



Map illustrating the location of Jesuit residences, schools and novitiates in Ireland for the period 1598 to c. 1670s. Also shown are the dates of various Jesuit missions. Map prepared by Matthew Stout.

IRISH JESUIT
ANNUAL LETTERS
1604–1674

VOLUME I
1604–1615

Edited by
VERA MOYNES



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Endpapers: St Ignatius Loyola (supporting a shield with monogram of the Holy Name) together with St Patrick (wearing a mitre with his foot on a snake) whose right arm encircles a kneeling and helmeted Hibernia (wearing Irish cloak, her spear and a trident laid on the ground) and behind her a youth (with a shield bearing a harp and the legend 'Fidibusque fideque triumphat') holding St Patrick's archiepiscopal staff; scripture text about islands and in the background on the right hand side a church (with bell) and a convent: UCDA, UCD-OFM MS B 85, reproduced with permission of the UCD-OFM Partnership.

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GLOSSARY

The glossary gives the original Latin term and the translation used in this edition.

Many of the terms relate to the Jesuits and the translations used in this edition are based on Camilla Russell's translation of Wiktor Gramatowski SJ, 'Glossario Gesuitico: Guida all'intelligenza dei documenti'.¹

For early modern governmental and civic terms the following Latin dictionaries were used: R. E. Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources with supplement* (London, 1965), *Dictionary of medieval Latin from British and Irish sources* (17 vols, Oxford, 1975–2013) and Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange *et al.*, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (10 vols, Niort, 1883–1887; online at <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr>).

Previous translations by Edmund Hogan SJ available in the Irish Jesuit Archive also proved helpful.

Latin	Translation used in this edition
<i>catalogus</i>	A list produced by each province or mission, of every Jesuit and his current work. Eighteen of these survive for the Irish mission (ARSI <i>Anglia</i> , 9 vols, i–ii).
<i>coadjutor</i>	1. Spiritual coadjutor: Jesuit priests that engaged in less senior ministries than fully professed Jesuits. 2. Temporal coadjutor: lay Jesuit or brother (see Br Dominic Collins in the Annual of 1604).
<i>consul / vir consularis</i>	Alderman or civic official. The Annual of 1618 calls Thomas Archer a <i>vir consularis</i> before he is elected mayor; it is therefore translated as alderman.
<i>consultor</i>	A counsellor assigned to a superior by his own superior, i.e. consultors assigned to the superior of the Irish mission were chosen by the superior general himself. All counsellors wrote to the superior general every year about the progress of the house or the mission.

1 Wiktor Gramatowski SJ, 'Glossario Gesuitico: Guida all'intelligenza dei documenti' (ARSI, Rome, 1992), English translation by Camilla Russell 'Jesuit glossary: guide to understanding the documents' (ARSI, Rome, 2013) available online at <http://www.sjweb.info/arsl/documents/glossary.pdf>.

examen (conscientiae) / (ad gradum)

Examination of conscience, a structured review of each day, developed by Ignatius. The *examen ad gradum* is a general exam on doctrine that takes place at the end of the philosophical and theological cycle of studies: it decides whether a candidate may be professed of four vows.

excursion

Mission. *Excursio* is used throughout the Irish Annuals for what even temporarily began to be called *missiones* (see below), i.e. apostolic and soteriological journeys undertaken to specific Christian populations.²

inquisitor / investigator / iurator

Usually translated as juror. This is to be understood in the context of a Grand Jury: see the Annual for 1614 where the process of nomination of jurors, and the role they were expected to play, is discussed and see the explanatory footnote no. 255 on p. 405.

Institutum

The (Ignatian) Institute: the way Jesuits live and work, including ‘all the official documents of the order, but especially the Formula and the Constitutions.’³

minister, ministellus

Minister, i.e. a Protestant priest. The pejorative intention behind the diminutive *ministellus* (which can also mean jester or acrobat) is sometimes reflected in translation, sometimes not.

ministerial

Ministries — the apostolic work performed.

missio / missiones

Mission — in these texts the word usually refers to the Irish mission, which did not obtain provincial status during the period covered in this volume* — see also *excursio* above.

Noster

Our man: usually an ordained Jesuit, whether professed with three or four vows.

noster modus procedendi

Our way of proceeding: nearly synonymous with the Institute — see *Institutum* above.

novitii

Novices — new members of the Society, undergoing assessment for two years for their suitability to becoming Jesuits. Scholastic novices were destined for the priesthood, and coadjutor novices — brothers — were not. The second year of the novitiate is the second probation. The novitiate is followed by a course of study, and then by the third probation or tertianship. In the Irish context, while a faculty was given

2 Gramatowski/Russell, op. cit.

3 John W. O’Malley, *The first Jesuits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993), p. 8.

4 For wider meanings see Gramatowski/Russell, ‘Jesuit glossary’.

Title: [none]

Authors: Andrew Moroney SJ, Nicholas Leinagh SJ

Source: ARSI, *Anglia* 31 ii, ff 158r–167v

Inscriptions: [f. 167v]

1. Ao Padre Assistente João Alvarez. Esta carta é do Padre Morones e trata cousas de edificação de Ibernia. Roma. To the Assistant, Father João Álvares. This letter is from Father Moroney and relates to edifying matters concerning Ireland. Rome.

2. Hibernia 1601 [*recte*] 1605. Al Padre Thomas Vitus Irlandez em Portugal. Lixboa [Ireland 1601 [*recte*] 1605. To Father Thomas Vitus, Irishman in Portugal, Lisbon.]

Commentary: This document is not an Annual Letter in the proper sense, but may have constituted part of one that does not survive. The two authors, Jesuits Nicholas Leinagh (1567–1624) and Andrew Moroney (1564–1621), intended it for the Portuguese Assistant João Álvares, then seemingly in Rome, sending it via Fr Thomas White (1558–1622).¹ Both authors were natives of Clonmel, where the document is signed and where they were active around this time, and both had been trained in Portugal. Eager to let their Portuguese colleagues and former superiors know how things stood in Ireland, they had, in fact, reported to the Portuguese province once before, if much more briefly.²

Leinagh entered the Society in Lisbon in 1586, and spent some years in Évora, Funchal and Lisbon before and after his ordination in 1594. He returned to Ireland in February 1601 and spent the remainder of his missionary life in Munster.³ Moroney entered the Society in 1585 after having studied at St Anthony's, Lisbon for three years already; after working in Portugal for a few more years he returned to Ireland. Stationed in Dublin in 1601, he was back in Munster by the time of the death of Elizabeth I.⁴

- 1 White was a native of Clonmel and founder of the Irish college of Salamanca. Edmund Hogan thought that the letter was for White and does not mention the assistant: Edmund Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century* (London, 1894), p. 56. It is quite possible that the letter was written for the benefit of both White and Álvares.
- 2 On 12 August 1602, to Provincial João Correia SJ. The text appears in Gonçalves da Costa, *Fontes Inéditas Portuguesas para a história de Irlanda* (Braga, 1981), pp 226–229; the original is at the National Library, Lisbon. It summarises their apostolates and successes over 18 months, mentioning the conversions of Ulick Burke, 3rd earl of Clanricard and of Lord Ormond's heir Theobald Butler, and the animosity from the Church of Ireland archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath.
- 3 Finegan, 'Biographical dictionary', p. 92.
- 4 For a summary of his early Jesuit life, see Gonçalves da Costa, *Fontes Inéditas*, p. 199, and see ARSI, *Anglia* 41, f. 146 for a eulogy (Annual 1621–22). For his return to Ireland, see O'Donoghue, 'Jesuit mission', pp 32, 39.

The text regards events in the province of Munster, and the authors reach back to the siege and battle of Kinsale four years previously. MacErlean identified thirteen ‘sections’, which are not included in this transcription. The original letter included the texts of a number of different documents, including a government proclamation and letters sent from various locations around the province (Thomond, a safe place near Cashel and Limerick). The letters were intended to illustrate the points being made by the authors.

Normally, this report would have been sent directly to the superior of the Irish mission, then Christopher Holywood (1559–1626), and he must have seen at least parts of this text: in a letter to Superior General Acquaviva dated 29 January 1605, he refers to a report from Leinagh and Moroney and repeats certain particulars mentioned in the present report (the celebrations after Elizabeth I’s death, the work done by the Jesuits in Limerick, the return to the faith and death of the apostate priest, William Prendergast, etc).⁵ Other examples survive of Irish Jesuits sending reports to those who were not their immediate superiors.⁶

Pax Christi

Pello amor e obrigação grande que temos a essa santa provincia aonde nos criamos tantos annos, não podemos deixar de dar contra de quando em quando a vossa reverencia das nossas cousas, e o fariamos sem duvida muito mais vezes, se as continuas occupações nos dera pera isso lugar.

Do que aconteceu ca des no que nos viemos ate a vinda da armada Espanhola, temos ia dada conta, e agora daremos brevemente do que succedeo depois. E começando pella mesma armada, ja sabera vossa reverencia como ella fora mandada por ordem de Sua Majestade a esta terra com tres ate quatro mil homens nella pera ajudar ca os Catholicos na guerra que tinham alevantada contra os herejes, e como chegou toda em salvamento aos 21. de Setembro na era de 1601 a hum porto muy bom que esta no southweste da terra que se chama Kinsal, e como derão graças a Deos por esta merce em se desembarcando, e isso com armarem huma igreja que estava na villa muy ricamente com seus altares e irem todos em procissão a ella com toda sua cleresia e cruces alevantadas cantando, e no cabo com cantarem huma missa em pontifical diante de todos com toda a solemnidade devida, cousa que pos admiração e espanto nos circumstantes ao menos da terra que nunca porventura dantes virão tal cousa.

E tanto que se soube pella terra que erão chegados desta maneira os Espanhoes, não se pode creer quanto se alegrarão com isto os Catholicos, ainda que se entristecerão os herejes ate não mais; e certo de medo não souberão dar se a conselho, porque cuidarão, que o <en>migo se sairia pola terra fora logo, e aiuntando se com a gente da terra que tinham por serem Catholicos ser muy affeiçoados a elles, se farião muy fortes e desta maneira virião a serem senhores de tudo; mas como virão que não oferecerão elles assi,

5 IJA, MS A 27.

6 O’Donoghue, ‘Jesuit mission’, p. 285, quotes an account in Spanish by Fr James Saul, superior at Cashel, about conditions and events there on 4 October 1643.

mas antes que se poserão a ficarem dentro sempre da villa, esforçarão se algum tanto e tomarão hum pouco de alento com isto.

E assi o Visorey Engrez que neste tempo estava algum tanto apartado pella terra dentro, tanto que soube disto, determinou logo de os ir a encontrar, mandando aiuntar das forças da Rainha que por então na terra estavam quantos podia, que serão otros tres ate 4. mil homens, e com elles providos bem do necessario caminhou de dia e de noite quasi sem descansar ate chegar a Kinsal que he o lugar em que estava o inimigo. E a primeira cousa que aqui fez foi logo aremeter a Rincharray, por ser huma fortaleza que estava na entrada logo do porto. Determinarão os Espanhoes de a não alargarem nunca de si, e assi huns dias dantes, pera a guardarem poserão huns pocos dos seus soldados nella: e a todos estes o Visorei depois de <a> ter tomada predeio, e delles parte enforcou, e parte guardou consigo presos. E depois disto immediatamente cercou por todas partes a Kinsal e desta maneira cortou por mar e por terra o caminho ao inimigo por onde lhe viesse algum alivio.

Nem se descuidarão os da terra neste tempo dos Espanhoes, porque os que estavam mais pertos e ao redor de Kinsal acodirão lhes ainda antes que os cercassem com todo o provimento que a terra dava de si, e principalmente com carnes de todo genero ainda que elles disto aceitarão pouco mais de nada, cousa que lhes pesou muito depois. E os que estavam mais afastados, como são os dous senhores Catholicos o principe O Neul e O Donell, authores de toda esta guerra que se alevantou ca contra os herejes, acodirão lhes tãobem logo com muita pressa. E certo quem considerasse bem o que nisto fezerão, acharia ser huma cousa muy extraordinaria [f. 158v] porque dous senhores em parte quasi particulares, das partes mais barbaras e mais esteris de toda a terra, que sustentarão guerra tantos annos contra tão grande senhora como foi a Rainha de Inglaterra (com que a debilitarão tanto que chegou por não poder mais a fazer no Reino dinheiro de cobre), estes que aparelhassem a sua propria custa hum exercito de 7. ou 8. mil homens e com elles providos de tudo o necessario caminhassem algumas 300. milhas, que são como 200 legoas Espanholas, por frio e neves, no coração de emverno, por terras sempre de inimigos, aonde tinham de rios somente caudalosos pera passar alguns 20 pouco mais ou menos, e leva los todos em salvamento em menos de 5. ou 6. semanas a Kinsal: não he isto cousa muy notav[el]. Tudo isto pois fizerão estes dous senhores Catholicos pera acodirem ao aperto em que o Engres tinha posto com seu cerco os Espanhoes.

Muito se alegrarão os estrangeiros com esta vinda dos da terra, e tanto mais quanto menos esperavão por elles em tempos depois polas rezoas acima ditas. E mostrarão esta alegria logo em muitas cousas, e particularmente em algumas saidas muy boas que depois ficerão ao inimigo, das quais huma foy muy assinalada, em que entrarão de noite com huma so companhia de soldados nas esconsas dos inimigos, e delles com a palavra, como disem, da vigia que ouverão por alguma via mattarão em hum nada tres ou quatro companhias, e isso quasi sem se saber dos demais, e mais tomarão lhes a artelheria que dessa parte estava, ainda que forão forçados a a deixar, tapando a primeiro toda com pregos polla não poderem levar.

Mas os senhores Catholicos depois de se terem confessados e comungados com a mayor parte do exercito, porque assi soião fazer todas as vezes que querião acometter

1604 – Translation

May the Peace of Christ be with you

Due to the great love and obligation we have for that Holy province, where we were trained for so many years, we believe it opportune to periodically apprise Your Reverence of our activities, and we would undoubtedly have done so more often had our ceaseless labours afforded us the opportunity.

We have already described the events that have happened from the time we reached here until the arrival of the Spanish fleet, and now we shall briefly describe what happened afterwards. Commencing with the aforesaid fleet, Your Reverence will already be aware of how it had been sent to this land on the orders of his majesty,⁸ bringing between three and four thousand men to help the Catholics here in the war they are waging against the heretics, and how the entire fleet arrived safely on 21 September 1601 at a very good port, which is located to the southwest of the land known as Kinsale, and how they gave thanks to God for this divine favour when they disembarked, and they did so by decorating a church in that town very richly, adorning its altars, and then they all went in a procession up to the church with all the clergymen, holding crosses high, singing, and at the end they sang a pontifical Mass in front of everyone, with all due solemnity, which caused great admiration and amazement among the onlookers, at least among the locals, who had perhaps never seen such a thing before.

And as soon as news spread through the land that the Spanish had arrived in this manner, nobody would believe how much the Catholics rejoiced to hear this, while the heretics were extremely disheartened; and they [the heretics] were so paralysed by fear that they were at sixes and sevens, because they believed that their <en>emy [the Spanish] would immediately come ashore and, after joining forces with the local people, who were very favourably inclined towards them since they were Catholics, they would become very strong and would thus be able to become the lords of everything there; but when they [the heretics] saw that they [the Spanish] were not offering their help in this manner but rather they always stayed inside the town, they were somewhat heartened and became emboldened.

The English viceroy⁹ was a fair distance away in the hinterland¹⁰ at this time and as soon as he heard this he immediately decided to go out and meet them, issuing orders to muster as many of the Queen's forces who were available in that land at the

8 Felipe III of Spain.

9 Charles Brooke Blount (1563–1606), 8th Baron Mountjoy and earl of Devonshire, was lord deputy of Ireland (1600–3). Sir John Carey succeeded him for a brief period before the appointment of Sir Arthur Chichester (1563–1625) in October 1604. Chichester remained in office until November 1615: for Blount and Chichester see *DIB*; *NHI*, ix.

10 That is, at Kilkenny: Hiram Morgan, 'Disaster at Kinsale' in Hiram Morgan (ed.) *The Battle of Kinsale* (Bray, 2004), p. 102 (henceforth Morgan, 'Disaster').

time, who would also have numbered between three and four thousand men, and after providing them with the necessary supplies he marched day and night almost ceaselessly until he reached Kinsale, which is where the enemy was to be found.

And the first thing he did here was to immediately go and attack Rincharray,¹¹ as it was a fortress which was situated right at the entrance to the port. The Spaniards were determined not to ever lose control of it, and thus a few days prior to this they had stationed some of their soldiers there at the fortress to guard it: and after he captured <the fortress> the viceroy took all of them prisoner, and he hung some of them, and he kept some of them with him as captives. And after this he immediately mounted a siege on Kinsale, surrounding it on all sides and thus cut off the enemy's access by sea and by land, preventing his adversaries from being able to receive any relief.

The local inhabitants did not neglect the Spaniards during this period, since those who were closest and lived in the vicinity of Kinsale helped them even before they were besieged, offering to supply them with the provisions that land produced, and principally with all kinds of meat, even though they [the Spanish] accepted very little of this, which caused them great hardship later. And those who were a bit further away, such as the two Catholic lords, O'Neil and O'Donnell, instigators of this entire war that has been waged here against the heretics, also swiftly rushed to help them. And there is no doubt that if one carefully ponders what they did in this situation, they would believe it to be very extraordinary [f. 158v] because two lords, who were almost private entities, from the most barbaric and arid parts of the entire land, who had maintained a war for so many years against such a grand lady as the queen of England (which war debilitated her so much that she was unable to even mint copper coins in the kingdom),¹² these lords prepared an army of 7 or 8 thousand men at their own cost and, after providing them with all the necessary supplies, accompanied them for some 300 miles, which are equivalent to about 200 Spanish leagues, through the cold and snow, during the height of winter, through enemy lands, where they had to ford about 20 large, gushing rivers, and took them all safely in less than 5 or 6 weeks to Kinsale: is this not a notable thing?¹³ These two Catholic lords did all this to assist during the difficult period when the English put the Spaniards under great pressure with their siege.

The foreigners greatly rejoiced when these local lords arrived, even more so because they had not expected them at all at that time, due to the aforementioned

11 Ringcurran Castle: Morgan, 'Disaster', p. 110.

12 For background see Joseph McLaughlin, 'What base coin wrought: the effects of the Elizabethan debasement in Ireland' in Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Bray, 2004), pp 193–204.

13 See Morgan, 'Disaster', pp 104–113. Like much of this part of the document, this account is somewhat fanciful. A decision was made to go to Kinsale by 10 October, O'Neill himself departing from Dungannon on 10 November with between 2,500 and 3,000 men, and O'Donnell departing from Ballymote with allies and over 2,000 men. They made separate journeys to Kinsale, setting up camp by 7 December. The torrential rivers are an echo of 'a great rain' and the swollen River Inny which English sources refer to as hindrances for their and O'Neill's progress, as well as letters from Spanish sources (purportedly or actually) written by the earls and referring to their need to make bridges along the way.

reasons. And they immediately manifested this joy in many ways, particularly by means of some very successful sallies¹⁴ they later carried out against the enemy, of which one was especially worthy of note, during which they entered at night with just one company of soldiers into the enemy's lair, and, using the watchman's password, which they had somehow overheard, they killed three or four companies [of enemy soldiers] in a trice, and that too almost without the others even being aware of this, and furthermore they seized the artillery which was there from them, even though they were forced to leave it behind, after first jamming it full of nails, as they were unable to carry it away.

However, after the Catholic lords had made their confession and received communion along with most of the army, because that is what they habitually did whenever they set off on a new venture, the first thing they did after arriving at Kinsale was to immediately attack the English and besiege them. And there is no doubt that with this they wrought upon them the worst damage that they could do to them, and this was due to the losses they [the English] suffered, particularly of men, which was undoubtedly quite extraordinary, because they cut off their access on all sides, through which they earlier used to receive [all] kinds of supplies as well as men, and since the weather had cut them off via the sea, they began to face shortages, to such an extent that in just over 15 days after being thus besieged by the Irish, it is known that at least five or six thousand men died within their camps, partly from the cold and partly from hunger, and it was clear that many more of their men would soon have died, if they had not made use of a Scottish carrack which arrived from Spain at this time laden with sea biscuits for the Spaniards, and fate and contrary winds decreed that it entered into the [English] port, and this helped them to sustain themselves and their horses for a few days. And it was truly pitiful to see the misery in which innumerable numbers of their men died here; because apart from those whom their own companions killed inside their huts when they found them to be weak, so as to have some of the remaining food, and those who were buried alive so that they would not have to make the effort to kill them, and these were many in number, others were found at their stations in the morning after having kept watch throughout the night, having died where they stood, leaning on their spears or pikes, frozen stiff, etc.

The English were in such dire straits that there was no doubt they were on the brink of doom, until the Spanish general, who was called Don Juan de Águila,¹⁵ indubitably a cowardly and avaricious man, who was well aware of and clearly understood everything that was happening, suddenly sent a message from Kinsale to the Irish lords out in the field, bitterly complaining about the great hardships he and his men were facing, particularly due to a shortage of supplies, in relation to which he affirmed

14 The Spanish, in fact, made a sally before the arrival of the earls, seizing a number of guns: Morgan, 'Disaster', p. 110.

15 Don Juan del Águila y Arellano (1545–1602) was commander of the Spanish expeditionary force that landed in Kinsale in October 1600: see Hiram Morgan, 'Missions comparable? The Lough Foyle and Kinsale landings of 1600 and 1601' in Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Bray, 2004), p. 75.