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**A TREATICE OF IRELAND.**

**BY**

**JOHN DYMMOK.**

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TO THE MOSTE HONORABLE KNIGHT

SIR EDMUNDE CARYE.

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*SIR,*

I PRESENT vnto you in the sincearnes of affection these rude leaves in their fullnes of imperfection, affirminge withall that as I have deformed them (beinge abortiuelye brought forth in an other shape) so doe I likewise reteine the power to transforme my selfe into any lykeness that you shall deuise wherin I may doe you seruice, at which I reste

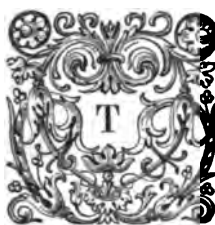
Moste affectioned  
and deuoted  
JOHN DYMMOK.



A

## TREATICE OF IRELAND.

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HE realme of Irelande conteineth, from the south forelande to the northe pointe called Thorach, about 300 myles, and in breadthe, from Dublin to Saint Patriks mounte and the sea beating alongst Connaught, 140 miles Irish, which are somewhat larger then our Engleshe myles.

The cuntry lyeth very low, and therefore watrish, and full of marishes, boggs, and standing pooles, even in the highest mowntaynes, which causeth the inhabitants, but specially the sojoners there, to be very subiect to rhowmes, catarrs, and flixes, for remedy whereof they drinke great quantyty of hott wyne, especially sakes, and a kinde of aqua vitæ, more dryinge, and lesse inflamyng, then that which is made in Englande.

The ayre is thicke, and nothinge soe piercyng as here in Englande.

The soile is generally fertill, but litle and badly manured, by reason of the great exactions of the lordes vpon their tenants. For the tenant dothe not holde his lands by any assurance for tearme of yeares, or lyfe, but onely *ad voluntatem domini*, so that he never buildeth, reparaeth or enclosethe the grownde; but whensoever the lord listeth, is turned out, or departeth at his most advantage, which, besides the great want of graine to suffice that cuntrye, breadeth also a generall weakenes, for want of inhabiting and plantyng the people in places certain, beinge of themselves geven to a wanderyng and idle lyfe.

The cuntry yeeldeth great store of beeffes and porkes, excellent horses of a fine feature and wonderfull swyftnes, and are thought to be a kinde of the race of the Spanish Genetts.

There

There ar many and those very good hawkes, but yt aboundeth cheefly in fysh and fowle, some store of sheepe, but small, and those bearinge a longe course fleze, whereof the rugges are made. Great plenty of woode, except in Leinster, where for the great inconveniences finding them to be ready harboures for the Irish rebell, they have beene cutt downe.

There are also many mynes, especially iron and lead, and some copper, but of what richnes and goodnes I finde not.

The cheeffe thinge wantinge in that cuntrye is cyvillitye, and dutyfull obedience of the people to their soveraigne, which groweth partly through a desyre in the principall kindreds and septes to shake of all forreine obedience, and to governe accordinge to their owne lawes, which is their owne willes, partly through the inclination of the common sorte to wildenes, being ledd by the superiours vpon whose willes they must of force depend; but generally for lacke of execution of such good lawes as tende to the preservation of the Englishrye, in restreyninge them from marrynge, fosteringe, and allyinge with the Irish, and takinge of coynye and livery, which hath beene, and yet is, the only cause of weakninge the English pale, and of so many degenerate English at this present.

The people are of nature very glorious, francke, irefull, good horsemen, able to endure great paynes, delighted in warr, great hospitallitye, of religion for the most parte Papists, great gluttons, and of a sensuall and vitious lyfe, deepe dissemblers, secret in displeasure, of a crewell revenginge minde, and irreconciliable. Of witt they are quicke and capable, kinde harted where they take, and of exceedinge love towards their foster bretheren.

Of complexion they are cleare, and welfavored, both men and weomen, tall and corpulent bodies, and of hemselves careles and bestiall.

Theire principallitie or inheritance descendeth not to them by succession, but they atteine therevnto by election, makinge choice of one out of the principall famylies or septes, amongst whome he that hath shewed himselfe most valiant in all barbarous creweltie, shall sonest be preferred, first to be Thamist, which is lieuetenant generall, and next in succession, and is followed of the captaynes and forces of the cuntry. And this custome remayneth yet to this daye amonge the Irish, where no man is lorde of his owne any longer then he can defend yt against others.

The Government of the Irish is neither polliticke nor cyvill, but meare tyrannicall, as may appaere by their auncient lawes, as Brehon law, Coyny, Lyuery, &c.

&c. which had course there before the conquest. For the prince or lorde vse at their pleasure their tenantes, spend vpon them with their traynes, rule after their owne lustes, commaundinge all, and not to be gaynesaide by any; so that the mightiest oppresse the porest, and justice is ministred accordinge to the affection they beare to the partyes offendinge or offended.

The inhabitantes generally are of fowre sortes. English Irish, meer Irish, degenerate Englesh, and wilde Scotts.

The meer Irish, degenerate English, and Scott are growen into one faction, by reason of the devison of the English race, contynewinge till within these few yeares: by which meanes the Irishrye grew to such strength, that the Englesh, for their owne defence, were gladd to ally themselves with the Irish of contrary factions, to make them to be followed after the Irish order, and so became wholly Irish, or at the least scant good Englesh.

Theire forces consist of thre sortes, Horsemen, Galloglass, and Kerne.

The horsemen are armed with headpeeeces, shirtes of mayle or jackes, a sworde, a skayne, and a speare. They ryde vpon paddes, or pillowes without styrvps, and in this differ from ours; that in joyninge with the enemy, theye beare not their staves or launces vnder arme, and so put it to the reste, but takinge yt by the midle, beare yt aboue arme, and soe encounter.

Every Horsman hath two or thre horses, and to euery horse a knave: his horse of service is allwaies led spare, and his knave, which caryeth his harness and speare, rydeth vpon the other, or els upon a hackeney.

The Galloglass ar pycked and scelected men of great and mightie bodies, crewell without compassion. The greatest force of the battell consisteth in them, chosinge rather to dye then to yeelde, so that when yt cometh to handy blowes they are quickly slayne or win the feilde. They are armed with a shert of maile, a skull, and a skeine: the weapon they most vse is a batle axe, or halberd, six foote longe, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shomakers knyfe, and without pyke; the stroake whereof is deadly where yt lighteth. And beinge thus armed, reckoninge to him a man for his harness bearer, and a boye to carry his provision, he is named a spare of his weapon so called, 80 of which spares make a battell of Galloglass.

The kerne is a kinde of footeman, sleightly armed with a sworde, a targett of woode, or a bow and sheafe of arrows with barbed heades, or els 3 dartes, which they cast with a wonderfull facillity and nearnes, a weapon more noysom to the enemy,

enemy, especially horsemen, then yt is deadly; within theise few yeares they have practized the muskett and callyver, and are growne good and ready shott.

Some will have the Dalonyes or horsboyes to be a fourthe sorte, for that they take them into the fight: they are the very skumme, and outcaste of the cuntrye, and not lesse serviceable in the campe for meatinge and dressinge of horses, then hurtfull to the enemy with their dartes.

**THE SERVICES OF THE IRISHRIE DUE TO HER MAIESTY, THE SEVERALL EXACTIONS LEUIED BY THE IRISH LORDS UPON THEIR TENANTS, AND OF WHAT NATURE AND QUALLITYES THEY BE.**

The Irish taxes or services are of two sortes, either made vnto the queene by the gentlemen towards their defence and mayntenance of her forces in the cuntrye, as Risingeout, Bonaght, and Soren, or els by the lord upon his tenant, as Coynye, Lyuerye, Cashery, Teignie, Cuddy, Blackrents, &c.

Of the first sortes, Risingout, is a certain number of horsmen and kerne, which the Irishrie and Engleshrye are to finde in her majesties service, at euery generall hostinge, for defence of the cuntrye against any forreine enemy, or other invadors, which numbers are also to be vittelled by them for certen daies, some more, some lesse.

Bonaght is of two sortes: Bonaght bonny, and Bonaght beg.

Bonaght bonny is a certen payment or allowance made vnto her Maiesties Galloglasse, or Kerne, by the Irishry onelye, who are severally bounde to yeeld a yearely proportion of victualls and money, of their findinge, euery one accordinge to his abillitye, so that the Kerne and Galloglasse are kept all the yeare by the Irishry, and devided at tymes among them.

Bonaght beg, or litle bonagh, is a proportion of mony, ratably charged vpon every plowland, towards the findinge of the Galloglasse.

Soren is a kinde of allowance over and above the bonaght, which the Galloglass exact vpon the pore people, by waye of spendinge monye, viz. 2s. 8d. for a daye and a night, to be devided betweene three spares, for their meat, drinke, and lodginge. And as the Bonaght is fownde by the lordes for the Queenes service, so also every particuler lorde hath a certen number for their owne defence, some more, some lesse, and are maynteyned vpon their tenants.

Of the second sorte, Coynye is as much to saye as a placinge of men and boyes upon the cuntrye, vsed by a prerogatyve of the Brehon law, whereby they

they are permitted to take meate, drinke, aqua vitæ and money of their hostes, without paye-makinge therefore. As many as keepe idle men, take yt owtra-giously where they come, and by the custome of the cuntry yt was lawfull to place themselves vpon whome they would. It is the beggeringe of the cuntry and an intollerable evill without measure.

Lyvery is horsemeat, exacted for the horses of those which take coyny, or otherwyse send them to the pore tenants to be fedd. The tenant must finde the horses and boyes and geve them as much corne and sheaffe otes wheat and barley as they will have, and yf there be two or thre boyes to a horse as sometymes there be, the pore tenant must be content therewith and yet besydes rewarde the boyes with mony.

Joye is when their idle men require meat and drinke out of meale tymes, or where they take mony for their coynye of the hoste to goe a begging to their neighbour, it is as much to saye as a benevolence. The contynuance of these and other Irish exactions is the very roote and fowndacion of the rebellions which have beene from tyme to tyme in that cuntry, both for that yt geveth a meane to the lord to mainteine so many idle persons in armes to attempt any villany at his comaunde, and also for that yt draweth the obedience of the subiect from his prince, vnto the capten, and maketh the common sorte to stande in awe or know no other superiors then their Irish captaynes which thus exacte upon them.

Cashery is certeine feastes which the lorde vseth to take of his tenants after Easter, Christmas, Whitsontyde, Michaelmas and all other tymes at his pleasure; he goeth to their howses with all his trayne and idle men of his cuntrye, and leaveth them not till all they have be spent, and consumed, and holdeth on this course till he have visited all his tenants one after other.

Teignie is reare-suppers and chamber drinkinges which they bestow of their lords and other gwestes in their chambers after dinner or supper. It is ever vsed by the mer Irish and English Irish wheresoever they be in the cuntrye. And so when they come to any gentlemans howse they are served before dynner or supper with a kinde of refreshing by the name of Teignie.

Blackrents (as I take yt) are in this sorte, when a murder or felony or other trespasse is committed, the party offendinge being brought before the Lo: Brehon or Judge, is allotted to paye to the wyfe or childe of the party murdered, or to the party agreeded, a kinde of satisfaction, termed by them an Iriach: moreover the Judge awardeth to the lo: of the soyle or cuntry where any such outrag is

comytted by way of a fyne a certeine number of kowes, or corne &c. and to him-  
 selfe a porcion for his judgment, what the lord reapeth hereby is called a black-  
 rent; by this custom many murthers and thefts ar committed boldly and smothered  
 without due execution of Justice.

THE PRESENT GOUERMENT OF THAT CUNTRY.

For the present gouerment of that cuntry, yt is devided into three partes,  
 Ecclesiasticall, Martiall and Cyvill or Justiciall.

The Ecclesiasticall estate is composed of fowre Archbushoppes and 29  
 Bushopps, disposed into severall cuntries in every province, besydes Deanes,  
 Suffragans and Parsons.

Archbushop of Dublin and Glandalon, Primate of Irland.	{	Bushop of Kildare. Bu: of Leighlin. Bu: of Ossory. Bu: of Ferne.
Archb: of Toam. . . . .	{	Bu: of Dua. Bu: of Alade. Bu: of Elfine. Bu: of Killmakou. Bu: of Clonfert.
Archb: of Cassell. . . . .	{	Bu: of Emely vnited to Cassell. Bu: of Waterford and Rismor. Bu: of Cork and Clone. Bu: of Ross. Bu: of Ardagh. Bu: of Laom alias Killalo. Bu: of Lymrik. Bu: of Fimabor.
Archb: of Armagh, Primate of all Ire- land.	{	Bu: of Meath. Bu: of Ardakan. Bu: of Dromory. Bu: of Down and Connor. Bu: of Dere. Bu: of Rapaton. Bu: of Turbrunen. Bu: of Clohu.

The



The martiall gouernment is distributed into thre partes of that cuntrye. The lo. Deputy is lieutenant generall over the whole, assisted by two presidents for his more ease, as well in the true administracion of Justice, as for the ready repressing of such disorders as might happen in the upland cuntry; one of them placed in Munster, the other in Connaught, and both corresponde with the lo: Deputy, residing at Dublin for the moste parte.

The martiall gouernment is not of yt selfe alone, but mixed with cyvill, (vntill such tyme as the cuntrye may be reduced vnto that obedience, as Justice may haue course of yt selfe with out forces to suport yt) and the lo: Deputy assisted with a counsell of the moste choyce and scelect men for their knowledge and experiance in the affayres of that cuntrye. Eche of the presidents have also a particular counsell appointed vnto them for the decydinge and determyning of matters in their chardge, and are chiefly dyrected from the lo: Deputy and counsell at Dublin as they are directed from tyme to tyme by her Maiestie and counsell in Englande.

The cyvill government (for that which is meere civill as where the law and Justice onely have course) is of two sortes. First the high cortes which are named the courtes of Justice, as the King's Bench, Coimon Pleas, the Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Star Chamber. For courte of wards there is none yet established there, but the receipt is chargable vpon the auditor, and their landes certefyed by the shriffes and exchetors: and these courtes are kept ordinarylie at Dublin fowre tearmes in the yeare according to the course held in England; and all causes decidable by lawe, are in these courtes, according to their severall natures and quallities, decided and determyned.

The second sorte comprehendeth in yt the pollycy and government of citties, townes, burrowes, and corporations. These for the moste parte stretch no further then their owne particuler prescinctes or liberties, and are chiefly busyed in ordering particuler causes betweene their burghers, and to supply the common wants of their townes, or els how to conteine those over whome they have chardge in dutyfull obedience by punishing offenders and supporting such as lyve orderly, against the mallice and injury of the disordered sorte. Of this nature also are court Barons court Leetes and court hundreds. All these are greatly holpen by the circiuts of the principall officers of the highe courtes, which every yeare twice are to ryde in visitation about the cuntry to keepe sessions and assises, according to the manner of Englande.

## OF THE DEVISION OF THAT CUNTRY.

That cuntry yet to this present reteineth that auncient dyvision as yt did before the conquest, savinge that those provinces which heretofore were divided into Cantreds and Betaghs townes euery one conteininge 960 acres of arrable lande besydes woodds, boggs, and pastures, and to euery cantred 30 betaghes townes; are now devided into severall counties and English shires.

The Provinces are Leinister, Munster, Connaght, Vlster and Meathe, so called as lyinge in the midst of the cuntry, and composed of a parte of euery Province, or els for that yt conteyneth but 18 cantreds, whereas the other contain 34 and 35 apiece.

## LEIMSTER.

The Province of Leimster conteyneth all that portion of lande which was first conquered by our nation, includinge all that grownde from Dublin southwarde to the ryver of Suyre and the Cytty of Waterforde, which parteth yt from Munster. The ryver of Shenin in Mac Couglians cuntry devideth the west parte from Connaght and Meath; northward yt endeth with the Barony of Balrothry and the ryver Boyne, and on the east syde is bownded with the sea. It is devided into seaven shires. The county of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Wexforde, Kilkenny, King's County and Queenes County.

They have gone about of late to add two other shires the counties of Wiclo, and Fernes; but bycause these two shires are yet vnperfett, not having sufficient freholders and gentlemen to chose shriffes and other principall officers or to make a jury for the Queene, they may be well omytted.

## THE COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

The county of Dublin conteyneth all the lande from Balrothery neare the province of Meath to Arcklo, a principall castle of the earle of Ormonds, which is the length of the shire, and includeth the growndes called the Kinges landes, the mowntaines of the Obirnes, O'tooles, and Banilagh, called Pheagh Mac Hughs cuntry, also Shilogh, Ferderrogh and the crosse of the cuntry which is the liberty of the Archb: of Dublin, also his Ilandes of Lambaye, Eye and Dalky.

It bowndeth, East, on the sea; West, County Kildare; North, County Caterlogh; South East, Meath.

THE

THE COUNTY OF KILDARE.

The county of Kildare is placed betweene the counties of Dublin, Catherlogh, the Kinges and Queenes county, and Meath, yt hath not in yt many townes of importance, but dyvers proper villages which lye scattered about the cuntry.

It bowndeth, East, Dublin; West, K. and Queens County; No. Meath; So: Carlogh.

THE COUNTIE OF CATERLOGH.

This county is a long slipp of grownde lyinge for the moste parte betweene the two ryvers of the Slane and the Barrow. It conteineth dyvers baronyes anciently inhabited by the Engleshe and after gotten from them by the Caue-naghs. It hath in yt certeine highe mountaines vpon the easte parte, the rest of the cuntry is more playne, and a third parte of the whole, accounted to belong to the Erle of Ormond, and S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Butler; one Barony called Idron, be-longinge to S<sup>r</sup> Dudley Bagnoll.

It bowndeth, West, on Wexforde; North, Kildare; South, Kilkenny; East, the Queene's County.

THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

The county of Wexford was the first cuntry where the Englesh sett footinge and conquered. This shire is the largest of any one in that Province of Leim-ster, and one parte thereof inhabited still with the auncient Irish, which was the cause that S<sup>r</sup> Hen. Sidney, and S<sup>r</sup> Will. Drury would have made two other shires within yt. The north parte should have beene called Fernes, and that to the southe neare Dublin, Wiclo; but findinge that there were not suffi-cient, and sewer gent. to be shriffes, nor freeholders to make a Jury for her Maiestie, yt hath beene let fall. The south parte as the more cyvill is contained within a ryver called Pill, where the auncientest gentlemen descended of the first conqueror doe inhabite. The other without the ryver is inhabited by the originall Irish, viz. the Cavanaghs, Murroghs and Kusclighs who possesse the woddy parte of the cuntry.

It bowndeth, East, the ocean; So: County Dublin; No: river Barow; West, Caterlogh.

THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

This county hath the moste of cyvillity of any other the border counties,  
beinge

being well replenished with fayre castles, howses and seates, with Englesh manner of enclosing their groundes. This cuntry thoughte yt containe in yt both the vpper and neather Ossery, yet such mortall mislyke there is betweene them of the county of Kelkenny and Mac Gilpatrik, lo: of the vpper Ossory, that he will not suffer any tryalls of his cuntry to be made in that county, but in the Queene's county and holdeth himselfe to be a member thereof.

It bowndeth, East, river Barow; South, ryver Suyre; North, Queene's County; West, county Tipperary.

#### THE QUEENE'S COUNTYE.

This county containeth in effect, all the landes betweene ye ryver Barow and Ormond, including all that which did belonge to More Odowen, vpper Ossory, and Slynarg. The soile is fruitfull and exceeding pleasant. It is watred on the one syde with the ryver Barow. The ryver Neor runneth through another parte of it. It is well sorted with woodes and playnes. This cuntry was planted by the erle of Sussex with a mixt people of Englesh and Irish, and in the tyme of Kinge Phillip and Q. Mary, gaue yt to name the Queenes county, and the cheeff towne Maryburrow. The inhabitants haue bene contynewally molested with the first inhabitors the O'Mores that yt hath in manner wasted the whole cuntrye vpon them and at this daye are growne to stronge numbers and very daungerous.

It bowndeth, East, Barrow; So: Kilkenny; No: Kings co. and mountayn Sliboam; West, Tipperary.

#### THE KINGE'S COUNTY.

This county beinge aunciently called Ophaly, was inhabited by the O'Connors a wicked and rebellious people, who for their sundrye treasons and rebellions, were by the erle of Sussex in the tyme of Queene Mary banished and disherited their cuntry converted to shire grounde and called the King's county, and the cheiffe towne thereof, Phillipstowne. The shire conteyneth all the grounde betweene the county of Kildare and the ryver Shenin includinge Claneboye and O'Dempies cuntry on both sydes the Barrow, also Ballinies and Ferall which is lykewise O'Dempies cuntry, the Shenogh or Foxes cuntrye, and Phelim Mac Couglians cuntry, to the brinke of Shenin neare Mellike. This cuntry in the beginning of her Maiesties reigne was very well quieted by a proscription of the  
O'Connors

O'Connors made by the erle of Kildare, who in manner wholly did extirp that race, yet of late they have increased to such numbers as they have beene able to make stronge forces in this last rebellion.

It bowndeth, East, Kildare; West, Shenin; So: Que., county; No: Meath.

#### ELYE.

This small terrytory or compas of grownde hath beene counted parcell of Munster, as belonginge to ye county of Tipperarye, but for that O'Carrell who is lo. of this cuntry and his ancestors would never yeeld to be of that cuntry as for that he and his father did allwaies consent to be vnder the Englesh government, viz. under the lieuetenant of the Kings county, and yeeldeth now by composition vnto her Maiestie £100 per ann̄ and to be ordered by the Queenes lieutē of the Kings county in all controversies so as yt is accounted parcell thereof, and so of Leimster.

It bowndeth with Ossory and a part of the Qu: county to the south; with Ormond to the west; with de la Mac Coghan to the North; and with the mowntaine Slibown to the Easte. It hath small piles of litle importance, the chiefest whereof is Limwaddon.

#### MEATHE.

This Province hath his name of *Medium*, the midle parte of the cuntrye, and conteyneth properlye but one shire, vnder the name of Meath, being in the beginning a porcion appointed for the Kinges demeines: But being since devyded into many Baronyes and cuntries, and now lately in the tyme of K. Hen. 8. made and devided into two shires or counties Eastmeath and Westmeath. And by cause the two other Irish cuntries, the one belonginge to the O'Reilies, the other to the O'Farrals be now converted to shire grownde by the names of the county of Cavan and of Longforde, I hold yt not amisse to laye these two counties vnto Meath, and so containe them all fowre in this midle province, although the county of Cavan be held of many to belonge to ye province of Vlster. These counties haue many goodly Loughes and meares of fresh water especially Westmeath, whereof the greater parte fall into the Shenin aboue Athlone, the rest into ye ryver Broschenagh, which also falleth into the Shenin beneath Athlone, neare Mellike. These waters make the cuntry besydes the fertillity of the soyle to abound in great store of very good fishe.

#### EASTEMEATH.

## EASTMEATH.

Eastmeath conteyneth all the lande betwene Balrothery in the County of Dublin and the ryver of Boyne near Droghdagh and then not far from Droghdagh extendeth yt selfe over that ryver and containeth all the lande to the border of Cavan and to the halfe Barony of Fower, and from thence yt breadeth to the Kinges county and the countie of Kildare.

It bowndeth, East, the sea; West, Cavan; So:, King's county; No:, Louth.

## WESTMEATH.

The county of Westmeath containeth all the landes from the Redmore beyond Aboy to the ryver of Shenin, and in bredth from the Kings county to the county of Longforde comprehendinge mac Coughlan, mac Gall, and also Omylaghlines cuntrye.

It bowndeth, East and South, Kings county; North, Cavan; West, Shenin.

## THE COUNTY OF LONGFORDE.

This county is a large quantity of grownde possessed by a people called O'Farralls, and was in tymes paste devided betweene two of the strongest of that name, the one which possesseth the south parte thereof is called O'Farrall Buy, which signifyeth yellow O'Faroll; the other O'Farrall Ban, which is white O'Farrall, both which sir names doe yet holde the cuntrye, so as both conjoynd together doe make the county of Longforde.

It bowndeth, East and South, Westmeath; West, County Letrim; North, County Cavan.

## THE COUNTY OF CAVAN.

This county conteyneth all the lands called heretofore, O'Reilies cuntry alias the Breny, which beinge vnder one capten heretofore, and called the east breny, and the west breny, was devided into seaven baronies, who have their severall frecholders, no one of them dependinge on the other, but all imediatly from the Queene. They are a stronge nation able to make of their owne sirname 400 horse; they are sayd to be aunciently descended from the Ridleys of England. This cuntry conteyneth 30 miles in length and 30 in breadth.

It bowndeth, East and North, Fermanagh; West, County Letrim; South, Westmeath.

## MUNSTER.

## MUNSTER.

The Province of Munster containeth all that cuntry from the ryver of Suyre, westwarde alonge the sea vnto the mouth of Shenon, and bowndeth on the east syde vpon Kilkenny on the west, and south side, the mayne ocean; and on the north syde, with the ryver of Shenin, which devideth yt from Connaght. It is the most commodious of all the other Provinces in soile, good havens, ryvers and townes. This Province accordinge to the ancient distribution is divided into three partes, Desmond, Thomond, and Ormonde; but Thomond beinge now annexed vnto the government of Connaght, the reste at this present is divided into fyve counties, viz. Waterford, Corke, Limrike, Typerary and Kyrrye.

## THE COUNTY OF WATERFORDE.

The county of Waterford containeth all the lande betweene the ryver Suyre which falleth into the sea beneath Waterford, and the ryver Yoghall called the great water. It includeth all the cuntry called the Denes, the Bishoprick of Rismore vnited to the sea of Waterford, Prendergast's lande, who was one in the first conquest and a moste famous capten; The white Knightes cuntry called Glangibbon.

It bowndeth, East, y<sup>e</sup> ocean; North, Yoghall; South, County Corke; West, Lymerik.

## THE COUNTY OF CORK.

The county of Cork containeth all the lande adjoyning to the sea, from the ryver of Yoghall to the baye of Dingle and the ryver of Maigne, the cuntry of Kerrywherry, Kilaloe, Barry-Roes cuntry, the Bishoprike of Ross, the cuntry or Carbrye on both sydes the leape, O'Mahons and Ordiscalls cuntry. The Bantry, OSiluvian bent, OSiluvian more and all Desmond; all which by amongst y<sup>e</sup> coaste. In the midle of the shire lyeth Muskry, divided betweene Sir Cormoc and Sir Dermot mac teig Clancark, also O'Challagon, O'Heift, Mac Auly, Mac Donoho, followers of the erle of Cleneare, and includeth the landes of the two vicounts Barry and Armoy.

It bowndeth, East and South, the ocean; West, mountaine Shilogher; North, Lymerik.

THE COUNTY OF LYMRIKE.

The county of Lymrike conteyneth all the lande from the mowntaines neare the Redsherd ioyning to the county of Corke, vnto the Shenin, as well above lymryche as beneath, in a manner as farr as Carigfoyle, and from the farthest parte of Mac Bryan Ogannoghs cuntry and comprehendeth in yt Glanwillim, Canolokerry, alias the knight of the vallyes cuntry, and Cosmoy.

It bowndeth, East, Typperary; West, Shilogher; South, Cork; North, Shenin.

THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

This county beinge devided into two, the one the crosse of Tipperary, the other the county Pallatyne, is a large circuite of lande and hath two shriffes, that of the crosse is under the Archb: of Cossell, and hath large liberties, but not lyke the county Pallatyne belonging to the erle of Ormond. In the crosse the Queene maketh the shriff her head officer. The Pallatyne is gouerned by sceneshall Justice, a shriffe, and dyvers other meaner officers, which two countyes lye onelie by observation and custom. The whole cuntry containeth all the landes in manner from the towne of Callane in the County of Kilkenny to Mac O'brien O'Gannoghs cuntry in the county of Lymrike, O'Mulreans cuntry Mac Bryan Ara, O'Downies cuntry, vpper and nether Ormond, Constinagh, Cosehi, Muskry whirke, a great part of Harlow, and by auncient devisiion O'Carralls cuntry Elye, thoughte he disclame from yt.

It bowndeth, East, Kilkenny; So., Lymrik; We., Shenin: No., Ki. County.

THE COUNTY OF KERRY.

The county of Kerry containeth the landes which lyeth betweene the ryver of Maigne and the Shenin, and includeth the moste parte of the mowntayne Shilogher, which is the moste easterly parte of the cuntry. This cuntry was a Pallatyne to the Erle of Desmond. the lyberties and royalties whereof (he beinge a man of small discretion) caused him to grow insolent aboue measure, forbidding the lord President and counsell of the Province to have any dealinges in his jurisdiction, which was the very originall grownde and cause of his rebellion and overthrow.

It bowndeth, West, y<sup>e</sup> Sea; East, Corke; No.; Shennin; So., River Maigne.

CONNAGHT.



## CONNAGHT.

This Province hath been otherwise devided then now it is, by reason the O'Reilies cuntrye (now county of Cavan) and O'Faralls cuntry (now the county of Longford) were held parcell of yt and Thomond or the county of Clare was accounted of Munster. The word Thomond signifieth north Munster, and was in the commission of the presidents of Munster in S<sup>r</sup>. Warham Sentligers, S<sup>r</sup>. John Perotts, and S<sup>r</sup>. Will. Druries tyme. But S<sup>r</sup>. Hen. Sidney consideringe the notable bownde yt hath from the rest of Munster, did establish yt under the government of Connaght, as yt is at this present. The Province conteineth all the lands circuted with the great ocean, betweene the ryver of Erne nere Asserow in O'Donells cuntry, and the ryver of Shenin where yt falleth into the sea, beneath Lymryke. It is in manner an Iland, bycause to the north and the west, yt hath the sea, to the south and easte the Shenin, and to the northeast the loughe and ryver of Erne, onely one small slipp of gronde betweene the Shenin and the Erne leaveth that parte vninclosed. It is devided at this present into sixe countyes. Clare, Sligo, Mayo, Gallwaye, Roscommon and Letrim.

## THE COUNTY OF CLARE.

This county of Clare alias Thomond beareth y<sup>e</sup> name of the Castle of Clare now belonging to the erle of Thomond. It conteineth 6 baronyes and hath in yt 2 small bishoprickes, Kilmakoa and Killaloe, the one vnder the archb: of Cassell, the other vnder the archbp. of Toam.

It bowndeth, East and North, Shenin; West, the Sea; South, Gallway.

## THE COUNTY OF SLIGO.

Sligo conteyneth all the gronde betweene y<sup>e</sup> ryver of Erne and the playnes of Connaght by the skirtts of the Mowntaynes of Benbulham and Corleus to the ryver and lough of Boyle in Mac Dermons cuntry, and from thence northeast by the ryver of [*defective in MS.*] which devideth the county Mayo from the county of Sligo.

It bowndeth, West, Mayo; East, the Earn; Nor., the Ocean; So., county Roscommon.

## THE COUNTY OF MAYO.

This county conteineth all the lands and cuntrye of Mac Willim Ervter, and the landes of the O'Mayles, Mac Donnell, Mac Morrice, Mac Jordan, Mac Gustelo. This country hath certaine llandes both fertill and commodious for fishinges, for which purpose both English marchaunts and strangers have great entercourse and trafficke there.

It bowndeth, East, County Sligo; West and North, y<sup>e</sup> Ocean; South, Gallway.

## THE COUNTY OF GALLWAYE.

This countye conteineth a great quantitie of lande, lying in manner square, betweene Mayo and Thomond. It hath heretofore had many ancient noblemen descended of English ancestors, but by the revolucion of tyme, duringe the cyvill dissentions in England, they turned into wilde Irish, and with their manners they have also changed their names. The 2 principall byshoprikes of Connaught lye within this county the archb: of Toam, and the bush: of Clonfert. The thre Islands of Arran are counted parcell of this county and lye within a kennynge of Gallway town.

It bowndeth, East, Shenin; West, the sea; North, Mayo; South, Clare.

## THE COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.

The county of Roscommon conteyneth all the playnes of Connaght, beginning at Munster Boyle neare the mountaynes of Corleus, and stretcheth alonge by the Shenin to the ryver of Suce. This cuntry is under the diocesse of the Bushopp of Elfine.

It bowndeth, East, Shenin; West, Mayo; North, Gallway; South, Sligo.

## THE COUNTY OF LETRIM.

This county counteineth all O'Rurkes cuntry called the breny O'Rurke, also yt conteineth parte of Mac Guynies landes lying vpon the west syde of the loughe Erne, and Mac Glanes cuntry lyinge on Bondroics. It hath no other principall person inhabitinge there but O'Rurk and other of his name and freholders wholly depending upon him. O'Rurk and O'Connor Dun of the county of Roscommon, haue in their severall antiquities beene kings of Irelande.

lande. Therefore they reteininge the memory of their former greatnes, doe aspire and conspire with all lewd disposed persons, O'Rurke hath beene allwayes a retheyner of Scotts in all rebellions. It hath in yt no townes or castles of any worth but onely Leitrim.

It bowndeth, North, county Sligo; West, Shenin; South, county Longford; East, county Cavan.

#### VLSTER.

The Province of Vlster lyeth in the farthest north parte of Irelande. It is devided from Meath by the ryver Boyne on the southe east parte, with the Breny which is O'Reilies cuntry on the south part, and southwest parte it bowndeth vpon Connaght, namely vpon O'Rurks cuntry and O'Connor Sligo. The rest is altogether environed with the sea and conteineth in it 9 countyes, Louthe, Downe, Antrim, Monahan, Fernanagh, Tyrone, Duñegall, Colvan, and Armagh. Some attribute the county of Cavan for a tenth.

#### THE COUNTY OF LOUTH.

This county beinge anciently called Iriell, lyeth betweene the ryver of Boyne and the haven of Carlingforde; this county hath the moste daungerous borderers and neighbors of any county, for it lyeth on the Mac Mahons in the county of Monahan, vpon the O'Neiles of the Teenes and O'Hanlons of the county of Armagh. By meanes of whose incursions the cuntry nearest vnto them lyeth waste. It is part of the English pale and beareth in all contributions and cesses a part with the rest of the provinces.

It bowndeth, East, the sea; West, the Breny; Nor., Armagh; Sou., Meath.

#### THE COUNTY OF DOWNE.

This cuntry conteineth all the landes betweene the haven of Carlingford to the Bay of Knockfergus, viz. Litle Ards which lyeth on the north syde of the ryver of Strangford, it is a fertill champion cuntry of the inheritance of the lo: Savadge. Great Ards, belonginge to con mac Neile og. South claneboy which reacheth from the Duffrin to the ryver of Knockfergus Kilulto, lyinge vpon lough Eaghe and Cranbraselo. Before the Barons warrs in England yt was well inhabited by Englesh, and there still remayneth an olde decayed castle bearing the name of one S<sup>t</sup>. Nicholas Tracy. Killwarlen which is mac Roris cuntry,

cuntry, the Duffrin which in times paste was the inheritance of the Mandevilles, and now belonging to the Whites, Neromy also Newry, and Maurice Eaugh, both the inheritance of S<sup>r</sup>. Hen: Bagnall whose father S<sup>r</sup>. Niclas at his cominge thither fownde yt waste and Shane O'Neill dwelling within halfe a myle, robbing and spoylinge so as no man could travell safely; he builded the Newry through which the country was brought to more cyvillity. Maurice Eaugh was then governed by S<sup>r</sup>. Hugh mac Guinies who was brought by S<sup>r</sup>. Nic: Bagnoll from being O'Neiles Bonaght, to take his landes to him and to his heires males from her Maiestie and to depend onely vpon her so as in this place of Vlster onely, the rude manner of Thomiship was taken awaye. He is of late revolted and at this present in Rebellion.

It bowndeth, East, the sea; West, Armagh; Nor.; Lough eaugh; Sou., Carlingford.

#### THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

This cuntry comprehendeth all the land betweene the baye of Knockfergus and the ryver of Ban conteyninge North Clanneboy, the Route, the Glynnnes, Iland Maggi and Bryan mac Carraughs cuntrye North Clanneboy is divided into two partes; the ryver of Kellis being the meare bownde. The south parte thereof was geven for a rent to the sonnes of Brian Mac Phelim O'Neile who were all pencioners in Ireland to her Maiestie and the eldest Shane mac Bryan yet livinge was cheeffe. The north part beyond Kellis to the ryver of Ban, by loughe Eaugh was assigned to the sonnes of Hugh mac Phelim elder brother to S<sup>r</sup>. Bryan whose eldest sonne and cheife of that parte is Hugh Og mac Hugh.

The Route is properly the inheritance of one Mac Willi descended from a Welsh ancestor in the tyme of the first conquest. This cuntry is pleasant and fertill. The Scotts were once banished, but since these late rebellions permitted agayne so as the ancient inhabitors being y<sup>e</sup> O'Harries and the O'Guines pay servises and rent to the Scotts and depend of them, of which Surilly buy is chiefe.

The Glynnnes so called by reason of the rocky and woody dales both neare to the iles of Raughlines and the iles of Ira and Iura, yt beginneth from the haven of Olderfleet to the Route stretching in length 24 miles, being backed on the one syde with very steepe boggy mowntaynes, and the other syde with the

sea;

sea; where yt hath many small creekes, betweene the rockes and the thicketts where the Scotts gallies doe comonly lande on either ende are very straye and narrow passages into this cuntry, which be opposite to Kentire in Scotland which is 18 miles distant. It was aunciently the land of one Misset an English gentleman, whose daughter one of the Clandonnels an ancestor of Angus mac Coñell of Kentire married, and so clameth the inheritance. They were once all banished and expelled, but since by instructions from her maiestie yt was devided by St. John Perrot, betweene Angus mac Connell cheife of his name and Sourly Buy his uncle bysides the land in the Route. The ile of glimes conteyneth seaven Baronyes of which the Raughlines beinge six miles, is counted half a barony, the rest are Larnparke, Glanan, Redbay, Lade, Carye and Mowbray. These people having continuall supplies out of Scotland, have bene and are causers of great vnquietnes and disloyaltie in Ireland, and better followed by the weaker septes, (for that they are lesse spent upon and better defended) then by the Irish or English.

Iland Magi is a porcion of land invironed with sea, thre miles from Knockfergus, the headland whereof maketh Olderfleet haven; it is fyve myles long, and but a myle broade, very fertill and without woode, but wasted: it is the inheritance of the now erle of Essex.

Bryan Mac Carvughs cuntry was parcell of north Clanboy, won from him by a bastard kinde of Scotts the Clandonnels, it is a stronge piece of grownde lyinge on the North syde of the Ban: it is very hard to hurt him, by reason of the fastnes of his cuntry, having frendes on either side the Ban, which maketh him so obstynate and carelesse, as he would never appeare, but yeeldeth what releeffe he can to the Scotts, he stayeth onely vpon his owne strength, the cuntry is the fastest and safest grownde in Ireland.

#### THE COUNTY OF MONAHAN.

. This county was aunciently called Iriell, geven at the conquest tyme to one Gerald Fitzvrsus or Bearsonne supposed to be one of the 4 knights that slew sanct Thomas of Canterbury. His ofspringe are become meare Irish, calling themselves mac Mahons which signifieth the sonne of a beare, Mahon in Irish being a beare. It conteyneth the cuntries of Iriel, Bartry and Ferny, which are held by 3 capt. of his owne sirname, of which the last bordereth vpon the county

county of Louth, and being parcell of y<sup>e</sup> auncient inheritance of the crowne was geven to Water erle of Essex the title whereof remayneth in the now erle.

It bowndeth, East, South West, Loghearne; No.; Armagh; So.; Cavan.

#### THE COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

This cuntry comonly called Mac Guyres cuntrye lyeth vpon the east syde of the great loghe earne and stretcheth northwards to O'Donels cuntry called Terconnell, Mac Guyre is one of O'Neils Vraughts, he hath not any of name vnder him, but his owne kindred: he is under the bushop of Clohn in the county of Tyrone. This cuntry is very stronge of woodes and boggs especially neare the great lough earne.

It bowndeth, East and North, Tyrone; West, O'Rurks cuntry; So.; Mac Mahon.

#### THE COUNTY OF TYRONE.

The county of Tyrone conteineth all the lande betweene the blacke water and the ryver of Liffer. This was the porcion assigned to Turlogh Lenogh O'Neil in the treatye betweene him and Water erle of Essex, who before had commaund over all the landes southward to the English pale.

It bowndeth, East, county Colran; West, Mac Guyre; No.; Fermanagh; Sou.; Armagh.

#### THE COUNTY OF DUNEGALL.

The county of Dunegall conteineth all Terconnell, which belongeth to O'Donell, and that sirname, and O'Dogherties cuntrye from the ryver of Fyn northward to the sea, and from the easte sea to the ryver of Earne neare the county of Slygo. It is the largest shire in all the province of Vlster. O'Donell is capten and governor of the cuntry, whose strength lyeth in the sept of the O'Chaloganes and Mac Swynes stronge nations of Galloglass. O'Doherties cuntry is a promontory almoste environed with sea, namely with lough Swilly. and loughfoyle on the north parte. It is governed by a capteine called St. John O'Doghertye, who beinge not able to defend himselfe is forced to contribute to O'Donell and O'Neile, *alternis vicibus*. His cuntry lyinge vpon the sea neare the Ilands Ira and Jura of Scotlande, is continually invaded from thence, and thereby forced to be at their pleasure.

It bowndeth, North and East, the ocean; West, Lough earne; South, ryver Fyn.

THE

## THE COUNTY OF COLRAN.

This county beareth the name of the castle of Colran in the north syde of the Ban, and not of the abbey of Colran which is in the route. It containeth all the lands betweene the river Ban, and Loughfoyle amongst the sea coste. The capteine thereof is O'Chane and no other of that name in yt but himselfe savinge his freeholders vnder him. O'Chane is cheefest of O'Neils Vraughts, and createth him O'Neile by castinge a shooe over his heade, vpon a hill in the county of Tyrone, a place allwaies assigned for that purpose.

It bowndeth, East, the sea; West, co. Tyrone; No: Loughfoyle; So: Ban.

## THE COUNTY OF ARMAGHE.

This county conteyneth all the landes betweene the ryver of Dondalke and the blackewater, savinge a small porcion called Conray lyinge neare to Carlingford, which is parcell of the county of Louthe. It is devided into these cuntries, Oriagh, which is O'Hanlons cuntry, Clanbraselo, Clancane, Clanowlo, Muckro, Tyragh, Fewes, and Oneilon, moste of these have severall captaynes.

O'Hanlon's cuntry reacheth from the Newry to Armagh, for the moste parte without woode.

Clanbraseloh is a very boggy and wooddy cuntry, lyinge vpon the syde of the loughe Earne.

Clancane alias Clancumcane is a very stronge cuntry allmoste all wood and bogge and two deepe ryvers, the one called the blacke water, the other the litle Ban, both which doe fall in this cuntry into the loughe Earne.

Clanowlo, lyeth betweene Armagh and the Blackewater near to the ryver. It is boggy and wooddyc, but the reste towards Armagh is champion and fertill: upon that parte of the cuntry was the bridge and forte of Blackewater. Muckro and Tragh, lyeth betweene Armagh and Mac Mahons cuntry.

Fewes bordereth vpon the Englesh pale, within 3 miles of Dundalke; it is a strong cuntry of woode and bogge; the captayne thereof is Turlogh Mac Henry O'Neile, brother to the erle of Tyrone.

Oneilon is likewise a wooddy lande lyinge betweene Armagh and Clancane.

It bowndeth, East, county Monahan; West, ryver of Newry; North, Blackwater; South, county Louth.

A PERTICULER OF SUCH STRENGTHS AND FASTNESS OF WOODE AND BOGGE AS ARE  
IN EVERY PROVINCE OF IRELANDE.

*In Leinster.*

- Glandilore, a fastnes in Pheagh mac Hughes cuntry.  
Shiloghe, in the county of Dublin.  
The Duffrin, in the county of Wexford.  
The Dromes and Leverogh in the county of Caterloghe.  
The great bogge in the Kinges county called the Tougher.  
The fewes in the county of Kildare.  
The woodes and boggs of Munsterevan, Gallin and Slymarge, in the  
Queene's county.  
The Roure near St. Mollines.  
Parte of Consteragh joyninge vpon Kylkenny.

*In Munster.*

- Glan garuf, in O'Siliuan Mores cuntry.  
Glanrug, and Leanmore, in Desmond.  
Olinglaskilmore, in the county of Lymerike.  
Dromfinien, in the county of Corke on Blackwater.  
Arelow, and Muskry quish, in Tipperary.  
Kilhuggi in Typperary, bordringe on Lymrike.

*In Connaght.*

- The woodds and Boggs of Kylbigher.  
Kilcallon in mac Williams cuntry.  
Killaloea in the county of Letrim.  
The woodes and boggs near the Corleus.

*In Vlster.*

- The woodds and boggs of Clanbraselogh.  
Clancane in the county of Armagh.  
The woods and boggs of Kilvito, Kilwarlen, Kiloutry, South Claneboye, in  
ye county of Downe.



A PERTICULER OF THE REBELLS FORCES OF HORSE AND FOOTE ORDINARILYK  
IMPLOYED IN THE REBELLION, 28 APRIL 1599.

*In the province of Leinster.*

	foote	horse
<i>Dublin.</i> The mountayne rebels, viz. the O'Birnes, O'Tooles and y <sup>e</sup> Cavenaghs within the county of Dublin . . . . .	480	20
<i>Kildare.</i> James Fitzpierce a Geraldine. The Bastard Geraldines, 2 base brothers to the late erle of Kildare. One of the De la Hides. Glasne O'Dempsie. Lisagh O'Dempsie with the rest of the O'Dempsies. Certein of the Eustacies of kindred with the late vicount Baltinglass attaynted . . . . .	230	20
<i>Caterlogh and Wexforde.</i> The Cauenaghs the chief of which is Donell Spaniagh with his followers . . . . .	750	50
<i>Quee. Coūty.</i> The O'Mores with their sept and followers . . . . .	570	30
<i>Kings Coūty.</i> The O'Connors, the O'Moloyes, the O'Donies . . . . .	440	12
<i>Kilkenny.</i> The vicount Montgarret with his bretheren and follow- ers, the O'Carrolls . . . . .	130	20
Summa totalis in Leimster, foote 2600, horse 152, in all 2752.		
There are of strangers within Leinster adherents to the rebels,		
With Pheag mac Hughes sonnes y <sup>e</sup> Clamoles with . . . . .	80	
With Murrogh ma Edmonds sonnes of Scotts under Donogh Ganco . . . . .	30	
Of Vlster men under Con the bastard . . . . .	800	

*In Meath.*

The O'Molaughlines, some Nugents, some Giraldines . . . . .	140	20
Capten Tyrrell . . . . .	200	
The o'Reilies with their sept, and strangers . . . . .	100	20
Summa in Meath, foote 440, horse 40, in all 480.		

*In Munster.*

The lo: Barron of Cayre, James Butler his brother, with their fol- lowers . . . . .	300	12
<i>Tipperary.</i> Edmund Fitz Gibbon alias the white knight with his followers . . . . .	400	30
	E 2	Richard

	foote	horse
Richard Pursell, baron of Laughline with his followers . . . . .	200	60
Calluc Mac Shane, Glassi O'Mulrean and his sept . . . . .	300	60
Keidagh O'Magher . . . . .	60	30
Edmund Buck pretending himselfe Baron of Leighgranen and his bonaghs . . . . .	300	20
<i>Ormond.</i> Bryan og O'Keneday, Hugh O'Keneday, with the rest of y <sup>e</sup> O'Kenedaies in Ormond . . . . .	500	20
William Burke Fitz John with y <sup>e</sup> rest of the Burkes of Clanwillim	200	40
James Fitzthomas, calling himself erle of Desmond . . . . .	250	30
The Lord Roche, Patrick Condon . . . . .	200	28
<i>Cork.</i> Donogh mac Cormok lo: of Dowallogh. O'Kyff, Ball O'Hane	200	80
Barry Og and the barrons brother John in the Muskry . . . . .	120	30
<i>Kerrye.</i> In Carebeg with David Burk . . . . .	500	
The lo: Fitzmorrice, Thomas Og, John Delahide Toghe, with his followers and strangers . . . . .	500	30
<i>Desmond.</i> O'Swilly man beare, Dermond Mac Owen, calling him- selfe Mac Arty More . . . . .	500	60
Of strangers assistants with horse . . . . .		100
Summa in Munster, foote 4730, horse 568, in all 5298.		

*In Connaght.*

<i>Roscomō.</i> O'Connor Dun, mac Dermon, O'Brien, O'Hanlye, O'Fla- mergan, the mac Swynes, mac Hugh, Duff Dalic, O'Kellye . . . . .	500	30
Mac Lanigh, O'Doole, O'Harry buy, O'Harte, mac Donogh, O'Garrye	300	30
O'Rurk with his followers in heitriu . . . . .	600	60
<i>Mayo.</i> Mac William and his followers . . . . .	600	60
<i>Galloway.</i> The sonnes of Edward Scobe, uncle to the erle of Clan- ricchard . . . . .	300	
<i>Sligo.</i> The 4 sonnes of Owen O'Madden whose father was killed lately in action . . . . .	50	
The Joyes, mac Donogh, O'Flaherties, in Tercoñell . . . . .	140	
<i>Clare.</i> Teig the erle of Thomonds brother, with other of the O'Briens, mac Nemekawes and their followers . . . . .	600	50
Summa in Connaght, foote 3090, horse 230, in all 3220.		

*In*

*In Vlster.*

	foote	horse
Neil mac Bryan Ferto of the Upper Clanneboy . . . . .	80	30
Shane Mac Bryan of the lower Clanneboy . . . . .	80	50
The Whites cuntry, called the Duffrye . . . . .	20	
Mac Artens cuntry, and Sleught mac O'Neils . . . . .	100	20
Mac Rory of Killwarlen . . . . .	60	10
Hugh mac Murtogh of the Feagher beyond the Mynwater . . . . .	40	
Shane mac Bryan Carragh, and his cuntry joynyng on the Bansyde . . . . .	50	10
James mac Surly buy, and his 2 brothers Neece and Randoll in the cuntry of Towany (being the Route) together with y <sup>e</sup> Glimes . . . . .	400	100
Mac Mahon with Ferny and Glancarvell, Patrick Macarty Moyle, being a competitor to y <sup>e</sup> cou <sup>t</sup> y of Monahan . . . . .	500	160
Edmund Reagh of y <sup>e</sup> Breny . . . . .	500	100
O'Chane with his cuntrye . . . . .	500	200
Sleught Art, Sr. Art O'Neiles cuntry . . . . .	300	60
Henry Og mac Shane . . . . .	200	40
Turlogh mac Henry of y <sup>e</sup> fewes brother to y <sup>e</sup> erle of Tyrone . . . . .	300	60
O'Haggan and his cuntry . . . . .	100	30
The Donnelaghs cuntry betwixt the ryver of fin and lough Swilly possessed by con O'Donnell's sonnes and mac Hugh Duff . . . . .	100	60
Mac Connagh . . . . .	100	12
Lord Savadg of litle Ardes . . . . .	30	10
Mac Guyre in the cou <sup>t</sup> y of Fermanagh . . . . .	500	80
O'Hanlan . . . . .	200	40
O'Quin . . . . .	80	20
The erle of Tyrone hath for his own retynew comonly attending about him . . . . .	700	200
Cormoc mac Barron, the erls brother . . . . .	300	60
Iragh mac Guynies . . . . .	300	40
Sr. John O'Dogherty and his cuntry joynyng vpon lough Foyle . . . . .	300	40
In the Mac Swynes cuntry . . . . .	500	30
O'Boyle and his cuntry . . . . .	100	20
O'Donell and his cuntry of Dunegall . . . . .	200	60
		O'Gallogher

	foote	horse
O'Gallogher . . . . .	200	40
Sleught Rories cuntry . . . . .	100	50
Summa in Ulster, foote 6940, horse 1652, in all 8592.		
Summa totalis of the Rebels whole forces in Irelande, foote 17800, horse 11552, in all 29352.		

A PERTICULER OF SUCH HORSE AND FOOTE AS THE ERLE OF TYRONE HATH VERY LATELY PLOTTED TO BE CESSED AND WAGED BY THE SEVERALL CAPTAYNES AND LORDS OF CUNTRIES IN YE PROVINCE OF VLSTER.

	foote	horse
The erle of Tyrone and his creat is to beare . . . . .	2000	120
Cormoc mac Baron . . . . .	100	40
Henry og O'Neile . . . . .	50	30
O'Hanlon . . . . .	50	40
Art mac Baron . . . . .	30	20
Bryan mac Art cessed vpon Clanneboy . . . . .	300	60
Mac Guynies and his cuntry . . . . .	300	60
All the mac Mahons . . . . .	500	200
Mac Guyre . . . . .	400	60
Art og O'Neiles sonne . . . . .	400	50
O'Chane . . . . .	300	100
James mac Surly buy . . . . .	300	60
O'Donell with all his cuntry . . . . .	3000	200
O'Rurk . . . . .	500	
Shane mac Bryan . . . . .	200	
Thrlough mac Henry y <sup>e</sup> erls brother . . . . .		30
The Breiny findeth y <sup>e</sup> erle . . . . .		60
Summa totalis, foote 8430, horse 1130, in all 9560.		

A JORNALL RELATION OF THE PRINCIPALL ACCIDENTS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND FROM THE X. OF MAYE VNTILL THE IX. OF SEPTEMBER, 1599.

After the lo: lieutenant and governor generall of Ireland had rested certain daies at Dublin for establishinge the state of that kingdome, and for makinge his necessary provision for the warr, his lordshipp departed from thence towards the

the champion feildes betweene the villages of Killrush and castle Martine, in which place he appoynted to meete him 27 ensignes of foote and 300 horse which his lordship devided there into Regiments appoyntyng colonells to the same.

The daye followinge, the rebell shewed himselfe in small numbers deliveringe some few shott out of the woods and ditches vpon our vaunte-curriers but without any hurte. This night the army lodged a myle from Athye which hath bene a great markt towne, but brought by these late wars into the state of a pore village.

Athie is devided into two partes by the ryver of Barrow, over the which lyeth a stone bridge, and vpon yt a castle occupied by James Fitzpierce, a gentleman of the famylie of the Geraldines, who so soone as our army approached the castle yeelded himselfe to the mercy of the lord lieutenant, as dyvers also the same daye, viz. the vicount Montgarret and the lorde of Cayre (both Butlers) who were presented unto the Lord Lieutenant, by the Erle of Ormond, who in that place ioyned his forces to our army.

The lord lieutenant havinge put a guard in the castle of Athye, passed his forces over the Barrow by the bridge of the castle, which ryver beinge not otherwyse fordable but with difficultie, and the bridg thereof the onely waye which leadeth into the Queenes county, the importance of this enterpriz easely appeareth (without any amplification) vnto every ignorant sence. At Woodstocke (a village scituate vpon Barrow) his lordship expected victualls a daye or two for the reliefe of Maryburge, a forte of great importance in the Queenes county which his lordship now hasted, not permitinge other staye in his journey then necessity gave cause. Durynge the tyme that our army incamped at Woodstock, the rebels attempted the stealinge of some of our horses, which beinge perceived by Sr. Christofer Sentlaurence, (sonne to the Lord of Hoth) he passed the ryver naked, and beinge followed by his men reskewed the praye and returned with the heade of a rebell.

About the same tyme the rebels presented themselves 200 stronge to the sight of the castle Rheban, distant a myle from Woodstok, where a parte of the army then laye; but vpon sight of the erle of Southampton, who hasted towards them in most soldier lyke order with a small troope of horse and foote they retyred themselves to their boggs and from thence to their woods.

So soone as the lord Lieutenant was provided of vittells he marched with his  
army

army towarde the forte of Mariborow in the Queenes countye, at which tyme the rebell shewed himselfe by a passage called Blackeforde, through which his lordship marched in such excellent order, that yt terrified him not alone to attempt vpon any parte of the army, but even to approach neare unto the same.

His lordship havinge vittelled the forte, and encreased the garrison, and bestowed the order of knighthood on the capten thereof Frauncis Rush, (who had constantly held the same, being dryven with all his company to eate hors-flesh the space of 20 dayes before) he lodged that night at the foote of a very highe hill colled Crosby Duff, the generall Ratehill of the province of Leinster, where the rebell Ony mac Rury O'More shewed himselfe with 500 foote and about 40 horse two myles from our campe, renewing that night and contynewinge the next morninge a challeng which he had made a few daies before, to fight 50 of his with 50 of ours with sworde and target, which was consented vnto by the lorde lieutenant, but the rebell never came to performe yt.

The lord lieutenant havinge from the topp of Crosby duff viewed the cuntry rounde about, and particulerly the way of that dayes march, led his army towards a passage called Cashells, halfe a myle from that nights quarter. The nature of the passage is such through a thicke woode a myle long, leadeth a highe waye, in moste places ten going paces broad, which in the midst was traversed with a trench and the woode plashed vpon both sydes from behinde which the rebell might with facility gaule our men in their passage. To the other two sydes of the woode are adjoynd 2 boggs which served the rebell for a secure retreat from all force of our armye; but upon an elevated porcion of grownde betweene the woode and the bogge on the lefte hande was a village, from behinde which the rebell might safely sallye and returne agayne to his strength at his pleasure. His Lordship, to make his way through this passage with security devided his army into thre battells. Before the vantgarde marched the forelorn hope consisting of 40 shott and 20 shorte weapons, with order that they should not discharge, vntill they presented their peeces to the rebells breasts in their trenches, and that sooddenly the shorte weapons should enter the trenches pell mell vpon eyther syde of the vauntgarde (which was observed in the batle and reare-guarde) marched wings of shott, enterlyned with pikes, to which were sent secondes, with as much care and diligence as occasion required. The baggage, and a parte of the horse marched before the battell, the rest of the horse troopes fell in before the rearewarde, except 30 which in the head of the rearelorne  
hope

hope, conducted by Sr. Hen : Danvers, made the retreat of the whole army. The vanguard having by provident order of march gayned the ende of the passage, where discovered yt self a large champion and comaunded to make Alt in that place till the horse and whatsoever else was vnprofitable in the strayte were advaunced the playne, which order of march providently appoynted by the lord Lieutenant not being observed in all partes of the army with lyke dilligence, there was loste in the retreyte of the dexter winge of the forlorne hope, capten Boswell and lieutenant Gardner, who dyed with so much bravery and resolucion that yt must be confessed by all who were witnesses of their deathes that their eies have not seene more valiant gentlemen.

His Lordship was this daye in all places, flyinge lyke lightninge from one parte of the army to another, leadinge, directinge, and followinge in the vanguard batle and reareguard. The small losse we susteyned in this place was multiplied upon the rebell by our quarter and skoutmasters, who accompanied with divers gentlemen made a good slaughter of certeine rebells which assayed to force the quarter; among these were of especiall note, Alexander Doñell, and Donnell Knaghy, a man of base birth, but (for the prooffe of his darynge and skill in their military discipline) of especiall esteeme with Tyrone. In this conflict Edward Bushell, gentleman, received a hurt in his brest with a pyke.

The daye followinge, the Lord Lieutenant observinge the former of marche led his army throughe the passage called Ballyregate of a castle belonging to the vicount Montgaret where we founde the rebells so few in number, and so tyme-rous in attempting, as their behaviour proved that the other dayes march was terrible vnto them.

These passages thus overcom to no small terror of the enemy and admyration of the soldior, his Lordship went to Kilkennye (a cytty where the Erle of Ormond is resident) where he was received with as much ioye of the cytizens as could be expressed, either by lyvely orations or by sylent strowinge of the streetes with greene hearbes and rushes with which ceremonyes of gladnes he was lykewise welcomed not many dayes after at Clonmell.

The citizens of Clonmell, had beene longe tyme hindred in their traffique to Waterforde, by the castle of Darenclare, scituate vpon the ryver Suyre, which althoughe yt were very defensible, and that yt had some yeares paste endured the force of an armye, yet was yt at this tyme vpon the Lord Lieutenants com-inge before yt presently yeilded to his mercye.

In the midst of the ryver Suyre (5 miles from Clonmell) lyeth an Iland the same a naturall rocke, and vpon yt a castle which althoughe yt be not built with any great arte, yet is the scite such by nature that yt may be said to be inexpugnable. Of this castle which is called Cayre, is the lord of Cayre entyuled baron, which beinge helde by James Butler his younger brother, the Lord Lieutenant sent the Lord of Cayre parly with him, and with him Sr. Hen. Danvers, whome he advised duringe the parly to observe as much as was possible for him, the nature of the place, who returninge with the lord of Cayre (evill satisfyed that his brother would not yeeld his castle) related the scite and strength of the place, to be such as is mencioned.

This night his Lordship reviewed the place himselfe in person and caused the same to be doñ by the Lord Marshall and sergeant major, comāunding after a dilligent review, that the approaches (takinge the advantages by the way of olde ditches and walls) should be that night carryed to the board of the counterscarp, one day beinge intermitted without doing any thinge, for want of the artillery, which could not arve in shorte tyme, the same being drawne onely by force of men; there passed a daye or two before the battery was comēced.

The same night that the cannon was planted, his lordship sent the lord Marshall and segeant Maior, with 300 men, to occupye a garden which adioyneth to the castle upon y<sup>e</sup> south west parte, althoughe this passage to this garden were such as that a very small number might have made fronte to an army, yet did these beastes first quit that passage, and presently after they abandoned the castle (except 8 persons) to the relieffe of which wer sent early in the morninge 100 kerne, by the whyte knight. In the beginninge of the night, Sr. Christopher Sr. Lawrence was sent with 300 men to possess an Iland which lyeth from the castle towards the northeast not more then halfe an hargubuz shott, to breake up two bridges, one of which leadeth from the Iland to the mayne, and the other from the same Iland to the castle.

The rebells seinge themselves in the morninge secluded from that reliefe which they howerly expected from Desmond and from the white knight: at night they conveyed themselves with as much stillnes as was possible out of the castle, which yet being perceived by dyvers of our guardes, they fell presently to execution, and entred as well the castle without resistance as direction, by which accident was repossessed for her Maiesty, with the slaughter of 80 rebells, one of the strongest places by nature in all Irelande.

Duringe



During this siege capten Brett was shott in the body with a hargubuze, as was also capten Georg Carye through both cheekes and throughe the body, the bullet entringe above the lefte shoulder and passinge forthe vnder the opposite arme hole which hurtes were myraculous, for that there were onely three shotts made and his boddy in all places covered with an armor of muskett prooffe. These two worthy capteines havinge in this siege, and in many other services, made honorable proofes of their vertu after a few dayes chainged this lyfe for a better. His Lordship havinge repaired the breaches of the castle, and placed such a garrison in the same as might anoy the fronteringe rebels, his sicke men beinge sent to Clonmell he arryved by easy jorneyes at Lymricke, where he was entertheyned with two English orations, in which I know not which was more to be discommended, words, composition, or orators, all of them having their particuler excellencies in barbarisme, harshnes, and rusticall both pronounce and action.

The army, which had endured much as well by fowle waies as unseasonable weather, being well refreshed by the relieffe they received from Lymrik, was conducted by his Lordship to Adare. In a ruyned Abbey of which village, his lordship lodged a regiment of foote, passinge the same over the ryver of Adare by a narrow bridge; which was well perceived by the rebels Desmond and Lacy, who never made shew to prohibit the passage, although they had not much more then muskett shott from the same, aboute 1200 foote under 5 ensignes, and 2 cornetts of horse eather appearinge to be at least 100. Those were rayned in sight of our army, devided from yt by an infordable ryver, and a bogge, and in such disorder as yt rather seemed a morris daunce by their trippinge after their bagpipes then any soldiorlyke exercise, they conveyinge themselves after a while in a ringe daunce into a wood which they had close at their backes, and from whence they have not departed further at any tyme since the armye entred Munster, then an olde hunted hare doth from her covert for relieffe.

Earely in the morninge the army passed the ryver and marched towardes a passage halfe a myle from Adare which had on eyther syde a woode, but under that on the right hande a bogge, by the head of which extended yt selfe the woode on the lefte hande. The passag laye over the bogge, which was very difficult both for many naturall sloughis which we founde in the same and for plashin made that morninge by y<sup>e</sup> rebell. At the entrance into the passage

betweene the woods the dexter winge, beinge not so farr advanced as the forelorne hope, the Lo. Lieutenant being in the heade of the Troopes to direct them, had delivered vpon him close at hand and from reste, a vollye of at leaste a 100 shott, which were instantly repelled by some troopes, which his Lordship caused to be drawn forth of the vantguard, comaunded that daye by the erle of Thomond. His Lordship havinge with slaughter of more then a 100 (not loosinge a man of his owne) put the rebell to retreat on that parte, possessed himselfe of the passage, placinge on either syde thereof a regiment that might assure the same, and that dun he returned to geve order to the reare guard, where he was in like daunger as before in the vantguard, overcominge the same by the lyke order, but not altogether with so much slaughter.

The rebell thus repelled by providence in his lordship, the whole troopes marched through the passage, not alone without losse, but without difficultie. On the left hand of the passage was Plunkett lodged with 300 rebells, who makinge onely that daye eccho in the woode with the reporte of 30 or 40 shott, was constreyned the next daye to geve pledges to Desmond for the assurance of his faith.

From the passage his Lordship conducted his army towards Aischeton, which castle was then somthinge distressed by the rebell, who intercepted the passage in such sorte, that till this tyme yt could not conveniently receive any relieffe from Lymricke, from whence it was now vitelled by his lordship; the rebell neither hinderinge his lordship to passe or repasse his army over the ryver Doyle upon which Ayscheton is scituate, where a small number might have made heade to a copious army, nor endeavored any notable offence, in any other place, where they might have proved their forces with much advantage.

His Lordship with purpose (as I conjecture) to geve the rebell an inexcusable provocation, directed his jorney towards castle Conan in the county of Corke, Desmonds cheefe howse, at which tyme passinge betweene woodes close by Pheniters towne which flancqued the army on either syde within muskett shott, his lordship peradventure to lett the rebell know the vertu of his men, and their owne weakenes, enterteined skyrmysh with them in their owne strength, forcynge them to abandon the same without other losse, then that Sr. Hen. Norris presenting a charg with his troope of horse, had his legge broken with a bullet, which hurt was after certen weekes languishment the end of his lyfe. The Lord Lieutenant was this day in as good hazard as any pryvate man,

man, so was lykewise the erle of Southampton in much daunger whiles he expected in the head of his troopes (all the tyme of the skirmysh) oportunyty to charge the rebells. The lord Graye havinge that daye the vauntgarde of horse gave chace with 12 of his troope to a doble number of the rebells forcing them into the wood to their foote, where capt. Franscis Markham a gentleman of knowne valour was shott through the right cheeke with a bullet. There dyed of the rebells clan Donnell and one of the Burks both comaunders, and of ours Sir Henry Norris and capten Fennyngs.

Not many dayes after the army still marchinge towards castle Conan was enterteyned in skirmish from the skert of a woode called Barney Cowlagh by Mac Cartes men, where Sir Henry Danvers, endeavouring to save certen stragglers which had indiscreetly ingaged themselves, was shott in the face, the bullet passing to the roote of the lefte eare, where yt still resteth, but without any annoyance, he beinge already perfetly recured.

Desmond insteade of defendinge his castle, raced the same, by which and throughe his whole cuntry the army marched without any offence, although he might have presented himselfe in our way in many places of exceeedinge advantage, so that without any impeachment of the rebells his lordship aryved (notwithstandinge great braggs made by Desmond) unfought withall, at Waterforde, where his lordship was received with as much joyfull congratulation of the people as in any other towne in Ireland. During his lordships aboard in Waterforde, he reviewed with carefull diligence, the harborow, as also the forte of Dun Canon which guardeth the same. The scite and fabrycature of which (both in his lordships judgment and opynion of others skillfull in fortification) declare Sr. John Norris (by whose approbation that was chosen and this allowed) as judiciall an ingener as his other acts have enoblished him for a most worthy soldiour. For the scite it is so overtopped by an emynent height not distant from yt more then 150 paces, that no man can stand secure in the piazza of the forte. And as for any arte of fortyfication whereof this place should participate and whereby skilfull inginers are accustomed to render places more defencyble, yt was held by his Lo: judgment (as I said before) an insufficient intrenchment, and consequently a moste defective fortresse, as whose spalto affordeth a secure lodginge under it to an enemy, coverynge him from all offences of the parapett, and yet the same not rayseed to such height as may secure the defendants in the strada coperta, whose ditch is narrow and shallow,  
whose

whose rampart and parapett are low and slender, whose defences are a forbici and imbarba, and that which is worse their correspondency hindered by the cassamates in the ditch, whose piazza is narrow affordinge no place for retreat, when that rampart which is, shall either be beaten or zapped, all which imperfections are fownde in that parte which regardeth the mayne. That part of the forte towards the water, although he yt hath not so many defects as the former, yet hath yt as grosse errors as any are mencioned. The two platformes being both of them so skant, that they are not alone uncapable of such a number of peeces as may serve to command the water, but that they which are allready there, have not place sufficient for their recoyle, the defects of which platformes are suted by answerable parapetts, which being slender, and of stone, they promise instead of securty, death to as many as shall in necessytye present themselves to defence.

From Waterforde to Dublin (whether the Lo: Lieutenant was now in returne with his army) leadeth a doble waye. The one throughe the Glynnes which denyeth passage to horse and carriages; the other alonge the sea shoare, by which his lordship conducted his army as well peradventure for the comodity of the passage as to visit in his waye the garrysons of Enescorfy, Arclo, Wicklo, and Newcastle: untill the army had passed Enescorfy the rebell never shewed himselfe, for all the former daies marches were throughe a playne champion, where he never trusteth to himselfe. But before that the army was advaunced to the mydwaye from Eniscorfy to Arcklow, the rebels (ayded with the oportunitie of woodes and bogges) presented themselves in our waye, for the preservinge of certen villages all which (and onely which) his lordship caused to be consumed with fyer in despyte of them.

About three myles from Arcklo the army was to passe a forde, where the rebell presented himselfe, with opynion (as may be conjectured) yf not to prohibitt yet to trouble the army in the passage; the skirmish was for the space of an howre hotely maynteyned on both partes, either parte contendinge to force the other by fresh supplies out of their grosses which they had hard at hande. The Lord Lieutenant thinkinge to enclose the enemy betweene the horse and foote comānded the lord of Southampton (who was now passing the foarde) to take the first oportuenty to charge, but the rebels (whose dread of our horse causeth him to observe dilligently all their motions) perceiving the erle of Southampton to advance with his troope, retyred him selfe into his strength, a parte  
of

of them casting away their armes for lightnes, which yet escaped not altogether the execution of the lo: Marshall who directed the foote on that parte. The rebell was to passe in his retreat to his strength, through 2 small fields, enclosed with highe hedges, through the end of the second of which laye a highe waye vnto a neighbor woode, which the lo: Lieutenant a while observinge (envidit by the oportunyty of the place which gave excellent commoditie to close the rebell betweene his horse and foote) sent vnto an Irish comaunder of horse willinge him to charge who obeyed instantly, but yett comytted therin a doble error, the one for that he sent not 20 or 30 horse before his troope that might have broken the rebells and received their first vollye; the other that for about 12 shott which were delivered upon his troope at his first approach, he turned heade when his trompsett sownded a charge, geving lyfe thereby to more then 200 rebells which stooode at his mercye.

In the meane tyme while these things were in hande the whole troopes were passed the foarde, and his lordship began to contynew his march towards Arklow, laying in a village upon the waye an ambuscado of about 40 horse, which might cut of the rebell yf (which his Lordship suspected) he should approach to offend the rearguard. But the rebell (who is not easely surprysed by ambuscadoes) either perceivinge or suspectinge deceit made an Alt with his troopes, which howsoever yt seeme contemptible, yet is yt sufficient to fight in the trenches of his cuntry, with fyve such armyes as ours. His Lordship perceiving the rebells staye, called his horse to their place, and the cuntry beinge to appearance a playne and firm champion, the whole army seemed to promise to itselfe securytie, and the rebell not purseivinge, every man attended onely to hasten to the quarter in a speedy march, whereby the army was distracted into an excessive length, and brought thereby although into no disorder, yet into some unreadiness, whiles the army marched; his Lordship beinge allwaies vigilant to observe the order of his owne troopes in their march ascended for this purpose the topp of a hill, whose height discovered the whole playne, and perceivinge from thence, that the rebell prepared to gene vpon the reare of the sinister winge of the vantguard led by Marmaduk Constable ensigne to capt. Ellis Jones, he comaunded the erle of Southampton (to whome gathered suddenly a few stragling horse) to haste to their succors; in the meane tyme while the erle of Southampton was occupied in assuring the foote, and endeavoring to drawe the rebell (which held him in his strength of woode and bogge) upon  
firm

firm grownde, the lord Lieutenant not attended upon by more then 6 or 7 horse, presented a charge to the rebells grosse of horse and foote, which was now making towards the lord of Southampton, whome they see to be engaged, and upon a grownd disadvantageous for horse; but perceiving the resolution of the lord Lieutenant who constantly expected them upon the syde of a bogge which laye betweene him and them they made an Alt, about which tyme the Lord of Southampton, having increased the number of his horse to about 24, seeing yt lost tyme to endeavor to draw the rebell from their strength resolved to charge them at all disadvantage, which was performed with that suddennes and resolution, that the rebell being before dispersed in skirmish had not tyme geven him to put himselfe in order, so that through the oportunity of occasion taken by the erle of Southampton, and vertu of those which followed him (who were moste of them noble) there was made a notable slaughter of the rebells; such as escaped the horse, were intercepted from their grosses (to which they labored to retyre) by the foote, which were sent thither by y<sup>e</sup> Lord lieutenant for releefe of the hors, many of which by the too much forwardnes of their ryders were there imbogged by which misfortune Sethcockes a gentleman (whose industry had adorned him with much both science and language) died in that place, and Capt. Willim Constable after a doble wound, saved himselfe by his owne vertue. That which the foote did in this parte was not lesse comendable then that of the horse, there beinge a stande made by S<sup>r</sup>. Hen. Poore, Capt. Courtney, and ensigne Constable with a 100 men, aganst at least 400 rebells: but that which hindred ye coming downe of the rebells, was the presence of the lord lieutenant who stode in a place fitt to offend both by direction and number, havinge a litle before ioyned vnto him the rearguard of foote and horse.

The rebells Donnell, Spaniah, and Phelim mac Pheagh, mooved either with the slaughter of theirs, whereof died more then a 100, fyve of which were comāunders, or terrified with y<sup>e</sup> order, readiness and vertu of our men, withdrew themselves, and desyred by S<sup>r</sup>. Hen. Danvers (who comāunded that day the rearguard of horse) to com in vnto his lordship vpon protection, which his lordship denyed as a course vnfitt for rebells, refusing to receive them upon other tearmes, then upon submission to her Majesties mercy.

His Lordship had before his entrance into this jorney of Munster, and Leimster, with provident care secured by sufficient garrisons all the frontiers of the English pale, leavinge at Dundalke the Lord Cromwell, at Ardee, S<sup>r</sup>. John Shelton,

Shelton, at Kelles, the Lord Audley, garrisoning in lyke manner under the government of other comāunders, the townes of Mollingar, Trym, Aboy, and Ballymore in Westmeath. In the King's county, Dyngan, in the Queene's county, Maryburg; in the county of Carlogh, Caterlogh; in the county of Wexford, Enescorty, and in the county of Dublin, in the Birnes cuntry, Wicklow, where was left Sr. Hen. Harrington with the comaund of Sr. Alexan. Ratcliffs regiment.

Not above seaven myles from Wicklow is that part of the Glynnes called Banilagh, the strength of which cuntry, although yt is exceedinge greate by nature, yet hath yt lately beene much encreased by the industry of Phelim mac Pheagh, who at this daye usurpeth the possession of the same. Sir Hen. Harrington partly mooved with a desyre to take a view of Phelim mac Pheaghs new workes, and partely drawne by an opynion to exercise his soldiors, which were all rawe men and vndisciplined, departed from Wicklow towards the Banilagh with 450 foote under the comaund of their captaynes, Wardman, Mal-lory, Linley, Loftus, and Ratcliff, to which he added capt. Montacute with his troope of 50 horse, and 15 horse of so many Irish gentlemen who offered themselves voluntarilye to this service. It was marched that daye within a myle of Banilagh where yt was encamped by the side of a bogge, not of neces-sitie (for this jorney was meerly voluntarye) but either of judgment or necligence, which maketh as well his error inexcusable who made choice of this place, as his who approved the same. The rebels takinge the oportunytie of that advantage which was geven them by this unsoldior lyke encamping, never ceased to disquiet our men, the whole night longe, deliveringe sometimes entier vollies of shott in their market place.

The next morninge (which he had also don the daye before at his first com-inge to this quarter) Sr. Hen: Harrington, attended onely with the horse, went towards the Banilaghe, returninge eftsoone without makinge any memorable discovery of the place, which yet was the occasion of his drawing forth presently upon his returne to the quarter, havinge received intelligence that the rebels had assembled themselves in grosse, he gave order to march which the rebels perceivinge (they being then in sight) hasted after, and comēcyng skirmish with their loose shott, maynteyned the same for the space of two myles, when our men having passed a small brooke by a forde and lodged 10 musketteires

in a ditch which might with exceeding advantage have expected the pursuers from Rest, fled shamefully at the sight of 4 or 5 naked raskalls, suffryng themselves to be knocked downe with the stockes of their pieces. Capt. Wardmā endeavouering to reforme this disorder, and assisted (as they saye) in his frustrate, but honorable paynes, by the rest of his ranke, left his dead bodye in that unfortunate place, for an ocular testimony of his corage and vertu of whose infortune Capt. Henry Aderton, sergeant maior to the regyment, being an emulous witnes, never turned his face from the rebells, but the rest flyinge was (lyke another Cocles) both to them and to himselfe a buckler, vntill he was relieved by captein Montacute.

Of the pryvate men escaped by flight, but more hidd themselves lyke fearefull hares in the furies, all which were by a martiall courte condemned to dye, which sentence was yet mittigated by the Lord Lieutenants mercy, by which they were onely decimated by lott, soone after his Lordships returne to Dublin; the capt<sup>s</sup>. were accused in a martiall courte of cowardize and omission of their duties, where as I have heard they discharged themselves honorably, but Welsh, lieutenant to Capt. Adam Loftus, was founde culpable of either error, and therefore sentenced to be shott.

The lord Lieutenant had not sooner refreshed his army after the painfull journey of Munster, but he led a parte of the same into Ophaly, now called the kinges countye: but before his Lordship departed himselfe from Dublin, he sent the Lord Marshall with a sufficient force into the Queenes county to vitle the forte of Mariburge, and as I suppose to suppress as much as was possible, the insolency of the O'Mores, which are the capitall rebells of that cuntrye. He sent lykewise at the same tyme the sergeant major into Ophaly, whome his Lordship overtooke not far from Phillips towne, the head towne of that shire, which his lordship supplied with munition and vittles, viewing in the waye the grownde, which not many daies before Capt. William Williams, sallyinge forth of the towne with 300 men to recover a pray taken that morninge by the rebells, loste 60 of his men, which fell improvidently betweene three enemies ambuscados.

The next morninge after the Lord Lieutenant had joyned to him the sergeant major, his Lordship conducted his forces, which exceeded not the number of 1200 foote, and 200 horse, out of the Kinges county into the county of Westmeath



meath making his waye over a trench strengthened with a duple ditch, where the rebells presented no resistance, although they were in sight 600 stronge, and had such advantage of grownde both for wood and bogge, as they might have made our passage very difficult, yf not altogether prohibited the same. But although they abandoned the advantage which was presented them in the morninge, yet omitted they not to take their opportunitie in the afternoone, enterteyning with contynuall skirmish the sinister winges of our army, which for 4 myles together were flancqued both with woode and bogge, which advantage of grownd turned to their disadvantage in prooffe, for they being made bold thereby, lost this daye one of the Connors, a principall comaunder amongst them, and about 40 pryvate men, we receiving no losse and almoste no hurte.

A porcion of the county of Ophalye is called Fergall, a place so stronge as nature could devise to make yt by wood and bogge, with which yt is environed, which for the naturall strength thereof, the rebells in those partes have ever since the begininge of these warres made a storehowse for all their prayes, peaceably enjoyng there without molestacion what they had injuriously robbed from other parties. In Fergall from Derrow (whether the lord Lieutenant parposed to conduct his army) leadeth awaye through a thicke woode, and over two fordes, both of them (besydes their naturall difficulties) entrenched and plashed in such manner, (as his Lordship was perswaded by them to whome the cuntry was well knowen) to leave the accustomed waye, and to passe the ryver Derrow by a bridge which his Lordship caused to be made, to which worke the rebell gave no impediment; although that for the advantage of the place, he might with a very small number and without any losse have defeated the passage. The army aryved that night late at Ballycowen, halfe a mile from which is Ardenegroffe, whether Sr. Conyers Clifford, governor of Connaght, was come with 9 companies of foote, according to direction which the lo: Lieutenant had geven him by his letters not many dayes before: Sr. Conyers Clifford was sore fought with all his entrance into Fergall having 10 men slayne and 40 hurte, which losse was by the vertu of his men dobled vpon the rebell of whome were slayne and hurt about 100. In this skirmish, was of singular note the vertu of Sr. Griffin Markham whome the governor comended to the Lord Lieutenant for having made demonstracion of his forwardnes, even to the undertakynge of the duty of a sergeat.

In the morninge after the Lo: Lieutenant had a while entertheyned the governor in pryvate, his lordship devidid his forces into 3 partes, sending into the woodes whether the rebells wer retyred with their coves, 500 choice men under the conduct of Sr. John mac Coughlin, and Sr. Theobald Dyllon, and as many another way under the comaund of Sr. Christopher Sr. Lawrence; his Lordship with the rest of his forces of hors and foote took the fittest places, from whence he might either second or serve for a retraits to the rest in any extremitie. The enemies fearinge to loose his coves, entred skirmish with us, but yet so fearfully (seing the Lo: Lieutenant ready for any advantage) and with so small resistance, as their lives seemed more precious unto them then their coves, upon which Sr. Christofer Sr. Lawrence fell, who with a great slaughter of the rebells returned with 500 coves and 60 garrans; the lyke fortune had Sr. John mac Coughlin and the rest with him. This attempt was made with such resolution in the soldiours and discretion in the leaders, that yt bredd such a terror in the rebell as after that daye he never durst appear in sight, but hid himselfe from place to place in the woods from whence he could not easely be chased. The Lord Lieutenant seinge yt but lost tyme to hunt after them, the yeare spendinge faste, and the weather beinge unseasonable, having dispatched away Sr. Con: Clifford into Connaght, returned by easy journeyes not many dayes after to Dublin, where his Lordship was certefyed of the unfortunate defeat and loss of Sr. Con: Clifford in the Corleus, the manner whereof, as I hard yt related, was in this manner.

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE DEFEAT IN THE CORLEUS THE 15. OF AUGUST 1599.

Sr. Conyers Clifford, governor of Connaght, going to the releefe of Connor Sligo with 1900 men vnder 25 ensignes and about 200 English and Irish horse, came to the entrance of the Corleus the moste dangerous passage in Connaght the 15 of August, about 4 a clocke in the afternoone, being then highe tyme to lodge his men after a paynefull journey, where understanding that the rebells had not possessed that passage, he resolved to march thorow the same night; whereupon putting his troops in order, the vanguard was conducted by Sr. Alexander Ratclif; the Lord of Dunkellin sonne to the erle of Clanricchard followed with the battell, and Sr. Arthure Savadg brought up the reare garde. The horse (where also the baggage was left,) had directions to stand betweene the abbey  
of

of Boyle, and the entrance into the passage, under the comāund of Sr. Griffin Markham, until the same should be freed by the foote about a quarter of a myle from the mowth of the passage, had the rebells traversed the same with a bari[ca]do with doble flancks, in which and in other places of advantage thereabouts were lodged about 400 of them, contrary to that which was advertised to the governor. They which possessed the barricadoes, at the approach of our vantguard, delivered a small volly of shott upon them, abandoninge the same allmoste without any force, which the governor possessing made yt passible by openyng the midst, and placed guardes upon the same, appoyntinge to the angle of the sinister flancke Rogers, lieutenant to Sr. Hen. Carye, to the angle of y<sup>e</sup> Dexter flancke, Rafe Constable (a gentleman deservedly esteemed of the governor for his vertu) and not much distant from him upon the same flancke, Capt. Water Fludd and Capt. Windsore gevinge to them 40 men a piece, with comaundement that they should not abandon their places untill they heard further from himself. Things being thus ordered, the vantguard, followed by the batle and rearguard, advanced in short tyme by a narrow waye betwixt 2 large boggs to the syde of a woode halfe a myle broade, through which lyeth a highe waye so broade as yt geveth liberty for 12 men to march in front, the same rysinge equally and gently untill yt have passed the woode where yt is caryed upon the syde of a high hill, which yt leaveth on the left hand and ye hill and grownde adjoyninge being a mayne bogg, vpon the right hand lyeth a thicke woode not more than muskett shott from the same, in either of which places, although the rebell from their contynuall practiz, have exceeding advantage of our men, yet have they more advantage upon the bogge, which they well knowinge made at this tyme choice thereof, and even thither were followed by Sr. Alex. Ratcliff, who although he were in the beginninge of the skirmish shott in the face, yet he ever contynewed to spend all his powder upon them; and no supply coming unto him, prepared to charge them with a small number of such choice pikes as would either voluntarylie follow him or were by him called forth by name from of the body of the vantguard; but before he could come to joyne with them, he had the use of a legg taken from him with the stroake of a bullet, by which ill fortune he was forced to retyre, susteyned upon the armes of 2 gentlemen, one of which receivinge the lyke hurte, died in the place, as did also himselfe, soone after, being shott through the boddy with a bullet.

There

There was with Sir Alex: Ratcliff in the head of the vanguard Capt. Henry Cozbye, whome at his goinge to chardge he invited to accompany him; and perceivynge him slacke, "well, Cozsby," said he, "I see I must leave thee to thy basenes, but I must tell the before my departure, that yt were much better for the to dye in my company by the hands of thy countrymen, then at my returne to perish by my sworde;" but Cosby, which is the generall disposition of all tru cowards, yeelding to have the terme of his lyfe a while deferred upon any condition, stood fyrme with at least a third parte of the vanguard untill he see the adversyty of this noble knight, when by example of his turninge heade the vanguarde fled in such route, that yt discomfited the batle with y<sup>e</sup> sight of which (not abiding any impression,) was broken the rearguard, the whole forces being almost without any enemyes force in a moment put all in confusion, which disorder the governor endeavouringe (but in vaine) to reforme, whilest he had any strength left in him, was after much fruitless travell, susteyned breathless upon the armes of S<sup>r</sup>. John mac Swine and Capt. Olyver Burkes lieutenant, who perceivinge the disordered flight of the whole army (disparing to save their lyves by other meanes) perswaded him to retyre himselfe with them; when he reproovinge the basenes of his men replyed Romane lyke, that he would not overlyve that daies ignomynye. But that affection which mooved S<sup>r</sup>. John Mc. Swyne to vse intreatyes, perswaded him now to practiz force, by which they caryed him from the pursewing rebells some few paces, where enraged with a consideration of the vildenes of his men which he often repeated, brake from them in a fury, and turning head alone, alone made head to the whole troopes of pursewers in the midst of whome after he was stroake through the body with a pyke, he dyed fighting, consecrating by an admyrable resolucion the memory of his name to imortalitye, and leaving the example of his vertu to be intytuled by all honorable posterities. There died lykewyse Godred Tirwhit, brother to Mr. Robert Tyrwhit of Kettleby in Lyncolnshire, fighting by the syde of S<sup>r</sup>. Alex. Ratcliff, of whome cannot be sayde lesse, then that he hath left behinde him an eternall testemony of the noblenes of spirit, which he had deryved from an honorable famylye. But these went not alone, for they were accompanied to the gates of death by dyvers worthy, both lieutenants and ensignes, who were followed, (for that they were not followed by them to fight) by 200 base and cowardlye raskalls. The rest which els had all perished were saved

saved by the vertu of Sr. Griffin Markham, who chardginge the pursewers in the head of my Lo: Southhamptons troope gave securitie to this ignominious flight, having in his chardge the smaller bone of his right arme broken with the stroake of a bullett, and that which addeth moste to the comendation of his chardge is, that it was presented upon the narrow waye between the two boggs before mencioned, and forced with the losse of some both men and horses into the bogg vpon the right hand, where the rebells followed eagerly the execution of our men, untill the feare they apprehended vpon the sight of our horses, caused them to stay their pursuite and to thinke upon their owne safetie.

This defeat was geven by O'Rvrke and mac Dermon O'Donell being there but came not to fight, to whome the governors head was sent that night for a present; his bodye was conveyed to a monastery not far from thence, as appeareth by mac Dermons letter to the constable of Boyle, which is censured by Sr. John Harrington (from whom I received a copy of yt) to be barbarous for the Latyn but cyvill for the sence. For confirmacion of whose judgment the letter yt selfe is contented by my hand for justyfication of his barbarisme to appeare before as many as will vouchsafe to read yt.

Conestabulario de Boyle salutem: Scias quod ego traduxi corpus gubernatoris ad monasteriū Sanctæ Trinitatis propter ejus dilectionem, et alia de causa, si velitis mihi redire meos captiuos ex predicto corpore, quod paratus sum ad conferendum vobis ipsum; alias, sepultus erit honeste in predicto monasterio et sic vale, scriptū apud Gaywash 15 Aug. 1599: interim pone bonū linteamen ad predictum corpus, et si velitis sepelire omnes alios nobiles, non impediam vos erga eos.

Mac Dermon.

By this lettre is too truly interpreted a troublesome dreame of the governors, which he had about a yeare before this defeat, when being wakened by his wife out of an unquiet sleepe, he recounted unto her, that he thought himselfe to have beene taken prisoner by O'Donell, and that certen religious men (of compassion) conveied him into their monastery where they concealed him, and so indeed as he dreamed or rather prophesied the monastery hath his boddye, the worlde his fame, and his frends the want of his vertu.

A

A BRIEF RELATION OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE EXPEDITION OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT GENERALL OF IRELAND TOWARDS THE NORTH PARTE OF THAT KINGDOM, FROM THE 28 OF AUGUST UNTILL THE IX. OF SEPTEMBER 1599.

No rebell in Ireland being able to contynew long without holdinge correspondency with Tyrone, and receyving of ayde from him, I cannot thinke they erre, who are of opinion that he (before any other rebell) were by her Maiesties forces first to be taught his obedience, which no doubt hath beene and is the judgment of the Lord Lieutenant Generall of Irelande. But that kingdome, being at his lordships first landinge, either wholly entred into rebellion, or inclyninge to favor them which were allready in action, the northern frontiers being (besides their naturall sterillity) soe wasted by Tyrone, that they denyed meanes not to susteine men but catle, and which is of as great consequence as any other consideration, his lordships army being then raw and unexperienced, yt seemeth to my weake sence to have beene agreable to all pollicy both of state and warr to have first visited y<sup>e</sup> weaker rebels, against whome his lordship having performed so much as hath beene declared in my former relations; and assured the south and west frontiers of y<sup>e</sup> English pale, by sufficient garrisons. He departed from Dublin towards castle Kerran, a village not farr from Kelles in Eastmeath, where he mustred 2700 foote and 300 horse, conducting them by the shortest way towards Donnemaine in Ferny, purposing to plant there a garrison; for that from that place might be offended comodiously all the rebels bordering upon Blackwater. In this jorney his lordship visited Louth, which towne (althoughe yt stande conveniently to receive a garrison,) yet bycause yt could not be fortified without much chardge, tyme and travell, his lordship repayred Ishleragh, a village neare Louth, placing in the same two dayes after seaven companyes of foote, and a troope of horse. Whilest this worke was in hand, Sr. William Warren obtayned leave of his lordship that he might treat with Tyrone (who laye then encamped not above thre myles from vs, with ten thowsand foote and a thowsand horse) for the deliuerie of Capt. John More, taken prisoner not many daies before in Ophaly. Tyrone professinge to Sr. William Warren to have had a long tyme a great desyre to make his submission, and entreated the Lord Lieutenant by him that he would be pleased to receive a message from him by Henry Agen his constable; who being permitted to have accesse unto his  
his

his Lordship that night, entreated that his lordship would vouchsafe to parly with his master the next daye, to which the Lord Lieutenant said that he would in the morning draw forth into the field and be readdy by ten a clocke to parly with him, with his sword in hand, and that Tyrone might know him he comanded to be shewed to Agen his horse and armes, sayinge that he would send to Tyrone to know the markes lykewise of his, to the end they should not mistake one the other in the field, where sayd he to Agen, yf thy master have any confidence either in the justnes of his cause, or in the goodnes and number of his men, or in his owne vertu, of all which he vaynelye glorieth, he will meet me in the field so far advanced before the head of his kerne as myselfe shalbe separated from the front of my troopes, where we will parlie in that fashion which best becometh soldiors ; which sayd, he licensed him to departe.

Early in the morninge the Lo: Lieutenant havinge appointed a sufficient number both of foote and horse, which he ordered in forme of a Saltier or Sanct Andrews cross, placing upon eche flancque (which served for winges,) 100 hors, appoyntinge lykewise to follow the army not much behynde the rearwarde an entier grosse of 100 horse, that out of the same might both be sent out seconds to any distressed parte, and also that in a generall adversytye yt might stand to make the retreat of the whole army. In this order his lordship marched through an open champion, untill he came within a myle, or thereaboutes, of Tyrones camp, which (besydes the naturall strenth thereof) was so strongly fortifyed by arte and industrie, as yt appeared to them, who had seene the woorkes, impossible to be forced by twenty tymes our number.

When the Lord Lieutenant had expected in this place some howres in battell, a small number of Tyrone's horsmen shewed themselves a farr off from our troopes, one of which callinge to ours tould them that Tyrone desyred much to speake with his lordship, and humbly entreated the same. But that tyme and place he thought not fitt, for that their parlye might be a cause to bringe the troopes to blowes, which he studyinge by all meanes to prevent, had purposely contened himselfe with his whole forces within the lystes of his campe ; which so soone as the lord Lieutenant understoode (making his reare the vantguard) he returned to his campe in his first order. Tyrone beinge resolved not to fight upon equall grownde, and the Lord Lieutenant not having sufficient forces to attempt his campe, he resolved by the advice of his counsell, to returne backe

into Meath, and directing his march accordingly the next mornynge towards Nabber, which his Lordship had perposed to fortifye and to plant a Garrison, he was overtaken by Hen: Agen, who having don his dutye to his Lordship, he lett him understand (speaking so lowd as all might heare that were present) that Tyrone desyred the Queenes mercy, and intreated to speake with his Lordship concernge the manner of making his submission, addinge further that Tyrone attended his Lordships pleasure at a forde called Bellaclayne, not halfe a myle out of the waye of the army upon the right hand of the march, which being instantly viewed by such as his Lordship sent thither, they fownde the place convenient and Tyrone attendinge there unaccompanied, to whome his Lordship hasted, but not before he had sett a guard upon the baggage, and put both foote and horse in perfect order to fight; bycause that tymes of treaties and parlies have ever beene held for moste suspected.

Before the Lord Lieutenant was fully aryved at the foarde Tyrone tooke of his hatt and enclyninge his body did his duty unto his Lordship with very humble ceremony, contynewynge the same observancy the whole tyme of the parlye. It was first emparled betweene themselves in pryvate, and then before six on either partye. With the Lord Lieutenant were the earle of Southampton, Sr. Georg Bouchier, Sr. Warham Sr. Leger, Sr. Henry Danvers, Sr. William Constable, Sr. William Warren. On Tyrones parte were Cormoc mac Baron, mac Guinies, Evard mac Cowleye, mac Guyre, Henry Ovengton and Richard Owen; where yt was concluded that there should be a cessation from armes for six weekes, and the warr to be renewed at the Lord Lieutenants pleasure, gevinge 14 dayes warninge. It was further agreed, that yt should be lawfull for all them that were now in action, to participate of the benefyte of this cessation, which if any refused or neglected, they should be lefte by Tyrone and all his adhearents, to be prosecuted by her Maiesties army. For performance of which agreement the Lord Lieutenant bownd himselfe in the honor of his woorde, and Tyrone tyed himselfe by oath taken the next daye followinge by 4 comysioners, Sr. Warham Senleger, Sr. William Constable, Sr. William Warren and Henry Wootton, secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, of whome he is as worthely esteemed for his rare qualities as he is deservedly loved of all others for his vertues, and therefore thought the onely man in the armye fittest among the rest of the commissioners, that by the weight of his judgment, might be counterpoyzed



poized the sharpnes of Hen. Ovingtons witt, Tyrone's cheefest counsellor. There were sent with the commissioners for their garde, certeine troopes of horse, with whome remayned as pledge untill the returne of the commissioners, Eward mac Cowlye, Hen. Agen and Shane mac Donnell; Henry Ovington (without whome Tyrone deliberateth of no matter of moment) was nomynated for the fourth pledge, but Tyrone intreated the commissioners y<sup>t</sup> they would rest satisfied with the others, and that Ovington myght remayne with himselfe.

If there be either fayth in Tyrone or truth in them that are most of his counsell, he desyreth nothing more then peace, which at this tyme had bene concluded, but that he resteth bownde to the Spaniarde by oathe to contynue in armes, yf the Spaniard shall lande such forces in England as might possesse and holde any place in that kingdome; which not succeedinge by the end of this moneth, he hath faythfully promysed to the Lord Lieutenant to submitt himselfe to the Queenes mercy. Of the performance of which promise there is more hope for some important reasons, then for any truth which hath bene fownd in himselfe. For, first, his yeares (which are drawinge to three score) may moove him to desyre quiet; next the establishment of his greatnes in his posteritye, which he can not doe by the custome of Tamistrye, if he should dye and leave his children yonge. Thirdly, the feare which he may conceive of her Maiesties power, if she shall once resolve to presse him in dyvers partes at the same instant. And lastly, a desyre which he may have to preserve that infinite masse of wealthe, which he hath by injustice and rapine heaped togeather, which els wilbe in shorte tyme exhausted, by the maynteyninge of his Bonaghs, and susteyninge them whom he hath robbed.

So soone as this conclusion was made with Tyrone, the Lord Lieutenant dissolved his army, and havinge lodged his men in such garrisons as served beste to preserve the subject, he retyred himselfe to Droghedagh, from whence after some few dayes he returned to Dublin.





## NOTES.

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*Page 5, line 2.*

**T**HE north point called *Thorach*.—By reference to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniæ Distinctio Prima*, cap. II. it is evident the place here intended is Torre, or Tory, Island, off the coast of Donegal, on which there was a monastery of St. Columba. The words of Giraldus are, “usque Columbinam insulam, quæ Thorach dicitur.”

The contents of Ireland are thus given, in the MS. Collections of Christopher Cusake, of Gerardstown, who was Sheriff of Meath, in 1511.—*MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.* (E. 3, 33).

“Hit is to be remembred that Irland conteyneth in leyth, from Knockbrandane in the sowth, the w<sup>c</sup>. is west and by north Sct Michaell is Mount in Cornwalle, unto Celmane is ilande, either we call it the Torragh, in the north of Ulistier, w<sup>c</sup>. is west upon Donfrise in Scotland, foure undreth mile in leyth, and in bredth from Dwleing [Dublin], w<sup>c</sup>. is South west from Chester, unto Chrogh Patricke be West Galwaye in Connaght, two undrith miles, w<sup>c</sup>. is prowit by divers carts.”

Some sentences in the first pages of this ‘Treatice’ agree, almost word for word, with sentences in *Campion’s* third chapter of the *Historie of Ireland*, and with others in the second chapter of *Stanyhurst’s Description of Ireland*, and are all translated from some passages in the *Topographia Hiberniæ*.

*Page 5, line 10.*

*Hot wynes*.—“Vineis enim et earum cultoribus semper caruit, et caret, hæc insula. Vina tamen transmarina ratione commercii tam abunde terram replent, ut vix propaginis proventusque naturalis in aliquo defectum percipias. Pictavia enim de plenitudine sua ei copiose vina transmittit, cui et animalium coria, et pecudum ferarumque tergora Hibernia non ingrata remittit.”—*Top. Hib. Dist.* 1<sup>ma</sup> c. v.

In Dymmok’s time Spanish wines had supplanted those of Poictou. Stanyhurst says,

says, 'Utuntur, pro panchresto medicamine, ignito quodam vino, nullo alio liquore permixto, quod communiter Aqua vitæ dicitur, cujus ardore cibus facilior ad concoquendum redditur. Hoc potionis genus intimo artificio instillant, adeo ut flammulâ admotâ totum, quasi bellicus pulvis [gunpowder], raptim ignescat. Ingentem vini vim emunt in vicinis opidis, Hispani præsertim, quod Regis Hispaniarum filium, per risum ac jocum, solent nominare; utroque temeto, epotis plenis ænophoris, se obruunt.' *De Rebus Hibernicis*, p. 38. Stanyhurst's fiery wine seems to have been plain whiskey; but Moryson says that the Irish usquebagh is to be preferred to the English Aqua vitæ, because by mingling raisins, fennel seeds, and other things, they mitigated its heat, and made it more pleasant, less inflaming, and more refreshing to a weak stomach.—*Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, Part iii. p. 162.

Moryson adds, "These drinks the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts), both men and women vse excesse therein. And since I have in part seene, and often heard from others' experience, that some Gentlewomen were so free in this excesse, as they would, kneeling vpon the knee, and otherwise, garausse health after health with men; not to speake of the wiues of Irish Lords, &c., who often drinke tell they be drunken . . ." For an affectionate eulogy on "this sovereigne liquor, if it be taken orderlie," see *Stanyhurst's Description of Ireland*, chap. ii.

"Shane Oneile had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundrun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he never satisfied till he had swallowed up marvellous great quantities of uskebagh, or aqua vite of that countrie: wherof so unmeasurablie he would drinke and bouse, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and distempered, he was eftsoones conveyed, as common report was, into a deepe pit, and standing upright in the same, the earth was cast up round about him up to the hard chin, and there he did remaine untill such time as his bodie was recovered to some temperature."—*Hooker in Holinshed*, p. 331.

*Page 5, line 14.*

*For the tenant doth not hold.*—For some of the causes and some of the evils of these uncertain tenures, see Spenser's *View of State of Ireland*, pp. 133–4, 8vo. Ed.

*Page 5, line 21.*

*And porkes.*—The Irish preferred pork to all other meat. When a follower of O'Neal was asked if veal was not better than pork, he replied, "you might as well ask if you were not a greater man than O'Neal."—*Stanyhurst de Reb. Hib.* p. 38.

*Page 5, line 23.*

*Spanish Genetts.*—"The Horsses are of pase easie, in running woonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the Hackeneie is very good for travelling,

travelling, albeit others report the contrary, and, if he broken accordinglie, you shall have a little Tit, that will travell a whole daie without anie bait. Their Horsses of Service are called Chiefe Horses, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passinglie and champ upon their bridels bravelie, commonly they amble not but gallop and run. And these Horsses are but for skirmishes, not for travelling, for their stomachs are such as they disdain to be hacknied, thereof the report grew that the Irish Hobbie will not hold out in travelling. You shall have of the third sort a bastard, or mongrell, hobbie, neere as tall as the horsse of service, strong in travelling, easie in ambling and verie swift in running. Of the horsse of service they make great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great peece of safetie. This brood Volaterane writeth to have come from Austurea, the countrie of Hispaine, betweene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Austurcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet."—*Stanyhurst Descrip. of Ireland*, chap. ii.

Camden also praises the Irish horse, and mentions the peculiarity of his gait. "Equi item optimi (hobbies vocamus) quibus non idem qui cæteris in cursu gradus, sed mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomeratio."—*Hibernia*, p. 727, Ed. 1607.

*Page 6, line 1.*

*Very good Hawkes.*—Irish Hawks were sought for the Royal Mews. In 1359, William de Troie, keeper of the King's Hawks, was sent into Ireland, where he bought six great Hawks (Austurcos), and six Tercells (tercellos) which were paid for from the Treasury.—Rot. Claus. 32 Ed. III. 25, 28, 1<sup>a</sup>. Pars. vide Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Calendarium. An Act of 20th Edward IV. recites that Goshawks, Tiercells, and Falcons, were formerly in great plenty, but had become scarce from the number carried away by merchants; it therefore directs that 13s. 4d. be paid for every Goshawk, 6s. 8d. for every Tiercell, and 10s. for every Falcon exported.—*Ledwich's Antiquities*, p. 368.

In 1535, Pierce Earl of Ossory writes to Walter Cowley, his trusty servaunt. "I doo send at this time three Gosshawks, one olde and twoo yonge hawkes, wherof I will that Maister Secretary (Cromwell) doo chewse twoo hawkes, and that my Lord Chauncellor may have the thirde hawke, and that as few know thereof as ye may, and specially that my Lord of Wilshire (Sir T. Boleyn) know not thereof."—*State Papers*, Part III. vol. ii. p. 272. And in 1542, Sir A. Sentleger sent 5 goshaulkes from Ireland as a present to Henry 8th.

Pierce Earl of Ormonde and Ossory had a noble hunting establishment, maintained by his tenants and freeholders in Kilkenny and Tipperary. In 1525, the Earl of Kildare charged him with having "contynually taken coigne and livery of all the Kinges subgiettes within the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, not only for his horsemen,

horsemen, kerne and galloglass, but also for his masons, carpenters, taillours, being in his owne werkes, and also for his sundry Huntes, that is to seye, 24 personnes with 60 Grehowndes and howndes for Dere hunting, a nother number of men and dogges for to hunt the Hare, and a thirde number to hunte the Martyn; all at the charges of the Kinges subgiettes, mete, drinke, and money; the hole charges whereof surmountith 2000 markes by yere.”—*State Papers*, Pt. iii. vol. ii. p. 121.

*Page 6, line 2.*

*Store of sheep.*—According to Giraldus, Irish sheep in his time were black, Top. Dist. III<sup>a</sup>. cap. x. a peculiarity which, if it ever existed, must have ceased before the 16th century, as it is not mentioned by Campion or by Stanyhurst. Both Giraldus and Stanyhurst assert that the Irish sheep were shorn twice in the year.

*Page 6, line 15.*

*Fostering.*—Giraldus, Top. Dist. III<sup>a</sup>. c. xxiii. says that the Irish have no affection for their brothers, and that if they have any love at all it is for their foster children, and those who have been nursed with them, “*alumnis et collactaneis.*”

*Page 6, line 18.*

*The people are.*—This character of the Irish is abridged from Campion, and some of the most distinguishing features omitted. Campion says, “The people are thus inclined; religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable, of paines infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with warres, great alms-givers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both Clarkes and Laymen, are sensual and loose to Leachery above measure, the same, being vertuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austeritie that other nations retain but a show or shadow of Devotion, in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement, in which vertue and diverse other, how farre the Best excell, so farre in gluttony and other hatefull crimes the Vitious they are worse than too bad. They follow the dead corpses to the grave with howlings and barbarous outcryes, pittifull in apparance, whereof grew (as I suppose) the Proverbe, to weepe Irish. The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouche idle miracles and revelations vaine and childish; greedy of praise they be, and fearefull of dishonour, and to this end they esteem their Poets who write Irish learnedly; and penne their sonnets heroically, for the which they are bountifully rewarded, but if they send out libells in disprayse, thereof the Gentlemen, especially the meere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeathe to them a childes portion whereby they nourish sure friendshippe, so beneficiall every way,

way, that commonly five hundredth kyne and better are given in reward to winne a noble man's childe to foster. They are sharp witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studye whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travaile, adventerous, intractable, kinde hearted, secret in displeasure."—*Historie*, Book 1. chap. v.

*Page 6, line 29.*

*To be Thamist.*—For the law of Tanistry see Harris' Ware's Antiquities, chap. xi.; Spenser's View, p. 10.; and Sir J. Davies' Historical Tracts, p. 127.

*Page 7, line 14.*

*Theire forces.*—Abridged from Stanihurst de Rebus Hibernicis, p. 40–1, where it is said that the axe of the Galloglas, which must have resembled a Jedburgh axe, was as sharp as a razor. Giraldus says that in his time the Irish obtained axes from the Ostmen or Norwegians, and that with one stroke of such an axe the thigh of a knight completely covered with armour was cut through, so that the leg fell on one side of the horse, and the body on the other.—*Top. Hib. III. Dist. c. x.*

It is not clear why the Galloglas's axe should have been called a spear. A Galloglas in armour is depicted in the map of 1567, published in State Papers, Henry VIII.

*Page 7, line 16.*

*They ride upon paddes.*—In the time of Giraldus the Irish rode without saddles, "nudi et inermes."—*Top. Hib. Tert. Dist. cap. x.* In Richard II.'s second expedition "M'Morough rode to a conference with the Earl of Gloucester on a horse without saddle or housing, which was so fine and good that it had cost him, they said, four hundred cows, for there is little money in the country, wherefore their usual traffic is only with cattle. In coming down the hill it galloped so hard that in my opinion I never, in all my life, saw hare, deer or sheep, or any other animal, I declare to you for a certainty, run with such speed as it did. In his right hand he bore a great long dart which he cast with much skill. Here see the appearance that he made exactly portrayed."—*Translation of Metrical History of the Deposition of Richard II.* Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 40. The figure of M'Morough, which is given in the MS. in the British Museum, is engraved as a vignette in the third volume of Moore's History of Ireland.

Amongst the ordinances for Ireland, published in 1534, is the following: "Item that every gentylman of thInglyshrie which may dispende 20£ by the yere, shall ryde in a saddell and weare Inglyshe apparel, within the same, upon peyne of forfeiture of 100<sup>s</sup>, excepte in warre."—*St. Papers*, vol. ii. Pt. iii. p. 216.

Spenser says that the Irish horseman's strong brass bit, his sliding reins, his shanke pillion without stirrappes, his manner of mquinting, his fashion of riding, his charging

of his spear aloft above head, the form of his spear, were brought by the English into Ireland, "neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of ryding, for I have heard some great warriours say, that in all the services which they had seene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man than the Irish man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge—neither is his manner of mounting unseemly though he lacke stirrupes, but more ready then with stirrupes, for in his getting up his horse is still going."—*View*, p. 116.

*Page 8, line 3.*

*Musket.*—In Stanyhurst's time the Irish made gunpowder, and took good aim with bullets.—*De Reb. Hib.* p. 42.

*Ibid.*

*The Dolonyes.*—"Item, the Horsemen of this countre to the charge of the poore fermors have usid to have hymself 3 horseis, 3 horseboyes; and many of them one other boye, to keep his spores and hose, and to make them clene, namid a Daltin."—*St. Papers*, vol. 2. Pt. III. p. 505. "Ultimus omnium ordo cursorum numero concluditur, quos Hiberni Daltinos, nos Latine scurras velites seu servos a pedibus, nominare possumus."—*De Reb. Hib.* p. 43.

*Page 8, line 12.*

*Bonaght.*—In the Latin Indenture of Tyrone and O'Donell it is called Bonagium.—*State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 480. It is called Bonneh or Boyne, *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 511. Harris mentions Bonaght bur, which was free quarter at discretion, or in specie, and Bonaght beg, which was a commutation for it in money or provisions, according to agreement with the Lord, though it was generally imposed at his will, which the Tenant could not contradict. The soldiers thus supported were sometimes called Bonaghts.—*Ware's Antiquities*, c. xii. For some extraordinary exactions levied upon Tenants in 1537 see *State Papers*, vol. ii. Pt. iii. p. 510.

*Page 8, line 27.*

*Soren.*—Sorohen.—*Ware's Antiquities*, *ut supra*.

*Page 8, line 33.*

*Coynye.*—This wicked custom of coin and livery was originally Irish, for they used to lay Bonaght on their people, and never gave their souldiours any other pay, but, when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolence and made it more intolerable.—*Sir J. Davies, Hist. Tracts*, p. 132. Baron Finglas says that coin and livery would destroy Hell if the custom were used there.—*Breviate, see Hibernica*, p. 83. And the Statute



10 Hen. VII. c. xviii. calls it a damnable custom. By this Statute, which made it treason, "no man can goe into another man's house for lodging, nor to his own tenant's house to take victual by the way, notwithstanding that there is none other meanes for him to have lodging, nor horse meat nor man's meat, there being no Innes, nor none otherwise to be bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for Treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tenant, or that his said Hoste list to complain of grievance, as oft times I have seen them very maliciously doe thorough the least provocation."—*Spenser's View*, p. 52.

*Page 9, line 21.*

*Cosherie*.—In 1524 the Earl of Kildare bound himself not to take or use coshers, nor codeys, nor suffer any other person to take any such coshers or codeis.—*St. Pap.* vol. ii. Pt. iii. p. 113.

*Page 9, line 26.*

*Teignie*.—Harris says, "Gilletinny was another kind of imposition, the sense of which I am ignorant of, unless it means a tax for finding fewel for the lord's house. Gilla signifying a servant, and Teine fire."—*Ware's Antiq.* ut supra.

It must be remembered that the right (such as it was) of the Irish lords to make these exactions fell to the Crown by their several forfeitures, and that the Crown acted with wise liberality in regranting the lands free from these arbitrary charges, and in protecting the subtenant from their revival by its grantee.

*Page 9, line 31.*

*Black rents*.—Were a tribute paid by the occupiers of lands and the inhabitants of towns to their more powerful neighbours, whether English or Irish, to induce them to abstain from plundering them.—*State Papers*, vol. iii. Pt. iii. 427. This exaction corresponded with the Black Mail of Scotland, well known to the readers of Waverley and Rob Roy, and is confounded by Dymmok with the "Errikes and Sautes otherwyse called Raunsomes paid for any murther or manslaughter."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 211. In 10 Hen. VII. c. xi. it is stated that diverse persons for the death of any of their friends or kinsmen, are accustomed to brenn, slay & robbe, as many as beareth the name of him that is slain (*that slew him*), and will compel all such persons as are of his name, howbeit he was not of his blood, "to pay Assaut, that is, to depart with the most of their goods by ways of amends:" this enforced compensation is forbidden under penalty "de vie et de member."

## The Ecclesiastical Estate.

<i>Names of Bishops as given by Dymmok, in 1899.</i>	<i>Names of Bishops as given by Camden, from an old Roman Provincial(a).</i>	<i>As given by Bingham, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 391, from a Provinciale Romanum, published by Carolus a Sancto Paulo(b).</i>	<i>As given by Hoveden, Annales, A. D. 1172.</i>	<i>As given by Keating, at the Synod of Rath Breasail, in 1118, vol. ii. p. 267.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Dublin, Glandalon, Kildare, Leighlin, Ossory, Ferne,	Dublinensis, Glendelacensis, Kildarensis alias Darensis, Lechlinsensis, Osseriensis alias de Canic, Fernensis,	Dublinensis, Glendelacensis, Darensis, Lioelinsensis, Ossinensis, . . . . . Caldetensis or Kiacarensis, Glensis or Glulacensis, Gairnich, Tuamensis, Duacensis, Bladensis, Nelfinensis, Achadensis, Cluatifertensis, Demagionensis, Enochdunensis, Decellaid, Roscommon, De Conany(c), De Killmunduach,	Dublinensis, Bistaghensis, Kindarensis, Leghglensis, Erupolensis?, Fernensis, . . . . . Tuamensis, Kinlathensis, Aelfinensis, Achathkourensis, Kinfernensis, Maigonensis, Ceneversis, . . . . .	Glindaloch, Kildare, Leighlin, Killicullin, Ferna or Wexford, . . . . . Tuam, Killala, . . . . . Cluainfrearta, . . . . . Conga, Ardcrna, Cashell, { Emloch, Jobhair, Waterford and Lismore, Cork, . . . . .	Dublin, Glendaloch, Kildare, Leighlin, Ossory, Ferna, Kildare?, Leighlin?, Canice or Ossory?, Tuam, Kilmacduagh, Killalla, Elphin, Kilmacduagh, Achonry, Clonfert, Mayo, { Enaghdune or Annaghdown, Killalla, Roscommon, Clonmacnoise or St. Kieran, Kilmacduagh, Clonfert, Mayo, Cashell, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Cloyne.
Toam, Dua, Alade(c), Elfine, Killmakou(d), Clonfert,	Tuamensis, Duacensis alias Kilmacduoc, Ladenis alias Killaleth, Elphinensis, Achadensis, Clonfertensis, De Mageo, Enochdunensis, De Cellaiaro, De Roscommon, De Conany(c), De Killmunduach,	Tuamensis, Duacensis, Bladensis, Nelfinensis, Achadensis, Cluatifertensis, Demagionensis, Enochdunensis, Decellaid, Roscommon, Deconairi, Decelmundaich, Deculanferd,	Tuamensis, Kinlathensis, Aelfinensis, Achathkourensis, Kinfernensis, Maigonensis, Ceneversis, . . . . .	Tuam, Killala, . . . . . Cluainfrearta, . . . . . Conga, Ardcrna, Cashell, { Emloch, Jobhair, Waterford and Lismore, Cork, . . . . .	Kilmacduagh, Killalla, Elphin, Kilmacduagh, Achonry, Clonfert, Mayo, { Enaghdune or Annaghdown, Killalla, Roscommon, Clonmacnoise or St. Kieran, Kilmacduagh, Clonfert, Mayo, Cashell, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Cloyne.
Cassell, Emely, Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Clone,	Cassellensis, Melicensis or de Emlieth, Waterfordensis or de Balfordian, Lismorensis, Corcagensis, Clonensis or de Cluanania,	Cassellensis, Denulech or Umblicensis, Waterfordensis, Lismorensis, Deconecgia or Corcagensis, Deduanamensis or Cluanensis,	Cassellensis, Ingmelleccensis, Waterfordensis, Lismorensis, . . . . . Cluanamensis,	Conga, Ardcrna, Cashell, { Emloch, Jobhair, Waterford and Lismore, Cork, . . . . .	Cashell, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Cloyne.

Names

(a) Ware has given a list, agreeing very nearly with this list, which he took from the Census Cameralis of Cenncus, who, in 1216, was elected Pope, under the name of Honorius III.—*Harris Ware's Antiquities*, c. 39.

(b) This list is given to show the strange forms which names may assume, when often transcribed by persons who are not acquainted with them. The same sees are repeated in it under names made different by the readers and transcribers.

(c) Aladensis, the proper Latin title of the Bishop of Killalla, does not occur in any of these lists.

(d) Kilmacow is the Irish name for Kilmacduagh, already mentioned by its Latin name of Dua(censis).

(e) In Ware's list from Cenncus, this See is printed Cinani, perhaps for Ciarani or Kiarani, the Saint of Clonmacnoise.



*Page 12, line 2.*

*Auncient dyvision.*—Dymmok does not mention the old division into Leath Cuinn and Leath Mogh.—See *Tracts of Archaeological Society*, vol. i. p. 44.

*Page 12, line 5.*

*Betags-townes.*—In the county of Monaghan “every Ballibetagh, which signifieth in the Irish tongue, a town able to maintain hospitality, containeth sixteen Taths, every Tath containeth Three Score English acres, or thereabouts, so as every Ballibetagh containeth 960 acres.”—*Davies’ Hist. Tracts*, p. 229. There does not appear to have been any universally recognized denomination for the divisions of land throughout Ireland, the names and the divisions varying in different districts; the division most generally recognized was into Cantreds, Townlands, and Carucates, or Plough lands. Cusake says, “Hit is to be understud that the v porcions bene conteynit & acumprehendeth in a C and iiiii<sup>xx</sup>. & iiiii candredys, othirwise called undrids, other barronys—that is to say in Leynster xxxi. in Connagth xxx. in Mownyster lxx. in Vlyster xxxv. in Meyth xviii. Also their is in Ireland v. m. v. c. and thirtie townes. y<sup>l</sup>. to witt in Leynster ix. c. and xxx<sup>d</sup>. townys. in Connagth ix. c. in Mownster ii. m. and c. in Ulyster m. lx. in Mighth v. c. and xl. Also every cantred cont<sup>l</sup>. viij<sup>xx</sup>. plowlands,” [xxx townes] “every towne cont. viii plowlands arrabile, besyd the pastur of CCC kine in every towne, and none of them shall aneer the othir. The sowme of all the herible plowlands liii. m. and iiiii<sup>xx</sup>. [44160?] besids rvers, medowes, mores and pasturs and hylls and wodds. and every plowland contenit vj<sup>xx</sup>. acr. and every ac. conten<sup>l</sup>. in bred iii roods or iiiii perche, and in lenith xl perch. and every perche contenit xxi fot. Pawlys fote. and iii fote is a yard.”—*Cusake’s Collect. MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.*

This division into Cantreds, or Baronies, Townlands, or Villatæ (which in Grace’s Annals, p. 4, are called oppida), and Carucates or Ploughlands, was probably of English origin. An extent of Meath into Baronies and Carucates, which is preserved in Cusake’s Collections, was made by Robert Lughtburgh, Escheator of Ireland in 1377.—Rot. Cl. i. H. iv. 4. For the cess levied according to these extents, see *Hooker*, p. 389, and *Cox. Hib. Anglic.* vol. i. p. 349, and *Carte’s Ormond*, vol. i. p. 64.

*Page 12, line 15.*

*Mac Conglian’s.*—M’Coghlan’s territories in King’s County.

*Page 12, line 20.*

*The counties of Wicklo.*—Wicklow was made into a Shire in 1605 in the government of Sir Arthur Chichester.

*Page 12, line 23.*

*Banilagh.*—Ranilagh, to the west of the Wicklow mountains, part of the territory of the Byrnes. “This Feagh and his Auncestors were but followers unto OBrin, and his  
his

his grandfather, Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meanest regard amongst them, neither having wealth nor power. But his son Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength of a great fastnes of Glan Malor, which adjoineth unto his house of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the succour of that glynne as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew strong;" and, "through the late successe (1596) of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are so farre imboldened that they threaten perile even to Dublin, over whose neck they continually hang."—*Spenser's View*, pp. 185, 6. This Pheagh M'Hugh was killed in an engagement with the Deputy, Sir W. Russell, on the 7th of May, 1597.—*Cox. Hib. Angl.* vol. i. p. 412. Shilogh is now Shillelagh in Wicklow.

*Page 13, last line.*

*The most of civilitie.*—See Spenser's Sonnet to the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory prefixed to the Fairy Queen, and the Eulogy of Stanyhurst, who was at school at Kilkenny, under Peter White of Oriel, Oxford.—*De Reb. Hib.* lib. i. p. 25.

*Page 14, line 9.*

*The Queen's County.*—The districts of Leix, Slewmerge, Irry, and such part of Glynmalire as lay on the west side of the Barrow, were erected into the Queen's County, by Act of Parliament, 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, chap. 2. This country contained the territories of the O'Mores, M'Gilpatricks, the O'Duins, or O'Dunns, the O'Dempsies, and other Septs.

*Page 14, line 28.*

*Phillipstowne.*—Phillipstown was formerly Dengin, the chief castle of O'Conor Ophaly. The King's County comprehends Fercall, the country of the O'Mulloys, and part of the Fox Country, (the greater part of which is in Westmeath) and M'Coghlan's county of Delvin Eathra, and the west division of Glinmalry, or the O'Dempsey's county, together with the territories of Offaly and Ely O'Carroll.

*Page 15, line 15.*

*Mountaine Slibown.*—Ely O'Carroll is situated west of the Slieve Bloom Mountains.

*Page 15, Line 18.*

*Meathe.*—In Cusake's Collections there is a list of the gentry of the several baronies of Meath, then including Westmeath, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

*Page*

*Page 16, line 11.*

*Mac Gall.*—Sir H. Wallop writes to the Earl of Leicester. “The 20th herof (January, 1580) Mr. Thomas Le Strange, in a town of M<sup>c</sup>. Gaule’s, seven myles from his owne howse towards Athone, in the night killed in the Church of the said townē, nineteen of the O’Melaughleyns and took the twentieth, all notorious theeves, and of the consorts of the Oconers, in which place they were taking meate, as they term it.” — *Wright’s Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 127.

*Page 16, line 16.*

*O’Farralls.*—Richard Ferral, Abbot of Granard, and from 1541 to 1553 Bishop of Ardagh, was Dynast of Annaley as long as he lived. In 1486 William O’Ferral was also Bishop of Ardagh and Chieftain of Annaley.—*Harris Ware’s Bp.* pp. 254, 5.

*Page 17, line 14.*

*It includeth.*—Waterford contains, amongst other baronies, those of the Decies, and the greater part of the See of Lismore.

*Page 17, line 22.*

*The county of Cork.*—Kerricurihy (formerly Kerrywherry) and Kinalea, are now one barony. In the following names the O’Driscolls, O’Sullivan Bere, and O’Sullivan More, O’Callaghan, and the Earl of Clancare, are easily recognized; O’Keefe has suffered more violence in being changed into O’Heift.

*Page 18, line 5.*

*Glanwillim.*—Clanwilliam, the Connellos, Kenry and Coshma.

*Page 18, line 12.*

*County Palatyne.*—Spenser says: “To have a county Palatine is in effect to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And surely so it is used at this day, as a priviledge place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the only Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by meanes of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, so as, it being situate in the lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is, let every man judge, and though that right Noble man, that is the Lord of the Liberty (the Earl of Ormonde) do paine himselfe all he may, to yeeld equal justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in so inward and absolute a priviledge.”—*View of the State of Ireland*, p. 46.

*Page*

*Page 19, line 11.*

*Asserow.*—The abbey of Ashro, or Easrua, *alias* de Samerio, near Ballyshannon.—*Ware's Antiquities*, pp. 275.

*Page 19, line 26.*

*Benbulham.*—Benbulben, to the north of Sligo.

*Page 20, line 2.*

*Mac William.*—Mac William Eighter was ancestor of the Marquis of Clanrickard. The Earl of Mayo claims descent from Mac William Oughter. O'Maley is of undoubted Irish blood. Mac Jordan and Mac Costello are the representatives of the English families of D'Exeter and Nangle.

*Page 21, line 13.*

*Colvan.*—Coleraine, anciently Culrath, is now part of the County of Londonderry.

*Page 21, line 21.*

*Of the Teenes.*—Of the Fewes ?

*Page 22, line 2.*

*Neromy*, also *Newry*.—The Latin name of the Cistercian House of Newry, which is called in its foundation charter Nyvorcyntracta, and Ybarcyntracta, is *de viridi ligno*, in allusion to a yew-tree said to have been planted here by St. Patrick.—*O'Conor's Prolegomena II.* p. clviii.

*Page 22, line 10.*

*Thomiship.*—M'Gennis was by Tanistry Lord of Iveach in Down.

*Page 23, line 29.*

*Gerald Fitz Ursus.*—See Spenser's View, p. 107, with Sir J. Ware's note.

*Page 23, line 32.*

*Bartry.*—Dartry.

*Page 24, line 7.*

*Vraughts.*—In 1597 it was one of the conditions proposed to Tyrone that he should not intermeddle with her Maesties Vriaghtes (so the Irish call the bordering lords, whom the Ulster Tyrants have long claimed to be their vassals). Tyrone replied to this article that he desired nothing of the Vriaghts, but such duties as they yielded since his grandfather's time.—*Fynes Morison*, Pt. ii. p. 23.

*Page 24, line 8.*

*Bishop of Clohn.*—Bishop of Clogher.

*Page 24, line 26.*

*O'Chaloganes.*—I do not know any sept of this name in Donegal; perhaps the name is O'Halagan.

*Page 25, line 7.*

*Upon a hill.*—In August, 1602, the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, spent some five days about Tullough Oge, and broke down the Chaire wherein the Oneales were wont to be created, being of Stone, planted in the open field.—*Fynes Moryson*, Pt. ii. p. 236. Several stones said to have been fragments of this royal chair were in the glebe land belonging to the Rector of Desert Creagh about the year 1768.—*Stuart's Armagh*, p. 300.

*Ibid.*

*Casting a shoe.*—See Ruth, iv. 7. It is still a custom to throw your shoe after a bride for luck.

*Page 25, line 14.*

*O'Hanlon's country.*—O'Hanlon was chief of Orior, and claimed to be hereditary royal standard bearer north of the Boyne. In 1595 in the march of the Deputy, Sir W. Russel, from Dundalk, the Royal Standard was borne the first day by O'Mulloy, and the next by O'Hanlon.—*Cox*, vol. i. p. 407. O Sullevan says, "Ohanlonus Ultonius Auritarræ princeps, qui ultra Bonnum flumen se pro summo signifero regio hæreditario jure gerit."—*Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniciæ Compendium*, tom. 3. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 139.

*Page 25, line 25.*

*Forte of Blackwater.*—"Est in Ultonia fluvius, qui dicitur Ibernis Magnus, sed Anglis Aqua Nigra, vel quòd aliis Iberniciæ fluviis lucidis et puris turbidior fluit, vel quòd ipsi Angli nigro et adverso Marte ad illum signa sæpe contulerunt. Ad hoc flumen erat Castellum, nuper belli casibus clarum, eodem nomine Anglis nuncupatum Aqua Nigra, sed Ibernis Portmor, hoc est Munimentum magnum, estque tribus milibus passuum ultra Ardmacham, ecclesiastici Primatis Iberniciæ sedem, et septem citra Dunganinam, Tironi comitis municipium."—*O Sullevan*, p. 137.

*Page 26, line 4.*

*Glandúire.*—The scene of the defeat of Lord Deputy Grey, in 1580, by "the Viscount Baltinglass and Pheon Macke Hugh, the Chiefs of the Sex (sept) of the Obrins, and Capteine Fitzgerald, kinsman to the Earl of Kildare, who had a band of footmen



footmen committed unto him for the defence of the countie of Kildare, and who had notwithstanding conjoined himself with rebels. This fastnesse of the Glinnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, was by nature so strong as possibly might be, for in it is a valley or combe, being in the middle of the wood, of great length betweene two hills, and no other waie is there to pass through. Under foote it is boggy and soft and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, the sides are full of great and mighty trees, and full of bushments and underwoods.”—*Hooker*, p. 435. “In this conflict Sir Peter Carew running in his armour, which he could not put off, was half smothered, and enforced to lie down, whom when the Rebels had taken they disarmed him, when one villain with his sword slaughtered and killed him.”

*Page 26, line 18.*

*Dromfnién.*—“In 1579 the Earl of Ormonde, Lord General, marched from Connilo towards Mac Willie’s country; he burned the towns in that country and about Lefinnen, and on his journey towards Cork, at Drumfening he took a prey of 1500 kine.”—*Hooker*, p. 425. “The counterfeit Earl of Desmond and Mac Craghe, the Pope’s Bishop of Cork, were concealed in a poore ragged cabbín in Lisbarry, a parcel of Drumfinnim woods.” *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 190. The names of some others of these Munster fastnesses are thus given in the same page: Kilquig, a strong and fast country not far from Limerick, Muskry quirke, and Arloghe woods.

*Page 27, line 1.*

*A perticular.*—This list is to be compared with the list given in *Moryson*, Pt. ii. p. 31.

*Page 27, line 7.*

*Certain of the Eustacies.*—“Mirum est quod Eustatio Kilchullennæ vicecomiti accidit. Is cum alioquin fuisset Catholicus bonus et pius, tamen, ut accepi, monasterium ordinis Divi Bernardi (Baltinglass) sibi adjudicavit; nec diu post per quietem vidit quendam sibi minitantem et carmen Ibernicum referentem, cujus hæc est sententia; ‘tua cupiditas invadendi possessiones ecclesiæ relinquet in servitute tuos pagos et faciet ut tua stirps pereat omnis, ut frondes ex alto præcipitio cadentes.’ Quod ita plano contigit, nam Jaimus Eustatius, Vicecomitis Rolandi filius et hæres, ab Anglis cum aliis suæ familiæ gradu dejectus exul diem obiit.”—*O Sullivan*, p. 77. He had entered into rebellion with Pheagh M’Hugh, whom O Sullivan calls Fiachus Obruin Ægidii filius, eques nobilis, p. 93.

*Page 27, line 10.*

*Donell Spaniagh.*—Daniel Hispaniensis.—*O Sullivan*.

*Page 27, line 12.*

*The O'Donies.*—The O'Duans, or O'Doynes, except Teig Oge O'Doyne. The Viscount of Mountgaret, son-in-law to Tyrone, held the castles of Balliragget and Colekil, Kilkenny.—*Moryson.*

*Page 27, line 24.*

*Captain Tyrrell.*—“In June, 1597, Tyrone, then pressed by Lord Burough, detached 500 foot to excite the people of Leinster to revolt. The command was given to Tirrel, an officer of English origin, but a zealous Roman Catholic; he passed rapidly over Meath, and incamped in the barony of Fertullagh. Sir Conyers Clifford sent young Barnewall, a son of Lord Trimlestowne (called by O Sullevan, Barnabale Balisimidæ Barone), against him with 1000 men from Mullingar. Tirrel seemed to fly before them, and having gained a defile, concealed with trees, since called Tirrell's Pass, he sent half of his little army under O'Conor, who posted his men in ambuscade in a hollow near the road, over which the British troops were to pass. Barnewall hurried past his concealed enemies. O'Conor immediately attacked his rear with drums beating and bagpipes sounding aloud. On this signal Tirrel returned to the conflict, and the English, attacked on both sides, were completely defeated. Barnewall was taken prisoner, and of the private soldiers only one, who escaped through a marsh, survived the battle. It is said by Mac Geoghegan that O'Conor's hand was so swollen by violent and continued muscular action, that it could not be removed from the guard of his sword until the steel was separated with a file.”—*Stuart's Armagh*, p. 281, from Mac Geoghegan.

*Page 27, line 28.*

*The white knight.*—“This nickname,” says Moryson, “given to one for his gray heares, comming as hereditarie to his posteritie.” The Knight of Kerry, the Knight of Glyn, and the White Knight, are named by O Sullevan, “Gulielmus Giraldinus, eques auratus Kerrius, Rasinnanæ dominus; Edmundus Giraldinus, eques auratus Vallis; Edmundus Giraldinus, eques auratus Albus;” p. 158. The Knight of Kerry is called the Green Knight by Campion, p. 5.

*Page 28, line 1.*

*Richard Pursell.*—Purcell, palatine Baron of Loughmoe in Tipperary.

*Page 28, line 2.*

*Calluc Mac Shane.*—In 1601 Florence Mac Carthy wrote to one in Ormond called Cahir Mac Shane Glasse Omulrian, desiring that he would levy for him six hundred foot in Leinster.—*Pacata Hibernia*, p. 232. The Omulryans inhabited Owey, “a strong and fast country.” John Omulryan was the last Abbot of Owey or Abingdon.

*Page*

*Page 28, line 4.*

*Edmond Buck.*—Redmond Burke, calling himself Baron of Leitrim.—*Pac. Hib.* pp. 172, 226.

*Page 28, line 9.*

*James Fitz Thomas.*—The capture of this Sagan Earl is told with most pathetic circumstances in *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 241. See also the lamentable circumstances of the death of the former Earl in 1580, as given in *Hooker*, p. 454.

*Page 28, line 10.*

*The Lord Roche.*—Roche, Viscount Fermoy.

*Page 28, line 11.*

*Donogh Mac Cormok.*—The Lord of Duhallow was a M'Donogh of the sept of the Mac Carties, the other names here given are O'Keefe and O'Callaghan.

*Page 28, line 14.*

*The Lord Fitzmorrice.*—Ancestor of the Marquis of Lansdowne. "Patricius Giraldinus, qui Macmoris et Lacsnae Baro dicitur."—*O Sullivan*, p. 158.

"Notwithstanding he was trained up in the Court of England, sworne servant unto her Majestie, in good favour and countenance at the Court, and apparilled according to his degree, and dailie nurtured and brought up in all civilitie, he was no sooner come home, but away with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all. And so, for the most part, they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they never so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiter's Cat, let her be transformed to never so faire a ladie, and let her be never so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, yet if the mouse come once in her sight, she will be a Cat and show her kind."—*Hooker*, p. 417.

*Page 28, line 16.*

*O'Swilly man beare.*—O'Sullivan Bear.

*Ibid.*

*Calling himself Mac Arty more.*—"In 1567 the Earl of Clancart (Florence Mac Arty) was puffed up with such insolencie that he named himself King of Munster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Osolivan More, and others of the Irishrie of that province, and in warlike manner, and with banners displaid, invaded the Lord Roche's countrie, and in burning of his countrie he destroyed all the corn therein,  
seven

seven hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried away fifteen hundred Kine and a hundred Garons."—*Hooker*, p. 339.

Great a man as Mac Carthy More was in Munster he was but lightly esteemed in Ulster. When Mac Artimore was made Earl of Clancare, "Shane Oneile scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of her Highnesse in advansing such a one to that honour, and therefore not long after when the Commissioners were sent to intreat with him on sundrie pointes, they found him most arrogant and out of all good order, braieing out speeches not meet nor seemelie. 'For,' saith he, 'ye have made a wise Earl of Mac Artimore, I keepe as good a man as is he, and albeit I confesse the Queene is my Sovereign Ladie, yet I never made peace with her but at her seeking.' And where he had required his Parlement robes to be sent him as Earl of Tiron, yet now he cared not for so mean an honor as to be an Earl, except he might be better and higher than an Earl. 'For I am,' saith he, 'in blood and power better than the best, and I will give place to none of them; for mine ancestors were Kings of Ulster, and as Ulster was theirs, so now it is mine, and shall be mine; with the sword I won it, and with the sword I will keep it.'"—*Hooker*, p. 333.

*Page 28, line 24.*

*O'Doole.*—O'Dowd? On one occasion O Sullevan gives the following Connaught names: Orruarkus, Maculliamus (M'William), O'Kealtus, Macdiarmuda, Oconchur Ruber (O'Conor Roe), Odudius.—p. 144

*Page 28, line 25.*

*O'Rork.*—O'Rourke with his followers in Leitrim. "In 1578, Connagh was in some part troubled by means of Orwarke, capteine of his surname, in whose countrie there were certaine *coiners of monie*, and maintained by him. The coronell (Sir Nicholas Malbie) understanding hereof, he sent unto Orwarke for them, and who denied to deliver any of them, wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience and insolencie, he sent a private band of footmen who distressed Orwarke, slue his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the sword."—*Hooker*, p. 398.

Were these Coiners forgers of Queen Elizabeth's money, and was the O'Reilly money of 1446 forged money of Henry VI. ?—See *Simon on Irish Coins*, p. 20.

*Page 28, line 28.*

*O'Madden.*—In March, 1596, the Deputy summoned O'Madden's Castle of Losmage, and received for answer, "that if all the army were Deputies, they would not surrender;" however, the next day he took the Castle with the slaughter of six and forty rebels.—*Coz*, vol. i. p. 409.

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*Page 28, line 30.*

*O'Flaherties.*—"In 1601, the Omaylies and O'Flaherties had a purpose with six hundred men, which they had already furnished, to invade Kerry."—*Pac. Hib.* p. 223.

In 1576, Sir Henry Sidney described O'Maylle as an "originale Irisheman, strong in galleys and seamen."—*Sidney's Letters*, vol. i. p. 104.

*Page 28, line 32.*

*Mac Namerkasces.*—Mac Namaras? called M<sup>c</sup>Newmaries in Jansson's map.

*Page 29, line 8.*

*Mac Surly buy.*—"The Glins and Routs which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed."—*Hooker*, p. 273.

"In 1596 Surly boy came to Dublin, and submitted to the Deputy on the 11th of February, and on the 22nd the Lord Deputy and Council gave him a Velvet mantle laid with gold lace."—*Cox*, vol. i. p. 409.

*Page 29, line 10.*

*Mac Mahon.*—"Rosus Macmagaunus, cognomento Pallidus, Auriliæ princeps, cum diem obiisset, ejus Frater Hugo cognomento Ruber, Patritius, Iberus Farniæ Dominus, et Bernardus Dartiriæ Dominus, omnes ex Macmagauni familia, eo de principatu litigabant apud Gulielmum Fithz Gulielmum, Hæreticum Anglum, quem Ruber corrupit, promissis septingentis vaccis, ut secundum ipsum judicaret. Prorex Iberum Farniâ et Bernardum Dartiriâ jubet esse contentos. In Munichano municipio, quod illius principatûs caput est, ipse præsidium collocat. Cæteros pagos et agros inter Rubrum et Patritium divisit, illi, qui dona promisit priorem locum adjudicans et Macmagauni nomen relinquens.—Ruber noluit vaccas tradere, adempto sibi Munichano mæstus, causatus Proregem pacto non stetisse. Ob quod illum Prorex alio crimine insimulatum Munichani morte plexit, et ejus possessiones Reginæ addixit, has autem postea recuperavit Bernardus Dartiriæ dominus, Macmagaunus inauguratus, invitis Anglis."—*O Sullivan*, p. 108.

*Page 29, line 13.*

*Ochane.*—"Ochan, Lord of the lands between Loughfoile and the Bann."—*Hooker*, p. 340.

*Page 29, line 22.*

*Lord Savadg.*—"Those of Lecale and the Little Ardes held for the Queen, but overcome by Tyrone, were forced to give way to him to tyrannize in their countries."—*Moryson*, p. 32.

*Paye*

*Page 29, line 29.*

*Iragh Mac Guinnes.*—M'Gennis of Iveach, called by O Sullivan Makengasa. This name is sometimes written M<sup>c</sup> Eneas.

*Page 30, line 5.*

*In all 29,352.*—According to Moryson the Rebels in all the four Provinces were strong 18,246 foot, and 2,346 horse. Cox says that the Council gave the Lord Lieutenant an account of the confused state of the kingdom, that there were of the Rebels in arms,

In Leinster,	3,048 foot,	0,182 horse.
In Ulster,	7,220 foot,	1,702 horse.
In Munster,	5,030 foot,	0,242 horse.
In Connaught,	3,070 foot,	0,222 horse.

18,368 foot, 2,346 horse.—Cox, i. p. 416.

*Page 31, line 15.*

*The Erle of Ormonde.*—“In 1569 Sir Edmond Butler of Cloghgrenan, and the rest of his brothers, were pardoned for the sake of the Earl of Ormond, and perhaps by special orders from the Queen, who by the mother was related to this noble family, and used to boast of the untainted loyalty of the House of Ormonde.”—Cox, vol. i. p. 335, from *Camden*, Eliz. 138.

*Page 31, line 23.*

*Woodstocke.*—Woodstock is about quarter of a mile from Athy. There are here the remains of a Castle. Croshy Duff is five miles from Maryborough.

*Page 31, line 27.*

*Sir Christopher Sentlaurence.*—“This bold knight, who was afterwards the 22nd Baron of Howth, was one of the six friends of Essex, who accompanied him on his unlucky visit to Nonesuch, on the 28th of September. As they were on the way early in the morning, Lord Grey de Wilton, one of his bitterest enemies, passed Essex unsaluted, and on the Earl expressing his fear that he would do him some unkind office at Court, St. Laurence offered to kill him on the road, and afterwards to kill Cecil in the Queen's Court.”—*Camdeni Annales*, vol. iii. p. 796.

*Page 31, line 31.*

*Rheban.*—The ancient city Rheban, now a poor village with a Castle, yet of old giving the title of Baronet (to the family of St. Michael).—*Moryson*, Pt. iii. p. 157.

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*The generall Ratchill.*—The Rathes were used as places of meeting for legal and other purposes, from which circumstance they were called Motes and Laws. One of these primitive Courts is to this day found on Dartmoor in Devonshire; it is known by the name of Crockerntor. It remained as the Court of the Stannaries till within the last century, and hence it was commonly called the Parliament Rock. It is on the summit of a lofty height, open on all sides to the bleak winds and to the weather, affording no shelter, and remote from the habitations of men. On this spot the chief miners of Devon were by their charters obliged to assemble, the Lord Warden invariably issuing his summons that the Jurors should meet at Crockerntor, and there is a record of a meeting of this nature having been held there in 1749.—*Bray's Traditions of Devonshire*, vol. i. p. 113. Those circles of erect stones, sometimes called Druid's Circles, and known all over Scotland by the vulgar name of standing stones, seem to have retained their original use as places of meeting for the solemnities of Justice in the north of Scotland longer than elsewhere. We find the King's Justiciar, with a great array of counsellors and attendants, holding a solemn court for the trial of a case at the standing stones of Rane, in 1349. A similar instance occurred in 1380, when Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, in the most formal manner cited the holders of certain lands in Badenoch to appear and produce their titles to their lands at the Standand Stanys of the Rathe of Kyngucy.—*Preface to Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, p. xxix.

*Ony mac Rury O'More.*—Was the son of Rory Og O'More, who in 1576 committed many outrages, "and not being resisted, tooke such encouragement of his success, that leaving poore villages, he went to great townes, as to the Naas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the Patron daie of the said towne, commonly called the Church Holie daie, which daie, after the manner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festivall daies, which the Ethniks and Pagans were woont to celebrate to their idoll Gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkennesse, and surfetting, and after they had so filled their panches, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Rory Og when he knew, and having intelligence that every man was in his bed asleep, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who, like unto a sort of furies and divels, new come out of Hell, carried upon the ende of their poles flankes of fier, and did set, as they went, the low thatched houses on fier, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned, and yet in the towne supposed to be 500 persons

in outward appearance able to have resisted him. He taried verie little in the towne, saving that he sat a little while upon the cross in the market place, and beheld how the fier round about him was in everie house kindled, whereat he made great joy and triumph ; yet contrarie to his usage, he killed no one person in the towne.”—*Hooker*, p. 395.

*Page 32, line 17.*

*The nature of the passage.*—The following is O Sullivan’s account of this expedition: “At ille (Essex) præter omnium spem in Momaniis ire contendit, septem millia peditum et equites nongentos ductitans. Cui in Legenia per iter angustum exercitum ducenti factus obvius Huon Omorra cum quingentis peditibus ultimum agmen fundit, aliquot milites atque duces occidit, spolia et inter cætera multos plumeos apices capit. Unde locus hodie dicitur Transitus plumarum, Bearnan na Gehleti,” (Barnaglitly, *Cox*) “Anglicé The pass of Plumes.”—*O Sullivan*, p. 164. The rest of O Sullivan’s narrative is thus abridged by *Cox*: “That the Earl of Desmond and Redmond Bourke came to the relief of Cahir, whereby that siege held ten days ; that Essex marched to Limerick and thence to Askeaton ; that Desmond and Daniel Mac Carthy Moor laid an ambush for him, the ill management whereof raised a feud between Thomas Plunket and Peirce Lacy, wherein the former was slain ; that a bloody fight was near Crome, where Henry Norris was slain, and that for six days Desmond pursued Essex his rear ; but there is little credit to be given to that author, and yet some things that he says must be allowed to be true.”—*Cox*, vol. i. p. 417. Archbishop Ussher gives a still more unfavourable character of O Sullivan. He says that he is “an author who, in relating matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any, I verily think, that this day breatheth in Christendom.”—*Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. viii.

*Page 32, line 30.*

*Pell mell upon eyther side.*—The meaning would be made plainer by putting a comma after pell mell.

*Page 33, line 18.*

*Through a thicke woode.*—“Ulster, and the western parts of Mounster yeeld vast woods, in which the rebels, cutting up trees and casting them in heapes, used to stop the passages, and therein, as also upon fenny and boggy places, to fight with the English. But I confesse myself to have been deceived in the common fame that all Ireland is woody, having found in my long journey from Armah to Kinsale, few or no woods by the way, excepting the great woods of Ophalia, and some low shrubby places which they call Glinnes. Also I did observe many boggy and fenny places, whereof great part might be dried by good and painefull husbandry. The Irish having in most parts  
great



great woods or low shrubs and thickets doe use the same for fier, but in other parts they burn turfe, and sea coales brought out of England. They export great quantity of wood to make barrels, called pipe staves, and make great gaine thereby."—*Moryson*, part iii. p. 161.

*Page 33, line 27.*

*To Kilkenny.*—"I observed that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ireland than in England, which notwithstanding is more to be attributed to the inhabitants than to the ayre. For Ireland being oft troubled with rebellions, and the rebels being not only idle themselves, but in natural malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting up the very trees of fruits for the same cause, or else to burne them,—the inhabitants take lesse pleasure to till their ground, or plant trees, content to live for the day in continual feare of like mischiefs. Yet is not Ireland altogether destitute of these flowers and fruites, wherewith the county of Kilkenny seemes to abound more than any other part."—*Moryson*, part iii. p. 159. "Kilkenny is a pleasant towne, the chiefe of the townes within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the husbandmen's labour, and the pleasant orchards."—*Ibid.* p. 157.

*Page 34, line 4.*

*Called Cayre.*—A plan of Cahir Castle, taken by the Earl of Essex, in 1599, is given in *Pacata Hibernia*.

*Page 35, line 2.*

*Georg Carye.*—Probably cousin of Sir Peter Carew, who claimed to be Marquess of Cork, Baron of Idrone in Carlow, and Lixnaw in Kerry, and Lord of Maston in Meath. This Sir Peter in his tender years was page to the Prince of Orange, beyond the seas, and was in his younger days a great traveller, and had been at Constanti-nople in the Turke's Court, at Vienna in the Emperour's palace, at Venice, and in the French King's Court, and in the houses of most of all Christian princes, in every of which places he left some tokens of his value; he "kept continuallie in his own private familie, at Leighlin, above or neere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse forty horsemen, well appointed, besides footemen, and commonlie one hundred kernes. If anie nobleman or others did passe by his house, there he first staid and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar doore was never shut, and his butterie alwaies open to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gave them interteinement, and vittelled them at his own charges, and paied readie monie both for it and for all things taken of the countrie, for without present payment he would have nothing: which was a rare thing, and not heard of in that land."—*Hooker*, p. 377.

*Page 35, line 11.*

*With two English orations.*—"When the Lord Justice (Sir W. Pelham), in 1580, visited Waterford, at his landing the Maior and Aldermen, araied in their scarlet gownes, met him, and presented unto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which foorthwith he redelivered to them againe, and the sword the Maior bore, and carried before his lordship. He went first to the Church, and by the waie, upon two severall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made unto him in Latine, and at his return from the Church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging."—*Hooker*, p. 429.

*Page 35, line 35.*

*And for plashing.*—This sort of fortification is thus described by *Moryson*, part ii. p. 20. "The Irish, in a fastnesse neere Armagh, so they call straight passages in woods, where to the natural strength of the place is added the art of interlacing the low bowes, and casting the bodies of trees across the way."

*Page 36, line 18.*

*Aischeton.*—A plan of Asketon, on the river Deele, is given in *Pacata Hibernia*. "This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing upon a rock in the verie midst of the river, and the chiefest house of the Earl of Desmond."—*Hooker*, p. 418. It was taken in 1580.

*Page 36, line 29.*

*Pheniter's towne.*—"Essexius Asketiniam pervenit, in cujus castra Catholici noctu faciunt impetum. Asketiniâ firmiore præsidio munitâ, Essexius, ulterius progredi non ausus, die Lunæ sequente redivit per aliud iter. Ubi ex arboreto juxta Finiteri pagum (Baile an Fhiniteri) Catholici erumpentes primum, ultimum, et media agmina simul invadunt. Henricus Norris, Eques auratus Anglus, Johannis et Thomæ frater, in Catholicos equo vectus, firmo bombardariorum agmine vallatus, plumbeâ glande confossus equo corruit, alii ex regiis multi, et ex Catholicis nonnulli, desiderantur; nam ab horâ nonâ ante meridiem usque ad quintam pomeridianam fuit pugnatum, donec Essexius Cruomuia consederit, unde rursus Desiam usque Desmonius sequitur per sex dies noctu et interdium præliana, et ejus exercitum extenuans."—*O Sullivan*, pp. 164-5.

*Page 37, line 25.*

*Sir John Norris.*—This ungenerous scoffing at Sir John Norris after his death, is unworthy of Essex, who had long disliked him. "The ill successe of the treaties (with Tyrone), and the small progresse of the warres (says Moryson), together with this unexpected change of the Lord Deputy, comming with supreme authority, as well in martiall

martiall as civill causes, brake the heart of Sir John Norryes, Lord General, a leader as worthy and famous as England bred in our age. Of late, according to vulgar speech, he had displeas'd the Earle of Essex, for Sir John Norryes had imbraced the action of Brest fort in Britany, and the warres in those parts, when the Earle himself had purpose to entertain them, and prevailed against the Earle, by undertaking them with less forces than the Earl desired for the same. And it was thought that the Earl had preferred the Lord Bourgh, of purpose to discontent him, in regard the said Lord Bourgh had had a private quarrel with the said General in England, and that besides, the superior command of this Lord, could not but be unsupportable to him, esteemed one of the greatest Captains of his time, and yet having inferior command of the Presidentship of Mounster, in the same kingdom. Certainly, upon the arrival of this new Lord Deputy, presently General Norryes was commanded to his government of Mounster, and not to stirre thence without leave. When he came thither this grieffe so wrought upon his high spirit, as it apparantly brake his brave, and formerly, undaunted heart, for without sickenes, or any public sign of grieffe, he suddenly died in the imbrace of his deere brother, Sir Thomas Norreys, his vice-president, within some two months of his coming into Mounster."—Part ii. p. 20. O Sullivan gives a very different account of the death of this great captain. He says, "Namque (sicuti fertur) Moalæ (Mallow) cum noctu luderet, Quidam, corpore vestibisque Niger, in conclave improvise intrat, quocum Norris, ludo relicto, sese in cubiculum abdidit, amotis arbitris præter unum puerum qui juxta ostium clam consistens colloquium audivit, quod hujusmodi fuisse traditur. Niger, 'Tempus est,' inquit, 'ut rationibus nostris summam manum imponamus.' 'Noli,' inquit Norris, 'id facere, donec Ibernicum bellum confectum relinquamus.' 'Nullo modo,' inquit ille, 'diutius expectabo, quia constituta dies jam cessit.' Mox strepitus ingens sonat, quo moti lusores et domestici, cùm cubiculum foribus effractis ingressi fuissent, Nigro, qui quin Diabolus fuerit non dubitatur, nullibi reperto, Norrissem invenerunt genibus flexum, colloque et cervice ita tortum, ut occiput pectore et os dorso immineret, sed adhuc vivum, atque jubentem æneatores tibicines et tympanistas convocari, ut ipsius mortem cantu celebrarent, quibus canentibus intra dimidiam horam animam profudit. Ejus corpus aromatibus atque fragrantissimis odoribus curatum in Angliam transfertur. Quem ego casum memoriâ repetens equidem dementiâ hæreticorum obstupefio, cadaver hominis impii honore magno colentium, sacra vero divorum martyrum inhumata projicientium. Licet etiam colligi quantam Deus optimus maximus Onello prælianti opera tulerit, qui non modo Norrissem, peritissimum Anglorum imperatorem, omni pugnandi apparatu superiorem, sæpe profligaverit, sed ipsum etiam Diabolum, qui illi ex pacto fuisse opitulatus creditur, vicerit."—*O Sullivan*, pp. 146, 147.

*Page 40, line 26.*

*Donnell Spaniah.*—Daniel Hispaniensis.—*O Sullivan.* “In 1601, the Lord Deputy Mountjoy kept St. George’s feast at Dublin with solempne pompe, the captains bringing up his meat, and some of the colonels attending on his person at table. To which feast the rebels were invited whom his Lordship lately received to mercy, namely, Turlogh Mac Henry, captain of the Fewes; Ever Mac Cooly, chief of the Fearney; O’Hanlon, a lord of Ulster; Phelim Mac Feagh, chief of the Obyrnes; and Donnell Spaniagh, chief of the Cavanaghs in Leinster.”—*Moryson*, part ii. p. 99.

*Page 41, line 3.*

*Dyngan.*—Phillipstown.

*Page 41, line 6.*

*Sir Henry Harrington.*—“Upon the death of Agard, Sir Henry Harrington who had married one of his daughters and heirs, was, by letters from England, appointed to be seneschall of the Obirnes in his place.”—*Hooker*, p. 428.

*Page 41, line 8.*

*Banilagh.*—Ranelagh.

*Page 41, line 29.*

*Drawing forth presentlie.*—Insert a semicolon after forth.

*Page 42, line 20.*

*Into Ophaly.*—“Secundam expeditionem rursus Essexius facit in Ochonchures Iphalios et Omorras, cum quibus parvum prosperé pugnans, exercitum indies minuit. Quare in Onellum profecturus ex Angliâ subsidium petit.”—*O Sullivan*, p. 165.

*Page 43, line 17.*

*From Derrow.*—Durrow, in the Barony of Ballycowen, in the King’s County. Here was a famous monastery founded by St. Columba, mentioned by Bede, “Fece-  
rat [Columba], prius quam in Britanniam veniret nobile monasterium in Hiberniâ,  
quod a copia roborum Dear magh, linguâ Scotorum, hoc est campus Roborum, cogno-  
minatur.”—*Beda Ecc. Hist.* Lib. 3, c. 4

The common Latin name for this monastery was De Roboreto. Ophaly was long celebrated for its oaks. In 1537, Alen, Master of the Rolls, proposed that the Castle of Trim should be repaired with 400 or 500 great oaks, to be felled in Ophaly.—*State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 481, and Moryson says, that the only woods he saw between Armagh and Kinsale were in that country. The woods which covered the country in the time of Giraldus, *Top. Hib. Tert. Dist.* c. 2, had disappeared from the pale

pale in the 16th century. Amongst the ordinances for Ireland, in 1534, it was enjoined, "that every husbände having a ploughe within thEnglishe pale, shall sette, by the yere, 12 ashes in the diches and closes of his ferme, upon peyne of 2<sup>s</sup>. to be forfayte to the Deputy."—*State Papers*, part iii. vol. ii. p. 214. In 1609, King James granted permission to the Irish Society to cut down 50,000 oaks at 10<sup>s</sup>. a piece, 100,000 ashes at 5<sup>s</sup>. 10,000 elms at 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. to build Londonderry from the woods of Killetra, where there are few trees now.—*Stat. Survey, Finvoy*. And it may be added, that in 1682, the county of Westmeath was "deficient in nothing necessary to the use and emolument of human life, except only timber of bulk (wherewith also it was antiently well stored), a want to be bewailed not only in this county but in most parts of the kingdom; and what is yet more deplorable, little care is taken for propagating so useful a commodity, amidst the havock thereof made by iron works, &c., in these counties, where as yet only small remainders of timber are. So that it is much to be feared that posterity will want not only necessaries for building, but even wherewithal to dress their leather, and make vessels for the exportation of their inbred commodities."—*Sir H. Piers' Description of Westmeath*, p. 2, see also extract from Moryson, note page 33, line 18.

*Page 44, line 4.*

*Sir John Mac Coughlin*.—"Westmeath is also inhabited by many great Irish sept, as the Omaddens, Magoghigans, Omalaghens, and Mac Coghlan, which seem barbarous names."—*Moryson*, part iii. p. 158. M'Goghigan's Castle was at Donoar, in Westmeath. "In 1638, Clonmacnoise and 3000 acres of land, by the management and procurement of Mr. Thomas Coghlan, through the favour of Dr. Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath, were taken from the barony of Clonlonan in Westmeath, and annexed to the barony of Garricastle, in the King's County."—*Piers' Westmeath*, p. 85.

*Page 44, line 19.*

*Seeing it but lost tyme*.—In that romantic age, with his imagination inflamed by stories of the spoils of the new world, the proud and accomplished Essex must have thought it but lost time to hunt "for prays of 500 cowes, and 60 garrans," the sole wealth of the Irish, but of which they had infinite multitudes. Cox says that it was reported that Brian Mac Fylemy had 30,000 cows. "In the heat of the last rebellion," says Moryson, "the very vagabond rebels had great multitudes of cowes, which they still (like the Nomades) drove with them, whithersoever themselves were driven, and fought for them as for their altars and families. By this abundance of cattle the Irish have a frequent, though somewhat poore trafficke for their hides, the cattle being in general very little, and only the men and the greyhounds of great stature. Neither can the cattle

cattle possibly be great, since they onely eat by day, and then are brought at evening within the bawnes of castles, where they stand or lye all night in a dirty yard, without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishnesse, and that little they altogether keep for their horses. And they are thus brought in by night for feare of theeves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for feare of wolves, the distruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefs, they are so much growne in number, as sometimes in winter nights they will come to prey in villages, and the suburbes of cities.”—*Moryson*, part iii. pp. 159–60.

*Page 44, line 23.*

*A brief relation.*—The very great rarity of O Sullevan’s *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, will excuse the length of the following and other quotations: “Per idem tempus Cliffordus, Connachtæ præfectus, statuit cum Odonello terrâ marique gerrere bellum; primum agredi Sligacham, et arcem, quam Odonellus diruerat, reædificare. Ad id Oconchur Sligachus trans Corsliebhum montem circum Sligacham Connachtos circumit, hortans atque rogans, ut ab Odonello desciscant. Illi paucis equitibus stipato turma ex equitibus Odonelli forte fit obvia, et illum commissâ pugnâ paucisque occisis in Kulmunium castellum compellit, ubi ab Odonello circumsessus oppugnatur. Oconchur, qui dies circiter quadraginta castellum strenue propugnabat, jam inediâ videbatur in deditionem venturus. Id intelligens Cliffordus expeditionem celerius facit, ut Sligacham, sicut animo constituerat, recuperet, et Oconchuri obiter ferat opem. Theobaldum Burkum<sup>(a)</sup>, cognomento Navalem, Ranmaculliami principatûs competitorem, cum classe, quâ commeatus, tormenta bellica, calx, et alia materies ad reficiendam arcem vehebantur jubet Galveâ solvere, ipse cum cæteris copiis pedestre iter arrepturus. Id Odonellus minimè ignorans pedites quadragintos, ducibus Mac Suinnio Fanido et Maculliamo, Sligachæ præsidio disponit. Obuillo imperat, ut cum equitibus ducentis Kulmuni castelli obsidionem continuet, ipse cum peditibus et Odocharta Corsliebhum montem, quo Cliffordo erat iterfaciendum, occupat. Per illum montem duobus itineribus, altero nimis angusto et impedito, altero latiore aditus patebat. In impedito cohortes tres collocat, jussas venientem hostem prohibere, donec plures auxilio mittat. In itinere patientiore ipse et Odocharta cum peditum millibus duobus, invictâ acie, tentoria pandit. Nec procul Orruarkus consedit cum peditibus centum quadraginta. Interim Navalis cum navibus et phasellis viginti in Sligachæ portum

(a) Captaine Tibot ne long? first Viscount Mayo, and son of the Connaught heroine Grany us Male, or Grace O’Malley. From his name he seems to have inherited his mother’s love of ships and maritime adventure.

portum appulit, exsilire in terram non ausus, Cliffordi adventum præstolatur. Cliffordus ex Ibernis et Anglis legionariis, et Ibernis auxiliariis duo millia et quingentos pedites electæ juventutis, et tres equitum turmas cogit. Inter auxiliares notissimi erant Oconchur Dounnus Planiciei Connachticæ princeps, Melmarius Macsuinnius, Tuethiæ princeps, qui iratus Odonello nuper ad Anglos defecerat, et Richardus Burkus, Dunkillini Baro, Comitum Ulligi filius. Cliffordus Anthloniâ procedens cum signis militaribus, pedestribus triginta sex, et equestribus tribus, Bulliam pervenit. Odonellus in eâ montis parte, quæ dicitur Iter Pallidum" [Bealachbui], "arbores hinc inde cædi, in via sterni jubet, ut venientibus hostibus impedimento, et resistenti sibi munimento sint: nam in eo-loco statuit dimicare, citra quem duobus fere millibus passuum castra collocaverat. Jamque appropinquante die festo Virginis Matris Assumptæ Catholici omnes per confessionem a peccatis expiantur, pridie festum jejunant, et in ipso festo Christi Domini corpus accipiunt. Erat illa dies obscura nubibus et pluviosa. Ob quod Odonellus putans hostem non moturum castra, ipse ad Iter Pallidum, ubi ex commodo certare posset, omisit movere. Cæterum Macsuinnius ratus eam commodam occasionem, quod Odonellum propter pluviam ex pellibus non exiturum judicabat, Cliffordo persuasit, ut iter arriperet. Cliffordus Grifino Markamo equiti aurato Anglo, magistro equitum, cum equitatu Bulliæ relicto, quod in monte non posset per equites rem commodè geri, ipse cum peditibus incustoditum aditum occupat. Vix communioni Catholici imponebant finem, cum equites exploratores reversi retulerunt hostem fuisse Pallidum Iter et cæsas arbores transgressum. Extemplo jubet Odonellus milites cito capere cibum, quo firmiores præliando sint, mox ita alloquitur. 'Mariæ Deiparæ Virginis Sacrosanctæ ope hostem Hæreticum cùm antea semper vicimus, tum hodie potissimum profligabimus. Virginis nomine heri jejunavimus, et hodiernum festum celebramus. Ergo eodem nomine fortiter et animose cum Virginis hostibus pugnemus et victoriam obtinebimus.' Quâ oratione militibus ad pugnam vehementer accensis, sexcentos bombarios præmittit ducibus Eugenio Macsuinnio Tuethio, et Ægydio Tullioque Ogallachuribus jussos hostem impetere, et tardare, dum ipse hastatorum agmina instruat. Hostis ex itinerum angustiis in medium, et planum, montem ascenderat, et horâ diei circiter undecimâ pluvia cessabat, cum Odonelli fulminatores occurrunt. Ibi æquo loco ingente juventutis animo plumbeis pilulis eminus acerrimè cœpit pugnari, et mutua vulnera inferri. Iberni fulminatores cedunt, qui ducibus objurgantibus rem male geri, et pro Virgine parum strenue dimicari, convitiis exagitati pudore simul, et studio rei bene gerendæ pro Virgine, moti velitationem redintegrant. Vix credibile est quanto animo, quantâque constantiâ et dexteritate partis utriusque bombardarii pugnaverint. Regii Scloperarii ad hastatorum agmina compelluntur, et ipsa agmina pilorum grandine obruta, et vulnerata, circumventa a fronte, et ab utroque latere, ter sese in gyrum vertunt, inscia quid agant. Perculsis Orruarks addit ter-

rorem cum centum quadraginta peditibus veniens Catholicis auxilio. Quo viso universus regiorum exercitus terga vertit, magnâ strue armorum relictâ. Catholici insequuntur. Odonellus cum hastatis, etsi properabat, non tamen est nactus pugnam integram. Quare credo non nisi Virginis Matris ope regios fuisse a fulminatoribus in fugam versos. Fugientium atque palantium tergis hærent Catholici per tria millia passuum. Cliffordus a militibus Ibernis duobus, quibus magnum præmium proposuit, diu levatus tandem cursu superatus occiditur, per latus trajectus hastâ. Arbores cæsæ et impeditum iter fugientibus magno impedimento erant, ubi non modo arma sed et vestes relictæ sunt. Vix evasit Dunkillini Baro. Mille passibus a Bulliâ occurrit fugientibus auxilio Griffinus cum omni equitatu, primosque Catholicos hostem incomposité sequentes et occidentes in fugam vertit; sed Orruarko Catholicos recipiente et confirmante et hostibus resistente, duo vulnera accipiens duplici glande, alterum dexterâ manu, alterum dextero femine, equitatum pedem referre facit. Rursus sequuntur Catholici usque ad Bulliam, quo Griffinus se recipit.”—*O’Sullivan*, pp. 165–6.

*Page 45, line 25.*

*Sir Aliz. Ratcliff.*—“Alexandro Ratcliffo de Ordsall ex equestri ordine, et multis veteranis occisis.”—*Camdeni An.* vol. iii. p. 791.

*Page 47, line 1.*

*By the vertu of Sir Griffin Markham.*—Moryson says that Lord Southampton’s horse were commanded by Captain John Jephson, to whom he gives the praise of securing the retreat of the army by charging “upon the causey, and to the very skirts of the wood, with such resolution as the rebels, either thinking horse could not have served there, or expecting advantages upon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them, and gave way without any resistance, for a good space, in which our men had leasure to retire over a ford into the plaine, where the carriages were, and thence to the Abbey of the Boyle, being very neere the place.”—Part ii. p. 38. Moryson and Camden say that the English troops were discouraged by the want of powder, almost all they had about them being spent; and Moryson adds, that he had heard this mischance attributed “to an unorderly turning of the whole van, which, though it were toward the enemy, yet being mistaken by some common souldiers for a flight, it caused a general rowte.”

*Page 47, line 10.*

*By O’Rourke.*—O’Rourke had an hereditary cause of enmity to the English. In 1590, Brian O’Rourke, who was driven into rebellion by the fate of M’Mahon of Monaghan, was defeated by Sir Richard Bingham, and forced to take refuge in Scotland. At the request of Elizabeth he was given up by King James, and tried at Westminster Hall.



Hall. The following account of his trial and accusation is taken from Camden, *Annales*, 1591. "Accusatur quod Alexandrum Mac Connellum et alios in Reginam excitasset et fovisset; Reginæ effigiem in tabulâ depictam ad equi caudam appensam per ludibrium raptari, et contumeliosè dissecari jussisset; Hispanos naufragos hospitio contra Proregis-edictum, recepisset; fidelium subditorum ædes per incendiarios in cineres rede-gisset, plures interemisset, et Hiberniam Scotorum Regi possidendam obtulisset. Ille per interpretem hæc edoctus, nam Anglicè nesciebat, homo barbarè insolens duodecim virorum judicio se submittere recusavit, nisi comperindinaretur, advocatus assignaretur, accusationes ex Hiberniâ missæ in manus traderentur, et ipsa Regina pro tribunali judex sederet. Quum primarius Angliæ Justitiarius per interpretem respondisset. Si duodecim virorum judicio de facto se non submitteret, judicandum tamen esse ex lege secundum accusationis capita, nihil aliud retulit quam.—*Si ita visum ita fiat.* Sententiâ mortis in eam prolatâ, post aliquot dies ad Tiburnas furcas proditorum supplicium animo præfracto pertulit, irridens Meilerium Creah, Archiepiscopum Cassiliensem, qui Hibernicè consolari cøperat, ut ambigua fidei et depravata vitæ hominem, quod ejuratâ Franciscanorum regulâ votum violasset."

*Page 48, line 5.*

*Tyrone.*—In 1593, on the death of Turlogh Leinigh, Tyrone, contrary to his oath, assumed the name of Oneal. "Præ quo," says Camden, "vel Cæsaris titulus in Hibernia sordet." This Oneal was accustomed to say that he would rather be Oneal of Ulster than King of Spain.

*Page 48, line 8.*

*Lord Lieutenant General.*—It is evident from this sentence that this relation was written before Essex was removed from the Lieutenancy.

*Page 48, line 18.*

*Castle Kerran.*—Castle, or Trystel Keran; there was a church here appropriate to the Priory of St. John the Baptist at Kells, of which there are some interesting remains. In the yard are three Termon crosses.

*Page 48, line 21.*

*Donnemain in Ferny.*—"The Manor of Donaghmayn and the lordship of Fernewey (Ferny), which had been part of the estate of Roger Pipard, were granted by Edward III. to Roger Gernon, of Gernonstown, who had likewise other grants made to him for his services in the battle of Dundalk, against Edward Bruce."—*Rot. Pat.* 13 Ed. II. 91, 92, and *Pat. ii. Hen. v. 22.* "In 1573, the whole Barony of Donnemain, otherwise

called the Ferly (Ferny), and Clankavel were granted by Queen Elizabeth to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, father of Earl Robert," from whom the present proprietor is descended.—*Davies' Letter to Earl of Salisbury*. For some time previous to the grant to Essex these lands were probably in the possession of the M'Mahons of Monaghan, to one of whom the lands of Fernewy had been leased for life, at the rent of 10£ a year, in the 3rd of Hen. IV. When the moyety of the Signiories of Clandeboy, Ferny, &c., were granted to Essex, it was agreed that for the first two years the Queen and the Earl should each keep 200 horse and 400 foot, and that every horseman volunteer who should serve gratis for two years, should have 400 acres of land, and a footsoldier 200 acres, ad 2d. an acre, quit rent."—*Cox Hib. Ang.*, vol. i. p. 339.

*Page 50, line 2.*

*Nabber*.—Nobber, which was then considered the key of the county of Meath, was fortified in 1435, as appears from the following order: "Rex Christofero Preston armigero (recitat monstrasse sibi communes Hibernie et precipue communes comitatús Midie villam de Nobbre, que quedam clavis est dicti comitatús, fuisse nuper combustam per Hibernicos inimicos, nec posse relevari absque fossatis et fortaliis factis et emendatis), concessit licenciam quod summonire possit per tres dies quolibet quarterio anni per 3 annos, omnes domesticos, alias husbands, habiles ad laborandum, ac alios servientes et laborarios intra dictam villam et Baroniam de Margallyn commorantes ad laborandum et construendum fossata et fortalicia prædicta, ipsumque assignavit ad omnia premissa facienda."—*Dub. 10 Mar. Rot. Pat. 13 Hen. VI. 92.*

*Page 50, line 7.*

*Bellaclyme*.—"Balla Clinch, haud procul a Loutho, primario Comitatus oppido."—*Camdeni Annales*, vol. iii. p. 791.

*Page 50, line 14.*

*Tyrone tooke of his hatt*.—"Hinc Prorex, turmâ equitum in proximo colle dispositâ, solus descendit; Tir-Oenius, equo ventre tenuis in aquas immisso, Proregem in ripâ magnâ observantiâ salutât, et multis ultro citroque verbis, sine arbitris, habitis fere hora est consumpta."—*Cam. ubi supra.*

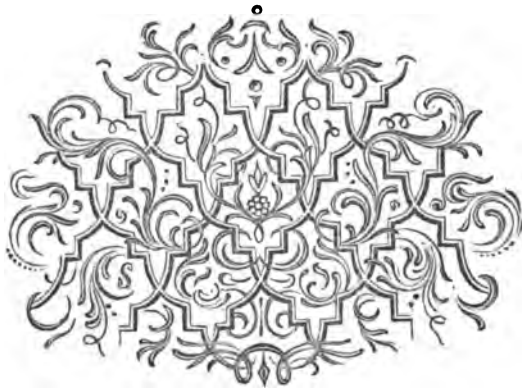
*Page 50, line 18.*

The parties present at this second conference, which, according to Camden, did not take place on the same day with the first, are thus given in his Annals. With Tyrone, his brother Cormac, Mac Gennys, Mac Guir, Ever Mac Cowley, Henry Ovington,

ton, and O'Quin; with Essex, the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Henry Danvers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. The name of Henry Wootton is not mentioned by Camden, whose account agrees precisely with that given by *Fynes Moryson*, part ii. p. 38.

*Page 50, line 19.*

*Sir George Bouchier.*—"Was the third son to John Earl of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loins of kings, and men of great honors and nobility. And this gentleman having some notion of the value and valiantness of his ancestors derived and descended upon him, was affected and given to all feats of chivalry, and especially to the service of the wars, wherein he proved a very good soldier, and an expert captain, both as a horseman and as a footman. If he served upon foot he was apparelled in the manner of a kerne, and a foot soldier, and was so light of foot as no kerne swifter, for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streights. If he were to serve upon his horseback, his daily service can witness sufficiently how much and how often he prevailed against the enemy."—*Hooker*, p. 370.



**APPENDIX.**

## APPENDIX.

THE RATE OF THE WAGES OF THE GALLOGLAS AS THEY BE PAID IN MONEY AND VICTUALS, RATED AFTER THEIR OWN CONFESSION BEFORE SIR THOMAS CUSACK AND MR. SECRETARY.

At DUBLIN, 17<sup>o</sup> *Novembris*, 1568.

**A**Pon conference had with the captens of the three septes of the Queens Majesties Galloglasses by Sir Thomas Cusake, Knighte, and John Chaloner, her Majesties Secretarie in this realme, by the apoyntement of the Lorde Deputie, to witt and certifie what the wages and entreteynement of every sparre of her Majesties Galloglasses oughte to be of dutie ordinarilye in every place where the same is leviable: they have related as foloweth, videlicet,

That in every place where ther is to be levied an wholle quarters bonaghte vnto them, videlicet, for the wholle quarter of the yere they muste have of all places within Leymistre, Mounster or Vlster, for every sparre (which maketh two men)<sup>a</sup>, by the name of the quarters wages v<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Irishe, and the dayly dietts halfe in money, videlicet, a penny sterling the meale for eche man, which for the wholle quarter amounteth vnto xl<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup> ob. Irish, and also the other halfe diettes in victuels, videlicet, for every sparr xv. peckes and a hoope of bredd corne<sup>b</sup> for six score and two cakes of bred after the rate of halfe an hoope of corne for every cake, and also xvij. score and six quartes of butter vnto those cakes, after the rate of three quartes of butter to every cake, and v. quartes to a gallon.

And that in the Annaley and in Connaught where the wholle quarters bonaght is to be levied vnto them, they muste have for dietts halfe money and halfe dietts as aforeseid, but for the wages of every sparre more videlicet vij<sup>s</sup> Irish.

But where their bonaght is for lesse then the quarter of a yere; there they muste have but the wages and dietts of money onlye, and no victuells, that is to witt, wages

as

<sup>a</sup> *Every sparre (which maketh two men).*—“Ten scor sparrs amounteth to twenty score men.” Report on Ireland, 1534.—*State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 185. In the vocabulary printed at the end of the State Papers, a *Bataille*, a *Battallier*, it is said, seems to have consisted of 60 or 80

galloglasses, but at page 115, vol. ii. part iii. the Earl of Kildare's galloglasses consisted of but “sextene in a batayle.”

<sup>b</sup> *A hoope of bred corne.*—This measure, which is not mentioned in Harris's Ware, chap. xxxiii. must have contained a quarter of a peck.

as aforesaid, after the rate of the tyme; and dietts for the rate of the tyme only, after iiij<sup>d</sup> sterling, per diem for every sparre and no more.

According to the which rates the Bonaghtes due and leviabie upon the Irishe Captenries and countreys by their enformacion conferred with the olde councell booke, so ferre furth as is there registred, and further by sighte of former warrants of their bonaghtes, the countrepaynes of captens indentures not yet perused amounte as on the other syde may appere.

BONAGHTES DUE TO THE QUEENS MAJESTIE FOR HER GALLOGLASSES.

		<i>Wages in Money.</i>	<i>Dietts in Money.</i>	<i>Dietts in Victuells.</i>
<b>IN CONNAGHTE.</b>				
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon Birmingeams contrey, for 14 dayes yerlye,	iiij <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	xviiij <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon Oconor Roo, for iiij <sup>or</sup> . weekes,	vij <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	xxxviiij <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : viij <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon Oreiglyes contrey, for the wholle quarter of a yere, yerlye,	lvj <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ccxliij <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling and	Bred corne, 2440 pecks. Butter, 58,560 quartes.
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon the Annaley, for a wholle quarter of a yere, yerlye,	xliij <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xx</sup> ij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling and	Bred corne, 1830 pecks. Butter, 43,920 quartes.
<b>IN MOUNSTRE.</b>				
Sparres : xi <sup>d</sup> .	Apon Odwyers contrey for iiij <sup>or</sup> . weekes yerlye,	lxix <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	xviiij <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : ix <sup>d</sup> .	Apon Mac ybrien arra, for iiij <sup>or</sup> . weeks yerly,	v <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> ob. Irishe.	xxviiij <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : ix <sup>d</sup> .	Apon Woney Omulryan, for iiij <sup>or</sup> . weekes yerlye,	v <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> ob. Irishe.	xxviiij <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : ix <sup>d</sup> .	Apon Mac ybrien Ogow-naghe, for iiij <sup>or</sup> . weekes, yerlye,	v <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> ob. Irishe.	xxviiij <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon William Burke quondam Hugh Burk, of Criegh Clenwilliam, for vi. weekes yerlye,	x <sup>l</sup> ix <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lvi <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon Burke, besides Lymerike, for vi. weekes yerlye,	xv <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob. Irishe.	iiij <sup>xx</sup> iiij <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> .	Apon O Kennedye, for a moneth yerly,	x <sup>l</sup> ix <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lvi <sup>l</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.

*Wages*

		<i>Wages in Money.</i>	<i>Dietts in Money.</i>	<i>Dietts in Victualls.</i>
<b>IN VLSTER.</b>				
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> . for his contrey, xl <sup>d</sup> . for Ferney,	Apon Mac Mahon, for a quarter of a yere, yerlye,	xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xxij</sup> <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne 1830 peckes. Butter 43,920 quartes.
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon Macgynisses contrey, for a quarter of a yere, yerly,	xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xxij</sup> <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne 1830 peckes. Butter 43,920 quartes.
Sparres : xl <sup>d</sup> . . .	Apon Ohanlons contrey, for lyke tyme yerlye,	xi <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lx <sup>l</sup> xvi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne 610 peckes. Butter 14,640 quartes.
<b>IN LEMISTER.</b>				
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon the Byrnes, for a quarter of a yere, yerly,	xxxiv <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xxij</sup> <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne 1830 peckes. Butter 43,920 quartes.
Now the enrollment of the contracte sayth for iiij <sup>or</sup> , vi, or viij weekes, or for a quarter of a yere, when and as need requireth, not specifieng yerlye.				
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon McEdmond Duffs, Mc Vadak and Mc davy Mores contreyes, for lyke tyme yerely,	xxxiv <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xxij</sup> <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne 1830 pecks. Butter 43,920 quartes.
Sparres : lx <sup>d</sup> . . .	Apon the iij. septes of the Cavenaghes, for lyke tyme yerlye,	xvij <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	xcj <sup>l</sup> v <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 915 pecks. Butter, 21,960 quartes.
Sparres : xl <sup>d</sup> . . .	Apon the Morrourghes contrey, for lyke tyme yerlye,	xi <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lx <sup>l</sup> xvi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 610 pecks. Butter, 14,640 quartes.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon Vpperossirie for lyke tyme yerlye,	xxij <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	cxxi <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 1220 pecks. Butter, 29,280 quartes.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon Ocaroll, for his owne contrey, for lyke tyme yerlye,	xxij <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	cxxi <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 1220 pecks. Butter, 29,280 quartes.
Sparres : xl <sup>d</sup> . . .	Apon Mc Cowghlan's contrey, for lyke tyme yerlye,	xi <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lx <sup>l</sup> xvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 610 pecks. Butter, 14,640 quartes.
Sparres : vi <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon O Kelleys contrey for lyke tyme yerlye,	xxxiv <sup>l</sup> Irishe.	ciiij <sup>xxij</sup> <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> Sterling.	Bred corne, 1830 pecks. Butter, 43,920 quartes.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon Omoloyes contrey, for half a quarter of a yere yerlye,	xi <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	lx <sup>l</sup> xvi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.
Sparres : iiij <sup>xx</sup> . . .	Apon Omaddens contrey, for a moneth yerlye,	vi <sup>l</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> Irishe.	xxxvij <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	Nothing.

		<i>Wages in Money. Diets in Money.</i>	<i>Diets in Victualls.</i>
	Summa totalis of eche sorte of the seid bonaghts, according their titles and . . . . aforseyd,	liij <sup>c</sup> li <sup>l</sup> vij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> Irishe. for iij <sup>c</sup> xxxvij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> Sterling.	ii <sup>m</sup> ijj <sup>c</sup> vij <sup>l</sup> xv <sup>s</sup> Sterling.  Bred corne, 18,600 pecks for after ij <sup>s</sup> sterling the pecke, i <sup>m</sup> vij <sup>c</sup> ix <sup>l</sup> sterling. Butter after v quartes to the gallon, 89,304 gallons, for after xvij <sup>d</sup> sterling the gallon, vi <sup>m</sup> vi <sup>c</sup> iiij <sup>xx</sup> xvij <sup>l</sup> sterling.

*F I N I S .*