

1641 DEPOSITIONS

VOLUME V

Kildare, TCD, MS 813

Meath, TCD, MS 816

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ABOUT THE 1641 DEPOSITIONS SERIES

The collection of papers commonly known as the '1641 depositions', more formally as TCD, MS 809–841, was presented to the University of Dublin in 1741 by its Vice Chancellor, John Stearne, bishop of Clogher, to mark the centenary of the 1641 rebellion.¹ The collection was subsequently bound in thirty-one volumes. In the first of these, entitled 'Depositions concerning the Rebellion in general, more especially of the Persons seized upon the first discovery thereof in October 1641', the material was arranged to tell the story of the attempt on Dublin Castle. The two most celebrated depositions, those of Henry Jones and Robert Maxwell, were given pride of place and were followed by the statements of Owen Connolly (Owen O'Connally) and Hugh MacMahon and a succession of others suspected of having been involved in the conspiracy. This thematic sequence ended on f. 239v of MS 809. Thereafter, and for the following thirty volumes, the papers were grouped according to the county to which they were thought (not always rightly) to belong, but randomly jumbled together within the county groups.² The principle of county arrangement had already been breached by the thematic selection of items included in the first part of MS 809. This was exacerbated by inconsistency of practice where the county of residence of the deponent differed from that in which the reported events took place, a problem which was in turn aggravated by the tendency of refugees to describe themselves as of their place of refuge. An extra layer of difficulty in allocating material to counties was provided by the fact that many landowners held land in more than one county and many Dubliners owned or leased estates only outside the county. Moreover, while the records collected in the 1640s were arranged by county, those collected in the 1650s were organized according to the event or individual with which they dealt. The combination of the initial lack of clarity in categorizing the material with the later failure to preserve either the alphabetical sequences of the 1640s material or the numerical sequences of the 1650s material and to sort the categorized material before binding it created a state of multiple disorder that has concealed the fact that the collection is an amalgam of four different sets of records, and one sub-set. Each was created by the conduct of separate enquiries into particular aspects of the rebellion, but they shared a later history.

¹ The depositions are available online, together with transcriptions, at www.1641.tcd.ie. There is a general description of the collection in Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), pp 111–22.

² A further two volumes were added to the series some years later. TCD, MS 840 is a compilation of documents drawn from Henry Jones's papers relating to the years 1641–7. Only those pertaining to the 'commission for the despoiled subject' have been transcribed. TCD, MS 841 is discussed below, pp xli, xlvi.

1. TITLE PAGE, TCD, MS 813

[f. [unfol.]] [Notes on manuscript binding] [ff ir–iv, blank]

[f. iir] Depositions concerning Murders & Robberies committed in the County of Kildare, 400 folios–, [H.], F–2–6, (813) [ff iiv–viv, blank]

TCD, MS 813, ff unfol.–viv

2. INFORMATION OF WILLIAM PILSWORTH, N.P.

N.D.

[f. 1r, 69] The information of William Pilsworth Clerck, In obedience vnto your honnors Commaunde, I have drawne a breife declaracione (as my memorye can collect) of Som passages which touchinge both my selfe and others in the beginninge of this rebellione: *I remember* In the first beginninge there were two thinges which hindered my comminge to dublin, one was the great Chardge I had videlicet my wife whith ten children and the smale meanes I hadd to support them heere; together with the difficultye I conceaved in the Carriage of them. secondly the hope I conceaved of those fforces *which* my Lo: and Patron the Earle of Kildare¹ hadd gathered for the safete of that Countye, by which together with the happie discoverye of the prodigious plott in this towne I supposed would soon annihilate the trayterous designes of the rebellious enemyes, which proved to the loss of all that ever I had, and the hazard of my life in a most ignomious manner, ffor noe sooner was this rebellio{n} heard of in our parts but presently it hatched a develish broode even birds of the same feather; Striplinges and whipsters that turned gods grace and the kinges mercye into wantones and vnconstancie and turned the edges of the weapons delivered them for the safete of their Countreye against his sacred Maiestie and Loyall subiects: beinge thervnto strongly invited and threatned by that grand Hellhound Roger Moore² of Ballyna: the first that ffollowed in the daunce were Peirse ffitz Gerald of Ballisonan: Eustace of Castellmartinge: Sutton of Typper, William ffitz Gerald of Blackhall and his breethren, Sir John Dongan's brothers and many others, soe th{at} on the suddaine all passages betweene mee & Dublin were soe shutt vpp by the enemye that I could in noe wise pass wit{h} such a traine as I hadd; Neither for the space of 3 weeks durst { } my selfe or wife com within our owne doores but secretly & that seldo{m} but Lynge somtimes vnder headges & in woods, somtimes in one poo{r} mans Cabbin or other, but most of all wee were concealed and preserved by on William yorke somtimes an Inkeeper but after {a} Captaine vnder the Commaunde of Eustace of Castellmartin which Eustace hearinge therof sent him a letter (which I read) by one Edmond Eustace that if hee did any longer succour mee or { } hee would make him an example, to all those that should releve or succour herretiques, and that hee should receive the punishment due to

¹ George Fitzgerald, 16th earl of Kildare, revised date of death 1657 (see *DIB*).

² Otherwise, Rory O'More, d. 1655(?) (see *DIB*).

them; and withall commaunded him goe to Kilkock and hew in peeces one George Gouldsmith and his mother (who were his tennants) and cease on their goods an{d} estats for his vse: [f. 1v] which the said yorke effected only hee tooke not away their Lives; this yorke was a protestant and soe continued a longe time and was always a good frend vnto mee as a requitall and gratitude for that once when hee was arraigned at Naas ffor som ffellonious act, I procured the safetie of his life: After this one William Lightbond³ Clerck my brother in Law wrote a letter to a daughter of mine that formerly Lived with him, about some goods of his that hee left at Kildare, and writinge of many thinges hee wrote in the conclusion of his letter that if the forenamed yorke would bringe in William ffitz Gerald of Blackhall his head hee should have his pardon and 300 li. which letter the said ffitz Gerald intercepted and privately Coppied and sent the letter to my house, to and within 4 or 5 dayes the said Yorke was apprehended and soe was my daughter and my selfe & my sonn; my goods taken away <X> before my face by the said ffitz Gerald his rebellious rouges; wee bound and Carried to the place of their randevous to receave examinatione & executione; heere were 17 Coullers with Commaunders <P> officers and a great number of Barberous rouges thirstinge for our innocent bloud, heere when they could finde nothinge worthy of death ffitz Gerald of Ballisonan beinge Cheife asked mee whither I would vppon savinge my life goe with them to Mass, I answered I would not save the boddy to destroy the soule whervppon ffitz Gerald of Blackhale swore a great oath that I should hang; and truly I hadd there vndoubtedly suffered hadd not god shewed his wonted wonderful deliverance, for beinge on the gallows and they revilingly sayinge preach there: a preist whom I never saw before made a Longe speech in my behalfe saynge that my father whoe lived for longe amongst them did not deserve his Child should bee soe miserably vsed and that this & the like blouddy vnhumane acts was it that did and would in a greater measure draw gods vengeance on them;⁴ and in that place cursed those that would have a hand in my bloud whervppon I was brought downe and asked if I hadd any to bayle mee and bringe mee to the next randevous: one Walsh and St Michaell answered, and were bound for mee, and brought mee to 4 severall randevous: this Walsh was and is a Notable Rebell and soe is St Michaell: At Length Wogan of Rathcoffie was bound for mee that I should bee forthcomminge at two days warninge, and soe I was sent to my house with two rouges to gaurd mee who were still waytinge on mee vntill I was releved, when the Armye came to those parts to Rto take in Rathcoffie: this Wogan was my speciall frend and sent mee all manner of rel{ei}fe and cam often vnto mee to write to my brother Golburne to procure his safetie if hee [f. 2r, 70] Came in, only this I saw there were a great number of pickes made in his house which as I heard were sent either to the Lo of ffigal⁵ or Gormanstowne:⁶ often times hee hee tould mee that the Irish would bring in a fforaine Natione if the English would not Lay downe Armes & yeald to their demaunds: I saw him likewise my selfe at a Councell

³ William Lightbond's deposition is no. 154 below.

⁴ Pilsworth's father had been bishop of Kildare from 1604 to 1635.

⁵ Christopher Plunket, 2nd earl of Fingal, d. 1649 (see *DIB*).

⁶ Nicholas Preston, 6th earl of Gormanston, d. 1643 (see *DIB*).

of warr as they termed it when I was releast <X> In the midst of my troubles I sent for my brother *Tho: Pilsworth* who came but would not bee bound for mee and gave mee noe assistance but said that I must doe as all did and that if I did goe to Mass all would doe well, hee wrote a letter to his brother in=law one Oliver Wogan the beginninge wherof was in these words, deere brother, thankes bee vnto god that soe faire an opportunitye is proffered for puttinge in executione my long intended purposse; his man came once vnto mee with a Cote and a side of backon of whom I enquired manny thinges, and amongst the rest in what state Byrt was, who answered that it was well manned with 8 Musketeirs & six picke and that they would keepe it from all the English in Ireland, I tould him I hoped his mr John Pilsworth my Nephew was not of that minde hee saide hee was and that Roger Moore was with his master and my brother told mee hee hadd the happines that as to ride two whole miles in the said Moors Companye and had much conference *with him*, which hee would not tell mee, only hee tould mee that the said Moore hadd given directions publiquely that noe man should wronge mee either in boddye or goods: but it was not observed: those that manned Byrt were taken in the house by our Armye & hanged: There are manny in those partes who were blouddy prosecutors of the servants of Christ Jesus whom I finde not indicted nor mentione made of them, & who were at the blouddy massacre and destruction at Maynoth of which I hearinge before hand sent a messenger the day before hand to mr Vowells the Chaplaine theire, & desired him to bee on his & their keepinge: theire are perhapps other thinges which as I remember I will enforme your honnor, endinge at this time with the names of such Wicked Rouges as I finde not as yett indicted: James ffitz Gerald of Blackhall Capt, Lewis Dempsie *of Barbestowne* Captaine, John ffitz Gerald of the same, Hugh & John O Neale of Clonlurrye, Rich: ffitz Gerald of Lovetowne, Rich: Byrt of Crynstowne, George Walsh of Painstowne, Oliver Wogan of Downinges Capt, James Preston of Grangemore, Tho: Wogan of the same Capt, Mathew Aylmer of Ballykenan, Mauris ffitz Gerald of the Grages Capt, William Yorke of Kilkock, William Walsh of Ballimacell, James Balffe of Meclare, Edward ffitz Gerald of Timachoe, Markes Hussey of Rodanstowne, Edward Long of Stablerstowne
 <I am readye at any time to affirme whatsoever is heerin mentioned:

William Pilsworth rector Parson of Donada:
 Rob Meredith⁷

[f. 2v] X X | pilsewoorth | X

TCD, MS 813, ff 1r–2v

3. EXAMINATION OF PETER MOORE, LEIXLIP

N.D.

[f. 3r, 142] The Examination of Peeter Moore, aged Eighteene yeares, taken before vs mee

Who beeing sworne & Examined, saith, that hee beeing a Servant in the house of Sir Nicholas White knight att Leslipp, hee there saw att seuerall tymes since the

⁷ Sir Robert Meredith was chancellor of the Irish exchequer, d. 1668.

present Rebellion att Masse, *with* the said Sir Nicholas White in the Hall of the said house, One Captaine Eustace, & one Captaine Allen, who were *by the said Sir Nicholas & his ffamilie knowne to bee* Captaines of the Rebels. And the said Captaines had there servants attending on them. One of the said Captaine Allens servants was armed with a Holberd a sword & a Skeine, And that the said Captaines would sometymes remaine in the said Sir Nicholas Whites house three or ffoure houres together And that about Christmas last Hee this Examinant saw two great trunckes brought in a Cart vnto the said house of Leslipp by one Captaine Talbott who was attended by certaine of the Rebels vnder the commaund of Captaine Eustace which Trunckes were brought into the Hall of the said house in the presence of Sir Nicholas his Ladie and of young Mr Nich: White And were afterwarde by the helpe of the said Sir Nicholas his servants remoued, one vnto the topp of the Staires leading vnto the Vpper Roomes And the other into the entrie [f. 3v] betweene the Hall & the Kitching One of the said Trunckes haueing two lockes & the other three And further saith that Companies of the Rebels haue their Lodging meate & drink in the Towne of Leslipp sometyme a weeke together And that *One Robert ffynn & one Butler & sundrie* of the Inhabitants of the said Towne Tennants vnto Sir Nich: White haueing removed their Corne vnto Sir Nicholas Whites owne backside doe when they are called vpon ioyne with the Rebels and goe along with them as part of their Companie And that some few daies before the said Sir Nicholas Whites going from Leslipp vnto Dublin, (there beeing a report that the English Army was to march that way) The said Rebels, tennants vnto Sir Nicholas in the said Towne craved leaue of him & his Ladie to bring more of their Corne into the said Backside And accordingle libertie in that behalfe was granted vnto them And alsoe saith that Nicholas Browne, Shane Duffe, & one Connor, all household servants to the said Sir Nicholas are persons who waite on the English Armie whensoever the same moues abroad & carry Intelligence & notice vnto the Rebels of what they can observe or heare And that the said Sir Nicholas hath in his said house two Preistes one called Dese & the other ffoord which Preistes doe often repaire vnto the Rebels And the said ffoord vpon euerie report or intelligence given him from this Cytie of [f. 4r, 143] the Kings Army going abroad hee would in all hast rides out to giue the Rebels notice thereof, which the said Examinant often heard the said ffoord speake when hee this Examinant was helpeing the said ffoord on with his Bootes & Spurrs And this Examinant further saith that on Christmas Eue last att night after Cockcrowing Sir Nicholas White Knight the Ladie White Young Mr Nicholas White and the forenamed Captaine Allen a Captaine among the Rebels with sundrie of the Townesmen who were alsoe in rebellion were together att Masse in the Hall of Leslipp And the said Parties did there meete againe the next Morneing beeing Christmas daie.

Rob. Meredith

[f. 4v] M M | The Examination of | Peeter Moore concerning | Sir Nicholas White
TCD, MS 813, ff 3r-4v

557. EXAMINATION OF JAMES CARROLL, KILBREW

6 JUNE 1654

[f. 344r, 1926] The examjnacion of James Carroll of Killbrue in the County of Meath aged threescore yeares or thereabouts taken the eight day of June 1654 Who beeing duely sworne and examjned deposeth and saith that about Allhollontyde last John Guy the examjnants son in law beeing in the feildes gathering water cresses=grases brought them into the examjnants house in Killbrue and did offer some of the Watergrasse to his *the said Guyes* wife to eate, but shee refused them and said for ought shee knew the said water=grasse grew ouer the English and then the said Guy askeing what English, shee answered three Englishmen who were murthered at Kilbrue and cast in a ditch there, about the begining of the rebellion, where vppon the said Guy then tould his wife that shee should discouer and proue who it was that killed the said three Englishmen, then the said examjnant tould the said Guy that that man that was reported to haue killed the said three Englishmen laide buryed in the Church, and his name was Nicholas Meyler sometyme seruant to Mr Patricke Barnewall of Killbrue, The examjnant saith that hee doth not remember that ~~the said~~ the wife of the said Guy did then say that one of the men that killed the said three <A> Englishmen was dead and an other hanged, and denieth that the examjnant did then say that hee beleiued that Richard Andrewes *now* of Silloge was by when the said Englishmen were killed or wordes [f. 344v, 1927] to that or the like effect, The examjnant further saith that as hee remembreth the wife of the said Guy did then aske the examjnant whither or noe ~~to~~ the said Richard Andrewes was ~~then~~ by when the said ~~three~~ three Englishmen were murthered as aforesaid, and the examjnant answered her that hee did now knowe, The examjnant further saith that hee was not in the said towne of Killbrue when the said murther was comitted neither doth the examjnant knowe of any person now liueing that can giue any euidence concerning the said murther, And further saith not,

James [mark] Carrolls marke

Taken and desposed bef the day & yeare aforesaid before

Fr: Willoughby, Hen: Jones

[f. 345r, 1928, blank] [f. 345v, 1929] The examjnacion of James Carroll against Richard Andrewes

TCD MS 816, ff 344r–345v

558. INFORMATION OF JANE ELLIOT, DUBLIN

24 MAY 1654

[f. 346r, {1930}] The Informacion of Jane Elliot of Cadongans alley in the City of Dublin taken the 24th of May 1654 She sayth John Guy late Souldier vnder Lieutenant Collonell Huson & nowe vnder the comand of Coll Daniel Abbott hath at severall times since Christmas last received severall sumes of money from one ~~Patrick~~ Richard Andrews liueing at Sellick <A> about 3 miles from Dublin vpon Consideration as this informant beleiueth that he the sayd Guy would not Informe against him for the Murthers he was *reputed* guilty of in the time of the session

The eponymous core of the collection consists of the records of a 'commission for the despoiled subject' which was appointed on 23 December 1641 by the Irish government, without reference to its counterpart in England, to register the losses of those who had been despoiled by the rebels. On 19 January 1642, the Commission was instructed to enquire into cases of murder and apostacy also. It set to work on 29 December 1641 and concluded its business on 30 September 1647, by which stage its workload had dwindled and its active membership had been reduced to two. Between September 1645 and January 1646, in the expectation that the treaty then under negotiation between Ormond and the Confederates would provide for the destruction of the Commission's records, its clerk, Thomas Waring, was instructed to make a set of fair copies of the originals, which he later conveyed to England for safekeeping. These form an historically important sub-set of the main archive. In May 1649, Waring, who was then in England, was directed by the council of state to publish the depositions and he subsequently edited the copies for this purpose, which was never achieved. The second component of the collection derives from a commission issued on 5 March 1642 directing the incoming archdeacon of Cloyne, Philip Bisse, and others of his choosing to take similar statements of loss throughout the province of Munster. Bisse, with a dozen or so assistants, collected depositions from late April 1642 until his violent death early in July 1643. In the following year his records were taken to England where they remained hidden and intact until after the execution of King Charles in 1649. When they came to hand, in unclear circumstances, the council of state entrusted them also to Waring to prepare for publication. The third component of the collection is comprised of examinations of an investigative character taken by officers of state, local officials, military commanders and others in the 1640s. Their purpose was intelligence gathering and they were taken from a wide variety of informants, willing and unwilling. The final element in the collection consists of records created by investigations conducted by and on behalf of commissioners appointed in September 1652 to discover and prosecute those responsible for murders and massacres committed during the course of the rebellion. The execution of this task was facilitated by Thomas Waring's copies which were made available to the commissioners, accompanied by elaborate indexes to the alleged perpetrators and their crimes which he had earlier compiled in London. Moreover, the Bisse depositions were returned to Ireland in time to be used in evidence against Lord Muskerry in December 1653.

On 28 December 1654, when the war was over and the time had come to implement the terms of the Act for Settling Ireland, passed on 12 August 1652, commissioners were appointed to adjudicate the cases of catholic proprietors who claimed to qualify for transplantation to estates in Connacht. The information with which they were provided to assist them in making the appropriate 'discriminations' included both invaluable captured Confederate records and the original Dublin and Munster depositions, together with various indexes and abstracts of their contents. Since these aids included an index to the examinations taken by the high courts of justice which occupies the greater part of MS 841, it is reasonable to infer that the examinations themselves were also made available. These materials were kept

Phyllip Brady. when & wheare the said Brady wispering in this examinants eare did tell him that he knew he was a friend to one Cohonaght o Gowen then pryssoner in Trym for Murther & therefore did advise this examinant to goe vnto the said Cohonaght & tell him from him, that if he would by Monday com seauenight after prepare a Certyfycate vnder his hand denying thereby what testimony he had formerly given against one Owen McDaniell Groome Brady at the suite of John ffearne. that then the said Phyllip Brady would cease to charge or prosecute any further the said Cohonaght on the said chardge of Murther which the said Cohought did refuse to give vppon the accompts thereof which this examinant did give vnto him & further this examinant saith not.

Hugh [mark] o Gowen his marke

Tho: Stanley

[f. 341r, 1671, blank] [f. 341v, 1672] The Examination of Shane O Gowen &c.

TCD MS 816, ff 340v–341v

556. EXAMINATION OF LUKE BETAGH, MOYNALTY

12 JUNE 1654

[f. 342r, 1675] The examjnacion of Luke Betagh of Monalty in the County of Meath aged twenty six yeares or thereabouts, taken the 12th day of June 1654 Who beeing duely sworne and examjned deposeth and saith, that about Lamas last was two yeares *as the Examjnant remembreth* Patricke Gaddy ô Donghy now lueing as the examjnant is tould in the County of Downe with seuerall other Tories came to Lawrence towne in the said <A> County of Meath and from thence tooke a prey of Cattle and were carrying them towards the County of Cauan or Monaghan, but the examjnant and Edmond McBrian, Peirse McGwyre, Tirlagh McBrian, Thomas McBrian and seuerall others whose names the examjnant remembreth not pursued the said cattle as farre as Monalty beeing within a Myle of Lawrencetowne and there the said Edmond McBrian and the examjnant enddauoring to rescue the cattle from the said Patricke Gaddy ô Donghy and the said other Tories the said Patricke Gaddy ô Donghy *as the deponent heard him called* did with a pistoll which was charged with a bullett shot at the said Edmond McBrian and hitt hime in the fore=head of which wound the said Edmond McBrian about fiue or six dayes after died, And further cannott depose

Luke Betagh

Taken and deposed the day & yeare aforesaid before vs

Ja: Donelan, Tho: Dongan

[f. 342v, 1676, blank] [f. 343r, 1677, blank] [f. 343v, 1678] The examjnacion of Luke Betagh against Patricke Gaddy ô Donghy

TCD MS 816, ff 342r–343v