

The Flowers and Ashbrooks of Durrow



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The Flowers and Ashbrooks of Durrow

(Revised Edition 2017)

Cover illustration: Castle Durrow in 1789 by James Malton (Victoria & Albert Museum).

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Preface

In the summer of 1978 my wife Jane and our three young children went on holiday to Kerry in the south-west of Ireland. On our way back we arranged to call at Castle Durrow in Co. Leix, the old family home of Jane's father, Desmond, 10th Viscount Ashbrook. The house had for a long time been a school run by nuns. We had written to the Mother Superior, Sister Mary Bowe, and she kindly invited us to visit her. When we arrived she was extremely friendly, showed us round everywhere and then gave us all tea. I was much impressed with the magnificence of the house which was built about 1716.

Back at Arley we asked Jane's father about what had happened to the estate and the house. He told me that it had all been sold by his father in 1922 when he was only 16. He knew very little about the origins of the Flowers - when his ancestors had arrived in Ireland, where they had come from and how they had acquired an estate large enough to afford to build such a splendid house.

I had been reading historical studies of estates for some years as a part-time interest (while I was running my engineering business) in order to prepare myself for working on the Warburton archives at Arley Hall in retirement. I decided to see whether it was possible for me to discover something about the origins of the Flower family and their success in Ireland. The result is the main body of this little book, from pp 19 to 143, written about 1980.

At that time Jane's parents were living in Arley Hall and her father was very busy on his large farm there. Jane's mother had been brought up in the house which she inherited after the death of her father in WWI. Her family, the Warburtons, had lived at Arley for about 500 years. The gardens had been well known since the 19C and in the mid 1960s it was decided to open them to the public. The Ashbrook name was hardly known so my notes on the early Flowers in Ireland were just typed and circulated to a few family members.

In 2016 the position is very different. Since my brother-in-law, the 11th Viscount Ashbrook, took over the management of the estate in the early 1980s he has transformed it into one of the best known and most popular venues in Cheshire. Many thousands of people come to Arley each year; to see the gardens, to attend weddings and functions of all kinds and to attend the Garden Festival and other big events. There has been much filming over the years and two major films were made partly at Arley in 2014 - *Our Zoo* by BBC Television and *Evermore* by Disney. Most people visiting the Hall and gardens would discover that it now belongs to Viscount Ashbrook.

An even more decisive event occurred in the summer of 2014. Julie Godson published her book *The Water Gypsy*¹ describing in detail the lives of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Viscounts Ashbrook, 1753 - 1847. The romantic story of the 2nd Viscount who had fallen in love with a Thames fisherman's daughter while still at Oxford University had been known for a long time but Julie Godson has done a lot more research. She shows the Ridge family pursuing several interesting careers. Furthermore in an extraordinary coincidence a play about Betty Ridge was written and performed at Castle Durrow in 2016. This spurt of interest in the Ashbrook family seemed to require that information about the origins of the family be written down and made available to people who wish to know it.

My 1980s notes on the 17th Century Flowers are probably more detailed than most people today have time for so I have written a new introduction (pp 5 - 23). This provides first some genealogical information and then brief accounts of each of the heads of the family from 1596 - 1922.

The second edition of 2016 also includes information about the history of the Durrow Estate 1683-1923 pp 24-27.

¹ Julie Ann Godson, *The Water Gypsy - how a Thames fisher-girl became a viscountess*, 2014, FeedARead.com.

Acknowledgements

All the originals of the letters printed in the section on Thomas Flower are in the National Library of Ireland. We are grateful to the NLI for permission to reproduce them.

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The Flowers and Ashbrooks of Durrow

The existence of grandiose myths is one of the occupational hazards of genealogists and it is curious how long a life some of these myths have. The Irish Peerage² compiled in the 18C traced the Flower family back to a 15C Speaker of the House of Commons. In 1906 Sir Joseph Bradney³ evidently did rather better research and described how the family had originated in Chepstow. Despite this research the writers of peerages preferred the earlier explanation. It was no doubt difficult for the authors of 18C Irish Peerages to get the facts because the family left Ireland for nearly a century in 1753. In that year the 2nd Viscount, a child of nine, his two sisters and their widowed mother returned to her family home in Hillingdon near London. It would be surprising if any of these four ever knew much about the ancestors of the Flowers. All the archives were at Castle Durrow where they remained undisturbed until the house was sold in 1922. The family accepted the view published in the Peerage of Ireland until about 1980.

The publication of an otherwise well-researched book on the lives of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Viscounts has focussed attention on the subject again.⁴ The following brief history of the ancestors of the 1st Viscount Ashbrook and of his successors to 1923 is published to correct the story. After the short biographies in this introduction some more detailed notes on the first three members of the family to live in Ireland are presented. These were compiled from public sources more than thirty years ago.

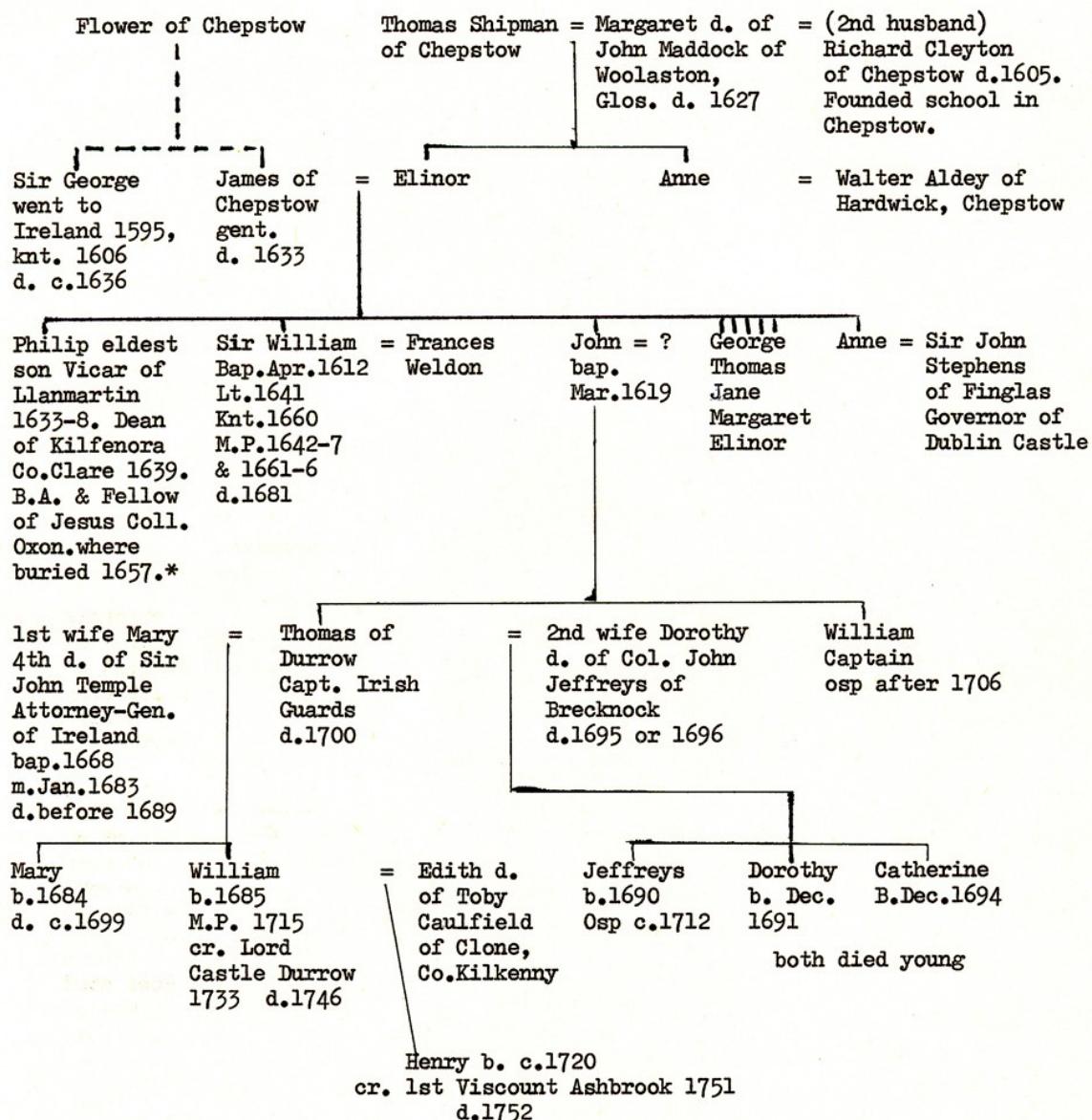
² Lodge *Irish Peerage* (pub. 1789) confirmed by Bethan's Abstracts, PRO of I.

³ Sir Joseph Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, 1906.

⁴ Julie Ann Godson, *op. cit.*

The Ancestors of Henry, 1st Viscount Ashbrook

GENEALOGY



*Philip evidently went to live in Ireland because in the 1641 Rebellion he lost £40 and his living worth £120 p.a. H. Cotton. Fasti Ecclesiae Hib. Anthony Wood, Coll. of Oxon 1786 p.590.

The principal source for information about the origins of the Flower family is the will of Margaret Clayton who died in Chepstow in 1626.⁵ This is a very long document in which she made bequests to a large number of her relations and to charitable purposes in and around Chepstow. She left leases of land including the George Inn in Chepstow to her daughter and son-in-law James Flower. Leasehold land was also left to their children, Philip, William and John Flower. William's legacy carried the obligation to maintain the curtain in front of her tomb in Chepstow Church. In the will which William made in 1680 as Sir William Flower he left £20 for the repair of his grandmother's tomb in Chepstow.⁶ His nephew, Thomas Flower, in his will (dated 1700), left 2 acres of land near Chepstow for the maintenance of his great-grandmother's tomb.⁷ This conclusively establishes the descent from Margaret Clayton and is also, no doubt, why this magnificent tomb still exists. Her house with M.C. over the doorway still stands next to the gate in Chepstow.



Tomb of Margaret Clayton in Chepstow Church, after restoration in the early 1980s

The Parish Registers of Chepstow⁸ provide information on the baptismal dates of the Flower children and of the death of James Flower. Unfortunately the registers only begin in 1595 and so provide no evidence of the ancestry of James Flower. But there were Flowers in Chepstow at least as early as 1560 when David Flower offered to purchase a 60-year lease of his holding of a stable

5 Diocese of Llandaff, Nat. Library of Wales.

6 Fisher, Abstracts of Wills, Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle.

7 Lodge, *Irish Peerage* (pub. 1789) confirmed by Bethan's Abstracts, PRO of I.

8 I. Walters, Chepstow Parish Records, 1955. Gwent Record Office.

and garden in Black Lane from St Catherine's Chantry.⁹ The parish registers record the baptism of Walter, son of Elian Flower, Feb 1598/9. There were Flower families all over Gloucestershire and West Wiltshire in the 16C and 17C, including some as close to Chepstow as Woolaston and Lydney.¹⁰ Whether all these people were related or whether their name derived from a common connection with flour milling one cannot know but the latter seems the more likely. In Elizabethan times the name is spelt variously Flore, Flowre, or Flower; the spelling of the stuff used to make bread varied similarly.

The Irish Flowers continued to have relations living around Chepstow throughout the 17C. In 1674 Thomas Lewis of St Pierre let 20 acres in Chepstow and St Lawrence to Sir William Flower and Thomas Flower the younger (d. 1700), son of Thomas the elder. This Thomas the elder may have been Sir William's youngest brother. In 1682 John Flower holds land of the same estate that was lately in the tenancy of Sir William.¹¹

I have so far failed to find any documentary evidence of a connection between Sir George Flower and this family. The circumstantial evidence that they were related is as follows:

1. Family tradition which was presumably the source used by Lodge when he was composing his entry for the Irish Peerage in the mid 18C.
2. The fact that William Flower went to Ireland in the 1630s and obtained a commission in the peace-time army in Ireland. Such appointments were normally obtained only through patronage and Sir George Flower, as Governor of Waterford and a very old friend of the Earl of Cork, the richest and most powerful man in Ireland, was in a good position to obtain such favours. I have therefore suggested in the family tree that Sir George and James Flower were probably brothers.

I have also failed to find any connection between this family and the Flowers of Rutland.¹² Francis Flower, attendant to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, and his wife both left wills that are now in the National Archives. Neither Sir George nor any other children are mentioned in either of these. One must incline to the view that Lodge invented this connection in order to provide a long and illustrious lineage for the Ashbrooks.

The first three Flowers in Ireland 1590 - 1700

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Britain enjoyed growing prosperity. The activity of the government was greatly increased and many families rose to wealth and position by service to the Crown in the enlarged civil, military and judicial establishments. The largest permanent land force that the Crown maintained in the 17C was the standing army in Ireland, and this was where the Flowers struggled to prominence.

Chepstow, at the mouth of the river Wye, was a natural gathering point for the timber and iron of the Forest of Dean and the agricultural produce of south-east Wales. It had also developed an important trade in wool coming down the Wye from the rich pastures of Herefordshire where the famous Leominster sheep grazed. Across the estuary lay Bristol, then the largest port in England after London. This city benefitted from the increasing quantities of woollen cloth manufactured in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire which provided a flourishing export trade to southern

9 Sir Joseph Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, Hundred of Caldicot, 1906.

10 Wills, Parish Registers, V.C.H., Gloucester, Somerset, Wiltshire.

11 Sir J. Bradney, *op. cit.*

12 Wills, Rutland and Northants, *History of Rutland*.

Europe and Ireland. It is probable that the Flower family in Chepstow attained the status of gentlemen by participating in this first English industrial and trading revolution in the 15C & 16C.

1) George Flower d. after 1635

By the 1590s the family in Chepstow had sufficient position to enable George Flower, probably a younger son, to secure a commission in the army, no doubt to take charge of one of the numerous batches of recruits who were gathered in the Welsh counties and then sent to Ireland. Warfare in Ireland was a mobile guerrilla operation and Flower appears to have been an amazingly brave and hardy officer. An English force would march into countryside controlled by Irish rebels and try to destroy small detachments of the enemy, their cattle and their forts. The Irish would try to ambush the English soldiers, for example as they crossed rivers at fords.

After four years of campaigning in Ireland Captain Flower became an experienced officer. Sir George Carew, an experienced soldier and courtier of Queen Elizabeth, became President of Munster (the SW part of the country) in 1600 with instructions to prosecute the war more decisively and George Flower was promoted to command larger numbers. Carew was conscious that he was making history and so employed Thomas Stafford and an artist to write an account of his army's activities each day and to make drawings of the scenes of his battles. Capt. Flower seems to have played a leading role in one important episode - the capture of the Castle of Glin (situated on the Shannon near Limerick) in 1600. Cannon were brought up and a siege began which opened a breach in the walls. Flower's party stormed in and the next day fought their way up the tower and threw the remaining defenders off the roof into the moat below.¹³

The biggest test for Carew and his army in Munster occurred in September 1601 when 4,000 Spaniards arrived by ship and seized the port of Kinsale (near Cork). Carew concentrated his army in Cork and was joined by Lord Mountjoy, the commander of all the English soldiers in Ireland. They occupied the open hillside overlooking the town and deployed their cannon to start the siege in October. With no proper shelter the army suffered appalling casualties from exposure as well as sallies by the Spaniards attempting to destroy the siege works. The climax came on 6 Dec 1601 when 6,000 Irish arrived and the English army of 5,000 was trapped between them and the 3-4,000 Spaniards in the town. Fortunately an English cavalry charge started a rout among the Irish and they were driven from the field. The Spaniards soon began talks and agreed to return to Spain. Another of Carew's senior assistants was a young lawyer called Richard Boyle who became great friends with George Flower. With the successful conclusion of this war in Ireland Carew was made Earl of Totnes and his two principal assistants - Boyle and Flower - were knighted.

The careers of the two new knights were very different after the war. Flower became Sheriff of Waterford County in 1606. The qualities that had made him an outstanding officer were evidently less useful in a judicial and administrative office. For the next twenty years or so it seems to have been only his friendship with Boyle that was able to protect him against serious problems. Boyle on the other hand became the most successful man in Ireland. He bought Sir Walter Raleigh's estate in Munster and started large businesses smelting iron and making barrel staves. With the profits from his businesses he was able to buy peerages from James I for himself and his four sons. He became Earl of Cork and the four sons became Barons. He also built walled towns for the English tenant farmers he recruited for his estate. Sir George Flower, 'an ancient Knight' and Governor of Waterford, died some time after 1635.

13 See the picture in Arley Hall.

2) William Flower d. 1681

William, who we believe was probably a nephew of Sir George, is thought to have been brought up in Chepstow and to have obtained his commission in his uncle's company of the Irish army in Waterford around 1630. In 1633 the Earl of Ormonde brought his bride back to his house at Carrick, a few miles up the Suir river from Waterford. The friendship between them which was to dominate Flower's life, was probably made in the next few years. At the start of the long Civil War in Oct 1641 Ormonde was appointed commander-in-chief by the King and William Flower became a Captain in the Earl's regiment. By 1647 Flower had become the Lt-Col of the Regiment.

In 1647 Ormonde's position as the King's Lord Lieutenant (representative of the King in Ireland) had become impossible and he had to surrender Dublin to Parliament's commissioners and go to London to negotiate with the victorious Parliamentary party. By March 1648 he thought the King's position - and consequently his - was deteriorating so he left London and went to join the Queen in France. In July Flower and other Royalist officers were sent to prison in Chester. Flower remained there for the next three and a half years till March 1652 when he was released. He seems to have spent at least part of the next eight years assisting the Marchioness of Ormonde to manage her affairs in London while her husband remained abroad with the royal family.

With the return of Charles II as King in May 1660 his loyal friends were rewarded. Ormonde became a Duke and Flower was knighted. Sir William was also elected to the Irish House of Commons in 1661 and Ormonde was reappointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1662 a new regiment of Guards was created and Sir William Flower was made Lt-Col of it. There were several occasions on which these soldiers had to uphold the Lord Lieutenant's authority. In 1672 Sir William was made a Privy Councillor. He remained an intimate friend and helper of the Ormonde family and a senior figure in the governing circle in Ireland until his death in 1681.

3) Thomas Flower d. 1700

Sir William Flower had no children from his marriage but he had a nephew - Thomas Flower - who followed his uncle to Ireland. In 1662 when the new regiment of Guards was formed he became a Lieutenant in Sir William's company. Sir William left all his estate to his nephew and in due course Thomas was promoted to command a company of the Guards. Thomas also evidently inherited much of his uncle's social position as one of the governing elite in Ireland.

In 1683 Thomas married Mary, the 16-year old daughter of Sir John Temple, the Attorney-General of Ireland and an old friend of the Duke of Ormonde. In 1676, while his uncle was still alive, Thomas had acquired a leasehold interest in over 1000 acres of land on the Ormonde estate in Queens County, north of Kilkenny. As part of the marriage negotiations Thomas submitted to Sir John Temple a statement of his assets which amounted to £9,500. This sum included the lease of lands at Durrow and a number of mortgages. Sir John created a settlement giving his daughter and her children an interest in this land.¹⁴

Charles II died in Feb 1685 and in March the Duke of Ormonde left Ireland, never to return. James II appointed the Catholic Irishman, the Earl of Tyrconnel as Lt.General of the army in Ireland and his Protestant brother-in-law, the Earl of Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant. In August Thomas Flower was involved in a duel. This was a serious event as James II had recently issued a public proclamation prohibiting duels under pain of severe penalties. It was fortunate for Flower that he

14 Doc. at National Library of Ireland.

had powerful friends, in particular Sir John Temple, one of Tyrconnel's few Protestant friends. At the Court Martial over which Tyrconnel presided Flower was found guilty but only sentenced to a week's imprisonment. One of the interests of both the Ormonde family and Sir John Temple was the sport of falconry. Thomas Flower increased his popularity with both of them by keeping a falconer and occasionally giving them a cast of his hawks¹⁵.

In 1687 Thomas found himself in even more difficult circumstances. In September of that year James II, fearing a revolt in England and an invasion by William of Orange, summoned seven companies of the Guards to England. Captain Flower, who was one of the few English Protestants left in the Regiment, was in charge of marching three of the companies from Chester to London. They were reviewed in Hyde Park by James II in October and the next month they marched into the west country to confront William of Orange's forces. There the principal officers of James' English army defected to William and James' army disintegrated. The large Irish contingent with its Catholic officers hurried back to Ireland. The English officers conferred with the Earl of Clarendon who had earlier been replaced as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the Earl of Tyrconnell. On his advice they stayed in England. The Irish government sent for King James from France and proceeded to disarm Protestants and sequester their estates including that of Thomas Flower.

Thomas' wife had two children, Mary, born 1684 and William born in 1685, but died soon afterwards. In 1689 he married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Col. John Jeffreys, another Protestant officer in the Irish army. Jeffreys seems to have died in early 1690 so Dorothy and Thomas went to live on her family's estate, Abercunrick, near Brecon in S. Wales. Dorothy's only surviving child was a son called Jeffreys. In July 1692 the family moved back to Finglas on the north side of Dublin where she had a second daughter who also died young. It seems likely that Dorothy herself died about 1696. Thomas died in 1700.

More detailed information about these three men follows in separate sections. The detailed notes on Thomas Flower are based on 58 letters to Thomas from his steward and others in Ireland which provide a vivid picture of life there between May 1690 and July 1692. During that time William of Orange's army was trying to expel James II and his army from Ireland.

4. William Flower, 1st Lord Castle Durrow 1685-1746

Whereas the manuscript archives about the three 17C Flowers are slim, William, Lord Castle Durrow, left a huge mass of papers of every description at the National Library of Ireland. These would allow a detailed account of the family and their estate to be written. The few pages that follow are a brief introduction to the life of the main architect of the Flowers' fortunes and their substantial estate based on Castle Durrow. In contrast his son, created 1st Viscount Ashbrook left no papers and almost all we know of him can be put in a few sentences.

On the death of their father Thomas Flower, William and his half-brother, Jeffreys, were orphaned. William was then aged fifteen. It seems they were rescued by Henry Temple, eldest brother of William's mother Mary. He and his wife, Anne, daughter of Abraham Houblon, Governor of the Bank of England, lived in a large house in East Sheen on the Thames to the west of London where he, his brother & his six sisters had been partly brought up. They had inherited the house from his father. The Temple family at East Sheen seems to have included widows and unmarried sisters and William clearly came to regard them all as his family for the rest of his life. The many letters which survive are unusually warm and friendly. Henry Temple was created Viscount Palmerston in the

15 A group of hawks.

peerage of Ireland in 1723, the title being taken from his principal estate near Dublin. However he was still eligible to become an MP in the English House of Commons and was a loyal Whig from 1727 to 1747. As this Temple family was so important to William I am providing a list of them all.

The children of Sir John Temple* (1632-1704) and Jane, dau. of Abraham Yarner

Sir John was Attorney General of Ireland. He died at East Sheen.¹⁶

Sons

1. Henry* m. Anne* daughter of A. Houblon.
Henry was created Viscount Palmerston in 1722.
2. John* m. Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Temple.
They inherited Moor Park, a large house near London.

Daughters

1. Catherine m. 1st Ward, 2nd King.
2. Dorothy m. 1st Colvil*, 2nd Dixwell.
3. Mary m. 1683 Thomas Flower (d. 1700), parents of William Flower (b. 1685).
Mary died around 1686. In 1689 Thomas m. Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Col John Jeffreys.
4. Jane Martha* m. 1st Lord John Berkeley, 2nd Bentinck, Earl of Portland.
5. Lucy*, unmarried.
6. Frances m. Lord William Berkeley.*

This list illustrates William Flower's close connection with the ruling Whig elite throughout his adult life.

William Flower was sent by Henry Temple to Christ Church, Oxford, in July 1701. In the spring of 1705 he went on a tour of Protestant Northern Europe with Mr Miller who was probably acting as tutor. They started in Holland and got as far east as Dresden and Berlin before returning in the autumn of 1706. William then went to Ireland to live on and manage the estates at Finglas and Durrow that he had inherited from his father. About a year later he married Edith, daughter of Toby Caulfield, 3rd son of Viscount Charlemont. Perhaps it was his marriage which persuaded him to spend his life living in Ireland and building up his estate.

It was a very good moment for a bold man to make such a choice. James II had maintained his position as King of Ireland, with the aid of French troops until 1692. Four years of warfare had left a large number of farms ravaged by one side or the other. After 1692 bands of Catholic guerrillas maintained themselves by marauding from the bogs and were pursued by bands of Protestant vigilantes. The country remained tense and uncertain. Louis XIV was in support of James II's Catholic son and strong Jacobite parties existed in England as well as Ireland so the succession of the Protestant George I from Hanover was by no means assured. In these conditions there were few buyers of Irish land and its value was very low. It was hard for landowners to find capable Protestant farmers to occupy their lands and pay rent.

The history of the Ormonde family at this period is a good example of the uncertainties. In January 1712 the Duke of Ormonde succeeded the Duke of Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief of the armies facing Louis XIV but was deprived of this position for 'communicating with the Jacobites'

16 The asterisks refer to individuals who corresponded with William Flower and whose letters have survived in the archives.

soon after the Whigs installed George I. Like his distinguished ancestor Ormonde remained loyal to the Stuarts. In 1715 he made two attempts to sail with soldiers from St Malo and a further attempt with 5,000 Spaniards sailing from Cadiz in 1719. Both attempts to restore the Stuarts were unsuccessful and all his English, Scottish and Irish estates were forfeited. He died abroad.

Against this background it is easier to understand how William Flower was able to do what he did. He quickly enlarged his land-holding round Finglas which, being urban, rented well. Then in 1708 he was able to convert his lease of the land at Durrow into a freehold and to increase the area to about 2,500 acres. In 1722 he acquired more adjoining land from the Ormonde family. Over the next 30 years more land was bought as close as possible to the core of the estate. His half-brother, Jeffreys, who had inherited his mother's land at Abercunrick, Brecon, died in 1712 so that land also came to William. In the late 1730s William bought 3,000 acres at Baunmore adjoining some of his other land in Ireland. When he died in 1746 he had around 15,000 acres altogether, probably bringing in a rental of about £1,000-2,000 p.a.

When they were first married William Flower and Edith seem to have lived in the old house at Durrow which was not too far from her family's home. They were evidently saving money at that time. In 1713 they commissioned an architect and in 1715 work started on the building of their new house which they called Castle Durrow. It was complete before 1720 and was immediately admired - as it still is.



The quality of William's building staff is reflected in the marvellous condition of the house after nearly 300 years

At the same time as building his new house William started a career as MP for Kilkenny. By the early 1730s letters show that he was a senior member of the Irish House of Commons whose advice and assistance were often sought. He was on good terms with the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, and it was no doubt his influence that promoted William to the Irish House of Lords as Baron Castle Durrow in 1733. We know that he and Edith had a number of children and that she breast-fed some of them which was unusual for grand ladies in those days. However, sadly, only two of them survived to adulthood - Rebecca, born in 1708 and Henry, born in 1720.

Henry, 1st Viscount Ashbrook 1720-1752

In 1740 Henry married Elizabeth, daughter of Lt.Gen. William Tatton in St Paul's Cathedral, London. They went to live at Castle Durrow where their three children were born. After his father died in 1746 Henry took his seat in the Irish House of Lords and in Sep. 1751 he was created Viscount Ashbrook. He was commissioned in 1745 to succeed his father as Colonel of a Regiment of Militia Dragoons and Captain of a Troop. It would seem that he was a man in the mould of his father and his early death in 1752 was a turning point for the family and for the estate. In 1749 he commissioned the magnificent Ashbrook cup which is now in the Saint Louis Art Museum in St Louis, Missouri.¹⁷



The Ashbrook Cup by Fredrick Kandler

Charles Frederick Kandler, English (born Germany), active c.1735, died 1778:

Two-Handled Cup and Cover, 1749-50; silver; 42.9 x 35.6 x 17.8 centimeters;

Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Morton J. May 252:1952a,b

17 See the following ref: THE ASHBROOK CUP BY FREDERICK KANDLER Author(s): Betty Grossman, Source: Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Vol. 41, No. 2 (1956), pp. 21-24. Published by: St. Louis Art Museum. The City Art Museum of St. Louis is now known as the Saint Louis Art Museum, and the Cup still resides in that institution's collection.

After his death his widow left Ireland and took her three young children (including William, later 2nd Viscount) back to live at her parents' house in Hillingdon near London.

The 2nd and 3rd Viscounts.

William, 2nd Viscount, went to Eton & then on to Oxford University. While there he met and fell in love with a local girl who lived in a Thames-side village. Despite the initial disapproval of his guardians he married this girl, Betty Ridge, in 1766 - a story delightfully told in Julie Godson's book *The Water Gypsy*, 2014, which goes on to describe in detail their lives and that of their children, including 3rd and 4th Viscounts..

William and Betty settled in Shellingford, Oxfordshire, not far from her family at Northmoor. It would seem that William was a young man who did not enjoy robust health as he died in 1780 at the tragically early age of 36. Again a widowed Lady Ashbrook was left to bring up her six children on her own, including her eldest son William who now inherited the title as 3rd Viscount Ashbrook. They remained at Shellingford while the Ashbrook estate in Ireland was managed by Betty's brother, William Ridge, from the mid 1780's onwards. William, the 3rd Viscount, died unmarried in 1802, leaving the title and the Irish estate to his younger brother Henry Jeffrey.

Henry Jeffrey, 4th Viscount Ashbrook (1776-1847)

In May 1802 Henry married Deborah Susannah Freind and they settled at Beaumont Lodge, Windsor. This marriage provided an important connection to a large group of rich and well-connected gentry, many of whom had senior positions in the Church. The two great pillars in this world were Robert Freind (1667-1751), Headmaster of Westminster School, 1711-33, and Richard Robinson (1709-94), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, 1764 - 94¹⁸ who was created Lord Rokeby in 1777.

Deborah's maternal grand-father was Thomas Walker of Woodstock, a lawyer who helped the Duke of Marlborough to manage his estate. In her marriage settlement he bequeathed to her future eldest son his extensive estate in Berkshire, provided he change his name to Walker.

Henry, 5th Viscount, 1806 - 1871.

When he came of age Henry duly changed his name to Walker and in 1828 he married his cousin, Frances, daughter of Sir John Freind-Robinson, great-nephew and heir of Archbishop Richard Robinson. They had a combined independent income of £2,000-3,000 and decided to live in Castle Durrow which the family had not inhabited since 1753. In 1847, on his father's death, Henry had to change his name back to Flower in order to inherit his Irish property and title.

It would seem from information in Edward O'Brien's book on Durrow history¹⁹, that the Walkers became emotionally attached to the family's Durrow estate and like Rowland Egerton-Warburton at Arley, who was of the same generation, they felt it was their duty to live on their estate and to do their best to help local people. O'Brien records that in 1834 Mrs Walker was providing £52 a year to support a school for infants. In 1831 the population of the Durrow parish was 2,519 Catholics and 456 Protestants. In 1833 the Durrow Estate provided the site for the new Catholic Church and its railings and in 1869 contributed to new bells. In the famine of 1845-7 Henry Walker took a leading part in organizing relief and he & his family were the major contributors to the Relief Fund. His wife is said to have visited the poor every week giving them food and clothing.

Most farmers were verging on bankruptcy and there were no jobs for much of the population.²⁰ Having inherited his property at this critical moment Henry embarked on an extensive programme

18 Rainey, pp 48-50 & 40-45.

19 Edward O'Brien, *Durrow 1708 -1992*, pub. 1992.

of building work both in Castle Durrow itself and in the town. Large extensions were made at both the east and the west ends of the Castle and bay windows were added to the south façade. The lodge and front entrance gates and walls looking towards the town were constructed. Work in the town of Durrow included the construction of the Red Lion Hotel in 1852. It is likely that this large building programme was partly driven by his wish to provide jobs for people living in the Durrow area.

In addition to looking after their Irish estate Henry and Frances led an active social life which took them often to Dublin and other social centres. They had six children including three sons who each inherited the title in turn. By 1851-2 their two elder daughters were grown up and needed to be launched in society in order to find husbands. The two eldest boys, fortunately slightly older than the girls, had to play their part by introducing suitable young men. In 1852 the family entered into Dublin's top society and there was a flurry of social activity. January started with the two boys joining their first recorded adult shooting weekend at Kilcooly Abbey, in Co Tipperary. By the end of the month they were being received at Drawing Rooms at the Vice-Regal Lodge. In March they attended a Levee and a dinner with the Lord Lieutenant, as well as the Viceroy's concert which the girls much enjoyed. In May the whole family had dinner with the Viceroy. In June the Viceroy gave a party which the girls attended. In July there was a Dejeuner given by the Viceroy and more dancing in August. In November the family went to stay at the fashionable seaside watering place of Sandymount - perhaps they needed a rest or perhaps it was just a different style of social life. 1853 went on in much the same way but was made especially notable by an invitation from the Viceroy to the parents to attend a dinner in honour of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert who were on a rare visit to Dublin.

For the next three or four years life continued to follow the same pattern. The family always stayed at Reynolds Hotel in Sackville St., Dublin, which they had patronised since the 1830s. The entertainments varied slightly. There were parties given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin and St Patrick's Balls as well as grand Garrison Theatricals in 1854. Sometimes Malahide was preferred to Sandymount for seaside breaks. In July 1857 Frances married John Phillips of the Heath House, Tean, Staffs, and in October 1860 Mary married Major Robert Blakeney, second son of John Blakeney of Blakeney Castle, Galway. The first round of marriages was completed when, in 1861, William married Augusta Marton (see below). In the 1860s the Ashbrooks spent much less time on the Dublin social scene and the 5th Viscount died in 1871.

Henry, 6th Viscount Ashbrook, 1829-82.

Henry and his younger brother Willie grew up spending a lot of time shooting at Durrow, frequently recorded in their diaries. Henry was in the 52nd Regt of Foot between 1848 and 1853²¹ and from 1856 onwards he was the occupier of 3 Peel Terrace, Brighton. It seems likely that he and Willie both used this as their base for their active social lives in England. In 1860 Henry made a secret marriage to Emily Abington who lived in Esher. This marriage was not revealed to his father until 1868 when she was warmly welcomed at Durrow. Perhaps he was given a larger income after his father heard about the marriage because in 1870 and 1871 he hired a yacht complete with captain and crew. He and Emily cruised round England and up to Skye in Scotland. He also enjoyed painting and submitted some works to an exhibition in 1873.

After Henry became the 6th Viscount in 1871 he and Emily lived a more active social life. They had large shooting parties at Durrow. They attended balls and in 1873 they made a continental tour. One of their shooting guests in Nov 1874 was Capt. Baillie. In May 1875 they rented 6 Half Moon St, Mayfair, for the season. What happened then is described in the Report delivered to the court at the

20 See Elizabeth Grant, *The Highland Lady in Ireland*, Cannongate 1991. Her Journals 1840 - 50 describe her experiences living on her husband's estate 30 miles south of Dublin.

21 The Peerage. Box D Flower papers at Arley.

end of their divorce proceedings. These proceedings began in early 1876 and created a large public sensation. Viscounts did not often divorce their wives in court. The whole sad story, including that of the marriage, was well set out in the report in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the court proceedings in Feb 1877²².

"In opening the case Mr Serjeant Ballantine said the petitioner in 1860 became acquainted with Miss Abington whom he first met with at Esher, where she was living with her parents. At that time Viscount Ashbrook had not succeeded to the title. The intimacy ripened into affection and the result was that the parties were married in 1860 at Leamington, the union being kept secret for certain reasons for two years. In 1868 the petitioner's father was made acquainted with the marriage and Viscount Ashbrook's family received the lady with affection and cordiality. At that time Viscount Ashbrook was a devoted husband. In 1871 the petitioner's father died. On succeeding to the title Viscount Ashbrook made a settlement on his wife of £800, being the utmost he could give as the estates were greatly encumbered. In 1872 a gentleman, a member of the family, was introduced to Viscount Ashbrook's house and from that moment the manners of Lady Ashbrook altered entirely. She became discontented, desired greater income and a house in town during the season; this it was impossible for Viscount Ashbrook to comply with. The gentleman's attentions - whose name he, Serjeant Ballantine, refrained from mentioning as no good would result and it would only be the means of causing misery to another family - led to constant bickerings between Lady Ashbrook and her husband, and the consequence was Sir Spencer Robinson, who was a friend of the family, endeavoured to bring about a better state of things. There never was more than familiarity between her ladyship and the gentleman alluded to, but the intimacy caused so much discomfort that the family were desirous that it should terminate. Viscount Ashbrook then made a further provision for his wife by investment of all his property which was not of a very large amount and made her residuary legatee under the will. In July 1874 Captain Baillie appeared on the scene. He was at first a friend of the husband's and he used to visit them. At this time the parties were living in Half-Moon St, London, the petitioner frequently being away at the family residence at Durrow. In 1875 Viscount Ashbrook and his wife went to Paris. Baillie followed and after a number of meetings and quarrels the lady left her husband's roof, went to Filey, where apartments were taken at the Crescent Hotel, and here the circumstances that had led to these proceedings took place.

Since the present suit had been instituted Captain Baillie had died. A child was afterwards born; but the petitioner denied the paternity and this circumstance might have led to another suit as regarded the legitimacy of the infant but that had been avoided by the death of the child. The petitioner then gave the above facts in evidence, and some servants having been examined from the Crescent Hotel at Filey the jury found a verdict for the petitioner and his lordship made a decree nisi for the dissolution of the marriage."

In March 1876, not very long after the news of the divorce broke, *The Queen* magazine published the first story about Betty Ridge. A vicar in Northmoor had evidently discovered the entry about a Viscount Ashbrook marrying a humble country girl. Now that the name Ashbrook had achieved some notoriety he decided it was worth publishing. The *Western Daily Press* carried the story on 1 April 1876. After the divorce Henry lived quietly at Durrow until his death in 1882.

William (1830 - 1906), 2nd son of Henry and Frances, 7th Viscount Ashbrook

It appears that Willie was the only one of the three brothers to be sent to Eton. He then attended Trinity College Dublin where he got his BA in 1851. He was always a close friend of his elder brother, Henry, and their shooting activities together are well recorded. From his Eton and Trinity

College friends and people he met at shooting weekends he evidently moved into a wider circle of English people. In 1861 he married Augusta Marton who came from Capernwray near Lancaster, a large Gothic house with good shooting. Subsequently his sister Caroline married Augusta's brother George Marton.

In their Marriage Settlement Willie's father gave the young couple a house and 500 acres of demesne land, worth about £20,000, at Moystown near Shannonbridge in Kings County - an estate which he had recently acquired. He also gave them the use of the house in Cavendish Crescent in Brighton which he was renting so they had two houses to choose from. From her family Augusta received the Middleton estate which was probably of similar value. Eventually Willie and Augusta settled in Brighton moving to a larger house at 29 Palmeira Square and the Moystown house was sold.



Cavendish Crescent on the sea front in Brighton with Palmeira Square to the north

Willie and Augusta, along with Augusta's brother and sister-in-law, George and Caroline, led a very active social life. They frequently attended dinners in London, race meetings and shooting parties all over the country and were always at Durrow for the winter shooting season. The hectic social life included regular visits by the Martons with their 9 children to Willie's Brighton house. Willie and Augusta had two children but sadly they both died as infants.

On Henry's death in Dec.1882 Willie inherited the Durrow estate and became the 7th Viscount Ashbrook. He and Augusta did not move from Brighton immediately, although they spent 2 or 3 months most winters at Durrow for the shooting. They had lived in Brighton for 20 years and no

doubt had many friends there. They seem to have made the final move to Durrow around 1887, a year after Willie's mother had died. He was made a Deputy Lieutenant in 1888. We have an approximate statement of his income and expenditure in 1906, the last year of his life.²³ This shows income from rents etc of £9,000. All the expenses of the house, the farm, the stables, game, garden etc were £3,300. After payments to a number of individuals he had spare cash income of £1,700. Augusta died in January 1906 and Willie died in November of the same year. In his will he left everything that was not entailed to his sister, Mrs Caroline Marton.

Robert (1836 - 1919), youngest son of Henry and Frances, 8th Viscount Ashbrook.

It seems that Robert was a very different sort of person to his two elder brothers. He shared their love of shooting but did not pursue an active social life. From an early age he had a great interest in engineering and the development of new and more efficient ways of doing things. In 1866 he married his first cousin Gertrude, daughter of Rev Sewell Hamilton of Bath, whose brother, Robert Hamilton-Stubber, owned the Moyne estate next door to Durrow. On the marriage his father gave them a Settlement of £20,000. As Robert was keen to live in Ireland and pursue his engineering work his father agreed to build them a house on an old farm at Durrow called Knockatrina. The house was finished in 1869 and was leased to Robert for a nominal sum for the rest of his life. Part of the original outbuildings were made into a workshop. Robert and Gertrude never moved into Castle Durrow, preferring to stay in Knockatrina for the rest of their lives.

The first project Robert turned to was the organ in Durrow Church which dated from 1797 and had originally been in Trinity College. He repaired the organ and evidently also thought of ways to improve its performance as he and the organist were granted a patent for the improvements in 1869.

His next venture was to start a brick-works at a neighbouring farm which he had bought. In 1873 he again applied for a patent for his invention which was a new technique for using powdered anthracite with ordinary coal slack and clay to make bricks and tiles. This became a successful business - in 1916 when the property was sold the Athy Brick Co was still operating there as successor to the Durrow Brick and Tile Co. The clay suitable for firing was dug from two pits on the hillside above the farm and Robert also invented a clever means of transporting it down to the brick ovens on the farm. He put up a 'cable railway' on telegraph poles. Containers were filled at the top of the hill and then descended by gravity on a cable to brick ovens at the farm. Empty containers on the circular cable were carried up the hill by the power of the full containers descending making an energy-free transport system. Later the works were moved to the railway station to avoid transporting the coal and finished bricks. Robert seems to have been an inventor rather than a businessman. It therefore seems likely that, once he had proved that his brick-making process worked well, he let the works to contractors.

Robert's next patent, No 2118 in 1876, was concerned with saw-mills, in which he was interested no doubt because there was one at Durrow. This was an improved technique for 'feeding' the saw-blade into timber or the timber into the saw-blade. Much the most successful and important work which he did from the 1890s onwards concerned textile machinery, cloth and carpets. A major driving force behind this was the desire from the 1870s onwards of a number of land-owning families resident in Ireland to provide work for local people. The population of the town of Durrow declined from 956 in 1871 to 559 in 1901, as young people moved to England or the USA because there was no work for them in Ireland. From the 1830s onwards more and more woollen cloth was woven in huge weaving sheds on automatic looms driven by belts attached to steam engines. But towards the end of the century some people realized that there was still a world-wide market for small quantities of high quality, specially designed and coloured woollens. This was the area that Robert started to

23 Box A, item 6.

develop. Another example of success for this approach is provided by the Harris tweed industry established in the Hebrides at this period.

Robert began with a loom that didn't need a steam engine to drive it. The old hand-operated looms used before 1830 required quite a lot of strenuous physical work and were usually operated by fairly skilled men. Robert designed a loom that could be used by an unskilled worker with little physical strength. It was all operated by pushing an upright wooden handle to and fro. He was awarded Patent No. 5508 for this in 1896. He made improvements which were given Patent No 20734 in 1900. It seems likely that he made the prototypes and a few early working examples with the help of Thomas Phelan of Dereen, co Kerry, who had an iron-founding and manufacturing business. They both probably visited firms and exhibitions in Lancashire which was the world centre of textile manufacturing machinery. When he was satisfied with the design Robert granted sole production rights to Robert Hall & Sons, Bury, Lancs, who paid him royalties. They advertised the loom as suitable for weaving tweeds, friezes, flannels, blankets etc. They exhibited it at the Irish International Exhibition in 1907 and continued making it into the 1920s. After WWI it was extensively used by ex-soldiers, disabled by war injuries.²⁴

Robert's second area of textile manufacturing innovation was in the production of tufted rugs and carpets. The traditional oriental and Turkish carpets that ornamented grand English houses from the late 16C onwards were originally so expensive that they were used as table-cloths rather than as floor coverings. Their extraordinary durability was partly due to the fact that each stitch was separately knotted on the base canvas. Robert invented hand tools - in particular a latched needle - that did this job quicker than the hand-worker. His first patent was No. 17640 in 1901 which he improved and so obtained Patent 27966 in 1903. It would seem that he set up production in his workshop at Durrow in 1901 and people worked there until the end of 1903. The base canvas was made from jute on one of his looms. There were work benches which gripped the finished carpet and the canvas roll 3ft wide exposing a section at bench level for the seated worker to knot the pattern. There were detailed drawings showing how many knots of each colour the worker should do in each row were provided at eye height. The designs were adapted by the manageress from oriental originals. In 1902 there were apparently 24 workers including a loom operator, a pattern maker and two finishers.

In 1903 the Abbeyleix²⁵ estate, next door to Durrow, was inherited by Ivo, 5th Viscount de Vesci. He was a young man in his early twenties keen to show that he could get employment going again in the area. He probably talked to Robert about his new carpet business and how it could be expanded. Robert, then aged 67, had less youthful dynamism. Not surprisingly it ended up with Robert agreeing to sell his business to Ivo and to assist him for at least 6 months to get it going in the new factory that Ivo built. So, by the middle of 1904, the Abbeyleix Carpet factory was going with 17 workers. It had acquired all the stock and machinery which had been in Robert's Durrow workshop.²⁶ A good number of carpets were sold in this period from both factories to important customers such as the Mansion House, Dublin, and the White Star Lines ships *Olympic* and *Titanic*.

There are two other things we know about Robert's working life. First, he designed and made the stained glass window with Ashbrook armorials which is still on the stairs in Castle Durrow. Second, we think that Robert made the wire-work Arbour which is now in the Kitchen Garden at Arley Hall and was previously in the garden at Durrow. I think this was another project which he felt might allow him to employ local people. The whole thing was made by bending iron wire with hand-

24 A fuller description with detailed drawings is in Mairead Johnston, *Hidden in the Pile*, 1997. Box E, item 2.

25 Pronounced 'Abbeylees'.

26 A fuller account is provided in *Hidden in the Pile* which also follows the fortunes of the Abbeyleix Company into a merger with the Kildare Carpet Co in Naas in 1909 and the collapse of the combined business in 1911-12.

operated tools that Robert could have designed and made. The design includes lots of identical pieces; a worker would get plenty of practice and so become quick at making the pieces. Almost the whole structure can be assembled by unskilled workers using hand tools. So the whole thing could be cheaply made employing many low paid workers. The difficult part of the enterprise would have been the marketing and sales but this was evidently not Robert's forte. Carpets could easily be sold in shops but the Arbour was too big and cumbersome for this manner of selling. It needed to be marketed to rich people in an unusual way - perhaps a top garden designer could have had one in his garden & have recommended them. He could also have explained to the customers in their large houses how the design could be adapted to create arcades and nooks and so on. This was presumably all too difficult for Robert so only one was ever made. Perhaps his brother Willie bought it and put it in the Castle garden.

Another important strand of Robert's life was his military service. There is a blank application for a regular commission²⁷ in the archives so perhaps Robert at one time contemplated that career. As a young man he joined the local territorial regiment, The Prince of Wales Leinster Regt, (Royal Canadians) and progressed through the ranks to end up as Lt.Col.

Llowarch 9th Viscount.

Robert's heir was his elder son Llowarch (known as Lowey). Apparently Robert refused an offer from his brother Willie to pay for him to go to Eton; this was probably because he felt that Lowey, like him, would spend his life in Ireland looking after his estate. As a young man Lowey spent a few years on a Ceylon tea estate but succumbed to ill health so returned to England. In 1898 he married Gladys, younger daughter of General Higginson, the distinguished Grenadier. She was the niece of Lord Castletown who owned the next door estate to Durrow. After Willie's death in 1906, against his father's advice, Lowey and Gay moved into Castle Durrow as Lowey's parents had decided to stay at Knockatrina.

Lowey was a very different sort of person to his father who it seems was not much interested in high living. Lowey evidently grew up with a taste for grand social life and as the heir to an estate he probably felt he was entitled to it. However in his case he had to wait a long time to enjoy the income of the estate - until both his uncle Willie and his father had died. In 1893 his sister Frances May was married and Robert, feeling he should provide a dowry for her, took out a mortgage on his and Lowey's rights to inherit the estate. He raised £5,818 from an insurance company. Just under £4,000 went to Frances as her dowry and £1900 was passed to Lowey as an advance on the income he would eventually receive from the estate. This money was invested in a trust for him and provided an annual income of £100, very far from the sum he felt he needed for a suitably grand way of life.

Robert's decision to borrow money on this occasion may have given Lowey the feeling that it would be OK for him to borrow more. From 1893 onwards he borrowed and spent every year until by 1897 he needed another £10,000 to pay it off - a spending rate of £2,500 p.a. After his marriage to Gay Lowey continued to spend at a similar annual rate so that by the time that Robert inherited the estate in 1906 a sum of between £90,000 and £100,000 was required to clear all the debt. That represented nearly half the capital value of the estate. Even at that point Lowey did not curb his expenditure; life in the Castle required even higher expenditure and he went on borrowing. Indeed he began to lose touch with reality.

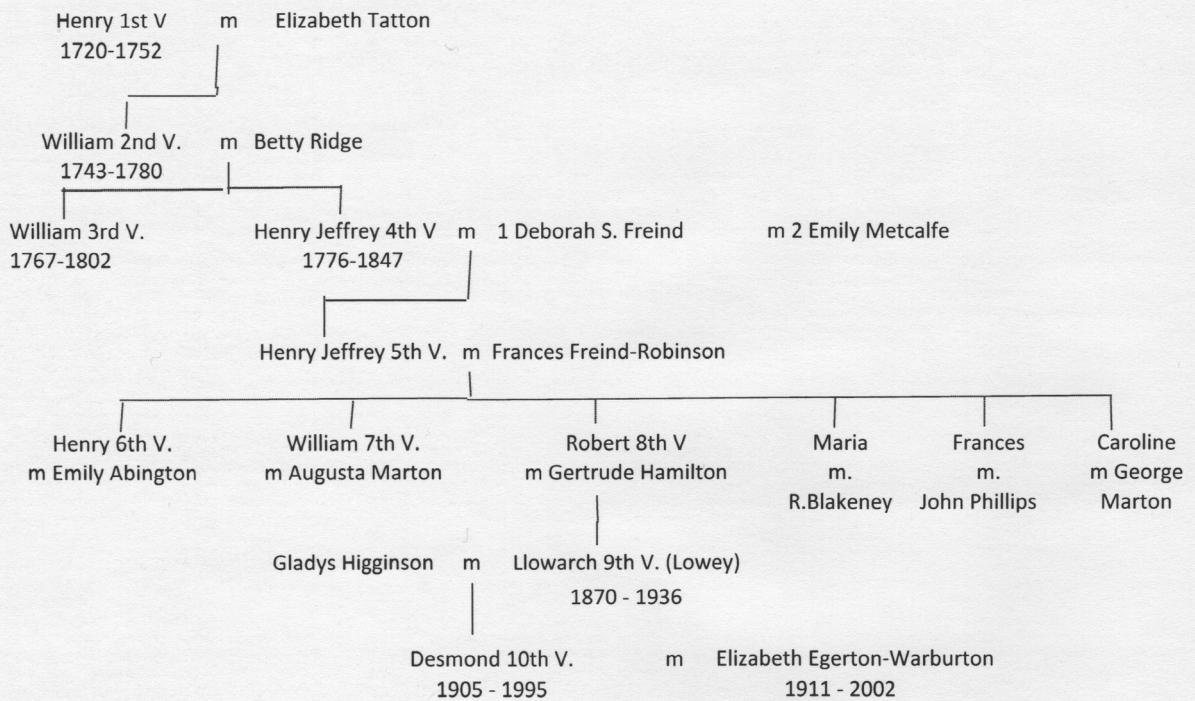
At this time English landowners across Ireland were arranging to sell their land to the Irish Land Commission set up by the land Act of 1903. By 1906 the sale of almost all the tenanted land at Durrow had been agreed with the Land Commission. However there was no capital available. The

27 Box B, item 1.

tenants were just paying interest at around 4% while Lowey's debts were paying interest at up to twice that amount. So the situation continued to get worse. The end came in 1923 when the Castle and surrounding land was sold to a timber merchant and the family moved to Wales.

Gladys' father had earlier stepped in to assist the family and he paid for Lowey's son, Desmond, (born in 1905) to go to Eton. Desmond then went on to Balliol College Oxford and pursued a successful career as an accountant in London. In 1934 he met and married Elizabeth Egerton-Warburton from Arley in Cheshire so from then on that became the home of the Flower family. Desmond and Elizabeth's elder son Michael became 11th Viscount Ashbrook on his father's death in 1995.

The Flower/Ashbrook family tree



The Durrow Estate 1683 - 1922

This section gives a brief account of the landed estate from its origins in the 1680s to the sales between 1904 and 1922. Virtually the whole of the old estate was acquired by the first Lord Castle Durrow between 1708 and his death in 1746. Its value increased greatly until 1815 but declined for the next century.

There is an exceptional book in the archive. It is an 1873 Survey and Valuation of the old Estate.²⁸ There is a detailed map of each locality and a schedule showing every tenant's name, the area of land, the value of the land and the buildings on it. This shows a total of 15,278 acres worth a total of £11,111 p.a. In addition to this the Estate also included about 6,919 acres in Kings County known as the Moystown Estate. This paid a rent of £2,347 in 1902; it had probably paid more earlier. Moystown was acquired by the 5th Viscount in 1853 but a large part of the capital value was legally owned by his marriage settlement so it was kept separate.

As well as this 1873 valuation we have in the archives snapshots of the Flower family's estate in Ireland at the following dates:

1. 1683
2. 1732
3. 1796 - 99
4. 1900 - 1922

The history of the Estate emerges from a study of these figures.

1. 1683

In this year Thomas Flower married Mary Temple and so had to provide her father with an account of his wealth. He valued his leases of land at Durrow and nearby at £1,200 and his stock on the land (cattle and sheep) at £1,400. His lands, houses, farms etc at Finglas (near Dublin) were valued at £1,500 so his total holding of land and stock was worth £4,100. In addition he had £5,400 in mortgages - the two largest were to the Duke of Ormonde and his friend Nicholas Plunkett. A little more information about his estate comes in letters of July - Sep 1690²⁹. These letters describe what Thomas' managers found in Finglas and Durrow when repossessing these lands after the Battle of the Boyne (they had been sequestered by James II's government). When Thomas died in 1700 these lands passed to his only son by Mary, William.

2. 1732

When his father died William went to live with his mother's family, the Temples, at their big house in East Sheen, near London. He went to Oxford University and then on a tour of north Europe before returning to his Irish estate in 1707-8. He soon met Edith Caulfield on a neighbouring estate. They married and settled at Durrow. William set about improving his estate. He bought the freehold of his Durrow land and purchased more land so that he had a solid block of land round the 'Black Castle' (the name of the ancient house on the site) of 2,800 acres. He then bought another 2,300 acres within two miles and other lands further away. By the time of the 1732 rental³⁰ he probably owned about 12,000 acres. These would be the same statute acres as in the 1873 survey. Earlier there were Irish Plantation acres (each 1.6 statute acres). Earlier surveyors didn't measure bog-land whereas the Ordnance Survey (made in 1840s) did. The total rent paid by 72 tenants in 1732 was just under £872. This probably represented around 1s - 2s per statute acre. (More research at the NLI would yield a more accurate figure.) His only large purchase after 1732 was Bawnmore - 3,000 acres including a lot of bog fairly near to Durrow. All this land was bought from English

28 Ireland National Archives KK4 35.

29 See Section 3 below.

30 In the N.L.I.

settlers often in connection with mortgages. From 1690 - 1720 the value of land in Ireland was very low because of the political situation. By 1720 it seemed that the Hanoverians were more secure and after the failure of the '45 rebellion they were definitely secure. Consequently land values in Ireland rose.

3. 1796 - 1799 Rental

The names of the tenants, the townland³¹ of their house and their rents are listed for each of these four years. There are 116 names but some are only for one or two years. 78 of them lived in the Durrow town area; 6 were on the Castle Durrow demesne including one in the house itself (let at this time); six were in the Dublin area at Finglas and Rahenny; five were in Tullamaine, probably the place most distant from Durrow. The remaining 21 were on the other 12 townlands mentioned. The 1873 survey lists 6 small townlands adjacent to larger ones. Whether these six were bog in 1799 or whether named later is not known. This makes it clear that a number of townlands with between 300 - 900 acres had only one or two tenants between them. The total rent collected in these four years rose steadily from £5,531 in 1796 to £6,474 in 1799. If the estate contained 15,000 acres then the average rent was 8s 8d per acre. This is much more than the 1732 figure. It compares however with the figure of 10s 7d an acre in 1790-91 on the Downshire estates near Kilwarlin (N. Ireland). On that estate the average rent per acre in 1815 was 20s 3d. It seems likely therefore that the Durrow estate rental rose to £11,000 - £12,000 by 1815.³²

The Irish population

The great puzzle of Irish history is why the population increased so greatly between 1700 and 1800. The population in 1725 has been estimated as 2.2 million people³³, whereas by 1800 5.4m people were recorded by the first censuses. It is clear that in 1700 large tracts of land were uncultivated and rents were very low. There can't have been very many people then because little food was being grown. But there is plenty of evidence that after 1750 there were many tenants of big estates like the Durrow ones who were renting hundreds of acres from their landlords. Many of them had become middlemen who were sub-letting a few acres each to lots of Irish families who were paying a high rent, so the actual numbers of tenants were much greater than is shown by the landlords' rentals. There were many more people on the land than there had been in 1700.

How could the Irish afford to pay high rents and bring up large families? My studies suggest a few possible answers.

Traditional Irish agriculture in the 16C had been based on clans with large migrant herds of cattle and sheep and a little arable. After 1700 Irish men were probably recruited to work on the large English farms and there learnt about arable agriculture. Their wives followed the traditional activity - spinning and weaving linen. The market for Irish-spun linen increased for 3 reasons:

- a) As wages rose in England in the 17C and 18C English women entered different jobs which paid better than spinning linen. A shortage of spun linen developed in England. Small automatic looms had been invented to make ribbons & decorative pieces, thus creating additional demand.
- b) As sugar and cotton-growing increased in the Caribbean islands there were more slaves. It became popular to buy cheap linen cloth for them to wear. This cloth was made in Germany, Ireland and Scotland.

31 This word is the Irish term for what in the North of England is called a township and in the South of England a parish.

32 W.A.Maguire, *Downshire Estates*, 1972, p 39. The Downshire estate was centred on Hillsborough Castle near Lisburn.

33 L. Clarkson & E.M. Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 2001, p.9.

- c) From the 1730s onwards demand for a hybrid cloth - cotton with a linen warp - soared as people in Lancashire made attractive prints and checks from it.

These developments led English merchants to set up offices in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland so that Irish merchants could order and procure spun linen of various grades. It was then sold to manufacturers in England. Thus was created a business which employed Irish women and children and paid them well for their work.³⁴ Jobs were also created for young Irish men - particularly in the North-West of England. From 1720 onwards increasing numbers of canals and docks were built, for example, the wet dock in Liverpool, the navigation of the Dee Estuary to Chester, navigation systems on the Mersey, Irwell and Weaver rivers. All these projects recruited large numbers of Irish men to dig the land - they became known as navvies.

The final important factor was the development of growing and eating potatoes. In the 17C the potato was an unusual vegetable in English gardens but in the 18C it became a field crop and many new varieties were developed.

Perhaps these suggestions form a framework for understanding the causes of the huge surge in the Irish population during the 18C. From perhaps 1720 onwards the large tenant farmers found that they could let 2-3 acres to a newly married Irishman who built a mud cabin to live in. The man worked on the farm or helped local builders while the wife grew flax and spun linen. As the children grew up they could all help with the flax growing and spinning and the linen yarn could be sold. As well as flax they grew potatoes and vegetables on their land. Their landlords, the tenant farmers, had large herds of cattle. They were selling beef and butter in barrels to English ships going to India or the Caribbean who specially called at Irish ports to collect this cheap high grade produce. After making butter the farmer had lots of buttermilk which he sold to his Irish tenants. Buttermilk, potatoes and vegetables with a little grain, bought with the linen yarn earnings, provided a nutritious diet for the spinning families³⁵. English visitors commented on the healthy looking children who emerged from the Irish cabins. When the boys became teenagers they could go to North-West England to dig navigations and canals.

It all went fine until the 1790s when machinery for spinning cotton caused a big increase in the amount of woven cotton being made. The price of cotton cloth fell so demand rose and started to replace the demand for linen. But this was obscured by the rising prices of all foods as the English population increased and wars with America and European powers reduced other supplies. Anyone growing food enjoyed prosperity until 1815. But after 1815 there was less and less demand for hand-spinning and no profits in farming. Ireland slumped and rents fell. The population became poorer despite the great boom in canal-building and the later construction of railways. The habit of raising large families didn't fall so quickly. The Irish population reached 8.2m by 1841 but the country people were very poor. Then in 1846-7 the potatoes got the blight which decimated the crop. By 1851 the population was reduced to 6.6m as a result of either starvation or emigration.

It was due to the famine that the 5th Viscount acquired the Moystown estate in King's County. In 1843 he lent £55,000 secured on a mortgage of this estate. Rents were very low for several years after 1846 because farmers had no money. Taxes to pay for emergency supplies were very high.

34 For an account of spinning all over Ireland in the 1750s see: Stephenson, Robert, *Inquiry into the State and Progress of linen manufacture*, Dublin, 1757. For the collection and dissemination of Irish linen yarn and its sale all over NW England see Liverpool RO, Nicholson papers 920 NIC 5/5/17-93; these are the papers of a family firm which did this work. See also my *Seven Households* for linen spinning, 1580 -1750, and my *Capital and Innovation*, pp 274-82, for spinning in the Warrington area for sail-cloth. See also Jones, E and Foster, CF, *Fabric of Society*, 2012, pp 83 - 97 for the growth of cotton spinning and its mechanization, 1736 - 1776.

35 L. Clarkson & E.M.Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 2001.

This was why by 1851 the interest on the mortgage was in arrears and Ashbrook was able to take possession of the estate as repayment of his mortgage. Rents recovered in the later 1850s and 1860s but perhaps never reached 1815 levels again. After 1870 and the collapse of arable farming in the UK, due to the influx of US and Canadian grain,³⁶ Irish farming became increasingly dependant on grazing. Rents and population levels fell slowly so by 1901 there were only 4.5m people in the country. In 1875 the annual rent of the old estate at Durrow was £9,392.

4. 1900 - 1922

The Irish Land Act of 1903 offered attractive terms on which landlords could sell their tenanted farm land to the occupiers who would be lent the purchase money on a Government mortgage. A large proportion of landlords, including the Ashbrooks, decided to do this. From 1904 onwards they employed surveyors to negotiate and settle a value for each farm. By 1910 this process was virtually complete with the following results:

i) The Estate had agreed to sell 266 holdings on the old estate which had been paying a total rent of £6,430 p.a. and also 144 holdings on the Moystown estate which had paid rent of £2,149. The total purchase price of these sales was £182,784. The Act provided for a bonus to the Landlord of 12% on completed agreements so the Estate actually got a total of about £204,000 for all this land.

ii) The Estate also owned the following -

Dublin Head-rents	£325
Durrow Head-rents	£437
Durrow weekly rents	£282
Other assets	£56
<hr/> Total	£1100 p.a.

All these items were worth approx. £22,000.

iii) In 1922 Mr Maher paid £33,000 for the following:

- i) Castle Durrow and some furniture
- ii) weekly rents and 'other' as above.
- iii) 1440 acres of demesne lands.

So the sale of the whole estate brought in about £244,000

The total rent of the tenanted estate given above had been £8,579. When agreement was reached on each group of sales, the tenants only paid interest. The total interest in 1910 was only £6,809. This was one of the problems which the estate had from 1907 onwards (discussed in my notes on the 8th and 9th Viscounts).

Charles Foster 2016

Note: Boxes A-G are the Flower papers at Arley.

36 Following the repeal of the Corn Acts in 1846.

GEORGE FLOWER AND THE ELIZABETHAN WARS IN

IRELAND 1596 - 1603 - by C. FOSTER

George Flower first appears in the Public Records that I have been able to trace in January 1596 (new style) as a Lieutenant in Elizabeth's army in Ireland.

Before detailing the many references to his military service which are to be found in the records I will say something of the reasons for the army being in Ireland at that time and of its organization.

Before the Tudors the English suzerainty over Ireland had been nominal. The descendants of the Norman Lords, who had become more or less Irish in their customs, and the pure Irish lords ruled the country, nominally holding their offices of the English Crown. Because of the continual feuds and fighting among these lords; the continual subsidy required from England to maintain the suzerainty; and after the Counter Reformation the threat of a Catholic rebellion and the invasion of Ireland and hence England by Spain in support of Catholicism, the Tudors slowly increased the English administration. The increase of English officials, and the English army required to support them, led to growing friction with the Irish. On the one hand were the English with their Common Law, their system of inheritable freeholds and leaseholds through primogeniture, their sheriffs and gaols, their Protestantism, their language; on the other side were the Irish with Brehon law, their septs (or clans) with elected chieftains, their partible inheritance, their Catholicism and the Irish (Gaelic) language. The conflict between these two ways of life led to a number of rebellions. The 1570's and early 80's were spent by the English subduing the Earl of Desmond's rebellion. His family, the Fitzgeralds, had been almost hereditary Lord Lieutenants of Ireland in the 15th and early 16th centuries.

The last and greatest of these rebellions was led by the Earl of Tyrone - "The O'Neill" to the Irish. In Ulster he was vigorously supported by Hugh Roe, chief of the O'Donnells and in Munster by James Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, elected by the Irish "Earl of Desmond".

Almost all the Irish chiefs were at one time or another in alliance with Tyrone. The only great lords who remained loyal to the English throughout were the Earl of Ormonde (Thomas Butler) and the Earls of Thomond (O'Brien) and Clanrickard (Burke). The level of hostilities increased from 1594 onwards though the early fighting was mostly with lesser chiefs and was interspersed with a number of truces and parleys. It was not to end till the submission of Tyrone and the death of Elizabeth in March 1603.

The style of the war was peculiar to Ireland and quite different from that conducted on the Continent in that period. The English held all the principal towns which were almost all on the coast. They also held a number of inland towns and key castles in all of which they normally kept garrisons. The English element of the population was concentrated in these towns and in the Pale, which was also normally loyal. The Irish lords and chiefs controlled the rest of the country. An Irish army consisted of the chief's own followers (Clansmen or tenants) plus any mercenaries they could hire, either other Irish or Scots from the west coast of Scotland. The Irish wealth consisted chiefly of cattle and sheep with a small amount of corn on which they lived in the winter when the cows gave no milk. Milk in various forms was their principal food. Irish armies moved about with their cattle, women and children in the bogs, woods and mountains raiding English detachments, castles and farmland and normally avoiding formal battles with English armies. The successful English tactics were to place numerous garrisons in the country to capture cattle and burn corn in the surrounding areas to deny the Irish a living and to pursue their armies with a small mobile force.

The English army was primarily organized in companies nominally 100 strong, consisting of a Captain (4s a day) a Lieutenant (2/- a day), Ensign (or ancient 1/6d), 2 sergeants, a drum, and a surgeon at 1/-. 94 soldiers at 8d. and six "dead pays" at 8d - a perquisite of the Captain. All superior officers had in addition to their company, as above, an appointment as General officer, General of Horse, Marshal, Governor of....., Serjeant-Major etc., which carried a separate salary. Regiments were occasionally formed for a particular job and their commander might then be known as Colonel.

I. The first mention of George Flower in the State Papers are two letters which are summarized in the Calender:-

Capt. Humphrey Willis and Lt. George Flower to the Lord Deputy (Sir William Russell).

Jan. 22, 1596 (N S) from Dorvie upon the borders of the Pale within the Brenny.

The Castle of Ballathene, and all the houses belonging to it, is burnt by the rebels. All the gentlemen of the country refuse to come in; they will never suffer soldiers nor law in the Brenny more. Brian O'Rourke is in the Cavan with a great force ready to invade the English Pale.

Jan. 25, 1596 Castle Corre The same to the same.

Brian O'Rourke has drawn near to the borders of the Pale. Parley with Edmund O'Reilly and the gentlemen of the Brenny. They are all upon Philip O'Reilly's word.

These letters were written during a truce with Tyrone. The two officers presumably with their companies were probably going to or from Enniskillen to revictual the garrison there. The O'Rourke's country was modern Leitrim and the O'Reilly's Cavan. To "come in" meant to come to an English officer and swear loyalty to the Crown.

II. There is a mention of Lt. Flower in a letter from the Lord Deputy to Lord Burghley dated Feb. 12, 1596 saying that Sir John Norris - General of the Army in Ireland had given him leave of absence though it is not clear to what period this leave applied.

III. The next campaign in which George Flower's participation is recorded is against the O'Bryne's in the Wicklow mountains. This clan had made raids into the Pale and carried off the spoil to their mountain fortresses for many years. On the night of 30th January 1595 they had burnt the village of Crumlin, only 3 miles from Dublin, stripped the lead from the church roof and carried it off to make bullets. In revenge Sir William Russell had captured the castle of Feagh MacHugh O'Bryne, their chief, at Ballinacor and built a fort

there and left a garrison. In September 1596 Feagh MacHugh captured Capt. Tucker the garrison commander and seized the castle again. He had written to Tyrone to send him some more men so he could 'trouble the English well'. Some Butlers, cousins of the Earl of Ormonde, living nearby at Tullie and Newston had joined the revolt.

To retrieve the position Lord Deputy Russell marched out from Dublin with an army evidently including Lt. Flower and established a fort at Rathdrome (Rathdrum) from which expeditions could be sent into the mountains (known as the Glynnnes) in pursuit of Feagh MacHugh and the other rebels. The following extracts from Russell's Journal refer to Flower.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| " 20 October 1596 | Lt. Flower and John Mastersome sent with some companies on service (from the camp at Rathdrome). |
| 28 October | Letters from Lt. Flower and Capt. Greames that they had taken 80 cows from the Butlers and the castle of Newston where they left a ward (i.e., a garrison). |
| 29 October | My Lord received a packet of letters by Mr. Mastersome. Lt. Flower returned. |
| 1st. November | Capt. Montague and Lt. Flower sent abroad on service. |
| 6th November | Lts. Flower and Vaughan sent to Tullie and Newston with companies. |
| 12th November | Lt. Flower returned from Tully where Lt. Vaughan and six of his soldiers were treacherously by the enemy slain and two of his brothers hurt. |
| 13th November | Lt. North and his company were put into the fort (at Rathdrome) till Capt. Lea returned from the Glynnnes, when he and Lt. Flower were appointed to keep the same". |

Capt. Lea (Thomas Lee) spent the winter scouring the mountains from Rathdrum and presumably Lt. Flower was with him. They brought in 'scores of cattle' and the 'heads of many traitors'. On 7 May 1597 the Lord Deputy left Dublin to join the forces. Early the next morning he reached the central glens. Three columns entered that fortress by separate routes. Feagh MacHugh was surprised by one company and as he fled ran straight into the company of Capt. Lee. He was caught in a cave "where one Milborne, sergeant to Capt. Lee, first lighted on him, and the fury of our soldiers was so great as he could not be brought away alive; thereupon the said sergeant cut off Feagh's head with his own sword and presented his head to my lord" . (Russell's Journal).

IV. The foregoing was almost the last act of Sir William Russell; on 22 May 1597 he handed over to the new Lord Deputy Thomas, Lord Burgh. By 12 July 1597 Burgh had assembled all available soldiers amounting to about 3,000 foot and 500 horse near Newry to attack Tyrone. On the 12th a muster was made at Carrackbawne beyond Newry, in which the companies of Capts. Flower, Fitton and Percie are marked as "All Irish".

With this army, presumably including Capt. Flower, Burgh advanced to Armagh and stormed the fort that Tyrone had established to defend the ford of the Blackwater river. He defeated a counter attack from Tyrone the next day and built his own fort to command the ford.

Lord Burgh's plan had been to advance to Lough Foyle to establish a new fort and garrison at what is now Londonderry. At the same time as he advanced from Armagh, Sir Conyers Clifford was to advance from Connaught, capture Ballyshannon and meet him at Lough Foyle. Clifford, however, failed to capture Ballyshannon and was forced to retreat so the Lough Foyle project had to be abandoned and Lord Burgh's army was distributed in garrisons reaching down to Cavan to protect the Pale from an invasion by Tyrone. Before he could launch a new offensive Lord Burgh was taken ill and died at Newry on 13th October 1597.

The Earl of Ormonde succeeded to the military command and was instructed to negotiate with Tyrone. These negotiations dragged on till June 1598 when Tyrone took the offensive again in Armagh, Cavan and Leix. Ormonde defeated a party of rebels in Leix on 10 July. A force of 3,900 foot and 320 horse were assembled at Newry under Sir Henry Bagenal,

Marshal of the Army (second in command) to revictual the fort on the Blackwater and carry the war into Tyrone's country. On 14th August this army was disastrously defeated by Tyrone at the battle of the Yellow Ford, near the Blackwaterfort, with the loss of about 2,000 men. It was the worst disaster that the English had ever suffered in Ireland. Tyrone followed it up by sending forces into Leinster, Connaught and Munster and the Irish rose in revolt across the whole country.

V. The next we know of George Flower is that he and his company were in Munster in the autumn of 1598. Sir Thomas Norris was Lord President of Munster and in a letter to the Privy Council dated December 9th 1598 he writes:

"Before the arrival of the 2,000 foot (which had just landed from England) there were in Munster the following companies; My own - 200 and those of Capts. Flower, Progers, Blane, Sir Henry Norris, George Kingsmill and Francis Kingsmill, the last three only just arrived in the province. The old companies have long lived in want of both money and apparel by reason whereof they are grown naked as well in their numbers as otherwise".

At Michaelmas 1598 Owen MacRory O'Moore and Richard Tyrrell, an Englishman and Tyrone's best commander, arrived near Limerick with 1,400 men. They were joined by Piers Lacy who encouraged the Geraldines to make James Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond. They then proceeded to burn and pillage and kill every Englishman and English supporter, gathering support as they went.

After the Desmond rebellion, a substantial part of Desmond lands had been granted to Englishmen to form what was known as the Munster Plantation. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Edmund Spencer and many other gentlemen had been granted estates on which they had settled numbers of English tenants, but also against their covenants, many Irish. Most of the gentlemen were absent when the Irish armies arrived. The settlers put up very little resistance before fleeing to the coastal towns, many being killed on the way and others suffering appalling barbarities.

The Earl of Ormonde came south into Munster to repress the rebellion, as soon as he had arranged the defence of the Pale and met Sir Thomas Norris at Kilmallock on 11th October. On 21st October he wrote a letter to the Privy Council including the following:-

"The people in Yanghal are weak and unable to defend their town by reason of the largeness of the walls. It is a place of great importance, so I am forced, out of the few numbers I have with me (not above 700) to leave Capt. George Flower's company with them which makes the garrison 690 foot and 92 horse."

VI. George Flower probably remained as the Commander of the garrison in Yanghal from October 1598 to March 1600. During this period the main theatre of the war was on the borders of the Pale and Ulster where the Earl of Essex was pursuing his unsuccessful campaigns against Tyrone. Most of what we know of Capt. Flower's activities in this period is contained in a report dated Sept. 1599 written by Henry Pyne who was one of the few Englishmen who had not fled and continued to maintain himself and his tenants in his castle of Moghelly, north of Yanghal.

"In February last, Capt. Flower with 300 foot and 25 horse, being sent by the Commissioners (Sir Henry Power and Sir Warham St. Leger, in the absence of a Lord President) to Drumfinny woods, the White Knight (Fitzgibbon), John FitzThomas (brother to the "Earl" of Desmond) and Piers Lacy, having intelligence thereof, entered the said woods with 800 men, thinking to have defeated the English which they might easily have done, had they not with their companies and horse, withdrawn themselves under the walls of Moghelly where they remained twelve to fourteen days".

"At two several times, when Capt. Flower came with the forces of Yanghal to prey upon the Blackwater and to burn corn, Moghelly furnished him with 16 horses. The rebels understanding of this, offered that if Henry Pyne would forbear to assist Capt. Flower with his horse they would not molest him any more".

Perhaps the same or at least a similar incident is described in the following:-

William Jones, Commissary in Munster to Sir Robert Cecil
Feb.17, 1600.

".....Before the coming down of these forces, the several garrisons of Munster did very good service at Limerick, Kilmallock, Mallow and Yanghal, in burning the enemies country and fetching in of their prey(cattle). Amongst the which, Capt. Flower, Sergeant-Major of this province, behaved himself with judgement and value being in a manner besieged by the White Knight and most of the (enemy's) forces of Munster, he having not 300 in his company and retired only with the hurt of 3 men and the loss of one."

One other thing we know of this period is:-

"Capt. Flower had the custodian granted unto him of the castle of Conlie and lands which appertained to James FitzThomas by the Earl of Essex, by force whereof he hath been possessed of that land".

in letter from Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil - Dec.22, 1600.

The same castle and lands were later claimed by Mr. FitzEdmonds under Her Majesty's seal in the Exchequer and by Lord Barry who claimed they had been seized from him by the late Earl of Desmond.

VII. In February 1600 Tyrone himself invaded Munster to fan the flames of rebellion. At a formal gathering of the Geraldines he confirmed James FitzThomas as Earl of Desmond and at a similar meeting of the McCarthys proclaimed Florence McCarthy "McCarthy More" - the traditional title of the chieftain of all the McCarthys. He left 1000 Connaught mercenaries with Florence McCarthy. After an unsuccessful parley with Florence, Sir Henry Power (sole acting Commissioner for Munster), early in April 1600, sent Capt. Flower with 1000 foot and 80 horse into Carberry - the heart of the McCarthy country. The following is Flower's official report:-

"A brief note of my journey into Carberry"

"First being appointed by Sir Henry Power, Chief Commander of the forces here, to march into Carberry, there to burn and spoil all such as were revolted from their loyalty, if

"they would not come in, and put in sufficient pledges for their subjection; the first day that I marched from Kinsale, in our passage over the river of the Bandon, we were entertained with a light skirmish by some of Florence McCarthy's men, where we slew twelve of them, whereof there was three gentlemen, and took 400 cows, burned Carrignassey, wherein Florence's ward was, and all that border, with great store of corn belonging to Dermond Moyle McCarthy, now a rebel. The third day's march in our way to Ross, we burned a castle called The Muntan, belonging to a foster father of Florence McCarthy's which was then as pledge with Tyrone for Florence his troth to him, with many towns belonging to the said castle, where was burned much corn, and our soldiers had great store of arms and other spoils. From thence we marched to Ross, where we rested two days. From Ross we marched over the Leape, into O'Donovan's country, where we burned all those parts, and had the killing of many of their churls and poor people, leaving not them any one grain of corn within ten miles of our way, wherever we marched, and took a prey of 500 cows, which I caused to be drowned and killed, for that we would not trouble ourselves to drive them in that journey. Beyond the Leape we stayed three days, in which time we burned and spoiled all the sept of the Clandermonds then in action. And upon our march into O'Mahon Fenn's country, I had certain intelligence that Florence McCarthy was prepared with 1,800 men to intercept my passage back to Ross; upon which news I returned to Ross. And the same night, Florence came and camped within two miles of me, with part of his force, and Dermond O'Connor, commander of the Connaught men, with 1000 Connaught soldiers camped on the other side of me, within three miles of us to intercept our passage to Cork (as they said); but we were so troublesome neighbours to those Connaught men, that we enforced them to draw their

"forces together, where they remained before us ten days, in which time Sir Henry Power sent me especial order to draw to Cork with all the speed I could. Upon which receipt, I marched towards Kinsale. The enemy, understanding of my rising, followed us with all their force all that day, but by reason we got to the plains and a mile before them, I would never suffer them to bring up their strength to fight, but still kept them in with our horse. In that day's march we killed forty-two whereof were five gentlemen.

When we came to Kinsale, I received direction to march to Cork, and leaving 250 of the army behind to guard that town. In my journey to Cork, unexpected we were entertained with their whole force, where they enforced us, by reason of a bridge that they had gained of us, to fight upon a retreat, for half a mile and better but afterwards finding my advantage both of time and ground, I charged their first battle with some horse, and broke them, and had the execution of them a mile. In that charge we slew dead 137, whereof eight were Captains, besides 37 sore wounded. Of them there died the first night (which were hurt) sixteen; myself being at that time and in the beginning hurt, upon the first charge, with a pike, nine inches into the thigh, by their general. At that charge, I had one horse killed under me, with 3 pikes in his body and two bullets. When we brake them, I fought hand to hand with their general, where I received my second hurt in my head, by one that carried their colours, I having one part of them in my hand and he the other. There I had my second horse slain with pikes under me. So, I thank God, we were masters of the field, and in all that journey we lost but one Lieutenant and nine soldiers being slain, and myself with fifteen others hurt".

Cork. 23 April 1600.

There are three other accounts of this battle. One is a brief resume in Sir Henry Power's official report. The second is in a letter from Joshua Aylmer (Comissary of musters in Munster) to Sir Robert Cecil, April 21 1600. Aylmer was present with Flower's army. A very similar account, but also including some additional facts appears in "Pacata Hibernia" - an account of the war in Munster 1600 - 1603 by Thomas Stafford, under the direction of Sir George Carew. I have preferred this account which is as follows:-
(p.30 - 1896 edition).

"In the midway betwixt that city (Cork) and Kinsale there is a ford and a bridge, over the river called Awneby. Here the rebels lay close in an ambush on the north side of the river, in a glen between two hills, and also on the south side, in a scrubby wood near the river. The companies coming on, not thinking there to expect an enemy, marched scarce orderly, and but a few matches burning; Capt. John Bostock, riding a good pretty distance before them, and past the bridge, espied the morians (helmets) of some of the sunk ambush in the glen, presently retiring back gave notice of the enemy, and willed them to prepare themselves. The rebels, finding that they were discovered, presently arose and charged our men before they were well ordered; Capt. Flower, the commander, finding himself oppressed with numbers, drew to the walls of an old ruinous castle to the eastward, near half a mile distant, for safety, in which retreat they being upon the point of routing, were charged home with both horse and foot. Flower, to prevent the danger, directed Lieutenant Lane, officer to Sir John Barkley, to lie in ambush under an old ditch, with a squadron of musketeers; Carbry O'Connor, brother to Dermond aofresaid, came on with his company, following the execution of some of our men, until he fell into the ambush, where, hearing a volley of shot delivered upon them, Carbry, with other gentlemen, was slain. At which accident the rebels being amazed, the horse took the opportunity, and charged them with such resolution, as instantly they routed,

"and our men fell upon the execution of them. In which charge I cannot but particularly commend Robert Tent, Sir Anthony Cook's cornet, who did behave himself with extraordinary valour. Besides Carbry O'Connor, ninety eight were slain in the place, and near that number hurt, whereof divers afterwards died. On our part, none of note hurt but Greame, brother to Capt. Richard Greame, and eight soldiers. Captain Flower (who did that day admirably well) had two horses slain under him, and received sundry wounds, both with sword and pike, and it was his fortune to encounter with Dermond O'Connor, at whom he discharged his pistol, which lighted upon his target (shield), whereby he received no hurt".

VIII. On 24th April 1600 Sir George Carew the new President of Munster (later created Earl of Totnes for his success) arrived in Cork and took over from Sir Henry Power. He summoned Florence McCarthy under safe-conduct and temporarily accepted his professions of loyalty in order to leave himself free to operate against James FitzThomas the "Earl" of Desmond and his allies in the West. On May 21st he left Cork with the army including Capt. Flower.

Shortly after their arrival in Limerick, there came news that O'Donnell had come down from Ulster through Roscommon with a strong raiding party and was burning and pillaging the Earl of Thomond's country (Clare). Carew sent Capt. Flower with 800 foot and 60 horse to help Thomond. Together they drove out O'Donnell and Flower returned to Limerick.

Carew, having driven a wedge between James FitzThomas and his Connaught mercenaries by a mixture of clever intrigue and skirmishes decided to march down the Shannon estuary to subdue the "Earl's" allies in Kerry. He gathered his army together at Askeaton. The story continues in Carew's letter of 18 July 1600 to the Privy Council.

....."The 4th of July I rose from Askeaton and lodged upon the midst of the mountain of Slighloher, at a place called Ballyntare, 12 miles from Askeaton; the enemy all that day marching in my view, and our camps lodged not two miles asunder. The day following the enemy, as before, marched

"in sight and left us not until we came unto the Knight of the Valley's castle, called the Glann (Glin), five miles distant from Ballyntare, where as soon as we were encamped, I caused the cannon to be unshipped, and that night we entrenched ourselves about the castle. The day following we planted our ordnance, which was one demi-cannon and a sacre (saker), all which was done without any loss of men by entertaining of the time with parley.

The 7th of this present the Knight of the Valley came safe-conducted to the camp, and desired conference with me, which I refused without his absolute submission to her Majesty and relying himself upon her mercy; whereunto he would not yield unto but upon conditions, notwithstanding that he saw the cannon placed ready to play, and his son in my hands there threatened to be presently executed. Immediately being safely conveyed out of the camp (himself standing upon a high mountain not far off) we began to batter, when the small shot did so incessantly burn powder, as the ward durst not to stand to their fights, until a breach was made assaultable into the cellar under the great hall of the castle".

Pacata Hibernia continues:-

"Then was Capt. Flower commanded by the President, with certain companies assigned unto him, to enter the breach, which he valiantly performed, and gained the hall, and enforced the ward to return into a castle close adjoining it, where, from out of a spite, they slew four of our men; then he ascended a pair of stairs, to gain two turrets over the hall, in which attempt Capt. Bostock's ensign was slain; by the winning whereof they were in better security than before, and there were our colours placed; and because it was by this time within night, Capt. Slingsby was commanded to make it good till the morning".....

"Early in the morning the ward had got into the tower of the castle, where there was no coming to them, but up a narrow stair which was so straight that no more than one at once might

"ascend.....

First "A musketeer, and to his second a halberdier, then Capt. Flower and Capt. Slingsby, Lt. Power, Ensign Power, Lt. Nevill, seconded by others ascended the stairs in file, where they found no resistance nor yet in the upper rooms, for the rebels were all gone to the battlements of the castle, with resolution to sell their lives as dear as they could. Our men pursued the way to the battlements, whereunto there was but one door; Capt. Flower entered upon one hand and Capt. Slingsby upon the other; the gutters were very narrow between the roof of the castle and the battlements. In conclusion, some were slain in the place, and others leapt from the top of the castle into the water underneath it, where our guards killed them".

Pacata Hibernia pp. 91 and 92

"In winning of this castle we lost 11 soldiers, whereof one was and ensign, and 21 hurt, of which number (of men of account) the Sergeant-Major [Capt. Flower] (whose valour I cannot but highly commend) had four wounds, but none mortal, the Earl of Thomond's Lieutenant, and likewise Sir Henry Power's hurt. Of the enemy of all sorts there was slain and burned towards 80 persons, amongst them 24 natural, and of the best followers of the Knight of the Valley, in whom his greatest strength consisted, and by whose loss he is utterly ruined.

The reasons that made this traitor to be so obstinate was the confident opinion he had grounded upon oaths and protestations from James FitzThomas and the buonaghes (mercenaries) that with his whole force he would give him relief and raise the seige; who evermore lodged (during my abode there) not above a mile from me, and yet never attempted to give one alarm.....

.....This castle of the Glan is a place of great importance seated upon the Shanan, and ever since the beginning of the rebellion one Anthony Arthur (a merchant of Limerick) lay in it to vend commodities to the rebels".

Carew's letter of 18 July, as above.

IX. The fall of the Castle of Glyn broke the spirit of the rebels. The neighbouring castle of Carrickfoyle quickly surrendered and Carew sent Sir. Charles Wilmot with a regiment into Kerry which he soon subsued. The rest of the Munster army was distributed in garrisons "either in the rebels countries or very near thereunto". George Flower commanded the garrison of Lismore. Their orders were "to employ their companies at this time especially about the standing corn now ready for the harvest, to gather in for their own use what lay most conveniently for them, and the rest to destroy with man and horse, which was performed accordingly; and this no doubt was one principal cause that they were unable to hold up their heads the next year. (*Pacata Hibernia*).

George Flower's activities are recorded in the following letters:-

Aug. 10 1600 - Sir G. Carew to Mountjoy

"Capt. Flower, as I hear, hath done good service
Lismore".

"The garrisons are not idle, for besides the harvest which in all places they possess, every day I have news of takings of preys and killings".

Sept. 17 1600 - Sir G. Carew to Sir R. Cecil.

"If he (James FitzThomas) slips down into Sir Walter Ralegh's woods of Dromfynin, Capt. Flower will be ready to receive him with the garrison which lies at Killbree hard by Lismore".

On Sept. 16th 1600 the garrison at Kilmallock caught James Fitz-Thomas "Earl of Desmond" and his army on the move from Connello to Aharow, defeated him in a running battle and captured all his baggage. Most of his men then deserted and he was left a fugitive with only a handful of followers. So Munster had a quiet winter.

X. At the end of March 1601 Carew had news that an army from Ulster, provided by O'Donnell, and the fugitive Munster chiefs was coming down through Connaught into Munster to help James FitzThomas. Carew had already provided 1,000 men under Sir John Barkley for service in Connaught and he now sent another 1000 foot under the command of

George Flower to join him and repel the invaders.

"The nine and twentieth of March Capt. Flower rose out of Limerick, and that night lodged at Quyn in Thomond, had notice that the enemy had advanced into Thomond to spoil the same. The sergeant-major, discovering their forces, came up close to them, and when he began to flight they began to run, whom, notwithstanding, he so well pursued, with my Lord of Thomond's company, that they slew and hurt divers of them".

Pacata Hibernia

The rebels were pursued from fastness to fastness till finally after losing 200 men "with the most part of their munition and baggage" crossing the river Sucke, they dispersed to the north.

"Capt. Flower, with his regiment, returned the one and twentieth of April to Limerick".

Pacata Hibernia

In a list of the army on 10 August 1601 his company is given as being in Connaught under Sir J. Barkley.

During this summer both James FitzThomas and Florence McCarthy were captured and sent prisoners to England.

XI. On 22nd September 1601 a force of approximately 4,000 Spaniards landed at Kinsale. Mountjoy and Carew were with Ormonde at Kilkenny at the time. They immediately ordered all available troops to gather at Cork and themselves rode to Cork to organize the seige of the Spaniards in Kinsale. Flower was sent to view the town which led to the first action of the seige.

"Three days past (according to Pacata Hibernia 28 September) I sent Captain Flower with 300 light shot who at daybreak skirmished at the gates of Kinsale. The Spaniards showed great fear. Our men are in good spirits. The enemy gave these men "Great reputation" and asked if these were any more resolute. Had they not been called off by Capt. Flower they would have set fire to the gate. Although our force was small and the day cloudy, the Spaniards would not sally"

Letter of Sir.G.Carew to Sir.R. Cecil

9 October 1601.

On 16th October the Lord Deputy with the army that had arrived marched out of Cork and encamped on a hill called Knockrobin half a mile from Kinsale. A few days later the English artillery and munitions and supplies were brought round from Cork by ship and the seige proceeded steadily. Outlying castles were reduced and trenches advanced towards the town. George Flower was involved in a number of skirmishes. The English army suffered severely being camped in the open with only "cabins" made of branches and peat turfs to protect them from the weather. Several thousands died of exposure and disease.

The most important sally by the Spaniards occurred on 2nd December. The English had established two forts with cannon close to the walls, one on the Eastside of the town and one on the West where the guard this night was commanded by Capt. Flower.

"The enemy sallied about eight o'clock (the night being extremely dark and rainy), with about 2,000 men, and first gave slightly towards the new trenches upon the west side, and presently after, with a great gross upon the trench of the cannon (on the east), continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them tools of divers sorts to pull down the gabions and trenches, and spikes to cloy the artillery. The alarm being taken in the camp, the Marshal,.....with some five or six hundred sallied presently towards the cannon for their seconds.....Upon the arrival of the Marshal with his forces the enemy broke, and our men did execution upon them. At the same time the enemy gave upon our new trenches (on the west) and continued the attempt a long time with great fury, till Captain Flower sallying out and beating back part of their forces, the enemy entered before his return, and were possessed of the trenches, in which time Sir William Godolphin gave many charges for the seconding of our men who continued fight in the field until the Earl of Clanricard.....charged a gross of the enemy without the fort, broke them, and did execution upon them towards the town and returning, entered the fort again, which the enemy abandoned with little resistance and made it good till he was relieved. In this sally the enemy left behind them above six score dead bodies.....and since we heard out of the town that they lost

"dead above two hundred of their best men. On our side were hurt Capt. Flower and Capt. Shipwith and three captains and Capt. Flower's lieutenant killed and some five and twenty private soldiers." Pacata Hibernia.

On 6 December Tyrone and O'Donnell appeared north of Kinsale and cut the English off from Cork by land. The English army of about 5,000 men was now trapped between 3,000 Spaniards in Kinsale and about 6,000 Irish with 200 Spaniards to the North and could only get its supplies by sea. On Christmas Eve the Irish advanced but were caught in disorder in open country by the English cavalry while executing a manoeuvre. They broke at the charge and fled utterly demoralized. Their flight did not end till they reached Ulster. On 31st December 1601 the Spaniards offered a parley and shortly after terms were agreed for an end to hostilities and their return to Spain.

XII. A part of the Spanish force bound for Kinsale had got separated in a storm and after putting in to Coruna resumed its journey but arrived in Castlehaven instead of Kinsale on 1st December. It was 200 of this force of about 800 that fought with the Irish at Kinsale. The remainder, having had their ships destroyed by the English Navy shortly after landing were distributed in garrisons at Castlehaven, Baltimore and Berehaven (Dunbay Castle). Part of the agreement with the Spaniards in Kinsale was that these three places should be surrendered to the English and the Spaniards returned to Spain. On 10th January 1602 "Capt. Roger Harvey and Capt. George Flower were despatched with certain companies by sea, to receive the castles of Castlehaven, Donneshed and Donnelong at Baltimore, and Dunbay at Berehaven in the west". Pacata Hibernia.

They were however delayed at Kinsale by contrary winds till 7th February. On 12th February the Spaniards rendered the Castle of Castlehaven to Capt. Roger Harvey receiving an acknowledgement in writing. On the 23rd. they were feasted by the Spaniards in the castle of Donnelong and on 26th. both castles at Baltimore were rendered to them.

"From Baltimore, Capt. George Flower was shipped in a hoy of one hundred and twenty tons with two companies of two hundred in list, but

"weak by pole, to receive from the Spaniards the castle of Dunboy, but do all he could, by reason of oul weather and contrary winds he could never, although he was at the mouth of the Haven of Beare, recover the land, and so was forced to return, effecting nothing. In this short navigation fifty of his best soldiers by infection died, and but seven of the sailors living".

Pacata Hibernia.

Actually his castle of Dunboy had been seized by its Irish owner O'Sullivan Beare from the Spaniards on 20th February and the Spaniards had been sent by ship to Baltimore. After George Flower's return to Bantry, he was soon reinforced up to a strength of 500 men by the Earl of Thomond. He established his garrison in Whiddy island in Bantry Row.

Sir G. Carew decided he must capture Dunboy castle because it provided the only harbour to which Spanish reinforcement might come and on 3rd April ordered the gathering of the Munster army at Bantry for a sea borne assault. There is a long and detailed description of the successful landing, seige and taking of Dunboy in Pacata Hibernia. Sir G. Carew thought it a great feat of arms due to the peculiar difficulties facing a besieger from the almost impregnable position of the castle on a rocky promontory commanding the haven. George Flower certainly participated at the seige but no particular exploits of his are recorded. The expedition set off from Whiddy island on 1st June and returned in triumph, having blown up the castle and defeated a rebel army, on 26th June, 1602.

XIII. While the capture of Dunboy castle apparently persuaded the Spaniards against sending further forces to Ireland, there was an expectation of them among the Irish, and about 1,000 rebels remained in arms of whom the principals were O'Sullivan Beare, the McCarthy's in Carberry, and mercenaries under Tyrrell.

Flower appears to have returned to Cork with Carew in July. In August he was besieging the castle of Mocrumpe on the Lee in Muskerry because the loyalty of its owner Lord Muskerry was suspect. In October he was in command of the garrison at Bantry helping to waste

the McCarthy's country. In November on the death of Capt. Roger Harvey he took over the garrison at Baltimore.

"Not many days later, Capt. George Flower, understanding that the Castle of Cloghan was guarded by the rebels, and that in the same there was a Romish priest lately come from Rome, taking three companies, marched to it, in hope to gain it, the rather because he had in his hands one called Donnell Dorough, a traitor, brother to the constable that had the charge thereof. Upon his summons they refused to yield. Then he told the word that if the constable did not presently render the castle to him, he would hang his brother in their sight. They said the constable was gone abroad (but therein they said untruly, as afterwards was proved). In conclusion, to save the priest (whose life they tendered) they persevered obstinately not to yield; whereupon Captain Flower, in their sight, hanged the constable's brother. Nevertheless, within four days afterwards, the priest being shifted away in safety, the constable sued for a protection and rendered the castle to Capt. Flower. I relate this incident to the end the reader may the more clearly see in what reverence and estimation these ignorant, superstitious Irish hold a Popish priest, in regard of whose safety the constable was content to suffer his brother to perish"

Pacata Hibernia.

In December Carew decided to attack the main body of rebels in the fastnesses of Beare. On 27 December Sir Charles Wilmot with the Kerry garrison of 1,000, Capt. Flower with the Bantry garrison of 1,050, Sir George Thornton with 550 and the "rising out" (feudal host) of 1,600 assembled at Donkerran. Frightened by these preparations Tyrrell and his mercenaries fled precipitately into Connought.

"On thirtieth December, we (the army above) encamped in Glen-gariffe on a plot of dry ground (environed with woods and bogs) of so small capacity that most of our guards and sentinels were held either on the bog or in the edge of the wood, and yet there was not so much firm ground together within five miles of that place.

"Within two miles thereof encamped the rebels.....Before the camp was settled, the rebels entertained a skirmish for an hour's space.....The same night they poured into our quarter a volley of shot.

The one and thirtieth,.....four hundred of the rising out and two hundred of the army.....were sent to beat the fastness where the rebels lodged. Their quarter was entered and their cartel(cattle) seized, whereupon ensued a bitter fight maintained without intermission for six hours.....two regiments were drawn forth.....to succour.....our men....and the skirmish continued.....with sword and pike.....till night parted them. In that days service were taken, 2,000 cows, 4,000 sheep and 1,000 garrans".

Pacata Hibernia.

Immediately after this defeat, the principal rebels fled into Connought leaving their wounded, women and children, for the army to capture.

"The sharpness of this winter's journey hath tried the strength of our companies, for the mountains of Beare, being at that time covered with snow, tested the strongest bodies, whereby many returned sick and some (unable to endure the extremity) died standing sentinel. And that which much weakened them was their ill victualling consisting most of poor-John (a sort of fish) and no other drink but water".

Letter of Carew to Privy Council.

22nd. January 1603.

At the same time as this encounter in the mountains of Beare, Capt. Taffe with 400 of the rising out defeated the McCarthy's in Carberry and killed "Owen McEgan, the Pope's Nuncio, with a drawn sword in one hand, and his portus and beads in the other".

Carew to Privy Countil
as above.

These two battles finished the active war in Munster.

George Flower returned into garrison in Carberry where in February he "took the Castle of Kilcow", the only castle in Carberry that held out in rebellion".

Pacata Hibernia.

On 30th March Tyrone submitted to Mountjoy in Drogheda on his knees for a full hour, six days after Queen Elizabeth had died in England.

Note on Sources.

All the quotations in this account are from four
contemporary sources:- The Calendar of State Papers - Ireland -
Elizabeth.

The Calendar of State Papers - Carew.

Fynes Morrison - History of Ireland 1598-1603.

Pacata Hibernia - T. Stafford under

Sir G. Carew.

No original papers in the Public Record Office have been inspected.

Nov/79.

(b)

SIR GEORGE FLOWER'S CAREER AFTER THE WAR. 1603 - 1636

I have found two main sources of information - the State Papers (C.S.P.I.) and the Lismore Papers (ed. Grossart, 1886 - 88) being the diary and letters of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, now at Chatsworth. Richard Boyle who was knighted in 1603, made Lord Boyle in 1616 and Earl of Cork in 1620, became Secretary of the Council of Munster in August 1600 when Sir George Carew was President and his friendship with George Flower which began in the stress of war lasted their lifetimes. The material is not sufficient to make a connected narrative so I have set out the original sources with explanatory notes.

1. March 1603

A number of the towns of Munster were reluctant to proclaim James I as King of Ireland and George Flower was engaged in the argument with the Mayor and Recorder of Cork as to whether they should admit the soldiers to the city and proclaim James I King of Ireland. C.S.P.I.

2. October 1603

Flower's company, reduced to 100, was at Baltimore. C.S.P.I.

3. 31 March 1604

His company was disbanded. C.S.P.I.

4. 23 May 1604

He was one of nine gentlemen who signed a certificate in favour of Edmond Cotton who lived amongst them in the County of Waterford. C.S.P.I.

5. 31 January 1605

Captain George Flower appears in a list of army pensioners at 4s. per day. C.S.P.I.

6. 9 March 1606

A similar list. C.S.P.I.

7. 1606

He was knighted about this time and appointed Sheriff of Waterford County. The following is a precis of a letter from Lord Carew (previously Sir George) to the Earl of Salisbury endorsed 1606:

'Sir George Flower, Sergeant-Major of the forces under Carew in Ireland is discharged of his entertainments and through his diligence in maintaining his company has grown indebted. His creditors prosecute the rigour of the law against him. Carew begs Salisbury to take order that Flower's creditors may not undo him. His debts do not exceed £400 and in 2 years he would find means to satisfy them.'

Historical Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury. Vol.18 p.384

8. 26 December 1607

The Lords of the Council of England write to Sir A. Chichester (Lord Deputy of Ireland) instructing him to see justice done over a petition from Richard Baker and other merchants who are complaining that Sir George Flower ("an officer in His Majesty's pay") has not fulfilled a contract for the purchase of a large quantity of wheat.

C.S.P.I.

9. May 1608

He is included in a list of Captains discharged since 1603 under the heading "born in England and now in Ireland" and having "a ward", i.e. being Constable of a Royal Castle. C.S.P.I.

10. 29 June 1608

In a letter from Henry Wright to Sir Richard Boyle "Sir George Flower and his servant Samuel Hill" are mentioned re. the cutting of wood for Boyle's ironworks. (Sir R. Boyle imported foreign workmen and established an important iron smelting business on his estate using local timber for fuel.)

Lismore Papers. Vol. II 121 - 122.

11. May 1611

Sir George Flower writes to Lord Carew (previously Sir George Carew, President of Munster 1600 - 03, later Earl of Totnes) from Knockinoan suggesting a new scheme of musters for the whole male population over 16 in Ireland and solicits the post of Muster-Master General. He complains of his poor estate and requests/letter of protection for 2 years. (C.S.P.I.) This letter suggests that he was being troubled with lawsuits as Sheriff of Waterford. (see note 8 and later note 34.)

12. October 1611

Flower is included in a list of retired Captains on a pension of 4s. a day.

13. 20 December 1615

The following evocative letter from Sir George to Sir Richard Boyle I have left in the original spelling. According to the editor, Grossart, "the handwriting is simply abominable". It would seem that he had been summoned by the authorities in Dublin to answer some of the difficulties and disputes of his Sheriffship. The word 'both' after mention of the house at Kildonage may mean he was married.

"Nobel Sir, if I shold by letter writ unto you all the rubes I have had in my latt journey to dublin, I know in your wonted love towards me, it wold not plese you: thefor I leve the relation until I see you at Crismas, unto who I have invitted myself: only this in mean time thence, that when my father last blessed me he gave me the blessinge that Jacobe gave unto his son Issacher, otherwise it were not possible. I should licke a most pacient dull asse beare all these unworthy bordones layd upon me, but (I hope) dye an honest man (Though a poor man) spitt of all my Eenemes; and that is all the Comfort I have, that I can master my ill fortuen: for Kildonoge I only had 10^{LI}(£10) and leve to staye in the howse tell our lady daye: Upon great assurances both so to depart then. I might now

excuse Mr. Power of this. I have had other Crabbets layd upon me, for the Sherefshew of Waterford, which I do protest to you I never sued for, yett my lord deputy layd it upon me, and the Lord Chancellor wold take it of. I praye excuse me that I have not seen you sene my Commission from Dublin, which I wold have don if I had (not) byn in the prospect for such a jorney. I now fynde you my absolut best friend I have Ceniagre,* and only shall Command the true & willing services of

George Flower."

Lismore Papers, Series 2, Vol. II, p.11

* French? sans jacter = without bragging.
or Ce nie à gré = Deny this at your pleasure.

14. 29 March 1616

In a letter to Sir R. Boyle Evan Owens writes: "Sir George Flower has offered him to be undersheriff". He begs to know Sir R. Boyle's pleasure therein.

L. P. Vol. VII, No. 4

15. 20 July 1616

Lord Dunboyne to Sir R. Boyle re. dispute about the ownership of a bog. Robert Hacket "is willing to submit to the arbitration of Sir George Flower and Patrick Kearney".

L.P. Vol. VII, No. 71.

16. 3 July 1617

Sir George Flower to Lord Boyle (recently ennobled). He encloses the award made by Piers Butler and himself respecting a bog in dispute between Lord Dunboyne and Lord Boyle.

L.P. Vol. VIII, No. 78.

17. 2 June 1618

Lord Boyle's Diary/Memorandum Book (original spelling):
"I have assigned Sir Georg fflower the possession and proffyts of the wey howse neer the Key gate in Waterford for one year,

he paying me a pair of gloves, and to the dean and chapter from whom I hould yt by lease XX^s 11^d (£1 - 0 - 2) being the Rent reserved on my lease for 60 years, made by the said dean and chapter to me."

This transaction would appear to be an honourable way of making a payment to Sir George. A pair of gloves, like a pair of spurs or a peppercorn, was an honourable token. The profits from the tolls of the Weighing House on the Quay at Waterford might have been quite considerable at this time of prosperous trade.

18. 12 July 1620 Waterford

Sir George Flower to Lord Boyle: (precis) "will always do his commands so long as life dwells in this body. Will use all speed and diligence to effect his coming. If the Lord President (of Munster) come not this gaol will be left. There is now the greatest gaol that ever he knew in the county and the safe-keeping of the prisoners doth now trouble him."

L.P. Vol. XI, No. 73

19. 23 September 1623. Earl of Cork's diary

Sir George ffower gave him a gelding for his own saddle and he gave Sir George "a fair young trotting gelding".

20. 27 September 1623. Waterford Sir G. Flower to Earl of Cork (R. Boyle) precis:

"Has received a writ of dower from the Lady Raleign and encloses a copy. Desires his lordship's directions in it, for all the world shall not make him do anything contrary to his lordship's liking though he should turn a perpetual prisoner for it. Report from Gloucester that the Prince arrived in England on Tuesday fortnight and that he came very private through France with no more than three in his company. At Gloucester there were bonfires and great triumph for his safe return. Another report is that he came by sea."

L.P. Vol. XIV No. 132

Richard Boyle had purchased the Irish estates in Cork and Waterford (Lismore Castle) of Sir Walter Raleigh about 1604 on the advice of Sir George Carew. The consent of Lady Raleigh to this sale had apparently not been properly given and wives had a right of dower in their husband's estates unless they had consented to the sale. This dispute dragged on from Sir Walter's death to that of his wife but it would not seem that she ever got much from Boyle who had trained as a lawyer.

21. 1 November 1623. Earl of Cork's diary

"My daughter Sara sent me word that the baye ambling gelding I had of Sir George Flower carried her so pleasingly to Mellifont as she would keep him for me and ryde him till I cam there."

22. 2 February 1624. Waterford. Sir George Flower to the Earl of Cork: (precis)

He "is sorry that his sub-sheriff has given offence; yet begs that he may be assistant to Mr. Newman for this year. Cannot express how firm he stand bound to his lordship above all the men that breathe for his continual favours to him; but especially for his late remembrances of him to Mr. Calvert to solicit the Lord Deputy on his behalf. Were it not for the hopes he has in his honor he should count himself the unhappiest creature that ever spent blood in the service of his country. But he most patiently suffers under the burden of a most wearisome life.

"There hath of late been a gathering of monies here, but for what purpose he knows not; some say it is to regain the Charter, others report it is for some great design in England. There is likewise a fear of a proclamation for the banishment of all priests out of the kingdom. Yet they are confident the match with Spain is concluded. God send all for his glory and remove the superstitious idolatry from off us if it be his will. The Sheriff made some question of his authority in this town gave him a copy of it and desires not to hinder him in any way being an ancient friend:

but would not willingly lose the government of the place till he be provided with some other employment or otherwise receive some recompense for his service past".

L.P. Vol. XIV. No. 241

There is some doubt about when Sir George ceased to be Sheriff of Waterford County and became Governor of Waterford town but probably this occurred in 1618 when the King cancelled the municipal charter of Waterford. The government of the town then vested automatically in the King and he probably appointed Sir George as Governor. A new charter was granted to the inhabitants in 1625. Sir George's appointment in the town then became Governor of the Fort newly erected there. I think it likely that the Sheriff mentioned in this letter was the Sheriff of County Waterford and that there was some uncertainty about where his powers ended and those of the Governor of Waterford town began. The under-sheriffs and the gaol referred to in earlier extracts may have been those of the county or of the town, probably the latter.

23. 6 September 1624. Waterford. Sir George Flower to the Earl of Cork: (precis)

"The death of the Lord President (of Munster) that morning hath left him most desperate as all his living is the command of Waterford, and he knows not to whom the Lord Deputy (of Ireland) will give it. Has attended the Lord Deputy here ever since his coming but with as little grace or courtesy as ever poor man had. Begs the Earl's interest that he may be continued in his post. The Deputy will be at Waterford on Wednesday."

L.P. Vol. XV. No. 82

24. 2 January 1625. Waterford. Sir Francis Blundel to the Earl of Cork. (precis).

"Has received his letter in favour of Sir G. Flower but shall rather pity than be able to help him."

L.P. Vol. XV. No. 135

25. March 1625

The Lord Deputy sends an abstract of a report on the news of Spanish fleets to Lord Conway. The report is from Sir George Flower, Governor of Waterford.

C.S.P.I.

26. April 1625

Sir T. Rotherham and Captain Pinner, Overseers of Fortifications, report that they have consulted Sir George Flower about the best place to build the fort at Waterford. It is to be at St. Patrick's Gate.

C.S.P.I.

27. 1625 - September 1633

There are a number of references to reports made by Sir G. Flower in his capacity as Governor of Waterford and Constable of the Fort newly erected there.

C.S.P.I. and C.S.P.D.

28. 20 January 1633

A patent was granted to Thomas James of the reversion of Sir George Flower's company.

C.S.P.I.

This was presumably his company in Waterford Fort.

29. 7 March 1634 N.S. The Earl of Cork's Diary

" I sued fforth for Sir George fflower his quietus est for the tyme he had been Sheriff of the county of Waterford in the beginning of King James his reign in which he was extremely tormented: I got all his ffynes, and all the ffees of the officers of the exchequer remitted to him, and I bestowed on him my own bay saddle horse which was of my own breed that I left to be kept for me, when I went into England, with my tenant in Kerry, Mr. James ffitz Thomas oge ffitzgerald."

Sir George was still alive when Sir William Brereton of Cheshire visited Waterford on 21 July 1635 and he is described in Brereton's diary* as "an ancient knight". It is clear that in these last years of his life Sir George would have been in a position to get William Flower a commission in the army - probably as his ensign or lieutenant at Waterford.

* Chetham Society, Vol. I.

SIR WILLIAM FLOWER 1612 - 1681

Of the years between his birth in Chepstow in April 1612 and the first reference to him in the Irish State Papers in June 1641, I have been able to discover nothing. But, from the fact that in 1641 he was 29 and a Lieutenant in the regular Irish army who spoke Irish, it may be inferred that he had been in Ireland for some years and had probably begun his career in the army as an ensign in the late 1620's.

From 1624 to 1627 the English Government felt there was a threat that Spain would invade Ireland. The army was increased from 1,680 to 4,000, a new fort was built at Waterford and Sir George Flower was given a company of 84 men to garrison it. It would seem likely that this was the period when young William came to Ireland under the patronage of his relation and was commissioned into his company at Waterford. This supposition is strengthened by our knowledge that when James, Earl of Ormond, as Lieut. General commanding the Irish army, formed it into regiments at the end of 1641 his own regiment included Captain William Flower. Ormond, who was born in 1610, returned to Ireland with his bride in 1633 and lived mostly in his house at Carrick, a few miles up the Suir from Waterford. It seems not unlikely that William's friendship with Ormond, which was to dominate his life, was formed here while they were both young men.

It is not necessary for me to describe in detail the complex history of Ireland in the 1640's but a few important events may place in context the rather sparse references to William Flower that I have been able to collect.

In March 1640 the Earl of Strafford raised an army of 10,000 men, mostly Catholic, to put down the Scots. In May 1641 this army, which was seen as a great threat to the English Parliament,

was disbanded. To prevent so many unemployed soldiers causing disturbances licences were issued to transport them abroad into the service of France and Spain. On 9 June 1641 Captain Thomas Serle reported that "he and Lt. William Flower saw a priest on horseback discoursing to 30 or 40 soldiers of the late disbanded army on the high road near Dunleer (between Dundalk and Drogheda) last Monday week. Lieut. Flower, who knew Irish, said the man was a priest. He saw his long vestment and heard him advise the soldiers on his blessing not to leave the country, but rather that they should stay at home, although they lived only on bread and milk, for that there might be use for them soon." Flower told the priest that the King had licensed the transportation but the priest replied "that the King was but one man". (C.S.P.I.)

The rebellion began in October 1641 in Ulster with a simultaneous but unsuccessful attempt to seize Dublin Castle. It spread quickly and in a few weeks most of the Catholic population was in arms against the Government and the insurgents had control of the entire country except the area around Dublin, the Scottish part of Ulster and a few walled towns and castles.

Ormond, as commander-in-chief, mustered what remained of the old, largely Protestant, army around Dublin and William Flower became a captain in the Earl's own regiment where he remained for the next six years.

The political situation in Ireland during the Civil War was very divided. On the Protestant side were:

- a). Ormond in Dublin commanding the army and supporting the King.
- b). a group in Dublin favouring the Parliament originally led by the two Lords Justices.
- c). the Scots in Ulster.
- d). In Munster the Earl of Cork and his son Lord Broghill in Youghal and Lord Inchiquin in Cork who asked help from both King and Parliament.

The Catholic side was roughly divided between the Anglo-Irish gentry who favoured a settlement with the King which protected Catholics, and the Ulster Irish under Owen O'Neill who looked to the Pope and wished to drive the Protestants out of Ireland.

In Clare Lord Thomond, a Protestant, and in Connaught Lord Clanricarde, a Catholic, tried to keep the peace without joining either party. No party was strong enough to achieve anything on its own and so the years passed in endless complicated negotiations as each group tried to improve its position.

The situation of the Dublin garrison was precarious. They did not control enough country to provide their own food. Although the English Parliament raised large sums to put down the rebellion only a small part reached Ireland in the form of munitions, food and reinforcements before Parliament diverted the money to equip their army to fight the King. The records show only two small sums of pay reaching Captain Flower in 1642. (C.S.P.I.)

An important plank of the legal position of the Dublin garrison was their continued control of the Parliament of Ireland which was still sitting. The rebel Catholic members were ejected and the numbers were filled up with Protestants. Among the newly elected members was William Flower who took the Oath of Supremacy on 17 November 1642. He continued to participate in the affairs of the House until its dissolution in June 1647. (Journal of the Irish House of Commons. This does not give his constituency but F. E. Ball, Southern Fingal 1920 says it was Ballinakill.)

Ormond conducted a number of sallies from Dublin to capture cattle and grain and to relieve or provision outlying garrisons. No doubt Flower accompanied him on some of these but the remaining musters only record him at Oxmantowne Green in November 1642 with 83 men, in Mallahide with 100 and in Christchurch Yard in Dublin in January 1643 (H.M.C. Ormond MSS. Old Series, Vol. I).

In March 1643 Ormond set out on another expedition to gather supplies, to harass the rebels, and to relieve the garrison of Duncannon Fort which guarded the Waterford Estuary. The Chaplain of Ormond's regiment has left us an account of this excursion. After the battle of Ross which they won easily he tells us:

"Until the tent was set up for the Lieutenant-Colonel, the chaplain went into Captain Floures tent where sate a gentleman, a stranger. This is a prisoner, said Capt. Flour, whom we have taken this day. The chaplain answered, I wish we had 500 of the best of the Rebels in the condition he is in. He hath confessed, said Captain Flour, they resolved to kill us all and take no prisoners. It is so, said the prisoner. And yet said the chaplain, you see your lyfe is spared with us. I must confesse, said he, you are more merciful than we." (From the account by George Creichton, Chaplain, in J. T. Gilbert (ed.)

History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland,
1882 - 91, Vol. II, p. 259).

The evidence that has come down to us suggests that this is a piece of propaganda and that some people on both sides behaved badly. Ormond himself always seems to have behaved with moderation.

In September 1643 a year's truce was arranged between the Catholic Confederacy and Ormond and the greater part of the Irish army was sent to England where they were totally defeated at Nantwich by the Parliamentary forces. But Ormond kept Flower with him and the musters show him quartered in various parts of Dublin. In July 1644 he became Major of Ormond's Regiment and in September 1646 Lieutenant-Colonel. (Ormond MSS. Old Series, Vol. 1).

On 28 March 1646 the Catholic Confederacy and Ormond on behalf of the King signed a peace agreement which provided that the Confederacy should send 10,000 men to England in May "to which end Col. Flower (and 5 other officers) went towards Waterford to see them mustered and shipped". (A letter dated 2 April 1646 from Val Savage to Sir P. Percival, H.M.C. Egmont MSS Vol. I, p. 284). But the Catholic clergy headed by the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini and the Ulster Irish under O'Neill would not accept the peace. The English Parliament having won the war at home prepared forces to reconquer Ireland. Ormond's position as the King's Lord Lieutenant became impossible so in July 1647 he surrendered Dublin and his forces there into the hands of Parliamentary Commissioners and left for England.

Colonel Michael Jones became Governor of Dublin for the Parliament. He commanded an army made up of some new arrivals from England, Ormond's forces and a party from Ulster. The Catholic Confederacy, now acting partly for the King, attempted to seize Dublin before the Parliamentary troops could be reinforced. "On 1st of August Colonel Jones marched here with all the horse and foot he could make and although it was conceived that they would mutiny before they marched, yet by the good example of Col. Flower, Col. Bailey, Col. Willoughby and Col. Castle's regiments who led the van and whose soldiers loved and honoured their officers, they marched without stop or the least sign of grumbling."

(Val Savage in Egmont MSS, Vol. I, p. 444)

A battle ensued on 8 August 1647 at Dungan Hill where the English horse routed the Irish who took refuge in a bog where "between three and four thousand of them were slain and all of them had perished in that place, if Colonel Flower, that rid up to Captain Farrell, who by waving his hat and approaching the red colours of Colonel Flower's Regiment, had not made a sign that he desired to parley. The sum of his speech was

"that the Earl of Westmeath, Lt.-General Byrne and the rest of the officers, had sent to desire they might have quarter. To which Colonel Flower answered, that it was not in his power to grant them quarter, but that he would preserve such as would come to him, until he had brought them to his commander-in-chief. Whereupon, most of the officers and some soldiers, repaired to the red colours, and to preserve them, Colonel Flower commanded his regiment to stand to their arms in a body; and having brought them to Colonel Jones, they had quarter."

(R. Bellings' account in J. T. Gilbert (ed.) History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1882 - 91, Vol. VII, p. 32 - 3.

When Ormond arrived in England he received a pass and went to London where he had a friendly meeting with Fairfax. He stayed at Kingston and had several meetings with Charles I at Hampton Court. But the army growing jealous of these Royalist discussions, he escaped to France in March 1648 and joined the Queen and Prince Charles in Paris where they were discussing how the Irish could help the King.

This became known in England so on 20 April 1648 the Derby House Committee of Parliament wrote to Colonel Jones:

"We very much apprehend that if Ormond should come to Dublin very many of his old officers would be ready to join with him, and presently make a party against the Parliament; to prevent which we conceive it fit that you send Sir Henry Tichborn, Col. Flower, and as many of them as you shall suspect to be the most dangerous, into England to solicit for recruits, of which we know there is want enough. And for attaining thereof we conceive they will be willing to come over. When they are here we can order recruits for them or not as we shall see cause, and if Ormond should come he will want those instruments for his work." (C.S.P.I.)

Jones did not act on this advice until Saturday 22 July 1648 when Sir Maurice Eustace (Speaker of the Irish House of Commons), Sir J. Giffard, Col. F. Willoughby, Col. W. Flower, Col. J. Stephens, Major Capron and others were "committed close prisoners to Dublin Castle. They received from Col. Jones on the Monday following at nine o'clock in the morning orders for their going to sea in half an hour. These orders coming suddenly and unexpectedly, they petitioned for means for their journey. They had few resources, their estates having been destroyed by rebels, and they being undone by the falling down of Owen O'Neill into our quarters. The soldiers who are petitioners here had only received pay during three months of the last year, and then only for one day in each week. Petitioners were answered that the state would provide for them when they reached Chester and thereupon they were sent away within limited time." (Petition in C.S.P.I. 1660 - 62).

In October 1648 the Derby House Committee wrote to Jones approving "his sending prisoners lately into England. Some are now on bail but none will be allowed to return to Ireland for the time being." (C.S.P.I.)

They evidently remained in Chester for three and a half years. From the minutes of the Council of State we learn the following:

- 1). 16 March 1652 Col. William Flower to be discharged from custody.
- 2). 19 March 1652 The petition of William Flower and William and Fenton Parsons to be referred to the Irish and Scotch Committee.
- 3). 13 April 1652 "to write the Commissioners of Parliament in Ireland to examine the arrears and business of Col. William Flower and according to his merits and services to do as they shall find just." (C.S.P.D.)

There is no record of William Flower for the next six years. Probably he went to stay with his family in Chepstow. In his will he left a remembrance to his kinsman Walter Aldey of Hardwick, Chepstow, which was perhaps in memory of kindness received at this time.

Or he may have gone to London to join the Marchioness of Ormond. Cromwell granted her £2,000 worth of the Ormond Estate at this time which she claimed as her own inheritance from her mother. In 1655 she returned to her estate in Ireland without her husband and sons and perhaps Flower went with her to assist in managing the property. Certainly that was what he was doing when he wrote the following letter addressed:

"These to the Lady Marquess of Ormond, humbly present

"Confy, 24 August 1658,

"Madam,

"I am sorry your Ladyship concluded with Coll. Axtell.^{1.}

I would have made it appear that he was to allow Smith his contribution which comes to above forty pounds by the year, and that he never disbursed much there, his greatest charge was in pulling down churches.

"I expected Sir Henry Tichborne^{2.} in Dublin every day last week and went thither on Friday last to have met him, but he came not thither. On Saturday I sent my boy with a letter unto Mr. Toxteth hearing that Sir Henry was gone into the north but since I hear he is not yet gone. And on Sunday Mr. Toxteth was with him, where I am confident this enclosed letter was written, which came to me this morning. I sent to town^{3.} to enquire for Mr. Baxter about the sheep. He being not there I have sent to enquire after him and hope to wait on your Ladyship myself with his answer. This is all at present from Maddam, your most humble servant

Wm fflower"

(endorsed on the back Col Flower to her Ladyship)

1. Daniel Axtell - Cromwellian soldier and regicide.
2. Sir Henry Tichborne - Anglo-Irish Protestant soldier,
Royalist turned Parliamentarian.
3. Indecipherable.

Nat. Lib. of Ireland
Ormond 1298.371

Charles II was proclaimed King in May 1660. Ormond, who had supported him throughout his exile, returned as one of his closest advisors. Honours were freely given to old Royalist supporters. Ormond was made a Duke and William Flower was knighted. He and three others were appointed Commissioners to repossess the Ormond Estate. On 19 October 1660 Sir William and J. Burden wrote to the Duchess from Clonmel:

"We have already taken possession of all my Lord's land in the County of Dublin, Meath and Catherlagh..... as also the castles of Kilkenny, Knocktopher, Gowran and Carrick with their appurtenances and all the lands in the country of my Lord's to this town and now we have taken possession here. And from here we intend to Cashel and go through the country and as soon as we have brought things into any form your Ladyship shall have a more particular account."

H.M.C. Ormonde MSS NS3 p. 7.

The Ormonde manuscripts contain a large number of letters and references to Sir William which indicate that he continued to help with the management of the estates throughout the rest of his life. He evidently enjoyed the friendship and trust of the Duke and Duchess and handled all kinds of affairs for them including the marriage negotiations for their children, the purchase of additional land for Phoenix Park and their rights to the prizage on wines imported into Ireland. He was evidently frequently with them. For example he is mentioned in a letter from the young Sir Philip Percival to Sir Robert Southwell after he had paid his duty to the Duke of Ormond: "I found him at Carrick and from thence I waited on him to Waterford. I struck an acquaintance with Sir William Flower who was very kind to me."

(Egmont MSS II p. 85)

The Ormond connection is also evident in Sir William's election for the borough of St. Kennis (Canice), Co. Kilkenny, to the Irish House of Commons which met on 8 May 1661. This sat until 1666 and was the only Irish Parliament of Charles II's reign.

Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in November 1661 and it was not long before he began to reward his old friends and supporters. On 24 March 1662 he issued the following order:

"Whereas His Majesty thought fit that a guard should be raised of twelve hundred men, besides officers, for himself, to be transported into His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, these are therefore, by virtue of the power and authority unto me given by his Majesty under the great seal of England hereby to authorise the Lord Richard Butler and Sir William Flower, knight, forthwith to raise the said twelve hundred men and with them to march to the most convenient part of this kingdom for their transportation to Dublin in Ireland."

Lord Richard Butler who was Ormond's second son and shortly afterward became Earl of Arran was appointed Colonel of the Guards and Sir William, Lieutenant-Colonel. Thomas Flower was a Lieutenant in Sir William's company. The regiment was quickly raised and Sir William marched them to Chester. They reached Dublin on 28 May 1662.

On 27 March 1662 Sir William was, with many others, appointed a trustee for the arrears of pay due to officers who had served Charles I in Ireland before 5 June 1649. In September he was appointed to the standing committee at a salary of £250 per annum. This body, known as "the Trustees of the '49 officers" was given rights to lands under the Act of Settlement which were supposed to satisfy the old claims of these officers. Sir William served on this committee for many years and was involved, like all other land claimants, in many claims and lawsuits but there is no evidence that he ever acquired any substantial property from this source. The surviving records refer to a number of pieces of property with which

he was in some way connected during the Restoration period but whether these were held by him personally or as trustee for the '49 officers remains obscure.

Sir William obtained a grant as described in the following document but it appears from Letter No. 18 (Pt. II p. 57) that he never had any benefit from it:

"16 April 1662, Whitehall. The King to the Lord Lieutenant:
"Charles, son of Barnaby Dunn, of Ballybritas, Queen's County, was an open rebel and joined the Nuncio's party. His father Barnaby was a Protestant and loyal, and suffered much by the Rebellion. He was seized of the lands of Bally-britis and died seized of them and other lands in October last, when they descended to his son Charles. They are therefore in our hands and we direct you to lease them - after you have appointed a commission to enquire into and report on their extent and value - to Thomas Pigott, Master of the Wards and Lt.-Col. Sir William Flower, Lt.-Col. of our Guards in Ireland for 31 years from Michaelmas next."

C.S.P.I.

Though it was no doubt a great comfort to Ormond to have a Regiment of Guards commanded by his supporters in Dublin, the duties were largely ceremonial. But Sir William became an important person in Dublin and the records show that in the autumn of 1664 he was presented with the Freedom of the City in a silver casket.

(Records of Dublin, Vol. IV, p.337)

The Guards were an elite corps but everyone's pay tended to be in arrears in Ireland. In May 1666 the garrison in Carrickfergus mutinied and seized the town in the hope of getting some money for their pay but "my Lord Duke upon the first notice of it, immediately set forward to the reducing of those mutineers and sent his son, my Lord of Arran, by sea and went himself by land and this was but Friday night and Sunday morning my Lord of Arran with his party was there by 10 of the clock, and without any capitulation fell in and stormed the town and he himself led on one party and Sir William

Flower another and went two several ways, and the soldiers fought stoutly in their retreat to the Castle, and killed 3 or 4 of my Lord's party and wounded more and about 8 or 9 of the mutineers killed and many wounded, but they soon held out a white cloth for a parley and none would be allowed but on condition to submit to mercy, which after a very little pause they did. And his Grace has hanged nine of them such as were most notorious in the mutiny and the rest, being about 100, he sends to the Barbados."

(Letter from Robert Southwell to James Dogherty from Dublin,
5 June 1666, in H.M.C. Egmont Papers, Vol. II p. 16.)

In May 1669 Sir William was appointed Commissioner of Appeals against duties of Excise and Impost. Later in the year Ormond was superceded as Lord Lieutenant by Lord Robartes who was quickly replaced by Lord Berkeley. He only survived 2 years before being succeeded by the Earl of Essex who was a friend of Ormond's. But this was not enough to safeguard Sir William's position and the following letters from the State Papers are a nice illustration of the workings of official life under Charles II.

17 August 1672, Dublin Robert Leigh to Sir Joseph Williamson
in London (Under Secretary of State to
Lord Arlington.)

"Sir Wm. Flower, one of the Commissioners of Appeal here, told me that whereas they are five and are to be reduced to 3, the Ld. Lieut. sends for the King's letter signifying who the 3 shall be and though Sir William is now of the first 3 he is apprehensive that someone may endeavour to do him an ill turn, and so desired me to join in his request to you to do him what favour you can, if any such do offer."

17 August 1672, Dublin, Sir William Flower to Williamson:

"I was told today that unless I procured His Majesty's letter to the Lt. Lieut. to continue me in the Commission of Appeal, I shd. be put out. I had a former letter procured by Lt. Arlington. I have no friend but you to procure this for me.

31 August 1672, the King to the Lord Lieutenant:

"Sir William Flower is to continue as a Commissioner of Appeal at his former salary."

31 August 1672 Memo by Lord Ranelagh, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland

"That the five Commissioners of Appeal are to be reduced to three by new establishment. Baron Povey, Serjeant Henne, Sir William Flower, M. Glascocke and Alderman Peter Wybrants. Mr. Glascocke has a letter. Baron Povey must be one, the whole weight of business lying on him. Which of the other three the King will choose is to be asked. Serjeant Henne lately gave over £200, a great part of his fortune, to be one and besides the other two do not well understand the business."

14 September 1672, Dublin. Sir N. Armourer to Williamson

"..... Sir W. F. sends you as many thanks as there are lines in the King's letter, but wonders it was brought by Lt. Ranelagh's agent who demanded £10 for the fees. If he paid it, it is ready for him; if not it shall be paid you there. Pray a hint of this as soon as you can."

2 November 1672, Dublin. Sir N. Armourer to Williamson

"..... I sent last post to pay you the £10 for Will Flower's letter. Both he and Sir John Stevens are much your servants and say they will tell you so themselves for they are not able scribes."

This was not the only difficulty which befell Sir William while Ormond was absent. Lord Ranelagh had agreed with the King in 1670 to farm all the taxes and pay all the expenses of the Government in Ireland. The Government's payments were soon in arrears partly it is thought because he sent money privately to the King's Privy Purse and partly through his own defalcations. On 12 December 1671 Robert Bowyer wrote to Robert Southwell: "It is probable by this time you have heard that Lord Power..... Sir William Flower & others amounting to twenty or thereabouts, officers of the army, are dismissed of their employment for signing a petition for 3 months' pay in dispute betwixt them and the new farmers. Mr. Roger Jones got a copy of that petition and sent it to Lord Ranelagh (Richard Jones). The Lord Ranelagh prefers a petition to His Majesty and aggravated the position so as those gentlemen are termed or looked on as mutineers and sent for into England and preparing to go the first wind."

H.M.C. Egmont Papers, Vol. II p. 27

However, their friends in London must have come to their rescue because on 22 June 1672 the Duchess of Ormond writing from London to G. Matthew* mentions Sir William as keeping his command in Ireland despite the efforts of Lord Ranelagh.

H.M.C. Ormond MSS NS3 p. 450

And on 3 July 1672 there was despatched from the Signet Office a "Warrant to the Lord Lieutenant for restoring to their respective commands Sir J. Cuffe and Sir Wm Flower who by letters of 5 December had been dismissed for subscribing to a certain petition about pay."

C.S.P.I.

The Earl of Essex arrived in Ireland to take up the Lord Lieutenancy in August 1672. On 17 September 1672, presumably on advice from Ormond and in order to reform the corrupt administration

* Half-brother to Ormond and manager of his estates in Ireland.

of his predecessors, he appointed Sir William Flower and Sir John Stevens, two old Ormondists, to the Privy Council of Ireland.

That Sir William was soon on friendly terms with Essex is clear from another letter:

9 December 1673, Dublin, Sir George Rawdon to Viscount Conway:

"The place of Ranger (of Phoenix Park) I think not worth anything to you or any who does not live permanently in Dublin to graze his horses and cows there, I perceive it an encroachment on his Excellencies privilege of appointing. Sir William Flower offers £40 a year for it, I believe, but rather to keep out a stranger that should not perhaps be so pleasing to his Excellency."

C.S.P.I.

In April 1677 Ormond was reappointed Lord Lieutenant. Later that summer there was trouble with the Covenanters in Scotland. These people were Presbyterians who favoured the succession of the Protestant Duke of Monmouth. On 18 September 1677 the King, as a precaution against an open rebellion, instructed Ormond to send 1800 troops including four companies of Guards to Belfast and to be ready to ship them to Scotland. They were to be formed into two regiments, one under Sir William Flower and the other under Sir F. Gower under the overall command of Lord Granard. On 8 November 1677 Sir George Rawdon wrote from Lisburn to Viscount Conway:

"Yesterday Lord Granard and Sir Wm Flower and many other officers came to dinner with me here from Belfast and complained much that since they went hence they had not eaten or drunk anything at Belfast that pleased them and repent that this was not their headquarters."

C.S.P.I.

They spent the whole winter there before returning to Dublin in March 1678.

Sir William continued as a Privy Councillor and Lt.-Col. of the Guards until his death in June 1681. Since the 1660's he had lived at Finglaswood House in Finglas. This was an old Elizabethan house with a tower. A drawing of the doorway which was protected by musket holes and a photograph of the house as a ruin are printed in Southern Fingal by F. E. Ball, 1920.

Around this house he had some land which he farmed himself and on which he had tenants as appears from Thomas Flower's letters (Nos. 10 and others). Finglas was close to both Dublin and Phoenix Park so that his offer to be Ranger of the latter was convenient for his farming. No doubt the physical proximity to the Lord Lieutenant's mansion at Chapelizod on the edge of Phoenix Park also accounts for the presence of other Ormondists in Finglas at this time. Sir George Lane, created Lord Lanesborough, who was Secretary to Ormond had a large house there in the 1660's as did Sir John Stephens who was Major of the Guards and Governor of Dublin Castle. (P.R.O. Hearth Tax Returns.) Stephens appears to have married Sir William's sister, Anne, who had a son and two daughters but as Sir William's will only survives as 'abstracts' this may not be accurate. Genealogical Office Fisher Abstracts GO MS 281, p.27 and I.P.R.O. Betham's abstract.

Sir William married Frances Weldon, according to Lodge (Irish Peerage 1789) the widow of William Savage. They evidently had no children who survived because he left all his property except legacies to his nephew Thomas. The will abstracts suggest that his wife's daughter by her first marriage was the wife of Sir Lawrence Parsons.

Information about Sir William's last days can be obtained from the Ormond papers. On 6 June 1681 Ormond wrote from Dublin to Arran:

"Sir William Flower, though he was with me at an entertainment the Mayor gave me but on Thursday last, the 2nd of this month, was upon the matter yesterday given over by Thompson (Surgeon of the Guards) and possibly, or rather probably, will be dead before night. Fielding and Billingsley will in that case rise; but Sir William interposing for two of his nephews* for the company to one and some advancement for the other, I cannot let him go out of the world after so long service with a denial."

14 June 1681 London. Earl of Arran to Duke of Ormond:

"Will Flower's being in so unlikely a condition to recover is nothing strange, for he has been in my judgement these last three years much decayed both in body and understanding. I shall not at this distance interpose in the preferments your Grace intends. Fielding without doubt ought to be Lt. Colonel and Billingsley Major, and Will Flower could not well be denied, his services considered, the preferment of his nephew; though his nephew has risen apace and he is able to leave his nephew fortune enough."

14 June 1681 Dublin. Duke of Ormond to Earl of Arran:

"You have from other hands heard of Sir William Flower's death. He is to be buried tomorrow with all the military solemnity we can furnish. Sir Christopher Feilding and Billingsley will have their commissions as soon as he is in his grave and though upon Sir William's dying request I promised to give his company to his nephew Tom Flower, yet he is content to waive it and to take the place of Captain-Lieutenant leaving Dick Morrice to rise according to his degree."

Sir William was buried beside his wife in St. Canice Church, Finglas. A memorial was designed, written and erected by his nephew Thomas. It was moved from the old church to the present building and is illustrated in F. E. Ball's Southern Fingal.

The inscription reads:

* Thomas Flower then Lieutenant and his younger brother, William, Ensign.

"Gulielmi Flower Equitis Aurati que tribunus militum sub
Carolo Primo Partes Regis et Fortunas labantes Fide illibata
infracta virtute ad untimum propugnavit. Restaurata regia
Familia Ormonius caeptorum ejus testis nec Immemor illi si non
quod meruit Quod tamen ipse cupivit virtutis Praemium Praetoria-
norum militum pro-praefectum dedit ut fidei etiam spectatissimae
uberior Esset honos eum in sanctioris concilii album ascripsit
Et copiarum in Ultoniam pridem missarum cum a factione
Monumethensi Pericula in Scotia gliscerunt sub Granardiae comite
praefectum fecit. Mortem obiit 10 die Junii A.D. 1681.
Monumentum hoc sibi et uxori Franciscae E. Weldenorum gente a
sa designatum statuendum curavit Thomas Flower armiger ejus a
fratre Nepos qui mortem obiit 22 die Junii 1700. Et hic requiescit"

English translation of this inscription by A. M. Davies:

"William Flower, Knight, who as captain of soldiery under Charles the First fought to the last for the King's party and his failing fortunes with undiminished loyalty and unbroken courage. On the restoration of the Royal family, Ormond, who had witnessed his early deeds and not forgotten them, out of favour towards him if not of his own deserving, made him lieutenant-colonel of the guards as a reward for courage. And that honour should more abound to loyalty so notable he inscribed him in the roll of the privy council and made him Colonel under Lord Granard of the forces lately sent to Ulster when dangers were growing in Scotland from the supporters of Monmouth. He died on the tenth day of June in the year of our Lord 1681.

This monument to him and his wife, Frances Weldon by birth, designed by himself, was erected at the charge of Thomas Flower, his lieutenant and fraternal nephew, who died on the twenty-second day of June, 1700. And here he rests."

Beneath the Latin inscription on the memorial is written:

"The Right Hon. William Lord Castledurrow, one of His Majesty's Privy Council of Ireland, son of the above Thomas by Mary, daughter of Sir John Temple, departed this life on the 29th day of April 1746. The Right Hon. Henry Lord Viscount Ashbrook, son of the above William departed this life on the 27th day of June 1752 and are both here interred."

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1897 p.454

This monument was moved from the old church of St. Canice to the New Church which was built in 1843. It is apparently still there.

PART II

1.

THOMAS FLOWER

c. 1640 - 1700

Thomas Flower was the son of John younger brother of Sir William. His name first appears in surviving records on 2nd April 1662 in a Royal Warrant to the Duke of Ormond to issue commissions to officers of the newly formed Guards. He was made Lieutenant to his uncle Sir William. He continues to appear in muster lists of the Guards as his uncle's Lieutenant throughout the 1660's and 1670's but we have no other details of his life as a young army officer in Dublin. Ormonde MSS

In 1676 he acquired an interest in lands at Durrow.

The following is extracted from a document now at Arley Hall:

"1676

"This Indenture made the 11th October in the 28th year of ... King Charles Second 1676 Between the Rt.Honble. Richard Earl of Arran, one of the Lords of His Majesties' most Honble Privy Council, Colonel of his Regiment of Guards of the one part and Thomas Flower of Finglas in the County of Dublin of the other part. Whereas the most noble James Duke of Ormond and Elizabeth, Duchess of Ormond, his wife have by their deeds of lease and Release bearing date 1st and 2nd May 1676 pursuant to a power to them reserved by a quadripartite deed bearing date 20th December 1661 and for and in consideration of the sum of £1000 ster to them in hand paid by Richard Earl of Arran, party to these presents, conveyed and assigned unto the said Richard and his heirs the townes and lands of Durrow and Ballyspellan comprising 2209 acres, "three woods plantacon measure" with the appurtenances situate lying and being in the Barony of and County of Kilkenny To have and to hold to him and his heirs to his and their own proper use benefit and behoofe to the intent nevertheless that the said Richard and his heirs and assigns should receive out of the premises .(aforesaid?). to

their proper use and behoofe the just and full sum of one hundred pounds ster yearly cleare over and above all charges and incumbrances whatever and that upon the payment of the said thousand pounds unto the said Richard his heirs and assignes at one Intire payment together with the arrears of the said one hundred pounds per annum if any be then due that then the Estate of the said Richard his heirs and assigns in the premises should cease and be void as by the said deed relacon ther..... it doth or may appear Now This Indenture witnesseth that the said Richard Earl of Arran for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand pounds ster to him in hand before the perfection of these presents by the said Thomas Flower paid, the receipt whereof the said Richard doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and every part thereof doth acquit and discharge the said Thomas Flower Hath like as by the presents he doth give grant bargain sell remise Release and for ever quitclaim unto him the said Thomas Flower and his heirs in actual possession by virtue of a bargain and sale for one whole year to him made of the premises by Indenture bearing date the day before the date of the presents in consideration of five shillings ster by force of the (statute for premises?) uses into possession all and Singular the said lands of Durrow and Ballyspellan situate and lying and being as aforesaid together with their and every of their Rights members and appurtenances To have and to hold the said lands and premises with the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Flower his heirs and assigns for ever

(Balance pretty illegible)

The land law of Ireland in the 17th Century was notoriously complicated and I would not like to assert what this document means, but I guess that Thomas Flower acquired an inheritable leasehold interest in the Durrow lands supported in some way by a mortgage of £1000. Neither Lodge's note A nor subsequent mentions of the Durrow lease and mortgage in this essay make the nature of Thomas' tenure any clearer. It may well have been that Sir William Flower produced the £1000 mentioned here.

On Sir William's death in June 1681, Thomas inherited his estate. He was also as we have seen promoted Captain-Lieutenant in the Guards. This job as Lieutenant to the Colonel, Lord Arran, was the senior Lieutenancy. To illustrate the structure of the Guards regiment in which Thomas spent most of his active life I set out a list showing the pay of the Regiment in the time of Charles II.

	<u>Pay per month of 28 days</u>		
	£	s.	d.
1 Colonel and Captain	28	0	0
1 Lt.Col. and Captain	21	0	0
1 Major and Captain	16	16	0
9 Captains	11	4	0
12 Lieutenants	5	2	0
12 Ensigns	4	4	0
40 Sergeants	2	2	0
36 Corporals	1	8	0
1 Drum-major	2	10	0
24 Drummers	1	8	0
1 Piper in King's Company	1	8	0
1200 Soldiers	1	3	4
1 Chaplain	9	6	8
1 Adjutant	5	12	0
1 Quartermaster	5	12	0
1 Surgeon	5	12	0
1 Surgeon's Mate	3	10	0

Ormonde v.2 p.236

The regiment was organised in 12 companies each commanded by a Captain. Everyone paid for food, uniform and lodging out of their pay.

A view of Thomas Flower's life in this period comes from the earliest of 15 letters from Nicholas Plunkett of Dunsoghly Co. Dublin. The Plunketts had built Dunsoghly Castle in the 15th century and had held important posts in Government in the 16th century. Nicholas inherited the property as a minor in 1641 and became a ward of Sir Henry Tichborne who then lived there as mortgagee. He fought for Charles I and suffered imprisonment and wrote a History of the Rebellion which was used by Thomas Carte in his Life of Ormond and commended for its moderation but was never published. He regained his Estate at the Restoration and evidently became a great friend of his neighbours in Finglas, Sir William and Thomas Flower. The background to this letter would appear to be that Thomas had gone on a visit to London and left Plunkett to look after his affairs. This letter forms part of the collection of 58 letters to Thomas Flower preserved in the National Library of Ireland, the others follow in their chronological place.

1. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Mr. Smith's next door
to the Golden Plough in London.

(Finglas) 1 July 1682.

"I received yours my dear governor of the 13th last at which time you could not as I remember recover my Bill of £200 according your orders, but by this time I hope you have it, so as my accounts since your departure are thus:-

	£
First then this Bill besides the exchange ^{1.}	200
Received for my own use	150
I assigned to Ned Doyne ^{2.} at several times	25
Assigned to him for Mr. Franklin ^{3.}	20
Assigned to Mr. Franklin besides that	40
Assigned to Sergeant Graham ^{4.}	20
Assigned to be paid my cousin Cleeve	60
whereof £50 is to make up my £200	<hr/>
and £10 to pay Capt. Stopford ^{5.} is for	£505
other contingencies.	<hr/>

I went the other day to Dublin expecting to meet my Lord of Galmoy^{6.} and Matt Butler. Matt and I dined together, but the Lord was sick and truly I omitted to carry the lease and bond with me, but the day after I sent them to Mr. Cooper whose answer thereupon you have here enclosed, together with another of his concerning Mr. Sankey by which you will find yourself his debtor. Pray therefore consider what is to be done and write your directions. Ned Doyne is at Durrow, who writ to me last St. John's day that he had shorn two of your flocks, but wool is grown cheap since your departure. He can not meet with Mr. Cosby, so, as I believe, you will be put to a suit. The rest of your affairs are well in those parts.

I went to see your house and garden at Finglas and I must acknowledge that your housekeeper does her part well beyond my expectation, for things are kept decent and clean, and the poor woman, as she tells me, found abundance of your linen in very bad repair. Some little addition, Mr. Franklin and I fancy, might be added to your wall in bringing it a little further, but without commission, I must not be free of another man's purse.

We can neither sell coach, nor the black horse - a pair of lusty beasts will make it fit for yourself. My wife and Jack^{7.} are your friends and servants and so unfainedly is Nick Plunkett.

Mrs. Avery is gone to London; if you make any appointments with her our Doctor will be about your ears. And pray tell the Doctor she is gone to visit her "

1. The cost of transmitting money from Ireland to England.
2. Steward or bailiff of the Flower estate.
3. A gentleman neighbour.
4. Lawyer friend of Flower's.
5. Of the Guards, to whose company Thomas was appointed on Capt. Stopford's death in May 1683.
6. Piers Butler 3rd Viscount supporter of James II.
Ballyspellan is in the Barony of Galmoy.
7. Nicholas Plunkett's youngest and favourite son by his then wife.

On 17th January 1683 Thomas married Mary Temple then a girl of 15 or 16. She was the 4th daughter of Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General of Ireland and a friend of the Duke of Ormond. Because the connection with the Temple family in Ireland was important to the Flowers, I set out a brief family tree.

Sir William Temple (1555 - 1627) Provost of Trinity College Dublin

Sir John Temple m. Mary d. of Dr. John Hammond
1600 - 1677 Master of of Chertsey, Surrey.
the Rolls in Ireland.
Wrote a History of
the Rebellion 1641-3.

Sir William 1628- 1699 Diplomat in Brussels and the Hague 1665 - 80 Author 1680 - 90 employed Jonathan Swift as secretary	m. Dorothy d. of Sir Peter Osborne of Chicksands, Bed. Her published letters to William are justly famous	Sir John m. 1632-1704 Solicitor- General of Ireland 1660 - 88 Speaker of I. House of Commons 1661 Attorney-Gen. of I. 1690-95.	Jane d. of Sir Abraham Yarner Muster- Master to Irish Army	Martha m. Sir Thomas Gifford of Castle Jordan Co. Meath
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Henry 1673 - 1757 1st Viscount Palmerston cr. 1722-3	John 1688 - 1752	Mary (4th d.) Bap. 1668 m. Thomas Flower of Durrow	Mary m. l. Abraham Yarner son of Sir Abr. Yarner	2. Dec. 1693 Hugh Eccles
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Two children were born to the Flowers of this marriage, first Mary who evidently died just before her father and William who became the 1st Baron Castledurrow. Their mother apparently died in the late 1680's.

More information about Thomas's life in the 1680's has survived including very detailed accounts of a duel. The following extracts are all from letters among the Ormonde papers.

1. Earl of Arran to Duke of Ormond
London 4 October 1681

"Major Baily tells me that he has sent order to deliver a cast of the Isles of Arran hawks to Tom Flower for my use. If your Grace likes them and wants any, I beg you would take them."

H.M.C. Ormonde Vol. 6 p. 181.

2. Arran to Ormond
May 26 1683

"Capt. Stopford died the other day and his command I have given to Tom Flower, he having had, as I am informed, your Grace's promise of the first company."

Vol. 7 p. 33

3. Sir Charles Feilding, Lt.Col. of Guards, to Earl of Arran
Dublin Nov. 21 1684

"Capt. Flower has been in a desparate condition but recovered."

Vol. 7 p. 288

In February 1685 Charles II died. Ormond left Ireland, never to return, on 28 March and was succeeded in the Government there by two Lord's Justices, Lord Granard and Primate Boyle. Richard Talbot, a vigorous advocate for the Irish Catholics became a close adviser to James II who created him Earl of Tyrconnell and Lt.General of the Army in Ireland.

4. Col. Thomas Fairfax to Earl of Arran
Dublin 25 August 1685

"I am sorry now to tell your lordship there has this morning happened a renounter in the Exchange betwixt Capt. Flower and Capt. Sankey, the latter wounded in the body and left hand and the other in one hand. Mr. Thompson (surgeon of the Guards) says he

hopes no danger in Sankey's wound. How the difference came, I suppose others will give your lordship a particular account, only in the whole matter, as the business was related to me, Tom Flower had some reason for what he did."

Vol. 7 p. 353

5. Sir Charles Feilding, Lt.Col. of the Guards to Earl of Arran
Dublin 25 August 1685

"This morning has happened a ill accident between Capt^s Flower and Sankey, thus occasioned. Thomas Flower taxing him of some words that he should say reflecting on Cornet Marrow before Sank^y went for England, which he denied, the word Raskall, and both drew. Sank^y disarmed and as I am informed a dangerous wound in the body. Now my lord a fortnight ago by my Lord Granard's commands, likewise to the whole army, I gave orders to your Regiment whoever either gave or received a Challenge or gave provoking words immediately to be cashiered, and I doubt not there will want not Pretenders and make it ill as possible to his Majesty. I should be sorry your Lordships Regt. should make the first example. Since my beginning of this letter, in relating to this quarrel Capt. Flower Capt. Long and Cornet Marrow are confined and I believe upon Sank^y's recovering are all to come upon their trial by a Court Martiall. Cornet Marrow is the principal and the quarrell betwixt him and Sank^y nigh a twelve month ago. It is too tedious to give your Lordship a full account but as much as I can hear Sank^y is to blame. I am your Lordships real servant."

Bodleian Carte Papers Vol. 217 p.238/9

6. Frank Cuffe to the Earl of Arran
Dublin 26th August 1685.

"My dear Lord,

There happened yesterday an accident which may possibly be improved to the disadvantage of your Regt. if your Lordship do not take timely care by your early application to the King to prevent it.

The story is thus. About an yeare and an halfe ago near Capt. Sankey and Mr. Meara being at the London Tavern the latter upon some discourse they had of the Committee of Scandall (as it was then styled) sayd it was a barborous thing for Ned Lloyd to glory in that way of proceeding to traduce gentlemen behind their backs. Sanky replied that Ned Lloyd was his friend and he could not bear hearing him ill spoken of. Meara answered that himself was as much Ned Lloyd's friend as he was, but if he were his brother, father, wife or son, he could not but censure him for that matter. So growing to some warmth by their discourse Sankey gave the lie to Mara and Mara struck him a box on the ear. But they were parted immediately and made friends by the way of the company who were with them. Some time after Sankey in discourse with Capt. Flower told him that he had given Mara a box on the ear which he put up quietly and did not resent. He going soon after for England Capt. Flower in company heard Capt. Sankey reflected on for taking a box on the ear so tamely from Mara and not questioning him for it, to which he replied that it was a great mistake and that Sankey and not Mara had given the box on the ear, which being reported to Mara he expostulated the matter with Capt. Flower wondering how he so unjustly reflected upon him and desired to know his Author, to which Flower in his own

justification said that Capt. Sankey had told him so.

As soon as Sankey was known to be landed, Mara has recourse to him and questioned him about it, which he denied, and Mara acquainting Capt. Flower with it, yesterday morning there met about 9 of the clock in the Shop Exchange Flower, Sankey, Long and Mara, and Flower asking Sankey whether he had not said those words to him concerning the quarrel between him and Mara at the London Tavern, Sankey replied he did not, in those words, upon which Flower replied that he was a rascal and should not put the lie upon him, and drawing his sword, bid him draw which he immediately did and they briskly fell to. After some passes Flower wounded him in the side, closed with him and tripped up his heels and Sankey catching hold of Flower's sword, Flower drew it through his hand and cut it severely, but himself had only a small scratch in his hand by disarming Sankey. While they were in the scuffle one of the shopkeepers was stepping in to part them upon which Mara clapt his sword to his breast swearing he would run him through if he offered to intermeddle upon which he desisted and when the affair was over both Flower and Sankey walked to Alderman Thompson's where the latter was dressed and I do not hear his wound is dangerous. Flower, Long and Mara waited upon my Lord Granard within half an hour. His Lordship was highly displeased at the thing being so contrary and a great violation of his Majesty's late Proclamation and the new Articles of War and has committed Flower till it is known that Sankey is past danger being now under his care and by that means confined.

The resolution is to bring this matter before a Court Martial where my Lord Tyrconnell as the Chief Officer is to preside. And how the matter will go I cannot tell, but shall acquaint your Lordship when it is determined. Now the consequence I apprehend will be that Sankey or perhaps all of those may lose their Commissions and possibly some may be recommended to succeed them by a great man here whose company your Lordship will not like in your Regiment, against which your Lordship is to provide for by early application to his Majesty. And if those gentlemen should have the misfortune to be cashiered (for which I shall be heartily sorry) in that case, I hope your Lordship will remember your faithful servant Franke Cuffe."

Carte Vol. 217 p.240/241

7. Primate Boyle to Duke of Ormond
Dublin 28 August 1685

"Here hath been lately an engagement, but whether to call it a duel or rencounter we cannot yet tell, between Capt. Flower and Capt. Sankey in the public Exchange. Capt. Sankey is severely hurt and until we can find him in a condition of recovery, we cannot proceed in the examination of that matter. The persons who were concerned in that difference were, besides the two principals, Capt. Long and Lt. Meara all of the Regiment of Guards except the last. I doubt it will be of very ill consequence to some of them, there being not only the present Articles of War, but a public proclamation by the King's direction, who strictly prohibits duels under a severe penalty."

Vol. 7 p. 354

8. Lord Longford^{1.} to the Duke of Ormond
Dublin 6 September 1685

"My dear Lord

Your Lordship's obliging letter of the 20th August I received last week at Longford whither I accompanied my Lord Granard who made a shorter stay there than he intended upon the intimation my Lord Sunderland gave the Lord Justices by his Majesty's command of my Lord Clarendon being appointed Lord Lieutenant which has not a little altered the face of things here and given new heart to the Protestants. And I hope we shall soon find the effects of it in the Revenue. My self and Bretheren are infinitely obliged to your Lordship for your favourable concern for us with my Lord Treasurer,^{2.} and your Lordship may depend upon it that you have not obliged ungrateful servants. This weeke my Lord Tyrconnell is to sit as President in a Court Martial upon Flower, Long and Mara, and it is hoped Mr. Solicitor General^{3.} (who is very great with his Lordship and treated him at Palmers Town on Thursday last) will prevail with him to use all his interest to preserve Flower and consequently the rest."

Carte v. 217 p. 247

1. Francis Aungier, 1st Earl was married to the widow of John Butler, youngest son of the Duke of Ormond. He was a Commissioner of the Revenue.
2. The Earl of Rochester, younger brother of the Earl of Clarendon both brothers-in-law to James II.
3. Sir John Temple who appears to have been one of the few Protestants who remained on friendly terms with Tyrconnell.

9. Sir Charles Fielding, Lt.Col. of the Guards to the Earle of Arran, Field Marshall to his Majestys forces in Ireland and Coll of his Maj. Regt. of Guards at his house in the Pall Mall London.

Dublin 16 September 1685

"Your Lordships of the 3rd I received Friday last was held the Court Marshall. Lord Tyrconnell, President, none of your Lordship's Captains admitted only the Major and I, Lord Roscommon, Col. Fairfax, Lord Blaynie, severall others of the Army, Foot and horse. Tom Flower found guilty of the first part of the 32 Articles, and ordered a week's imprisonment. Capt. Long and Cornet Marrowe cleared nor evidence appearing which is thought if they had, they would a . been in danger. Capt. Long intends this week for England."

Carte v. 217 p. 251

That Flower was very fortunate in the support of his friends in this affair is demonstrated by the fate of Mr. Aston who killed a man in a similar duel in Dublin nine months later. He was hanged and his estate was forfeited to the Crown.

Lord Clarendon arrived in Dublin as Lord Lieutenant in January 1686. Although large numbers of Catholics were brought into the Army, the Judiciary and the Government on the orders of James II and Tyrconnell, Clarendon attempted to maintain the moderate policies of Ormond.

10. Sir John Temple to Duke of Ormond
Dublin 11 February 1686

"Capt. Matthew (half brother to Ormond and steward of his estates) hath, I suppose, acquainted your Grace with the agreement he hath made with Capt. Flower for the renewal of his lease of Durrow, whereby I am glad that you are likely to find that what I formerly offered on his behalf was not so unreasonable or disadvantageous to your Grace as he then seemed to believe it".

Vol. 7 p. 410

11. Sir John Temple to Duke of Ormond (in England)
Dublin 19 August 1686

(In response to Ormond's request for hawks)

"I have for some time resolved to give over keeping any, and had parted with those that I had to Capt. Flower, before I received your Grace's letter, and one of the best of them is since dead. But when your falconer comes over, if he should like any that are left, Capt. Flower, I am sure would be as glad as I should be of your acceptance of any of them from him."

Vol. 7 p. 446

12. Sir John Temple to Duke of Ormond
Palmerston (Temple's estate outside Dublin) 11 September 1686

"Mr. Ashenhurst (Ormond's falconer) is this week gone over with a cast of hawks for your Grace from Capt. Flower, which he thinks are very good ones and I wish they may prove so and that your Grace may have a long continuance of health to make use of them and be as much pleased with the diversion they may give you as ever you used to be."

Vol. 7 p. 456

13. Duke of Ormond to Sir John Temple
Cornbury (the Earl of Clarendon's house in Oxfordshire
which he had exchanged with Ormond for Kilkenny Castle
while he was Lord Lieutenant)
29 October 1686

"I desire you to give my thanks to Capt. Flower for one
of the best hawks I ever had".

Vol. 7 p. 470

14. Earl of Longford to Duke of Ormond
Dublin 12 February 1687

(The Earl of Tyrconnell is) "turning out of their
commands in the Army most of those few English officers
now remaining in it, of which number I am told there
are marked out in the Regt. of Guards, Capt. Ford,
Capt. Flower, Capt. Harman and Lt. Gilbert."

Vol. 7 p. 484

But against the odds Thomas retained his commission as Captain and his younger brother William his as Ensign. The Earl of Arran died in January 1686 and in the Summer of 1688 the old Duke of Ormond died. He was succeeded by his grandson, a rather wild young man, who nevertheless retained many of his grandfather's and uncle's offices including the Colonely of the Guards and the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford.

In September 1688 James II fearing a revolt in England and an invasion by William of Orange, summoned seven companies of the Guards from Ireland. By 9 October they had arrived at Chester and Lt. Col. William Dorrington, a Catholic who had earlier taken command of the Regt. writes to the young Duke of Ormond that he would lead four companies to London via Coventry and that Capt. Flower would march the other three companies via Warwick.

Vol. 8 p. 6 and 7.

The Regiment was reviewed in Hyde Park by James II at the end of October^{1.} and in November marched west to confront William of Orange's army which was approaching from Exeter. The principal officers of James' army deserted to William at the end of November, Ormond himself escaping on the 24th from Andover.^{2.} James was so discouraged that he returned to London and tried to flee to France. His army disintegrated. The large Irish contingent with its Catholic officers made its way back to Ireland with every assistance from the English officials on their route. The English officers remained. The Earl of Clarendon notes in his diary 12 December 1688 that he met Capt. Flower, Capt. Long and other officers in Oxford seeking his advice (Vol. 2 p. 224). They evidently stayed around London for some months because the names of both Flower brothers appear in a list of Protestant officers of the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards now in London seeking employment dated 22 March 1689. (Dalton's Army Lists).

Sometime before the beginning of 1690 Thomas married Dorothy Jeffreys, only daughter and heiress of Col. John Jeffreys. Col. Jeffreys had a small estate at Abercunrick (Abercynrig) near Brecon and for services to Charles II in arranging Parliamentary elections in the Borough of Brecon was recommended to be Governor of Kilmainham Hospital, the Irish equivalent of Chelsea Hospital, which was in course of erection in the early 1680's.

1. Le Fleming MSS p. 217/8
2. Foxcrofts Supplement pp.531, 533, Marchmont Papers 111, 99,
Leyborne Popham MSS p. 267

Earl of Arran to Duke of Ormond
London 2 July 1681

"If you are not engaged for the employment Sir William Flower was to have in the new Hospital, His Majesty would be glad Col. Jeffreys were thought of for it. He has been lately very serviceable to His Majesty in the county where he lives".

Vol. 6 p. 89

Col. Jeffreys arrived in Ireland to take up the Governorship of Kilmainham before 26 March 1684. It was presumably while the family were there that Thomas Flower met Dorothy. Col. Jeffreys was still in Ireland on 15 September 1688 despite the efforts to promote Catholics but all the inmates of Kilmainham were ejected in 1689. Col. Jeffreys apparently died in Flanders (see Letter 2) about this time, and Thomas and Dorothy Flower went to live at Abercunrick.

According to a survey made in 1712, and rentals from 1713 onwards, when William Flower of Durrow inherited the Abercunrick estate from his half brother Jeffreys Flower, it consisted of 1511 acres of tenanted land and 360 acres of the demesne at Abercunrick. The tenants paid rent amounting to £230 per annum and the demesne when first rented in 1715 fetched £138 per annum.

But to return to Ireland. The Irish Government under Tyrconnell declined to follow the English Parliament in proclaiming William and Mary and sent for King James from France. They began to disarm the Protestants. This was carried out successfully except at Londonderry where the citizens barred the gates to King James' soldiers. A long siege ensued, but the place was eventually relieved by a naval force from England on 31 July 1689. James summoned a Parliament in Dublin, which attainted the principal Protestant absentees including Thomas Flower and confiscated their estates.

On 13 August, an English army under the Duke of Schomberg, previously a Protestant Marshal of France, landed at Carrickfergus. This army included the Earl of Meath's newly raised Regiment in which William Flower had obtained a commission as Lieutenant. The army advanced to Dundalk where it lay opposite an Irish Army for several weeks during which it suffered terrible casualties from exposure and disease before both armies retired to winter quarters.

In the spring of 1690 both sides reinforced and resupplied their armies. 5000 French soldiers with ample provision arrived at Kinsale and a new English Army with plentiful supplies was landed in Ulster. King James imprisoned many of the leading Protestants in Dublin. On 4th June King William left Kensington and on the 14th arrived at Carrickfergus. He quickly moved his army south to the line of the River Boyne near Drogheda where the Irish opposed them. On 1st July the Battle of the Boyne resulted in a complete rout for the Irish and James fled to France. On 5th July William's army advanced to Finglas where they lay encamped for several days. They then went to besiege Limerick.

G. Story. A History of the Wars in Ireland. 1693.

The following collection of letters were originally preserved at Durrow, but were recovered after the 1922 sale by Rev. Canon Aylward who gave them to the National Library of Ireland where they now are. (11,472 - 3 - 4). I have numbered these letters in chronological order 1 - 58.

They were evidently originally kept and filed by Thomas Flower as memoranda of financial and estate matters. Each consists of one or more sheets folded and addressed and each was marked by Thomas e.g. "Mr. Plunkett's of 2 July 1692".

The principal correspondents are Edmond Doyne, the steward of the estate, Nicholas Plunkett and Peter Goodwin. The latter and his brother Andrew were related to Dorothy Flower and seem to have been in business as merchants and shipowners in Dublin and Wales.

Note on the transcription of the letters

I have modernized the spelling and punctuation throughout. Thus I have altered "desine" to "design" etc. but I have not changed the tenses of verbs, so I have left "rid" for "ridden" and "writ" for "wrote" or "written". In Edmond Doyne's letters, the spelling is very various and the punctuation is almost non-existent. Although the modernizing does some violence to the original, the gain in understanding for the ordinary reader more than outweighs this loss. Words in brackets are my interpolations either where the original is damaged or where a word was inadvertently missed out by the writer. I have expanded all abbreviations. Dates are everywhere New Style i.e. with the year beginning on 1st January. Words I cannot understand are as in the original text but underlined.

I have supplied notes on some of the people mentioned where they are important public figures or play a significant part in the story. I have also provided information where this seems important to an understanding of the letters.

The letters provide information not elsewhere available on the extent of the Flower estate at the time. A list of the principal holdings at this stage may assist an understanding of the letters.

1. Finglas House - the principal home of Thomas Flower with 30 - 50 acres of home farm.
2. Finglas Wood - at one time the home of Sir William Flower of recent years let to Mr. Wilson.
3. Tenanted land in Finglas - tenants old Mr. Gray, John Settle, John Search, Alderman Castleton and others.

All or some of this Finglas land was held on a chief rent from the Archbishop of Dublin. A chief rent was the rent paid on inheritable leasehold land. At this time almost all land was subject to chief rent.

4. Durrow and Ballyspellan, according to the Indenture 2209 acres and three woods "plantation measure" and appurtenances i.e. waste ground, bogs etc. held of the Duke of Ormond at a rent of £100 a year. Thomas Flower also had £1000 mortgage on this or other Ormond lands including Foulkscourt, adjoining Ballyspellan.

On this land Flower had in 1688 some 350 black cattle and probably about 4 to 5,000 sheep and some arable.

There were also tenants of whom Richard Marshall and his family and Ensign Gray appear to have been the most substantial.

5. Lands near Durrow on lease, ? chief rent from:-

- (a) The Bishop of Ossory.
- (b) Mr. Alland (Allen?) - Gragenoss.
- (c) Dr. Fitzpatrick - Shanballybeg.
- (d) ? Dean and Chapter of ?

6. A house in Kilkenny - rental value c.£30 p.a.

7. A house ? in Dublin leased to Charles the gunsmith.

8. ? ground rents in Dublin.

9. Mortgages a) £500 at 8% to Nicholas Plunkett of Dunsoghly secured on Kildonan and ? Balseskin in Finglas parish.
Tenant Lawrence Lynch.

b) To Sir Donough O'Brien 1st Bart of Lemeneagh and Dromoland Co. Clare. Sir Donough like the other leading members of the O'Brien family, the Earl of Thomond and the Earl of Inchiquin, was a Protestant. Living in the "quarters" of King James' army, he supported them until the Articles of Limerick were signed but he retained his estate afterwards.

D. O'Brien. History of the O'Briens, 1949.

c) To Nicholas Purcell of Loghmore Co. Tipperary.

This was an ancient family estate of which he was titular Lord. He was a nephew of the 1st Duke of Ormond. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1686 and sat in King James' Parliament of 1689. He was a Colonel of a Regiment of horse in King James' army at the battle of Boyne and afterwards at Limerick. He signed the Articles of Limerick but subsequently attempted to get his Regiment to join the English army rather than the French. Despite being given his estate back under the Articles of Limerick, he appears to have been attainted by the Protestant Parliament of 1692 and to have lost his estate.

D'Alton, Irish Army Lists.

2. Peter Goodwin to Capt. Thomas Flower at Abercunrick, Nr. Brecon (London?) 19 May 1690.

"Sir, I was this day with Sergeant Pawlet in his chamber who left the seal behind him in Bristol. I paid him the fees and he has given me a letter to the man that can come to the seal to finish the deed. There's no danger in it, only the trouble of sending one to Bristol with it. I hope to leave London the middle of next week at which time I shall have all things ready that Madam Flower writ for. Immediately after I gave my Lady Porter^{1.} your letter she sent and ordered the things to be dispatched.

This day came my Lord of Ormond's Troop to town. Col. John Jeffreys^{2.} that was in his troop died in Flanders of a fever. They continue here in the King's absence who c(ert)ainly goes and that soon but won't declare (the) day. P of Denmark's^{3.} things are all which One Cornet King that fro(m)..... Irish Army tells 50,000 men

Col. Dorington^{4.} commands one of the Regiments of Guards. He and Col. FitzJames with their Regiments were commanded out of Dublin and in their room were two Regiments of French placed which they heard, and immediately Dorington with 14 chief officers returned and told the King that they were as fit to guard the King's person as the French, which caused a great quarrel. My Lord Tyrconnell espoused the Irish and fell out with the French General but the King confined Tyrconnell and to make peace received the two Regiments again. But the Irish very much grumble. Col. Sank^{5.} is here but in no command. I have sent you a list of King William's Army out of his own books. I am Sir, your humble servant Peter Goodwin. My humble service to Madam Flower. pray

The Army in Ireland.

Horse	7,842
Dragoons	2,720
Foot	37,464
<hr/>	
	48,026 besides officers and servants.
Left in England	10,970 }
in Scotland	5,998 } 16,968
<hr/>	
in the Plantations ..	960
<hr/>	
in all	65,954 besides the Navy, artillery, wagons

1. Lady Porter was the wife of Sir Charles Porter. As a distinguished but impecunious lawyer, Sir Charles was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland by James II early in 1686, in the hope that he would prove a pliant tool for Tyrconnell. In the event, he supported the moderate policies of Lord Clarendon and was dismissed with him in early 1687. During their stay in Ireland the Porters appear to have become great friends with Sir John Temple, Thomas Flower and Lady Stephens who was Thomas's aunt. Sir Charles Porter was reappointed Lord Chancellor by King William in 1690.
2. This was the 2nd Troop of the Life Guards of which the young Duke of Ormond took command in April 1689. Evidently Dorothy's father, Col. John Jeffrey accompanied him and died there. There is no record of his commission in Dalton's Army Lists. In the 1670's he had been in the old Duke of Ormond's Troop of Irish Life Guards.
3. Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne (1701 - 14).

4. Thomas Flower's ex Colonel, now commanding King James' Irish Guards.
5. Nicholas Sankey with whom Flower had duelled. He eventually became Lt. Gen. 1710.

3. Piers Evans^{1.} to Capt. Thomas Flower at Aberkonrig etc.
(Finglas) 12 July(1690) (Poor spelling and writing).

.....(Lieu)tⁿ Flower's letter from the camp at Finglas he gave you (an) a(cco)unt how things are here at present. But on Wednesday last the Camp was removed from hence. The Prince of Denmark lay in your house during the camp here but at their departure the men were rude for some of them stole several things - two buncarts and a pair of wheels out of the new stable and some corn out of the granary and destroyed all the corn and grass hereabouts. But now they are upon their march towards Munster after the enemy. Major Arthur^{2.} is killed in this last engagement; he was very kind to us all the time but they were very covetous all the while, but they would make fair pretences that it was all for your good. The best of your writings are in Mr. Temple's^{3.} hands. There is never a room in the house but has been opened several times by one or another. Mr. Yarner^{4.} is gone with the camp; he advises me to go to Durrow to see if I can save any of the stock there which I do intend to do, if I can possibly leave this place; and to be there at Durrow but four or five mile before King William's army, for the other will run away when they hear of their coming which will be about Tuesday or Wednesday next. The house and garden is in very good order but Darby^{5.} never comes near it. I have a cast of the old hawks still and some of the sp(anie)ls. The colt that was at Mr. War.....all the stock and har....plowed several.....I will not tr.....ee you soon no.....hearty service t.....present from him.....

Pieres Evans.

1. Flower's head servant at Finglas House who had stayed in Ireland to look after the house.
2. Of the neighbouring village of Much Cabragh. Appointed to a commission in the Guards under James II. Apparently lived at Finglas House 1688 - 90.
3. Presumably one of Sir John Temple's sons, Henry or John.
4. Flower's uncle by marriage see Temple pedigree.
5. Gardener at Finglas House.

4. Peter Goodwin to Capt. Thomas Flower at Abercunrick.
Chester 21 July 1690.

"Sir, This morning we came safe hither, but could not sooner. The mare that Mr. Doyne rid being tired before we came to Shrewsbury. Yesterday evening we met a chapman on the road to whom Mr. Doyne sold her for 27s. 6d. I gave Mistress Edwards Madam Flower's letter, who indeed is very willing to serve her and has promised me she would wait on her soon after three women are delivered the latest not having a fortnight to go.^{1.} She begs Madam Flower not to send for her sooner than she expects and to send a horse that carries double and easy. She can very well ride 40 miles a day, if occasion be. A friend of mine - one Mr. Morris an attorney landed last night from Dublin. He gives me but a scurvy account of my goods. He and my brother Andrew were of the number that were imprisoned. He tells me that there has been an engagement near Athlone^{2.} and our men had the worst of it, but keep it to yourself. Here's an embargo on the shipping but I hope it will soon be off. My humble service to yourself, Madam Flower and little cousins. I heartily thank you for Crop. He is not any ways hurt but hearty and well. Six companies of Sir George St. George's Regiment are in the town. I am , Sir, your humble servant Pe Goodwin."

1. Mistress Edwards, evidently a midwife, was to attend the birth of Jeffreys Flower.
2. Lt.Gen. Douglas, on 9th July, had led a detachment to capture Athlone but the castle was strongly defended and they retired to join the main army.

5. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower
Dublin 22 July 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave you an account of your commands at Chester where I was forced to stay until Thursday last and on Friday came aboard one of the King's ships and landed here on Sunday, 10 o'clock at night. On Monday morning I went about and met with Capt. Ford^{1.} who gives his service to you and yours and promised me to be my friend upon all occasions on your account. So I went up and down and at length I heard of some of your stock that has been driven to the Lordship of Baltinglass where I design as soon as I get a warrant from the Lords Commissioners. I shall make what haste down I can. Piers has been there but as far as I can perceive to little purpose. Old Gray^{2.} is alive still as I am informed but both his sons and one of his daughters has left him and as Piers informs me he says he is not capable of any business though he has a good stock of his own. As yet as for your Honour's stock I cannot give you any further account as yet. But Finglas House is not so bad as we expected it was, but Prince George being there did you no kindness. But as for the land it is all in a common so that there is no hopes of doing any good this year, for as I am informed, labourers are at two shillings a day. I hope in my next, I shall give you a better account.

I spoke to Serjeant Bayly about the colours and bells^{3.} in Chester but he cannot call to mind the man's name or the sign, but he will enquire of some that came over with him and in my next I will give you a further account. Here has been Piers, and Davie and Richard^{4.} all this while and as far as I can learn has spent a great deal of money on your account. Piers is very willing to go for England but I would fain have all things home first. This day

I met with Mr. Andrew Goodwin who tells me that he has all my mistress' goods and lodged them in some places where he is to pay half a crown a week for the house room, the which I design to take home. I suppose Mr. Goodwin has written to you and given you an account that the saddle that I had was left behind in Chester by his man, the which is at one Cornet Pearson's house in Chester. This is what offers from your honour's most faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne."

1. An old Guards Officer friend of Flower's.
2. Ensign Gray a tenant at Durrow.
3. The colours and bells of the Guards left in Chester in October or December 1688. See Letter 10.
4. Flower's servants at Finglas House.

6. Piers Evans to Capt. Thomas Flower at Aberkonrig
Finglas 23 July 1690

"Sir, as it is my duty to acquaint you how things are here. I went to Durrow as soon as I could get there for the enemy. I went there yesterday was seven night. The day before I came there several of your tenants sons returned back and took most part of what was left by the steward what he did not take away. Michael Langton took a fine filly and rid her. The smith's son took Betty Brabson. The cotner^{1.} another filly. After they were gone away, they returned with eight or ten men in their company and drove the sheep and cows before them. There is left 8 colts behind and one of Doran's.^{2.} There is betwixt 13 and 14 hundred sheep left of all sorts, 15 calves, 6 cows, 2 bulls, 2 bullocks, some wool, 13 casks of butter, 16 cheeses, a good deal of corn seed in the ground, some hides and sheep skins and several other things about the house, which the lieutenant has an account of. I went there before the army; they were at Gowran when I cam back from Durrow to give the lieutenant an account how things were at Durrow, but I met him at Kilkenny and he went back to Durrow and has taken a particular account of all things there. I took up the arms but they are all spoiled already. The lieutenant ordered me to take them up. There is abundance of grass at Durrow but no cattle to eat it but the Irish tenants that have stayed behind have several cattle. Mr. Marshall^{3.}would fain plough some of the land. He spoke to the Lieutenant about it. I intend to go to Durrow the next week to look after the corn if I do not hear from your honour before or see you or Doyne here which I am in hopes I shall. I have no money to send you but the Irish do surrender every place to the King's army as they go. They surrendered Clonmel on Saturday last. They are in a great body hard by Sligo and it is thought they will fight. They stand out at Athlone;

it isbesieged but not taken as
I sent you an account how things were here at Finglas in the
last so that I need not to trouble your honour no more at
present. From him who is your most obedient servant, with
my most humble and hearty service to my mistress from him
who is her dutiful servant Pieres Evans."

1. Cottager?
2. ?Daniel Doran, a Catholic Landowner of Queen's County.
3. Richard Marshall, a tenant.

7. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower
Finglas 2 August 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave you an account of my landing here and what I had done. Ever since I have been making what friends I could to the Lords Commissioners and this day my Lord (recte Mr.) Rothford (one of the Commissioners) gave me his letter to the high sheriff of the county to assist me in anything that lies in his power. Capt. Ford and Col. Sankey and Mr. Temple give their services to you and have promised me all the kindness that lies in them.

Sir, here is such a confusion amongst the people that I will not venture to bring home your goods as yet so that I cannot send Piers away before I come out of the country where I hope to send you a good account by him. Sir, yesterday the King went back to Kilkenny^{1.} and the Prince and the Duke of Ormond in order to go to Limerick. Athlone holds out still and the English camp is retired back to Philipstown. The Romans in Dublin are as bold and as high as ever they were. Those that are left of them here is 3000 foot, and 1400 horse shipped off a Tuesday last and are gone for England.

Sir, all your land here is in a common and is as bare as the highway since the camp and now I can get nobody that will give me anything for it. As for your tenant Wilson, he is left Finglas wood house and lives in Mr. Arthur's house at the Caboragh I have been several times to look for him but cannot meet with him. Sir, I have been so busy in waiting every day upon my Lord Rothford that I have not examined your tenants in Finglas. I would fain,

if you thought fit, to have your command about the land of Mr. Plunketts whether you would have me demand the rent or no but the meantime I think to speak to the tenants and to let them know that you expect the rent from them. Sir, I intend to call old Gray to account for his rent in Durrow since he will not be concerned for you, so that I believe I shall not write again afore I come back for I am just now agoing. I have borrowed a horse of John Settle.^{2.} I spoke to Charles the gunsmith and gave him your letter but he has not one farthing. I met with Mr. Ward the other day who says your colt is dead, and he was not left worth a gro(a)t. This is what I have to say at present, with my duty to your honour and my mistress and to Mr. William and Miss which is what offers from, Sir, your faithful servant Edm. Doyne.

Sir, I wish I could receive your command about big Richard, for if I shall bring Derby to the house there will be no business for him. The wall trees are in good.....

1. The King had left the Army near Clonmel on 27 July to return to England because of fears of a French invasion. These proved false so he returned to the Army.
2. Who lived at Finglas Bridge. Related to Mr. Franklin. Tenant of Flower's.

8. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower
Durrow 18 August 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave your honour an account of what I had done in Finglas and now I have been here this ten days and have been up and down ever since. I have gotten at Ballyspellan 4 cows and 2 bulls and four calves, and in Ossory I got about twenty so that I have got in all about 30 head of young and old. Besides I have information of some more cows in Ossory which I am at the trouble of getting a warrant to sieze them. I have been also at Kilkenny to enquire about your wool but it has been so tossed and tumbled that I cannot learn whether it be sent away or no but I have bribed one of the old waiters^{1.} in Waterford to give me a just account of it which I have not had as yet but I hope in my next to give a better account.

Sir, since I came hither, I cannot get one of these rogues to work one day's work for me unless I pay them every day so that I have disbursed all the little monies I had to mow down some hay which I design for what fillies you have left which is but one of those you had from Mr. Ward and that as you had from Spooner^{2.} and the old gray mare's filly and a stone colt that come from Betty Brabston which I am forced to keep in the stable. There is three fillies more of your own breed and a colt of Doran's, and a colt that came from Tibi which I must have to ride on. Here is also fourteen hundred sheep of the very scurf of all your flocks. All your tenants have proved great rogues for I have found them so. And there is seven of your tenants sons was the only men that drive away your cattle and sheep which are as followeth: young Langton, the two young Smiths who took away your mare Betty Brabston and shoed her and so to the camp.

"Sir, I cannot venture to speak or do anything as yet about rent or anything else for here happened on Monday last within 12 miles of Limerick that there was a great deal of artillery going to King William's camp, and in the night came the enemy and found the guard asleep and took eight battering brass guns and a great many other wagons with provision and ammunition and killed all the guard which were but three troops and horse. But since we have an account that they were pursued and retaken and have killed a great many of the enemy.³. This is what I have to trouble your honour with but it is confirmed that King William has taken the King's Island which commands all the town of Limerick and designs to storm it very soon. If it were once taken I would begin to handle some of these rogues for denying to work for me; for here is some little corn that is sowed up and down which I have taken but cannot get any to reap it or bring it home. All your land is waste and common as all the country is. I have not meddled with Gragenoss for it is not worth your while for this year.

Sir, here is so many raparees* of the English as well as of the Irish that I can hardly stir from what little stock that you have here; for when the English comes I do stop them from them, but at night I am forced to have three or four to watch for fear of the Irish. When I was in Kilkenny I met with Capt. Cuff who told me that he wrote to you about the house in Kilkenny and that he would take a lease of it, so I told him I would set him a lease of it at £30 per annum, so he would not say anything to me before he had your answer. There is a weaver lives there now who took it from King James' Commissioners at ten pounds a year, and putting the house in repair so that he lives there now

*Raparee - originally a stick or club, then people who carried such weapons. Generally armed marauders who were not regular soldiers. G. Story.

and has been there since the 25th of March last. If I can set it to him at a good rent after Michaelmas I will, for I am informed he is an able fellow and a very honest fellow.

Sir, times are so dubious that I cannot demand rent as yet. I intend to set Ballyspellan to some graziers if I can for this year.

Sir, here is two parts of the wool room in the Black Castle full of your wool but the saddest trash that ever was shorn. Mr. Wheeler gives his service to you and so does the Bishop of Ossory⁴ who stands out still and has not been in the Church since the King came to Kilkenny which is much admired so that it is thought that he will be put out if the Duke of Ormond does not stand his friend. Sir Lawrence Parsons is unfortunate, he coming to Birr the last week, that very same night come some of King James' horse and some Raparies and killed some of the soldiers that was in town and the Captain of them and wounded Sir Lawrence and missed killing of him very narrowly for he was shot through the hat.

Sir, Ensign Gray threw up his farm last year only those choice parks that is about his house and designs to pay grazing for what cattle he has by the collop and to pay for the parks. I have not discoursed him as yet for I do not know how times will prove. This is what offers from,

Your faithful servant to command

Edm. Doyne

1. Properly tide-waiters i.e. customs officials.
2. James Spooner, brewer of Finglas or his son.
3. This was Col. P. Sansfield's most successful exploit. By destroying King William's siege train and ammunition he effectively prevented the capture of Limerick this year.
4. Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory 1680 - 93. He sat in King James' Parliament in 1689 and after the Boyne declared James still the lawful king since there was no power in pope or people to dethrone him. He sat in William's Parliament in 1692 and died 1693.

9. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick (Copy made at the time)
Waterford the 26 August 1690.

"This is the fourth time I have writ to you, but have not heard one word from you, and have given you an account of your concerns from time to times, and of my proceedings. I cam hither yesterday where after a sharp inquiry I met with 26 bags of your wool in the King's Customhouse which are siezed for the King's use, so that I intend for Dublin to the Commissioners to try what friends I can make there, and I intend to prefer a Petition in your behalf to the Commissioners to let them know that your losses before were very considerable and you are like now to be a further loser. There were 76 Bags^{1.} in all whereof 50 were shipped off just before the Rout for one Billinger who had them from King James for 1000 barrels of wheat. And the said 50 Bags of wool were taken by Sir Cleudesly Shovell^{2.} and carried into Milford. Now King William has 800 barrels of this wheat in his custody, or siezed for (some) reason, but you ought to be considered for the loss of your wool, it being taken by his subjects, the which I intend, as soon as I get advice to that purpose, to prefer a Petition setting forth what I have here written.

Now as for your other concerns, what there is of them, is in good order but your land all waste. The cause of my staying so long at Durrow is that you have some corn up and down, and am forced to watch it early and late, until I get it in. But as I writ before, I can't get one farthing of rent from any of them. As soon as I come to Dublin, I shall give you a further account, but in the meantime if you would be pleased to write to some of the Commissioners that you are acquainted with to be your friend in these affairs you would do very well and do yourself a great kindness perhaps. This with my duty to you, and my mistress and my love to my dear master and Miss and so remains, Yours etc. Edmond Doyne.

In Doyne's writing - (P.S.) I writ three times to Lt. Flower by some people going to the Camp and the last that I heard from him was that he had a fit of sickness but was recovering. They have burnt the middle part of Limerick, with (fire bo)mbs, but no hopes of taking it.

1. Each Bag of wool probably weighed about 20 stone = 280 lbs. worth in normal times about 10/- a stone (and seized by King James at 10/-) so the 76 Bags would have had a value of approx. £750. Barrels of wheat also probably weighed about 280 lbs. and in March 1690 their price in Dublin by proclamation was 20/- a barrel but in the market approx. 40/-.

Ormonde NS 8 Diary.

For wool prices realized by Ned Doyne at this time see letters 26 and 38.

2. Commanding the English fleet in Irish waters.

10. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
15 September 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last from Waterford I gave you an account of your concerns and of my proceedings since I came and now of what I have done about your wool. I preferred a Petition in your name to the Commissioners but I cannot get the 26 Bags that are in Waterford storehouse because I have nobody to swear the property but with the help of Capt. Ford, he has procured an order to the storekeeper of Waterford that the wool should not be disposed of until I bring one to prove the property. Capt. Ford has also procured me the enclosed being the invoice of all the wool you had and withal desires that you would lose no time in sending to Milford and to make a sharp enquiry for fifty bags of your wool that was taken by Sir Cloutesley Shovell 3 or 4 days before the Rout from a Frenchman by name Billinger who had it from King James in part payment of one thousand barrels of wheat in King William's storehouse in Waterford. All this I set forth in my petition so that Capt. Ford gives his service to you and my mistress and says that there is no question but that you will get those fifty bags that went to Milford if they be not disposed of for he says that what is underdeck is the King's, what is between decks are the seamen's, and what in the cabins belongs to the officers, so if you can but put a stop to it until the property be sworn here, it will do well for if the wool be not disposed of there, he will do his endeavour to have the waiters in Kilkenny and Waterford to prove the property. The most of the bags are made of coarse frize and some of canvas. This is what account I have to trouble you with but that Mr. Temple and Col. Sankey gives their services to you but to speak truth Capt. Ford and Col. Sankey are the kindest and most concerned for your interest of any that I meet withal.

Sir, I gave you an account that I would keep Piers here until I came from Durrow and now Mr. Goodwin telling him that you would be here in a month's time, he does not think fit to go until further orders from your honour.

Sir, I have this day seized Lawrence Clinch's cattle for the arrears of rent due on Kildonan and tomorrow I will seize what cattle I can seize on Balseskin both being part of Mr. Plunkett's estate for fear any other should come there. If I knew what rent I should demand or what arrear of rent is owed I would endeavour to get it. I cannot get this knave Wilson to come to anything for he lives at Mr. Arthurs, Cabragh, but in my next I will give you a full account. Here is arrears of rent due on Mr. Bale and John Search (and by) the rest of your tenants both here and in the country but not one farthing had amongst them. But if the law were open I would take some course with them.

Sir, if you do not come yourself this winter, I pray send me your commands concerning this of Mr. Plunkett's and that which you have in the City. If you writ to Mr. Goodwin you may enclose mine in his letter for fear I should not be here.

Sir, now I understand that Major Arthur and his mother and family lives upon you during their being here for I find that Wilson supplied him with hay and John Settle with butter, and what monies was disbursed i nhousekeeping that he gave Piers orders from time to time to call for it to the tenants so that I fear we shall have but a very little to receive. This with my duty to your honour and my mistress and to Mr. William and Miss.

Sir, on Wednesday last came into Dublin my Lord Sidney and Mr. Coningsby^{1.} both Lord Justices. This is all the news that I have to trouble you with now from Sir, your honours most humble and faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

The bells and colours of your company and of Capt. Arthur's

was left at one William Billings at the sign of the Cross Keys
in Bridge Street, Chester.

1. Henry Viscount Sidney, Thomas Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter were appointed Lords Justices on 3 September 1690 just before King William left for England after raising the siege of Limerick and sending his army into winter quarters.

11. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 4 October 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last which I forgot to date (was the 15th of the last month) where I gave your honour an account of your concerns and of all my proceedings, I have since that been in the county of Kildare where I got six score of your sheep, ewes, and wethers, and five heifers which I siezed by virtue of a warrant from the Lords Commissioners and have got information of five or six hundred more in the county of Wicklow where I should have gone this week but Serjeant Eclin^{1.} receiving a letter from Sir John Temple sent for me to come to him, which I did and gave him an account what I did about your wool in Waterford so that he did bid me stay three or four days and that he would endeavour to get me an order for to have the property sworn in Kilkenny or in Waterford so that this week coming, I intend into the County of Wicklow and in my next shall give you an account of what I can do there.

Sir, I have since my last brought home hither what goods of my mistress that Mr. Andrew Goodwin gave me and have here sent you an inventory of them.

Sir, here is Lieut. Flower; has been here now a fortnight who was shot in the right shoulder and is now almost well of it.^{2.} His Lieut. Colonel is dead and my Lord Sidney has promised him to be Captain. His winter quarters will be in Dublin.

Sir, I am forced to buy corn and meat for Big (Richard) and Davie for here is no place in town that is able to diet them or anybody else; for Dick's part I am forced to keep him to look to the garden for your old gardener as I am informed proved a great rogue, and I wish the rest had not been so too.

I have made a barrel of cider which I hope will be fit for you against you come. I miss a great many of your goods that is what have been about the house; but what is under lock and key I shall not meddle or make with; for what things have been sent up and down, there was no account taken of them when they were sent, so that we must take what we can get.

Sir, I wrote to you about the arrears due on that part of Mr. Plunkett's, how much or what I should demand, and what your command would be about the ground rent in the City. I have not got one farthing of your rent as yet, but have been forced to get a supply from Dick Marshall³. out of my own money which is all that I have left. For my cattle, I have not one left but one heifer nor nothing but my papers. For my very clothes have been taken away at Finglas - not as much as a shirt or a paire of sleeves* left me.

Sir, I have lodged all my mistress' goods over the kitchen and yours in the closet.

I asked Serjeant Eclin what course I should take about rent and he told me as for Protestants, I should not be hard on them as yet for there will be a rule for their paying of rent very soon but as for the Papists, I may take what course I think fit. The Alderman⁴. promised me some money and so did John Settle but as for Wilson there is no hopes of any good from him but what the law must compel him to do which I hope as soon as there be a rule or a law to be even with him. This with my duty to your honour and my mistress and my love to my young master William and Miss with my daily wishes for your health and your safe and speedy arrival in this place which is the desire of Sir, your most faithful servant to command, Edm. Doyne.

We have, since I began my letter, a confirmation of the taking of Cork and all submitted to be prisoners of war.

*This may refer to the wide sleeved Irish smock.

Goods received from Mr. Andrew Goodwin this 24th day of September 1690.

1 walnut scriptoire	10 damask cushions and 1 <u>squab</u> ^{b.}
1 Small mat	2 blankets 1 quilt
1 Turkey work carpet	3 turkey cushions
4 red bed curtains with black lace with all the appurtenances	1 piece of red old baize
4. <u>Phillomott</u> ^{a.} mohair bed curtains and counterpane and all appurtenances	5 pieces of yellow baize curtains
7 pieces of arras	1 hair trunk
39 books in folio	1 <u>standiss</u> ^{c.} box
125 small books	4 gold coloured cups for a bed and 4 claws
1 red large chair with cushion and elbows	1 spice box
1 speckled cushion	3 feather beds and bolsters
4 pieces of sad colour hangings	1 table lid
2 black cushions	1 clock and case and top
1 marble mortar	1 weather glass
1 little hair trunk with 9 pieces of wrought clothes in it	1 box with 16 pewter <u>stand</u>
4 dark serge curtains	2 pillows
1 painted screen	1 box with papers as I believe
4 dark cushions	2 theorbos
1 box with an olive cabinet in it	4 bedstead
1 box with 4 pictures and 2 white curtains	9 curtain rod
4 large pictures	1 little leaf table
2 small pictures	1 <u>bankett</u> ^{d.}
1 oval table	1 mat
3 pictures	2 empty boxes
	1 map of Italy
	1 wooden <u>stan</u> ^{e.}
	2 iron <u>tosters</u> ^{f.}
	1 hanging iron
	1 close stool box and pan
	1 close stool box
	11 chains
This is what I have got.	1 still

Note underlined words in original spelling.

- a. Phillomot - corrupted from feuille mort, a dead leaf.
The colour of a dead leaf. Johnson.
 - b. Squab - a long cushion or sofa.
 - c. Standish - abbreviated 'stand and dish' - an inkwell
set of plate inkpot and sandbox. Johnson.
 - d. Bankett - a tapestry cover for seat - or a seat so covered?
 - e. Stan - perhaps stand for barrels etc.
 - f. Tosters - toasting forks?
-
- 1. Henry Eclin, lawyer, friend of Sir John Temple,
shortly to be made a Baron of the Exchequer.
 - 2. On 27 August his Regiment had been in the party
that stormed the breach at Limerick. The Earl
of Meath, Colonel, was wounded and Lt.Col. Newcomb
killed.
 - 3. Tenant at Durrow see letters 15 and 18 for his
misfortunes.
 - 4. Alderman Castleton a tenant in Finglas.

12. Capt. Edw. Ford to Capt. Thomas Flower Abercunrick
Dublin 22 November 1690

"Lest my last to you, dear Tom, has not come to your hands, which was in answer to yours of the 3rd October, I give you the trouble of this, which goes by your own servant, to assure you that I have and shall always endeavour to be as serviceable to you in all your concerns as I can.

What wool of yours that remains in Waterford I told Mr. Doyne long since that I would get the Commissioner's order to the Collector to deliver it to whom you please, but I am afraid the Lords Justices will not order you the wheat that was given in exchange for the wool sent away. Therefore I think it best that you apply to the King either to have it restored you or satisfaction for it; and the rather because a parallel case to yours happened in this harbour - Capt. Froude, commander of the "Jemes Gally" siezed three ships bound for France laden with hides, leather, wool and tallow, part of which being taken from Protestants who when they claimed it, we laid it before the King and His Majesty ordered it should be restored them and none but what belonged to papists was secured for the King. If you believe it, as I suppose it, like your case, certainly it were not amiss if you got a Petition to the King well recommended, either for your wool or satisfaction. I am sure you need not be told what methods to proceed in, nor is it fit for me to tell you that I believe your being here would be an advantage to your affairs in this kingdom. In the meantime, if I can do you any service you shall find that I am with great integrity, dear Tom, your most faithful, humble servant Edw. Ford.

I humbly kiss your Lady's hands.

I just now received a letter from the Collector of Waterford in answer to one I wrote about your wool. There is there he tells me, 25 bags which shall be delivered as you direct. Pray, as soon as you can, let me hear from you.

13. Frances Goodwin to (Thomas Flower)
Brecon 1690 (written by a professional writer
and signed by Frances Goodwin)

"Honoured Sir, I received a letter yesterday from Mr. Goodwin by Mr. Mason in which he desired me to deliver Mr. Mason £50 towards the buying of some barley in Pembrokeshire. I shall desire you therefore to do me the favour as to help me to the interest money due upon Mr. Goodwin's bond with which I hope I shall make up the said sum and in so doing you will infinitely oblige Your servant Frances Goodwin.

Below in Thomas Flower's handwriting -

This money was paid to Gwen Vaughan who brought this note to me."

14. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick (carried by
(Finglas) 27 November 1690 Piers Evans)

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave your honour an account of all your concerns both here and in the country, and since I have been in the country sick otherwise I would have sent sooner, that is I would have sent Piers, but that I expected your further command by reason that I wrote and gave your honour an account of the reason for his stay.

Sir, I suppose the Lieut. has given your honour the same account that the bearer can give as concerning the absentee estates. Before I came out of the country the bearer by advice put in a caveat as concerning what he knew of Mr. Plunkett's estate and what mortgage your honour had, so that the very day I came to town, they were canting*for the said estate so that by the advice of Mr. Yarner and others, I put in a report and canted with the great Col. Moore¹. your neighbour and by my means the tenants that are there have it from the Commissioners for this year, but the rest of the estate Moore has taken it all, through the means of an old rogue and a knave Anthony Headen,² Mr. Plunkett's great favourite which I believe Mr. Plunkett will find him to be no other than what I term him to be.

Sir, since I have waited on Baron Eclin who has been very kind in his advice from time to time concerning your honour's business and told me that it were convenient to have your writing here to produce, for he is sure there will be no rent paid out of (on) any mortgage until the writings be produced. So immediately I waited on my very good friend Capt. Ford who told me that he believed there was no such necessity unless that there was money wanting here, which if there was there must be a scire facias ^fgot out. I told him

*cant - bid at auction.

^f scire facias - a type of legal writ cf. habeas corpus.

that there was no occasion to put us to that charges; why then said he, it is better for him his monies to run on for there is no danger but you would be secured. This is the full and true account of this concerns. But since I have drawn a caveat as concerning Baron Purcell's of Loghmore and gave it to Capt. Ford who has promised me that he would take care if any motion should be made. I also advised about Sir Donogh O'Brien, though he is a prisoner, they say his estate will be forfeited because that he adhered to King James but there is no danger for that part of the country is in the Irish hands as yet. This is what I have done since my coming last out of the country though I am afraid that I shall lose sufficient by being here this fortnight what with raparees and with troops that is quartered in your house in Durrow. As I gave your honour an account in my last that there was 13 Dutch troopers in your house and their horses in your stable and that they will not let neither the little colt nor my horse stand in neither of your stables, but has taken all the little hay that I got made and I am afraid of my corn for while I was there I saved it pretty well, though I do not design to stay here than as long as needs must. Now as for the rest of your concerns I thank God they are pretty well but your few sheep are very much broke. I also gave your honour an account that I seized Ensign Gray('s) black stock and what few sheep he had and have had appraised by (name missing?) to Eighty Pounds which I am sure will not answer your rent with what other perquisites he owes you so that he has given up his land, but keeps the house and gardens still.

Sir, I have not got any rents as yet but this day I received six pounds from Mr. Gray^{5.} and four pound from John Sarch and the Alderman^{6.} has promised me five pounds, but not one farthing from Mr. Wilson. I suppose he has given

Piers a long letter to satisfy your honour. But as for that rogue Charles, the gunsmith, he has deceived me and put me off from time to time and no cannot get one farthing from him.

Sir, I am at more charges here, perhaps a great deal more than you think, of which the bearer can satisfy you, by reason the Lieut. and his man, and as I am informed, now and then a soldier when I am from home. He has got a license for two months longer to stay from his Colours. This is what account I have to trouble your honour with but my love to my Mr. William and Miss and my duty to your honour and mistress which is what offers from, Sir, your honour's most faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

I have given Piers four pound sterling."

1. Col. Roger Moore of the militia lived at Johnstown, Finglas the largest house in the parish. He was a financier (F.E.Ball).
2. Probably the same as Hayden, Plunkett's old steward.
3. Col. Nicholas Purcell, titular lord of Loghmore, Co. Tipperary - see list of mortgages p.22.
4. Sir Donough O'Brien, 1st Bt. of Lemeneagh and Dromoland Co. Clare - see list of mortgages p.21.
5. Old Gray, tenant at Finglas.
6. ?Alderman Philip Castleton of Finglas.

15. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Durrow 4 December 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my letter by Piers I gave your honour an account of all your concerns but since I came hither from Dublin where I found things in worse condition than I left them by means of the army's marching to and fro and of my being in Dublin and of honest Richard Marshall's death who departed the 23rd of the last month without making his will or settling of anything so that I believe they will hardly do well or live in any condition to what they did in time past.

Sir, we have great talks of the Raparees here, but they have not done us any hurt as yet, but there was two of the cattle that I took from Ensign Gray stolen since I went to Dublin last, and now I am forced to buy oats for the troopers that are quartered in your house or they will eat all the bearecorn that I have. So that I am afraid I shall not save much of what I have got here together for the army are so unruly that it is past my skill to do any good, though I will do my endeavour which I am obliged to do for your honour and yours which shall be the daily care of Sir, your honours most humble and faithful servant whilst Edm. Doyne."

16. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 20 December 1690

"Honoured Sir, In my last since Piers went I gave you an account of your concerns and of the death of one of your best tenants and the honestest man, Richard Marshall, who died when I was here last. But since my last I have been at Waterford and have had the property sworn by the storekeeper and by an other that I was forced to hire that was one who was employed to pack and sort and mark the bags, before it was carried away. So that I brought this affidavit and preferred it with a petition to the Commissioners but have got no answer as yet. Lieut. Flower is commanded away to his quarters notwithstanding his license, but he has left his horse here in the care of Richard but left him nothing for him but one load of hay and one barrel of oats which is now spent and the fellow can do nothing but looking after that nag of his.

Sir, if I can get an order for your twenty-six bags of wool, I design to sell it as fast as I can, though wool is a great drug as any commodity in the kingdom for I am informed that they will be sending of what wool they can get to Limerick in the beginning of spring, so that if I can procure an order for it, I will dispose of that and what I have in Durrow with what speed I can.

Sir, my Lord Bishop is very earnest for rent and so is Mr. Aland and Dr. Fitzpatrick^{1.} but as for your great landlord, my lord of Ormond, his receivers summoned me three several times but it is not my luck to be at Durrow. But I spoke to Mr. Smith^{2.} he bid me never heed them but to go and hear what they say.

Sir, I am also charged about the tithes of your concerns in the parish of Fartagh³. where I am to appear before the sub-commissioners in Kilkenny as soon as I go back, where I can prove that you bought the annual rent of all the tithes of your one holding in the parish of Fartagh, which is I think, what they can expect, so that in my next I shall give your honour a fuller account which shall be the daily practice of him who is bound to it and shall make it my sole business to serve both you and yours whilst Edm. Doyne.

This with my duty to your honour and my mistress, my love to my master Will and Miss, wishing your honour and them a happy and merry Christmas and a good New Year. Sir, there is great sickness in Waterford called the purples.

1. The Lord Bishop - probably of Ossory
Mr. Aland for Gragenoss
Dr Fitzpatrick for Shanballybeg - according to a note
on the back of the letter.
2. Ormond's steward.
3. Ballyspellan.

17. Peter Goodwin to Capt. Thomas Flower, Abercunrick nr. Brecon,
S. Wales. By Way of London.

Dublin 2 January 1691

"Honoured Sir, I hope you wont take it ill, and think me neglectful that I did not pay my respects to you before this. Nothing of moment has happened worth sending, our Army being at winter quarters and the Chief Officers here recruiting themselves. The enemy, sometime since, came this side the Shannon and did some mischief. Detachments were sent to meet them and a considerable body to go over another way into their quarters. The wherries that were sound and serviceable about Dublin were pressed and sent down on carriages but we can't hear what they have done yet, only this. One of our spies brought notice to Birr that a great number of the Raparees were met together near that place. The Governor there ordered detachments to go meet them - 300 foot and 40 dragoons. The spy brought them very near them, who by that time increased to 2000. Our men, finding them too many, retreated. The enemy followed them and killed about 30 (Capt. Roger Jeffreys one of them). His wife hearing of it miscarried this week, but is now in ~~different~~ well. His brother was with him but escaped. The Bishop of Killaloe^{1.} by some means procured leave of the Duke of Berwick to be sent to our frontiers and was strongly guarded there. He came in the stage coach from Kilkenny. The coach broke on the road so he did not come so soon as he was expected. The night he was to lie at Kilcullen, the Raparees (about 1000) came there to plunder him. They, missing him, took all of value in the town away with them but killed no man. The next night they came again with design to burn the town but was kept off by the militia. They increase so many that a Regiment of the Standing Army and 150 of our militia from this place are gone to the Nase to prevent their burning that place. News came

last night that Major-General Kirk is in pursuit of them with a strong party and designs to surround them in the Bog of Allen.

My Lady Stephens came here with Sir Charles Porter. She lodges at the Bishop of Kildare's and Sir Charles with his family at Sir Richard Reeves, till his house be in a readiness. He was sworn one of the Lord Justices last week and takes the right hand of my Lord (*recte Mr.*) Conningsby. A spy was taken here last night and confesses that the enemy's horse are in great want and they of clothes, salt and scarce of bread. Information was given to the Lords Justices that a master of a vessel loaded with provisions designed from this harbour to Limerick but being discovered the vessel is seized but the master made his escape.

Lieut. Flower is very well recovered and is gone to his command.^{2.} The Generals are in Tipperary except General Douglas who is marched to Sligo and possessed of that place and is marching further into the enemy's quarters. Mr. Doyne has been ill with the gout this fortnight but now comes to Dublin. He wrote to you on Tuesday last and gave you an account of your affairs here. Pray let my wife know that I am well. My humble service to good Madam Flower and the children. I hope we shall have your company here soon, a great many wishes it. My service to Mr. Bailiff Lucy and all friends with you. When anything of action happens you shall have it from, Sir, your most humble Servant Pe Goodwin.

Note: The incidents reported here all occur in G. Story and are typical of the confused fighting that went on all winter.

1. John Roan app. Bishop of Killaloe April 1678 died 1692. He was evidently travelling from the Irish held parts to the English held area.
2. With Major General Kirk's forces towards Lanesborough and the Bog of Allen.

18. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 15 January 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave your honour an account of your concerns and of my proceedings in your affairs here. I have petitioned to the Commissioners twice and then they turned me over to the Lords Justices so unfortunately I was taken with my old distemper the gout which kept me in my bed full three weeks for I had it in both my knees and my feet so that I sent to Ned Hall who used all his endeavours and preferred my petition with the affadavits to the secretary and had an answer but to no purpose. So that since I have made an affadavit and had advice from Baron Ecklin and I preferred that with a petition to the secretary of which I have not got an answer as yet. For I find I am not the only man that is put off but a great many more.

Sir, my long stay here about this business, and what with my sickness is the cause that I cannot give you a full account of your concerns in the country. Sir, on Tuesday last Lieut. Flower came back from Lanesborough with his man and six garrons^{1.} not worth their grass who is like to continue here which I do not like.

Sir, on the fifth instant Mr. Goodwin and my Lord Chancellor's^{2.} man came hither and borrowed three beds and bedsteads, with two pair of blankets which I lent them. Sir, I have Derby here a dressing and prunning of the wall trees and the rest of your fruit trees.

The Lieut. told me of your commands to me in his letter which I was very glad of and shall be obeyed to the very utmost of my power. Sir, as for Mr. Plunkett's tenants, I never put any of them to any hardship but that I seized Lawrence Clinch's cattle for fear of anybody else coming in.

But I never stirred a beast nor neither did I demand any rent but what I did to hinder Major (Manuscript torn probably Arthur) of that as you were concerned in; so that I would, if your honour thought fit, be very glad to have your commands at large about your concerns, and not to forget that in the City, if you think fit.

Sir, in my last I writ that I would dispose of your wool if I could but procure this order both in Durrow and Waterford, though the most that it bears now is but six and sixpence per stone, the best in the kingdom. Though I am sure yours did use to be the best but now I cannot say so, to what I have in Durrow of it.

Sir, I writ also that the Bishop and Aland were very earnest for rent which I must answer though I cannot get any for you, hardly as much as will keep your house now and bear my charges.

Sir, yesterday, I was in discourse with Mr. Piggot of Disart who told me that he writ to his cousin Mr. John Piggott near Bristol about one Dunn's estate that lies in the Queens County which was given to old Col. Piggott and Sir William Flower by King Charles and that they both passed a patent³. in their names for this estate which was forfeited in the last wars, they proving the proprietor a rebel by name Charles Dunn. And that it was upon the account of an aunt of Mr. Piggott's that they had not got the said estate then, for she being stepmother to this Charles Dunn, she beg of Col. Piggott and Sir William Flower that they may not ruin the poor gentleman which request was granted. And the proprietor of it now being the son of this Charles Dunn is in King James' army and is counted a rebel. But there is one Long Jack Usher who pretend that he has a mortgage of fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds on this estate and so comes in, though the quit rent and Crown (rent) is paid in the name of Sir William Flower and Col. Piggott ever since they passed a patent which is above twenty years ago. (To his, Mr. Piggott's) knowledge the estate is worth six hundred pounds a year bona fide and

(Mr.) Piggott believes his cousin has the patent. This is what he told me (and) I thought it my duty to acquaint you with.

Sir, I have no news worth (the) trouble but that the country is full of raparees and that the English (come) and destroy all wherever they come in pursuit of them, so for ought I can learn it is like to be very troublesome times in this country. Sir, Yesterday, my Lord Lisburn and the Lord Drogheda went away with Lt. General Hamilton for England but it is reported that the Lord Lisburn is gone to complain of some of the General Officers that they would not let him have boats and conveniences to go over the Snannon at Lanesborough. This with my duty to your honour and mistress with my love to my master William and Miss, which is what I have to say at present to your honour but that I am your Honour's most humble and faithful servant to command.

Edmond Doyne.

1. Small Irish horses.
2. Sir Charles Porter, sworn in 29 December 1690 as one of the Lord Justices and Lord Chancellor.
3. See p.42' Pt.I. above.

18. Margaret Marshall to Capt. Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Durrow 21 January 1691.

"Honoured Sir, It hath been my sad misfortune to be robbed of all the money I had left and Mr. Doyne, your steward, as I suppose fearing I might not be able to pay my rent hath seized on all my little corn so that I have not anything to support me with. I proposed to Mr. Doyne, since he came into the country, to deliver up all my cattle into his hand to secure the rent and to let them graze with Ensign Graye's cattle and I would pay for the grazing until the rent was cleared and he refused it. And since that, for want of help to look carefully after them, they are all stolen. I have a good house, fit for a gentleman, though the outhouses are burned. I am loath to deliver that up until I see Your honour; towards what rent I owe, there is £24 due to me for roughcasting the house and the Black Castle and by the rule of other landlords in these parts, they do abate above half the rent by reason of the times. Whenever you see Durrow you will find none hath suffered but you and I. My husband, after the Rout of the Boyne, took care of your stock and the neighbours threatened his life for it if ever there should be any turn for the Irish.

My straits are great and therefore I beg your answer to what I write, hoping you will consider my deplorable condition. Poor Betty Marshall is a widow: her husband was taken by the Raparees and shot through the belly and lost £15 in money but was released, but since that he died. And Molly is married to a bad husband to my sorrow which is all from, Sir your humble servant.

Margaret Marshall."

19. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at his house in Brecknock
London 24 January 1691

"I shoot, Sir, my bolt at random, and you know where those are that do so, but whether it hits the mark or not, there is no mischief intended. I have met with enough since I saw you, and most particularly in the loss of my poor Jack;^{1.} I pray God preserve you from the like fate. His mother hath run through such adventures to leave Ireland and find me in France that they are like romances. But in short we landed at Yarmouth about the 19th of September and are here in London about 8 weeks, during which time though I writ to Dublin to find you out by some exact address, I could not hitherto compass it; and therefore I send you this at hazard, knowing Brecknock to be my old good friend's² habitation where I hope his child and you live happily and kindly together, may God bless you both which is my wife's wishes and mine. I will not enlarge till I know I have found out my man, but I reckon that our concerns as well as friendship require our speedy correspondence. The Countess of Fingal^{3.} hath in her great goodness and friendship to my wife and me, given us part of her lodgings in Somerset House so as you may direct your answer for me to be left with the porter and he le..... a care in it, and so I bid you adieu, your unfeigned friend and most humble servant, Nicholas Plunkett."

1. His youngest and favourite son, killed at Londonderry in King James army.
2. Col. John Jeffreys.
3. Margaret, widow of Luke Plunkett 3rd Earl. She was the daughter of Donough, Earl of Clancarty and Eleanor sister of James 1st Duke of Ormond. She was in attendance on Queen Catherine of Braganza widow of Charles II.

20. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at his house near Brecknock
approx. February 1691

".....your answer, dear Sir, was extra found my letter arrived safe and you and your Lady in good health and also tidings of a young Welshman, notwithstanding he travels to a troublesome world, but I believe he took nobody's advice in the adventure. I beseech God give you joy of him. I am glad you have your honest servant Piers with you. Pray ask him whether Hayden^{1.} did him or old David any service before the Rout of Boyne, for till that time I had possession of my estate and recommended them from France to his care as the remainder of my old friend Sir William's family, not knowing whether Tom Flower's name would relish so well if intercepted and read in Ireland. The news he brings you of your stock being lost at Durrow after King James' departure shows you we are mad of all sides as resembles an old ballad in Cromwell's days which presents the complaint of a country farmer, who swears the Cavalier and Roundhead were both agreed to make war on him, for what the one left unplundered the other took away, and this is partly your case and partly mine.

For had I approved the undertakings, management or prosecution of business in Ireland since the Earl of Clarendon's^{2.} withdrawing from thence, I might have stayed, but many were my reasons to depart which consequently I did when I met you here in London where after some time all correspondence between that and Dublin were forbidden so as my wife continuing sickly in the beginning, when afterward she would, she could not come and by this means there remained no possibility whatsoever to get together but by my writing to her from France; and to stay here might have rendered me suspected at that time upon account of my religion. And no better was our usage in the Spanish Netherlands, for one of my nearest kinsmen, the Lord Teynham^{3.} was so harshly used as he died there, concluded to be heartbroken with grief, and

his lady followed him soon after. So as had I stayed in Ireland then surely some crime would have been raised against me; and going away I am censured for being in France and my children in King James' service whereof one of them slain. This is all I can hear I am accused of which gives ground to the disposal of my estate. I am told to be intended for my advantage which time only will show. The Duke of Ormond remembering what kindness his ancestors had for me, hath written very friendly and seriously to his agent Mr. Smith about me, whereunto as yet I have received no answer. When I do you shall be sure to know it. I thank you kindly for writing concerning me to Ned Doyne. It did not, I confess, rejoice me a little to fancy you were in Ireland when I cam^e hither, but since it hath appeared better to you your stay in Wales, I am very well pleased with your advantage.

Now as to your debt on my estate and particularly on Kildonan. Since your departure I reckon there is 5 gales due to you, but of that this last Michaelmas hath all its rents seized by King William's officers; and your man Piers can inform you how it was with us during King James being there; for I assure you since I left Ireland I had no more returned me but £70 to France for £100 paid there in brass money⁴. Now, that I would advise and desire you is, to secure yourself of Kildonan in the first place which I think they neither can nor will keep from you. And let your agent there endeavour to get it into his possession, and protect the tenant thereof Lawrence Lynch. I understand that the former tenant Goody Kory and her zealous son Robin are very troublesome to him, though the woman if she would have stayed might have continued at easier rates than any other; for he gave me £60 fine⁵. and a colt and £50 a year rent, much above hers, and was as solvent a tenant as any on my estate, for he had money in his purse, but I hear the Raparees eased him of that. Now when you get this man into your possession, so what rent you can impose upon him, and

whatever is in arrears. I appoint yourself Chancellor. We'll go to no Court of Law or Equity but easily end it if the present Government will but give me possession of what I think a peaceable man ought not to be dispossessed of.

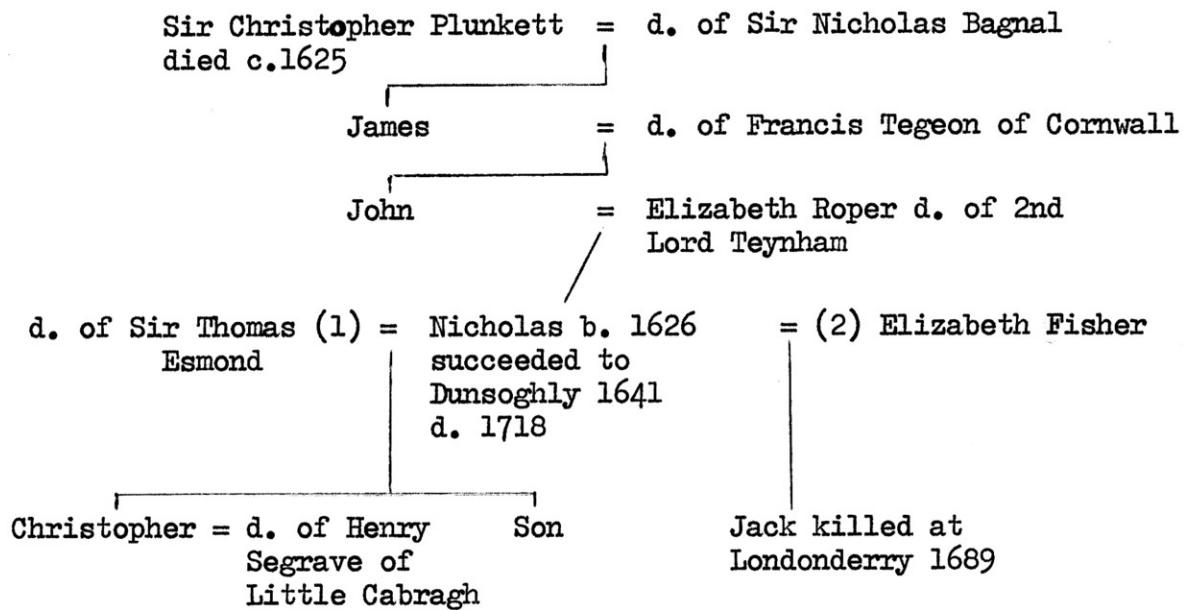
I have £200 brass money in Ireland and whether it be worth 200 pence I know not. My good old tenant Richard Andrew was killed in his own house long before King William landed. He languished three months of the wound, which was
..... man of her jointure; The miseries of that unfortunate country are unspeakable, for no friendship, nor scarce humanity is thought of nor practised almost between birds of a feather, which I hope will make me and other sinners practise better the Christian, and our prayers more often for appeasing God's wrath.

My Elizabeth and I present you and your lady our most kind respects and service and desire to know where your wild Irish children are or their grandfather Sir John Temple. Pray since we are thus far separated let us meet as often as we can in letters. The Queen is gone last week to Euston and my Lady of Fingal with her. Will Smith and the Doctor thank you kindly for your remembrance of them and he poor man droops much. I have no thoughts for Ireland and nothing but necessity or urgency of affairs will ever carry me thither. Pray let me know where Drave Floyd⁶. now a Bishop lives at present. He is an honest man, if a Welshman can be so. Dear Tom, adieu, Your unfeigned loving and humble servant.

Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Hayden had been Plunkett's steward. Piers and old David (Davie) were Flower's servants who remained at Finglas House.
2. Replaced as Lord Lieutenant by the Earl of Tyrconnell in February 1687.

3. Plunkett frequently refers to his relations in his letters so a brief genealogy may be helpful.



4. Shortly after King James arrived in Ireland in March 1689 he had some of the brass cannon in Dublin Castle melted and minted into brass coins. These remained current in Ireland until the Battle of Boyne but went to steadily larger discounts against silver and gold. King William demonetized them on 10 July 1690.
5. The normal method of leasing land at this period in both Ireland and England was for the incoming tenant to pay a fine, or premium, and an annual rent.
6. William Lloyd appointed Bishop of Killala 28 February 1691.
H. Cotton Fast. Ecclesiae Hib.

21. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 14 February 1691

"Honoured Sir, Your letter I received the 7th of this instant which was very welcome to me, which was the first that I ever had from your honour since I left you. Sir, I have been here this two months soliciting between the Commissioners and the Lords Justices about the 26 bags of your wool and this day I have an order from the Lords Justices to the Commissioners for a warrant to the storekeeper of Waterford, the which I expect to have very soon by the means of my very good friend Capt. Ford who gives his service to you and yours. He and Mr. Yarner is my only friends to assist me in your concerns.

Sir, as for your concerns in the country, I cannot give you no great account of (them) but I hope they are in being still, except the Raparees has taken your few black stock since my coming here. You are pleased to say in your letter that I have not given you an account of what number of sheep or black stock you have left, the which I am very sure I did in two or three of my letters, that I had got forty head of black cattle both young and old and fifteen hundred and thirty five sheep and rams and all besides what sheep I seized of Ensign Gray's, but they were all so broke out with penning of them every night that I cannot expect but little good of them this year. Sir, you are pleased to speak of sending the wool in Mr. Goodwin's ship to Milford. I believe it would amount to more cost than profit, so that I hope to make sale of it here or in Waterford, though it bears but a low price.

Sir, in my last, I writ to know your pleasure about this land of Finglas, whether I should set it or keep it. I also gave your honour an account of a troublesome tenant of yours, Mr. Wilson for whom I have a writ and a warrant to arrest him for your rent, for he designs for England and leaves all the

farm waste and thinks that your three years rent will not be satisfaction enough for his damage in the camp time, so that I hope to secure him until he gives in sufficient bail for his appearing the next term and to keep the farm until you and he comes to a composition. I have employed an attorney one Mr. Ketton in Kennedys Lane, which was your attorney for Morley as I am told by Mr. Yarner who recommends him to me. He has also writ a long letter to Capt. Ford to acquaint him that I had borne him a spleen and that I should be much out his way in putting a stop to his journey for England. He says he writ to your honour by Piers about this affair. Sir, before I began with him, I was advised by Baron Eclin and Mr. Yarner and Baron Eclin told me if I had not his lease I could not do much, but that I might arrest him and he is to give in bail until the next term.

Sir, as for Mr.(Col.) Purcell's estate, I cannot learn who has anything to do with it for I find the Commissioners has not taken it in hand as yet so that it lies too near the enemy for them or any other to come there, but to prevent your honour's losses I gave Capt. Ford a caveat before Piers went from hence who promised to take care of it in my absence. As for your interest money I have not got one farthing from anybody but Capt. Ford advises me if I have no occasion, to let it run on, for it is better so to do, that I take his advice.

Sir, I have sent the coach harness with bridles and postilion coat and cap to Mr. Goodwin's lodging, who will send them safe. I writ the last post to Lieut. Flower to his quarters to Drogheda but I have had nothing from him as yet. Sir, as for the garden, I have had Derby here to prune and nail the wall trees and to sow some seeds, so that your wall trees are in good order. Sir, I would gladly have your pleasure in what I have writ here and in several before now, particularly about Wilson.

Sir, I believe I shall not be here this month or five weeks, but in my next I will give your honour a more full account of your concerns and my proceedings in it, which I have writ to your honour once a week since I came hither and shall do wheresoever I am. This with my duty to your honour and my mistress and my love to Mr. William and Miss which is what offers from, Sir, your most faithful servant to command.

Edm. Doyne."

22. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower near Brecknock
March 1691

"..... Dear Tom since me seems long, but my expectation of an account out of Ireland was the reason thereof. Of late I received some letters to this purpose and my proceedings and progress is as followeth:-

Our present Duke of Ormond writ over concerning me to Mr. Smith, his agent, in a very friendly manner, but he going to Kilkenny left some instructions and the management to others, and they of their own heads preferred a Petition unknown to me and followed it on without my instructions to my little satisfaction. However, upon this Petition to the Commissioners of the Revenue, they gave a reference to Mr. Timpson and the substance of his report is as followeth:-

That he found my lands returned in the list of forfeited lands and I therein returned an absentee, and that they were posted up and nobody appeared for me.

That he was informed my two eldest sons are in Rebellion and that I put my youngest son into King James' army, that being sent with others into England, he from thence escaped into France and I followed him thither; that he returned thence into Ireland and was killed under the walls of Derry.

That I had always a very good character from English and Irish and whether the estate be forfeited etc. he refers to their Honours.

And now I ask whether ever the like was done before
..... a very good chara..... suffer for my children, by which you see our age becomes so much learneder than scripture; by how much this was mistaken in saying the sins of the father shall be visited on his successors, for now the child's transgression shall revert upon the head of the father.

And it were remarkable yet again, for my eldest sons have never been advised by me since they passed the years of twenty but perfectly acted in opposition to all my counsels, so as for many years past I never troubled myself with them, nor imparted to them the least of my concerns or intentions. But in the loss of poor Jack, God I confess hath punished the sins of my past age. And I am far from discerning anything in relation to him, for I own that I gave him money to purchase the Lieutenant's place, his commission being dated in August 1687. But the Captain's place was his own violent act, so as he took away his grandmother's legacy which till that time lay in London and got our honest neighbour Sir Valentine Browne unknown to me to be bound for the other £200 and so made up the purchase and to this hour I never exchanged word with Capt. Chantrell. His Captain's commission was dated in April 1688 and had I joined with him in it I would not deny it, for what crime can it be made in Jack or myself to have bought that company three years ago when no King was in these three Kingdoms but James the 2nd, and what crime is it or was it in Catholic or Protestant
..... tions of loyalty reigning let his mistakes be what they were. And I know not how the most severe Willi(amite) in Christendom can make that treason in Jack till King William was crowned: no law, no crime; And can it be then a crime against a King before he be a king?

However our good friends in Ireland are so charitable as to act the part of Job's comforter, for after they seize and keep my estate from me upon such practices as these, they tell me for consolation that this poor darling boy, whom thousands better than I would have been proud of, was killed under the walls of Derry. However, God I hope in his and goodness will afford us patience and Christianity to end our in his favour.

I would gladly know what your tenant of Kildonan pays now. His yearly rent was £50 and more industrious people I had not on my estate than was he and his wife. May God's blessing comfort you, your lady and children which is my Gamars (wife's or grandmother's) wishes and mine.

The Commissioners of the Revenue who seized my estate are these, Sir Charles Meredith, Mr. Lowther, Mr. Culliford, Capt. Foord (probably Ford), Mr. Map, Mr. Vanhomerie. If any of these be your acquaintance, I should be glad you wrote to them about my business. For they have the same justice to seize any Protestant's estate as mine, unless they will absolutely declare that none of my religion must enjoy a foot.
I am, Yours Nicholas Plunkett."

23. Edmund Doyne to Peter Goodwin
Kilkenny 10 March 1691

"Dear Mr. Goodwin, I am sorry that I have the occasion of giving you this trouble to desire that you would write to my master and acquaint him that I was here at the Assizes and that the raparees came on Sunday last March 8 at night about six or seven of the clock and dared the Dutch troopers to come out and fight them and made several shots and at last they could not get the Dutch horse, they set fire in the stable and the Black Castle of Durrow so that they have burned all what corn and wool and other goods I had there and four of the Dutch geldings and a little nag and a fine colt of Capt. Flower's which he had great value for, so that I am this day here to wait of General Sir Owen Moore to acquaint him of the mischance and made my application to Colonel Coote who proves my great friend and promises that he will do what he can for Capt. Flower, so that I am tomorrow morning going to Waterford about the wool and as soon as I come back, I will for Dublin for I am here in danger of my life all which I desire you would write to my master to let him understand what hazard I undergo. This is the second time I came from Dublin and am still threatened. This is what offers from him who tenders his hearty service to you and your brother Andrew and Katty Bagh and remains, Sir, your loving friend to command. Edm. Doyne.
turnover.

Sir, I desire you would acquaint my Lord Chancellor with the contents of the within account and that I may have a party of English foot to be quartered there if I have any for in truth if I have Dutch foot it will be as bad of the other side for they are all alike. This what I have to trouble you with at this time but that I am your servant to command as before.

Edm. Doyne.

Sir, I beg that you would give yourself the trouble as to acquaint Capt. Ford one of the Commissioners with this, and Muster-master Yarner who are both Capt. Flower's great friends and mine."

24. Peter Goodwin to Capt. Thomas Flower at Abercunrick nr. Brecknock
(enclosing Edm. Doyne's letter of 10 March from Kilkenny)
Dublin 21 March 1691

"Dear Sir, The enclosed letter from Mr. Doyne I received the last post and am really concerned for your great losses. I gave my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Yarner an account of it. The Rogues are so numerous and mischievous that murders and burning houses is the daily news we receive from the country. Several of our Army are believed to be murdered; by discovery lately made near Castle Knock 8 soldiers were found buried in their clothes being murdered by the inhabitants thereabouts, who were brought in prisoners to the number of 200. One of the men confessed he made the grave, but to confess further he could not being sworn to the contrary. Yesterday he was hanged in the Parade near the Castle, and 'tis concluded every day one shall be hanged till the matter of fact is discovered. Three Englishmen were last night murdered within 3 miles of this place and indeed every day we have fresh news of their villanies. I hope Madam Flower and all your good family are well, to whom pray give my humble service. I make bold to put my wife's letter in yours because I know not where she is; if in Brecknock I beg you to send it her when your servant goes thither.

I am, Sir, Your humble Servant P. Goodwin.

My humble service to Mr. Lucy, Mr. Sands etc. "

25. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower near Brecknock
(15th) April 1691

".....dear Tom which this last letter
acquaints me with. And I am that you would
have such a horse and so much wool at that distance from the
dwelling house, when certainly you might with some tolerable
expense have saved both at Kilkenny. And the methods which
are now taken in Ireland must of necessity increase the number
of Raparees for by what I understand the generality are run
into desperation. I cannot hear that our Catholic gentlemen
of the County of Kilkenny remained behind their army but my
son Shee (did), and yet he is in prison notwithstanding he
proceeded as warily as man could do in his circumstances by
what I am informed. I declare unto you, though wars be
general over Christendom no nation thereof is this day more
miserable in my opinion than Ireland.

Do now but read the late Gazette of Thursday April the 9th-
and the proclamation of Ireland therein mentioned, and consider
how it is possible for poor farmers or cottiers to avoid ruin.
There is an enemy in the Kingdom, and as many freebooters
besides as in any nation of the world and yet if any of these
enemies or freebooters do a mischief to any of the English army,
the poor unarmed parishioners must go to the pot. If those
wretched creatures oppose the Raparees, or discover them, or
give an alarm of their being amongst them, then are they knocked
on the head by those Raparees, their houses burnt and their
families within them, and if they do not then are they reckoned
as spies and enemies by the Protestants and accordingly
prosecuted by the sword or the gallows.

..... 8 soldiers at the church
about miles from Finglas, 5 menunto have been
already hanged for business, whether they had a hand in the fact
or were privy to it before or after, I cannot yet be informed.

Upon the whole, I may ask you, and I think rationally too, whether those very men that have so much cried out against my Lord Tyrconnell and his faction, do not as much assist him now by their general severity against the natives, as the King of France himself. For had those Irish remaining behind the army been really encouraged by a true protection of them since the fight at Boyne, I question much whether such a creature as a Raparee had been this day in Leinster.

But indeed our sins of malice, revenge and covetousness are so general of all sides, that we may justly fear our miseries and punishments are not yet at an end.

Its some comfort I confess that amidst our misfortunes I can freely write to a friend and descant upon our crosses, and if anything in this my free way of writing seems unfit for another's perusal, when you and your lady have read it, let it serve to light a fire. I have felt the grief and vexation of long imprisonments and know many have talked and writ themselves into it during the time of Cromwell's usurped Government; I think it therefore reason not to say anything now in my old days that may afflict me from the rashness of my tongue or pen. I pray God Direct and preserve you and yours in a present and future happiness which my wife and I really wish you all.

Yours, N. P.

His Majesty King William arrived last night at Whitehall."

26. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 8 May 1691

"Honoured Sir, Yours dated the 14th April I received from Mrs. Goodwin on Monday last being the 4th of this instant May. Sir, as for giving an account of your losses and of the accidents, I have writ four letters to your honour since and now the fifth where in everyone of them I gave a particular account of all your concerns both here and in the country, that on the 6th March last, I was warned to the assizes to Kilkenny to be there the next morning and on the 8th at night being Sunday the raparees came to the stable and thought to have got in but two of the Dutch being there keeping guard kept them from breaking the door, but having a cock of coarse hay at the back of the stable they set it a fire and so with some of that hay and old hedging they set the stable on fire and the Castle took it so that there was five of their Dutch horse burned and your stone colt and 8 horses taken away, and there was 14 of the troopers in your house in Durrow and would not come to save their horses. This is what happened that night but then they came again the last of March and took away all the black stock that you had, only seven cows which was amongst the tenants' cows, and so took away old Mr. Reeves cows and several of our neighbours thereabouts. But since those Dutch are removed and four companies of French foot came in their room of them.

Sir, in my two last I gave you an account of your wool in Waterford, that I had sold it there for six and sixpence per stone which came to £156..4..6 of which I have lodged in Mr. Burton's hands until further orders from your honour; that is I have lodged the even monies being £150 sterling. As for any other monies I have not got one farthing of interest monies from anybody but as for rent I have had none but what I had before Piers went, only £15 for this last year's grass I had from Mr. Shuttle (?Settle) and £5 from Alderman Castleton which

I have paid up and down where it was due for rent and other necessaries. I spoke the last week to Capt. Ford, who gives his service to your honour, about the rent of Kildonan and Balseskin being part of Mr. Plunkett's estate and he told me that he would take care that I may have your rent there. I have given him a memorandum of £500 at 10%^{1.} on those two townlands but I do not know whether it be more or not though I have writ to know how much the principal is.

Sir, I have in several letters given you an account of your tenant Wilson; how he made his escape into England so that the farm of Finglaswood lies waste which I have acquainted you with and desire to have your commands about it. I also writ to you about Mr. Gray that he is daily whining and crying that he cannot pay his rent being so great and would fain be rid of his farm for he has but two years to come from our Lady day last. I have not seen Mr. Yarner since I received your last letter, neither have I received any instruction s from your honour about your concerns. I writ formerly about the rents due to you in Dublin but I never had any orders about it from your honour so that I have not done anything in it.

Sir, there has been several messengers from my Lord Arch-bishop of Dublin here when I was in the country to demand rent;^{2.} and since I came home came one so that I went to his steward Mr. Ash and he says my Lord ordered him to distrain on your lands for your rent and says that there is four year's rent due, that is for the years '87, and '88, and '89, and '90. I cannot say anything to the contrary for you have his last acquittance, so that if I can pay him for '87 and '88, let him stay until your honour and he comes together if you think fit.

Sir, in my last two letters I gave you an account that I had set your house in Kilkenny to a very responsible man, Alderman Cornock for 3 years at the rent of £12 p.a. he paying all taxes and duties and accates or whatsoever encumbrances that

falls due. I have also acquainted you that I paid the Lord Bishop of Ossory half a year's rent and to Mr. Alland half a year, so that this is the full account of all your concerns. Only your garden, there has been a great blush on some of your trees, both of the wall trees and other trees, but you have as many apricots as most of your neighbours has and some peaches.

Sir, Lieut. Flower has been here now a fortnight, who I believe has writ to you this post. Sir, if you think it convenient, I would fain have your commands concerning what I have writ here to your honour which shall be always observed by him who tenders his duty to your honour and to my mistress with my love to master and miss, wishing your honour and them good health and a speedy safe arrival here which is the daily wishes of Sir, your honour's most faithful servant to command.

Edm. Doyne."

"Sir, I have since I finished my letter had a particular account that 120 horse and foot commanded by Major Woods at a place called Brittas in the Queens County was abroad in pursuit of some raparees, that then 800 foot and dragoons of King James army came and lay in ambush for them so that this Maj. Woods and his men were forced to fight and killed 100 of the army and 70 raparees and took 100 privatemen and 22 prisoners of which I know a great many of them. This action happened on the Tuesday last being the 5th of this instant, and yesterday being the 8th instant the militia of the County of Meath killed 14 and took 3 prisoners between this and Trim. This is all the new news and true that I can give your honour at this time from your faithful servant whilst Edm. Doyne."

1. £500 at 8% appears from later letters.
2. Probably a chief rent on Finglas lands as the manor was part of the ancient estate of the Archbischopric of Dublin.

27. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 19 May 1691

"Honoured Sir, In all my letters to your honour, I gave you a full account of all your concerns, and particularly of the losses you sustained, I have also writ to you about Finglaswood and gave you an account that it lay waste, and that it was not for me to meddle or make with it without your orders, the which I have desired in all my letters.

Sir, I have since my last letter unto you set the most part of the land of Finglas to some Quakers at the rent of 14/- per acre. I have also got out an order from the General for securing what few sheep you have yours elf and other cattle that the tenants have on your lands in Durrow from the Army, being now all moving towards the enemy.¹. I have also waited on Capt. Ford about an order for your rent due out of part of Mr. Plunkett's estate, the which he promised me but has not yet got it as yet but he has promised it me; and that the King's Receiver should not molest them that holds that place where your mortgage is. I have accordingly demanded the rent but cannot have it but pleads poverty. So that now that the Army is moving I must down to Durrow to try if I can secure anything, so that as soon as I come there I will write to Mr. Goodwin who has promised to give your honour an account according to my desire, for I find that my letters that I send to your honour miscarries as well as yours do to me for I never missed a week but I did write except it was when I was sick. In my last I gave you an account that the Archbishop was very urgent for rent, which since I have paid him ten pounds to stop his mouth. All your friends gives their services to you, that is Mr. Yarner, Capt. Ford, old Roscarrig and all the rest of your friends. Lieut. Flower is here which I gave you an account of in my last, who has writ to you the last week and now remembers his love to

you and my mistress. This is what I have to trouble you with at present but that here is a pretty many apricots this year on some of your trees and some peaches and some of all other fruit. I spoke to Mr. Goodwin to acquaint my Lady Porter that her Ladyship may command anything in your garden. This with my duty to your honour and mistress with my love to my young master and miss which is all from him who longs for your daily commands to him who is Sir, your honour's most faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne."

1. Lt. Gen. Ginkel, now in command of William's army, concentrated his main force at Mallingar and proceeded to besiege Athlone.

28. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 25 July 1691

"Honoured Sir, This is the seventh letter I have writ to your honour out of Kilkenny and out of Durrow and two letters since I came here wherein I gave you an account of your concerns and moreover I have writ to Mr. Goodwin three several letters wherein I desired him to acquaint your honour of my proceedings here and an account of your concerns.

Sir, I thank God your concerns in the country, what little you have, are in very good order and so are things here. As for your sheep, I have shorn long ago but wool bears no rate as yet. In my last I gave you an account that I sold 30 bullocks, of those that I seized and took from Ensign Gray, for £78..8..0 and one hundred of your wethers for £30 sterling, all which I have lodged in Mr. Burton's hands, so that he has of yours now in all the sum of two hundred and fifty seven pounds eight shillings being all that I can get anywhere. As for rents, I cannot get any except it be some small dribbles that serve to maintain us.

Sir, I am now agoing to the country again to look after some corn that is up and down there, which I hope if I can save will come to something, though I can hardly get half a mile from the house without a guard, for the raparees are very plenty in our woods and keep there constantly. They came within two nights after I sold Gray's cattle in order to take them away.

Sir, I am forced to put in an affidavit about the tithes of your lands in the parish of Fertagh^{1.} because it was the propriation of the Lord Galmoy and that the Sub-commissioners in the county of Kilkenny would not allow of it because I have not the writings to produce, so that Capt. Ford promised me to see me rectified who gives his service to you. And so does

Mr. Yarner who has been very ill this month past and is now pretty well recovered and says he will go for England within this fortnight. I have writ to the Lieut. three or four several times but have not received one word from him, but I am told by some that comes from the camp that he is very well in health.

Sir, I writ very often to your honour about Finglaswood and never had no orders about it and now it lies waste. I have been advising with two or three attorneys about it and they tell me it is not safe for me to meddle with it without your orders, because he gave no surrender. So that I desire that if you do not come yourself, to let me or somebody have your commands about it for I might have set it to several tenants this year and now it is no profit for anybody, for here lies a great tax on it now in order to maintain the militia, and to pay it I will not, for I pay too much for waste land in the country.

Sir, I writ to you in the spring where I gave your honour an account about your garden. There was a great many apricots, but they were all blasted and are turned very small and hard. I order him to supply all your acquaintance in Dublin with what fruit is fit to be given them. I have also put in all the hay that was in the five acres, which was the most that ever I saw on it. I am sure there was between 80 load and a hundred load, so I have filled all the lofts over the stables and some to spare, which I hope will be fit for your honour's horses this winter, it is very good hay.

Sir, I suppose you have a full account of the great fight and of the great victory that King William's army have got.². And it is thought that they have Galway³ before this, for they have the fort that commands the town.

Sir, if you please to
Kilkenny to a very man and a good tenant by name Cornock which

I think all your tenants of that house have ill took, for about a fortnight ago he and another fell out, being both militia, the one was the captain by name Makins and your tenant was his Lieutenant, so the Captain killed the Lieutenant that I think your tenants in that house have but very indifferent took.

Sir I forgot to send you the number of your sheep. I have fourteen hundred sheep left yet, notwithstanding all the raparees and thieves. This is the particular account of all your concerns which is what offers from him who gives his humble duty to your honour and my mistress and to Mr. William and miss and to all your good family and shall remain, Sir, your honour's most humble servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

1. Ballyspellan and others.
2. On 12 July at the battle of Aughrim the Irish army had been heavily defeated. The French General, St. Ruth and some 7000 Irish were killed. Many prisoners were taken together with most of the Irish cannon and baggage. Lieut. Flower was presumably there with the Earl of Meath's Regiment.
3. Galway surrendered 21 July.

29. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Clonmel 12 August 1691

"Honoured Sir, According to your honour's commands, I took my journey to Cork to wait on Lieut. Powell,^{1.} but meeting with the Regiment on their march, I was forced to stay and wait his leisure, but to no purpose. For he, upon the receiving of your letter and the rest of the papers, he swore a great oath that there was a subpoena in one of the letters and I bid him to open it and to try so. With that we parted and the next day I went to him again and asked him whether he (had) perused the papers. He said he had so, but he would not give any answer, nor sign to any paper whatsoever and said that Mrs. Jeffreys and Mr. Powell writ to him several letters but he will not answer any letter whatsoever but said he would write to the Secretary of War in England who is his cousin to know of him whether he was liable to answer any law suit now, he being on the King's service. And that he believed that Mr. Morgan would get no thanks for his appearing against him and that he will not be fooled by Jeffreys or Flower either and that he will give his cousin Powell but little thanks for his kindness.

I asked him to sign the discharge that you sent; no, he would not. I asked him to read it; no, he partly knew what it meant and he would not look on it. "Well, Sir", I said, "is that your answer?" He said he would give no other answer, so I took my leave and came away home to Durrow. But he has the bill and the parchment which you sent but I have the discharge for he would not meddle with it. This is the truth of what passed between him and I, only I desired him to give me his answer in writing. He swore he would give no other answer.

Sir, in my last I gave you an account of your concerns that what few sheep you have. I have lost some of them since by thieves and some by the army. But as for your wool it bears no rate as yet so that I hope to preserve it until it bears something like, for we are in daily expectation that Limerick will surrender². and then I hope these times will mend. For I am now worse than ever I was for my horse is dead and Piers' horse is stole, so that I was forced to borrow a horse for this journey.

Sir, I hope I shall have a good parcel of corn this harvest if I can but keep it, which I am afraid of. If I have not better luck with this year, than I had the last year, it is not worth my pains that I take about it, and in the hazard of my life too for some of these cursed rogues are hereabouts still. Sir, this is what I have to trouble your honour with but my duty to your honour and yours which is what offers from him who subscribes.
Your Honour's most faithful servant, whilst Edm. Doyne. "

1. Lt. Powell was a relation of the Jeffreys in Brecon.
2. The siege of Limerick was commenced on 25th August.
A cessation of hostilities was agreed on 28th September
and the Articles of Limerick were signed 3rd October.

30. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Approx. August 1691

"..... that made me all this what success my business had in Dublin, that I might accordingly give you an account of our affairs; and they are thus:

I got a letter of recommendation from my Lord of Rochester^{1.} to Sir Charles Porter, and I suppose it was thereupon that my counsel proceeded in my behalf in the Court of Exchequer. The matter was referred to Sergeant Osborn and upon the whole I understand from my solicitor Jack Stowell and my old steward Hayden that an order was granted to take off the seizure of my estate and the rents are to be paid to me, but they are such excellent correspondents that they have neither sent me the copy of reference, report or order, so as I am only to fish out the particulars from the substance of their letters.

But our neighbour Col. Roger Moore upon the seizure became tenant to their Majesties and by virtue of the lease puts now some stop to my business though he formerly professed much friendship unto me, and that he took the land for my advantage. Hereupon Mr. Whitched and he have had some debate and upon the whole I find that he expects a consideration for his expenses in taking the lease and inhabiting the land with good tenants, and I thereupon have wholly referred the agreementnecessary, Isend her for Ireland and stay here myself.

I had a kind remembrance by my cousin Segrave from your friend Mr. Brock. Laying aside news of state, would you think that in these times, the Countess of Clanricard has married herself and her two daughters^{2.} and one of them to Patt Sarsfield. He, you know, has been always reputed a stout lad, and this encounter I must confess may be reckoned the most courageous of his actions, for the young lady may be his daughter for age and therefore etc.

All happiness attend you and my countrywoman of Wales which my wife as well as I wish to you both. Now that you may know whence my Welsh pride comes; my great grandmother was Bagnall and her mother Griffin of the Penthrin's daughter; and if Herefordshire be in Wales, the Plunketts derive themselves originally from a place of that Country called Kilpeck; thus for want of other stuff, I stuff up my scribble with the stories of a pedigree. And news I dare not write least they prove false and I be put in the next ballad, as the poor Jacobites of the coffee-houses are lately, for lies, to the threadbare tune of Lillibolero. So adieu, I am your unfeigned friend and humble servant Nicholas Plunkett.

(Addition) My wife and I are inclined to employ young Mr. Spooner of Finglas in our business, and to that end would willingly have your opinion of him the copy of my Lord mentions that upon Mr. Serjeant Osborns loss sees no reason wherefore the said N.P. should be disturbed in the possession of the lands actually in his own possession, and belonging to him, but that he ought to enjoy the same as formerly and have no further disturbance therein.

But in the perclose they except the lands that were in the possession of my son Kitt. Of this we will talk more hereafter, but at this present we are expecting the Queen Dowager home every hour from the Bath, and this makes me conclude in haste.

(Another addition) me have an account of your affairs in Ireland, and particularly of Kildonan. If you will list of our fleet I can send it you, for any such printed papers as are not in the Gazette you may perhaps..... and I may lawfully give it, being they are public.

1. 2nd son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon and uncle to Queen Mary.
2. Countess of Clanricarde was Helen daughter of 1st Earl of Clancarty and Eleanor sister of 1st Duke of Ormond and so sister of Countess of Fingal. Her second marriage was to Thomas Bourke. Her 2nd daughter Honora married Patrick Sarsfield - the best of King James' Irish generals, created Earl of Lucan by James 1691. GEC Peerage.

31. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
About September 1691

".....Generalissimomiral, the to his having a papist on board. Now passenger next stor....he sails in, the querybe not in danger of Jonas' lot withoutwhether the honest man's Whale be at hand, but leaving the seaman to his fortune.* I come to what concerns us.

Last Saturday I writ to our spouse and directed Lawrence Lynch his rent should be paid as you ordered. She intends to deal as friendly as may be with our dear Colonel.^{1.} When ended you shall know. There is no reason that Lord Chief Justice Keating^{2.} or you should be at any trouble with him unless those that were your tenants should stop payment merely upon his threats. So as you need not trouble yourself further on this particular till you hear from me. If you correspond with any in Dublin you may write to him to assist my wife if need be, but the woman being young and beautiful as you know, hath gained so much upon several of the Queen's servants as they have very obligingly writ in her behalf, and that unsought for by us, to their friends in Dublin.

The only gardener here of my acquaintance is Her Majesties' man at Somerset House, and he has the countenance and deportment of honesty, and promises to deal with me as reasonable and justly as any other. If this likes you, pray despatch your orders that your work may be despatched accordingly. Set down the number, the quality and age My wife hears that my Lord of T..... acquaintance of yours Nis. Purcell; Sir Jo... of Templeoge.

Now, Sir, you will ask me what my business is here.^{3.}

* This mutilated passage apparently describes Mrs. Plunkett's voyage to Dublin disguised as Mrs. Flower.

Be it then known to you that a cousin german of mine Frank Roper died some time since and left behind him a widow and three small children; She very sickly, but very good, if an English woman. She is one of the Queen's servants and hath been extraordinary obliging to my poor wife, and so charitable that she sent money with her to bestow on such distressed people as she thinks fit in Ireland. This good lady coming hither for the country air and choosing this place to be near her Royal mistress, I thought my self truly under an obligation to take a lodging near her, and pay her what respects I can, so as I shall be here one week more. But I take a care to send constantly for my letters to Somerset House, and therefore write away, as soon as you please. My most humble and kind service to your Welsh woman and to her young Taffy, I am your real affectionate and most humble servant Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Col. Roger Moore.
2. He also had a mortgage on part of Plunkett's estate.
3. Probably Hammersmith, where the Queen Dowager had a house.

32. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
later in September 1691

"..... he must go get them, bring he tells
me we have yet I would therefore not be over hasty
in lay till I had first showed you your expenses.

To begin therefore with your 25 trees on the South Wall we
agree to have 8 peaches and 8 nectarines, these will cost

	£	s.	d.
2/- each which is	1	12	0
Then 9 apricots at 1/6 a piece		13	6
For the South East wall 18 trees whereof 6 cherries at 1/- ea.		6	0
For 12 summer pear trees at 1/2 a piece		14	0
For the North and West wall 25 trees whereof 5 plums	5	0	
And for 20 winter pears at 1/2 each ..	1	3	4
For 12 fir trees about 8d. each		8	0
And I allow the gardener for his pains in going, choosing and bringing		5	0
<hr/>			
	£5	6	10
<hr/>			

Besides this we must put them up for security in mats, so
as I believe the whole will come to about £5..10..0 besides
carriage. And I am loath to have them taken up till you send
me anew your orders hereupon, for if any of your neighbours can
instruct me here to a cheaper gamester, spare not my pains.
But indeed this man seems to be an honest sober man and promises
me the choice of each sort, and I believe he that sells them will
for his own sake not disoblige the Queen's servant.

..... particular to one of our Court ladies
..... me with those necessaries for young
..... friend Thomas I am so ignorant now in woman
..... that I thought the mantle and coat were two
things the former for (the) mother and the latter for Taffy,
but I am instructed to know that it is one garment for a child.
But, splutter nails, if you hold on at this rate you will
overstock your country of Brecknockshire. However at your
peril be it, I'll use no dissuasions.

Our Queen Dowager hath at last obtained leave and
permission of all sides to go for Portugal, so as my good
landlady of Fingal and the Lady Emilia, her daughter, leave
me alone to my solitary meditation. My wife hath at last
compounded with our neighbour Moore and she can not as yet get
your tenant Lynch or my tenant Jones, his neighbour, to come
at her and she hears they intend to insist on their lease from
the Commissioners.^{1.} My humble duty to the good Welsh woman.
I am really, yours to command, Nicholas Plunkett."

1. The tenants on Plunkett's estate had apparently been given new leases when the Commissioners and Col. Roger Moore had the estate.

33. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower near Brecknock
London Saturday 8ber(October) the 10th 1691

"I have now, dear Thomas, performed my task with all the care, circumspection and valour that the King of France himself would have done it for you. I need not, I suppose, give you any more the particulars of each parcel of trees, nor what each parcel cost, but the fir trees came to much more than were thought at first, and thereupon my friend Mr. Baddeley, the gardener, bated him 7/- out of the fruit trees, for they reckon the 12 fir trees at 19/-, so as the trees come to £5..6..4 and to make it even money I gave the gardener 5/8 and for two mats 2/-, and to a porter for carrying them to the Inn 1/- which in all you will find to be £5..15..0.

Then as to our young Taf, I thought it as good to make one work on't, and send you his necessaries for the wars at once with this. Now my good cousin Roper was my chief Champion, and at length some more of the Queens Bedchamber happened to come in volunteers, the question was asked me whether I would have that coat of satin which might be bought for £1..4..0, or the best sort which would come to £2, to which my answer is that being of Welsh blood, he must certainly be of the best gentlemen in the three nations, except a Fingallian, and I therefore buying it for such an one, I was resolved to have the best. Thus then it is for the satin coat £2, for four blankets 15/6, and two swathes 3/- which comes to £2..18..6, these last necessaries. They bought a long one and a short one because you did not say which. When these ladies saw I was for the best had a good mind to decoy me in for more of the ribbon and such trangrams* but I sum is £3..13..6. Now to send chief ladies and servants and they truly were fined to content themselves with penny fairings, so then, squire, you have a penny in a quire of

gilt paper and a stick of wax; your lady has a penny in a pair of gloves and the carrier's inn being in Cheapside, I went to the famous hozier Mr. Skinner and desired him to fit me with three pairs of children's stockings of 6, 7 and one year old. For the two elder his shop furnished this great affair, but I assure you he was forced to send his man about the Old Exchange to fit Taffy. But then again I was disgruntled because his was coarser than Will's or his sister's. Mr. Skinner assured me they made no finer for the best bred gentlemen in England of Taffy's age.

The gardener came up himself with the trees to the inn and told me each parcel of trees had a label fixed to it to distinguish each sort. The trees and box are directed to Mr. Jo. Price in Brecknock and delivered here to John Howlins, the Monmouth carrier.

This ended, I come to tell you that your tenant Lynch hath been at last with my wife and by her directions paid £30 to Sir Abel Ram for your use, and promises to bring in what he is able but hopes for some abatement. I have forgiven my year and a half to him which comes to £15 since the Run of Boyne, as the Fingallians now term it, but your charity is left to your own b I expect no letter from you till you receive your goods, and then let me know how you like the merchandises, if your fruit and yours all The Queen my

*trangram - "(a cant word) an odd intricatively contrived thing" Johnson.

34. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower, Abercunrick
Dublin 27 October 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last to your honour, I gave you an account of all your concerns, and of their welfare as also an account of what harvest I got in, and of the severeness of the Duke of Ormond's Receivers. They will allow you but £80 interest out of your £1000 and as for your mortgage of Foulscourt^{1.} they bid me go and distrain because they know that it lies waste and nothing to be had there. Sir, in my letter to your honour in August last, I gave you an account that I lost the tithes of your holding in the parish of Fartagh notwithstanding that I petitioned to the Commissioners and made affidavit of the bargain between your honour and the Lord Galmoy. And they ordered me to go home and should not be disturbed for they had set it before, so that I have lost it for this year.

Sir, I had as much corn, that came your share at Ballyspellan and came to £26 which I sold; and as much corn at Shanballybeg as I sold for £10 besides between 40 and 50 barrels at Durrow and Ballyneslee. As for your stock you have now after all 1050 sheep whereof 600 of them are breeding ewes that has the rams with them now. As for black stock, you have but 7 cows and three calves and a bull. You have seven fillies whereof three of them are of the Turk horse breed and the other three has three sucking fillies that was got the last year but by what horse I cannot tell.

Sir, I had never a letter from your honour since Folliot came, but one I received in Kilkenny the 20th instant and then I came away hither where Mr. Goodwin and I have taken advice about Lieut. Powell's business which I suppose Mr. Goodwin has given you an account of, that he cannot be compelled to answer any lawsuit if there be not a positive order for so doing out of England, because the suit depends in England. As for Sir Abel Ram, I have been there and spoke to his man and he cannot tell anything of Lt. Beverley's money until Sir Abel comes home for

he is in the country, neither does he know anything of your accounts. As for the house in Kilkenny, it is tenanted by the executors of him that I set it to. As for Finglaswood, Mr. Wilson's cousin has kept it in his hand and says that Wilson will not quit his interest so that I design to take a course with him this term if he does not pay me rent. As for anything else, I think all is well, but I have no rent from your tenant of Kildonan, neither have I been to wait on Madam Plunkett as yet.

Sir, we have made four hogsheads of cider this season out of your orchard and gardens at Finglas. Lieut. Flower was there when it was made and is there still and gives his love and service to your honour and to my mistress. My Lady Stephens and Mistress Stephens and Mrs. Vaughan gives their service to your honour and my mistress and to Mr. William and miss and to Mr. Jeffrey which is what offers from him who tenders his humble duty to you and yours and remains, Your honour's most humble and faithful servant whilst Edm. Doyne.

1. Adjoins Ballyspellan.

35. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower, Abercunrick
Finglas 31 October 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave your honour an account of your concerns here and in Durrow, but since, I have taken advice about Finglaswood, that if I could find out that Wilson's cousin did hold the farm on Wilson's account that I might take a course with him. But since, I have had some discourse with him and he says that he had a letter from Mr. Wilson that he was busy about something or another in London and that as soon as he could compass it, he would wait on your honour about Finglaswood and that he would not lose his interest, notwithstanding he would not hold it at the same rent if not compelled to it. Then I asked him what was his reason to meddle or make with the farm and to mow the hay. He answered that to see the farm waste and I being not here, he did not know who to speak to. With that I told him that he must expect to pay the full rent as formerly which he refused to do coming into the farm in August last. So I was advised since, if he did not pretend any interest for Mr. Wilson, and that he should not have that to allege against me, that I should not dispossess Mr. Wilson of his lease, to compound with him for some consideration, which is £20 until the 25th March next which I think is better than it should be waste.

Sir, I have been three times to wait on Madam Plunkett but could not come to speech with her. She has ordered your tenant at Kildonan to pay Sir Abel Ram £30 and told him it was your orders, and after that he paid the money and brought Sir Abel's note, she keeps the note and gives the tenant a receipt from herself, which I do not understand the meaning of it unless it be done by your honour's orders.

Sir, here is all the Irish proprietors come home now but are not restored to their estates as yet. But I met Col. Purcell's man the other day and he tells me that he is at Loghmore and in possession, for it lying in the frontiers, it was not seized on. But it seems that there is no debts to be demanded or sued for in the space of eight months from the date of the Articles.^{1.}

Sir, I have paid the Bishop of Ossory half a year's rent. I have paid Mr. Allan half a year's rent and I have paid the Dean and Chapter £12 being part of arrears due out of Durrow. Sir, I have also put in £34 more into Mr. Burton's since I came from Durrow which I brought along with me. Sir, I hope I shall make sale of your wool very soon, for I refused 8/6 per stone for it and to deliver it in Kilkenny so that I hope in my next to give your honour an account of it. Sir, I am very loath to acquaint your honour that you are at great charges here though I cannot help it for here is the Lieut, his boy and a soldier and three horses and a maid that is here since he came besides comers and goers. Mr. Goodwin and I wrote to your honour what advice was taken about Mr. Powell and that the government could not grant an order to sue him which Mr. Goodwin spoke to my Lord Chancellor and he told him positively it could not be granted. This is (all the) account I can give your honour until my next but that Mr. Frank Wheeler is past hopes of recovery. Sir, the Lieut. gives his humble service to you and wonders that he has not a letter from you or from my mistress. This, with my duty to your honour and my mistress and to all yours which is all that offers from, Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

1. Under the Articles of Limerick signed on 3rd October all King James' army and their supporters were to repossess their estates, but no debts were to be sued for 8 months.

36. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
End October/early November 1691

"..... has been so constantly
fortnight since I heard from my wife not reason
to be longer silent, though my aff..... are not manifold.
Your Uncle Yarner and I, poor Tom, dined yesterday together and
drank the healths of both our Welsh friends and their your Taffies -
he that's come and the brother on his journey. Mr. Yarner is
necessitated to make haste home or you had been in danger of a
visit, for on Monday he thinks to depart.

I read over your letter to our gardener, and he assures me
you have all the summer pears you wrote for, and that you made
no mention of a nutmeg peach. Whereupon I searched for that
letter and found my gardener was in the right. If you will be
at the cost of the Limerick Articles, they must be written out,
for as yet they are not in print. Several are come to the
County of Dublin upon the Conclusion, as the Lord of Merrion,^{1.}
Warren of Corduff, Segrave of the Cabragh, Jack Arthur, Stanley
of Swords. There are also come my wise son Kitt and Chr. Palles^{2.}
and several others I can not name. I have gotten a cold and
am not therefore in love with long writing. My most humble
service to your lady. I am yours unfeignedly Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Thomas Fitzwilliam 4th Viscount.

2. Cousin of Plunkett's.

37. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 10 November 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last to your honour, I gave you an account of all your concerns here and of my proceedings and withal about Finglaswood that Mr. Wilson was in England and that as soon as he could finish some business he had then in hand that he would wait on your honour and come to some agreement about an abatement of his rent all which I am informed by a cousin of his who had a letter from him to the same purpose and that he is sure of his coming again for he gives him an account that he has taken a very good farm from my Lord Ross, so that I shall have £20 for this half year from his cousin who came into the farm after I had gone to Cork in August last.

Sir, I have been to wait on Madam Plunkett who gives her service to you and my mistress and that she ordered your tenant in Kildonan to pay into Sir Abel Ram £30 for your use but after the fellow paid his money, he waited on her again and she took Sir Abel's note and gave him an acquittance of her own, but she is very urgent with me to get the fellow to pay £30 more so that I am at a stand because the tenant pleads for allowance so that it does not lie in my power to give any abatement without your honour's orders though she may if she pleases for it is thought by most people that there will be an allowance given them that were oppressed by the camp, though I find that you are not obliged to it on that account.

Sir, in my last I gave you an account that I had paid £34 more into Mr. Burton's hands and I hope in my next to give your honour a further account for I am now treating about your wool and getting in what rent I can get but not near my expectations. In my last I also gave you an account that Col. Purcell of Loghmore was at home and since, I have an account that Sir Donogh O'Brien will be in Dublin the next week.

Sir, here is your tenant Mr. Gray^{1.} who is very crazy and much broke and would very fain know what to trust to as to the matter of allowance for what he paid Major Arthur in brass money and in hay and butter and cheese and would very fain have me to balance accounts with him, the which I denied for I cannot well do without your positive orders. I desired him to give me a copy of what he charges and that I would send it to your honour, for I have received from him but £11 since I came from Wales. This is the full of what I have to trouble yourhonour with at present, but that Lieut. Flower, as I gave you an account in my last, was here with his three horses and ate your hay and one at grass, his groom and boy and maid which I find something more chargeable to your honour than what I would have them to be if I could help it, for I have nobody here but Richard and old Davy who is very crazy and quite blind though I allow him anything for his good or that he requires. This with my duty to your honour and my mistress with my love to all yours which is all from, Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant to command whilst

Edm. Doyne.

Sir, Lieut. Flower remembers his love to your honour and my mistress and says that he writ to you both above five or 6 weeks ago and admires that he cannot hear from either of you since, but desires that he may hear from you."

1. Tenant in Finglas.

38. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 20 November 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last I gave your honour an account of all your concerns here, and since I have sold your wool for nine shillings a stone and to deliver it at Mountmilick which is within 12 miles of Durrow. For if I had sold it in Dublin, I could not get carriage to bring it down, so that I hope your honour will find no fault in what I have done as to that, for 8/9 was the most that I was bid for it in Dublin, so that this day I am going to Durrow in order to have the wool packed and to be rid of it, so that as soon as I deliver it, I will be back again to Finglas, where I hope to give your honour an account of what your wool will come to.

Sir, since my last unto you, I have put into Mr. Burton's hands £24..10..0 which I received in and about Finglas. Sir, I also gave you an account that Madam Plunkett had ordered the tenant of Kildonan to pay unto Sir Abel Ram £30 in your behalf and afterwards she takes Sir Abel's note from the fellow and gives him an acquittance of her own and now she is very urgent for as much more, and the tenant is afraid that your honour will fall on him for your rent, so that the tenant would rather pay his rent to your honour than to Madam Plunkett. I am told that she designs for England very soon.

Sir, I gave your honour an account about old Gray of Finglas, that he is very crazy and thinks that he will not live to see your honour, but the other day he must needs have Mr. Settle and I to look over his receipts that he had since your honour went for England, so that he charges that he has paid £15..6..0; the particulars is as followeth:-

	£	s.	d.
January 9th for 5 months subsidy in King James' time	1	12	1
? May 17th paid for 5 months subsidy for fire and candles for his guards	1	12	1
for taxes for the militia	2	11	
for 6lbs. of butter for Major Arthur	4	0	
for 20 loads of hay for Major Arthur	5	10	0
for 1 dozen of glass bottles	9	0	
for public charges	2	3	
To Piers on Major Arthur's account in brass money	5	0	0
for 3 months contribution		11	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
All this paid in the year 1689	£15	6	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Now I charge him as followeth:-

	£	s.	d.
For half a year, end the 25 March 1688 ^{1.}	11	0	0
The remainder of what was not paid in 1689	6	16	0
and for the year 1690, his year's rent	22	0	0
and this half year ending the 29 Sept. 1691	11	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
being in all	£50	16	0
of which he paid me since I came out of England	16	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
remains	£34	16	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

But now he expects to have an abatement for his losses in the year 1690 because he lost all his hay and all the profit of his farm, so that he is willing to allow but 5/- per acre which comes but to £8 for that year. But as for the year 1689 he thinks to pay no more than what he paid in brass money unless I would take the remainder in the same coin so that I desire to have your honour's pleasure in what you are pleased to allow him, that I may endeavour to get what I can from him. It is true the man has been very much abused in times past and mightily oppressed.

Sir, I proposed to him once to pay me the remainder of the rent of 1689 and half a year's rent for 1690 and that I would venture to give him a clear discharge. This is what I said to him and no more; otherwise if he would give me £30 I would clear him to this last Michaelmas, but he would not do anything but if your honour were (here) he would refer it to your honour's breast. This with my duty to your honour and my mistress and my love to Mr. William and miss and Mr. Jeffrey. Capt. Ford gives his service to you and my mistress which is all from Your honour's most humble and faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne."

1. This should read 1689 I think. Thomas Flower left Ireland in October 1688 and presumably the rent was then paid to September 1688. The year 1689 should read "to March 1690" and so on.

39. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower near Brecknock
London Saturday 5 December 1691

"I wrote to you, dear Thomas, on the 21st last but my letter required no answer, and therefore expected none. Yesternight I received one from my wife which gives an occasion to this. Lawrence Lynch hath at length paid in all his rent to Sir Abel Ram, which comes to £60, and what was over and above I forgave him as I do for this year to come that you may have yours^s complete. Thus then I conceive our accounts stand.

I owed you £20 for the All Hollantide rent 1688. The May rent following 1689 was paid my wife part brass part silver, but this also I reckon payable to you in silver viz. £20. Michaelmas 89 and Easter 90 were both paid in brass and nothing else and in this coin Judge Keating, Mr. Stuvell and others of my creditors received their interest money, and were it of any use unto you this worthy coin is still laid up in Ireland, but it being a general calamity I suppose you will not think that year's rent of Michaelmas 89 and Easter 90 to be accountable for or payable. Between Easter 90 and Michaelmas 90 was the rout^s of the Boyne. Since when three half years are incurred which amounts to £60 and this is now in Sir Abel's hands for you. So as I reckon my self £40 still your debtor out of which you are to abate my late bill of £8..13..6 and by this the remaining sum is £31..6..6. And I am putting my Agent in a way to answer this also which I hope will be soon done. If, therefore, upon computation you agree with this, be pleased then to give me a general acquittance for all interest money due to you except the said £31..6..6. But you may first satisfy yourself that Sir Abel hath his in his hands.

I suppose you heard before now how that unfortunate gentleman Judge Keating murdered himself, and those that pretend to his estate are at such shifts about it that I know not where to pay the interest money my wife hath received out of the lands liable to his debt.

She intends to take shipping next week at Dublin so as I hope to have my poor woman here at Christmas. Our honest good friend Doctor Floyde, Bishop of Killaloe was here to see me and is now in town. My most humble service to the Welsh lady and forget me not to the two young Fingallians. Farewell dear Thomas, your assured loving friend and humble servant Nicholas Plunkett."

40. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 19 December 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last to your honour, I gave you an account of all your concerns, and that I had sold your wool for 9/- per stone and since, I have been in the country and have delivered the wool which weighed 218 stone of neat wool and 12 lbs. over which came to £98..10..0, which I have lodged in Mr. Burton's hands and £34..10..0 more which I brought out of the country along with me. And as for what stock you have at Durrow (they) are in very good order.

Sir, since I came from Durrow hither, Lieut. Flower, who gives his service to you, tells me that Col. Purcell of Loghmore was enquiring for me and that he would, as he says, pay in your money, but I am not sure whether it be so or no before I see him. Sir, I am also informed that Sir Donogh O'Brien is going for England and has broke up house and to do with either or both I cannot tell before I have your honour's commands. Sir, yesterday Mr. Aland was buried who was very urgent with me to take possession of Gragemooss (Graganoss?) the last time I saw him. Sir, this last time that I have been in the country, I met with some of the raparees who came in according to Articles and informed me that if I would be kind that he would tell me where there is a parcel of your black stock, and now I am taking advice to get the Government's warrant for siezing your cattle wherever I can find them, I proving the property, so that if I can complise that order or warrant, I will go into Connaught somewhere in the county of Galway or Mayo. I have a great miss of Mr. Goodwin who is and has been very ill of a fever since I went to the country.

Sir, I have now a world of finching* to do at Durrow which must be done, otherwise the parks and places there will be common and the tenants owes your honour rent so that if you would be pleased to let me know your pleasure therein, for I should be loth to set any work afoot but what needs must. Sir, I am also * finching - hedging?.

told that your neighbour Alderman Castleton is lately married to one Haines' widow in Bridge Street, Dublin. Sir, here is your neighbours of both Cabraghs^{1.} are possessed of their estates and so is a great many more as I am told. This is what I have to trouble your honour with at present but that I wish you and yours a merry Christmas and a healthy one which is the hearty wishes of Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

Sir, Capt. Ford gives his service to you and wishes you a merry Christmas and says that he will get me a warrant for to search for your black cattle which I have mentioned before.

1. John Segrave of Little Cabragh and John (Jack) Arthur of Much Cabragh.

41. Thomas Flower to Nicholas Plunkett
(Abercunrick) 19 December 1691

"Dear Sir, My wife's crying out, and the christening of a young daughter^{1.} prevented the answering of your last letter till now. I understood by your former letters that Lawrence Lynch was to have been liable for what interest is due to me, it being assigned out of his rent. If so, I don't think that in reason he can expect I should abate anything of my due, for he would not pay a farthing during the late trouble there, though several times demanded by my servant; and as to the brass money, had he paid it when it became due, in that coin, 'twould have been as serviceable as any other money, it being current there at that time. But since you have taken the payment of it on your self, there shall be no dispute between us about it. Therefore I here send a blank discharge (as to the sum) and shall leave it to you to assert what you please. When the money is paid to Sir Abel Ram and you receive his note for it, if you please to send it to me, or your order to him to pay me as much as you think fit to order I shall be very well satisfied.

By this time I hope your good lady is safe with you. My little Welsh woman, I thank God, is as hearty as can be expected in her condition. She was delivered a Thursday was sennight of a lusty girl, who I have given her mother's name. The two young Fingallians are your humble servants and so is, Dear Sir, Yours most affectionately Thos. Flower (fflower). My wife presents her service to you and your lady."

1. Dorothy - died young.

42. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 26 December 1691

"Honoured Sir, In my last to your honour I gave you a full account of all your concerns and that I had disposed of your wool and lodged the monies with Mr. Burton being £98. I also gave your honour an account that the raparees had informed me where some of your black cattle were, and that they would go along with me into Connaught and show me where the cattle were. Upon the same I came hither where I preferred a petition to the Lords Justices, setting forth that your cattle being taken and carried away by the raparees after the Rout of Boyne and disposed of some of the said cattle in the hands of some Irish and that some of those raparees coming under protection gave me information of about 40 or 50 or more of the cattle were, so that I went to wait of Capt. Ford who proved my best friend, and advised with him and he went upon the same to the Lord Chancellor and discoursed the matter with his Lordship and told him they were your cattle. And his answer was that if they were his own he would not grant an order. In the meantime, I got a petition drawn which I thought might be more effectual because I mentioned that they took upwards of 350 head of black cattle from your honour. But when my petition was read, the Lords Justices answer was the same that Capt. Ford had, so that I have no hopes of recovering those cattle. If I take out replivies out of Chancery, I must give in security, and afterwards I must give securities to the sheriff of the county and I being a stranger, and has no friends of yours, or any acquaintance of my own, neither do I know what county the cattle are in, whether they are in the county of Galway, or Clare, or Mayo. I cannot tell, neither can my informers tell, what county they are in.

Sir, this is what account I can give your honour at this present but that Lieut. Flower writ to your honour and admires that he cannot hear from you, for neither he nor I has not received one line from your honour since Michaelmas but one that I received

dated the 16th October. Sir, I am this next week going to Durrow in order to make up the fences there, for in my last I gave your honour an account that there was a great deal of work to be done there and that the poor labourers owes your honour rent and arrears of rent. This with my duty to your honour and yours, wishing all a good New Year, which is the prayers of him who is, Sir, your honour's most humble servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

Mr. Goodwin is pretty well recovered of his great fit of sickness that he had."

43. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower near Brecknock
London the 21st January 1692

"Yours, dear Tom, of the 19th last I received long since, but deferred my answer till the arrival of my wife who is now with me here about these ten days. She and I wish you and your lady all happiness in your new-born damsel and in every thing else that relates unto you.

As to your acquittance, it is generous of your side to give me a full acquittance before you have your full money, but it were not prudent or friendly in me to receive it and therefore return it you back again. What I think is reasonable I will write on the backside of this.

Now then to make it clear unto you which is no more I think than what I formerly writ, our accounts are thus. I owed you £40 before King James went for Ireland. As to the brass money in which a whole years rent was paid, you may easily excuse the tenant, for could your man's acquittance be a discharge to him when he had no letter of Attorney, and if he had, the tenant could not safely pay it him, for our wise Parliament of Ireland, amongst the rest attainted you twice by name and the paying or receiving anything relating to you might perhaps have been penal to the payer and Receiver. The consideration hereof made me write to my Solomon Hayden that my concernment for Sir William Flower, my old friend, made me consider his servants and therefore that he should do so and so without mentioning of you, but perhaps the coxcomb never read this to your servant, as he served me in the like nature to others. Besides which the brass money fell immediately to a great under(value) as we have between £200 and £300 of that coin in our hands..... unfortunate Judge Keating received all his interest in this brass money. So that I speak truly as an indifferent person, I think you ought not to prosecute the tenant for this, since he went the safest way to pay it to that wise Attorney Hayden which my wife

was necessitated to appoint when she left Ireland to find me out in foreign parts. For his year and a half which is incurred since the rout~~e~~ of Boyne being £60 that he has fully paid you as appears by those acquittances of Sir Abel Ram which my wife brought me and he has also acknowledged it in a letter to his son that lives now in Lombard Street. And truly I fully forgave the one gale of those three and a part of the other two to some, but Lynch is a solvent man as I formerly told you and so the thing becomes easier, and his years rent in brass money, were it to any purpose, is still in being.

After this £60 I reckon that I am still your debtor £40 whereout my late reckoning of £8..13..6 is to be deducted and then I remain still your debtor £31..6..6 upon which I write down that acquittance I desire from you instead of this.

Whereas there was due to me this last Michaelmas the sum of £100 out of the town and lands of Kildonan in the County of Dublin belonging to Mr. Plunkett of Dunsoghly for the interest money of £500 sterling, not reckoning herein the sum of £40 paid in brass money by the tenant thereof during the time of King James being in Ireland to the Agent of the said Mr. Plunkett. I therefore do hereby acknowledge to have received from him the said Mr. Plunkett of the said £100 the sum of £68..13..6, there remaining still due unto me the sum of £31..6..6. Witness my hand etc.

I hope, Sir, this will meet with y..... when you have duly considered it and pray be not so long silent as you have, and if you or your lady have any service for me or my spouse in this town, let not your bashfulness hinder you to command and employ us, for me thinks we should have your custom as soon as other tradesfolks and we will desire as little profit by it as any else, so dear Thomas, farewell. Your real affectionate humble servant Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Called by King James May 7 1689.

44. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
London 6 February 1692

"I return you now, dear Captain, my thanks for your acquittance which I received in this last dated 30th January, and as soon as Col. Moore is paid £20 which is the remainder of our composition with him, I resolve, God willing, to pay you this £30 odd money. I did not intend in what I writ to excuse Lawrence Lynch from the time of the rout^e of the Boyne, for both he and others would willingly have capitulated with us after I obtained my judgment in the Exchequer, and pay their rent still to the Commissioners according to the contract they made, or that I should expect no more from them than according their new agreement, without taking off their hat or making a leg^{1.} to their old lease. But my wife by degrees got the better, and granted articles of surrender according each man's merit and qualification, and truly your tenant Lynch is thereupon discharged of £15 for these 3 past gales, and £10 more next Easter and Michaelmas following, purposely to leave your £40 a year clear and free to your self, so as I shall not receive one groat from him till Easter 1693.

It was the time of brass money I laid before you, and having said, I suppose enough concerning that part I will trouble you no further with repetitions.

I writ immediately upon receipt of yours to young Mr. Ram in Lombard Street, and by his note he tells me that money now from Ireland is £10 per cent to be returned.

Our Queen Dowager is still resolute for her journey to Portugal. My wife and I wish happiness to you and your lady and all yours. I am your real affectionate and most humble servant Nicholas Plunkett."

1. i.e. making a bow.

45. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
probably Finglas early March 1692

"Sir, I have delivered Madam Stephens that you were pleased to order and Mrs. Vaughan took a little spice box of drawers that she said was hers. Lieut. Flower says he writ to your honour about a fortnight ago and I writ to your honour about 12th February last when I got a little ease but that time I got a relapse which had like to kill me. Sir, you are pleased to say that I did not send your honour an exact account of what was in Mr. Burton's hands. There was £449..18..9 and since I have put in £10..7..0 which is all that I have lodged with him. Sir, I design to set the land of Finglas this year. I do not know whether your honour will approve of it or no so that I desire to have your honour's commands concerning that and whatsoever your honour thinks convenient which shall be always observed by him who is, Sir, your honours most humble and faithful servant to command, Edm. Doyne."

46. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 15 March 1692

"Honoured Sir, According to your honour's commands I writ to you and enclosed a bill of three hundred pounds in it, and sealed it and gave it to Mrs. Stephens on Saturday last who told me that she would be sure to enclose it in a letter to Mr. Dalton and said that she would write to you herself to let you know that she had received the picture which you were pleased to order her to have it. I also in the same letter gave your honour an account of your concerns in Durrow that were all in very good order and that you have no great loss this cruel weather past, I thank God not above half a dozen. But now your lambs are falling in very good weather so that I hope for a good increase but I fear the foxes will destroy a great many for they are very plenty and all your honour's hounds are taken away and I cannot get any thereabouts and the country is very scarce of hounds.

Sir, in my last I gave your honour an account that Sir Donogh O'Brien was gone for England and that I was not able to go to Col. Purcell, nor is not as yet. Sir, for Finglaswood, I have not set it as yet, and I am afraid I shall get nothing to speak of for it this year, but yesterday Capt. Corker sent for me about it and would take it for one of the Commissioners Mr. Van Hommerie if I would set a lease of it, so I told him I could not set but for a year until your honour came over so that he is of(f) it. The most that I am proffered for it is thirty pounds and ten pounds will not reoair it as it lies now, so that I design to set, if I can get the tenant to repair the house until your honour comes for this country. I also design if your honour thinks fit to set this land of Finglas for this ensuing year if I can get anything like. For if I keep it I shall never get any good of it for tresspassers, so that I will

keep the five acres which will be good hay I hope. For here is all the hay that was upon it the last harvest but what the Lieut's horses eat, who gives his humble service to your honour and to my mistress, and says he will stay here until the new Lord-Lieutenant comes for this country. He has not been at his command since he left them at Limerick.

Sir, if your honour could get a good horse for a stallion, it would be requisite, for your young mares are now of age to breed, or to do anything if they were handled. There is one of them as your honour had from Mr. Ward, and the filly called Jenny that you had from Spooner, and the filly that came from the old flea-bitten mare that you had from him, and a filly that came from the little coach mare, and another filly that was got by the little black stone horse which you sold my Lord Meath and the big black leaf-eared filly, and a large bay filly that was left there by Doran and three sucking fillies. This is what I have to trouble your honour with at present, with my duty to your honour and my mistress, with my love to my young master and miss which is what offers from, Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant, Edm. Doyne."

47. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 29 March 1692

"Honoured Sir, In my last four letters to your honour I gave you an account that all your concerns were in good order in this country, and now I being here this three weeks past, I have had no account of the concerns at Durrow since I came, but I design to go there the latter end of this week where I hope to find all things in as good order as I left them in.

Sir, on Wednesday last being the 23rd instant, old Davie fell sick and died on Easter day in the morning. So I had him weaked and buried the next day being Easter Monday, very decently. Sir, in my last I writ about Finglaswood and the most that I could get for it for this year was £30 and as for the land of this house I to anybody though I bid it for 12/- per acre. But as for the wo..... set it for the above rent for this year to Mr. Settle. Sir, I have since my last letter put into Mr. Burton £15. I have not got no rent from the tenants of Finglas as yet, neither can I get old Gray to come to any understanding about his arrears for he is doting and does not know what he says. This is what account I have to trouble your honour with at present but that I would fain know whether your honour received my letter with the bill in it.

Lieut. Flower gives his service to you and continues here still. This with my duty to your honour which what offers from Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

Here is great talks of Sir John Temple's coming hither very soon for here is orders for brewing some ale for him."

48. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Finglas 14 May 1692

"Honoured Sir, In my last dated the 7th instant, I gave your honour an account that all your concerns were in very good order, and that I sent you Col. Purcell's answer enclosed in my letter, and that according to your honour's commands I gave your service to Mistress Stephens and thanks who returned the same to you and my mistress. I also spoke to Mr. Andrew Ram and his answer was that there was an estate and that what debts was due of his brother^{1.} that they should be paid as fast as the estate would afford it. As for Lieut. Beverley's money, I am told there is no such thing, but all is in your name. I have also spoke to Mr. Burton who is one of those that are to state the accounts and he has promised to do what he can in it. I also gave your honour an account that I was to wait on Sir John Temple, who desires to be remembered to you.

Your honour writ to me about bottling of one of the hogsheads of cider. Lieut. Flower and I tried them the other day so that there is one of them that is tolerable, but the other two are not worth much; neither can Dublin afford as many bottles as would contain a hogshead, for I have been in all parts of it looking to buy but could not get any, except it be a dozen here and there and to pay 4/- (or) 4/6 a dozen, so I have left the cider just as I found it until I have further orders. Lieut. Flower gives his humble service to you and my mistress and has writ to your honour last week wherein he has given you an account of giving up his commission.^{2.}

Sir, I have been here this fortnight endeavouring to get some money from your tenants here in Finglas, but I cannot get anything worth nameing but five pounds from old Gray and he tells me plainly he will not give one (penny) more afore your honour comes, for this makes up £21 that he paid me since I cameaway from your honour.

As for the Alderman, he is gone for England.

I also gave you an account that I had set Finglaswood for this year for £30 but as for the land I have not set it as yet, and if I can set it, I fear it will not answer anything like. This is what I have to trouble your honour with at present but that I am, Sir, your honour's most humble and faithful servant.
Edm. Doyne."

1. Apparently Sir Abel Ram who had just died. See letter 50 on further troubles in recovering money from this private banker.
2. William Flower was appointed Captain in Viscount Charlemont's Regiment of Foot 23 April 1694 and was placed on half-pay on its disbanding in 1698. He was appointed Major of Major-General Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment of Foot in 1703. Dalton's Army Lists. Three references in Ormonde M.S.S., N.S.8 p.89, 250 and 265 take his career up to Lt. Colonel on 29 November 1706. I have found no record after this.

49. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
London 23 June 1692

"Now in the name of wonder, dear Thomas, what is the meaning of our long silence. Which of us both is the person guilty? Had I any the least occasion of writing you should not have wanted an epistle from me. But now this occurs which I go to tell you.

There are several in Ireland proposeth to purchase land from me, and amongst other parcels I join Kildonan, Balseskin and my little concernment at Finglas Bridge which amount to above £100 a year, but thereout there is a chiefry^{1.} of near £6 per annum, and this brings it something under the £100. If it be my fortune to sell I shall bate little of the English rate in regard these places are so well tenanted and improved. But I have answered the party that wrote unto me, how you have £500 mortgage on Kildonan, and that I would not sell these parcels to any till I first acquainted you thereon, not knowing but you might desire to purchase them, to whom I would make the first offer, as now I do.

Pray, together with your answer to this, let me know how your lady and children do, everyone of them, particularly. My Gammar is often sick but able to walk within the walls of this Court. We both wish you and her and all yours a continual happiness. Your real affectionate humble servant
Nicholas Plunkett."

1. A chief rent.

50. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
London 2 July 1692

"Yours, my dear friend Thomas, I received last night and at the same time two letters from my steward Mr. Spooner, and my cousin Palles. Most of the letter was concerning the family of the Rams and how they are so shuffling with the creditors, as the creditors have joined together to prosecute them in some rigorous way and though Mr. Whitchet was my counsel he would give no advice one way or other which makes my cousin Palles believe he is of counsel with the Rams.

I hope you have some friend there to appear for you, if not pray write in haste, lest delay may do you a prejudice, for my Agent hath joined with the rest in my behalf without ever consulting me, lest staying for my answer might prejudice my interest, and this is the first minute I heard of this course. Had I known it sooner you should sooner have heard on't.

This day I am very busy but on Monday or Tuesday I will go to Bloomsbury about your business and will be as careful about any concerns of yours as any friend you have in the world. God bless you and your family, which is the true and real wishes of your friend and unfeigned servant Nicholas Plunkett.

(Addition) I write this post to Sir John Temple and what concerns you in the letter, if you will take the pains to turn this leaf you will find on the other side.

In the same nature Captain Flower (from whom I received a letter last night) deposited money in Sir Abel's hands and the shortness of time may in some measure surprise him to his prejudice if you be not pleased to concern yourself in his behalf, which is a favour I need not much intreat being the concernment of your sweet grandchildren as well as his. They and the whole family are in good health and before winter he intends for Ireland. Mr. Spooner will inform you how far the creditors have proceeded, in which number my friends have made me one.

I still keep in Somerset House, for though my Lady of Fingal assigned her lodgings to her daughter Eyres, my wife you know being a handsome young lass wanted not those in Court, that persuaded me to take up the vacancy of a lady that went with Queen Dowager to Portugal."

51. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick.
Finglas 2 July 1692

"Honoured Sir, In my last from Durrow to your honour, I gave you an account that all your concerns were in good order, and so are still, I thank God for it. Sir, now I am to acquaint your honour that I have shorn your sheep, containing 1072 with rams and all. I also gave you an account according to your commands what lambs fell the last year, was 314, and this year 456 lambs. I have had a great loss since I writ to your honour last, that is five of your rams stolen, that (is) two old rams and three young rams, so that I shall want some for riding this year, if I cannot get them to buy in the county of Catherlogh. I have bought three rams already and if I can light of half a dozen more, I design to buy them. I have also bought 6 yearling bullocks and a little heifer for your honour. As for coals, when I received your honour's letter in Durrow, I writ to Serjeant Graham and desired him to buy 16 or 17 ton and that I would pay him when I came up from Durrow but his excuse was that he thought they would be cheaper than 16/- a ton, but now they are dearer, so that I intend to buy some however, for most people says they will not be cheaper this year because of the ships being employed in their Majesties' service. Sir, I cannot as yet learn what rate wool is as yet. If I can get a good rate I intend to dispose of it about September next.

Sir, I was yesterday to see Folliott, which was the first time I saw him since he came from Wales, and he was telling me that your honour would have one or two of your fillies taken up but he says you gave him no positive orders about them, but that you were talking of them. I have no place to put any of them in, if I should take up any of them. Sir, I also gave your honour an account that cows were so dear there was no prospect of buying any, but that your honour had seven cows of your own at Durrow and that I hope the (pro) fit of them will be pretty well towards your house for this winter. I do also

design if I can get three or four old cows that will be good beef against winter to buy them for your honour's use. Sir, I was the last week at Mr. Crosby's house to speak to him about your £32 that he owes you, but if he was at home, he would not appear, so I think to call there when I go that way next. My Lord Bishop of Ossory laid his obligation on me to give you his service as often as I writ to your honour, and so has Mr. Wheeler, who gives his service to you and my mistress which is what offers at present from him who renders my humble duty to your honour and my mistress, with my love to my little master and miss and remains, Sir, your most obedient servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

Sir, I had almost forgot to let your honour know that we have had a great blast this year, so that you have not much fruit. But as for your wall fruit (it) is pretty well, and hopes your honour will be here before they are ripe. Lieut. Flower gives his service to you and says he writ to you since he received your last letter but that as you sent by the Milford man, he never had (a reply?)."

52. Edmond Doyne to Thomas Flower at Abercunrick
Dublin 7 July 1692

"Honoured Sir, I have writ to your honour several times from Durrow since I received your letter that came by Mr. Folliott dated the 27th April, and since I came hither I have writ, and the last but this I writ on Saturday being the 2nd instant, wherein I gave your honour an account that all your concerns in this country is in pretty good order, both in Finglas and Durrow. In my last I gave you an account that I had shorn your sheep and now I have mowers at work about the five acres and as soon as I can get it up, I must go into the country again for there will be some corn and hay there to look after.

Sir, I am very confident that your honour's letters to me miscarries for I have not received one word from your honour since Folliott came, neither has the Lieut. received any. He says he writ to you twice. I am afraid your honour does not receive my letters for when I am here I never miss but I writ once a week and very often I writ from Durrow. I thought I should have a letter from your honour concerning your coming over but I am afraid not while I stay here. I have not bought any coals as yet for they are so dear that there is no buying any until the shipping comes in. This morning as I came to town, I met with Folliott who told me that one Mrs. Mason was going for Wales, and that if I had anything to writ that I would writ by her so that I have troubled her with this, and in hopes it will come safe to your hands that your honour may be satisfied that I have not omitted writing to your honour and constantly do give you an account that your concerns are in good order. This with my duty to your honour, with my love to my young master and miss which is what offers from, Sir, your honour's most obedient servant to command whilst Edm. Doyne.

Thomas Flower and his family evidently returned to Ireland in July 1692 so the letters from Edmond Doyne cease. There are, however, a further six letters from Micholas Plunkett who never returned to Ireland. He died 1718.

53. Nicholas Plunkett to Mrs. Flower at her house in Finglas
(Probably London 1693) near Dublin.

".....at first and second hand(dam)ask lined with any silk either peeling persian are about £40 a piece if new, some a little under, so(me) above. I saw one of mohair, of a pretty sort of red straht^a with buff colour and green, and this nobly lined and trimmed they valued at £38.

Now those that are of worsted will be bought now for about £20, and these are many of them as well lined as the damask or mohair.

And truly those at second hand, if they be not tarnished or faded will be sold at little less than those that are new.

There is a young upholsterer here in town, grandson to an old fellow-prisoner of mine; and this lad invites me to buy with offer of the best bargain I met withal; it is a damask of bright orange colour which indeed looks well with a good fringe which with a decent comish^b bedstead and all necessaries will be sold for £26 without a lining. Why then may you not trust to Dublin for the lining, and buy this thus made up here. And I see these damask beds many of them without lining but then they are your thick rich damask
..... love andwife Madam is still very sick
..... service.

- a. straht - striped?
b. comish - comely?

My friend Thomas gave me an item of my out really, Madam, the history of that Ungrateful Brute^{1.} would even ti(re and) vex you. When he had left his schooling, above 20 years since and come thence against my will, he applied himself to his grandfather, thinking by his power as he imagined to compel me to a compliance with his preposterous desires. I was at length overcome by his mother-in-law's intercession to maintain him three years at Rome on condition never to trouble me more. Thither he goes; spends there that three years; comes back again a beggar, is sent afterwards from London by the mediation of the same wise woman, and his own intercession, to France. There he pretends to go a volunteer into the army. This, when I granted, his next answer was that he would not go in this capacity under Laquees and Ledhorses* and £100 a year. When his saucy impertinency made me cast him off, then he threatens to dispossess me of my estate and sends proclamations of it before him, and over again he goes into Ireland. Notwithstanding all this, the same wise woman prevails with me to give him some allowance to keep him from starving and the gallows. This too I condescended to provided he lived out of the County of Dublin, that he might not be an eyesore to myself. Yet no sooner was my Lord Tyrconnell made Deputy of Ireland but he gets himself to be one of his gentlemen by all means to prove it and when now upon his oldest brother would have given him his company to go (into) France; no not he; he chooseth rather to shark and cosher amongst acquaintance in the miserable condition Ireland is in, than undertake anything like a gentleman for his subsistence. Twenty other preposterous stories I could tell you, but I beseech you, Madam, pardon this trouble I give you. And I do it lest this Brute, knowing my acquaintance with your husband, might either trouble him with his company or his entreaty to write to me.

* Laquees and Ledhorses - i.e. without lackeys and sumpter horses to carry his clothes and furniture.

And let me entreat him not to have anything to do with this
Don Quixote.

Madam, your Ladyship's most affectionate humble servant,
Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Probably his younger son by his first marriage.

54. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Finglas
London 17 March 1694

"After all endeavours, my dear Captain, I fear the Coopers will be too hard for us. There is a perfect confederacy in the case between father and mother and son. The former absconds and the mother has a tongue of chivalry. I went to her yesterday morning and carried my upholsterer with me by the name of a tailor. I fixed on some stuffs, and when we demanded the price she asks 14d. a yard which my friend would afford me for less than a shilling. She then showed me another at 1/- a yard of a bad philomot mixed with white and though I was content with this and so out of other stuffs make up the £8; no she would not unfurnish her shop, but only give me £4 in this tawdry stuff and pay me the remainder at Easter. So considering these trucks I refused both one and t'other, because this bargain would be a hindrance to you to prosecute him for the whole. I look upon him as broken. Had you given me leave in the beginning we could have made a better market, but I see nothing now but wars to recover your great losses. And therefore think of some Attorney here that understands these affairs, and God knows whether the man will be to be found, but be not bashful (to) employ my time.

I received a letter (from) Major Mathews desiring my intercession to you in the half of one that it seems you sue for goods taken from you in your absence. I most know you to be a man of brains and judgement person with of one that is partly

I will endeavour to own and return it upon all occasions but my answer hereunto since Mr. Spooner has it at large by a fix my wife and I send you Lady and yourself our real well..... Tom, I conclude your unfeigned friend and Nicholas Plunkett.

I wrote this letter yesterday being Friday, but the confederates, I suppose, consulted the father in the country and at 8 o'clock at night comes the son to me and told me they were content whole £8. I thereupon I sent my man this morning to know if they would let me have.....
.....they demanded 1/2 whereof they say there is 77 yards, at last she would bate me 3 farthings she insists upon to make up the £8, But truly when I considered both pieces, this of green and that of philomot will be near 160 yards and the the thing would not be worth you in Dublin about £6 or thereabouts before I seal this I will to take it, if not send me your direc..... if I take these goods my wife and I think it best to sell them here if send them to you. Just now Mr. Cooper's son has brought me 160 yards..... £6 and for which I have given him a discharge and though it may cost you..... a pattern, I will keep them by me till you send your further instructions and be it know praise my own chivalry."

55. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at his house in Finglas
Hammersmith 28 April 1694

"Here, my dear friend Thomas, are we in the Queen's^{1.} house chiefly for recovering of my wife's health, if a young lass of 58 years of age hath these attractions to gain upon Her Majesty's servants, I hope you will not repine at my happiness, for I confess we meet with unexpected and undeserved favours from them. And I verily believe my spouse will recover her health by being in this very pleasant place. And though it be for its shape and bulk more fit for a gentleman's house than a Queen's palace, I question much whether she enjoys so much sweetness and content where she is.

I copied out what you wrote to me concerning Mr. Broghall and sent it to Major Mathews who has signified to me under his hand that he stands now corrected and is henceforth your champion in justification of so much right and reason which appears on your side and resolves to satisfy those that put him upon writing to me, but who they are I cannot tell. I thought George Mathews the properer person to speak to Col. Purcell which I wrote to him of and he hath accordingly promised to do it, for he is his near relation and long intimate acquaintance, and I am neither, so as 'tis not to spare my own pains but to put it in the right way to be done. But to deliver you my opinion, I am afraid Col. Purcell is so much behind hand in the world as he is not able to you, so as then your business to consult your lawyers ever so willing what does without ability Col. Purcell's answer..... you have shown me in the business of

Mr. Tilson but for prevention of inconvenience to all sides, I have perfected my deeds last Wednesday and send them now by the Chester carrier to Mr. Griffith with instructions to have them sent thence to Mr. Spooner to whom I have also written this post. Next week as occasion offers you shall hear from me again.

Just now came to my hands the enclosed from Col.Purcell with one also from George Mathews repeating much the same thing and inviting me to second the business by my intercession. But truly friend Thomas you are now of full age, and understand your own advantage and business and duty of a gentleman as well and as much as I in my old learning can advise you to, and me thinks truly Nic Purcell proposeth all the poor gentleman can propose. Upon the whole, God of heaven direct you. My wife's kind service and mine to your Lady and yourself your unfeigned friend to serve you. Nicholas Plunkett."

1. Queen Dowager - Catherine of Braganza widow of Charles II.

56. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Finglas
London 26 July 1695

"I come now, dear Thomas, to let you know that I received yesterday upon a letter from Mr. John Price the sum of £20 which the Monmouth carrier paid me for one Madam Flower. If you know such a Lady pray acquaint her herewith. I will also let Mr. Price know so much by this day's post. I do so dread taking of silver that I got my goldsmith to go with me, but the honest carrier who seems a very rational man though he be a Welsh man paid me all in guineas which I received at 30/- a piece^l for so they go currently, and was very glad to have it in that coin. And now I expect the Lady's orders.

I writ to you two days since, and the day after I perused lightly Mr. Spooner's accounts wherein you shall be chief judge and chancellor and upon the whole consider whether he takes a good method in this business for he now repeats several inconsiderable expences and payments new which I looked upon long since as completed, and afford me your patience to read over what I am writ to him from Hammersmith..... and in that dated the 18th September 1694 I say.

As to our accounts (that which I am not usually guilty of) I committed a fault in the last and writ not a copy of that letter to keep by me here, for such particular letters as these are for the most part either wholly copied or briefly entered in a book, but the account itself I have and that I will repeat to you here again:-

	£	s.	d.
I owed you	70	13	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Account you received one time	27	16	5
and at another time	28	08	09
both these sums amount to	56	5	2
the debt	70	13	$4\frac{1}{4}$
paid thereof	56	5	2
remains	14	8	$2\frac{1}{4}$

yet in another place my note says due to you £16..7.. $2\frac{1}{4}$. Now, good captain, this was all appearing then to be due to Mr. Spooner on the 18th September 1694 which is but 10 months past. But now the perclose of this long reckoning leaves me his debtor £83..0..6. I cannot I confess object anything against his disbursements or receipts but this extreme dilatory course he has fallen into makes me fear that necessity will oblige me (or) my wife or one (of us) to go into Ireland. We have nothing but live upon and our ignorance of our own Constable we expect to perish He has my cabinet, as I suppose and a desk besides and keeping my m(oney) in either of these, it is an easy matter to see when the Treasury is empty or near to it, and thereupon to give me notice which I confess I should take more kindly than to supply me with his own money, before at least I desire it.

Now, that I beg of you is that he may by your persuasions complete what is behindhand of further receipts and disbursements and that I may once know my condition, for I writ to him several times to pay himself that I might by knowing the strength of my purse give him a gratuity besides his salary. And if this can not be obtained, my wife and I, or one of us, though extremely against our inclination, must be forced to an Irish journey. Pray excuse this great trouble and command me what trouble you please. I forgot to note unto you that having once completed our accounts and adjusted it month since Mr. Spooner should have stuck these never to this present wish the precedent accounts All happiness which my London Lass and I wish your unfeigned friend

Addition on side of address. For God's sake, dear Captain Flower, if it be possible assist this account that we may not be forced to undertake this unpleasant journey at this troublesome time, your humble servant E. Plunkett."

1. Guineas. These gold coins were notionally of 20/- value and were called Guineas because the gold of which they were made came from Guinea i.e. Ghana, West Africa. They were often marked Guinea to show the provenance of the gold. Due to the changing relationship of the prices of silver and gold in the European market, the value of gold coins changed in relation to the silver coins in which everyday transactions were made. The poor condition of the silver coinage and the prospect of a recoinage pushed gold coins to a high value at this time. See Letter 58 for the sharp reduction in the premium on gold in 1696 when it was finally decided to reform the currency on terms favourable to holders of silver.

57. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Finglas
London 27 July 1695

"Indeed, dear Thomas, I should be much ashamed of the great trouble I put you to, did I not know myself at the same time ready to serve and befriend you as freely and heartily as any man you have in the world under the esteem of friend or confidant and I conceive it needless to invite your belief hereunto by any further expressions of mine.

What you write concerning the £50 belonging to the Welsh lass is, I think, already performed by a letter of mine to Mr. Spooner of the 23rd instant and much the same set down in that concerning Mr. Settle as is now in this of yours dated the 18th. But thus again in short: you have the £50 there for the £50 I received here of your lady's money; for matter of exchange I left that to yourself. If you or she thinks fit to have another fifty pound laid out here, or any less sum, we will do it and account afterwards. If you have no occasion then you shall have the whole interest paid you there to the day you receive it, and £4 over and above but justice because justice requires half a year's warning. I time, because I know not yet when Mr. Settle will pay money.

As to is under my hand) that I returns me our farthing. For I will and do own his error to be only what I have already said, and being rather too kind to me, unknown to myself in lending me his own money before he had mine from the tenants, and being I have nothing more to say this post, pray be pleased to impart this letter unto him.

My spouse and I wish you and your lady and children all happiness.

Lest you have it not from others this post, we received the certain news of a considerable victory the Venetians have gotten over the Turks in the Morea which with the surrender of Cagal in Italy and the retreat of the French army from Germany extremely exalts the Confederates.

It comes now in my head to mind you of one thing since we are informed of a Parliament to be sworne in Ireland, which is an Act for a Court of Registry. This to my knowledge hath been talked of these 30 years in England but could never take effect, for lawyers and the nobility and gentry whose estates were deeply encumbered suppressed this excellent Act.

The..... of Ireland to a very inconsiderable parcel is now in the hands of Protestants of them I believe are very far from being indebted, and if they they are such debts as they desire may be secured, so in the ensuing
....."

58. Nicholas Plunkett to Thomas Flower at Finglas
7 April 1696

"..... discovered unto his consequently be prejudicial to the you are to use in the management of your Trustees are gentlemen of quality and that believes intentions, yet not willing to undergo much trouble which mat perhaps most and inconsiderate in their answers than others more nearly concerned would be, for they seem not to scruple (if I understnd her right) the purchasing land of inheritance with this money which is now otherwise secured. And she says hereupon that the mother of this poor child of 5 years old becomes thereby his guardian, and then you may judge what will become of the business when she stands in awe of her husband.^{1.}

To conclude, all she desires (which is certainly very honest) is to have these papers placed in honest hands or upon record, that the mother may have her due during life, her child what belongs to him, and in case he dies without issue, that then it may come to yours. And to have this done as it should be, she looks upon you now as the only proper man and pillar of their family, and therefore if you can, it concerns you to be here before Term.

But you understand your own affairs well enough. Mr. Spooner tells me you are fallen ill of the gout, for which I am extremely sorry especially upon this occasion.

Your aunt I tell you is sickly, and I believe behindhand in the world. She has been already out of purse upon this occasion, she got br..... former expenses that copied out which I sent you in my own hand; she must fee Counsel this Term if sued, and truly she thinks it reason if they do not sue her that she should make application
..... and treat him I could not in reason accept of this would not accept it, and it was upon
..... (nei)ghbour Mr. Dorrell received it, and left it

in the hands who are both very sufficient persons for 20 times your sum. I was f(orced) to receive guineas at £1..10..0 by which you have lost £2..16..0 for guineas are now but £1..2..0.². The 4th of the next month puts an end to our clipped money, if in the meantime any of that sort is brought me, and our goldsmith will not then receive it, pray consider whether you were not better immediately to let me buy you plate or something else rather than keep it by me till that day be expired.

Truly, dear Tom, had this conspiracy gone forward it had as you rightly judge occasioned certainly a sea of blood. Five of them engaged in it are already executed. That (life) of quietness and peace which you truly say we both court might certainly have been enjoyed by King James and his party had he no worse counsellors and friends than we would have been to him, but alas those cheats that swayed and led him carried on their own ends of pride, ambition and covetousness under the varnish or doak of loyalty and religion, and by this destroyed His Majesty through unwariness and themselves in the perclose. You and I could only then bemoan our own misfortunes being insignificant figures in the world, unable by any means we could use to stop the least branch of that violent current which at length robbed many of their lives and fortunes and me of my poor Jack, whose parts and qualities though a very young lad I need not reckon to you. But let us with humbleness submit to in the like merchand write, and I tell her in answer that say were it read at the Parliament house in France.

Pray tell Mr. Spooner that I read at last those works in the b..... say Margaret Bellew received the £5 from Mr. Griffith at Ch..... and desire Mr. Spooner now Term is at hand to put an end if he can to the litigious paltry suit of Clark, and to sell if he can my £12 a year chiefrly in Lingwood and Clingaffin.

My wife and I wish you and your poor motherless children
all comfort and happiness. Your true friend to serve you
Nicholas Plunkett."

1. It would appear that Dorothy Flower had died sometime between 27 July 1695 and this letter of April 1696, and that some of her Jeffrey relations were concerned about the succession to the Abercunrick estate. The "child of 5 years old" is perhaps Jeffrey Flower to whom Thomas left Abercunrick in his will dated 1700. When he died without issue c.1712 it passed under Thomas' will to his eldest son William Flower.
2. See note 1. Letter 56.

Thomas Flower died in May or June 1700. The best surviving account of his will is in Lodge-Irish Peerage which is confirmed by the Betham Abstracts (PRO of I). The principal provisions were:-

1. All his Irish estate was left to his eldest son William with remainder to Jeffrey.
2. The Abercunrick estate was left to Dorothy's son Jeffrey with remainder to William.
3. Annuities for life:-
 - (a) his brother Capt. William £50
 - (b) his aunt Stephens of Chepstow £15
 - (c) his aunt Elizabeth Pitt £15
 - (d) his sister (in law) Elizabeth Jeffreys £10
 - (e) Francis Oakwell £6
4. Legacies:-
 - (a) Nicholas Plunkett his gold watch and £20 for a ring
 - (b) James Spooner his grey gelding and £20 for mourning
 - (c) John Hartstonge¹. Bishop of Ossory his best gelding or mare and £20 for a ring.
 - (d) John Price of Brecon £20 for a ring.
5. Gifts to charity:-
 - (a) The parish of Finglas for the poor £50
 - (b) The parish of Kanerynath, Brecon for the poor £5
 - (c) The parish of Chepstow for the poor £5
6. Tombs.
 - (a) £150 to erect a tomb for his uncle Sir William Flower.
 - (b) 2 acres of land near Chepstow to maintain his great grandmother's tomb and the surplus to the poor.

1. Originally chaplain to the Duke of Ormond when he was Lord Lieutenant so his friendship with Thomas probably dated from that period.