

THE LAMENT
FOR
JOHN MACWALTER WALSH

WITH NOTES ON THE HISTORY
OF THE FAMILY OF

WALSH
FROM
1170 TO 1690

BY
J. C. WALSH

WITH A FOREWORD BY
JAMES J. WALSH, M. D. Ph. D.

KELMSCOTT PRESS
253 WEST 47th STREET
NEW YORK



KELMSCOTT PRESS
NEW YORK

COPYRIGHT
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

TO
FRANK P. WALSH
WHO BELONGS
WITH THE BEST
OF THESE

FOREWORD

BY

JAMES J. WALSH, M. D. Ph. D.

I THOUGHT I knew something about the Walshs until I had the privilege of reading the manuscript of this work of my good friend, J. C. Walsh. I found that in spite of a deal of reading on the subject and rather careful attention to details picked up here and there in many places, including visits to Ireland and Irish libraries, I had only the vaguest hints of the real story of the family whose name I bear. I had no idea that the Walshs could be traced through the past eight centuries as very definite factors not only in Irish life and history but also in the history of many other countries.

I am proud to think that the Walshs have found so faithful and assiduous a chronicler of their doings in one of their own name. I was especially gratified with the thoroughgoing consultation of documents of all kinds that characterizes the work. I have had some experience myself in looking up details with regard to the Middle Ages and I know how difficult it is to be sure of their authenticity. I have found every earmark of faithful documentation in this.

I am sure that it has been a labor of love for the author and I envy him the joy he must have had in nosing out in the dusty files of libraries in this country and abroad the original historical materials that have been so freely consulted. He has done much more than make a history of the Walshs. He has gathered an immense amount of historical material that will be valuable for consultation by writers of history in many departments who want to trace events to their origin.

The place of the Walshs in what came to be known as the Walsh country in southeastern Ireland just across the sea from Wales and Cornwales (to use the old name for Cornwall) from which the name of the family is derived, might seem to be due to their fighting qualities and good luck, but the fact that when the family were driven root and branch from their home lands in Ireland they succeeded in making for themselves successful careers in three such exclusive countries as France and Spain and Austria, is evidence of the native power and initiative which must have been in the family strain. They owe to these qualities their original foothold in Dublin, Waterford, Kilkenny and other counties, but also their success in the countries of their adoption and the distinction that came to be theirs even hundreds of years after they were sent to hell or Connaught by Cromwell. My dear old grandfather, who was a sort of a "hedge schoolmaster" in the days when that was a dangerous occupation in "the County Mayo, God help us!" from which indeed it finally brought about his enforced exile, used to say that we went to Connaught by choice because we did not want to be with Cromwell in the next world.

Banished from their homelands by governmental authorities or driven by poverty and need, there are ever so many of us Walshs all over the world now who know all too little about these ancestors of ours as they are so well written about here, and yet we are all proud of the name and the family, so that I think there ought to be many readers for this book. My hearty congratulations on its completion! I am glad to know that my own son will have a chance to read early in life the story of the family from which he has come, for we all need inspiration to what is best in us in our time, and whence can one derive it better than from the deeds of those who bore his name in the past and of whose race he is the latest scion?

PREFACE

THE GATHERING of materials for this book can be compared appropriately to the now popular pastime of digging in the ruins of buried cities for objects which may aid in interpreting some civilization that has disappeared.

For what happened in Ireland between 1536 and 1690 was the complete disappearance of a civilization that had begun in 1170, and which, in its way, was as individual and as well defined as that of any epoch in history. There is no other instance, that I know of, unless it be the replacement of the Armoricans in western France, of all the directing spirits of a whole country being dispossessed, practically all at once, and replaced by an entirely new set, whose interest and sentiment both operated to make any reference to the past undesirable.

Some years ago, being at Glengariff, in southwest Ireland, I decided to go to Berehaven to see what was left of the old castle of Dunboy, the scene of some famous exploits in 1601. A student of history, even a casual student, visiting Ireland, might be expected to visit Dunboy very much as a visitor to Boston might visit Concord or Lexington. I saw what I wanted to see; but the man who drove me there knew nothing about the place, and from his name he should have known. I was permitted to inspect it, against what seemed to be the rule, as my card showed that I lived far away, for I learned afterwards that the owners were supposed to discourage members of the sept of the old proprietors from seeing the place, and not to stimulate the curiosity of others. Similarly, when I consulted the standard histories of Waterford County for information concerning the family of Walsh, which I knew to have been numerous and influential there for centuries, it was as if they

had never existed. The histories written since their lands were confiscated simply ignored them.

Other instances might be cited, but what it means was convincingly stated by John D'Alton, a gifted, patient and devoted student of his country's history, who about 1850 mildly complained that the "New Interests," even after a hundred and fifty years, were convinced that least said was soonest mended and declined to give the information that poor Mr. D'Alton could not obtain anywhere else. All he could get about the Kilkenny Walshs for his "King James' Army List" was a few hundred words.

But since his time, and partly because of the example he set by the thoroughness of his work, the gates have been opened, if not by the successors of the old proprietors at least in the offices in which the public records are stored, and with these records in their possession numbers of competent writers have taken up the work of research, and have produced, amongst them, a great volume of illumination. The trouble is that one does not always know where to look, nor even what he is looking for. That, of course, is what makes reading a library, as distinguished from reading a book, one of the most exciting of indoor sports.

When the fragments have been gathered together, and arranged in order of time, it is possible to conjure from them a more or less satisfying picture of what went on in those five centuries. Taking this family of Walsh as a microcosm of the civilization of which it formed part, we can follow that civilization through the various stages of its development, for their story was the story of their contemporaries.

We know they came from Wales—perhaps some from Cornwall. We can identify some of them in their Welsh habitat, although one or two of those about whom we are most curious are the most elusive. We know where they settled, who were their overlords, where they built their castles and strong places; we can see them passing out of the stage of daily warfare and into conditions of settled

agriculture, with increase of flocks and herds and all manner of produce; we can follow the numerical growth of the family until it became a "nation" with a "chief captain" and was recognized as a powerful military unit; we can observe the method, peculiar to that age, as some other method is peculiar to every other age, by which the surplus produced by the labor of many was made to augment the fortune of the chief man, until the fort of wood in the midst of earth-works had given place to the mansion covering an Irish acre; we can assign dates to the grant of honors, note the incidence of intermarriage with neighbors of equal consequence, and observe the setting up of branch houses each with a pretentious establishment of its own; we can follow the careers of the most notable men, in war, in parliament, in the Church, on the bench and in commerce; we can see how, from the very pinnacle of prosperity, they and all others of their order were plunged, in a single generation, into utter ruin; and then we can follow the hardiest of them to France, to Austria, to Spain, to Germany, and others to a new life in Connaught under the penal laws, or sinking into bondage in their native mountain home under the hard rule of the new proprietors, whose names, acre for acre, we also know.

For years I have thought that to bring the record of all this into one book was a thing worth doing, and now that it has been done, however imperfectly, and no one can be better aware of the imperfections, I still think so. I wish I could have had it as a boy, and it is here offered to a, thanks be, never failing succession of boys of the name.

The confiscations in Kilkenny in 1653 accounted for 18,000 acres of Walsh property, of which 14,000 were the appurtenance of Walsh, "Baron of Shancahir in le Walsh Mountayne," now known as the Walsh Mountains. Another 1,500 acres in Kilkenny and 12,000 in Waterford were the property of Walsh of Piltown, "who died in actual rebellion," or, as he thought, fighting for his rights, his religion and his home. Castle Hale, the seat of the Lords of the Mountain, and Piltown, chief seat of the other family, have disappeared even from the map. Another Waterford

family, called "Walsh of the Island," prosperous merchants for centuries in Waterford city, also lost, besides their business as merchants, about 3,000 acres of land, of which 1,200 were at their country seat at Ballygunner. Still another family had large possessions in eastern Cork, near Youghal, and others in eastern Kerry. Other thousands of acres changed hands in Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare, Wexford and, though we know less about it, in western Cork and Tipperary.

The story of the family's rise and fall is perhaps best left to be told by the succession of events and of persons. It may be as well, however, to note here that as the two first mentioned in the records, Philip and David, won their fame by signal feats of arms, so at the last Nicholas, head of a Waterford house, died fighting, and Robert, the last of the Mountain lords, was killed while fighting for Sarsfield within the walls of Limerick.

It is but right to say that such a study as this would not have been possible but for the patient labors of John D'Alton, Sir John Gilbert, Father Hogan, Henry Sweetman and a few other pioneers in the last century, and a larger group of successors in this century, such as Burt-schael, Mills, Joyce, Canon Carrigan and Father Healy in Kilkenny, Father Power and W. H. Grattan Flood in Waterford, Hore in Wexford, Miss Hickson in Kerry and Canon Begley in Limerick, Mrs. Alice Stopford Green and Philip Wilson, to cite but a few amongst many. Gilbert's "Viceroys," his "National Manuscripts and Facsimiles," the registers of the Archdiocese of Dublin and the Abbeys of St. Thomas and St. Mary's, and the Ormond papers, which he edited, are invaluable to the research student, and the same applies to Mr. Orpen's "Ireland Under the Normans," Mr. Curtis' "Medieval Ireland," D'Alton's histories of Dublin and Dundalk, and the precious publications of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, the Kildare, Waterford and Cork Archeological Societies, and Hore's "History of Wexford." For Walsh of the Mountain, however, the greatest debt is to Father Carrigan, who spent thirty years

or more on his history of the Diocese of Ossory, covering every corner of Kilkenny on foot, and accumulating records of all the Kilkenny families which must leave their descendants forever in his debt. It is to him we are indebted for a view of most, or perhaps all, the documents reproduced in this volume, several of which he obtained from Mr. Valentine Hussey-Walsh, whose widow is the present representative of the old colonels of the Walsh regiment in France, and, if a woman may be so, a grandee of Spain by virtue of that descent. Mr. Walsh was the final authority on the history of the French and Austrian Walshs, and his articles in the *Genealogist* are definitive on that subject. Canon Carrigan died last December, leaving his great collection to St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, Mr. Hussey-Walsh in Paris early this year.

It is but right, also, to say that the materials for research in Irish history available in the New York Public Library are amazingly complete, or as nearly so as intelligent attention to the subject at this distance could make them; and that the courtesy and competence of the staff there leaves nothing to be desired.

If I have chosen for the place of honor the Lament for John MacWalter Walsh, first published in the *Journal of the Ossory Society*, it is because, even with every allowance for what appears to me to be some slight disregard for the strict sequence of time and events, it nevertheless tells the story in the form and manner in which such narrations were made in the largest area under study, and reflects the thought, temperament, habit of expression and matters of intimate concern of those who composed the "Great House of Walsh." It will be well worth while if what is otherwise contributed enlarges to any extent the scope of that relation.

New York, July, 1925.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
LAMENT FOR JOHN MACWALTER	17
WALSH 1170-1690 (INTRODUCTION)	24
SWORD LANDS	59
PHILIP	62
DAVID	69
RIRID	73
THE OFFICIAL GENEALOGY	74
THE CHILDREN OF NESTA	78
HAMO	80
GRIFFIN AND GEOFFREY	83
THE SONS OF GRIFFIN	86
DAVID THE BISHOP	87
WILLIAM AND HOWELL	89
THE WALSH ARMS	94
THE RISING TIDE	
WALSHS IN WEXFORD	99
WALSHS IN CONNAUGHT	101
ELIAS	101
GILBERT	103
WILLIAM	104
HOWELL	105
ROBERT	106
RICHARD	107
PHILIP AND JOHN	108
WALSH OF CARRICKMINES	111
WALSH OF THE MOUNTAIN	119
“CHIEF CAPTAIN OF HIS NATION”	125
“THE GREAT HOUSE OF WALSH”	127
THE BUTLERS	129
KILKENNY FAMILIES	130
WALSH HOUSES IN KILKENNY	134
THE TALLEST POPPIES	140
ROBERT THE STANDARD BEARER	141
COYNE AND LIVERY	144
THE SUPPER AT ELY	146
EDMUND, “LORD OF THE MOUNTAIN”	147
SIR NICHOLAS	148
THE NEW RELIGION	
WILLIAM, BISHOP OF MEATH	151
PATRICK, BISHOP OF WATERFORD	152
NICHOLAS, BISHOP OF OSSORY	152
MARY	153
SIR PATRICK	153
THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL	154
SUPPRESSED ABBEYS	
OWNEY	157
WATERFORD	160
DUNGARVAN	161

	PAGE
SHANCAHIR IN LE WALSH MOUNTAYNE	
WALTER	163
COURT DAY AT CASTLEHALE	165
JOHN MACWALTER	172
WALSH "OF THE ISLAND"	
ROBERT	175
MAYORS AND SHERIFFS OF WATERFORD	176
LITTLE WARS IN WATERFORD	176
WILL OF SIR ROBERT WALSH	177
WALSH OF PILTOWN	
SIR NICHOLAS	183
LANDS	184
A FAMILY NARRATIVE	186
DUBLIN DISASTERS	
PIERCE	192
THE END OF CARRICKMINES	193
LAST YEARS AT CASTLE HALE	
WALTER	196
ROBERT	199
IN THE SHADOWS	
CONFISCATIONS IN KERRY	203
THE LAST STAND IN TIPPERARY	204
PARTISANS OF ORMOND	204
WALSH OF BALLYKILCAVAN	206
LEAVES FROM OLD RECORDS	
NOTABLES OF 1598	209
WALSH MONUMENTS	210
OLD MARRIAGE RECORDS	212
THOMAS	213
NICHOLAS	214
WALSHS IN ENGLAND	216
SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE	
WALSHS IN AUSTRIA	221
WALSHS IN FRANCE	221
WALSHS IN GERMANY	222
WALSH MOUNTAIN PEDIGREES	225

APPENDIX

NOTA ET SYNOPSIS GENEALOGIÆ	233
LIST OF PROPERTIES CONFISCATED IN KILKENNY	238

ILLUSTRATIONS

CASTLE HOWELL	(FRONTISPIECE)
THE WALSH ARMS	32
MAP OF DUBLIN-KILDARE AREA	109
MAP OF KILKENNY, WATERFORD, WEXFORD AREA	117
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE WALSH PROPERTIES IN KILKENNY	132
MAP OF CORK AND KERRY AREA	181

LAMENT FOR JOHN MACWALTER

(Translated from the Irish)

I.



ASSEMBLE round, O, you dear children of my soul, ours is a sad tale of woe, and with sorrow shall be recounted; the harvest of death lies in sward, but no ripening sun shall perfect it. The wonted champion of your cause lies low, who pleaded your just rights in the legal court, the man of gentle manners who indulged you in excursions of pleasure, nor assigned to you the wench's drudging labours, nor yet the decent matron's household care, but calm and unruffled, in a life of easy affluence, your task was to braid your flowing hair, to form the famed locks, ornamented with silver and pearl. Ah me, he will forsake you ever more. *The Walshs of the Mountain shall be wide dispersed and their power dissolved forever.*

II.

Whoever might again behold thee, as I one day have seen thee, in the pride of thy strength, and fair as the white blossom of spring; on thy front sat grace and each attraction of love, well adapted was thy tongue to the sweet powers of eloquence. Seven distinct languages did thy memory retain. In Irish thou didst far excel, and in the language of Britain; as thy mother tongue to thee flowed Greek and Latin; with ease thou didst comprehend the languages of Spain and Gaul, and thy perfection in Italian was unquestioned. Yet vain, alas! the use, and vain the pride of these splendid gifts, evermore are they vanished, and vanished with them art thou. *The Walshs of the Mountain shall be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

III.

Graceful wouldst thou appear cased in a coat of mail,

or beneath the ponderous helmet; ponderous not with brass or copper, but with gold, bright flaming amidst radiant silver, or with thine hat of beaver fur, and formed with Hispanian art, or with thy smoothly pliant boots, devoid of rift, and spurs of gold, with ornaments replete; or when thou wouldst lay prostrate thy dread foes in greaves of silver armed, or in thy sinewy grasp when thou wouldst take thy golden hilted rapier of dreadful length, and formed with the nicest art. Ah, my sad sorrow, weak and nerveless is thy arm now, that arm which made thee victorious in every contest. *The Walshs of the Mountain shall be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

IV.

Lonely now is my state, and truly forlorn as one solitary fish left by the ebbing tide, or one lonely pale of a broken fence, or an only tree in a desert vale, whose vernal bloom hath faded, and whose branches are withered on high, or a sheep newly shorn of its sheltering wool. The children of my mother are no more, except Edmond and Mary. I say it, nor hesitate to affirm it, without reproach to those who remain, they had been the flower of the whole progeny. Ah, woe eternal this day, they exist not for me. *Had they yet lived, I should hope the Walshs of the Mountain would not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

V.

Small wonder it were that I should affect to dwell like the daw on the lofty tree, or like the eagle on the lofty summits of the tall mountains, or devoid of sober reason wander along each trackless way, or plunge with active bound into the whelming depth of ocean, since now I am bereft of the pride of my dear kindred. As tall oaks they grew, that spread wide their branches around, or a wide extended wood with all its stately boughs; but withered now at top is each remaining tree, or prostrate by the tempest from ocean, save a few tender saplings unprotected from the threatened storm, while the fierce foe hovers round. Ah, woe is me. My kindred are gone forever more. *The Walshs of the Mountain are wide dispersed, and their power dissolved away.*

VI.

Where now is Philip, who came over the great depth of ocean, the strenuous chief who shrank not from the battle's rage, who slew the fierce Dane in the mighty conflict, the proud and haughty Gilbert from Berba's rugged coast, the son of a mighty chieftain whose fleets invaded the land of Erin, who slaughtered the race of Milesius, and spread his cruel bondage over the land, till Philip sunk in ocean the stern pride of the chief; but alas! long hath the swift hero slept in death; had he lived the sad event should not have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain should not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

VII.

Where is the dear relative of Fitzstephen, whose compact and pleasant mansion rose in Castleheil, where the daughter of Raymond o'er the ocean partook each joy and comfort. Long hath the great and good man been laid low, while the revengeful foe harass his devoted race. Had he lived the sad event could not have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain could not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

VIII.

Where is Giffin, renowned for deeds of prowess, the son-in-law of O'Donnell of Ballyshannon, the good and gentle man of conciliating manners, the chief who copiously dealt around his wines, whose vast flocks were tended by a hundred herdsmen, and who parcelled out districts and whole regions to his relatives. Had he lived the sad event could not have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain could not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

IX.

Where is the youthful Walter of deeds benign, whose castle beside the mountain rose in stately pride, with whom the sacred Nuncio was once an honored guest; nor deemed he the mansion to be the abode of mortal race, such rare domestic order appeared around. The beer flowed from the capacious vat, and the labouring pump poured forth its gushing waters while alternately each hand cast forth the

golden dice. His fame widespread around the land of Erin, widely it extended over the distant regions of the earth. Not louder the sounding echo of the mountain summit than the gushing of his wines to regale the sons of Erin. Each imagined he enjoyed an immortal banquet, so profusely they quaffed exquisite wines; but ah, my sad grief, he hath forsaken us evermore. *The Walshs of the Mountain shall be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

X.

Where art thou O Hen of Collawn, long art thou treasured up in thy narrow dwelling, forgetful of the oppressions of thy dear kindred. The sightless Miles and O'Callaghan yearly contend for thy mountain possession, while indigence sore presses those of thy race, thy woods Glen Brenack are despoiled of their blooming foliage, no sapling rises there, nor green tree lends its shade; the cuckoo is constrained to perch on a rock and sing thence her note of sorrow. Cuna-Gorma is become a waste and the possession of O'Bigan, and the scythe picks the scanty blade from the moory soil; hadst thou lived the sad event could not have been—*the Walshs of the Mountain should not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

XI.

Where is Robert? where is James? or the good and gentle Walter of Currohill? or the Knight, swift, valiant and mighty, who overthrew in the conflict his foreign foes? Sadly hath each succession of these passed away; they are past, and Edmond, O my grief, is no more; had they lived the sad event could not have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain would not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

XII.

Where are thou O Philip? thou rightful heir of Knockmoylan; the heir wert thou of the sportful hounds; oft hath thy course been through the wood of Minawn, and oft didst thou urge the hounds to chase through the wood of Cunawn, and oft was thine excursion of pleasure to the banks of Lingawn—ah, my sad grief and woeful affliction, the roebuck will frequent the banks of Lingawn, peaceful will he

graze the flowery plain, no heir on his swift steed will mar his repose. They alas! are lowly laid in death; beneath a monumental weight they rest, and hopeless their return from Kilbeacon; had they lived the sad event should not have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain should not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

XIII.

Whither art thou fled O Chief of the people? Farewell to thee O Sarsfield, thy forces are disbanded, and thou art gone to the kingdom of France, thy sad tale thou dost relate to the princess—that thou hast left Erin in affliction, and her children overwhelmed with woe; couldst thou return again with life, the sad event would ne'er have been. *The Walshs of the Mountain should not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

XIV.

Vainly do I now recount my dear relatives, they are wide dispersed and their progeny a wandering race, the Burkes from the borders of Suir to Bawnrock, the posterity of the Earl from the western Awly, the race of Carrol and O'Connor Faley, and the descendants of the Earl O'Brien of Blarney, the youthful John of Clogher, famed for his unrivalled steeds, Edmond, the son of Peter, of Slievarda, the Butlers, esteemed by their foes for prowess, the posterity of Power beneficent and mighty, the great Cantwell famed for his splendid mansion; ah, my sad misfortune, they lie beneath the monumental marble; had they lived the sad event would not have been. *The Walshes of the Mountain would not be wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

XV.

No word I should have to wail my dear relations; the nobles of Erin are wide dispersed around, the Chiefs of generous soul have forsaken us since the cruel visitation of Cromwell, and that monarch stern and ungentle to the race of Erin. The Earl of Tyrone and his relatives dwell in Ulster's princely dome, but overwhelmed with grief and sorrow. Tyrconnell laments with unceasing plaint the fate of O'Donnell—O'Donnell of the sharp and weighty sword.

XVI.

Corkallee wails without respite her chieftains slain in the fierce conflict, O'Driscoll, O'Flinn, O'Leary, O'Hay, O'Deady, and the race of Kerwick. O'Donovan no longer resides in Carbury Eva, nor the children of Collins possessors of splendid castles. The O'Ruarkes, alas! are fled from Brefny, nor dwell, O my sorrow, the M'Mahons in Thomond. Where now are the generous sons of O'Connor, or the race of O'Mahony, of Kinealeya. The children of O'Daly will be extirpated from Corkard, and the O'Murphys from the hospitable district of Felim. The O'Brennans shall be dispossessed of Corka Eclan, and the McBarnells from the borders of Leitrim. The genuine race of O'Kealy shall be banished from Conmaena, and O'Fallon from the district of Biada, the O'Coghlan from Delvny Ethra. The M'Wards and the race of Daheda shall experience a sad exile from their territories of Ulster. The Roches and Keeffes from the pleasant Fermoy, and the O'Lonergans evermore from Rehill.

XVII.

Never will O'Connor Kenaught return again, or the race of Macgennis, from the centre of Iveagh, or the irreproachable Connell, of Farmork, the Burkes, of Galway, strenuous to contend with their foes; nor McCarthy, O my sad grief, the princely chief of Munster. Sorrow's black mist envelopes the land of Erin, sadness dwells in each vale, and grief ascends her mountain summits. No more her generous and cheerful sons collect the welcome guests around; the joys of the feast and wine are forgot. Prostrate in ruins lie their shattered towns, and weak and dejected their guardian bands from the town of Atheliath to the western Beara. Each widowed matron wails the sad fall of her spouse, the youthful virgin pours forth incessant tears, while sighs and deep groans rend the bosoms of the weak and aged. Erin's cruel thralldom is wrought by a foreign foe, and the princely race of Heba fly o'er the Shannon for protection. Yet, oh! the grief were less though Heba's royal race should have failed. *But the Walshs of the Mountain are wide dispersed and their power dissolved away.*

WALSH 1170-1690

WALSH 1170-1690

Between the years 1170 and 1690 the family of Walsh in Ireland contributed their share to the making of the history of that country. Here and there, in many publications, there are references to the part they played. In this book the attempt has been made to bring these scattered references into definite relation with one another, with due regard for time, place and historical sequence. The record is by no means complete, but there is more of it than almost any one suspected, and perhaps with time and the interest of others the blank spaces may be filled in. Meantime the interpretation of such records as we have cannot be without interest to those of the name who are minded to attempt it.

From these records it is possible to construct a fairly satisfying account of the history of the Walsh "nation." Their Welsh ancestry has its element of interest and even of importance. Their blood relation with the Normans who were in Wales can be seen to have been the determining factor in their acquisition of property in Ireland. Their good fortune and their reverses are seen to have been bound up with the struggles of the Fitzgeralds, Butlers and Burkes for pre-eminence in power and possession, and with the desperate efforts of the English governors to hold a small area around Dublin against the pressure increasingly exerted by the old Irish. And finally we see them caught in the meshes of English imperial policy, the basis of which was, so far as they were concerned, that their lands were wanted for others. From the very first year of their arrival in Ireland they and all their associates were regarded as English by the Irish and as Irish by the English, and after five centuries this was still the position by reason of the continuous operation of two conflicting tendencies. English

law was cleverly designed to keep them at enmity with the old Irish; yet the conditions in which they lived conduced to friendship with their Irish neighbors. When the crisis came the Anglo-Irish could not make common cause with the old Irish until it was too late for co-operation to be effective, and in the end they both fell before the English, who knew what they wanted, who pursued their policy with singleness of purpose, and who, having the advantage of superior power, made the most of that advantage. The transfer of the Irish regiments to France, Austria, Germany and Spain was a dignified, but inadequate, effort to retrieve the credit that had been lost by failure to face realities a century before. The penalty for that failure was paid by those who remained at home, during two centuries and more of penal laws which made them outcasts for their religion and land laws which reduced them to incredible depths of serfdom. By their own courage and intelligence they have broken both bonds, and they stand now at the opening of a new era.

The Background in Wales

There is much of suggestive interest in the study of the Welsh environment in which the Walsh progenitors were reared. It would seem that the Britons who inhabited the plains of England succumbed rather easily to the Saxon invaders, but it was very different with those who took to the hills of "Wild Wales." They had limitless courage, and in their young men there seems to have been a combination of intellectual precocity with great bodily vigor. It was possible to be a seasoned veteran and a national hero at twenty-five. As they grew older, they became more reflective, and several of the kings and princes who survived their early battles strove to obtain national security by political arrangements. All that was waste, for the predatory Normans on the marches were always ready to pounce, and the native pugnacity of the young Welsh was always ready with the answer. Through all their centuries of armed struggle against superior forces they retained an unwarlike love of literature. Owen Gwynned, after many years of successful battles, was known when he died as the "good

poet prince," and his son Howell, who seems to have lived, as he died, in battle, is remembered as the first to introduce the love motive into Welsh poetry.

Before this, and in times that were less warlike, they had displayed gifts of constructive statesmanship, for Howell the Good (980) after a journey through Europe to study the various systems of law, called his lawgivers together, told them that in his opinion, after study, the Welsh laws were the best, caused the laws to be codified, took them to Rome, had them approved by the Pope, and returning to Wales had the new code promulgated for all Wales.

There was much in common between the Welsh and the Irish. They were of the same Gaelic stock, and had the same system of selecting rulers by tanistry. Both would set aside the eldest son of a chief from the succession for a physical blemish, both took hostages from defeated enemies, and both made a practice of blinding possible rivals. The Welsh were also, as the Irish were not, guilty of mutilation for the same object. In times of trouble the Welsh chieftains found refuge in Ireland, and Irish chiefs in trouble were welcome in Wales. Welsh chiefs used to hire Danish and Irish soldiers, whom they paid with cattle and slaves. Of all who went to Ireland after the Invasion, those of Welsh blood were most likely to accommodate themselves with ease to the new conditions.

As to the family origin of the first who went to Ireland, it seems clear that they were drawn from the leading houses of Wales. Ririd, who settled in Dublin County, was a son of Owen Gwynned, Prince of North Wales, and brother of David, Owen's son and successor. There is some indication that David son of this David also went there. Philip Fitz-Rhys was clearly of the house of South Wales. One would expect his family to have become Rice, but it is not clear, because of gaps in the record, that they did. As for the Philip and David who are mentioned in the early histories, and for whom it is claimed that both Strongbow and Raymond were their uncles, the evidence appears to place them with the Geraldines rather than with the de Clares. In the early years they were very close to the Fitzgeralds, and Meyler Fitz Henry was their constant friend. Other fami-

lies of le Waleys undoubtedly descended from Cadwallader, brother of Owen Gwynned, and Alicia de Clare, but the indications are that they came later to Ireland

The Most Favored Names

There is a certain interest in noting the inception of the names which were current in the Walsh family all through the five centuries they were in Ireland. They were Richard, Henry, William, Walter, Robert, Philip, David, Howell or Hoyle, Theobald, Edmund, Pierce, Thomas, James, John, Maurice, Oliver and Simon. Richard clearly relates to the two Richards of Clare, Walter to Gerald Fitz-Walter, ancestor of the Geraldines, Robert to Robert the then Earl of Gloucester, and Henry to Henry I, this last arising from the history of Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, from whom all the Geraldines were descended. Indeed we might go so far as to say that William, Robert and Henry represent, in various families of the Welsh marches, the mark of the conquering Norman, and that Richard, Philip and Ralph carry the same story. Theobald, Pierce and Thomas were Butler names, and Edmund came through the Butlers from the Burkes. David and Hoyle were Welsh names, as were Griffin, Meredith, Eynon, Owen, but these last three do not appear after the early years. Oliver seems to have come from the Graces, Maurice, of course, from the Fitzgeralds, and back of them from the Mariscos. Simon seems to have been peculiar to Kildare. One of the Welsh princes of Denbigh was slain by Walter ap Riccart before the time of the invasion. Very early in the thirteenth century Walter and Robert Walsh were settled near Dublin, and later in Kilkenny the names Walter, Edmund and Robert ran in series in the Castlehale family over a period of two centuries. The Philips were most numerous in Kilkenny, but most prominent, perhaps, in Kildare. The Richards were always in evidence in Dublin and Kildare, and, for a time at least, in Tipperary. The Henrys seem to have stuck to Dublin and Wicklow. The Howels, or Hoyles, were in Kilkenny, in Dublin, and in Wexford, from first to last. Nicholas appears to have been a characteristic Waterford

name, and is also found in Kildare. Gilbert appeared in Dublin and Cork in the thirteenth century. It was a de Clare name, which in this instance came through the Desmond Fitzgeralds.

"Gens Indomita"

The grievance of the Irish against England goes back, through the familiar "seven hundred and fifty years," to the coming of the part Normans, part Welsh, part Flemings from the fiercely contested battlefields of Wales, followed a very little later by others who were to reap where they had sown. "The Norman Earls," writes Bishop Brownrigg, "were followed and supported by a retinue of brave, but needy, adventurers, who expected to be rewarded for the services they rendered. Chivalrous race as they were, they do not seem to have abused their victory by the exercise of any very great severity, much less ferocity. The Anglo-Normans were, indeed, a 'gens indomita' but they never spoiled victory by any serious cruelty. It was not as in the conquest of Cromwell (name odious in Ireland) nor as after the Boyne, when the 'mere Irish'—and even the very descendants of the men about whom we are now speaking, were first driven out of their homes and then, when driven out, had no alternative offered them but the scuttled convict ship, the swamps of Barbadoes, Connaught, or Hell! No, the Anglo-Normans were men of finer fibre and more civilized ideals. They settled down on the land side by side with the ancient race, lived in peace and harmony with them, adopted what they found of good amongst them and endeavored to improve them in what needed improvement, entered into their social manners and customs, intermarried with them and spoke their language, until after the lapse of a century and a half from their coming it could be said of them that they were 'Hibernicis ipse Hiberniores.' "

Richard of Clare set the example by marrying the daughter of McMurrough. Hugh de Lacy married a daughter of O'Connor; it is true he was punished for it. William de Burgh married a daughter of O'Brien. After a time the Butlers married the O'Reillys, the O'Carrolls,

the Kavanaghs. The Fitzgeralds were intermarried with all the great Irish houses, O'Neills, O'Briens, O'Donnells, McCarthys, and many others. There came a time when these alliances were forbidden under the direst penalties, but the legal prohibition was never wholly operative. Philip and David Walsh would seem to have been among the first to marry in Ireland, both of them to daughters of McCarthys, whose mothers were both O'Sullivans.

McCarthy Marriages

When Henry II arrived at Waterford, late in October, 1171, Dermot McCarthy went of his own accord to Waterford, took the oath of fealty, did homage, gave hostages, and agreed to pay tribute for his kingdom. In 1173, the invaders broke out of Leinster and invaded McCarthy's territory at Lismore. It was in escaping with their spoils that they met the Danes of Cork at Youghal, where Philip Walsh was the victor. At about the same time Raymond defeated McCarthy on land. Then, in 1175, after the siege of Limerick where David Walsh attracted attention, Raymond was appealed to on behalf of Dermot McCarthy, who had been imprisoned by his son Cormac. Dermot's envoys, in imploring Raymond's aid, promised him large gifts. By a sudden move on Cork Raymond succeeded in restoring Dermot to his kingdom, and he was given by the grateful Dermot lands of large extent in Kerry. It was doubtless about this time that David, favored by Raymond, married Mary, daughter of Justin McCarthy. And it would be about the same time, under the same favoring influence, that Philip, if the statement in the Hawkins genealogical synopsis is correct, married Susanna, daughter of John Lumney, and obtained with her much mountain land in Waterford.

And who was "John Lumney"? The territory of the Decies at that time consisted of two portions, North Decies and South Decies. In South Decies Melaghlin O'Phaelan was ruler. North Decies, which included all that portion of Waterford along the River Suir, covering the present baronies of Glennaheiry and Middle Third, and extending over into Tipperary, was part of the kingdom of the McCarthys. One looks, therefore, to see whether "Lumney"

fits into McCarthy, and if so how. In the volume published in the last century containing the state papers concerning Florence McCarthy of Elizabeth's time, Dermot McCarthy's father is described in one of the old pedigrees as "Cormac Muimhnach, King of the two Munsters" that is of Ormond and Desmond. Dermot's rebellious son was "Cormac Liathanach." As these were territorial titles, it would be, probably, McCarthy of Limerick (Luimnech) who was the overlord of that part of Decies in which Philip got his lands with his wife. It is quite unlikely that Colonel Hunt Walsh in 1769 identified "Lumney" with McCarthy, for it would have been much simpler to use the latter name. But there it is, and the very inadequacy of the name adds credence to the statement. Only a McCarthy could have given the lands in the territory in question, and however inadequate "Lumney" may be as a substitute for the Irish word, it evidently does represent one of the McCarthys, faithful to Dermot, who was in position to make good the spirit of the promise to Raymond. Justin also (probably there is an Irish word that would be more convincing than *de Aglias*) must have been in position to do the same for David. In these two alliances there is sufficient explanation of the grants attributed to David in Kerry and Tipperary and to Philip in Waterford and Tipperary, and sufficient to account for the subsequent prominence of their families in all those counties, and also, in the next century, in Cork. There was nothing revolutionary about these McCarthy marriages with young men of the royal blood of Wales. Such marriages had taken place before, and "Murchartach" was the benefactor of many a Welsh royal fugitive.

There is confirmatory evidence of these McCarthy marriages in the fact that Raymond's son Richard married Raghenilda, daughter of Dermot McCarthy. The official records, when studied in the light of the history of the time, leave no doubt that a branch of the family of William of Karreu (Carew), Raymond's father, and son of Gerald of Windsor, are mainly responsible for the name "le Waleys" in Ireland. Wherever the early Carews were, they were, and William le Waleys of Waterford is definitely

called "de Carreu." This family connection is also traced in Kerry, in Cork between Midleton and Youghal, in southwest Tipperary, in Limerick, in Mayo, in Carlow, and in Leix. In Kilkenny, Griffin Fitz-William was of the same family. The precise descent is not yet clear, nor are the pre-conquest alliances with other Welsh families, but enough is known amply to account for the interest of the Geraldines in their welfare.

"Le Waleys"

There is a very natural tendency to ascribe to David and Philip a patriarchal relation to the whole family of Walsh; but obviously that is a conclusion difficult to justify. The name, as it appears in the records, at first as Wallensis, then as Waleys, then in the Irish form as Brenagh, and finally as Walsh and Wallis, was applied by the Normans to those of their companions who were of Welsh origin, but most of whom were also part Norman. There were many of these, and the name could not have been restricted to two or three. What is probable is that many of them were closely related to one another. Thus Walter Howell, one of the first settlers in Wexford, on the evidence of his name, was only part Welsh, most likely a son of that Howell who was one of the younger sons of Nesta, daughter of Rhys. Howell ap Grono, who was at Old Ross in the same county, may have been, from the two names, all Welsh. In the name of his son, Stephen, there is perhaps indication of relation to Robert Fitz-Stephen, the first leader of the invaders.

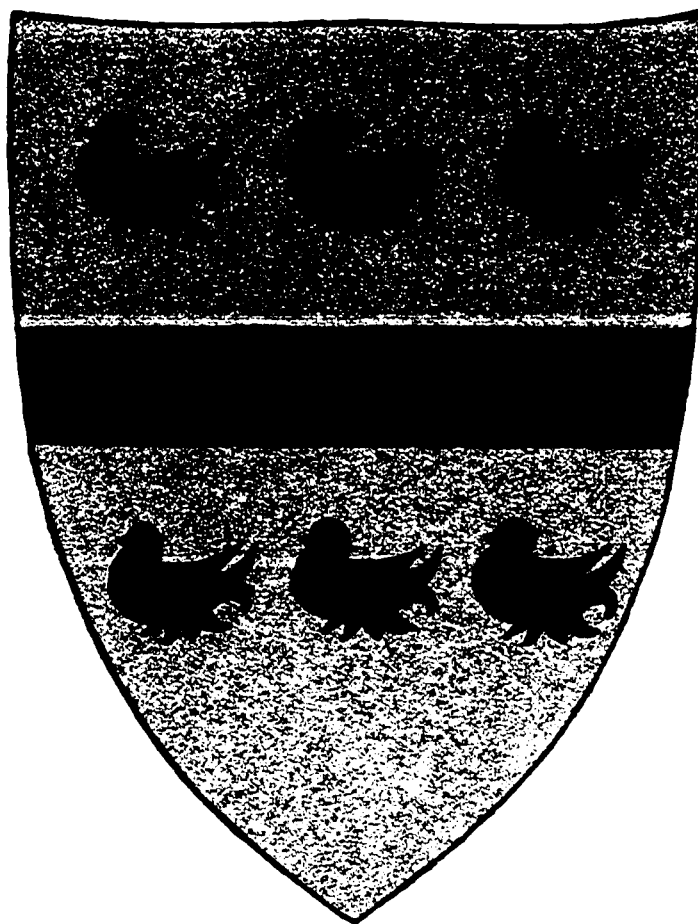
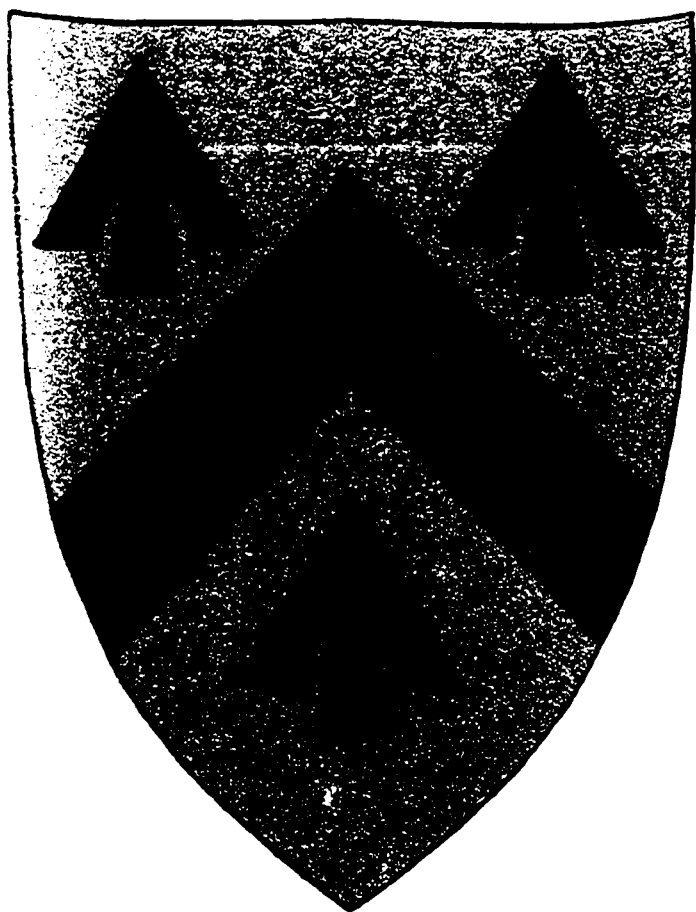
The reference to the "dear relative of Fitz-Stephen" in the lament for John MacWalter proves that in the traditions of the Walsh Mountains the family of Fitz-Stephen was one of the earliest affiliations, and the other mountain documents stress the same point. Geoffrey Fitz-Robert de Mareis of Kells, was married, it appears likely, to Basilia de Clare, widow of Raymond, and a few miles away, in his territory, was that Castle Howell which was the chief mansion of the Walshs in after years, although they always described their possessions by the name of the old fort farther south in Kilkenny, Shancahir, which seems to have been one of the earliest of their possessions. A third area came to them from the territory of Griffin Fitz-William, Ray-

mond's brother; and a fourth was the estate of Howell of Old Ross in Wexford. Just how this accumulation was effected cannot be precisely established. The marriages of a century preceding 1300 doubtless would explain it.

In Waterford the family appears to be accounted for by the removal to Waterford City and its immediate neighborhood of men of the name from the Great Island of Wexford just across the harbor; by heirs of William Walsh who had early grants in the Comeragh Mountains, and by others of the same descent established in comfort at Piltown on the Waterford side of the River Blackwater near Youghal, their relatives, beginning with Gilbert Walsh, being located just across that river.

It is in Kildare that we get the clearest indication of the de Clare descent. Richard de Clare was good to his own. His first favorite was Adam of Hereford, a youth who fought beside Philip at Youghal. His near neighbor was Robert Fitz-Richard, who was given lands in Norragh. Adam kept for himself, we are told, Cloncurry and Salmon Leap. In the male line, Adam's name disappeared in a few generations, and the heiresses evidently married in the family of le Waleys, for in 1598 both Cloncurry and Salmon Leap were Walsh possessions. The name Adam, which recurs frequently among the Kildare and Dublin Walsh families, and even in Kilkenny, must have had its origin with this Adam. It was also frequent in the Walsh family of Hutton in Somerset, one of the first of the Walsh foundations in England. In the course of time the name Walsh was firmly established in other possessions, as in that part of Northern Kildare which was first granted to Meyler Fitz-Henry, and others in Leix (Queens County) to which Meyler was removed. This Meyler was at all times a person of importance, and viceroy for two terms. It was by his influence David Walsh became rector of Dungarvan and later Bishop of Waterford. The townland of Walshestown is just across the Liffey from his abbey of Old Connell, and Castle Walsh is there shown on the old maps. The successors of these early Walshs expanded into Meath, where Bally-Brenagh marks their stay, and King's County, where were the stout family of

THE WALSH ARMS



WALSH OF CASTLEHALE

WALSH OF BALLYKILCAVAN

WALSH OF CARRICKMINES

Donghill, and became, as appears from the adventures of Robert of Ticroghan, standard bearers of the Earls of Kildare. At Moortown, near Kildare, where they were for four centuries, they were continuously available for other services in the Kildare Fitz-Geralds' administration, which towards the end was almost an independent sovereignty.

Still another episode in the family fortunes is suggested by the appearance on the old maps of a Castle Walsh at Strangford in the north of Ireland. According to the Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland, this is one of twenty-seven castles built when John de Courcy, in the first years after the invasion, set out to conquer Ulster. The Norman settlement of Lecale, in County Down, dates from that time, and there is a Walshestown in that parish. Perhaps there is here the basis of the legend about the third brother, Geoffrey, who is supposed to have founded a family in the North. A Henry le Waleys was there a century later.

Two other early settlements were made, in the thirteenth century, in Mayo, one in Tirawley, where Walshs, Barrets, Hales and others were sent from Cork to occupy lands ceded to Carew, the other in Ross, on lands ceded to Matthew Fitz-Griffin. These colonies expanded, and were never displaced. They were there when their namesakes, transplanted by Cromwell, were bundled down beside them. Walsh pool, a little lake four miles south and east of Castlebar, marks their name upon the landscape.

It is more than a little curious how these early arrivals from Wales seemed to gravitate to the mountains. It was natural enough, no doubt, that they should like the kind of country they came from, but the more likely explanation is that they were chosen, in those early fighting years, for their value in mountain warfare. A relief map of Kilkenny shows a great level plain between two ranges of hills. On the plain there were no Walshs; the mountain country to the south was filled with them. Castlehale itself stood on the northern edge of the mountain land, with a wide outlook across the plain. It was the same in Dublin and in Wicklow. For five full centuries the Walshs were in the mountains

there, or posted at points commanding the mountain passes. They were in the Comeragh Mountains in Waterford, and had their castles on the mountain flanks. They were on Carrickbyrne in Wexford. They were in the mountains of Kerry. They throve in these places. They were a sturdy stock.

The Marshals' Stalwarts

When Isabel, daughter of Earl Richard and Eva McMurrough, was grown up, she was given in marriage by King Richard I to William Marshal. William had adhered to Henry II in the wars waged against him by his sons, and on one occasion he fought Richard, unhorsed him, and spared his life. When Richard became King he mentioned the incident, but only to make light of it, and by conferring on William the hand of the "demisel de Striguil," transformed a knight who had little more than his sword into a powerful noble with extensive properties in Ireland, England and France. When Richard died, John made good use of Marshal's services for a time, but afterwards quarrelled with him. In the presence of death and his powerful enemy the French King, John besought Marshal to protect his young son, Henry III. If England did not at that time become a French possession, it was because of the vigor and the wisdom Marshal displayed. It was about 1192 that Marshal began rewarding with lands in Ireland those who had been his stalwart supporters in the battles in which his life was spent. Two of these, Geoffrey Fitz-Robert and Thomas Fitz-Anthony, he established in lower Kilkenny. In Geoffrey's barony of Kells the Walshs had much territory, and Thomas Fitz-Anthony is called Walsh in the Parliamentary Gazetteer's references to Thomastown, where he had his castle of Grennan. Both Geoffrey and Thomas had, at different times, the office of Seneschal of Leinster under Marshal, now Earl of Pembroke. Fitz-Anthony's possessions, which were inherited by his daughters, included Inistioge, and possibly Graiguenemanagh and Pobble Poiriter, as these were later included in the Denn's domain, which they inherited from Thomas Fitz-Anthony. There is some difference of opinion as to the meaning of Graiguenene-

managh. By reason of the presence there of the monastery of Duiske, some derive the name from Irish words meaning the rock "of the monks"; but others, including O'Donovan, take "nemanagh" to be a shortening of "na m Breatnach," which would make it "Walsh Rock" or "Walsh Hill," and for this there would seem to be confirmation in the name "Knockbrenagh" which appears on the old maps. Fitz-Anthony seems to have been highly esteemed by Marshal, for when, some years later, there were serious rivalries to be adjusted and an extensive program of fortification was to be undertaken, Marshal recommended John to appoint Fitz-Anthony to a position of great power in Munster. The readjustment of properties in Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry, affecting the Burkes, Prendergasts, Desmond, Fitzgeralds, De Lacys, De Cogans and Philip of Wigorn, indicate that his powers were very considerable.

The grant by Fitz-Anthony to William Walensis has an interest all its own. If we can assume the correctness of the statement about mountain lands having been given to Philip by the McCarthys, then this could be construed as the passing on of that property to William as a successor of Philip. But if this was the original Walsh grant in that part of Waterford, then it would be interesting to know who William was. Four sons of Philip are mentioned in a record of 1207, and in 1229, besides William, there are three references to a Philip and one to a Walter, all, evidently, of the third generation.

What had happened was that after leaving the McCarthys alone for some years, the crown allotted their territory to others, among whom was Philip of Wigorn (Worcester). "to maintain him in the King's service." His grant included, besides five cantreds in Tipperary, nearly the whole of North Waterford. Then, when this Philip disappeared, the lands were taken back by the crown, and only four cantreds were given to Philip's heir, William d'Abbetot, of Worcester. It was just at this time that the lands in Waterford were granted to William Walensis by Fitz-Anthony, who held them for the King. He also gave lands there to his sons-in-law, John Fitzgerald, Gerard de Rupe, Stephen Archdeacon and Geoffrey of Norragh. This

last, doubtless a son of Robert Fitz-Richard of Norragh in Kildare, must have had the property around Bally Keroge, at the foot of the mountains, for William of Norragh, who would be his successor, gave the Abbey of Dunbrody a quit claim for the lands Fitz-Anthony had alienated to them in that part. In 1235 Geoffrey de Norragh, Gerard de Rupe (Roche) and Stephen Archdeacon lost their property for siding with Richard Marshal against the King, and as they "could not obtain a pardon" the fourth son-in-law, John Fitzgerald, asked for all this Waterford land, and seems to have acquired an overlordship which laid the foundation of the future earldom of Desmond. It is not clear that he dispossessed the others, since Geoffrey's successor William seems to have been there afterwards. As Bally Keroge (which the genealogical statement calls Bally Carrickmore and which shows on the Blaue map as Castle Gerragh) was in later centuries a central estate of the Waterford Walshs, one would like to know whether the owners from Kildare kept it and were known as Walshs or whether it was acquired by the family of William le Waleys. The first William must have been a confident, aggressive person, wherever he came from, for he and John Devereux took a high hand in appointing pastors to the churches in their districts, and, when challenged by the rector of Dungarvan and the Archbishop of Dublin, would only desist when ordered to do so by the King.

Fitz-Anthony retained the confidence of the Marshals after he had lost that of the King. Indeed his dismissal from office may have been incidental to the King's quarrel with the Marshals. And in the meantime his daughter Margery, by her marriage to John Fitzgerald, became the ancestress of the Earls of Desmond, men who maintained through four centuries a record of high adventure, in which tragedy was always on the heels of power, whose story deserves a better telling than that which is written in the state papers of those who were bent on their destruction and by whom they were at last destroyed.

In 1229, sixty years after the coming of the first Philip, there was a Philip le Waleys named to an important arbitration at Knockainey in Limerick. A few years later we

have Henry Walsh, probably head of the family in Leinster, getting back the land of which he was dispossessed by his feudal lord, de Ridelsford, because he adhered to the still superior feudal lord, Richard Marshal, in his quarrel with Henry III.

Two Chiefs of the Name

Then between 1280 and 1300 Gilbert and William le Waleys appear, Gilbert fighting in Cork to restore the Desmonds, who had been close to annihilation at the hands of the MacCarthys, and William in possession of the Waterford lands of Glenaheiry granted to the first William sixty or seventy years earlier. These two were called to the Scottish wars in 1300, but Gilbert was too old to go and sent instead his relative, also Gilbert.

In the list of Les Fideles of 1300 (the term came from France, where it had long been applied to the leaders of the feudal hosts) there are other names besides those of Gilbert and William which have a bearing on Walsh history. "John son of Ririth" and "Henry son of Ririth" evidently relate to that Ririth who settled at Cloghran and Bally Bren in Dublin. "Simon Fitz-Richery" has a Kildare sound, for Simons and Richards were always found there. "Oliver son of Eynon," found among the Kilkenny magates, recalls the Walsh fortress of Kilmac-Oliver. "Milo Baron of Overke," "Herbert le Mareys" of Kells, and "Milo le Bret" of Knocktopher, were chief lords in the territory in which later the Walshs were most numerous.

There are some things in the meagre record of Gilbert le Waleys which ought not to be passed over without comment if we are to understand the processes by which the new civilization in Ireland was being formed. He was evidently the head of the family in the mountains to which Desmond had been driven by the McCarthys. In 1280 Gilbert Walsh was fighting against them, in company with the Barrys, in support of the Fitzgeralds. And yet when the wars were over and Donal Og McCarthy was in trouble Gilbert was bondsman for him. Gilbert, for his services to the Desmonds; was made sheriff of Cork, and there is

at Walshtown and Ballybrannagh, near Middleton, the reminder of his having been owner of the large property of Roskellar. Some Irish prisoners must have escaped his vigilance, and the remission, in 1304, of a penalty for this dereliction, carries a suggestion that the escape was not wholly beyond prevention if he had wanted to prevent it. Here we have the germ of the process by which were produced the "degenerate English" of later times, people who, in all essentials, were difficult to distinguish from their neighbors, "the King's Irish enemies," to whom they were related in blood and whose language and customs they had adopted. These Walshs in the west were next neighbors to McCarthys and O'Sullivan's. Possibly the alliances described began after the first generation.

Around 1280, also, Griffin Walsh appears in Wexford, in the same manor of Old Ross, a man of affairs rather than a soldier. It is evident that, with the increase of business opportunity in the ports of New Ross and Waterford, both within a few miles of where they lived, this family gravitated into commerce, carrying with them, however, the tradition of their residence on the Great Island on the Wexford side of Waterford harbor, from which they took, in the centuries of their prosperity, the name Walsh "of the Island," without, however, implying a separate origin from Walsh "of the Mountain."

A little before this, in the district around Dublin, there is record of one of the earliest Walsh possessions, that near Ballimore, being wasted by war, and later recovering. Then, about 1300, Richard and Henry Walsh are mentioned as at Athgoe, on the Wicklow border, doubtless representing a branching out from the earlier possessions near Bray.

Relations With the Burkes

In the next half century the area richest in interest is that territory in Southern and Eastern Tipperary, from Holy Cross southward to the Cork border, which it was the common desire of the Burkes, the Butlers and the Desmonds to possess. It was rich land, and it lay between the original possessions of the Butlers in Ormond and their

more recent holdings in Kilkenny. It was the natural extension of the Burke possessions in Clanwilliam. In it were located, one would say, the most desirable possessions of some of the earliest Walshs. In the thirteenth century the Burkes were the overlords of most of the southern part of it, and it would naturally follow that the Walsh interests and relationships were with those of the Burkes. This would account for the name Hubert, and perhaps for the name Richard also, of the Walshs who were members for Kilkenny in the Parliament of 1310. It would also account for William le Waleys of the same period being specified as of "the Earldom of Connaught," the chief possession of the Burkes. If this was the same William who was in Glennaheiry, across the Suir, the fact would support the theory that those northern Waterford lands were only a convenient addition to other properties inherited by William of 1229. Indeed the lands in Kilkenny, in Iverk and perhaps in Kells may have been regarded also as subsidiary possessions. The distinction between "Knights of Tipperary" and "Knights of the Earldom of Connaught" bears out the statement that two branches of the Walsh stock were established in Tipperary. The coming of Edward Bruce to Ireland in 1314 seems to have marked the beginning of a great change. Richard Burke's daughter was married to Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and Burke, his rivals affected to believe, was favorable to Edward Bruce. The Scots ravaged the Butler territory. Burke was held a prisoner in Dublin. Edmund Butler was created Earl of Carrick MacGriffin, which gave him a hold on much of the territory so long desired. Ultimately, all that district became Butler land, and the home of many families of Butlers. A good description of it, and of the Butler pride in it, may be read in the autobiography of General Sir William Butler, of Boer War fame, who was born there.

In all this, however, the Walsh possessions there appear not to have been injuriously affected. Sir Richard Walsh came out of the Bruce wars with credit and with profit. The transfer to him of an account due by the Abbey of Inchelaunagh to the Ricordi of Lucca has an added in-

terest as illustrating the commercial relations of Ireland at that time with distant countries. The debt was probably for wine, but the ships which brought the wine carried Irish wares back to Italy. The prominence of this Sir Richard, or his successor in the years immediately following, calls for special notice. In 1323 he was one of twelve, in all Ireland, called upon to apprehend de Mortimer should that fugitive from the King's anger land in Ireland. Also, ten years later, he was one of less than thirty, including all the chief magnates of Ireland, to become bondsmen for the good behavior of the Earl of Desmond, after he had been confined in prison in Dublin for eighteen months by the arbitrary action of the Viceroy.

Twelve years later this bond was enforced, as well against those who opposed Desmond when attacked by the Viceroy in that year (1345) as those who supported him. In which category Richard le Waleys was there is nothing to show. "The execution of the ordinance caused the ruin of many." The Walshs could not have lost permanently all their Tipperary property, for they were in "the Cross of Tipperary" in 1357, at Rath Ronan in 1421, and the name appears at other places from time to time; but there was none of them counted among the first twelve or the first thirty in Ireland after that time. James, second Earl of Ormond, was a youth at the time. He was given in charge to the Viceroy, D'Arcy, who married him to his daughter Elizabeth. He became Viceroy himself in 1359, and obtained "several grants of lands and other favors from Edward III and Richard II." It was to this Earl that Geoffrey Walsh gave seisin of lands in the barony of Kells in 1374. Whether there was any connection between the enlargement of Butler holdings in Tipperary and the acquisition of this adjoining property there is nothing to show.

Walsh of Carrickmines

In 1350 we find mention of the Dublin Walshs in a different connection. They, with the Harolds, Archbolds, Lawlesses and Hackets were posted along the rampart of the Pale, their charge being to keep the Byrnes and

O'Tooles away from Dublin. But something had offended the Harolds, who, perhaps with some of the others, were themselves making war on Dublin. The Viceroy made peace with them, and caused an election to be held at which a captain of the Harolds was named. One of the Walshs was there, doubtless as a relative of the Harolds. In the course of the next century the Walshs seem to have taken over a number of the border castles formerly held by other families, the defence of the Pale coming more and more under their charge. We are entitled to believe that they had been at Carrickmines from the beginning, although there is some evidence that the Archbolds were there for a time. In 1371 Carrickmines was raided in strength by the Byrnes, and the Archbishop of Dublin, as tenant in chief, had to send armed assistance for the relief of the place. That is the only record of a call for help through five centuries, and it is not wholly certain whether the Walshs were there then or were placed there after the raid. The defence of Dublin, for perhaps two centuries, was in the hands of the Walshs in that district to the south, their castles of Carrickmines, Kilternan and Kilgobbin commanding the mountain passes in that direction. Kilgobbin, first held by the Harolds or the Hackets, it is not clear which, was the post of most importance. The Parliamentary Gazetteer, published about 1840, says of the castle there that its building was popularly attributed to the Gobban Saer, the legendary genius of Irish architecture, but that it was really built by the Walshs of Carrickmines. "It evidently served as one of a chain of forts or fortified residences expressly constructed to restrain the incursions of the O'Tooles. It consists of an oblong tower without turrets or outside defences, but planted nearly in the centre of the level plain extending from the base of Three Rock Mountain to the scarp of Killiney Hill, and effectively commanding all ingress or egress through the remarkable pass of the Scalp, it formed, though not remarkable for strength or solidity, a very effectual fortress when occupied by a vigilant garrison." It was the Walshs' business to hold this and its related strong points, and they held them. As time went on, and the relations with their neighbors improved, they de-

veloped other places of a different sort. They were, as Camden wrote of them, "of ancient nobility and very numerous in those parts." It is hardly conceivable that the activities of such a stock were confined to so restricted a field. They were within the area dominated by the Earls of Kildare, and as these were almost continuously engaged in some form of warfare we may take it that there were plenty of opportunities offered for service and reward for men of this warrior breed. There are some indications that these Dublin Walshs were re-inforced by Walshs from Kilkenny, perhaps when the Ormonds were Viceroys; but in the main, and certainly for long periods, they seem to have existed independently of their Kilkenny namesakes.

Rival Palatine Lords

The period around 1350 was doubly notable. In Ireland there was effected a fairly permanent marking out of the territories within which the Burkes, the Butlers, and the Desmond and Kildare Fitzgeralds held practically sovereign sway; and England entered upon that Hundred Years conflict with France which withdrew her attention from Ireland. It is true the rivalry of the four Irish magnates continued, and that when they were not engaged in actual warfare they were contestants for the honor of viceroy. The Butlers had a certain advantage, for they had immense properties in England. Indeed, during several generations the head of the house lived there. This had its dangers, especially during the Wars of the Roses, when they were not always on the winning side, but it made them more amenable to English influence in Irish affairs, and in time of crisis they could always be called upon. As against this, their territory in Ireland was more open to attack than that of Desmond, and the Kildares, besides having Dublin as their front door, displayed ability of a higher order than any of their rivals. When there was turmoil in Ireland, at any time before the reign of Elizabeth, it was not safe to put the Butlers in charge, the defence of their own position demanding all their resources.

Aside from their quarrels with one another, the four principal magnates were kept busy, during a century and a

half, resisting the aggression of the old Irish, who took full advantage of England's pre-occupation in France. English policy in Ireland being deliberately designed to keep the old Irish and the Anglo-Irish apart, this conflict was bound to go on. Art McMurrough's career furnished an example. He married the heiress of Norragh, in Kildare, but the Dublin government steadfastly refused to concede to him the property accruing from that marriage. He found, of course, other causes for complaint in a system of which this was only a symptom. Rather than let this "Prince of Leinster" have the benefit of English laws, they made war upon him, and Richard II was so obstinate about it, and stayed so long at the unsuccessful business of compelling Art's unconditional surrender, that the crown of England slipped away from him. The Kavanaghs were always liable to break out on one flank of the Butlers, the O'Carrolls and Kennedys on another, the O'Mores and Dempsies on a third; not, however, without good reason, for the Butlers were always looking to possess the land that adjoined theirs. Then at times the pendulum swung in the other direction, and there would be a succession of marriages between the Butlers, the Kavanaghs, the O'Carrolls, the Dempseys, the McCarthys, and even the far off O'Reillys. The same process was going on in other Norman-Irish houses, until all the old chiefs and the new lords were pretty much of one blood, in which there was a large element of Irish. Out of this resulted a compromise, under which, having regained all or most of their ancestral lands, the Irish chiefs recognized the headship of one or other of the Norman houses. Thus the rental book of the Earls of Kildare showed that tributary to them were the MacMurroughs, Byrnes, O'Tooles, O'Mores, Dunns, Dempseys, O'Connors of Offaley, Molloyes, McLaughlins, MacGeoghegans, O'Farrels, O'Rourkes, O'Reillys and MacMahons.

Naturally, a like amalgamation took place in less exalted spheres. That the obstacles interposed by law and by interest did not prevent intermarriage, the best and sufficient proof is that in the fourteenth century Irish was the language in general use, and that even the Butlers had recognized the old Irish legal system, and had it set up for

general use, under the name of the "Statutes of Kilcash."

In that district in South Kilkenny where the Walshs were to progress henceforth with the least hindrance, the old inhabitants were the O'Bruadars (Brawdars), the O'Kealys, the O'Phelans, and perhaps the O'Deas. Near neighbors were the O'Brennans and the Kavanaghs. None of them were ever wholly displaced, and while English law operated to keep them down in the economic scale, the statutes of Kilcash provided considerable mitigation.

Feudal Privilege

Nevertheless, it can readily be discerned that the feudal system conferred a decisive advantage upon those who alone could be recognized under it, and they, no matter how Irish in blood or in sentiment, were recognizably Norman. When the head of the house died, the heir had to get the royal assent to the delivery of the property to him, and that consent, once given, carried with it a variety of privileges, as against the tenantry, whose value was very evident. We get an idea of their nature from the record of one session of the court of Walter Walsh, "Baron of Shancahir in le Walsh Mountayne." The lord had a right to ingress, egress and regress for his cattle upon the meadows of his tenants, surely a valuable privilege in a country noted for its cattle. He was entitled to a stated quantity of oats. He could, if he chose, demand food and lodging for himself and his retinue, and if the tenants were not eager for his company they could pay an agreed sum. There were a number of lesser estates into which the sons could be inducted, including one always kept for the heir, but it was for the tenantry to provide a dowry for the daughters, the saving for which began when they were seven years of age. As the amount of the dowry had a lot to do with the choice of a husband, the daughters of those who could command such an arrangement were pretty certain to marry well, and in the same way sons who had comfortable estates to go to could expect to find wives who would bring with them respectable additions to the family fortunes. Now and again, for some special reason, such as a particularly desirable marriage (in the financial sense) a new permanent estab-

lishment would be set up (for which the consent of the crown must be had). One can see that each new succession must have brought its share of heartburnings, the descendants of the children of earlier generations sinking a little lower in the social scale, until the generality of the tenants, members of the same family, were contributors to the prosperity of one family of their relatives; and there came in, as some compensation, that solidarity which is indicated in the terms "House" and "Nation," involving a mutuality of obligation which was sufficient to hold together the whole agglomeration, in pride and protection if not in uniform material benefits.

The working of this system in the Walsh family of Southern Kilkenny can be followed, thanks to Canon Carrigan, through three centuries of steadily increasing prosperity and continuously increasing numbers. The Brenaghs, as they preferred to call themselves, or Walshs, as the law obliged them to, tilled their farms for their own and their own House's benefit, fought, when called upon, under "the Earl of Ormond's commandment," increased and multiplied, and, as can be inferred from one or two paragraphs in the Lament for John MacWalter, spread out over other parts of Ireland. We need not go beyond the same document to see how, at the stage when they were nearest related to the chief lord, they married with their Norman neighbors, the Butlers, Powers, Fitzgeralds, Graces, Purcells, Cantwells, Shortalls, Sheas, Archers, Comerfords, Denny, Walls, Furlongs, Devereuxs and others who came into the country with their ancestors, and often with families of the old inhabitants, the Kavanaghs, McCarthys, Brennans, O'Donnells, O'Connors and others whose names are mentioned in the Lament.

We have not the corresponding information as to the succession in the leading family in West Waterford, whose possessions were almost as great, but we do know that the process was practically the same, and that the alliances were with the Aylwards, Grants, Stronges, Fitzgeralds, Lumbards, Wyse, Waddings, Sherlocks, Colcloughs, Keatings, Powers and others similarly circumstanced to themselves.

Even with the emigration of the last century there are still plenty of Walshs in those districts of Waterford County which were parts of the family domain.

Merchants of the City

In Waterford City there was, for a time, an artificial separation of the inhabitants from their kinsfolk of the surrounding country. The English government had the idea that a coast city could live its life independently of the land and the people away from the coast. The experiment was persisted in long after it was doomed by nature to certain failure. While it went on, the merchants did clandestine business with the interior; and the people beyond the high stone walls tried to break in when admission was denied them. It was ridiculous that the Walshs, Powers, Grants and Daltons within the city should be encouraged to make war upon the Walshs, Powers, Grants and Daltons outside the city, but it was the fact. It took a long time, but in the end good sense got the better of bad laws. Meantime, for long before and for centuries after that happened, a long succession of Walshs were mayors and sheriffs of Waterford, sharing the honors with those of the other names long famous in the history of the fine old city, whose ships carried its name and fame into every European port. When the city of Chester sent messengers to Spain they went to Waterford for a fast ship.

The Abbey Builders

There was one feature of this Norman civilization in Ireland which at first sight is not easy to understand. These men who had no scruple whatever about taking what belonged to others, with whatever incidental slaughter was involved in the process, took advantage of the first period of comparative peace to build an abbey. The first Theobald Butler built one at Owey, and was buried there. William de Burgh built one at Athassel, and was buried there. Maurice Fitzgerald the Second founded an abbey at Youghal, and was buried there. Harvey de Monte Morisco founded an abbey at Dunbrody, and was buried there. The last two, after definitely deciding that they had

had enough of worldly affairs, returned to their abbeys to await the call, and Harvey even became abbot, his effigy showing the knight's armor under the monk's cowl. As late as 1326, Richard de Burgh, the aged Earl of Ulster, at a Parliament in Kilkenny, resigned his possessions to his grandson, took leave of his fellow nobles after sumptuously entertaining them, and retired to his monastery at Athassel, where he ended his days. The first Fitz-Maurice of Kerry founded an abbey at Ardfert, and the crowning indignity offered to Thomas Fitz-Maurice in 1590 was the refusal of the English Viceroy to permit his burial in the tomb of his ancestors at this same abbey of Ardfert. John of Callan, husband of Margery Walsh, built an abbey at Tralee, which became the burial place of the Desmonds. Meyler Fitz-Henry built and was buried in the abbey of Old Connell in Kildare. Raymond Fitz-William was buried at Molana Abbey, on the Blackwater. The first settlers vied with one another in endowing the abbey of St. Thomas a Becket, though they were soldiers of King Henry II, who was to blame for his martyrdom. Geoffrey Fitz-Robert built the Abbey of Kells, and he and his neighbor, Matthew Fitz-Griffin, richly endowed it. Thomas Fitz-Anthony built the Abbey of Inistioge. Some Irish writers are rather cynical in their comments on all this, describing it as a more or less hypocritical attempt at penitential reparation. But that explanation evidently is not conclusive. It might be nearer the truth to assume that the career of arms, to these men, trained as they were, represented the highest conception of honorable achievement. They were no more ashamed of it, nor of the incidence of its prosecution, than a modern captain of industry is ashamed of competition in business. To meet and defeat an enemy was for them part of a day's work; it did not diminish, and it may have increased, their concern for the problem of eternity. We need not go back to the twelfth century to look for men whose success was due to methods either unscrupulous in themselves or which at least made no concession to the welfare of others, and who yet have established a pretty good claim to be considered religious minded and pillars of religion. It is only the times and the institutions that have changed.

Probably the first Walsh venture in this field was the little church at Fiddown which dates from the year 1200. The next would be the abbey at Rosbercon, attributed by Archdali to the Walshs and Graces and by the "genealogical synopsis" to Manus, son of David, which may be correct, but if so there is nothing to account for his interest in that district. If we knew what it was we might have fresh light on the early Welsh colonization.

For the Walshs of Kilkenny the most notable association of this sort was with the Abbey of Jerpoint, a Cistercian foundation which ante-dated the Norman invasion but whose position was materially improved by their benefactions about the middle of the fifteenth century. One Earl of Ormond had founded and his heirs had favored the abbey at Knocktopher, nearby. Perhaps the example of munificence was one to stimulate emulation. At any rate Richard Walsh made a gift to Jerpoint of his lands at Clone, and the continuation of the story is to be found written in stone on the Walsh monuments under the noble tower. From the presence there of some very recent monuments it is to be inferred that Richard's descendants are still being buried "in the tomb of their ancestors."

Down in Waterford City the same motive found a different application. When the confiscation of the monasteries was decreed, Henry, son of Patrick Walsh, contrived to get a grant of the monastery of Franciscans, not for his profit but to preserve it to religious use. He founded there a home for aged women, maintained at the expense of his family until they were deprived of their fortunes, and even afterwards by contributions sent from their new home in the Canary Islands, so that the old abbey was continued in this use until it was ready to fall to pieces. Then the asylum was removed to new quarters, and only a half dozen Walsh monument slabs on the grassy floor bear witness to the zeal of Henry and his descendants.

The Breakdown

The Anglo-Norman civilization in Ireland attained its peak at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. The two Garretts, eighth and ninth

Earls of Kildare, were perhaps the ablest, and certainly the most powerful, leaders it had produced. And from the time of the ninth Earl its decline began. Free of the French wars, and the Wars of the Roses, the English turned to Ireland to satisfy their land hunger and to develop their sea trade. They began with Earl Garrett, then old and ill. They tricked his son into rebellion, and only the superiority of their ordnance saved them from the loss of Ireland. But it did save them, and their diplomacy consolidated the victory, for the rivalries between the Norman magnates and the hostility of the old to the new Irish persisted even in face of the obvious threat to the security of all of them, and on the basis of these rivalries and this hostility the English governors, with plenty of power to aid them, laid their plans for fresh aggression. In that first crisis Richard and Robert Walsh played their parts. They were unswervingly loyal to the Kildares, for whom their family were hereditary standard bearers. They lost all their property, but they saved young Gerald, the heir, from the grip of Henry VIII.

In due season the English turned upon Desmond, whose real crime was that he resisted the application of the English ordinance which handed over to adventurers of the sea the monopoly of trade between Ireland and the continent, which meant the destruction of Irish commerce. Desmond treated these people as pirates and fought them at sea. He sought, as he was forced to seek, foreign aid. His lands were laid desolate and he was hunted as a wolf and killed in a wood. That his reputation was blackened goes without saying. He failed, but he and his race acted to the death as men of spirit worthy of their descent. Sir Nicholas Walsh, who participated in this crisis, cannot be accorded the same praise as his namesakes of Kildare. He earned the title of "the great dissimulator," and may have been of opinion that by taking the line he did he could be of some use to his country. He was wrong as to that, and though he maintained his own high judicial position he got from his people only execration. It was left to his son to redeem the credit of his family at the cost of his life. With the Desmonds fell the Walshs of Cork. Their lands were

in the district granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, and Boyle, Earl of Cork, got them later.

Lords of the Mountain

It was in this period of disaster for the rest of Ireland that the Walshs of Kilkenny attained the summit of their prosperity. The Ormonds adhered to England, and the Walshs adhered to Ormond. True, they were given fair warning of what they were to expect, for after using one Earl against Kildare they at once set out to destroy him by legal process, bringing against him and his chief retainers accusations based on wrongs done to the people by all the great lords during two centuries, and when that method proved too slow they took him over to London and poisoned him at a banquet. This no doubt made his people more loyal to his house than ever, even when the heir, kept and trained at the English court, came over to destroy Desmond for his English friends. Married to a daughter of Mountgarret, who ruled in Ormond during the minority of the heir, Walter Walsh attained to a position of much prominence and to great wealth. To the old castle on "the wet hillside of Corbally," whose first round towers dated from early in the thirteenth, or even from the twelfth, century, he added new wings built in the latest Tudor style. The mansion when completed covered an Irish acre. There is nothing to suggest that he was other than thoroughly Irish. The records of his court and other documents of his making which have escaped oblivion afford no hint that he lived in troublous times. His son John, the poet, who was profoundly Irish, seems to have looked upon him as a patriarch who merited the love and admiration of his people, and the fact that his keen is still recited in the mountains is enough to prove that the people of his "nation" were both proud and grateful. He called himself, like several of his ancestors, "chief captain of his nation," and we can deduce from the one record of proceedings in his baronial court that the "nation" in his time conformed very closely to the old French feudal model, with the head of the "House" maintaining direct and continuous interest in the welfare of the whole "progeny," and receiving in return the willing assist-

ance of a number of leaders "of the better sort," as well as the unfaltering loyalty of the "nation" as a whole. Hospitality was always an Irish virtue, often overdone, and this Walter seems to have carried it to an elevation never before attained in his family. He lived to a great age, and was not without his troubles. His heir died, and his grandson was carried away to England to be trained. We see him, anxious for the future, establishing the second son, who must have been well on in years, in a separate estate. Eighteen or more considerable mansions, some of them old castles or fortified residences, were there to give him welcome when he chose to make the tour of his barony. His son John was installed at the "court" at Inchicarran. His daughters were married to the most distinguished and wealthiest of his neighbors. From the eminence on which his new castle stood, on the very northmost rim of the Walsh Mountain, he could look out over the wide plain to the hills beyond, conscious that he had behind him, in the hills, a "nation" as strong, as united, as prosperous and contented as any in Ireland, or for that matter in all Europe.

Meanwhile, in the area south of Dublin, the other family of Walsh was also progressing. From 1400 onward their capacity was repeatedly recognized, and they were as often called upon to shoulder more of the burden of defending the Pale. In addition to the strong places which they held as the keys to the mountain passes, they obtained and developed comfortable estates at Corcaigh, at Shanganagh on the sea coast, at Old Connaught, and at or near Bray. Back of this border line they had been encouraged to "inhabit upon the O'Tooles," to help keep that fighting sept in order. They developed friendly relations with these potential enemies, and with the Byrnes, relations so good that when a marriage was contracted between the chief families of the two tribes, which despite four centuries of English pressure had kept their tribal lands in common under the old Irish system, Walsh of Shanganagh and Walsh of Kilgobbin were made trustees of the contract. They were closely united by marriage to the Talbots, the Eustaces and the Fitz-Williams, families which, like their

own, were every busy in the mountain regions. Now and again these families, indignant at the injustice of Dublin rule, showed their resentment in arms. In 1599 Pierce Walsh of Kilgobbin was caught in the toils, for, knowing his Irish neighbors, and perhaps not fully sensible of the ruthless purpose of the English officials, he was condemned to death after a defeat of the English by Phelim O'Byrne, an accusation of cowardice against him serving as mitigation of the incapacity of the English commander.

Decline and Fall

"Black Tom of Carrick," tenth Earl of Ormond, had married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the second Earl of Sheffield, in England. To him, who had been reared in the English court, was doubtless due the decision to have young Walter Walsh taken to England under care of an English guardian, and to the influence of the Ormond family we can also with safety attribute the marriage of Walter Walsh to Magdalen Sheffield, daughter of the third Earl. Marriages with women in the various branches of the Butler family had been frequent since 1400, and that of Walter Walsh with Ellice, daughter of Richard Butler, Lord Mountgarret, had established a close relationship with the house of Ormond. This Walter fell upon troubled times. Kildare, Desmond and Ulster, after their chiefs were defeated, had been "planted" with new colonists, and Strafford was now engaged on a similar operation in Connaught, where the Burkes and all their numerous adherents were called upon to deliver half their possessions to new proprietors. There was nothing left but Ormond, and the Butlers saw their turn coming; all but the twelfth Earl, who, under orders of James I, was carefully educated in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and returned to Ireland in 1631. It was he who took command when the Catholics, after their remonstrance against Strafford's exactions had been flouted, took up arms. That was a struggle waged with savage bitterness, as might be expected when the conflict was between those who had possessed the land for centuries and those who had been put in their places. If Ormond led on the government side,

his cousin Mountgarret took the lead on the other. Walter Walsh sided with Mountgarret. Before the issue was decided, Cromwell appeared in England, and presently he was in Ireland. Before he left, the Walsh family in all its chief centres was at the end of its glory. In Waterford Sir Nicholas made a good fight and was killed. In Kilkenny, Walter fought, Castlehale was destroyed, his men were massacred and buried in a single pit, and he died sitting at table. In Dublin Carrickmines was stormed and blown up, its garrison massacred, and Theobald, a "captain of the Irish," attainted. The head of the Walshs of Rathronan in Tipperary was in the fight, and so were the Walshs of Kerry. They all lost everything. Cromwell was very thorough.

There was one chapter left. When Charles II came to power, those in Ireland who had stood by his father looked for their reward in the return of their property. Charles promised, but he did not keep his promise even to those mentioned by name, among whom were several Walshs, to whom he was greatly indebted. In the case of Robert Walsh, grandson and heir of Walter of Castlehale, he did, under the prompting of Ormond, make some restitution. James II added a little more. Then came William III, and Robert, fighting King James' battles after he had fled, perished in the siege of Limerick. That was the end. Neither in Kilkenny, in Waterford, in Cork, in Kerry, in Tipperary, nor in Dublin or Kildare, did the Walshs count for anything again for nearly two centuries.

Martyrs and Others

In the period which witnessed the decline and ultimately the extinction of the Anglo-Irish civilization the conflict was intensified by the introduction of a religious issue. Henry VIII not merely rejected, for England, the Pope's spiritual headship of the Church and substituted his own; he also proposed to extend the new dispensation to Ireland. He not only confiscated the abbeys in England; he confiscated those in Ireland too. Whatever chance there was for acceptance of the new policy in England, and the result proved that it was nationally acceptable under vigorous

measures of compulsion, there was none at all in Ireland, where the attack upon the religion of a people devoted to that religion was accompanied by a campaign to deprive them of their worldly possessions as well. The Normans on their arrival in Ireland had excluded the old Irish from every important position in the Church, but towards the end the severity of this rule was considerably slackened, and besides, as we have seen, the Norman leaders, for all their freedom with the sword, were deeply religious. Continuous English interest in the appointment of Bishops must have had an effect, nevertheless, and it is not wholly surprising that, faced by the peremptory demands of the King, there was some wavering. The issue did not come to a head until the time of Elizabeth, when, with English armies scouring the country, the Bishops were compelled to make their decision. Only two refused to comply with the demands made upon them. Of these, Bishop Leverous of Kildare retired altogether and taught school in Adare. The other, Bishop William Walsh of Meath, ceased to be the Queen's Bishop but went right on being the Pope's Bishop. He was not to be won by cajolery, nor deterred by threats, nor cowed by imprisonment. The people looked to him for direction, and he gave it at whatever cost to himself. He escaped from prison, but his health was broken and he died soon after he arrived in Spain. The Bishop of Waterford was Patrick Walsh, but where his namesake was rigid he temporized. He cannot be said to have adopted the new system with any fervor, but he did, with the others, accept under compulsion. His people in Waterford remained true to the ancient faith and he probably did little to turn them from it. Bishop William was of the same fighting family as the standardbearers of the Kildares, and he showed it. It was not long, however, before Waterford followed his example. Along about 1600 the flame was kept alive in Ireland by the Whites, Waddings, Walls, Walshs, Strongs and others whose homes were in Waterford and Kilkenny. There were others like them, hunted as they worked, to be slain on sight with less mercy than would be shown a wolf, but these have been accorded the chief distinction by the clerical historians. The noblest of

them all was Archbishop Walsh of Cashel, born in Waterford, who accepted appointment from Rome at a time when the Catholic religion had been all but extirpated from the district in which his diocese was situated. His cathedral was in the woods, his priests were in hiding, his flock dare not stir. The Catholic Confederation of 1642 enabled him, for a few years, to restore the old usages, but with the coming of Cromwell there came an end of that, and he too, after a long sojourn in prison, managed to reach Spain in time to die. This Archbishop, firm always as to the essentials of faith, had his disagreements with the Papal Nuncio on matters of political expediency. Very different was Peter Walsh, the Franciscan Friar, a writer of great ability, who at one critical period had the endorsement of several bishops and archbishops. He seems to have entertained the idea that the English could be argued out of their ferocity, and that the Bishops could get peace for their suffering country by declaring their independence of both Pope and King. The Church stood by the Pope and took the consequences, which would have been the same anyway, for Ormond, who encouraged Father Peter, cynically admitted that he used him only in the hope of dividing the hierarchy. The conflict was to the death; he thought it was in the realm of controversy and compromise. To be just to him, it is not always easy to decide in which direction the right path lies. It is easy enough centuries afterwards. We all think we would have been with Washington, but a great many solid citizens were not. Of the heads of the leadings Walsh houses of that time, and of the people who composed their "nations" it can be said there was no swerving. In Carrickmines, Castlehale and Waterford they were "harborers of popish priests," and the churches of the new religion stood empty.

Soldiers of Fortune

Following the final cataclysm of 1691, there was a great outpouring of Irish soldiers to the continent, as the alternative to transplantation in the poorest lands of Connaught, already crowded enough. There was nothing strange to them in the idea. They had been going to wars in France

since a few months after their arrival in Ireland. We may be quite certain there were Walshs at Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt. We have the indenture under which Thomas of the name served in France with his corps of archers. There is on record the curious exploit of Nicholas at Boulogne. Some of the Waterford Walshs went to Spain soon after 1600. The last Richard and the last Theobald of Carrickmines were in Germany long before their castle was blown up, and very likely were with Butler on the day that was fatal for Wallenstein. It was natural enough, therefore, for Walsh of Carrickmines to go to Austria, and for Walsh of Ballynecooly to go to France. In these spheres their ability and fighting qualities won for them places of distinction and profit. Their descendants carried on the tradition. It must have given Walsh of Nantes rare pleasure to carry Charles Edward Stuart to Scotland, even if it was his unpleasant task to carry him back after failure. During a century and more these scions of the men who went from Wales seeking sword lands in Ireland made good use of the sword in France, in Spain, in Austria, in Hungary and in Germany. Their blood is there yet. Quite past our comprehension must have been the bitter fate of those who were transplanted to Connaught. No accounts have cropped up of Walshs who turned "Tories," as so many others did, making private war upon the new proprietors from the wooded shelter of familiar hills, but we may be very sure there were some. But if we could imagine, for instance, that some of the family of Waterford City were transferred to cabins in Connaught, forbidden under dire penalties to approach nearer than three miles to the sea, we have only to read the will of Sir Robert Walsh, and to sense the atmosphere of patriarchal comfort, of dignity and affluence in which he and his forebears and descendants lived, to realize what their sensations must have been. No doubt, after a couple of generations, something of that passed. But it took centuries, rather than generations, to win clear from the pall of the penal laws, and it took a great famine and another great clearing of the land, this time to make room for cattle and sheep rather than for a new set of men, to drive them over the sea again, happily to a new

land of peaceful opportunity, of which some of them have made the most.

As we read the scraps of Mountain history saved from oblivion by Mr. Hussey Walsh and Canon Carrigan, we see how nearly complete was the obliteration of even the recollection of former glories from the minds of the people of the Walsh Mountains. As we read the "genealogical synopsis" we are conscious of how little was left of the family records which must have been carefully preserved when they had place and power. Still, from what meagre materials are scattered about, a good many of which have been brought together in these pages, it is possible to know something of who these Walshs were, how they lived and what they did. This much is sure. They came in bravely, they lived honorably, they fell indeed, but they fell fighting for faith and fatherland. What better heritage than that could be asked by one of the name?

SWORD LANDS

SWORD LANDS

Early in the year 1169, Dermot, last King of Leinster, sent over to Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, his latimer (latinist), Regan, with a message to those who had previously agreed to come over to Ireland and help him. He urgently desired that they delay their departure no longer, and to influence the minds of men whom he knew to be ever in need he made promises which Regan has thus reported¹

“Whoever shall wish for land or pence,
Horses, trappings or chargers,
Gold or silver, I shall give them
A very ample pay.
Whoever may wish for soil or sod,
Richly will I enfeoff them.”

Thereupon, Rhys son of Griffith, King of South Wales, released from prison Robert Fitz-Stephen, who had succeeded his father, Stephen, Constable of Cardigan, whose stronghold was at Aberteivi, and had fallen into the hands of his royal cousin in one of those spasms of warfare in which the Welsh were momentarily successful against the invading Normans. Robert got together “thirty knights of his own kinsmen,” most of them also kinsmen of the Welsh King, sixty other horsemen clad in mail, and three hundred archers on foot. Many of the company were professional soldiers, descendants of Flemish janissaries engaged for the Welsh wars, who had married in the country. They all set sail in what the Irish annalists call “the fleet of the Flemings,” and a few days later the Norman invasion, which was to change the face of Ireland, had successfully begun. A year later Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare,

¹ Song of Dermot and the Earl; Orpen Translation.

Earl of Pembroke, called "Strongbow," sent over a young man of his household, Raymond son of William son of Gerald, a nephew of Fitz-Stephen. Raymond took with him ten knights and seventy archers. In the history of Raymond's military adventures there is mention of three men, Philip, David and Geoffrey, whose names have been accorded, in centuries of tradition, the first places in the history of the family of Walsh in Ireland.

When the time came to distribute amongst his followers the lands that came to him by conquest and marriage, Richard the Earl seems to have given the preference, in the lands available to him nearest Dublin, first to certain relatives of his own, amongst whom may have been Adam, John and Richard de Hereford, who were placed in the north of the present county of Kildare; Robert Fitz-Richard, who was given the barony of Norragh; and perhaps another Robert, of St. Michael, who was given the barony of Reban, near Athy. Robert, who was succeeded by his son David, was also given lands at Dangan in Dublin county, out of a territory reserved for the King. Next, the Fitzgeralds were well provided with lands in Kildare and Wicklow, Raymond in Carlow, and others at a greater distance. A third important group was that which contained Meyler Fitz-Henry (grandson of King Henry 1) and Walter de Ridelsford, husband of Meyler's sister Amabalis. Very possibly Robert of St. Michael was also of this alliance. Meyler was given lands at Carbury, in the northwest of Kildare, at Kildare town and near there, and later on in other places. De Ridelsford was given lands of great extent in Wicklow and southern Kildare. Philip Fitz Resus, as he is called in the later annals, or Fitz-Rhys, as it would be in the Norman-Welsh combination, was given lands within the Ridelsford lordship and quite close to that of Meyler. In later centuries there were Walsh owners located in the places that were once those of the Herefords, the Fitz Henrys and the Ridelsfords. Meyler especially seems to have been zealous in advancing their interest, and as he was in positions of power for over thirty years, he was well able to do so.

PHILIP

PHILIP

Philip receives mention in the account of operations undertaken by Raymond at a time when the invaders were in rather desperate straits. Lismore, on the Blackwater, was sacked, and the much needed provisions there seized were sent to Waterford by sea. Raymond meantime fought a land battle against Dermot M'Carthy, and came off with a great herd of cattle. The Book of Howth, the writer of which borrows from Geraldus Cambrensis, tells thus the story in which Philip's name appears:

"From thence they went unto Lismore, and the city and all about they robbed and preyed; and by the seas were sent many preys to Waterford, and the pilfery and things they had filled twelve boats that came from Waterford in the harbor of Dungarvan. As they were there abiding for the wind, there came out of Corke by the sea thirty-two ships and many a man thereon for to take the boats. There was a great fight manfully given of these two fleets in the sea. That one assailed the other fiercely with stones and with spartes; the other were well weaponed and stood stiffly with arblasts and with bows. At the end they of Corke were discomforted and overthrown. Their ships they took and their men killed, and cast them into the sea. Adam de Harford and Philip de Walshe, that were set over the younglings, with more ships and great store of weapons and of pilfer, to Waterford went."

The Cork fleet was commanded by the Danish King of that sea port, Turgesius (MacTurger) and he is supposed to have fallen in single combat with Philip. Hanmer's history says "Gilbert MacTurger was slaine by a valiant knight, Philip Welsh." Thomas Moore's version is that

Philip leaped to the deck of his rival's boat and killed him with his sword.

The official records for Ireland are not available in any numbers for twenty years after this exploit, but from 1199 there are interesting references to the sons of Philip. In that year "Maurice Fitz-Philip gives to the King 400 marks that he may have right according to judgment of the King's court touching Geisel and de Lega whereof Gerald Fitz-Maurice deforces him, which the King when Earl of Morton granted to Reginald de Botterel and William his brother. Mandate to Meyler Fitz-Henry to have right and judgment in the King's court according to these charters." The contention over these castles in Offaly must have continued, for in 1203 Meyler was ordered to deliver to William Marshal the castles of Lega and Geisel of which Gerald was seised at his death. But in 1199, when Meyler was Viceroy, there was another series of grants. Thomas Fitz-Maurice (Fitzgerald) and Maurice Fitz Philip were each granted lands of the value of five knights' fees in the Cantred of Fontimel, and William de Burgh was given Ardpatrick and the remainder of the Cantred. This was in the territory below Kilmallock, a district afterwards known as Clangibbon, in Cork, Limerick and Tipperary, in which there were Walshs for the rest of the period. The "Gibbon" derives from Gilbert Fitzgerald, and there were two Gilbert Walshs in his time, all three so named out of compliment to Gilbert de Clare, with whose family the Fitzgeralds were allied by marriage, and whose fortunes both Fitzgerald and Walsh supported in the field. In 1278 William le Waleys was bailiff of Gilbert de Clare in Somerset, and the lands of Gilbert Walsh near Middleton in Cork were held from Gilbert de Clare, as disclosed by the inquisition held after the death of his wife, Isabel de Clare. Another of these Geraldine grantees in 1199 was William Fitzgerald of Naas who got "Karakitel" (Kilteely) with five Knights' fees "in the fee of Synchneen and the Cantred of Huhene (Owney)" and a burgage in Limerick town.

In 1203 King John acknowledged to Meyler the receipt, at Caen in France, of 400 marks of silver and 200 ounces

of gold delivered to him there by Maurice Fitz Philip and two others.

In 1207, when Meyler was a second time Viceroy, he and the Geraldines were again aggressive. Grants were made to Meyler himself, to Robert Fitz-Martin, William de Barry, Adam de Hereford, David and Eustace Roche, Philip Prendergast and de Cogan. Amongst these grants, which were witnessed by (among others) David Walsh, Bishop of Waterford, was one to "Henry, Maurice Aeneas (Eynon) and Audeonus (Owen) Fitz-Philip, brothers, of the cantred in which Dunlehoth is situated." As several of the other grants were confirmatory of old titles, it is possible "Dunlehoth" may have been "Ullachochth," afterwards Tullahought, in Kilkenny, an early Walsh possession, adjacent to Shancahir, Kilmacoliver and Templeorum. But in 1207 Meyler was preparing to subdue Kerry, and he himself took several cantreds including Eoghenacht Lochlein (Killarney) and Ackmikerry. It may have been to "Dun Loich" (Dunloe) therefore that he called the sons of his friend Philip. In that case the grant would have included the land from Dunloe toward Killorglin, (now the parish of Dunkerron). This is the more likely as Dunloe Castle was built in 1215, and as the other Walsh castles, Kilmurry, Kilcusneen, etc., are in Meyler's lands of Ackmikerry.

In 1219 Philip "of Bray" is disclosed as owner of lands at Lusk in Dublin, where Eustace Roche got a grant in 1207. In later years there was a strong Walsh colony in this district.

Then in 1229 there are several entries. In the Gormanston Register is a record of the marriage contract of John Butler and Matilda, daughter of David (Fitzgerald) baron of Naas, of which "Philip son of Henry" was witness. In the same year "The prior of Lanthony the first attorned Brother Richard his canon and Philip Walensis in a plaint before the Justiciary of Ireland between William Fitz Robert and Juliana, his wife, and the prior, touching the advowson of the church of Anye." This was a perceptory of the Knights of St. John in Knockainy in Limerick, and William Fitz-Robert would have been grandson of Geoffrey Marisco, who was lord of Ainy.

In that year also "The King pardons Walter le Waleys three and a half marks exacted for prest of Ireland made to him in the time of King John."

The year 1229 was also that in which William Walensis tried to get his Waterford grant confirmed. Richard de Burgh tried to keep him out of it, but when Hubert de Burgh was overthrown in London and Maurice Fitzgerald became Viceroy, William got his land.

The first Philip seems to have been given lands in the country of the O'Tooles, as a tenant holding under Walter de Ridelsford. The records of the Archdiocese of Dublin recite the terms of a grant from Philip, son of Rhys, to Murkirtah Otothel "of the lands of Garfclon, Clondangen, etc." and the subsequent grant of the same lands by Muriarthauch Otothel to Archbishop Fulco in exchange for others. A document of 1229 describing the forests in that section has the expression "Thence (from Arklow) to Omail, land of Philip Fitz Resus, of the demesne of Walter de Ridelsford."

In 1235 Richard Marshal, Strongbow's heir, was in rebellion and was wounded to death at the Curragh of Kildare, deserted by most of his friends. In 1237 Henry le Waleys complained that for adhering to Richard his lands has been distrained by his feudal lord, Walter de Ridelsford, as punishment for his having taken the side of Richard. The King having forgiven Richard after he was dead, Henry was able to regain possession of his lands.

In 1235 "Henry the Welshman," with Sir Walter de Lassye, Sir Richard de Burgo, William Grassus Senior, Milo de Verdun and Adam de Kusake, was witness to a deed of quitclaim between Hugh de Lassy, Earl of Ulster, and the Lady Roesia de Verdoune, signed at Drohedah in the house of the Hospital of St. Mary Outside the Gate."¹

Number 379 of the deeds to Christ Church, Dublin, mentions "a tenement and castel in Kilcullen and lands in that lordship with their tithes, the gift of Thomas Walleys." In 1282 "Henry fitz Rhys, son of Henry, Lord of Penkoyte, confirmed to Christ Church, Dublin, a grant made by his ancestors to Holy Trinity, of the advowsons of the

¹ Gormanston Register.

chapel anciently called Kylengly, but after the arrival of the English and Welsh in Ireland called Penkoyte, belonging to Kylculen Church, the property of Holy Trinity."

The antiquarians who have written about Kilcullen, and who have identified it only with the Eustaces, are mystified by early references to "Henricus filius Philipi de Castle Martyn" (a castle on the Liffey near New Kilcullen) and "Nicholas filius Nicholi de Castromartin." Richard Fitz-Eustace was there in 1200. "Richard de Penkeston" and Geoffrey Fitz-Eustace were Sheriffs of Kildare in 1355. Moortown, where a Walsh was "juror for the Lord King" shortly after 1600, is just outside the area now known as Old Kilcullen, and about a mile from the centre of the village. The Parliamentary Gazetteer says Kilcullen was known as Penkoyle. Brannockstown, Walshestown, Castle Walsh, Ballimore, Bally Three Castles and Walshtown in Wicklow are all close by.

It is evident that the lords of Penkoyte kept alive the memory of Philip "Fitz-Rhys" at the same time as they were known as "Waleys." Mr. Curtis (Medieval Ireland) comments that "Fitz-Rhys" disappears from the records in the fourteenth century. No doubt this was because "Walsh" was by then generally established in Kildare. In 1331 "William Waleis and his wife Mary, daughter and heir of Richard de Hereford, were seised of all the lands which belonged to her father in the lordship of Denbigh of the gift of Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh." Probably this accounts for the Walsh possessions along the border of Kildare and Meath. The descent of William may have been from David and the Dublin family, but if David and Philip were brothers the point is not very material. "Rhys" was evidently the ancestor, and both families bore for arms the lion of "the Lord Rhys."

PHILIP GWYS

At Wiston, in Pembrokeshire, there was a family whose name was spelled variously as Gwgan, Gwys, Wyzo and Wys. In 1148 Walter, the then head of the house, was defeated in battle by William Fitzgerald. Walter, however, married the daughter of William's brother, David,

Bishop of St. David's, and received from his father-in-law certain lands near Llawhaden. Walter was succeeded by his two sons, Walter and Philip, and Philip was succeeded by his son Henry.² About a century later this family in Wales definitely adopted the surname "Wogan," and one of its members was Justiciar of Ireland. The family then settled at Rathcoffey, in Kildare. Rev. Denis Murphy began his history of that family with the statement (for which he had found no confirmation) that "the first of the name who settled in this country is said to have been a knight from Pembrokeshire, who accompanied Maurice Fitzgerald in 1169."³ He would naturally have gone to Iverk with Myles Fitz-David, and if so may have been ancestor to the family of Wyse of Waterford.

¹ The rule of celibacy for the clergy seems not to have been in force in Wales, for Caradoc of Lancarvan relates that in 1103 a synod was held in London in which it was ordered that the clergy should not marry, which up to that time had not been the rule in Brytayne (Wales). Again in 1225 a Cardinal legate was in London vigorously denouncing the practice. The Welsh being continuously at war with the English at that time, enforcement of the rule did not come for at least another half century.

² Henry Owen, *Old Pembrokeshire Families*.

³ *Journal Royal Society Antiquaries, Ireland*, 1890.

DAVID

DAVID

In the year 1175 Raymond Fitz William Fitz Gerald, called "le Gros" because of his full habit of body, with his cousin Meiler Fitz Henry, grandson of King Henry I, arrived on the bank of the Shannon opposite Limerick. The river was in flood, and it seemed as though they would not be able to get over to attack the walls of the town. The Book of Howth tells what happened:

"When they there were they had great let of the water of Shanen, that was betwixt them and the city, so that they might not over go. The younglings, that well covets themselves to advance, their manhood to show, and also thinking to get over, were sorry at the end that they might not over into the city, that was to them so nigh, for the water was so deep and so straight between them, and so stony by the ground, as the gravel stones were running by the water's brink.

"A young knight among them, newly dubbed, fair and manfully, Raymond's nephew, hight Dawy Walshe, through great courage that he had over all others to win the foremost praise, pressed himself to so horrible peril of death. He smote his horse with his spurs, and over threw himself adown in the water that was so deep and so strong that he came up soon above the water with him. He led the horse sidling against the stream asquint, and went over on the other side, and cried to his men and said that he had found a ford, but there was never a man that followed him but a knight Geoffrey Yudas. Dawy turned again by that way, and he came over whole and sound. But the knight, through the straightness that he took the water, was turned over

and his horse, and was drowned before them all.

"When Meiler that there was with Raymond this saw, he had great envy that such harms should be told of any other man and not of him. Upon his horse he went, and to the water he go, and hardily, with fair passage, over to the other side."

Meiler stayed there, and carried on the battle single-handed for a while. When Raymond learned of this he took the whole force into the river and over they went. The learned historian discusses amiably which was the hardest of these three knights.

Hanmer in his history considerably condenses the report:

"David Welsh, a lusty gentleman, maketh no more ado, but putteth spurres to his horse, and with guid guiding thereof crosseth the river and got to land; immediately he calleth to his company, Come, I have found a ford; yet for all that, none would follow, but Jeffery Welsh and Meilerus Fitz Henry."

Perhaps we must take it from the first account that Jeffrey perished. In that case, the career of this third of the original three was quickly closed.

David is described by Geraldus Cambrensis as "*Agno-mine Walensis non cognomine; natione Kambrensis non cognatione*," which appears to mean that while he was of the Welsh nation he was not pure Welsh, and that "Walsh," meaning "Welshman," is what he was called by his Norman friends, and was not then, as it afterwards became, a surname. Owen refers to him as "that stout and brave soldier from Roose, David Welsh, who took his name from his family and his race."

David is said to have been created Baron of Carrickmines in 1172 by King Henry II, and an elaborate genealogy has been constructed beginning with his marriage to a daughter of Justin McCarthy, from whom he received lands in Kerry.

Mr. Valentine Hussey-Walsh, who had the right to be considered an expert, rejected the early part of the genealogy¹ for want of evidence in the records. Moreover,

¹ Genealogist Vol. 17.

Mr. James Mills, after a thorough study of the records, which were in his official keeping, does not include Carrickmines in the list of feudal tenures established in the district south of Dublin at that time¹ in the territory reserved by the King, but as Carrickmayne was in the lands held by the Archbishops of Dublin the statement may be exact nevertheless.

And yet, in the state documents of the period, the name of David "of Wales" appears in such circumstances, and in such company, as make it clear he was a person of considerable consequence. With Milo le Bret, Richard Tyrell and others he was witness of a grant made by Elicia, daughter of Adelelm, who was called the Rich. He was witness with Theobald Walter (Butler) Hamo de Valoignes (afterwards Justiciar) and others to the Charter granted to Dublin in 1192 by John, then Lord of Ireland, afterwards King John. He was witness, with Robert de St. Michael,² Philip de Worcester and others, in 1186, to a grant confirming to William Fitzgerald the cantred of Naas granted by the Earl Richard to Maurice Fitzgerald, and again, with De Courcy, de Angulo and de Ridelsford, witness in Richard I's time to a grant of lands to the abbey of "Santa Maria de Santa Cruce."

DAVID "OF WALES," 1170-1195

One of these would be David, Prince of North Wales, in succession to his father, Owen ap Gwynned. Owen was a doughty warrior, who, joining with his cousin, Griffith, son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, made several campaigns against the English from 1137 to 1150. In 1135 Owen and his brother Cadwalader gained a great victory over the Normans, English and Flemings at Cardigan, and Cadwalader became lord of Cardigan. Again in 1146, Conan and Howell, sons of Owen, won Cardigan Castle from the Flemings. Then, in 1150, this Howell "Prince Owen Gwynned's son, fortified Humphrey's Castle in the valley of Clettwr, in the parish of Landyssil and called it after his own name (Kastell Howell) by which it is known to

¹ Journal R. S. A. I.

² Gormanston Register.

this day.”¹ He seems to have lost it to another Welsh chieftain, Dinawal, ancestor of many Welsh families of today, who is always referred to as lord of Castle Howell. This Howell had another castle in Cardigan. “In the year 1152, Meredith and Rhys, the sons of Griffyd ap Rhys, did lead their forces to Penwedic before the castle, (probably Castle Gwalter,²) which did belong to Howell, the son of Prince Owen Gwynned, and with great pains took it.”

Cadwor, son of Dinawal of Castle Howell, married Catherine, sister of Meredith and Rhys.

When Owen died, Howell attempted to succeed him and was challenged by David, who slew him in battle. Howell, it appears, was a poet of note as well as a warrior, and the English histories refer to his father, Owen, as “the good poet prince.”

David married Emma, sister of King Henry II. There is an entry in the Rolls of 1174 “*pro pannis et apparatu sororis regis quem David filius Oeni duxit uxorem xxviii li et xlii s.—p’breve regis et per visum Edwardi Blundi.*”

Having made this alliance, David “banished all his brethren” of whom there were many. From this time to his defeat, in 1194, by his nephew, Llewellyn, and perhaps after that until his death in 1203, David seems to have been admitted to the councils of Henry, and of John, Lord of Ireland, afterwards King John. This accounts for “David of Wales” being witness to the charter to Dublin, which was signed at London in 1192. The others are more probably attributable to David Walsh, a friend of the Fitzgeralds and located near Dublin.

David is mentioned as having taken part in his father’s wars as early as 1156. As they started as warriors very early in life, the chances are he was not over twenty at that time, but this would preclude his being the “young knight newly dubbed” of 1175, and he could not have been nephew to Raymond. But it is plain that like all the other Welsh warriors of the time he saw in the Irish adventure a great opportunity, to be used, if not for his immediate advantage as a sharer in the spoils, at least for the profit of others

¹ Meyrick: History of Cardigan.

² Ibid.

of his family, and as a means of rewarding those who, in North Wales, gave him their support. It was doubtless through this influence that his brother Ririd was established at Cloghran and Ballybren in Dublin County, and since he sent at least one other of his brothers there it may be possible that he was in Ireland. If so, it would have been better for him to have stayed at home. His position there was never too secure. His brother Edward, as eldest son, would ordinarily have succeeded his father, but Edward had a broken nose, a physical imperfection which seems to have operated as a disqualification. Howell he disposed of in battle. His brother Roderick seized Mona Island (now Anglesey) and maintained himself there. Presently Llewellyn, son of Edward, claimed the succession that was rightfully his father's and David was not able to resist him. Three times he tried after the first defeat in 1194, and after the last attempt, in 1203, he died. His son Owen was given lands in Rhos, in Pembrokeshire.

There is an indication in the Welsh genealogies edited by Meyrick and Wynn that David was twice married, for he had a son named David whose son is called Teyth Walch. This latter is probably an indication that the son went either to England or, more probably, to Ireland. It was always by the English that "Waleys" or "Walsh" was used to describe one of Welsh blood, never by the Welsh themselves.

During his prosperity David was given lands at Ellesmere, but these were taken from him and given to his successful rival, Llewellyn, who married King John's sister. David was given lands in Warwick instead. His son Owen's lands in Rhos were afterwards acquired by De Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

RIRID, 1172

In the long list of the sons of Owen ap Gwynned,¹ in the Welsh genealogy, the last two names are Philip and Ririd. Nothing is there said about Philip, but Ririd is described as Lord of Cloghran in Ireland.

D'Alton, in his "County of Dublin," quotes Hanmer to the effect that "Biryd, son of Owen Gwynneth, Prince of

¹ Wynn: Family of Gwydir.

Wales," was Lord of Cloghran in Henry II's time. In 1215, "Kenereg Fitz-Ritcherie, a Welshman, paid 100 marks to have the land which belonged to his father"¹ according to a Close Roll in the Tower of London, and in 1222, D'Alton says, "Righerid 'of Wales' gave homage, fealty and relief to the King for six carucates of land at Cloghran and Ballybren." In 1224 the same proprietor is named "Rotheric." In 1240 Geoffrey de Appleby was "seized of 90 acres in Balibren, the gift of Kenewrec Walensis."²

This property at Cloghran and Balibren lay toward Swords, north of Dublin, in territory King Henry had reserved to himself when apportioning great lordships to Strongbow, DeLacy, and Butler, and smaller areas to others of the first invaders. In the fourteenth century one of the Stauntons acquired 130 acres of it by marriage, but the Walsh family seems to have spread out to the east and north, and to have been established in that neighborhood at various places afterwards. When the Hospitallers were dissolved in 1557, the Kilmainham Priory had 30 acres called "Walshman's lands" in Dublin County. When the property of the Abbey of Lusk was granted to Ormond in 1667, it included "Walshetown" in Dublin County. After the Cromwell wars, Robert Walsh was seized of 367 acres in Lusk. But these Walshs can be traced to Philip of Bray who had lands there in 1219.

THE OFFICIAL GENEALOGY

The following "Note and Synopsis of the genealogy of Walsh (or Wallis)" is translated from the Latin text of a certificate given to two young men of the family of Walsh, of the territory of Mac Elligot in Kerry, who were officers in the army of Brandenburg, by William Hawkins, Ulster King at Arms, in 1769. The Austrian Counts Wallis were of the family of Walsh of Carrickmines. For some reason, perhaps having to do with the language of their country of adoption, they elected to represent the old family name

¹ Cal. Docs. Ire.

² Ibid.

“Waleys” as Wallis, rather than Walsh. [The full original text appeared in the Journal of Ossory Society, and is reprinted in the Appendix.]

The Walshs were called “Waleys” (Welsh), and therefore the name is now written both “Walsh” and “Wallis.” The first of the name who settled in Ireland were David and Philip Walsh, brothers, barons of Cornwall in England, (descended from the famous David, King of Wales) who with many of the principal nobles both of England and Wales, followed, in 1171, Richard de Clare, Earl of Strongbow and their uncle.

Henry II coming to Ireland in the year 1172 created David Walsh baron of Carrickmaine in Dublin and of John’s Cross in Kerry. He likewise granted to David lands at Huntstown near Dublin, at Old Connaght in Wicklow, and Abington in Limerick. David married Mary McCarthy, eldest daughter of Justin of Aglias and Sarah O’Sullivan, receiving with her from her father much land in Kerry, where he erected three castles which may still be seen, called Castle Walsh of Alan, of Cusneen and of Murry, which castles are situated at the foot of Knockatee. From David was lineally descended Thomas John Reymund Walsh, of Carrickmaine in Dublin and John’s Cross in Kerry, and dynast of Castle Walsh.

Manus, son of David, founded the abbey of Rosbercon and another near Dublin, and enriched them with many lands and ornaments.

The said Henry the Second granted to Philip the lands of Bally-Kilgavan in Queen’s County, of Castle Hoel in County Kilkenny, and Grealaghbeg in County Tipperary; and the same year created Philip lord of Bally Carrickmore in Waterford and baron of Pildom in Tipperary and Shancaher in Kilkenny.

Philip, in 1173, married Susanna, second daughter of John Lumny, Earl (Comitis) of Waterford, and Juliana O’Sullivan, and received from the said John much mountain land, from which the family of Philip is called “of the Mountain” to distinguish it from the family of David.

From Philip was lineally descended James Walsh who returned from Scotland with Prince Charles Stuart.

From these branches there sprang, and flourished in the

Church, the illustrious Archbishop of Cashel and metropolitan of Munster, who was of John's Cross in Kerry and who died for the faith under Cromwell; Archbishop Walsh of Canterbury in England, who was of Bally-Carrickmore; and William, Bishop of Meath in Ireland, who likewise died for the faith under Elizabeth. From the time of Elizabeth, and since, the families both of David and Philip were deprived, because of their faith, of the seats they had held in Parliament. The very noble family of Mac Elligot met the same fate under Elizabeth, Cromwell and Elizabeth, which family parted with all of their lands and possessions on account of the adherence to the profession of the Roman Catholic religion, difference in religion being the only cause of their loss, the family preferring to sacrifice all their property and fortune rather than give up their religion, which was prohibited in those three reigns, and the law being such that few Roman Catholics can hold property.

The undersigned Lords, Members of Parliament, Bishops and pastors attest and confirm the foregoing as exact and at all points in agreement with the truth.

Those who signed were Nicholas Madget, Bishop of Kerry; Michael Peter MacMahon, Bishop of Leighlin; Barry Denny, Provost of Tralee and Knight of the Shire for the County of Kerry; Lord Kenmare; Lord Brandon; John Blenner Hasset, Colonel and Knight of the Shire for the County of Kerry; William Pomouly Esq.; Hunt Walsh, Colonel of the 56th regiment of foot, and Member of Parliament to the town of Maryborough; John Hewson Esq.; John Blenner Hasset, rector of Tralee and Vicar General in County Kerry; Robert Walsh, Colonel to the 54th regiment of foot; Lancelot Crosbie, Member of Parliament for Ardfert; Anselm Taylor, Esq.; and Thomas Carmody, pastor of Listowel, certifies that he baptized Alexander Julius Caesar Walsh (or Wallis) February 2, 1740, and his brother, Peter Augustus Alexander Walsh (or Wallis) June 2, 1744.

And then William Hawkins, Ulster King at Arms, certifies to the descent of Julius Caesar and Peter Augustus, who were at this time, 1769, junior officers in the army of Brandenburg, and George MacCartney, secretary to Lord Townsend, Lord Lieutenant, certifies that Hawkins really is Ulster King at Arms and principal Herald, and three

entries at Ratisbon complete the process by which the titles of nobility of the young officers were finally accepted for the continent.

If David and Philip were nephews of Strongbow, the relationship may have been through his cousin, Alicia, daughter of Richard of Clare, who married Cadwalader, brother of Owen Gwynned, and therefor uncle of David of North Wales. In 1146 Cadwalader was lord of Cardigan and gave his son Cadogan his share of castles there, but in 1151 he and his family were obliged to seek refuge with his wife's relatives. He died in 1172, killed, it is said, by his English escort. His sons were Cunneda, Ralph, Richard, Cadogan, Meredith and Cadwallon. He had a daughter, Alicia, and perhaps others. The descendants of Richard are readily traced in several families of Waleys in England. Two of Robert Fitz-Stephens' sons were Ralph and Meredith. Descent of David and Philip from this family would be consistent with the statement of Gerald that they were not pure Welsh in blood. Philip, son of Cadogan, is mentioned in a document of about this time in which the Bishop of St. David's in Wales made over certain property rights to the Fitzgeralds. The deeds are given in the Gormanston Register.

It would have been natural enough for this Philip to go to Ireland, but no specific record of his presence there appears.

But while the synopsis is attested as being in all points exact, there seems to be some possibility of error. Archbishop Walsh of Cashel, for instance, was not born in Kerry, but in Waterford. It is more likely David and Philip came from Wales, perhaps, like Raymond, from Strongbow's own household, than from Cornwall. The Walsh possessions in England seem to date from a little later, but a William Valensis does appear in Cornwall in the exchequer roll of 1185 (Henry II). John Lumney must have been a McCarthy, as none other could have granted the Waterford lands, and there is no doubt the Walshs had possessions in the Comeragh Mountains, and still had them in 1642. One would like to know, also, who is meant by "the famous David, King of

Wales.” If David of North Wales is meant, any descendant of his at that time must have been his son. The mention is perhaps accounted for by his close relationship to Cadwalader, whose nephew he was, by grants to his brother Ririd, and by his own participation in Irish affairs immediately after the invasion. Nevertheless, making full allowance for the incompleteness of the family records in 1769, not merely does this synopsis give an impression of substantial correctness; the more it is tested the more one is disposed to think that as other records are made available its outline may be so expanded as to become coherent history.

THE SHARE OF THE CHILDREN OF NESTA

In the division of the lands of Ireland, after 1170, among the principal beneficiaries were the children and grandchildren of Nesta. This lady, “the Welsh Helen,” has been much aspersed by the historians. She was a daughter of Rhys ap Tewdor, ward of Henry I, wife of Gerald of Windsor and of Stephen of Cardigan, and was abducted by Owen Glendower. She had many children and grandchildren, and nearly all of them went to Ireland and got sword lands there.

Robert Fitzstephen was first granted lands in Wexford. Afterwards he was grantee of half Cork.

Maurice Fitzgerald was grantee of Naas, in Kildare, and lands in Wicklow. His son William succeeded him as Baron of Naas, and married Alina, daughter of Strongbow (not of Eva McMurrough). Another son, Gerald, was ancestor of the Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster. Another, Thomas, was granted lands in Limerick, and was ancestor of the Earls of Desmond.

Harvey, uncle of Strongbow, married Nesta, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Meiler FitzHenry, Nesta’s grandson, got lands in Kildare and later in Leix and still later in Kerry.

Walter de Ridelsford, married to Meiler’s sister, had grants in Kildare and Wicklow.

Philip Barry, son of Angarat Fitzgerald, got large estates in Cork.

Odo, son of William Fitzgerald, was ancestor of the Carews of Carlow. Raymond, his brother, had a large property in County Carlow, and his son inherited from Fitzstephen in Cork. His sister Mabel was ancestress of the Condons, who had a large territory in Cork. If there was another sister, married to Rhys, a member of the Welsh family to which they were all related, all the early Walsh records could be easily explained.

Griffin, Raymond's brother, was Baron of Knocktopher, in Kilkenny, and Lord of Carrick Mac Griffin in Tipperary.

Miles, son of Nesta's son David, was Baron of Iverk.

Her other sons were William Hay, Walter and Hoel. The first, certainly, and the others, almost as certainly, settled in Wexford at the time of the first occupation. They had all been well provided for in Wales, and were certain to be with Fitz Stephen or Raymond.

LAST MUSTER OF THE GERALDINES

After Strongbow was dead, Raymond held the chief office for a time, after which Henry II sent William Fitz Audelin with orders to take over the King's castles. Raymond took all the Geraldines to Wexford to meet him. It was the final muster, before a set of strangers came to enjoy what their arms had won. Philip and David Walsh would be there.

"William saw Raymond with so many fair younglings belead, and saw Meyler and other knights of his kin, fair and richly weaponed, and every kind weaponed strongly, and upon full fair horses, shields about their necks and spears in hand, playing together in all the fields. He turned him to his men and said full soft, This pride shall be put down ere it be long and these shields drawn from them."¹

WALTER HOEL, 1182

When David, Henry² and Adam de Rupe deeded the island of Bergerin, in Wexford harbor, to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Exeter, "*pro salute animis patris nostri Robert filii Godeberti*" (brother of the very first Welshman

¹ Book of Howth.

² Orpen Vol. 1, p. 392.

to go to Ireland with Dermot McMurrough) the witnesses were Maurice Prendergast, Philip Poer, Robert and Henry Roche, Roger Christopher and Walter Hoel.

HAMO, 1197

Hamo de Valoignes, whose name also appears as Valois, Valta, and in various latin forms, has his name translated into Walsh in MacGeoghegan's history. There would be little to support this inclusion, however, were it not that he was one of the first to obtain lands in Limerick city and county, where the name in time appears in the local records as Valens, then in Irish as Brenagh, from which it would have emerged as Walsh when the law requiring change of names came into force. The direct heirs disappeared from the records after a couple of centuries, but Hamo built the castle of Iniskisty (Askeaton) and there are several entries of deeds he made to others from his property within the walls of Limerick.¹ In Hamoundstown, evidently named for him, it was found that "Henry Brenagh hath a mesuage."² He was Justiciar³ under Richard I from 1197 to 1199, got into serious trouble with Archbishop Comyn, some of whose lands he seized, including the diocese of Leighlen, was excommunicated, and later made restitution by deeding to the see of Dublin two carucates of land at Culballysiward in his territory of Connello, in Limerick. His daughter Katherine married Gerald, ancestor of the Earls of Kildare, whose chief Limerick seat was at Adare, in Connello. Their son Maurice was Justiciar. Hamo was related to Theobald Fitz Walter, the first Butler. He was succeeded by Meiler Fitz-Henry, one of the original conquistadores, who continued until 1203.

The name Hamo, or Hamon, is a Norman French variant of Simon. Names stick, in Ireland. There was a Simon Walsh, dean of Kildare, among the defenders of Maynooth when that castle was stormed in 1535, in the rebellion of Silken Thomas of the Sword, Earl of Kildare.

¹ Cal. Docs. Ireland.

² Begley: History of the Diocese of Limerick.

³ Gilbert: Viceroys of Ireland.

RICHARD MARSHAL

In 1235, Richard Marshal, Lord of Leinster, whose father, William the Marshal, married Isabel, daughter of Strongbow and Eva, was in conflict with the King, Henry III, who conspired with a number of the Irish lords against him. This Richard appears to have been by all odds the most attractive figure of his time, handsome in person, "well versed in letters," fearless in battle, as he proved when he fought almost single handed against great numbers until mortally wounded. The King had "defied" him, and under the feudal customs that "defiance" absolved Richard from allegiance, so he announced that "therefore I am no longer his man," and proceeded to defend his rights and property. He was the first of the Norman rebels, except, perhaps, the first Hugh de Lacy. According to the Irish annalist he "raised a war against the King of the Saxons." "And there was no one fighting this battle (at the Curragh) towards the end but himself alone. And this deed was one of the greatest deeds committed in that time."

GRIFFIN
AND
GEOFFREY

GRIFFIN 1172

Griffin Fitz-William, brother of Raymond, was given the barony of Knocktopher, which lay north of Miles Fitz David's barony of Iverk. The Walsh properties, as identified by the records of later years, lay on both sides of the boundary between the two baronies.

Griffin is mentioned in the histories for the part he took at the death of Tiernan O'Rourke. The story is that he had a dream the night before in which he saw a herd of wild boars rushing against DeLacy and his uncle Maurice, and that one more fierce than the others was about to slay them when he saved them by killing the monster. Next day, he and seven or eight young knights formed DeLacy's guard during a conference with O'Rourke, whose men were present in strength. The fierce old chieftain became angry as the argument proceeded, and attacked DeLacy and Fitzgerald with his battle ax. Maurice was felled twice. O'Rourke then tried to mount his horse, but Griffin, already mounted, rushing to the spot pierced him through with a lance.

He came off pretty well in the sharing of the spoils, for besides Knocktopher he had the territory of Carrick Mac Griffin in Tipperary, and his brother Raymond gave him lands in "Fenmore and Kells, in Fothered" (Forth) in the eastern part of Carlow, next Wicklow.

GEOFFREY FITZ ROBERT, 1193-1211

The Barony of Kells, in Ossory, to which Geoffrey Fitz-Robert, seneschal of William Marshal, was appointed by Marshal in 1193, was apparently subdivided among others, for the Earlys and the Tobins (St. Albans or St. Aubyns) had possessions there, and the Walshs, whether by grant

or inheritance from Geoffrey or by separate grant (of which no record has transpired) had practically all the rest of it outside the town of Kells and a small district in its environs. Not only had they the large area in the southwest, part of which was ceded to Ormond in 1174; they also had Castle Hale in the south east corner, and Clone, which was given to Jerpoint afterwards. The Howlings of Kilree, quite near to Kells, claim to be of the race of Howell of Castle Hale.

There is a good deal of confusion, which Sir John Gilbert, Father Carrigan and Mr. Orpen do not escape, in those accounts of the time which have to do with Geoffrey Fitz Robert (de Mareis) and Geoffrey de Marisco.

According to W. H. Grattan Flood,¹ this Geoffrey Fitz-Robert was a son of Robert Fitz Stephen (that is, if he was the husband of Basilia de Clare, widow of Raymond). That theory is consistent with the name Mareis, which was that of Stephen of Cardigan, Robert's father. He may have been of another branch of the family of Mareis, and he seems to have had a strong penchant for Cornwall, for he went to Bodmin for the monks for his abbey of Kells.

It appears to be conceded that he did marry Basilia, after Raymond's death (1186-9). A monument stone found at Kells, a picture of which is reproduced by Father Carrigan, shows the three chevrons of Clare, surmounted by a cross crosslet, which was the distinguishing mark of Raymond's arms (a saltire cross, common to Fitzgerald and Fitz Stephen, with twelve cross crosslets). Indeed it is likely Raymond added the crosslets to his Geraldine saltire cross after his marriage to Basilia, for the earliest arms of the de Clares were three cross-crosslets at the top of their shield.

After her death he married Eva de Birmingham, widow of Gerald Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald.

His first charter to Kells Abbey, which he richly endowed, and which is described as "by far the most extensive if not the most magnificent ancient ruin" in all Ireland,

¹ Waterford Archeological Society.

has been lost. In his confirmatory charter, issued somewhere between 1203 and 1211, he says he founded it "for the salvation of my own soul and the souls of my predecessors and successors," "for the honor of God and the Blessed Virgin," for the "spiritual welfare of my Lord, William Marshal" who advised the foundation and consented to it; and "at the desire and with the consent of my wife Eva."

The dedication leaves open the question of his ancestry, but he was succeeded by his sons William and John, and had an "eldest daughter" Joan, who married Theobald Butler the second. When the line of John ran out in Stephen de Mareis, the Butlers came in for the bulk of the property in England (probably Basilia's) and in Ireland, but not until after the Poers and Birminghams in turn possessed Kells, with bloody wars between them.

Geoffrey's devotion to William Marshal cost him dear, for he twice defied the King in his lord's interest, and the second time went to England as a hostage for him. Before the breach was finally healed, after being for a year a prisoner, Geoffrey died, in 1211, and as he had not yet been pardoned, some of his lands were seized, among them those in Pallas Grean in Limerick.

To Geoffrey Fitz Robert Fitz Stephen, at least in part, must surely be attributed the persistence of the Fitz Stephen legend in the traditions of the Walsh Mountain. Considering that the Walshs had most of his barony during nearly two centuries, it would be difficult for the shanachies to leave him out of their story. There is no trace of a "daughter of Raymond," but while there may have been one, the tradition as recited in the Lament is perhaps sufficiently accounted for by the presence there of Raymond's widow as wife of Geoffrey, "dear relative of Fitz-Stephen."

The names Stephen Howell and Howell Fitz Stephen, which appear in the local records in 1293 and 1312 respectively, do seem to point some sort of relation between them and this first lord of Kells, especially when taken with the possession by the Walshs of so much land in his barony.

THE SONS OF GRIFFIN

Griffin Fitz William had four sons, Gilbert, Matthew, Raymond and Griffin. The first three succeeded their father, in turn, as barons of Knocktopher. Griffin was sheriff of Dungarvan, where he and Thomas Fitz Anthony seem to have worked together in a high handed way, for between them they disseised the Bishop of Waterford of his property at Lismore, Ardmore and Ardfinan. They parcelled out a great deal of land among their friends—not forgetting themselves.

Gilbert's daughter, Claricia, married a son of Mac-Gillamocholog, an Irish chieftain of the Dublin area, whose claim to fame is that he waited all day to see how a battle would go and then rushed to the aid of the winners. "Let us aid the rightful English," he shouted, after the Norsemen had been beaten. The son gave up the long name, took the name Dermod as sufficient, and even that was eventually modified into Lascelles. Claricia's heirs sued her uncle Raymond, and by a judgment obtained from high officials who had their own interest to serve in the matter, deprived him of five and a quarter of his seven knights' fees. Raymond protested against the unjust judgment, but to no avail.

Matthew, who preceded him, was a great warrior. He stood by William Marshal, took part in all the wars of the time, and got his share of the spoils of Connaught. Some of these lands his brother Raymond sold to the Kildares, but not all. Matthew was seneschal of Munster before Thomas Fitz-Anthony. He was a great benefactor of Kells Abbey, and his gifts to it give some idea of the extent of his property, for they included Finnach, in the diocese of Lismore, Waterford; Tullylease, in the diocese of Cloyne, Cork; Kellistown in Carlow, and a number of livings in Kilkenny. He stood by Richard Marshal in his rebellion, lost his property, and got it back again.

Raymond, the third brother, must have been "the illustrious knight, MacGriffin" who, as reported in the Irish annals, was captured by the O'Donnells in battle in 1257. After him what was left of the Knocktopher barony, or

rather the rights of tenant in chief, passed into strangers' hands, and finally, in 1312, into those of the Butlers of Ormond. But from the beginning the Walshs seem to have been in actual occupation of most of it.

DAVID THE BISHOP 1203-1209

"In July, 1203, King John, ignoring the existence of Felix, Bishop of Lismore, issued letters of presentation to the church of Dungarvan, directed to the Bishop of Waterford, for David (Walsh) clerk (that is, chaplain) of Meyler Fitz-Henry. This David was the first Anglo-Norman rector of Dungarvan, one of the wealthiest rectories in Ireland, and the parsonage was invariably a plum for some favored cleric, nearly always a non-resident."¹

He became Bishop of Waterford in 1204, continuing until 1209.

Meyler Fitz-Henry, undoubtedly his relative, had seen to his getting the rich benefice of Dungarvan, which he ruled as an absentee. That he was in King John's confidence was shown by the commission given to him as "David elect of Waterford" in 1204, in which the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland were "commanded to place undoubted reliance upon what David elect of Waterford (and four others) whom the King sends shall expound concerning the King's Irish affairs."² Also, he was entrusted, with Meyler and others, with the delicate task of selecting a place in the north for land for DeLacy, who had been for some time out of favor because he married a daughter of O'Connor of Connaught. His name appears many times, especially as witness to the deeds of settlement of contentions affecting several of the most important barons.

Towards the end of his career in Waterford, however, he showed himself more acquisitive than prudent. He took to himself some of the lands and tithes of the see of Lismore, whose Bishop vigorously protested. Episcopal commissioners were appointed, and the pleas were being heard when the Decies people raised a tumult, in the midst of which Bishop David was killed.

¹ Journal Waterford Archeological Society, Vol. 5-7.

² Cal. Docs. Ire., No. 237.

WILLIAM
AND
HOWELL

WILLIAM

In 1229 William Walensis offered to pay 60 marks for confirmation of his title to certain lands in Waterford, and in 1232 there is the entry¹

“William Walensis makes with the King a fine of 60 marks to have confirmation of a fee called Glenocher in Dessya of the gift of Thomas Fitz Anthony. Mandate to the Justiciary of Ireland that having taken from William security for the 60 marks he cause him to hold the fee in peace.”

Maurice Fitzgerald was judiciary in 1232.

“Glenocher in Dessya” was Glenaheiry in Decies, a territory in the northwest of the county Waterford, across the Suir from Clonmel. Sixty marks was the regular fee for three cantreds, a very large area, which must have included most of the Comeragh Mountains.

Thomas Fitz Anthony is called “Walsh” in one Waterford history,² but the references to him, which are many, adhere persistently to the name “Thomas Fitz Anthony” and afford no indication of his anterior family connections. In the charter of the monastery for canons regular he founded at Inistioge, he mentions his sponsors by name (Emma and Ilonda), but his parents are not mentioned, though his son, Hamon, who predeceased him, is. He was a faithful henchman of William Marshal, who married Isabel, daughter of Strongbow, and succeeded to the Earl’s estates. Thomas settled at what is now Thomastown, in Kilkenny, which was called by the Irish Bally Mac Anton, the town of the son of Anthony. Originally it was known as Grenan.

¹ Cal. Docs. Ire., No. 1948.

² Egan: History of Waterford.

On July 3, 1215, as a means of ending a chronic contention between Fitzgerald of Desmond and the McCarthys, and to assert the royal power in Munster, King John granted to Fitz Anthony, on the advice of William Marshal, the custody of Waterford and Desmond (which included Cork and Kerry) together with all the King's demesnes and escheats in those counties, for a fine of 250 marks. Thomas was to guard the King's castles and lands, and to be reimbursed what he spent on fortifying the territory.¹ Also, for 600 marks, he was given custody of the lands and heirs of Thomas Fitz Maurice Fitzgerald, of Desmond. To the heir, John Fitz Thomas, he married his daughter Margery, and he saw that his son-in-law obtained large possessions in Kerry. His other daughters married Gerald de Roche, William de Cantelupe, Geoffrey de Norragh, and Stephen Archdeacon. He lost power some years before he died. In 1223 he was seneschal of Leinster for William Marshal the Younger. His grant to William must have been made before that.

Thomas made two grants to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. The first² was of two carucates "in Baliokeroc near the land of Miles de Cogan." Griffin Fitz Griffin, sheriff of Dungarvan, and Robert le Poer were witnesses. Bally Keroge was one of the properties of Sir Nicholas Walsh, four centuries later. The other was a grant of land "near the mountain"³ in his domain of "the Mountain," or Slefco, (Slieve Cua). This place appeared successively at "Slefco," "Castle Slew," and "Mountain Castle," which name remains.

Geoffrey de Turbeville, rector of Dungarvan, and Archdeacon of Dublin, complained to the King that this William Walensis and his neighbor, John D'Evreux, nominated their own chaplains to the churches in their districts, to the prejudice of his rights and revenues and those of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the King ordered the practice stopped.⁴

¹ Rolls, 17 John. Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*.

² St. Mary's Chartulary, p. 191.

³ Ibid., p. 193.

⁴ Cal. Docs. Ire.

HOWELL

In the year 1232, Richard Marshal, second son of the first Earl William, and grandson of Strongbow, then Lord of Leinster, gave written instructions for marking off the forests around his estate at Old Ross, in Wexford. In one place the direction is "and from Radcrother in a line as far as the cross which is between the chapel of Hoel of Karrethobren and the house of the said Hoel." Further on in the same document "it is permitted to Hoel of Karrickobrien" (and others who are mentioned) "and their heirs, with the free tenants, to reclaim, enclose and occupy their lands which are within the aforesaid meres and bounds, as well as their other lands which they hold outside the forest: reserving to us the savage beasts."¹

This was at Courthoyle, on Carrickbyrne mountain. The name is preserved in two townlands, and on the side of Carrickbyrne there are still the remains of a castle and of earlier earthworks, marking the abode of Hoel (Howell, Hoyle, Hale) of Carrickbyrne.²

When, in 1637, after a judicial review, a certificate was given to the then Walsh of Castle Hale in Kilkenny specifying the extent of his estates,³ this property of Courthoyle in Wexford was included.

Old Ross was one of the manors believed to have been erected by Strongbow himself. His son-in-law, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, used it for a manor but decided to build a town on the river, since known as New Ross, which was strongly in competition with Waterford for sea borne trade. The fact that there were on Hoel's property a chapel and a cross as well as a house as early as 1232 may doubtless be taken as indication that he, or his father, was there from the time the manor of Old Ross was erected. They were presumably personal retainers of the Marshals, very likely in charge of the manor's defence.

Philip Keating and Thomas Boscher are mentioned in this document about the forests of old Ross, along with Hoel of Carrickbyrne. Now Philip Keating and Thomas

¹ Hore: History of Wexford.

² Orpen: Ireland Under the Normans.

³ Carrigan: History of the Diocese of Ossory.

Boscher were witnesses of a certain final concord between the monks of Dunbrody Abbey and one of their neighbors at Tyrbegan, and to that act of concord "Hoel son of Grono" was also a witness. The year would be 1213, for the entry at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, says it was in the first year after the death of Robert, Bishop of Waterford, who died in 1212. Some years later, about 1240, another document was signed, in connection with Dunbrody, of which Stephen Howell, Thomas Keating and David Boscher were witnesses, evidently, in all three cases, of the next generation of the same families. Howell Fitz-Stephen, as a later inquisition shows, was at Carrickbyrne in 1307, and again, in 1411, "the heirs of Oliver Howell" were found to be still there, holding for the half of a knight's fee from Thomas Mowbray, the late proprietor of Ross. When the Colcloughs owned Ross, about 1600, the holder of Carrickbyrne was Walter Walsh of Castle Howell (Castleale) in Kilkenny.

It is difficult to arrive at any other view than that these Howells were the first Lords of the Mountain. The succession from 1170 to Howell of 1312 is almost or quite complete. On the evidence, the manor "Houlden of the barony of Knocktopher" began with the first of them. Whether he married a younger daughter of Griffin, or of Griffin's brother Raymond, his chances were of the best in Knocktopher. If Howell as Grono was the dear relative of Fitzstephen, Grono would have been son of Howell, son of Nesta, and therefore one of the Geraldines. More probably, however, he was of the same family as Rhys father of Philip. Rhys, Grono and Howell were favorite names in that family, and the name "le Waleys" would be applied as naturally to the one as to the other. The difference in the arms borne by the two families goes far to support the belief that their origin in Ireland was different.

THE WALSH ARMS

THE WALSH ARMS

Among the ancient Welsh records collected by Nicholas Owen and included in his "British Remains" there is a list of the arms attributed to members of the Royal Tribes of Wales. The interpretation of Welsh family records is sometimes difficult, since they apparently take no account of dates, while aiming at great exactitude in regard to the descents from father to son. When, added to this, such names as Rhys, Howel, Grono, Cadogan, etc., are found running through half a dozen families, and when their history proves that, in the twelfth century at all events, the families were engaged in interminable warfare, it becomes difficult to determine who was who.

Be that as it may, in Owen's list of the ancient arms there are two entries which have a bearing upon the origin of the Walshs of Ireland. For instance, the arms he attributes to "Cadogan of Bachan" are precisely those borne for centuries by the Walshs of Castle Howell in Kilkenny, namely, "Argent, a chevron gules between three pheons erect."

The cantred of Bachan, or Bychan, is in the northeast corner of Carmarthen, and quite close to Denbigh, which included the cantreds of Rhos and Ryfoniog. Also nearby, in Cardigan, is Ystrad Flur, or Strata Florida as it came to be called when the Normans developed a great monastery at the favorite burial place of the Welsh princes.

Owen gives as the arms of "Cadogan of Ustrad Flur," "Azure, a lion rampant argent," the arms of Walsh of Carrickmines, except, that the latter, as a mark of "difference," are "debruised by a fess per pale of the second and gules."

The silver lion in a blue field was also borne, according to the same authority, by "Cadrod, from whom are descended the Owens of Anglesey"; by "the Baron Coedmore," and by "Cadogan ap Grono, whose descendants are men of Strata Florida."

The Barons of Coedmore were Mortimers, the only one of the old Norman families whose name continued in Wales. The pedigrees show that for six or eight successive generations they married women of the Welsh royal tribe of Rhys. Indeed, after the time of "the Lord Rhys," that is Rhys ap Griffith ap Tudor, who flourished in the decades before and after 1170, the lion rampant seems to have been the mark of his kindred. The Talbots adopted it, after a marriage with one of his descendants, about 1250. One family of the Vaughans (Wales) have for arms "Azure a lion rampant party per fess or and argent in a bordure of the third," the bar in two colors being remindful of the one on the arms of the Dublin Walshs. Sir William le Waleys (Wallace) the Scottish hero, bore the silver lion in a red field.

Here may be cited an example of the slight attention paid by the Welsh records to the element of time. Owen gives as the arms of Lowarch ap Ririd ap Urien, "argent, a chevron sable between three ravens." Canon Carrigan mentions having found, at Fiddown, in Southern Kilkenny, in a church believed to date from about the year 1200, the end panel of an altar tomb on which is engraved "a chevron engrailed, between three birds, apparently eagles, or possibly falcons," which he could not identify as belonging to any Kilkenny family. The arms of Owen Gwynned were three eagles, but not with a chevron. The likelihood is that the birds are the three ravens. But when Ririd ap Urien appears in the records, it is away back in or near the tenth century, and the mystery is only cleared when it is found that his descendants, Kings of South Wales, who made their home at Dynemawr (or Dynevor) up to the time "the Lord Rhys," moved his seat to Carnarvon, all bore these arms of the ravens and chevron. From this we may infer that down there on the Suir, near that "Shancahir" where the first Walsh is supposed to have been, there was some one who left on stone the mark of the royal house of Rhys.

As to the red chevron with the three arrowheads, the badge of the Kilkenny Walshs and not, so far as appears, of any Welsh house except "Cadogan of Bachan," the impossibility of fixing Cadogan's date within a century or two, and of ascribing him to one rather than three or four other families, leaves us little the wiser. Perhaps it is enough that Bachan was close to Rhos and Stratflur, and that those who brought both sets of arms to Ireland were likely to be closely related.

While the three arrowheads seem to be peculiar to Walsh, the red chevron appears in the arms of several Welsh families. One has it with three lilies, another with three stags' heads, another (Owen) with three lions rampant, another (Bowen) with two lilies and a lion. One of the most famous is a red chevron "between three Englishmen's heads, cut off, gory, proper" ordered by Llewellyn to mark an exploit in battle.¹ The chevron, in white or in black, appears in the arms of several other Welsh families. Whatever the preference dictating its adoption, it seems to have been strongly in favor in nearly all the "royal tribes," all of which, moreover, were much intermarried in every generation in those early centuries.

While there are numerous monuments engraved with the chevron and arrows of Castle Hale, I have come across only two printed records of the other arms so appearing. Both are described in the *Journal of the Kildare Society*, and both (while old), are of recent date as compared with the Kilkenny tombs. One is at Tipper, over beyond the Dublin mountains, and has the arms of de la Hyde (a Kildare family) and of Margery Walsh, daughter of John Walsh of Shanganagh, Dublin.² The other, at Pollacton, is to Ulick Wale and Joana Walsh, of Donlonvan, Wicklow, descended from Walsh of Carrickmines. D'Alton³ mentions one at Balscadden, in the north of Dublin County, to the Walshs of Stidalt (in Meath, across the county border) but gives no description.

¹ These and many similar examples will be found in the works of Wynn and Meyrick, *Welsh Genealogies*, *Cardigan*, and *Family of Gwydir*.

² Vol. 2, p. 215 and Vol. 3, p. 396.

³ County of Dublin, p. 481.

The arms of Walsh of Ballykilcavan, "Argent, a fesse azure between six martlets sable," seem to be of an origin quite different from the other two, and there is a hint in the statement prepared under the eye of Hunt Walsh of Ballykilcavan of how their presence may be explained. They seem to point either to Philip of Wigorn (Worcester) himself or to Walshs who, for centuries in that district on the eastern border of Wales, bore these arms, and some of whose descendants came to Ireland in official positions in later centuries. Everything considered, however, it looks as though they were in Ireland at least as early as 1200 A.D.

In view of the prominence of the name Howell in the Kilkenny family, and the indication of almost worshipful regard for some Howell, it may be well to notice here some of those who appeared in the Welsh environment.

Howell son of Owen Gwynned was killed by David in battle in 1170.

Howell, son of Prince Rhys, had been held as a hostage by King Henry II, and was returned to his father when Henry, in 1172, went to Ireland after making peace with Rhys and leaving him almost supreme in Wales.

Nesta, mother of Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, had a son Hoel, who was provided with lands and office in Wales. He would have had a strong claim upon Robert his brother, and Raymond his nephew.

Howell, son of Philip, is variously said to have married a daughter of Raymond and a daughter of Griffin, Raymond's brother, and to have lived at Castle Hale; but there is no confirmatory record.

THE RISING TIDE

WALSHS IN WEXFORD

One of the earliest Norman colonizations in Ireland was that made in the southern district of Wexford under grant to Harvey de Monte Marisco (Mount Morris or Montmorency) uncle of Strongbow, who accompanied Robert Fitzstephen to Ireland, to keep watch, as the Geraldine historian believed, in the interests of his nephew. Of the early colonists a great many were Flemings, and the rest were Welsh. They were very little disturbed through the succeeding centuries, and multiplied exceedingly. An old rhyme of Forth Barony describes the chief of them as "Stiff Staffort, Dugget (dogged) Lamport, Gay Rockford, Proud Deweros (Devereux), Lacheny (laughing) Cheevers, Currachy (obstinate) Hore, Criss (cross) Calfer, Valse (false) Furlong, Shimereen (showy) Synnot, Gentleman (gentle) Brune."¹

In Hore's History of Wexford there are records for "le Waleys," "Walens," "de Wallia," and finally "Walsh," beginning with 1277, when Henry and Robert le Waleys (and perhaps "Raymond Fitz Griffin") were jurors at an inquisition to ascertain the extent of the property of Roger Bygod, earl of Norfolk. In 1282 and for several years afterwards "Griffin Walens," son of Richard, was provost of the Manor of Old Ross, and some of his statements of account are still preserved, including one for the period "from the feast of St. Michael in the tenth year until the Saturday next after the feast of St. Augustine (May 26) in the eleventh year of King Edward I." Griffin was still Provost in 1287. In 1288 his son, Henry FitzGriffin, was Provost of the Burgh at New Ross.

¹ Hogan: Description of Ireland.

There was another inquisition in 1306, at which Henry le Waleys was a juror, and at which it was found that Robert le Waleys held at Balitankan (Ballyrankin, Kilrush parish, Scarawalsh) for a quarter of one knight's fee. In 1311 John "de Wallia" was Provost of New Ross. In 1331 John was pardoned for his failure to make prompt payment "owing to the civil war imminent in those parts."

In 1358 Philip Walsh was a juror among those called to allot a dowry to Roesia Meyler. In 1361, David Walsh was running ships capable of carrying twenty casks of wine from New Ross to the king at Liverpool and Chester. In 1368 Richard, Henry and David Walsh were in court in New Ross, and the jury found that "David did not insult Richard Neville on the Saturday next before the feast of St. John the Baptist."

James Walsh was a juror in the inquisition held in 1411, where it was found that among those who were tenants of Thomas Mowbray was "Walsh of Polrankan" (St. Michael's Parish, Forth).

In 1422, "the King desired to grant to Edward Ferrers certain privileges at £12 a year, out of which "Thomas Walleys, by color of a commission as receiver or approbator, receives 10 marks by the name of his fee," which was very annoying.

In 1518, before an inquisition at New Ross, Henry Walsh and others complained that Richard Walsh, junior, Patrick Walsh, Robert Walsh, (and many others) "came from Waterford with many Spaniards, Frenchmen, Bretons and Irish, riotously, with a fleet of boats and ships, in piratical or warlike fashion, variously armed," on the 20th of the May of that year, and did much damage.

By 1591, however, a different basis had been established, for among those using ships calling at New Ross were Robert Walsh of Waterford, with a consignment of shoes, etc.; Edmund Walsh of Waterford with a consignment of hardware; and Richard Walsh of New Ross with a load of furnishings. The good ship Ann Synott also brought for

Judge Walsh (Sir Nicholas) a chest and a barrel, containing clothes for himself (six suits), cloth for his wife, "½ cwt. of cheese" and "½ cwt. of black sope."

The last entry in Hore is that of a pardon for Tibbot Walshe Fitz John of Kilgoban (Kilgibbon, Clonmore parish, Shelmalire), in 1602.

It was from these Walshs around old Ross, New Ross, the Great Island, (and perhaps the other Wexford places) that the great Waterford merchants derived the designation "Of the Island." The Great Island, indeed, while bigger than "the Little Island," is not too big to fit easily, as it does, into the harbor of Waterford. A friend used to say that one becomes a business man by doing business. These people evidently became prosperous merchants by being merchants. Griffin son of Richard, of 1282, was a first class business man, so his Waterford descendants came honestly by the talents which they applied to their opportunities.

WALSHS IN CONNAUGHT

In the wars for the reduction of Connaught, 1235 to 1245, of which the Burkes were the ultimate beneficiaries, the other barons participated and claimed their share. Robert Carew, heir of Robert Fitzstephen, sent up from Cork a colony headed by Barrett, one of his trustiest retainers. They settled in Tirawley, Mayo. The names given are Barrett, Clan Heil (Howel), Lynnot, Hussey, Philbin, Merrick, and Walsh (Bhalliseagh).¹ Matthew Fitz Griffin also had his share, in Ross, in Mayo, and in 1574 there were still reported in that part "the Joyes', the Walshes,' and the Patritches' lands."²

ELIAS, 1278

In Kildare County there are two subdivisions whose names indicate possession from the earliest years of the invasion by men known as le Waleis. One of these is now the townland of Walshestown, just northeast of the Curragh. A map printed in 1660 shows a "Castle Walsh" on the spot, and the present ordnance survey map reveals the

¹ Curtis: Medieval Ireland.

² Carew Papers.

presence of a ruined castle there. Just across the river Liffey is the Abbey of Old Connell, which Meiler Fitz Henry founded and in which he died. Meiler was very generous to his Welsh relatives, and this territorial name may be a witness to that family failing.

The other, now known as Brannockstown, is near Ballymore Eustace, on the eastern border of Kildare. Archbishop Fulke became tenant in chief of Villa Wallensis, by deed of Alanus Batoniis.¹ Michael Wallensis, treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin, gave quit claim of a messuage in the town of Balimor, held by him for life under grant from Luke, Archbishop of Dublin.²

In 1276 the lands of Elias Walsh, deceased, at Villa Walensis, were inspected at the instance of the Archbishop, tenant in chief. The report says:

"At the Villa Walensis there is a mannor in which is situate a ruinous house and a garden of half an acre. There are 99 acres of arable land, but the land is laid waste by war. Walter Coytrack renders 66s. 8d. in time of peace, but on account of war he now answers for nothing. David Walensis holds one acre and yearly renders at the Castle of Balimor one pair of iron spurs at the value of 2½d. The wife of Elias holds 55 acres with a park. John, son and heir of said Elias will be nine years of age before the feast of the Assumption. John's marriage is worth 100 shillings."¹

Another entry of the period is

"William de London, deceased (1283) held of David le Waleys thirty acres in Rathmolan."

Brannockstown came into possession of the family of London, or de Londres, who were allied by marriage to the Kildare Fitzgeralds. An entry in the Gormanston Register says "William Braynoke (Brenagh) holds at Braynokeston 5 carucates of land; and does suit there-out and 20 shillings royal service, when it arises: and the marriage is worth £40 of silver." This was before 1314.

¹ Crede Mihi, No. CLVII (More likely Valoniis. "Alan Valoniis" appears very early in the Calendar of Documents).

² Ibid., No. XCVII.

GILBERT, 1281

On July 24, 1861, John Fitz Thomas of Desmond, who married Margery, daughter of Thomas Fitz Anthony, his son Maurice, David de Barry and many others were slain in a battle with Fineen McCarthy, at Callan near Kenmare, after which "the Carties played the divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed and slue many an innocent; they became so strong and prevailed so mightily that for the space of twelve years the Desmond durst not put plow in ground in his owne country."¹

The heir of Desmond, Thomas, son of Maurice and his wife Matilda de Barry, was a baby at Tralee when the news from Callan arrived at the Castle. A panic ensued, during which the heir was carried to one of the turrets by a pet ape. He was known ever after as Thomas of the Ape (Tomas an Apa). The Fitzgerald arms have the ape as supporter in grateful recognition of this incident.

Thomas came of age in 1282, but before that his friends had been busy in the effort to recover his estate. An inquisition then made² showed his most lucrative property to be in County Waterford. In 1281 Gilbert le Waleys "paid for the cows for the army of the Earl of Desmond"³ and from 1281 to 1283 Gilbert was in Kerry in the Earl's interest.⁴ Gilbert is so evidently a de Clare name that its possession by this early Walsh may be taken as evidence that Gilbert was allied by marriage to the Desmonds, one of whom had married a de Clare. Desmond's uncle was Gilbert, ancestor of Clan Gibbon (Fitz Gibbon) and of the White, Black and Green Knights, but it was Gilbert Walsh and William de Barry who led the fight that restored Desmond to power.

By about 1289 the McCarthys had been pacified, and at about the same time Donal Og McCarthy was outlawed for robberies on the prosecution of Gilbert le Waleys and William de Barry. Donell was pardoned afterwards, whereupon Gilbert and William complained that they had been prejudiced "For if such things may be law cannot avail

¹ Hanmer.

² Cal. Docs. Ire.

³ Exchequer records cited in Miss Hickson's "Kerry."

us." The King's answer was to give Thomas Fitzmaurice, in 1292, "the custody of the Castle of Dungarvan and the homages, rents and services of all tenants, as well English as Irish, belonging to the lands of Decies and Desmond." This arrangement apparently satisfied all concerned, for Gilbert became one of the bondsmen for Donal Og, who had to pay a fine.¹

Gilbert le Waleys held land at "Roskelan in the Vill of Youghal," at this time, for service of three knights' fees. William Walsh was Mayor of Youghal in 1538, and another Walsh represented Youghal in Parliament in 1585.

Gilbert le Waleys and William le Waleys were among those to whom the King, Edward I, appealed for armed help against the Scots in 1301.

In the year 1304 there is the entry:

"Whereas Gilbert le Waleys, senior, broken down by old age, has sent Gilbert le Waleys, junior, his cousin, in the King's service to Scotland, where the latter has well served the King; in view of that service, being desirous to render special grace to Gilbert le Waleys senior, pardons him 20 shillings for which he was bound to the exchequer for the escape of certain thieves when he was sheriff of Cork."²

About 1320 this second Gilbert held two and a half townships at Ardraghin in Connaught in the estate of Richard de Burgh.

WILLIAM, 1278-1305

William le Waleys appears in the record of inquisitions held at Clonmel in 1278 and 1282; and again at Tristle Dermot, in inquisitions held in 1305, were William le Waleys "Knight of the Earldom of Connaught," and Richard le Waleys "Knight of the County of Tipperary."

During the inquisition into the extent of the Desmond property in 1298, "William the Welshman" was found to be in possession of one feodum at Glennocher, rendering £6.13s.4d per year. He also held a villata at Baly Morthyn, for which he rendered 20 shillings a year and did suit.³

¹ Orpen: Ireland under the Normans.

² Cal. Docs. Ire.

³ Cal. Does. Ire.

This is evidently the same property an earlier William had as a gift from Fitz Anthony, confirmed to him in 1232, and this William may be supposed to be the one who was present at the inquisitions at Tristle Dermot and Clonmel.

HENRY, 1295-1301

Henry le Waleis was paid £18. 5s. 10d. as keeper of the Castle of Dublin for one year 1294-5.²

Henry le Waleis was sheriff of Limerick 1301.³

HOWELL, 1312

The barony of Knocktopher does not crop up in the records between 1257, when Raymond Fitz Griffin died, and 1293, when Edmund, son of Milo le Bret, transferred it to Sir Walter de la Haye, who had custody of the King's escheats. What probably happened was that with the passing of Raymond Fitz Griffin those who had before succeeded in getting away from him five and three quarters of his father's seven knights' fees, at the suit of his niece Claricia, now succeeded in getting the other one and three quarters, Milo le Bret being the actual beneficiary, with ownership of the castle and the rights of chief tenant, in whole or in part. His son Edmund parted with these possessions, in 1293, for what compensation or under what compulsion does not appear.

Edmund made over, to Sir Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland, "the castle and manor of Cnocke Thowhur, to hold of Sir Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and Joan his wife, with warranty thereupon;" the witnesses being Sir Robert Bagod, Sir Eustace le Poer, Sir Alan of Bath, Sir Stephen Howell, Knights, David de Bath, John, son of Raymond, etc.

Nineteen years later, October 1312, it passed from Matthew Fitz Philip Maunsel, the escheator having disposed of it to either the father or the son, to Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Carrick, father of James, first earl of Ormond. The witnesses on that occasion were the Lord Raymond Archdeacon, John de Druhul, William St. Leger, then seneschal of Kilkenny, Fulke de Freyne, Nicholas Dunhed, Nicholas Blanchville, Robert Shorthall, Knights;

¹ Cal. Docs. Ire.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Howell Fitz Stephen, Edmund Grace, John Fitz Reymond,¹ Robert Rupefort, Ralph Denn, etc.²

Thus we have Sir Stephen Howell in 1293 and Howell Fitz Stephen in 1312.

John Fitz Stephen is reported at Old Ross in 1297. Stephen Fitz Stephen was a juror in an inquiry into the extent of the lands of one of the Marshal heiresses at Rosbercon in 1307.

John le Waleys was witness of another grant by Edmund Fitz Milo to de la Haye, this time of the manor of Clocthur, apparently in the eastern part of Milo Fitz David's barony of Iverk, probably Clone, now Clonamery.

ROBERT, 1310

Robert le Waleys, clerk, of Waterford, accused in 1310 of having killed John MacGillemory, admitted having done so, but pleaded that it was no felony as the victim "was a mere Irishman and not of free blood," and expressed readiness to pay for him "on the demand of the lord whose Irishman John was at the time of his death." John, son of John, son of Robert Poer, pleaded for the prosecution that John MacGillemory was not an Irishman, but the descendant of a Dane, or Ostman, a relative of Reginald of the famous Reginald's tower. With the exception of this "one faithful man," all Reginald's kin had been either put to death for resisting the entry of Henry II to the city or expelled to a district beyond the walls. A fight arising on a holiday, the Ostmen killed the men from the city and carried off their wives, whereupon a long strife ensued, which was ended by Henry ordering that the Ostmen "should have the benefit of the English law in Ireland." It was pleaded that the John who was killed in 1310 was descended from one of those to whom the original grant was made. Robert le Waleys, who "was accused with being a robber and harboring robbers," was sent back to prison to await judgment, but was afterwards let out on bail.² He was fined five marks.

¹ Cal. Docs. Ire.

² The original deed is preserved at Kilkenny Castle. Carrigan: Diocese of Ossory.

² National MSS of Ireland, Gilbert.

RICHARD, 1318

The Remembrance Roll of the Parliament held at Kilkenny, 3-4 Edward II (1310) contains the names "Rico" and "Hublo" le Waleys, that is to say Richard and, reading "Hubto" for "Hublo," probably Hubert. We have seen that Richard was present at an inquisition in 1305.

Before many years, Ireland was desolated by war, following the attempt of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, to make his brother Edward King of Ireland. In the early campaigns in Ireland, in which the Scots were successful, they made a special point of ravaging Tipperary.

The attempt to add Ireland to their domain failed when Edward was killed at Dundalk (October 14, 1318). After that event, it is related that "Richard le Waleys, for his services in leading an armed band against the Scots, at Louth, Skerries, etc., and against the Irish in sundry parts, had an order for £255, in which the abbot and convent of Inchelaunagh were indebted to the merchants of the society of the Ricordi of Lucca, and which had come to the crown in right of debts due to the King by said merchants."¹

The Richard who received the order on the Ricordi was doubtless of Tipperary. The abbey of Inchelonaugh was in that county, on the river Suir three miles above Clonmel. In 1323 Richard le Waleys was one of fourteen of the principal men in Ireland who were called upon by the King to apprehend Roger Mortimer if he went to that island.²

RICHARD, 1350

Early in 1333, the then earl of Desmond, who had been in prison for a year and a half, was liberated by the Justiciar, John D'Arcy, after the principal earls, knights, barons and others had become bondsmen for him, rendering themselves liable to forfeiture of life and lands if he should make any attempt against the King and they should fail to produce his body. The list of mainpernours, or bondsmen, for Desmond included Lord William de Burgh (Burke); Butler, Earl of Ormond; Richard Tuyt (Tuite);

¹ Dalton: History of Dundalk.

² Close Rolls Edward II.

Richard Verdon; Maurice de Rochefort and Gerald de Rupefort (Roche); Eustace and John Poer (Power); Robert Barry; Maurice FitzGerald; John Wellesley; Walter L'Enfant; Richard de Rokell; Richard le Waleys; Henry Traherne; Edward de Burgh; Fulco de Fraxinus (Freyne, French) Henry de Berkeley and — de Rupe (Roche).¹

In 1345, a new Viceroy, Sir Raoul D'Ufford, called a Parliament at Dublin which Desmond refused to attend. Thereupon D'Ufford made war upon Desmond, captured the Castle of Iniskisty (Askeaton) and forced an entry into the Earl's fortress at Castle Island, in Kerry, after a fortnight's siege. He hanged Eustace le Poer, baron of Kells, in Kilkenny, and William le Grant (likely of Waterford) who had held the castle. He surprised and imprisoned the Earl of Kildare, Desmond's kinsman, and declared forfeit the lands of all the "mainpernours" including those who had stood with him against Desmond. He did not catch Desmond, and a year later the latter went to London and convinced the court that he had been unjustly treated. Meantime, however, the exaction of the bond had caused the ruin of many.² Whether Richard le Waleys was one of those thus ruined does not appear. But the name was not again prominent, in the same sense, in Tipperary after his time. This was the period when the Butlers, driven out of Western Ormond by the O'Kennedys, sought to establish themselves more comfortably farther east.

PHILIP AND JOHN, 1421

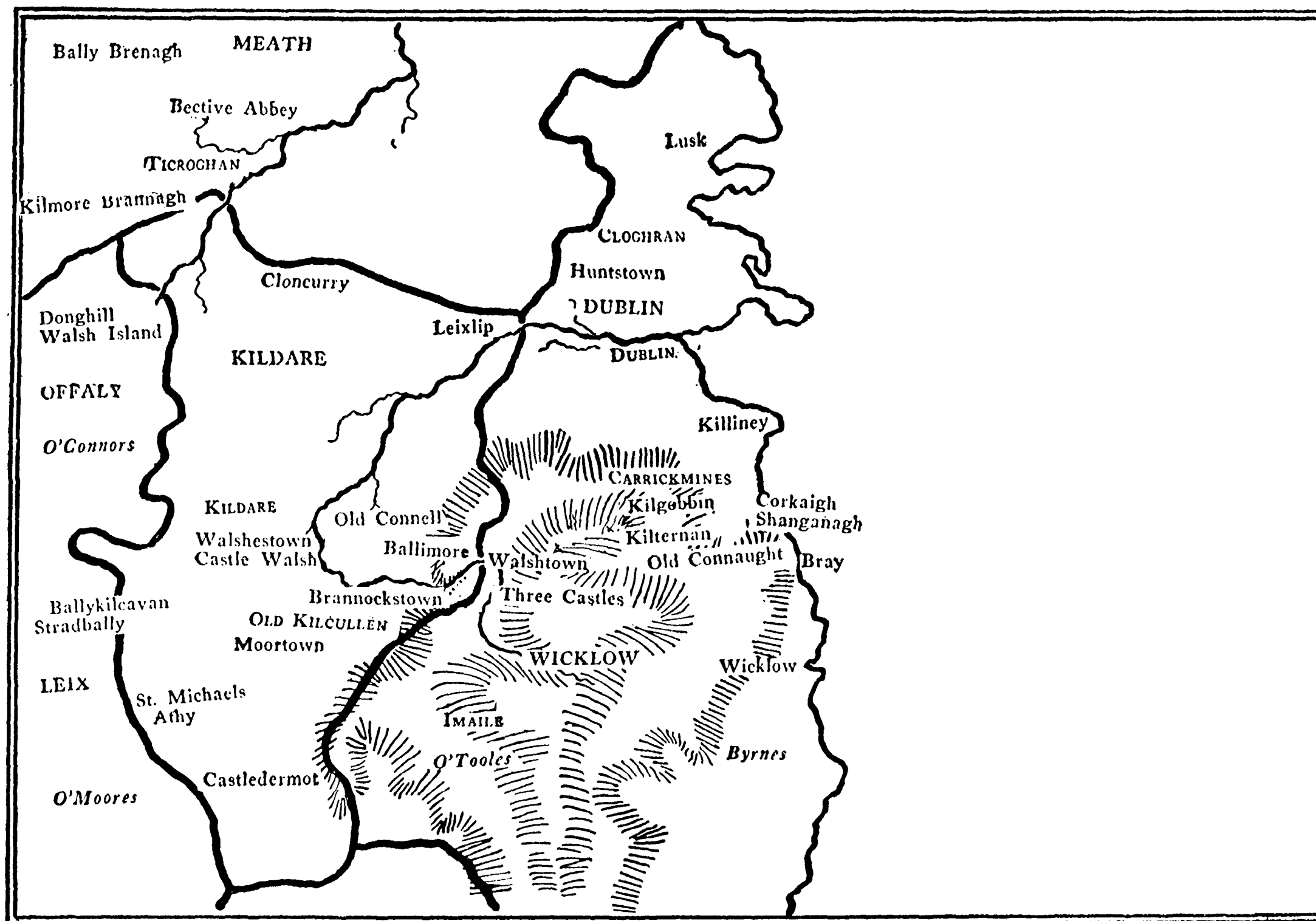
On a call for assistance by King Henry V in 1421,³ assessors were appointed for the different districts. Amongst others "Philippus Walsh" was named for Kildare and "Johannus Walsh of RathRonane" for Tipperary. His associates were Walterus Fitz Theobald de Burgo and Walterus Tobin.

James Walsh of Rathronane was one of the "gentlemen inheritors and freeholders" of Tipperary who in 1542 petitioned against the Earl of Ormond's exaction of coign and livery.

¹ Annals of Ireland, Gilbert. Cartulary of St. Mary's.

² Gilbert: Viceroys.

³ Gilbert: Facsimiles National MSS.



REFERENCE MAP OF DUBLIN-KILDARE DISTRICT

WALSH
OF
CARRICKMINES

THE DUBLIN WALSHS

“Where the little river Bray falls into the sea, a little higher up one sees Ould Court, an estate of the Walshs of Carrickmain, of ancient nobility and numerous in these parts.”—Camden.

While David Walsh is said to have been made baron of Carrickmines in 1172 (or before he had won his spurs at Limerick), the tenant in chief in that southern part where Carrickmines is situated was the Archbishop of Dublin. St. Lawrence O’Toole, Archbishop, in fact presented the benefices of the church at “Carrickmayne” to Christ Church, Dublin, in 1178. This doubtless explains why there is less recorded material concerning David’s descendants than we have for Philip’s. The way they kept to the same names makes it hard to distinguish one family from the other.

About 1300, there were at Adgo (evidently Athgoe, near the Wicklow border) Ricardus Walensis and Thomas le Waleys as tenants of St. Mary’s Abbey, Dublin.

Even before that, or about 1250, there was record in the same abbey of a charter from John of Coventry to Gilbert le Waleys de Howde (Howth?) in Ostman’s town, Dublin (Oxmanton); and another entry in the Chartulary mentions “Walteri, filii Roberti Walensis,” who gave a parcel of land to the Abbey, situated between Dunleary and Bernemeth (juxta Dunlere et Bernemeth).

In reply to a writ demanding attendance in London, “the nobles and commons of Dublin” declared “with one voice and assent” that “according to the rights, privileges, liberties and customs of the land of Ireland in use since the conquest they were not bound to send any representatives from Ireland to the Parliament or Council of the King in

England as this writ requires." This protest, reproduced in Gilbert's Facsimiles of National Documents, is signed by Robert Waleys, with Talbots, Howthes, Woodlock, Cruise, Butler and Netterville. They sent two men to London to advance this view. It is probably the original Sinn Fein declaration emanating from the Anglo-Irish.

This is probably the Robert Walsh who was bailiff (sheriff) of Dublin in 1360. William the Walysshe had that office in 1331.

"In 1371 the Byrnes made a descent upon Carrickmayne. De Colton, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, marched against them with his retinue and a considerable force, remaining in arms, at his own expense, on one occasion for eight days, and on another for the space of a month."¹

In the survey of 1648, Carrickmines, of the inheritance of Theobald Walsh, Irish Papist, who had acted in the Irish army as captain of a foot company, was found to be a manor with court leet, the tithes payable to Christ Church, Dublin.

From 1178 to 1684, the Archbishop of Dublin was tenant in chief of the area in which Carrickmines stood. But there was nothing in the way of its having been, as it most probably was, a manor with the feudal privileges of a manor, including the holding of an annual court (court leet). There may very well have been, as it is claimed there was, a Baron of Carrickmines during most or all of that time, even from before 1180.

In the Dublin area, about 1406, appears Harry Walshe, "Captayne of the Walshe men" and with him "James Came of Kylgobbene and Connor Came of Kylternane," places the Walshs afterwards owned and defended in the border wars. In the same year John Walsh and David Walsh of Carrickmayne gave to Henry Fitz Adam Walsh "all the lands in Carrickmayne, Ballyroe, and Annodan, in tail male, to be held of the chief lords of fee by services due and customary, remainder to Maurice Walsh and his heirs male, remainder to the right heirs of the said Henry Walsh."

There was an entry in St. Mary's Abbey records about

¹ Gilbert: Viceroys of Ireland.

this time concerning Kilternan, to the effect that William FitzHenry Walsh held land at Symondeston.

In 1412 the King appointed John Walsh, Thomas Waleys and others to prevent the export of grain "from Bray head to the Nanny water."

In 1417 Maurice Walsh and William Walsh were among those from Dublin County who joined in a memorial to the King in praise of the vigor with which Talbot, Lord Furnival, repelled the incursions of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles (amongst others) upon the borders of the pale. Others who signed were Talbots, Whites, Plunketts, Fitz Eustaces, Fitz Williams. In 1421 the King committed to Thomas Walsh the custody of the manor of Ward while "in the King's hand." (One half went to a Birmingham and the other to St. Lawrence of Howth.)

In the period from 1400, and perhaps a little earlier, the Dublin Walshs seem to have been assigned, with the Harolds, Hackets, Lawlesses and Talbots, to the difficult task of holding the border of the Pale against the Byrnes and O'Tooles, fighting tribes who kept up the battle century after century. In 1312 Ormond made extensive war upon them. In 1379 a council was convened at Baltinglass to treat on terms of peace with them. In 1537 they were still at it, and Cowley recommended to Thomas Cromwell that "Certain gentlemen, as Peter Talbot (of Powerscourt) and others of the Walsh men, and others nigh Dublin, be enabled to dwell and inhabit upon the Tooles, who most noyeth about Dublin, and the King to be at some charges to build there."

In the course of this adventure, the Harolds, the Hackets and the Lawlesses, here and there, made way for Walshs. The Hackets, for instance, were very friendly to the Desmonds, and after one of the disasters which befell that house Ormond caused the Hackets to be removed, probably to Kilkenny. Curiously, also, some of the Lawlesses not only removed to Kilkenny but were established by Ormond in the old Walsh territory of Iverk, for example at Kilmacoliver, which must have been one of the very

earliest Walsh strongholds. In 1556 there was a hosting against the Scots. Gilbert gives the list, which includes:

“All the Walsheman’s country, Harold’s country, and
The Archbolds xij horsemen

xvj kern

The Byrnes xij horsemen

xxij kern

The Thooles—waste.”

In 1578 John Walsh died siesed of 300 acres at Kilgobban and Jamestown, formerly Harold property. In or before 1473 Edmund Walsh got 80 acres in the Lawless territory at Shanganagh and refused to pay rent for it to St. Patrick’s Cathedral until, in 1547, the vicars got judgment. By 1609 James Walsh had increased the holding to a castle, a water mill, and 203 acres, held of Peter Talbot. In 1654 John Walsh had 400 acres. He died six months before the troubles of the time, and was praised in one of the letters to England; but shortly afterwards was denounced as a rebel, as a necessary preliminary to the appropriation of his land. However, that misfortune was postponed a few years, for a John Walsh still had it in 1671. The place lies on the sea near Bray, and some remains of the old castle are still there. Walsh of Shanganagh had another property at Corkaigh, marsh land of the Lawlesses which was developed into a good estate. In 1481 Henry Walsh “of the marshes” (Corkaigh) granted all his lands in Carrickmayne to John Walsh.

Other Lawless land which passed to the Walshs was at Old Connaught, which belonged to James Walsh in 1609, and to John in 1671—the Shanganagh proprietors. James Walsh, the “Irish papist” who owned it in 1654, had 500 acres and on the premises were “a castle thatched, a grove of ash trees and the walls of the parish church.” After the siege of Limerick the old owners withdrew to France. In 1671 James Walsh died seised in tail male of the premises in Little Bray “of the property of his ancestors and which he held of the crown by Knight’s service.”¹

Mr. Valentine Hussey Walsh contributed, from papers in his possession, records of the descents and marriages in the family of Carrickmines.² From these it appears that

in 1500 William Walsh of Carrickmayne married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Fitz William of Merrion; their son Richard married Eleanor Fitz Eustace; their son Theobald married Eleanor Fitz William, and their son Richard, Joan Eustace. This Richard died in 1632. His son Theobald, who married Maria Hore, was lord of the manor of Carrickmayne when it was taken in 1642, and Theobald's son Richard died without children. In this family between 1500 and 1640, there were two marriages with Fitz Williams, two with Talbots and four with Eustaces. The sons of William of 1500 were Richard, Howel, Robert, Edmund, the last three very like Kilkenny.

After an excursion of the Society of Antiquarians into Southern Dublin, the following notes appeared in the Journal (R.S.A.I.) for 1900:

"At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was not a single person in the parish who attended divine service in it (the church of Tully). On all sides it was then surrounded by those who still professed the ancient faith, and in the Walshs' castle at Carrickmines no less than two priests found a home, and Mass was regularly celebrated."

"At Old Connaught there are the remains of an old church, and here formerly stood a castle, the home of a branch of the widespreading Walsh clan."

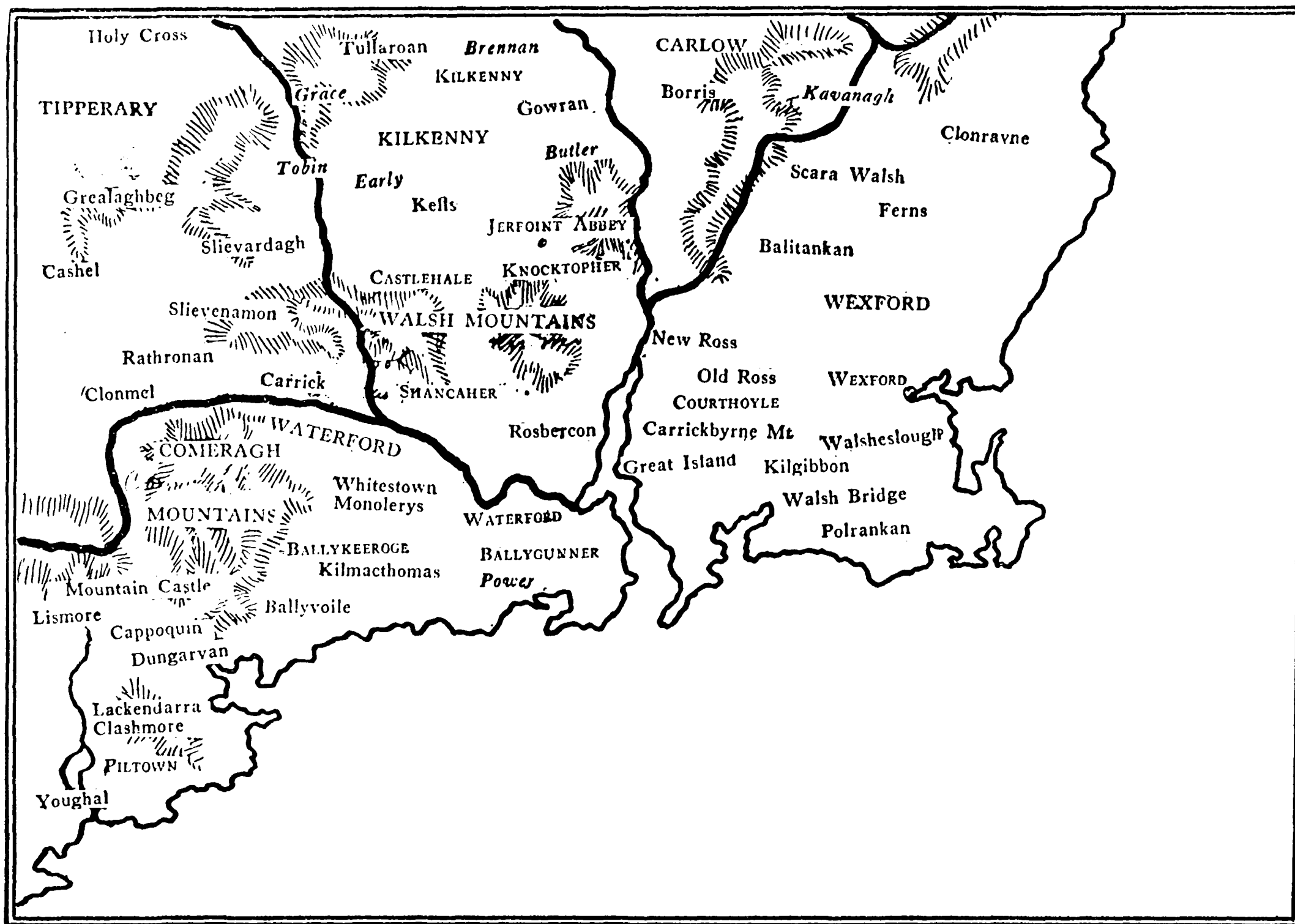
"After the Norman conquest the lands of Kilgobbin came into the possession of the Hackets;³ from whom they passed to a branch of the Walsh family. The Walshs had them until the troublous times of 1641, when they passed to Sir Adam Loftus."

"In the thirteenth century John de Walhope built a house (at Ballaly) with wood procured from the royal forest of Glencro. It subsequently came into the possession of yet another branch of the Walsh family. A castle was built, and a church which stood on the grounds was used by the Walshs for the services of their Church."

¹ These particulars are to be found in Dalton's History of Dublin County, pp. 900 to 915, with references to the official reports from which they are gleaned.

² Genealogist, Vol. 17.

³ D'Alton says Harolds, not Hackets.



REFERENCE MAP OF SOUTH-EASTERN IRELAND

WALSH
OF
THE MOUNTAIN

GEOFFREY

“On the Thursday next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1374, Geoffrey, son of Thomas, son of Nicholas, son of Howel Walsh, appointed William Crispyn of Carrick and Walter Cantwell to be jointly his bailiffs and attorneys to deliver to James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, the lands and buildings of his manor and town of Melagh and Cannderstown in Iverk.”

This Geoffrey would seem to approach most nearly the description applied to “Giffin” in the lament for John Mac-Walter. If his relatives were displaced from Melagh and Tullahought, as seems likely, since Lawlesses and Hacketts are afterwards found there, he was in position to place them in his broad lands in Knocktopher. By 1374 there was some chance for “vast flocks tended by a hundred herdsmen,” as there could not have been in the early years after the invasion. Moreover the greatest and last of the castles of Knocktopher is very likely to have been built at this period. The old Irish were everywhere pressing upon the lands of the Anglo-Irish, and, partly in their own interest, partly because the King gave them no peace till they did so, the Palatine lords were building new and stronger castles. James of Ormond, whom the English called “the noble earl,” because of the royal descent of his mother, and whom the Irish called “James the Chaste,” had a very formidable enemy in the Kavanaghs. He needed a new castle in Knocktopher, and probably then built what was later called the Garrison Castle, to distinguish it from the three others that were older and less secure. Cromwell

destroyed it with cannon three hundred years later. James built an abbey at Knocktopher in 1356. He died in his castle of Knocktopher in 1382. It was not till 1391 that his successor bought Kilkenny Castle, and his immediate ancestors, after Tipperary had been made too hot for them, had lived and died at Gowran. James may fairly be supposed to have built the Knocktopher Castle which was his pride. What we can infer from the lament is that Geoffrey, head of one of Ormond's warrior bands, and at the same time his most extensive tenant in Knocktopher barony, built it for him, sharing his pride in the achievement, and very probably holding it for him until the Powers came along, as favored family connections, as before long they did.

If this reasoning is correct, then Geoffrey is also indicated as the "Giffin" "renowned for deeds of prowess," who was "the son-in-law of O'Donnell of Ballyshannon;" or who, according to another old relation, "was married to the great McDaniel's daughter from the North of Ireland;" or, according to still another, was party to an "enter-marriage with O'Daniel's daughter of Ballasanen." The event made a lasting impression upon the family.

RICHARD, 1410-1446

Richard, son (or perhaps grandson) of Geoffrey, son of Nicholas, son of Thomas, son of Howell, lived through exciting times. He was outlawed in 1403, and had the outlawry removed in 1407. This was the time when the Kavanaghs, the descendants of the Kings of Leinster, and who kept the title of "prince" through all the feudal changes, were putting forth a last effort for their rights, and were making "of all Leinster a trembling sod." Richard may have been favorable to their cause, since he was outlawed. At any rate they were defeated by the Butlers, and Richard appeared in 1410 as one of the Keepers of the Peace for the County Kilkenny.

"The McMurroughs (Kavanaghs) and all the clans of Leinster had sworn (1394) never to rest by day or night, as long as a hostile power was on their shore. They had sworn it before God, and called on all their saints,—Saint Molyng of the Royal Race; St. Kevin of the Valley; Saint

Laserian the Learned; St. Bridget the spiritual mother of Ireland; Saint Kieran and Saint Aidan—to bear witness to their oaths.”

Richard is described in the genealogies (Burke) as “chief captain of his nation.” It may be doubted if he was the first, as he certainly was not the last.

On March 9, 1446, Richard made a grant to the Abbey of Jerpoint¹ of his lands of Clone, in the barony of Kells, and Ballycheskin in Knocktopher, thereby enabling the Cistercian monks to build the tower of the Abbey, which remains in a good state of preservation, and beneath which certain of his immediate descendants are buried.

No consideration is named in the deed by which Geoffrey Walsh made over to the Earl of Ormond so large a share of the patrimony in Iverk. And yet the family fortunes seem to have been in the ascendant from that time. Richard's son was named Edmund, and both names were in high favor at the time in the Butler family. Their wives' names are nowhere given. Thomas, father of Geoffrey, is stated to have married a daughter of O'Connor of Offaley.

EDMUND, ROBERT, WALTER, 1476-1537

In the old Abbey of Jerpoint, enough of whose walls remain to reveal how noble a structure it was, there is a coffin shaped slab in one of the sepulchral niches in the chancel, to which it was removed from its original position beneath the tower. It bears a raised eight pointed cross, a shield bearing the arms of the Passion, and another with the arms of Walsh of Castle Hale. There is rich foliage ornamentation. Some of the letters of the inscription are obliterated. It reads, in old English characters:¹

Hic jacet Edmundus Uaullshe & Iohana le Botiller uxor eius quorum animarum propicietur deus. Anno dni mccccclxxvi. (Here lies Edmund Walsh and Johanna le Botiller (Butler) his wife. On whose souls God have mercy. A.D. 1476).

¹ Carrigan: History of the Diocese of Ossory.

Under the tower, which is in a good state (one can climb to the top of it and survey the low lying lands of the valley) is a raised altar tomb. On the cover slab is an eight pointed cross with this inscription:

His jacent Robertus Walsh qui obiit viii die mens Decembris A.D. mcccci et Katerine Poher uxor eis et quorum animab^o propicietur deus. I.H.S. Maria. Amen. Roricus otuyne scripsit hoc. (Here lie Robert Walsh, who died December 8, 1501, and his wife Katherine Poher (Power) on whose souls God have mercy, I.H.S. Maria. Amen. Rory O'Tunny carved this inscription.)

On the south side of the same monument is this inscription:

Hic jacet Walterus Brenach, sue nacionis capitanius et Katerina Buteller uxor ei^o. Quorum animab^o propiciatur deus. Episcopus Oss. concedit omnib^o dicentib^o orationem dominicam salutacionem angelicam cum symbolo apostolorum XL dies indulgentiarum. (Here lie Walter Brenagh (Walsh) chief captain of his nation, and Katherine Butler, his wife. On whose souls God have mercy. The Bishop of Ossory grants to all who say (for their souls) the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Apostle's Creed, forty days indulgence.)

The position of these monuments bears testimony to the gratitude of the monks for the munificent gifts of Richard Walsh, and the tombs themselves, the most notable in the Abbey except two effigial monuments bearing figures of Bishop Felix O'Dulany and William, Bishop of Cork, indicate past all misunderstanding the importance of the Castle Hale family of Walsh in the Barony of Knocktopher at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The wives of Edmund and Walter are believed to have been of the family of Butler of Poulickery, one of the junior branches of the rapidly spreading Ormond tree. Katherine Power, wife of Robert, was of the Powers of Donhill, in Waterford, chiefs of that powerful clan. The Butlers and Powers divided between them the rule over

everything in that corner of Ireland that was not controlled by the Fitzgeralds of Desmond.

The title of "Baron of Shancaher" is ascribed to Robert Walsh. Those who write of the feudal baronage of Ireland take note of the title, and also that of Grace, "Baron of Courtstown," but consider the validity of the titles in both cases not proven since the circumstances of their bestowal are not known. Doubtless the proofs might have been more easily available had it not been that both Grace and Walsh were eliminated by Cromwell. As it is, the record published elsewhere of the proceedings held in the court of the manor in the time of Walter Walsh leaves no room for doubt about the title, but there is nothing to indicate the date of its creation, except that tradition designates this Robert as the first. This does not agree with the view held by Col. Hunt Walsh in 1769, he evidently believing the title was much older. At any rate he was right as to the main fact.

CHIEF CAPTAIN
OF HIS NATION

CHIEF CAPTAIN OF HIS NATION

After the infeudation of Ireland following the first successes of the Norman invasion, the families placed in possession of the land settled down to make the most of their opportunity. Some of the earlier grantees left no permanent mark. Their lines ran out in a few generations, and their names appeared no more. Others of them, continually harried by the old Irish, were driven from place to place or were extinguished in sudden disaster. Still others of them thrived upon military success, which brought court favor to the most powerful, who used their privileges to profit by the misfortune of their neighbors. Of these, the Fitzgeralds, the Burkes and the Butlers were in the first rank. They were constantly embroiled with one another, besides making war upon their Irish neighbors, and in the end, with the exception of Ulster, they had the whole land of Ireland divided amongst them.

At the same time there was great increase in wealth and numbers in thirty or more families of lesser estate, such as Barry, Roche, Condon, Dillon, Grace, Purcell, Preston, St. Lawrence, Plunkett, Wall, Freyne, Power, Barnewell, Tobin, Walsh, etc.

In time also, most of the Irish septs, as the Kavanaghs, Byrnes, O'Tooles, McGillipatricks, O'Dempseys, McCarthys, O'Mores, O'Connors, O'Briens, accepted, under pressure, the King's peace, retaining, however, the ancient system of holding their lands as common property under an elected head. Even the O'Neills and the O'Donnells came in before the final explosion.¹

¹ Among the causes assigned for the decay of English influence was "By committing charge of the captaincies of the counties unto their Irish

When these accretions of family power had persisted for more than a century and a half, it became necessary to take note of them. As often as not, one of these families would be found engaged in activities which, if they did not amount to actual rebellion, had all the inconveniences of that state as far as the problem of ruling Ireland was concerned. At a Parliament held at Dublin in 1323, the earls, barons and other grandees undertook "to arrest and punish all felons and robbers of their families or surnames, with their adherents in their neighborhoods, and to make them and other malefactors in their lordships amenable to the King's courts, but with due regard to their own oaths, the franchises of the various lords, and the peril of their bodies."¹

In 1328, the Earl of Kildare, then Viceroy, had to take severe measures against O'Byrne, and when the trouble was over he invested the head of the clan Byrne as "chief captain of his nation," the understanding being that he would attend to the punishment of evil doers in his "nation," and be responsible for their good order, the Earl agreeing, for his part, that if called upon he would give support to the "chief captain."

In 1350 an entry in the records of St. Thomas Abbey, Dublin, notes that an end had been made of the little war that had gone on between the Government and the family of the Harolds, who inhabited just below Dublin, towards the mountains, and whose name is preserved in Harold's Cross, on the outskirts of the present city. There is another record of what happened besides that made by the quiet monks. The Harolds were called together and were vassals, who in time usurped them and expelled the English."—Carew Papers.

"There be more than sixty countries, inhabited with the King's Irish enemies, some regions as big as a shire, some less, unto a little. where reigneth more than sixty chief captains that liveth by the sword, and obeyeth to no other temporal person but only to himself that is strong. Also there is more than thirty great captains of the English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without any license of the King, or of any other temporal person, save to him that is strongest, and of such that may subdue them by the sword."—From an official report, 1515.

¹ Gilbert: *Viceroy of Ireland*.

prevailed upon to elect a captain, who entered into an agreement with the Viceroy such as just described.

Of the Harolds there were present John Fitz-Henry, Maurice Fitz-Alexander, John Fitz-Alexander, William Fitz-Robert, Robert Fitz-Geoffrey, and Roger Fitz-Daniel. There were also Hugh Fitz-Robert Lawless, Peter Howel, Richard Fitz-Michael Howel, Matthew Archbold, and Elias Fitz-Robert Walsh. These elected Walter Harold as "*capitaneum progenei des Harolds*,"¹ and shortly afterwards a captain was chosen for the Lawlesses and another for the Archbolds. In 1359 William and Walter Harold received a reward of 100 shillings for "manfully rescuing" some spoils the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes were carrying off, and for slaying five of them.

The application of this system to the County Kilkenny must have followed immediately the legislation of 1323. It may be that the mention of Richard Walsh as "chief captain" following his outlawry and pardon, was all of a piece with what had happened in the case of the Byrnes and the Harolds.

When Walter "Brenach" came to be "captain of his nation" that office had gone through an evolution. The Walshs had become "a great sect, at the Earl of Ormond's commandment" and they, with the Graces, Purcells, Powers, Freynes and others, each under its own head, provided the Butlers with a military organization which maintained the Ormonds as all but independent princes."

"THE GREAT HOUSE OF WALSH"

Recognition of the family as a "nation" has been ascribed by some writers as a concession to the Irish tribal system, which continued to flourish alongside the feudal system brought in by the invaders. That view may be

¹ Curtis: *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXV.

² We get a hint of the close harmony of the system in a verse from an old ballad lamenting the fall of the Graces of Courtstown and Tullaroan, quoted in Sheffield's history of the Graces:

"Oh Courtstown thy battles no strangers e'er fight,
Thy friends are unnumbered and matchless in might,
Thy Walshs, thy Purcells, thy Powers long ago
Shared the feast and the triumph with Grasagh aboe."

sound, at least in part. Certainly it was complained, after a couple of centuries, that a main cause of the failure of the conquest was the appointment of these captains, who used their power against the English interest—doubtless giving first thought to their own.

However that may be, the recognition of the family as a unit of power was quite in keeping with the historical theory and practice of feudalism. It had been so regarded in France where the feudal system came from, and all the conditions of feudal tenure in Ireland made for reproduction there of conditions such as had existed in France when the feudal system was evolved.¹

From what we know of the “*patria*” (nation) and the “*mesnie*” (house), “the House of such a one,” in France, there is nothing surprising about finding the expression “*illustro Domo Valesiorum de Montibus*”² in a letter of 1713 concerning “R. P. Edmundus Valesius, sive de Valois” (Father Edmund Walsh, son of Robert Walsh of Ballynecooley) nor in the perpetuation of the expression “the Great House of Walsh” by some present day branches of the Waterford family.³ Once the principle of making the feudal head responsible for his family and surname was adopted by the Government and Parliament, the solidarity of the “House” and the glorification of its “chief captain” became inevitable.

¹ The family became for its men a country, in the texts of the time it is called *Patria*. . . . Thus were formed those sentiments of solidarity in which the members of a family were united one with another. The prosperity of one became that of his relatives, the honor of one was the honor of all, the shame of one was shared by all members of the lineage. . . . The younger branches remained grouped around the elder, under a common direction. This enlarged family which included the children, cousins, servitors and artisans, took the name of “*mesnie*” from the Latin *mansionata*, (house). . . . The “*mesnie*” included the near neighbors and the most faithful allies. These were reared, taught, instructed in various labors, and in the career of arms along with the sons and nephews. The members of the family, so enlarged, were organized for mutual assistance, had their customs, manners, traditions; had their ensign, or rather their “cry;” they had a gonfalon, whose iron was adorned with gold; they were covered by the same name, the name of the head of the family; they formed “the House of such a one.”—*Le Moyen Age*, Funcke—Brentano, 1923.

² Carrigan’s Ossory.

³ Walsh of Teneriffe.

THE BUTLERS

A century and a half after the invasion, there was already a considerable concentration of power in the hands of four families, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, the Burkes of Connaught, and the Butlers of Ormond.

The second Theobald Butler married Joan, sister and co-heiress of John de Mareis, son of Geoffrey Fitz Robert, and when the male line became extinct, his heirs succeeded to all of it. The third Theobald married Margery, daughter of Richard de Burgo, and got with her the manors of Ardmaile and Kilmoreachill. The fifth Theobald purchased from Philip de Rupella, in 1297, "the manor of Bree (Bray) in the county of Dublin (Wicklow was then part of Dublin County) and all the lands of the Brinns (Byrnes). His son, Edmund, in 1315, for his services against Edward Bruce, was made Earl of Carrick Mac-Griffin, thus adding to his Tipperary holdings a district that had belonged to Griffin Fitz William. In 1320 he was given possession of the lands of William de Carran (Walsh?) in Finagh and Faymolin in the County of Waterford. In 1312, as we have seen, he took over Knocktopher, founded by Griffin Fitz William. Either this Edmund or his son James, the first Earl of Ormond, took over the Barony of Iverk, from which the line of Miles FitzDavid disappeared. In 1391 James the third Earl of Ormond bought Kilkenny Castle. His great estate was now firmly planted between those of the two Fitzgeralds.¹

Reading this record with the map of southern Kilkenny, and noting that either then or later the Walsh possessions were spread over almost the whole of Knocktopher, more than half of Kells, most of Iverk, and a good share in Ida and Ibercon, there would seem to be two necessary deductions. Either the Walsh "nation" had held and increased its possessions undisturbed by the vicissitudes of the tenants in chief; or, by intermarriage with the families of the chief tenants, they had come into actual holding possession of most of their lands as heirs, and therefore stood toward the new feudal lord, Ormond, as the people to be dealt with

¹ Lodge: Peerage of Ireland.

in the future, uniting in themselves the responsibility for most of the territory in these baronies. There were numerous other tenants, but they appear to have been the most considerable, in respect both of numbers and of land.

ANGLO-IRISH FAMILIES IN KILKENNY

It was not until the reign of Edward I, or about the year 1300, that surnames began to be fixed. From that period, Fitzgerald, Butler, Fitzmaurice, Grace, etc., begin to be accepted as surnames, replacing such designations as John Fitz Thomas, Theobald Fitz Walter, Oliver Fitz William, etc. Somewhere along in that period also, these names begin to appear in their Irish equivalent. Thus Fitz Gerald became McGarett, or MacGarolt, from which came Garrett. Le Gras (Crassus) became Grasagh, from which Grace. The name which went in as St. Alban, or St. Aubin, came out as Tobin. Odo l'Ercedekne emerged as Cody, Mac Coady, and Archdeacon. Others of these Kilkenny families were the Archers, Barrons, Blanchvilles, Bryans, Burkes, Butlers, Cantwells, Comerfords, Datons (Daltons), Dens, Forrestalls, Fraynes, Graces, Hacketts, Howlings, Keatings, Lawlesses, Lees, Powers, Purcells, Raggets, Rothes, Roches, St. Legers, Sheas, Shortalls, Stronges, Sweetmans and Walls.

The lands they took were, in the main, those of the O'Kealys, the Brennans, and McGillapatrik (Fitzpatrick).

The first Cantwell came with the first Butler, and witnessed his charter to the Cistercians at Owey. Odo Archidiekne witnessed William Marshal's charter of Kilkenny. Geoffrey and William Schortall witnessed the charter of the Abbey of Kells. The first Grace (Le Gras) was seneschal of Leinster for the first Marshal and was his cousin. The Purcells were adherents of the Butlers and captains of their army. The Powers worked up from Waterford, where they were in possession of the eastern half of the county. The Archers, Rothes, and Sheas were prominently identified with Kilkenny city. The first Archer appears in 1307. The Rothes appear as mayors from 1403 to 1690. The Shees (Shea) came to Kilkenny from Kerry in the

fifteenth century. They also were Butler captains and lawyers, and mayors of the Butler capital, Kilkenny city. The Walls were very early comers. John de Valle was a knight at Castleinch (Inchiologan) in 1247. The first Lawless was a burgess of Kilkenny in 1396. This family had lands in Dublin county much earlier. The Raggets appear in the first year of the 13th century. The Comerfords came to Kilkenny about 1500, with the Butlers, with whom they held positions of trust. They got some of the properties of the Walls. The Aylwards were very early in Waterford, spreading later to Kilkenny. The Bryans were also relatively late comers. The Denny of Grenan were there in 1247. The de Fraynes, or Freneys, were prominent from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Keatings were Geraldines, so were the Barrons.

It will be easier to understand the relation that existed between these families of adventurers if we bear in mind that they were firmly united, during all those centuries, to one or other of the Palatine Lords. At first it was Strongbow, and we have seen how his adherents fared. Then followed the Marshals, and after them the Butlers. "Get you good lordship" was the first counsel of success in those days.

THE WALSH HOUSES
IN KILKENNY

WALSH HOUSES IN KILKENNY

About the year 1800 a gentleman named Tighe made a statistical survey of the county of Kilkenny. At page 383 of his book we read:

“The most considerable dairies are in the Welsh Mountains, in Irish sliagh Brenoch, and which are supposed to take their name from the family of Welsh, or Walshe, by whom a large tract of country was formerly possessed. The first of this family is said to have come to Ireland with Fitz-Stephen, and his successors to have had afterwards eighteen houses or castles in this district. The remains of these buildings do not show them to have been anything remarkable. One of their principal residences was at Inchicaran, in the valley opposite to Mullinavat, where the foundations remain of an oblong court, and a square building; a large fosse (ditch) without could be filled with water by a rapid stream from an adjoining glen. Castle Hoyle is said to have been a square castle flanked by four towers; a small part of only one exists. Appearing in arms against Cromwell, they were totally defeated by a detachment. Many were executed on the spot, and their bodies buried in the same place, at the foot of the hill near Castle Hoyle; in making the road the late Mr. G. Reade discovered the bones, and caused a sweep to be formed, which marks the place. Since that time none of the family have existed as landed proprietors, but the name is frequent among the country people.”

At page 638 Mr. Tighe gives a list of the castles and houses:

"To the Walshs belonged, probably, the castles of Inchicaran, Castle Hoyle, Earlsrath, Munshall's Court, Ballynony, Ballinlea, Ballybokan, Corbally, Castlegannon, New Castle, Ballybruskin, Knockmeilan, Lismateige, Ballybregan, Ballycooly, and some others."

Rev. Dr. Carrigan, who spent thirty years preparing his history of the Diocese of Ossory, which was published in 1905, supplies notes concerning some of these houses, and some others. They may be taken here in an order representing approximately the periods of their construction, their character indicating, one would suppose, the degree of friendship or the reverse existing between the occupants and their neighbors. For instance, in Tullahought, there was the Castle of Kilmacoliver (the wood of the son of Oliver). "It stood on the north-east edge of a high rocky peak. The site was well chosen for an old feudal keep, consisting, as it does, of an acre of land, rising to a considerable height, with sides almost perpendicular, except on the south-east. This castle belonged to the Walshs, Lords of the Mountain, till 1374, when it passed on to the Ormond family. It was destroyed long ago, and even the tradition of its existence has almost died out." Long afterwards the Lawless family were there. Quite evidently the people who occupied this place were expecting visitors they didn't care to admit.

Oldcourt, in Templeorum parish, was another such place. It was called Shancahir, or the Old Stone Fort. "The Cahir occupied a fine position on the brow of the hill overlooking the valley of Glenbower. Tradition asserts that the Walshs erected a court, or castle, within the ancient cahir, and made it one of their earliest residences on the Walsh Mountain. The title, Baron of Shancahir, had its origin in the connection of the family with this place. Both cahir and court have disappeared. The ruined walls of the latter remained, to the height of a few feet, until about 1825. The site is marked by a circular depression 45 yards in diameter."

At Earlsrath, near Kilbeacon, in the parish of Mullinavat, there was "a very large fort, oblong, and surrounded by a deep fosse, formerly filled with water, with a bank

about 20 feet high, formerly faced with square stones." The area was about 75 yards by 55. Some historians claim that this was the scene of a great battle, long before the Norman invasion. It was a spot that had to be controlled by those who had interests to protect above or below it, and was doubtless one of the first Walsh strongholds. The Walsh owner managed to save it at the time of the confiscation, for if he wasn't Protestant, he certainly was not a rebel. The property was about 2,000 acres in 1800, when Mary Walsh, a widow, had it. The last of the family, Miss Alice, died in 1884, aged 91, after endowing a convent in Mullinavat.

Ballyhale, or Howellstown, must have been one of the early abiding places. One of the Kilkenny historians scoffs at the idea of its ever being called Howel's town, (as it was, however). The derivation, he says, is from the Irish word Ele, and the place itself was always of strategic importance. Furthermore, he says, if ever there was a family of Howels in Kilkenny he never heard of them. There is an old square tower beside the modern church which the people say is "the Castle of Ballyhale." It looks it, but Father Carrigan says this was the priest's residence, and that the old town and castle stood two hundred yards to the south west, on rising ground, and have now disappeared.

Castlehale itself, or rather that corner of it, with walls six feet thick, which is conceded to date from the thirteenth century, must have been one of the earliest key points of occupation. It stood at the northern end of the mountain, overlooking the plain. On the distant northern horizon other mountains are in view. A few miles away, on the western end of the hills, and across the Tipperary line, was Castle John. The bard of the Mountain says the Walshs built it, but it must have been transferred to the Tobins before it was very old.

In the next category come castles like Ballynacooly, Castlebanny, Knockmoylan, and Grange, places of dignity and importance, sheltering offshoots of the main family. Ballynacooly occupied high ground in the bend of a river, and the men who held it were a soldier breed. It was they

who led the Walsh regiment afterwards in France.

Knockmoylan was another such place. With Ballybraskin, its land totalled 1084 acres. The castle fell to the ground about 1800.

Castlebanny, shown on the old maps as Great Milk Castle, was another pretentious stronghold. It stood just where the two ranges of hills come together. To the southward the ground is high, and there is a saying that once you pass Castlebanny you are out of Kilkenny, which means, no doubt, that the ways of the hill people are here, as always, different from those of the plains people. The Walshs built it, but at some period the Ormonds decided they had to have it, and they got it. Cashelgannon, nearby, was another castle built on the site of an old Irish stone fort.

Grange Castle, in the parish of Mooncoin, was the seat of another of the younger branches. Pierce Walsh was given the Abbey of Owney, in Limerick, when Henry VIII decided that the monasteries should be taken into the King's hand. This castle at Grange was a square keep, roughly built, and very old, with walls five and a half feet thick.

Owning was another place in which a son of the main family was set up for himself. Edmund Walsh, whose wife was Agnes Butler, was given four townlands by his parents in 1613. A fine monument in Owning church is all King William's friends left as souvenir of this auspicious beginning.

At Kilcraggan, not far from Waterford, was still another branch family residence. How long they had been there may be inferred from the fact that John, son of William, son of John, son of William, son of Adam, was one of the constables of the barony of Iverk in 1608.

Finally, there were the places which may be supposed to represent, in a special way, the period in which the principal family was in the enjoyment of a high degree of prosperity.

First there was Castlehale itself. The broken walls cover an area of about an Irish acre. In the eighteenth century there was enough standing to form the subject of an engraving, showing three sides of a square, one side of which consisted of a lofty massive keep, square or oblong,

pierced by narrow loopholes, and supporting an embattled parapet above. Opposite this was a more modern building, with high gables, open casements, towering chimneys, and other features of sixteenth century architecture. The two were joined by a third building, also in the later style. "It was an imposing building, and deserved to rank, as in fact it did rank, among the chief residences of the county Kilkenny."

Down at the southern end of the main Walsh possessions was Inchicarrin (the rocky inch) in the angle formed by the junction of the Blackwater with a small stream, the Assy (waterfall). It was a "court," rather than a castle, and though well adapted for defence probably represented a high degree of comfort for that time. John McWalter had his home there just before the downfall of the family fortunes.

Nearby was the castle of Rochestown, "which appears to have been the residence of the eldest son and heir apparent of the reigning lord." In this there may be, perhaps, an explanation of the fact that the title by which the Lords of the Mountain are now referred to in South Kilkenny is "the Heir Walsh" (An Eye-Zha Brannach) whereas certain lands are described as having belonged to the "Great Walsh" (Brannach Mor) which expression frequently appears in papers of the time. Buckstown, beside Inchicarrin, was inhabited by the 'Sassenagh Walshs' and gave many priests to the church in the last century. They bore the same arms as the Dublin Walshs.

The other and less important "houses," some of them castles, mentioned by Tighe, were the domiciles of branch families holding as tenants of the more important owners at Castlehale, Ballynacooly, Knockmoylan, Grange, Kilcraggan, etc. Clone Castle, the revenues of which were given to Jerpoint Abbey, was nevertheless known as Cloone MacShaneboy or Cloone of the son of yellow John (Walsh). Arderra was given to Hoyle, a second son. The manor of Melagh, 535 acres, was sold to the Earl of Ormond in 1374. One or other of the Walsh branches came, also, into possession of lands outside the area of the original grants.

THE TALLEST POPPIES

THE TALLEST POPPIES

From 1170 to about 1300 the English followed a continuous policy. Military activity was followed by the feudal occupation of one area after another. Then, from 1300 to 1450, the English were so much occupied, first in Scotland and then for a hundred years in France, that their friends in Ireland were left pretty much to their own resources. The old Irish, terribly harried during the first period, 1200-1300, never gave up the fight, and by 1450 had squeezed the English Government into a very small area around Dublin. But the Anglo-Irish lords had held their own by organizing within their own districts, against the Irish and against each other.

Driven out of France, the English spent fifty years in a struggle for power between the houses of York and Lancaster. When that was over, and they came to look again at Ireland, they saw the Fitzgeralds in Kildare and Desmond, Butler in Ormond, Burke in Connaught, O'Brien in Thomond, O'Neill and O'Donnell in Ulster, all practically independent princes, all intermarried, and all restive under English rule. From 1530 to 1640 they adopted the Tarquinian device of striking off the heads of the tallest poppies, taking care to play off one of the Irish lords against the others until all were destroyed. Kildare went first, 1534 to 1536, with Ormond against him. Then Desmond, angry about his Fitzgerald cousin, was conciliated, and the attack was turned against Ormond, who was poisoned in London in 1546. Then Desmond was hunted down and killed in the woods like a wolf in 1580. O'Neill, O'Donnell and O'Sullivan were forced to flee in 1603. Queen Mary planted the lands of Kildare with new owners from England. Queen Elizabeth did the like for Desmond. James

I continued the process in Ulster. Charles I sent Wentworth to finish the job in Connaught, but before he was through Cromwell destroyed Ireland and Charles together. What little he left undone William III completed. By taking the Ormonds in their youth and training them in London, England kept them with her to the last, but after Queen Anne died the last Duke of Ormond was attainted for treason, fled to the continent, was deprived of his estates, and his Palatinate of Tipperary, the last remnant of the Anglo-Ireland of 1170-1690, was cancelled. With a fraction of the old estate the Butlers were allowed to make a new start as earls of Arran, from which they were advanced in time to be Marquises of Ormond.

The English policy, based on the needs of an increasing population in England, was simple, and was consistently adhered to. There was too much enmity between the old Irish and the Anglo-Irish, an enmity carefully fanned by English policy through the centuries, and too much rivalry among the Anglo-Irish, for Ireland to meet such an attack with a united front, although once, under the leadership of Eleanor Fitzgerald, they almost did. Keating the historian left this verse:

“Your sin, ye Irish, wrought your own defeat.
Crushed and dispersed by one swift stroke and strong
Ye, wrangling over this and that small wrong,
Heard not the tramp of the invaders’ feet.”

ROBERT THE STANDARD BEARER, 1534

Among the accusations filed against Lord Leonard Gray, after he had failed to catch young Gerald, heir of Silken Thomas and afterwards Earl of Kildare, was this:

“That he had a servant called Robert Walsh, brother of Prior Walsh, and son of William Walsh, standard bearer for the late (ninth) Earl of Kildare, which Robert, having been standard bearer to Thomas Lord Offaley, on the committal of the latter to the Tower, had taken his jewels to the Lord Gray, who concealed them, and only surrendered a portion of them on its being known they were in his possession.”

It appears that the office of standard bearer to the earls of Kildare was hereditary in this family of Walsh of Ticroghan. One would like to know when and with whom it became so. It probably argued a blood relationship at the time the office was created.

Richard, Robert's brother, called Sir Richard, "Parson of Loughswedy" (priests were called Sir) was chaplain to the Earl, and was one of the leaders in the battle fought against Ormond at Tarrytown in Ossory.

These Walshs were all included by name in the act of attainder passed against the Kildares as soon as Thomas and his five uncles had been got rid of. "Sir Richard Walsh, Parson of Loughswedie; Piers Walsh, son to Walter Walsh; Robert Walsh and Maurice Walsh, sons to William Walsh, late of Ticroghan;" were "to be deemed, reputed, convicted and adjudged and attainted traytors of high treason"; and Piers, Robert and Maurice were "to suffer such execution and pains of death as in cases of high treason have been accustomed." An entry in the records of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, mentions "the lands of Peter, Robert and Maurice Walsh attainted," so the Abbey was probably the beneficiary. An entry in 1606 in the same Abbey records a "castle and lands in the town of Donghill (King's County) late in the possession of Richard Walsh, attainted," also in Donghill "lands lately in possession of Oliver Walsh," and another, in Dublin, "Clonegorman part of the possession of Richard Walsh."

The History of the Earls of Kildare, and Gilbert's National Manuscripts of Ireland, quote a great many of the state papers of the time which reveal the pertinacity of these gentlemen in serving their chief.

Once, when the old Earl had been taken to England and kept a prisoner for two years, and Ireland was getting to be in an uproar, the Earl's brother, Gerald MacShane Fitzgerald "sworne of the Holy Masse Booke and the great relike of Ireland, called Baculum Christi,"¹ deposed

¹ This relic, dating from St. Patrick's time, was burned by one of the first "reforming" Bishops.

“Item, at the coming home of William and Walter, Walsh’s sons, which was about Haloutyde (Nov. 1) servants to therle of Kildare, they advertized the said Erly’s friends to keep peace unto saynt Nicholas tyde (Christmas) upon trust of the said Erly’s commynge home.”

He came, but the next time they took him he did not come. He died in the Tower, but long before his death his enemies sent out the rumor that he had been beheaded, purposely to drive his son into rebellion. The trick worked, and those who devised it got rather more than they bargained for. The rebellion almost succeeded, and Archbishop Alan, who provoked it, was killed at Clontarf as he tried to escape.

When the castle of Maynooth was taken, one of its defenders was “the dean of Kildare, Sir Simon Walsh, priest,” who seems to have been put to death with the other defenders. After this Thomas sent James Delahyde and Sir Richard Walsh to Spain to ask aid from the Emperor. When they were allowed to see him, after long delays, it was to be told that it was too late, as their master and his five uncles had been executed in London. Delahyde departed for Naples, and “Parson Welche departed from St. Mary’s Pount in Spayne towards Ireland.”

The adventures of young Gerald, the heir, upon whom Henry VIII ardently desired to lay hands, make a story of poignant interest. Robert Walsh never left him until he was safe in Rome. His Aunt Eleanor, with Delahyde “and sertayne of the Walshs” took him through Desmond’s country to O’Donnell, whom Eleanor married to ensure the success of her plans. St. Leger had orders to demand Delahyde and “Parson Walshe, two most detestable traytors” as well as the boy, and if refused to essay “how to gett into your hands the said persons, eyther with his will or agenst his will,” for the King “hath the same moche to heart.”

About the middle of March, 1540, Robert Walsh and Father William Leverous spirited the boy away to France. Spies followed, and all manner of inducements were offered,

but Robert, "a stubborn kankerd harted fellow" kept everybody away "insomoch the childe's hart is pluked clene from him." Moreover, when they talked about a pardon for the boy Robert frankly said he "wold not truste your moste gracious pardone," remembering that "Jamys Fitz Garrett, that had your gracious pardone the said Jamys wase put to death amongst his other brothern, notwithstanding his pardone havynge of your Grace."

The King remembered this, for afterwards when the boy had been delivered safely to Cardinal Pole, the Council forwarded a request from O'Brien for a pardon for Robert and Henry replied, "As touching Robert Walshe, We merrell you wolde not advise O'Brien to staye his petition in that matyr, which is of such sorte We purpose not to graunte" and moreover, if O'Brien knew what was good for him, "he would see him rendred to your handes if he can by any means attayne him." O'Brien did not take the hint. Robert was pardoned after Henry was dead. Leonard Gray, meantime, had lost his head.

The old castle of Ticroghan stood near Clonard, near an expanse of the river called "the belly of the Boyne." In the seventeenth century it was known as Queen Mary's Castle, but Sir William Wilde, who wrote of it in 1849, knew nothing of its previous history. As he was perhaps the foremost Irish archaeologist of his time, we have here another proof of the oblivion into which the history of the Norman-Irish period had sunk.

COYNE AND LIVERY

As soon as the power of the Kildares had been broken, the English governors turned their attention to Ormond. The Butlers were now, it was argued, more formidable than the Kildares had ever been. Desmond had received a set back, and Butler was credited with the design of consolidating the Desmond property with his own. The Viceroy made peace with Desmond, and Butler was given a poisoned dinner. This quarrel lasted ten years. It began in 1837 with a state inquiry designed to discredit Butler, and from the proceedings and report we get a knowledge of the

method by which the great lords and the lesser lords made themselves rich at the expense of their humbler tenants. The ball opened with a presentment by the gentlemen and commoners of Kilkenny county and the sovereign of Kilkenny city, protesting against the "exactions, suppressions and other enormities" of the Earl, and asking that he and his lady and his two sons "may be reduced." They, and incidentally Walter Walsh, his son Edmund, Walter and Richard, Edmund's sons, and "Walter the younger," were "presented" for charging their tenants coyne and livery. Four generations indicted at once.

The old Irish chiefs could demand from their clansmen "coinmed" or free quarters for a limited number of armed men on stated days. The Anglo Irish lords, beginning with Desmond, enlarged this privilege into a system, with every refinement and variety of exaction. They billeted their soldiers as they pleased. They had a tax "kernety" for kernes and a tax "bonnaght" for galloglasses. They had a tax for "black beds" for soldiery existing only on paper. They exacted "srah," a cash rent, and "mart" a rent in kind. When they traveled about they had free food and lodging for themselves, their attendants and their horses. Some landlords required their tenants to give, for four days four times a year, or for one day once a fortnight, food and lodging for all who came. This was called "cuddy" and "sorohen." If a castle was to be enlarged, "musterrooms" came into play, the tenants providing horses, carts and labor without charge. If the lord hunted, he collected "gillicree" for his horses and "gillicon" for his hounds. At Christmas and Easter, or when he entertained another lord, the hospitality was defrayed by a tax called "mertyeght." If he went to Dublin, he collected "south" to defray the expenses. All these exactions were "immoderately, universally used" all over Ireland. They formed the basis of the great wealth of the great and lesser lords. And they continued to be used for a century after these facts were brought out with a view to discrediting the Butler and all his "chief captains."

¹ This subject, and the period generally, are fully treated in "The Beginnings of Modern Ireland—Philip Wilson, 1912.

THE SUPPER AT ELY

Succeeding his father in 1501, Walter "Brenagh" served his own lords, the Butlers, through forty years of the most exacting and critical period of their, and Ireland's, history. Thomas, the seventh Earl, had been attainted when the Yorkists triumphed over the Lancastrians. Henry VII restored him, and kept him on service in England and on the continent until his death in 1515. Then the father of Anne Boleyn became Earl, and Pierce Butler, head of a junior branch, was made Earl of Ossory. Remaining in Ireland, he was in fact, as he became in 1537 by law, the eighth Earl of Ormond. His mother was Sabh Kavanagh, his grandmother Catherine O'Reilly. He was the most Irish of the Butlers in blood. His wife was Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of the eighth and sister of the ninth Earl of Kildare, by far the ablest woman of her time, around whose memory a wealth of tradition grew up to testify to her capacity.

Pierce was Lord Deputy in 1521, Lord Treasurer in 1524, Lord Deputy again in 1528. In 1534, when the rebellion of Silken Thomas of Kildare broke out, Pierce and his son James took the field against their relative, causing the delay which alone, it seemed, brought failure to that effort. In 1534 Pierce was made Seneschal and governor of Dungarvan, which in 1535 he and his son James took from Desmond, and Youghal and Cork as well.

James, his successor, was Lord Treasurer and Admiral of the Kingdom with all the ports thereof. In 1539 and 1543 he led armies through Munster and Connaught to punish Desmond and Burke. In 1545 he went with an army to Scotland, but the plans miscarried and in London, on the way home, he was given a banquet at Ely in Holborn, on October 17, 1546, "and was himself and 35 of his servants poysoned, of whom James White, steward of his household, and 18 more died, and he languishing until the 28th, then deceased."

Walter "Brenagh," as "chief captain of his nation" and

his son Edmund must have been with these two in all their wars, and may be supposed to have profited by their triumphs. There is nothing to show whether either of them was at the dinner at Ely. Walter died somewhere between 1537 and 1549, Edmund in 1549. It would not be surprising, however, if resentment over the poisoning of the Earl had something to do with the events leading up to the pardon granted in 1549 to the whole family, and it would be equally surprising if one of the Walshs was not at that banquet.

EDMUND, LORD OF THE MOUNTAIN, 1549

On March 27, 1549, pardons were granted to the Walshs of Castlehale. "Edmund Brenaghe alias Walshe, Robert Brenagh alias Walshe, of Rochestown, Oliver Brenaghe, alias Walshe, Ballytesken, and Philip Brenaghe, alias Walshe, sons of the said Edmund," were included in the pardon. Edmund could not have lived long after the pardon was granted, for on May 12, 1550, his son Robert was given seisin of the property for a fine of £66, 13s, 4d, the fine in such cases being the precursor of the succession tax of later ages.

The property of this Edmund and his kinsmen, "houlden of the Manor of Knocktofer," was rated at £151—"an amount exceeded at the time by none of the Kilkenny freeholders except the Earl of Ormond and the Bishop of Ossory." (This was the Crown revenue from the manor.)

This Edmund, Dr. Carrigan says, was the first to use the title "Lord of the Mountain" which was applied to all his successors.

Father Carrigan, who himself was all through the district on foot, says that the people there, although they still recite keens three hundred years old that were composed in honor of Lords of the Mountain, never use the title, and seem to have forgotten it. But they adhere to one which may be older, namely, "the Heir Walsh" (an Eyezha Brannach).

SIR NICHOLAS, 1570

Sir Nicholas Walsh of Piltown, County Waterford,

became second Justice of Munster in 1571, then first Justice. He was chosen Speaker of the Parliament which met at Dublin in 1585, and promoted in 1597 to be Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

He was brought, by the nature of his office, into the thick of the controversy which ended in the death and destruction of Desmond. He appears to have been one of those of whom it is said that ability seeks the side of power. In the nature of things he should have supported Desmond, for the bulk of his properties were in that part of Waterford which was in Desmond's lordship. But he had other lands in Kilkenny, and was thus in relations with Ormond, who, with the power of England back of him, was determined to destroy Desmond. Moreover, his own immediate feudal superior, Fitzgerald of Decies, was against Desmond.

Walsh seems, nevertheless, to have tried to impress Desmond with the danger he was in, and what fate was in store for him if he rebelled, to which the hard pressed old man replied "Before God Mr. Walsh, I do not intend it." It did not matter, for his destruction had been ordained. This was in 1573, and in 1574, Justice Walsh, "in whose single person the government, or non-government, of Munster for the moment centred," furnished Burghley with a long list of Desmond's misdeeds. Six years later Desmond was dead, and his estate was offered to new proprietors, but the Decies part was left as it had been. Walsh's estate was therefore saved, and he continued in high position until after the accession of James I. He was cordially disliked by those who saw whither all this was leading, but he seems to have sought to give the impression that he was only trying to make the best of hopeless conditions, for he was known as "the great dissimulator." He even "dissimulated" in regard to his religion, for when death approached he returned to the Church from which he had been estranged for many years,¹ as did his brother-in-law and associate Judge, Comerford.

¹ "Tunc mortuus est Nicholaus Valois, insignis haereticorum in Ibernia Judex, qui quod se haeticum, et in Iberos saevum ostenderit, apud Anglos magnum dignitatis locum obtenuit. Senescens, appropinquantemque mortem timens, Catholicae ecclesiae misericordiam implorando impetrat."—O'Sullivan Beare, History of Ireland.

On November 29, 1579, the Earl of Desmond, hard pressed by his enemies, wrote to Byrne, chief of his nation, appealing for help. He made a very complete statement of his case and that of Ireland in a very few words.

“My brother and myself have undertaken the defense of our country and our Catholic faith against the English, who, not satisfied with overthrowing the Holy Church, wish to possess our inheritances and reduce us to bondage.”

The English position was that he was a dangerous rebel and an enemy of true religion. In another year he was killed by a follower whom Ormond had bribed, his head was cut off and sent by Ormond to Queen Elizabeth, “who caused it to be fixed upon London Bridge” and most of his estate, of 800,000 acres, was ready for distribution amongst adventurers, like Boyle and Egmont, who boasted of their virtuous cupidity.³

Percival, Earl of Egmont, obtained, in 1637, in addition to enormous other grants, the lands and castles of Lis-carroll, Annah, Walshtown, Templeconileh, and Balline-grah, “all situate in or on the borders of a large morass, and forming a strong barrier on the frontiers of Cork and Tipperary.” He fortified these castles and withstood a siege of seven days, and so checked the incursion of the Catholic army under Mountgarret into Cork. In 1646 he lost most of his possessions, and retired to England, where he was prosecuted by the Cromwell party and died in 1647.

The lands there described were part of those, in the territory of Fontimel, later known as Clan Gibbon, given to Maurice Walsh Fitz Philip by King John in 1199.

THE NEW RELIGION

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF MEATH

The "reformation of religion" had been introduced into Ireland under Henry VIII and Edward VI, but with no effect upon the people and with little satisfaction to the new Bishops. In 1554, when Mary succeeded, a commission was appointed for the deprivation of the reforming bishops. William Walsh, a monk of the great Cistercian Monastery of Bective, which had been dissolved in 1537, was a member of the commission. He was appointed Bishop of Meath. Thomas Leverous, who had been tutor of young Gerald Fitzgerald and had accompanied him to France and later to Rome, was made Bishop of Kildare. When, in 1559, the reform was again attempted under Elizabeth, Bishops Walsh and Leverous alone of all the prelates refused to sanction the innovation, and were deprived of their sees.

Bishop Leverous opened a school at Adare, in Limerick, where he died, aged 80, in 1577.

Bishop Walsh was not so easily disposed of. He went on with his work as Bishop. After refusing the oaths he was imprisoned, and on being freed went back to his diocese. After the government had vainly endeavored to persuade him to conform, because "he was of great credit amongst his countrymen, who depended wholly upon him as touching causes of religion," he was arrested again in 1565, taken to Dublin and kept in prison there until 1572, when he contrived to escape. His ship was wrecked near Nantes, where he lived unknown for six months. Thence he went to Paris, and afterwards to Alcala in Spain.

His nomination to Meath had been made by Cardinal Pole in virtue of the Cardinal's authority as legate. It was

the confirmation by Rome of his nomination, in 1564, that brought him imprisonment. At Alcala he was made suffragan to the Archbishop of Toledo, and in April 1575 he was empowered to act for the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin in the absence of those Primates. He probably did not reach Ireland, as he died at the Cistercian Monastery of Alcala, January 4, 1576, and was buried at the collegiate church of St. Secundinus.

Bishop Walsh was of the Kildare family, of Donghill. He studied at Oxford before going to Bective. The diocese was so poor when he went to Meath that he adopted the living of Loughsewdy, formerly held by his relative Sir Richard, for his own support.

PATRICK, BISHOP OF WATERFORD, 1550

It is commented of Patrick Walsh, Protestant Bishop of Waterford, that he managed to adapt himself to the changing requirements of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and a good part of that of Elizabeth. As the people of the city adhered steadfastly to the ancient faith, and he was one of themselves, he must have had a difficult time of it. He did not satisfy his superiors, for one of them who visited the place reported that "Her Majesty had no Bishop there," although Bishop Patrick held the see.

NICHOLAS, BISHOP OF OSSORY, 1577

"Nicholas Walsh, minister of St. Werburgh's from 1571 to 1577 and subsequently (Protestant) Bishop of Ossory, was the first who introduced Irish types into Ireland, Queen Elizabeth,¹ at her own expense, having provided a printing press and a fount of Irish letters 'in hope that God in His Mercy would raise up some one to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue.' " He is stated to have been a son of Patrick Walsh, Protestant Bishop of Waterford (1551), although for several reasons this seems unlikely. He began the translation in 1573, with a collaborator, and published the resulting book. He was stabbed with a skene by one Dollard, whom he had accused of a serious offence. Dollard was hanged. The Bishop was buried at St. Canice's Cathedral.

¹ Gilbert, History of the Archbishops of Dublin.

MARY, 1580

Mary Walsh, of Waterford, wife of Thomas Wadding, was mother of three most distinguished sons, all Jesuits, Peter, Professor of Divinity at Louvain, Antwerp, Prague and Gratz; Michael, Professor of Theology in colleges in Mexico, Guatemala and Pueblo; and Luke, a professor of great fame in Spain. Their cousin was another Luke Wadding, the great Franciscan. Three other Jesuits, named Walsh, were her nephews. One was Richard, another Walter. Father Hogan was sure of their existence but could not trace their movements.

“Waterford was famous for its intellectual wealth at the close of the 16th century—the six Waddings, the Lombards, Sherlocks, Comerfords, Whites and Walshs shed lustre on their native city.”¹

Martin Walsh, of Waterford, in 1625, was a Franciscan at Madrid and later a lecturer on divinity at St. Isidore in Rome.

SIR PATRICK, 1580

On June 29, 1580, Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, wrote to Lord Walsingham a letter filled with sorrowful complaint of the unwillingness of the people of Waterford to accept the new religion. He found that “virtue is rejected and all vice embraced,” and that “the greatest supporter of this is he, which was, the last year, Mayor, whose name is Sir Patrick Walsh, a counterfeit Christian, and a great enemy of God’s truth. And he is coming over to obtain something from her Majesty to maintain his knighthood withal.” He thought this preferment a mistake, as it enabled “hypocrites and crafty enemies of the gospel” the better to “work their malice, wherein no man exceedeth the said Sir Patrick, with whom the whole city are partakers.”

ROBERT, 1603

Father James White,² Vicar Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, has left a long recital of his trials. He tried to re-establish the Catholic religion after Elizabeth died,

¹ Hogan: Ireland in 1598.

² Egan’s Waterford.

and for a time was given much freedom of action, but at last he was compelled to flee to France. When Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice, read the announcement of King James' succession he was pulled down from where he stood in the market place. Father White says that Sir Nicholas, and Comerford, the second justice, both attested "in the presence of the Mayor of Waterford, Robert Walsh, Knight, "that we had full liberty to celebrate Mass except in the Churches and to wear our sacerdotal vestments." He had even "purified the Cathedral in the presence of the noble Sir Nicholas."¹

THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, 1626-1654

Thomas, son of Robert Walsh and Anastasia Strong, was born at Waterford 1588 while his father was in prison for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The family had been prosperous merchants in Waterford for centuries.² At twelve he was sent to his uncle, Thomas Strong, Bishop of Ossory, then living in exile as coadjutor to the Bishop of Compostella in Spain. Later he studied at the Irish Seminary in Lisbon and the Irish College in Salamanca. Ordained, and a Doctor of Divinity, he toured Europe, and was made a Knight of Malta. Sent for to Rome, he was consecrated Archbishop of Cashel and returned to Ireland in 1626. It was a time of bitter persecution, as may be inferred from his having been arrested and taken prisoner to Dublin, when caught holding a synod in the woods—the safest place but not safe enough. Having satisfied Strafford that he was engaged in no "traitorous correspondence" and that he lived on a small stipend from the King of Spain, he was allowed to return to Tipperary. His letters to Rome reveal the terrible destitution of the people and the ruin of the Church at the time.

¹ Mrs. Green mentions that the origin of the Whites is not known, nor the time of their coming. But considering that they were South Kilkenny people, and that the Welsh "Wynne" or "Gwynne" is "White" in English, the chances are they came with the other Welshmen in the twelfth century. They were great administrators for Ormond, very famous as school teachers, and peerless Churchmen. They probably were Galvan (Irish for White) when the law forced them to use the English word for their family name.

² Rev. Sylvester Malone.

Following the first successes of the Catholic Confederation of 1641 he "purified" the Cathedral of Cashel and many churches. He was one of the great figures of the Council, and was torn between the desire for restoration of peace and the wish to support the Nuncio, Rinuccini, in his attitude of "non-expedience." He agreed to the proposals of Ormond when he thought they secured what Rinuccini wanted, and later again took sides with the Nuncio, on the promise by the latter of military support which never came, and for whose appearance on the sea the Nuncio waited in Waterford for long weeks in vain.

Cromwell put an end to all illusions. In 1652 the Archbishop was in Limerick, then besieged by Ireton, working in the pest house and the hospital. He escaped from the city, but was quickly captured, sent to Clonmel under escort, and imprisoned. As the efforts to force him to conform brought no result, he was kept in close confinement, much of the time in manacles, from July 1652 to October 1653.

In November, 1653, he left for Compostella, where he had gone as a student in 1600, and was received with remarkable demonstrations of sympathy and regard. His injuries were treated by affectionate friends, but his health was broken and he died on May 4, 1654.

He and Bishop William Walsh of Meath are the two martyrs for their faith mentioned in the genealogical statement.

SUPPRESSED ABBEYS

OWNEY, OR ABINGTON

Pierce, (Piers, or Peter) Walsh, of Grange, head of one of the branches of the Castlehale family, was pardoned in 1549, or at the same time as his relatives. He received other pardons in 1553 and in 1570. Evidently he was named after Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond.

Pierce, most of the time, stood high in the favor of the ruling powers. In 1551 he had a lease for 21 years of "a parcel of Courtnaboulia, property of Adam Tobyn, attainted."

Moreover, on June 20, 1562, there was a grant by letters issued at Greenwich to "Peter Walshe of Grange, County Kilkenny, gentleman, of the site of the Abbey of Woney (Owney) County of Limerick, to hold in fee farm forever, by the service of the twentieth part of a Knight's fee, at a rent of £53, 2s, 3d."

This abbey was founded by the first Theobald Butler, at what is now Abington in Limerick, and was in the country of Mulryan. Theobald and several of his successors were buried there. It is rather odd that at the time of the suppression of the monasteries the Ormonds did not secure this one for themselves. The tenth Earl, "Black Tom of Carrick" did get for himself the much more famous Abbey of Kells and its widespread possessions, but not until 1578. He also had many others. Perhaps his conscience prevented his taking this one.

The lands of the Abbey of Owney are described as "Wony, Caslane Brenagh, Kylleneveroke, Cnocknegurten alias Knocknegustane, Rathneaghe alias Ragneage, Kapper-nowke, Kappecullen, Lismullen and Armagh, County Limerick; and Clonkitt alias Clonkyll, County Kerry; the rec-tories of Cahirkonlische, Ballywoiles, Raiordane and

Cayrrelly, County Limerick; Thurles, Raheilly, Wony, Iskerrin, Tuoballyseyn, Enagh in Ormond; Erohage, County Tipperary; Arclo and Tullaphelyn, County Carlow." Piers was committed to "finding curates for the Churches and maintaining one horseman" over and above the rental in money.

It is interesting to note that this old foundation of the Butlers owned a "caslane Brenagh" or Castle Walsh, and also lands in Kerry, where the Butlers had no possessions and the Walshs had. "Bryne" is shown on the old maps.

The pardon of 1570 was granted to "Peter Walsh of Grange, County Kilkenny, late sheriff of the County of Limerick." This was probably a pardon of three years' rent of Owney, which, as he pleaded in 1565, had been kept out of his possessions by Donald O'Mulryan with the assistance of John of Desmond.

When he died an inquisition was held at Rathkeale, which declared him to have died seised of the property and his son Edmund to be his heir.

He died in 1575, and is buried at Polrone, in whose church there is the long unbroken front panel of what was once an altar tomb, with carvings showing the Savior's seamless garment, Veronica's towel and the face of our Lord, a teapot, two spoons and three cups, with parts missing. It has the monogram I.H.S.; a cross with a short transverse bar; on the right, below, the figure of a man, in Elizabethan ruffles, kneeling in prayer, his hands clasped, and to the left a similar carving of a woman.

Over the figures are two coats of arms. Over the man's the arms of Walsh of Castle Hale, (a chevron gules, between three pheons erect—three broad arrows, divided by a chevron in red) on half the shield, and on the other half a saltire (St. Andrew's cross) Ermine, which Father Carrigan assumes to be for Fitzgerald (of Burnchurch). The letters FIZ STEV, however, suggest something slightly different. The arms of Robert Fitz-Stephen are given as "party per pale gules and ermine a saltire counterchanged." The wife's shield has the same Walsh arms and the name "Walshe."

What is left of the inscription reads, in old English characters (translated) :

Here lie (Petrus) Brennach (of Grange) who died . . . and . . . Brennach his wife who died 25 November 1591. Jesus Son of David have mercy on me.)

EDMUND, 1570-1618

Edmund Walsh succeeded (1575) his father, Pierce, as military tenant of Owney Abbey. One of the Butlers had the spiritual charge. Edmund was knighted by Chichester in London 1606. The monument¹ erected to him is (or was) a very pretentious affair, of the Doric order, in black marble. Over a long latin inscription are the arms of Walsh and Butler. The Walsh arms are varied from the usual by having ermine with the chevron and arrows. There are figures in low relief of St. Peter, St. Bernard and Mary Magdalen. There is a six verse chronology "on the death of that most distinguished man, Sir Edmund Walsh."

"Walsh, thou hast lived long enough for thyself; thy death for thy son snatched thee from earth to enjoy Heaven. Not long enough for the poor and thy friends, for thy death great riches took from them."—Patrick Kiernan, maker.

"One thousand six hundred and sixteen years after the Immaculate Virgin bore God, and when the second day of July merged towards evening, the distinguished praise and glory of the House of Walsh, a collared Knight, a mighty man in arms, greater in hospitality in piety not less."

"To that most distinguished man, Sir Edmund Walsh, Knight, who on the day after the calendar of July in the year M D C XVIII, deceased, this monument was erected at the expense of the most noble widow his relict, the Lady Eliza Grace."

On the ancient bridge at Abington there was an inscription under the arms of Sir Edmund Walsh stating that Ellice Walsh had erected the bridge after the death of her husband "for devotion and charity, praying passengers to pray for the rest of their souls in heaven."

¹ A photograph of this monument, with elaborate description and very full texts, is given in R. S. A. I. See also Lenihan, History of Limerick, p. 717.

John, his heir, married Margaret O'Mulryan. Pierce, their son, married Margaret Hurley, was a captain against Cromwell, and lost his estates as an Irish Papist.

FRANCISCAN ABBEY AT WATERFORD

On August 15, 1546 (Henry VIII), Henry, son of Patrick Walsh, of Waterford city, was empowered by patent to found an institution to be called "The Master, Brethren and Poor of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost," and on September 7th following, in consideration of £150, 13s, 4d per annum, "the whole scite or precinct of the house or monastery of the Franciscans or Friars-Minors, as also all castles, houses and tenements or rents within the precincts of the same," and various other properties belonging to the monastery were given to them. The monastery was altered to accommodate from 24 to 60 widows in an upper story. In 1693 the lower floor was given to refugee Huguenots. The Hospital was removed to another quarter of the city in the last century. In 1687 the head of the Walshs of Waterford city went to Spain, and the family went thence to the Canary Islands. In 1735, after the family had been ruled out of the administration of the Hospital, it was intimated to the Canary Island Walsh that for a gift of £100 this privilege could be restored, and the money was sent.

The walls are now bare, and of sixteen monument slabs placed at intervals over the grassy floor, seven bear the names of Walsh men and women buried there since 1546, beginning with Agnes Lumbard, wife of Edward Walsh, 1570, and Joana Walsh, wife of Cornelius Hurley, 1582. This was also the burial place of the family of General Lord Roberts ("Bobs Bahadur").

Sir Patrick Walsh and Nicholas Walsh were members of the Parliament held in 1595, and James Walsh of Ballygunner of that of 1631 and John Walsh of the Parliament that met in 1639. In founding the Holy Ghost Hospital in the monastery from which the monks were driven, Patrick and his son Henry declared their object to be "in order that the master, brethern and the poor may pray for our

prosperity while we live, and for our souls when we depart this life, and for the souls of our progenitors, and for the prosperity of the said hospital, and for the soul of Patrick Walsh, and for the prosperity of Catherine Sherlock, his wife, and for her soul, and for the souls of all the faithful." The present Franciscan Church has a tablet brought from the old church bearing the arms of James White of 1631 and those of his wife, Helena Walsh, a descendant of the founder.

Not only has the Walsh Hospital endured for nearly four hundred years; its example moved three bachelor brothers of the name, in the last century, to leave their money to found another Walsh Asylum.

The example of Patrick and Henry Walsh was followed in New Ross, where Anastasia Wise, widow of Thomas Gregory, in 1577, also established a hospital. Sir Patrick Walsh of Waterford helped her obtain the necessary charter, and himself served as a trustee.

Among those who in 1537 signed the Waterford petition against the exactions of Lady Katherine Poer (daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormond) were Patrick, James, Henry Sr., Robert, and Henry Walsh.

THE ABBEY AT DUNGARVAN

In 1550 The Lord Protector (Somerset) and Council of England (under Edward VI) wrote the Lord Deputy of Ireland that

"Whereas with our advice the King's Majestie had appointed James Walshe to be Constable of Dungarvan for term of his life," it was the King's pleasure that the parsonage of Dungarvan "and the late house of the friers" in Dungarvan, be surveyed and leased to James "under the King's brode seal" for the term of 21 years."

James was appointed Constable of Dungarvan for life with services of eight gunners. He had been "a servant of the Duke of Somerset," who ruled England for Edward VI and lost his head when he tried to make Lady Jane Grey queen. He was, in fact, related to Somerset.

SHANCAHIR
IN LE WALSH MOUNTAYNE

WALTER

Walter, son of Robert, son of Edmund, of Castlehale, succeeded his father in 1572, but it was not until 1605-6 that he was given "liberty of seisin and pardon of intrusion." This was the legal way of saying he could have his property and was to be forgiven for occupying it before the royal permission was given. Why he was kept out of it for thirty years does not appear. He had had a "pardon" for something, as "Walter Brenagh of Castlehele in the Walsh Montayne" in 1571, and was Sheriff of Kilkenny County from 1579 to 1586.

This was a time when the English authorities were making great effort to bring the Irish leaders to the English way of thinking. When James of Ormond died in 1546 they kept his son Thomas in England and raised him at court, sending him back to destroy Desmond, which he did. While he was there in England, his uncle Richard was allowed to manage in Ireland, for which he was made Lord Mountgarret, a tribute, no doubt, to his mother, Margaret Fitzgerald. Richard acquired a large estate, which extended over into Wexford.

Walter Walsh married Mountgarret's eldest daughter, Ellice. This marriage, and that of his son Robert to Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Fitzgerald of Cloyne, brought him and his family into the closest relation with the Butlers, Desmonds, Powers, and all their complicated alliances with the other leading families of Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork and Wexford. Everthing indicates that he was the greatest dispenser of hospitality in the whole history of Castlehale. It was he who built the new wing of the house in the style of the period (Tudor). When he was through building

the house covered an Irish acre. His daughters were all well married, as became the grand daughters of Mountgarret. His son John wrote, in the "keen" which is still, after three hundred years, recited in the Walsh mountain:

"Oh dear and beloved father, what noble sons-in-law you brought to this country. Mandeville of Ballydine, Devereux of Ballymagir, George (Furlong) of the flocks and herds, and William Wall the golden hearted. You never had a son-in-law of inferior rank; and you would have had Den too, were it not for your close relationship to him." When Devereux, Lord Essex, was in Ireland as Viceroy, he visited Ballymagir and knighted his relative.

The Walshs of France descended from this Walter through his second son James of Ballynacookey, whose son married a daughter of Walsh of Carrickmines.

For nearly fifty years Walter enjoyed the honors and dispensed the hospitality for which he is still remembered. It was the time when the utmost was being done to change Ireland from the old religion to the new, and no doubt he had to be careful. He is named in the government records as the "harbourer" of two Popish priests, Sir Teige and Sir Donogh O'Hely, in 1610. He was a very old man when he died in 1619. His eldest son had died before him, and he was succeeded by his grandson, Walter, a youth of eighteen.

A number of the papers of this Walter have been preserved, among them one here reproduced, which is of interest on several counts.

It establishes the fact that there was a "Baron of Shanchair in le Walsh Mountayne," and that it was a manor with a seneschal who held court leet.

It offers an interesting example of the ancient as distinguished from the present conception of a jury. These jurors were chosen because they knew about the matters under dispute, and were therefore to be trusted to do justice as between the parties, one or more of whom might be in error.

It recites some privileges of the Lord and the corresponding obligations of the tenants; the right of free pasture

for his cattle; the right to a prescribed contribution of oats; the right to levy upon "the nation," "according to the discretion of four of the better sort of the inhabitants," to make provision for a marriage portion for daughters, beginning when they were seven years old; and the right to a yearly refection, which could be commuted for ten shillings. We have here mirrored an abridgement of the old exactions under coyne and livery.

One notes that for all the glory of Castle Hale, which was then at its height, they still used the old name of Littercorballi (the wet hillside of Corbally); and also the vast multiplication of Brenaghs, since those mentioned, who are many, must have been relatively only a few.

COURT DAY AT CASTLEHALE

[TRANSLATION]

To all Christian people to whom the present writing or transcript shall come, the Mayor and Sheriffs of the County of the City of Waterford, eternal salvation in the Lord. Know you that on the day of the date of the presents we inspected and read a certain writing, written on parchment, in no way vitiated, obliterated and in no part thereof suspected, the tenor of which, word for word, follows in these words, viz.:

The Court of the lord Walter Brenagh otherwise Walsh, Esq. and Baron of Shancahirr, chief of his nation, held at Littercorballi, on Monday next after the feast of St. Barnabas, the apostle, in the 27th year of the reign of our most serene Queen Elizabeth, before Peter Shee, seneschal of the manor of Shancahir aforesaid, in the County of Kilkenny.

The names of the free tenants and suitors of the said court:

Richard Brenagh holds the third part of Knockmelan.

Philip Brenagh fitz Oliver holds the third part of Knockmelan.

James fitz Oliver Brenagh holds Lesdrolin.

David fitz John Brenagh, Monyhanry, holds two carucates of land there.

William Brenagh of Ballyntober.

Nicholas fitz David Redmond otherwise Serement, of Harristowne.

Philip fitz William Brenagh, of Kilcronan, holds one carucate of land there.

Robert fitz James Brenagh, of Ballynecowly, holds two carucates of land there.

William Brenagh fitz James, of Ballynefonshogy, holds two carucates of land there.

John Brenagh fitz William, of Killmoge, holds one carucate of land there.

Robert Brenagh fitz Philip, of Ballirobog, holds one carucate and a half of land there.

Philip Brenagh fitz William, of Ballylosky, has a carucate of land there.

The names of the jurors to inquire on behalf of the lord of the manor aforesaid:

Richard fitz James Brenagh, of Knockmolane, juror.

Robert Brenagh, of Ballyrowbog, juror.

Philip Brenagh, of Knockmolane, juror.

Thomas Brenagh, of Thomynestowne, juror.

David Brenagh, of Monyhanrye, juror.

William Brenagh, of Ballyntobber, juror.

Nicholas Serement, of Harristowne, juror.

Edmond Brenagh, of Ballynteskin, juror.

Thomas Kyffe, of Kilcollman, juror.

Philip Brenagh, of Corbally, juror.

John Dowan of Boliglas, juror.

Thomas Kelchyr, of Tamplorum, juror.

John Brenagh, of Killagh, juror.

Edmond Grace, of Dirrelackagh, juror.

Donough O'Annraghtie, Rahinegerigh, juror.

Which jurors upon their oath say that James Brenagh, who held of the lord of the same manor the town and lands of Ballynecowly by fealty and suit of court, and by what other services they are entirely ignorant of, was seised in his demesne as of fee, and died so seised; and that Robert Brenagh is the son and next heir of the aforesaid James Brenagh and under age, viz., eight years old; and that

James Brenagh aforesaid was under ward of the lord Robert Brenagh, late lord of the aforesaid manor. They also say that Philip Brenagh fitz Oliver and Richard Brenagh hold two parts of the town and lands and castle of Cnockmelane of the manor aforesaid by fealty, suit of court and 13s. 4d. head rent; and that the other third part of the town, lands and castle aforesaid is in the hand of the manor aforesaid. They also say that the lord of the manor aforesaid *ought and used to have common of pasture for all his cattle, and egress, ingress and regress in and through all the pasture* of Lisdrolin, Knockmelane, Hominstowne, Monyhanry, Harristowne, Ballyntobber, Kilcronan, Ballynecowlye, Ballynefonshogye, Kilmoge, Ballyrobog, Ballyloskye, and through all the domain of the Walshe Mountaine; and that James fitz Oliver Brenagh of Lisdrolin unjustly hindered him from the use of the aforesaid common there in contempt of the lord of the manor aforesaid, &c. They also say that Robert Brenagh fitz Adame of Corbally intruded himself unjustly and to the great injury of his neighbors, into a piece of the lands of Derrylackagh, in the field called Gortevillin, within the jurisdiction of this court; therefore, he, in mercy, &c. They also say that the *chief lord of the manor aforesaid and his predecessors reserved to themselves, of old, and to their heirs males a yearly rent of oats, issuing, to be had and taken from the underwritten lands, viz., from and out of the town of Lisdrolyn, one measure of oats; from Ballynefonchoige, half a measure of oats; from Killvoage, one measure of oats; from Tomynistowne, one measure of oats; from Robogestowne, one measure of oats; from Monehanrye, one measure of oats; and that the lord of the manor aforesaid and his predecessors were wont to take, receive, and have the oats aforesaid from the lands aforesaid by reason of the lands being from ancient time burthened with the rent and reservation aforesaid.*

The same day, year, and place, before the same seneschal, the names of the jurors to inquire on behalf of the lord of the manor aforesaid:

Peter Tobbyn, of Ballyntlea, juror.

William Costallowe, of Castellhowell, juror.
David Brenagh, of Garriduffe, juror.
Connor O'Shaneghane, of the same, juror.
Oliver Brenagh, of Smithestowne, juror.
Dermod Dowane, of the same, juror.
John O'Dea, of Mollynvatty, juror.
Robert Brenagh, of Rahinegearagh, juror.
Patrick fitz Geoffrey, of Ballynemabagh, juror.
John O'Rely, of Ballycorin, juror.
Thady O'Gorman, of Newechurch.
Edmond O'ffahye, of Garriduffe, juror.
Maurice Brenagh, of Monyhanrie, juror.
Richard O'ffahie, of Ballintlea, juror.
James Brenagh, of Ballivony, juror.
Nicholas O'Rian, of Bolyglas, juror.

Which jurors upon their oath say that all the free tenants and inhabitants within the precincts of the manor aforesaid and the domain of the said Walter Brenagh, Baron of Shancahir in Le Walsh Mountayne, are wont and accustomed from time to time to assist the said chief lord of his nation and of the manor aforesaid, *in making provision for the marriage of his daughters when they come to the age of seven years, according to the discretion of four of the better sort of the inhabitants of the said nation.* They also say that Thomas Butler fitz John, of Cottrellistowne, intruded himself unjustly into one piece of land, at Bantowdery, containing by estimation 20 acres of land, being the inheritance of the said lord of the manor, during his [i.e. the said lord's] minority, within the jurisdiction of this court, &c. They also say that James Brenagh, of Ballynecowly, held the town and castle of Ballynecowly of the manor aforesaid by fealty and suit of court, and by what other services they are entirely ignorant of, and that he died seised in his demesne, as of fee, of the town and castle aforesaid; and that Robert Brenagh is the son and next heir of the aforesaid James and under the age of nine years; and they further say that Robert Brenagh, father of the said James, was under ward of the lord Robert Brenagh, late lord of the manor aforesaid. They also say that James Brenagh fitz

William who held of the lord of the manor the town and lands of Ballynefonshogy by fealty, suit of court, and 10s. per year, and by what other services they are entirely ignorant of, was convicted, attainted, and hanged for felony, *in virtue of which attainder the most serene lady, Queen Elizabeth, had year, day and waste, and after the said time the aforesaid lord, Walter Brenagh, ought to have the town aforesaid* by escheat by reason of the attainder, &c. They also say that Richard Bolger of Curraghmore intruded himself unjustly into one parcel of land in Lapenekon, by estimation three acres, of the land of the said lord of the manor. They also say that the predecessors of the said lord of the manor used *to have and reserve to themselves and their heirs a yearly refection upon the lands of the free tenants* of the said manor, and that the predecessors of the said lord from time to time used *to receive and have that refection yearly or 10s. from each one of them in lieu of and for the refection aforesaid*, besides the chief rent and the services of right accustomed. They also say, upon their oath, having inquired into the rents of the free tenants of the Baron of Shancaher in Le Walsh Mountayne aforesaid, of their own knowledge by the inspection of divers credible rolls and charters, that Richard Brenagh holds the third part of Knockmolane containing one carucate of land, and renders therefor to the lord of the manor 6s. 8d. a year, and suit of court. James Brenagh fitz Oliver holds two carucates of land in Lystroline, &c. rendering therefor 13s. 4d. a year, and suit of court. Philip Brenagh holds the third part of Knockmolane containing one carucate of land and renders therefor 6s. 8d. a year, and suit of court. Thomas Brenagh fitz Richard holds one carucate of land in Tomynistowne, &c., rendering therefor to the lord 10s. a year at Michaelmas, and does suit of court therefor twice a year. David Brenagh fitz John holds one carucate of land in Monyhanry, &c. rendering therefor to the lord 10s. a year at Michaelmas, and does suit of court. William Brenagh holds Ballyntobber to the use of the son and heir of his brother, &c. rendering therefor to the lord 6s. 8d., and does suit of court, &c. Philip Brenagh holds one carucate of land in Kilcronane, &c., rendering therefor to the lord 6s. 8. a

year, and does suit of court. John Brenagh holds one carucate of land in Kilmoge, &c., rendering therefor to the lord 6s. 8d. a year, and does suit of court. Robert Brenagh fitz Philip holds one carucate of land in Ballyrobog, &c., rendering therefor 10s. a year, and does suit of court. Philip Brenagh fitz William, holds half a carucate of land in Ballylosky and &c., rendering therefor to the lord 6s. 8d. a year, and does suit of court twice a year. James fitz Oliver Brenagh holds two carucates of land in Mackully, &c. rendering therefor to the lord 57s. a year, and does suit of court. Rosuelasse otherwise Rosuelaghen in Beawliu, 18d. a year, is in the hands of the lord; of the service of Kildresse 13s. 4d., and suit of court; of the service of Logherane 13s. 4d. a year, and suit of court; of the service of Crooawillagh 18d. a year, and suit of court; Corbally 6s. 8d., is in the hands of the lord of the manor; of the land of Aghnegaddye 6s. 8d. a year, is in the hands of the lord. They also say that the lord of the manor aforesaid has sixty acres in his own hands in Beawlew otherwise *Owning together with the advowson and likewise the presentation to the church of Ownynge aforesaid*, and that the Right Honourable Lord Thomas Butler, Knight, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, presented Peter Roth, his clerk, to the said church, by reason of the minority of Walter Walsh, lord of the manor aforesaid. They also say that the lord of the manor aforesaid has seven acres of land of demesne in Gortmollin beside Kilmolomock, in his own hands.

And we, the before-named Mayor and Sheriffs of the County of the City of Waterford, at the humble request of Walter Walshe, of Castellhoell, Esq., have, by these presents, caused the writing aforesaid, to be exemplified in manner and form aforesaid. In witness whereof we have caused the official seal of the Mayoralty of the said city of Waterford to be put to these presents. Given in the Council Chamber of the said city of Waterford, Oct. 5th, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the English computation, 1612.

Mychaell Browne, Mayor	Patrick White,	John Skydie,
of Waterford.	Sheryff.	Sheriff.

JOHN MACWALTER

JOHN MACWALTER

John, the fifth son of Walter Walsh and Elizabeth (Mountgarrett) Butler, is the subject of the lament here reproduced. The language of the elegy appears not to exaggerate his qualities, certainly not so far as concerns his scholarship. There is a good deal of his writing that has been saved from oblivion, the best known being his lament for his cousin Oliver Grace. It is said of him that he loved to wander about over Ireland, bringing back with him each time he returned some fresh inspiration. He saw the glory of his father's house, and that of his nephew the last Walter. He lived until the whole estate was in the hands of strangers, not to see it, for, poor and alone and blind, banished long before from his court at Inchicaran, he found the shelter of a friendly roof at that Lismatigue which was "cursed in Rome" for the fault of his great grandmother Margaret Fitzgerald Butler, and there died, in 1660. He is still famous as a scholar and a poet in the recently rediscovered Irish Ireland as John MacWalter (Shawn ac Wawthyez).

Hardiman says of him, in his "Irish Ministrelly: "His name and poetical remains, after a lapse of more than two centuries, are yet familiar among the natives of the Walsh Mountains; and if the rare qualifications of mind and person attributed to him by popular tradition be not greatly exaggerated John MacWalter would not suffer much if put in comparison with the Admirable Crichton. In one respect, namely as a poet, there is unerring proof of his having perhaps excelled the celebrated Scotchman." It appears he is remembered in the Mountain as "Tatter Jack Welsh," which is also the name of their most popular dancing air.

“Tatter” has not the English meaning. It is “An T’athair,” “the strong.”

John MacWalter says, in the lament for his father, that the Walshs

“Built Castle Hale, Castle John and Castlebanny; Knockmaelan Castle in proximity; Ballynacooly Castle on the side of the declivity. They built a court at Inchicaran and a castle on the brow of the Skart.” John is believed to have been the last Walsh to live at Inchicaran.

Egan’s “Waterford” has the following, of undisclosed authorship:

Over the Walsh’s wide domain
Is many a treasured story,
And many a ballad’s sweet refrain
Rings mid their mountains hoary.
But one I love ’tis of a Knight
Who tuned his country’s psalter
To chieftains high and ladies bright,
John Walsh, the son of Walter.”

In the lament for John MacWalter there is mention of “Hen (Henry) of Collawn” for whom no historical equivalent appears. “Collawn,” however is the old name of a wooded hill, afterwards called “the Bishop’s Mountain.” How such names persist may be inferred from a passage in a letter recently received from Father James B. Dollard, the poet, who was born in the Walsh Mountain country: “The handsomest young giant and athlete I ever saw was John Walsh of Portnascully, South Kilkenny. He was a farmer and a miller at the same time. He was also a champion heavy weight thrower of the two islands, and could sling the 56 pound weight like a feather. I shall never look upon his like again for manly beauty of body and face. He is now dead, but has left eight big boys behind him. He was simply known as ‘Kullya,’ that is ‘Coille, ‘of the wood.’ ”

WALSH OF THE ISLAND

ROBERT

The Walshs of Waterford city had their country place at Ballygunner, an estate of 1200 to 2000 acres, a few miles south east of the city. Their castle is still there, and is used as a residence by a farmer. They were known as Walsh "of the Island," as having come originally from "the Great Island" in Wexford. Sir Robert Walsh, the last owner, was dispossessed as an Irish Papist. There seems to have been a succession of Knights in the family, beginning, perhaps, with Sir Patrick around 1550. There was a Sir Robert in 1614 and a Sir James, a member of Parliament, in 1634. His son Sir Robert lost the property in Cromwell's time, but had it restored when Charles II came back. He had gone into exile with Charles in 1648 and in 1663 the Merry Monarch showed himself not ungrateful. Robert's property was stated at 2857 acres in Waterford, Tipperary and Kilkenny. He was put to so much annoyance in the time of the Titus Oates persecutions that he wrote to the King to protest against such treatment of one who had gone to Ireland to raise a regiment for Charles I, which regiment had fought at Edgehill, after which battle he had been given the honor of wearing a medal with a gold effigy of the King. To be ordered out by such a fellow as Oates was too much.

The first Sir Robert, father of Sir James and grandfather of the last Sir Robert, made, in 1629, a deed of gift to John Lea and Thomas Lumbard for the benefit of his wife, Bessie Lea, and his daughters Margaret and Mary; and a will which mirrors the patriarchal manners of the time and place. His son Sir James married the eldest daughter of Pierce Butler of Callan; James' brother Pierce

married Anne, daughter of Sir Justinian Isham of Glendon, Northampton, England. In the next generation the signs of catastrophe appeared. James' son, Sir Robert, created Baronet by Charles II, married Mary, daughter of George Sherlock. Pierce, son of Sir Robert, went to France, married Henrietta Marie de Monozar, of the Court of Lorraine, and predeceased his father, leaving a daughter Mary, married to Pierce Aylward. Pierce, Sir Robert's brother, had one daughter, Mary, who married Robert Walsh of Castlehale and Clonassy, who was killed at the siege of Limerick. By 1691 the estates of "Walsh of the Island" and "Walsh of the Mountain" had all been confiscated.

MAYORS AND SHERIFFS OF WATERFORD

In 1414 Nicholas Walsh was high Sheriff of the County of Waterford, as was Robert in 1634. The list of the mayors of the city includes John, 1407; Roger, 1420; Richard, 1451 and 1458; Richard, 1521; Peter, 1522; Patrick, 1528 and 1532; James 1539 and 1547; David, 1551; Robert, 1555; Henry, 1556; James, 1562; Peter, 1564 and 1569; James, 1574; Sir Patrick, 1578; Robert, 1601-2-13; James, 1631; and Sir John, the last, in 1648.

In the office of bailiff or sheriff of the city, the Walsh name appears in 1522, 1528, 1532, 1534, 1541, 1543, 1544, 1551, 1553, 1556, 1561, 1562, 1574, 1576, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1585, 1588, 1596, 1597, 1602, 1606, 1607, 1613, 1642 and 1646.

LITTLE WARS IN WATERFORD

In the year 1368 there was a great battle between the citizens of Waterford on the one side and the Powers and O'Driscolls on the other. The losses were heavy. Of the Waterford men there perished the mayor, John de Malpas, who was brought back to the city "all hewn and cutt to pieces," thirty-six citizens, sixty visiting merchants, and Richard le Walshe, Master of the Hospital, that is to say the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. He was also Justice of the Peace for the county.

"The Poers and their Irish associates continued their

incursions upon Waterford, although the Crown had, by two grants, authorized the burgesses to apply their customs and tolls to strengthen and maintain their fortifications against the daily attacks of their enemies (1390)."

A statute was enacted at Trim authorizing "the mayor and citizens of Waterford to muster forces and ride in array of war, with banners displayed against the Poers, Walshs, Grants and Daltons, who, for a long time before, had been rebels and traitors to England and continually preyed upon the King's subjects in the county and parts adjoining" (1448).

WILL OF SIR ROBERT WALSH

N. In the name of God. Amen. I, Robert Walsh, in perfect witt and memory, though feeble of boddie, doth make this my last will and testament. First I bequeath my soule to the Blessed Trinitie, father, sonne, and holy ghoste, unto the unspotted Virgin Mary, Mother of God, unto all the Saints in Heaven, my special patrons and advocates, and my boddy to bee buried in my ancestors buriall place in our Lady Chappell in Christ Church or other Christian Buriall and [*recte* at] my wife and friend's election. I appoint my sonne and heir, James Walsh, sole executor of this my last will and testament.

Item, I leave fiftie poundes sterling currant monie of and in England to bee paide oute of my whole lands and estate to my unkle, Michael Hore, for which part my land doth lie in mortgage. Item, I leave one hundred pounds sterling currant money of and in England to bee paid to Redmond fitz Nicholas in redemption of my house which lieth to him in mortgage oute of my estate and lands. Item, my will is that any debt will appeare lawfull in those under-named that I will assigne for tutors & protectors of my children shall be honestly paid out of my estate and lands.

Item, I bequeath to my daughter Margaret Walsh, two hundred pounds sterling currant monies of and in England to bee leavied and paid out of the first fruits of my whole landes and estate and sett to her best uses. Item, I doe bequeath to my daughter, Mary Walsh, one hundred and fiftie pounds sterling currant monies of and in England to bee paid as formerly immediately after her sister bee paid.

Item, I bequeath to my child yett not borne one hundred pounds sterling currant money of and in England to be paide oute of my whole estate and landes immediately after my eldest child bee paid.

Item, my will is that if my sonne, James Walsh, and my sonne to be borne shall die before my daughter Margaret bee preferred that the said Margaret shall have three hundred pounds and each of her sisters two hundred pounds sterling for their portions still whensoever their brethren die before they bee preferred, soe that any that will survive her brethren before preferment shall have the saide portion. Item, my will is that all my daughters shall receive their preferment or portion when they come to eyghteen yeares of age provided if any of them die before they bee paid or preferred that my surviving children or child shall inheritte their portion or portions by equall divisions.

Item, my will is that my loving wife take care of my children and allowance bee given her in ward for their maintenance, as it shall be thought fitt by my unkles Thomas and Richard Walsh and my cozens Richard Strong of Dunkitt, James Walsh of Ballygunner, and Robert Wise of Credon, or any two or three of them, provided still that either of my unkles (if then livinge) be one of the two or three; and if my wife neglect the care of them that they and their meanes bee removed from her according the discretion of my said cozens, with the consent of one of my unkles if either be then livinge. Item, I bequeath to my loving wife, Besse Lea, beside her jointure, my now dwelling house before Saint Olavs Church door, and the use of all my household stufte during her viduity, excepting my double guilt salt, my dozen bigge silver spoones, my stone bound under and over with silver double guilte, my tapstrie carpet, my bigge brasse pott and biggest brewinge panne, which I leave to my sonne James and his heirs to be delivered him or them when hee or they come to one and twentie years of age, in the meantime to bee secured for him to the discretion of the tutors I leave to oversee my wife and children. Item, I leave her three pounds sterling to be given to [by?] my wife towards the ends the tutors of my children shall tell her.

Item, I leave to my foster mother, Ioan Whelan, her

now dwelling house and after her death I leave itt to her son, John Gowe, duringe his natural life, he payinge yearlie one shilling sterling to my heires. Item, I leave to my cozen Neall Woodlocke during her viduitie her now dwelling house at the rent shee fitts at.

Item, I appoint upon my blessinge that my wife, my sonne James, and all my other children, bee wholly protected, saide and directed by my unkles Thomas and Richard Walsh and by my cozens Richard Stronge, James Walsh and Robert Wise whom I leave for overseers and tuitors of my wife and children, and doe hereby pray them for the love of God and mutual respect due unto each of our ancestors that they take this care to heart and see that this my will bee accomplished leaving to any two or three of them (provided either of my said unkle if then bee livinge bee one) as well the discretion and clearing of any question or controversie shall arise of this my will and difference shall growe betwixte my wife and children amongst themselves, as allsoe the disposeinge of my children and their meanes while they keep with their mother or bee removed from her, and the alteringe of any clause of this my will.

Item, I appoint my cozen, Thomas Lombard, my lawful attorney to recover and receive all debts due unto me, to whom I leave full authoritie to that effecte. Item, lastly, my soule to bee yearlie praied for by my lovinge wife, whom I straightly charge uppon my blessinge, and my children, to have our ancestors yearelie praied for, as they left their severall meanes for rememberinge of them.

The thirteenth day of February, 1629. Witnesses being present at the declaration of this will: Richard Walsh, Thomas Lambard.

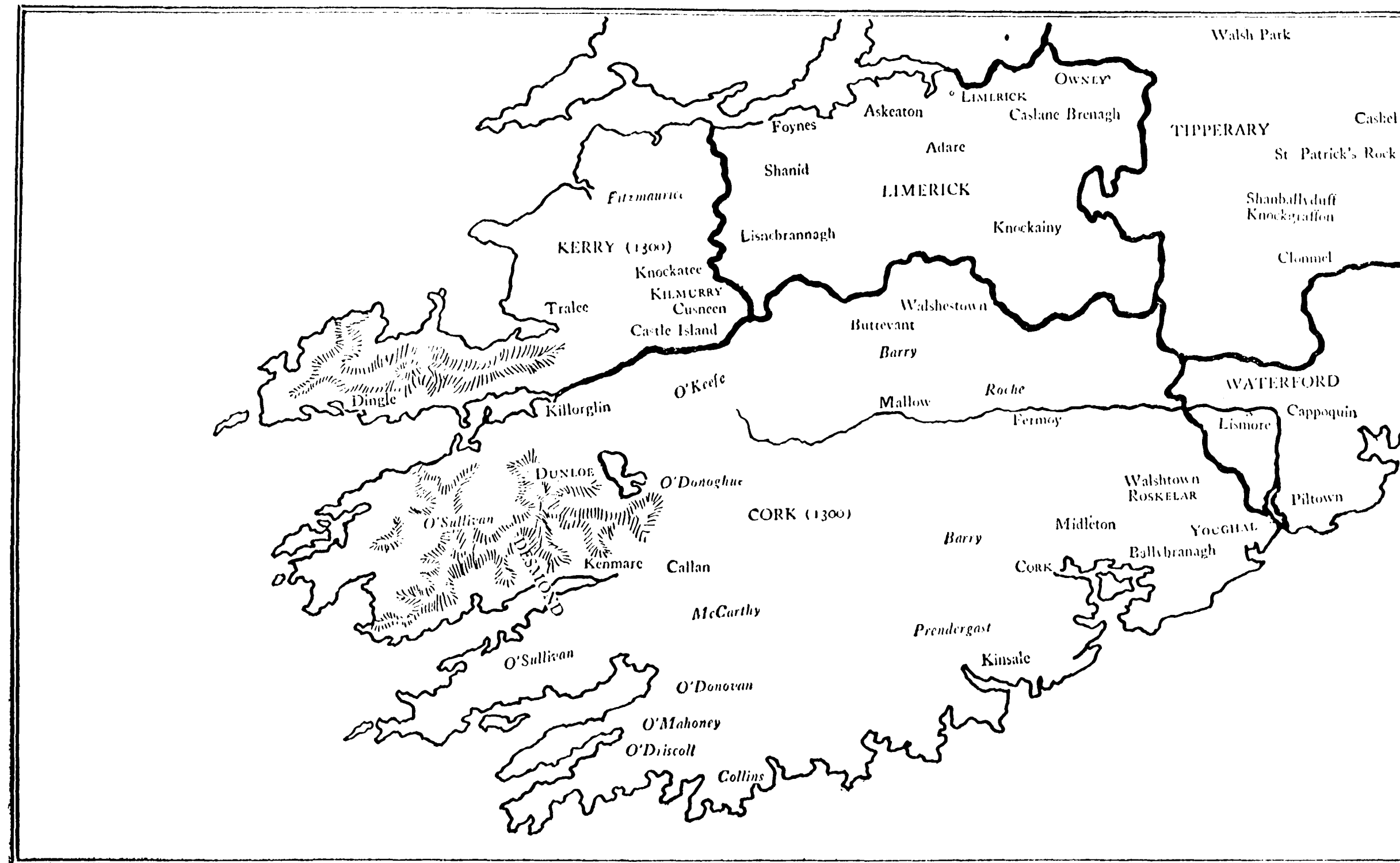
Wee undernamed doe testifie this to bee the true and verball copie of Robert Walsh, gentleman, deceased, his will and testament, in Waterford, the 13th of April, 1629, Richard Walsh, &c.

(—Ex Inquis. in Com. Waterford, captis temp. Car. primi & nunc in Officio Rotulorum de recordo remanentibus.)

SIR ROBERT'S PROVISION FOR HIS WIFE

(—E Lib. voc. "Excheq. Orders," in Turr. Birm.)

M. The intente, purport and true meaninge of the makinge of the above feoffment & deede of guifte is and was at the time of the perfectinge thereof declared to bee that the above named John Lea and Thomas Lumbard and their heires and assignes should at all times hereafter stand seized and be possessed respectively of all and singular the above named Robert Walsh his lands, tenements, hereditaments, fearmes and chattells real for the use of the said Robert for and during his natural life and after his death immediately to the use of such female issue as the said Roberte shall have at the time of his death unmarried until they and every of them shall receive of the rents, issues, and profitts of the saide lands and farmes all such soms of money as the said Roberte shall leave, appoint, and bequeath unto them by his last will and testament or otherwise for their preferment in marriage, and after to the use of James Walsh sonne and heir to the said Robert and to the use of the heires males of his boddy lawfully begotten and to bee begotten; and for want of such heirs to the use of Peter Walsh fitz Thomas and the heires males of his boddy lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for want of such heirs to the use of James Walsh of Ballygunner in the County of Waterford, gentleman, and his heires and assigns for ever, provided allwaies and it was declared and ment that the said feoffees and the survivor of them and the heires and assignes of the survivor of them shall notwithstanding the former uses give, pay and deliver unto Besse Walsh alias Lea his now wife of the said Robert Walsh towards her maintenance yearely during her natural life the sume of twenty pounds sterling English of the rents and profitts of all and singular the premisses by just moieties and equall portions at the feasts of Easter and Saint Michaell the Archangell for and in lieu of all such maintenance as shee the said Besse might hereafter demand during the said Robert's life or dower or other portion that she might demaunde at his the said Robert's death. (Marked "A.D. 1629," in margin).



REFERENCE MAP OF SOUTH WESTERN IRELAND

WALSH OF PILTOWN

SIR NICHOLAS

The English forces occupying Dungarvan were outwitted by John Hore, John Fitzgerald, Richard Butler and Sir Nicholas Walsh (of Piltown, County Waterford). They scaled the walls, plundered the English, fitted out a vessel for France, and brought back ammunition enough to hold the city for two years. This Sir Nicholas was one of the large holders of land in Decies, or western Waterford.

“When the civil and Down surveys had been completed, the Barony of the Decies was found to contain about 120,000 acres of land; of these the larger portion had been in possession of the families of Sir Nicholas Walsh, Sir Thomas Sherlocke, Sir Peter Aylwarde, and many others of equal respectability; about 30,000 acres in immediate occupancy of Sir Garrett Fitzgerald, Lord of Decies.”

Sir Nicholas was charged with having forged a declaration from the King, Charles I, in favor of the Catholics. The allegation was that he and some others of the Catholic leaders, having in their possession a parchment with the great seal attached, transferred the seal to another document which Walsh wrote. The plea they are said to have made was that without it they could not have brought in the others. It is not safe to believe all that was said against the Irish and Catholic leaders. Nicholas was in no position to challenge this rendition of history, for it appeared from a legal proceeding—

“That Nicholas Welsh, Knight and Irish papist, of Ballykeroge, was of Popish religion and did the same year (1641) levy war against the King and died in actual rebellion—that the Manor of Piltowne was in possession of the

Earl of Corke (Boyle) on October 23, 1641 and by reason of mortgage of £300 made by the said Sir Nicholas Walsh until William Cloore of Waterford due to the Earl of Corke 23 August 1628."

He was the only son of Sir Nicholas Walsh, the Chief Justice. His wife was a Colclough, of Wexford.

The lands owned by Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice, and his son Sir Nicholas of Piltown, who "died in actual rebellion," are described in the records of a process instituted by Thomas, son of the second Nicholas, who contrived to hold them for a while as an "Innocent Protestant." They ran to 12,000 acres in Waterford, widely distributed, and 1,500 acres in Kilkenny. The record is from the Exchequer orders in Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle.

Thomas Walsh, the heir, was able to hold these lands by "conforming" but his grip on them was evidently not very tight, for Colonel Stanley and Mrs. Smyth seem to have had possession of most of them. The Williamite war brought the end. To find Piltown now one must go to a very old map or to the large scale map of the Ordnance Survey. Ballykeroge was at the foot of Comeragh Mountains, a few miles west of Kilmacthomas. There was a battle there in 1642, and the Irish had the best of it.

LANDS OF WALSH OF PILTOWN

L. Comitatus Waterford, Termino Sancti Hillarii, 1670. —Whereas it appeareth by Constat from the Second Remembrancer that Thomas Walsh, Ellen, his wife, and John Walsh, their son, tenants of the lands of Piltowne, Monolerys, Rath, Knockbanke, Glestenan, Lackendary, Drumgallen, Kilneedy, Kilmaloe, Kilgabrell, Loughtan, Clashmore, Currymore, Croskea, Ballykeroges, Ballni-voiges, Ballyvoile, Island, Durren, Shanakeele, Knockdumlea, Milerstowne, Glandalgin, in the Barony of Deeses, the lands of Coolroe, Kiljamis and Whitestowne in the Barony of Upperthird, and County of Waterford, containing in the whole 11,992ac. 2r. 3p. at £112 8 6 per annum for three years ended at Michaelmas 1668 stands charged with the sum of £338 5 6; also that the same tenants of Ballyshea, in the Barony of Knocktopher, the lands of Tinis-

kelly (*Tiniscolly*), Mongan, Tyreloyne (*Tintine*) and Cooleveheny (*Coolreney*), in the Barony of Ida, Igrin and Ibercon, and County of Kilkenny, containing in the whole 1573ac. 3r. 2ip. at £19 10 10 per annum, for the same time: Whereas the said Ellen Walsh and John her son finding themselves grieved humbly moved the Court for relief alleadging that the lands of Monolerys, Croslea, Ballykeroge, Ballyvoile, Island, Durren, Shavakeele, Knockdumlea, Millerstowne, Cooleroe, Kilsavis and Whitestowne, in the said first charge recited are not in their possession but injoyed by the Lady Isabella Smyth and others, they the said Thomas, Ellen and John being only decreed to the right of redemcion of the said lands, and also alleadging that in the said second charge mentioned are likewise enjoyed by Sir Thomas Stanley and others, they being also decreed only to the right of redemcion of these lands also, and therefore praied that the Quit Rent of the said landes soe out of their possession as aforesaid may be charged on the said lands themselves and not on them the said Ellen or John Walsh or on the other lands in their possession and mentioned in the said charge: All which being taken into consideration, and the truth of the said allegations appearing by a report from the ffarmers of his Majesty's Revenue, a Certificate from his Majestie's Auditor General, and an affidavit being produced and read in Court It is ordered that the Quit Rent falling due by apportionment on the said lands out of their possession as aforesaid with the arrears thereof be and hereby is suspended as to the said Ellen and John Walsh and the landes in their possession until the said Ellen and John Walsh shall enjoy the said several lands so out of their possession as aforesaid; and if the Sheriff of the said County or any other Collector have taken any money, bills, bonds, distresses, or any other security from the said Ellen or John Walsh or their tenants on the lands in their possession as aforesaid, they are respectively on sight hereof to restore the same and to be thereof exonerated on their respective accounts, whereof the ffarmers of his Majesty's Revenue and all other persons concerned are to take notice. Jo. Bysse.

A FAMILY NARRATIVE

by

CHEVALIER O'GORMAN

Ellen le Poer eldest daughter of John Lord le Poer & sister to Richard Earl of Tyrone by her prudent conduct was considered the preserver of her father's life and estate having obtained from Ireton a promise in honour when he and other officers dined at Curraghmore under the Usurper to take no advantage of her father's weakness in discourse, which promise that General exactly supported.

The aforesd Ellen le Poer was married to Thomas Walsh of Piltown in the County of Waterford and was mother of John Walsh blown up with many other gentlemen of fortune in the Cove of Cork, to whom succeeded his brother Colonel Robert Walsh the elder; was likewise mother to Valentine the elder, captain in Richard his uncle Earl of Tyrone's Regiment and Lieutenant Colonel at the last Siege of Limerick, father to Valentine Walsh the younger and that family. Ellen le Poer was likewise mother to Mary Walsh, mother to the Cavanaghs of Borris in the County of Carlow, and by a second marriage was mother to John Long married to Lord Cahir's sister and the rest of that family. Ruth Walsh married Counsellor Kennedy of Dublin and mother [of] Colonel Kennedy of the Holland Service; Catharine Walsh married to John Warren, Esq., mother to Colonel Thomas Warren in the German Service, Captain James Warren in the English Service, and grandmother to Daniel Gahan of Coolquill in the County of Tipperary, Esq.; Nicholas Walsh, a lawyer, killed in a duel in London.

Cath. le Poer, a younger sister to Richard Earl of Tyrone, married to John fitzGerald of Dromanna, Esq.,

was grandmother to John late Earl of Grandison and great-grandmother to Lord Chatom (Chatham) and the rest of that illustrious family in England, Colonel Robert Walsh now in Dublin and several others, so that the present Colonel Robert Walsh is descended from the said John, Lord le Poer as well by his father as by his mother.

James Walsh, grandson to the sd. Ellen le Poer was sent by his father when eleven years old with Colonel Thomas Warren into Germany where he had his education and in the Imperial Service being an officer in Hungaria was invidiously slandered as if not a gent by an obscure Irishman, who soon fled that service after several duels ensued, and his yought leaving home disabled him from suddenly preventing. His brother Valentine Walsh then in Bohemia wrote to Count Ulick Brown, father to the Marchial lately killed in the battle of Preage being a noble man of great worth, well skilled in the history of Ireland as he does them the high honour of mentioning their kindred to the family of Curraghmore I thought proper to add a true copy of his answer wrote by so considerable a person whose posterity at present cut so eminent a figure in Germany.

FRANKFORTH ON THE MAINE, 12th June, 1729.

Sr.

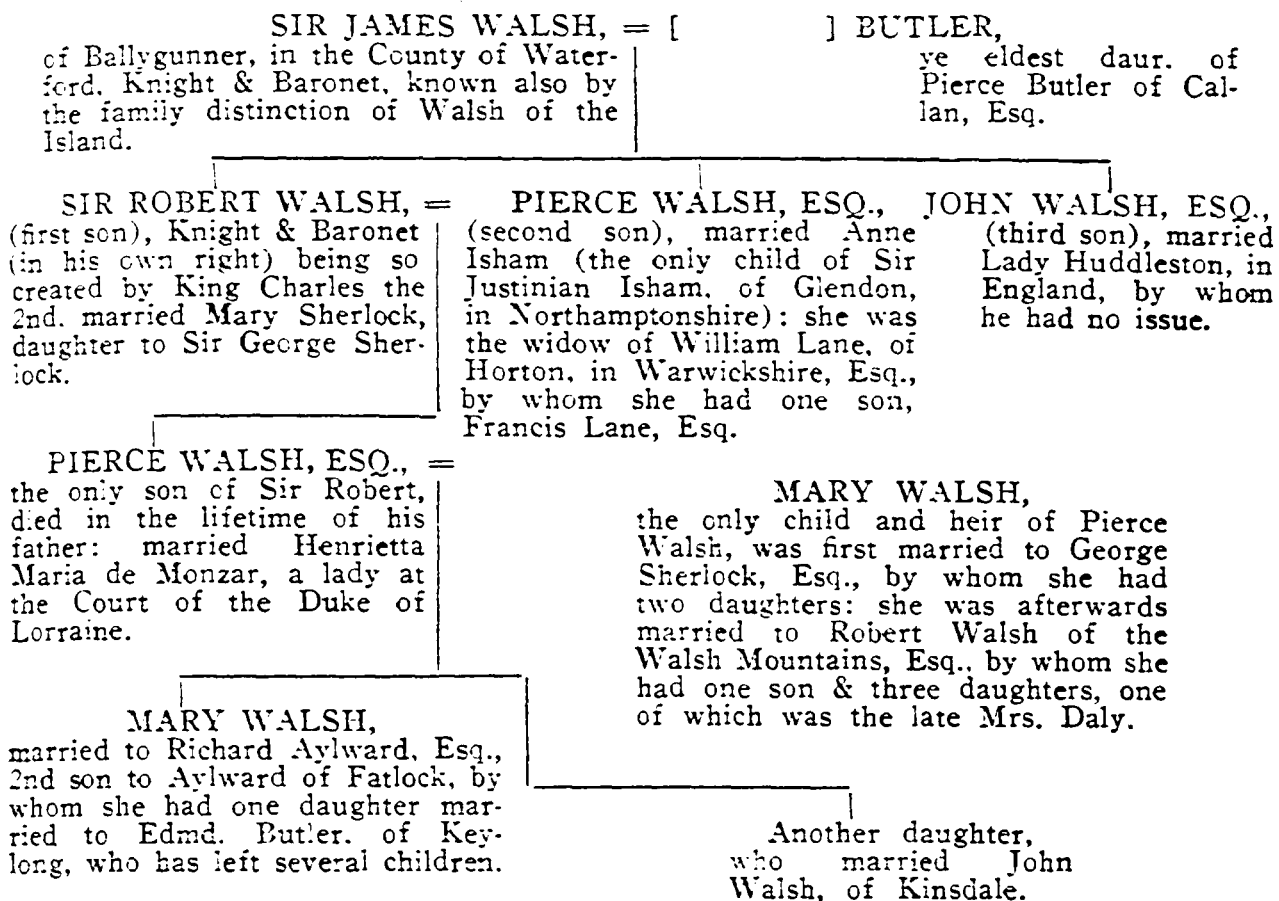
Your letter of the 4th of June came last night to my hands and I am sorry to find by its contents that mallice and envy attend the other misfortunes our country groans under, or that any wretch should dare impose upon persons of so great consequence as the Counts Wallis are, who, tho' strangers to me, are the noble men of my country I value most because good in all respects and, which is more, have illustrated their stock and family abroad. Whoever he was that had the malice to prejudice your brother affronted them noble men more than he did him, for never was since the conquest of Ireland any of that family called in Ireland but Walshs. The first two of that family that came on the conquest of Ireland were David Walsh and Philip Walsh, considerable and leading men out of Wales as the records show or as Cambden proves whose history is to be seen or his Britania as he terms it even in Latin. In Irish the

family is called Wallis, in English Walsh or Welsh. Defy mankind to say that in Ireland any were called otherwise from the conquest to this day; and would take it as an affront to be called otherwise. It's true the grandfather of Counts Wallis was actually a second son of Walsh of the Mountain, as he is called in Ireland; his mansion houses were Oldcourt and Carrigmain; and that son called himself, as with reason, of the Carrigmain family. Walsh of the Mountain was Lord of Sleighbranagh, as called in Irish, which is a Barony and is still to this day. No family better or nobler allied tho' I say for my near relations by my mother. Your ancestor was a second son to the heir of that family by name Walsh of Pilltown Manor, Ballykeroge, Mounotrie, Burragherue, &c., and by sixty years came out of the Mountain family before the Counts Wallis's family did, by female alliances and heiresses some difference in their arms, but still the same family, as records prove, and that I know tho' the wretch that said it knows not. When them noblemen knew the truth I pity the rascal that told them so. It's not because I say it, or that your family and I are related, or that your aunt was married to my cozen german, Mr. Roe of Hacketstown, that you are as well born as any man of your country and as well allied. Not to talk of your father or his ancestors you are by your mother as good as Lord Power, by your grandmother a daughter of the same and sister to ye Earl of Tyrone; her mothers are well known as daughters of Ormond, Kildare and Desmond, not to mention Irish blood O'Briens, O'Neals, McCarthys, &c. All this tho' needless is too well known, I tell you good Mr. Walsh not to puff you with any pride but to be humble in ye vocation you have embraced and to study as becomes one of your family. It then will appear you have friends to sustain you and push you to the most eminent degrees of your Church. Were I not sure of what I write should be sorry to advance the same, but proud of an opportunity of convincing you and family how much I am and always shall be.

Your friend & assured hble servt.,

COUNT BROWN CAMUS & MUNTANI.

II.—EXTRACT OF THE PEDIGREE OF WALSH OF THE ISLAND



III.

TO MR. WALSH, COMTE DE SERRAUT

[Date about the year 1755.]

SIR,

As you desired an account of the family of Walsh of the Island, I send you the above extract of a pedigree which I drew out under the direction of the late Mrs. Daly. The two chief families (of which there were several branches) were distinguished in the Irish language by two distinct names; The Walshes of the Mountain were called Bren-nagh; the Island Walshes were called Wallisagh; But both in English wrote their names Walsh, and sometimes Wailsh,

Walch, Welsh & Walshe. The variation is seen in some of the old deeds & papers; and a difference in orthography is often found in many family names in old writings. I shall give you one instance in the family name of the late Duke of Buckingham, to whom Mrs. Daly was heir at law. It was sometimes written Shefelde, Sheffylde, Sheffelde, and Sheffield. Sir Robert Walsh was always called in France le Chevalier de Valois. Hoyle Walsh, who was second son to Walsh of the Mountain, married a French lady whose name was Anne de Cartault. When all the papers are put into order I shall send you whatever remarkable extracts I find, & am, Sir, Your most obt. servant.

T. GORMAN.

[subsequently known as the Chevalier O'Gorman]

DUBLIN DISASTERS

PIERCE

In 1599 Sir Henry Harrington suffered a severe defeat in an engagement with the rebel Phelim O'Byrne. In his report he laid the blame upon four companies of Sir Adam Loftus (who had been killed) "who were all Irish and most of them lately come from the rebels." He charged that Pierce Walsh, Loftus' lieutenant, caused the defeat, by making off into Wicklow with his captain's colors, whither he was followed by his men, the rout then becoming general under Phelim's onset. Pierce denied the charge of cowardice, pleading that after the disaster he had brought away the colors and drum of Loftus, "who was thrust into the leg with a pike, whereof, and of some other hurt, he died." However, for "giving the first example of cowardice and dismaying to the troops" he was executed, as also every tenth man of the soldiers. The report of Lord Essex was that with "advantage of numbers, and no disadvantage of ground" the English were put to rout. Harrington he "forebore to bring to trial," being satisfied with the example made of Walsh and the soldiers.

The position must have been one of much difficulty, for when this Phelim O'Byrne and Rose O'Toole were married in 1593 and it became necessary to secure Rose's jointure upon the whole lands of the O'Byrnes, Pierce Walsh of Kilgobbin and Henry Walsh of Shanganagh were named as trustees under the contract of marriage.¹ Pierce averred in his declaration that on May 28 (the battle was on July 11) Phelim had sent his rhymer with a message that he was ready to make submission. Harrington, perhaps on orders

¹ The O'Byrne: Wicklow.

from Essex, evidently preferred to compel submission by destroying the Byrnes. In the Carew papers there is a letter of the time in which it is said: "There is joined with this Phelim some few of the Walshs and some of the O'Tooles."

The Anglo-Irish were very much of the same mind as the Byrnes and O'Tooles about the policies of the ever changing rulers from England. In 1580 the Eustaces took part with the O'Tooles in resisting Lord Grey's raid into Glenmalure. In 1548 they had started a rebellion in Kildare on their own account, but quickly submitted. As early as 1441 William Fitz-William of Dundrum had led a troop against the house of James Cornewalsh, Chief Baron of the Colonial Exchequer, and killed him there at Bagot Rath, just outside Dublin. These Eustaces, Fitz-Williams and Walshs were closely related by marriage during many generations.

THE END OF CARRICKMINES, 1642

"Saturday the 26th of this month (March) Sir Simon Harcourt with a party of horse marched toward the Castle of Carrickmines within six miles of this city, and taking observation of the place and finding that there were a number of rebels lodged there, he sent hither for some more horse and some companies of foot and for two pieces of battery he caused to be placed, and therewith began to batter the castle. The rebels played upon our men from the castle with their shot, and it fortun'd that Sir Simon Harcourt was there shot in the body and thereof died the next day.

"Our men, enraged at the loss of their commander, fell on with exceeding great fierceness to the castle, and with admirable courage adventuring upon all danger without the least fear with axes broke open the gate and entered it with their swords, the rebels still continuing to shoot and slay our men even after part of them had entered the castle; but in the end our men took the castle, and were so highly provoked as they put all they found therein to the sword, to the number of at least three hundred persons, and blew up the castle with powder as a mark of terror to the rebels

and indignation on that place where a person of that worth was lost."

"And now considering that Sir Simon Harcourt hath left a widow and children behind him, we crave leave to recommend his widow and children to His Majesty, that by His Majesty's gracious favor that town where he gave up his life for the honour and service of His Majesty, and the rest of that rebel's estate to whom that town belonged (Theobald Walsh) being worth between three and four hundred pounds per annum when this rebellion began, may be bestowed in perpetuity for the behoof of his wife and children."¹

Another English account of the siege says that after the first ineffectual attempt to take the castle a parley was called for, and that when the messenger from the castle arrived he was put to death. After this act of bad faith the English broke into the outer court yard, but the defenders, issuing from the citadel, attacked them "like a bolt of lighting," and drove them out. Edward Walsh of Wicklow was in command in Theobald's absence. Women and children were included in the massacre when the castle was taken.

¹Lords Justices to Earl of Leicester, quoted in Joyce's *Neighborhood of Dublin*.

LAST YEARS AT CASTLEHALE

WALTER THE YOUNGER

Robert, eldest son of Walter who died in 1619, had predeceased his father in 1603. In 1614 two records appear which invite speculation. On April 28 Walter Walsh, then a boy of thirteen, was given in ward to "Robert Cowley, gent., for a fine of £2—and an annual rent of £1—, retaining therout 10 shillings for his maintenance and education."¹ The property whose revenues thus went to Mr. Cowley were at Ballinegown (Ballygown). On January 16 of the same year Edmund, the boy's uncle, second son of the elder Walter, was enfeoffed by his parents of the townlands of Owing, Kilmaniham, Ballyfeerock, (or Springfield) and part of Fanningstown. It would look as though old Walter had considered the possibility of Edmund inheriting instead of Walter the grandson. This Edmund at that time married Agnes Butler and had a son Pierce, born at this new manor of Owing, who married Ellen Fitzgerald of Gurteen. In the senior line, this family ran out about a hundred years later by changing the name to "Porter," after an English marriage. The list of children suggests very strongly that it was one of them who devised

¹ "Henry (VIII) had adopted the efficient policy of seizing the heirs of the chiefs as wards or pledges or prisoners, and giving them an English education. The boy was torn from his people, kept in an English household or school as in a gaol, and put under a training devised to make him forget and despise his own country. . . . Under Elizabeth . . . the heirs, children or grown men, were sent as pledges to Dublin Castle, or to the profit of some high official. . . . Year after year the dreary procession of the children passed. . . . There was not a leading Irishman who had not given his son or brother as pledge. There was not a house that did not mourn a captured son. Camden tells how in Westminster School he brought to Church divers gentlemen of Ireland, Walshs, Nugents, O'Reillys, Lombards of Waterford, and others 'bred Popishly and so affected.'"—Mrs. Green, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*.

the lament for John MacWalter, their uncle. They were Edmund, James, William, Peter, Margaret, Nora and Mary.

What was the sudden occasion, in 1614, for anxiety about young Walter? "R. Cowley, gent." his guardian, sounds rather English for Kilkenny. Very likely he was taken to England to be trained, as that was the policy actively pursued at the time. He did marry in England, in 1625, his wife being Lady Magdalen Sheffield, granddaughter of Edmund Sheffield,¹ first Earl of Mulgrave. He had been given livery of his grandfather's estate two years earlier, but for some reason it found its way into the Commission of Remedy for Defective Titles, a device by which many Irish proprietors were despoiled, and it was not until 1637 that the crown "gave, granted, bargained, sold, and released" to him the castle, Manor House and lands of Castlehoyle."

The deed of grant, however, does show where the properties of the family were. They will be found in the list of confiscations in the appendix.

The Wexford lands, of which the elder Walter died seised, consisted of the Manor of Corrigbrin (Carrickbyrne) comprising the towns and lands of Courthoyle, Rahindoy, Rathkerry and Rahinchoney, title to some or all of which dated from (or before) Hoel of 1232.

This Walter was M.P. for Kilkenny in 1639. He was also a member of the Parliament of the Confederate Catholics at Kilkenny in 1646. He evidently believed, with his cousin, the third Mountgarret, that the planting of Leix and Offaly under Mary, the planting of Desmond under Elizabeth, the planting of Ulster under James, and the planting of Connaught by Strafford under Charles I represented a positive policy of replacing the old English by new English. In this he was quite right, all that was needed being an act of rebellion, which, when it came, as it did in 1641, was promptly followed by confiscation of the remaining estates, including his own.

¹ Dugdale says "She married Walter Walsh, an Irishman."

Burtschael intimates that Walter adhered to Ormond, who managed to end the rebellion on favorable terms when Charles I was threatened by Cromwell, but that did not save him. His castle was battered down by the Cromwellians, and his men were massacred and buried in one pit. His family seemed to know¹ that he entertained the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini at Castlehale when the Nuncio came to Ireland to encourage the Catholics to a last effort, for which he promised them support he was unable to deliver.

The tradition that he entertained the Nuncio is doubtless justified, but when Charles II came to the throne, and the partisans of his father applied to be restored to their estates, Walter's name was at the head of a list of those for whom it was claimed that they had "constantly and upon all occasions opposed the Nuncio and his party." The claims are not inconsistent, as many who received the Nuncio broke with him afterwards when it seemed unlikely the aid promised would come.

Burtschael says he was probably the "Captain Walter Walsh who surrendered to Major General Sir Hardress Waller on April 19, 1652, on favorable terms, Waller undertaking to endeavor to procure the preservation of his estate," an undertaking that proved to be not worth much.

Walter died, sitting at table, at New Ross, somewhere between 1650 and 1655. His son Edmund had been killed, as an officer under Preston of Gormanston, in a battle against Cromwell, near Rosbercon. This Edmund married Margaret Grace, daughter of Oliver, and their son Robert, born in 1647, succeeded to the estates of his grandfather about 1653.

Father Carrigan contributed to the Waterford Archeological Society Journal a copy of a deed by which this Walter nominated trustees for part or all of his property, with a view to making provision for his wife, Magdalen Sheffield, then "deprived of her memory," apparently the legal method under the system then in vogue, involving the rights of the heir, of doing what would ordinarily be done by will; also a copy of the deed by which Walter Walsh

¹ See the lament for John MacWalter.

of 1572-1619 set aside the lands of Owing for his son Edmund. For this he was "pardoned," which may be supposed to signify that in theory at least the Crown had first interest in the disposition of all lands. This is again indicated in the record of the elder Walter's court which states that after one of the tenants had been "convicted, attainted and hanged for felony," the Queen "had year, day and waste," after which the land should revert to the Lord, who would choose a new tenant.

The signatures of Walter Walsh, M.P. for Kilkenny, and John Walsh, M.P. for Waterford, appear with 78 others, on the petition to King Charles I to receive the remonstrance against Strafford's oppressions. They are reproduced in Gilbert's facsimiles of National Documents.

ROBERT OF CLONASSY

When Charles II came back from exile, the Earl of Ormond was able (1667) to secure for Robert Walsh, grandson and heir of Walter of Castlehale, as his own near relative, about 2000 acres at Clonassy out of the 14000 that had been confiscated. He is identified as "Captain Robert Walsh," of Colonel John Grace's regiment, who "came out of France with King James II to Ireland." He was made Burgess of Inistioge, sat in King James' Dublin Parliament for Kilkenny, was outlawed and attainted under William III on May 11, 1691, and was killed at the siege of Limerick a few months later. The Hollow Swords Company got what were left of the lands of the last Lord of the Mountain.

His wife was Mary Walsh, daughter of Pierce, brother of Robert Walsh of Ballygunner, County Waterford. Their son died in France. Their daughter Magdalen died in London, unmarried, in 1747, and, being, with her sister, Mrs. Daly of Cork, co-heiress of her kinsman, Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In addition to the grant of land near Clonassy, made in 1667, Robert was granted, in 1683, under James II,

some further properties, including the Manor of Castle-hale. But he never got actual possession of the castle which had been the home of his ancestors for four hundred years and perhaps more. When he fell at Limerick, and his 2000 acres went to new proprietors, the Barony of Shancahir in Le Walsh Montayne was ended, and the Walsh "nation," or what remained of it, became tenants under the new dispensation, harried, as adherents of the ancient faith, by the penal laws, one pleasant rule being that a Catholic, or one married to a Catholic, must pay twice the rent asked from another tenant. Some of the more considerable tenants were "transplanted" to Connaught. Numbers of them went to the Irish Brigades in France, where the Walsh Regiment was in continuous service until the French Revolution.

Sir John Ponsonby, a colonel under Cromwell, who got many of the Walsh lands in Kilkenny, settled at Bessborough, which is surrounded by old Walsh property. His son William was made a peer in 1721, as Baron Bessborough, and in 1722 Viscount Duncannon.

The Cuffe family, of which the Countess Desart and Captain Cuffe were distinguished representatives in recent years, also had part of these estates.

Most of those whose names are given in the Appendix as new proprietors of Walsh lands passed out of notice early, including the Duke of York, afterwards James II, and his niece the Countess of Monmouth, whose husband, defeated at Sedgemoor, James pitilessly sent to the block.

EXTRA GRANT TO ROBERT WALSH OF CLONASSY

(—Ex lib. voc. "Excheq. Orders" in Tur. Birm.)

J. Comitatus Kilkenny, Termino Sancti Hillarii, 1683.—Whereas Robert Walsh, Esquire, humbly petitioned his Excellencie Richard, Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy of this Kingdom for a custodiam of 115a. 2r. of Ballynowmabagh, 132a. of Millodstowne, 88a. 1r. 32p. of Barnadowne and Browneston, and 12a. 5r. (*sic*) of Castlehoyle, claimed by him as a nominee, and 39a. 3r. 35p. of Ballynonee, being

parte of his ancient estate, in regarde the said lands were in his Majesty's disposal. Whereupon his Excellencie by his order of the 12th of february, 1683, did refer the examination thereof to the Lord Chiefe Baron and the rest of the Barrons of the Courte of Exchequer to report what they should finde with their oppinione of the same, and whereas his Excellencie by his further order of the first of March 1683 in consideration of the reporte made in the case by the said Barrons and the Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue whereby it appeared that the said lands were in his Majesty's disposal prayed and required the Lord Chiefe Baron of this Courte to cause a custodiam to be issued to the said Robert Walsh of the said lands and premises under the yearly quit rent. Now upon motion of Councell with the said Mr. Walsh praying a custodiam of the premisses might be made unto him according to the tenor of the said order of the Lord Deputy, which being taken into consideration and upon reading the same this day in Court: It is ordered that the Clerk of the Pipe doe make out a custodiam of all and singular the premisses unto the said Robert Walsh of the rent of £7 16 10½ per annum, being the quit rent over and above the arrears of the same due to his Majestie to continue during his Majestie's pleasure and the Chief Remembrancer is to issue an Injunction directed to the Sheriff of the said County to put the custodee or his assignes in the possession of the premisses whereof the Chief Remembrancer and all officers concerned are to take notice.

Custodia data 12th februarii 36° Regis, 1863.

IN THE SHADOWS

CONFISCATIONS IN KERRY

Nicholas Walsh of Tralee (Kerry) was mentioned in the Royal Declaration of Thanks (issued by Charles II after his Restoration) as having specially befriended the King. Nevertheless, his lands, which had been forfeited, were not restored. They went to Colonel Sankey.¹

John Walsh's lands at Cuillinaghmore, (Kerry) went to Jane, Countess of Monmouth (wife of Charles II's natural son who led the rebellion against his uncle, King James II).

Besides the settlement effected by the sons of Philip to the west of the Killarney Lakes in 1207, there was another settlement near Castle Island, in the territory of Meyler Fitz-Henry. This is the area mentioned in the Hawkins synopsis as having been settled by the family of David. Gilbert Walsh, of the other family, was active in Kerry in 1281. There must have been a considerable development of the family towards Killorglin, Tralee and Dingle, and in the other direction into Limerick. Philip le Waleys was at Knockainy in Limerick in 1229, Canon Begley mentions a Lisnebrannagh not far from the Kerry border, and then there was Caslane Brenagh near Owey.

Knockatee ("the hill of the great house"), Kilcusnan ("Cusnan's Church"), and Kilmurry ("Mary's Church"), are shown on the map in Ballincuslane parish, in Kerry, near Castle Island. There is a tradition that it was by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Sir William of Kilmurry that Desmond got his first lands in Kerry.

¹ Miss Hickson's Kerry.

THE LAST STAND IN TIPPERARY

James Walsh was evidently comfortably established at Grealaghbbeg about 1600,¹ and the Walshs of Rathronan appear to have been there a very long time. Sir Richard of 1318 seems to have been near Clommel. In 1356 Thomas Walleys was one of about twenty in "the Cross of Tipperary," who selected Andrew Hacket as sheriff, "the Cross" being a section held by the King outside "the County." In 1421 John Walsh was at Rathronan, just back of Clommel, and in 1642 the family was still there, for "Captain James Walsh, son and heir to Daniel Walsh of Rathronan, with James Tobin, son and heir to Thomas Tobin of Reylregannah, a captain among the rebels, and Pierce Butler of Banshagh, son and heir to Sir Richard Butler Knight, and three hundred horsemen," was accused by Judah Sherman, of Ballingarry, parish of Lismore, of driving away his cattle. Confiscation presumably followed.

The Cashel Register for 1653 contains entries of numerous Walsh marriages, the parties to which were spread over a large district around Cashel, as at St. Patrick's Rock, Shanballyduff, Slieveardagh, Kilnemanagh and various places in the Barony of Middle Third.

PARTISANS OF ORMOND

John Walsh was family lawyer to the Earl of Ormond, and his confidant during the period of the rising of 1641. His name appears frequently in the papers cited by Gilbert in his history of that period, and in many documents in the Ormond papers. In some he is addressed "at his house on the quay in Dublin." After the troubles were over, for a

¹ Lodge: Peerage of Ireland.

little while, Ormond asked that he be named Justice, and the request was granted.

“Oliver Walsh, Marshal of Dublin, for monies by him disbursed for the care of 2 papist priests committed to his custody, 797 days at 6d a day—£17.18s.6d.”¹

James Walsh was appointed Governor of Kilkenny Castle, and Sir Walter Butler, of Paulstown, Governor of the city. They gave Cromwell so hard a fight that he was glad, in the end, to accept surrender on conditions prescribed by the defenders, Butler and his men marching out with all arms and proceeding to the north.

Atwell, who succeeded as governor, was hanged, in Charles II's time, for the inhuman cruelties he practised at Kilkenny.

In the stormy period between 1653 and 1691, Father Peter Walsh was the centre of the bitterest controversy. His ability as a writer was conceded, but it brought him only an almost unanimous detestation. The Church had been all but extinguished. Only three bishops could be found at one period when it was thought something could be done. He had an idea he could save the situation, notwithstanding that, after an earlier intervention, he was accused by Rinuccini of having “infected the nobility and destroyed the cause.” Cromwell's taking of Kilkenny made him a fugitive, but the return of Charles II brought him out with a “Remonstrance” to be signed by the Hierarchy, which contained the expression “We openly renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal.” It was the French Gallicanism of the time applied to Ireland. Ormond encouraged him, with the hope of dividing the Catholic clergy, as he afterwards admitted. There was a tremendous controversy, but the Catholics would have none of Father Peter's rejection of the Papal authority in the Church. As he never abandoned his profession of the Catholic religion even when censured with great severity, he was reprobated by the Conformers as much as by the Catholics, and for years he dared not show himself in public. He wrote to Ormond the advice that the

¹ Ormond papers.

Catholic religion was "safer to die in," and sent him "a dying man's blessing." He himself made a statement of complete submission, with the air of one who had never had any other idea, and died March 15, 1678.¹

He was one of the family of Walsh of Moortown, Kildare. Two others of that family, Lawrence and Patrick, with their followers, had rifled and spoiled Maynooth on the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641.

WALSH OF BALLYKILCAVAN

Ballykilcavan is shown on the old maps as McEven, which is as near as the map makers got to many of the old names. After the destruction of the Kildares, the place seems to have passed to one Hartpole, whose possessions in Carlow and Queens were extensive. Oliver Walsh bought it of him in 1640. Whether it had been a Walsh possession before that I find nothing to show. It is not far from several places where the Walshs were rather numerous.

A hundred years later the heirs of Hartpole tried to get it away from the heirs of Oliver Walsh. Cosby of Stradbally was keeping a journal at the time, and in May, 1740, he wrote the following of the law suit:

"The Lord Chancellor Windham of Ireland dismissed George Hartpole of Sherule, Esq., his bill against Hunt Walsh of Ballykilcavan, Esq., on ye 27th of July, 1738, and Mr. Walsh sent his people to my town of Stradbally to buy drink, and drink about a bonfire which they made in ye town but Cos Francis Cosby kicked and put it out, and would not suffer a Bonfire in the town at all, Mr. Walsh conceived (being a very great prince) a mighty wrath against me for that was he said by my orders, and so we fell out to a great degree and never shall visit or have any Neighborhood again, ye 17th March, 1739, the House of

¹ The Dictionary of National Biography deals extensively with Peter's career, and the Irish ecclesiastical documents of the time are surcharged with references to the controversy he started, e.g. Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriensis*, a great collection of seventeenth century letters, many of them from the Vatican files.

Lords affirmed what the Lord Chancellor had done the 27th of July, 1738, between Hartpole and Walsh and ye news of it came to Mr. Walsh to Ballykilcavan Friday ye 25th of April, 1740, at 10 o'clock of ye night and the next day Saturday Mr. Walshes servant and people came to Stradbally with Garland, piper and Long Dance, and the townsfolks, particularly Stephen Roberts and Abel Roberts met 'em on the bridge, bid 'em go rejoice on Walshes estate and not come into Stradbay, and bid 'em go back wh they refused but were rushing on, in wh the townsfolks brook ye Bagpipes and ye Garland to pieces, Beat all the Ballykilcavan folks very heartily and made 'em return very shamefully, the great prince was more enraged at this than ever but he was obliged to bear it for he co'd not help himself, and I verily believe that his uneasiness and fretting at finding ye Stradbally folks did not care for him took off vastly from the joy of getting the better of Mr. Hartpole, had Mr. Walsh lost he w'd have lost every foot of land he had in the world, and been a beggar."

It was members of this family who, thirty years later, participated in elaborating the "note and synopsis" reprinted in the Appendix.

POSTSCRIPT

Tynte's castle in Youghal, the one remaining fortified house there, was a Walsh castle of the fourteenth century, forfeited in 1584, and then "leased forever" to Sir R. Tynte, of Somerset, England. The Dominican friary there, built 1268, was granted in 1581 to William Walsh. John Thickpenny, gent, got it afterwards.

John, William, Simon and David le Waleys were at places near Nenagh in 12 Edward III. "Rathbreggnath" (Castle Brenagh) is mentioned in the inquisitions of the same year.

LEAVES FROM OLD RECORDS

NOTABLES OF 1598

In 1878, Father Edmund Hogan, priest of the Society of Jesus, published, with copious notes, a manuscript found at Clongowes Wood, containing a "description of Ireland in 1598." The manuscript is interesting, but far more so is the mass of information which Father Hogan has crowded into his footnotes. The numerous references to Walshs of the time are noted here in the order in which they appear. They sometimes go forward of 1598 and often back of that date.

Kildare: Jurors for the Lord King (James I) Christopher Walsh of Mooretown; Thomas Walsh of Cloncurry.

Carlow: Freeholder, Philip Walsh of Tohmand.

Kilkenny (1608): Walter Walsh, Knight and Justice of the Peace. Coroner: Joseph Walsh of Kilkregan. Constables: Iverke, John Walsh of Kilkregan; Kells, Robert Walsh of Doumogan. Others named: In Ida and Ibercon, Richard Walsh of Carignory; Overke, Walter Walsh of Listroly; Knocktopher, Adam Walsh of Corbaly, Edward Walsh of Ballybregan, Richard Walsh of Knockmoelan, Robert Walsh of Ballynerowley.

Wexford. Gentlemen of Fothered; John Walsh of Polrancton. Of Guery: John Walsh of Clonrayne, and Walsh "of the Buss."

Dublin: Walsh of Shanganagh, Walsh of Kilbegan, Walsh of Carrickmayne.

Kildare: Walsh of Moreton, Branaghe of Leslip.

Kilkenny: Walsh of Gowran, Burgess, 1608; Walsh of Inistioke. Jury of Commoners, 1537, Walsh of Castlehely and Mr. Justice Walsh of Glomemore.

Westmeath: Walsh of Collenhroe.

Cork: Windeles South of Ireland: "Tomb of Walshe and his wife Ann Goaghe, with Templars' ensigns, 1592."

From the List of Jesuits: Ricardus Valesius, Waterford.

FROM THE CAREW PAPERS

"Among those who have shipped to Spain since 1601. Teig Walsh alias Teig Brenagh." In a review of the conditions in Kilkenny, mention is made of "the Graces, and the Walshs, a great sect at the Earl of Ormond's commandment. All faithful saving most of the Graces, who do often break out."

"The names of the Councillors of State as they were according to their antiquities as they were sworn and are now living, the 10th of September 1611. The Earl of Ormond X, the Archbishop of Dublin, now Lord Chancellor, 22nd of January, 1584, Sir Richard Walshe, Kt, X" etc. The names marked X were added by Carew to a list made by another, and in his manuscript are marked with a cross.

WALSH MONUMENTS

Besides those noted already, Father Carrigan mentions the following monuments:

At Rathkieran, a broken slab, with the Arms of Walsh and Fitzgerald, the Walsh chevron charged with six mullets for difference. It dates from 1636, and is for John Walsh of "Kilkregane" "Generosus" and his wife Isabella Fitzgerald.

At Kilmodalla, a slab originally used to separate window lights in the cloister at Jerpoint. On each side is the figure of a Knight in armor, with on one side, the chevron and arrows, on the other, ermine, a chevron. As at Owey, this latter appears to be a combination of Walsh and Fitzgerald, or perhaps Fitz-Stephen.

At Owing, a monument to Peter Walsh, 1713, Alice

Din, his wife, and Mary and James, the last of whom died in 1767.

At St. Mary's Cathedral, Kilkenny—

John Bryan and Margaret Walshe, 1610, Arms of Bryan, impaling Walsh.

Nicholas Walshe, sometime Burgess of Kilkenny, died 1551, and Helena Lawles, 1599.

Altar tomb of Sir Richard Shee, 1584, and Margaret Walsh; arms of Shee and Walsh.

At St. Canice's Cathedral—

John Grace, Baron of Courtstown, and Onorina Brenagh, 1552; a very handsome altar tomb. This was a daughter of Robert, whose tomb is at Jerpoint, or of Walter his son, also buried at Jerpoint.

Bishop Nicholas Walsh (Protestant) 1585. An altar tomb with plain cover.

Peter Bolger and Joanna Walsh, 1601-8.

Fathers James and John Shee, sons of William Shee and Margaret Walsh. Shee and Walsh arms.

Father Walter Walsh, 1748.

At Callan: A fine altar tomb to Gerald Comerford, Chief Justice of Munster. Arms of Comerford and Walsh. He was brother-in-law of Sir Nicholas Walsh of Piltown, whom he succeeded as Chief Justice.

At Gowran: A floor slab with an eight pointed cross down the centre, to Edmund Brenagh and Isabella Wale, 1555.

At Tullaroan: The entrance to Grace's Chapel is made as a monument to Baron John Grace Fitz-Oliver and Noreen Brenagh his wife, 1543. (Another monument to the same couple commemorated by the altar tomb in St. Canice's, Kilkenny.)

There is another Grace monument, at Courtstown, to John Grace and Elizabeth, daughter of the Walter Walsh who died about 1652. The Walsh arms are here impaled with those of Sheffield, Elizabeth's mother being Magdalen Sheffield, "the English lady."

OLD MARRIAGE RECORDS

As the "synopsis" was compiled in 1769, and Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland" was published in 1754, it is a reasonable inference that the references to Grealaghbeg, Ballycarrickmore, Huntstown, and even Ballykilcavan, take some of their importance from the fact of being mentioned in that book. Ballycarrickmore can be identified definitely with Ballykeroge, one of the properties of the Waterford family. Grealagh and Grealabeg in Tipperary were old castles, but the district was strongly Butlerized long before the date of this Lodge entry.

The Walsh references in Lodge are these:

Vol. 1. Marian, daughter and heir to Walter Walsh of Huntstown, married Walter Stanley of Fenore, and their daughter Anne married James Dillon (circa 1600).

Onora O'Brien, of Arra, married to Lewis Walsh (circa 1600).

Vol. 2. James Walsh of Grealaghbeg, married Ellen Blanchville, widow of Edward Butler, of Ballygurteen in the (Butler) Barony of Dunoye, Tipperary (circa 1600).

Abel Walsh, first scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, with James Usher, 1593.

Pierce Walsh (of Waterford), married to Anne Isham daughter of Sir William Fitz William, who died 1618.

Ellen Power, of Curraghmore (Waterford), married to Thomas Walsh of Piltown, Waterford (circa 1630).

Walter of Walsh of Castlehale (died 1619) married Elice Butler, daughter of Richard Butler, Lord Mountgarret.

Vol. 3. William MacTheobald Walsh of Carrigmaine married Margaret, daughter of Thomas FitzWilliam of Merion and Bray (1500).

Howel Walsh, son of William, married Eleanor FitzWilliam of Dunamore (circa 1550).

Rebecca, daughter of Oliver Walsh of Ballykilcavan, married Toby Caulfield, son of Viscount Charlemont (circa 1680).

Vol. 4. Robert Walsh of Carrickmaine married Eleanor, daughter of Walter Marward, Baron of Skyrne and Margaret daughter of William St. Lawrence of Howth (circa 1450).

John Walsh, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (England) had a daughter Jane who married Sir Edward Seymour, son of Edward Duke of Somerset, seated at Bury Pomeroy in Devon, circa 1550.

Sir Nicholas Walsh, of Ballycarrigmore, Waterford, married Mary, daughter of Mary Piggott, daughter of Martha Colclough, daughter of Adam Loftus, circa 1625. (This was the head of the Walshs of Piltown, who "died in actual rebellion." Lodge says his father-in-law "was murdered by the Irish and had his House and goods rifled and burnt." His seat was at Grangebegg, Queens County.)

HOWLINGS—HOLDENS

"There are many Howlings still along the Walsh Mountain, and elsewhere in South Kilkenny, but they always call themselves Holden. The tradition among them is that their real name is Walsh, and that they belong to the old Castle Hale stock."

They seem to have started from Kilree, near Kells. It is not difficult to conclude that the name is a derivative from Howel, and that it was adhered to, with family pride, instead of being changed to the more generic name of Brenagh, or Walsh. Other Walshs who became Porters made the change deliberately for the material advantage involved.

THOMAS, 1450

From about 1350 to 1450 the English Kings fought, with varying fortunes, for the possession of France, and from first to last of the Hundred Years War soldiers from Ireland were present in the English armies. At Crecy, fought in 1348, there were 6,000 Irish soldiers, 10,000 English and 12,000 Welsh. A hundred years later, after Joan of Arc had all but finished the business, the chief in command was John Talbot, Earl of Waterford and of Shrewsbury, who was killed in battle. At that time there

¹ Carrigan's Ossory Vol. 4, p. 49.

was in the army one Thomas Waleys, whose contract with the Earl of Ormond for service in France is still preserved.¹

Thomas agreed, "for one year, to do Sir James of Ormond service of war in the parts of Normandy and France, wherever commanded, as a man-at-arms, with three archers in his company, all on horseback, well chosen men and likely persons, sufficiently armed, horsed and arrayed, every man after his degree. Waleys to have harness complete, with bassinet or salett, vizor, spear, axe, sword and dagger. Each archer should have a good jack of defense, salett, a sword and a sheaf of at least forty arrows."

For wages, while in Ireland, Sir Thomas was to receive twelve pence a day, every archer six pence. In France, the pay was to be at the rate of France. Sir James was to have a third of all Sir Thomas' winnings of war, and Sir Thomas was to have all the profits of prisoners taken by him and his archers except kings' sons and captains of royal birth.

NICHOLAS, 1544

"After that Bullongne was surrendered to the King (Henry VIII), there incamped on the west side of the town beyond the haven an armie of Frenchmen, amongst whom there was a Thrasonicall Golias that departed from the armie, and came to the brinke of the haven and there in ietting and daring wise chalenged anie one of the English armie that darst be so hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And albeit, the distance of the place, the depth of the haven, the neerness of his company emboldened him to this chalenge, more than any great valor or pith that rested to him to indure a combat; yet all this notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl Welsh who after retained to the Earl of Kildare, loathing and disdaining his loud braggs, flung into the water and swam over the river, fought with the challenger, strake him for dead, and returned back to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his mouth, before the armie could overtake him. For which exploit, as he was of all his company highlie commended, so by the Lieutenant he was bountifully rewarded."²

¹ Gilbert: Viceroyes, and, for ancient text, Lynch: Feudal Dignities.

² Gilbert: National MSS.

WALSHS IN ENGLAND

WALSHS IN ENGLAND

The statement about the earliest Walshs being "barons of Cornwall" would seem to be essentially correct, for families of le Waleys are found at a slightly later period in Somerset, Devon, Dorset and Sussex, where the names indicate descent from Richard and Ralph, sons of Cadwalader of Wales and Alicia de Clare and where the families were mainly on de Clare lands. It has been possible to trace them through a number of entries in the Parliamentary Roll of Arms up to the time of Richard II.

Ralph le Waleys was granted lands in Podinton in the parish of Chickerel, Dorset, in 21 Henry III. He may have been a grandson of the first Ralph. Ingelram le Waleys died there in 32 Edward I. Hutton in Somerset was held by the Church of Glastonbury under Edward the Confessor, and by the Bishop of Coutances, in France, at the time of the Domesday Survey. "Its next principal possessors were the family of Waleys or Walsh, who held the manor of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester." John le Waleys was lord of this manor 26 Edward I, Adam in 7 Edward II, Adam in 1 Edward III, and John 23 Edward III. A seal of the second Adam remains, attached to a document, and showing his arms "Ermine, a bend." A manor at Langridge in Somerset was held by Adam le Waleys in 7 Edward II "and for several reigns after." Parts of the old manor house built by the family were there until recently, and a tomb of Robert Walsh of 1427. At Bicken-Stoke in Somerset, which was "always held of the honor of Gloucester" there was a Philip le Waleys in 23 Edward III, who held by the fourth part of a knight's fee; and at Woolavington, nearby, there was another family, dating from Henry II, in

which the names Randolph, William, Henry, Walter and Gilbert appear. Walter Waleys was lord of Litton, 29 Edward III. Judge John Walsh, whose son married a daughter of the Protector Somerset, in Edward VI's time, was of Cathanger in Somerset, in or near which in 7 Edward III was John Walsh.

The families in Dorset and Sussex seem to have been of the same stock as those of Somerset, for with some slight variation their arms are the same. Those at Langton-Wallis were "ermine a bend gules." Those in the church window at Melbury Sampford are "gules, a fess ermine"; in the church at Stancomb, "ermine, a bend sable." A Richard of Sussex had "gules, a fess ermine," and Simon the same with a "leopard passant or." Sir John, who was at the tournament at Stepney, 2 Edward II, had "ermine a bend gules," and John, member of Parliament for Sussex in 1369, (42 Edward III) the same. The most marked variant is that of Ingelram, of the Dorset family, who seems to have used the arms of both Mortimer and Marshal, "barry of eight" and "a bend fusiled."

The other early Walsh possessions in England were in Worcester, at Abberley and Sheldelly, and branches of this family spread over into Warwickshire. The Worcester history starts with a Henry, in the time of Henry III.

Descendants of this family were Thomas Walsh, chief baron of the exchequer, who went to Ireland in Henry VIII's time. His brother Walter was of Henry VII's household, and it was he who arrested Cardinal Wolsey. Walsh the poet and crony of Alexander Pope was of the same family. One may suspect that Thomas Walsh installed some of his family in Ireland (he had no sons) as all other important English officials did. The arms of the family are the same as those of Walsh of Ballykilcavan, a fess between six martlets. And yet we cannot assume that the Ballykilcavan family began in Ireland in Henry VIII's time, for these arms are credited to the Henry Walsh of Sheldelly in the time of Henry III. The lords of Worcester for centuries were the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. They were the heirs of Urso d'Abbetot, placed there by

William the Conqueror. Philip of Worcester, who had large possessions in Tipperary and Waterford, was succeeded by his nephew William, son of Walter d'Abbetot, no doubt a branch of the same family. There must have been some connection between them and these Worcester Walshs, for the Beauchamp who was sheriff of Worcester in 7 Edward II had for arms the fess between six martlets, always recognized there as the arms of Walsh. Whether these Walshs were associated in Ireland with the Abbetots there is nothing to show, beyond the fact that there were Walshs in the same territory.

These Walshs of Worcester were also in Warwickshire. As early as 2 Edward II (1312) William de Walsh held the sixth of a Knight's fee from John de Hastings, and in the Church at Mereden there are two monuments, on one of which are these arms of Walsh, empaling those of Strange (probably the same family that was known as Strange and Strong in Kilkenny and Waterford), and according to Dugdale (who gives a picture of it) another "monument without arms depicted, made as I think for one of the Walshs sometime lords of that manor, here in Mereden, called Walsh Hall."

But they were not restricted to these southern counties, for there is a document in which Sir Stephen Waleys claimed, in 17 Edward I, that "his ancestors were seised from the time of King John" of lands at Sibthorpe in Nottingham. Here the chief family name was Richard, with an occasional Stephen. They were closely allied to the de Lacys of Lincoln and Warwick, to the Fitz-Williams, who gave them large possessions when a daughter married Richard of Burgh Walleis, and most of all to the Burkes of the Eustace branch, who had large possessions in the north. The Parliamentary Roll gives the arms of Sir Richard Walleis, a "grand seignior," as "quarterly argent and gules, a bend or," while those of Eustace de Burgh were "quarterly or and gules, a bend sable." The names Stephen, Henry, Alicia and Ralph appear in the Yorkshire branch of this family up to 1378. It seems very probable

that this is the same family that was identified with the Burkes in Tipperary, one of whom was urged to capture Mortimer in Ireland. He was actually caught in Nottingham. The Harleian collection contains a long Walsh pedigree, beginning with, perhaps, the first Richard and continuing through a long line of Richards, followed by several Johns. One of the first would be the "Ricardus Walensis" who had gifts from King John, whom he accompanied to Ireland in 1210.

On January 26, 1318, there was an order to deliver to Richard le Waleys and Eleanor, his wife, late the wife of Robert de Brus (Bruce), tenant in chief of the late king" (Edward I) certain lands which "came to the king on his death and were held by the late and present king (Edward I and Edward II) by the forfeiture of Robert, son and heir of Robert." Eleanor was allowed as dowry lands in several counties in England. Then in 1327 there is a record that King Edward III, in his first year, cancelled a fine of 2,000 marks imposed by Edward II on Richard "to save his life and have his lands again because he was of the quarrel of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster." And in 1332 there is a note that Eleanor, Richard's wife, having died in the previous reign, Edward II took her lands and gave them to Humphrey de Bohun (being angry with Richard).

This certainly looks like the same Richard who was in Ireland in 1318 and 1323, and of the same family as the Richard of 1346. If so how long had they been there, and what was their affiliation with the other Walshs?

It is to be remembered that the Anglo-Irish families had possessions in England, and that the influence of one upon the other is almost impossible to trace, although at times it may have been important. What is to be noted is that the typical names, Richard, Robert, Walter and Henry, were constant with the English as well as with the Irish Walshs, a pretty certain indication of a common origin.

SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE

THE WALSHS IN AUSTRIA

It is affirmed that Robert Walsh of Carrickmines, born 1583, and his two sons Theobald and Oliver were in the service of the Emperor Ferdinand II as early as 1622. Richard, who was a colonel in the Imperial Army, and Theobald returned to Ireland, presumably as they inherited at Carrickmines.

Oliver (the name was frequent with the Graces and in all branches of the Walsh family) born in 1600, became Baron von Wallis in 1642, Chamberlain to Emperor Leopold I in 1665, Colonel Proprietor of the Wallis Regiment of Infantry, Major General, and died 1667.

Franz Paul, born 1677, was Proprietor of the regiment and Field Marshal. He died 1737.

George Oliver, 1676-1752, was commander-in-chief against the Turks, lost Belgrade, and suffered for it until Maria Theresa restored him to all his dignities.

Stefan Oliver, the second Count Wallis, was born 1774 and died 1832. He, or perhaps his father, would be the Count Wallis who was engaged in battles against Napoleon.

These are the outstanding figures, but the family in Austria branched out rather extensively, and was seated in many places in Austria and Hungary.¹

THE WALSHS IN FRANCE

The French Walshs date back to Philip of St. Malo, son of James Walsh of Ballynacooly (son of John, son of James, son of Walter who died 1619). His mother was

¹ See Valentine Hussey Walsh, *Genealogist*, Vol. 17.

Margaret Walsh, daughter of Thomas, of Carrickmines, Dublin. So that while the Austrians use only the Arms of the Dublin family, the French Walshs use both the Dublin and the Kilkenny Arms.

This Philip married Anne White, of Waterford, built warships at St. Malo, and fought the Dutch with them in the Indian Ocean.

Antoine Vincent Walsh of Nantes, born 1703, provided the ship on which Charles Edward Stuart went to Scotland in 1745, and had been appointed by the French King to carry eighteen battalions of foot and two of cavalry to Scotland before the news came of the disastrous battle of Culloden. Charles, still claiming to be king, made him an Earl.

Patrick, son of Patrick, son of Philip of St. Malo, was killed in the sea battle off Finisterre, 1761. He was 24 at the time.

The Colonels of the Walsh regiment, and Counts of Serrant, were of this stock. They fought and prospered during 150 years. Their story may be read in the history of the Irish brigades. The descents, possessions, and many interesting details of personal happenings are given by Mr. Hussey Walsh, in his articles in the *Genealogist*.

When Right Hon. Charles J. Doherty, then Minister of Justice for Canada, was in Paris some years ago, his dinner partner, Madame de la Motte Houdancourt, surprised him by saying, "You are Irish, I think? I am so glad you are to be my partner. My name is Walsh." She is herself the representative of the senior line of Walsh of Serrant, and was married to Mr. Valentine Hussey-Walsh.

WALSHS IN GERMANY

Alexander Julius Caesar Walsh, and Peter Augustus Alexander Walsh, brothers, were born in Kerry in 1740 and 1744, and in 1769 came back from Germany, where they were officers in the army and probably saw prospects

of sharing the advancement attained by many of their countrymen, seeking documentary proof of their descent from the same stock as the already ennobled Walshs (Wallis) of Austria.

All of the old stock of Kilkenny, Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, that might have helped them from its records, had been banished to Connaught, or had flown to Europe, or had been crushed into poverty and ignorance at home. It was the time when, as Swift said, a seeker for the old aristocracy of Ireland would be most apt to find it on the docks of Dublin. Magdalen Walsh, the last of the direct line of Walsh of the Mountain, had been for twenty years in her crypt in Westminster Abbey. Hunt Walsh, of Ballykilcavan, who had been at the siege of Quebec ten years before, and who also was presently to rest in Westminster, was the only survivor who could help.

Colonel Walsh, with two Catholic Bishops, Lords Kenmare and Brandon, some members of Parliament and some officials of Kerry, joined in a document interpreting and confirming the statement of pedigree furnished by William Hawkins, Ulster King at arms, to which numerous references have been made in this book.

WALSH MOUNTAIN PEDIGREES

WALSH MOUNTAIN PEDIGREES

The late Dr. Carrigan (he died December 1924) contributed to the Journal of the Waterford Archeological Society, besides other and more official documents, four statements compiled about 1750, three of them for the Walshs of Serrant, colonels of the Walsh regiment in France, and the fourth for Mr. Hussey-Walsh of Roscommon. This was a hundred years after those of the family who owned land in the Mountain had been driven out by Cromwell, and sixty years after the Williamite conquest and the penal laws had reduced the survivors of the Walsh "nation" to the depths of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless, the "shanachies" had the story in its main outlines. They were very sketchy about the period before 1500, but fairly accurate from that time on.

What is to be noted is that both the A. and B. relations begin with Robert Fitz-Stephen as the original progenitor, and from him they pass to Hale and Giffin and Robert and Walter with a disregard for mere sequence of time that might delight Mr. Einstein but is very disconcerting to any one who tries to make their seemingly authoritative statements fit in with the records which have come to light since they wrote.

The evidence does favor the view that Geoffrey Fitz-Robert Fitz Stephen de Mareis gave a good start to an early Howell, perhaps the first. But from there they skip to Howell, of 1300, and from there to Geoffrey of near 1400, who alone seems to fit the description of "Giffin," and then to Robert, who died about 1500.

This insistence upon the descent from Fitz-Stephen, however indefinite, has its importance. The chain of

direct descent carries back to 1293, and perhaps it might be said to 1250, as Sir Stephen Howel of 1293 might have been born by 1250. There was a Stephen Howel around 1240, a Howel or Hoel in Carrickbyrne in Wexford in 1232, and a Hoel son of Grono in 1213 (probably the same as the Hoel of 1232.) Geoffrey Fitz-Robert died in 1211. So that if we knew whether Hoel or his son married into Geoffrey Fitz Robert's family, say to a younger daughter than the one married to Theobald Butler, the record would be clear all the way through from 1200, or even from 1100 (the time of the first Stephen of Cardigan, Robert Fitz Stephen's father), to 1750, or, for that matter, to now. The official pedigrees make the first Howell a son of Philip, but no record in support of this has come to light. Such a record would be very welcome as definitely explaining the Howells of the thirteenth century.

It is interesting to note, also, that one of these relations places the creation of the Barony of Shancahir with Robert, the other much farther back. In the absence of direct evidence, it may be inferred that Shancahir, or Oldcourt, was one of the earliest and most important military posts held by the family, and that, if the manor was not then created, the name was used, as a warrant of antiquity, when the title was bestowed, probably by Ormond in exercise of his Palatine powers. That there was such a manor is amply proved by the document, dating from 1600, which gives an account of the proceedings in the court of the manor, presided over by its seneschal.

The fourth document of this series, made for Mr. Hussey, carried the story of the dispossessed Walshs into the new environment in Connaught, after the confiscation and transplantation. One would not dare venture an estimate of the number of those of the name, now in the United States, who came here from Connaught, and most of whom have lost, after nearly three hundred years, all knowledge of "the Mountain," of "the Island," or other areas of confiscation. It is for them this book has been compiled. The legal right to use the name "Hussey-Walsh" was obtained

in the eighteenth century, but in their signatures, several of which are extant, they used, until recently, only their Christian names with "Walsh." There are several in Crisp's "Visitation of Ireland" Vol. 3, and also a portrait of a very handsome old Irish gentleman, who was born in 1793, painted by Samuel Lover, P.R.A., and another of his wife. These were grandparents of Mr. Valentine Hussey Walsh, whose master passion seems to have been a desire to rescue from oblivion the memory of the Walsh "nation."

MOUNTAIN PEDIGREES, 1750

A

A true Pedigree of the noble family of the Walshs of the Walsh Mountain since the Conquest of Ireland:

Robert Fitzsteephen was second son to the Prince of Wales. Robert had Hale Fitzsteephen that built Castleheal in the county Kilkenny. Hale had Griffith Walsh that built the great castle of Knocktopher and was married to great McDaniel's daughter from the north of Ireland. Said Griffin Walsh had Robert married to O'Connor's daughter from Connaught. Robert had Walter Walsh married to the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, and built the Black Castle of Rochestown, which was the first castle that was built in the Walsh Mountains, he was likewise titled and called Barontt of Oldcourt. Said Barontt had Edmd. Walsh married to the King of Leinster's daughter then, and the sd. Edmd. had Robert Walsh, married to Ellen Tobin, the lord of Kimsonagh's daughter. Said Robert had Walter Walsh of Castleheale, married to Ellis Butler, the only sister of the Earl of Ormond. Said Walter of Castleheale had five sons, Robert, Edmond, William, James & John; and from them sprang many good families. Robert the eldest son married Margaret Fitzgerald, of the great family of the Earls of Thomond then. The said Robert and Margaret Fitzgerald had the great Walter Walsh that was married to Magdalen Sheffield, the English lady. Said Walter and Magdalen had Edmd. Walsh, married to Margaret Grace, the only daughter of John Grace, of Gracescountry, Esq. Edmd. Walsh, that nobleman, had Robert Walsh married

to Mary Walsh, the only daughter of Captain Walsh of the Great Island in the County Wexford. Robert Walsh had Walter, Margaret and Magdalen Walsh. Walter died in France, and the two ladies in England.

B

A description of Robert fitzstephens since he landed in Ireland, of whom descended all the noble family of the Welshis, and the lands he enjoyed:

Said Robert fitzstephens dyed in Cork; his esue were two sons, Meredit and Ralfe; Meredit dyed in Cork. Said Ralph's esue were created Barons of Shancaher, and his essue Hoyn Welsh, heir of Castle hele, the mansion house of the noble family of the Welshes: entermarige with O'Danials daughter of Ballasanen: his first son and heir was Robert Welsh, founder of the Castle and mansion house of Ballynony. His essue were three sons, the eldest of them was Walter Welsh, Baron of Roughestown; the second was Richard Welsh. Said Walter Welsh was married to the Lord Barron of Caher's daughter and had by her one son and two daughters; the son's name was Robert Welsh, who recided in the mansion house of Castle heal: entermarrige with Catherine Power, daughter to James Power, Earl of Tyrone or Lord of Corroghmore. Said Barons Robert Welsh and Walter Welsh are buried in the abby of Jerpoint, and their Ladys, in a monument that is memorable in the year of [our] Lord 1500. Walter Welsh entermarige with the Lord Mountgarett's daughter, (that is the son of Walter the elder), and her name was Elise Butler. The lady that was married to him and his esue by her were five sons, that is to say, Robert Welsh, the heir, James Welsh, William Welsh, John Welsh, the poet, and Edmond Welsh that was drowned in the River Dynen had essue one son Robert called Collonel Welsh. Said Edmond Welsh that was drowned erected a stately building at Balyan his mansion house.

Said John Welsh, the poet, one of the five brothers, that was married to Jone Stroung, daughter to Pierse Stroung of Waterford, had no essue by her but one son called Robert

Welsh who dyed without esue in his mansion at Mylards-town and buried in Knocktopher.

William Welsh, the secound son of Walter Welsh of Castle heal, who lived at his mansion house of Ashtown, had foure sons and three daughters: William Welsh, the heir, had many issues, and, also, his brothers.

The three daughters of Walter Welsh, of Castle heal, got by Ellis Butler, one of was married to Deverex of Ballymagur, the other was married to Wall of Coulnamokey, the third married to Furlong, a Knight.

The genealogy of the family of Welshes of Knockmelan:—Walter Welsh founded the Castle of the mansion house of Knockmelan married to the Lord of Corragmor's daughter. His issue was Edmond Welsh, who was married to Greny, daughter to Garland, King of Linster antiently; he had by her a son Pierse Welsh, and the issue derived from the said Pierse are Richard Welsh and Mathew Welsh, Philip Welsh, Robert Welsh the father of Oliver Welsh.

This Edmond Welsh wee treat of married the daughter of the Barron of Burnchurch, and from him are descended the noble family of the Welshes of Encencarren and Clounashy.

The late Walter Welsh, son to Robert Welsh, son to Edmond Welsh that was slaine [at] Disartmone, married to Margaret Grace, daughter to Esq. Grace of Courtstown. Edmond Welsh, the son of Walter that was married Magdilan Shiefield daughter to the Lord Shiefield, son to Robert Welsh heir of Castle heal.

Here follows an account of Walter Welsh's issue and his lady Magdilan Shiefield: Edmond his son and heir; Hoyne his secound son that dyed without esue: he had two daughters, Elizabeth, that was married to Esq. Grace, Courtstown; Ursella, married to Esquire Burn.

C

Edmond the madman had for first wife Grany ni Cavanagh whom he repudiated and took to 2nd wife Fitzgerald of Burnchurch's daur by who he had Robert of Castle Hayle

& Philip of Court Hayle in the County Wexford. Philip had issue William who had issue Lewis who had issue Patrick and others name unknown.

N. B. Philip, as the story goes, made a present for a new year's gift to Ellen Butler, wife to Walter W[alsh] his nephew, of Courthoyle which reduced him & family.

Walter More had a brother called John, sirnamed "the strong" of whom many atchievements are related; he died unmarried.

Ellen Tobin, mother to said Walter, was marryd 2nd to Lewis OByrne, 3rd to Purcell of Loughma.

Philip an nina Walsh was marryd to Catherine Byrne, daur to the above Lewis by Ellen Tobin, and had issue Walter junr. who marryd Ellen, daur of Power of Power's Wood, Co. Kil[kenny], and had issue James and John. James marryd Joane Walsh of Banine family near Clonassy who left three daurs lowly marryd. John marryd to Margaret ni Toibode Butler of Currihull, Co. Kil[kenny], and had issue Edmd., Mattw., & Richd., known by the dept.

Philip an nina was son of Willm. son of Walter of Roche[s]town.

Mary Walsh daur of Robert Walsh of Croubally = Richard Butler of Rossanara or Currihul family.

Walter [Walsh], Ballinacouly = Ony ny Moora, Q[ueen's] C[ounty].

James of Ballinacouly = Daughter of Power of Doonayle, Co. Waterford.

Edmd.

Robert = a daughter of Power.

Edmd. seen by the depont.

Elizabeth, daur to Robert Walsh of Knockmeolan, maryd. to Bartw. Walsh, the poet, a grandson to James Walsh of Templenew or Newchurch.

N. B. This poet composed a beautiful Elligy in Irish for his cousin Edmond of Clonnassey who was killed by Dalton the Thory [i.e. Tory] at Disert Moon.

Margaret Walsh, daur to Richard Walsh of Knockmeolan, married to Tho. Knive, had a son Edmond.

D

Walsh of the Mountains, in the County of Kilkenny, is well known to be the most Ancient & Illustrious family of that Name in the Kingdom of Ireland. Walter Walsh of that House's fourth son was the first of the following family who settled near Athlone, whose name was Richd. Richd. married Margt. O'Connor one of Rogr. O'Conner of Ballycaher's family. Their son Willm. married Wini-fred Kelly of Behogh near Ballinasloe. Their son Walter married Giles MacLoughlin of Hall, County Westmeath. Their son Patrick marryd. Ellis Tully, daughter to a Glazier near Athlone. Their son Richd. married Mary Walsh, daughter to Waltr. Walsh of Mout. tallot. Their son, the present Patk. Walsh married Margt. daughter to John Hussey of Moynewe. The above family have been tents. in possession & are still so at Crannaghbeg & containing about three hundred acres, upwards of one hundred & twenty years. Under my family they have been always worthy, respectable men, and I know that Waltr. Walsh father to the first mentioned Patk. had more stock & lands than any man in the Barony of Athlone in his days, had some real property part of which is still in his family, & was deemed the most wealthy farmer in ye neighborhood of Athlone. There remains to this day a judgment debt due by my grandfather John Moore to him for which my cousins O'Sullivan of White Haven, Bermingham of Kilfyan, Pur-cell of Crumlin & myself continue to pay interest to his family at the rate of seven p. cent.

APPENDIX

NOTA ET SYNOPSIS GENEALOGIAE

Walshei vocabantur Walli et ideo hodie indiscriminatim scribuntur Walsh aut Wallis. Primi hujus nominis qui Sedem in Hibernia fixerunt, fuerant David et Philippus Walsh Germani fratres. Barones de Cornwall in Anglia (qui descendunt a famoso Davide Rege Walliæ) qui cum multis ex præcipuis nobilibus tam Angliæ quam Walliæ Richardum de Clare, comitem de Strangbo ac suum Avunculum, Anno, 1171, concomitati sunt. Henricus 2nd in Hiberniam perveniens Anno, 1172, Davidem Walsh Baronem creavit de Carrickmaine in agro Dubliniensi ac comitem de Johnscross in agro Kerriensi Davidi similiter agros de Huntstown prope Dublinum de old Connaght in comitatu Wickloensi de Abington in comitatu Limeriensi concessit: dictus David matrimonio duxit Mariam MacCarti filiam primo-genitam comitis Justini de Aglias ac Saræ O'Sullivan, multas agros Anno, 1173, a Justino accepit in quibus tria aedificavit castella quæ nunc in agro Kerriensi videri potuerint; nempe, Castle Walsh, de Alan, de Cusneen, de Murri, Vocantur: hæc castella ad radicem Knockatee sita sunt. A Divide linealiter descendit Thomas Joannes Reymundus Walsh, Baro de Carrickmaine et comes de Johnscross in comitatu Kerriensi et Dinasta de castle Walsh. Manus Davidis filius Coenobium Rosbercan et aluid juxta Dublinium fundavit ac pluribus tam ornamentis quam terris ditavit. Praedictus Henricus Secundus Philippo concessit agros de Bally-Kilgavan in comitatu Reginæ, de Castlehoel in comitatu Kilkeniensi, de Grealaghbeg in comitatu Tipperariensi; hoc anno Philippum comitem creavit de Bally Carrickmore in agro Waterfordiensi ac Baronem de Pildom in agro Tipperariensi, Schancaher in comitatu Kilkeniensi. Philippus Anno, 1173, matrimonio duxit Susannam, filiam secundo genitam Johannis Lumny Comitis de

Waterford ac Julianæ O'Sullivan: a dicto Johanne multos agros accepit qui montes vocantur et sic familia Philippi vocatur Walsh de montibus ut distinguatur a familia Davidis. Philippo linealiter descendit Jacobus Walsh redux ex Scotia cum principe Carlo Stuart: ex his ramis floruerunt in ecclesia Illustrissimi ac Excellentissimi Domini Walsh a comitibus de Johnscross in comitatu Kerriensi Archiepiscopus Casselliensis ac Momoniensis metropolitanus qui mortem sub Cromwello propter Fidem subiit, et Walsh e comitibus de Bally-Carrickmore Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in Anglia, Gulielmus Episcopus Midensis in Hibernia, sub regina Elisabetha mortem pariter propter Fidem subiit. A tempore Elisabetha utraque tam Davidis quam Philippi familia sedem quam habuerunt in Parlamento propter fidem amiserunt. Praenobilis familia de Mac-Elligot sub Elizabeth, Cromwell ac Gulielmo eandem sortem subiit, differentiam religionis unicam hujus amissionis causam esse, quia hac familia omnibus suis terris et possessionibus excidit propter retentam professionem religionis Romanæ Catholicæ in his tribus regnis prohibita, haec nempe familia maluit jacturam omnium suorum bonorum ac fortunarum incurrere quam a religione deficere, vi legum autem in hoc regno pauci Romano-Catholicorum bona possidere possunt.

Nos infra Scripti Domini membra Parliamenti Episcopi et Parochi Provinciæ Momonæ attestamus et confirmamus omnia supra scripta exacte et quoad omnia puncta veritati consentanea esse. Notam nempe insignia et titulos sicut e Archivo nostro et Chartis desumpta sunt quae ab illustri familia adhuc conservantur, et quorum extractum simile Gubirnatori et hujus regni Cancellario de tota familia missimus. Quia vero Cancellarius aliqua puncta omisit ut notam, titulos generales in genealogia quam Barones et comites judicum Hiberniæ nuper miserunt ad hos duos comites de Walsh aut Wallis nunc in Germania fratres et ad illos directa laeti attestamus his, ad preces nostrorum amicorum et cognitorum præsentem actum attestamus et consueto sigillo nostro signamus.

Nicolaus Madget, Episcopus Kerriensis. (L. S.)

Michael Petrus MacMahon, Episcopus Laoniensis
(L. S.)

Lord Kenmare. (L. S.)

Lord Branden. (L. S.)

John Blenner Hasset, Colonel and Knight of the Shire
for the county of Kerry. (L. S.)

Hunt Walsh, Colonel of the 56th Regiment of foot, and
member of Parliament to the town of Mary-Borough.
(L. S.)

Johannes Hewson, armiger in comitatu Kerriensi de
Enis-more. (L. S.)

Joannes Blenner Hasset, Rector de Tralee, et Vicarus
Generalis in comitatu Kerriensi. (L. S.)

Barry Denny, Provost of the town of Tralee and Knight
of the shire for the county of Kerry. (L. S.)

Gulielmus Pomouly Armig. de Com. Kerry apud
Cloughen. (L. S.)

Robert Walsh, Colonel to the 54th Regiment of foot.
(L. S.)

Lancelo Crosbie, member of Parliament for Ardfert.
(L. S.)

Anselmus Taylor de Listobelle Armiger in comitatu
Kerriensi et Limeriensi et Corgagiensi. (L. S.)

Ego infra scriptus baptizavi supra dictum generosum
Alexandrum Julium Caesarem Walsh aut Wallis die secunda
Februarii, 1740, necnon et ipsius fratrem Petrum Augustum
Alexandrum Walsh aut Wallis nunc in Germania commor-
antes, die secunda Junii, 1744.

Thomas Carmody, Pastor, de Listowel. (L. S.)

Thomas Carmody est Pastor loci de Listowel ita testor.
Nicolaus Eps. Kers.

Wan Blenner Hasset, Esq., Collr. of Tralee. (L. S.)

W. Gun, Esq., Counsel. (L. S.)

Jacobus Fielding Regis: Curiae Consistor, Arfertensis
et Aghedoensis in Comit Kerriensi Magis. Labordiner de
alta curia Concell. Regn. Hiber. et Not. Publi.

Thomas Hurly Clericus villæ et Balliwigi de Tralee in
Comitatu Kerriensi in Regno Hiberniæ. (L. S.)

Onnibus et singulis ad quos praesentes pervenerint Guli-
elmus Hawkins Armiger Ulster rex Armorum et principalis
Heraldus totius Hiberniæ salutem. Sciatis quod ego prae-
dictus Rex Armorum ex potestate et auctoritate, Regia
majestate sub magno sigillo Hiberniæ concessa, certiores
vos facio quod Johannes Julius Cæsar Walsh Capitaneus
Probolarius in Exercitu Cæsareo et ejus frater Petrus
Augustus Walsh Camerarius Capitaneus custodum et Eques

aquilæ rubræ de Brandebourg Barieth, recta linea Paterna legitime ducantur a Thoma Walsh de Castle-Walsh in comitatu Kerriensi armigero uti in Fabella genealogica huic annexa manifeste patet et quod insignia gentilitia supra depicta ad eundem Johannem et Petrum Augustum proprie spectent, in cujus rei testimonium nomen in titulumve hisce adscripsi et sigillum officii mei apposui. Gulielmus Hawkins Ulster Rex Armorum totius Hiberniæ, Dubling hoc 13th Octobris, Anno Dom. 1769. (L. S.)

By the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, (L. S.) Lord Townshen.

At the humble request of William Hawkins, Esquire, subscriber of the within genealogy, we do hereby certify and declare that the said William Hawkins is by virtue of letters patent, under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, King of Arms and principal Herald of all Ireland, and by the authority thereof is the proper officer for keeping the records of Arms and Genealogies of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, and for certifying the same, either by himself or his sufficient deputy. Given under our hands and seal of arms, at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 20th day of October, 1769.

By His Excellency's Command,
GEORGE MACCARTNEY.

Quod hoc schema genealogicum cum nota sive synopsi immediate sequenti cum suis originalibus in forma authentica productis penitus concordet, hisce testatum sit. Ratisbonæ in Curia Episcopali hac die 18a Maii 1772. Ge. Sebdillner SS. Theol. Doctor, Consiliarius et Notarius Consistor. necnon Cancellariæ Episcopalis Director. (L. S.)

Idem. Ernestus G. Abelerd Aessing Gros. consist. et Cathedral Ecclesiæ Decanus.

Sic testor Robertus Leith exempti Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum Rastibonæ abbas, necnon Monasterii quod Erfurti est commendationis et nominis abbas 18 Maii (L. S.)

CONFISCATIONS
IN
KILKENNY 1653

KILMOGANNY PARISH

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Robert Walsh	Castle Hayle	671	2	7
Aged 10				
Same	Newtown & Smithstown ..	951	0	0
Same	Lamoge	505	0	16

BALLY TARSNEY PARISH

Pierce Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Afadda	109	1	0
Richard Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Killcrogan	193	2	16

MUCKULLY PARISH

Robert Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Garrygaug	310	3	24
-----------------------	-----------------	-----	---	----

TUBRID PARISH

Ormond one-eighth, James and William Walsh the remainder, each half	Tubbard and Barkeley ...	467	0	4
---	--------------------------	-----	---	---

CLONMORE PARISH

Thos. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Killanaspic	137	2	32
Thos. Walsh	Cloynmore	495	0	0

FIDDOWNE PARISH

Pierce and Philip Walsh and others	Fiddowne	477	1	16
	Corbally	379	2	0
Robert Walsh				
Same	Ratheene	293	2	24
Same	Templeorum	697	3	8
Pierce Walsh	Garryduff	259	0	0
Same	Killinanagheene	76	2	0

OWNEY PARISH

Pierce Walsh	Ballyfeeroge	30	0	2
Pierce Walsh and Philip Henebery	Fanningstown	149	2	0
Pierce Walsh	Owney	150	1	0
Commons at	Owney	367	1	8

KILKELLIHENE PARISH

John Walsh Irish Paport	Robbinstown	179	0	0
----------------------------	-------------------	-----	---	---

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

111 2 7 Henry Slade & H. Brunsmeade.

951 0 0 Duke of Ormond.

505 0 16 Duke of Ormond.

109 1 0 E. Hoare for Mary Bond.

193 2 16 John Woodcocke.

310 3 24 Sir John Ponsonby.

467 0 4 Sir John Ponsonby.

137 2 32 John Jessop Pt.

495 0 0 John Jessop Pt.

100 3 16 Robert Trippe.

370 3 8 Sir John Ponsonby.
Not stated.

293 3 22 Sir John Ponsonby.

697 0 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

259 0 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

76 2 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

30 0 2 Sir John Ponsonby.

149 2 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

150 1 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

367 1 8 Sir John Ponsonby.

156 2 27 Thos. Bellow.

22 1 13 Bishop of Ossory.

AGHAVILLER PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

Robert Walsh.	Ballynamabagh	245	2	0
	Of the same, 170a. 1r. 16p.			
	Milestown	172	0	0
Robert Walsh.	Ballyglasse	385	1	16
	Of ye same, 177a. Or. Op.			
	Ballyleskin	168	0	16
	Of ye same, 47a. Or. Op.			
	Barrandowne	236	2	0
	Brownestown	74	3	32

KILKEASY PARISH.

Robert & Philip Walsh.	Derrylaskagh (Derrylacky)	235	2	32
	Of ye same.....	17	2	10
	Of ye same, 204a. Or. 32p.			
Robert Walsh.	Corbally	267	2	16
Peter Walsh, son of William.	Ballybroggan	139	3	32
	27	2	16
Robt., son of Mat. Walsh.	Ballyknockmore	141	3	32
Walter Mathew and Philip Welsh.	Knockmulgin with	546	1	12
	Ballybraskin	538	0	16

MUCKULLY PARISH.

Robert Walsh, Ir. Pap.	Harristown	375	2	16
Thomas Walsh, Ir. Pap.	Muckully	71	0	32
	Milltowne	99	0	0

ROWER PARISH.

Thos. Walsh and the Ld. Mountgarret. 1-3 pt.	Tenescully	174	2	0
	Tentine	147	2	0
	Coolskill	248	2	0
Thos. Walsh, aforesaid. Ir. Pap.	Clogaratt, pt. same.....	10	0	0
	Coolraheny and part of Mungan	83	1	0
The same and Lord Mountgarret. Thomas Walsh.	Of same	18	0	32
	Pt of Coolkill and Mungane	112	1	0
	Of same	22	1	0

PORTNASCULLY PARISH

Pierce Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Grange	289	2	16
Same	Nicholastown	86	0	0

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

Not stated.

170	0	6	William Hasley; Harvey Morris.
385	1	16	Sir John Ponsonby.
168	0	16	Sir John Ponsonby.
223	0	0	William Hasley, Harvey Morris.
129	1	2	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
50	0	0	Earl of Anglesey.
73	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
267	2	16	Earl of Anglesey.
151	2	0	Phill Fernsley.
16	0	0	Captain Thomas Tomlins.
141	3	32	Captain Thomas Tomlins.
546	1	12	James Stopford, Esq.
438	0	16	Capt. Thomas Tomlins.
100	0	0	Capt. Thomas Tomlins.
142	0	3	Thomas Knowles.
233	2	13	Major Joseph Deane.
			Sir John Ponsonby.
99	0	0	Duke of York.
174	2	0	Thomas Walsh.
147	2	0	Thomas Walsh.
248	2	0	Lord Mountgarret.
10	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
83	1	0	Thomas Walsh.
18	0	32	The same.
112	1	0	The same.
22	1	0	The same.
290	0	0	Capt. E. Hoare for Mary Bond.
86	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.

KILBRIDE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Peter Strange.	Flemingstown	548	0	0
William Walsh.	Ballynevory	160	2	0

AGLISH PARISH

John, Leonard, Emet, Thomas Walsh and R. Grante	Aglish	437	0	0
Howell Walsh	Ardorney	347	1	24

KILMACOW PARISH

Robert Walsh Irish Pa.	Clonassy	366	0	16
---------------------------	----------------	-----	---	----

KILCOLLOMBE PARISH

Richard Walsh	Killoluggan	48	0	0
Richard Walsh	Carriganane	147	3	0

KILLAHY PARISH.

Robert Walsh.	Inchen Charron	67	0	0
	Ballymackie	65	1	16
James Walsh.	Corbehy	118	0	0
	Ballina-Cully	177	3	24
Edward Welsh.	Ballylenine	151	0	3
Robert Welsh, sonne of Mat Welsh.	Ballintobber	83	2	32
	Ballyknockbeg	58	0	32
Robert Walsh.	Kilahy	140	2	16
Robt. and Jas. Walsh.	Killyleah	103	2	32
Robt. Walsh, son of Mat.	Knockmore	99	0	0
Robert Walsh.	The two red acres.....	117	3	32
	Mohanree	255	2	32

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

405	1	13	Edward Walsh.
142	2	0	Thomas Lovelace.
26	2	36	Andrew Richards.
33	0	20	Thomas Lovelace.
25	0	0	Captain Thomas Evans.
247	0	0	John Jessep. W. Harden.
190	0	0	Duke of Ormond.
347	1	24	Col. Hoyle Walsh.
255	1	2	C. Holcraft.
80	0	0	John Peck.
20	0	0	W. Warden.
1	1	14	R. Howford.
10	0	0	Anthony Horsey.
48	0	0	Capt. Jas. Stopford.
73	1	13	John Spillane.
48	3	0	Thos. Burrell.
61	2	14	Thos. Lovelace
67	0	0	Thomas Hewetson.
65	1	16	John Pecke, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
118	0	0	Mary Walsh.
177	3	24	Mary Walsh.
18	1	37	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.—18.
132	2	35	John Peike, &c., Thomas Hewetson.
83	3	32	Thomas Hewetson.
58	0	32	John Peike, &c., Thomas Hewetson.
140	2	16	Thomas Knowles.
38	0	0	Mary Walsh; one-third in demesne.
103	2	32	Sir George Lane.
99	0	0	Sir George Lane.
92	1	0	Mary Walsh; in demesne.
117	3	32	Mary Walsh.
78	3	16	Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
127	3	16	John Peike, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.
49	0	0	Sir George Lane.

KILBEACON PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Robert Walsh and afore- said Ir. Pa.	Ballymoney	743	1	8
	Of ye same.....	7	3	0
Robt. Walsh, afsd.	Ballinlea	154	0	16
	Of the same.....	13	0	16
Commons.	to adjacent towns.....	319	3	24
Robt. Walsh afsd.	Seart	263	0	32
Robert Walsh, afsd.	Glandonnell	351	1	8
	Garrandaroge	213	0	0
	Ballylarkey	181	0	16
Adam Walsh	Munsaile Court.....	42	3	24
	Earle's Rath	80	3	24
Robert and Adam Walsh	Little Smithstown	144	2	12
	Colonymed	126	2	16
Robt. Walsh, jun, Ir. Pa.	Of the same.....	22	2	12
	Kilandrew	115	2	32
Robt. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Of the same.....	<hr/>		
	Ballygreeke	78	1	8
Gleabe.	Kilbeacon	32	3	24

LISTERLIN PARISH.

John Walsh.	Balliconnaught	116	2	0
Patrick Denne, half, and Thos. Walsh, other half.	Giltagnore	167	0	0
Robert, sonne of Walter Walsh, deceased, aged ten years.	Smithstown	963	0	0
The same.	Darbystown	127	0	32

RATHKEIRAN PARISH

Robert Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Rothestown	342	0	0
Thomas Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Listroling	486	0	0

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

8	0	29	Robert Thornhill.
39	2	0	John Cambel.
14	0	35	John Emerson.
26	0	0	Sir Francis Gore.
427	3	34	Coll. Daniell Abbott.—37 3 24.
70	0	0	Coll. William Candler.
30	0	0	Sir Henry Peirce.
20	1	21	Coll. Oliver Wheeler.
16	1	32	Robert Philips.
58	1	33	The Executors of Major Blaikney.
144	2	7	The Executors of Major Blaikney.
22	1	33	Captain Ivory.
319	3	24	John Peck and others; Thomas Hewetson.
263	0	32	John Pecke, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.
351	1	8	Thomas Hewetson.
213	0	0	John Pecke, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
126	0	16	Bishop of Ossory.
180	0	16	William Ivory.
42	3	24	John Pecke, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.—42.
73	0	0	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morriss.
8	3	24	John Pecke, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.
144	2	12	John Pecke, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.
66	0	9	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morriss.
54	3	31	Captain Wm. Ivory.
50	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
115	2	32	Harvey Morriss.
18	2	24	Sir Richard Kennedy.
			Harvey Morris.
78	1	8	John Pecks, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
32	3	24	Church Lands.

116	2	0	Andrew Richards.
167	0	0	John Peike, &c.; Thomas Hewetson.

433	0	14	Major Joseph Deane.
529	3	26	Joseph Cuffe, Esq.
27	0	0	Joseph Cuffe, Esq.
100	0	32	Duke of York, 133, Hollow Blades.

102	0	39	John Mallock.
212	3	34	Chas. Hailecroft.
26	1	14	Martha Talbott.
486	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.

MARGARET NI GEROID

Margaret, daughter of Garret, the great Earl of Kildare, wife of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, and great grandmother of John MacWalter Walsh, was the most masterful woman of her time, and, by all accounts, much superior to her husband. She seems to have been a terror to the poor folk, and a whole series of legends preserve the tradition of her ruthless and indomitable character. One story is that, looking out from her castle, she saw seven men passing by and thinking they had golden treasures in their knapsacks sent her servants to pursue and murder them. As they were seven bishops, brothers born at one birth, returning from Rome where they had been raised to the episcopal rank, this event, which occurred at Lismatigue, became known, and since then "Lismatigue is cursed in Rome." It is she who is alleged to have said to the priest on her deathbed, "Isn't it better for one poor old woman to go to hell than for strangers to get the lands of the Butlers?"

There is a very feminist story of how Sir Piers was prompted to get the control in Ossory away from his cousin Sir James, when the government was playing off one against the other. Dame Margaret, at a time when her husband was "forced to lurk in the forests," was by necessity restricted to a milk diet, and she craved for wine. She asked Piers to get her some. "Truly, Margaret," was his answer, "thou shalt have store of wine within these four and twenty hours or else thou shalt feed alone on milk for me." Next day he lay in wait for Sir James and "gored him through with a spear." After that Margaret had her wine. Champion comments of her that she was a "rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realm, had not her stomach overruled herself." One can quite see how every tradition of the countryside fastened itself to her name. The story of the seven bishops, for instance, was old folk lore centuries before she was born. It seems the poor father of the seven meant to drown them, pretending they were kittens, but seven knowing priests each baptized one and kept it to raise.