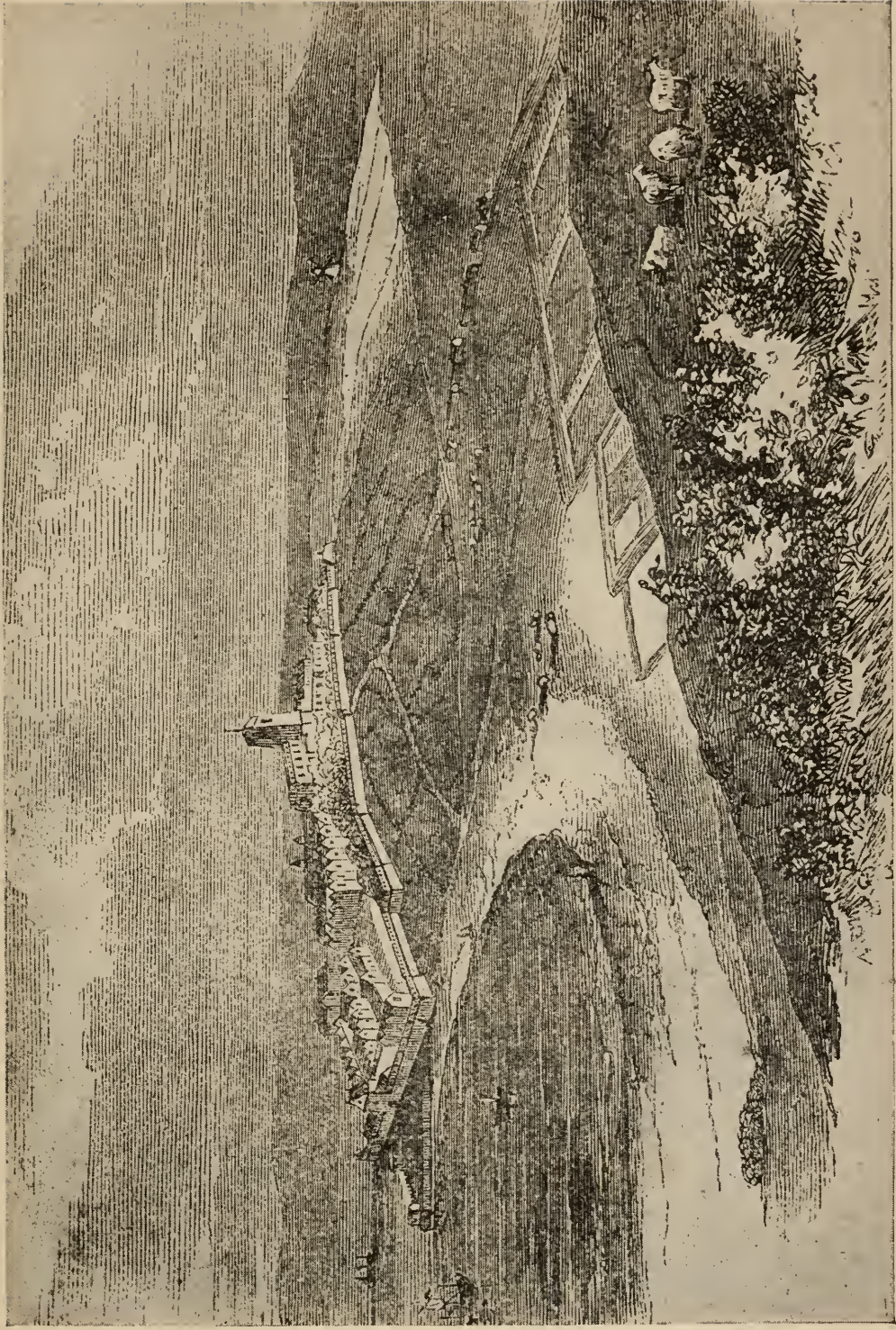
Writing of Governor Walker's egotism and his injustice, among others, to the brave Captain Noble of Lisnaskea, Professor Witherow says—"No more gallant soldier ever stood on the walls of Derry, than Noble of Lisnaskea. He stood side by side with Murray, and shared his danger at every spot where hot work was expected and life was a peril;" and all the egotistical Governor Walker could say of such a man was that "he was very active and successful, killed several of their officers, and found letters about them that afforded some intelligence."

The first company formed for the defence of Derry had for its ensign Alexander Irwin, afterwards promoted to be Captain. The Armagh MSS. already alluded to speaks of him as if he were a member of the Lowtherstown family of Irvine, of Castle Irvine, in the following terms:—

IRVINE, a Captain, admirably fought
Until he was disabled by a shot.
His father, brave Sir Gerard, dead and gone,
Had been renowned for work in Forty-One.*
The bolts and bars of Londonderry Jail
To keep him captive proved of no avail:
When Coote for loyalty a sentence gave,
Which doomed FERMANAGH'S hero to the grave.

The second battle of the Windmill Hill occurred

* See vol 1, page 246.



Londonderry in 1688 from the Bogside, showing the Windmill.



on the 4th June. Governor Baker directed the movements of his men from the walls, and victory declared for the valiant garrison all along the line. The women of Derry made themselves famous that day. They carried food and drink and ammunition to their fathers and brothers and husbands in the trenches; and even threw stones to injure and distract the fire of their assailants. Four hundred of the Jacobites were killed and wounded on this day, and some were captured as prisoners, in addition to four flags.

But worse than the fire and sticks of the enemy, worse than the bombs that fell in the town doing deadly work, gaunt Famine was striking men down, and Disease was laying a heavy hand on frames weakened by exposure, want of rest, and want of food.

Walker in his Diary gives the following prices for food (!) during the siege:—

Horse flesh, each pound, 1s 8d.

A quarter of a dog, fattened by eating dead bodies, 5s 6d.

A dog's head, 2s 6d.

A cat 4s 6d.

A rat, fattened by eating human flesh, 1s.

A mouse, 6d.

A pound of greaves, 1s.

A pound of tallow, 4s.

A pound of vatted hides, 1s.

A quart of horse blood, 1s.

A horse pudding, 6d.

A handful of seawrack, 2d.

A handful of chickenweed, 1d.

A quart of meal when found, 1s.

The greater value of money at that time compared to the present may be conceived when it is remembered that before the siege a salmon could be bought for two pence! The cattle were almost consumed; the horses had been eaten; provisions had been doled out; hides, tallow, and starch, were at a premium; dogs, cats, rats, and mice had become choice morsels. To think of it! How those brave fellows endured, with their women and children round them, perishing for food, and it in abundance outside the walls! But between the two stood principle, stood religious liberty; stood the cause they had espoused; stood the safety of the Kingdom; and to all the offers, and inducements to yield they uttered the phrase that they immortalized of **NO SURRENDER.**

On the 28th June Noble* was one of the 60 and upwards who rallied out at Bishop's gate and made a successful attack on the enemy. It was a few days after this, and on a Sunday, that Count Conrad de Rosen sent notification into Derry that if the garrison would not surrender to him that day he would drive the Protestants from Enniskillen to Charlemont under the walls, and if the garrison would not then surrender he would make a general assault upon them and put them all to the sword without respect to sex or age. This threat was treated with contempt, and de Rosen subsequently got the Protestants from the neighbouring country collected, stripped of their clothes, and forced naked towards the walls, so that at first they were mistaken

*Another Fermanaghman also was left, Wm. Beatty, Sharman; who reared twelve sons near Clones, one of whom was Vincent, the father of Mr. Ross Beatty of Clones of 1825.

for the enemy and fired at. But General Hamilton was so horrified at the brutality of the act, that he distributed meal among the starving prisoners, and the Irish officers are reported to have shed tears at the shocking cruelty.

Bishop Dopping, of Meath, on hearing of the act, remonstrated with King James, who countermanded the order on 13th July. At the same time the garrison notified de Rosen that they would admit Papist priests to prepare for death some of the French and Irish prisoners which they had in custody if the Protestants were not permitted to depart from below the walls. The unhappy prisoners sent a letter to General Hamilton entreating the reversal of the order, to save their lives. But de Rosen refused, and collected another thousand of Protestants, who were driven under the walls, and many of them were taken into the city and clad.*

When James found that the city would not surrender and that fighting was inevitable, he retraced his steps to Dublin to open his Parliament; and on Sunday, the 21st April, the guns of his army boomed, and his shots were fired at the walls of Derry, which were preserved inviolate from the feet of the enemy till relief came on the morning of Sunday, the 28th of July, old style. The Rev. James Gordon, the Presbyterian Minister of Glendermott, the man who had counselled the apprentices to shut the gates in the first instance, had succeeded in swimming down the river from the beleagured city, and induced General Kirke

* When a child I heard my grandfather, whose own grandfather had withstood the Siege of Derry, tell of the pitiable plight of the naked, starving fugitives, including women near the hour of childbirth, as he had heard it from his own ancestor.—Author.

to move. By five o'clock the town had been nearly reached, and by sunset Derry was relieved.

Next day the army of James began to go southward, and the last detachment left on the 31st July, leaving Derry walls free of the enemy. On the same day, the 31st July, the Inniskilleners won their great victory at Newtownbutler.

Now we have to deal with Enniskillen, not Londonderry, here, and must proceed with the story of the island town to the close.

CHAPTER LVIII.

BATTLE OF BELTURBET.

On the 16th of June an "express" arrived from Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, Crom Castle, and from Captain William Wishart* (who, at his own cost, had maintained a troop of horse on the borders of the

* This Sir William Wishart was the son of the patentee. The residence of the land was at Clontivern, a townland through which the present railway runs to Clones. A map of the time shows Wishart's lands as full of bogs, woods, and lakes, and a church, containing a tower in a townland called Gortacurra. Sir John Wishart sold this Proportion to Sir Stephen Butler on the 10th of November, 1615. It was reported concerning it—

"The said Proportions of Latrym and Kilspinan doe all, or the most part thereof, lye within the parish of Drumully. The cite and reuens of the ancient church of Drumully standeth verie remote, and in the woods upon the uttermost south parte of the parish, towards the borders of the Countie of Monaghan, about 7 miles distante from the north parte of the parish, and is altogether rewinous and out of use, and service unfit to be continued for divers respects. It will be much more fitt and convenient and a great furtherance and safetie unto the Englishe plantation, and the inhabitants thereabouts, to have the parish church erected within the towne of Newtowne, where the said great plantation of English now is, and where there is a house builte, and a church yarde already laid out to that purpose, which is usuallie frequented, and devine service every Sunday and hollyday saide, and the holly sacraments and christian burials, and other holly rights, and seremonyes celebrated, used, and said therein, which is desired as most fitt to be continewed there. The faires and marketts formerlie graunted to be kept upon the tate of land called Aghadee at Castlecoole [Query Coole], are fitt to be continewed as they are now kept and held: and it will be verie fitt to have one other faire to be holden upon St. Nicholas, daie, everie yeare, which will not prejudice anie other of the neighbor townes, there not being anie faires kept that daie within 10 myles." (See Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermgh, (11) Car. 1.)

county) that a strong force of the enemy had arrived at Belturbet. Governor Hamilton, not having succeeded in doing much at Omagh, was wise in dispatching Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd to meet the new danger; and he, having got a force of horse and foot ready, marched that very night, following his usual rule, to catch the enemy before morning light. But heavy rain fell, and neither the men nor their arms were dry, so that they halted a day at Lisnaskea, and renewed their march on the 18th to Newtownbutler, where Lloyd halted his men for food. At this time a man named Vitch [Veitch] arrived from Belturbet to say that spies had brought word to Colonel Sutherland, who had commanded the Irish force the day before, of the approach of 14,000 or 15,000 men from Inniskillen. Sutherland took alarm, and retreated to Monaghan to be convenient to the fort at Charlemont, leaving a small party behind at Belturbet for the defence of that place, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Scott.

Pynnar found in 1619-20 upon that proportion a bawne of lime and stone, 70 feet square, 12 feet high, with two flankers, which were three storeys high; there was also a good stone house in building, which at that time had been raised one storey. On that estate he found planted—lessees—3; having 240 acres le piece; 3 having 120 acres le piece; 1 having 90 acres; 6 having 60 acres le piece; 1 having 30, 1 having 10 acres le piece. Each of these had a house, and most of them dwelt in “a towne joining to the Bawne. Eight of these have taken the oath of Supremacy. They are able to make 66 men with arms.”

It was found by an inquisition ten years later—

about 1629, that Sir Stephen Butler* on his Proportion of Laytrim† or Leitrim at Aghadee and Cortiegamon, had a bawne of stone and lime 64 feet square, and 15 feet in height; and that inside this enclosure he had erected a castle or capital-mansion, 100 feet long and 30 feet in width; another bawne of stone and lime 200 feet square and ten feet high; and at Drumbrochas another castle or capital-mansion of stone and lime, 30 feet long and 24 in width. There was no mention in the inquisition of any freeholders or lessees on this property in 1629, but the following natives were admitted as yearly tenants :—

John McMahowne	Bryan oge Magwire	Brian M'Manus
Patrick O'Greene	Art oge McMartin	Patrick McDonnell
Cormock O'Carrahin	Hen. McGillmartyn	Murrough McDonnell
Teighreagh O'Gelligane	Brian Magwire	Patrick boy McDonnell
Hugh M'Gillgane	Cahill O'Donogh	Shane McDonnell
John Maguire	Murrough McPhillipp	Patrick M'Elenan
Owen McEnrowe	Donogh McDonnell	Edmond McDonnell
Philip O'Caill Magwire	Donogh Magwire	Shane O'Reilly
Kuogher O'Kenon	Owen Magwier	Patrick M'Donaghan
Cormuck McManus.		

The lands on this Proportion deemed most

* The town of Belturbet formed part of the manor of Dernglush, in all 2,760 acres, granted to Sir Stephen Butler, ancestor of the Earls of Lanesborough, who had come over from Bedfordshire. It was his energy as a planter which secured for him the honour of Knighthood.

† Sir John Wishart had obtained a grant on the 25th June, 1610, of 1500 acres for £8 yearly, of the manor of Laytrim between Newtownbutler and Clones. He had been the laird of Pettaro in Fifeshire. This manor included the lands of—

Killybricke	Kilrody	Mullanalecke
Gortcamon	Legmacaffrey	Cloncorricke
Aghoteigheigh	Mulladuff	Clonculliga
Mullaghenygowan	Aghirouskiebegg	Mullyvarran
Edenebourye	Aghirouskiemore	Dirriny
Lurgaboy	Clonelty	Drumanurchien;
Enguillen	Laytrim	in Lough Erne; the
Drumbrochios	Kircorman	Island of Colooe;
Aghaenehinchbegg	Clonky	and the island of
Aghahenchinchmore	Lissnadork	Kaeneber in Lough Erne.
Dromrallagh		

suitable for the location of Irish tenants were the island of Derrekarpe, the tates of Lisnedocke, Clancoricke, and Mullaivarran, two-fifths of the tate of Clangonna, two-fifths of Knocknegagh and Lissnegillgray, one-half tate of Cavaneseuekill, one-half of a parcel of Latrym, Clanby half a tate, Clanneltie half a tate, and half tate called Agnahinchbegge.

Colonel Lloyd then called his officers together to hold a council of war, when the question was discussed: Should they hasten onward to engage Sutherland or march direct to Belturbet? A troop of the Inniskillen horse, which had been sent in advance to discover the enemy, now returned with the news that Sutherland's army had fled in great fear, leaving some of "their buncarts and carriages on the road;" and by that time they would be at Monaghan, 16 miles away. This information decided the matter. The enemy were too far distant; the Inniskilleners would strike at Belturbet.

Captain Vaughan* and Captain Galbraith†, with their troops of dragoons, were sent forward as the advance guard. The horse followed. Then came Lieutenant William M'Carmick with his company of 100 men, as the advance guard of foot. Major Woods followed with eight pairs of colours—two to each company,—Captain Francis Gore with 14 pairs, and in the rear two troops of horse. This was a formidable army for a small town to furnish at short notice. Yet they did not strike terror into the hearts of the enemy; for when the Dragoons came within nearly a mile of Belturbet they were driven back by the dragoons of the enemy, who had lined the hedges.

* Likely the Robert Vaughan who signed the address to King William.

† Hugh Galbraith. This family has long been extinct in the male line.

The Inniskillen horse then came up, and the dragoons, alighting from their horses, went inside the hedges, as the horse kept to the road. By this means they drove the Irish before them, killing some of them before they reached the shelter of the town. The Irish dragoons and the rest of their party got into the church and churchyard, and the Inniskillen horse surrounded them at a distance till the Inniskillen foot would march up, and they, in response to "express upon express," lest the enemy should escape into the woods, came up as fast as they could. When the infantry arrived, the Irish delivered a hot fire from the churchyard. So some of the Inniskilliners got into some houses in the town, and fired at the enemy, particularly from the Archbishop of Dublin's house, which, being high, overlooked the churchyard, and they wounded several of the enemy.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd was ready to storm the churchyard he gave the enemy an opportunity through a trumpet to surrender, on condition that their lives should be spared, their officers not stopped, and allowed to retain £10 per man, but not over it. And the men were only to suffer the loss of their uniform. The Irish accepted these terms. The officers handed over their arms to Lieutenant M'Carmick, while the soldiers "ground arms" and stood clear of them. The arms were then secured, and about 300 men were taken to the Archbishop's house. It was remarked that "there was not a bullet found upon any of them, not in the Army, but what was chewed." Two-hundred of the private soldiers were allowed to go free, with their women and children, next day. The officers and the rest of the men were brought to Inniskillen.

This was a truly fortunate expedition. Lloyd obtained by his capture, in addition to the arms of his prisoners, 700 new muskets intended to arm a new regiment to be raised; two barrels of gunpowder, 53 horses, with their accoutrements; 20 tons of provisions and malt, 50 barrels of flour, 100 barrels of wheat, as many red coats as served two companies, and a quantity of grey uniform* belonging to the new levies. All these were sent to Inniskillen by water, being much the more convenient route, and the prisoners were put on arrival to work at the new East Fort, there in course of construction,

This great haul occasioned much rejoicing. It provided abundance of bread, uniforms, and arms for the soldiers, and warranted the Governor in raising more companies to add to the small army of Inniskillen.

MORE ARMS AND PROVISIONS.

On the 3rd July a letter was received from Archdeacon Brown, chaplain to the Bonaventure frigate, sent from Derry to Killybegs, under the Command of Captain Hobson, stating that Major-General Kirke † had sent him to ascertain the condition of affairs in Inniskillen—if they wanted anything that he could supply them with; if they stood in need of ammunition or anything else that he would spare; and requesting that an answer might be sent with some of

*The wearing of this uniform gave the name of the "Grey Inniskilleners;" and to perpetuate the colour with the name Colonel J. L. Davidson and the Officers of the 27th Inniskillings succeeded in having the plume of the busby of the regiment (when converted into Fusiliers under Lord Cardwell's scheme) officially made as grey.

† Ancestor of Mrs. Richard Freer, of Leamington Spa, widow of Colonel Richard Freer, who commanded the 27th Inniskillings during their stay in Inniskillen, 1874-76.

the townsmen, as it had been confidently reported by the Irish army that Enniskillen had been captured.

Here was doubly welcome news—that England was thinking of them, and had not forgotten her duty to them; and that the great scarcity of powder should be repaired. Indeed the Inniskilleners had sometimes given way to cheering, and firing volleys, so as to convey the false idea to the Irish that they had heard from England and received help. But now the relief had come. Accordingly, the Governor directed a party of horse and foot under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, Captain Francis Gore, and Captain Hugh Montgomery,* with the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, to procure the supplies, and the party set out upon the next day, Thursday, the 4th July.

It was on the same day, about two hours after the Rev. Andrew Hamilton had departed for Ballyshannon, that the Duke of Berwick took

* Captain Montgomery may have been detained from proceeding with this party as he was in Inniskillen before the battle of Kilmacormick. He was the grandson of Hugh Montgomery, a cadet of the Braidstane branch of the Scotch family of Montgomery, who was settled at Derrybrosk or Derrybrusk, Co. Fermanagh by his kinsman, George Montgomery, D.D., Bishop of Clogher and Meath about 1618. This Hugh had a son, Nicholas Montgomery, Lieutenant in Sir James Montgomery's Regiment, and afterwards Rector of Carrickmacross, of Derrybrosk, or Derrybrusk, Co. Fermanagh, who had with two younger sons, Robert, of Derrybrusk, Captain in the army, and Andrew, who succeeded his father as Rector of Carrickmacross, an elder son

Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, Captain of Horse under William III., who married Catherine, daughter and heir of Richard Dunbar, Esq., of Derrygonnelly, and granddaughter of Sir John Dunbar, Knt. of the same place, and had issue,

1. Nicholas, m. Angel daughter and heir of William Archdall, Esq. of Castle Archdall, Co. Fermanagh, and assumed the surname of Archdall (see Archdall of Castle Archdall).
2. Hugh, of whom hereafter.
3. Richard, of Monea, Co. Fermanagh.
1. Sarah, married Brochkill Green, Esq.
2. Anne.
3. Margaret, married Hugh O'Donnell, of Larkfield, the representative of the Earls of Tyrconnell of the 1st creation (see O'Donovan's Annals of the The Four Masters).
4. Sidney.

His second son, Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Derrygonnelly, married

vengeance on the rector of Kilskeery. The Duke commanded a flying army, always moving about for fear the Inniskilleners, whose reputation had gone abroad, and perhaps been exaggerated, would fall upon him. In Donegal, Captain Edward Johnston and Captain Hugh Caldwell, a son of Sir James Caldwell, Bart., commanded the garrison. The Duke marched his men over Barnsmore Gap, and surprised the garrison so much that they betook themselves to the Castle, from which they fired so successfully upon the enemy that the Duke withdrew his men, but burnt the town before they left. This burning

Elizabeth, daughter of Venerable William Armar, Archdeacon of Connor, and was father of Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Castle Hume, whose will, dated 29th July, 1791, was proved 1797. By Mary his wife, youngest daughter of Sir Archibald Acheson, first Earl of Gosford, had two sons—1. Hugh, his successor; 2. Archibald Armar, and one daughter; 1. Mary Millicent. The eldest son,

Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Blessingbourne, married Maria Dolores Plink, of Malaga, Spain, and died 1838, leaving an only son,

Hugh Ralph Severin Montgomery, of Blessingbourne, who married 1843, Maria Philipina, daughter of Phillip Emanuel de Fellenberg, of Hofwyl, Bern, Switzerland, and by her, (who died 1846,) left at his decease, 1844, a son and heir, the present Hugh de Fellenberg Montgomery, Esq., of Blessingbourne, Fivemiletown.

Sir Henry Tichborne, fourth son of Benjamin Tichborne, Hampshire, on the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, was appointed by James I. to the command of a company of foot in Ireland; and the Lords Justices commissioned him to raise 1,000 men and seize Drogheda, which he did, and defeated the rebels in several encounters. In consideration of his services he obtained a grant of 1,500 acres, erected into the Manor of Blessingbourne, with a tan house at Ballynalurgan, and a weekly market at Ballynalurgan or the town of Lurgan, now called Fivemiletown, because five Irish miles from the neighbouring villages.

The Blessingbourne estate was purchased on the 16th April, 1731, by Mr. Margetson Armar, afterwards of Castlecoole, from Lord Ferrard for £6,900; and by his will on the 5th May, 1768, he bequeathed the estate to his nephew, Hugh Montgomery, of Derrygonnelly, [grandson of the Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly of the Revolution] for life, with a like remainder.

Sir John Dunbar, Knight, received on January 10th, 1615, a grant of a 'small proportion called Dromcro, containing . . . in all 1,000 acres,' and other lands, "created the Manor of Dunbar." Sir John Dunbar was Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1626 and again in 1632. He built a church at Derrygonnelly, the walls of which are still standing, and over the door is a carved stone tablet dated 1627, with armorial bearing and the motto—*Virtus movet, Rex fovet*. Within the Church is a grave-stone with the same motto as on above

of houses by a retreating or successful army seems to have been the usual course in those days.

Berwick received the accession of Sutherland's forces from Monaghan about the 4th June, and the combined army consisting of six regiments of foot, four regiments of dragoons, and two regiments of horse proceeded towards Inniskillen. The Inniskillen men went out to meet him, when the Duke of Berwick retired, and, on his way back burnt Rev. Mr. Hamilton's house to the ground, with any other houses belonging to him and his tenants on the lands round about, saying that "if they had got himself they would have made him meat for the hawks." Mr. Hamilton attributed this vengeance to the fact that he was instrumental in bringing the troop horses from Omagh.

The Duke encamped at Trillick for some days; and Governor Hamilton, being on the watch had, strong guards posted on the roads between Inniskillen and Trillick.

stone, and the further inscription: "Here lie the bodies of Richard Dunbar and Hugh Montgomery, Esqs. Richard died January 6th, 1666, Hugh died September 26th. 1722, aged 71. This Hugh Montgomery is the ancestor of Montgomery of Blessingbourne, Co. Tyrone, and Archdale of Castle Archdale, Co. Fermanagh, in one or other of whose possession all the lands mentioned in the above mentioned grant were till 1898. In Burke's History of the Commoners, vol. 2, p. 109 (under Archdale) Sir John Dunbar is described as "Knight-banneret, of Dunbar, in the County of Fermanagh, by grant from King James I, anno 1616, originally from Scotland, married Mary Katherine sister of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in whose army he bore a distinguished rank, and had a son, James Dunbar, Esq., of Derrygonnelly, who wedded—, daughter of — Weldon, Esq., and was succeeded by his only son, Richard Dunbar, Esq., of Derrygonnelly, who espoused Katherine Lady Hamilton and left an only daughter Katherine Dunbar, who married Hugh Montgomery.

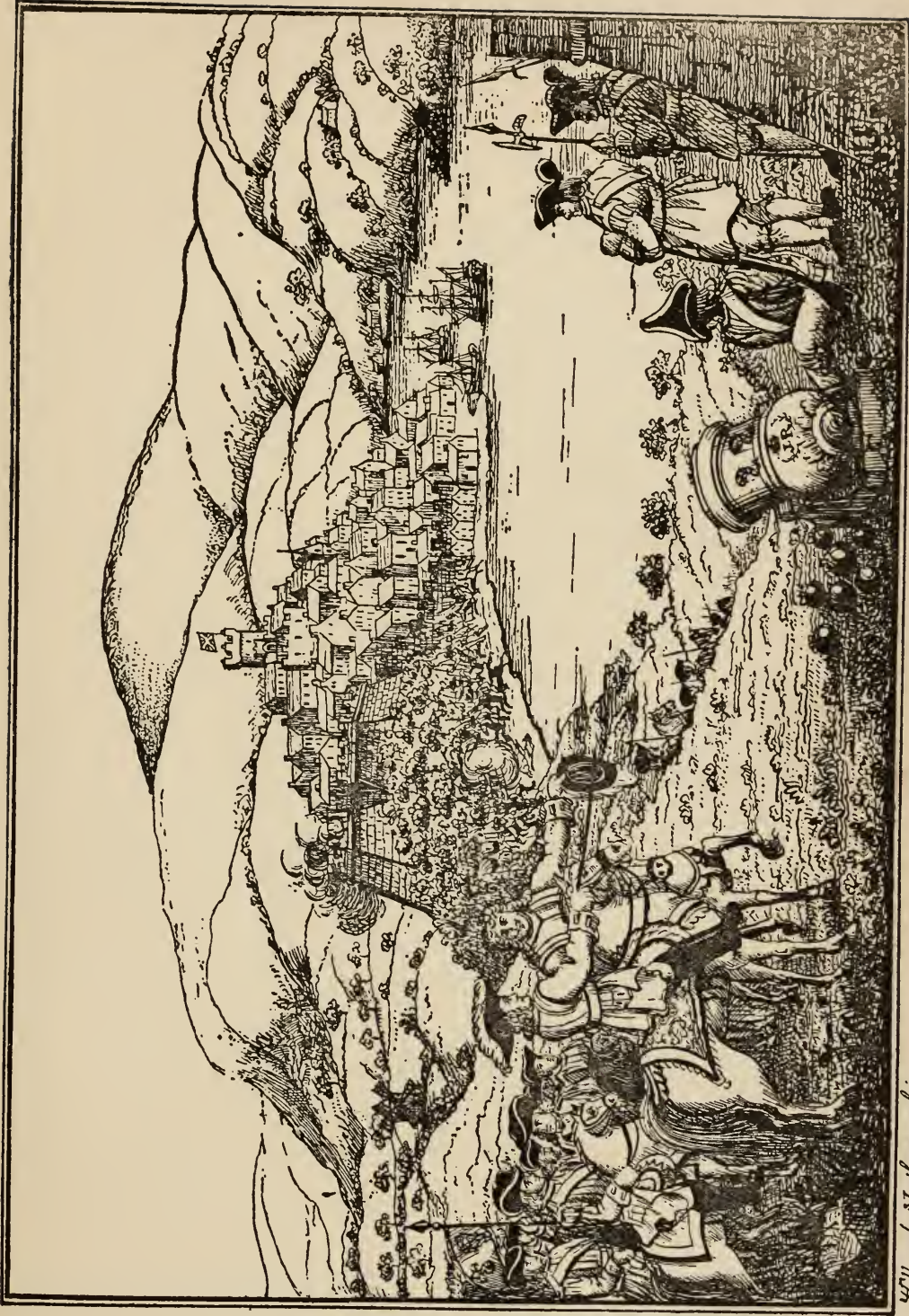
CHAPTER LIX.

BATTLE OF KILMACORMICK.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the Inniskillen men went out to meet, to fight and defeat Sutherland, else both the Brigadier and the Duke of Berwick* might have, according to the original plan, closed in upon the town. As it was, Sutherland was defeated; but the remnants of his army made their way northward till they effected a junction with the flying column of the Duke of Berwick on the 4th of June, and the Duke had then under his command a formidable force consisting of about six regiments of dragoons and two of horse. He waited a full month before taking action and on the 13th July he set out for Inniskillen.

All this time Governor Hamilton had had his scouts on the watch to advise him of danger; and on that morning in the early morn the scouts galloped fast to Inniskillen to bring the fateful news at the earliest possible moment. There were not many about in the town at that time, for the mist had not long

* James FitzJames, a natural son of King James II.



Stalbrooke's Lithography

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY A.D. 1689.

15, Anglesea St. Dublin

left the low-lying fields and swamps; but it was not long so.

TO ARMS.

We can fancy the cry of "To arms, to arms," that "General Berwick was close," having encamped the previous night at Trillick; and we can fancy the crowded main street of Inniskillen with men in various uniforms and garb, taken from the enemy, listening to the news, while each man rushed for his halbert, his sword, or firelock. On to the castle rush the scouts, to apprise the Governor, Gustavus Hamilton, spreading the news, while Lieutenant M'Carmick gets his company to fall in at the Diamond, and other Company commanders are hastening to get their men together, for the foe is almost at their doors.

Alas, alas, the "Little Cromwell," Colonel Lloyd, with the best of the Inniskillen army, had gone to Ballyshannon. They were not at hand when wanted.

Drum and fife sound, and amid the preparations, the Governor gallops on horseback from the Castle, and then, slower through the crowded street, while women are helping their husbands to prepare for battle and praying that they may return safe to their island home.

"Lieutenant M'Carmick," cries the Governor, "take your company to Cornagrade house* so as to harass the enemy on that side and I will send you supports."

* The strong house built by Captain Wm. Cole, tenanted about the beginning of the 19th century by Mr. Wm. Morrison, father of Mr. Hamilton Morrison, deputy governor of Fenniskillen prison, and grandfather of Rev. W. R. Morrison, Canada, and Mr. Thomas Quinton Morrison, Eastington, Stonehouse, Gloucestershire.

TO THE FIELD.

The gallant M'Carmick salutes and marches his men, perhaps at the double; the draw-bridge is lowered; they pass out, over the hill, while the bastions of the Battery are crowded with men bidding them onward, and watching for any sign of the enemy.

M'Carmick brings his men past the mill and up Kilmacormick hill:—and, at the top, “left wheel” at right angles sharply brings them down the road (still there) to what remained of Cornagrade castle. He finds there a stone-walled house thatched (and therefore liable to be set on fire) with a bawn for cattle around it, the walls not pierced for musketry, and too high to fire over. So he withdraws his men, back over Kilmacormick hill to the mill race, at the bridge, to hold the pass, under the shelter of the guns of the fort, until help would arrive, which the Governor promised to send by water. A party of men could cross quicker into the back lake near the mill by water than by the road.

A SMALL FORCE.

Governor Hamilton now comes, with only 30 foot of Captain Hudson's company, under Lieut. Robert Starling and Ensign Williams; and two troops of horse commanded by Captain Francis King, of Ballindune, Co. Sligo, and Captain Arnold Cosby.*

* Captain Arnold Cosby, one of the refugees from County Cavan, was of Lismore Castle, Co. Cavan. His daughter married Thomas Nesbitt, Esq., Member of Parliament for Cavan borough, till his death in 1750. Jane, one of the daughters of this union, was married to Thomas Burrowes, Esq., of Stradone house, Co. Cavan, and had issue; and one son, Cosby Nesbitt, married Anne, daughter of John Enery, Esq., of Bawnboy, and left issue. Mr. Enery's residence, known as Ballyconnell House, was in after years occupied by Surgeon-General Sam. B. Roe, C.B., and Colonel E. A. Roe, the latter of whom still survives.

The gallant Lloyd, under whom nothing failed, was away, and the Governor, who had already failed to relieve Derry and to take the Castle of Omagh, was in supreme command.

There are different accounts as to what occurred—(1) by Rev. Andrew Hamilton, who was not present but who probably presented the Governor's version; (2) Captain W. M'Carmick's* version of what he himself saw and heard on the occasion; and (3) a version by Mr. Robert Frith† referred to by Harris, who saw it in manuscript. Hamilton says that the Governor's instructions were for the party to halt at the mill stream, and there defend the town, a place where a few soldiers could hold back a great number; and that the defeat occurred through departing from these instructions. M'Carmick says that when the Governor came up with the horse the Governor took him by the hand, and asked him to join Lieutenant Starling and lead the foot as far as the hedge led on the left hand of the highway towards the enemy, telling him that the two troops of horse were going to charge. Lieutenant M'Carmick replied that the foot were too weak, being in all only 102 men, the third part of which had only pikes, which would be useless to line a hedge; he had no great confidence in the horse and believed they would desert if so engaged.

NO REINFORCEMENTS.

What reason Lieutenant M'Carmick had for placing

* M'Carmick mentions Capt. Hugh Montgomery as being in charge of the horse, but this officer was among those directed to go with Colonel Lloyd at the time to Killybegs.

† An ancestor of Mr. J. A. Frith, Lawnakilla, and of Mr. J. B. Frith, J.F., the Cross.

no reliance on the horse he does not disclose. We know that the more reliable troops were absent at Ballyshannon under Col. Lloyd. It is clear, however, that the force employed was totally insufficient—about 200 men in all against such an army as the Duke of Berwick commanded, outnumbering the Inniskilleners by twenty to one. The Governor, however, vowed that the horse would not fly one foot and that he would send a “powerful party of foot” in reinforcement. M’Carmick was prepared to obey, even if he should die in the attempt, but reminded the Governor of his promise to send forward the foot.

M’Carmick accordingly marched his men along the old road whose track may be still seen in the grass between the present road and the Racecourse Lough (or Mill Lough), when he met Lieutenant Campbell on horse-back, who had probably been on scout duty, for he told M’Carmick that the enemy were at hand; and M’Carmick told him to remind the Governor “to send on more foot.”

Then Captain Webster came along, also from scouting, and M’Carmick begged him to ride hard to urge the Governor to send the reinforcement promised. Both Frith and M’Carmick agree on these points generally; and as both of them were in the action we may accept this version as correct.

Lieutenant Campbell’s version of what occurred when he reached Inniskillen was, that although he had passed through quantities of armed men and the fort had more men than it could well contain, the Governor seemed to have forgotten his promise of sending help; and when Lieutenant Campbell said that the enemy were so close that the parties must

be in conflict, the Governor replied—"Let them engage, he would send boats to bring them off." When Captain Webster came to town he found the Governor in the Castle, and when he reminded Mr. Hamilton of his promise to send help to Captain M'Carmick, the Governor commanded Captain Webster to proceed immediately to Captain Henry Smith, who was marching his company to Portora Castle on the "other side of the lough, about two miles from us," to march back to the relief of the men at Kilmacormick.*

This company, however,—and it was a small reinforcement at the best—did not reach Kilmacormick in time. They were too late.

THE BATTLE.

The small Inniskilling forces, to carry out the Governor's idea, had marched to the top of Kilmacormick hill. About 600 of the Irish dragoons approached on foot, with two troops of horse. The Inniskillings fired so hotly that the Irish dragoons turned and fled, leaving their Colonel, Luttrell, on the ground behind them. Then somehow in the *melee* the Inniskilling horse, as Lieutenant M'Carmick had feared, as they were most likely young men, turned and fled, which, being perceived by Colonel Luttrell, he called out to his own retreating troops, "See, they run, they run; their horse are fled;"

* A story was told in connexion with the battle of Kilmacormick, respecting an old man named Jemmy M'Manus, who was remembered by my father. Jemmy's grandfather lived in the townland of Kilmacormick, and on the night before the battle he had two children committed to his care to bring to Churchhill away from possible danger. When M'Manus reached the East Bridge the sentry would not let him pass, and when he tried to force his way the sentry so injured him that M'Manus returned to Kilmacormick and died.

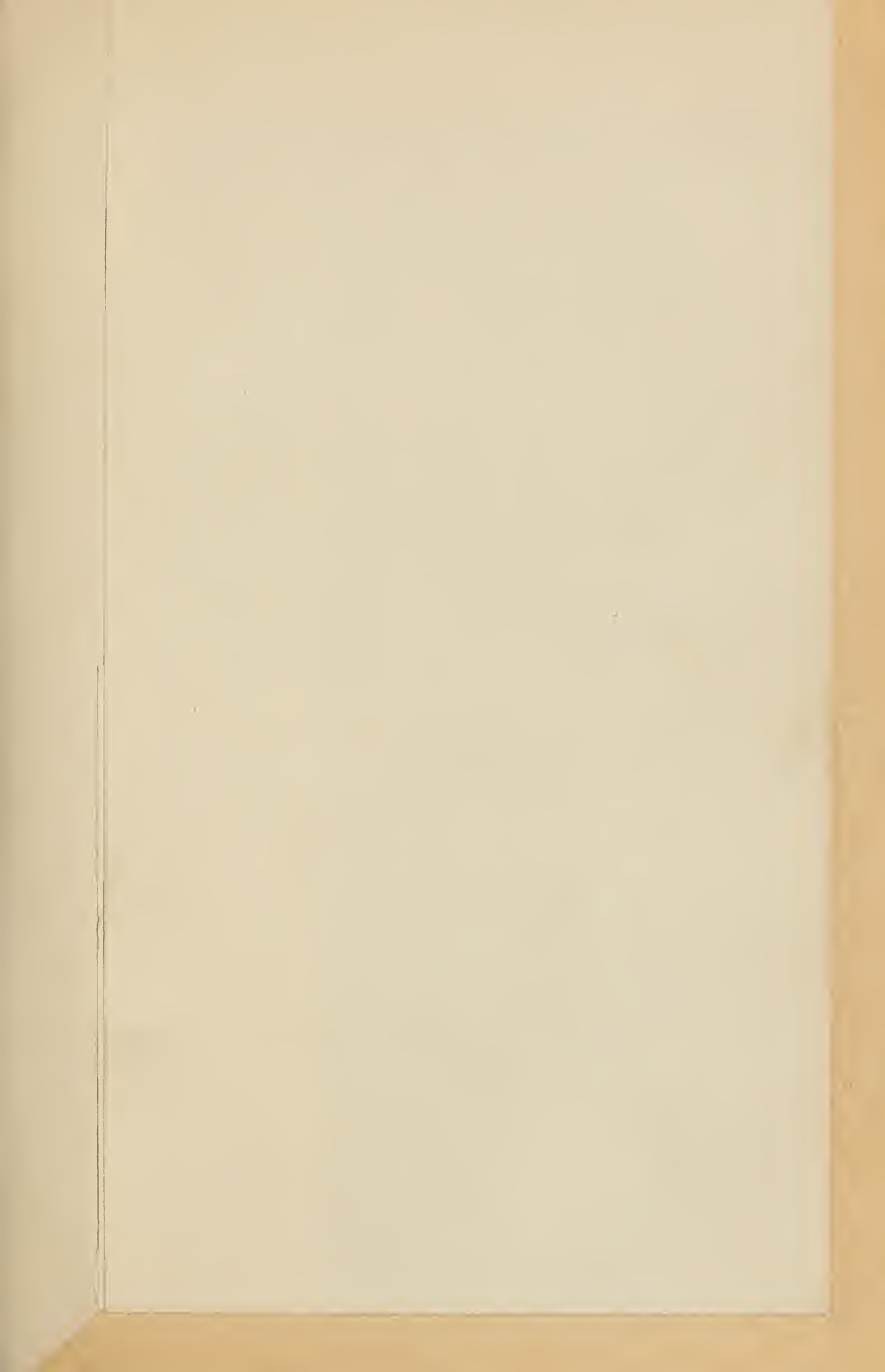
and the royal dragoons changing front, returned to the contest; and when the Irish horse rode up, the small Inniskilling force, hopelessly outnumbered, was cut to pieces, about 50 private soldiers being killed. Ensign Williams and about 50 men were killed, and Captain Fulton, Lieutenant M'Carmick (who had his son killed by his side), Ensign Picking, two sergeants, and 20 privates were taken prisoners. The rest fled to the town. It was about this time that Captain Atkinson and Captain Robert Corry, with their companies, were on their way from the Battery, when they met the retreating Inniskilling horse, and all too late to save the day.

It is also said that when the Governor was entering Inniskillen Castle on retiring from the Mill stream that he was met by Lieutenant Forth* (of

* Captain-Lieutenant Samuel Forth, of Wolseley's Regiment of Horse, was son of Colonel Sir E. Forth, a royalist cavalier who commanded a regiment with which he crossed to the side of Charles I, at Edgehill in 1642, where he was severely wounded. Captain S. Forth signed the loyal address to William and Mary from Enniskillen, and was attainted by James II. He afterwards became *aide-de-camp* to the Duke of Schomberg, and was wounded both at the Boyne and at Aughrim. A commission in Brigadier Wolseley's regiment was given to him signed by the Duke of Schomberg (see illustration). His eldest son, Captain Samuel Forth, was elected sovereign of Longford for 46 years successively, a decisive mark of public esteem; and commanded the Independent Company of Foot of the town. By his own sole interest he always returned two royalist members to Parliament for that place. His son, Nathaniel Parker Forth saved the life of George III., and rendered many valuable public services. He was Minister Plenipotentiary to Versailles, and for his work there received high commendation from the Ministry. His running account was £26,000 a year, a quantity of which he lent to pay the debts of the Prince of Wales, and his brothers, and never received it back.

His eldest son was His Honour Frederick H. A. Forth, of the 75th foot (now 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders), and 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, who had a distinguished career as a Lieutenant-Governor, and in other high appointments, and his younger brother, S. E. A. Forth, who became Baron Forth-Rouen des Mallets, so distinguished himself in the French diplomatic service as to become Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to three States, and was finally created a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, in addition to being the recipient of several prized decorations of other States.

The eldest son of His Honour Fred H. A. Forth was Colonel Alfred Charles Forth, who held different staff appointments, and offered to serve as a private in the loyalist cause at the time of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. He



By Frederick Duke of Schonberg
Generall of all their Maj^{ty} Forces &c &c

To Samuel Forth Capt^l Lieuten^t

By virtue of the Authority unto me by the King & Queens
most Excellent Maj^{ty} in this behalfe granted. We reposing Especiall
Trust & Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage & good Conduct Do
by these presents constitute & Appoint you to be Capt^l Lieuten^t
that Troop in the Regim^t of Horse Comanded by Col^l William
Wolsey whereof he himselfe is Capt^l during their Maj^{ty} Pleasure
you are therefore to take the said Troop as Capt^l Lieuten^t into
your Care & Charge and duely to Exercise both the Offic^{es} &
Dut^{ies} thereof in Arms and to use your best Endeavour to keep
in good Ord^r and Discipline and wee hereby Comand them to
Obey you as their Capt^l Lieut^t and you to Observe and follow
such Ord^r & Directions from time to time as you shall rec^e
from Us your Gen^l or any other your Superior Offic^{er} according
to the Rules and Discipline of Warre in pursuance of the
Trust hereby reposed in you. Given at Our head Quart^{ers} at
Lodaine the 18th day of February — — 1609 In the first
year of their Maj^{ty} Reigne

By the Gen^l Command

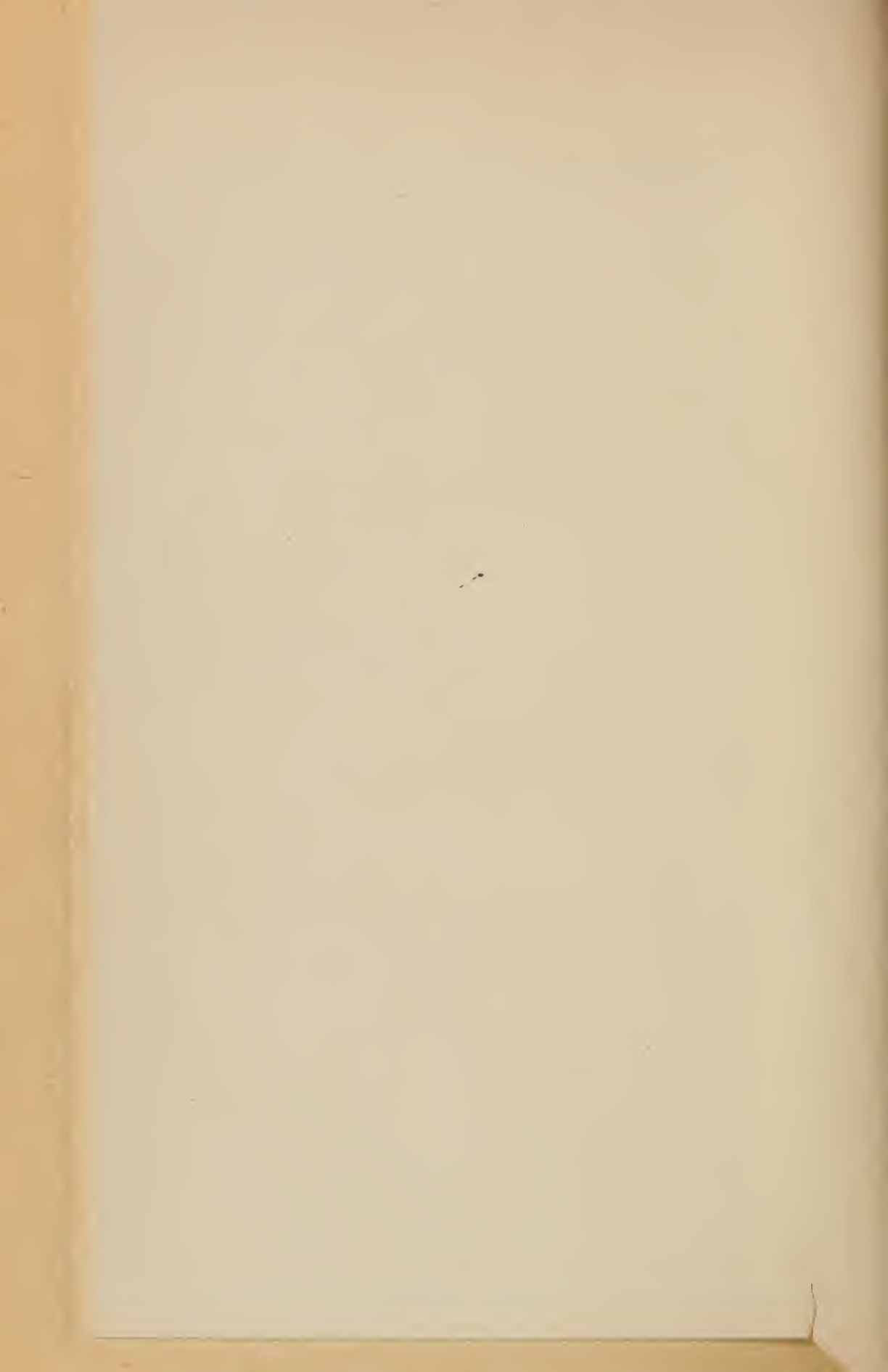
J. de Cardon

Remainder of Letters undecipherable

Schonberg

Entered in the Muster Master
Gen^l Office

Robt Allen Dep^y



the Horse), who told the Governor that there was a party of Horse ready to support M'Carmick if the Governor would say who was to command them. The Governor's answer is described as being peevish—"Don't you see the enemy before you; can't you go and fight?"

Lieutenant Forth replied—"It that be your answer I'll fight none to-day."

FRITH'S VERSION.

Mr. Robert Frith's manuscript account of the fight mentions one probable circumstance, that the horse stood at the bridge in obedience to their orders. Now that they, or their combination, with whatever resistance the foot made, must have made some desperate fighting for so few men, is evident from the undoubted fact that the Duke of Berwick did not follow up his success. He had a great force; he had only 200 men against him, and he might reasonably conclude that the town had pitted its whole strength against him; and therefore the way was open to advance and take it. The town was in sight. But the Duke did nothing of the sort. He had seen what a few of the Inniskillen men could do, and, deeming prudence the better part of valour, he retreated to Trillick.

was much complimented by the Duke of Abercorn. His son is Lieutenant Colonel Willoughby Forth, of Glenageary, County Dublin, who re-entered the army at the outbreak of the Great War, and was promoted for his services to be Lieutenant-Colonel. A hearty supporter of the Unionist cause, he helped to train 500 officers of the Ulster Volunteer Force at Loughgall, and led the Kingstown and Districts Unionist Templetown Club in the march past at the famous demonstration at Balmoral, Belfast, before Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law. As a member of the Kingstown Council he spoke strongly in favour of the loyal address their Majesties King George and Queen Mary, when they visited Ireland in 1911. His son is Nevill Perceval Nowell de Rouen Forth; and his first cousin Lieutenant Colonel Nowell de Lancey Forth, after much brilliant previous war service was awarded the Mejidieh, a bar to his D.S.O., and the M.C. for gallantry and distinguished service in the Great War.

Lieutenant M'Carmick seems to have felt the result of this battle acutely, because—(1) the Inniskillen men suffered more loss in it than in any other engagement, or in all their other engagements put together; and (2) that he was in command of the small party of foot. That he felt the loss of that battle was shown (1) when writing of the subsequent battle of Newtownbutler, when he referred to the "ill-managed business at Omagh, and the runaway horse in the engagement with the Duke of Berwick," which was occasioned by one horse officer (showing that M'Carmick had had some disagreement with one particular officer); and (2) when writing of an affair at Lisnaskea on the morning of the Battle of Newtownbutler, he wrote that Captain Cathcart (himself) went to a captain of horse, and said that he hoped the horse would stand by him, and not serve him as they had served Lieutenant M'Carmick; and so they would beat back the enemy.

IRISH TREATMENT.

It was Captain Burke, of the Irish Army—the same who had taken Sir Thomas Southwell and his party prisoners—who brought M'Carmick and other Inniskilleners to the Duke of Berwick. M'Carmick told the Duke that it had been his good fortune to get the better of their small party that morning; and that he hoped His Grace would confirm the quarter that his officers had promised. The Duke answered that they should have very good "quarters," and cried out twice or thrice, as loudly as he could, that no man, on pain of death, should touch a prisoner, or take anything that he had from them; and he gave particular orders to Captain Burke to command the

guard to have particular care of the Inniskillen prisoners.

M'Carmick also bears testimony towards the enemy, which, he confesses, he hated, that the prisoners during the three weeks of their detention till they were exchanged "were kindly dealt by and well provided for." The testimony is all the more noteworthy, considering all that has been said and written of the Irish troops proving faithless in the matter of quarter and observance of promises. M'Carmick did not cease to lament the loss of Colonel Lloyd's leadership in that fight; for with Lloyd they could have conquered even so overwhelming an enemy.*

The Duke of Berwick left Trillick the Monday following for Omagh, upon Tuesday for Castlefin, upon Wednesday to a deer-park called Cavan, which is but three miles from Castlefin, where he left the horse and foot, and went with some dragoons to "Lutterkenny;" on Saturday to Rathmullen, where he was worsted with some of Major General Kirke's men; and on the Sunday he returned to the Deerpark at Cavan, where the Inniskilling prisoners were released by exchange with Irish prisoners sent by Colonel Wolseley.†

WILSON'S ENDURANCE.

One instance of the bravery of a private man in

* We now found the want of Colonel Lloyd, our brave and vigilant Conductor, for had he been with us who was now at Ballishannon, we would undoubtedly have routed the Duke and his Army to Derry Camp; for Colonel Lloyd was a good Sort of Man; he was vigilant, careful, active, of a great Soul, very observing, slipp'd no opportunity that offer'd to gain his End; and besides a Man of unwearied industry, and good intelligence, and for his Personal valour, few went beyond him.—*Further Impartial Account.*

† Colonel William Wolsley, a member of the same family as Viscount Wolseley, of Tel-et-Kebir fame, was the youngest son of Sir Robert Wolsley county of Stafford, England.

this action of Kilmacormick, cannot be passed over in silence. John Wilson,* a foot soldier, in the general slaughter of his companions, stood the shock of several troopers, who altogether were hewing at him. Some he stabbed with his bayonet, others he knocked down with his musket, and when his arms dropped from his hands, he leaped up at them, tore down some, and threw them under their horses' feet. At length, oppressed with twelve desperate wounds (one of which was quite across his face, so that his nose and cheeks hung over his chin), he sank down in a shrubby bush. While he was bleeding in this condition, a sergeant darted his halbert at him with such fury, that he struck it through his thigh, and could not draw it out again. Wilson, roused as from death, made his last effort, tore the halbert from his thigh, and collecting his whole strength, darted it through the heart of his enemy. By the assistance of the halbert he dragged his mangled limbs to Enniskillen, where he was wonderfully cured, and lived thirty years after. Most of the men who fell in the engagement were inhabitants of the town, and were slain in the sight of their friends and families. Yet their courage was not without a good effect, since it greatly animated all the rest to fight with that unsurpassed spirit which appeared within a few days after at the battle of Newtownbutler.

* His last descendant, a Mrs. Wilson, died in Enniskillen about the year 1868.

CHAPTER LX.

THE BURNING OF CASTLECOOLE.

It was during the Battle of Kilmacormick that Governor Hamilton ordered that Captain James Corry's house at Castlecoole should be burnt, so as not to afford any shelter to the enemy.

Before Captain James Corry went to England he provided—or, as he himself put it, “appointed”—a force of 60 horsemen and 100 foot, at his own expense, to protect his house at Castlecoole. This old house, or “castle,”* was convenient to Lough Coole, on the rising ground beyond the old-fashioned pump-

* The first castle was named Castle Atkinson after the name of its founder, Captain Roger Atkinson, who is first noticed as having been in command of 100 foot at “Loughfoile.” On the 20th Jan. 1611 he obtained a patent of the manor of Coole, 1000 acres, and in 1619 the castle upon this “small Proportion” was described as a strong stone house, with three flankers, and a strong bawne about it 60 feet square. Capt. Atkinson became a burgess of the newly-incorporated town of Inniskillen, in 1610, and in 1613 became Member of Parliament for the borough.

On the 22nd April, 1640, Roger Atkinson sold the lands for £1,650 to Arthur Campion of Shannock. The lands, by ordance survey, really ran to 4,575 acres statute, or equal to 2,762 Irish acres.

John Corry, a Belfast merchant, purchased this property in 1657, and also obtained a patent from Charles II. in 1669. But a second house to replace the original castle, was built in 1709, which was destroyed by fire in 1797, and it was thus the present beautiful house came to be built.

house, whose exterior tells of its antiquity ; and, being the largest and strongest house in proximity to Inniskillen, would have been of most service to the enemy if it had been used as an outpost to harass the town.

We are not informed whether the Duke of Berwick's scouts apprised him of the destruction of Castlecoole. He was already informed that he would not be welcome at Castle Irvine ; so he retreated. But when the war was over, Captain Corry presented a claim for compensation, on account of the destruction of his house. He stated that his soldiers (horse and foot) with their provision and forage, had been commanded to repair to Inniskillen, for Their Majesty's service, "and the preservation of the garrison at the enemy's approach ; that a considerable quantity of wheat, oats, malt, beef, and other provisions, and 300 head of oxen and cows, were made use of for subsisting the garrison ; also, a considerable quantity of timber and boards, and several boats belonging to him, to fortify and bring timber to the place—in all, to the value of £3,000 sterling and upwards." He also said that he had not in three years received one penny out of his estate of £1,000 a year, by reason of his nearness to the said garrison, and converting the profit thereof to furnish the army with forage and provisions ; and that he had with great difficulty supported himself and family in England, having no house to receive them in Ireland, or wherewithal to build another.

CAPTAIN CORRY COMPENSATED.

This petition was dealt with by the Lord Justices, who heard witnesses on oath in support of it, and they

reported in July, 1692, in favour of compensation; that his loss could not have been less than £3,000, "his house being one of the best in that county," and that the petitioner had produced "a certificate from several of the chief officers of the garrison and other persons of good repute and quality, in confirmation of what had been sworn." The Lord Justices were satisfied that Captain Corry "did all along contribute his best endeavours for the King and Queen's service, and that they had not heard of any person who had suffered in like manner, his house or goods never having been in the enemy's possession." The Lord Lieutenant of the day also recommended the petitioner's claim for favourable consideration.

Captain Corry received compensation in two ways—One, a grant of an estate of Cuconnagh Maguire, who fell at Aughrim on 23rd July, 1691, known as the Manor of Inseloghgease, or Lough Eyes, about 1,890 Irish acres, and the grant of a mortgage of £2,000 lent by Sir Edward Scott, Knight (who has been attainted for high treason), to Richard Earl of Tyrone, and which had passed into the possession of the Crown.

On the whole, therefore, Captain Corry fared well, and was richly compensated in comparison to many of those in Inniskillen Town who had endured the sufferings of the war and had received nothing at all in the way of compensation—of which later. In the Report of the Commissioners or Forfeitures in 1702, a paragraph occurred which naturally irritated Captain Corry, as being untrue, and as it led to his appeal to the Corporation of Inniskillen to confirm or deny the story, it is well to give their certificate here.

WHAT INNISKILLEN SAID.

The passage quoted, that he declared in the town of Inniskillen that he hoped to see all those hanged who had taken up arms for the Prince of Orange, clearly referred to the incident which Captain Gerard Irvine and Captain Corry and the arrest of Captain Browning, already dealt with in the earlier portion of this account, at the time that the townsmen resorted to arms against James II. The reply of the Corporation is, therefore, emphatic on this point—that if the words were used on the occasion (and not unlikely) they were not used by Captain Corry. The certificate of the Corporation runs as follows:—

WHEREAS the late commissioners for enquiring into the forfeitures of Ireland have in Paragraph ye 49th Reported in the case of James Corry, Esq., in ye following words (viz.):—

'49th Paragraph—

To James Corry, Esq., two grants, one of a mortgage of two thousand pounds in fee of seavell Lands in the County of Wicklowe due to Sir Edward Scott from ye Earle of Tyrone, the other of one thousand seven hundred and twenty five acres of land, the consideration mentioned in the letters Patents, are, his house being burnt, and his having furnished the Garrison of Inniskillin with Provisions and Materials to the value of three thousand pounds ster., at his own expense, butt Inquiring into ye merrits of this gentleman It appears to us yt that he gave no assistance to the Garrison of Inniskillen, that in the towne of Inniskillen he Publicly declared he hoped to see all those hanged that tooke up Arms for ye Prince of Orange, and his house was burn'd in the said Garrison.

Now at ye Request of the said James Corry, and for the better manifestation of the truth, Wee the Provost and free Burgesses of the Corporation of Inniskillen, being then Resident in and about ye said towne, and most of uss officers in his late Majesties service of glorious Memory, doe certifie that the said James Corry wass verry Industrouse and Deligent in Raiseing and Arming men for his late Majesties service, and for ye support and defence of the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom; that he raised a very good troope of horse and foot company, and mounted and arm'd many of them at his own expense, and furnished ym with Ammunition, and experienced officers to exercise ym; that by his Incouragement

seaverall of his Relations and friends followed his example, that the Garrison of Inniskillen were supplied with considerable quantities of timber, Boards, Lyme, and seaell [several] Boats that belonged to and were the proper goods of the said James Corry, and that the souldiers were subsisted by considerable quantities of provisions as Beefe, Meale, Corne, Mault, and Butter.

That the said James Corry's house in yt Garrison was not burnt, but continued and was left in good Repaire, dureing ye warr time, and ever since to this day. But that his house of Castle Coole, which is about a mile out of ye towne, was burn'd by ye Governor's order, upon ye approach of ye Duke of Barwick and by ye advice of ye chief officers, to prevent ye said Duke's posteing himselfe there. And not out of any disrespect or diskindness to ye said Colonel Corry, but for their owne safety, several of theire men being killed that day by ye said Duke of Barrwick's party, and ye said garrison being yn in great consternation haveing yt day sustained a greater loss yn in all ye wars.

We likewise further certifiye and doe verily believe, yt ye said words Aledged to bee spoke by ye said James Corry (vizt.) that he hoped to see ym all hanged yt tooke up Armes for ye Prince of Orange, were never spoke by him, for yt wee never heard him charged with ye same till by the said Report, nor doe we believe his principales lead him to any such expressions, haveing always and upon all occasions showed himselfe forward to serve theire late Majesties and to Incourage his friends and relations to doe ye [same,—his only sonn having serv'd theire Majesties throughout ye late warr, both in Ireland and flanders, and several of his other Relations having lost their lives in ye said service. Nor was it probable of him to have spoke such words but sune of us must have heard him, or at least afterwards have heard of it, if he had publiquely used these expressions.

Dated and given under ye Corporation Seale this thirtieth day of October, 1702.

(Signed)

PAUL DANE.

Jo. RYND.

THO. LETOURNELL, Pvost.

DA. RYND.

JASON HASSARD.

ROBERT CLARKE.

JON. HALL.

WILL ROSCROW.

[Sealed with the Corporation seal at the side oppsite the 9th to 12th lines,]

It therefore seems perfectly clear from this document that those in the town in which he afterwards became a burgess in 1694, and served as Provost in 1697, who knew Captain Corry well, were abundantly satisfied as to his loyalty to William III. after he was proclaimed King, for which cause he was attainted by King James's Parliament of 1689. He must have been trusted by the Crown, for he was appointed Colonel of a regiment of Horse Militia raised in 1692. He became one of the Members of Parliament for Fermanagh; he became one of the "Commission of Array" for the Militia of the County Fermanagh along with Sir William Gore, Sir James Caldwell, Sir Michael Cole, Knights; Sir William Archdale, Dr. Christopher Irwin, Hugh Montgomery, Alan Cathcart,* and Jason Hassard† in the year 1702 (reign of Queen Anne). In 1696 Colonel Corry became a Deputy-Governor of Fermanagh, and finally in 1705 he was appointed Governor [H.M. Lieutenant] of the county in 1706. Colonel Corry sat in five Parliaments, from 1693 till 1715.

* There died at Blaney East on 16th January 1849, Mrs. Eleanor, wife of Mr. Allen Cathcart, aged 68 years. Another instance of the name Alan or Allen being perpetuated in this branch of the family, live also in the neighbourhood of Blaney, Magheraboy.

† When Colonel James Corry received a fresh commission on 26th September, 1708, as Colonel of Horse, Malcolm Cathcart received the command of a troop, with Thomas Smith as his lieutenant; and Jason Hassard received a commission in Colonel Corry's regiment of foot.—Lord Belmore's *History of Two Manors*.

CHAPTER LXI.

SIR GERARD IRVINE.

It was after the action at Kilmacormick that Sir Gerard Irvine came into Inniskillen and made peace with those with whom he had differed as to serving King James or the Prince of Orange. Whatever did occur must have been satisfactory, for Sir Gerard was posted to the command of a party of horse sent to the assistance of Colonel Lloyd, at Bundrowes (noted in this article). Sir Gerard remained with the Inniskilling men until the close of their campaign, and when in command of his men at the fever-stricken camp at Dundalk, before the Battle of the Boyne, he died along with hundreds of other brave men who had survived the shock of battle, but fell victims to disease.

THE INNISKILLING REGIMENTS.

Colonel Lloyd, it will be remembered, had been sent to Ballyshannon with a force to bring back arms and ammunition. Captain Hobson, on the 5th July, received the officers whom Colonel Lloyd had sent to him, and gave them 30 barrels of powder and some

firelocks, which had been left with the garrison at Ballyshannon. It was thought advisable to send two representatives to Major-General Kirk, direct, to inform him of the condition of Inniskillen; and, accordingly, Major John Rider and the Rev. Andrew Hamilton accompanied Captain Hobson to the "Lough of Derry" on 12th July for more arms and for help of men, especially in trained officers. For two days those officers conferred, and Major-General Kirke then gave to the officers for Inniskillen "Arms and Ammunition, Bullets and Match;" also

Commissions for a Regiment of Horse, to consist of 16 troops, 50 private men to each troop; Three Regiments of Foot, each consisting of 18 companies;

„ A Regiment of Dragoons, to consist of 12 troops, like number of privates;

And some good men for officers, viz. :—

William Wolsely, Colonel of Horse, and Colonel Thomas Lloyd, to be Colonels of Commander-in-Chief;

William Berry, his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Charles Stone, Major;

James Wynne, an Irish officer in Stewart's Regiment, Colonel of Dragoons, and

Colonel Tiffan, Governor Hamilton, and Foot;

Captain Thomas Price (of the Inniskilling Horse), aid Major-General; and

Captain H. Johnston, Engineer.

At this time the Inniskillen forces consisted of:

Seventeen troops of horse—850 men.

Thirty companies of foot—2,160 men.

A few troops of dragoons.

The first were described as being "indifferently

well armed," but the horse and dragoons not so well. Major General Kirk gave them 600 fire locks for dragoons, a thousand muskets to raise more foot, and 20 barrels of powder in addition to 30 barrels already received from the Bonaventure, with bullet and match, eight small cannon, and a few hand-grenades.

COMMISSION OF THE INNISKILLING FORCES.

The following is an extract from King William's warrant authorising the establishment of the Londonderry and Inniskillen forces on the regular army. (From Trimble's *Historical Record of the 27th Inniskillings*):—

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS we have thought fit to forme a regiment of horse, together with two regiments of dragoons, and three regiments of foot, out of Our Inniskilling forces, and to take them into our pay and entertainment, we do hereby pass this Our establishment of the said forces, to commence on the 1st day of January, 1689-90, in the first year of our reign.

		£	s	d
INNISKILLING FORCES.				
A regiment of horse, of 12 troops,	714	40,207	15	10
Two regiments of dragoons, of eight troops each,	1,162	41,415	6	8
Three regiments of foot of thirteen companies each.	2,781	48,535	10	0
LONDONDERRY FORCES.				
Two regiments of foot of thirteen companies each,	1,854	32,290	6	8
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	6,511	162,448	19	2

The Inniskillen regiments were accordingly formed at Inniskillen.

The one regiment of horse became known as Wolsley's, which was disbanded after the Treaty of

Ryswick, in 1697, and revived as the VIII. Irish Hussars.

The two regiments of dragoons became known as Conyngham's (the VI. Inniskilling Dragoons), and Wynne's (the V. Irish Dragoons, now the V. Royal Irish Lancers).

The Three regiments of foot were known as [Governor] Hamilton's, Lloyd's, and Tiffan's, and in later years became partly disbanded and the remainder consolidated as the 27th Inniskillings.

REACHING INNISKILLEN.

The messengers, Major Rider and Rev. Andrew Hamilton, with all the new officers set sail on 24th July by sea to Ballyshannon, and arrived within three miles of Ballyshannon on Friday, the 26th of July, and were there met by "several troops of Inniskillen men who with much impatience awaited their coming, and fired several vollies to express their delight."

News then arrived of the approach of Lieutenant General M'Carthy's army towards Inniskillen, and that they had arrived at Belturbet on their way. No time was lost in delay. The messengers and the party of officers from Kirk went to Belleek, and from thence by water to Enniskillen, where they arrived on the 28th July, the day of the relief of Londonderry, and the Rev. Andrew Hamilton thus describes the reception they received at the island town :—

All the foot soldiers in the town were drawn up from the Castle to the far point of the island* next to

* Afterwards called Mitchell's Point, now incorporated in the Main Barrack square.

Ballyshannon, where they came ashore, and received them with a guard ; and when they were come to the gate, gave them three full volleys. All the men and women and younger sort of people that were in the town, came in great crowds towards the place where they were, insomuch that they could scarce get coming to the Castle ; and nothing was heard but loud acclamations welcoming those gentlemen, and praising God that their English friends had not quite forgot them, but that there was some sign of relief come at last.

We can imagine the townsfolk assembling and waiting on the old West Bridge of ten arches, and in the meadow at the foot of the present Queen street, to receive the little fleet that made its way up the river from Portora. Doubtless, when it had been seen from Portora, a message had been sent to the town to announce the approach of the expedition ; and now the large boats, with sails or oars, came past Cornagrade Lough, and towards the meadow, while cheers rent the air, and volleys were fired in wild joy. "England had helped them"—they were not forgotten. They had now better arms and ammunition, and all had returned safely ; so the little town was wild with joy. And Colonel Lloyd, Major Rider, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, and others, had fulfilled the object they had hoped to attain.

A story related by Hamilton may be repeated here :—

A PHENOMENON.

"A little after our men came from Ballyshannon, and about an hour-and-a-half after sunset we saw from Inniskillen a great light in the air above Newtown-butler, where Lieutenant-General MacCarthy, with his army, lay, which continued for some hours, and was seen by most of all the people inland about

Inniskillen. But we concluded that either they had set the town of Newtownbutler and all the country about on fire, or had raised some fire in the country to give notice to Colonel Sarsfield that he was on his march towards us. But after the fight was over, upon inquiry into the matter, we found that there was no fire that night raised among them.

“I am not very superstitious to lay great stress upon such words or signs in the air; but something remarkable there is in them. The like was seen at Glasslough before the action they had there with the Irish of the garrison of Charlemont, whom they defeated on the 13th of March last, killing their leader and about 200 of his men, with the loss only of Captain Anketell on their side; but were ordered the next day to desert the place upon the coming down of the Irish Army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Hamilton, which they did, and marched to Derry. About a week before this, at 11 at night, the night being very dark, there appeared in the air several pillars of light, pointed from towards Charlemont, which were so bright that they might have read by them, and this lasted about two hours to the observation of all the people there.

“This brought into a mind a passage in the examination of Dr. Robert Maxwell, late Bishop of Kilmore, then rector of Tynan, in the county of Armagh, printed at the end of *Borlase's History of Ireland*, in the last page but one. I shall give you his own words, having told a little before of 56 men, women, and children, who were taken out of his house, and drowned by the Irish at Cur-bridge:

About three or four nights, says he, before the six and 50 persons were taken out of the deponent's house and

drowned, in the dark of the moon, about one o'clock at night, a light was observed in manner of a long pillar, to shine for a long way through the air, and refracted upon the north gable of the house. It gave so great a light about an hour together, that divers of the watch read both letters and books of a very small character thereby; the deponent presaging thereby that bloody massacre which ensued.

I pretend to make no explanation, or enter into the reason or dependence we can have upon these things, having resolved only to tell you matters-of-fact, and to leave every man to his own conjectures on them."

BUNDROWES.

During the time Colonel Lloyd had been at Ballyshannon he had some serious work on hands. We have already seen that two of the armies intended to converge on Enniskillen had been met, the Duke of Berwick's at Kilmacormick, from which he had retreated, and Brigadier-General Sutherland's, defeated at Belturbet; and the third was Colonel Sarsfield's Army, which moved from Sligo towards Bundrowes.

To meet this new danger, Governor Hamilton sent 1,000 troops to Lloyd. But Sarsfield was a wary commander. He had the sea at Bundrowes on one side of him; the river in front, with a clear road to Sligo behind; and all he had to guard against of any consequence was a flank attack. Lloyd tried to dislodge him and tempt him to leave his retreat, but in vain.

On the 28th July, Colonel Lloyd, as we have seen, arrived at Inniskillen with his supplies from the *Bonaventure* and the English officers; and we may imagine the rejoicings which followed this ever-victorious commander, who inspired his men with supreme confidence. Lieutenant M'Carmick, at least,

had no doubt whatever that if Lloyd could have been with him at Kilmacormick, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers there would have been a different tale to tell. His generalship might have made up for the rawness of the horse.

CROM BEGS HELP.

Lloyd was not to remain long inactive. On the night of the day after his arrival at Inniskillen, an "express" came from Colonel Creighton from Crom, stating that Lieutenant-General M'Carthy had brought cannon with him to attack the Castle; and next morning, Monday, 29th July, another "express," to tell that the cannon had already begun to fire upon them; and they had no cannon in the Castle, only small shot, with which they had killed several of the enemy, and begging that speedy help be sent to him.

Governor Hamilton being ill from fever at this time, he authorized Colonel Wolseley, one of the new officers sent by General Kirke, to take command and organize an expedition; and sent word that he hoped to be at Crom on the Wednesday following, or two days afterwards. How long seem the hours and days when one is in such sore straits, besieged! Wolseley sent a messenger to Ballyshannon for as many troops as could be spared from watching General Sarsfield, to be sent to Enniskillen. Accordingly, some troops of horse and 400 or 500 foot marched the long 18 Irish miles ($25\frac{1}{2}$ English) in their arms to Inniskillen; and longer than that was the journey for some of the men, as they had been posted some two or three miles beyond Ballyshannon. Yet, so "game" were they that when they reached Innis-

killen they were full of fight, and were ready that night to proceed to the relief of their friends at Crom. Next morning those same men marched 15 miles before they engaged with the enemy; or over 40 miles in two days!

CHAPTER LXII.

BATTLE OF LISNASKEA.

Information having been received at Lisnaskea on Monday, the 29th July, that M'Carthy intended to place a garrison in the castle at Lisnaskea, on Tuesday, the 30th of July, Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, one of the new officers, was dispatched with seven or eight troops of horse, two troops of dragoons, and three foot companies to seize the castle [Castle Balfour], and repair it if it were found to be tenable, and if not, to burn it if he thought it would be useful to the enemy. He also had instructions to reconnoitre the enemy, discover their strength and positions, while other troops would follow to raise the siege at Crom. When Berry reached Lisnaskea he found the castle so much out of repair and of so little service to anyone that he did not occupy it. He marched his men along the ancient road by Hollybrook towards Fawney, when his scouts brought him back word of the approach of the enemy, consisting of horse, foot and dragoons, towards

Lisnaskea, having seen them at Donagh, about three or four miles off. Berry considered that as his force was small he had better retire towards Lisnaskea; and as he was retreating he was enabled from the eminence of a hill to view the approaching army. Indeed, the enemy pressed his retreat so hard that at some points his rear guard had to turn round to engage the advance guard of the enemy. Berry considered that the enemy were double his strength, and that he must retreat till the nature of the ground would favour him. He at the same time sent off an express to Inniskillen to acquaint Colonel Wolseley of his condition, and requesting reinforcements.

Berry then steadily retreated to Lisnaskea to choose his ground, and when leaving the village he turned by the left to a new road not long made, which at this day crosses the railway line between the railway station and the village. This road lay through bogs and was easier to defend, and Berry retreated almost a mile, till he came to a narrow causeway or pass through the bog, on which two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast. A thicket of underwood at the end of the causeway was selected for the foot and dragoons, while he placed the horse in reserve, and gave the word "Oxford" as the pass-word. Close by was what we now call the Ballindarragh river.

THE BATTLE.

About nine o'clock in the forenoon, Colonel Anthony Hamilton* led up a regiment of dragoons,

* Macauley says of Colonel Anthony that he was "the most brilliant and accomplished of all who bore the name of Hamilton."

and alighting from his own horse, his men followed and fired at the Inniskilleners, but so high was the aim of the dragoons that not one of the Inniskilleners was killed, though about 14 were wounded.

What the Inniskillings did may be best recounted in the words of Captain M'Carmick himself; for it shows how he was still smarting under the defeat at Kilmacormick:—

“Captain M'Carmick came up with about 120 foot.” [Note the implied sneer at the Horse, as if they required to be pricked into a sense of their duty.] “The Horse by the Industry and Persuasion of Captain Martin Armstrong rallied. Captain Cathcart came to the Officers of Horse, and promised that if they would stand by him, and not serve him and his men as they had served Lieutenant M'Carmick, he would beat back the enemy; and if they would not stand by him, to deal plainly with him. The Officers of Horse protested that they would assist him, and not a man of them would turn their backs, upon which Captain Cathcart places an ambush of about 18 or 20 firelocks in a thicket of bushes on the enemies' flank, as they must come on to charge, on the enemies' side of the river, commanding them not to fire a shot while he, and they that were with him, first fired. Then he ranked the remainder of his men along the other bank of the river, as much in covert as he could.

The enemy by this time were come up, and seeing our Horse rally and draw up, and our Foot to make good the pass, resolved to force it. To that purpose Colonel Anthony Hamilton commanded a regiment of dragoons to alight. He led them on, firing very thick as they came on, while within 40 yards of the river. Then Captain Cathcart commanded his men (who had not yet fired one shot) to fire, at which volley they killed several of the enemy, and wounded Colonel Hamilton. Then those in ambush, being close upon the enemies' flank, fired, killing some of the enemy.

Hamilton, being wounded, went off, sending another officer to command the Dragoons; but Captain Cathcart plied them so warmly with his shot—that officer being killed—the Dragoons were commanded to face the right-about, to draw them further

out of our shot. But as soon as they faced, they ran for it. Our Horse and Foot immediately charged through the river, which the enemies' horse perceiving, fled likewise. We had the pursuit of them three miles, all which way the road was filled with their dead bodies. By this time there were fresh recruits of the enemy coming up, which our men perceiving, being weary with so vigorous a pursuit, retreated.

M'Carmick does not mention what the Rev. Andrew Hamilton relates: That Berry pursued his foe through Lisnaskea, and a mile beyond, having killed about 200 men, till he learned that General M'Carthy with the main body of his army was advancing. Berry then sounded a retreat, and returned to the bog and to the protection of Ballindarragh river, with about 30 prisoners, whom he sent to Enniskillen, with several horseloads of arms that he had taken from the enemy.

FIGHTING ON EMPTY STOMACHS.

About 11 o'clock next day (31st July) an "express" arrived from Colonel Wolseley, desiring him to bring his forces to the Moat above Lisnaskea, where the two parties could be joined, and a consultation was held as to the best tactics to adopt. Wolseley had thus marched by the old road through Maguiresbridge and past Nutfield to the Moat, while Berry lay about a mile away on the new road on the lake side.* When Berry joined his commanding officer a Council of War was held at the Moat, Wolseley urging the officers to be quick in resolution, as his men were in such haste to go to the relief of their comrades that they had not brought any provisions with them; and that they

* This road is no longer traversible between Ballindarragh and the railway bridge, but its tracks can be seen in places through the fields. Westwards, however, it is still in use from the river, by way of Congo, till it crosses the new broad road to Maguiresbridge at Drumgoon, and joins the old road to Lisbellaw, at Coolnashannel.

must go forward and fight the enemy or return to Inniskillen for provisions. Men who had never turned their back on the enemy did not like to consider the latter. The officers preferred to advance, but decided to consult the men as to their views. The soldiers, therefore, were formed up in "close order," and told how matters stood, and they unanimously resolved to proceed and fight the enemy that day; and having with a small force that morning defeated a superior enemy, they thought it a good augury for the afternoon's work. They all cried out to "advance."

THE ADVANCE.

Colonel Tiffan, therefore, drew up his men (27th Inniskillings), gave out the password, "No Popery"—a sentiment which, we are told, was much relished by the men; and four men were drawn out of every troop, with an officer in command, to form the "forlorn," or advance guard. About 21 companies of foot, with some extra men not regimental, were formed into three battalions under Colonels Tiffan, Lloyd, and himself (Colonel Wolseley), and they followed, with the main body of the horse, under the command of Colonel Berry and Major Stone; while the dragoons, under Colonel Wynne,* were divided in two parties to assist the flanks. In this order they marched about 2,000 men to Donagh, for Wolseley had learned that M'Carthy had raised the siege of Crom, and had entered the village of Newtownbutler, about two miles beyond Donagh. Here M'Carthy had placed his men advantageously; his cannon were in a lane facing a

* Colonel James Wynne subsequently reached the rank of Brigadier-General, and died at the Battle of Malplaquet, under Marlborough.

narrow pass through a bog, on which horsemen could not pass in single file: his foot on the right and left of the lane, all under cover, so that not a man of them could be seen, except those about the cannon; and his horse were on the right, drawn up on a hill.

About half-a-mile from Donagh, the Inniskillen advance guard came into view of the enemy's advance guard, which immediately retreated, and Wolseley advanced till within about half a mile of Newtownbutler, when the enemy were seen drawn up in good order on a steep hill, and the only way of approach was by the narrow causeway.

Colonel Wolseley hastily summoned another conference of his officers, seeing how skilfully the enemy had taken advantage of the ground; and he then ordered Colonel Tiffan, with his battalion of foot, to take the bog on the right of the causeway; Colonel Lloyd to take his battalion on the left; and Colonel Wynne to divide his dragoons, one half to support Colonel Tiffan on foot, and the other half to support Colonel Lloyd. Colonel Berry was to advance in the centre on the causeway with his horse, so as to keep even with the foot on both sides; while Colonel Wolseley himself would bring up the main body in the rear, and send reinforcements to those in front as the needs of the case demanded.

BURNING NEWTOWNBUTLER.

Thus did the Inniskillen army advance slowly, while the enemy fired upon them. Colonel Wolseley could only move slowly, owing to the narrow nature of the causeway; and when the Inniskillings, as we may now call them, got within range and fired a few volleys, the enemy began to retire. The order to

the Inniskillings—in order to guard against a trap—was not to break ranks, and it required the exertions of the officers to keep the men from pursuing the retreating army, which preserved an orderly manner through Newtownbutler, the rear guard setting fire to it ere they left it.

The Inniskillings preserved their ranks, notwithstanding the temptation, for the retreating rear guard of the enemy fired upon them from time to time; and thus the one party retreated and the other advanced till about a mile from Newtownbutler in the townland of Kilgarret or Drumguilliagh, they came to another bog, with a narrow causeway through the middle of it, which must be crossed if they were to reach the enemy.

CHAPTER LXIII.

BATTLE OF NEWTOWNBUTLER.

Neither party anticipated on that fateful day at Newtownbutler the decisive result of the encounter in which they were to be engaged. Why M'Carthy* retired as he did has been left unexplained, except that he may have mentally selected the actual site of the battle in advance, as did Wellington at Waterloo, or that he followed the example of Berry at Lisnaskea. A courageous man himself, and one of

* General Justin M'Carthy was the third son of Viscount Muskerry, the first Earl of Clancarthy, and consequently was uncle of the second Earl. He had served with distinction in the French Army, and he is generally spoken of as a gallant officer, and an honest and kindly gentleman. Under his rule in Cork, while Catholics were ordered to return to their homes, no Protestants were allowed to be expelled; and while Catholics were re-admitted to the franchise, no Protestants were expelled. He allowed the local magistracy to remain in Protestant hands. Arms and horses had to be seized, but the owners were compensated and always punished.—History of Cork, 27th edition, 1869.

General M'Carthy was censured for letting the Protestant garrison of Bandon off easily, when they revolted and destroyed the Royalist garrison. When he marched on the town Bandon men craved pardon, and opened their gates. M'Carthy fined it £1,000, and demolished the walls, which were never re-built. Although officially reprimanded for his clemency on the occasion, he was soon afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Mountcashel. It was by his intrepidity and skill that the Protestant power was broken in the province of Munster; and M'Carthy had now to test, to feel, and suffer from the qualities of the Protestants of the North.

honour, it may be assumed that he did not retire without a sufficient cause, and that cause became apparent to the Inniskilleners when they saw how skilfully he had displayed his forces on the hill of Kilgarret. His position was pretty much as it had been on the western side of Newtownbutler, but stronger in defensive power, with about half-a-mile between the two parties, and the causey* in front commanded by field-pieces. So that M'Carthy's position was formidable, especially as he had by far the stronger army. His 5,000† troops were the cream of the Jacobite army, regular troops; while Wolseley had only half that number, and his men were volunteers; and M'Carthy had a train of light field guns, of which Wolseley had none. It was these guns which mowed down the Inniskillings at the onset.

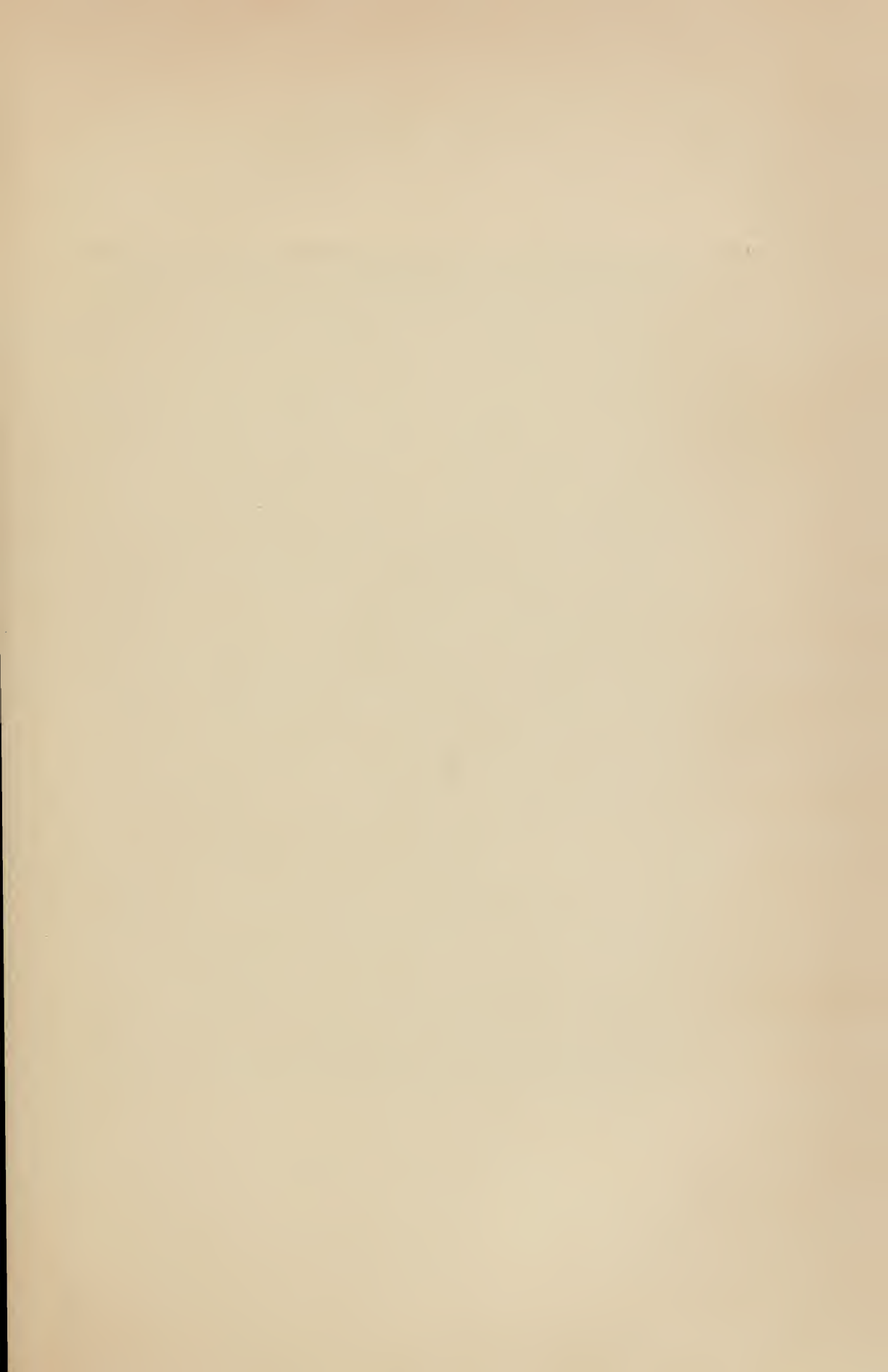
THE DISPOSITIONS.

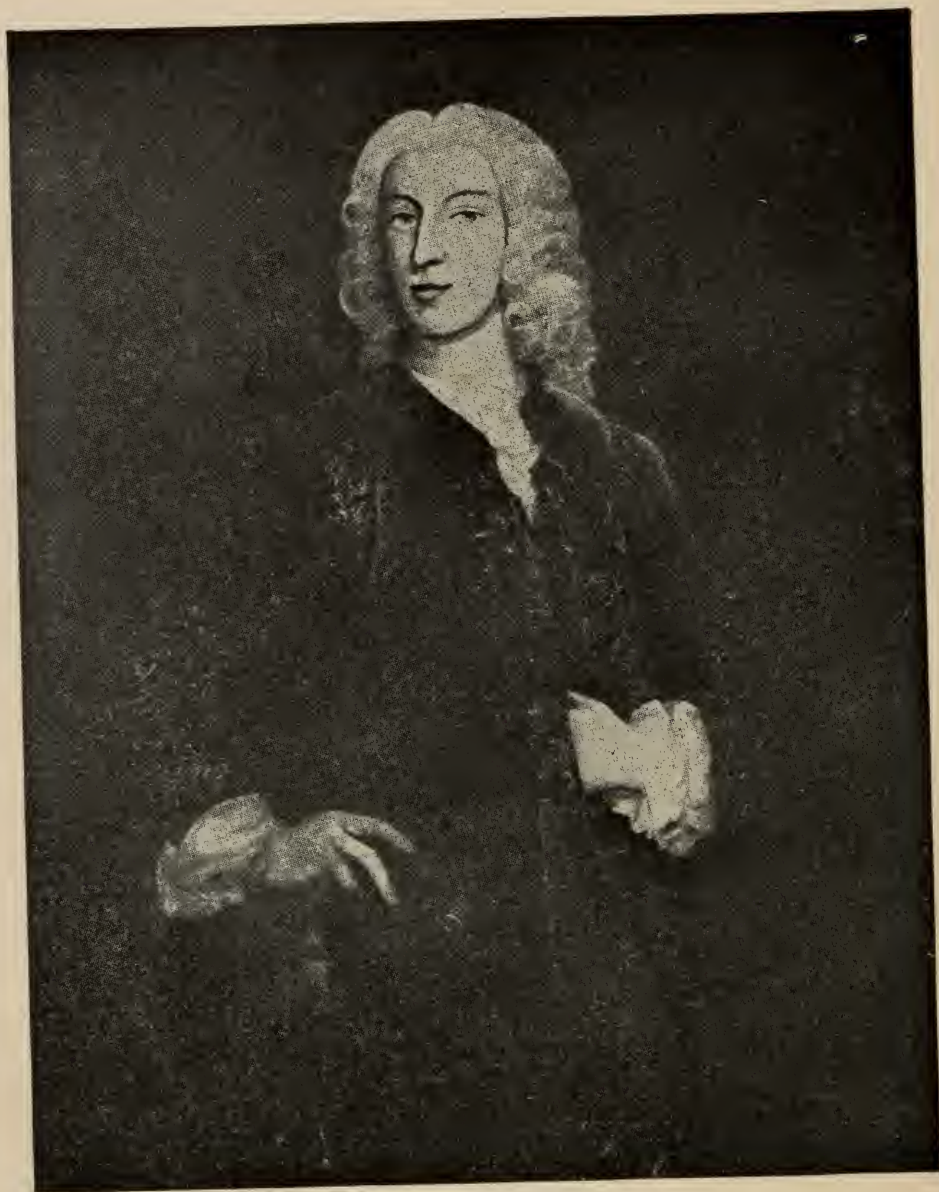
Colonel Wolseley disposed his troops as on the previous occasion, at the bog beyond Newtownbutler, except that he left the pikemen and those with the colours (admirable forethought!) forming about a third part of the number, in the rear.

Colonel Tiffan with his foot took the bog on the right, and Col. Lloyd took the bog on the left, supported by Wynne and his dragoons; while Lieut.-Colonel Berry and Major Stone advanced with their horse towards the causey. The fire of the

* The older word "causey" is more correct than causeway and is preserved in many local names of places. It means a path raised over the natural level of the ground over marshy or boggy ground. It also means a side path raised above the level of the street. The word "causeway," more modern, is employed to convey a path or street paved with setts of stone.

† Some authorities place the number at 6000.





JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Lord Viscount Mountcashel.

(From a painting by Sir Peter Lely)

[Face page 57]

enemy, however, was so heavy that the horse could not make headway, and as the pass was narrow so that they could not move freely, and there was a danger of confusion, Colonel Wolseley sent his men with fire arms along the causey under a severe fire from the field pieces, which swept the ground in front.

The foot and the dragoons on both sides advanced steadily through the bog, keeping pace with the centre, which, when the smoke-cloud lifted, fired at the enemy and then reaching firm ground rushed to the charge, seized the cannon, and killed the "cannoneers." The horse, seeing the way clear for them, galloped along the causey and formed up their squadrons to support the foot.

THE FIGHT.

During the hand-to-hand fight for M'Carthy's guns one "lusty man" who had joined the Inniskillings from Lord Kingston's forces (from Sligo), found a man of the royal army repairing a cannon. He wrenched the hatchet out of the gunner's hand and "laid so well about him that in the twinkling of an eye he killed seven or eight of those that were guarding the Cannon, some with the Edge of the Hatchet, and some with the Head of it." This Sligo-man's name has not been preserved by M'Carmick.

One body of M'Carthy's foot still remained steady in formation; but when the Irish horse saw the cannon seized by the Inniskillings, they wheeled and fled to the right towards Wattle bridge. The foot thought the cause was lost and they fled also, after the horse. If recourse had been taken to the left there was open country for them to escape and hide;

being strangers to the country they thought only of the road they had already traversed and they ran towards Wattle bridge. The Inniskilling horse were quick to guess the object of their flight and out-distancing them placed a guard of horse at the bridge to cut off the enemy's retreat by that passage over the river. Wolseley left about one hundred men under Captain George Cooper in charge of the captured cannon, and the foot followed the fugitives, who flung their arms into bog holes to facilitate their escape. There was little chance of escape for them with an infuriated enemy who remembered Galmoy's treachery at Belturbet and had cherished their vengeance. The poor fugitives (except the officers) got no quarter. The horse swept the roads, the foot went through bogs and ditches in pursuit; and when the fugitives found that they were cut off at Wattle bridge they took their chance in the lake and were drowned.

THE LAST STAND.

One body of the fleeing Irish, seeing the Inniskilling horse guarding the bridge, reformed in a meadow near the bridge in military array to force the passage and marched lustily towards it, but the Inniskilling foot coming up and the horse charging, not even one man fired a shot in defence, and, taking to the water, all were drowned except one man who swam to safety, despite the shower of hail that followed him through the water. Captain Martin Armstrong and his troop inflicted great slaughter. Indeed, one recoils from the butchery of this day; the resentment of the Inniskillings was carried to too great lengths. The defencelessness of a foeman and his submission entitles even the worst to protection.

A GREAT BLOW.

A great blow given on this occasion by Captain William Smith* has been recorded. With one sweep of his sword he cut off as much of the man's head as was under his hat, just as one would cut an apple in two, and not even a piece of skin was left to show the connexion of the one portion with the other

THE FLIGHT.

The Rev. John Graham† in *Derriana* says that the foremost in the fight was Lord Clare's regiment of Horse, called the Yellow Dragoons, and that the tale of their dishonour is still [1823] told in the barony of Moyarta, near the mouth of the Shannon,

* Captain William Smith, of Knocknasamer, now called Cloverhill, County Sligo, one of Lord Kingston's officers. A William Smith, it is noticed by Col. Wood-Martin, was sheriff of Sligo in 1701.

† The Rev. John Graham, M.A., curate of Lifford, was descended from James Graham of Ballinahinch [on Roslea Manor estate], a cornet in one of the troops of horse raised for the defence of Inniskillen, whose son, James Graham of Clones, was grand-father to the rev. author of *Derriana* and ancestor of the present Mr. G. F. Graham. That James Graham of Clones was Lieut.-Col. of Samuel Molyneaux Madden's troop in the regiment of dragoons commanded by Nicholas Archdale in 1744. The allegation is that because of a dispute between the Maxwells and Graems on the Scottish border James VI. of Scotland and I. of England banished the Graems to Ulster because he suspected that they favoured the English interest. There was a tax imposed on Cumberland for transporting them of £408 19s. 6d., and they were transported at three different times. The Grahams form a large clan in Fermanagh.

The Rev John Graham referred to above was the author of the well-known lines:—

Full many a long cold winter's night
 And sultry summer's day
 Have passed and gone since James took flight
 From Derry walls away.
 Closed are the hands who closed that gate
 Against that wily foe,
 But here till Death's remotest date
 Their spirits e'er shall glow.

The Nicholas Archdale here referred to was the elder son of Hugh Montgomery (of Derrygonnelly) who assumed the name of Archdale on his marriage with Angel, daughter of William Archdale. Nicholas Archdale became High Sheriff of Fermanagh in 1723 and succeeded Sir Gustavus Hume as member for Fermanagh in 1731, which he represented until 1760. He left a son, Colonel Mervyn Archdale, who built the present mansion called Castle Archdale after the previous building had been destroyed by fire. It was this Colonel Mervyn Archdale who was offered a peerage to vote for the Union in 1800 and refused the bribe.

where they had been raised. It is told in the way of a dialogue, in which a person who is supposed to have witnessed the scene says:—"Stop, stop, Yellow Dragoon!" to which one of them replies:—"Not till I get to the bridge of Clare," and another says:—"No, no, till we come to the ford of Moyarta." Captain Martin Armstrong, with a troop of cavalry did great execution on these fugitives.*

AND CAPTURES.

The Inniskilling Horse pursued King James' soldiers ten miles beyond Wattle Bridge. The chase was continued all night and till ten o'clock next morning, and the foot, when returning from the hunt, then and at last gave quarter to as many of the enemy as they found concealed in bushes and undergrowth. It was computed that about 1,500 of the fugitives had been slain. About 500 were drowned, and over 300 prisoners, with General M'Carthy, were brought to Inniskilling by water. They also captured seven cannon, 13 barrels of powder, a great quantity of cannon and musket ball, all the colours, drums and abundance of arms, with the pillage of the whole camp and carts and waggons. There were about three pairs of colours to every regiment. The Inniskillers lost Captain Robert Corry and Ensign Wm. Bell and about 20 private soldiers.

When General M'Carthy was searched no money

* There are but slight accounts given, says Harris, of an action which happened between a small party of Inniskillings and a large detachment of King James's army on the banks of the river Aghalane on Lough Erne, whom the former routed, in attempting the Pass, and killed or drowned most of them; but the action was of such considerable moment that though the particulars are not handed down, nor the names of the officers who headed the party preserved, yet the place received a name from the event, and is called Bloody Pass to this day.

The Bloody Pass is also spoken of as being at the island of Innishfendra.

was found upon him, but a letter from General Sarsfield to him was discovered, dated only a few days before, stating that he lay near Inniskillen attending "his Lordship's motion; that if his Lordship and the Duke of Berwick would attaque Inniskilling on the East, he with those under his Command were ready to attaque it on the West." Therefore, the victorious army, instead of proceeding to Dublin as was spoken of, thought it well to return to Enniskillen to protect it from Sarsfield, and they brought their captives and plunder with them.

This plan of Generals and the result of the scheme in the defeat of Newtownbutler is surely an example of *L'homme propose et Dieu dispose*. All the advantages in generals—three of eminence—and of vast superiority in numbers, and superiority in arms, were with the forces of King James II., yet an inferior officer with an inferior force, and without any cannon, completely defeated and utterly destroyed the machinations of the enemy.

CHAPTER LXIV.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

The battle of Newtownbutler, fought on Wednesday, 31st July, which saved all Ulster from the Jacobites, had such an effect in Dublin that James contemplated fleeing to France. General Sarsfield was so much affected by it that he withdrew his force from Bundrowes to Sligo. Macaulay, commenting on this victory, the greatest which the Williamites had yet accomplished, says:—

It is curious that the two most remarkable battles that perhaps were ever gained by irregular over regular troops should have been fought in the same week,—the battle of Killiecrankie [in Scotland] and the battle of Newtownbutler. In both battles the success of the irregular troops was singularly rapid and complete. In both battles the panic of the regular troops, in spite of the conspicuous examples of courage set by their generals, was singularly disgraceful. It ought also to be noted that, of these extraordinary victories, one was gained by Celts over Saxons, and the other by Saxons over Celts.

And that battle, it must be remembered, was fought by Wolseley with men who had marched the whole way from Inniskillen on the morning of that

day, the full 21 statute miles to the field of Newtownbutler, up hill and down brae, carrying the weighty muskets and uniform of the period. And more, after all that long and weary journey, they fought on empty stomachs! What wonder that the men of to-day look with pride on such splendid fathers, and try to emulate their glory!

CAPTURE OF M'CARTHY.

General M'Carthy had taken shelter, with a few officers, in a wood near the cannon; and, emerging when the great body of the Inniskillings had departed after the flying Irish, pistols were discharged at Capt. George Cooper and his men, and the Irish officers rushed to seize the cannon. At first the Inniskillings thought the new-comers belonged to their own side, but, realizing their mistake, they fired, M'Carthy's horse being shot dead under him. The General had a narrow escape, for he received one bullet shot through the right thigh, one in his left loin; one through the lower part of the back-bone, and out at the right thigh; and one in the groin, where the General's watch stopped the bullet, and thereby saved his life. As it was, parts of the wheels were embedded in his body. The General's breastplate also bore marks of other shots, so that he had a narrow escape for his life. A soldier, indeed, had clubbed his musket to kill M'Carthy, when a voice from the wood bade him stay his hand, as that was the General and Captain Cooper, coming up, gave quarter to the wounded General and all who were with him.

Being reproached with having risked his life so incautiously, when he might have escaped with his

horse, M'Carthy said that seeing his army, the best for their number in the country for King James, except those before Derry, had been defeated, their cause was lost; that he had intended to lose his life, and regretted that he had not died, as he was unwilling to outlive that day.

LOCAL REJOICINGS.

There was no official *Gazette* published in Enniskillen in those days, else we might have had some record left of the transports of joy given expression to on the evening of the 1st of August, when the prisoners and guard and booty reached the town, with the victorious army, crowned with glory, after having defeated the last of the three Generals who were to have overwhelmed the little settlement. Its population was so increased now that whereas at the outset of the Revolution they had not sufficient men to form a guard, and were in such a plight that they had only a few "musquets," and a few pounds of powder, now the town had a trained army of some thousands, used to discipline, inured to fatigue and danger, and victorious on every side, having received only one reverse, and that at their own door. I use the word "reverse," for a defeat would have implied the following up of the success, which was not the case at Kilmacormick.

When the army returned to Inniskillen on Thursday, the 1st of August, an inventory was taken of their losses and prisoners. Marvellous to relate, the losses of the Inniskilleners were few—only Captain Robert Corry killed (some supposed by accident by his own men), and Cornet Bell wounded, with not 20 private men killed, and about 50 wounded.

THE PRISONERS.

The officers taken into custody formed quite a phalanx, and a news sheet of the period gives their names as:—

COLONEL M'CARTHY'S REGIMENT.

Major John Rooth	Lieutenant Cusack
Captain Barry Oze (dead)	Ensign M'Carthy
Lieut. Patrick Rivers	Ensign Patrick Lavallin
Lieut. Thomas Hogan	Ensign Michael Mulluany
Lieut. Walter O'Brian	Ensign Jo. Lawless
Lieut. Daniel M'Carthy	Ensign Gravalick

LORD CLARE'S REGIMENT.

Major Marany	Lieut. Piercy Lacy
Captain Lawleigh	Lieut. Jo. Sampson
Captain Jo. Carroll	Lieut. T. Kennedy (dead)
Captain Connor	Ensign James Stretch
Captain Edward Lacy	Ensign Maur. Rawleigh
Captain Stephen Harrold	Ensign Macnamara
Lieut. Darby Callaghan	

COLONEL JOHN BURKE'S REGIMENT AND LORD BOPHIN'S.

Captain Francis Bourke	Lieut. John Bourke
Captain Patrick French	Lieut. Chris. Finch
Captain John Blake	Ensign MacDonnell
Captain Brown	Ensign Stephen Lynch
Lieutenant Jo. Kelly	Ensign Nicholes French
Lieutenant James Badkin	Ensign Peter Merrick
Lieutenant John Blake	Adjutant Denis Madden

COLONEL DANIEL O'BRIAN'S REGIMENT (AND CLARE'S DRAGOONS.)

Captain Macnamara	Capt. Nich. Archdeacon
Captain Murtagh O'Brien	Quarter Master Hahire

COLONEL SIR JAMES COTTER'S REGIMENT (DRAGOONS.)

Lieut John Lacy

LORD CLARE'S REGIMENT OF FOOT.

No names given, as it was wiped out.

The effect of the battle throughout Ireland was not only great, following the other victories of the

Inniskilleners, but probably was exaggerated, as these things generally are in Ireland. If the Inniskilleners had marched on the capital, they might probably have been unopposed, and if they had gone to Dublin there would only have been a few troops to withstand them. The terror, also, that the name of the Inniskillings inspired would have counted for much on such an occasion.

But they did not go south. They had to protect their own borders. The letter found on General M'Carthy's person gave a warning that must be heeded, for if the Inniskillen army went south Sarsfield might strike, and all that had been gained by force of arms at Newtownbutler might be lost if Inniskillen should be taken.

MOUNTCASHEL'S ESCAPE.

It was during the end of December 1689 that M'Carthy made his escape in a cot* from Enniskillen.

M'Carthy so suffered from his wounds that he requested surgical attention, and he was allowed permission to communicate with King James to acquaint him with his condition; and in reply King James sent Dr. Connor, a physician, and Mr. Huben, a surgeon (or "chyrurgeon," as the chronicle hath it), along with money, wine, and other necessaries, for the distinguished prisoner and his officers

Owing to his illness and having given his parole, M'Carthy was permitted considerable freedom; but whether it was to save him from violating his word of honour or for some other reason, M'Carthy caused it to be known that he intended to escape: where.

* A cot is a flat-bottomed boat.

upon he was confined in the castle, placed under a guard and was released from his parole. M'Carthy being still a sufferer from his wounds begged Major General Kirk to obtain permission for him for the removal of the guard, as they disturbed him while ill. This favour to some extent was granted, but a sergeant's guard was placed over him. The guard, so used to seeing their prisoner move about at will, were lax in their watch, and it was said that Sergt. Acheson was bribed to permit his escape—that, indeed, he accompanied his prisoner.

Acheson suspected, when he returned to deliver a letter, was arrested, and a pass from M'Carthy was found hidden in his hat, concealed in the lining. In any case M'Carthy escaped from the castle by night and by water; and Sergeant Acheson was shot next day for his failure to retain his prisoner. It is also said that M'Carthy was placed under close arrest, and it is conceded that he bribed the guard. The favourable night arrived. A cot was in waiting on the waters of Lough Erne, flowing under the walls of the castle, and he was gone! Governor Hamilton was blamed for allowing the escape of his prisoner, and he demanded a court-martial from Schomberg, and on producing kept General Kirk's order for the removal of the guard he was acquitted. So writes Story.

Mountcashel was next seen in Cork, and he fled to France where he was tried for his breach of parole and acquitted. It was he who founded the famous Irish Brigade of three regiments, which he commanded for four years; and it is stated that they received higher pay than other regiments of the same kind. His valour and generalship were shown in Germany, Piedmont, and in the Alps. He died

on the 1st July at Barege, 1694, of the wounds he had received on several occasions. Thus died a great Irish soldier.

One last word about M'Carthy.* It is stated by friends on his behalf that his defeat was partly attributable to one of his own officers, Captain Lavallen (one of the Lavallens who owned Walterstown Castle on the Great Island near Queenstown), who gave the wrong word of command

* The will of this distinguished Irish soldier, one of a race of Irish kings, has a pathetic interest owing to his dying in exile for a king unworthy of such devotion as he gave and the language he employs in his last testament, which was published in *La France Littéraire*, Paris, 1905-1907, and of which the following is a translation:—

“I, Justin MacCarthy, Lord Viscount Mountcashel, Baron of Castle Inchy and Blarney, Duke of Clancarthy, Lieutenant-General in the army of H.M. the King of France and Navarre, and Commander of the Regiments of the Irish Brigade, being by the grace of God sound in body and mind, desiring to employ what remains of my life to prepare myself for death, have resolved to make my Will; and for this purpose after having in retirement besought God for the necessary light to perform this last act of my life as I would have done for the others I have made and written, my Will is as follows, without persuasion or suggestion from anyone, and of my own firm and free will.

“Firstly, I recommend my soul to God, beseeching Him to have mercy on me, and enter not into judgment with me, to forgive my transgressions, and grant me the grace to employ what remains of my life in expiating them by penitence, and die the death of the just, that I may love Him for ever in Heaven, which I shall beg of Him every day of my life, and is what I hope from His mercy, through the ministry of the Blood of Jesus Christ, my Saviour; through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin and of all the Saints in Paradise; and by the virtue of the Holy Souls that are in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, in whose bosom I wish to die, as God has given me the grace to have been born and have lived in it.

“I desire that my body may be buried in Ireland, if it is possible for my dear and well-beloved wife, Arabella Wentworth-Strafford, to have it taken over to my family burial-ground there. I also ask her to have prayers offered up for the repose of my soul. Having no longer any wealth, since my property was confiscated by the English, I can only now dispose of my name and the titles which I hold from His Majesty King James II. Wishing to perpetuate this name and these titles, and it not having been God's will to grant me any children, I give and bequeath them, for him and all his descendants, the issue of lawful marriage, to my well-beloved cousin, Florence Callaghan MacCarthy, son of Cormac MacCarthy, son of Donal MacCarthy of Carrignavar. The said Florence MacCarthy I adopt as my son and institute him after my death heir of all my rights and my titles of Duke of Clancarthy, Lord Viscount Mountcashel, Baron of Castle Inchy, Baron of Blarney and of all the others that may afterwards come to him as my heir and successor. I counsel Florence to bear these titles with honour, and to endeavour by all means to reconquer what the English have taken from our family; and to devote

at the battle of Newtownbutler, for which he was tried and punished by death. Three weeks after the action at Newtownbutler, a courtmartial was held at Dublin under General de Rosen on Brigadier Anthony Hamilton and this Captain Lavallen. Hamilton was acquitted; but the Captain was condemned to a military death. At this execution he protested that he delivered the word as he had received it, and many believed his protestation.

So powerful were the clan M'Carthy in County Cork that of 56 castles built by Irish chieftains, 26 were held by M'Carthys, though not all actually erected by them. And now the glory of that Kingship and clanship has passed away.

M'Caura, the fame of thy house is gone by,
 But its name cannot fade and its fame cannot die—
 Though the Arigadeen with its silver waves shine
 Around no green forests or castles of thine,
 Though the shrines that you founded no incense doth hallow,
 Nor hymns float in peace down the echoing Allo—
 One treasure thou keepest, one hope for the morrow—
 That true hearts yet beat of the clan of M'Caura.

DENIS FLORENCE M'CARTHY.

One matter relating to Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor, deserves to be mentioned. On the 18th of August, 1690, Colonel Hamilton wrote to General Ginckel complaining of the want of money

himself to the service of the Stuarts and of His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, his legitimate Sovereigns.

"I therefore request all my relatives to consider my well-beloved and adopted son, Florence, as my legitimate heir, and to recognise him as such. I recommend also to my well-beloved wife these last wishes, enjoining her to communicate them as soon as possible after my death to my well-beloved cousin, so that he may benefit by them; and to bring it to the knowledge of all the members of my family so that they may obey them.

"I have made the present Will, signed by my hand this day, May 8th, 1693."

JUSTIN MACCARTHY.

and stores for the Castle at Inniskillen. The governor had borrowed large sums of money which he expended on the purchase of arms and fortifying the town, particularly in erecting the fort above the East Bridge, so that Colonel Hamilton encumbered his estate and left his widow and children in very distressed circumstances. He died of fever in November, 1690.

Governor Hamilton's widow petitioned the House of Commons on the 22nd of September, 1697, pointing out her husband's services to the Crown, and the large sums of money which he had expended in doing so; and on the 12th November the House of Commons granted Mrs. Hamilton £600 on this account.

CHAPTER LV.

AGAIN ON THE DEFENCE.

The battle of Newtownbutler, won by the Inniskilliners, coincided almost with the relief of Derry. The fact of the double event occurring about the same time deepened the faith of the Protestants in the special interposition of an All-Protecting Providence on their behalf. And the strange thing is, as I have already noticed, that the Orangemen of Enniskillen and Fermanagh, celebrate the Shutting of the Gates of Derry to James' troops and the Relief of the Siege, and totally ignore the closing of Enniskillen to the other troops of the same King, and the Inniskillen crowning victory at Newtownbutler—not for want of appreciative sympathy, I daresay, but by reason of forgetting these local great events; or perhaps, from want of knowledge.

MORE ARMS.

The concealed letters discovered with Lord Mountcashel demanded immediate attention in Inniskillen, so there was no time for delay in action. Accordingly on Friday, the 2nd August, Col. Wolseley

set out with a force to strike at Sarsfield at Bundrowes : when half-way towards Ballyshannon an "express" from Captain Folliott brought the news that General Sarsfield had heard of Lord Mountcashel's defeat at Newtownbutler, and that Sarsfield had in consequence broken up his camp, had retired to Sligo. The message also gave the welcome information that the arms and ammunition expected from Major-General Kirk had arrived by sea at Ballyshannon. Accordingly, Colonel Wolseley dispatched Colonel Tiffan with some companies of his (27th) foot regiment and Lieutenant-Colonel Gore with three troops of horse to Ballyshannon to secure the arms and ammunition, and to guard that place against the possibility of Sarsfield's return to besiege it. He (Col. Wolseley) then returned with the rest of his force to head-quarters with a view to meeting the Duke of Berwick.

NEWS FROM DERRY.

It was in the grey dawn of Sunday morning the 4th August that the welcome intelligence arrived at Inniskillen that the siege of Derry had been raised on the preceding Thursday, and that the Jacobite army had passed Omagh on its retreat. Lieutenant William Charleton was immediately dispatched with a troop of horse to watch the enemy from the rere, lest they might make a detour upon Inniskillen ; and he returned with the report that he had seen the last of the Irish army pass Castlecaulfield within three miles of Dungannon, on their march to Charlemont, and, therefore, that that danger was past.

PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

So Inniskillen felt relieved. Every enemy that

had threatened its existence had been driven away; Derry had been saved; and it was becoming that all who felt grateful to God for His merciful deliverance should exhibit it by a public act of thanksgiving. Therefore, Wednesday, the 7th August, was set apart for this purpose; and we can well picture to our minds the reverend and devout attitude of the people entering the portals of the parish church under the very same tower which still lifts its head above the town of Inniskillen; and how heartily they all joined in the Act of Thanksgiving for His great mercies, and in the singing of the *Te Deum*, the great song of adoration. We can also well conceive that the Rev. Robert Kelso conducted service with unwonted fervour in the Presbyterian meeting-house; and I venture to think that among the psalms sung on that occasion was the old metrical version of the 124th:—

Now Israel may say, and that truly,
 If that the Lord had not our cause maintain'd;
 If that the Lord had not our right sustain'd,
 When cruel men against us furiously
 Rose up in wrath to make of us their prey;

* * * * *

The raging streams, with their proud swelling waves,
 Had then our soul o'erwhelmed in the deep.
 But, bless'd be God, who doth us safely keep,
 And hath not giv'n us for a living prey
 Unto their teeth and bloody cruelty.

Ev'n as a bird out the fowler's snare
 Escapes away, so is our soul set free:
 Broke are their nets, and thus escaped we.
 Therefore our help is in the Lord's great name,
 Who heav'n and earth by his great power did frame.

CONGRATULATIONS TO DERRY.

It was also resolved on this same day to dispatch the same Rev. Andrew Hamilton, rector of Kilskeery,

who had been employed as a trusty messenger on previous occasions to Derry to congratulate Major General Kirk on his relief of the city, and the citizens on their marvellous deliverance from the power of their enemies. The emissary from Inniskillen was favourably received, and he was sent back on the 9th August, with orders to Colonel Wolseley to send to Derry 500 horse and 200 dragoons to escort the foot that were to march to Coleraine on their way to join Duke Schomberg, who was expected to land at Carrickfergus. The dragoons were to bring with them 200 of the private soldier prisoners of M'Carthy's army, to help to empty the store ships at Derry and to cleanse the town. For the inhabitants were so exhausted that there were none fit to carry out the work, and horse were needed in any case. Kirk's orders were carried out; the horse brought the prisoners to Derry on the 15th August.

Within a few days the Inniskilling horse were ordered to proceed to Newtownlimavady to overtake the foot and dragoons on their way to Coleraine. But such was the fear inspired by the very name of Inniskilling, that the moment the Jacobite garrison of Coleraine heard that the Inniskillings had joined the General's forces, that they deserted the place and fled to Charlemont, the head-quarters in Ulster of the Jacobite army. It thus happened that when the Inniskilling horse reached Newtownlimavady they were informed of what had occurred, and were able to take peaceable possession of the place; and marched in advance of the Major-General the whole way to Carrickfergus, their name alone being sufficient to deter any opposition.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ADDRESS TO KING AND QUEEN.

It was in the month of August that Inniskillen deemed it fitting that the town should present an address of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, whom they accepted as their lawful sovereigns; and they chose their trusted and reliable emissary, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, who had already acted for them on previous missions, to be their ambassador on this occasion. He was accordingly entrusted with the address given hereafter. The names of the signators* are in capital letters, and my undernotes in small type may be helpful to general readers. It will be remarked that many of those who signed were not Inniskilleners, but were gentlemen of note from neighbouring counties who had taken refuge in Inniskillen and were serving in the Inniskillen forces. The mass of the Inniskillen people were not asked to sign the address, the privilege being reserved for people of distinction.

* There were a few errors in the copying which I have corrected, such as Latourvel for Latournel, and Skelson for Skelton, and Bealy for Beaty. The abbreviation "Jo." stands for John and not for Joseph.

TO THEIR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIES K. WILLIAM
AND QUEEN MARY.

The humble address of the Governour, Officers, Clergy and other Inhabitants of your Majesties Town of Iniskillin, in your Majesties Kingdom of Ireland.

We, your Majesties most Faithful and most Loyal Subjects, do in the first place offer up unto Almighty God our most humble Thanks for the Deliverance vouchsafed us from our Merciless and Bloody Enemies; and next unto your most Sacred Majesties, for your gracious care taken of us, and in sending Major-General Kirk to the relief of the poor handful of your Majesties' Protestant Subjects left in this place and Derry (whose miraculous holding out, under God, has been the preservation of the Protestant interest in this Kingdom), and for those worthy Officers sent to this place by him, among which the Honourable Colonel William Wolseley, our Commander-in-Chief, under whose great and happy conduct God has been pleased to bless us with the most signal and remarkable victory obtained over our enemy, in this or the former age. And as we were early in the demonstration of our loyalty in proclaiming your Most Sacred Majesties, on the eleventh day of March last, so we shall persevere in the same dutiful allegiance to our lives' end, ever imploring the Divine Majesty to continue your prosperous reign long, and long over us, most humbly begging your Most Sacred Majesties favourably to accept this Address of our most humble and sincere obedience, which we shall ever be ready to make good both with our hearts and hands.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, Govern. THO. HART.

Colonel, and Governor of the town.

The Governor of Culmore Fort in the reign of Elizabeth had two brothers, one of whom settled in the County of Roscommon, and was the ancestor of Thomas Hart, and of a family of which And. Hart of Newtown, barony of Rathcline, Co. Longford, was the last male survivor. From the Limerick branch of the family were descended Sir Richard Harte (living in 1832) and the family of Coolrus, this branch retaining the final letter e in the name.

THO. LLOYD,

of Croghan, Co. Roscommon, known as the "Little Cromwell," the successful leader of the Inniskillings, was married to Margaret Cole, daughter of Sir John Cole, of Newland, Co. Dublin, son of Sir Wm. Cole, of 1612. Died in 1689. See page 444.

DAN. HODSON.

or Hudson, came from St. John's in the County Roscommon, appointed Captain. The Hudson family became connected for over a century with Enniskillen; and one of them Walter, was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant during the end of the 18th century. The family hold property at the corner of Eden street, and Town-hall street. See page 402.

W. SMITH.

Lieutenant, of Cleenish, Enui-killen.

MORGAN HART.

Morgan Hart who signed as seventh on the list, was also of the Roscommon branch of the family referred to above.

ALEX. ACHESON.

of Toneyteague, parish of Cleenish, and served as High Sheriff in 1703. Was Captain in Colonel Creighton's regiment of foot. Was attainted in 1689.

ISAAC COLLYER.

GEORGE DRURY.

Lieutenant in the local forces.

THO. WHITE.

WILLIAM WISEHEART.

Captain Sir W. Wiseheart had raised and armed a troop of horse at his own expense. (See page 527).

EDW. DIXY,

son of the Dean of Kilmore, 1664; was attainted in 1689, and died in 1691, brother of Captain Wolstan Dixie, the victim of Galmoy's treachery at Belturbet.

ICHABOD SKELTON.

ancestor of the Skeltons of Donagh, near Lisnaskea.

HEN. HOWEL.

ROBERT STEVENSON.

THOMAS JOHNSTON.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

THOMAS OSBORN.

brother of Rev. Alex Osborne, Presbyterian Minister of Newmarket, Dublin, now Ormond Quay, Dublin, who kept his brethren in Ulster well informed of the designs of Tyrconnell.

THOMAS SCOT.

JOHN LOWDER.

This John Lowder or Lawder was a younger son of William Lawder, of Bonnybeg, Co. Leitrim (High Sheriff 1699, 1704, 1706, and 1712, who came over from Scotland in 1610), and Catherine, daughter of Arthur Annuity, of Bryanstown, Co. Longford. John Lawder married Mary, daughter of John Townley, of Townley Hall, Co. Louth, and died in 1745. William Lawder, of Bonnybeg (i.e. John's father), was also in Enniskillen during the

[JOHN LOWDER—continued.]
siege (as the will of his father, William Lawder, of Drumaleague, Co. Leitrim, dated 23rd July, 1697, shows), but his name was not attached to the Memorial, sent to William III. The living descendant of the family is Mr. J. Ormsby Lawder, of Lawderdale, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

ROBERT MOOR.

WILLIAM KITTLE.

The last of the Kettle family died in Enniskillen about 1860.

FRAN. FOLLIOT.

presumably one of the Folliott family of Ballyshannon castle.

WILLIAM BIRNEY.

A Mr. Birney, one of three brothers from Scotland settled near Magheraveeley, of whom a representative is Mr. Noble Birney, of Lisnaskea.

JOHN DEAN.

Father of the Provost. For Dane family see page 300 this volume.

JAMES KING.

Of Co. Sligo, cornet in the Horse. He appears to have settled in Enniskillen, as I have an agreement between Mr. John Deering and Mr. King, respecting a right of passage in Pudding Lane, dated 25th August, 1802.

FRAN. GRAHAM.

of County Leitrim, Esq.

JO. RIDER.

Captain in the local forces.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

of Ballindullagh, Irvinestown, of the Castle Irvine family. See page 131, vol. I.

CHRISTOPHER CARLETON.

Of Tullymargie, Monea. This family is now represented by Mr. Carleton L'Estrange, of Co. Sligo. See page 356.

JA. GRAHAM.

Cornet in the Horse, of Mullinahinch, near Clones, whose wife was Eleanor Little, by whom he had two sons, (1) James, a lieutenant of the Fermanagh Militia in 1742, who married Anne, daughter of John Cross, of Dartan, Co. of Armagh, a defender of Derry. His son was James Graham, of Ballymahan, Co. Longford, who married Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. Andrew Hart, of Newtown, in the "Callaghs" of that county, by whom he was the father of the Rev. John Graham, rector of Magilligan, and of Captain Richard Graham, 37th Regt., a resident of Ballymena in 1832.

JA. DEVITT.

THO. ROSCROW

of Gortdonaghy, a prominent Inniskillener

CHARLES MacFAYDEN.

ANDREW MONTGOMERY.

LAURENCE CROWE.

DANIEL FRENCH.

EDWARD ELLIS.

Major Daniel French, Belturbet, see footnote, page 424.

A gentleman of this name had been Provost Marshal of the forces under Sir Henry Dorcewra at Lough Foyle.

HENRY SMITH.

WILLIAM BLASHFORD.

RICHARD NEWSTEAD.

ROBERT CLARKE.

One of the five leaders who originally took up arms for the defence of Inniskillen. Was churchwarden and prominent citizen.

ROBERT STARLING.

WILLIAM BROWNING.

Lieutenant in the foot.

Captain in Col. Creighton's regiment.

HENRY JOHNSTON.

JA. JOHNSTON.

Seatholder in the parish church.

MATTHEW WEBSTER.

JA. BROWNING.

Captain in local forces.

Captain, of Magheraboy.

WILLIAM SLACK.

ROGER WILTON.

grandson of Rev. James Slack, rector of Inniskillen 1622, became lieutenant in Colonel Zechariah Tiffan's Inniskilling regiment, 27th July, 1690.

ALLAN CATHCART.

ED. WOOD.

One of the leaders, and brother of Malcolm. Allan held land, and a tannery in Enniskillen. Died in 1705.

Of Court, Co. Sligo, Captain in the infantry.

AN. HAMILTON.

F. KING.

Rector of Kilskeery, who wrote the *Actions of the Inniskilling Men*.

Cornet, of Ballindine, Co. Sligo. He became Captain in the dragoons.

JAMES JOHNSTON.

ROBERT DRURY.

of Bohevny, Churchill, or of Drumadown, Magheraboy.

of Callow, Co. Roscommon.

JA. GOLDEN.

JOHN BROWNING.

Probably a refugee from Skreen, Co. Sligo, where the name still exists.

Probably a relative of Wm. Browning, of Beallanamallagh [Ballinamallard]

ARNOLD COSBYE.

JA. CAMPBELL.

of the Lismore Castle family, captain of a troop of horse.

JO. PRICE.

GEORGE CASHELL.

Member of the same family as Major Thomas Price, of Colonel Creighton's regiment, believed to be ancestors of the military family of Price of Toneylummon, Belnaleck, which till 1850 had representatives in the dragoons.

Lieutenant in Colonel Creighton's regiment of horse.

ROBERT JOHNSTON.

of Gaunon, Magheraboy.

FRANCIS ALDRICH.

Quarter-Master in Brigadier Wolsley's regiment of horse.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

AMBROSE BEDEL.

H. HUGHES.

JASON HAZARD.

nephew of Jason Hassard, senr., of Mullymesker and Carne. For particulars of family see pages 318.

THO. HUGHES.

JAMES MATTHEWS.

POVEY HOOKES.

Likely so named after Sir Edward Povey, one of the Council of War of 1642.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Ensign in Colonel Creighton's regiment of horse.

TOBY MULLOY.

of Knocknicor, Co. Roscommon, Lieutenant in the Dragoons.

ROBERT VAUGHAN.

probably relative of Major Owen Vaughau, Carrowmore, Co. Mayo.

ROBERT WEAR.

of the Hall Craig family.

MALCOLME CATHCART.

was the son of Gabriel Cathcart and Anna, daughter of Archbishop Hamilton, of Monea. Malcolm married Mary, daughter of Sir James Caldwell. It was Anna Cathcart, sister of Captain Malcolm, who was married in 1697 to Joseph Haire, and from whom the family of Haire of Glassdrummond, Castlebalfour, is descended. Hence Miss Anna Haire, who was married to Mr. King, solicitor, Enniskillen, within living memory, and whose two daughters remain.

Lord Belmore held that Gabriel and Anna Cathcart were also the parents of Lieutenant Hugh Cathcart, and Ludovic Cathcart, of Bulrusk, Co. Meath, the father of Rev. James Cathcart, of Scandally (died 1725), and of Archibald, of Scandally, barrack-master of Enniskillen, Ludovick, Robert, and Hugh Cathcart; Anna wife of Andrew Crawford, and Elizabeth and Jane Cathcart.

ROBERT ROBISON.

Probably a member of the old family of Robiusons, which held freehold for centuries in Mullaghy, near Enniskillen.

HUGH MONTGOMERY.

of Derrybrusk, Captain of the Horse.

MART. ARMSTRONG.

of Longfield, Co. Leitrim. This Captain Armstrong took possession of the Castle of Longfield, within two-and-a-half miles of Newtowngore, after the battle of Cavan.

CLAUD BEATY.

NINIAN SCOT,

THO. ARMSTRONG.

JO. FRISELL.

DAN. ARMSTRONG.

of Crieve near Tempo.

MATTHEW YOUNG.

MARC. BUCHANAN.

afterwards ensign in Colonel Creighton's regiment.

GEORGE WATTSON.

RO. MACCONNELL.

JA. ROBINSON.

JO. ROBERTS.

RO. WARD.

BAR. GIBSON.

JO. CROZIER.

HU. BLAIR.

JO. KING.

of Corrard, son of James King, who acquired property in Eunniskillen from Michael Cole. This John King was father of James King of Gola, who presented a communion plate to Derryvullen Church in 1727.

GEORGE COOPER.

Captain in the local forces.

HU. CATHCART.

One of the Cathcart family already referred to. He lived at Tullyscanlan (Scandally).

HUGH CORRY.

One of the four members of the Corry name who signed the address. Supposed to belong to a Newtown-butler family.

ED. DAVENPORT.

AU. ELLIS.

Probably son of the Eward Ellis already referred to.

JO. WOODWARD.

WILLIAM GORE.

of Sligo, Captain in the local forces.

WILLIAM CHARLETON.

a refugee from Co. Leitrim.

GEORGE RUSSELL.

AYLET SAMMES.

JA. MITCHELL.

MAT. LINDSAY.

THOMAS DAVENPORT.

ALL. FULTON.

Lieutenant in the forces.

PAUL DEAN, Provost.

See page 300, Dane family.

JA. EWART.

This name still remains in the locality.

JO. BALLARD.

THOMAS YOUNG.

THOMAS SHORE.

Captain in the forces. Was churchwarden of the parish, and lived next door to White Hart Inn.

JOHN FULTON.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

Captain in the Infantry.

GEORGE HART.

ED. GUBBIN.

Prabably brother or son of Major Thos. Hart, of Ballinspor, Co. Sligo, also in the Inniskilling forces.

JAMES MATTHEWS.

THOMAS LETURNEL.

A prominent citizen, who lived at Little Drumclay, who died in 1708, left one son and six daughters. 1. Allen, married 17th November, 1720, Alice Byrne, of Dublin, and died 30th May, 1755, leaving a son Allen. 1. Mary, married 1st Michael Bullock, of Lisnamoyle, County Fermanagh, and 2nd Thomas Crowe. 2. Susanna, married James Armstrong. 3. Elizabeth, married Sylvester Murtagh. 4. Anne, married 1st James Hudson, and 2nd Edward M'Donnell. 5. Sarah, married 1st Philip Ward, and 2nd Nathaniel Corry. 6. Jane, married July, 1711 Jonathan Chambers.

JA. LUCY.

GEORGE HAMERSLEY.

FRANCIS ELLIS.

WILLIAM FRITH.

of the ancient Enniskillen family with us still, represented by Mr. J. B. Frith, J.P., and J. A. Frith. Both were High Sheriffs.

HERCULES ELLIS.

JO. HALL.

A Hercules Ellis, the same name as the foregoing, sat on the Fermanagh Grand Jury about 1900, was most probably descendant of the signator. Mr. Nicholas Ellis, of Lisnarroe, about one mile from Clones, agent for the property (including the town of Clones) of Sir Thomas Lennard, Bart., of Benhus, Essex, left two sons, of whom one was the late Mr. Hercules Ellis; and the similarity of the unusual Christian name leads me to conclude that he was a descendant of the Hercules Ellis of 1688.

JOHN CORRY.

of Castlecoole, became member of Parliament for Enniskillen in 1703, in place of Sir Michael Cole.

ROBERT JOHNSTON.

of Aghanuce, Co. Fermanagh.

JO. NEPER.

COR. DONNELLAN.

JAMES CORRY.

of Carrlckmacmea, near Castlecoole.

THEO. BURY.

JOHN SHERIFFE.

HU. GALBRAITH.

probably of the Galbraith family of which one was land agent to Bishop Spottiswoode.

GEORGE CORRY.

Lieutenant in Colonel Creighton's regiment of foot. Believed to have been a cousin of Captain Corry, of Castlecoole.

WILLIAM ROSS.

A family of this name belonged to the Parish Church.

SAMUEL FORTH.

See pages 542-43.

JOHN GALBRAITH.

See under Hugh Galbraith.

JAMES CATHCART.

Son of Malcolm Cathcart,

MATTHEW YOUNG.

EDWARD COSBYE.

of Cosbystown, Blaney.

JAMES DELAP.

The family were settled in Ayrshire, and owned a village of the name. Early in the 16th century, about the same period a branch had settled on Lough Swilly, as Delap bog is marked on the map of Queen Elizabeth's time, and is so noted in all Admiralty charts since. The late Rev. Canon Anthony Delap held the lands round this bog, and they are now held by his daughter. There are three branches of this family in Ireland (1) Canon Delap, of Lifford (2) Mr. Delap, of Monellan County Donegal, and (3) Delap of Monasterboyce. Nos. (1) and (2) were intimately connected with Ballyshannon and Sligo: trading to Norway, and whaling towards Iceland. They were also connected with the Allingham and Johnstone families, and others who have died out: they were also connected with the city life of Derry and Coleraine.

A family of Delaps, printers for several generations in Strabane, emigrated to Philadelphia 1771, published the first daily paper in America, and printed the declaration of independence. Andrew Delap was patron of a charitable society in Boston 1717.

WILLIAM MACCORMICK.

one of the intrepid local leaders, who wrote the *Further Impartial Account of the Inniskillen Men*.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

CHARLES KING.

Probably of the Corrad family.

WILLIAM BALL.

Ancestor of the well-known family of Ball of Enniskillen, now represented by Mr. Ball of Drumcullion.

JO. SMITH.

This name appears in the list of townsmen of 163—

William Bronning

Robert Clarke

Will^m McCormick

Allon: Cathcart

Ja Ewart

Paul Dane

Will. Vincent

J. Duncan Curate

Ezekiel Webb

Thomas Dunbar

John Frith

Signatures of some of those who signed the Address—WILLIAM BRONNING 1683; ROBERT CLARKE, 1683; WILL. McCORMICK, 1678; ALLON CATHCART, 1685; JA. EWART, Provost 1685; and PAUL DANE, 1684.

Signatures of prominent Inniskilleners—REV. W. VINCENT, 1677; REV. J. DUNCAN, 1678; REV. EZEKIEL WEBB, 1685; THOMAS DUNBAR (Inniskillen School), 1684, and JOHN FRITH, 1771.

CHAPTER LXVII.

INNISKILLEN UNREWARDED.

Inniskillen had other aims in view on this occasion than those expressed in the address. The town thought it deserved recognition for its great and loyal services, and that it should receive compensation for its losses. The townsmen preferred not to put these matters on paper, but to leave them to the prudence and tact of their ambassador, the rector of Kilskeery; and in order to give him authority on that behalf and to strengthen his cause, they gave him written credentials by letter of attorney as follows:—

Mr. Hamilton's letter of Attorney, empowering him to solicit at the Court of England, on behalf of the Garrison of Inniskillen.

Know all men by these presents, that we the Governor, Colonels, and other officers, belonging to the garrison of Inniskillen, do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint our right trusty and well-beloved friend, Andrew Hamilton, clerk, as our true and lawful attorney, to go to the Court of England, and in name and stead to solicit our affairs and all concerns belonging to our garrison; hereby ratifying and confirming what our said attorney, Mr. Andrew Hamilton, shall do, in as simple a manner as if we were personally present.

Given under our hands at Inniskillen this 6th day of August, 1689.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, Gov.

(With a great many other officers.)

Nor was this all. Rev. Mr Hamilton had suffered personally himself. Had not he been one of the strongest opponents of King James, an emissary of the rebel Inniskilleners, and had not the Duke of Berwick in consequence burned his house, and seized 1,100 cattle and horses? and had not he out of his private fortune maintained some Horse and Foot at his own expense? All this was entitled to consideration, and he accordingly went to Court armed with the following certificate from the Governor and officers of the Inniskilling regiments:—

The Certificate of the Governor and Officers of Inniskillen, in behalf of Mr. ANDREW HAMILTON, when they sent him their Agent to their Majesties KING WILLIAM and QUEEN MARY.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come, we the Governor, Colonels, and other officers belonging to the garrison of Inniskillen and County of Fermanagh, do hereby specify and declare, that the bearer hereof, Andrew Hamilton, clerk, Rector of Kilskeery, and one of the Prebends of the Diocese of Clogher, has truly and faithfully adhered and joined with us since the 9th day of December last past; at which time we did associate together, in defence of ourselves and the Protestant religion. And the said Andrew, at his own proper costs and charge, did raise a troop of horse and a foot company, and joined them with us in the same cause; for which his enemies did him and his tenants all the mischiefs they could. And upon the 4th of the last month, sent under the command of the Duke of Berwick, an army of four or five thousand men, and did burn the dwellinghouse and all other the houses belonging to the said Andrew, in ten several villages; and drove away from the said Andrew and his tenants above a thousand cows, two hundred horses and mares, and about two thousand sheep, with all their household goods. And the said Andrew, between his temporal estate and church living, was worth about four hundred pounds per annum, the profit whereof he hath lost, much of it lying in the enemy's country. And we farther certify and declare, that the said Andrew Hamilton hath been one of the Prebends of Clogher these 15 years past, and hath

all along, during the same time, continued a painful and constant preacher, and of a good fame among us.

All which we certify under our hand, at Enniskillen this 6th day of August, 1689.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, Governor.

Thomas Lloyd,	Alexander Fulton,
Abraham Creighton,	William Browning,
William Smyth,	Robert Vaughan,
Alexander Acheson,	Robert Clark,
Morgan Hart,	Oll. Jackson,
Thomas Hart,	William Parsons,
Daniel Hodson,	Hugh Montgomery.
John Fulton,	

“Put not your trust in princes” is a wise saying from the old book. The men of Inniskillen counted with the utmost confidence on some compensation in addition to words of gratitude.

Witherow says that £60,000 were claimed for losses and due to the Inniskillen regiments, who were never paid, for services during the year 1688-9, before being regimented in the royal army; and Hamilton in his *Danger and Folly of being Public Spirited and Sincerely Loving One's Country*, says that the Inniskilleners in their claim stated:—

We have lost all our estates, our blood and our friends in the service of our country, and have had nothing for it these thirty-three years and upwards but Royal promises, commissions without pay, recommendations from the Throne to the Parliaments, and reports and addresses back to the Throne again; finely displaying the merit of our service and sufferings, and the justness of our claims. When we were fighting, famishing, and dying for our country and the rest of the subjects, there was nothing said to be too good for us, and then we have the honour to be called brave fellows: but whosoever of us has not been able to live upon such fine diet as these fine words compose, have ever since been left to the honour of begging a dinner, and starving when our friends became weary of us.

Our surprise and discouragements are the greater, when we consider that all our brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who performed nothing at all for the Government, but quietly submitted to King James at that juncture, had not a chicken taken from them by him or his army; and now many of them are so rich and powerful that abundance of the poor Londonderry and Enniskillen soldiers, and even officers, are glad to eat a morsel of bread under their tables.

Whether King William supported these reports is not at present known, but we do know that he did refer several proposals to his parliament which Parliament did not adopt. Nor can we say what Major-General Kirk said in his report. He had never been trusted by the Protestants of England on account of being concerned on behalf of James II. in the rebellion at Sedgemoor; they suspected his long delay in the Relief of Derry; and when the day was finally over, he acted with such partiality in Derry, such disregard of the ordinary dictates of honour, and putting a slight on the hero Murray and the regiment that he commanded, that Derry cared not for him, though he was their saviour.

Kirk put the Inniskilling forces on the scanty allowance of:—Colonel, daily pay, 5s.; Lieut.-Colonels, 3s.; Major, 2s. 6d.; Captain, 2s.; Lieutenants, 1s.; Ensigns, 8d.; Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers and private men, 3d. Their heavy horse 9d. and their dragoons 6d. per day.

Inniskillen, it was true, had not suffered a siege like Derry, but it had wasted its substance; it had become practically bankrupt by the strain of the war; and such was its condition in the summer of 1690, owing to the loss of the previous harvest, and to the effects of war, that it was reduced, Harris says, to the most miserable condition.

The town was constrained to seek the aid of Duke Schomberg, who commanded the Williamite troops in Ireland, and the Governor sent an "express" to the Duke to acquaint him with their pitiable state.

Inniskillen was left, however, to struggle along as best it could, the Government of the day having the meanness not to reimburse the town the pay of the volunteer regiments before they were taken on the strength of the army by royal warrant. If Inniskillen had waited for the receipt of the warrant to arm its men and form its companies, all would have been lost. Nothing could have saved the town. Inniskillen had itself, by its own authority, taken the initiative in self-defence, and thereby kept back three of the armies converging on Derry. It had saved Derry along with saving itself; and the least that Inniskillen could expect was a recoupment by the Kingdom at large of the great cost and loss it had suffered in preserving its integrity, and of work performed on behalf of that Kingdom.

The Government of the day had made some recoupment to Derry; it rewarded Captain James Corry; but it passed over the little town that had made the world ring with its name and which has handed down through its regiments a name to conjure with so long as glorious deeds and splendid example are venerated by noble manhood.

The town of Inniskillen was, in the month of May, reduced to a "most miserable condition." A private letter of Governor Gustavus Hamilton to the Duke, when soliciting relief for the people of Inniskillen, who had suffered so much by war, told him:—

That they had neither money to buy victuals, nor had the inhabitants any to supply them with upon credit; that he was

obliged to grant orders for taking up cattle from the country for their present relief, upon bills signed by their officers, to prevent any disorders from the officers' necessities, and was afraid they could not be subsisted in that manner long on account of the general poverty. He was apprehensive that fresh meat might create distemper among the men without bread, which Enniskillen did not afford, but they were supplied from the Lagan for ready money, a country much exhausted by being the seat of war last year in the siege of Derry.

Nor was it only that Enniskillen was allowed to go unrewarded for her sufferings and losses. There were some people who belittled her efforts and misrepresented the case, so that the Rev. Andrew Hamilton felt constrained to write as follows:—

Since this was put into the press, I have heard of a pamphlet which does abuse both the men of Derry and Enniskillen, and am informed, that not only Papists, but others who pretend to be Protestants, have of late falsely, maliciously, and industriously made it their business to lessen the actions of both these places, and have insinuated that the people now in arms in Ireland, who are called the Enniskillen-men, were men of no fortune or reputation, and that the actions done by them are not so considerable as fame makes them.

As for Derry, no true Protestant will deny but the holding out of that place against the Irish army was of so great importance that the safety of these three kingdoms did depend very much upon it. And it is well known, that during the whole time of that long siege, the men of Enniskillen kept at least the one half of the Irish army from coming before Derry, and kept them in so great fear of their coming to relieve the town that they durst never make a regular attack upon the place, but were forced to divide their men, keeping strong guards at Strabane, Lifford, Castlefin, Clawdybridge, Newton-Stewart, Castle-Derrig, and Omagh, lest Enniskillen-men should come upon them. By so doing, they made the siege a great deal easier to the besieged. And therefore (as those who were best acquainted with the affairs of Derry during the siege do confess,) Enniskillen does deserve no small part of the honour of that place's preservation.

And now in regard to these scandalous reports which the Papists, and, perhaps, some rotten-hearted Protestants, have

raised upon these men, I thought fit here to advertise the reader. That as to their Actions I refer him to the relation before written, which every man that knows them, will allow that I have been modest in giving account of them, though I have omitted but very little of moment that has been done by them from their first taking up arms until the time that I have ended this relation.

And as for the men themselves, those who first took up arms and embodied in the county of Fermanagh, where Enniskillen is the county town, were all Protestants, house-keepers, and most of them men of substance, living as well as most men in that kingdom of their quality, but were never friends to Popery, which I suppose is that which offends that party. As for those who came to us from Connaught and other places of the kingdom, we are informed that most of them lived very happily till, plundered and driven from their habitations, they were forced to take shelter among us, scarce one of them bringing any manner of substance along with him; for whose maintenance they have several times gone into their enemy's bounds and brought considerable preys of cattle from among them, who are yet their debtors for plunder and burning more thousand pounds than it was once thought needed to have been spent for reducing the kingdom, but never meddled with any thing that belonged to their Protestant friends till the latter end of August; and what they have done since, I pretend to give here no relation of.

Those men have kept free from the enemy the whole county Fermanagh, from the castle of Crom to Ballyshannon, and all that part of the country of Donegall that lies next the sea from Ballyshannon to Killybeggs, which will be above fifty miles in length, and in those bounds have raised for their Majesties' service three regiments of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and about twenty troops of horse, most of them officered by men of estates, and many of the private men having freeholds and estates in that kingdom. So that whenever Ireland is reduced, I do with confidence aver, that the very officers (without accounting the real and personal estates of those who were content to bear arms as private soldiers), if restored to their own and no more, will be found worth above 10,000*l.* per annum, who have adhered to Enniskillen and are now called Enniskillen-men; for Sir John Hume lost his eldest son in the service we were jointly engaged in, and Sir G. Irvine died in command in Duke Schomberg's camp at Dundalk. I could reckon up many particulars, and signalise

other gentlemen of that party, but that I believe I shall gratify their modesty more to have it thought that I did endeavour to give an impartial account of their joint actions than to plead for particular persons. And if I were inclined to mark out those who merited most, I should be disappointed, where each outdid the example which others set before him. I have therefore purposely avoided saying anything in commendation of those gentlemen, otherwise than by barely relating the matters of fact which they did ; and I hope those from whom I am sent will attribute it to no other cause, that I have not particularly named them, and the brave actions that they have done. And so were not a necessitous rabble as those libellers would make them.

And besides those regiments that are now raised, there are a great many men in the country who never bore arms as yet, and will be able to raise some more regiments of foot, if there be officers to their mind appointed over them. And if we judge by the actions of their fellows, we may conclude that they will go as far for their number in the service of their Majesties, as any men their Majesties have ; for I am sure they are lovers of the Protestant interest, and with a cheerful heart and willing mind will fight in that quarrel under their Majesties.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

JAMES' PARLIAMENT & ATTAINDERS.

The Irish Parliament had been summoned to meet in Dublin on the 7th of May, 1689, and Tyrconnell arranged that it should be almost exclusively Roman Catholic. He so managed affairs that there were only six Protestants in a House of Commons of 232 members, and four Protestants in the House of Lords. He could not get any Roman Catholic gentleman to sit for Inniskillen, nor a Roman Catholic peer from Fermanagh. He recruited his Parliament from the old Irish families of O'Reilly, M'Mahon, O'Donovan, Burke, Daly, &c., &c., all over Ireland, and had in them an instrument suited to his purpose.

Several of the old Irish families had suffered by the confiscation of their estates. There had been settlements of planters under Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and under Cromwell: the representatives of old families saw their lands in the possession of strangers, and their first object was to obtain restoration of their property. Chief Justice Nugent introduced a Bill on the 13th May to repeal the Act of

Settlement* of Charles I. King James, to do him justice, did not favour it. One of his earliest acts had been to proclaim toleration and liberty of conscience to all denominations in the country. He declared that he had always been in favour of liberty of conscience. But while he may have meant to abide by such a noble sentiment in England he found himself unable to do it in Ireland. He was opposed to repeal of the Act of Settlement by which the Protestant settlers held their lands, and he said—

I shall most readily consent to the making of such good, wholesome laws as may be for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and relieving such as have been injured by the late Acts of Settlement, so far as may be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good.

And he proposed to devote some of the increased value of the estates to the relief of those dispossessed gentry who were in straits. To his credit be it said, James actually set aside £10,000 for the purpose.

But Tyrconnell's Parliament was constituted as it was for a specific purpose: the new Bill† dealt with the estates of those concerned with the conspiracy of 1641, for it declared that the heirs of ancestors who were in any manner in possession of estates in Ireland on the 27th of October, 1641, should be restored to those properties. Parliament was delighted at the new Bill, and received it with wild cheers

* I have always been, he said, for liberty of conscience and against invading any man's right to liberty, having still in mind that saying of Holy Writ:—"Do as ye would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets."

† The substance of the new Irish Bill to make void the English Settlement of Ireland was:—

1. Every one to be restored to his possession, as in 1641.
2. Attainders, Outlawries, Treason, &c., made void, released and discharged.
13. A rebellion is now begun, and several are gone to England, Scotland, Wales, and to Isle-of-Man, by which they Forfeited from the 1st August, 1688. All Entails, Remainders, &c., to be cut off.
23. All Original Debts in 1641 to be and stand charged: the lands to be Restored.

and tumult. It was a declaration of war against the Protestants. The English Royalists warned James that the passing of the Bill would prejudice his interests in England, but it was in vain, and dragoons, followed by armed Irish, drove the Protestants out and seized their estates, and with the land all the improvements which their enterprise and energy had developed, including many new roads.

Then there were other estates which Protestants had obtained by purchase. These were not held sacred. The Protestants must be driven out. A Bill was passed confiscating the property of all who had aided or abetted the Prince of Orange, of absentees above 17 years of age, or who did not return to their houses before the 5th of October; and as several of the gentry were in England, it was impossible for them to do so. Altogether between 2,000 and 3,000 of all ranks were affected by these acts of attainder. Tithes were also transferred from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic Church, and to make amends for the poverty of the Treasury. James issued his famous brass money. The Irish Parliament, having discharged the work for which it was called together, was prorogued on 20th July, 1689

Nearly a week after, the siege of Derry was raised, and the new Acts of Parliament were a waste paper they were there, it was true, on the Irish statute book, but there was no power to enforce them. Derry and Inniskilling had crushed the power of James and his Parliament far beyond the bounds of Ulster; and those who had fled to England and had besought the help of King William, learned with satisfaction that he had finally obtained £15,000 for their succour. Colonel Lundy was committed to the Tower of London, and

William, learned with satisfaction that he had finally obtained £15,000 for their succour. Colonel Lundy was committed to the Tower of London, and Cunningham to the Gate House, while Duke Schomberg was supplied with an army to invade Ireland, and restore the country to the British Crown.

THE ATTAINDERS.

Those attainted under the Parliament of 1689 Act in the County Fermanagh were as given below, and the names of several local families are recognized. Most of them are with us yet, some of them like that of Booreman [or Boerman or Boardman], of Coolebegg, in the same house and townland. The different spelling of the townlands does not obscure their identity. For example, Carnemacasker is what we now designate as Carrickmacosker; Staraghan as Strataraghan; Drumgonne as Drumgoon; Lagnelagalgreen as Legnakillygreen, &c.:

Abercromby John	Drumcroe	Gentleman
Aghineleck James	Bellaghinleck	"
Andrews John	Kinohir	Clerk
Armstrong Daniel	Chive	Gentleman
Barston William	Boe Island	"
Belfore Charles	Lisneskea	Esquire
Belfore William	"	"
Betty Adam	Carne	Gentleman
Betty John	Ardverny	"
Betty* Rowland	"	"
Bingham Charles	Crevenish	"
Bird Thomas	Lissanaskea	"
Bochanan George	Enniskilling	Esquire
Booreman John	Coolebegg	Gentleman

* This gentleman may be the Rowland Betty to whom reference has already been made.

Breadon Patrick	Derryboy	Gentleman
Browning William	Beallanamallagh	„
Caldwell Charles	Bellick, son and heir- apparent to Sir Jas. Caldwell	Esquire
Callhowne James	Crevenish	Gentleman
Charleton Christopher	Bohoe	„
Cathcart Robert	Creaghmore	„
Cathcart Alexander	Ennisway	„
Cathcart* Allen	Enniskilling	„
Cathcart Hugh	Tullyshambo [scanlan]	„
Cathcart James	Ennisway	„
Chittoge Thomas	Cash	„
Clarke Robert	Enniskilling	Merchant
Cole William	Colehill	Gentleman
Corry James	Castlecoole	Captain

* Mr. Allan Cathcart, brother of Capt. Malcolm, did not long survive the Revolution in which he and the other members of the family played such a prominent part. By his will dated 25 December, 1705, Allan Cathcart of Enniskilling, left to his wife Anne Cathcart his whole estate "reall or casual,"—(1) one half of the estate of Ballychoolrey, bought of the heirs of the late Hugh Clanawley, and now in partnership with Charles Hamilton; (2) My tanhouse, with all the tanned and green leather in the storehouse; (3) Household furniture; (4) Also what money may be got by the "breef releating" the burning of Enniskilling in June last, &c. This will was witnessed by Willm. Rosscrow and Thomas Rosscrow, both of Enniskilling and Charles Hamilton of Belcoo.

Who succeeded to this tannery is not certain, but there was a deed of 18th Aug., 1721, mentioning a bargain and sale by Roger Murphy of Enniskilling, tanner, John Drumond, of Caldragh, Co. Fermanagh, and Walter Butler of Little Thomas Court, Dublin, demising a tenement known as Nordis's tenement, situate in Schoolhouse Lane in Enniskilling, and a tanhouse in Enniskilling known by the name of John Johnston's tanhouse, and also of Roger Murphy's own tanhouse and distill house of Enniskilling aforesaid.

Hazlett's tannery occupied 132 perches of frontage in the present East Bridge street, from the *Impartial Reporter* office eastward, and when the ground was being prepared for the erection of the present Presbyterian church the old tan pits were disclosed. That property was given by Mr. Hazlett to the Irvine family, and on it Mr. Gorge Irvine built houses opposite the Courthouse, his own house for many years being the judges' lodgings, and a relative building the *Impartial Reporter* premises.

About the middle of the 18th century Christopher Hamilton, son of George Hamilton of 1700, perhaps of the Tullymargie or Markethill family, had a tannery in Enniskillen, as well as landed property in Magheraboy, Christopher married Martha Irvine, who was aunt of the late Rev. Gorges Irvine, rector of Castleblayney, and of his sister Martha Irvine, who became Mrs. Callan and at the present time resides at Rostrevor. Christopher Hamilton (who had a younger brother George) was father of the late Mr. Hazlett Hamilton of Pettigo and Bundoran, who in turn was father of Mr. Christopher Hamilton of the hotel so long associated with his father's name and his own in Bundoran.

Cottington William	Enniskilling	Gentleman
Crafford Lawrence	Cavancarragh	"
Creighton Abraham	Crum	Captain
Creighton James	"	Gentleman
Creighton John	Aghaloane	Esquire
Crozier John	Cavan	Gentleman
Crozier John	Crockmale	"
Davys Edward	Knockballimore	Captain
Delapp James (senr.)	Enniskilling	Gentleman
Delapp James (junr.)	"	"
Drope Bartholomew	Carrowrasky	"
Dunbarr Thomas	Enniskilling	"
Dundas James	"	"
Ellet George	Tully	"
Ellet Thomas	Galoone	"
Ellet William	Staraghan	Lieutenant
Elliott James	Storchin	Gentleman
Elliott Robert	"	"
Elliott Thomas	Gallune	"
Erwyn Christopher	Ballydullagh	Esquire
Erwyn William	"	"
	(Father of the above).	
Evett* Richard	Magherastephenagh	Gentleman
Folliott John	Fillenn	"
Forker Alexander	Enniskilling	"
Foster Andrew	Drumgonne	"
Foster John	Carnemackasker	"
Frith William	Enniskilling	"
Galbraith Robert	Drumadoone	"
Green William	Killeter	Clerk
Hall John	Enniskilling	Gentleman
Hamilton Archibald	Drummary	"
Hamilton Gustavus	Moynea	"
Hamilton James	Tullycreevy	"
Hassart Jason (junr.)	Killnemaddoe	"
Hassart Jason (senr.)	Mullyvesker	"
Hinston Thomas	Killerny	"
Humes George	Cullenecrunaht	Clerk
Humes James	(son and heir apparent to Sir John Humes)	Esquire
Humes John	Aghrim	Gentleman

* The Evatts owned some townlands around Maguiresbridge, which was once known as Evattstown.

Humphrey John	Mounterfadaghane	Gentleman
Humphrey Thomas	Aughvenuhue	Gentleman
Humphrey* William	Drumard	"
Johnson Robert	Ginnevan	"
Johnston Alexander	Mullaghsellogagh	"
Johnston Andrew	Drumbeggan	"
Johnston Francis	Derrycholaght	"
Johnston James	Magheryboy	"
Johnston Robert	Aghanuce	Esquire
Johnston Walter	Millick	"
Keer John	Drumsellagh	Gentleman
Leonard John	Magwyersbridge	"
Lesley John	Derryvoland Parish	Doctor
Little William	Ardumsin	Gentleman
Little William	Drumenagh	"
M'Cormock William	Enniskilling	"
Maddison John	Cloonygally	Cornet
Magill Hugh	"	Captain
Meanes John	Stranareagh	Gentleman
Merick Richard	Magherastephenagh	"
Moffett John	Leterboy	"
Morton† Edward	Mullemgough	"
Montgomery Hugh	Carhne	Esquire
Montgomery Hugh	Carrard	Lieut.-Col.
Montgomery Robt.	Derrybroske	Gentleman
Pockridge Edward	Gortnadrige	"
Robinson Henry	Rosserolbane	"
Rosgrave Thomas	Gortdonochoe	"
Rosse Hugh	Rossdagagle[mph]	"
Rynd David	Dervoland	Esquire
Shore Gabriel	Maheryboy	Gentleman
Shore Thomas	Enniskilling	"
Smith William	Clounish	Clerk

* The Humphrys of Dromard and Clareview, Kesh, are one of the oldest families in the county. The Dromard house has a date stone over the fireplace containing the figures 1675, and the yew trees at the Clareview house speak of 300 years back. The Misses Humphrys, daughters of the late Dr. Humphrys, R.N., occupy Clareview at the present time. The Dromard house passed to the Archdale estate, and is now occupied by Mr. George Archdale. See chapter on Old Houses next volume.

† Edward Morton, attainted in 1689, the ancestors of the Mortons of Glassmullagh, near Aghalane. His g. g. grandson, Alfred, was the last of the family who lived at the old place, and he emigrated to Canada and died about 1909. A John Morton of this family was lieutenant in the Crom Yeomanry in 1809, under Capt. Creighton. Mr. Morton's great grandson is Gerald Morton Martin of Butterworth, Transkei, Canada, P.O. Box 2.

Smith William	Greenish	Lieutenant
Walton Henry	Laglenagalgreene	Gentleman
Walton William	"	"
Webb Ezekiel	Enniskilling	Clerk
Webster Matthew	"	Gentleman
Winslow Thomas	Derryvore	"
Wisshart William	Clounteffrin	Esquire
Wyre Alexander	Mumaghan	Gentleman

William Archdall, of Bumminiver, Esq., and Andrew Hamilton, of Magherycross [Kilskeery] Clerk (who was prominent in the defence of Enniskillen), who had absented themselves [in England] since 5th November, 1688, were required to return and tender themselves on 1st September, 1689. The parishes of Magheracross and Kilskeery had been united in 1661, and this union was dissolved in 1766.

Those attained by the same Parliament connected with Ballyshannon were:—

Sir James Caldwell, of Belleek, bart.
 Patrick Conolly, of Belashannon, gent.
 Francis Earls, Belashannon, gent.
 John Folliott, Esquire, Belashannon.
 Charles Caldwell, of Belleek (son and heir of Sir Jas. Caldwell).
 John Montgomery, of Carrickboy, gent.
 Thomas Atkinson, senr., Belashannon, gent.
 Thomas Atkinson, junr., Belashannon, gent.
 Michael Hueson, of Coolebegge, gent.
 John Hueson, of Coolebegge, gent.
 Robert Delapp, of Belashannon, gent.
 Lord Folliott, of Belashannon.

One of the acts of James II. at this time to raise money was to applot £20,000 per month on personal estate for the benefit of trade and traffic. He laid £1,013 18s. 9d. on Fermanagh, and those whom he appointed to collect were:—

The High Sheriff	Constantine oge Maguire.
Constantine Maguire	Philip Maguire, Esquire.
Edmond oge Maguire	Captain Thomas Maguire.
Bryan Maguire	

CHAPTER LXIX.

CAPTURE OF SLIGO AND BOYLE.

Colonel Sarsfield did not remain long at Sligo after leaving Bundrowes. Col. Tiffan sent Lieutenant-Colonel Gore with three troops of horse and 150 foot to scour the country close to Sligo, which at this time was a fortified town, and to reconnoitre the enemy. What followed has relation to a device of Lieut.-Colonel Gore with his foster-brother, and is told by Hamilton thus:—

When the party came within six or seven miles of Sligo, some of his party took an Irishman prisoner, and took him before Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, who knew him to be a foster-brother of his own, that is, a son of his nurse, which is reckoned a great relation among the Irish. But being of Irish parents, and bred a papist, he had forsaken the Lieut.-Colonel since these troubles began in our country, and adhered to his own countrymen and friends. The Lieut.-Colonel threatened to hang him for deserting him; but the other, finding his life was at stake, begged earnestly of Lieut.-Colonel Gore to spare him, assuring him that if he would admit him into his service again he would be just to him for the time to come. Gore, after some time, pretended to be overcome by the fair promises of the fellow and the intercession of some gentlemen that were with him, he consented to spare his life; and as a

trial, employed him in an affair to Sarsfield's camp, which he said, if he performed truly, he would be kind to him whilst he lived, and take him into his service.

The foster-brother faithfully undertook to observe his commands; and then Lieutenant-Colonel Gore desired him to go to Sligo privately, to five or six officers in Colonel Sarsfield's army, whom he named, and for whom he had a particular kindness, and to acquaint them, "That all the army belonging to Enniskillen, with the men of Derry, and the English that came over under the command of Major-General Kirk, were joined together, and on their march towards Sligo. That they were about 20,000 men, and would be there the next day; and that he, with the horse and foot under his command, were only the forlorn, sent before to clear the way for the army. And therefore desired that those friends of his should provide for their own safety; but charged him not to tell any of the rest of Sarsfield's army." And thus having introduced his foster-brother, he sent him away towards Sligo, whilst he and his party marched slowly on their way.

All the country near Sligo was planted with Irish, and as soon as ever the foster brother met any of them on the road, he told that the Enniskillen men, with the rest before-named, were on their march to Sligo, giving an account of their number, and the time of their being there, according to what Lieutenant-Colonel Gore had told him.

This story going from one to another, set all the Irish near Sligo running with their goods to Roscommon and Athlone, and some towards Galway, not one daring to stay for fear of this great army. The foster-brother goes on till he came to Sligo; and as soon as he came there he told everyone that he met what Colonel Gore ordered him to tell only to some few gentlemen that were his friends, assuring them that Lieutenant-Colonel Gore would be with them in a few hours, and that the whole army was following fast after him. This was soon noised over the whole camp, which coming so unexpectedly upon them, put them all in a terrible fear, and everyone began to think of his own safety, and packing up what he might most easily carry with him.

And so all were leaving the camp and flying toward Athlone; which coming to Colonel Sarsfield's ears, he sent to know the reason of the tumult. The foster-brother, who had brought the news to town, was soon brought before him; who, having told what Lieutenant-Colonel Gore gave him in charge, and naming those gentlemen, who happened accident-

ally to be then with Colonel Sarsfield, and all of them (much like Sarsfield's carriage at Wincanton, *Hist. Desert.* p. 77), making the greatest haste they could towards Roscommon and Athlone, and so to Dublin, leaving Sarsfield with his own servants to break the carriages of his cannon; and so he marched after his men to Athlone.

And thus Colonel Sarsfield and his whole party left Sligo to us, without seeing an enemy; and in some few hours after, Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, with his three troops of horse and the 150 foot, entered the town, got 14 cannons, and some say three more afterwards, and a mortar-piece, with the whole provisions that belonged to their army, except what small matter, in the great hurry they were in, they could carry with them.

The capture of Sligo, following the successes at Enniskillen and Derry had a great effect upon the people, and the arms of the Williamites seemed invincible. It presented the appearance to the Irish of God being with their enemies. Lieut.-Colonel Gore strengthened his position at Sligo, had the cannon repaired, and his force was considerably augmented when the head-quarters of Sir Albert Conyngham marched into garrison with his regiment of Inniskilling Dragoons to retain the town.

VICTORY AT BOYLE.

The arrival of the Inniskilling Dragoons in Sligo was soon followed by more important additions. Its own countryman, Colonel Lloyd, came from Ballyshannon, on the 10th September, bringing with him three troops of horse, six companies of Hamilton's foot, and the remainder of Conyngham's dragoons; and these with the three troops of horse, 150 of foot, and the rest of the Inniskilling dragoons, formed the whole garrison. As the Irish had great faith—and, deservedly, great faith, in

Sarsfield, rumour became frequent that Sarsfield would return from Boyle to re-take Sligo; and Colonel Lloyd determined to follow his usual plan of choosing the time and place of battle.

On the 19th of September he set out, following his usual tactics in the dark, from Sligo with a force consisting of 100 of the Inniskilling dragoons, 200 horse, and his whole 150 foot. The Curlew mountains intervened between him and Boyle, so he rested for a few hours near Ballinafad, before the upward march. Sending out a "forlorn" or advance guard of 20 men, supported by a troop of Inniskilling Dragoons, Lloyd felt his way in the darkness, crossed the mountain passes, and fell on the Boyle outposts before they realized the presence of an enemy. One sentry was killed and three others captured. With the dawn of day the advance of Lloyd's troops was seen, and soon Boyle began to discharge its force under Colonel Kelly. Sarsfield was not there; he had proceeded to Dundalk; and Kelly had disposed of his troops prudently. While he sent 500 foot to the main attack towards Lloyd, he placed another force in shelter behind the wall of a deer park alongside the road by which Lloyd must approach, if he came that far; while lower down at the foot of the rising ground five troops of Horse, said to be composed principally of Roman Catholic gentlemen, were formed across a lane, one side protected by a wall, and the other by a ditch.

Lloyd surveyed the enemy's position and quietly made up his mind as to what he should do. Conyngham was ordered with his Inniskilling dragoons to drive the party which had taken shelter by the park wall, and quickly that officer discharged



Schomberg congratulating Inniskilling Dragoons on victory of their comrades.

his commission, driving his enemy back so that they had to retreat to the main body.

Lloyd then recognized what he could do. He placed 40 foot armed with muskets on the right wing under Capt. George Cooper, and on the left wing of the same strength under Captain Archibald Hamilton, who were to attack the Irish at the same time, Cooper to be supported by Lloyd's horse, and Hamilton by another body of the dragoons. To Major Wood was entrusted the command of the main body, chiefly armed with pikes; and the general advance was ordered.

Fear of the Inniskillings appears again to have predominated, as although the Irish had the advantage of shelter, while their opponents were in the open, they had scarcely fired 20 shots when they broke and fled. Notwithstanding the fact that Captain Archibald Hamilton was retarded by the nature of the ground on the left wing and therefore unable to keep pace with the right wing, the two columns advanced and easily drove the Irish across the bog to the level ground beyond it, where the Inniskilling horse charged them, committing great slaughter, for the ground was open as far as the confines of a wood, and here some crawled to the shelter of thickets to "lie down or die."

THE PRISONERS.

When the Irish foot gave way the Irish horse followed the example without striking a blow. Galloping through the town of Boyle at top speed they divided into three parties, and the Inniskillings followed in the same manner, taking about 50 in the

pursuit, notwithstanding the fatigue of the Inniskilling horse after their long march from Sligo.

Whilst this pursuit was proceeding Major Wood brought his main body into Boyle, and he had some difficulty in preventing them breaking out to pursue the foe, as he feared there might be Irish troops in the vicinity. But there were none of the enemy. The Irish had all fled. It was subsequently found that Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd had taken as prisoners four captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, one sergeant, and 69 rank and file. The Inniskillings had enjoyed their usual luck—only one killed and a few wounded. It was then ascertained that the great army at Boyle had been, as usual, exaggerated in numbers by the Irish, and that instead of the thousands spoken of there were only 300 horse and from 500 to 600 foot, not including the garrison left by Colonel O'Kelly in Boyle. In a valise of the Colonel, who got away with three other Colonels in the early part of the rout, some dispatches were found from Sarsfield, giving a bad description of the Jacobite forces in the province of Connaught, and declaring that he would not give up the cause but fight to the last. Thus did his usual good fortune crown the efforts of that prudent Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd.

REJOICINGS AT DUNDALK.

The following extract from Harris will tell how General Schomberg received the news at Dundalk:—

On Friday, the 27th September, we had news that two days before, Colonel Loyd with about 1,000 Inniskilleners, had defeated a body of the Irish that were going towards Sligo (consisting of about 5,000) and had killed 700 of them, taking O'Kelly, their commander, and 40 more officers prisoners, with

a great booty of about 8,000 cattle, with the loss only of 14 men; upon which news the General ordered the Inniskillen horse and foot that were in the camp to draw out, and complimented them so far as to ride all along their line with his hat off; then he ordered the Dutch Guards and the Inniskillen foot to draw into a line to the right of our works, at the west end of town, where they had three running fires, which were answered by the Inniskillen horse from their camp, and by the great guns upon our works, as also from our ships that lay in the mouth of the river. The enemy inquired what all this rejoicing was for, and were in some trouble at first, suspecting we had got some extraordinary news from England; or that there was an army landed in the west of Ireland (which they themselves must have known before us); but when they understood the occasion, they were not much concerned.

In D'Alton's *Annals of Boyle* it is recorded that "chalice-shaped drinking glasses with long shanks" were made at this time to commemorate the victory bearing the words round the rim:—"The Battle of the Boyle, September the 20th, 1689."

Colonel Lloyd left a small garrison in Boyle under the command of Captain Weir, consisting of his own and Captain Mayo's troops of horse, and a company of foot; and moved towards Jamestown, which he was ordered to take. Knowing that his force was small and in danger of becoming attenuated, with Sarsfield having strong foraging parties in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Mayo, he applied to General Schomberg for fresh instructions and on the 1st October he received them. He was to take Jamestown, and he took it, with an ably fortified house belonging to Colonel M'Donald at Drumsnaw. Only 80 men were found there. Lloyd seized a number of horses, sheep, and black cattle, "with all the growth of the country," and returned to Boyle, from where he made various incursions into the sur-

rounding district, even the town of Galway far away being afraid of a visit from the Inniskilling leader. Colonel Russell, formerly governor of Galway city, was left in Jamestown with a small force.

CHAPTER LXX.

RETREAT FROM BOYLE.

Lloyd, with a soldier's keen prescience, recognised the weakness of his position in Boyle with a small force and in the enemy's country. He, therefore, applied to General Schomberg for reinforcements; but Schomberg's camp was wasted with fever and prostrated with malaria, owing to the swamps and rain; so that he was unable to assist Lloyd to any extent, but he did yield to Lloyd's pressing requests at last so far as to detach some more Inniskillings, some English grenadiers, and some of the Huguenots to assist him—with the "positive command not to lose one Foot of Ground."

King James learned of the appeal from Lloyd and of the force to be sent to his assistance, and promptly sent instructions to Brigadier-General Sarsfield to clear the English out of Connaught. Taking Luttrell's Horse, Sir Neil O'Neil's Dragoons, and O'Bryan's, Moore's and O'Hara's Regiments of foot, Sarsfield proceeded towards Connaught, obtaining the aid of 2,000 Connaught troops on his way. Colonel Russell heard of the advance of this large force at James-

town, and was rather late in his evacuation of the place, as he lost a good many men in his retreat towards Sligo, which he reached on the 15th October, 1689, with a few stragglers following him next day

Captain Weir, with the Inniskillings, followed later. He had no force to grapple with the vastly superior numbers of Sarsfield, and when the latter had got within about four miles of Boyle, Weir slipped out in the darkness of the 15th. But he found that the Irish had been out before him and cut off his retreat from the Curlews by intrenchments across the road. Gallantly Weir* stormed the intrenchments, and he fell wounded by a ball at the head of his men, while Lieutenant Cathcart was wounded. Still the party forced their way through, closely followed by the advance guard of Sarsfield, and reached Sligo.

Lloyd, on hearing the news and learning what had occurred, did not delay. For him to think was to act. He took counsel with Colonel Russell, and next morning, in the darkness, about five o'clock, they led out a force, headed by Conyngham's Inniskilling dragoons, and fell on Colonel Luttrell who had some horse and dragoons holding a pass near the town. It was a fierce hand-to-hand fight. Luttrell was a good soldier, and turned his troops both front and rear to meet a double attack. When Lloyd's reserves came up the attack increased in fury until the Irish were steadily driven back. The Inniskillings were now meeting with their usual success until Sarsfield came up with reinforcements, and sent a body of horse to attack Lloyd in the rear. Lloyd was thus between two dangers, and might have been

* This officer, of the Hall Craig family, is reported to have died soon afterwards.

annihilated but that Colonel Russell came up with his horse, and, charging the Irish, gave his leader time to reform his men. Colonel Wood-Martin mentions from authorities, which he quotes, that Saint-Sauvent, a French captain of grenadiers, who commanded a company of Huguenots, greatly distinguished himself during that retreat. Heading his men, musket in hand, he killed many of the Irish; and, when the ammunition was expended, encouraged his men by his example to use the bayonet in defence. It was another case of Schomberg at the Boyne:—“*Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs.*”

Driven back, Lloyd had to consider his position. Sarsfield outnumbered him five to one. Colonel Russell advised a retreat to Ballyshannon, and Lloyd considered that Russell should take the horse and the majority of the foot to Ballyshannon; and that he would hold the castle with some of the Inniskillings and the Huguenots. But Lloyd ascertained that he had no provisions to withstand a siege, and that he could not successfully resist the numbers of Sarsfield, and therefore left the fort during the night for Ballyshannon, being attacked by the Irish in the rear, and losing some of his men on the way.

What followed I take from Col. Wood-Martin's account as being clear and concise:—“The Huguenot, Saint-Sauvent,* had taken the precaution of victualling the castle. In it he found three barrels of gunpowder. Major Wood secured a small cask, which was added to the store. The night was very dark. Saint-Sauvent, fearing the besiegers might open their approaches undiscovered, ordered the ends of a

* This officer lived to get out of Sligo but died at Lisburn.

number of fir deals to be dipped in tar. These were ignited and suspended from the parapet. It was a weird and ghostlike scene. The castle walls and battlements, lit up by the yellow glare of the flaming torches, stood out in bold relief against the inky blackness of the night. The sharp report from the advance sentinel's musketoons, and his warning shout, first gave notice of the attack to the garrison. Rapid discharges of musketry from the walls poured on the dense and formidable columns, made visible by the light from the torches. These were seen crossing the bridge and issuing from the heads of the streets converging on the castle. One party dragged a formidable-looking engine and traversed the intervening open space at a run. They raised a shout which might almost have been expected to make the old walls totter and fall. The cannon on the flanking bastions were now discharged. Besiegers and besieged were enveloped in a cloud of eddying smoke.

“Notwithstanding the fire of musketry and cannon from the castle, the besiegers succeeded in planting against the walls the engine called a ‘sow.’ It was a solid frame-work of timber, made bullet-proof by a covering of two layers of cow-hides and two of sheepskins, the whole firmly bound together with iron hoops. This novel contrivance was as lofty as the castle wall. The side furthest from the parapet was open, so that the assailants might go in and out at pleasure. Through the centre wound a flight of steps to enable the besiegers to reach the summit of the castle rampart without danger. This scaling-ladder was mounted on wheels, with iron axle-trees, and was thus easily pushed forward. Several of the storming party were killed.

“On the fall of the engineer in charge the stormers lost heart, and ran away, abandoning the engine. The besieged threw a quantity of shavings over the battlements and lowered one of their men in a basket, who set fire to the ‘sow.’ Elated by his success, the soldier determined not to return empty-handed. He proceeded to strip one of the dead bodies that lay nearest to the foot of the machine. The light from the torches on the castle ramparts and from the freshly kindled woodwork was so great that the daring marauder offered a conspicuous mark to the besiegers, who greeted his reascension with a brisk fire. He had been raised but a short distance when the rope, by which he was drawn up, was severed by a bullet, and the basket, with its occupant, fell to the ground. Whilst his comrades above were seeking another rope, the soldier, with the greatest composure, stripped a second corpse, and, laden with this double booty, reached the parapet in safety.

“17th October.—At daybreak the Irish were forced to abandon a field-piece they had planted in the street close to the walls. They had only once been enabled to discharge this piece, in consequence of the heavy fire from the castle. In the attempt to reload it six gunners fell. A sally was made from the castle to capture it, and several of the besiegers fell.

“Saint-Sauvent defended the castle for four days after the trenches were opened, but, provisions failing, and the supply of water being indifferent, he surrendered on honourable conditions, marching out with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted. The garrison mustered 250 strong.

They lost 26 men during the siege. The loss of the besiegers in their attack and attempted storm was at least 300. Sarsfield scrupulously observed all the articles of surrender, and invited Saint-Sauvent's and Major Wood's officers to dinner.

"21st October.—As the troops filed across Sligo bridge, on their way to Ballyshannon, Sarsfield addressed them, offering all who would serve King James a horse and arms free, and five guineas of pay in advance. The only reply he received was, that 'they would never fight for the Papishes.' One grenadier alone accepted Sarsfield's offer, and this man made his appearance on the following day in Ballyshannon, with horse, arms, and guineas,

"Sarsfield had no fewer than 5,000 men with him at the time, and his knowledge of the weakness of the forces in the west was attributed to secret communication from M'Carthy, who was still a prisoner at Enniskillen.

"It was thus Sarsfield captured Sligo after the lapse of little more than two months. He advanced against it with almost as much rapidity as his troops had previously fled from it before Gore."

SECOND FIGHT AT BELTURBET.

At Cavan Colonel Edmund O'Reilly commanded a regiment of Irish foot, and as Belturbet was in close proximity he deemed Wolsely to be an uncomfortable neighbour. O'Reilly sought reinforcements, and the Duke of Berwick sent him 1,200 men, which, with his own regiment, and what the neighbourhood supplied, made up about 4,000 men.

But Wolsely was not caught napping. Pursuing the usual policy of the Inniskilleners to choose their

own battle ground, and meet their danger rather than wait for it, and to attack by dawn, Wolsely marched from Belturbet on the 12th February, 1689-90, in the evening with three troops of horse, two of dragoons, and 700 foot. To deceive scouts, and mislead the enemy, Wolsely went a round-about way of 14 miles, intending to fall upon the enemy next morning.

Just about the same time the Duke of Berwick entered Cavan with the reinforcements, intending to attack Belturbet next day. Wolsely was delayed in his plans by difficult and narrow roads, and having to cross a deep ford, so that the horse had to take the infantry over on their horses' backs. When he, therefore, came within a mile of Cavan he heard Berwick's drums summoning the garrison to arms, so that instead of him taking Colonel O'Reilly by surprise, he was in danger of having his own retreat cut off.

The Irish troops lined the hedges, and fired upon the Inniskilling Horse as they came up a narrow lane, so that a detachment of Inniskilling foot had to come up to clear the way. The Irish main army was posted on a hill near the town, and fired upon the advancing Inniskillings, but with such bad aim that scarcely a man fell. Wolsely continued to advance, and fired on the Irish who broke and fled, some to the fort, some to the town, and some to the fields.

The Inniskilling foot began to plunder the town, which afforded an opportunity to the Irish to renew the attack. Wolsely fortunately had a reserve of 250 foot and 80 horse, who beat the Irish off, their horse flying beyond the town, and the foot taking refuge

in the fort. The Inniskilling men got £4,000 in brass money among the booty, which they threw about the streets, not thinking it worth carrying.

CASTLE HAMILTON.

Wolsely then set fire to the town to prevent its being used again against him, went to the castle of Killeshandra,* and captured it, with a great quantity of cattle. In this action the Inniskilleners lost Captains (Martin) Armstrong and Mayo, and Lieutenant Maugere. The Irish lost Colonel Nugent, Lieutenant Colonels Levantele and Geoghagan, Major Reilly, Captains Reilly, Carrol, Manning, Fort, and Brady; and 300 men; while four captains, five lieutenants, two ensigns, a quarter master, and about 200 men were made prisoners.

CAVAN.

As the Irish foot had not deserted the Castle at Cavan, Colonel Wolsely sent on 23rd March, 1689-90 a party under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Echlin and Major Billing, to take it. Making their way by Butler's-bridge, they pursued the usual Inniskillen method of travelling by night, and attacking in the early morning. A party of horse and about 50 foot,

* Castle Hamilton, beside Killeshandra, Sir Francis Hamilton, created a baronet in 1628, had taken an active part against the rebels in 1641. His son, Sir Charles Hamilton, second baronet, died in 1689, leaving Sir Francis Hamilton third baronet, who was attainted in 1689. He was interred at Killeshandra, on February 6th, 1713. He was succeeded by his nephew, Arthur Cecil Hamilton, whose eldest daughter married Sir Thomas George Southwell, Bart., first Viscount Southwell; and their second son Robert Henry, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 8th Dragoons [now Royal Irish Hussars], purchased his maternal grandfather's estate of Killeshandra or Castle Hamilton. Several members of the family being without issue, the Castle Hamilton estate was again sold in the year 1844, by Mr. Robert Henry Southwell, and the present proprietor is William Joseph Hamilton, Esq., J.P. In the month of June, 1911, Castle Hamilton was destroyed by fire.

of Colonel Earle's detachment, beat the enemy (about 60) from their breastwork, and crossing the river pursued them, killing 20, and taking 16 prisoners, including the Irish captain, and one ensign, with a loss of only one man. The horse then joined the party proceeding to Cavan, which drove the Irish out of the houses that remained, killing between 60 and 80 of them, and set fire to the houses. The Inniskilleners lost only one officer, one ensign, and eight men in this engagement.

The last affairs in which this detachment of the Inniskilling forces (apart from head-quarters under Duke Schomberg), took place, were at Cavan and Ballyshannon. In both the outposts at Belturbet and Ballyshannon the Inniskillings were "straitened" for want of food. About the 23rd March, 1689-90 Colonel Wolsely led out a force from Belturbet, which secured a thousand head of cattle, and for this reason were pursued by the Jacobites, who clung closely to those whom they called in consequence "cattle-stealers." The Inniskillings killed 20 or 30 of their opponents, and secured their prey.

KILLESHANDRA.

A fortnight afterwards Colonel Wolsely led out on the 16th April, a picked party of 700 men against the Castle of Killeshandra, then held by a Jacobite garrison of 160 men under Captain D'Arcy; and Wolsely had laid his mines to blow portion of it up, and had his men ready for the assault, when the garrison surrendered. As this castle had been a harassing point for the enemy against Belturbet, and was considered to guard the pass into Connaught and Leinster in that direction, there was great rejoicing

over the capture, especially as the Inniskillings had lost only two men killed, with five wounded. An outpost of one hundred Inniskillings was left to hold the place.

About the 18th April, 1690, Colonel Tiffan, the governor of Ballyshannon, sallied forth with a party of [27th] Inniskillings for food supplies, and he obtained a large number of cattle in the neighbourhood of Sligo. The Jacobite garrison there endeavoured to recapture the booty, but Tiffan drove them off, with 16 killed. The want of provisions was supplied in this time of war by war, though it necessarily caused great hardship to the people who were so plundered.

CHAPTER LXXI

KING WILLIAM ARRIVES.

Duke Schomberg had landed with 10,000 men at Bangor from 60 or 70 ships, in Belfast Lough on the 13th August, 1689, and marched next day to Carrickfergus, arriving on the 15th.

It was on the 7th August that the garrison of Inniskillen had sent the Rev. Andrew Hamilton to Major-General Kirk at Derry to congratulate him on his success in relieving that city. The envoy of Inniskillen was favourably received by Kirk, who sent Rev. Mr. Hamilton back to Inniskillen on the 9th August, with orders to Colonel Wolsely to send him 500 horse and 200 dragoons. Wolsely dispatched a force, as directed, and this detachment took part in the siege of Carrickfergus, which was captured on the 20th August.

Duke Schomberg then advanced on the 2nd September through the then village of Belfast towards Newry, his advance guard on the march being confined to the Inniskilling Dragoons, of which he had 328 men, and on whom he placed great reliance. All along the march the advance guard was confined

to the Inniskilling Dragoons,* or the Inniskilling Horse. The Duke of Berwick burned Newry, and retreated before Schomberg to Dundalk and Drogheda, where he found King James insisting on Field Marshal Rosen that the coming battle should be fought at Dundalk, while Rosen contended that they should retire behind the Shannon, with the ports of Limerick and Galway to help them.

DUNDALK CAMP.

While King James and his Marshal quarrelled over their strategy, Schomberg advanced to Dundalk, arriving there on the 7th September, and lay entrenched there till 5th December, and it was in this fatal camp that disease and death so decimated his troops, that had there been any generalship on the side of King James, Schomberg must have been defeated. It is said that the Duke lost 7,000 men by death at Carlingford, Dundalk, Belfast, Carrickfergus, &c., and that 27 ships at Newry were filled with invalids. It was here in this rain-sodden, fever-stricken spot that Sir Gerard Irvine died. The Inniskillings suffered here less than other troops owing to the men being used to the wet climate.† However, the camp was broken up on the 6th November, 1689, and the troops were dispersed over the north. Reinforcements were sent to Schomberg in March, and he accumulated stores at Armagh, and prepared for the next campaign; while King James prepared on

* Marshal Schomberg wrote to King William on September 20—"The Inniskilling troops appear to have good-will to the service, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of Irish lords."

† It was said that the men became so callous, with so much suffering around them, that they used the dead bodies of their comrades for pillows and seats.

his side for the coming struggle by concentrating his stores at Dundalk, Navan, and Trim.

WILLIAM III. ARRIVES.

William III. had landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, 1690, and he proceeded to let his generals see that, to use his own words—"He had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet." Eight days later, on the 22nd June, he reviewed his army of 36,000 men at Loughbrickland, where Storey first saw the Inniskilleners, of whom he had heard so much, and of whom he wrote:—

At Lough Britland saw the Inniskillen Horse and Dragoons.* I wondered much to see their horses and equipage, hearing before what feats had been done by them; they were three regiment in all, and *most of the troopers and dragoons had waiting men* mounted upon garrons (these are very small Irish horses but very hardy). Some of them had holsters, and others their pistols hung at their sword-belts. They showed me the Enemies' scouts upon a hill before us. I wisht him to go and head them off, and they answered "With all their hearts, but they had Orders to go no further than where they saw the Enemies' scouts," and thought they seemed to be dissatisfied with it, and added *They should never thrive so long as they were under orders.*† And yet if these men had been allowed to go on in their old forward way it's very probable

* They were spoken of as the Grey Innskillings; and Sir A. Conyngham wrote to Clarke (see Clarke MSS. T.C.D.) under date Mar. 16, 1691: "I think no one else will desire them [the clothes], being the livery of my regiment."

† Kazner's MSS. Mannheim (1789), speaking of the Innskillings, says vol. 1, page 306—They could not endure orders, but declared at each command that they could do no good if they were not allowed to do as they liked. However strangely this contrasted with Schomberg's strict discipline, we found it good to make an exception with them, and to leave them to their own genius. The result showed here also the advantage of the General's knowledge of men, and these light troops rendered the most excellent service.

Bonivert also wrote respecting Newry in 1690—The Innskilling Dragoons came there to us. They are but middie-sized men, but they are, nevertheless, brave fellows. I have seen them like masty [mastiff] dogs run against bullets.

they might have saved the town of Newry from being burnt, for the Duke of Berwick was then in it; and a troop of the enemies' horse advanced that afternoon, some three miles from the town towards us: but seeing the Inniskilleners they retreated in haste to the town, only leaving some few scouts to bring a further account of our motive.

Pursuing his way, William marched by way of Newry towards Dundalk. The activity of the Prince of Orange was in contrast to the slower methods of Schomberg, and the King's sharing the hardships of the soldiers constituted a comradeship between himself and his men that compensated for his taciturnity. It is not my place in this chapter, which principally relates to the Inniskilling forces, to go into any details of the war or its generals, but a pen sketch of William may be permitted.

Harris, the historian, describes him in these words :--

He was, as to his person, of a middle stature, with a thin and weak body; had a light brown complexion, an augustine nose, bright and piercing eyes, and a countenance composed to gravity and authority.

And Witherow says of him—

He was by birth and education a Presbyterian, and before coming to England was the First Magistrate of the Presbyterian Republic of Holland; but he does not seem to have cherished any decided views as to Church government, and when he became King of England he conformed to the Protestant Episcopal Establishment, deviating from the path of High Church orthodoxy in this only, that he was the warm friend of Protestant Dissenters, and that he constantly resisted, so far as he safely could, everything bordering on persecution for religious opinion

Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Provost Trinity College, Dublin, writes: ---

William was a tolerant man and would not favour perse-

cution, and it can be proved that the succeeding reigns, when the whole Penal Code was the law of the land, it was not enforced, but that Roman Catholics, if quiet people, were allowed to live in comfort and security under English law. . . The Penal laws in Ireland . . . were more political than religious, and intended to secure the State rather than to coerce the individual conscience.

Witherow also writes regarding the Toleration Bill of a subsequent date:—

Though the King had failed in his design for the admission of Protestant Dissenters into office and employments, by the removal of the sacramental test, yet he succeeded in the second point proposed—namely, that of toleration—by the suspension of all Penal Laws for not coming to church. It is seen before what the King's sentiments were, while he was Prince of Orange, in relation to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Test; and that he thought no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill-used because he differed that the Dissenters should have liberty of their religion, and that the Papists should have such liberty as was allowed them in Holland, with an exclusion of them from Parliament and public offices, It is not strange, therefore, that his Majesty, now it was in his power, should endeavour to procure a toleration for all his Protestant subjects; especially as it was not only agreeable to his principles, but what they had deserved by their steady adherence to the new settlement,

Besides his experience in Holland induced him to look upon liberty of conscience as one of the wisest measures of Government as tending to the encouraging of industry, and to the increase of the people and as affording a sanctuary to all who are oppressed. . . The Act [of Toleration] gave the King great content, who was very uneasy to see so much ill humour spreading among the clergy, and by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principle of liberty of conscience, that he restrained the heat of some who were proposing several Acts against the Papists.

The King was thus prevented from giving full effect to his kindly feelings towards the Protestant Dissenters and the Roman Catholics; but the High Protestant party, dominant both in the English and Irish Parliaments, put such obstacles in the way as to make it impossible. They compelled him to give up the Comprehension Bill, the design of which was to

admit the Presbyterians into the Church Establishment, and they declined to abolish the test that excluded Protestant Dissenters from all Government situations. Even in England they complained of the amnesty granted to the Roman Catholics at the close of the war, and especially "that protection had been granted to the Irish not included in the Articles of Limerick, whereby the Protestants had been deprived of the benefit of the law against them." They took out of the King's hand, and kept under their own control, the forfeited estates of Ireland, the effect of which was that the King was no longer in circumstances either to reward his friends, or show generosity to his foes.

They compelled him, sorely against his wish, to dismiss his Dutch guards. While paying to the King all the outward semblance of respect and honour, they opposed what was known to be his personal wishes in the most persistent and constitutional manner, and contrived to make him taste, in no small degree, which has been called in modern times "the bitterness of power." So far did they carry this system of annoyance that at one time he was thinking seriously of resigning the Crown, and going back to Holland.

This was the man whom Enniskillen had assisted to place on the throne in place of the unconstitutional James.

CHAPTER LXXII

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

The Prince advanced from Dundalk further south by way of Ardee, and came to the hills overlooking the valley of the Boyne, while James retreated and defended himself by breastworks on the southern side. James had about 30,000 men with him, of whom one-third were French,* who, with the Irish cavalry, formed the back-bone of his army, for the Irish infantry were poor fighting material; but he had a strong force of artillery, and a considerable preponderance of cavalry, under Berwick and Sarsfield, as well as having the advantage of good position. William had nearly 36,000 men, of whom about one-half were English; the remainder Huguenots, Dutch, and other foreign and Brandenburg regiments, with the Dutch Guards Blue; the unconquered Inniskilling dragoons and horse and foot, and the valiant defenders of Londonderry.

It was on the evening before the eventful battle

* Sent over by the French King, against whom the Pope was intriguing and with that end in view the Pope contributed to the expense of William's expedition to England.

that William took counsel with his commanders, for he wished to force the passage of the river against the remonstrance of Schomberg, who favoured a night attack, which the King would not sanction on account of the boggy nature of the ground. It was during this discussion that the King inquired if any one knew the nature of the ground, and Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor of Enniskillen, Colonel of the [20th] Lancashire regiment [now Fusiliers] offered four officers to guide the army next day.

The left cavalry attack consisted of the 6th Enniskilling Dragoons,* the 1st Royals, the Queen's Bays, and the 3rd Hussars. Its business was to hold the Jacobite right and harass the enemy.

The Enniskilling foot were in the main body, below King William's camp, who were to make the central attack, and along with them were Hanmer's and Nassau's brigades. Opposed to them were the Irish infantry and the balance of the dispositions made to secure the flanks.

It was on the 30th of June, as the Prince was the centre of a group at breakfast on the south side of the Boyne, that his position was observed by the enemy; and two guns were brought forward by them and concealed by a hedge while the gunners took aim. William had risen from the meal and taken his seat in the saddle, and was therefore a good mark for both guns. One ball brought the horse of Prince George of Hesse to the ground, grazed the Prince's right shoulder, drawing some blood, and

* A cavalry regiment at this period consisted of eight troops, with 60 men to each troop, with the recruits in the rear. An infantry regiment had 13 companies, with 60 men to the company; and there were 46 musketeers and 14 pikemen.

the Prince fell forward on his horse's neck. A cry of joy arose from the enemy's ranks; one of his staff (Solmes) burst into tears, but the Prince was not daunted. "There is no harm done," he said, "but the bullet came near enough." He had the wound dressed, rode through his army to reassure his men, and the cheers of his army were but the precursors of the exultant shouts of victory next day.

The details of the eventful battle of the Boyne may be looked for elsewhere. It was on the 1st of July, 1690, that for the last time two Princes fought for the throne of England. James was a poor general, a coward at heart, and had the poorer army. He kept himself safe out of the fray, surveying the scene from a windmill. William was deemed to be the best military captain of his time, he had the more powerful army, and, a true soldier, he was ever to be found where the battle was hottest.

At four o'clock in the morning the opposing armies were in motion. William overruled the advice of Schomberg, who did not like crossing a stream to attack the entrenched Irish—it was too hazardous; but when the Prince gave the order to advance the General was in his place. It was under Schomberg, commanding the main body, that the first troops, the Dutch Blues, ten abreast, entered the Boyne water, and they were followed by the Londonderries and the Inniskillen foot, who plunged into the water through rushes and osiers at the Gunne Island. Left of them were Caillemot's French refugees, and again to the left of them English infantry; with the Danes farther down. William led the left wing, farther down, towards Drogheda, at Pass.

There was a strong colour of green, for the Williamites wore green boughs in their hats to distinguish them, while the Jacobites wore white favours. Yet the white did not appear till the Williamites were waist-deep in water and half across the river, and volley after volley was poured towards them, but too high to inflict much damage. The Irish yelled defiance at the assault, and waited till the advancing troops were within 15 yards of them to fire; but the volley did not stay the onset; the Williamites pressed resolutely forward; the Dutch reformed on the bank, still dripping, and charged the Irish foot, who gave way and scattered.

Lord Tyrconnell fumed at the retreat of his men. General Richard Hamilton (who had commanded the Irish army at Derry) led some Irish foot to attack the two regiments of Huguenots still crossing the river, but the Redshanks of Antrim and the rest of the undisciplined Irish foot followed the example of the dragoons and ignominiously fled from the field. Hamilton managed to escape and led another lot of horse to charge Hanmer's and Nassau's regiments crossing the river, and the Irish sabres played in among their enemies, and then charged the French Huguenots under Caillemote and Cambon. The battle was now at its height on the southern shore of the river. If the Irish foot did give way the Irish horse were still disputing every foot of the ground, and gave time for Hamilton to rally the foot behind a hedge. But the Inniskilleners and the Dutch dislodged them. Hamilton's horse then came to the support of the foot, and both forces charged the Dutch Blues, who again drove back the Irish. Hamilton displayed considerable generalship this day.



“Gentlemen,” cried King William at the Boyne, “I have heard much of your exploits, and now I shall witness them.”



WILLIAM III. leads the Inniskilling Foot at the Boyne.

When the Danish horse were forming up to support the Blues, Hamilton sent 60 Irish horse against them, and they drove the Danes down to the river again; and the Dutch Blues and Inniskilleners were the only solid Williamite regiments that remained on the southern bank. Had the Irish foot been like the Irish horse, there might have been a different ending to the battle.

It was during this charge that Caillemot fell, mortally wounded; yet still he cried to his men—"On, on my lads, to glory, to glory!" Schomberg recognized the critical condition of affairs, and refusing to put on his cuirass, rushed to the head of the wavering troops, and cried to the Huguenots in their native French—"Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors;" and he had not long spoken when he received an attack from the Irish horse, and fell from two sabre cuts on his head, and a bullet in his neck. Shortly after the Rev. George Walker, who was with the Inniskilleners, fell, while leading his Derry men; and when William heard the news he remarked "What took him there?"

William had been informed of the tide of battle. He was at the head of the left wing, and came late into the field. It was not easy to find a suitable ford to cross the Boyne, and the tradition is carefully preserved that it was one Inniskillener, named David M'Kinley,* of Wolseley's horse, who showed a passage to the King. Yet it was dangerous, so dangerous that his horse had to swim, and the footing was boggy. When the King regained firm ground he got into a morass on the Meath side;

* The M'Kinley Orange Lodge of Enniskillen preserves the name of this trooper in its name.

and, recovering himself, he took his sword in his left hand, for his right arm was bandaged, and proceeded to where the Irish horse were still fighting furiously and obstinately under Hamilton.

The Irish were strong in reserve on the hill of Donore, and there the King led his steaming horses; and when Hamilton, pursuing a good defence, spurred to take advantage of the ground, William ordered the Danish horse to the charge. The Danes, however, could not withstand the onrush of the cheering Irish horse, who played their swords to advantage, and the Danes broke and fled. It was this very critical moment of the battle that decided the fate of the day. Riding to the head of the Inniskilling Horse, William cried—"What will *you* do for me?" The King was not recognized at first, being unknown to the sturdy men from the island town, and one trooper, fearing that he was an enemy, was about to fire upon him when William, with his hand, pushed aside the dangerous carbine, saying—"What, gentlemen! do you not know your friends?"

"It is his Majesty," shouted out Colonel Wolseley, and the Inniskillen men shouted out a chorus of delight at the honour and cheered him lustily.

"Gentlemen," said the King, "you shall be my guards to-day. I have heard much of you: let me see something of you!"

And leading the Inniskilleners up the steep hill of Donore, while saddles were emptied by a hot Irish fire, he was struck by two balls himself, one grazing the cap of his pistol and the other taking off the heel of his boot. The King's staff implored him to go to a place of safety, from which he could direct

his men, but, with soldier-like resolution, he insisted on remaining, and was seen wherever danger was hottest to the last. The attack was now concentrated upon Donore; the Irish foot were driven back, and they retreated, protected by their horse, towards Duleek. It is said that Hamilton made another gallant charge on the Inniskillen advance guard at Plottin Castle, near Oldbridge, driving his foe back, till King William coming up with the main body, saved the position.

Sir Neil O'Neal's Irish dragoons (almost 800 men) had bravely held the bridge of Slane for a time against Meinhart Schomberg (son of the General), Portland and Douglas, but he was killed, and his men broke and fled; and the danger was that William would cut off the retreat of James. Lauzun conducted an orderly retreat for the King, though the road and the pass of Duleek was a mass of fugitives; and Lauzun joined forces at Duleek. Then the pursuit of the Irish began, and the battle of the Boyne was over. The English loss was placed at about 300 to 500 men, the Irish loss from 800 to 1,500.

The cowardly James, who could find nothing but blame for his generals, fled to Dublin with 200 men, and having left the field between five and six o'clock reached the capital about ten o'clock. The story is told that, when received by Lady Tyrconnell at the Castle gate, His Majesty remarked that the Irish had ran away. "But your Majesty won the race," smartly remarked her Ladyship, the once beautiful Fanny Jennings.

William did not pursue the fleeing monarch, else he might have captured him.* It may be that the

* The Duke of Berwick wrote [his Memoirs, page 72-75]—"We began the retreat. A detachment of the enemy followed us. Every time we halted at

victorious troops were exhausted, or that William did not relish seizing his father-in-law, but the fact remains that James got away and slept safely in Dublin Castle, Harris tells us that

Next morning he assembled the magistrates and Council of the city and told them (*inter alia*) that some time after he came to Ireland and found all his Roman Catholic subjects as well equipped and prepared to defend his cause as their ability would bear. And though he had often been told that when it came to the touch they would not bear the brunt of a battle, he could never credit the same till that day when having a good army, and all preparations fit to engage a foreign invader, he found the fatal truth of what he had been so often cautioned about, and, though the army did not desert him as they did in England, yet when it came to the trial they basely fled the field and left it a spoil to his enemies; nor could they be prevailed upon to rally, though the loss in the whole defeat was inconsiderable; so that henceforward he was determined to head an Irish army, and now resolved to shift for himself as they themselves must do. He warned them not to desert or fire the city but it seemed that God was with his enemies; and that the Prince of Orange was a merciful man, to whom he advised them to submit and set the premises at liberty.

Dublin was in confusion with the rush of the defeated army, the stragglers, and fears for the future. Roman Catholic citizens fled, Protestants came from their hiding places. Bishop Dopping of Meath, who had come out to welcome King James, was equally solicitous about the reception of King William; and his brother of Limerick and Archbishop King of Dublin joined in the reception. They did not stay to argue about the divine right of kingship being

a defile they did the same. Nay, I believe they were glad to build us a golden bridge. Indeed this inactivity may have been the result of the death of Marshal Schomberg, who had fallen in the hand-to-hand fight at Oldbridge. For without injustice to the Prince of Orange one may assert that Schomberg was the better general. However that may be, the enemy allowed us to retreat peacefully."

vested in the monarch who had been defeated. The incoming regiments were welcomed by the Protestants, who put their arms round the necks of their deliverers, and William fixed his head-quarters at Finglass.

Of the baggage and stores of the defeated army it was said that the Inniskilleners had taken 300 cars, and had found £10,000 in money, much plate and articles of value, along with the camp equipage of Tyrconnell and Lauzun.

On the 9th day of July James landed at Brest, and proceeded to the French King at St Germain, where he was visited by Louis, and here James spent the remainder of his days. He lost his crown at the Boyne.

The French blamed the Irish for the defeat, which the French regarded as a skirmish and refused to call a battle. It is singular that both English and French looked upon the Irish soldiers with some degree of contempt, especially in their own country. James had informed the Corporation of Dublin (see footnote page 646) after he had fled from the Boyne, that the warning he had received that the Irish never acquitted themselves well on a field of battle was true. Count Antonine Lauzun, the French General, held Irish soldiers in contempt, a feeling shared by Tyrconnell himself; and the Duchess as well as the Duke impressed upon King Louis that the Irish were cowards, and gave as a proof the flight of the Irish infantry at the Boyne.

PASSES OF THE ERNE.

In the month of June, 1690, Colonel Mitchelburne, who had played a prominent part in the siege of Derry, had his own regiment and "a good party of

the Northern Militia" with him at Ballyshannon; and with a strong party he proceeded to survey all the fords and passes along Lough Erne from Cavan "by Belturbet by Inniskilling and so to the far mouth of the river Erne," most of which he found fortified either with breast work or forts. To improve the defence he posted (says Harris) one company of his own regiment at Cavan, four companies at Belturbet; at Inniskilling one company of his own, and three of Colonel Deering's; at Beleeke one company of his own, and a troop of Colonel Wynne's Dragoons; at Corleaford one company of his own and one company of Militia foot; at Ballyshannon five companies of his own men, out of which he detached a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, with 50 men to Killybegs to prevent any relief being from thence shipped over in boats across the bay of Donegal to Sligo. He posted also at the bar mouth one company of Colonel Deering's regiment and two companies of Militia, and in the "Abbey of Ashro," near Ballyshannon, of troop, of Dragoons, of Sir Albert Conyngham's (6th Inniskillings)—all to assist Colonel Ramsey in the siege of Sligo, then held for King James by Sir Teague O'Regan. Colonel Wynne's [Inniskilling] Dragoons were with Colonel Ramsey.

SLIGO CAPTURED.

Colonel Mitchelburne took command, and had some of the Inniskillings under him. Sligo made a gallant and desperate resistance under a gallant old warrior, Sir Teigue O'Regan, and it suffered great privations, from June until the 19th September. Colonel Mitchelburne succeeded in capturing the fort of Sligo, and as the conquest of this place was deemed of

great importance, a special medal was struck in commemoration of the event.

DEATH OF CONYNGHAM.

One sad feature of this siege was the death of Sir Albert Conyngham, the first Colonel of the VI. Inniskilling Dragoons, who commanded a party keeping watch on the garrison of Sligo. A party of his regiment were surprised in a night attack on the 5th September by the Sligo garrison under Colonel Scott close to the village of Collooney; and after quarter had been given, an Irish sergeant said to the Colonel, "H'Albert is your name and by a Halbert you shall die," as he slew the defenceless officer. A monument to his memory was placed in Collooney church.*

In the skirmishes along the Shannon during

* The inscription on the monument (translated) runs as follows:—

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

ALBERT CONYNGHAM,

An illustrious Knight of the Royal Army, under the command of
Lord Mount-Alexander.

Throughout life, he was distinguished for extreme ability and active
diligence, for perfect probity and the greatest urbanity.

Against those of noble birth, as well as amongst those of humbler
rank, he was noted for a culture and learning
greater than ordinary.

Grieved for his persecuted religion and for the fall of liberty, he
levied a regiment of dragoons at his own expense in the glorious
revolution under the invincible Prince of Orange.

How many dangers he encountered, how, by an untimely death, he fell
for his country, lamented by all good men, cannot be unknown
to you, O! stranger, or to posterity. He fell for his country
in the vicinity of this town, Sept. 5th, A.D. 1691.

Major-General Henry Conyngham, Commander of a Brigade, his
eldest, now only son, erected this monument.

The same Henry, son of Albert, held a command in the forces of her
Majesty, Queen Anne of England, sent into Spain, under the Earl
of Peterborough. With a small band of less than 1,500 English
and Dutch, he put to flight 5,000 French, after a severe
battle near Lerida, in the Kingdom of Aragon.

Mortally wounded in that glorious conflict,
he died the following day, namely, the

10th January, A.D. 1705-1706.

1691 Major Malcolm Cathcart* had a command at Portumna, while Colonel Lloyd had command of 500 Horses and Dragoons at Killaloe in connexion with the siege of Limerick. Colonel Tiffan commanded his [27th] Inniskillings also, at the siege of Limerick, and in one of the assaults on Thomond Bridge, the English Grenadiers were commanded by Colonel Tiffan, Lieutenant Colonel Hudson, and Major Noble [of Lisnaskea], when they drove back the Irish with great slaughter, insomuch that the bodies of the enemy "were left in heaps upon the bridge, higher than the ledges of it, insomuch that every man of them was either killed or made prisoners except about 120, who had the good fortune to get into the town before the drawbridge was drawn up," of whom many were severely wounded. The number of slain was estimated at 600. The Inniskillings lost in this action Lieutenant Starling. It was shortly after this attack that the Irish sent the proposals for a treaty.

[END OF VOLUME II.]

* Lieutenant Cathcart was killed during this western campaign.

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