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Title: The battle of Liscarroll, 1642

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*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 1898, Vol. 4, No. 38,  
page(s) 83-100

Published by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society

Digital file created: January 16, 2014

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## CORK HISTORICAL & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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### The Battle of Liscarroll, 1642.

(*From a Tract in the British Museum.*)

EDITED BY JAMES BUCKLEY, M.R.S.A.



THE papers relating to the rise and progress in Munster of the civil war of 1641, edited for the *Journal* by Mr. Gillman, the esteemed Vice-President of our society, and Colonel Vigors, serve as very valuable introductory chapters to the present paper, which purposes to deal with an event that occurred immediately after the date covered by them, and considerably facilitate the introduction of the subjoined tract.

Liscarroll is a small village in a parish of the same name, lying between four and five miles to the west of Buttevant. It possesses all the requirements that constitute a country village—a church, post-office, and one or two public houses—and presents a very imposing appearance on account of the immense pile of naked ruins that overlook the place. The castle, according to Smith, the county historian, is stated to have been erected by King John, or at least by a co-adventurer of Strongbow. It was for many years in the possession of the Barrys before it became the property of the Percival family. Smith's description of the building, poetic and moralising as it undoubtedly is to an inordinate degree, is, nevertheless, tolerably correct as far as it extends. A few additional remarks, especially on the present state of the place are, however, necessary to complete the de-

scription. I visited the locality last September, and after a somewhat hasty inspection of what was to be seen, departed, with the intention of again returning in a few days. This I was unable to do. At the time of my visit I was not equipped with a surveyor's tape—an almost indispensable article on an errand of this nature—and also had to obtain dimensions by a different measure, namely, rule of thumb. The castle has apparently undergone little change since Smith wrote his history a century and a half since. It is rectangular in shape, and encloses an area sixty-three paces long by forty-eight paces broad. The walls are about twenty-eight feet in height, and three feet six inches in width. At each of the four corners of the enclosure is a flanking round tower, measuring internally about nine feet in diameter; and at the north and south sides are two square towers in the middle of six inches in width. At each of the four corners of the enclosure is a flanking round tower, measuring internally about nine feet in diameter; and at the north and south sides are two square towers in the middle of the walls. The entrance to the castle was through the latter tower. It is a great high archway, about eight feet, six inches wide. The recesses in its sides and the opening in the roof, through which the portcullis passed, betoken days of insecurity and unrest. This tower is the principal one, and is much larger than the corresponding one at the other side. It contains a stone staircase and several apartments, and is machicolated over the entrance. The castle is built on limestone rock and clay, and the bases of the walls are considerably exposed and undermined in several places, particularly on the east side. The tower at the south-east corner and a great portion of the south wall are demolished; in some places being almost levelled to the ground. This was the front of the castle, and consequently suffered most from attack. There is also a large arch-shaped opening in the south end of the west wall, twenty feet wide and fourteen feet high. This was effected by the cannon of Sir Hardress Waller when he stormed and took the castle from the Irish in 1650. The rear or north side of the castle is in perfect preservation. A doorway, now built up, is discernible at the north end of the west wall. This, apparently, afforded a means of exit at one time. The builders of those old days were not so unmindful as not to leave the garrison a means of retreat when pressed to close quarters. The accompanying photograph shows a view of the south side of the castle, and affords a very fair idea of the appearance and extent of the building.

As is only natural to expect, there is a rural ballad connected with Liscarroll and its historic associations, snatches of which I heard some years ago, but was unsuccessful in securing the words. The loss of it is not a matter of very great moment, as these productions are usually of a

very mediocre kind indeed. There is also an old tune named after the place, which I was more fortunate in obtaining. It is known as "The Walls of Liscarroll," and is as yet unpublished, and, therefore, practically unknown outside the locality. Its claim for appearance here is, therefore, all the stronger. I am indebted for it to Mr. James O'Callaghan, of Churchtown, who kindly played it and a large assortment of ancient Irish airs for me, and afterwards wrote out and forwarded some of them to me in London.

The battle of Liscarroll was fought on the 3rd September, 1642, and



LISCARROLL CASTLE.

was one of the first great engagements of those unsettled times. Previously thereto a sort of petty skirmishing, consisting of raids into the adjoining districts, and very frequently hand-to-hand encounters, even on a large scale, were indulged in. The Irish, after having been driven from before the walls of Cork in the early part of the year, abandoned the county, and Inchiquin, it is stated, "applied himself to the taking of castle without other engines than crowes of iron and pickaxes." They retired into their own quarters, but principally into the county of Limerick, of which they were masters. They stormed Limerick Castle, and, after a

rather lengthened siege, the governor, Captain George Courtenay, capitulated on the 21st June, and Lord Muskerry, Garrett Barry, and other Irish commanders took possession the next day. By this victory the Irish secured a few pieces of cannon—a most valuable acquisition at that stage of the war—and by the terror of them reduced all the castles in the county Limerick, except Askeaton, which they besieged, and took in a little time. They were preparing to reduce those in the county Cork, when Lord Inchiquin, apprehending that he should be destroyed piecemeal, and, by the taking of the houses and little forts which still held out in the county, be quite blocked up, and inevitably starved in Cork, whilst the Irish gathered in the harvest, resolved to put the fate of the province upon the hazard of a battle.<sup>(1)</sup>

The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction* gives the following description of the province at the date under notice:—“Monster was in a brave posture at this time, the enemie was there stickinge to one moytie of the Countie of Corke, and if not for the Baron of Insechuyne, the enemie likly would have never a foot there . . . There was noe garrison now to be taken neere theire but what was on the sea coasts, as Corke, Yoghill, Kinsale, and Bandonbridge, and few others in the Inlande.”

The forces of the king and parliament engaged at the battle of Liscarroll—shall we call them the English army, although they were principally composed of local Irish levies?—numbered some three thousand foot, and from five to six hundred horse. Lord Inchiquin, in whom the military command of the province was vested since the death of his father-in-law, Sir William St. Leger, was their commander-in-chief. The Irish army was considerably stronger in numbers, being generally estimated at about six thousand foot and four hundred horse, but was ill-disciplined and very badly armed. Garrett Barry was chief in command thereof. He is not so well known as his opponent, Lord Inchiquin, who played such a prominent part in those wars, consequently a few words descriptive of him may not be out of place. The *Aphorismical Discovery* already quoted describes him as “an ould souldier, but a great friende of the English.” Apart from his sympathies, he would appear to have been a most unsuitable leader for such an important occasion. This we can gather from the following excerpt from Bellings’s *History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland, 1641-1643*:—“This gentleman from his youth had been a souldier and grew oulde in the warres; but two things rendered him lesse capable of exercising soe great a charge. The one was that which is common to many, and that which the Irish had the fortune to meet with

<sup>(1)</sup> See Carte, *Life of Ormond*.

in others of their eminent officers, to witt, such a temper of abiletys and parts as moved excellently by direction but irregularly when they were

Jig Time THE WALLS OF LISCARROLL

The musical score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 6/8. The title 'THE WALLS OF LISCARROLL' is centered above the staff, and 'Jig Time' is written to the left. The score consists of six staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a time signature of 6/8. The melody is written in a single line, with a final measure marked with a double bar line and repeat dots. The subsequent staves continue the melody, with the final staff also ending with a double bar line and repeat dots. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests, typical of a jig.

the ballance upon which their owne motion depended. And this is strange in the different genius of those who make the warre their profession, that some men grow up to be famous generalls before they have

scarce learnt the duties of souldiers ; and those that spend their whole time in the exercises of military discipline, to whome fights, seiges, batteries, approches, and underminings were as familiar as was the wearing of their corsletts, are yet cleane to seeke how to manage the highest command in an army. And although I must confesse that the quicknesse of apprehension and strength of judgment, which is found in greater measure in one than in another, is an obvious reason, and so farre may make us cease to wonder ; yet, if the bent of those abiletyes and partes doe not lye that way, allowing there be noe want of couradge, yet they will not attaine to be maisters in that trade, and therfore there is as yett some secret in it which meritts admiration . . . But, it is now time that I fall backe to the history, having made this digression by occasion of the imployment given to Generall Barry, whose second incapacity proceeded from the nature of the times and the warrs in which he was to command, that bare noe proportion with his dispositions and breeding, for being naturally lesse quicke, and accustomed to the warre of Flanders, where all engines and all provisions attend almost inseparably upon the army, he was now to follow the motions of an active warre, which, he might well presume, would call him now to the west, now to the east, and was not to relye for bread upon an infallable providore, or expect a traine of artillery.”<sup>(2)</sup>

We now go back to where we left the Irish army engaged in the county Limerick. They advanced into the county Cork, drawing along with them their battering piece (which weighed 6,890 lbs.), in a piece of timber hewn hollow, with twenty-five yoke of oxen, over bogs, where wheels would have sunk, and where no carriage with wheels had ever been known to pass. On Tuesday, the 30th August, they sat down before Liscarroll Castle, which was defended for Sir Philip Percival, the owner, by Sergeant Thomas Raymond and thirty men. The Irish planted their cannon on a rocky hill to the south-east of the castle and within musket shot of it ; and Raymond surrendered in the afternoon of Friday, 2nd September, though he was promised relief the next morning.<sup>(3)</sup>

Lord Inchiquin had, with the Lords Barrymore, Dungarvan, Kinalmeaky, and Broghill, come that day to Mallow, and resolved to fight. He marched that night to Ballybeg, near Buttevant, leaving Sir Charles Vavasour and the Lords to follow next morning. All their forces being united, they advanced towards Liscarroll. The Irish had intended to march to Doneraile, but hearing of Lord Inchiquin's resolution to fight, they drew up in order near the castle. The battle was fought in a plain to the west of the castle. The disposition of the rival armies and the

(2) A very ironical estimate of Barry is given in the *Journal*, vol ii. (second series) p. 69, and is worth referring to.

(3) *Carte op. cit.*

engagement generally are very clearly narrated in the following tract, the original of which is preserved in the library of the British Museum, and press-marked E. 123 (15).

A  
JOURNALL  
OF  
THE MOST MEMORABLE PASSA-  
GES IN IRELAND

ESPECIALLY THAT VICTORIOUS BATTELL AT  
*MUNSTER*, BEGINNING THE 26 OF AUGUST  
1642, AND CONTINUED

Wherein is related the Siege of *Ardmore* Castle;  
Together with a true and perfect Description of  
the famous Battell of *Liscarroll*.

WRITTEN BY A WORTHY GENTLEMAN, WHO WAS PRE-  
SENT AT BOTH THESE SERVICES.

LONDON  
PRINTED FOR T.S. OCTOBER 19,  
1642.



A JOURNAL OF THE MOST MEMORABLE PASSAGES IN IRELAND,  
 ESPECIALLY THAT VICTORIOUS BATTLE AT MUNSTER, BEGINNING  
 THE 26 OF AUGUST 1642 AND CONTINUED.

AFTER the Irish had gathered together the greatest part of their forces about Killmallocke, with intention to passe the mountaines into the county of Cork, and found they should receive opposition by our army, which was drawne up to Doneraile and Mallo, with resolution to encounter them, if they once descended into the plaines, they againe retreated towards Limericke, and we about the 20. of August, disbanded and went to our severall garrisons, both with like intentions of gathering the harvest of the cuntry. Sir John Paulet's, and Sir William Ogle's regiments went to Corke, and Kingsale, the old regiment was garrison'd about Doneraile, part of Sir Charles Vavasour's, lay at Mallo, the rest that went to Youghall were commanded to obey the Lords Dungarvan, and Broghils, who having procured a culverine to be sent along with them, resolved, as soone as our men were refreshed after their march, to take in the castle of Ardmore.<sup>(4)</sup> The fort is of its owne nature, strong and defensible, it was well manned with 100 able souldiers besides the people of the cuntry, it had munition sufficient, so we expected not to gaine it, but after a long siege. Notwithstanding it being a place of good consequence affording the enemy means of getting the harvest at that side in security, and blocking us up

(4) It would appear that there were two castles standing here at one time. Smith (*History of Waterford*, Dublin, 1746) records: "Ardmore is now no more than a village, where appears at present, the stump of a castle; and not long since, was a much larger one there, which was taken down." The remains of these buildings were in existence as late as 1844 when our fellow-member, Mr. O'Flanagan, wrote his admirable *Guide to the Blackwater*. The author of that most useful and interesting work observes:—"There are also traces of two ancient castles, but neither history nor tradition throws any light on the persons by whom or the purposes for which they were erected." They had evidently completely vanished in 1860 when Hayman's *Guide to Youghal, Ardmore and the Blackwater* appeared, as no mention of them is made therein. With a view to inspecting what, if anything, remained of the original foundations, the writer visited the locality one late afternoon last September, and on inquiry from a most intelligent old man who takes care of the cemetery, as well as from personal observation, was unsuccessful in identifying even the exact sites of the castles. However, considering the position of the church, which evidently occupied higher ground than the besieged castle, as can be inferred from the above text, the latter building must have stood somewhere to the east of the round tower or "steeple," and perhaps on a line with it and St. Declan's oratory. There is a small, narrow hollow in the ground immediately outside the churchyard, and about twenty yards from the oratory, in or near which the castle bawn or enclosure must have been, as the besieging party when possessed of the church were able to "beate into" it, and as at this distance it would have been within "pistoll shot." On the other hand, had the castle stood to the north or west of the church it is impossible to conceive how those on the offensive side could have so easily wedged themselves into such a place of vantage.

in Piltowne<sup>(5)</sup> and Youghall, so that a man durst not appeare on the other part of the river, we resolved the taking of it, and upon Friday, being the 26 of August, we marched from Lismore, towards the castle. Our forces were about 400. all muskets, besides 60 horse, part of the two lords' troope, by the way we summoned the castle of Cloghballydonus which promised to yeeld and receive our garrison, if Mr. Fitzgerald of Dromany would permit; we were satisfied with the answer, Mr. Fitzgerald being yet our friend; and the place being of no great importance, so that it was not thought convenient to lose time there, but marched away and sate downe before Ardmore. The same day about three of the clocke in the afternoone we summoned it; but they not admitting of a parley, we quartered ourselves about the castle, expecting our culverine which we sent downe by water. In the meane time our men possessed themselves of some out-houses belonging to the castle, whereby we with more security might play upon the enemies spikes, and they in the evening fired the rest. All the beginning of the night they played from the castle very hotly upon us, but neverthelesse we ran up and tooke the church from them, so that now we were within pistoll shot of the castle; this did much advantage us, for besides provision, whereof there was good quantity, the church standing high beate into their bawne, so that from hence they lost the use of it, and were forced to containe themselves within the walls of the castle. There was yet the steeple of the church, something dis-joynd from the body of it, yet remaining, which was well manned, powder and bullets they had sufficient, but wanted guns, there being no more than two muskets only among forty men, the church cut off all hope of supplies from them; so that we were confident to have it surrendered either for want of provision or ammunition. Thus we spent that night; next morning there appeared about 100 horse, and 300 foote of the enemy, and it was generally beleevd there was a more considerable number following; we received the alarme with joy and courage, and leaving only sufficient to continue the siege, drew forth the rest of our men, resolving to encounter them; but as our men advanced, they retreated towards Dungarvan, our horse could not follow by reason of a glinne betwixt us and them, and our foot would have been too slow to overtake theirs. We returned therefore to our quarters, where we received intelligence from Mallo, that all the enemies forces were againe drawne into a body, and upon their march towards Doneraile; whereupon we were commanded to

(5) Piltown, where are the remains of a castle, once inhabited by the Walshes.—*Hayman, op. cit.*

The castle was bravely defended by the Irish in 1646. Colonel William Jephson, who besieged it, in a letter dated "Youghall, 20 August 1646," and addressed to "a person of quality at Westminster," states, "We were forced to lay powder below and blow them and the castle up together, which we did last night."

be at an houres warning : this troubled us, only because we feared we should raise the siege, and now more than ever we wished for our great artillery, which came about noone to us ; and such diligence we used, that before three of the clock we drew it up within halfe musket shot of the castle, and there planted it, though they played upon us all the way both from the castle and steeple, which we so carefully avoyded by wooll-packes we carried before us, that there was not one man shot in that service.

We placed our peece to ruine one of the flankers first, but when it was ready to play, the castle desired a parley, wherein they asked quarter for goods and life, but that being denyed, they were content to submit themselves to the mercy of the lords, who gave the women and children their cloathes, lives, and liberty to depart, the men we kept prisoners.

All this while the steeple held out nor would they yeeld until they had conferred with their captaine, after which they submitted to mercy.<sup>(6)</sup>

In the castle were found 114 able men besides 183 women and children, 22 pound of powder, and bullets answerable ; in the steeple were only 40 men, who had about 12 pound of powder, and shot enough. The next day we hanged 117. The English prisoners we freed, the rest we kept for exchange of such of ours as were with the enemy.

Thus was this castle delivered unto us after one dayes siege only, wherein we lost not a man. The next day we left a guard of 40 men in the castle, and marched away to our severall garrisons, expecting further command from our generall, which we received upon Wednesday, being the last of August.

Upon Thursday, the first of September, we marched to Mallo, where we were advertised from Liscarroll, that the castle was strictly besieged, and that it was impossible without reliefe, they should hold it more than three dayes : the messenger was rewarded and despatched with answer they should expect us within foure and twenty houres ; and that night we mounted our artillery, two sakers, two minions, two falconets upon their carriages : and on Friday, the second of September, we came about eleven in the forenoone to Boutivant, our rendezvous, being a village about foure miles distant from Mallo, and as farre from the enemy ; where, in regard the greatest part of the army had been wearied from the former daies march, we encamped that night.

Here we were now with the Lord Inchequin our generals forces, full 1700 foote, and sixe tropes, out of which forty commanded horse were

<sup>(6)</sup> This is probably the first recorded instance of the siege of an Irish round tower. The taking of it does not strike one as being a particularly brave feat of arms, considering that it was defended with only two muskets.

sent with Captain Bridges to view their forces, but they returned without any perfect discovery

About two in the afternoone their artillery beganne to play against the castle, which continued till night ; it was determined therefore by a council of warre, that we should shew our selves before the castle, with resolution to adventure a battell rather than not to raise the siege, here they ordered that the Lord Inchequin should command the horse, Sir Charles Vavasour the foote and Mynne his Lieutenant Colonell, should be Sergeant Major Generall for that service.

But because the ground where the enemy stood was extremely disadvantageous, they determined a full troope should march a good distance before our men, with orders, as the enemy advanced, to retreat ; this we did to draw them from their quarters, which we heard they had fortified.

Thus we spent the day, at night orders came we should refresh our selves with rest a while and be ready to march the next morning before day.

The Irish (who have still quicke intelligence of all our actions) resolve to use all diligence to take in the castle first, after which they thought to set upon us in our own quarters, promising themselves a victory, which would secure the whole Province to them ; and indeed it was not to be doubted but Youghall, Corke, and Kingsale, in all which were not more then foure hundred souldiers left, would have cut the throats of their garrisons, and declared themselves for the rebels, had it succeeded ; herein for their mutuall encouragement, they bound themselves by oath, receiving the Sacrament upon it, not to quit the field without the victory.

The next morning about two houres before the day, when we were in readiness to march, we sent our forlorne hope before us, consisting of thirty commanded horse, led by Master Sturges a gentleman of Kingsale : the whole army marched about halfe a mile distance after them according to our resolution the night before.

About break of day they discovered a troop of the enemies, which staied not the encounter, but fled to their maine body ; we continued our march, and about halfe an heure after we came in sight of the castle : the maine body of our horse was here commanded to make a stand on a hill side a good English mile distant from it, the Lords, Inchequin, Dungarvan, Kinalmeaky, and Broghill, Master Francis Boyle, Captaine Jepson, and Bridges went with the Lord Inchequin's troope to our forlorne hope which stood upon a little rising ground in middle way betwixt us and the castle of Liscarroll, the whole army of the Irish lay about a mile from them ; which upon our first appearing was drawne out in perfect good order ; and this was the first time we saw their whole strength, which was I beleieve about six thousand foote and three hundred horse.

The enemies horse beganne now to advance toward our forlorne troopes, who being now a little nearer the castle, were unkindly saluted with a peale of shot from the place we came to relieve, whereby we first discovered we had lost the castle.<sup>(7)</sup>

Their horse which came on in good order, were all lin'd with musqueteeres, so that our forlorne hope and the Lord Inchequin's troope were commanded to retreat, which they performed with much bravery, by making frequent stands and facing about to express how little they feared them: the enemy plied them with continuall shot, and got ground of them, yet they kept a most perfect order in their retreat; the foure Lords, Inchequin, Dungarvan, Kinalmeakie, and Broghil, marching still in the reare, and in this height of gallantry, fell the valiant gentleman, the Lord Kinalmeakie, his horse was brought off by his brother Master Francis Boyle, as his body had beene, had any life at all remained in him, but that they were forced to leave a prey to the enemy, and retreat to us, who stood all this time on the side of the hill.<sup>(8)</sup>

But this could not stop the current of their good fortune, for they still pursued, their musqueteeres running before to bushes and ditches, from whence, with security they played upon us; their body of horse following to second their musquets, and their whole army ready to relieve their horse upon all engagements: the order the enemy here used was excellent, and certainly they had that day commanders of greater judgment than valour, otherwise both we and the whole province had suffered.

All our horse was now forced to retreat toward our foote, but so slowly that their grand body of sixe thousand advanced faster than we went off; we retreated thus more than halfe a mile, till our foote came to us, out

(7) The accounts given of some incidents in the battle are very frequent, widely different, and it is therefore a difficult matter to select the author on whom most reliance is to be placed. Compare the statement that the English came to the relief of the castle with the following excerpt relating to the occurrence taken from Billings's *History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland*: "The castle, in the meane time, which the Irish had taken the night before, though the Lord of Insiquin was ignorant of it, shott powder at their fellowes as if the English had still possesst it, thereby to insnare the reliefe they expected would have been sent them. But the Lord of Insiquin, observinge that the private signe between him and the Governour was not given, concluded that he was either killed, or that the place was in the hands of the enemy, and thereupon forbore to send any assistance to the castle." Compare it also with the tract reproduced at note (12).

(8) Smith's account of the battle is a very accurate reproduction of that given in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, but he misquoted the Lismore MS. in stating that Lord Kinalmeaky "was buried with military honours in his father's tomb at Youghal" (*Hist. ed. Cork, 1894, vol. ii. p. 80*). The entry in Lord Cork's diary under date 3rd September, 1642, reads:—"This daie, being satterday, at the battle fought by the King's forces with the Lordes and Rebels of mownster at Liscarroll in the Countie of Corke, where the Lo. of Inchequin comanding in cheeff, my 4 sons being personally in that service, yt so pleased god that my second son, the Lo. viscount Kynalmeaky, was with a muskett shot killed on horseback, and lies buried at Lismoor church: six of the Rebels ensignes carried to his widdoe."—*Lismore Papers*, vol. v., First Series, p. 214.

of which we drew sixty musqueteers of Sir John Browne's company to beate off their ambushes, they plaid hotly upon us at first, ours did the like ; the Lord Inchequin standing by them on foote, giving directions till the ambuscadoes fled, whereupon their whole army retreated to the place where they first stood neare the castle ; in their retreat they lodged shot in divers places to play on us as we advanced, which were all beaten backe by Captaine Saint-Leger, Captaine Thornton, and Lieutenant Downing, who were commanded upon that service.

And now both sides beganne to prepare for battell, resolving that place should decide all doubts betwixt them ; they divided their foote into three bodies, each consisting of near two thousand men, the right wing was placed upon the top of a little rising ground neare a fortification they had made, which was well manned with store of shot, their left wing stood neare the castle within halfe musquet shot of another worke wherein their artillery was planted as a guard to it ; betwixt these two a little behinde them stood their maine body, consisting most of pikes ; thus were their foote ordered ; the horse advanced all in one entire body, and made a stand near their right wing upon the brow of the hill.

Accordingly we divided our men into three parts, our battell which was composed of pikes and musquets, being about eight hundred, stood upon a little hill where our artillery was planted almost opposite to their greatest body ; our right wing led by Sir Charles Vavasor, wherein were 600 all musqueteers, stood over against their left wing, and just opposite to their right wing we drew forth three hundred musquets led by Captaine Cooper and Hutton Lieutenant to Sergeant Major Appleyard : on the left hand of these we placed our horse to encounter theirs : thus were the two armies ranged in battalia, betweene which was a plaine flat valley interposed about twenty scoare <sup>(9)</sup> in breadth.

You see upon what disadvantages we fought, they had advantage in number three to one, advantage in ground, besides two forts and a castle, to any of which, upon a dysaster, they might have retreated ; the sunne was for them too, onely God was for us, *Et si Deus nobiscum* (it was the word of one of the colours we tooke) *quis contra nos* ?

In this posture we stood about halfe an houre, in which time they made fourteene shot at our horse, but without any execution, ours pla'd as fast upon them, and not with much better successe, for onely one shot hit which slew five of them ; our greater shot effecting so little, we resolved to charge them with our lesse, and our horse was appointed to give the first onset ; the Lord Inchequin to charge the left hand seconded by

<sup>(9)</sup> The word "yards" was evidently omitted here, although the sloping ground on which the English stood is at least 500 yards distant from the castle.

Captaine Jepson's troope, and Captaine Bridges', who had the reare. The right hand the Lord Dungarvan was appointed to charge, seconded by his brother the Lord Broghill, and Oxenbridge Lieutenant to the Lord Barrimore brought up the reare;<sup>(10)</sup> betweene the two armies (as was before expressed) was a little meadow interposed about twenty score in breadth, at the upper end of which, neare the place where our horse must necessarily passe to the charge, stood their huts well lined with musqueteers, which we imagined (knowing they used not to lose any advantage) and sent down sixty of the three hundred to cleare that passage, they discharged hotly upon one another at first, but in fine they left their huts, and sought security behinde their army. Lieutenant Oxenbridge was sent to pursue them, wherein he so far engaged his men, that had not all the troopes come to his reliefe, he had been cut off, the enemies whole troopes coming downe upon him. But when they saw us advance, they made a stand, and so received the charge: the Lord Inchequin's troope had the van, he himselfe performed it bravely and resolutely, but his troope (by what misfortune I know not) retreated, and in it disordered the Lord Dungarvan's, and the Lord Broghil's, and all the troopes that followed. The Lord Inchequin charged Oliver Stevenson<sup>(11)</sup> a Captaine of

<sup>(10)</sup> Carte states that the Irish endeavoured to incommode Lord Inchiquin with their artillery, but it was planted too high, and did little mischief.

<sup>(11)</sup> The *Aphorismical Discovery* relates a curious story about Stevenson's undertaking before the battle not to kill Lord Inchiquin in the event of his having an opportunity to do so. There is a share of the clairvoyant element in it, but nevertheless it is too important to be overlooked. "The [Irish] armie marchinge towards Liscarroll in the Countie of Corke, this noble warrior [Stevenson] takinge his leave of his mother and wife, givinge his mother the paper wherein his last will and testament was contained. Kneelinge down, made first a protestation before all the circumstances, that his onely cause of comotion was for religion, and that he desired nothinge else in this world other than to see the splendor thereof; and after this intimation prayed humbly his mother's benediction, whoe answered, though he never deserved otherwise, that she would not imparte the same vnto him, other than vpon condition, he would spare the life of Insichuyn in case he had the vper hand on him (this Insichuyn was her nephewe, her brother's son). The obedient childe answered that it was a hearde condition for him to obsearve, goinge vnto a field, against an enemye, to vse soe much humanitie towards his foe, in case they came to handie blowes, if he were soe tyed to spare him, and not to drawe his bloude, that twentie to one in such a case, but would perish by it himself, and desired vehemently his mother not to endanger his proper life to save another. No reason would perswade her to the contrarie, nay, nor the earnest entreaties of many qualified persons that stooode by, tellinge she was farr misled in such a petition. Nothinge would satisfie her other than the compliance of her owne womanish principle. When the noble gentleman sawe how bootlesse it was to contest with a woman, beinge not capable, of the consequence thence followinge, or of reason, though pregnant to perswade the same, promised to comply with her desire. Receaivinge her benediction he went away telling her that likly by that herby she would never see him again desiringe her to make much of his litle ones. Arrivinge therefore to Liscarroll aforesaid, the enemye appeared, pitched both their camps in sight of others. Four or 5 severall times he broke vpon the enemye horse, and followed them vnto the very bodie of their armie, which when Insichuyn obsearved, commander then in chief for the enemye (though falsely gave out that he was for the kinge, would not joine with the Irish, though sworn for his majestie), and a cossen german to this noble Stephens,

their horse, slew him, brought off his horse with a rich saddle, and was himselfe in great danger, had he not beene relieved by Captaine Jepson and Bridges, in which service Jepson was slightly wounded in the hand, and his hat cut.<sup>(12)</sup> The Lord Dungarvan charged another of their cap-

went with a competent number of horse to recover his parties lost honor, Stephens espiinge him advancing on bouldly facing his men, they fearinge the verie name of this Stephens easily putt them to route, and pursued them so neere, that he tooke Insichuyn in his armes, telling him he was his prisoner. His followers seeinge theire chieftaine lord and master leade prisoner, followed him, and specially a foster brother of Insichuyn whom Stephens knewe, who was hooded downe, with his helmet, and bodie armed, himself a very tall man, nothinge from his saddle vp of his bodie naked, onely his eyes which Insichuyns foster brother obsearvinge layed his pistle unawares on the gentleman's eyelight, and shott him through his heade, Oliver obsearvinge the touch powder takinge fire, aimed with his sworde, then drawen in his hand at the fellowe, hitted him so right on his heade, cleave him downe to the verie shoulders, they together fell downe starke deade, whereby the Irish of Monster not only the day but theire courage lost for ever after, this gentleman being their only champion. Insichuyn thus rescued, followed his good fortune; Stephens dead, all the Irish shewed their heeles, the enemie followinge slaughteringe every mother's childe that came in their way. The engagement of that vntoward woman was a strong motive to all this mischife, specially of his death, though we may be accertained to be noe death but chaunce of life, for seaven severall times that day, he did confesse and once receive the holy euchariste."

(12) A very debatable question arises here as to whether Lord Inchiquin was taken prisoner in this charge. The preceding note affirms that he was and is substantiated by Bellings's account:—"There Colonell Stephenson, who was in the head of them [*i.e.* the Irish], as both parties were ready to join, having shott off his pistoll, and missed the Lord of Insiquin, was killed by him just as the Colonell's sword was rayised to strike him. The English horse, at the same time, unable to resist the enemye's shooke and the violence of the impression they made, turned off and ran away, leaving the Lord of Insiquin engaged and obstinately refusing to be made prisoner, because he beleevd his owne men were still in fight about him. But as he was thus strugling in the midst of three souldiers, whereof one held him by the arme, the other two struck and thrust att him to kill him, Colonell Jepson, who in vaine sought to rally some horse to relieve him, ranne in himselfe single among the enemye's troopes and forced the fellow that held the Lord of Insiquin's arme, by the wound he gave him to forgoe his gripe, and the other two to quit him to defend themselves. Having thus expressed much couradge and undaunted resolution in the rescue of his generall, both of them, disintangling themselves from among the crowd, sett spurs to their horses, and having soone overtaken some of their owne partye, they rallied a few horse, with whom the Lord of Insiquin commanded Captain Briges to charge the enemy, whilst he was gathering more to second him." From this account we might safely conclude that Inchiquin was glad to escape with his life and that the "rich saddle" was left behind to be picked up afterwards. The incident is also alluded to in a short tract in the British Museum, which is given here at full length as it contains some very important particulars of the engagement.

"A TRVE RELATION of Gods Providence in the Province of Munster in delivering them from the hands of their enemies; and giving them a great victory. Related in a letter sent from a gentleman, a volunteer in the Lord Dungarvans troope, to a worthy friend of his in London. London. Printed by L. N. for William Ley, 1642.

"Mr. Ball;

Though I have laine dormant for a long time, the memory of our former friendship, hath awaked me to see my error in not writing unto you, and (indeed) I would not til fortune bestowed a blessing, I understand by John Groome that he had letters for me from you, but what they import (I know not) he lost them (in my exordium) I should tell you of our want of men and money, but 'tis too tedious to particularise our wants, in a word all that is necessarie (but the Lord make us thankful). We have been very happy in our designes since my Lord Dungarvan came over, first in taking



taines, shot him with a pistoll and wounded him, but so neare they were, that before he could recover his other shot, he gave him such a stroke with his sword, that certainly his Lordship owes his life to the goodnes of his armor, without which, out of doubt he had been slaine, he was farre engaged and still accompanied by his brother the Lord Broghill who behaved himselfe very gallantly that day, and had beene taken, had the enemys pursued, the advantage they had of our disordered retreate, but our 300 muskets, who that day did gallant service, plyed them so fast with shot, that they gave both him and the rest time to get off to rally

Ardmore Castle which my Lord took in, with that small strength he had under his owne command and gave us the pillage and hanged there betweene seventy and eighty persons, but on the first day of this month, the rebells advanced towards us with a body of 9 thousand horse and foot (I beleeeve having a true relation of our weaknes) with a full resolution to extirpat the English out of the Province of Munster, had not God preserved us and made true the saying of the prophet they are afraide where no fear is, but our commanders having some notice of it, there was command given to al parts of the province the forces could be made shoulde drawe to a head and neere the enemye to give them battaile (I suppose our army consisted of 6 hundred horse and 25 hundred foot, which I am sure was the most: On the 3 of this month we came neere the castle of Liscorrall where they had chosen out their ground to their great advantage, the Lord of Enskuine was the first troope, by reason of the honor of his commission for the presidencie and my L. Dungarvans troop was the next, the rebells had likewise brought 3 brasse peices with them which they had planted in the most oportune places to doe execution upon us, besides they had taken a strong castle from us called Liscorrall and very well fortified it, as we advanced they were hanging our men they had taken in the castle, but the noise of our approach gave a reprieve to the men condemned, we began the fight an hour after the sunne was risen, we charged the enemy with our horse very sharply but by reason our foot were not marched up to us, we were forced to retreat with our horse, till our foot could march up, in this retreate my Lord of Kenulmachy was slaine, and noe man beside his lordship, but when our foot came and our field peices were brought up we charged the enemy a fresh and bent them to their works, the Lord of Ensequin with his troope would needs fetch a compasse to cut of an ambush the enemy had layd, and my Lord Dungarvan with his troope were to hould the enemy play, while his lordship Ensequin went on in stratagem which the enemy perciving, fell upon my Lord Ensequins troope, and part on us, my Lord Ensequins forced to retreat with that swiftnes that they ride in among our troop, and routed us, when the enemies shot plaid like hail upon us had not God then preserved us we had been all cut off, his troop and my Lords troop, in this confusion some two more resolute rogues than the rest had mingled themselves with us, one of them rides to my Lord Ensequine and was going to shoot him but was prevented with a most timely shott, now he that was to act his part on my Lord, takes another course rides up close to him watches his opportunity and whips out his faulchion and stroke at him with that violence that he cut quite through his armour, but my Lord pistol'd him presently, Sir Charls Vavasour perceiving our danger, brought up his musqueteirs, to keep off the enemy while we new rank't our selves; when we had new ranked our selves and God having protected us from his great danger, we charged the enemy again with assurance of Victory and routed them horse and foot; my Lord Musgrave told them the day was lost, and bid as many as could save their lives, to make hast away; we killed seven hundred of them, tooke three brasse peices and some waggons, recovered the castle of Liscorrall; for my owne share, I had only the happinesse to get a scarlet cloake lined with plush, and a priests habit; my horse got a shott through the neck, and indeed we all got something: so with my hearty love presented unto you, fearing I have been already too tedious, I rest,

Yours to command,

Septemb. 9, 1642.

THOMAS JOHNSON.

their troopes, who were in such confusion, that it was absolutely impossible to order them so soone as the necessity of the service required ; we feared likewise lest our confused retreat should have discouraged our foote ; we resolved therefore to fall about onely, and to the charge againe, which was performed with courage, and good successe for the rebels seeing us resolute, they stayed only the discharging of their first shot, and fled.<sup>(13)</sup>

Their foot supposing they should be unable to resist the fury of both horse and foot, who all this time had found our three hundred musquets an equall (if not an overmatch for them) would have accompanied their horse in their flight, could they have followed fast enough, but a great part of this body fell short ; our horse breaking in and doing much execution, one of their ensigns, and the first that I saw fall, was slaine by the Lord Broghil, who shot him and brought off his colours. While we were thus employed, Sir Charles Vavasour with his 600 fell bravely upon their left wing, which stood to guard their ordinance ; the fight there was sharpe while it lasted, divers fell on their side, some of ours were wounded. Both their artillery and small shot played thicke upon our men from the fort, one of their sakers they discharged at Sir Charles when he was within halfe musket shot, but without doing execution. At length seeing our men's resolution, and that they were already deserted by their owne, that their artillery wherein they did much confide, did not that service was expected, they quitted the fort and left Sir Charles the artillery, which had been unserviceable to them.

The third body, which stood firme all this time, (and well it might, for it was out of gunshot) seeing the rest fly, turned their backs and hasted to their best fort, a bogge, which was about halfe a mile from them ; we pursued, and indeed the execution was bloody and cruell, no man gave quarter, nor was it fit, considering their multitude. Our horse was now beyond the furthest part of the wood and bogge where most of the rebels lay, our foot marched on in good order towards it, so that they were on all sides encompassed, and I beleeve they thought themselves it was impossible they should any of them escape, and indeed I am confident no considerable number had come off from that dayes service, had not my Lord Inchequin unfortunately mistaken our owne men for enemies,

<sup>(13)</sup> The cause of the sudden flight of the Irish who had hitherto the best of the fight, is well explained by Bellings. "At this time the Irish horse were scattered all the field over, in pursuit of the English, soe as hardly could twenty of them be seen in a body, which gave Captain Bridges a favourable opportunity to recover the day. For he with ease routed all the Irish horse thus thinly spread, and charging the right wing of the foot, which advanced in disorder, believing there was noe more to be donn but to follow the execution, he put them to flight ; which the Irish army seeing, and observing another body of horse, which the Lord of Insiquin and Colonell Jepson had by this time rallied, moving towards them fled without fighting a stroke more."

and caused us to retreat almost a mile, before we discovered our error, in which time they fled to another bogge, where it was impossible to follow them, notwithstanding we pursued them two miles along the skirts of the wood, but did no great execution.

Thus after a long and doubtfull fight, which continued full seven houres, we at last obtained a glorious victory. These were not such as formerly we met, naked rogues, but brave and gallant men, armed as well as our selves, nor did they want any thing but a good cause. Twice they made our horse, whereon we most relyed, to retreat, once they disordered and almost routed us, and then God, as if He would manifest it was He alone in whom we ought to repose our trust, caused us in that disorder to vanquish those, from whom when we charged them in perfect order, we but newly had fled. There was slaine in this battell about 600 of the rebels, on our side we lost but five beside the Lord Kinalmeakie, about 30 were wounded, whereof divers dyed since, some of theirs were hurt, but the number is uncertaine.

We tooke from them three peeces of artillery, whereof one was a brasse Demi-canon, of almost 7800 weight, the fame of which had won more castles than the valour of their whole army, the other were sakers, one brasse, the other iron; besides these we tooke two or three hundred muskets, and so many pikes they served us for firewood. Of powder we had three barrels, and about 200 bullets, all which were sent with the artillery to Corke.

Fourteene of their colours we carried away with us, whereof five were taken by the Lord Broghil's troope, besides that he tooke himselfe: the prisoners were few, because the execution was so bloody; notwithstanding some we have of good quality, as Colonell Butler, whose valour was heretofore recommended by his Majesty to the King of Poland, and indeed this day he shewed much gallantnesse, being the last man that stood of their whole army; besides him we tooke Captaine Butler, Thomas Burgale, and their Commissary Generall.

In the waggons, whereof thirty were taken, we found store of pillage, and some of good value: there were present at this fight almost all the Lords of Munster, viz. the Lord Roche, Lord Muskry, Lord Ikerine, Lord Dunboine Bureh, Lord Britas Bureh, Lord Casteronnell Buller, brother to the Lord Ormond, Sergeant major Purcell, Sergeant major Henesy.

Thus you have the relation of that memorable battell was fought at Liscarroll on Saturday the third of September, where, next God, nothing did contribute more to our victory, than the necessity we had of fighting; advantages they had of us every way, only we were *Virtute pares*, and *necessitate superiores*.

FINIS.