











**THE CHRONICLE OF IRELAND**



COIMISIÚN LÁIMHSCRÍBHINNÍ NA HÉIREANN  
IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

THE  
CHRONICLE OF IRELAND  
1584-1608

BY  
SIR JAMES PERROTT

EDITED BY  
HERBERT WOOD

F.S.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.



DUBLIN  
PUBLISHED BY THE STATIONERY OFFICE

To be purchased directly from the  
GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS SALE OFFICE, 5 NASSAU ST., DUBLIN, C.2  
or through any Bookseller

1933  
*Price Twelve Shillings and Sixpence.*





## PREFACE

THIS manuscript was lent to the Public Record Office, London, by Col. Carew, of Crowcombe near Taunton, in the county of Somerset in 1868 with other documents, and they are classed as "Carew MSS." There is a pencil note inside this manuscript to the effect that it was bought by Mr. Carew in 1747 for 6s. 6*d.*, probably at the sale of the library of the Duke of Chandos.

There is no mention of the name of the author of this volume in the document itself, but it is quite evident, as I shall shew, that he was Sir James Perrott. The author, in his dedication to the Earl of Pembroke, states that he bears a name which was connected with his lordship's progenitors. "As first when in the dayes of King Henry the Fourth, William Herbert, the valiant and heroicall First Earl of Pembroke of that name did of his owne absolut authoritie conferre on T.P. the cheife office of trust and command belonginge to y<sup>e</sup> Erledom." There is an error in this statement as William Herbert did not receive the dignity of Earl of Pembroke till 1468—*i.e.*, in the reign of Edward IV, not Henry IV. But shortly before this date, in 1450, a Thomas Perrott was made steward of the Pembroke lordship.<sup>1</sup> Also the writer, in the dedication, refers to his "unfortunate" name, and when describing the administration of Sir John Perrott, breaks off abruptly with the words "The rest of Sir John Perrott's government is wanting, and fitter to be supplied and sett forth by another then by myselfe," so that he was evidently a near relative of Sir John to whom criticism of his administration would have been a delicate task which he was not inclined to undertake.

So far the evidence, though pointing to a Perrott as the writer, does not give any clue as to the particular member of that family, for which we must go outside the document. The hand writing in the MS. corresponds in a striking manner with that of Sir James Perrott as shewn in those letters of his which we possess<sup>2</sup>; but the evidence which is absolutely conclusive is to be found in two documents which are in the Public Record Office. These are two copies of portions of the preface and introduction of this MS., on which we find these words written "Sir James Perrotts preface to his Irish history," in one case as an endorsement, and in the other as the title.<sup>3</sup>

How then did these copies of portions of Sir James's work come to be found amongst the State Papers? The explanation is given in a letter from Sir Thomas Wilson, keeper of the records at Whitehall, dated 10 Mar. 1619, wherein he stated that he had found, in the State

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<sup>1</sup> *Calendar, Patent Rolls, England.*

<sup>2</sup> See *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. 233, 44, for letter of Sir Jas. Perrott to Sir Ralph Winwood, principal Secretary of State.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. 267, nos. 41, 42.

Paper Office, more ado with Ireland than all the world beside, and that he intended, in conjunction with some others experienced in Irish affairs, to continue the history of Ireland which then ended in 1584, and asked for licence to communicate the needful papers to his fellow-workers. He added that he had sent the preface and introduction to Sec. Calvert as a specimen.<sup>4</sup> It is clear from this that Sir James Perrott was one of his fellow-workers, and that we have an approximate date which we can give to his manuscript.

Sir James was said to be an illegitimate son of Sir John Perrott, and was born in 1571. He was knighted in 1603. No mention of him as being in Ireland occurs before Chichester's time, and though he may have visited the country during his father's tenancy of the lord deputyship, it is probable that not till Chichester became lord deputy did Sir James reside in Ireland or take any part in its activities. He was brother-in-law to Chichester, who held a high opinion of him, describing him as "a gentleman of great trust and good discretion."<sup>5</sup> Such virtues procured for him the duty of conducting Lord Delvin over to England in 1608. In this same year, the lord deputy obtained for him the captaincy of a company of 100 men and the command (tho' Sir James called himself "governor") of the Newry,<sup>6</sup> which he held for two years. His interest in the land did not cease with his return to England, for he was appointed one of the "undertakers" in 1610. We hear nothing more of him in Ireland till 1622, when, his denunciation of the Spanish marriage and other matters having offended the King, he was included in the commission of that year to inquire into the spiritual and temporal condition of Ireland, and thus banished for a time. On his return to England he made himself very active in advising the government as to methods of improving the revenue and raising forces in Ireland. He also acted as deputy vice-admiral to his patron, the Earl of Pembroke, and died in 1637.<sup>7</sup> He possessed some literary ability, and wrote several works which are of a philosophical nature.

Sir James advances several reasons in this work for the authenticity of the statements which he makes, such as his searches amongst His Majesty's papers; his conferences with the chief actors in the Irish wars; and that, during his employment in Ireland, he gathered such information as he could from government records or the recollections of contemporaries. If, as seems probable, he was a coadjutor of Sir Thos. Wilson, his acquaintance with government records is easily credible, and indeed his use of almost the *ipsissima verba* of some state papers, especially those in the Carew collection in Lambeth, fully justifies his claim. Of course, in Ireland, his relationship to Chichester would have provided him with the necessary authority.

The work commences with a dedication to the Earl of Pembroke,

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Eng.*, 1623-5, p. 555.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1606-8, p. 549.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 564, and 1625-32, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

and then proceeds to a lengthy philosophical discussion on the writing of histories and the reason why the last rebellion in Ireland continued so long. The writer goes on to give a brief discourse on the ancient conditions and customs of the Irish nation. Then, after a short notice of the state in which the Kingdom of Ireland formerly stood, he continues the Chronicle of Ireland where the last writer had left off. This was probably John Vowell or Hooker, whose narrative is to be found in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. "The Chronicle of Ireland" commences in 1584 with Perrott's administration and proceeds through those of Fitzwilliams, Russell, Brough, and Essex to Mountjoy. After a few brief notes of some events for 1604-7, written in a different hand, the Chronicle concludes with the incident of the taking of Derry by O'Dogherty in 1608, which is in Sir James Perrott's handwriting. The reason he gave for terminating the work was that he had heard that another hand was engaged on a similar work (probably referring to Fynes Moryson, who was chief secretary to Mountjoy), but it is clear from his statement at the beginning of the volume that he had originally intended to continue it to a later date, that is to say 1616, ending with the settlement of the country by the Ulster plantation.

This MS. was evidently intended only as a rough draft. The first part of the narrative proceeds smoothly, the only break occurring in that portion containing the administration of Perrott, which is curtailed for the reason given above. But about half way through, the incidents recorded commence to be sometimes out of place, with a note of the writer to that effect, or are briefly terminated with an "etcetera" as if they were merely memoranda to be elaborated afterwards, while blank pages occurring now and again give the impression that the writer was leaving room for further information; so that it is quite evident that Sir James did not intend to publish this MS. in its present state, and would have rearranged some of his material if he had intended to do so. For instance, the anecdote about the Britaine soldiers occurs in two different parts of the book. But this rough draft was a second stage in the process of writing his history of Ireland, for there is in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 4819) a volume of documents dealing mostly with Ireland, in which is a collection entitled "A continuance of the Chronicle of Ireland begynninge w<sup>th</sup> the government of Sir John Perrott, knight, in the year 1584." This collection contains drafts of his history by Sir James Perrott, and copies of many government documents and draft narratives in other hands, which he had evidently collected for the purpose of his history. A large number are concerned with Chichester's administration, which is easily accounted for when we remember that Sir James intended to bring his narrative down to 1616. This *Add. MS.* was purchased by Bishop Pococke at the Chandos Sale, while, as seems likely, the MS. dealt with in the present work was bought by Mr. Carew at the same sale. Whether they were both originally in the possession of Sir James Ware is a problem which will probably remain unsolved.



not shown  
22-25
 Sir James Perrott inserted much additional historical matter in the margin of his manuscript which it has not been always easy to place properly. Where, by means of a mark such as a cross, he has indicated the place in the text where he intended the addition to be inserted, I have followed his intentions. But where, as in many cases, no such indication is to be found, I have inserted the addition in such a place in the text as seems suitable from being adjacent to such addition, putting it in brackets with a foot note stating that it occurs in the margin in the original. I have also used brackets for a few words which, though not occurring in the original, have been added to make the meaning clearer; and also in the case of letters which have been omitted by the writer, such as "f[l]ie," where he has written "fie" through carelessness. On the other hand, all remarks in parentheses are given as in the original. I have followed the original spelling in all cases, with the exception of the letters *u* and *v* and *i(j)*, which I have modernised. Also I have systematized the capital letters, as well as the punctuation which, in the original, consists of colons to an extraordinary extent. All abbreviations have been extended, and erasures have been omitted with the few exceptions where it seems that the information so struck out might be useful; the italics and quotation marks are my own, and do not occur in the original.

Mr. Philip Wilson of the British Museum was kind enough to obtain for me a copy of a considerable portion of this Chronicle, which, together with a copy of the remainder, I have collated with the original. The index has been made by Miss Agnes Pearson, B.A.

HERBERT WOOD.



## THE CHRONICLE OF IRELAND

A continuance of the Chronicle of Ireland, begynninge at the yere 1584 (where the last writer of that contries historie lefte) and endinge with the yere 1616,

p. 1.

Contayninge a commencement of peace, with indevor to worke reformation in that kingedome : practised, but not perfected, in the fower first yeres.

The growndes and growthe of disturbance in the sixe yeres next followinge.

The height and continuance of rebellion for seven yeres afterwards.

The reduction of it then to obedience ; continuance soe for five yeres ; defection and departure of Tyrone with his complices ; plantation of Ulster thereupon with English and Scottish men in three yere after ; settelment of the contrie in peace sithence, as it now standes.

To my singular good Lord William Erle of Pembrocke &c. Right honorable and my most honored Lord,  
The manifold obligations wherein the unfortunat name which I doe unworthily beare hath byn bound unto your Lordships noble progenetors, had byn inought (if there were noe other cause) to tie me unto a dutifull and thanckefull acknowledgement therof. As first when in the dayes of kinge Henry the fourth William Herbert, the valiant and heroicall first Erle of Pembrocke of that name did of his owne absolut authoritie conferre on T.P. the cheife office of trust and command belonginge to ye Erledom\* Next, your Lordships grandfather, bearinge the same name, virtue, valour, and tytle of honor, whose excellent partes of nature conjoynd with longe experience (striving without art to equall if not to excell art) made hym deere and his service most necessarie unto two Kinges and as many Queenes of this kingdom, how much honorable respect he bare unto hym whoe gave me life and beinge, there are some yet levinge can testifie.

p. 2.

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\* " and made hym Sheriffe of Pembrockshire " erased in original.

Besyds all this, your Lordships much more (then can ever by me be merited) favors and fartherances extended towards my unworthie selfe are chaynes stronge inough to fasten on me dutie, fayth, and service as farre as I ame able (after such a shippracke as my selfe and my frendes have sustained) to performe any oblation worth the offeringe unto such a personage. But lookinge into myselfe and into my fortunes, what either could produce worthie the presentment, in myselfe I finde noethinge but insufficiency and defectes ; in my fortunes ruine or decay ; yet rather then I would not doe sumthinge which might demonstrat an honest heart, I tooke in hand that which adversitie doth not usually take from the miserablest men, a poore pene and incke, to trie if with so weake a weopen ill handled I could portrayt any peece that might be serviceable to the State, or in the least measure usefull unto your honor, a principell member of the same. The subject I sought and attempted to prosecut was a continuance of the Chronicle of Ireland : a worke (as I conceived) worthie of a farre more excellent workeman, and more necessary to be don, then I was able to doe it, knowinge soe much as I did or should apprehend of myne owne disabillities. But once takinge in hand this taske I helde it better to goe forwards then to looke backe, and to doe it slenderly as I could with small healpe and as little leasure, rather then it should not be don at all ; not hearinge untill of late that any other had taken it in hand to continew the storie of this kingdom for these later times. Such as these my unpolished labours are I present them to your Lordships judgement and patronage, unto whom I rest most bounden, to be ever at your Lordships commandement.

## THE PREFACE

P. 3.

### PATRIE ET POSTERITATI.

The monumentes and mirrors of times past, the directions of things present, and foresight of the future, are noe way better discerned then by dilligent readinge of histories well and judicially written ; for they conteyne the relation of many experimentes, the cause, progresse, successe, and conclusion of greatest actions, which once fully and faythfully sette downe by the writer, then wisely waied by the reader, the labor is suer to belonge to the one, the benefitte may be others, if they be able and willinge to use it to theyr owne best advantage, but most of all, if they imploy it for publicke services. Amongst histories there are none more usefull and profitable then those which comes neerest the times and contries wherein we leive. The most auncient and remote stories may yelde delight, perchaunce benefitte in the readinge, but those which make knowen the state of our present age, and actions of our contrie or of our nearest neighbours, yeldes not only a light to see which way others walked, and where they went astray, but shewes how by other mens presidentes we may avoyde theyr perills. For histories, as they present (to all understandinge mens apprehensions, and even to symple mens views) the actions of greate states and personages perpetrated on the theator of this world, soe the latest of them, and neerest to our times, thoe they be not allways the greatest, yet have they the most corespondence with those kingdoms and commonweales wherein they are committed. And next is there most interest and use of theyr knowledge to those ajacent people, whoe thorow commerce, concord, or disagreement have most cause to desier the knowledge of what concernes the saffetie of themselves and theyr contries. The use of readinge histories is two folde : either private for a mans particular knowledge and information, or publicke for the application of it to the service of the State. In the first a man may only satisfie hymselfe and serve his owne turne, but by the later he may better and with more commendation (if not utilitie) farther the weale-publicke. In both theise respectes the right use of readinge

The use of histories.

What storie are most profitable.

A two folde use of histories.



p. 4. histories beinge necessarie, it is a matter much to be lamented that this noble nation and potent monarchie of this kingdom of England hath used least providence and made least provision (of any such famous and powerfull kingdom in the Christian world) for procuringe worthie writers to record the renowned deedes of famous kinges, princes, and other noble persons, our auncestors, whose achivementes, had they byn accomplished by men of meaner account and farre lesse valew in other contries, they should have byn suer to be sette forth unto theyr perpetuall prayes for the honor of theyr nation and posteritie. But for want of this our auncestors doe want the deserved memoriall of theyr thrice memorable deedes: yet that which is of greatest moment and most deplorable is that the present time wantes presidentes, and the future will misse meanes of prevention, thorow the omission of those both presidentes and preceptes which faithfull and well written histories might afford.

The famous actions of the English nation.

How then comes it to passe that this nation, havinge in all ages bredd as worthie spirites for literature and militarie profession as any other kingdom hath possessed, yet scarce any have taken laudable paynes to portrayte and deliver unto posteritie the most noble achivementes of our auncestors, who have sette up trophes, and deserved triumph, in the recovery of Palestine from the Turckes; conquered Ireland; subjugated Wales; supported the Neatherlands; subdued Fraunce; both assisted and affronted Spayne. In these and other heroicall enterprises have they exceeded most nations synce the decay of the most incomparable Romane Empier. And yet few have sette forth theyr remarkable deedes, savinge some friars or munckes and a few others, whoe tooke most thinges they wrate from heresay and tradition, and sittinge in theyr cloysters could have little certayne or particuler advertisementes whereon they might buyld truth. Neither was theyr stile puer, or invention such as could content the curious, or scarce satisfie an ingenious reader; for they were (for the most parte) fraught with wortheles relations, many times with fabolous narrations, mencioninge the greatest matters without method or addition of considerable circumstances.

The cause that the Chronicle of England

The reason of this may be rendered because charge hath not byn committed by the State, nor reward geiven unto worthie wittes (as in other contries it is used) for settinge forth the historie



of this kingdom ; but if any man out of his owne good will writtes anything, he is subject to all censuers (wherof this age hath greate stoare) without any recompence or esteeme.

This hath obscured the fame of our victorious and vigilant kinges, buried in oblivion the memorie of our progenitors admirable actions, eclipsed the glorie of our nation, and bereaved both us that are levinge, and those that shall succeed us, of such paternes and presidentes of trew valoure, bountie, magnanimitie, wisdom, and other rare virtues and wonderfull indowments, which our predecessors were possessed of ; but the knowlege and re [\*] now are perished, together with theyr lives, and had an ende with them, & †not knowen, and therfor not imitated because they were not well layed up in the treasure of trew and well written histories.

The lyke infelicitie hath our neighbour kingdom Ireland had, soe many hundred yeres synce subdued to this crowne of England. Yet in all this time noe perfect historie hath byn written : how it was first conquered ; how that conquest was maynteyned ; what revoltes and rebellious insurrections have byn practised by the lords and people of that contrie agaynst theyr soveraynes the Kinges of England and theyr governors ; how they have byn suppressed ; in what manner the government of that State hath byn managed ; by what meanes the people have kept theyr barbarous costomes without civilitie or reformation ; with many other circumstances concerninge the continuall occurences of that contrie, the condition and state of the people ; all which most necessary to be knowen for the better keepinge of them in quiet, reformation of abuses, knowledge of the contrie, defence of the good subjectes ; suppression of the bad ; increase of revenew to the Kinge, of peace, wealth, and plentie to the people, which the want of histories exactly written hath kept from the knowledge of the Kinges of England and of theyr counsell. Only some few governors of that kingdom have, duringe theyr owne times, knowen sumwhat of those particuler places and persons over whom they had government in Ireland, which many times they concealed, either for want of sufficiencie in themselves to expresse it, or else of meere caution and coninge, that the secrettes of that State should not be brought to light least others understandinge it themselves should loose theyr employments, wherein

hath not  
byn well  
continewed.

p. 5.

The greate  
incon-  
venience  
for want [of]  
a well  
written  
English  
Chronicle.

Noe perfect  
historie  
written of  
Ireland.

\* Torn.

† "now" erased.

many times they were retheyned of necessitie for that they knew more then others, then for any greate worthinis found in them. And soe the State here were constrayned to take them for oracles (after the maner of the heathen gods) whom they knew to be subject unto many errors and infirmities. This made a greate counsellor of this kingdom confesse he understoode lesse Ireland then any other.

And if the Chronickles of that kingdom had been duly and sufficiently continued, the forepast actions and adventures soe apperinge still to the eies of the world had made the contrie and conditions of the people better knowen; theyr power and practises had byn more manifest, and by the forewarninge of former mischeifes and other mistakinges the succeedinge ages might the better forsee how to shun insuinge dangers, the consideration and consequence whereof hath induced me (thoe least able, yet most willinge) to continew the Chronicle of Ireland; cheifly to commend unto posterities the progresse and course of the last, worst, most men-devowringe and treasure-consuminge rebellion that ever that kingdom procured, and this felt, synce Ireland was first subdued to the crowne of England, to the ende that future ages seeinge from what small begyninges, and by what steppes, degrees, and practises those rebellions were hached and fostered, the lyke (if any shall happen hereafter in that contrie) may be better foreseene and more timely prevented. It is not unlykely but that some of more judgement and sufficiencie then myselfe hath indevored allredy to performe this worke. If it be soe, yet the more collections that are made the more use may be made of them; and as I shall not be ashamed to take light from another's fier, soe shall I not be sorie if any man light his candle by mine, especially if they that are about us boath make any benefitte by our lights or labors.

Many men of noe meane understandinge abroad, and some at home, have wondered how it came to passe that Queene Elizabeth, a princesse of soe greate fame, power, and magnanimitie, whoe contested with the greatest kinge of Christendom, ayded hir neighbours and alies, maynteyned hir owne estate agaynst all hir adversaries with soe greate providence, power, and admired successe, makinge thereby hir name renowned thorow all the known partes of Asia, Europe, Affricke, and a greate parte of America, beinge served with as wise counsellors for government

p. 6.  
Motives of  
continuinge  
this  
Chronicle.

of the State at home, with as worthie and expert commanders and captaynes for seae and land as any prince in Europe had, should yet be soe longe incombred and soe much infested with these hir rebellious subjectes of Ireland, that all hir other forayne enimies and home-bred conspirators were never able in all hir raigne halfe soe much to anoy hir State, distroy hir subjectes, or to consume hir treasure, as did these meane (and in comparison of other nations) contemptible rebellious subjectes of Ireland.

1. This indeede may well seame strange unto such as doe not or cannot looke narrowly into the state of that contrie & condition of the people. But such as have any experience, and by consideration studie to increase knowledge, may finde that the fastnes and dangerous difficultie of approachinge and assaylinge of thicke, but especially short and scrubbie, woodes and thicketts, deepe and dangerous bogges, steepe and craggie hylls and mountaynes, uneven and watrish plashes, straight and narrow passages, geives as greate advantage to the defen[d]antes as disadvantage to the assaylantes. But, some will say, these were difficulties and dangers allways incident to the scituation of that contrie, and therfor not to be attributed more to the cause of continuinge rebellion at this time then in former ages, when the soyle and scituation of the contrie was allways the same that then and now it is. This is trew, and were there not more causes of maynteyninge insurrection then this first mentioned, there might be still good reason of wonderinge at the progresse and lasting of it.
2. But to this may be added the generall combination of lords and other commaunders of contries, whoe, because the first stirrers were not speedily suppressed, they received incoragement, and fell for the most part to revolte.
3. Besydes this, the conninge delayes and disguysinges of the ringe-leader of this rebellion (that arch traytor the Erle of Tirone) soe much dissemblinge his intentions at first; settinge on other meane men to make stirres and begynne the broyles before hymselfe would be seene to stirre, and seaminge to serve in his owne person agaynst them he sette forth, when the most of his people and cheifest of his followers were with the rebels and agaynst the State; his temporising, after he was discovered to be undutiful, with vowes and protestations of fidelitie; his persuasions with some counsellors and speciall servitors of this kingdom and that State; promises made unto them, and pro-

Causes of  
the last  
rebellion in  
Irelands soe  
long  
continuance



curinge some of them to deliver theyr opinions that he would become faythfull, whilst hymselfe was still gathering greater forces, combininge with other lords of contries, and sollicitinge supplie of money and armes from forayne princes ; his submission made thrice unto the Queene ; the too easie credite geiven to his vowes of fidelitie (which bredde beleife but could not geive assurance of his loyaltie) wrought by some whoe either wearie of theyr employmentes there (not well brookinge the commaund or assotiation of others in theyr service) or else hopinge for advancement by bringinge in such a perillous traytor to the State (as this rebell was reckned to be), they were as willing to draw hym to some reasonable termes of conformitie, and seamed as confident of his faythfullnes as he strongely but falsely professed it.

4. To which persuasions the Queene and hir counsell did the more redily geive eare, and were the more willinge to yilde credite and consent, because of the greate hostilitie betwixt hir and hir powerfull adversarie the kinge of Spayne, whoe had formerly attempted and did still threaten invasion ; which, joyned with these rebels insurrections, might have much farthered his enterprises, especially agaynst Ireland. This harkeninge to Tyrones guylfeful offers of submission and subjection did much stren[g]-then hym ; animate others to joyne with hym ; geive hym time of breathinge by sessassion of armes, and attendinge of treaties ; and ministred unto hym with his confederates opportunitie to gather multitudes of idle people, easie to be combined in any action tendinge to depredation with hope of spoyle, which idlenes, want, and desier of liberty or revenge doth usually provocke any un-civill people to attempt.

p. 8. 5. But besydes and above all this (which yet of itselfe had byn sufficient meanes to foster and mayntayne rebellion) there were two other mayne causes of continuinge the Queenes charge and the contries unquietnes, proceedinge from our owne servitors and commanders of forces in that contrie, as the small concord emongst the cheifetaynes ; the weake keepinge of companies by theyr captaines, whereof many were content to suffer theyr soldiers to runne away, some to geive them passes, and sometimes (I meane the meanest & worst minded) did permitte the poore soldiers to perishe for want of paie, or of oversight and good usage in theyr sicknes : soe did some make false musters,



and the worsere sorte solde theyr soldiers armes; offences of high nature deserving sharpe punishment and tending much to the prejudice of the State and princes service. This did they to the ende they might save theyr dead paies, and put the surplusage of the Queenes interteynement into theyr owne purses. And all though the more noble captaynes and other commanders both in birth and spirite had greater regard of theyr reputations, yet not a few (especially of the meaner sorte) made this pillaging of the soldiers theyre gayne, with greate losse to the State.

By these and other lyke meanes the rebells grew still stronger and were more imboldened; the Queene much surcharged with longe and burdensem expence; rebellion continued; the contrie wasted; honest men and good subjectes spoyled; much leveinges of soldiers; many slayne by the sword, but more cons[u]med by sicknes; the Queenes treasure exhausted; and the subjectes purses not a little (yet willingly in these times of necessitie) emptied. Untill at length (after the Spaniards, with those that brought them into Kynsale, were discomfeted) the whole realme had byn harowed with burninges of howses and corne; theyr cattell slayne for use and sustenance, or taken away by the enemie, solde and spent by the soldiers; the horses kylled and woren away with travell or eivell keepinge; theyr goods wasted, and many of them starved. Soe that there appered for the most part thorow the whole kingdome (some places of saffetie and persons of account excepted) noethinge but the externall representation and inward effectes of miserie, crueltie, and confusion, untill the princes power (thoe with greate charge and difficultie) prevaylinge, and the divine vindiction, after longe sufferance and chastisement of the disobedient subjectes and disordinat governors, made wantes, necessitie, and miserie the meanes to resist rebells, and to reduce that kingdom to more peace, and to remove the cause of revolte. Soe Tyrone, whoe had byn both the billowes and the cheife backe of all these commotions, beinge for the most part forsaken of all his cheifest forces and adherents, some few excepted, eche forced to shifte for hymselfe and to seake his owne saffetie, he that seamed to geive life unto all theyr combinations was compelled at the last period of his pride and power, without any other hope of longe subsistinge, to sue for mercie; offereth humble and pittifull submission; craveth and obteyneth pardon; to mercie

What ended  
this last  
rebellion of  
Ireland.

P. 9.  
Tyrone take. 1  
to mercie

when he was  
weake and  
destitut of  
force.

The endes  
of writinge  
this storie.

which, to prevent farther troubles, or (as some conceived) to worke the advancement of such as gotte his pardon, it was procured, and that notable traytor taken in, when he was neither able to answer justice or to maynteyne armes.

The particulers of all which proceedinges are severally sette downe in such slender sort as I could sodaynly collect, or as weake judgement could marshall, in a playne manner, without affectation of phrase or singularity of stile, don not with intention to extoll or defame any man levinge or dead, but only to let the world and after ages see what hath happened in these times unto that miserable and much afflicted nation, to the ende that the examples of former bloodshedinges, with all the eivell effectes that insued such a cruell distruction of men ; devastation of contries ; extirpation of greate famelies ; rapine and ruine emongst the highest and lowest ; with many other misceifes more then can be easily named, may serve as presidentes and premonitions to theyr posterities by the example of theyr predecessors distructions, to shunne the lyke danger and calamitie to themselves, which desier of revenge agaynst one another and disobedience to the prince and governors have comonly drawn after it. Or if the relation and readinge of this storie may not worke soe good an effect in the myndes of men (whoe are otherwise inclined then to receive advise or admonishsion by other mens harmes) yet I wishe, at least, it may serve to advertise the governors, and other good subjectes in that kingdom of Ireland, how in the times of perill (by the knowledge of former practises) they may learne to shunne surprisalls ; to prevent insurrections ; to geive noe more credite unto discontented neighbours then theyr qualitie and condition of life may merite ; to beleive noe fayer wordes where theyr actions are foule ; and yet to geive noe juste cause of grevance to those that are not juste, but rather to yeld more respect, yet but not more beleife, then they doe deserve ; not to provocke a proude and rude people with tawntes or terefyinge words, which the recever will remember, and seake to revenge, when the speaker hath forgotten it.

But I indevor more to writte a history then to geive preceptes. Yet synce the cheife use of histories is to discover what hath byn don hertofore, that men may learne what they should doe hereafter, the bare delivery of factes geives not luster unto stories or light to the readers. And therfor considerations of circumstances

must be conjoynd to the playne declaration of deedes ; else may it be said that such thinges were don, but how it came to passe and by what means cannot be knowen. If then in this rudely contrived storie some circumstances, conceived to be considerable, be now and then intermixed with the bare narrations, I hope it will be allowed by men judicial, and if errors be founde they will be boren withall by such as are moderate, who measure other mens doeings by their intentions to doe good, and beare with oversights where they finde a purpose to benifitte the publicke without any second intentions to themselves.

p. 10.

For my owne part, as I doe not affecte to please ichinge eares with paynted phrases, or to satisfie such as are more delighted with sound of wordes then with substance of matter, lyke those men that are not soe well able to judge or willinge to heare the ground as the descant of musicke, I leave them with this sayinge : “ *fac meliora, perge, et [ \* ]ta* ” and only say unto myselfe : it is the publicke profite befor private fantasies that I should seake to serve and satisfie. And with the reader I conclud : I will wowe† noe man with fayer words (for I feare not soe much other mens censures as my owne insufficiencie), neither doe I care for such mens sharpe sentences (of whom Cicero speaketh “ *qui ex aliorum vitiis proprias venantur laudes* ” which, by other mens disprayse, appier to theyr owne commendation. Such are they now a dayes whoe, if they are able to finde falte with what others have don, conceive they have don inough to magnifie theyr owne supposed superlative judgements. But let me in wisdom leave to condempne others whoe in readinge what I have here published doe thinke they have power to be my judges. And yet if over my prayse or disprayse they thinke there is committed unto them *potestatem vite et necis*, I desier not to be reprived soe longe as to buy repentance by beinge beholdinge to any for respeytinge my judgement, whoe have not true understandinge to be my judges. Only the wiser and more judiccial I intreate to show me my errors, and doe promise to be as willinge to reforme them, when I know it, as I would be willinge to avoyd errors if they were knowen to me before they were committed.

In the contrivance of this vaste and yet I hope not unprofitable storie, when once I undertooke it which a will to doe good unto others rather then any hope of good unto myselfe led me unto,

p. 11.

\* Illegible.

† woo.



I used the best healpes I could finde for furnishinge it with matter and truth. First, by his Majesties gracious permission, I had accesse unto his papers, as letters, advises, and advertisements, which concerned the cariage of thinges in that kingdom in those troblesom and turbulent times. Next, I had the relations and conferrences of all such cheife and active servitors whoe were employed in those warres and were willinge to impart theyr knowledge of the particuler services which they had seene, and wherein many of them might say: "*quorum pars maxima fuimus.*" Yet did I sette downe few of theyr declarations uppon single testimony, but havinge had them severall I sette downe that which had most coherence of conjoynded affirmation, as supposinge the same to importe most probabilitie of truth. To all which I added, at my last employment in his Majesties service in Ireland, such significations as either the registers of that State or the remembrance of men yet levinge could best supplie. Wherein yet if any mans merite be omitted (as it may easilie be for want of full advertisement), or by meanes of any other mistakinge it should seame some imputation is layed on particuler persons to theyr prejudice without desert, when I shall be shewed it, I shalbe as willinge to supplie the one as to reforme the other; holdinge it lesse offence to acknowledge then to maynteyne mistakinges which such workes and writers cannot but be subject unto. If any curious and quaynt conceipted men, whoe measure mater only by fyled phrases, doe mislyke or not relish this playne written storie because it is not stuffed with eloquent and over affected words, I desier the judiciall reader to consider that it is not for the gravitie of a historie to smell too much of incorne\* termes. Neither is it soe easie to writte a longe continued storie with streames of eloquence (if a man should affect it) as to penne a wittie letter with choyse words, or an oration in a sette and Ciceronian stile. [If the phrase be perspicuous and playne, thoe it be not soe succinct as Tacitus stile which few can follow (especially in writtinge of histories), yet I hope it may satisfie such as seake not [ † ] wordes then man; and we know that Cicero hymselfe wrate in three kindes of stiles: as his orations *in summo disendi genere*, his philosophie *in medio* and his epistles *in infimo*. Soe such as the subjecte is, such should be the stile, as farre as men are able to attayne

\* Ink-horne.

† Illegible.

unto it.]\* The first [thing] in histryes, the colection of matter, is not don in a moment : then the conteininge of it in method ; and lastely, the corectinge of misinformations and mistakinges† takes us noe small time and affords not leasure (if it were soe lawfull and decent) to make words masters of matter. Neither is it comendable or comly soe to doe, noe more then if a man, meaninge to buyld a fayer howse, should perchaunce beautifie his porch or gatehowse with payntinge, carved stoanes, and curious pillers ; but if he should buylde the whole body of his howse in this flurishinge sorte, it would be reckned folish and ridiculous, besyds the consumption of too much time and money ; for the writtinge of a longe historie may be well lykened to the buyldinge of a large howse, or rather of a cittie, in which the architect must of necessitie use noe small care, travell, and charge : first in gettinge and gatheringe together the materialls, perchaunce from severall places and persons farre distant ; then to order the squaringe of the tymber, sawinge of the boords, planinge of both ; in hewing the stoanes, right placinge of them, some for foundation, some in the corners, some for pillers ; then the erectinge of the fabricke and disposinge of it soe as ech place may have his due proportion, and that strength may concurre with comlines to make it as well suer and stanch as to afford it some decencie. Which, as they are workes of difficultie and requirs dilligence in buylders, soe in historians the collection of matter, thoe it be a worke of noe small labor when the writer must discourse of multitudes of actions with theyr maner and circumstances don by sonderie persons in severall places, yet this is not all, for when the matter is gotten, the muldinge and composinge of it in his right season and series, the due observation of the right time, the correctinge of mistakinges and misinformation, the fittinge of it soe as it may passe without controll or distaste, are noe slight thinges. For in this buyldinge, when it is once erected and any error hath escaped, a bungler may easilie finde that falte which before a master buylder could not foresee.

p. 12.

For the better understandinge of this historie I have sette downe here some discript[i]on of principall places and persons as they have byn devided and seated in that kingdom, and are

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\* This passage entered in the margin of the original.

† In original, "mistatakinges."

now necessarie to be knowen by them that reade the storie of actions don in sondry places by severall persons ; else it cannot be soe well perceived how, where, and by whom those thinges have byn don. And although by the plantations synce those last rebellions there are divers alterations of possessors and proprietaries of landes, kindreds, and theyr former maner of levinge, yet this takes not away the memory of deedes don before, which may be made knowen and kepte in memorie for the use of posteritie only by the structure of stories.

I have allsoe for this ende added some discourse, as well as I could collecte, of the originall language, auncient costomes and maners of the Irish, and some short discription of the contrie, of the alterations of theyr estates by warre, rebellions, insurections and conquests, which I have don for the benifitte of the readers and of posteritie, whose indifferent judgements and censures is all I can hope for in recompence of my labours.

A BREIFE DISCOURSE OF THE AUNCIENT CONDITIONS, COSTOMES,  
AND GOVERMENT OF THE IRISH NATION. (p. 13).

Although noethinge can be sayd soe generall and universal of the qualities of any nation but in particuler may be subject to exceptions, for that mens dispositions in all places doe differ, and as the common sayinge is : “ soe many men, soe many mindes ; ” yet doe we finde that men doe much incline both in the constitution of theyr bodies and condition of theyr myndes accordinge to the naturall habite of theyr parentes, diet, ayer, and exercise they use for the one, faculties, organs, educasion, and conversation they receive of the other. In both theise the soyle and scituation of the contrie, with the example of the contriemen where any persons have theyr byrthe and breedinge, hath a greate stroake to frame mens myndes unto vertue or vice, boldnes or bashefullnes, moderation or extremmitie\*. Soe we see in the colde clymates, where the ayers are sharpe and the soyle most barren, the people are for the most parte quicke witted, nymble in body, redy to undertake, and active in spirite ; where on the other side we see, for the most parte, such as have theyr birth and beinge in deepe and fertile soyles (the ayer beinge there foggie) they are commonly of a graiver temper and duller conceipt,

\* This word is doubtful.

Of the  
contrie, the  
originall of  
the first  
inhabitan-  
tes, theyr  
language,  
customes,  
and  
conditions,  
the first  
and laste  
conquestes  
and  
plantations  
of English  
in those  
partes ;  
with the  
naration of  
the  
alterations  
that have  
happned in  
estates and  
goverments  
in that  
realme by  
warres, in-  
surections,  
and  
conquestes.



sluggish and slow in action or invention. This for the temperature which followers the native soyle and scituation, soe likewise education and example are greate motives to make men either rude, rash, well governed, gentle and generous ; wherein thoe nature hath either a sway, or at the least some sympathy to produce symilitude or antipatie in dissimilitude of manner and conditions, yet suerly education, example, and use brings forth greate effectes of perfection and imperfection in men ; as it is not unknowen but a courtiers sonne, brought up from his cradle and soe continuinge for a longe time with a clowne, may perchaunce retayne some kinde of his native vivacitie and valour of mynde, but yet for the most part his maners and behavior wilbe framed accordinge to the externall fashion and representation of the persons with whom he converseth. The lyke may be sayd of a clownes son levinge from his childehoode at court ; he will sumwhat alter nature by art, and sight shall teach hym by others example to supplie or correct his owne primary defectes.

p. 14.

This much we speake to shew that nations are not all of one nature, thoe they have an aptnes to concurre in conditions sutable to the places and persons where and with whom they have theyr birth and bringinge up. It is trew that in auncient times they made observation that such people inhabitinge in such contries and climates had such faltes, as the Carthaginians were sayd to be perfidious. But of these and other nations I thincke, as I may say truly, as it is sayd by judicious astrologers in the question whither the influence of the starres and the celestiall bodies in the superior orbes doe holp dispose these our terestiall and inferior bodies, it is held that they doe rather incline then necessitat, soe may I (as I thincke) say the lyke of the qualities and conditions of men ; they are more moved and instigated then altogether compelled by the climates wherein they leive ; and thoe first naturall constitution, then nature or usuall habitation, doe prevayle much, the one in the direction of mens myndes, the other of theyr maners, yet education and conversation beinge secondary and subordinat causes of theyr externall behavior, or else of theyr internall conditions good or eivell, we may then conclude that thoe the soyle breede some operation, yet education, costome, and conversion\* workes the greatest effectes in disposinge of theyr myndes and manners.

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\*conversation.

This may be sayd not only of Ireland but of all other contries. The people participat most of those properties wherein they doe communicat with nature, the first mover, instruction and education the seconde ; or else (emongst men meerely rude and illiterat) company and conversation, a cheife conductor of the multitude and vulgar sort of men. Noe mervell then if [in] this conquered island of Ireland, where men subjected are rather kepte in order by constraunt then by moderation in themselves, theyr manners should be such as could not answer the strict rules of civilitie and soveraintie.

p. 15. The costomes of Ireland were aunciently of two kindes ; the one concerninge theyr behavior, breedinge, and maner of life, the other touchinge theyr goverment in warre and in peace. For the first, theyr breedinge (I meane the meare Irish) could be but meane, for they had little, and in a manner, noe commerce with forayne nacions, which is commonly the cheifest meane to begette civilitie. Theyr diet was but meane, feadinge more on mylke scarce strayed, and therefore usually stuffed with that which is not fitte to be named, much lesse to be used, and with butter neither cleanly made nor handsomly kept, divers collored, and as eivell savored ; the flesh they used beinge for the most part porke and beife, both fresh and not salted, neither was this well dressed. Answerable to theyr diet was theyr lodginge, havinge noe beades but rushes or straw under them, nor sheetes to sette about them, noe coverlettes to put uppon them but rugges or mantells. For cloathes it was sumwhat lyke theyr fare ; the cheifest sort weringe trowses, and mantells of frish or very coarse made cloath : theyr briches were cloase stockes of the same called trewses : theyr other coveringes but mantells, and theyr heades many times bare (except some of the best) and noe hatte or shelter from fowle weather but theyr longe hayer called glybes. Noe drinke usually in theyr howses but mylke and water ; if they had wine or aquavite, termed there uscubage, it was not redy in the best mens howses at all times but must be sent for when strangers should come. And then scarce any lenning to lay before theyr guystes ; none at all for themselves ; this beinge the manner of diett and atteier emongst most of the better sorte. For theyr behavior, that could not be much better then theyr diet, except they were brought up abroad. Bold they were for the most parte, rude without reverence, or scarce

any civill respect to theyr superiors. In former times noe juste observers of matrimony, but apt to put away theyr wives uppon any slight occasion without lawfull cause, and more redie to take on any new then to be constant in theyr olde choyse. This proceeded of eivell example allowed by costome and sufferance, beinge not restrayned by law and justice, begune by the great ones whoe had noe governors to regulat them, nor noe lawes to guyde them but theyr owne lustes and lisencious libertie. p. 16.

For the lawes and judges they had, I meane the meere Irish lawes, they were as different in the severall provinces and partes of the kingdom as the places and persons were devided in contries and conditions. For ech lord made severall orders which once continewinge and confirmed by costome were helde for lawes, as was most agreable to the wills of the cheifetaynes and theyr governors. Soe were theyr judges called bri-honds; as symple in judgement as they were subject to those persons whoe had power over them; beinge men for the most parte illiterate and not furnished with any knowledge but what concerned the costomes of the contrie, and constitutions of theyr cheifetaynes.

For theyr managing of warre and use of armes in auncient times, and even untill this late age, they neither had skillfull commaunders to conduct them nor good armes to use in defence of themselves or offence to theyr enimies. For the first, theyr leaders were themselves, untill of late, neither able to im-battayle and putt theyr men in order, or to bringe them, after an onsette geiven, in any order or saffetie. Neither were theyr arms such as might well garde themselves or much hurte others whoe were better provided; for in former times theyr cheifest garde of theyr greatest lords consisted in gallaglasses, which were theyr lustiest men, armed cheifely with staves, headed sumwhat lyke unto battell axes. For theyr light throwinge weopons they were but dartes, much lesse and lighter then our javellings, which they could nymbly handle and throw steadily; but they could not pearce farre or had any greate power agaynst armed men. Cheifely they could annoy horsemen, and sometimes kyll or wounde such as were unarmed. For theyr horsemen, they were more redie to turne uppon the hand, to shake and sometimes to charge with theyr speares above hand, then to come cloase to the charge, or stronge to induer the shocke when they were charged. This was the maner of theyr force, armes, and



p. 17. fight in former times, but of late (especially synce they were trayned as soldiers under Queene Elizabeth to be sent abroad and to serve at home) they grew to another kinde of skylle and strength. For in this late revolte and allmost generall rebellion of the eivell affected Irish and much degenerate olde Englishmen race in that relme, they grew to have as perfecte use of armes for the service of that contrie, and within fower or five yeares after theyr combinations grew comon, our truces and treaties made them soe to multiplie armes that in the ende they provided themselves of a competent proportion of armes for pyke and shotte, that in the ende they came as little shorte of the English for proportion and provision as they were for the skylle and use of armes. This difference could tenne or twelve yeres at the moste produce betwixt the English and Irish for the possession, proportion, and execersie of armes.

Now for the alteration of theyr auncient costomes in matters of civilitie or incivilitie. It is trew that travell abroad, to which they have byn lately much adicted and overmuch permitted in this time of peace, and with all theyr forayne imployments both as solders and schollers, travellers and marchants in this screen time of peace, hath wrought in many of them more habillities to annoy the State, here at home, then will to doe service, if they be eivell mynded. As first for religion. We all know there is ingrafted in them by education, costome, and companie noethinge but the Romaine character. Next for the disposition of theyr myndes: an aversence in religion is sufficient (if there were noe other cause) to make them mislyke the present government, and to desier the alteration of that which is, thoe it be with a change and commutation of theyr knoe not, and in a manner they know not what, thoe it tende to theyr owne prejudice and destruction. Besydes this, the alteration of theyr late possessions and the plantation of others in some places of theyr owne septes and kindreds in other partes of the English and Scotish nations. How much hatred and harteburninge this breedes in theyr brestes, they that doe leve emongst them can well witsse. What then, are theyr conditions changed by education? Noe; for the meere Irish remayninge at home and not bredde up in learninge have only the same knowledge, costomes, and conditions they had in former times. Those that travell or are brought up in our Universities and Innes of Court at home, thoe they have

better breedinge, learne more witte and experience, yet they retheyne the religion which at first they received, and with it desier to injoye the exercise thereof, thoe agaynst the allowance of the State, or else to receve that which theyr parentes or progenetors had and have loste ; the want of both which breedes in many of them a desier of alteration, and an aberration from firmes\* of amitie and affection to the State.

Now, then, if in this longe times of peace when open hostillitie is not proclaymed nor armes used, the diversitie of religion breedes eivell disposition in the most parte of them whoe do not soe freely injoy the use of that they desier (thoe they have it in greate measure) as themselves would, doth but begette discontent and distemper in theyr myndes ; if the travells of such discontented persons doth but make them presume that they know more then other men, and that they can kindle more coales (when they see time and opportunitie serves theyr turnes) then any theyr predecessors had skylle and experience to performe, it were a worke worthie of consideration in the comparsion of the auncient and moderne condition touchinge people of that kingdom, with theyr present conditions prowert† and properties, how farre it differs from the former, and of theyr strength and state compared with that which lately it was ; which will requier a more large but withall a more private discovery then here may be published.

Theyr language is moste significant. It hath in many words much affinitie with the Walsh or British, for the proper and particuler partes of the bodie, and some other thinges, are in both the same or very lyke, as noase, hand, eie, legge and the lyke. Soe the name of a howse, fier, a church, to burne, to runne, and many more ; which makes some shew that the nations were originally the same, or else had much commixture by commerce, mariage, or mutuall ayde in times of danger.

They are very apte to geive interteynement according to theyr habillitie and maner of leivinge in theyr howse, not denyinge such as they have unto travellers. In apparell they keepe the same fashion still : in diet little choyse, noe daynties : and theyr dressinge answerable as farre from effeminatenes as from curiositie or from cleanlynes ; more tied to costome then to observation of civilitie ; the beste servants, but not the beste subjects ; the sharpest revengers, and sodainest executioners. In bodie for

p. 18.

\* So in original.

† So in original.



the moste parte stronge and nymble ; in witte very accute ; and yet in that which is sayd must be understoode the greater parte, not all. For noe nation hath all thinges and all conditions of men alyke.

p. 19.

It sufficeth that for execution of justice the meere Irish had noe sette or settled forme of judicature, neither were those they accounted for theyr judges learned in civill, cannon, or municipall lawes of that kingdom. But every lord of a seignorie had one commonly called a brehon, supplyinge the place of a judge, yet skilled in noethinge but in the costomes of that parte of the contrie wherein he leived, which were usually as different one from the other as could be devised, and those either made or interpreted accordinge to the wills and the pleasures of the cheife lordes, whoe did ordeyne those orders as they authorised such as adjudged them.

The brehons were men nearely unlearned and barberous\*. They kept commonly they[r] consistories and kindes of courts on the toppes of hills, where they called such as had any contraversies to be determined before them. They delte as well in divorces of man and wiffe as in other matters meereley layicall, but of late times, synce the Romane connventicles had greater force then in former times they had, the clergie men tooke that matter more in hand, yet soe as theise supposed ecclesiastiall judges allow devorces uppon small and unwarantable causes, as for carnall copulation and knowledge of one another before marriage, which they doe not make knowen tyll they grow wearie of one another : for the beinge gosippes or baptisinge one anothers children. Many of theise allowed acceptions more then allowable lay hidden, and as not at the first knowen, soe easie to be made knowen & quarelled as they grew unkinde. Soe were theyr brehonnds redy to dissolve marriage.

Officers to  
the lords of  
contries.  
Phisitions.  
Rithmers.

The lords of contries had theyr severall and slight officers and servants as theyr phisitions, which made theyr practise and profession more by septes and kindreds then by knowledge : they[r] rithmers, whoe with settinge forth the prayse of theyr progenitors and the disprayse of theyr adversaries, stirred up much passion and had greate power over the people and cheifest persons emongst those pertes where they leived : theyr gatherers of rentes and duties, which they called (blank), theise had a

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\* " uncivill " interlined.

greate stroake amongst the poorer sorte, to command and cutte as farre as theyr lords did lyke/and they saw cause.

p. 20.

Meaninge to continew the Chronicle of Ireland (from the yere 1584 where the last writter lefte), it may be helde not amisse first and breifely to mencion in what state that kingdom formerly stood.

p. 21.

The realme of Ireland, from the first conquest and subjection of it to the crowne of England (for the space of above fower hundred yeres), had byn never reduced to generall civilitie and perfect obedience; but thorow the might, ambition, and unlimited desiers of the Irish lords; corruption, contention, and coveteousnes of English magistrates; faction, particuler respectes, and private hatred of neighbours and borderers envinge one another; religion not established; lawes neglected and either not made or not executed; revenge and power did soe take place that justice was not knowen or not regarded. The governors of that kingdom had different successe, and the State answerable felicitie or infelicitie accordinge to the courses they tooke; theyr worthines in managinge the Sword of Justice and affayers of State; countenance they had from the prince; supplie from England; and followers in that contrie. Betwixt the extremities and excesses on the one side [and] defectes on the other, whilst the greatest part desired to injoy theyr costomes, thoe never soe bad or barbarous, the stronger strave to upholde theyr acquired power by what right or wronge soever it were attained: the better and civiler (thoe the fewer by much in number) most usually were wronged by the worsers sort of people. Whereby the generall state of that kingdom stooode in eivell condition (lyke a diseased body longe lingeringe with a maladie & not lyke to be cured but with greate care.) Soe was the body of this State, and all the partes thereof, full of infirmities, Ulster scarce knowinge any lordes but the Oneales, or any lawes but theyr wills; for it had not, nor yet hath, any President for provinciall goverment, only the Marshall of Ireland sometimes had, and at other times others obteyned, authoritie to rule by discretion and as the necessities of the times required; which at this present is planted with divers nations and devided goverments, but scarce thoroughly secured with strength, policie, and fortification. Mounster was of late yeres reduced to the state of a

presidencie and counsell, begun in Queene Elizabethes raigne. Conaught in former times had commissioners, whose authoritie was greater or lesser as they credite with the State or the Lord Deputies favor gave them countenance.

p. 22.

In Leinster there were severall septes of people and speciall names, most prevalent and powerfull emongst the natives. Over them there were sondry officers and commanders of the English, sent into the severall partes of that province to governe. The lyke was in Meathe, the least contrie in cyrcuite but best replenished with civill persons of the English discent, especially that parte next to Dublin. Yet was it subject to many (thoe not soe much) inormities of abuse in the people and misgoverment of the magistrates as other more remote and ruder contries were.

In generall that contrie and kingdom for the most part was miserable in itselfe and made more miserable by misgoverment. Greate lords thought they might doe what they liste : the inferior sorte by sufferinge made themselves theyr slaves : mariage scarce accounted any band of unseparable conjunction, for the lords and others changed wiffes at theyr wills : bloodshed and revenge (even emongst the neerest of kindred) was accounted valour and scarce esteemed a sinne : sones of cheife men did sealdom immediatly succeed theyr fathers, whence commonly arase contention emongst themselves and disobedience to the prince.

This beinge the generall longe afflicted state of that kingdom of Ireland as it had continewed for many yeres : totered and toaren\* with civill sedition : imbrued with bloodshedinge of neighbours, kindred, and sometimes parentes : depredations of all sortes, and rebellions agaynst the prince.

Let us now discende towards the particuler narration of those times and occurences whereof we writte.

Adam Loftus, Archbp of Dublin }  
& Sr Henry Wallop } Justices.

After the expiration of the Lord Graies goverment (ending in the yere 1582) which continewed but for a shorte time, and his successe of service not answerable to the worlds expectation of his worthines (beinge a man of greate valour, wisdom, and other noble indowments), upon his revocation, the Sword of Justice was committed unto Adam Loftus, Archbusshop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Warres for Ireland ; men better

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\* Tattered and torn.



experienced in civill government of that contrie then in marciall matters, and they knew better how to holde then to use the sword in times of troble. Neither was there much cause duringe the two yeres of theyr government to use armes for the incounter-inge of rebellion. Only the Viscount Baltinglas, after the ende of the Erle of Desmonds rebellion and his death, began (thorow pride, private discontent, and instigation of the preistes) to stirre sumwhat. But he was forced soone to flie and to forsake his contrie, which did rather threaten then actuat new trobles to that State. Soe that Ireland began for a time to seame quiet, and to injoy externall tranquillitie, which yet did but cover the coales of disturbance that lay hidden under the imbers of discontent and dissimulation, lykely inough to have broaken out shortly into greate flames of combustion had not care and providence prevented it.

## SIR JOHN PERROTT'S GOVERNMENT \*

p. 21.

[Sir John Perrott made Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1584; within sixe weekes after takes a jorney into Mounster and Conaught; is advertised of a new conspiracie in Ulster, and that the Scottish Irish Islanders are redy to invade there; shortens his westerne jorney [and] returnes for Dublin; takes pledges for peace; compouudes the contraversies of Irish lordes; makes a speedy e[x]pedition into Ulster; the Irish Scottish flie; he drawes the Ulster lords unto a composition to maynteyne 1110 soldiers for the Queenes service; makes partition of the government of Ulster betwixt Tirlough Oneale, the baron of Donganon, and Sir Henry Bagnall; prosecutes Sorleboy and his partners; takes pledges of the northerne lordes; devides C[1]andeboy betwixt the competitors and returnes for Dublin; a Parliament is appoynted & somoned; some opposition therein unto two bylls preferred; the Irish at that assembly compelled to weare English attier; fallinge out betwixt the Lord Dep: and Lord Chauncellor; the Lord Deputies second jorney to Ulster; another arivall of the Scottish Irish there; they are fought with; theyr leader Allixander McSorly, sone to Sorleboy, is

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\* The following paragraph, being a summary of Sir John Perrott's administration, is written in the margin, in the original.



slayne; the Lord Deputies 2nd journeye informed agaynst and mislyked by the Queene; he propoundeth courses for reformation of the contrie; erectes new counties; settles Justices of the Peace and other officers there as they are in England; proposeth other courses for defence as well as for goverment, which at first is allowed but afterwards crossed; his impatience crosteth hym more in his proceedinges then the opposition of his adversaries; sueth for revocation, at length obteyneth it, and leaveth the kingdom in peace; but the purposes for reformation are not perfected.]

p. 23.  
Sir John  
Perrott Lord  
Deputy of  
Ireland

Now come we to the goverment of Sir John Perrott, knight, whoe by commission was made Lord Deputie of Ireland, and tooke the Sword of Justice at Dublin the xxj<sup>th</sup> of June 1584. Whereupon he, with the counsell of State there, presently entered into consultation for effectinge such particuler instructions as was geiven hym in charge by the Queene and counsell of England, and to settle a course for the cheife affayers of that kingdom: as for continuinge or discharginge some of the forces: procuringe contribution for mayntenance of the garisons: peopelinge of excheted landes in Mounster: provision for a parliament: diminution of late increased pencioners: a review of former instructions: renewinge of forfeyed leases on reasonable conditions: reservation of lands for mayntenance of governors, and of woods for buylding and for the navie: spendings of lords on theyr contries to be converted to better uses: erection of a colledge, etc.

One of the first actes he concluded was to make a decree and order of *amnestia*, or act of oblivion, for former offences committed, accordinge to the example of the excellent law-geivnge Lacedemonians, which was in the nature of a generall pardon for crimes past, beinge a politicke and mercifull course, both to keepe transgressors from dispayer (which might drive them into farther mischeifes), and to invite both them and others by such clemencie to yelde obedience to theyr soveraigne. The Lord Deputy, soone after he received the Sword of Justice, by directions sent into England the sones of the last Erle of Desmond and of the [blank], writtinge therof to the counsell of England and prayinge them to take such care for theyr education as (with Gods blessinge) might bringe them to be more dutifull to theyr prince then theyr parentes had byn.

When three weeks was spent at Dublin in the determination of those courses conferred on in counsaile, the Lord Deputie tooke a jorney and departed from Dublin the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of July followinge towards Conaught, Mounster and the [blank] with purpose first to settle the new appoynted President of Mounster, and Cheife Commissioner of Conaught Sir Richard Bingham, withall in theyr goverments; to visite the other westernne partes of Ireland, thereby to become an eie-witnesse of the particuler state of thinges in those two provinces, and to compound the contraversies betwixt lords of contries and men of other qualitie in that coaste where he should passe, as a meanes to worke reconciliation and to breede obedience in the people, whose private contentions drew them many times unto unwarantable actions and sometimes into publicke rebellion agaynst the prince.

As the Lord Deputie had travelled thorow Conaught and a good parte of Mounster, intelligence came to hym at Lymbricke from the Baron of Donganon, the Marshall of Ireland, Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Captayne Mynce (whoe lay in Odonells contrie), and others, of the approach of a 1000 Islanders of the Scottish Irish, sometimes called Redshankes, whoe were redie to arme and to invade Ulster; beinge of the septes of McConnells, Magelanes, and Cambyles,\* drawen thether by Surlaboy, one of the same nation whoe had before usurped and possessed hymselfe, by power without right, of a greate parte of McGwillies and other mens landes in Ulster called the Glynnes and the Rout. At the same time the Lord Deputie received private intelligence of a messinger sent from the Irishrie of Ulster to stirre up the lords and other commanders of Munster and Conaught to joyne with them in rebellion agaynst the Queene and State, for which spie or messinger he caused waite to be layd, had hym apprehended & brought unto hymselfe. Upon his examination (after some deniall) at length he confessed the employment: that he was Tyrloug Lenoughs fosterer (then called Oneale and cheife lord of Ulster): that this combination had byn plotted before the Lord Deputies cominge into that kingdom, and the reason he rendered of that peoples proanes† to make insurrection was because, before this Lord Deputies cominge, that kingdom had byn lefte destitute of any cheife commaunder or of soldiers for the warres, [therfor

Intelligence  
of a 1000  
Scottish Irish,  
come to  
invade  
Ulster.

p. 24.

A messinger  
sent to  
stirre up  
rebellion.

\* Campbells.

† proneness.

The  
opportunitie  
taken to  
rebell

Mounster  
men refuse  
to joyne in  
rebellien.

The Lord  
Deputy  
returneth.

Contraver-  
sies ended  
in Conought.

Donough  
Beg Obrien,  
a bloody  
murtherer,  
executed.

p. 25.

The people  
well pleased  
by doeing  
of justice.

this was helde the fittest time to shake of the yoake of obedience and to obteyne theyr purpose].\* But he sayd, and confessed withall, that havinge moved [the] Fitzmorics and some other lords of Mounster to joyne in this action, it was answered by them that synce Sir John Perrott (whom all that province knew) was arived and become governor, none of them would stirre as longe as he and the Erle of Ormond continewed in that kingdom ; and therfor he was willed to returne. These newes of so dangerous practises and preparations agaynst the State drew the Lord Deputie to surcease the farther prosecution of his jorney, and to haste his returne for prevention of these imminent perills.

In his returne, and at his departure out of Mounster, he tooke pledges of all the suspected persons in that province, and assigned such to be governors in each countie as might be helde best worthie of trust and ablest to rule the people (if in his absence there should be any stirring). In Conought (as the Lord Deputie passed thorow that contrie) he delte with the cheife lords to pacifie and keepe them from former wronges and contraversies : as the Erles of Thomond and Clanricarde, the Lord Breningham, the Burckes of Euter Conaught, the Ocelleye,† Oconor Roe, Oconor Don, Oconor Sligo, McWilliam Eughter, Morthe NeDoe Offlerty, the Oneales, McTruer, McMahond, McEnespeck, both the McNemoroës, the two McMahons, and all the lords of Conought and Thomond, with whom he tooke order to stay them from private revenges. For assurance of theyr loyalties and performance of theyr compositions he put to death Donaugh Bege Obrien, that bloody murtherer and spoyler of good subjectes, with six of his complices. This man shewed as much resolution in his sufferinge as he had before manifested crueltie in his murthers : "*neque lex justior ulla est, necis artificem arte perire sua.*"

With these courses of justice, endinge of contraversies, and takinge securitie for preservation of future peace, the people generally seamed to be very well satisfied. But in noethinge were they better pleased or tooke greater contentment 'then with correction of the sheriffes corruptions, and limitinge with what numbers they should travill, whoe had byn used with multitudes of followers and other extortions much to oppresse

\* The words within these brackets are underlined in original.

† O'Kelly.



the people. In this journey of Conought Malachias Annalone,\* a friar renounceth the Romish religion, brother to McWilliam Euter (whoe had long byn a friar), was brought to the Lord Deputie, before whom in a publicke assembly he did renounce the Pope and Romish religion, gave over his friars habite, and made profession of his recantation.

In Munster the Lord Deputie tooke a sutable course to that he began in Conaught. Here mette hym the Erle of Ormond (whoe first came unto hym into Conaught) together with McMorres, Osulivant More, the knight of Kerey, and certayne septes of the galoglasses. At Lymbricke there came unto hym all the cheife persons of that province, savinge such as did accompany Sir William Stanley, then sheriffe of the countie of Corke, with whom was the Lord Bary, the Lord Roch, Sir Owen McCartie, and other principell gentlemen. They purposed to present themselves unto hym at his enterie into that contrie; but the newes cominge to hym at Lymbricke of the Islanders invasion and of the northerne peoples redines to revolte, did divert his purposed travell thorow the other partes of Mounster, thorow which coast as he came he commanded such as he suspected to attende Sir John Norye, then President of Mounster, and to come with hym to Dubline.

For the better assurance of Mounster he ordeyned the countie of Corke to be governed by the Justices Walsh and Meath,† the sheriffe of that shier, and the Lords Barry and Roach: the countie of Lymbricke by the Provost Marshall: the countie of Kerrey by the sheriffe and Fitzmorys, with others whose pledges the Lord Deputy tooke with hym; the countie of Desmond he committed to the government of the Erle of Clancare, Sir Owen Osulivant, and Osulivant More: the shier or libertie of Tipperarie to be ruled by the Erle of Ormonds officers, whoe claymes the jurisdiction therof to belonge unto hym by charter: and the whole province he lefte under the justices with other cheife selected commissioners.

In Leashe‡ he tooke pledges of Feaugh MacHugh, whoe delivered his sonne and his unckle. The Obriens were appoynted to deliver theirs unto Sir Henry Harington, commander of their contrie. The Oconors submitted themselves: both the brithren promised to putte away their idle men [and] to reduce themselves and their septes unto a smaller number of followers.

\* Otherwise Malone.

† For "Meaghe."

‡ Leix.

a friar  
renounceth  
the Romish  
religion.

Principell  
persons of  
Mounster  
comes to  
the Lord  
Deputy.

Suspected  
persons  
appoynted  
to attend  
the Lo:  
President.

Governors  
appoynted  
in Mounster  
Corke.

Lymbricke.  
Kerey.

Desmond.

Tipperary.

p. 26.

Pledges  
taken in  
Leix:  
Feugh  
McHugh  
Obriens  
Oconors.



After the death of theyr principell leader, James More *alias* Meaigh, they were divided into two or three septes, and pledges were taken of them. The Cavanaghes (havinge not at the Lord Deputies cominge thence put in theyr pledges) were referred to Sir Nicholas Malby and other commissioners associated with Sir Henry Walop, Treasurer at Warres, for the survey of the fortes of Philipstowne and Maribrough, but the liffenancie of Philipstowne and Kinges Countie was committed to Sir George Boucher, knight, and the Queenes Countie unto Sir Warham Sainctleger. The Orealies (as well Sir John as Phillip) repayed to the Lord Deputy at Dublin, and there submitted themselves to his order concerninge theyr contraversies.

When the Lord Deputie had taken order as well to receive such pledges for the loyaltie of the lords and peace of theyr contries, as for compoundinge of theyr controversies and for placinge sufficient men to command in his absence thorow out all the westerne partes of Ireland in such sorte as is here sette downe, and as the same was certified to the Privey Counsell of England (for the most parte) under the handes of the Lord Deputie, Sir John Noryes Lord President of Mounster, Sir Lucas Dyllon, Sir Edward Waterhowse, and Secretary Fenton, whoe were counsellors of that State and eie-witnesses what was don, this guard beinge laied to keepe the contrie in quiet, the Lord Deputie returnes unto Dublin the nynthe of August followinge, from whence he had byn absent one moneth wantinge two daies; and staves there only sixtene daies at his returne, to prepare power and to make convenient provision for his Northerne jorney, as it was then requisite to resiste the invasion of the Islanders and to suppress the rebellion of theyr Northerne confederates.

In this Ulster expedition there did accompanie hym these persons of worth and these forces followinge: the Erle of Ormond and his risinge out, the Erle of Thomond, and of Mounster, the Lord Bary his brother with his risinge out, the Lord Roch, Fitz-Gybbon called the White Knight, the rysinge out of the countie of Kyldare, the Lord of Trymlestone with the rysinge out of Meathe the Viscount Gormaston, Sir Nicholas St Laurence Lord of Hoath, with other rysinges out of the English Pale; beinge such of the olde English discent in that contrie whoe were bound by theyr tenures and costome of services to levie certayne particuler forces of horse and foote for a time called rysinges out, and soe

Cavanaghes.

Phillipstoun  
and  
Maribrough.

Oreylies.

Certificat  
made of the  
Lord  
Deputies  
proceedinges  
to the  
Counsell of  
England.The Lord  
Deputies  
returne to  
Dubline.

p. 27

The forces  
that went  
with the  
Lord  
Deputie  
into Ulster.

longe to serve there-with when the Lord Deputie or Cheife Governor went hymselfe in any expedition of importance. Besydes these before named, there were divers servitors and men of worth belonging to that State which attended the Lord Deputie into Ulster, emongst whom were Sir Nicholas Bagnoll (then Marshall of Ireland), Sir William Stanley, Sir George Boucher, Sir Thomas Norrys, Sir Henry Harington, Captayne Jacques Wingefeild Master of the Ordinance, auncient and well experienced servitors of Ireland, Sir Lucas Dyllon Cheife Baron, Sir Robert Dyllon Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Nicholas White Master of the Rolles, Sir Jeffrey Fenton Secretary of State, Sir Henry Bagnall, Sir Edward Deney, Sir John Tyrell of Fartialaugh, Sir Dudley Bagnall, Sir Henry Coley, Sir Thomas More, Mr Anthony Brabson, Sir Warrham StLeger, Henry Warren, and William Warren. They that had charge of the foot companies (besydes the Irish) were these: Captayne Rice ap Hugh, Provost Marshall, Captayne Thomas Leae, Sir Henry Wallop his company (commanded by his lifestenant), Captayne Bethell, Captayne Randall Benton, Captayne Meryman, Captayne Mynche, Captayne Parker, Captayne Collom, Captayne Bangor. These tenne companies of a hundred in ech band, besydes the rysinges of the contries and of particuler lords, with some halfe companies of kerne, were the forces that the Lord Deputie then levied.

Cheife servitors that went into Ulster with the Lord Deputie.

The captaynes that had charge of the foote companies.

He sette forwards from Dubline the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of the same August and came to the Newry the xxix<sup>th</sup> therof. Within a myle of the towne there mette hym Tyrlough Lenough, the cheife man in Ulster (for as yet Tyrone was but Baron of Donaganon), havinge neither power\* nor protection.

The day that the Lord Deputy departed Northward.

He made submission to the State, promisinge to be dutifull and obedient in all thinges, for performance wherof he put in pledges. Whilst the Lord Deputy stayed at the Newry there came unto hym (upon his word and commandament) Magenys, MacMahon, Tirlough Braselough, and the Irish captaynes and commanders of the Fewes, Ferney, Kyllwarlan, Kyllultaugh, those of Clandeboys side, and others of the cheife borderers; with whom he tooke order to assuer theyr contries and appoynted to receive theyr pledges. From thence they marched with these forces Northward towards Sauerleboy and the invadinge

p. 28.  
Tirlough Lenough maketh submission.  
Cheife men that came to the Lord Deputie at the Newry.

\* Doubtful.

Islanders, whoe, hearinge of this approach with a greater power and more speede then they expected, and havinge intelligence that shippes were sent to surprise theyr gallies landed at Loughfoyle, that Tyrrough Lenough had submitted hymselfe, and [that] all the subjectes of Mounster, Conaught, and Leynster were become obedient to the State and redie to serve with the Lord Deputie, the invadors fledde before the shippes could come into Loughfoyle, with greate hast, yet soe as they did hardely escaped, for the shippes came neere in kenninge\* [and] had them in chase but could not overtake them. This escape the Lord Deputie imputed to negligence of such as had the charge of the shippis; but they excused it with alleaginge a leake sodaynly sprunge, else (as they sayd) the galleys had byn taken, for they gatte out of the river but one hower before the shippis came thither. Notwithstandinge the Islanders were thus escaped, and returned, whereby lesse doubt or danger was to be conceived of Sauerlaboys conspiracie with his confederates, yet, synce the Lord Deputy was come soe farre with such forces, he thought it not fitte to returne backe without doeing any service, and soe make his preparations fruiteles, havinge don noe good to countervayle the Queenes charge. And because Sauerleboy had combined to hym Ochane, Brian Caraugh and others, standinge upon high termes to hold by force that which was gotten by the sword, the Lord Deputie deemed it would be a dishonor to hir Majestie and a hindrance to his determinations of settlinge the North in peace and civillitie if these men should be suffered to countenance the invasion of strangers, and to passe themselves without punishment or pursuite. Therefore he goeth on agaynst Sauerlaboy and the rest of his abettors; and, cominge tawards the river of the Band,† devideth his power into two partes to follow them on both sides of the river. With the one the Lord Deputy (takinge with hym the Erle of Ormond and divers others of the cheifest sort) passeth alonge Clandaboys side; the other halfe of the armie he sendeth under the conduct of Sir John Noryes (accompanied with the Baron of Donganon) whoe marched on Tyrones syde. The Lord Deputie with his forces spoyled Brian Caraughes contrie. Sauerlaboy and Brian Caraugh fledde from that side [of] the Band unto the fastenes and greate woods of Glancomekene with all theyr people and cattell; where Sir

The invadors  
fle.

Sorleboy  
combined  
with Ochan,  
Brian  
Caraugh and  
others.

p. 29.

The Lord  
Deputie  
devideth the  
armie to  
prosecut  
Soreleboy.

Sir John  
Noryes  
leadeth  
halfe the  
forces.

Soreleboy &  
Brian  
Caraugh  
fle to the  
woods.

\* Kenning = range of sight.

† Bann.



John Noryes, over-slyppinge Sauerlaboy, fell upon Ochane [and] tooke from hym two hundred coves, which gave the soldiers some releife. But a hundred horse boys which followed Sir John Norys, goeing to take a pray and ranginge lously without any commander, were slayne by Brian Caraughs men whilst they went straglinge. There Jaques, Sir William Stanleys liftenant, was wounded with a Scottish arrow [and] Oventon, liftenant to the Baron of Donganon, was lykewise hurt. They both proved afterwards eivell members to the State. Sir Thomas Noryes was shotte in the knee with an arrow. Mr. Oliver Lambert (then a private gentleman but synce a speciall commander) was taken prisoner in Ochanes contrie. Captayne Meryman, the day before the skirmish began, brought a pray of coves out of the rebells fastnes, and convayed them to the Lord Deputies campe. The day after the skirmish Sir John Norryes, beinge come out of the greate woods of Glancomkeyne, tooke a prey of coves in Brian Caraughs contrie at the bottome of the Glynnes upon the firme ground, and slew some of them that thought to keepe and defend the coves.

Sir John Noryes takes Ochanes coves.

Sir Thomas Noryes and two liftenantes hurt.  
Mr. Lambert taken.

Captayne Meryman bringeth a pray from the rebells.

Ochanes contrie beinge harrowed and his men persued, he was forced to submitte hymselfe. Because Sauerlebooy shunned the Lord Deputies side, trustinge to his fastenes, the Lord Deputie, loath to let goe any advantage agaynst hym, sent over unto Sir John Norryes some horse and foote with most of the kerne, hopinge by devidinge these companies (with draughtes made by spialls) some good service might be don agaynst those fugetives. The Lord Deputie hymselfe with the rest of his forces by this timis is incamped before Donluce and beseigeth it, beinge one of Siraboyes cheife howses, a castle of greate strength, and one of the impregnablest pyles within the North of Ireland, scituated upon a rocke hanginge over the seae, devided from the mayne with a deepe rocke-dich, naturall and not artificiall, havinge noe way unto it but a small necke of the same rocke, very narrow, not above fower or five foote broad, in length above fiftie foote from the mayne land unto the pyle, and in depth some tenne fathom on ech side, at the outmost ende wherof over the seae is seated this small but stronge castle of Donluce, the foundation wherof beinge rocke and in it caves was of itselfe a good strengthe if the walles were battered and beaten downe. This castell had in it a stronge ward. The captayne was a Scottishman,

p. 30.

Ochan submitteth hymselfe.

The Lord Deputie incampeth before Donluce.

A description of Donluce.



The  
commander  
in Donluce a  
Scotishman.

The  
artillerie  
brought  
from  
Skerish  
Port-rush to  
batter  
Donluce.

P. 31.

The  
defendantes  
yelde  
Donluce

whoe, when the Lord Deputy sommoned it and sent unto hym to yelde it unto the Queene, his answer was: they would not leave but keepe it to the last man. This made the Lord Deputie draw nearer his forces and to plant the artillery for battery, beinge two culveringes and two sacres,\* which were brought by seae unto Skereys Port-rush and drawn from thence two myles by force of men, wantinge other cariage. They within the castell played thicke with their shotte on the soldiers whilst they were plantinge the artillery and makinge the trenches within muskett shott of the castell. Such was the scituation that the soldiers begane to shrinke untill the Lord Deputy commanded some of his owne servantes to fill the gabions and to make good the ground for plantinge the ordinance and makinge the trenches. At the first discharge of the ordinance they within the castell received noe greate hurt; but when they had felt the force of the battery, and the pyle was sumwhat shaken, the next morninge the defendantes sent unto the Lord Deputie, craved a parley, and desired leave to depart; which the Lord Deputie did the sooner yelde unto because he would save the charges of rebuyldinge that castell if it should be beaten downe, which he ment to keepe for the Queene, beinge a place of importance, and that about a longer seige the armies provision should not be spent, which could not be easily recovered in that place, and might hinder other intended services. And suerly had the captayne and his companie byn as resolut in the ende as they seamed to be at the begynning, it had coste more charge and time to gayne that castell by force; for when the walles had byn demolished, the concavitie of the rockes and exceedinge dangerous enterie would have made it very difficulte to be taken. Therfor the Lord Deputie granted them libertie to depart with life, bagge, and bagage.

Donfret and  
another  
fort taken  
in.

The  
Rawlines  
was now  
Soreleboys  
cheife refuge.

After the surrender he put a ward into this castell, tooke the forte of Donfret (the warde therof being fled), and another pyle neere Port-rush. All Sauerlaboyes loughes and islandes were left without defence, soe that he had noe place of strength within the mayne land but the woods to flie unto, the Rawlinges beinge his cheifest refuge, where the Islanders were wont to make theyr place of staie, to resolve on theyr attemptes, when they came into Ulster. Thus Sauerlaboy, beaten from his holdes, was

\* Saker, an old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin.

forced first to flie and afterwards to sue for mercie, as did the rest of his confederates.

Whilst the Lord Deputy lay before Donluce, there came unto hym Odonell, the principall lord of Tyrconell, and Sir Owen Ootoole. lords of Ulster, whom he caused to submitte theyr contraversies unto his order, and to impleade eche other by byll and answer, a matter they had not byn used unto, but accostomed to trie theyr differences by the sword, which wrought much mischeife in that contrie. He made them sweare alleagance to the Queenes Majestie, and to observe the peace. Farther, he drew them unto a composition to finde the Queene eche of them a certayne number of soldiers in garison; soe as hir Majestie should contribute only 250<sup>li</sup> yerely unto every companie of a hundred, towards theyr mayntenance. The rate was this proportioned emongst them :

The Lords of Tyrconell and Tirlough Lenough submitte theyr contraversies to the Lord Deputies order.

They sweare alleagance and yelde a composition to the Queene.

Tirlough Lenough (whoe stiled hymselfe Oneale) for hymselfe and the rest that he claymed to be under hym, as Ochane and Maguyer, should yelde allowance to five hundred soldiers with the addition before mencioned : Odonell and those he sayd were his uriaghseepe\* or dependants two hundred : the lykè McGwilly and his followers should doe for one hundred foote men and twenty five horse.

p. 32.  
The proportion of the composition : Tirlough Lenough, Odonell, Magwilly.

Before the Lord Deputie lefte these partes the Lady Cambell Donell Grome and Oneales wiffes sonne came unto hym.† Upon theyr submission, renouncinge all forayne power, he received them to the Queenes pardon and protection, passed unto them the Queenes promised graunt, procured by his mother, for soe much of the Glynnes as was sometimes Massetts‡ landes, for which he should pay yerely sixtie beaves, and to finde upon his charge eightie soldiers to serve in any parte of Ulster at the Governours command.

Donell Grome makes submission

These things thus established for setlinge of peace in Ulster, where nothings but revoltes had byn formerly practised, was now threatned and begunne with a stronge combination, lyke to take deeper rootinge there and to spread itselfe into other partes of that longe infected State, the purgation wherof was now

\* The "s" is doubtful; perhaps the word means "uriaghship."

† Recte Lady Cambell and Donell Grome, O Neales wiffes sonne.

‡ Missett, *alias* Bassetts Lands, within the Glyns.

The causes  
constrayn-  
inge the  
Lord  
Deputie to  
leave the  
prosecution  
of Sorelebooy.

happily begune, and hope-fully proceeded in, with a purpose to prosecute Sauerlebooy and to passe farther into the Rawlines. But the Lord Deputie was forced to leave that enterprise, partely by a vehement storme that aroas; sodaynly and dangerously with which the waters grew greate and the passages difficult : but cheifely he was constrayned to hasten out of that contrie and to surcease those services for the time thorow the want of victuells (which began to be scarce in the armie), and for feare of the overflowinge of broakes and foards which usually at that time of the yere, tawards the approach of winter, would upon small rayne stoppe theyr passage, and fight more for the rebells then they could doe for themselves. For provision to supplie the campe of bisquet, beafe, and other necessaries from Dublin the wind had not served to bringe it about. Soe necessitie which controlles greater actions and stoppes the designes of high spirites, stopped the present prosecution of some projectes for the cleane extirpatinge of Sauerlebooy out of that corner of the North into which he was now crept and had gotten by the swords makinge semblance to holde it by the same.

p. 33.

Garisons  
planted in  
the North.

4 companies  
left in  
Tirlough  
Lenoughs  
contrie.

Forces at  
Colerane.

When a returne was resolved, the Lord Deputie determines to plant garisons in the North, as he had taken pledges and appoynted governors in the West of Ireland. From Donluce he sent fower companies of foote bandes into Tirlough Linoughs contrie with theyr captaynes whose names were Captayne Meryman, Captayne Parker, Captayne Bangor, and Captayne Colome. There they were appoynted to lie that winter to keepe the contrie in quiet. Besydes these there were two hundred foote and fiftie horse assigned to lie in garison at Colerane of the olde bandes under the command of Captayne Careleile ; and these forces were left behynde to keepe the backe doore shutte, as well to prevent sudayne insurrections as to resiste invasion if any should be offered by the Ilanders.

The Lord  
Deputie  
comes to  
the Newrie.

Tirlough  
Lenough  
bringes  
Shane

After these services ended, the Lord Deputy returned and came to the Newry the eight and twentieth day of September, where he remayned tenne dayes to perfect the courses he had begunne to take in those partes. Thither repayred Tirlough Lenough bringinge with hym (as the Lord Deputy had appoynted) Henry Oneale the sonne of Shane Oneale (Tirloughs predecessor in the cheifry of Ulster), whoe had escaped from Sir Henry Sydney and whom Tyrrough Lenough had deteyned some times



as his prisoner, in doubt least he should have taken upon hym his fathers clayme to be Oneale. To that place allsoe came the rest of the lords and commanders next adjoyninge unto the government of the Newry : as Sir Hugh Magenys, MacMahon, Ohanlon, Tyrrough Brasilough, MacCarten, the captaynes or cheifetaynes of Ferney, Fewes, Kylultagh, and Kylwarlan. They all sware fayth and fealtie to the Queenes Majestie and to serve hir agaynst all men. Such pledges as the Lord Deputy demanded, they delivered, and made lyke composition of payinge soldiers for the Queenes service as Oneale, Odonell, and McGwylly had don, everyone for the numbers insuinge, that is : Hugh Oge and Shane McBrian for the Neather Clandeboy, eighty men : Sir Hugh Magenys for the contrie of Evagh, fortie men ; the commander of Kylultagh fiften men ; of Kylwarlen tenne ; MacCarten tenne ; the Baron of Donganon, with MacMahon, Ohanlan, Ferney, Fewes, and Daughtry, two hundred men. This composition of maynteyninge soldiers for the Queene in all amounted to aleven hundred men : a service, consideringe that time wherin Ulster had byn farre from lear[n]inge to induer the scepter of justice and government, not expected before it was don ; reckned by many dangerous to be attempted ; and found of noe small consequence when it was achived.

Some harte burninges and questions there were for government and superioritie betwixt Tirlough Lenough, then called Oneale, the Baron of Donganon, and Sir Henry Bagnall, whoe did overlooke them boath and therefore as much envied of them as they did malice one another. To appease which contraversies the Lord Deputie tooke as good a course as he could devise, (although it were allmost impossible to reconcile grudges growinge for government & dominion). He therefore did devide the greater govermentes into smaller, that none should have all, neither should anie be much over stronge for the other ; and each should have sufficient, if not to satisfie hymselfe, yet to ballance the overgrowinge greatenes of his neighbour.

Soe was Ulster parted into three liffenancies, with purpose to extinguishe Oneales clayme unto the Uriaghcs or under lordes unto hym as he would have them, beinge the second cheife men next unto hym in Ulster and sometimes stiled and used as his vasalles when he had power to prevayle over them and agaynst the State. By which meanes they were made many times

Oneales  
sonne.

The cheife-  
taynes  
swear  
fealtie and  
make  
composition.

p. 34.

The pro-  
portion of  
theyr com-  
position :  
Shane  
MacBrian  
Sir Hugh  
Magenys.

One  
thousand  
one hundred  
men to be  
maynteyned.

Striffe for  
government  
betwixt  
Tirlough  
Lenough,  
the Baron of  
Donganon,  
and Sir  
Henry  
Bagnall.

A division  
made of the  
govermentes.

Ulster  
parted into  
three  
liffenancies.



instrumentes to increase his supposed greatnes, even to his owen ruine and theyrs, not without much troble unto the State. To prevent theise mischeifes one of theise liffenancies the Lord Deputie assigned unto Tyrlough Lenaugh, as much as was allredie under his rule. The other two he devided betwixt the Baron of Donganon and Sir Nicholas Bagnall, then Marshall of Ireland.

p. 35.

A division  
of lands  
betwixt  
other lords :

Shane  
McBrian and  
Hugh Oge.

Another contraversie was then concluded and arbitrated betwixt lords of lesser valew and power for the division of theyr landes. For Con MacNeale Oge aspired to the whole government of Clandeboy (by the olde and corrupt costome of Tannestrie), [and] Shane McBrian and Hugh Oge strave emongst themselves for the Neather Clandeboy, and could not agree for theyr portions. But the Lord Deputie (thorow privat persuasions and counsell joyned with authoritie) concluded in the ende, with theyr mutuall consentes, that Con Oneale did take the Upper Clandeboy, Shane and Hugh the Neather to be equally devided and bounded betwixt them by such commissioners as the Lord Deputy had authorised therto. Neither were or are theise appeasements to be neglected by the governors of that State where possessors of greate territories and comaunders of many people, overweaning themselves in the opinion of theyr owne greatenes, and inflamed with a desier of dominion, draw many to follow them thorow the flames of commocion ; and the lesser (especially the second sorte and ranckes) either covetinge to be higher, or bendinge themselves to the becke of such as be above and able to command them, runne riotte with them, and, by consentinge or dissentinge in times of division, joyne only in the bad effectes to troble the State and to distroy or perturbe those that are best affected.

The effectes  
of the  
service in  
this Ulster  
expedition.

Ulster at this time sodaynly appeased ; revoltinge myndes partely pacified, partely constrayned to yelde obedience ; a composition made for the Queenes benifitte and the contries quiet ; private contraversies ended, or at the least abated and qualified ; the Lord Deputie returneth to Dublin the xj<sup>th</sup> of October from whence he had byn absent three monethes and two dayes. After this Northerne expedition and performance of theise services, here hymselfe and some of the counsellors of that State whoe were with hym in this jorney, certified the succeffe of theise services, and the same was particulerly expressed by the Lord Deputie in his letter to the Privey Counsell

of England, whoe, after a relation of these passages, addeth this conclusion: "Your Lordships may see I have not byn idle, havinge (notwithstandinge the bad weather that hath byn here) gon thorow the five provinces of this realme within lesse than a quarter of a yere. Soe may you allsoe perceive what care I have taken to incounter these accidentes which at the first seamed dangerous; and soe would they have proved if they had byn but a while suffered." This much was allsoe confirmed by letters from some of the counsell in Ireland that were in the jorney and did wisse it under theyr handes to the counsell of England thus: "May it please your Lordships: the Lord Deputy hath made us acquainted with his letters of advertisementes which he hath sent unto your honors. And for that we have attended on hym all this jorney in Ulster, wherewith we have seene from one action to another with what sinceritie he hath labored to prevent hereafter the cheife groundes and occasions of these disturbances in the Province, we are bound in this joynte manner to concurre with his Lordship touchinge the contentes of the sayd advertisementes, which we affirme to be true in all partes, all thinges seene by us, and passinge thorow our knowledge. Signed the xix<sup>th</sup> of September 1585 by John Noryes, Lucas Dillon, Edward Waterhowse, and Jeffery Fenton."

When the Lord Deputie was come out of this Northerne jorney where he had soe good successe in his services, consultation and care is had for continuinge that state in peace, and mayntenance of that which had byn well begonne; knowinge that where a feirce and yet unbridled people is brought to yelde unto that which is good only by force, feare (an eivell keeper of continuans) cannot conserve that which is caused by constraynt longer then whilst force doth garde it, untill experience makes it appere to be good for them whoe knew it not before to be soe. Therefore he proposeth certayne thinges unto the Queene and State of England for the preservation and perfecting of the tranquillitie and civilitie of that realme. As first, for sixe hundred soldiers to be levied, wherof fower hundred to be sent unto Dublin for the service of the North, and two hundred to be landed at Waterford. These laste to be placed in Mounster, all to be mixed\* with the olde bandes, and maynteyned on the charge of Ulster, accordinge to theyr composition, with small supplie

p. 36.

The Lord Deputy had gon thorow the provinces of Ireland [in] a short time.

A certificat made of the Lord Deputies service by some of the counsell in Ireland.

Certayne thinges proposed by the Lord Deputy for settling the state of Ireland.

Six hundred soldiers to be sent into Ireland.

p. 37.

\* "Mixed" in original.

Authoritie from hir Majestie. He lykewise desired authoritie to devide  
 craved to the large cuntries of the Northe and of some other partes of that  
 devide vaste kingdome into severall counties, whereby rude and unruly people  
 contries into might learne to leive under civill goverment, to know the lawes,  
 counties. and by this knowledge to love that under which they might  
 better injoy their owne then hitherto they had don. He offered  
 farther if fiftie thowsand powndes by the yere might be added  
 to the revenewes of that realme for three yeres, not only there-  
 with to support the expence of the State, but to wall seven  
 townes, to buylde as many bridges in places scarce passable  
 (especially in the winter), and to erect soe many castells in  
 places of perill. Withall, this allowance should maynteyne two  
 thowsand footemen and fower hundred horse (for that time)  
 ayded by the Northerne composition. This some (he sayd)  
 though it might seame sumwhat greate, yet it was not soe much  
 as hir Majestie was many times inforced to dispend and disburse  
 for the suppression of rebellion and preservation of hir good  
 subjecties for the time, without any other fruite of reformation  
 or better assurance of future peace, wheras this charge, thus  
 employed, would not only guard the whole realme for the present,  
 but make other services of importance more easie to be performed.  
 He added to these mocions others of consequence for execution  
 of justice (a cheife meane to make uncivill people to love the  
 State), as to sende over a Cheife Justice of the English birth,  
 such a one as for sufficiencie and integritie might be a light and  
 an overseer to the rest to bringe the Courtes and course of justice  
 there into better order, synce such as were then there were  
 (for the most parte) either insufficient, corrupt in religion, or  
 affectionat to theyr kindred and frendes, and therfor prayed  
 that such might be sent for the administration of justice as were  
 sufficient and free from parciallitie. Next, that the bad and  
 barbarous costome of Tawnistrie might be abolished; which  
 was that the sonne did not usually succeed his father to his  
 landes emongst the meere Irish, but most commonly such a one  
 was ellected by the contrie, in the lifetime of the present lord,  
 as for a stirringe spirite and daringe to doe much was helde ablest  
 to leade them, when they were willinge rather to doe eivell then  
 to be idle or well employed. Hym soe elected they called the  
 Tawnist; whereby often times aroase many murthers, much  
 bloodshed (even emongst the neerest kinsmen), and other in-

A proffer to  
 wall seven  
 townes, to  
 buylde soe  
 many  
 bridges and  
 castells.

To send  
 into Ireland  
 a Cheife  
 Justice of  
 the English  
 byrth.

p. 38.

To suppress  
 the bad  
 costome of  
 Tawnistrie.



numerable mischeife. This cruell and corrupt costome hitherto continewed the Lord Deputie craved authoritie to abolish, thinckinge (as thinges were now reduced) he had both power and opportunitie to doe it. Then he prayed that he might be inabled to passe estates unto the Irish accordinge to the English tenures, upon surrender of theyr former claymes, which would make them depend on the State and not on theyr neere and greate lords, wherto the Irish now seamed unto hym to be inclinable. He concluded with certayne requestes for some principall servitors of that realme whome he heald to be faythfull and paynefull furtherers of the princes service.

Powell\* to  
passe  
estates  
uppon  
surrender.

To these mocions made by the Lord Deputie both the Queene and hir counsell returned very comfortable answer, first acceptinge and commendinge his services, yeldinge God thanckes for his good successe, and promisinge to afford assistance to the advancement therof soe prosperously begunne. To the particuler poyntes propounded by hym they gave resolution: for the composition in Ulster made to maintaine soldiers with Tyrrough Lenough and the rest of the cheifetaynes they did well allow it, as a thinge judged not only to tende unto the reformation of that province but geivinge hope that the same beinge reformed the rest of the kingdom would with more facilitie be reduced to obedience and civilite. The other particuler propositions they did for the most parte condiscend unto, or at the least geive some satisfaction unto his demaundes, as an incuragement to hym and a fartheraunce to the future services; well wayinge that reward and prayse are the best inciters of noble spirites unto worthy enterprise for the service of theyr prince and contrie.

An answer  
made to the  
Lord  
Deputies  
demandes  
with com-  
mendation  
and  
allowance of  
his service.

p. 39.

The next care (which claymeth the first place and ought to be preferred before all other respectes) was to begynne with the establishinge of religion, the best supporter of peace, obedience, and fidelitie. To this ende letters were adressed to the buyshopes and other clergymen of most account, especially unto those of the English pale, for the re-edifyinge of theyr decayed churches; that the people might be the better induced to come unto the service of God, and thereby learne theyr duties to God and theyr prince. He wrate allsoe into England agaynst the granting of buyshoprickes *in commendam* shewinge the greate inconveniences that would follow the heaping up of many church lev.

Care for  
religion.

Re-edifying  
of churches.

To  
restrayne ye  
graunt of  
byshoprickes  
*in commen-  
dam.*

\**Recte*, Power.



inges into one hand. For as the more levings were supplied by sufficient men, the more lykelyhood of the increase of religion : soe the confoundinge of them could not choose but hinder knowledge and increase of ignorance. After this principell poynt of wisdom to plant trew religion, advise was taken to make the rude and unruly people more pliable to the lawes (which are the best ballances of right and rules of justice). To this ende letters were directed to the lords and others of greatest account to yelde that theyr contries which were large in cyrcuite might be devided into counties (where there were none before), and to place therein such officers as were usually in the shiers of England, as sheriffes, excheators, feodaries, constables, and the lyke, by which meanes the poorer people might be kept from oppression, and speedier justice with lesse charge might be had nearer at home, the ignorant should be instructed what to doe and how to leive, the willfull made subject to the law or corrected by it, the greate lords kept from tyranisinge over theyr tennantes, and the inferior sort should know how to support themselves by lawfull meanes agaynst unlawfull usurpations. This course was consented to by most, and not contradicted by any but some few of the worser condition, and that rather by secret then by open opposition. The contries thus to be devided and erected into counties in Ulster were Ardmagh, Tyrone, Monaghon, Co. [unfinished].

The division  
of counties  
and  
settlinge of  
officers.

p. 40.

Letters and  
instructions  
sent to  
Justices of  
the Peace.

These cyrcuites thus settled unto shiers, the Lord Deputie (with the Lord Chauncellor) appoynted sondry of the best estimation to be Justices of the Peace, and wrate unto them to shew into what degree of trust they were called ; how important the charge was for hir Majesties service ; and that if in them there were such industrie and synceritie as was expected, he then saw noe cause but that the course of inormities (which had hertofore runne with more impunitie then was meete) might be stopped, and the state of that contrie brought from good to better, or at the least not suffered to decline agayne from bad to worse, as hertofore it had don, in the late broaken times ; farther assuringe them that as he should be glade to see them performe theyr duties, soe he gave them to understand that in which of them soever he found any crime or defect (whereby soe good a service should be hindered or corrupted) they should be brought under such sever penaltie and reprehension as the law could any way

permitte, besydes the deminution of theyr credite and good opinion. To this admonition was added an authoritie and writtes directed for the choyse of a coroner in every shier, and of two sufficient discreete men to be constables in eche barony, besydes pettie constables to be assistantes, and yet inferior officers for the discharge of theyr duties. This letter bare date the fiftenth of December 1585. With it were sent certayne articles and orders to be observed by the Justices of the Peace within theyr severall limites thorow out the whole realme.

Note

Shortly after, for the farther confirmation of all these conclusions and bringinge the people to a better conformitie of good government, a Parliament (before resolved on) is now sommoned to be helde in Dublin. At this Parliament the nobilitie, clergie, and commons beinge assembled, noane of them were permitted to goe in Irish attier (as in former times they had don), but were commanded and brought to weare English apparell accordinge to the habites belonginge to theyr severall ranckes and qualities. To Tyrrough Lenough (the cheife of Ulster) and on some other principall men of the Irish the Lord Deputy bestowed gownes and other roabes to be woren in Parliament, whoe for the most part were as wearie of these weades as if they had byn put in prison; insoemuch that one of them came to the Lord Deputy and besought hym that one of his chaplaynes (whom he called preistes) might goe with hym thorow the streetes clad in his Irish trouses. The Lord Deputie asked hym whie he made that request? His answer was: "Because" quoth he "then the boyes will laugh as much at hym as now they doe at me." The Lord Deputie knew not well whether to smile or frowne at this answer; but tolde hym there was noe cause he should conceive that any laughed at hym for wearinge that attier, synce they were ornamentes befittinge the place he now helde and did represent in Parliament, and bade hym not to harken unto the talke and tales of idle followers that would instill such conceiptes into his heade, which might in time bringe hym to his downefall. This advise was taken, either as found good or out of necessitie to be followed. But by this we may see that costome is commonly preferred before decencie, and opinion before reason; especially emongst people where civilitie hath not byn planted, and in all nations conquered, tyll lawes and good goverment unites the hartes of men subjected unto theyr

A Parli-  
ment to be  
helde at  
Dubline.

p. 41.

The Irish  
brought to  
weare  
Englishe  
apparell.

The Irish  
wearie of  
English  
attier.

The  
conceipte of  
an Irishman.

soverayne and the supream magistrate howsoever willinge or unwillinge. At this time they were constrayned to come unto the Parliament in that civill habite which did best befitt the place and present service.

When the  
Parliament  
began.

P. 42.

Difference  
in Parliament  
about the  
suspension  
of Poyninges  
Act.

In this Parliament, which begane at Dublin the sixe and twentieth of Aprill anno 1585 and in the xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Queenes rayne, sondry bylls were passed in the first session, such as were then inacted and now printed, therefore neede not here to be published. But there were disputes and differences about a byll preferred in the Commons Howse of Parliament for the suspension of Poyninges Act, which had byn past in the tenth yere of King Henry the seventh before Sir Edward Poyninges, knight, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, whereby it was inacted that noe byll should be preferred in any Parliament of Ireland to passe there for a law untill the same had first a royall assent in England. This law the Lord Deputie would then have first suspended by Act of Parliament, to the ende that opportunitie might be taken to passe such bylls as the present occasions and opportunitie might offer for the service of the prince and State, without stayinge for farther resolution from England, which might loose the advantage of advauncinge present services and make that by delaies more unpassable which for the present might easily be perfected. The same was impugned especially by some cheife stirrers in the English Pale, and overthrowen by them at the third readinge (whoe feared perchaunce that some thinges might be speedily propounded which should crosse their owne purposes). Afterwards upon better information they seamed more inclinable to the passage of that byll, and prayed conference with the Lord Deputie for this purpose, which was graunted, and they departed seaminge satisfied of their doubttes. Whereupon the Parliament was adjorned for three weekes. And yet afterwards, notwithstandinge the qualification of this byll (agreed upon by their owne committees), they did overthrow it the second time. Abouts this there grew much contention and dislyke moved by the jealousies and mistakinges of some lawiers and others of the English Pale, that suspected the repeale of this statute was intended for some other ende then was then pretended. They withstoode it, and therewith gaynsayed their owne welfares; for it was preferred to noe other ende but to have free libertie without restraynt to treate of such

Whoe  
impugned  
the  
suspension  
of this Act.

The  
Parliament  
adjorned for  
three weekes



matters as might equally concerne the good of that kingdom. Yet such strength hath jealousie and suspicion to hinder good indevors, that many times it keepes backe the best intended busines; where feare, seaking to avoyde harmes, shunnes the good which is intended & may be attained.

p. 43.

Notwithstandinge the dissention which grew for the suspencion of Poyninges Act (wherof some of the Pale men did afterwards acknowledge theyr errors in private that they\* opposed it most in publicke), yet divers proffitable Actes were passed, both for the private and publicke, in this first session, which beinge ended the xxv<sup>th</sup> of May was prorogued tyll Aprill followinge. A byll was preferred in this Parliament for the attaynder of the late Erle of Desmond, and assurance of his landes unto the Crowne, which at the first received some opposition by meanes of one John FitzEdmonds, whoe shewed forth in Parliament a feoffement made by the Erle before he entered into actuall rebellion, which did for the time breede some dowte in the Howse for passinge this Act, untill Sir Henry Walop, Treasurer at Wares, shewed an instrument of conferacie betwixt the Erle and divers of his followers bearinge date before this feoffement, [to] which FitzEdmonds hand was subscribed. Which beinge seene, the Howse made small difficultie to passe that byll.

The  
Parliament  
prorogued  
tyll Aprill.

Soone after the ende of this Parliament notice was taken of dissention growen betwixt some of the Northerne lordes, and of Allexander MacSauerley, sonne to Sauerleboy, his practise to draw agayne the Islanders into Ulster, whoe was redie to arme with fower hundred of these fierbrandes. And because Tyrrough Lenough Oneale was weakned thorow want of goverment, and by age growen unable to rule his people, but much more distabled by his late dependencie on the State, and the Baron of Dongans aspiring, whoe tooke occasion by Tyrroughs decay to advance hymselfe, therfor the Lord Deputie with consent of the counsell intended another jorney into Ulster, but with lesse provision and power then the former. This was begunne the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of July; for which purpose he passed as farre as Dongannon, the Barons principall state within the countie of Tyrone. Thither he sent for all the cheifetaynes of Ulster, except those of Clandeboys syde whom he lefte to attend and defend the contrie agaynst the Islanders invadinge that coste of the contrie. The rest of

\* Doubtful.

Ulster with Oneale and his pretended Uriaghcs or dependantes came to hym. See Odonell and his followers, especially Hugh Duffe Odonell (the formerly elected Taunish or next succeeding lord of that contrie), havinge allsoe with hym Odogharty and Sir Owen Otoole, made theyr apparance. They all yelded what was demanded of them except one James Caraugh (a man of account emcngst the Donelaughes) and most devoted to Shane Oneales famely. At this time the Lord Deputie did perfect the reducinge of Ulster into six shiers, as it was before appoynted, by settinge boundes with advise of the contry.

Perfectinge  
the limites  
of shiers  
before  
appoynted.

p. 44.

The Lord  
Deputy  
sendes to  
the Kinge of  
Scotland for  
restraynt of  
the Islander:  
invasion of  
Ulster.

The Kinges  
answer.

Whilst the Lord Deputie was in this second Northerne expedition, percevinge that the inhabitantes of the Out Isles of Scotland continewed theyr course to make incursions into Ulster, he sent one Captayne Dawtry unto the Kinge of Scotland to intreate his Majestie that none of the Islanders should be suffered to come over to invade the North partes of Ireland, as formerly they had don; assuringe hym that if he would be pleased to take order for this, and for the freedome of some Irish marchantes goods stayed in some partes of Scotland, there should be the lyke mutuall corespondence of justice to the people of that nation within the realme of Ireland whilst he governed there. To which the Kinge returned a princely answer by Captayne Dawtry, signifyinge that he had received the Lord Deputies letter which uttered his good disposition to justice by his order taken with the marchantes of Scotland, restoring theyr goods restrayned at sondry portes of Ireland; for which good office the Kinge gave hym thanckes, and did promise that Sofran\* of Dublin as allsoe the other marchantes of Carigfergus pretending then to have byn spoyled, the one by Broadstones, the other by Agnes † MacConel and his people, should have the lyke course of justice. As for the restraynt of Sauerleboy with his brother, theyr sonnes, and followers, which the Lord Deputy craved by the bearers credite that they might be kept from cominge over to molest the Queenes good subjectes, the Kinge allsoe promised immediately to direct his letters to inhibite them to make any roades upon the kingdom of Ireland on payne of treason; and if they nevertheles should attempt the contrary, his highnes would use them as his rebels, and geive commissioun unto MacAllen and the contrie thereaboutes to rise and prosecute them accord-

\* Or "Copran," see *Carew MSS.*, *Cal.* 1575-88, p. 404.

†Angus.

ingly. This letter bare date at St Andrewes the fourth of August 1585 the nyntenth yere of his raigae.

But before the delivery of these letters divers of the Islanders were agayne arived in Ulster to the number of fower hundred, whoe, joyninge themselves with Con MacNeale Oges sonne, those of the Dufferine, the Okelleys, most of the wod kerne of Kylwarlen, MacKartens contrie, and with Hugh MacPhelimes sonne, these thus conbyned were above eight hundred, the Islanders beinge but halfe soe many at theyr first landinge aboutes the myddest of July. Such was the condition of that contry people to adheare unto any that would anoy the State and to be animated to insurrection as soone as they found any assistance. Agaynst these invadors and theyr assistants the Lord Deputy (whose comminge into the North was a stoppe unto theyr attemptes) sendeth some forces, and geiveth order for theyr prosecution in the Neather Clandeboy. Captayne Frances Stafford did with a small force first incounter them, havinge but one hundred and seventy soldiers besydes some kerne where the enemies were fower times as many. The fight began the 28<sup>th</sup> of July in the morninge and continued in skirmish tyll fower of the clocke in the afternoone; in which time they were often charged, as often made a stand, and bette them backe (marchinge on still), and maynteyned the ground, without runninge away or any route or breakinge, which shewed the judgement of the commander, joyned with experience of the officers, and valour of the soldiers. For had they byn new soldiers and fearefull they had byn all overthrowen. At this time Shane MacBrian (servinge with the English), shewed hymselfe forward and faythfull. They recovered a place of strength with the losse of eight men and twelve more hurt; twenty fower of the enemies men were slayne and fortie wounded in this marchinge skirmishinge incounter (which the Lord Deputy and counsell did certifie for the credite of the leader and the soldiers). After this time these invadors and the rebells did shune all places and occasions of fight. They were once gon over the river of the Bane to Tyrone, but the Baron of Donganon (with such companies as the Lord Deputy sent thither) drave them backe agayne; and Captayne Stafford, with a new supplie, had them in pursuite.

The Islanders thus besette (whilst the Lord Deputy was in the North) drew downe tawards Donluce, where Sauerleboys sonne,

Islanders  
arived  
agayne in  
Ulster.

P. 45.

Divers  
joyned with  
the  
Islanders.

Some forces  
sent  
agaynst the  
Islanders.

Captayne  
Stafford  
incounters  
the invadors.

Shane  
MacBrians  
good service

The  
Islanders  
pursued.

p. 46.



The  
Islanders  
draw to  
Donluce.

Hugh Duffe  
Odonell  
makes  
known the  
Islanders  
cominge to  
Enishowen.

Hugh Duffe  
leades  
Captayne  
Meryman to  
incounter  
the  
Islanders.

An incounter  
betwixt  
Allexander  
MacSoreley  
and a galli-  
glasse.

P. 47.

Allexander MacSauerley (one of theyr cheife commanders and a man of a daring spirit), thought he might have best succor amongst his fathers frendes; or if that did fayle they would easily be convayed thence into the Isles from whence they came, which was in kenninge of that contrie. Thence they went into Odaugharties contrie, called Inishowen, to draw force out of Tyrconell for theyr assistance. But one Hugh Duffe Odonell (a man then faythfull & standinge firme to the State because he hoped to succede Odonell) came to Strabane (Tyr-lough Lenoughs towne and seate) not farre from the Lyffior, and acquaynted the English companies lyinge there in garison that Allexander MacSauerley was come into Inishowen with the Islanders and others to the number of six hundred [and] that he had a purpose to surprise Strabane. With the soldiers there (beinge but part that were lefte of the fower companies which the Lord Deputy sent into that contrie the sommer before), but now growen weake and the captaynes all absent save Captayne Meryman, and he had there of these fower companies had not above eight score soldiers stronge. Unto hym Hugh Duffe Odonell offered to be a guyde, and to draw a draught upon Allexander MacSauerley. This offer was accepted, and the enterpryse resolved on. Although the English were farre inferior and fewer in number they march in the night to the place where Allexander lay incamped, and aproach neare hym towards the dawninge of the day, but found hym better guarded then was expected, keepinge wache and ward, for it should seame he had warninge, or at the least suspition, of theyr comminge. Upon the first discovery they prepare to fight. Captayne Meryman, havinge the weaker parte, drew all his power into one batalio or body. The other devided his into three partes with command to charge the English three wayes at once, makinge account to incloase and soe to overthrow them. Allexander MacSauerley, a lustie and tall yonge man, came in the head of his troupes, and called for Captayne Meryman with a loude voyce: challenginge hym to come forth and fight singly. To whom a galaglasse (servinge with the English and neere at hand) made answer he was the man. They joyned, and at the first the galloglasse strake a feirce blowe at Allexander with his gallowglasse axe (made lyke a battell axe) with which he drave the others tarrgett unto his head, and had well neare felled hym to the ground. But

Allexander, recoveringe hymselfe, gotte within the galloglasses ward, and with his sword cleft hym into the head, soe leavinge hym for deade in the place. Captayne Meryman (whoe was not farre of), ranne into Allexander; they both incountered with sword and targette. After the exchance of some few blowes the captayne cutte Allexander over the legge; whoe, fealinge hymselfe hurte and not well able to stand, withdrew and was caried from his companie. They, missinge their captayne, begane to shifte for themselves.

Captayne  
Meryman  
fighteth  
with  
Allexander  
and hurteth  
hym.

The  
Islanders  
fie.

When they were overthrowen Captayne Meryman made searche for Allexander emongst the hurte men, knowinge he was not able to goe farre. At the length an olde woman (whoe satte very mornefull), beinge examined what became of hym, and threatned by the soldiers, for feare of death, she poynted to the place where he lay hidden. And there he was found by the turninge up of some turffes, in a kinde of vaute covered with hurdles and cloased with these turffes. They stracke of his head and sent it unto the Lord Deputie, whoe caused it to be sette upon a poale in the castell of Dubline. Shortely after, Sauerleboy submitted hymselfe unto the Queenes mercie; and, cominge to Dubline, when one tolde hym there was his sonnes heade: "It is noe matter" quoth he "my sonne hath many heades," meanninge that others would rise up in his place: belyke aludinge to that fiction of the Hidraes head, for soe it falles out that in faction and rebellion one head cut of, another riseth up. The Lord Deputie returned out of this second Northerne journey the xvj<sup>th</sup> of July.

Allexander  
MacSorley  
found, and  
his heade  
cutte of.

Sorleboys  
sayinge of  
his sonnes  
heade.

In the meane time of his absence (allmost as soone as he parted thence north-ward) letters of information were written agaynst his undertaking of this second journey into Ulster; that it was chargeable, needeles, and unprofitable for hir Majestie and the contrie; lykewise that he had taken some stricte courses in his goverment, requiringe the oath of obedience: appoynted officers to looke into mens pattentes: had geiven warrant in the late Parliament to preferre lyke lawes in Ireland as were in England agaynst recusantes: caused a byll to be preferred in the first session for the suspencion of Poyninges Act, whereby many innovations might happen: and that these thinges might be a meanes to move the people rather to unquietnesse then to peace. This information was geiven by two principall counsellors of that State with whom he lefte the charge of that gover-

P. 48.  
Information  
agaynst the  
Lord  
Deputies  
2[nd] journey  
into Ulster  
and his  
other  
actions.

Discontent-  
ment  
betwixt the  
Lord  
Deputy and  
Lord  
Chauncellor  
of Ireland.

p. 49.

The Lord  
Deputie  
answers  
objections  
made  
agaynst  
hym.

ment in his absence when he went \* into this Northerne journey, but chiefly by Adam Loftus, Archbushop of Dublin and Lord Chauncellor of Ireland, a man of experience, to whom the Sword of Justice had byn committed in the last vacancie after the Lord Gray departed untill this Lord Deputy came to governe that kingdom. Betwixt hym and the Lord Deputy there was allredy some discontentment kyndeled, the groundes wherof were these: first, the Lord Chauncellor, being a prelate of greate place and made greater by the offices lately put upon hym, which meetinge with the sway he had caried with other governors of that realme, and the height of his mynde raysed by advancement to dignities, made hym thincke that this Lord Deputies prosperous begyninges (caried perchaunce with a more absolut authoritie then others had usually exercised) would be some deminution of that dignitie which he had before boren. Withall, at this last Parliament in Ireland, he perceived an intention in the Lord Deputy (accordinge to directions geiven hym at his cominge to this goverment) to connect the levinges of St Patrickes in Dublin to the mayntenance of a colledge and universitie to be erected there; an intention which Kinge Edward the sixt had, and now the Queene purposed to prosecute. But some of the Lord Chauncellors nearest kindred, alies, and frendes, havinge gotten either leases or possession of the best of these levinges, did not only geive opposition to this conversion, but from it fell to contention in other matters, and drew into his side and partie Sir Nicholas Bagnall, whose daughter mared with the Lord Chauncellors sonne, and some others of theyr alies. Soe that faction began to grow, whence sprang up private information and sometimes publicke crossings even at the counsell table in matters which, havinge byn peaceably handled, might have tended more to the advancement of the Queenes service if harteburninges and grudges had not hindered it. To those objections made agaynst the Lord Deputies undertakinge of this second journey into Ulster he makes answer: shewes both the necessitie, and consent of the Counsell therto: to his proceedinges in tenderinge the oath of obedience he pleadeth warrant and conveniencie in policie of State: and to all the other allegations of novelties or supposed inconveniencies, he replieth that they were malicious surmises and noe cause to doubt any such thinge

\* *Recte*, went.



as his adversaries would have to be dreaded. For the converting of St Patrickes levinges, the Lord Chauncellor (as taking upon hym to be a patron to the church) laboreth by all meanes to hinder it; writting sondry letters into England agaynst it, settles downe all the reasons he could to geive impeachment unto that purpose. In the ende he prevayles soe farre that letters are written from the Queene and counsell of England to stoppe the passage of these levinges, and withall advertisementes are sent from the Queene unto the Lord Deputie and Lord Chauncellor (who two\* notice of they contentions) that they should forbear such crossinges as might hinder the publicke service. In particuler the Queene intimates the same unto the Lord Chauncellor by hir owne letter. Yet this admonition was not well followed on either side. For the Lord Deputy, beinge cholericke by nature, could not induer any affrontes in that place wherein he was principell: the other, knowinge his chollericke disposition, would sometimes purposely geive hym wordes of provocation. Soe the one not induring an equall in that place, the other not well broaking a superior whom he loved not, both brake the bandes of charitie, pacience, and policie.

To the Lord Chauncellor was added another instigator agaynst the Lord Deputy; that was Secretary Fenton (a man accustomed to doe good offices but unto few Lord Deputies). He went into England, at the begynninge of the Parliament helde in Ireland, to negociat such affayers at Court as concerned the contrie in that Parliament. And at the first he seamed very frendely unto the Lord Deputy [and] wrate hym divers intelligences how the state of thinges stode at Court. But at the length, whither he were drawen therto out of his owne disposition, or persuaded by the Lord Deputies adversaries, he found that the Secretary did in some thinges falter with hym; and soe wrate or signified soe much as made hym in the ende of a private practiser become a professed adversarie. Secretary Fenton by his letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> † of July 1585 signifies hir Majesties good allowance of the Lord Deputies services in these wordes: that he had procured generall peace and gayned the peoples hartes unto theyr prince. But shortly after, the xix<sup>th</sup> of September followinge, he writteth of the Queenes alteration in hir good opinion of some of the Lord Deputies services there; which, with the sequell of such sharpe

Letters written to restrayne the convertinge of St. Patrickes levinges to a colledge.

p. 50.

The Lord Deputy cholericke.

Secretarie Fenton become adversarie to ye Lord Deputy.

Secretrey Fentons double dealinge.

p. 51.

\* Perhaps for "tooke."

† Date doubtful.

Discontentment  
betwixt the  
Lord  
Deputy and  
Lord  
Chauncellor  
of Ireland.

p. 49.

The Lord  
Deputie  
answers  
objections  
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Letters  
written to  
restrayne  
the conver-  
tinge of St.  
Patrickes  
levings to  
a colledge.

p. 50.

The Lord  
Deputy  
chollericke.

Secretarie  
Fenton  
become  
adversarie to  
ye Lord  
Deputy.

Secretrey  
Fentons  
double  
dealinge.

p. 51.

\* Perhaps for "tooke."

† Date doubtful.



The Lord  
Deputie  
jealous of  
Secretary  
Fentons  
practises.

The  
necessitie of  
the last  
Northerne  
jorney.

The Lord  
Deputie  
discouraged  
answers his  
accusers  
objections.

letters as the Secretary Fenton sent and brought from the Queene (besydes some other cyrcumstances) confirmed the Lord Deputies conceipt that he had joyned in informations unto the Queene tendinge to his prejudice. Upon receipt of letters sent from the Queene, partely admonitory, partely reprehensive, although it were signified that hir Majestie was well persuaded of his care and dilligence and tooke in good parte all his doeings as proceedinge from a speciall zeale to doe hir service, yet fyndinge, or suspecting, a taxe withall to be layed on his judgement in some matters, and conceivinge that the persuation therof did proceede from his einimies, it was not in his nature to suppress his greife. He therfor writteth both to the Queene and hir counsell of England, sheweth the causes, successe, and necessitie of this his last Northerne jorney, as the arival of Islanders, composition betwixt Northerne lords, and division of counties with the consent of the counsell there: that the dangerous effectes which his adversaries had surmised (to breede feare and doubte of disquietnes in the natives of that contrie) were but suggestions to hinder the services which he knew could be don without danger: that he found the pride and power of the evell affected Irish to be alltogether abated: the people inclined to yelde conformity unto his commandements. And therfor he thought fitte to take the oportunity of that time offered to worke that which in former times could not be compassed. But findinge that all this was crossed by them whoe ought to further it, and constered here as tendinge to inovation, lykely to stirre dissention and dangers, he confessed he was much discouraged, but yet would holde on his course as well as he could (beinge soe restrayned as he was). For the veiwinge of mens charters (wherewith he was charged) this he denied that ever he intended, much lesse practised it, and therfor accuseth the informers of malice and slaunder. He confesseth the urginge of some of them to take the oath of ob[e]dience, and sheweth the cause he did it, upon findinge theyr obstinacie and repugnancie to reason in Parliament; therfor he did it, to trie theyr fidelitie unto the prince.

p. 52.

Lords of  
the English  
Pale writte

Besydes these informations geiven agaynst the Lord Deputie to make hym more distastefull unto the Queene and hir counsell of England, some of the lords of the English Pale were sette on to writte unto the Quene the xv<sup>th</sup> of July 1585, and to complayne

agaynst the Lord Deputie that over and besyde a composition of 2000*l* yerely reueneu formerly made in lieu of cesse and other charges claymed to belonge by prerogative unto the State from the five counties of the English Pale, yet he intended to impose a second charge of 1500*l* sterlinge yerely. But shortely after, some of these lordes (finding as it should seame they were abused) as the Viscount Gormaston, the Lord of Slayney, the Lords of Hoath and Trimeleston wrate unto the Queene a second letter, signefyinge they sorow that they had misconceaved the Lord Deputies meaninge, acknowledged they found now his fatherly care (for those were theyr wordes) for that contrie, and that they would not have written agaynst hym for that or seakinge the suspencion of Poyninges Act if they had conceived what now they found of his disposition to doe them and the contrie right. This shewes in what a slyppery seate they sitte that governe that kingdom, and that innocencie is not always saffe, thoe it be allwayes best: for it cannot be free from imputation when it is free from corruption.

Notwithstanding these complayntes and crosses the Lord Deputy sayth he determines to proceede with the discharge of his dutie as longe as he helde that place: care is had to settle a composition in Conaught, sutable to that which had byn begunne in Ulster, for the increase of the Crownes reueneu in that province and the settinge of some certayntie betwixt the lords and theyr tenantes, the want whereof had caused many mischeifes in that contrie. To this ende the Lord Deputy sent Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Roules, with other commissioners into Conaught. In this service Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of that Province, shewed hymselfe forward to yelde his best assistance. By the eight of September 1585 the commissioners had travelled thorow the Okelleys contrie, all Thomond, Clanricard, Eighter Conaught, and the rest of the countie of Galloway. Thence they came into the countie of Maio, dealing with McWilliam Eughter and the rest of his name which were of many branches, besydes the pettie lords with others of the second rancke in theyr contries. Soe that as Sir Nicholas White certified to the Lord Deputy they conceived hope to come home loaden with pledges, and to unload that contrie of many Macs and Oos translated by theyr owne assent (unto which theyr handes and seales were had) to a better course and more certayntie

to the  
Queene  
agaynst the  
Lord  
Deputy.

The Lords  
that wrate  
agaynst the  
Lord  
Deputy  
retract and  
writt in his  
commenda-  
tion to the  
Queene.

A commis-  
sion sent by  
the Lord  
Deputy to  
rayse a  
composition  
in  
Conaught.

P. 53.

The com-  
missioners  
travell  
thorow a  
greate part  
of Conought.

Hope  
conceved of  
bringing  
pledges and  
takinge  
away the

tytles of  
Macs and  
Oos.

A riddle  
propounded.

A begynninge  
to erect  
mannors in  
Conaught.

p. 54.

The Lord  
Deputy  
wrote to  
Sir Frauncis  
Walsingham  
how he was  
crossed in  
the Queenes  
service.

A composi-  
tion  
intended  
thorow the  
kingdom.

of levinge then hitherto they could afford themselves. In the advertisement of these affayers Sir Nicholas White did propound unto the Lord Deputie an ingenious aenigme or kinde of riddle: that all sortes were eased with theyr bearinge, and yet hir Majesties renewe\*, with the levings of the lords, increased.

From the countie of Maio the commissioners were to passe unto the countie of Sligoe and soe backe unto the countie of Rossecommen. With Orurckes [contrie] called Letrime they were yet doubtfull how to deale, consideringe the condition of hymselfe and his contrie; both beinge uncivill and unrulie. Where thay had delte they beganne to erect manors to holde of hir Majestie (besydes the composition and royalties reserved to the prince). Soe that if this service had proceeded (as it was intended) thorow that province and other partes of the kingdom, it had suerly introduced peace and wealth emongst the people, with obedience and increase of renew to the prince, which might at that time have byn effected, but that dissention (the distroyer of good designes) did hinder it, which made the Lord Deputie breake out into more impacience; for besydes the letter which he sent unto the Queene he wrote another unto Sir Frauncis Walsingham, hir Majesties Secretary of State, wherein he complayneth how much he was crossed in matters of greate moment for hir Highnes service: as in the plotte propounded to erect fortifications in some necessary places of that kingdom with a small extraordinary charge unto the Queene, which (as he sayd) was rejected without reasons shewed, only because it was his worke. Allsoe a composition, which he intended generally thorow the kingdom, betwixt the lords and theyr tenantes, was stopped. This would have byn beneficiall for hir Majestie, good for the State, and profitable both for the lords and tenantes; landes would have byn brought to better valew, wealth, civilitie, and quietnes should have insued; horseboyes (the seedes of kerne and they the spoylers of the contrie) had byn by this meanes woren out. But this was lykewise frustrated by faction and the devises of some eivell disposed persons. These thinges considered, that eivell men could soe easily choake up good purposes, and that private practises did prevayle soe much to prejudice the publicke weale, he besought that he might be discharged from

\* revenue.



that service, which he would reckon for a greate favor and especiall good turne don unto hym.

To this Sir Frauncis Walsingham answers that for his owne parte he esteemed these services to be of good importance for the State, but they were hyndered by such meanes as he could not healepe ; and if they had byn don at other times he beleived the procurer would have byn brought to greate promotion. The Lord Deputie receivinge this answer from hym was soe full of greife and indignation that he could not hold from utteringe what his heart was fraughted with ; and replies by letter unto the Secretary that it was trew if these services had byn proffered to any but etcetera (mea[n]inge thereby as it should seame hir Majestie) it would have byn better regarded and rewarded. Of this the Secretary made noe matter, for he knew hym to be cholericke ; but the letter beinge founde in the Secretarys studie after his death, much inforcement was drawn out of it. [That he should terme the Queene etcetera, which was constered\* a veylifying terme to be geiven unto a prince, his answer was he wrate it not with any such intention, and knew to whom he wrate it, but forbare to name the Queene for the reverence he bare unto hir Majestie, and therfor to signifie it more secretly he sette down etcetera].† But suer as his services in that kingdom were successefull, soe if he had byn able to bridle that passion of choller, wherto he was by nature much adicted, and to forbear over free speach when he was offended, his dayes might have byn longer and his ende more happie.

Shortely after this the Baron of Donganon, whoe had byn brought up with the English, sette first into comand by Sir Henry Sydney and Walter Erle of Essex, graced by the Queene and received (besydes other employmentes) a pencion from hir Majestie, had shewed hymselfe allways forwards in service with the English agaynst Shane Oneale and Tyrrough Lenough when they were disobedient, but especially (to serve his owne turne) whilst they were greate and he in low estate, hopinge thereby to rayse hymselfe, now he comes into England with a good shew of his former services, professeth future fidelitie, that he would labor to keepe the contrie in quiet and to suppress the exorbitant name and jurisdiction of Oneale, which he after-

Sir Frauncis  
Walsing-  
hams  
answer.

Holde taken  
of a letter  
written by  
the Lord  
Deputy to  
Sir Frauncis  
Walsingham.

The Baron  
of Donganon  
goeth for  
England.

\* construed or considered.

† The sentence in brackets has been struck out in the original.

wards assumed and extorted to hymselfe with these shewes of service, and by applyinge hymselfe to those that then were greatest in authority, he gatt grace at Court, he was created Erle of Tyrone. From which time (especially as Tyrlough Lenough his predecessor grew weaker and unweldie) he did more and more aspier by secret practises and policies to be Oneale, that was absolut Lord of Ulster. He is now [unfinished]

The Baron  
created  
Erle of  
Tirone.

p. 56.

The Burckes  
begynne a  
commotion  
in Conaught.

Soone after the composition made in Conaught for the increase of the Queenes revenew and the suppression of some Irish tytles and costomes, some of the Burckes, with other septes of that contrie, fearinge least by this meanes theyr power over the people would be deminished, to avoyd this they begynne to take counsell and to combine. Wherof the Governor Sir Richard Bingham advertiseth the Lord Deputy, and he adviseth the Governor not to provoke or to put that people into armes, but to trie first if by persuasions or any politicke meanes they might be induced to yelde obedience and conformity unto such courses as most of them had lately submitted themselves unto. For this purpose by the Lord Deputies advise certayne commissioners were sent to heare theyr grevance, and to yelde them right, if in anythinge they could prove they were wronged. The commissioners were the Archbuyshop of Thuane\* in Conaught, the Buyshop of Meath, and others. These commissioners heard the complayntes of the Burckes with theyr adherents, found them of small moment, [and] gave them counsell to yelde obedience, which they promised, but did not longe performe. For shortly after, this matter of theyr wonted superiority and tytles of more sound then substance did soe sticke in theyr stomackes that they entered into a second confederacie and commotion for the mayntenance of such bad costomes as they had gotten by intrusion and maynteyned by force. The more effectually to procuer followers in this theyr eivell intended enterprise, they made the Clandonells, the Joyces, and others of meaner sorte beleive that Sir Richard Bingham had allredy taken from them theyr auncient liberties and costomes, and would doe the lyke unto all others if they did not looke the better unto it. Thus they began to assemble and to gather greate companies, amongst whom the sonnes of Edmond Burcke of Castell Bary (beinge many) made enterance into this rebellion. This Edmond

Commis-  
sioners sent  
to treat  
with the  
Burckes.

A second  
confederacie

\*Tuam.

was an olde man, one of the competitors of the MacWilliam ship, and a very eivell affected person to the State ; whoe, with Edmond Kerragh Burke, Richard Burke (sonne to hym called the Deivells Hooke), Meiler Oge Burke, Walter MacDavid Bane, Cahier Mac Conell and divers others, associatinge unto them many idell persons, entered a castell in Lough Maske called Castell Necally, manned the same, and kepte it agaynst the Queene, together with Thomas Roes castell which after his death was in the possession of his brother Richard Burke. Abouts this time Mahon Obrian in Thomond helde a castell called Clanowen agaynst the State. He was a dangerous man, and a greate practiser with forayne powers for the invasion of Ireland. This castell Sir Richard Bingham beseiged : after seven dayes seige wanne it, slew Mahon Obrian and the ward that was with hym, and rayseed the castell. From thence he marched to Castell Nacelly where the other rebells were. At the first he offered them mercie but they refused it. The seige was all by water in boates and could not be otherwise attempted, the castell beinge seated farre within the Lough upon a small compasse of ground. Sir Richard, goeing about to burne a boate or two of the rebells that lay cloase to the castell wall, was forced with sodayne rysinge of wind and fowle weather (which much favored the enimie) to leave the attempt with the losse of one of his boates and two or three of his soldiers. Hymselfe and others that were with hym in the same boate hardely escaped by the healpe of other boates, which came not in time to second hym as they were appoynted thorow the negligence of some whom he trusted. The boate which he soe loste the traytors gotte ; in which and another of their owne (before Sir Richard could returne to charge them with a new supplie) they shipped themselves, and with much hast escaped into the woods. As they went away Captayne Mordant and others had the chase of them by water. These rebells beinge thus escaped to the woods and mountaynes out of Castell Nakellay, theyr complices allsoe fledde out of the other castell, both which and another stronge pyle of Fardaraugh MacDonells Sir Richard rayseed downe to the ground, for they were helde not fitte or serviceable to be kept by the English and dangerous to be in the possession of the eivell affected Irish. Richard Burcke, *alias* the pale of Ireland, repayred to Sir Richard Bingham at his first cominge to Castell Nekalley (beinge by the Governor

The Burckes  
whoe began  
this new  
stirre.

p. 57.

The Castell  
Clanowen  
beseiged by  
Sir Rich.  
Bingham.

Sir Richard  
like to  
be drowned.

Sir Richard  
rayseth  
to the  
grownde two  
castells.



Richard  
Burcke  
executed by  
marciall law.

suspected to be a cheife confederat of the rebells). This man under the coverture of dutifull obedience intended, as Sir Richard had intelligence, to betray hym and his company. Therfor he was soone executed and hanged by marciall law; which beinge don without proffe or legal proceedinge moved much murmer and mislyke. After this the Governor tooke order for the followinge of those Burkes to the woods and mountaynes, which were now growen to be some fower score swords. He levied some forces on the contry, and with them and his owne company of a hundred soldiers he hunted them. These rebells were soone scatered, and shortly after protected in hope to procuere peace; but they were not soe pacified, for ymmediatly the Burckes rebell the second time, joyninge unto them the Clangybons, the Clandonells, and the Joyes, in farre greater number. And for the more manifestation of theyr malice and treacherous practises agaynst the State, they murdered certayne of the officers of Yer Conaught\* to the number of fifteen or sixteen.

p. 58.

The  
Bourckes  
rebell againe.

At the length they grew about sixe or seven hundred, and had allsoe sent Edmond Keragh Burcke and John Itcleaga† brother to Walter Kittagh Burke, to practise with the Islanders of the Scottish Irish, to draw them into Conaught for theyr ayde and succor. The Lord Deputie beinge advertised of these practises sendeth to Sir Richard Bingham directions to levie what forces he could for the present in that province, and to prosecut the rebells; promisinge to send hym shortly farther ayde, and to come hymselfe in person with more power, if neede required. Sir Richard thereupon, takinge order for assuringe the contrie behynde hym, marched towards the countie of Mayoe, the xij<sup>th</sup> of July 1586, with his owne garison forces beinge but few, and came to Ballincroba the xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of that moneth, where he spent sixe or seven dayes in parlinge with some of these Burkes (but to little purpose) and in gatheringe of more forces together. Hither came to hym the Erle of Clanricard and with hym thirty horsemen and a hundred kerne. Allso other gentlemen of the best affected in that contrie as the Lord Bremingham, Sir Hubert MacDavie knight, Teige Okelley, and others. There came in the supplie of forces under the command of Captayne Mordant, Captayne Meryman, and Captayne Mosteans companies (sent by the Lord Deputy) with others of light kerne to the number of

The Lord  
Deputies  
direction  
and promise  
to Sir Rich.  
Bingham.

\*Iar Connaught.

†An-Thleive, of the mountain.

seven or eight hundred. Yet the Archbuyshop of Thuane, the Erle of Clanricard, the Lord Bretingham, the Buyshop of Kyllmore, Thomas Dillon, Cheife Justice of the Province, and others, were employed to parle with the Burkes and to trie whither they might be brought to imbrace peace, but found them alltogether froward, and to stand upon unreasonable conditions; for they expected speedy ayde out of the Islandes. At length the Governor (when they could not be drawn to obedience) executed some of theyr pledges which they had formerly put in for the assurance of theyr loyaltie, and then he marched to the Abbey of Ballintubber. From thence he sent forces of footeman and kerne under the command of Captayne John Bingham to follow the rebels. The Erle of Clanricard with the horsemen kept the champaine and playne contrie, for the defence of those partes and for keepinge the enimie from escaping that way, whilst they were followed in theyr fastenes. Whoe thus prosecuted within the space of sixe or seven weekes submitted themselves agayne to the State: for in the space of three or fower weekes there was taken from them fower thowsand coves and heade of cattell, which tamed them, wherof a thowsand was reserved by Sir Richard towards the defrayinge of extraordinary charges.

The rest of Sir John Perrotts government is wantinge, and fitter to be supplied and sett forth by another then by myselfe.

## SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMES GOVERNMENT.

p. 59.

The [blank] day of June 1588 Sir John Perrott delivered the sword of Justice at Dublin unto Sir William fitzWilliames, knight, whoe had commission to succede hym as Lord Deputy of Ireland and had before served in that place of authoritie severall times as Deputy Lord Justice and Treasurer at Warres, a man full of yeres, and furnished with experience for that service. His experience made hym able to know, but his yeres did disable hym to execut that he knew, and to doe what was requisite in soe stirring a State. At his arivall, his commission (beforehand knowen) was shewed with instructions and directions from the Queene of England and hir counsell unto the late Lord Deputie, Sir John Perrott, to delivir unto his successor the knowledge of the present state of that kingdom, with such particuler advertisements therof as might be necessary to direct the future service

Sir William  
fitz Williams  
Lord Deputy  
of Ireland.

The Lord  
Deputie at  
first attendes  
the hearing  
of privat  
causes.

The title of  
the Offarolls  
landes in  
question.

The Lord  
Deputie  
labours that  
the Offarolls  
cause may  
be heard by  
hym.

p. 60.

The Lord  
Deputy  
makes a  
jorney into  
Ulster.

and affayers of that State ; which was don accordinge to the directions. The now Lord Deputie of Ireland findinge the contrie peaceable, and noe persons of qualitie or power bearinge armes agaynst the State, feared not the danger of any future commotions, which yet shortely after insued, and therfor he began to heare ordinary and particuler causes, and did labor rather to finde the faltes of privat persons than how to prevent generall insuinge perills, not foreseene and therefore not feared. He tooke in hand the contraversie betwixt the Offaralls of the countie of Longford, whoe were devided into two cheife septes or heades of that kindred and name, the one called Offarall Boy, the other Offarall Bane. A pattent was graunted to Offarall Boy in the time of Sir John Perrotts goverment, which was now questioned upon supposall that this pattent was repugnant to an indenture passed betwixt the Offarrolls when Sir Henry Sydney was Lord Deputie. Iriell Offarall the sonne of Offarall Boy (a man forward in service and well affected to the State), went into England to seake confirmation of this later graunt, or at the least to sue for hearinge of this cause before the counsell there, and not in Ireland ; doubtinge belyke the Lord Deputies indifferencie, whoe writtes over prayinge that Iriell Offerall might be sent thither to take his triall of this tittle before hym. About two monethes after this Lord Deputie came to the goverment of Ireland, the Spanish navie (sent for the invasion of England), beinge fought with by the Queenes flette, were forced to disperse, and driven with violence of winde and fowle weather into divers costes. Some of them were cast on shoare in the North of Ireland, as at Lough Foyle in Tirconell besyde others in Conaught and Munster where the shippes beinge tettered and the soldiers weake, newes was brought of this to the Lord Deputie. Upon the advertisement of the Spaniards eivell adventure and arivall there, he resolved to take a jorney into Ulster, either as willinge to punish theyr reteiners or to possesse hym selfe of such treasure and wealth as was reported to be found with them. Whithir either or both of these was the cause of his jorney is uncertayne, synce the intentions of men are best knowen to themselves, and to hym that searcheth the secretts of all mens heartes. Howsoever the Lord Deputie undertakes this jorney at an unseasonable time of the yere, in September, not to suppress rebells (for as yet there were none found) but (as he sayd) to incounter such



accidentes as the discent and veiw of such an enimie thoe distressed, and more dreaded before they came then dangerous when they were come, might move in the myndes of waveringe people.

In this Northern expedition, the Lord Deputie, not finding any force in the wrecked Spaniards, noe wealth with them, nor feare of insurrection in the people upon theyr approach, or such coyne as was conceived to be with them, that yet he might not seame to returne without shew of doeing some service, or spendinge the Queenes money in a fruiteles journey, he apprehendes Sir Owen Otoole, and Sir John Odaugharty, two knightes of Tyrconell in Odonells countrie, such as had byn formerly reputed good servitors unto the Queene and State. For good services they had byn both knighted, and one of them had a pencion. What offences were objected against them is not well knowen, but they were both brought to the castle of Dublin and there imprisoned one Christmas eve, for what cause the constable whoe had them in custody knew not as he signified the same by letter to the last Lord Deputy Sir John Perrott, being now a privey counsellor in England. The Erle of Tyrone, son in law to Sir Owen Otoole, petitioneth to the Queene and writteth by the Lady Otoole (goeing into England to be a suitor for hir husbands libertie) shewing that this knight had don hir Majestie good service, and for his faythfullnes to the State was hated of the people in those partes, soe that now he beinge only deteyned in durance (as it was alleaged) for arrerages of rentes claymed to be due on hym (for what sover he was first committed) he was now more unable to pay any duties by reason of his restraynt, and the people more unwilling to doe it for hym because they retayned an ill affection tawards hym for his former service sake. These reasons were alleaged by the Erle for Sir Owens inlargement, the committment of whom and of Sir John Odaughartie gave discontentment to some of the Northerne lords, and wrought noe good report of the governor, because they were neither convicted nor proffe produced to make them culpable of any notorious crime.

At this time variance begane to grow betwixt Sir Brian Orurcke lord of the contrie of Letrime in Conaught, and Sir Richard Bingham governor of that province. Orurcke, a man of uncivill education, and of a proude spirite, clayminge his discent from the princes of Conaught and trustinge overmuch to the fastnes and

The Lord Deputie findes noe force or wealth with the wrecked Spaniards.

Sir Owen Otoole and Sir John Odaugharty brought prisoners to Dublin.

p. 61.

The Erle of Tyrone a suitor to the Queene for Sir Owen Otoole.

Variance betwixt Sir Richard Bingham and Sir Brian Orurcke.

Sir Brian Orurcke writtes to Sir John Perrott and complaynes on Sir Richard Bingham's hard usage.

p. 62.

Sir John Perrott acquaintes the Queene with Orurckes complaynt.

The Queene comandes letters to be written unto the Lord Deputy and Sir Richard for the good usage of Conaught men.

strength of his contrie, had sealdom come in to any Lord Deputie before the last, to whom he submitted hym selfe, and thought it much to be more strictly commanded by the present governor then he had byn by his predecessors. On the other side Sir Richard Bingham (being of great corage and good conduct) helde it strange and scarce sufferable that he or any subject should stand upon termes with the governor under the prince. Soe from jealousies and dislykes, they grow to differences. Orurcke in January 1588 wrate a letter unto Sir John Perrott (late Lord Deputie of Ireland) complay[n]ginge of Sir Richard Bingham's hard usage, and seaminge allsoe to stand in doubt of the now Lord Deputies indifferencie. Which letter Sir John Perrott redd to the Queene (the Lord Treasurer and secretary Walsingham beinge present). Hir Majestie thereupon commanded that one letter should be written unto the Lord Deputie, and an other unto Sir Richard Bingham, to use both Orurcke and the rest of the gentlemen in Conaught temperately; whereby they might have noe juste cause of discontentment. These letters were sent by the Lord of Donkellan sonne to the Erle of Clanrickard, whose sister Orurcke had married, and he sent therewith in Aprill 1589. Noe sooner was the Lord of Donkelleyn dispatched with these letters but the Queene (carefull for the quiet of that contrie) commanded Sir John Perrott to send for hym backe (beinge gon on his jorney tawards Chester for Ireland), whoe returninge to the Court, after some small stay, and farther instructions geiven, tendinge to the pacification of the troubles begynninge to grow in that contrie, he was sent away and with all the Queene presently after commanded Sir John Perrott to writte a perticuler letter in his owne name unto Orurcke by way of advise; wishinge hym to carie hymselfe obediently to his prince, and dutifully to hir governors, with promise, if he would doe soe, he should be protected from injuries. [The buyshops of Meath and Kylmore, Sir Robert Dyllon, Sir Nicholas White, and Sir Thomas Le Strange were sent into Conought as commissioners to treat with the Burckes for pacification, whoe did conclude on some conditions that were not longe observed by the Burckes. Some of these commissioners complayne on Sir Richard Bingham that as they labored for pacification, soe did he to hinder the peace by raysinge forces and a pursuing th Burkes too egerly in the time of treatie, hanginge some, an

takinge away the landes of others without any legall course, by provinciall orders only.]\* This letter soe written (as the Queene appoynted) Sir John Perrott first shewed to Sir Frauncis Walsingham and the Lord Treasurer ; then he sent it to Orurcke by one Garland a messenger and servant of his owne. When it was delivered Orurcke was at an howse of his owne called Lough Skyer within a standing water or peece of a little Island with a garde of 2 or 300 kerne abouts hym. At the readinge of it, Orurcke tolde Garland he wished that letter had come two moneths sooner ; complayned on Sir Richard Bingham, that he would have surprised hym before he had don anythinge agaynst the Queene or State ; “ but ” quoth he, “ had I byn assured I should not have byn wronged, I would never have taken armes for my defence. And I mervell,” sayd he, “ that Sir John Perrott thy master (whom we all helde to be a good Justicer (when he was here) should writte unto me, to submitte my selfe and come in when I have lately receved word from some of my frendes in Dubline, that if I come thither, I shall never goe thence, for the Lord Deputie hath determined to put me in prison.” This he speake, meaninge (as it should seame) Sir Robert Dillon (Cheife Justice of the Comon Pleas) whoe afterwards was accused by the lords of Delvie and Hoath, and by one Mr. Nugent (amongst others crimes where with they charged hym) that he tolde one Carbery Otroer† a servant of Orurckes (whoe was prisoner in the castell of Dubline) if his master came thither he should never be suffered to returne into his contrie ; which intimation made Orurcke refuse to come unto the State, when once he was redie (before he receivid this word) to ryde tawards Dubline, upon promise of his safe passage, for which purpose Sir Thomas Le Strange and others were appoynted to meete hym at Roscommen, but when once he received this wacheword that he should upon apperance be staid and imprisoned, it was inough to make a man of more staidnes and moderate cariage in that contrie then Orurck to stand upon his garde, which then he began to gather and beinge sent for agayne, first he makes delays and afterwards denials. Soe forces were provided to fech hym in, but he to make the more resistance, combines with the MacWilliams beinge septes of the degenerat Burckes and others of that

p. 63.

Sir Robert  
Dillon  
accused.Orurcke  
beginnes to  
stirre in  
Conaught.

\* This paragraph within brackets is entered in the margin in the original.

† Charles Trevor.



Sir Richard  
Bingham  
promised  
ayde.

Captayne  
George  
Bingham  
incounters  
with  
Orurckes  
sonne.

p. 64.

Liftenant  
Pluncket  
slayne and  
the soldiers  
driven to  
retier.

Sir Richard  
Bingham  
rayseth  
forces.

The Burkes  
beinge  
mastered  
put in  
pledges.

strayne and condition. Here began a combustion to be bredde first in Conaught; for prevention or subversion wherof Sir Richard Bingham sendes for forces to the State, and is promised by the Lord Deputie and counsell an ayde of a 1000 men, which when they came and were mustered at Rowing 20 myles from Cattonay were found to be short of the number promised (they should have byn 700 of the garison soldiers, 300 out of the North besydes 300 kerne), but thoe the numbers wanted, yet Sir Richard Bi[n]gham marched with such companies and collers as he had sent hym in ayde joyned with the provinciall power. On the x<sup>th</sup> of March 1589 Orurckes eldest sonne with a hundred horsemen shotte and kerne, and fower hundred galloglasses of the M<sup>c</sup> Swines come from Odonells contrie prayinge and spoylinge of the countie of Sligoe, were incountred by Sir\* George Bingham, whoe had fiftie three soldiers of Captayne Hugh Mostyon and Plunckets companies, and a few horsemen of his owne with some kerne of the contrie. In this conflicte Pluncketts liftenant with thirtie soldiers were slayne, and in the ende by the multitude of the enemie, and partely by the contrie kernes cowardlines or perfidiousnes (whoe ranne away), the rest were forced to retier to Captayne George Bingham's howse at Ballymoate. There were allsoe many of the enemies slayne and hurt of whom there were three of Orurckes best followers sonnes. Where upon all the forces were appoynted to enter into his contrie on Wensday followinge. In the succeeding services Sir Richard Bingham had soe good successe both in Orurckes contrie, in Tyrawley and other partes, as he forced the best of the MacWilliames and all the best septes of the Clandonylls beinge galloglasses (and the strength wherto they most trusted), to deliver in severall pledges for theyr loyalties, with farther condition to satisfie all the hurtes and spoyles by them don to the Queenes subjectes, synce the first peace made by the Lord Deputie and commissioners sent thither for that purpose, and to pay all the charge of the new erected forces levied by Sir Richard Bingham after theyr revolt, for payment of which it was agreed that all the pledges delivered should remayne in durance untill they had satisfied the same. Soe the revolte in Conaught seamed to be well suppressed for this time.

In Ulster there was yet little insurrection, and the North was

\* So in original.

quiet; save only that Brian MacHugh Oges men of Dartrie (accordinge to theyr accustomed manner) did dayly robbe and spoyle the neighbours. Tirlough Linough cheife in Ulster complayned agaynst the Erle of Tyrone, for denyinge his rent due and reserved unto hym upon the dimision of the landes made betwixt them boath. Tirlough (predecessor to Tyrone) was now growen aged, and unweldie; not able to rule his owne people, and the Erle of Tyrone by Turloughs decay tooke occasion to rayse hymselfe and to aspie higher, wherof Tyrlough complaynes and of some outrages don by the Erle to hym and his people he makes petitions to the Queene; prayes that he may have satisfaction of what was due unto hym; desiens the restitution of his landes (synce he was soe ill payed and used by the Erle) which at the request of the Lord Deputy and counsell he had sette unto the Erle for fower yeres; he craves a graunt to hym and his heyres of the landes from Mellagh Agorie\* to the river of Fynne which he alleageth were his fathers and his patri- monie; and that it might please hir Majestie to let hym have that parte of the fishinge of the Banne and Logh Foyle which he sayd his predecessors had. Tirlough Lenough and some others makinge complayntes agaynst the Erle of Tyrone, he to purge hymselfe, and to procuer the establishment of some thinges that he sought from the Queene, sodaynly comes over into England (as it is sayd without liscence from the Lord Deputie) which beinge informed agaynst hym, with some other alleaged offences, at the first he received noe greate grace from the Queene or hir counsell, but at the lengthe with insinuations used to some that were greatest, which he could well doe, he regaynes favor, for whilst the Erle of Leicester lived, he called hym selfe his soldier and sworn man; now he adresseth hym selfe to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chauncellor, and the Lord Treasurer, on whom he professeth to depende most by creepinge into theyr favors and protesting his loyaltie, all soe submitinge hym selfe to such conditions of sufferinge the Queenes officers to be in his contrie, puttinge in of pledges for observing the peace against Tyrlough Lenough and others, sufferinge a force to be kept at Blackwater, with other lyke cautions (such as the State then required) wherto he seamed willingly to condescend, and would in deede have done any thinge. Whilst he was here in handlinge, he gayned

Some small stirre begunne in Ulster.

Tirlough Lenoughs complaynt agaynst the Erle of Tyrone.

p. 65.

Tirlough Lenoughs petitions.

The Erle of Tirone goes into England.

The Erle of Tirone insinuates with greate men at Court.

\* Malligore.

p. 66.

lisence to depart into his contrie, and partely regayned the good opinion, which he beganne to loase, of the State. [Supplies of soldiers for Ireland were sent out of Shropshier, Derby and Stafford. The companies which came thence were bestowed by the Lord Deputy on his sonne John FitzWilliams, his son in law Sir Richard Dier, Sir George Delves and Captayne Woodhowse. The first service theise new erected companys were in, a little after Whitsontide, they drew head tawards the Newry to meete Tirlough Lenaugh makinge complaynt agaynst the Erle of Tyrone; they both were appoynted to meet the Lord Deputie at Dondalke but Tirlough Lenough wrate to the Lord Deputie that he durst not come thither without some saffe conduct of the Queens soldiers for feare of the Erle of Tyrones intercepting hym. Therfor the Marshall Sir Henry Bagnalls company with theise other went tawards Strabane to convoy hym, and soe he passed saffe to Dondalke, whither the Erle of Tyrone came two dayes after hym to the Lord Deputy, excusinge hymselfe and vowinge he ment not hurt to Tirlough. When three dayes were spent in hearinge theyr debates and differences they both gevinge theyr handes and oathes to observe the Queenes peace without any pledges taken for performance, were lised to depart; a great oversight (as thinges then stode) to take noe better security for the contries quiet, considering to what height of ambition the Erle began to grow and how much Tirlough decayed in yeres, estate and power, but the Erles skyll was such that he strave as much to put suspition from hym selfe as he did to be sole commander of Ulster.]\* As he was redie to take his jorney to Ireland, Con Oneale sonne of Shane Oneale, sometimes cheife lord in Ulster, and elder brother to the Erle of Tyrones father, comes into England, preferres a petition to the Queene agaynst the Erle, annexeth therto divers articles and craves that the Erle might not be permitted to departe out of England, tyll proffe or triall were made in Ireland of the offences objected agaynst hym, beinge many in n[u]mber and heynous. The reasons he desired the retayninge of the Erle soe longe in England (as he alleaged) were because the Erle was† soe powerfull in Ireland that whilst he continewed in his contrie noe man durst come to make proffe of any thinge agaynst hym;

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\* The portion in brackets entered in margin in the original.

† Struck out in original, and a word somewhat like "were" written over it.



besydes this, some of those thinges objected (as he sayd) could not well receive triall in Ireland. The crimes where with he c[h]arged the Erle of Tyrone were theise.

1. First that the Erle did worke all the meanes he might, to make hymselfe greate in Ulster, as appered by his policies in marynge Odonells daughter, and in gevinge his owne daughter to wiffe unto Odonells sonne, called Hugh Roe Odonell, whoe was then a prisoner synce he was lefte by Sir John Perrott in the castell of Dublin, and in bestowinge an other of his daughters on Magwyre, his owne cossen germaine. He had delivered his sonne to be fostered unto Sauerlyboy, and urged Ochan to foster unto hym, beinge the greatest poynt of frendship emongst the Irish.

2. That the Erle sent a band of soldiers to Agnes Mac Conell into Scotland to ayde hym agaynst such as he contended withall in that contrie, with condition that Agnes should send hym the lyke ayde, upon all occasions of a warre in Ireland, contrary to the dutie of a subject.

3. That the Erle did apprehend one Fardaraugh Oneale, now called Moris Magraigh a principall traytor of the conspiracie in the Lord Graies time, and enlarged hym without any authority or direction from the Lord Deputy.

4. That he did incorage Alexander MacSauerly in his late rebellion, and dissuaded hym from cominge to the Lord Deputy when Sir Edward Moore was sent into the North as a commissioner for appeasinge of these causes.

5. That the Erle did lay downe a plotte and practised the escape of Hugh Roe Odonell out of hir Majesties castell of Dublin, and for that purpose furnished hym with some stoare of sarsenett in that place where he ment to escape and sent horses to receive and carie hym away thence.

6. The Erle did favor and advance the goeing of the Scottish Irish into the province of Canaught, when they were overthrowen by hir Majesties armie.

7. The Erle kept Don Antonio Mancicio, a noble man of Spayne, in his howse, and afterwards saffely conducted hym out of the kingdom. The muncke specified in the letters of this Don Anthonio Mancicio of thanckes unto the Erle, was in the Erles howse or in his contrie, at the time of the Lord Deputies cominge into the North. Which letters together with the

p. 67.

messinger Hugh Oneale (lately murdered by the Erle) delivered unto the Lord Deputy.

8. The Erle in anno 1539 did cesse Orryer Ohanlans contrie within the countie of Ardmagh (graunted to Ohanlan by letters pattentes for rentes services and certayne limited reservations) with bonaught, for money and victuells to the valew of two hundred pounds.

9. The Erle did send Shane MacDonell Grome Odonellay and Galiduffe MacSauerley Odonell, his owne servantes, without authority in May last before these articles exhibited to cesse one Agheny Bane, with a band of fittie soldiers whoe tooke of the poore people of Orrier fittie pound in money, besydes other extortions of victuells, what they liste.

10. The Erle did not permitte any sheriffe to exercise the office of a sheriffe in Tyrone, and did persuade all his neighbours there aboutes not to permitte them ; because he would not have the lawes to be executed in those partes but appoynted a kerne of his owne called Cahill Oquynne to be in the place of sheriffe for Tyrone, whoe did use all disorders by ex[e]cutinge of such as pleased the Erle.

11. The Erle did ayde Brian MacHugh Oge, a knowen traytor agaynst hir Majestie, usurpinge to hymselfe the name and tytyle of MacMahon thorow the Erles meanes, whoe sent hym two hundred shotte and two hundred kerne of galloglosse to assiste hym in that action, whereby it might appere he would have the nominatinge of captaynes of contries, as he appoynted by his owne authority the sheriffe of Tyrone.

p. 68. 12. The Erle of meare malice did hange with his owne handes and partely upon his owne backe, one Patricke Ohanlon without any kinde of authority, or for any other reason but that this Patricke slew a notable malefactor called Donell Mac Phelime Modera, a common disturber of the English Pale, and a frende of the Erles.

13. The Erle not contented with the hanginge of Edmond Oneale, brother to this complaynant, had lately hanged an other brother of his, called Hugh Canelagh Oneale, with his owne handes because this Hugh offered to prove high treason agaynst hym.

By all which articles Con Oneale did inforce the weely and wicked practises of the Erle of Tyrone, in tyme to come to shutte

at a grater tyle and thinge then Tyrone was. Therfor he prayed in his petition unto the Queene that these articles should be sent unto the Lord Deputy and counsell of Ireland to the ende that witnesses might be produced there for proffe of these allegations, before the complaynant, or the Erle, should be suffered to depart from Court into Ireland, and that upon the returne of such proffe justice might be accordingly administred. The reason he added, for if the Erle were permitted to passe without triall in England upon proffe made in Ireland, his frendes were there soe many and his forces soe greate that none durst averre any matter agaynst hym in that contrie whilst he were there.

Conn Oneale petitions that his accusations might be examined in Ireland.

To these articles the Erle of Tyrone makes particuler answer ; some he denieth, others he excuseth and evadeth with subtile reasons.

The Erle of Tyrones answers.

Con Oneale replies to his answers and settes downe objections, that some of these offences were made treason and some felonie by the statutes of that lande ; he still calles for triall and examination therof in Ireland. The Erle rejoynes, and besydes his protestation of innocency alledgeth the mortall hatred that Shane Oneales sonnes barre to hym and his, which he affirmes to be the cause of Con Oneales complaynt agaynst hym, because he had kept that howse from aspiringe to the usurped tyle of Oneale.

p. 69.

The Queene and hir counsell thorow the persuation of Tyrones power and protestation of his innocencie (whoe still vowed his greate desier to doe service unto the State, and to keepe that contrie in quiet) were induced to passe over this accusation, and to accept of his submission, offered in the humblest manner ; not refusinge anythinge that was required at his handes. At the length they let hym depart, with directions that he should put in pledges unto the Lord Deputy, when he came into Ireland, for performance of those conditions, wherto he had condescended. And at his departure the more to make this state secuer of his good intentions, that he ment to leive civilie and honorable accordinge to the English manner, he bought riche furniture for his howse, of beddinge, arras, carpettes and the lyke, wherof he would not have the State here to be ignorant, in soemuch that the Lord Burley, Lord Treasurer of England, sayd he was glade to see such furniture goe into Ulster as a good hope conceived

The Erle of Tirone freed from his accusation.

The Erle of Tirone brings riche furniture of howsehold in Ireland.



that the Erle would reduce this contrie unto civilitie. But how farre he was from that intention, his future actions did shew.

The Erle  
transportes  
leade into  
Ireland.

Besydes he procured lisenche to transport lead under culler therewith to cover his castell of Donganon, which afterwards was turned to a worse use of shotte and bulletes to annoy the State, but whither it were soe at first by hym purposed, hymselfe and such as were prively to his secret counsellis knew best ; we only may judge by the eventes.

p. 70.

Contention  
for the  
tytle and  
seigniery of  
MacMahon.

Abouts this time there fell out two accidentes, wherof the one breedd much distaste emongst the people, the other danger to that State. The first was upon the death of MacMahon, lord of Monahon, after whose decease two of his name and kyndred strave for the command of that contrie. The one of them, called Hugh Roe MacMahon, made meanes to the Lord Deputy to be MacMahon and to be established accor[d]inge to an intayle passed by pattent in Sir John Perrotts goverment and some agreement there was upon promises past, as the report went, that he should be admitted therto, but he either faylinge to performe what had byn promised, and such as were his competitors apprehendinge the advantage of time, made hym less surer of it then of his distruction. Yet the first man was not alltogether denied, but conceived hope that he should obteyne what he desired untill the Lord Deputie determyned to goe into that contrie, with shew only to determyne the contraversie and to decyde it with indifference, whoe made a jorney into Monahon with five or six hundred men, but when he came thither, Hugh Roe MacMahon, insteede of beinge put in possession, was araigned, convicted and executed, not without complaynt of much parcialitie shewed (howsoever it was handeled or what soever he deserved) in soemuch that the people of those Northerne partes, whose mouthes are apt to speake as well slaunders as truthes (especially the frendes of hym that was put to death) did not sticke to speake it commonly, that he was soe dealt withall, because he was not as good as his word, and that he was out bid in that bargayne. Soe it grew emongst them of those partes to a byword ; when they wished any man to be hanged they would say : " God send the MacMahons lordship." Thus runne the report at that time ; how truly or undeservedly the manifester of truth can tell. But suer it is the opinion of this hard measure conceived bred noe good blood in that nation.

The  
execution  
of hym  
that  
claymed to  
be  
MacMahon.

The peoples  
opinion of  
MacMahons  
execution.

One thing which increased the suspicion of partialitie in this case, was that the Lord Deputy before his departure into the North did not declare how Hugh Roe MacMahon should be dealt withall, for he rode with the Lord Deputy openly without any guard on hym, and a gentleman havinge solde two horses unto MacMahon for 10<sup>l</sup> price made petition unto the Lord Deputy that he might be payed for those horses, the Lord Deputy made answer on the petition yet to be scene (even at his departure Northward) that he should be payed when MacMahon were put in poss[ess]ion of his landes ; whereby he gave hopes that he should have that contrie and would not have the contrary made knowen, neither was he committed tyll he came to Monahon. When MacMahon was executed and his head cutte of, the people accordinge to theyr barbarous manner tooke up his blood shedde on the ground in theyr hattes handcerchiffes and mantells. The journey to Monahon beinge ended, the fower companies sent out of England and conferred on the Lord Deputies neerest frendes, were caste by the command of the Queenes letters as helde an unnecessary charge to be continewed.

After the conviction of Hugh Roe MacMahon, the Lord Deputy made composition for division of the contrie and reservation of some rente unto the Crowne, which he conceived would be a speciall service unto the State ; and soe sette it forthe at the full ; as that within three or fower yeres after the settlement of those devided estates into freeholde, when the people should finde the benefitte of goverment and lawes, and be kept from other mens tyrannies, a band of a hundred men usually kept there might be cut of beinge a charge of (as he sayd) betweene fortyn and fifyten hundred pound sterlinge by the yere. He lykewise supposed that by this division of Monahon the Erle of Tyrone and Tyrlough Lenoughs forces and pride would be much abated and weakned, not only in that they should loose much spendinges and spoyles which they had usually made in that contrie of Monahon but by myssinge the forces of those devided people to follow them in all theyr mischeifes. And farther he conceived the state of Conaught both in the payment of hir Majesties rentes there lately rayseed would be much more assured, and the rebells of that province (thorough want of theyr ayde and succor of men) would be daunted, it borderinge neare to Orurckes contrie.

p. 71.

The cause of  
suspicion  
that man  
was not  
well delte  
withall.

A division  
of  
MacMahons  
contrie.

p. 72.

The Lord  
Deputies  
opinion, of  
the division  
of  
MacMahons  
contrie.

This relation the Lord Deputie made to a greate counsellor of state in England, of the hopes he conceipted, by the composition to be made for the devisiion of Monahons\* contry with this addition ; that if the action for MacMahons contrie might goe forwards (for yet it was not don) hir Majestie should leave behynde hir such a blessinge to Ireland, and a record of hir immortall fame, as none of hir noble progenitors did ever a greater (for these were his wordes in his letter yet to be seene) ; and he tells by this, how farre hir Majestie would stretch out hir arme and settle hir lawes with civill goverment into the hearte and deepe bowells of that most rude, savage, proude, and rebellious Ulster, as he termed it. This beinge the first service don, and yet not acted but begune, was thus informed. And surely had the ground of it byn good and the prosecution answerable, it might have byn a good steppe to farther the settlement of the Northe which had lately much yelded itselfe to subjection, but of itselfe this service could not worke such royall effectes, by the reducinge of one contrie (had it byn reduced unto civilitie) to reforme the rest.

When MacMahon was executed three others of that name were competitors for the commandery of that contrie, but they were for the time deferred, and yet not put out of hope. It was thought this was don to draw on a more liberall contribution with more proffit unto them thorow whose handes the graunts must passe in the ende. A particion was made wherof Sir Henry Bagnall had parte and Captayne Fowles an other proportion the rest etc.

Pledges  
escaped out  
of the  
castell of  
Dubline,

An other matter there fell out which did shortly after much animate the Ulster revoltors to enter into rebellion, for Hugh Roe Odonell with others whoe had byn lefte in the castell of Dubline as pledges by Sir John Perrott, in the time of his goverment, escaped thence, not without stronge suspiciion of corruption and sufferance, for the under cunstable was offered a greate reward to let them goe. Which when he related to the Lord Deputy and besought hym to have a stronger guard for theyr saffe keepinge, he was reprehended and tolde if he were so fearefull another more resolut should have the place ; soe shortly was he displaced, an other put in his roome and within few weekes after the prisoners gotte out thorow a howse of office, which

The  
constable of  
Dubline,

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\* So in original.



was sweepte and made cleane before hande as though there had byn as greate care had of theyr sweete as of theyr saffe escape. castell displaced.

The escape of these pledges gave greate cause of future comotion in that contrie. When the Erle of Tyrone was r[e]turned into Ireland, he made submission unto the State before the Lord Deputy and counsell of Ireland as he had don in England, but when he should put in pledges for performance of what he had promised to the Queene and hir counsell, then he maketh excuse ; writteth into England ; alleageth that when he was there he wanted counsell to advise hym what he should doe ; desireth he might be urged to noe other conditions of observinge the peace then Tirlough Lenough should be required to doe ; where indeede the assurance which was demanded, and he assented to in England, was not only for observinge the peace agaynst Tyr-lough Lenough but for his fedelitie to the State and for the confirmation of other conditions wherto he then yelded consent, the deniall or deferringe wherof upon such slight occasions might well have argued his inconstancie if not unsoundnes and unfaythfullnes ; but of this at that time there was not much notice taken, or else the counsellors of estate in wisdom would not at that tycklish season seame to see that they did discerne. p. 73. The Erle of Tirone puttes not in his pledges. The Erles shiftinge of the putting in pledges an evidence of his unfaythfullnes.

That which did the more move the Erle of Tyrone to fall from his former promises was the private contention which shortly grew betwixt hym and Sir Henry Bagnall (now become Marshall of Ireland) arysinge out of two occasions. The one was that the Erle married the Marshalls sister without his consent and tooke hir away agaynst hir brothers will from Sir Patricke Barnewell his brother in lawes house, usinge therein the ayde of his familiar frende Captayne William Warren ; to which mariage the Marshall would by noe meanes assent, nor was willinge to pay hir portion after she was married, alleaginge the Erle had an other wiffe levinge and therefore his sister could not be his lawfull wiffe. The occasions of contentions betwixt the Erle and Sir Henry Bagnall. The Marshall denieth consent to his sisters mariage.

[In April 1592 the two sones of Shane Oneale, called Henry and Art Oneale, Hugh Roe Odonell, Phillip Orelly and fower other principell persons whoe had byn left by Sir John Perrott prisoners in the castell of Dublin escaped thence.]\* p. 74.

Soe this mariage which the Erle intended to increase amitie betwixt them (perchance with purpose to increase his growinge

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\* Interpolated.

greatenes in the North with lesse opposition) bredde much striffe, and in the ende became fatall unto them both.

An other cause of theyr contentions.

An other cause that did much multiplie theyr dissentions was that Sir Henry Bagnall, made Marshall of Ireland after his fathers death, had allsoe procured a pattente to be cheife commander of Ulster, at which the Erle of Tyrone did repyne much, and wrate letters into England playnely protestinge, that synce the Marshall was become his enemie and had sought (as he heard) to incense the Queene agaynst hym, he could not nor would induer that a man soe much his adversary should have command over hym. Here began from private passion much opposition to arise which in the ende not only turned to theyr harmes, but to the annoyance of the State and contrie.

The Erle refuseth to be commanded by the Marshall.

The Erle complaines on Phelime MacTurlough.

The Erle complaines lykewise on Phelime MacTurlough that he had lately burned and spoyled on some of his horsemens goods, to the valew of three hundred poundes (as he affirmed), and craves that some speedy course might be taken for remedie, before thinges grew to be worse. Here began bytter accusations of the Erle agaynst Sir Henry Bagnall and Tyrlough Lenaugh. They agayne charge hym with the lyke or greater crimes soe that much discontent and distemper begane to grow in the North, but still the Erle was willinge to keepe hymselfe in good opinion with the State of England, whatsoever his intentions were either as beinge not yet willinge, or else not able to take armes. Therfor he writtes often; accuseth and excuseth much; laboreth to grow greate; knowes with whom he deales; and takes the advantage of times, as much as a man unlearned could possibly doe by naturall witte not ayded by arte, but directed by experience and conducted by conninge.

The Erle writtes often into England, excuseth hymselfe and accuseth his adversaries.

p. 75.

Whilst Ulster grew this to be distempered, the heades out of order, and therfor the members could not be well governed, Sir Henry Bagnall had gotten authoritie from the State (if he had power) to governe, Tyrone rysinge and Tyrlough Linough declininge, the people apt to follow hym that was most able, and in theyr sight most powerfull to command, complayntes were sent still on all sides to the Lord Deputy and counsell. Therfor the Lord Deputy resolves to make a jorney into Ulster, sendes to Tyrlough Lenaugh and the Erle of Tyrone to meete hym at Dondalke in July 1592. Thither they come and whilst the Lord Deputy with some of the counsell were sittinge to heare

and arbitrate theyr differences, newes comes of outrages committed by Con Oneale (reputed sonne to the Erle of Tyrone) on the Barony of Trough (parte of MacMahons landes) where, it was sayd, Con with his companie had made incursion. This sodayne report frighted the Baron of Slane with the Justices and other commissioners sitting at Sessions, whoe with feare were forced to forsake the service. Of this when the Lord Deputy had informed the Erle of Tyrone and that he had certified the counsell of England therof, the Erle to prevent the eivell opinion which might be conceived of hym in England (by his sones soe rash enterprise whither with or without his consent attempted) writtes of it at large to some of the counsell in England, settes downe that it was don rather by accident then of sette purpose; makes a large answer; extenuatès his sonnes offence; besecheth his adversaries complayntes may not be beleived before they be heard and examined. He protesteth loyaltie and obedience; complayneth on Tyrlough Lenough (a man very aged and little able to doe hym harme); shewes how he had brought Odonell to the Lord Deputy, and promiseth to persuade hym to fidelity, a matter easie for hym to doe, had his will byn answerable to his power, or else to serve agaynst hym, (a thinge very unlikely) Odonell beinge his son in law, that ever he would serve agaynst one soe neare his owne flesh and blood.

The Erles conninge promises to perswade Odonell to fidelitie, or to serve agaynst hym.

And to persuade the more that he ment but playnely, he signifieth the greate greife and sorow of his wiffe (whome he calles the poore gentlewoman) that she could not procuer the continuance of hir brother Sir Henry Bagnalls love, to whom he seames desirous that both he and she might be reconciled. Whither these thinges were faythfully or faynedly proposed his owne hearte knew best, but his future courses were such as might justely make the world beleive, he that concluded soe eivell ment not well from the begynninge. Yet after the mariage of this lady (for a time) either to geive hir contente, or to persuade the State of his conformitie, he did sumwhat reform his howse-holde accordinge to the English maner, appoynted officers Englishlyke, had cookes, hys meate well dressed and decently served, but this good order continewed not long, nor his wiffes dayes lasted but a shorte time in such sort as had they byn longer they had byn more miserable, for when she perceived he ranne courses contrary to the dutie of a subject, she consumed with

p. 76.  
The Erles shew of desier to be reconciled to Sir Henry Bagnall.

The Earl after his marige reformes his howse.



sorow, soe greife and repentance hastened to provide hir a sepulcher. Upon the advertisementes sent by the Erle into England of his answers to the objections made agaynst hym at Dondalke with complaynt therto adjoynd that his answers were not as well sent over as the accusations (wherein he helde hymselfe wronged), the counsell of England writte backe both to the Lord Deputy and counsell in generall and to the Erle hymself in particuler that they were well satisfied with his answers, and conceived he had well acquitted hymselfe of those things wherof he was accused, withall taxinge it (as an error if not a farther falte) that the Erles answers, as well as his accusers objections, had not byn sent together. Soe willinge was the State of England to yelde the Erle of Tyrone right and contentement in any thing wherein they might but finde hope of his good meaninge.

The counsell  
of England  
satisfied  
with the  
Erles  
answers.

p. 77. Whilst these private contentions continewed betwixt these publicke persons, they were not soe well wayed as to be reckned the contries cause, which afterwards they proved by dangerous consequences.

p. 75. [The lowse people and followers of Shane MacBrian, aboutes Belfast, Neale MacBrian Artaugh of Castelreugh and some times Neale MacHugh, with Neale MacMortaugh of the Brayd, beinge men of light conditon, played fast and lowse, sometimes in, sometimes out; they would by stealthes take prayes, but beinge not growen to any greate head, they were easily beaten backe by the half companies of Sir Henry Bagnall and Sir Henry Walop which joyned with Captayne Bethells company drawn from Ardee to Carigfergus and lodged at Castelreugh, they tooke and helde it from Neale Brian Artaugh and drave these wod kernes into the Differine Kylultaugh and Kylwarlen. These men not able to doe much hurt were little heeded yet were they sette out by greater ones then themselves.]\*

p. 77. Hitherto the course of contentions betwixt the Erle of Tyrone, Tyrlough Lenough and Sir Henry Bagnall (the Erle opposinge agaynst them both), thoe it were growen greate to high termes betwixt the Erle and Sir Henry and sometimes to incursions and depredations betwixt Tyrlough Lenough and hym, yet the Erle would not beare armes agaynst either, but whatsoever he did

Contentions  
growen but  
not to  
armes in  
Ulster.

\*This passage, entered in the margin of p. 75 has been placed here as the most suitable position.

or desired to doe still he answered it upon any accusation with a cullerable defence. Soe that as yet noe open hostillitie was offered whereby the State might have cause to maynteyne much force and all that whiles private quarells were not much eied or regarded. Thus Ulster, neither knitte or conjoynd as a firme member to the body of that State (as lately it began or at the least seamed to be) nor yet visibly disjoynted but distempered, gave cause to the other partes and worst affected persons to that kingdom to stand only at a gase, and to beholde what the sequell of these contentions kindled in the North should come unto, that they might therafter frame themselves to obedience if there were peace or to insurrection (wherunto they were most inclined) if the commocion of Ulster might geive countenance and ayde to theyr stirringes. Sodaynly an occasion ariseth (yet fore thought on by the actors and abettors) to kindle the fier of commotion in Ulster, for in Farmanagh, Maguyers contrie, which emongst other partes of the North Sir John Perrott the last Lord Deputy of Ireland had reduced to a countie, the present Lord Deputy had placed one Captayne Willies to be sheriffe of that shire, whoe (accordinge to the bade custome of our English servitors and others of the natives made sheriffes in Ireland) began to cesse the contrie with horseboyes and others his followers in a greater number and measure, consideringe the habillity and condition of that people, then was requisite or sufferable by eivell affected subjectes, in such sorte, that MacMahon, whoe was otherwise of his owne disposition and by others persuasions made more averse to intertayne a sheriffe or any English officer, tooke occasion by this disorder and conceived oppression to resiste the sheriffe and to thrust his people out of the contry.

Soe was the sheriffe sette upon, his people wounded, hymselfe hardely escapinge with lyfe. Of this when complaynt was made to the Lord Deputy and counsell, they tooke it as an heynous offence, and a greate indignitie offered unto the State, for how soever the sheriffe had miscaried hymselfe in his office, yet they held that Magwyer and his followers were not authorised to punish the offenders without complaynt first made to the State, and right of the wronges craved from the princes magistrates. Therfor they conceived this president to be dangerous, and the sufferinge of it without punishment to be most perillous. Soe was Magwyr sent for by the Lord Deputy to answer this

Ulster  
neither  
knitte nor  
disjoynted.

Stirres  
begynne in  
Farmanagh  
by Magwier.

p. 78.

The sheriffe  
sette uppon  
by Magwier.

Magwier  
sent for,  
but  
refuseth to  
come unto  
the State.

The  
Marshall  
Sir Henry  
Bagnall  
sent agaynst  
Magwier.

matter before hym and the counsell, whoe doubtinge his owne danger, or else animated by others to stand out (wherof the Erle of Tyrone was suspected to be the cheifest persuader), he refuseth to come in and to account for this action, puttinge of \* his appearance with excuses. This contempt dumbled his offence, and therefore the Lord Deputy and counsell concluded to levie forces for his submission or suppression. Soe was the Marshall of Ireland, Sir Henry Bagnall, accompanied with the Erle of Tyrone (betwixt whom there was little love), sent with such power as for the present could be rayseed to enter into Magwyers contrie and to bringe hym to obedience or else (if they coulde) to confusion. The Erle seamed willinge in this service to associat the Marshall (thoe otherwise there were greate difference betweene them), and to persuade the State of his faythfullnes shewed hymselfe soe forward in service that at the incounter at Tarmond Magrafe he received a hurt in his legge.

Magwyr had abouts 1200 and the Marshall betwixt 900 and a thowsand men, Magwyr mad small resistance but after a small skirmish fell of \* and his men fled into the woods.

p. 79.  
The Erle of  
Tirone  
serves  
agaynst  
Magwier,  
but his  
servantes  
were with  
hym.

Tirones  
subtle  
answer to  
Magwier.

Magwier  
and his  
forces over-  
thrown.

Certificat  
of the  
Marshall's  
services.

Although divers of his followers were known to be at that time on MacGwiers parte whoe grew much discontented to see the Erle serve agaynst hym, and, as it is sayd, sent hym a sharpe message, that if the Erle came any more into the feilde, to geive countenance agaynst hym, he would bewray such matter as should make the Erle receive little credite or saffetie on either side. To which (as the lyke reporte went) Tyrone returned hym answer agayne, that he wished Magwyer to have patience for a time for he did but protract time and make fayer weather for a ceason with the English, to the ende he might gather more forces of hymselfe and have ayde from others; then should it be shortly seene the Erle would be wholly his. In the meane time, he advised Mac Gwyer to be warie, and to keepe hymselfe out of danger as much as he might. At this conflict Magwyer with his forces were over thrown and hymselfe forced to f[l]ie. The successe of which service the Lord Deputy and counsell of Ireland did shortely after certifie unto the Counsell of England the xvijth of October 1593 and afterwards signified by letters of the xvj th of the next moneth what was farther don (by the Marshall Sir Henry Bagnall) for the prevention of farther insurrections (as it

\* For "off."



was then conceived), that after the overthrow geiven at the foorde of Beleeke upon the traytor Magwyer when the Marshall had for two or three dayes stayed to refresh the soldiers neere the rewined Abbey of Asherow in Tyrconell (Belleeke and Asheroe beinge at the mouth of the Lough devidinge Conought and Odonells contrie) he repassed the same foord agayne into Farmanaugh where nyne dayes were spent in burning and wastinge of the contrie on that syde of the Lough tawards Conaught, and afterwards not fyndinge the enimie to beare up heade, thorow the soldiers wantes, worn out of cloathes and other necessaries (whoe were called to this service, called out upon the sodayne without havinge time to make convenient provision) and the sharpenes of the winter growinge on, he resolved to dissolve the campe; leavinge a force of three hundred in the contrie which then was helde competent to follow the enimie in case he should appere agayne, and lised the residue to returne unto theyr ordinary places of garisons. The forces left in the contrie were these three hundred foote of olde bandes under the government of Captayne Dowdall, an auncient servitor of Mounstere, a man commended to be sufficient and well experienced in the services of that contrie. The place where they were appoynted to reside in garrison was neere a decayed castell called Inskey upon the Lough, beinge thought of best commoditie to prosecute the rebells, for it was not farre from Mac Gwyers cheife castell of Iniskylline (a small island in the Lough) and yelded good opportunity for the soldiers to rise out and answer the service upon any occasion. This garison (as they hoped) would suffice, both for the garde of the contrie and to keepe the enimie occupied (if he grew to noe other state of strength then he was at that time). But this computation fell not out right, for it was not well waied that Mac Gwyer stode not aloane in that action, but was animated and assisted by others whoe reckned his quarell to be theyr owne and did shortly supplie hym in such sorte (thoe he was now weake of hymselfe) that within a while after, he with his complices defeated the Queenes forces cominge to relieve that garison, and even at the overthrow of Mac Gwyer it was playnely seene that the MacSwines and other of Odonells followers (besydes some of Tyrones people) served with hym agaynst the State. The want of placinge more power in those partes proceeded from the commanders

p. 80.

Nyne dayes spent in spoyling Macgwiers contrie.

The Marshall dissolves the forces and 300 in garison at Iniskey.

This garison thought, but not found, sufficient.

The MacSwines and Tyrones followers served agaynst the Queenes forces.

p. 81.

Want of  
providence.

not certifyinge or foreseeinge the rebells lykelyhoode of gatheringe farther forces as well as the signification of his owne service. Therfor it was some want of providence to consider and make provision of power agaynst the traytor only as he stode in the time of his weaknes wherein might be seene that the more secuere the cheife counsellors and conducters were, the lesse saffe the State was and wilbe. But it was purposed to annoy hym otherwise (yet with these forces) by boate, for preparation wherof order was geiven, these boates beinge reckned of good use to victuell the garison by water, to skower the Islandes, and command or make inroades upon the contry on both sides the Lough, two longe boates beinge made portable to carie seven or eight score soldiers, and to land them upon the sodayne in any place where it should be thought convenient. This was then resolved and necessary to be don but never acted lykewise.\* They drowned many cottes or troughes (made of one tree) in the Lough beinge such as would carie some tene men the peece, and burned divers howses in the Islandes of the Shannon which runnes to Ballashannon. It was informed by persons unto whom credite was geiven, that from Belturbaut (a towne of Sir John Oreylls standinge upon the mouth of the Lough seven myles from the Cavan), the Lough was at the winter portable for a vessell of twenty tunne neere to Beleeke borderinge on Magwyer Orurcke and Odonells contry, which in length conteyned thirty myles from Beltorbaut to Ballashanan, but this intelligence helde not good, for Belturbaut standeth not on the mouth of the Lough to the seae wards but contrary wise upon the originall head of the Lough.

Odonell  
suspected to  
supplie  
Magwier.

The reason  
of this  
suspicion.

Then it was farther advertised, that upon the repayer of the Marshall Sir Henry Bagnall, the Lord Deputy and counsell havinge consultation with hym concerninge the estate of Mac Gwyer and what aydes he might have to supporte hym in this rebellion, many vehement presumptions were found that Odonell was deeply ingulphed with Magwyers treasons, that (not withstandinge Odonell was by severall letters forbydden to ayde or abette (in any sorte) the traytor Magwyer, which he promised not to doe), yet he receved into his contrie in effect all Magwyers goods and droves of cattell (which they call theyr creates). And although he were commanded to sease on them to the

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\*Doubtful.

Queenes use as traytors goods, yet he would not, being withall promised a greate parte therof for doeing it ; and deteyned them of purpose (as it should seame) to make the traytor able agayne to rebell agaynst the Queene, for if his cowes had not found refuge in Odonells contrie, they had in all lykehood fallen into the handes of the Queenes soldiers, and soe the rebell had byn utterly weakned of any meanes to maynteyne his men together. Besydes this, the Marshall was cridibly informed that Odonell had taken pledges of the principallest men in his contrie (such as he thought would serve the Queene), as Sir John Odogharty, Hugh Duffe Mac Hugh Duffe Odonell and Neale Garvagh Odonell, sonne to the late Con Odonell, which could be for noe good purpose [theise premonitions were certified but the perills not sought to be in time prevented]\*. A cheife parte of Mac Gwyers forces wherein he reposed most confidence consisted of the MacSwines of Tyrconell, whoe beinge his waged men many of them were kyllled in the chase at Beleeke at Magwyers defeature where eightenscore wer slayne. There was alsoe intelligence sent from Sir Richard Bingham out of Conaught to the Lord Deputy and counsell, that Odonell made Mac Gwyers quarell to be his, accountinge Mac Gwyer and Orurcke to be as two hedges to his contrie, which hedges beinge broaken downe, his owne contrie was to lie open to reformation. More then this, the Erle of Tyrone soe nearely lynked in aliance to Odonell, did advertise by his letters that he doubted Odonell. A matter sumwhat strange, he should be soe conjoynded to Odonell, and yet geive such notice of hym ; but he was wonderous subtle, and did this only to indeare hymself to the State, and to put suspection from hymselfe, whilst he might the better effect his owne purposes. Theise presumptions (which might have served for proffes agaynst Odonell) should have stirred up more care in the statesmen there, to make present provision agaynst all future accidentes of openinge a farther commotion in the North. But they forbere to deale any farther for the time then by temporisinge and (as them selves termed it) interteyninge hym by letters untill they should receive farther direction out of England, how to deale with hym by force (or otherwise) before other ayde should come onto hym and to Magwyer.

They complayne that there was but seven hundred and fiftie

p. 83.  
But 700 soldiers in

Information that Odonell had taken pledges.

Odonell accounted Magwier and Orurcke to be his two hedges.

The Erle of Tirones subtle advertisement.

The counsell of Ireland forbere prosecution till they receive direction out of England.

\*In margm.



Ireland when  
1800 were  
payed.

Magwyers  
people sue  
for pardon.

A consulta-  
tion how  
many should  
be pardoned.

Captayne  
Dowdall  
directed to  
conferre  
with Conor  
Roe  
Magwier.

The sonnes  
of Ever Roe  
MacColey  
rebell, and  
spoyell  
Ferney.

p. 84.

20 soldiers  
allowed  
to Master  
Talbot.

foote and two hundred horse (then to trust unto) in the kingdom, which lay dispersed in severall places, wheras the Queene payed abouts one thowsand eight hundred.

Sondry of the better sort of MacGwyers followers made suite to be taken in and offered to put in pledges, more out of a desier to avoyd their owne danger then to continew constantes. The counsell of Ireland differed in opinion in this mater; the most part thought it was requisite to receive all the principell gentlemen to mercie, but others beinge fewer in number (and yet perchance the wiser) helde it not convenient that more then sixe should be admitted to grace (besydes Conor Roe Mac Gwyer) because it was found that the grauntinge of pardons in this generalitie had don much hurt in that kingdom. This was not resolved there but referred to the counsell of England to consider of. Meanewhile referrence from Ireland and want of knowledge made resolution defective. Captayne Dowdall (whoe had the cheife charge in MacGwyers contry) had directions to conferre with Conor Roe Macgwyer, a principall man in Farmanaugh, and the second next to Magwyer for credite in that contrie, being one allways at variance with hym; to assuer hym to the State and to take his advise, whoe should have protection and pardon, whilst the statesmen of Ireland were thus in doubt, referringe these differences to be decyded by direction from England, and in the meane time small forces were lefte to suppress Magwyer, or to incounter his confederates. Upon the revolte of Magwyer, the sonnes of Ever Roe MacColey MacMahon, late captayne of Ferney (which was the Erle of Essexes landes) brake into rebellion; bent most of theyr attemptes agaynst Ferney and Clancarvell where they did committe many spoyles and b(u)rninges in soemuch that the Lord Deputy (for the defence of this contrie) was inforced to imploy some parte of the garrison bandes, as they might spare from other places of service, and sometimes applied other aydes of hired men, partely upon the contries charge, and partely upon the Queenes. Of late upon the importunat suite of Mr. Talbott, farmer in that contrie to the Erle of Essex, order was given hym to provide twenty two soldiers on the Queenes pay to remayne there duringe pleasure as some countenance thoe noe assurance to his command of that place. Here we see a small eruption of peace begettes much troble, and more feared danger. Hitherto we have found but few and

slender commocions in Ireland for the space of seven yeres, save one in Conought and this other of Magwyer in Ulster ; the first was soone suppressed, the later but yet begynninge was quickly amated, but not quite extirpated, for Magwyer recollecte his forces, united them with such ayde as he could gette from Odoñell and out of Conought with some secret supplies from Tyrone, grew soe strong that the weake garison of the English growinge feobler by sicknes and want of provision was inforced to keepe cloase, and could not goe farre abroad to forage, or seake victualles, for supplie wherof the Lord Deputy sent some forces under the conduct of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Herbert, men experiencenced\* in the service of that State thoe not soe well experienced in those partes, and in this expedition had eivell successe, for beinge incountred by the rebells whoe by this time had gathered a good strength together, they were defeated, some of the English cullers taken, the victualls and other provision surprised, and the cheife leaders made to retrayle, not without some difficultie and anger. This did much animate the traytors and rayed theyr hopes together with the deminution of our mens reputation. There was some apparent shew of Tyrones followers to be assistant to the rebells, thoe hymselfe lurked and played least in sight. This was the first defeature that the English had received synce the Lord Grayes government. But shortely we shall see, that where the weale publicke is not well cared for, first private mens estates doe perish and then the generall wellfare runnes to ruine.

Magwier  
growes  
stronge and  
the  
garrison  
distressed.

[About this time (as it seameth) Captayne Thomas Leae, a man as advenferous to speake or thincke what he knew or conceived as he was valiant in service, exhibites informations to the Queene by writtinge agaynst the Lord Deputy Sir William fitz Williams of extortions and injuries supposed to be don agaynst hir Majesties subjectes : as [that] he had out of a covetous mynde made a fruitelys and chargeable jorney into Ulster, to gette such treasure into his handes as was informed to be found with the shipwrecked Spaniards ; had taken and imprisoned Sir Owen Otoole without knowen cause contrary to his word and protection graunted hym ; had sent soldiers to take a pray of 30000 coves from Sir Rosse MacMahon, then held to be a good subject, but missinge of this pray stayed at the Buyshop of Meathes howse

\*So in original.

upon the Buyshop and contrys charge vij dayes without payinge for it notwithstandinge hir Majesties royall allowance and was incensed with Sir Henry Duke for it ; had taken greate bribes for pardoninge murtherers and other malefactors, fayned jorneyes [ \* ] crimes and corruptions [ \* ]cted agaynst the Lord Deputy, but either the accusar was not beleved (beinge helde rash and heady or else the Lord Deputies inocensie frendes or credite did soe silence it that etc.)†

p. 85. [About June 1594 the rebells of Ulster tooke the forte of Blackewater (the captayne beinge then in Dublin) entered the Brenny and burnt the Cavan, wherof advertisement being geiven forces are promised and provided to be sent into Ireland.]‡

Upon this eivell success and the distast of other former services the Lord Deputie, findinge a decay of his owne reputation as well as of his strength and fearinge worse might befall, wrate unto the Queene, signifyinge the increase of his yeres, decrease of health and disabillitie thereby to doe hir and the State such service as he desired and those present stirring times required ; besought hir Majestie therfor to take into hir consideration whither it were not fitte to bethinke of some more active and able in body then hymselfe to serve in that place. The Queene when she received this advertisement and found the alteration growen in that kingdom from former peace to present troubles and a greate lykelyhood of more perturbation, besydes Tyrones complayntes of wronges supposed to be don unto hym by the Marshall with some intimation of parcialitie in the Lord Deputie, (as he signified by his letters written to some of his acquayntances in England about the Court with deepe protestation of his innocencie, and purpose to submitte hymselfe unto triall for his purgation soe that he might have other and more indifferent judges, this moved hir Majestie to resolve of revocking the present Lord Deputy, with purpose to send an other in his place, which she did signifie in answer of the Lord Deputies letters whoe either repentinge that he had moved any thinge for his owne remove (or else upon some other matter that synce came to his mynde) wrate agayne into England, that now (he thancked God) his strength and health was better recovered then of late he found it and therfor if it were hir Majesties pleasure

The Lord Deputy sues to be removed.

The Queene resolves to revocke the Lord Deputy.

The Lord Deputie writtes agayne of his willingnes to contineew in that government.

\* Torn and illegible.

‡ Entered in margin.

† Entered in margin and struck out.



he was willinge to doe hir service in that kingdom as longe as he was able.

To this the Queene replied that she mervelled much to see hym whoe lately bewrayed his olde age, decay of body and health soe sodaynly become renewed in strength and habillitie, which she conceived could not be soe soone regayned; therfor and for other causes wherof she could not but have a feeling, she was fully resolved speedyly to sende hym a successor, now allredy partely choosen by hyr selfe, that was Sir William Russell, thirde sonne of the Erle of Bedford, whoe had byn governor of Vlishinge and commanded there with good approbation, havinge alsoe before served in Ireland in the Lord Grayes government. Hym the Queene calles unto hir, telles hym of hir will to sende hym to be hir Lord Deputy of Ireland, with soe good wordes of incoragement as made hym say (beinge overhard by some): "O madam" (quoth he) "these wordes are soe princely and gracious, that puttes bullet and powder to a mynde lesse resolved then I have byn or ever shall be to doe your Majestie service." This commission was signed abouts June 1594 and he arived in Ireland aboutes the begynninge of August followinge. Soe ended the government of Sir William fitz Williames, the last Lord Deputy of Ireland, whose prayse or disprayse I meane not to proclayne. Every mans deedes doth best indite his owne deserved fame or infamy, thoe every man hath not the lyke assistance in well doeing or reward when he hath don well; only this may be sayd of this mans government (without parciall paraphrase); he found the contrie in peace, it continewd soe for a time, and might have byn made better, had not particuler respectes and endes prevayled above the consideration of publicke good both in the governors and governed.

p. 86.

The Queene mervells at the Lord Deputies alteration of suite.

Sir William Russell chosen Lord Deputie.

The Queenes incoragment to Sir William Russell.

A conclusion touchinge Sir William fitz Williames government.

## SIR WILLIAM RUSSELLS GOVERNMENT.

p. 87.

Sir William Russell, knight, arives in Ireland to be Lord Deputy of Ireland the first of August 1594, where, shewinge his commission, the xi<sup>th</sup> of that moneth, he received the ensigne of government.

Sir William Russell Lord Deputie of Ireland.

[It was perceived and soe ratified into England that the province of Ulster was the most disordered part of Ireland: and discerned that there was a stronge conspiracy made betwixt the

Northerne commanders of contries : and for the releving of hir Majesties castell of Inniskillen an act was sette downe by the Lord Deputy and counsell, that where a commission had byn directed by Sir William FitzWilliames, late Lord Deputy, to Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Herbert for the vituallinge of this castell, they with six hundred foote & forty sixe horsemen goeing to attempt the same were defeated, and received losse both of soldiers and victuells prepared for that purpose. Therfor to avoyd that indignity, it was ordeyned (with consent of the counsell there) he [with] such other forces as he thought meete should repayer thither to releive this ward. By this act it was ordered that commission should be geiven to the Erle of Ormond for defence of the borders agaynst Feugh MacHugh and Walter Reugh, and that present direction should be sent unto the Lords of Gormonston, Slany, Trinleston, and Killene, with the sheriffe and cheife gentlemen of the countie of Meath, for a holdinge to be kept by the forces of the contry upon the borders tawards the North, with which, and some other forces of the Queenes, the Lord Deputy marcheth to Inishkellen.]\*

After some consultation was had what course should be helde to pacifie those stormes, or to prevent the trobles which the late Northerne insurrections had threatned, it was resolved first to send for the Erle of Tyrone, whoe was helde to be the cheife hinde on which the doores of peace or troble did hange in those partes, and to see whither, by his cominge in, peace might be procured, or by his standinge out provision were to be made agaynst rebellion. The Erle of Tirone and† had the Erle of Ormonds advise and word to come in, which he would not denie, because he had promised unto the State, upon alteration of the former and sendinge of a new governor, he would submitte hymselfe to triall of his loyaltie, or to any course that might demonstrate his faythfullnes, soe that he might have securitie of his life and estate ; wherof he seamed much to doubt. This Lord Deputy beinge come (agaynst whom he could have noe cause or culler of exceptions) if he should refuse apperance and approbation before hym, well he knew it would be a manifest argument to the State of his deceipt and double dealinge. Therfor to geive some shew of satisfaction unto the world, he seamed willinge to come unto the Lord Deputy and counsell there ; [but

\* This paragraph entered in margin in original.

† So in original.

yet craved a protection]\* for his saffe cominge and returne, under shew of security [for his life, and pretence that he feared intrappinge and danger to his person]\* by such as he supposed to seake [his overthrow. Whereas indeede his purpose was by this protection to gette liberty for cominge and goeing], \* and to returne home, as he came, saffe unto his strength, if he were not well able to justifie his actions and to answer such objections as he doubted would be made agaynst hym. This protection is graunted the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of August 1594.† The day followinge, he delivereth to the Lord Deputy and counsell an humble submission; beseecheth theyr favor (soe farre forth as his cause should be found worthy of it), which he expresseth he could not of late hope for tyll now, beinge brought into hir Majesties displeasure and indignation thorow his late absentinge hymselfe from the State, occasioned, as he affirmeth, by the hard dealinge of the late Lord Deputy, Sir William FitzWilliames, and the Marshall, combined for his destruction: taketh God to witnes (thoe falsely as may be feared) that hir Majesties hard conceipt of hym had byn the greatest greife to hym that ever his mynde indured: acknowledged that hir Highnes had byn his only advancer to high tytle & great levings: had defended, upholden, and allways inabled hym: amplieth the increase of his soveraines benifittes: confesseth his falte for his absence, thoe constrained for saveward of his life. He therfor made repayer to the Lord Deputy, of whom he had much honor and did hop for juste dealing, which his birth (as the Erle affirmed) did promise, to whom he came to discharge his dutie, and to expose hymselfe to the accusation of his enimies. He craved some fitte time for the hearinge his wronges: proferringe to prove that injustice had byn don unto hym (contrary to hir Majesties meaninge) and that he professed he would have don, if Sir William FitzWilliames had stayed but one day longer, even before hymselfe: proferreth to doe service to the Queene in any place, either in releivinge the ward of Iniskelline, expulsinge the Scotese, or where else he should be commanded. (This was exhibited in writtinge but he is charged.) At his appearance, after protestation of his innocencie and good intention towards the State, with accusation of his adversaries, [he is charged by Sir Henry

Quere,  
whether he  
had any  
protection.

p. 88.

\* These words within brackets are underlined in the original.

† This passage is not very clear in the original.



Bagnall, Marshall of Ireland (his irreconciled brother-in-law) with some crimes before objected, and others newly added; to which he pleadeth not guiltie in generall, and in particuler shapes such answers as the farre-feched reach of his witte could frame:]\* for proffe of his fidelitie he promiseth to putt in his eldest sonne and others for pledges: [only prayeth he might be permitted to returne into his contrie as free as he came, accordinge to the promise included in his protection].\* It is consulted in counsell whither he should be suffered to returne without farther examination and triall of the matters objected agaynst hym. Some helde opinion (and those the fewer thoe perchaunce the wiser and lesse corrupted) that he should not depart without full decision of the crimes wherewith Sir Henry Bagnall offered to charge hym. The Lord Deputy was one of this opinion, but the greater number of that counsell maynteyned that synce the Lord Deputie had graunted hym protection of Ormonds word, a cheife commander of that kingdom, wherein they helde [themselves] to be ingaged, this must not be violated: for then noe malecontent or misordered follower (once fallinge to disobedience) would be brought to conformitie or once to treatie without violence and force, which might perchaunce prove chargeable to the State, if by puttinge of† hope of cominge in upon protection (as once found perillous) the advantage of treaties, which was reckned the best ordinary meanes to worke submission, should be taken away.

p. 89.

These reasons alleaged, and the maxime maynteyned by common consent in counsell, and presidents shewed of perill to breake the libertie of protection, did at that time soe farre prevayle that by an order there made and sette downe in counsell (by the providence of the Lord Deputy whoe tooke this course to be his best warrant) the Erle of Tyrone is for that time lised to returne into his contrie upon his protestation to put in pledges, and to performe the parte of a faythfull subjecte. Soe was the Erle permitted to returne, and certificat made to the counsell of England that thoe he had long byn absent from the State, which gave great cause to suspect that he was privey or gave countenance to the broyles begun in the Northerne partes, yet now by his voluntary cominge in they were partely satisfied in

\* The passages enclosed in brackets are underlined in the original.

† For "off."

that poynt of his intention to be loyall. The Queene afterwards much mislykinge the lettinge goe of such a wolffe to feede upon the flocke was exceedinge angry with the Lord Deputy for it, whoe had noe better answer to make for hymselfe, or meanes to pacifie his soveraigne, then the opinion and conclusion of his best experienced counsellors in that kingdom, together with theyr joynte consentes sette downe by decree in graund counsell for confirmation therof. Yet the Queene and hir counsell of England were not herewith satisfied, but signified they helde it strange and in some sorté prejudiciall to hir honor and government, that the Erle should not be charged as he might have byn : whereby his parteners & followers would grow into opinion of his greatenes, and be animated to relie more on hym then on theyr soveraigne. Yet this was passed over with intimation and wishes only, that the Erles proceedinges might prove soe answerable to his promises as might geive warrant to theyr actions whoe gave hym liberty to departe without farther triall of his fayth or faltines.

When the Erle of Tyrone was parted from that place, and had escaped the danger which his eivell deedes and guyltie conscience drew upon hym, noe more was he seene to come into the State for triall of his truth (althoughe afterwards he made many fayned submissions but still standinge on his owne strength) wherof the Lord Deputy begane to grow doubtfull, and had much reason soe to doe. Tyrone (for henceforth his treasonable practises affordes hym noe better tyle) when he came into Ulster began to stand upon his garde : gathered his followers aboutes hym : pretendes only security and purposeth treason.

The Lord Deputy, the xvij<sup>th</sup> of August, fiften dayes after he tooke the sword, as well to blotte out the memorie of that disgracefull discomfeture geiven to the English at the victuellinge of Iniskyllen, as to releive the soldiers of that forte and place, whoe begane to be in some wantes, provides to goe thither hymselfe in person with such power as he could sodaynly rayse at that time. He marcheth thitherward, havinge appoynted the Erle of Ormond to the government of Leinster for marciall matters, and the Chauncellor for superintendencie of State affiers. Soe he passeth on with such forces as he had, marched towards Conaught, and turned about thence to the Cavan, from whence he sent victuell and munition to Eneskelline, without

p. 90.

The Lord  
Deputie  
takes a  
journey to  
victuell  
Iniske'line.

any incounter or interruption, for he received letters from the Erle of Tyrone and Magwier, whereby he was assured the forte should be releived without resistance. But the Erle came not to the Lord Deputy, for he was neither willinge to come in, nor redie and provided yet to rise in rebellion. Where\* he put in victualls and munition without any incounter or opposition by the rebells, and returned in saffetie, for as yet Tyrone was not seene to breake out in apparent disobedience, thoe he was much suspected. Which calme goeing on and retrayte by the Lord Deputie did breede a security that the rebells power was soe broaken, and themselves soe much dishartened, that noe greate doubt was made but that Magwyer should be shortely expulsed out of Farmanagh, and Ulster should be soe reduced. Leinster allredy was designed shortely to be purged, and a revenge promised of the bloody murthers committed by Feugh MacHugh and his followers. The Lord Deputie, when he made this journey for the victuallinge of that forte, he found noe resistance made by the rebells ; whether it were that Tyrone was not yet provided or purposed to shew hymselfe in open rebellion.

Shortly after, the Erle of Tyrone cominge not to put in his pledges accordinge to his promise, Sir Edward More was sent to deale with hym ; whoe found hym raysinge forces, but still promisinge faythfullnes. He is required to geive assurance of his loyaltie, or else that power must be sent agaynst hym ; whoe demandeth truce for a moneth, which is graunted, to the ende hir Majestie might be advertised in what suspicious state the Erle stood, & resolution might be received how he should be delte withall. Of this, and of spoyles don about Knockfergus with the distempered state growinge in Conaught, the Lord Deputie by letters informeth the Queene and counsell of England dated the vj<sup>th</sup> of January 1594.

In the prosecution of Feugh McHugh and Walter Reugh some of the rebells men were slayne and some taken ; but the principall leaders escaped and remayned still troublers of the State. 500 soldiers were lefte in garison upon those partes, whoe were deemed sufficient with the ayde of the Erle of Ormond on the one side, and Sir Henry Harington a possessor of landes in those partes, to take or banish these rebells ; but it proved not soe, for the Erle was somewhat remote and sealdom came into the

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\* Enniskillen.



hearte of the Glynes. Sir Henry Harington, thoe neare them, yet wanted power, and had inough to doe to rule his next neighbours, the Obirnes, in whose contrie his cheife castell & howse stoode. These Leinster rebels were employed but as fore-runners of more mischeife ; whilst theyr animators and confederates of Ulster did gather strength at home and sought ayde from foraners, because Ulster was growen distempered, Magwyer with his followers in open rebellion, Odonell adhering to Magwyer, and his people servinge with hym agaynst the State, Tyrone distrusted doeinge little better, thoe less sene and caryenge his devises more cloasely.

p. 91.

The Erle of Tyrone, thoe not committinge any hostile act, yet enteringe into armes & keepinge greate forces aboutes hym, was strongly suspected by the Lord Deputy, whoe sendes some to discover his power. It was found and so certified that he had ordinarily about hym, or led by such as were under his command, alevn hundred foote and above 400 horse, wherof particuler notice was taken. These were armed after the English maner with shotte and pykes ; besydes many other kerne, and besydes the forces of Odonell, Magwier, MacMahon, and those of Clandaboys syde. Therfor to prevent these apperinge perills the Queene, by advise of some of hir counsell, determynes to send Sir John Noryes into Ireland with 1000 olde soldiers (which he had lately commaunded in Brittain) and one thowsand more to be levied in England, with commission unto hym to command the armie especially in Ulster as the Lord Deputy did the whole kingdom. When these Britane soldiers landed at Dublin, before Sir John Norys came thither, the Lord Deputy tooke veiw of them, and findinge them to be somewhat ragged, theyr cloathes woren out, and theyr armes partely defective : " Why " quoth he " are these the Britane soldiers ? Methinckes they looke as if they were taken out of the prisons in England." When Sir John Noryes hymselfe arived at Dublin, hearinge what the Lord Deputy had spoaken of these soldiers, he was sumwhat moved, and questioned with the Lord Deputy, saying : " My Lord, I heare you have affirmed that my soldiers sent hither by the Queene doe looke lyke men that came out of the prison." " Indeed, Sir John " (answered the Lord Deputy) " I sayd some such thinge ; but I ment it by theyr (e)ivell apparell and furniture. Now I perceive them to be men of service and

sufficiency ; therefore I wish they were better suited and furnished." There soone begane dislykes betwixt the Lord Deputy and Sir John Noryes, the one governinge the kingdom and the other commandinge the armie, which could not well agree that there should be two soones in one orbe, nor two cheife governors of one State, whose crossinges was more lyke to confound then to farther the public service, as the sequell did playnely shew in their proceedinges and successe.

p. 92.  
Directions  
that all the  
bandes  
should be  
reduced to  
hundreds.

Direction was geiven out of England, because Sir John Norys had signified that few of the captaynes which came out of Britaine had theyr bandes full, and yet there were more captaynes and officers that came with those companies then would serve for that number of men (accordinge to the rate of bandes consistinge of 250 soldiers as formerly theyr ordinance was in Fraunce). Therfor it was commanded that every band should be reduced to a 100, as they ordinarily were in Ireland, with caution allsoe that if any overplus in numbers of captaynes and officers come out of Britane into Ireland then should be fitte for the command of those men, they should have paseportes to returne into England, where allowance should be geiven of interteynement untill theyr discharge ; foreseeinge still that hir Majestie should not be charged with more of the Britaine soldiers then two thowsand with theyr ordinary pay ; a matter at that time too much stooode on to save charge, which afterwards increased expence and gave the rebells much advantage. Soe this savinge did prove a spendinge by protractinge the warres. Some treasure was at this time sent into Ireland to pay the soldiers and to make provision for victualls.

The Lord  
Deputie  
made an  
expedition  
against  
Feugh  
MacHugh.

The Lord Deputie made an expedition into Leinster to Feaugh MacHughes contrie, whoe was sette on by the Northerne rebells to troble the State neere at home whilst they were gatheringe forces farre of,\* for he dwelt in the glynnes and faste woodes within thirty myles of Dub[l]ine. Thither the Lord Deputy rade, providing a power in secret, and tooke upon hym to goe that way a-huntinge, gave commandement to Captayne Sir John Chichester and some other captaynes to come a compasse with theyr companies unto a certayne place where he mette them, and made a sodayne incursion into Feughes contrie, forced hym to flie, and tooke his howse.

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\* For " off."

[Tyrone, whoe had promised to put his sone in a pledge for his fidelity to the State and to come hymselfe in person to the Lord Deputy, performing noethinge of that he had promised, after stronge suspicion had of his trecherie, and directions geiven if he came not in by a time prefixed, is proclaymed traytor, which made hym presently to shew hymselfe such in open viewe, as he had byn before in heart and secret practise, a rebell, and to take armes agaynst his prince.]\*

In January the Lord Deputy made as though he would ride a huntinge jorney, but secretly raysed forces [and] appoynted the captaynes to meete hym with theyr companies at a place certayne. Soe on a sodayne and unexpected he entered the glynes, drave Feugh MacHugh to flie from his howse at Ballanecorre, and placed Captayne Streetes company there in garison. Feugh MacHugh, with Rose his wiffe, Walter Reugh, and all theyr sonnes and followers were proclaymed traytors. Soe the Lord Deputy returneth to Dublinne, and, within few dayes after, Captayne Streete sendeth thither five of the rebells heades ; but, wantinge powder, Captayne Chichester, the Sargeant Major, is sent thither to supplie hym, and immediatly after more munition is convayed by water to Arclo for the garison at Ballenecorre ; from whence Captayne Chichester returneth, bringinge with hym Feugh MacHughs brother, whoe came in voluntarily and submitted hymselfe to the State. At that time a spie was taken by the wach at Dublinne which came from Feugh MacHugh, and he was committed to the Castell. Other of his followers were lykewise taken and sent to the Lord Deputy. The last of this moneth Gerald FitzGerald, brother to Walter Reugh, followed with fower score kerne, came cloase to Dublinne and burned Crumline in the night. Wherat the Lord Deputy (sendinge for such soldiers as were in the cittie) went out of St Thomas Streete, caused the gates to be opened, and sent horsemen thither, but the rebells were gon as soone as they had don that they came for.

The more to ruine Feugh MacHugh, and to clense his contrie from such a receptacle of rebells and spoylers of the Queenes

p. 101†

1594.

Feugh  
MacHugh  
and Walter  
Reugh  
proclaymed  
traytors.

Feugh  
MacHughs  
brother  
submitteth  
hymselfe.

A brother  
of Feughs  
burned the  
contry nere  
Dublinne.

\* Entered in margin.

† Pages 101-2 have been placed here as a marginal note directs that " This must be inserted before Sir Henry Bagnalls jorney to Monahan which is but mencioned and not fully expressed before."



The Lord  
Deputie  
goeth  
agayne to  
Ballanecorre

Feugh  
desiers  
pardon.

Feughs\*  
brother  
taken  
prisoner.

p. 102.

A pase  
cutte downe  
neare the  
campe.

The rebells  
kylled some  
of the  
soldiers  
beinge  
benighted  
in the  
contry.

The pases of  
Domfret†  
and  
Kylkomen  
cutt downe.

The Erle of  
Ormonds  
soldiers  
slew some

subjectes as he and his people were wont to be, the Lord Deputie taketh another jorney in person unto Balenecorre the first of February next followinge, and came thither the fourth day of the same. Then they begane to fortifie there; and thither Feugh MacHugh with Walter Reugh sent a messinger unto Sir Henry Harington desiringe hym to procuer the Lord Deputies lisenche that they might parle with hym, which was graunted. He mette them with a company of horse and foote betwene two greate hylls, two myles from the campe. The effect of theyr speach was to desier the Lord Deputie to graunt them hir Majesties pardon; but the Lord Deputy continewed with the campe fortifyinge at Ballenecorre tyll the 24th of that moneth, in which time James FitzGerald, Walter Reughs brother, was taken prisoner by Dermond MacMorice.

A hundred churles came thither out of the Obirnes contrie to worke at the fort. The Lord Deputie caused a pase to be cutte downe neare the campe. The forragers goeing from the campe were sette upon as they returned in the eveninge by Feughs followers; and some of the soldiers, stragglinge from their fellowes, were benighted and fo[r]ced to take a howse and bawme to defend themselves agaynst the enemie whoe had them in chase. Wherof the Lord Deputie havinge intelligence sent Captayne Chichester the Sargeant Major with 200 men to releive them, but before he could come to theyr succor the rebells had fired the howse and kylled fower of our soldiers with two boyes. The Sargeant Major, in the way as he went this night, mette with some of the Erle of Ormonds soldiers, whoe, not knowing one another, fell to skirmish. But when they perceived one another they parted without any very greate hurt don. James FitzGerald was brought prisoner unto the campe. Proclamation was made there to bringe in within 15 dayes all the goods of any the traytors whosoever had received the same by warre or otherwise, upon payne of standinge in the same state that the rebells did. The pases of Dromskitt and Killcomen were cutte. Captayne Streete and Captayne Willis, goeing out with theyr companies and some of the Erle of Ormonds soldiers, sodaynly fell upon Walter Rughes howse at Ballenehorne where they fought with hym, drave hym thence, slew his brother Gerald MacMoris and one Daniell Reerton with another whose name

\* *Sic.*

† ? Dromkitt.

could not be learned. Theyr three heads were brought to the campe. of the rebels.

Thus did the Lord Deputie bende hymselfe in the hard fowle weather and hard weath\* of winter to doe some exployt which might make his service acceptable and advantageous to the State in that part of the English Pale, and agaynst that person which might soonest and had most usually annoyed the best subjectes nearest to the seate of justice. Which course he had most reason to take, for as yet the rebells of Ulster, especially theyr ringeleaders Tyrone and his co-partener Odonell, were not manifestly seene (thoe they began to be suspected) to beare armes agaynst theyr soveraine. Feugh MacHugh and Walter Reugh, beinge thus cloasely prosecuted, first theyr c[h]eife followers were cutte off† and shortly after themselves; for within a few dayes Sir Henry Harington layed a plotte for Walter Reugh [and] brought hym to Dubline where he was hanged in chaynes. Walter Reugh taken and hanged.

Not longe after the arivall of the Britane soldiers, there were some companies levied in England and sent into Ireland under the command of Captayne Cuney, Goringe, Moysteon, Haricort, Maunsell, Collier, and others. They landed at Dubline and were quartered thereaboutes tyll the first jorney for the victuallinge of Monahon, with whom were joyned the soldiers brought out of Britaine, havinge with them but three of theyr captaynes, Sir Thomas Maria Wingefeild, Captayne Wilmot, and Captayne Thomas Bret. The rest were commanded by liftenantes, for theyr captaynes [had] not come, and Sir John Norys theyr cheife commander was within his government of Mounster. p. 92. contd.

These two regimentes, with some other companies of Irishry and fower or five troupes of horse under the charge of Sir Edward Yorke, Captayne Warren, Herbert, and others marched from Dondalke tawards Monahon aboutes the first of May. Sir Henry Bagnall had the cheife and sole command of this armie, there beinge noe other officers save Sir John Chichester, whoe was Sargeant Major, and a Quartermaster. Noe coronell or other officer [was] appoynted; a greate error in hym that was the cheife. They had provision of munition to put into Monahon, but reserved not sufficient for theyr owne securitie and defence in theyr retrayte; soe that at theyr returne small stoare of p. 93. On Sunday the 24 of May 1595 Sir Henry Bagnall marched with 2500 foote and 250 horse from the Newry to the eight myle tawards Mounahon.

\* weather.

† For "off."

Sir Henry Bagnall sent to victuell Monahon.

Want of munition and officers.

The Lord Deputy replie.

The traytors shew themselves in greate troupes.

The rebells assayle the Queens forces.

Captaine Cuney drew out some to skirmish with the rebells.

munition was lefte, which was another error that breed greate danger as well as that defect of officers under the cheife commander.

It is reported that before they sette forth from Dublin, a well experienced captayne (whoe went in that service) hearinge of the small stoare of munition allotted for this jorney, came to the Lord Deputy and tolde hym the proportion of powder and shotte was not sufficient to incounter an enimie. To whom the Lord Deputie replied (callinge hym by his name) : " Captayne, you are deceived ; you are not now in Fraunce or the Low Contries, for you shall not be put here to fight as there." " Why then, my Lord," quoth he " goe we with such forces into the feilde ? " The Lord Deputy answered : " To geive countenance to the service you have in hand for the victuallinge of this fort." Soe marched they on without good provision, feare, or apparance of fight, for the enimie did not appere tyll they came betwixt the Newry and Monahon, where (\*) myles beyond the Newry Tyrone did appere with his troupe of horse and gave them an alarum, but stayed not. Sir Edward Yorke drew out his troupe of horse. Tyrone passed over a river and there parlied with Sir Edward Yorke (whoe pursued hym) ; tolde hym that the next day by tenne of the clocke it should be seene whither the Queene or they should be masters of the feilde and owners of Ulster.

Within fower myles of Monahon Tyrone, with all his force and confederates, shewed themselves very thicke upon the hylls on all sides. The first day they offered upon the vantgard of the English, where there was noe officer appoynted to answer the charge, for Sir Henry Bagnall hymselfe was in the reare. The captaynes and officers in the vangard agreed that one of them should draw out some shotte and pykes to incounter them that gave the onsette.

P. 94. Captayne Cuney, one of the eldest captaynes, tooke that charge on hym, [and] drew out abouts 150 pykes and shotte to maynteyne the skirmish. The rebells beinge many more in number came on thicke, marching in redde coates (a matter not usually seene before that time amongst the meere Irishrie), and by reason of theyr multitudes presumed to presse on the more boldely. They sought to possesse a wood in the way as our

\* " tenne " and " twelve " erased.



soldiers should passe, with purpose to gaule them as they should goe forwards ; but this being espied and foreseene by Captayne Cuney, he sent a sargeant with some shotte whoe recovered the wood side before the rebels could take it, and beateinge them of,\* made it a place of retrayte, where there was advantage of wood and some heapes of stoanes, by the ayde of which they made that place good. In this skirmish there were hurt Lifenant Aderton, Lifenant Meares, Lifenant Cory, and Captayne Goringes sargeant was slayne, with some other common soldiers wounded. Sir Henry Bagnall sent Captayne Wilmott to call off† this company from the skirmish, but Captayne Cuney, whoe commanded them, answered he could better make good that place then come off without more ayde. Soe they staid there tyll the rest of the regiment came up unto them. Then they marched on tawards Monahon with little more trouble, and lodged neere the fort or abbey that night in the feildes. Mac Mahon had beleegred the fort of Monahon, but the soldiers within when they heard our men in skirmish with the rebels yssued out, fought with MacMahon, and he retyred. They put munition and victuells into the fort and lefte Captayne Henshaw to command, with Lifenant Flower and Sir John Dowdalls company in the fort. The next day, as Sir Henry Bagnall returned, the rebels shewed themselves in greater numbers, for Odonell, Magwier, MacMahon, and the rest (whoe had longe before combined in mynde and practise) were now conjoynd in power, and came with all theyr followers, estimated to be in all aboutes 4000. Within fower myles of Monahon they sette [on] agayne by lowse skirmishes of powringe in shotte upon the vantgard, battayle, and reare at once, charginge them in flancke as they marched, but most on the reare. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild and Captayne Cuney were in the reare, Sir Henry Bagnall in the vantgard, Sir John Chichester and Captayne Brette (whoe both shewed good valour) were in the battayle. Sir Henry Duke, Captayne Cuney, and his ensigne Marmaduke Nelson were hurt ; soe was Lifenant Sandys and Lifenant Loyd, with divers other soldiers of the forwardest sort.

Whilst this incounter lasted, Tyrone, beinge a-horsebacke, was discovered in the head of his troupe, and was charged by one Mr. Segrave, one of the English Pale, a gentleman of Captayne

The small number of soldiers hardly besette make good the place neere a wood.

Sir Henry Bagnall sendes to call of Captayne Cuney.

Munition and victuells put into Monahon.

The rebels are fower thowsand, and charge our men.

P. 95.

Tyrone charged and unhorsed by

\* For " off."

† *Ibid.*

one Mr.  
Segrave.

The  
skirmish  
continued  
from  
mor[n]inge  
to night.

The  
Marshall  
melted  
dishes and  
sent for  
munition to  
the Newry.

Supplie  
sent, and  
the rebells  
retier.

Sir Henry  
Bagnall  
advertiseth  
the Lord  
Deputy of  
theyr estate.

Herberts troupe, whoe incountered and unhorsed Tyrone. But this gentleman beinge not seconded when he had Tyrone under hym and might (as it is sayd) have kylled hym, was hymselfe slayne. Captayne Herberts brother, whoe only charged home with this gentleman, was taken prisoner, and hanged by the rebells the next day. This skirmish begane betwixt eight and nyne of the clocke in the morninge, and continewed tyll the eveninge; for still as the forces marched on, the rebells with lowse winges of shotte played on them, and came on often with a countenance of much resolution, but were most commonly beaten backe, and many times would retier themselves when they had discharged theyr volies of shotte. Soe Sir Henry Bagnall marched tawards the Newry tyll neere night, and that eveninge incamped; and then satte downe in order of battayle on the side of a morish grounde. The enimie loged not farre from them. Munition growing scarce with the English (which the rebells soone found and did incorage them to come on) the Marshall Sir Henry Bagnall and the sargeant major were forced to melte theyr pewter dishes, and sent all night for munition one Phelem Ohanlon, an Irishman, whoe had served faythfully at the Newry under Sir Henry Bagnall and his father. This supplie was brought in the morninge at breake of day by Captayne Audley, whoe marchinge with three cullers but had scarce two hundred men (for the rest were lefte for the guard of the Newry). This supplie thoe small did yelde comfort to our men and terror to the rebells; for as soone as this slender supplie came they sette on the rebells, whoe fell of\* and retired to the mountaynes neere the Fewes tawards Dondalke, with purpose to take the strayght passage of the Moyrie and to hinder theyr goeing that way.

When Sir Henry Bagnall came to the Newry he rested the soldiers there seven or eight dayes, and in the meanetime wrate to the Lord Deputy, shewinge theyr wantes, the strength of the rebells, and how they had possessed the dangerous passe of the Moyrie betwixt Dondalke and the Newry, soe that the soldiers could not returne that way without greate perill; desired supplie of victualls and munition, with directions which way they should returne. The Lord Deputy, advertised of theyr necessities, sendes presently victuall with shippes from Dubline to convey

\* *Ibid.*

the soldiers by seae in case they were not able to march by land. In the meanetime, whilst supplies were expected, the Marshall sent from the Newry Captayne Meriman, an auncient valiant and well approved servitor in that kingdom, with tenne or twelve soldiers selected out of ech company to take a pray of cowes from the rebells (upon spiall and notice geiven that they were kept grasinge about tenne myles from the Newry). [He] performed this well, lighted on the pray, and caried some stoare of cowes to the Newry. When the rebells heard that theyr pray was taken, the soldiers releived, and more supplies dayly expected, Tyrone with his confederates (whoe before begane to be puffed up with much pride because they had lately affronted the Queenes forces) were upon a small alteration as soone amated as they were lately and sodaynly animated by a slender successe. For when Tyrone had possessed the pase at the Moyrie, and supposed that the soldiers were thereby secluded from any saffe returne, he sent an arragant and vauntinge message unto the Newry that he was sorie for noethinge, but that he must force his brother Warren (for soe he called Captayne William Warren betwixt whom and hym there had byn speciall familiarity) to eate his blacke horse. This pride sodaynly puffed up was as soone pulled downe; for presently, upon the taking of a pray from hym and the rest of the rebells, and notice geiven of supplies sent from Dub[l]ine, they retyred from the pase of the Moyrie and lefte a free passage for the forces remayninge with the Marshall, whoe, hearing of the rebells departure, marched tawards Dondalkey. And the same day that they began to march did there arive a. Carlingford some shippes loaden with victuall and munitiонт havinge directions allsoe from the Lord Deputy to shippe the soldiers, if otherwise they were not able to make theyr way be land with the sword. But by this time, the rebells being, retired, they were marched forwards. And suerly had they byn forced to be conducted by seae, the dishonor had byn greate to the Queene and State, and the conspirators would have growen higher in pride and stronger in power by this secret departure, which in theyr opinions would have seamed a discomfetur, or at the least a feare and disabillity to incounter theyr forces.

After this jorney ended, the forces were devided into severall garisons, and put into Dondalke, Carlingford, Ardee, Tredaugh, and the Navan.

p. 96.

Captayne  
Meryman  
brought a  
prey from  
the rebells.

An insolent  
message sent  
by Tirone.

The rebells  
retier, and  
leave  
passage for  
the  
Queenes  
forces.

Victuells and  
munition  
sent by  
seae.

The forces  
sent to  
garisons.



p. 97.  
Three  
companies  
sent into  
Conaught.

Captayne  
Harcotts  
company  
rune away.

Three companies were sent into Conaught for the supplie of the forces there under Sir Richard Bingham's command; whoe, beinge Cheshiermen newly levied, and had lately felte more sharpenes in the Northerne jorney then they were formerly acquaynted withall, the soldiers of one of them under the conduct of Captayne Harcot (hymselfe beinge not there to comaund them but absent after the late eivell costome of captaynes) they runn away for the most parte by the way as they marched. Soe he was cashired, and his company bestowed on another. It was said that this occasion was more redily taken to displace hym because he had denied to accept one of the Lord Chauncellors kinsmen for his officer, whoe, to requite hym, procured hym to be put out of interteynment. This is reported, but how trew it is canot be certainly sette downe. Only this is certayne, that had there byn so severe a proceedinge with all other captaynes whoe absented themselves from theyr companies, the Queenes service had byn better sette forwards, and many captaynes had lost theyr companies.

This first fight had with the traytor Tyrone and his confederates, wherein the rebells were found of greater force then was expected, and the princes power worse provided then was requisite, gave the enimies much incoragement and did sumwhat daunte the good subjectes. And suerly had the conspirators byn well sette unto at the first, and the gentleman worthily seconded whoe charged Tyrone, the arche-rebell had then lost his life, and in all lykelyhood the rebellion had ended, together with his daies, or at the least his adherentes had not byn soe much incoraged by this theyr amatinge of the Queenes forces, whoe might easily have byn victorious if sufficient provision had byn made, at the first settinge forth, of men, munition, and officers; for as yet the rebells were not soe redie in the use of theyr armes as afterwards they grew to be. They had at this time small stoare of munition, and wanted expert leaders. Only, or cheifely, the traytor Tyrone and some with hym (havinge longe served under the English) knew how to trayne and leade theyr companies. The rest might learne in time to follow theyr directions, but for the present had noe good conduct.

p 98.

One of the Oreillies sent in MacMahons brothers head with three other traytors. Captayne George Bingham was betrayed and murdered at Sligoe Castell by his owne ensigne bearer,

one of the Burkes, whoe tooke the castell for the enimie and slew all the English within that ward.

The Lord Deputy and Sir John Norys tooke theyr jorney into the North at Dondalke on Monday the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of June 1595. Tyrone, Odonell, Orurcke, MacGwier, MacMahon, and others were proclaymed traytors by the Queenes Sargeant at Arms, the Provoust Marshall, hir Majesties Pursivantes, and the Bayliffes of Dondalke with other officers. This was published both in English and in Irish, declaringe hir Majesties beniffites, his ingratitude and trechery, with allowance of Tyrrough Lenoughs loyaltie, and authority geiven to geive pardon unto such other persons as should humbly sue for the same. This was lykewise proclaymed at the Newry within three dayes after. And soe they marched tawards Ardmagh. Within twelve myles therof the enimie first shewed themselves, but attempted noethinge.

Near Ardmagh Captayne Meryman was sent with letters to Tyrrough Lenaugh. There the enimie shewed themselves agayne but did noethinge more. The campe continued nere Ardmagh 7 dayes whilst the pioners wrought to intrench and fortifie. Then, victualling it, they returned to Monahon, which was lykewise victualled with small resistance or fight save once in theyr returne nere the Newry at Balliglasse (the rebels dispersinge to take the pace of the Moyrie), which, beinge perceived, our horse made hast and gave them the chase 5 myles thorow bogges and badde way. They retyred to a bogge, & beinge about 500, gave a vollie of shotte on our horse, where Ohanlan, our cheife guyd and standard bearer to the Lord Deputy, was hurt. But they, beinge charged by our carbines, fled, and lefte much baggage with some weopens behynde. Three of them were slayne and one taken. The pace of the Moyrie was cutte.

In these begyninges of troubles in June 1595 that came to Dublin two Dowchmen, the one called Martine Bonevat, the other Serea Joseph Derate, whoe offered to the Maior and Corporation of that cittie, in the behalfe of themselves and others theyr contrymen, to exercise there the trades of manufactures for makeinge of kersies, bayes, damaske, and other both leaninge\* & wollen stuffes, if they might be lised. But the cittizens would not permitte them, conceivinge belyke it would be prejudiciall to theyr profit. Then they made suite to the Lord

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\* Linen.

Deputy and counsell there to recommend them by letters to the Counsell of England ; which was don. But it received noe good successe ; for either these strangers were discouraged by the aversenes of the people in Ireland to any such paynefull purposes, or some other meanes was made to hinder theyr indevors. Which, had it proceeded, might in time have brought much benefitt to Ireland, both for ventinge the comodities of that contrie, settinge the poore people to worke, and the example of industrie, the want wherof hath ruined that kingdom. And the caution of all Corporations not to admitte strangers to trade hath usually hindred as well that cittie as other Corporations from setting forwards of trades ; for marchantes are more severally respective of theyr owne gayne then joyntely carefull for the common good wherein themselves have to themselves but small shares.

The Lord Deputy & the Lord President returned to Dublin 18th of July 1595.

This comes  
not in the  
right place.

p. 99.

February  
1595.

\*[After Sir John Noryes had shewed hymselfe to take command of the armie, Tyrone (to protracte time of prosecution) adresseth hymselfe to the Generall by letters and messages ; puttes hym in remembrance of theyr auncient acquayntance when they both (beinge but yonge) served with Walter Erle of Essex in Ulster ; protestes he would more be ruled by hym then any other man, and prayes he would healpe to make knowen unto the Queene his desier to continew hir faythfull subject. Sir John Norys, either not wonetinge to keepe his command in that contrie, or else desirous to gett honor and the princes favor by bringinge such dangerous rebells to subjection] did the more easily beleive that which he wished to be, and soe wrate unto the Queene and hir counsell of England that he hoped Tyrone and his adherentes might be brought to conformitie and obedience if warrant were geiven to treat with them and to heare theyr grevances. To which purpose commissioners are sent into the North, where Tyrone and Odonell excuse themselves and accuse such as they supposed to be theyr adversaries. Withal MacGwyer, Brian MacHugh Oge MacMahon, Ever MacColey, and others exhibite theyr complayntes agaynst Sir William FitzWilliames, the late and last Lord Deputy of Ireland. These articles or petitions are conveyed to the Counsell of England, whoe send them unto

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\* This passage is struck out in the original down to end of page.



Sir William FitzWilliames (then lyvinge at Aldersgate in London) to be answered. He excuseth his deferringe of the answers by reason of his infirmities and decay of sight; sayth in generall that traytors of all ages had visors to cover theyr vilde actions; vowes his syncerity, playnes, and redines allwaies to labor for the advancement of the Queenes service, and referres theyr lordshipes to be satisfied by his farther answers. How trew or false these accusations were they might best discerne whoe had the examination and decission of it. Certaynly he was suspected to be subject unto much corruption thorow coveteousnes.

The Irish, more redy to complayne and to accuse others then to reforme what was amisse in themselves, not prevaylinge in those thinges they sought, begyne now to stand on higher termes then before. They of Ulster demand pardon not only for themselves and theyr followers but for theyr partakers of Conaught, as Odonell, Orurcke, and others. Besyds now buylding much on theyr owne strength, they grow peremptory, and doe in some sort limite a time unto the Lord Deputy at Dondalke within a fortnight for meetinge and resolvinge on those matters in question; else, they say playnely and proudely, they would not attend this tretie any longer. The Lord Deputy sendes Sir Edward Moore to them to requier longer respyte of six weekes for meetinge and resolution purposinge (as it is probable) in the meane time to receive directions from England for his proceedinge in these waighty affayers.

Neere this time Sir Robert Gardener, Cheife Justice and one of the Counsell of Ireland, comes into England, where, before the Queenes Counsell at Richmond, he layes open the causes of the late revolt and rebellion in Ireland, [and] imputes the most parte therof unto the remisse and corrupt dealinge of the last Lord Deputy, Sir William FitzWilliames, wherof he geives divers particuler instances. This beinge heard at the Counsell table, the Lord Chamberlayne Hunsden asked hym whither he would justifie what he had informed. To whom Sir Robert replied he would prove it upon perill of his life. Then the Lord Chamberlayne sayd the Queene should know it, and soe arose from the Counsell table; whom the rest of the Counsell followed.

When they came to the Queene and tolde hir what Sir Robert Gardener had affirmed, she sware FitzWilliames should answer it with the losse of his head if this were found trew; and willed

hym presently to be sent for. But,\* by the advise of sum whoe did much favor hym, and had putte hym into that place, word was sent hym of the Queenes displeasure ; and they advised hym, as he was not well, soe to let his sicknes appere that his absence might be excused for a time untill the Queenes anger were over-passed, and the accusation with the offence answered or excused. This advise was taken as necessary to be followed. And soe, in shorte time, Sir William FitzWilliames sicknes increasinge by feare finished his life ; and soe freed hym from that danger which (had he leived longer) his demerites would have drawn uppon hym.

Advertisement beinge sent to the Queene and hir counsell what the rebells had proposed, hir Majestic was much moved therat, and signified hir mislyke by letters sent from hir Counsell : that in the petitions made by Odonell and Sir Arthure Oneale the sonne of Tyrlough Lenough (whose father was dead lately and he now drawn to joyne with the rest of the rebells), they had pressed a generall pardon for Magwyer and Orurcke, includinge allsoe proudly the generall pardon of all the cheifetaines of Ulster whoe had boren armes, and it was intimated that although all theyr petitions did savor of proud rebellious mindes, yet the Queene did dislyke most theyr indentinge with hir Lord Deputy to come unto Dondalke within a fortnight, which if he did not, they would then seake for noe farther favor. Therefore, perceivinge that, the Lord Deputy, beinge at the campe neare to Ballinacor where these petitions were received, he gave order to the Counsell at Dublin to send Sir Edward More to procuer the time of a fortnight to be enlarged unto six weekes or two monethes, without reprovinge them for theyr trayterous pride and projectes, it was signified this managinge of that busines the Queene did much mislyke as beinge a matter to animate them ; wheras (as was affirmed) it might rather have byn alleaged that he would send theyr petitions to the Queene, and soe holde them in suspence for answer to be had from thence, without limitinge unto them any longer time. These faltes (if they were errors) were sooner found then sufficient supplies sent to suppressse these rebells, now begyninge to insulte and grow over bolde. And such reprehensions are all Governors subject unto, servinge in imminent places, whose services are commonly judged by the successe :

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\* " the Lord Treasurer Burley " erased.

prosperous eventes gaynes prayse, and disasters drawes on disgrace: when anything succedes not to the lykinge of the State, the ministers nad managers of such affayers must beare the blame in whom soever the falte is. Little good was don in this tretie, noe more then at other times, but the losse of opportunity to prosecut the rebells; yet such was the desier the Queene and hir counsell had to draw the rebells to conformitie, that much hurt was receved by harkeninge unto them over much.

In November 1595 consultation was helde by the Lord Deputy with the lords of the English Pale and other lords borderers to stand upon theyr owne powers for defence of the contrie. Sumwhat was concluded, but proved little profitable for the Queenes service; the lords and others of the Pale either not lookinge farre enough into theyr owne and the contries danger, or else wantinge power of themselves to prevent it.

Consulta-  
tion helde  
with the  
lords of the  
[blank]

Aboutes the mydest of March the Britayne soldiers, which had served under Sir John Norys, arived at Waterford; and the seventh of Aprill they were mustered before the Lord Deputy at the Greene of Dubline; where, takinge veiw of them, when he perceived theyr armes to be somewhat defective and theyr cloathes worse, both woren out with longe use and not lately supplied: "What" quoth he "are these the olde soldiers we heard of? They looke as if they came out of the goeles in London." Which speach when Sir John Norys theyr commander heard of after his arivall—for he landed but two dayes before—cominge to the Lord Deputy he tolde hym what he heard his Lordship should speake of these soldiers. To whom the Lord Deputy made answer he sayd some such thinge; but he ment it of theyr aparell and armes, not of the men; and wished they might be better furnished. Soe at the first jealousies began betwixt these greate men.

The Britiane  
soldiers  
arived.

p. 103.

The Lord  
Deputies  
speach of  
the Britane  
soldiers.

Sir John  
Noris  
expostula-  
teth with  
the Lord  
Deputie.

Feugh MacHughes wiffe called Rose Otoole, beinge helde a procurer of hir husbands rebellion and maynteyner of it by hir kindred the Otooles, was taken; and had hir judgement to be burned.

Feugh  
MacHughes  
wiffe taken.

The first of June 1595 Sir John Norys, with his bretherne Sir Henry and Sir Thomas Noryes, accompanied with divers other captaynes, came to Dubline. Then newes came to the Lord Deputie (sent from the Newry by Liffenant Toucher whoe was dispatched thither by seae) of the service don in victuallinge of

Newes of  
victuallinge  
Monahon,  
and in  
what state  
the soldiers  
stoode.



Monahon, and in what state the English forces stooede at the Newry, wantinge victuells and munition ; that Tryone with the other traytors his adherentes had broaken up the cawsey way betweene the Newry and Dondalke, whereby it was made unpassable, the rebells lyinge there with all theyr strength, beinge then reckned to be allmost tenne times as many as our men ; but indeede theyr numbers were greate, at the least fower or five thowsand, and ours not halfe soe many, besydes our poulder was spent, beinge not tenne barells as it was sayd when they came from Monahon. Soe as the messenger helde it impossible for our men to march from the Newry with any saffetie if they were twice as many in that place. For the ordinary passage by the Moyrie to Dondalke was perillous ; beinge a broaken cawsey besette on both sydes with bogges, where the Irish might skyppe but the English could not goe ; and on the two endes (especially at the farther as they must march) it was naturally fenced with short and shrubbed wood in which the rebells lyinge might discharge theyr voleyees without danger to themeselves and with greate annoyance unto the passenger.

p. 104.

Captayne  
George  
Bingham is  
surprised,  
and Sligoe  
taken.

At the same time Sir Richard Bingham certefyeth the betraying and murthering of Captayne George Bingham at Sligo Castell by the trechery of his owne ensigne, one of the Burckes, whoe tooke the castell for the rebells and slew all the ward that was in it. Hymselfe beinge not distrusted, and suffered to come into the castell without suspition, drew in divers rebells and surprised it. Soe those of Conaught began to take example by them of Ulster and to enter upon the lyke enterprises of revolt and rebellion. Such is the nature of all eivell affected subjectes : redily to take alarume and to be animated by any prosperous successe of such as are lykemynded to themselves.

p. 105.

Supplies of horse and foote were sent out of England, wherof some landed at Dubline, conducted by Captayne Toucher, on Saterday the 9th of August 1595, and some horse troupes landed there the day followinge. Divers brought letters out of England for companies ; more seakinge advantage to themselves then to advaunce the service.

Sir John  
Noryes  
takes a  
journey into  
Ulster.

Sir John Norys, Lord President of Mounster and commander of the forces in Ulster by commission from the Queene, taketh a journey into the North ; and divers of the companies were mustered on the Greene at Dubline the xj<sup>th</sup> of August 1595.

The day followinge companies were delivered to Captayne Percie, Captayne Chichester, and Captayne Nowell.

Sir Richard Bingham, findinge greate distemper and want of power to suppress the rebells which dayly increased in Conaught, cometh to Dublin to sue for supplie of forces. Captayne Pigot and Captayne Toucher were sent to Conaught besydes some others with theyr companies. Captayne Harecourt should have gon thither, but his companie, beinge new men levied in Cheshier and havinge felte some hardnes in the late Northerne jorney, runne away (almost all) there beinge but sixteen lefte. He was discharged by the Counsell. Of a thowsand foote and a hundred horse sent out of England and brought by Captayne Deringe and Captayne Mountague, some were conferred on the Erle of Thomond, Captayne Parsons, Mynce, Stanton, and Parker. They were all mustered on the Greene of Dublin the xxx<sup>th</sup> of August. Captayne Parsons and Captayne Mynces companie went for Mounster; two troupes of horse at 50 a-peece were distributed to Captayne Deringe and Mountague.

Sir Richard Bingham seakes supplies to be sent into Conaught.

Musters at the Greene of Dublin.

q. Newes was brought of Mr. Warrens takinge by the enemie; he [unfinished].

Whilst the Lord President was in Ulster the Lord Deputy takes a jorney to Kells, a place thought meete to answer the service either in the North or in Conaught. There went with hym the Erle of Thomond, Sir George Boucher, and others. He had with hym the horse troupes of the Erle of Thomond, the Lord of Donsanny, and Captayne Mountague. The same day that the Lord Deputy marched, Captayne Stafford came to the Lord Deputy with letters from Sir John Norys conteyninge the discription of the skyrnish had with Tyrone and the other Northerne traytors.

Sir John Noryes takes a jorney into Ulster and incounters with the rebells.

This skirmish was fower myles from Ardmaugh tawards the Newry, where, after the Lord Generall with his forces had victualled and put munition into the fort at Blackwater, upon his retrayte Tyrone with all the rebells his adherentes made shew of themselves and offered skirmish. The rebells were about 4000 and the Generalls forces aboutes 2000\* foote; and, as they marched, 500 of the rebells yssued out of a small wood and charged the English from a booge syde. The charge was geiven upon the reare where Sir John Norys beinge hymselfe, and

p. 106. Sir John Noryes victualleth Ardmagh.

\* This number written over 1700.

Sir John  
Norys  
slightly  
hurt.

14 Sept 95  
Tirlough  
Lenough  
deceased.

Sir Jeffrey  
Fenton sent  
to Mounster.

p. 107.

Horse sent  
by the  
Lord  
Deputy to  
assiste Sir  
John  
Noryes.

seeinge the rebells pelte in shotte and play upon the soldiers as they marched alonge, he sent for the Master Gunner to returne with the Ordinance, havinge only two rabanettes\* which Sir John Perrott brought into Ireland. Upon the cominge and discharginge of these feilde peeces the rebells retyred and gave over the skirmish, in which Sir John Norys, seeinge them come on a-pace and many more redie to second them, pressed to gaine direction, and received a hurte in his lefte arme, rather with the fall then the force of a bullet; for the bullett discendinge as his full randan, rann only into the pleates of his cutte sarcenet dublet, and did pearce little farther then the skyne. Soe when the bullet was taken out by one lleyws a surgeon, Sir John Norys sayd it was a ladys hurt and not a soldiers mayme. At the same time Sir Richard Wingefeild was shotte into the shoulder, and some others (but scarce any of note besydes) were wounded. After this the rebells shewed themselves a loufe off† but came not on any more to interteyne skirmish. At Carige-bane neare the Newry the armie was dissolved, and the companies sent to theyr severall garisons. Tirlough Lenough, the last Oneale, whoe had lately continewed very faythfull to the State and was much oppressed by Tyrone, is now deceased. Upon whose death (as it was informed) Tyrone created hymselfe Oneale by election, and such barborous kinde of inauguration as was used emongst them, where Ohagan (whose office it was) flunge a shoe over this poore prince [ ‡ ] the new Oneales head whilst he sate in his stoane chayer upon the hyll of [blank]. Soe was he more puffed up then preferred by this instalement soe much by hym desired.

Sir Geffery Fenton was sent into Mounster to take veiw of the fortes and forces there, and to receive intelligence of the persons fittest to be trusted and imployed, or if distrusted then to be made suer when the Spaniards should make discent there, which, it should seame, was then sumwhat doubted.

Captayne William Warren, taken by Tyrone and detayned, was now delivered and came to the Lord Deputy at Kells.

The Lord Deputy, after he came to Kelles, sent thence towards Dondalke three troupes of horse and fower companies of foote to the assistance of Sir John Norys, and when he marched thence towards Ardee, the rebells had the day before prayed and spoyled the contry abouts Louthe. Thence he returned towards Ard-

\* Rabinet, a small variety of canon.

† For "off."

‡ Illegible.



maugh and came to Dublin on Michaelmas Day, but left the Erle of Ormond with some companies to guard the borders. Sir John Norrys departed towards the victualling of Monahan, which was done without resistance; for Tyrone and the other traitors, desirous belyke to gayne longer time of breathing and to gather greater forces, made shew of submission; which was harkened to by the Generall and advertised unto the Queene. Soe after some passages a truce was concluded for a time. Whereupon order was geiven to discharge the officers of the feilde, and to disperse the soldiers to theyr severall garisons. Noe sooner was this done but newes came that Captayne Fowle and Captayne Mynce were slayne in Conaught, and much damage done there by the Burckes. The xj<sup>th</sup> of October the Generall, Sir John Norrys, with the Erles of Ormond and Thomond returned to Dublin.

Tyrone  
sues for  
peace and a  
truce  
concluded.

Now began alsoe Rowry Oge a-stirringe rebells of the Omoores to burne and spoyle in Leaxe. He took up Feugh MacHugh's place of pillaging and prayinge on quiet people. Feugh had lately submitted hymselfe and would not or was not able yet to stirre. But Ony takes up the bucklers, and both were sette on by the Northerne rebells, men of greater might then theise of Leaxe were, and the greater led the lesser. Soe was Ony MacRowry cast of\* for the present sumwhat to trouble the State.

Upon information geiven to the Queene and hir counsaile of England by Sir John Norrys that Tyrone with his other confederates of Ulster and Conaught did desier and make suite for pardon and to leive obediently as faythfull subjectes unto hir Majesty, the Queene by letter to the Lord Deputy, and by articles of instructions therewith sent (dated the xxviii<sup>th</sup> of September 1595), geives commission to graunt pardon to Tyrone with the other rebells in Ireland. First, for Tyrone, direction is geiven upon his humble submission to geive pardon for offences past, and to consider what landes were fitte to be limited unto hym, with power to passe more or lesse as the commissioners upon the treatie should see cause. Alsoe certayne cautions were sette downe in the instructions, to be observed in the treatie with Tyrone and the rest of the rebells:

A commis-  
sion to  
treate  
with and  
pardon  
Tyrone  
with other  
rebells.

Cautions  
sette downe  
to be  
observed in  
the treatie  
with Tyrone.

1. As that he must geive assurance to leave all combinations with disobedient subjectes, and with other captaynes of the Irishrie, and all maner of strangers.

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\* For "off."

2. He must yelde to observation of the articles (or soe many of them as shall seame meete unto the commissioners) which he condiscended unto in England in Aprill 1590 : beinge charged with puttinge to death violently and without any culler of justice one of the sonnes of Shane Oneale.
3. That he in noe wise impeach the wardes that are or should be at Blackwater, Ardmagh, Monahon, or at any other place appoynted for their victuelling or other necessary provisions for their mayntenance.
4. He should put at liberty Shane Oneales sonne ; and suffer Tirlough Lenough to enjoy Strabane, with the territory therto belonginge (for these articles were drawn before the death of Tirlough was knowen in England).

The inlarginge or deminution of these articles were referred to be ordered by the Lord Deputy with the advise of Sir John Norys and some such others of the Counsell there as the Lord Deputy thought to have knowledge in these causes, and good disposition to ende this kinde of warre.

Pledges to  
be putte in  
for  
observation  
of these  
articles.

For observation of these articles, or any other thought meete to be required of hym, he should deliver his eldest sonne as a pledge to be brought up at schole in England, and three or fower others, wherof if it might be one of his brothers, one of his base sonnes, one of the Ohagans, and one of the Oquins, or some such lyke, to remayne in the English Pale.

Noe pardon  
to be  
graunted to  
the rebels  
but uppon  
theyr  
severall  
submissions.

For Odonell, MacGwire, Orurcke, or the MacMahons none of them should have pardon at the sollicitation of Tyrone, but upon theyr owne severall submissions, and upon such conditions as should be helde meete to make assurance with them all. For Odonell and Magwier, upon theyr free submission, some portions of theyr contries to be assigned unto such other of theyr septes as had not rebelled, and that were competitors to theyr captenries, a provision not lykely then to take place, howsoever it were projected, synce the cheife lords were soe strongly combined that now they thought themselves as well able to geive lawes as constraynable to take allowance ; and therefore a matter more to be desired then to be hoped for, or to be debarred of anythinge they helde in possession. There was a speciall article for them all particulerly to yelde unto, that none of them should combine with any forayner, or lord, or with any other of that contrie

agaynst the Queene, or hir forces ; and that they should all put in pledges sufficient for performance of theyr loyaltie, and all thinges accorded to.

Lastely, if Tyrone should refuse theise or the lyke conditions as should seame honorable to the Queene and beneficiall to the contrie, order was geiven [that] it should be secretly attempted (with favorable conditions) to procuer that Odonell might be receved to grace and be severed from Tyrone. This was most improbable to be compased, consideringe the neere alliance betwixt them by intermarriage, oathes, and reputation of common interest in the cause and security to themselves. Yet such was the desier of the State to bringe these men to obedience, to free the Queene from charge and from the doubt of these rebels joyninge with foraine forces, which was then feared, soe that they both yelded to thinges unprofitable to be graunted to the rebels, and by the advise of some servitors not well understandinge that State, proposed thinges unlykely to be performed by these traytors, whose myndes were alltogether alianated from dutie, and elevated to greate hopes of absolute libertie.

Greate contentions grew betwixt the Erle of Ormond and Sir Charles Ocaroll ; the Erle mightie not lovinge to be contended withall, and Sir Charles a man that had byn a good servitor to the State. Some slaughters and outrages there had formerly passed betwixt theyr people. Now the Erle had caused Sir Charles to be indicted in his libertie of Tipperary for a[n] alleaged slaughter of some of the Cantwells. Sir Charles brought an appeale for the same fact before the Judges of the Bench in Ireland, and exhibites a petition to the Queene shewinge how his life and estate was sought by the Erle by meanes of the indictment layed in Tipperary, where he was mortally hated, which might indanger his life, and bringe his contrie of Elye within the countie of Typperary by answeringe that appeale, which in dutie he must doe, and soe prejudice his inheritance for which he payed rent to hir Majestie ; besydes the perill of his life. Therefore, upon his complaynt, the Queene wrote unto the Lord Deputy to graunt a commission unto indifferent persons to inquier of the fact and quality of the same, and of the tytle whither this contrie lay within the countie of Typperary before any proceedinge upon that appeale. Thus was the Erles rigorous prosecution staid for the time. Yet such was his greatnes in

Odonell to  
be severed  
from  
Tirone.

Contentions  
betwixt the  
Erle of  
Ormond and  
Sir Charles  
Occaroll.



that contrie, and his estimation with the Queen and State, that in the ende Sir Charles was inforced to submitte hymselfe to the Erles own arbitrament.

p. 110.  
Captayne  
St Leger  
and Warren  
sent to  
parley with  
Tirone.

Captayne St Leger and Captayne Warren, upon the Quenes warrant to receive the submission of Tyrone and the other traytors, were sent to parlie with hym concer[n]inge his submission. [They] found hym in all outward shew willinge to be received unto mercie, and to offer obedience, desiring some conclusion might be made with them of Conaught (which he promised to farther with all his best meanes and credite); and with this generall answer they returned. Feugh MacHugh beinge cloasely followed, and hearinge of this lykelyhood of peace, doth sue for hymselfe, and was brought unto Dublin upon protèction by Sir Henry Harington, where he came before the Lord Deputy and counsell, fell before them upon his knees, and craved the Queenes pardon for his former offences; protestinge his resolution ever after to continew a faythfull and obedient subject; which yet he ment not to performe longer then whilst the other lords of Ulster and Conought (with whom he had byn lynked) should remayne loyall, which the sequell of his actions shewed.

Feugh  
MacHugh  
sueth for  
pardon.

A proclama-  
tion  
agaynst the  
transporta-  
tion of  
gunpowder.

A proclamation was made agaynst transportation of gunpowder out of Ireland and forbiddinge the sale therof to any but to hir Majesties good subjectes, as noblemen, sheriffes, and Justices of the Peace; and those to have such quantie therof as they should thincke meete for the service and theyr owne saffetie; geivinge a note therof under theyr handes to the officers of the townes and others of whom they should buy it, uppon payne of impriso[n]ment, and confiscatinge theyr goods that should transgresse. This was a good ordinance and a necessary, if it had byn well observed. But neither proclamations or lawes will prevayle unlesse they be well executed; and in such corrupt times as this was, most men, seekinge theyr owne advantage with the annoyance of such as they dislyke, doe easily breake lawes and the best orders by private practises, corrupting with gayne those that should guard and execut good decrees. The lyke proclamation was at that time agaynst the carrying of corne out of Ireland, but neither of both was well performed.

The Lord  
Deputy  
goeth to

For perfectinge the intended peace, or suppressinge the rebells if they would not yelde unto, and hearinge the grevances of such

as pretended they were wronged, the Lord Deputy taketh a journey into Conaught and the Lord President into Ulster : both devidinge the forces and caryinge with them such captaynes and companies as they could spare from the garisons which must defend the borders in theyr absence.

The Lord Deputy begynneth his journey tawards Galloway on Monday the x<sup>th</sup> of November 1595. As he passed alonge the contry, and at Gallaway, divers brought in complaintes agaynst Sir Richard Bingham and his brethren : as one Mr Leman of the countie of Maio, and at Athenree one Mr Graston exhibited the lyke, soe did other persons the lyke in other places.

Whilst the Lord Deputie remayned at Gallaway he sent Mr Brabson and Mr Tybott Dillon to conferre with the Burkes, and Mr Malby for some of the Oconors, whoe made proffer to come unto the Lord Deputy. But shortely he was advertised that Odonell, cominge into Conaught, had dissuaded the Burkes to come unto the Lord Deputy, allthoe they had promised it to Mr Brabson. Whereupon he was agayne sent to parlie with them. Moris MacMorrie Offlahartie submitted hymselfe and put in pledges for his good behavior. As the Lord Deputie returned and laie at the Erle of C[ ]annicards, Mr Brabson came thither from treatinge the second time with the Bruckes, and brought word that by Odonells persuasion they would not come in, but sent a submission and theyr complaintes preferred agaynst Sir Richard Bingham, whom the Lord Deputy did not question tyll he came to Athlone Castell ; and there he delte with Sir Richard concerning the complaintes preferred agaynst hym, his bretherne, and followers.

The Lord Deputy returned to Dublin the xv<sup>th</sup> of December from whence he had byn absent in the Conought journey aboutes five weekes, and thither came Sir John Norye the eightenth of the same, he havinge byn in Ulster treatinge with Tyrone and the other rebels there, but neither of them effected any greate matter by treaties with these traytors.

The loane of money beinge desired by the Lord Deputie of the Maior and citizens of Dublin, they make excuse, and alleage disability to lend monie unto the State.

At this time Tirones lady, sister to Sir Henry Bagnall, whose marriage had occasioned greate harteburninges betwixt them both, dieth ; she, havinge sustayned much miserie and continuall

Conought,  
and Sir  
John  
Noryes to  
Ulster.

P. III.

The Lord  
Deputy  
takes a  
journey to  
Galloway.

Complayntes  
agaynst Sir  
Richard  
Bingham.

The Burkes  
conferred  
with.

By  
Odonells  
persuasion  
the Burckes  
would not  
come in.

The Lord  
Deputy and  
the Lord  
President  
returne to  
Dubline.

affliction (by hir husbands disloyaltie, joynd with his and hir danger), beinge heartebroaken, fin[i]sheth all hir callamities with hir life.

Rebells in  
Conaught  
begynne  
agayne to  
stirre.

In Conaught, notwithstandinge a broaken truce lately there taken, some of the Kelleys began agayne to burne, pray, and robbe. Especially they fired and wasted certayne of Mr Frauncis Shanes tennantes. He was a man faythfully devoted to the Queene and State, and therfor most lykely to be maliced by them that intended misc[h]eife.

p. 112.

How perfideously Tyrone, Odonell, and the rest of theyr complices delte with the Queene and hir commissioners (whom she sent to take theyr submissions) may appere by this, that even within one moneth before they made theyr submissions, whilst they were treatinge with such as the Lord Deputie sent to let them know the Queenes clemence which they seamed much to imbrace, letters were intercepted written from Tyrone and Odonell to Don John de Aquila, to the Kinge of Spayne, and to Don Carolo, in which they crave ayde of men and armes agaynst the Queene, offeringe the kingdom of Ireland to the Kinge of Spayne, and themselves to be his subjectes ; and doe vow to be noe lesse faythfull and obedient unto hym then any his best subjectes the Spaniards. These letters being had from the handes of one Peirce Oculan the xxix<sup>th</sup> of September, they make absolut submission the xxix<sup>th</sup> of the next moneth, wherein Tyrone makes a large acknowledgement both of hir Majesties bountie tawards hym, and of his disobedience and breach of dutie by hir ; settes forth (thoe faynedly) his sorow for the same ; accuseth them whom he accounteth his adversaries of practises to take away his good name [and] hir Majesties good opinion of hym, and to subverte his life and estate ; craveth pardon for his offences to be graunted unto hymselfe, his kinsmen, and tenantes of Tirone ; excuseth the taking upon hym the tyle of Oneaile, alleaginge (contrary to his owne knowledge) that he assumed it not as deeminge it a higher dignitie then allredy he helde by hir Majesties creation, which all the contrie knew to be falce, for he valued that stile above any other, but he sette downe the reason to be that he tooke this to hymselfe as fearinge that some other might steppe in and take that name unto hym, and soe breede greate troble and danger to hymselfe and his tenantes ; allthoug indeed he knew noe man else could

Tirone and  
Odonells  
trayterous  
practises  
when they  
proffer  
submission.

Theyr  
letters  
intercepted.

Tirones  
fayned and  
falce  
submission.



or was any way lykely at that time to put hym by it. Which name of Oneile (obteyninge the Queenes favor) he offered, thoe he ment it not, thenceforward to forgoe and renounce. He protested lykewise that he never practised to draw in any forayne forces before the xx<sup>th</sup> of August last ; which time he limited because he was assured his letters written but the moneth before were intercepted ; and yet in these very letters both he and Odonell doe mencion many others to have byn written by them into Spayne before, which they feared to have byn miscaried by misadventure, feare, or negligence of the messingers.

These protestations and submissions made by Tyrone and Odonell, thoe scarce beleived (neither was there good reason they should), yet were they accepted, and articles agreed unto of the same date for the cessation of armes :

p. 113.  
Articles of  
agrement  
for a truce.

1. Contayninge a restraynt of hostillitie, stealth, burning, or spoyle to be don on any of hir Majesties subjectes in any part of Ireland ; and if anything should be soe don after that time, that then justice should be administred and satisfaction geiven within eight daies after notice geiven therof.
2. That all hir Majesties garrisons should freely passe from place to place to the borders of the English Pale or otherwise with convoyes of victuells, munition, and other provisions, and with such numbers of soldiers as should be thought meete.
3. Soldiers should have libertie to fech wood, grasse, stone or other provisions within two or three myles of theyr garrisons.
4. Tyrone should not make jorneyes upon Clandeboy or other borderinge places with force or hostility upon any of hir Majesties subjectes, or such as had submitted themselves to hir obedience during the cessation of armes.
5. None of the creaughes or cattell of such as did adhere to Tyrone should grase or feede upon any landes or place of such persons as were under the Queenes obedience.
6. If duringe the time of this truce any of the contrary parte should offer themselves to hir Majesties obedience, they might be received without breach of the truce.

For the performance of these things Tyrone should put in such pledges as should be demaunded ; which pledges, in case his pardon were not graunted, should be redelivered.

7. This truce to continew tyll the first of January next following if the Erle should not have warninge geiven by the Lord Deputie or the Lord Generall to the contrary by the second of November 1595, and soe farther to the first of February, and if three daies warninge were not geiven by the State to the contrary before the first of January.

Tirone  
denies to  
furnish  
the Queenes  
garisons  
with a  
thousand  
beives at a  
price.

It was demanded that Tyrone should furnish hir Majesties garisons with a thowasand beives, to be repayed if he received not his pardon at xx<sup>s</sup> the peece, which only he refused to doe. Unto the rest he agreed and put in his pledges. The names of them were Brian Ohagan, MacFardaraugh Ohagan, Donaugh Rerogh Ohagan, MacMelaghline MacBrianboy Ohaghagan. These men were of little valew to the State or in themselves ; but they were greate in account with Tyrone, beinge his cheifest fosterers and deerest unto hym.

Tirones  
pledges.

p. 114.

This submission was not faythfull, nor these articles longe kept firme. It was termed, thoe not rightly, a truce, which could not be betwixt the soveraine and hir subjectes rebellinge, but a cessation of armes it might be. Upon the promise of this peace more was presumed then could be well hoped for. Yet a letter is sent from the Lord Deputie and counsell unto Sir Raph Lane to discharg such companies as were not threescore stronge ; which, had it byn thorowly executed, many if not most of the companies in that kingdom had byn cashered ; although as yet they grew not alltogether to that weaknes and willfull deminution as afterwards they did. There were then in Ireland, and the Queenes pay, fower thowsand and forty foote with six hundred and fiftie seven horse, which perchaunce might want a full fourth part, if not a third, of their numbers, had they byn exactly and at one time mustered.

The forces  
of horse and  
foote then  
in Ireland  
payed by  
the Queene.

Outrages  
committed  
in Conaught.

Presently, after this conclusion for cessation of armes in Ulster, divers outrages were committed by the rebells in Conaught, wherof Sir Richard Bingham certified the Lord Deputy. Six rebells heades were brought to Dublin by one Mr Pluncket, whoe tooke them in the rescue of a pray upon the borders of Lowth, beinge some of the Orelleys. There were sent into Conaught the companies of these captaynes : Chichester, Percie, Parsons, Garret, Baptist, and Sir George Bougher ; and at this time there were in Conaught of horse and foote nyntene companies. Commission was geiven to Sir Richard Bingham to

Six  
companies  
sent into  
Conaught.

place these companies where they might best answer the service in Conaught.

The forces that were in Conaught.

Sir Henry Walope and Sir Robert Gardener are sent commissioners into Ulster to treat with Tyrone at Dondalke for the perfecting of peace according to his Majesties directions. They depart from Dublin for that purpose the xij<sup>th</sup> of January 1595. When they came to Dondalke they found Tyrone staying within three myles of that place for Odonell; and there they heard of Sir Hugh MacGenys death. The lowse rebels came to Kells to take a pray; but, being pursued by Captayne Flemyne and his horsemen, thirty of them were slayne, wherof thirten heades were sent to Dublin. Sir Henry Walop and Sir Robert Gardner, after they had treated with Tyrone and Odonell, returned the second of January.\* That they conclude was noe more in effect then had byn sette downe before, but that the cessation of armes should continew tyll the first of Aprill next, if before the first of March warning were not geiven by the Lord Deputy to the contrary.

Sir Henry Walop and Sir Robert Gardner sent to Tyrone and Odonell.

A cessation of armes tyll the first of Aprill.

As for Odonell (pledges beinge demaunded of hym for assurance of the agreement), he answered that he had noe pledges to deliver, his contrie beinge soe farre off† that the time would be expired before he could send any. Nevertheles he would with all loyaltie observe the cessation, and beinge offered fifteen dayes to send his pledges, he refused to doe it; an evident demonstration that he ment not to deale faythfully with the State. This cessation was concluded, more profitable for the traytors then honorable to the Queene, or advantageous for the good subjectes; because by this the rebels had freedom agaynst the springe to graze and stren[g]then theyr cattell, to provide powder and other thinges necessary, and to send for forayne ayde. Yet it was this acted by directions out of England, where peace was coveted in Ireland (thoe it could not be compassed) to avoyd expence, and the danger of theyr joyninge with Spayne, from whence invasion was continually expected.

p. 115.

Odonell would geive noe pledges.

After this conclusion little service was don untill the springe of the yere, for the soldiers were drawn to theyr garisons, and the rebels lay still in the North. But in Conaught they did often stirre, and some incursions were made by the meaner sort.

\* For February.

† For "off."



The Cavan  
spoyled, and  
the Sargeant  
Major  
sent thither.

At the Cavan they burnt and committed some spoyles, whither the Sargeant Major, Captayne Chic[h]ester, was sent with some companies to suppress them ; and afterwards he was sent into Conaught to relieve the Abbey of Boy,\* the garison there beinge distressed. It was mervelled that Sir Richard Bingham, havinge soe many companies and such forces in Conaught with the government of the whole province, could not answer the services of that contrie. But they were soe generally distempered and eivell affected, that scarce could any part of the contrie be defended without greate forces. Neither were these disturbances answerable to the articles of agreement taken with Tyrone and Odonell ; in one of which it was concluded that if any spoyles were committed in the time of cessation, satisfaction should be geiven within eight dayes after notice were geiven therof.

The Lord  
Deputie  
takes a  
jorney.

The Lord Deputie, havinge intelligence of some Islanders and Irish joyned together to the number of fower hundred that came over the Shanans into MacCoglines contrie burning howses and takinge the peoples goods, he taketh a jorney thitherward the sixt of March. As he came to Tege Omoleys, the cheife of the Omolleys, he with others of the contrie mette hym and declared that the Islanders with theyr adherentes were burninge the contrie not farre from that place. Presently the Lord Deputie appoynted a hundred shotte, with certayne kerne, under the conduct of Omoloy, to be sent tawards them the next way, whoe, by good spiall, and the healpe of Magogline (whoe mette them), came neare to the Sotts† that night, and kept themselves cloase tyll the breake of day, and surprised them sodaynly and unexpected, that beinge stricken with terror there were kylled above a hundred of them, and many more hurt which escaped, havinge recovered the river of Shanans ; but yet some of them seakinge to swimme over were drowned.

A hundred  
of the  
enimies  
killed

The Castell  
of Omaden  
beseiged.

These beinge putte to flight, the Lord Deputie proceedeth in his jorney, and beseiged the castell of Omaden (wherein was a ward and hymselfe in rebellion). They in the castell at the first gave forth vauntinge words that they would defend it agaynst the Lord Deputy if his power were greater ; hopinge to have ayde. But the toppe of the castell beinge as it should seame thached, a soldier cast up a fiarbrand and sette it a-fier ; which did much dismay the defendantes withall, the soldiers

\* Boyle.

† Scotts.

playinge with shotte at theyr spykehooles, and putt fier to the grate and doore of the castell ; which smothered many of them. And withall the soldiers made a breach into the wall and entered the castell, [and] tooke many of them alive, most of which were cast over the wall ; the whole number burned and killed in this castell were 46, besydes two weomen and a boy saved.

The castell taken and 46 rebells slayne.

After this don the Lord Deputy, appoyntinge fiftie of Sir George Bowers soldiers with the ayde of Magoghline and his people to stay there for defence of the contrie, returned towards Dublin.

The Lord Deputy returneth to Dublin.

Complaynt is made by the Maior and townesmen of Drdaugh\* agaynst the soldiers committinge spoyles, and not satisfying for that they take ; wherof redresse is craved. The countie of Kyldare and other partes of the English Pale sende over to the Counsaile of England one Typper ( or else he goeth in theyr name) to preferre petition agaynst the soldiers extortions and other wronges alleaged to be don unto the contrie, wherof the Lord Deputy, havinge some notice, writtes unto the Counsaile beseechinge them not to geive credite unto Typper, whom he terms a busie and a bad seditious fellow ; and accuseth them of the Pale to be backwards in supplyinge the Queenes soldiers with victuells and hymselfe with carriages at times of most necessitie, although it were at such rates as the[y] might be good savers. But for the contries better satisfaction proclamation is made agaynst the soldiers oppression, and certayne orders are sette downe to be observed within the severall counties of the English Pale and other adjoyninge contries, for reformation of abuses by the soldiers lyinge in garisons or passinge thorow the contrie, with heavie penalties ordeyned for the breakers of these orders.

A complaynt agaynst the soldier wronginge the contrie.

A proclamation to punish soldiers offendinge.

p 117.

Sir John Norys, Lord President of Mounster and Generall of the Forces, with Sir Geffery Fenton, havinge treated agayne with Tyrone, Odonell, and the rest of the rebells for perfectinge of a peace, returne to Dublin with good hope and fayer promises made to effect it. And to breede the stronger beleife therof Tirone delivers to the Lord President and sendes to the Lord Deputy a letter sent unto hym by the Kinge of Spayne, brought by Alonso Cobes, a Spaniard ; takinge Captayne William Warrens promise, and his servantes oath by whom he sent it, that noe copie should be taken of it. The contentes of the Spanish

Sir John Noryen and Sir Geffrey Fenton returne from treatinge with the traytors.

\* Drogheda.

Kinges letter was magnifyinge Tyrones achivementes ; incor-  
 rauge hym to continew those enterprises, and promisinge (if he  
 persist) to want noethinge could be desired of hym ; exhortinge  
 [him] to geive credite unto the bearer, and to impart to hym  
 what he desired for hymselfe and the contrie. At the same  
 time Captayne Stafford advertised the Lord Deputy from the  
 Newry of Spaniards which were landed in the North with muni-  
 tion. This letter Tyrone sent of purpose to persuade the State  
 that he intended syncerly to submitte hymselfe to the Queenes  
 mercie, and to renown[c]e all forayne ayde. But it should seame  
 he ment noe such matter ; for even then did Henry Hovenden,  
 his cheife captayne and counsellor (a man of English discent but  
 Irish borne digenerat and digressing from dutie, dependinge  
 wholly on Tirone), writte unto hym that if he did agree to the  
 articles which Henry Warren moved unto hym (wherof he had  
 a coppie) he did not see how such a peace could stand with  
 Tirones good, whoe, noe doubt, was apt inough to take such  
 counsell from such a counsellor. Well yet they proceede to  
 prosecut the establishinge of this intended peace, which hitherto  
 by the Queenes letter and warrant dated the 9 of March 1595  
 had byn begune and protracted untill this time, by expectinge  
 still resolution out of England for the decission of such differences  
 as were betwixt the commissioners and Tirone with his con-  
 federates.

2 March  
 1596 stilo  
 novo.

11 Marcij  
 1595 (this  
 must be  
 sette some  
 3 leaves  
 before).

Resolution was sent from the Queene in answer of Tyrone,  
 Odonell, and the other rebells demaundes to be delivered by the  
 commissioners deputed to meete them ; with power to promise  
 them pardon, if, by theyr humble submission and acceptance of  
 hir Majesties mercie, they should be found worthie therof.

p. 118.  
 (sooner).

The Queene, beinge informed by Sir Robert Gardener of the  
 submissions, complaintes, petitions, and answers of the rebells  
 tendered to the commissioners, whereunto hir Majestie had  
 declared hir pleasure what she lyked or dislyked, of some parte  
 she found soe greate cause of mislyke as she had byn offended  
 with hir commissioners that they would receive or geive care  
 to any such presumptuous and disloyall petitions and answers.  
 Tyrone, Odonell, MacGwyer, MacMahon, and Brian MacShane  
 were the persons only whose petitions and answers Sir Robert  
 Gardener shewed to the Queene in writtinge. But it was sette  
 downe in hir Majesties answers how the rest of the rebells named,



as well as those two principall traytors, should be pardoned or used. One thing they all joynd in, which was dislyked and denied to them all: that was a freedom and libertie to exercise the Romish religion, a matter which Tirone made noe mencion of at his former and late submission. This demand was helde disloyall in hym and the rest, not fitte to be heard; and soe the commissioners were willed sharpely to tell hym and them; and to reprehend this compact made betwixt hym and the rest of the rebells without any reasonable ground, especially consideringe there had byn noe proceeding in matter of religion agaynst hym or any of them to move them to make soe undutifull and disloyall a mocion, which she would never graunt to any subject of any degree. And therefore they were required to desist from that or any such disloyall request.

The traytors demand all, liberty to exercise the Romish religion which is denied.

It was demaunded that noe garison, sheriffe, or other officer should be placed for a time in Tyrone because (as he alleaged) the people could not yet be drawn to yelde consent therto, whereas in deede hymselfe was most unwillinge of any. To this it was answered [that] when it should be found that he and the rest of the inhabitantes would leive peaceably, then the piacinge of garrisons might be forboren; and for a sheriffe, where the Erle agreed that Tirone and Ardmagh should be made one countie, one sheriffe should be appoynted for both, to be of the same contrie, if any such might be found sufficient for such an office.

The demand to have noe garison, sheriffe, or other officer in Tirone answered.

Where Tirone and Odonell, at theyr departure, wrate to the commissioners that unlesse other rebells whom they named, as Feugh MacHugh, MacWilliam Ran MacWilliam, Orurcke, Oconor Dun, and others in Conaught, with the Oreileis and those of the Breny, might be pardoned, and enjoy theyr lives and landes, they could not performe theyr articles, save only for cessation: to this hir Majestie answered that this generall presumpteous pressinge of pardon for other offenders might in noe manner be heard without indignation; and she would never graunt the same to any of them but upon theyr severall acknowledgement of theyr faltes, and upon theyr penitent petition of mercie; not allowinge that one rebell should obteyne pardon for another, but for hymselfe.

An answer to the demand of pardon for other traytors.

P. 119.

Tirones answer to suffer the Buyshop and Deane of Ardmagh to enjoy theyr leivings and jurisdictions as the rest of his neighbours in Ulster would doe, hir Majestie helde to be undutifull

Tirones answer touchinge Armagh

church  
dislyked.

and uncertayne, not expressinge what others ment to doe, wherof he could not be ignorant, usinge soe greate authoritie over them. Hir Majestie beinge the patron of that church ment to maynteyne theyr right, and utterly disallowed the answer.

His deniall to deliver Shane Oneales sonnes for many respects, and not expressinge any, was as much mislyked as the former. The rest of his answers to the commissioners articles were not disallowed. Soe as if he would observe the contentes therof, and continew his submission and petition of mercie, hir Majestie would graciously graunt to hym the same.

exercise of  
the Romish  
religion and  
pardon for  
others  
denied to all  
the rest of  
the rebels.

For the rest of the answers, petitions, and demandes of Odonell, MacGwier, MacMahon, and Brian MacShane, they are all refused in that request for libertie to exercise the Romish religion, and for beinge obteyners of others pardons. In other thinges sumwhat is graunted and sumwhat denied, as theyr severall suites seemed reasonable or unreasonable. And in conclusion a caution and libertie is geiven to the commissioners that notwithstandinge a strict course is prescribed in the severall answers to Tirone and his adherentes, yet rather then the pacification should fayle, uppon some of theyr private demandes (not beinge dishonorable to hir Majestie nor much disprofitable unto dutie) it should be lawfull for such as were employed in this service to yelde therto with good discretion to be used therein. It was further prescribed (that if they were not presently pardoned) to provide as well as might be for securitie that they continew loyall subjectes, as by dispersing forces and other lyke circumstances, untill they should with farther convenient time be induced to performe that parte of dutie and loyaltie which did soe much concerne hir Majesties honor and service. These directions geiven to the commissioners, and they laboringe as much as they might to effect what was expected at theyr handes by the State, after some oppositions and delayes, by reason of the rebels differinge from that which was desired on the Queenes behalfe, at the length it was accorded that Tyrone should have his pardon, whoe seemed very desirous of it; which beinge signed and sent by one Liftenant Banckes the 12th of May 1596 to be delivered unto Sir Edward More (a man whom Tirone had in former times much respected).

Tirones  
pardon  
signed and  
sent the  
12 of May  
1596.

p. 120.

Whi[l]st this pacification was redy to be perfected in the North, some of the lowse people in other partes did not sticke

to stirre ; as in Lexe, Mr Cosbie and his eldest sonne with five of his men were slayne by the Omores, being threescore, whoe came to spoyle his towne, in defendinge of which he was slayne, but he killed one of the cheife of the rebells called George Omoore.

Mr Cosbie with his sonne and servantes slayne by the Omores in Leixe.

The traytor Tirones pardon beinge sent unto hym, and Sir Edward Moore goeing with it, found hym removed into the farther part of Ulster ; w<sup>th</sup>ether of purpose to treate and advise with those of Tyrconnell, or else to protract time, is uncertayne, but it should seame he had a more will to put of\* then to receive mercie ; for he deferred the recevinge of his pardon from the twelwe of May tyll the xxij<sup>th</sup> of July ; and then, after much debatinge, received it with shew of much humilitie and reverence, but refused to take his oath to forsake all foraine ayde ; an evident demonstration that he tooke not this pardon for any other purpose but to put of\* the prosecution of hymselfe and his fellow conspirators untill he might receive farther forayne ayde and the assistance of some others allredy risen, or that were willinge to make insurrection, which was confirmed by this, that after his conclusion made with the commissioners, and much protestation of desier to leive in peace, he, with Odonell, Brian Orurcke, and Theabald Bourcke writte a letter by the Clanshies into Mounster, to stirre them of those partes into rebellion. Which letter was written at Strabane, and signed the vj<sup>th</sup> of July 1596. The tenor of it was this, translated out of Irish wherein it was written :

Tirone gon farre of\* when his pardon was sent.

Tirone received his pardon.

Tirone and others send to stirre rebellion in Mounster.

“ This writtinge doth manifest in the behalfe of Oneile ” (for now soe Tirone stileth hymselfe) “ Odonell, and MacWilliam, that they have geiven oath and vow that whosoever of the Irishry, especially of the gentlemen of Mounster, or whosoever else, as if we did particulerly name them, from the highest to the lowest, shall assist Christes Catholicke Religion and joyne in confederacie and make warre with us, let them, as our trew messengers and agentes, geive firme credite to the Clanshyes and to this our warrant that we send with them : That we will remayne and be unto them a backe or staie, warrant or suertie, for theyr soe aydinge of Gods juste cause, and by our sayd oath or vow, never to conclude peace or warre with the English for ourselves or any of us during our life but that the lyke shalbe concluded for you that shall soe joyne in confederacie with us,

Theyr letter.

\* For “ off.”



and if you shall be driven to extremitie, to relieve and inable you as ourselves in the cause thus intended. And agayne geive credite to these our trustie messengers that we send you.

Signed : Hugh Oneile, Hugh Odonell, Brian Orurcke, Theabald Bourcke."

By this we may see that these rebels ment noethinge lesse then to take theyr pardons and leive in peace, when, whilst they were treatinge of peace, they would send to stirre up warre, and by vowes make such a confederacie under pretence of religion.

p. 121.  
Henry  
Hovendens  
letter of  
advise to  
Tirone.

Allso Henry Hovenden writtes agayne to Tirone tellinge hym that all the delayes which possibly could be devised had not byn omitted to prolonge the causes there in question ; that holde had byn taken of Capytayne Warrens dealinge touching the reteyninge of his pledges, which had byn treated by Odonell, but all would not serve, for the Lord Generall pretended to warre because Odonell would not put in his pledges ; that Tirone had made too much hast in the letters he wrote to Odonell and Mac-William and the rest : he wisheth Tirone to be provided for warre.

Sir John  
Noryes  
goeth into  
Conaught to  
procuer  
peace.

When it was assured that Tirone would take his pardon, and thereby a hope of peace in Ulster was conceived, Sir John Norys, the Lord President of Mounster, and Generall of the forces in Ulster, as a man much trusted by the Queene in managinge these treaties of pacification, taketh his jorney into Conaught, to draw some conclusion with the rebels of that province as it was hoped he had don in Ulster. In this negotiation Sir Geffery Fenton is joyned with hym, as he was lately in Ulster, and goeth not with but shortly after hym into Conaught. The Sargeant Major comes out of Conaught ; and 2000<sup>l</sup> is sent thither to paie the companies. The Lord Deputie, writtinge into England shewinge the generall convulsions and combinations of the severall provinces and greatest persons in Ireland, declares his doubts that thoe a cessation of armes had byn concluded and a peace promised, yet for his part he could not beleive it would longe continew, but that these cessations would worke and had don more hurt then good. But the Lord President sendes hopes of peace in Conaught.

Sir Robert  
Cicyll,  
become  
Secretary,  
writtes to

Sir Robert Ceycell, beinge lately made Secretary of State, writtes a large letter unto the Lord Deputie, wherein he tells the Lord Deputie of divers pacquetts sent by hym into England representing the confused state of that kingdom : confesseth the

Lord Deputies admonitions for hir Majestie to provide for the worst: sheweth hir Majesties judgement that if Conaught be compounded with, Ulster would be the better assured, if that be not perfectly and absolutly settled: yet it were better soe to temporise then to maynteyne new armies, the successe wherof would consist much in victuelling them to keepe the feilde (unto the want wherof had still byn imputed the lacke of prevaylinge): hir Majestie was resolved, before she sent more forces into Ireland, to attend the issue of that greate armie she had now sent agaynst Spayne (meaninge that to Cales under the conduction of the Erle of Essex); which, he sayd, was cheifely sent to make diversion of the Spaniards purpose to invade Ireland. Therfor he adviseth the Lord Deputy to presse noe new forces for Ireland, tyll the yssue of the treatie in Conaugh. were clearely seene. For the poynt of cessation of armes and treaties of peace, which the Lord Deputy had informed to be prejudiciall to the services of Ireland, the Secretary indevoreth by reasons to lay the cause on counsayles received out of Ireland, and therfor justifieth that the counsayle geiven for cessation and treaties out of England had theyr foundation from Ireland. He signifieth farther [that] hir Majestie noted it for a greate error in the letters received from the Lord Deputy and Counsell of Ireland that still they advertise lacke and dangers, with demaundes for increase of forces, but gave not wanted advise in particuler what they would have don, as though they ment only to be advertisers and not advisers. For conclusion the Secretary (after some sharpe and censorious admintions) protesteth to the Lord Deputy that he would not seake to rayse the reputation of any other whom the Lord Deputy thought he did affect (meaninge as it should seame Sir John Norys) to the least prejudice or darke[n]ginge of that superiority which hir Majestie had geiven unto hym.

Whilst the compoundinge of contraversies in Conaught and pacifyinge of Ulster was in handling, Feugh MacHugh, whoe lately had come in to the Lord Deputy, sueth for pardon of the Queene, and useth Sir Henry Haringtons sollicitation therein, beinge lately gon to England, whoe brought letters from the Counsell there for his pardon, with directions uppon what termes it should be graunted hym. But Feugh (after his olde manner) ment noe longer to be faythfull then whilst he could not finde forces or confederates to maynteyne his conspiracie; for within

the Lord  
Deputie.

p. 122.

Forces sent  
agaynst  
Spayne to  
divert theyr  
invasion of  
Ireland.

The  
Secretarie  
urgeth the  
cessation of  
armes to  
come from  
advise sent  
out of  
Ireland.

Feugh  
MacHugh  
sueth for  
pardon.

a fortnight after the Counsaile of England had written to passe his pardon, a letter of his was intercepted written to Tirone, wherein he desireth forces out of Conaught from Odonell, and promiseth to doe whats[o]ever Tirone should requier of hym.

p. 123.  
Sir Edmond  
Buttlers  
sonnes  
enter  
into  
commocion.

Some of the Buttlers, cheifely the two sonnes of Sir Edmond Buttler (brother to the Erle of Ormond), either out of a discontented humor, or by persuation of some rebels theyr kinsmen or alies, began to start out and to breede stirres. Theyr quarell pretended was to Sir Charles Occarol, betwixt whom and the Buttlers there had byn some late contentions and spoles don. Wherupon the Lord Deputy writtes unto the Erle of Ormond; wishing hym by some meanes to bringe in his nephewes James and Peierce Buttler; withall tellinge hym by way of advise [that] it concerned the Erle much soe to doe, for if he did it not, this would be made a greate matter in England. The lyke letter the Lord Deputy wrate to the Viscount Mountgaret, a Buttler, and whose neare kinsmen they were, and to Sir Edmond Buttler, theyr father, commandinge hym to apprehend Peierce Buttler. But neither of them could be had until shortly after they were both slayne.

Sir John  
Norys  
confident  
of peace in  
Conaught.

The Lord President, Sir John Norys, writteth unto the Lord Deputy out of Conaught that the revolters there were brought to good termes: that the companies, purposed to be sent thither, might be stayed to be employed elsewhere as there should be cause: and if the Lord Deputy should have occasion to use any of them, he would not fayle, uppon notice therof, to addresse unto hym such as should be fittest and best able for the service; and his opinion was that those of Conought would not be hastie to enter into rebellion agayne. He promised to hasten tawards the Lord Deputie the three companies of Captayne Hugh Moystian, Captayne Garret, and Captayne Higham. The horsemen were all returned to theyr garrisons, except the Lord Presidents owne at Mollingar, and Captayne Russells in Athenrye. Soe confident was Sir John Norys growen of the Conaught mens conformitie and obedience. And yet shortly after, both he and Sir Geffrey Fenton began to doubt of the preservation of peace in that province, which brake out within a little time to broyles agayne, as did most partes of the kingdom.

Companies  
to be sent  
to the Lord  
Deputie out  
of  
Conaught  
and others  
sent to  
theyr  
garrisons.

And because Feugh MacHugh would not loase his olde wont, he, whoe last of all and very lately craved pardon, was now the



first that brake peace ; for either because his letter written to Tirone was intercepted, or else because his cheife seate Ballinecorre was kept from hym, and a fort buylt there, havinge not that, his mynde was as ill affected as if he had noethinge. Therfor wachinge his opportunitie, when Captayne Toucher (whoe commanded that fort of Ballenecor) sent out of the fort some of his soldiers to meete and rescue the munition sent unto hym by the Lord Deputie, Feugh, understandinge that his men was gon from the forte, suddaynly sette upon it, assaltd those few that were lefte in it, and by treachery of a sargeant wanne the same, takinge Captayne Toucher prisoner with some of his men, and put the rest to the sword ; raysinge the forte to the ground. That day the Lord Deputy had sent the Sargeant Major and Captayne Leae with 200 foote and forty horse tawards Ballenecorre ; but by the way they hard word the fort was lost and soe returned. Within few dayes after, the Lord Deputy, to blotte out this blemish and as well to keepe holde in that quarter as to be revenged of Feugh MacHughs trechery, tooke a jorney tawards Rathdrome nere Ballenecorre, with purpose to finish a fort there, and by that meanes either to fech in Feugh MacHugh or at the least to keepe hym with his confederates from spoyling the contrie. The Lord Deputie began his jorney thitheward the 18th of September, 1586 attended with Sir Edward Yorke, Sir William Clerke, the Sargeant Major Chichester, Captayne Percie, Thomas Maria Wingefeild, Captayne Russell, and others. The Lord Deputy continued with the campe fortifyinge at Rathdrome all September and tyll the eight of October ; at which time he returned to Dublin, leavinge most of the forces there under the command of the Sargeant Major to finish the fort. In this space the Lord Deputy sent forth divers times the Sargeant Major and Captayne Thomas Leae, whom he specially employed to seake the rebells and to take theyr cattell. Sometimes they lighted on them and caried theyr coves to the campe, for which the traytors would come to skirmish and to rescue them, but never made any settled or sharpe fight.

Within five dayes after, the Lord Deputie went to Dublin, conferred with the Counsell, and sent some dispatches into England. He returned agayne to the campe. Such was his desier to follow that foxe Feugh MacHugh that he stayed there in the hard season of winter tyll the sevententh of November, fortefyne

p. 124.  
Feugh  
MacHugh  
surpriseth  
Ballinecorr  
and taketh  
Captayne  
Tucher.

The Lord  
Deputie  
goeth to  
fortifie  
Rathdrome.

His con-  
tinuance  
there.

Spoyles  
taken from  
the rebells.

and sendinge out parties to spoyle the rebells, whoe returned from them often allmost once or twice a weeke loaden with cowes, sometimes with a hundred or more.

p. 125.

The Lord  
Deputie  
leaveth  
Rathdrone  
and  
appoynteth  
Captayne  
Leae to  
command it.

The Sargeant  
Major  
sent to  
serve uppon  
the  
Buttlers.

Companies  
sent to theyr  
garrisons.

Tirone  
restraines  
the releife  
of Armagh  
and com-  
mitteth  
other  
outrages.

Henry Oge  
invades  
some parte  
of the  
Pale.

The seventeth of November the Lord Deputy roase from Rathdromme, leavinge Captayne Leae with Liftenant Flower to command there, and came, within two dayes after, to Tullie, where the Erle of Ormond was the same day in fight with some of his owne kinsmen the Buttlers, and they burned that night about the Brislow\* in veiw of the Lord Deputies campe. Therfor the Sargeant Major and Captayne Leae were sent out with companies to do some service uppon the Buttlers, whom they could not finde, but lighted on the Erles campe and returned home in the morning. In the meane time Peirce Harpoole had taken a preie from the Buttlers. The Lord Deputy continewed at Tullie tyll the seven and twentith of November. In the meane time some service was don by Captayne Seint Leger and Captayne Marshalls companies uppon the rebells in Leix, where some were out; but Donaugh Spanio and other Cavanaughs came to the Lord Deputy at Tullie. There the Lord Deputie sent some companies to theyr places of garrison, as Sir John Bowles to Carigfergus, Sir Edward Bowes to the Nasse, and Sir Urian Leighs to Droheda. Other companies he lefte under the command of the Sargeant Major at Tullie, to answer the attemptes of Feugh MacHugh and the Buttlers with theyr adherentes, as the Sargeant Majors owne companie, Sir George Bowsers, Captayne Highams, Captayne Greames, and Captayne Fleminges horse.

Whilst the Lord Deputie was thus busied in followinge Feugh MacHugh, and the Lord President remayninge in Conaught there to bringe them to peace, Tirone takes his time and opportunity contrary to the articles of truce and his pardon received. He makes publicke restraynt of all victuells to be caried to Ardmagh: quarells with the convoy and cuttes of some of the soldiers that went thither with victuells: made an attempt to surprise the place itselfe, where some xxxv of the garrison soldiers were slayne, hymselfe countenancinge the matter in person. Violent incursions were made into the Pale by his kinsmen and followers as farre as the river of Boyne, his sonne in law, Henry Oge MacShane, beinge there, and commandinge in Tirones name.

\* Brisklow, in *Carew MSS.*

He lykewise treacherously attempted to surprise the castell of Carlingford, where, missinge the principall purpose, there was caried away as prisoners two gentleweomen, the daughters of Captayne Henshaw ; hymselfe (thoe he were not there) followinge with forces of purpose to surprise the castell.

This much the Lord Deputie and counsell signifie in a letter written to Sir John Norys (whoe was not yet come out of Conaught) in answer of one received from hym, whoe, beinge advertised of the distresse that the garison at Ardmagh was in, writtes therof to the Lord Deputy and counsell ; withall imparting his opinion that if one good letter had byn written from them to Tirone, it had byn the saffetie of Ardmage. To which they make answer that they knew not what he ment by this one good letter ; for they were suer that synce he tooke his pardon they had written unto hym noe displeasinge or provockinge letter, but had used all good meanes to draw hym into the way of dutie and obedience, tyll now he had shewed soe many signes of bad meaninge to the State (wherof they made resitall). Therefore they could not thincke that if they should writte any such letter as he advised, it would worke any good impression in the traytor Tirone, whom they lefte unto Sir John Noryes, to take such course with hym for the releife of that garrison, either by letters or by force, and if he thought best to manage it by force, he should not want for that purpose all the healpe of horse and foote that might be had in the kingdom, or anythinge else that by theyr authorities might geive fartherance to the service.

After this letter written to the Lord Presid[e]nt Sir John Noryes, they send another to Tirone hymselfe ; tellinge hym they had received advertisements of his restraynt made of the relevinge Ardmagh, and of some soldiers slaine by his people goeing thence to cutt wood. They charge hym that this dealinge was contrarie to the acceptation of his pardon, and his dutie to his sovaine ; requiringe hym, uppon his dutie of alleageance, to permitte that place to be victuelled accordinge to his promise and the covenantes, or else resolutly they signifie that they would execute his pledges delivered for his loyaltie, and procede agaynst hymselfe by way of proclamation ; and where he had affirmed in his letter to the Marshall that promise was broaken with hym made by the Lord Generall and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, because Feugh MacHugh was and is prosecuted, they tell hym

p. 126.  
30 Novem-  
ber.

The Lord  
Deputie and  
counsell  
answer Sir  
John  
Noryes  
letter.

The releife  
of Ardmagh  
lefte to  
Sir John  
Noryes.

A letter  
sent from  
the Lord  
Deputy and  
counsell to  
Tirone.



An answer  
to Tirone's  
unjust  
exceptions.

playnely [that] both Sir John Norys and Sir Geoffery Fenton assured that Feugh MacHugh was never once named in that treatie. Besydes, his owne articles agreed uppon was that he should stand uppon his owne pardon, and not meddle with any but in Tirone. For Feugh, he had surprised hir Majesties fort before anything was attempted agaynst hym; therfor they required Tirone to reforme hymselfe and presently to returne answer whither he would suffer Ardmagh to be releived, that they might, according to theyr dutie, proceede without admittinge farther delaies.

p. 127.  
4 December  
Tirone  
makes  
answer to  
theyr letter.

To this resolut and worthily written letter Tirone returneth a peremptory answer; confessinge his restraynt of victuellinge Ardmagh; alleaginge in generall that promise was not kept with hym synce he received his pardon; instanceth only the prosecution of Feugh MacHugh (which was before answered), and that one Owen MacCallo was lately murdered by the garrison at Kelles, a slender cause for a subject to rebell and breake peace for the kyllinge of one kerne, but these were quarells and noe juste causes of his revolte. For his pledges, he sayth they should have byn released half a yere before, but they might doe with them what they pleased. These and many other injuries (without naminge any) caused hym to stand in doubt. But he could not say they were sufficient grounds of rebellion or to denie his pardon and to restrayne the releife of Ardmagh. He farther tells that he expected for 4 monethes the Lord Presidents meetinge of hym for the endinge of all matters. These violent attemptes, followed with peremptory answers, made it playne that he purposed noe longer to leive in peace then whilst feare and force should keepe hym under.

p. 129\*  
2 December,  
1597.

Tirone  
writtes to  
Feugh  
MacHugh  
faynedly

A peace  
affirmed to  
be concluded  
for all the

At this time Tirone, yet to yelde some hope (notwithstandinge all his perfidious practises) that he would leive in peace and draw others to doe the lyke, sendes a letter to Feugh MacHugh, noe doubt with desier it should be seene, for it was thus indorsed: "Let me be delivered to Faugh MacHugh," and the contentes of it was that Tirone had formerly sent unto hym concerning all the proceedinges with the Lord Norys in Conaught (whereby it appered what cloase correspondence he kept with Fewgh and such as he was), and that they concluded a peace there for hym as well as for theyrselves (which was noethinge soe): that the

\* For remainder of p. 127 and p. 128 see further on.

Queene was mercifull unto hym as well as unto the rest, and upon that condition they had put in pledges, (and this lykewise was false, for there was noe relation to Feugh) : that the condition, vow, and oath made by the cheife of the Irish was not to make peace or warre untill every one that entred into the warre might have the lyke peace and other meete things, or else, whosoever should not accept or take the same, he should spend hymselfe in his owne quarell. Therfor he wished Feugh to make peace as becometh hym, to take his pardon, and to cause the Buttlers allsoe to doe the lyke. This deceitfull dealinge did Tirone allways use ; for, notwithstandinge this letter wherein he would seame to persuad Feugh to take his pardon and to leive in peace, usinge it as a meanes his messinger might perchance come with a cleane contrary message to be delivered in secret.

Irish but  
falsely.

Persuades  
Feugh to  
seake his  
pardon.

Within few daies after, Tirone marcheth with greate forces tawards the Newry, and, as Sir Henry Bagnall certified, lay in campe within a myle of the place, havinge with hym fower or five thowsand men. Besydes, Tirlough MacHenry, Tirones halfe brother, captayne of the Fewes, (as Thomas Maria Wingefeild wrate), had taken some of our men prisoners in this time of peace.

Tirone  
marcheth  
with greate  
forces  
tawards  
the Newry.

Tyrell, one borne in Meath, turninge traytor, was sent by Tirone into Leix, where, ranging the contrie, he was mette by the companies of Captayne Seint Leger and Captayne Marshall, whoe slew eight of the rebels.

Tirell sent  
to troble  
Leixe.

At the beinge of Sir John Norys in Conaught divers complayntes were made agaynst the Governor Sir Richard Bingham, whoe, either by commandment or else voluntary to avoyd juste exception of hinderinge the composition, comes thence and leives abouts Dubline, tyll the many exceptions taken agaynst hym, and the hope that his removall would geive some satisfaction to them of Conaught, moved the Queene to sende another Governor in his place.

Sir Richard  
Bingham  
removed out  
of Conaught.

Soe Sir Coniers Clifford was made Governor of Conaught, whoe, cominge into Ireland and takinge first his oath from the Lord Deputie, goeth into Conaught to undertake that government. And a little before, Sir Richard Bingham, hearinge of his successors cominge, (without lisencc from the Lord Deputie) takes his way for England.

p. 130.  
Sir Coniers  
Clifford  
made  
Governor  
of Conaught.

The Lord President, Sir John Norys, returned from Conaught, where he had continewed most parte of the late sommer and this

winter untill the xvij<sup>th</sup> of December. There he had treated with Odonell, Orurcke, the Burkes, and others, whoe had stood uppon eivell termes, but beganne to offer submission and shew of fidelitie untill Odonells cominge thither. And afterwards (as it was conceived by his persuation and practises) they fell from theyr former profession of faythfullnes. What Odonell did herein was by Tirones counsayle, by whom he was wholly directed, and whoe promised at Sir John Norys departure out of Ulster for Conaught to persuade and procuer Odonell to yelde conformitie and obedience. But Tirone ment it not (as his actions afterwards made manifest) and they were both otherwise disposed.

Sir John Norys goes to victuell Ardmagh.

Sir John Norys, shortely after his cominge to Dublin, takes a journey accompanied with Sir Geffery Fenton and Sir George Bowser for the victuellinge of Ardmagh the 14th of January. Noe sooner was he departed Northward but newes came from the Erle of Clanricard that Odonell was come into his contrie with 3000 foote and 200 horse, burninge and spoylinge all thereabouts. These were the fruites of these truces taken, and pardons both proffered and accepted, which wrought much miserie unto the contrie, insoemuch as it passed for a by-word, emongst such as knew the course and cariage of thinges there, that two termes brought out of Britane (and theyr effectes) did undoe all Ireland : that was, cesse and ceassation. By the one, the contrie was burdened thorow charge of the soldiers more thcn they were able or at the least more then they were willinge to beare : by the other, that was the surce[a]singe of armes and attendinge treaties with truces taken, the rebells grew stronge and insolent. Yet to say the truth Sir John Norys, on whom most of the blame was layed, did not deserve it, (unless it were in geivinge to much credite to Tirone). For he did noe more then he was directed and required by the Queene and hir counsell of England, whoe, still expectinge the Spaniards invasion of Ireland, and doubtinge the Irish would joyne with them, to divert that danger it was (unfinished).

A common sayinge that two termes did undoe all Ireland.

p. 131.

The Lord Deputie, greived and discouraged with some sharpe reprehensions received from the Queene and imputation layed on his goverment, findinge eivell successe and fearinge worse, maketh petition in humble and earnest manner to be revoked from that goverment, and at length obteyneth his request. But, before he is recalled, for a conclusion of his service he maketh



another enterprise agaynst Feugh MacHugh [and] draweth the forces into his contrie, where Feugh hymselfe is slayne, his head cutte of, and sent into England. He had byn a man that much and longe troubled the English pale. Soe, with the finishinge of this service, Sir William Russell ended his government; for within few dayes after the Lord Borough arived.

[After the departure of Sir William Russell, the last Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir John Norys, cheife commander of the English armie, drew all the Britaine companies and other forces out of Conought and Leinster into Ulster, where Tyrone had formerly treated with hym on fayer termes, but now, hearinge of his approach with an armie, began to draw unto an head. The first day that the Generall came to campe and made the randevows was at Carigbane, a myle and a halfe from the Newry. Some of the boyes, goeing abroad for cabbaning stufte, were cutte of\* by Tyrones men whoe laie in ambush, hymselfe lyinge with all his forces sixe or seven myles thence. The next day the Generall, with his force of abouts three thowsand, marched tawards Ardmagh. In the mydway, betwixt the Newry and Ardmaugh, Tyrone with all his owne and his confederates forces meete hym neere the place where synce a fort was buylt by the Lord Montjoy, and by hym called Mount Norys, in honor of Sir John Norys, whom he pleased to call his maester, because he had served with hym in the Netherlands and received most of his knowledge in the warres from hym. Here was a hotte skirmish. Many ordinary men were slayne on both sides; of the better sorte few slayne, but only some sargeantes and other inferior officers. Adjoy[n]inge to this place there was a bogge, from whence the rebells cominge up began the fight, and maynteyned it with winges of lowse shotte on boath sides, and the battayle continuinge on firme ground came not to charge; neither could our horse come up to them, beinge on the skirte of a bogge, whence the Irish did styll yssue, and often made retrayte beinge beaten backe. At the length the Generall Norys commanded to make an alto,† or stand, on the champaine, to see if the rebells would follow any farther on the firme ground. But Tyrone with his confederates came not on. That day the armie marched three myles more tawards Ardmagh, unto an olde church. There they incamped. The next day they vic-

p. 127.

p. 128.

\* For "off."

† Halt.

tuelled Ardmagh, and lay downe by a wood, neere a myle from the towne. Tyrone, with his adherentes, had gotte that night betwixt the armie and the Blackewater, hymselfe lyinge on the farre syde of the river, with much of the rebells forces ; fearinge least, if the Generall should passe that river, he should be put out of the contrie of Tyrone, where his cheife fastenes and frendes were. But the Generall marched noe farther then Armagh, the victuelling wherof might only releive that place, but not much anyo the enemie or farther the generall service. In the morninge, at the remove of the campe (the rebells forces lyinge not farre of),\* an English soldier came forth on foote with his peece, in bravinge sorte, traversinge his ground and makinge shew to challenge single fight. An Irish horseman of Tyrones, whoe scouted on that quarter and was neare hym, charged home to hym. The footeman shotte hym thorow, and the other, runninge in with a full careare, strake the footeman with his staffe into the body.

The Generall tooke his jorney backe from Ardmagh to victuell Monahon].†

P. 131.  
(contd).

The Lord  
Borough  
Lord  
Deputie of  
Ireland.

#### THE LORD BOROUGHS GOVERMENT

The Lord Borough was sent Lord Deputy into Ireland with full power and absolute authoritie to command the armie. He was a man full of corage, spirite, and witte, and had served in the Low Contries, where he had the goverment of the Brill. Yet by many men he was not helde to be of soe good staidnes and temper as might make hym fitte for soe greate a goverment, and to command in soe perillous a time.

At his arivall he brought some supplies of captaynes and others out of the Netherlandes. Tyrone, hearinge of his arivall (after his wonted manner of temporising and gayninge time with new supplies by treaties), writtes unto the Lord Borough, and beseecheth hym to admitte hym such conditions as might make hym with securitie sette aside armes, and become a dutifull subject unto hir Majestie, which he did (as he protested) desier above all other thinges. The Lord Deputie, hearinge of Tyrones

Tirone  
offereth  
fayned  
submission  
to the Lord  
Deputie.

\* For "off."

† All this passage within brackets struck out in the original MS., with this marginal note "This is misplaced and should not be here," *i.e.* on pp. 127-8. It was evidently intended to be entered as above, for at the end of p. 130 occur the words "Here must be added two or three sheetes of Sir William Russell's goverment."

delais and not willinge to be deluded, returns hym a short and sharpe answer : that synce he had shewed hymselfe soe undutifull and disloyall unto his soverayne, he should hope for noe farther respyte, or to be heard at his handes, unlesse he would absolutely and presently yelde hymselfe unto hir Majesties mercie, whom he had soe highly and heynously offended ; therfor without any farther capitulation he must submitte hymselfe, or else expect to feele sharpe prosecution by his princes power.

The Lord Deputy returnes a short answer to Tyrone.

This strict condition the traytor Tyrone lyked not. And the Lord Deputy, not willinge to be idle, or to geive the rebells any longe time of breatheinge (having first discharged Sir John Norys of his commaund over the armie and sent hym into the province of Mounster wherof he was Lord President), the Lord Deputy, before he tooke his jorney into the North, sendes for some of Lexe whoe were suspected, emongst whom Ony MacRowry, the sonne of Rowry Oge, was one ; a man of a desperat resolution, one that had gathered some few followers of the Omores, his kinsmen by blood and for spoyles sake his followers. The Lord Deputy tolde hym it was reported (and there were some causes to suspect) that he ment to rebell : “ But ” quoth the Lord Deputy “ if thow doest rebell ” (poyntinge at five of his pages which stode by) “ theise boyes shall fech the[e] in.” Ony replied noething ; but as soone as he repayred home, and the Lord Deputy was departinge Northward, he sent unto hym two bundells of dartes as a tooke ; which, when the Lord Deputy did see, he asked what Onys meaning might be to send hym such thinges. To whom some of experience (that knew the fashion and condition of that contrie people), sayd : “ Your Lordship may perceive he meanes maddely, and sendes you this you may know he wantes not this contrie weopens ; and you shall see he will shortely shew hymselfe in rebellion.” Which fell out even soe ; for within few weekes he had a hundred rebells to follow hym, and soe increased his numbers.

p. 132.

The Lord Deputie sendes for Ony MacRowry and others suspected in Leixe.

Ony MacRowrys present sent to the Lord Deputie.

Sir John Noryes, whoe before had commanded the armie and had byn much used by commission in treaties of pacification, was now discharged of his generallship, and [sent] by the Lord Borough (sole commander of the forces) into his owne government, beinge Lord President of Mounster, where hence, beinge not suffered to depart nor to holde such command as he had formerly enjoyed in Ireland, Fraunce, and the Low Contries, where he



Sir John  
Noryes  
dieth in  
Mounster.

had byn Generall of the Queenes armies and forces, beinge now (as he sayd) put into a pynefolde, with sorow (as the greatest spyrites are least able to brooke disgrace) shortly after finished the warefare of this life. Soe one of the worthiest commanders in the warre that ever this nation bredde ended his dayes; beinge a man able to have don better service to his prince and contrie, but that imployment was fatall to hym, as it proved afterwards to other worthe servitors in that State.

p. 133.

The Lord  
Deputie  
draweth the  
armie into  
Ulster.

The Lord Deputie prepares for a jorney to goe hymselfe in person, with all the forces he could conveniently make, agaynst the rebells of Ulster; knowinge that there was the head of the rebellion, which, beinge cutte of, the members and dependantes in other partes would sooner weare away, and that Tyrone with all his eivell adherentes might not be suffered to sleepe in securitie or to annoy the good subjectes, as they were wont (without prosecution or slenderly prosecuted), he drew aboutes 4000 soldiers with hym into the feild.

Tirlough  
MacHenry  
bringeth a  
prey to the  
Lord  
Deputie  
and serveth  
agaynst  
Tirone.

At his approach unto Dredheda, called Tredagh, there came unto hym Tyrlagh MacHenry, halfe brother unto the traytor Tyrone, whoe (for assurance of his loyaltie) brought as many cowes as he could drive from Tyrone and his bordering neighbours; beinge soe greate a number as for the time did pester the English Pale. For his incoragement the Lord Deputy bestowed on hym the command of a foote companie, with drome and collers, and some horse. Tirlough undertooke to guyde the Lord Deputy over the Blackewater; beinge reckned by some of our servitors at that time a place unpassable without extreame perill, and not hitherto attempted synce Tyrones revolte.

Tirlough  
MacHenry  
becometh a  
guyde to the  
Lord  
Deputie.

The first night he camped at the Faghertie beyond Dondalk, the second at Carigbane besydes the Newry, and the third at Ardmagh; Tyrone, with all the other traytors, never offering to incounter hym. The night that the Lord Deputy came to Ardmagh (without acquaynting any with his purpose) he called for Captayne Turner, the Sargeant Major (in whose valour and sufficiencie he reposed much confidence); commanded hym to draw out 2000 of the ablest men from all the companies; and with them he ment to march incontiently to the Blackwater, beinge three myles from the campe, caryinge first hymselfe [with] 200 [men] devided into 4 fift[i]es, to the poynt, with which he marched before.

The Lord  
Deputie  
marcheth in  
the night  
from  
Ardmaugh  
to the  
Blackewater.

At Ardmagh the rest of the forces he left with the Marshall to march after, [to make good that place and to secuer his trayte].\* As they marched forwards in the night they mette with some of Tyrones scoutes. Theyse asked in Irish: "Whoe goes there?" To whom Tyrlough Oneale would answer [that] he was Brian MacArt, that was Tyrones reputed brothers sonne (one of principell command under the traytor). But when the scoutes saw that the forces went on with hast and furie, these scoutes shout off† theyr peeces to geive warninge unto Tyrones people, whoe wached on the way betwixt Ardmagh and the Blackewater. Yet the Lord Deputy marched on, and as fast as the soldiers could follow came to the Blackwater about two of the clocke at night. This was a foorde in a river, full of greate pyble stoanes, slyppery, and havinge some pittes. It was fortified on the farthest side with a trenche some seven foote deepe, and a pallisadoe before it of hasell wood, willow, and wattells, made very high. The rebels had fower harqubushes, a crocke to play and scouer alongst the river, but shotte off none; for ether theyr heartes fayled them beinge thus sodaynly surprised, or else they wanted skyl in discharging of ordinance. When the Lord Deputy was entered into the river (havinge Felim Ohanlon with hym for his guyde) they fell into a narrow foord, where but few could passe in front; and this they did not without difficulty and danger, for the Lord Deputy fell hymselfe into a pytt, and scrambled out well wett without any other perill. The Irish, seeinge them come on with this resolution, quitted the farther syde where they were lodged in the trenches, which was soone possessed by the English foote that forded over followinge the Lord Deputy. Some small skirmish was proffered, Tyrones people offeringe now and then to come on, and discharginge in the darke by starre light. But within an ower they were betten off,† the foord passed over, and the trenches possessed by the English. Within three or fower owers after the first entery of the foorde, the whole forces came over the river and incamped there. When the Lord Deputy had caused his men to pull up the pallisadoes, and his foote possessed the trenches, [within an hower after]\* some of the rebels horse made shew to charge, but came not home. There the Lord Deputy lay with these forces eight weekes buyldinge up an olde

p. 134

Forces  
lefte at  
Ardmagh.The rebels  
had  
ordinance  
but did not  
discharge  
them.The rebels  
quitt they  
trenches.The forces  
all passed  
over the  
forde.

p. 135

The rebels  
make shew  
to charge,  
but come  
not on.

\* Underlined in original.

† For "off."

fort [on the farre syde of the river]\*, and sent convoyes to the Newry for victuells and munition as there was neede of either.

The Saboth day after the passinge over the Blackwater, whilst the Lord Deputy was at prayers, yeldinge prayeses to Good for theyr good successe, the rebells horsemen shewed themselves on the hylls neere the campe. Wherof when newes was brought to the Lord Deputie, he commanded Captayne Mountague, with his horse and some others, to draw out to incounter and to drive away the rebells, but Captayne Turner, beinge Sargeant Major, a man of forward spirite, desired the Lord Deputie he might have the honor to beate them backe. Soe, leave being geiven hym to draw forth some soldiers, he marched tawards the enemie, and had a sharpe incounter with them. The Lord Deputie, seeinge the Sargeant Major (whoe had but small forces with hym) ingaged, marcheth hymselfe in person tawards the place where they were in fight; and, this perceived, divers captaines with others of qualitie followed hym; whoe came soe forwards that Mr Thomas Wauler,\* the next man to the Lord Deputie, was shotte into the hand with a bullet, and soe neere stode he to the Lord Deputie that he hard the blow of the bullet, and sayd: "There is one shotte." "It is I" quoth Mr Wauler.† Yet they went on soe resolutly that the rebells were put to retrayte, and divers of them slayne. On our side Captayne Turner, with Sir Frauncis Vaughan, the Lord Deputies brother in law, were kyled; and they pursued the traytors above a myle. After this Tirone durst not geive the onsette any more duringe eight weekes of the Lord Deputies incampinge in that place.‡

In all this time Tyrone, with all his trayterous confederates, did attempt little worth the notinge; yet skirmished often out of the woods and pases. But findinge themselves overmastered, and that the English forces thus lodged neere theyr fastenes were resolved to put the traytors to it if they came on, therfor Tirone retyred and forsooke his cheifest howse called Du[n]ganon, within two myles of the Blackwater, which he hymselfe demolished and kept the woods, only wachinge what the Lord Deputy would doe. Neither did they offer to sette upon the

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\* Underlined in original.

† Waller.

‡ This paragraph is marked in the original to follow the word "trenches" at the beginning of p. 135, but evidently in error.



armie, save once some companies of shotte were sent into the other side of the river, whoe sodaynly powred in theyr vollies upon the campe, yet hurt but few. And another time there was a French youth that followed Captayne Bret. He with two others drew themselves sumwhat from the campe to see if they could finde any thereaboutes of Tyrones straglers. Soe, upon the syde of a bogge, three of the rebells mette and encountered them, wherof two of Tyrones partie were slayne in the place. Which beinge perceived by some others of the rebells syde that lay not farre thence,\* tenne more of them yssued out to take revenge ; and abouts as many more of our men drew out of the campe to rescue the three first whoe were now ingaged and shrewdly besett. Thus by degrees they drew out more and more on ether syde, tyll at length they fell all to armes, an allarome beinge geiven to the campe, and there began a hotte fight of horse and foote. [In this skirmish there were slayne on the English side Sir Frauncis Vaughan, brother in law to the Lord Borowes],† [and] Captayne Turner, Sargeant Major ; Captayne Williames with some others were hurt.

Duringe the Lord Deputies beinge here, there were eight of Sir Tirlough MacHenrys men that undertooke to fier the howses aboutes Donganon, Tyrones cheife castell and seate, which hymselfe had forsaken. They performed it resolutly, in burninge his hall, myll, and other out-howses, the flame wherof was seene in the campe and did much amase Tyrone, whoe lay lurkinge not farre of.‡ These eight men gotte away without harme, beinge good guydes, yet durst not returne the direct way unto the campe (Tyrones people lyinge betwixt them and home), but they coasted about thorow the contry tawards the edge of Conaught, and soe came compasse saffe unto theyr captayne. What theyr reward was is uncertayne, but they adventured farre and deserved well.

Sir Coniers Clyfford, Governor of Conaught, was looked for to joyne with the Lord Deputy. But he could not come farther then Ballashanon, and was fought with by Odonell with others of the rebells, whoe kept the pases, where he could not passe but with greate perill. He beseiged Balashanan, but could not gayne it ; lost some men, beinge charged by Odonell. He was hardly sette to by Odonell ; and the olde Erle of Clanricard

p. 136.  
Sir Tirlough  
MacHenrys  
men  
undertake  
to burne  
howses  
about  
Donganon,  
and doe it.

Sir Coniers  
Clifford  
should but  
could not  
meete the  
Lord  
Deputie.

\* "Thener" in original. † Underlined in original. ‡ For "off."

shewed good valow in charginge with his horse. Odonell came up to Tirone.

The Lord Deputy lefte a garde at Blackwater and victuells Ardmagh.

When the Lord Deputy had finished this fort agaynst all the forces and in the face of Tyrone with all his adherentes, he departed and lefte Captayne Williames with his own company and two soldiers sellected out of ech band to guard it ; leavinge there fower feilde peeces, two rabanetts, and two harqubushes, [and] a crocke, one in every mount, to scouer the fort, with a proportion of victuells for a quarter of a yere, and lyke quantity of munition. He returned, and promised to come to the fort within eight weekes.

Tyrone with all his adheringe troupes were soe daunted by this adventure and cloase allogement that they durst not in the Lord Deputies returne offer hym any fight ; but would have cutte of\* a convoy of victuells, which yet he could not doe. The Lord Deputy went in person to [†]the fort at the Cavan. At the ende of this service the companies were disporsed, some sent to be cessed on the English Pale.

The rebells of Leix stirre in the Lord Deputies absence.

Whilst the Lord Deputie was in this Northerne journey those rebells of Ulster, beinge not able to withstand the Queenes armie, sette them of Leix on to play theyr partes : as Ony MacRoury, newly gon out and joyninge with the sonnes of Feugh MacHugh, whoe, with the Cavanaughs and Moores, ranged about in those partes. To them was sent Tyrell whoe came from Tirone.

p. 137.

Iriell Offarolls fayth and advertisments.

Of these rebells ranginge and spoylinge in Leix, Irill Offarall, one of the cheifest and best affected to the State of all that name within the countie of Longford, sendeth advertisement to the Counsell of Ireland that he, hearinge the rebells had made incur-sions of late upon Del[v]ine in the countie of Meath, sent one of his men unto the confines of that contrie to gette intelligence of theyr courses and intendementes, where he was taken by Brian Reogh Omore his men, whoe, accompanied with Feugh MacHugh his sonne and Felime Reough Oconor with three or fower hundred foote, passed alonge spoylinge that contrie. Irill Offarolls man beinge brought before them, Brian Reugh sayd he would doe hym noe hurt for his masters sake, because, when Brian was prisoner in London, Irill Offaroll did use to geive hym almes when he mette hym with his keeper abroad in the cittie, and

\* For " off."

† Word illegible.

did bid Irills man tell his master that hymselfe and the rest with hym were then goeing into Leinster to destroy those partes with the forces which the Erle of Tirone sent with them to that ende, and that he would sende more power, with Captayne Tirell and the Newgentes that were in rebellion, to Moyne More; that Cormock MacBaron, base brother to Tirone, should come to Meath, where all theise should meete to distroy the contrie. Therfor he wished Iriell to joyne with the Northerne rebels, and sayd that Cormocke MacBaron did thincke Irill and his kindred would doe soe, or else, if they did not, he would draw all his forces into Longford to winne theyr castells, and to invade them with armes.

The rebels goeing to spoyle Leinster.

Meath should be destroyed.

Of these things Iriell Offaroll very faythfully did informe the Counsell, the coppie of whose letter Sir Henry Wallop sent to the Lord Deputy beinge in Ulster, and with it his opinion: it was to be feared that these rebels now come out of the North, together with the Omores, Obernes, Ootoles, and the bastard Geraldines, would doe much harme this winter, if by his Lordships good meanes it were not prevented: the contrie people of themselves would doe noethinge for theyr owne defence, for within three myles of Dublin they suffered theyr neighbours to be taken by some three or fower score kerne, whoe tooke the people of the contrie and stayed two daies within three myles of the place where they tooke them, beinge a champion\* contrie. For Leace and Offaly, Sir Henry Walop delivered his opinion to the Lord Deputie [that] it were good his Lordship would direct warrantes to all the freeholders in those contries to keepe and maynteyne soe many horse and foote as they by their pattents were bound to doe, and that (tyll his Lordship might spare some forces) the contrie might be commanded to have holdinges in such places of the borders as should be thought fittest.

Sir Henry Wallopes advise to the Lord Deputie.

p. 138.

Spoyles don within three myles of Dublin.

At this time allsoe Sir Charles Occaroll, lord of the betwixt† contrie called Ellie, bordering, a good subject and servitor to the State, signifieth that havinge received commandement from the Lord Deputie for the apprehension of Ken Boy Occaroll, unkle to Brian Reugh Omore, and (havinge taken hym) for sending of hym saffe with sufficient gard, Sir Charles kept hym in one of his castells, and could not with conveniency presently

Sir Charles Occaroll takes a rebell of his name, and is required to send hym to the Lord Deputie.

\* Champaine.

† "Betwixt" is written over the word "of the."



His excuse  
for not  
sendinge the  
rebell  
presently.

send hym to Dublin, in respect (as he sayd) that Brian Reugh was daylie expected to come into his contrie ; therfore the sendinge of his men to carie this prisoner would weaken his forces for the prosecution of this traytor Brian Reugh. He prayeth respyte for sendinge the prisoner, or else that a band of soldiers should be sent to receive hym at Philipstowne, whither he would convey hym saffely, and be backe agayne in time to defend his contrie.

Brian Reugh  
with 200  
kerne  
spoylinge in  
Upper  
Ossery.

Brian Reugh beinge then in the fastenes of Upper Ossery with two hundred kerne followinge hym, whom Sir Charles Occaroll had lately prosecuted, without any ayde of his neighbours (as he affirmed) Tege Oge Odoyn excepted, he complayneth that he found all his other neighbours most slacke in this prosecution and banishment of this traytor. Before his cominge into those partes they promised much ; but now did noethinge save halte and harken unto hym. Of this he sayd he had written to the Erle of Ormond ; what his Lordship would doe he seamed to doubt. Some rebells there were out in Wexford and other partes of Ireland ; for the traytors of Ulster, not able or daringe to withstand the Queenes forces in theyr owne contrie, doe send and stirre up as many as they might to perturbe other partes.

p. 139.

The Lord  
Deputie  
marcheth  
to relieve  
the fort at  
the  
Blackewater.

The rebells  
beseige the  
fort, and are  
repulsed.

Theise advertisementes, with the approching winter, drew the Lord Deputy out of Ulster unto Dubline, where he remaynd that winter ; tyll, intelligence beinge brought abouts Michaelmas to the Lord Deputy that Captayne Williames was beseiged and in some distresse at the fort of Blackwater for want of victuells, he drew the armie thither. Before the Lord Deputie came in his releife, the traytor Tyrone sent unto the Captayne to deliver up the fort, which he refused to doe. Then one of the soldiers—an Irishman—escaped out of the fort and gave intelligence of theyr wantes and weaknes, which did incorage Tyrone to march thither and to beseige it. When the rebells approched to the fort with theyr forces, Captayne Williames hymselfe discharged a rabanet laden with bullets, and slew some of them. Yet they advanced and put seven score and five scalinge ladders to the fort, and assalted it thrice. Soe that Captayne Williames with such small forces as he had remayninge with hym in the fort defended it valiently [and] kylled and threw downe into the diche divers of them. The defendants battered and overturned them with blacke bylls. They, thus discouraged, lifte

the assalte and went away. Tyrone bewayled the losse of some his forwardest men. Upon his retrayte Captayne Williames sailed out of the fort, brought in theyr scalinge laders, and cut of\* the heades of those that were slayne.

The Lord Deputy, hearinge of Captayne Williames danger and the distresse of the fort which was beseiged, tooke his second jorney Northward ; resolvinge to ende the warres, or to adventure all, and marcheth forwards tawards Blackwater. As he came to incampe at Ardmagh, Captayne Bret, goeing to geive directions unto the soldiers that they should not goe to farre into the wood, was shotte thorow the flancke by some kerne that lay in ambush ; wherof he languished and shortly after died. The next day the Lord Deputy came to the fort at Blackwater, where Captayne Williames presented hym with the heades of those rebels that were slayne at the assalt. The Lord Deputie was well pleased with this sight and service ; but greived at the dangerous and irrecoverable hurt of Captayne Bret (a man of good valor and well esteemed by hym), and the Lord Deputie, beinge hymselfe sicke, where he purposed to proceede farther agaynst Tyrone, was forced to returne from the fort and grew still faynter.

Captayne  
Bret  
receives his  
deathes  
wound by a  
shotte.

The first night he could goe noe farther then Ardmagh, caried thither in a horse litter. There Captayne Bret, fealinge that his wound was death dart, craved his owne company for Launcelet Olford, his liftenant ; which the Lord Deputy graunted. The next day they came to the Newry, and there both the Lord Deputy and Captayne Bret died ; not without mutteringe and much suspicion that the Lord Deputy was brought to his death before nature called for hir due. This suspicion [w]as increased by the maner of his sicknes and sodaynes of his death ; wherewith an English captayne (whoe had byn formerly very familiar with Tyrone) was charged afterwards by Sir Richard Bowkely, brother-in-law to the Lord Borowes, when the Erle of Essex was at his howse as he passed into Ireland ; but upon what certaynty he spake it is not knowen. Only this is suer, that the manner of the Lord Borowes sicknes and sodaynes of his death gave the occasion to misdowbt he had byn eivell dealt withall.

p. 140.

The Lord  
Deputie  
dieth at the  
Newry.

Suspicion  
that the  
Lord  
Deputies  
death was  
hastened.

When this jorney was eanded together with the Lord Deputies life, the forces that went with hym were dispersed into garisons ; most placed in the English Pale as at Kelles, Molingar, Trimme,

The forces  
put into  
garisons.

\* For " off."

the Navan, and otherwheres ; rather as frontiers to defend these partes, then as able or lykely to offend Tyrone or his complices.

Greate  
alteration in  
Ireland  
after the  
Lord  
Boroughs  
death.

The death of the Lord Borowes wrought very greate and dangerous alterations in the state and service of that kingdom, for this worthy and valiant commander beinge taken away, there was none there lyke spirited to succede hym, whereby Tyrone might be affronted. Soe that where lately the traytor Tyrone with all his confederates were fayne to hyde theyr heades, to flie into the woods, and to forsake theyr aboad, now it fell out in very short space cleane contrary. For by want of a cheife and resolut commander of the armie the companies were dispersed, and more care had to guard the partes neerest unto Dublin then to prosecut the rebels, whoe now began presently to range and spoyle at theyr pleasures, without any feare of perill to themselves. Such difference there is betwixt an armie well conducted, and one wantinge a cheife commander : the one provinge commonly victorious, the other subject still to danger and dissipation.

p. 141.

The Erle of  
Ormond  
made Lord  
Liftenant of  
Ireland.

Soone after the death of the Lord Borowes, the Erle of Ormond was appoynted to be Lord Liftenant of the armie in Ireland ; and Adam Loftus, Archbushop of Dibrine, with Sir Robert Gardiner, Cheife Justice, were choasen Lords Justices. These managed the one the forces and the other the civill affayers ; with some stroake in disposinge of soldiers as they were able, and accordinge to theyr understandinges.

The rebells  
increase  
and grow  
insolent.

The Erle kept most commonly aboutes Kyllkenney drawinge the soldiers as much as he might that way, especially when money came, and in his owne contrie, except it were at some times that he tooke jorneyes into Leashe, or travelled to Dublin to conferre with the Counsell, and sealdom went he into Ulster, or drew any armie thither to affront Tyrone and his abettors ; unlesse it were once or twice he lede some power that way, and this rather to parlie with then to prosecut the rebels (for ought could be perceived). Then the traytors began both to increase and grow insolent. For where of late in the last Lord Boroughs shorte goverment, with his sharpe prosecution of the conspirators, the cheifest of them durst scarce be seene, much lesse would they offer any incounter, now the armie wantinge a worthie and forward commander, and the Cheife Justices (men little or noethinge understandinge what belonged to the warres) were

The Cheife  
Justices.



not of themselves able to direct what should be don, nor animated by the attemptes of the Lord Liffenant to keepe the forces together in any intier armie, insoemuch that the traytor Tyrone with his confederates, whoe had erewhiles rather hidde theyr heades then dared to affront the Queenes forces, now doe range about and make inroades both in Ulster, Leinster, Conaught, and other partes. Soe that in short time the ringeleaders of this rebellion, drawinge theyr mayne forces together in the North, and dispersinge theyr superf[lu]ous troupes into severall partes of the kingdom as they thought meetest for ayde of theyr owne partie, and anoyance of the Queenes soldiers or subjectes, they thus, on the sodayn, became masters of the feilde ; insoemuch that within three monethes after the death of the Lord Borowes the rebells grew soe strong and prevalent in all partes, as they made noe account of anythinge might be don agaynst them. And not only the first mover of these commociions, thorow his practises, prosperous successe, and sufferance of the State, prevayled much, but even others elsewhere of farre meaner esteeme and power were growen dangerous, and did doubt little to doe what theyr owne unlimited desiers drew them unto. Few places were free from commociion ; and almost everywhere they went forth in open action of rebellion, or conversed in secret practises of conspiracie, wherto the worsor sort were ledde with hope of spoyle, the more powerful with desier of libertie and dominion, the fearefull and weake with dreade to be made a pray. And there was seene, in a short season after, the Lord Liffenant, by perfidious practises at a parlie, taken prisoner : two principall commanders, with cheife forces of the English, overthrowen, the one having sufficient power to incounter, the other more then inough to conquer the rebells : and a third defeated with fewer kerne then he commanded of good and sufficient soldiers ; yet this last rather by treachery of some Irish soldiers trusted (whoe purposely retyred or rather rune away and soe put the soldiers into a route) then by any force in the enimie, or feare in the soldiers themselves. These were such disastures and discomfetures as sealdom or almost never had befallen to the English synce first they conquered that kingdom. The examples follow.

In Leixe almost all the English seated there before began now to be displanted and dispossessed of theyr howses, cheifely

The cheife rebells send forces to rayse parties in sondry places.

p. 142.

by the power and practise of Ony MacRowry, whoe, joyned with the Omores his kindred and other septes of that contrie, grew soe powerfull that the Queenes force beinge very small in that countie, there beinge but two companies placed there in garison, and one of them for the most parte slayne by the rebells of Leix and such as came unto them out of Ulster, they spoyled, burnt, and tooke prayes from the poore people that were not of theyr party at pleasure. Only some gentlemen of qualitie kept theyr castells, and with much adoe were able to victuell them.

p. 143.  
Quere de  
tempore.

To trouble Mounster and to make that province in as eivell plight as other partes of Ireland, Tyrone sendes Captayne Tirell thither with six hundred rebells. The Lord President, accompanied with the Erle of Ormond and havinge aboutes a thowsand soldiers, marched on to meete these new come Ulster men, whom they came in sight of neere Botivant, the Lord Baries castell, in a fayer champian contrie, beinge a valley of neere seven myles longe. At the first veiw Sir Thomas Noryes was desirous, and the soldiers not unwilling, to geive the onsette, beinge confident of victory, for they were expert and valiant servitors for the most part. But the Erle of Ormond (uppon what consideration hymselfe only knew, others did suspect sumwhat, and the Lord President afterwards complayned much to the Counsell) caused the foote companies to make a stand; whilst hymselfe made some shew of his horse, but came not home to the charge. In the meane time the rebells gotte away as fast as they could, not without shew of feare and disorder. They recovered a bogge neere to a wood. There they displayed such cullers as they had, and reckned themselves well fortified agaynst our forces by the advantage of the place. The Erle of Ormond advised not to attempt them uppon that place of disadvantage. And soe were they parted for that time, with greate greife and discontent of Sir Thomas Noryes, whoe would never after accompanie the Erle of Ormond in any service.

p. 147\*  
The fort at  
Leixe  
victuellled.

The Erle of Ormond drew Sir Henry Poore, Captayne Foliat, Captayne Shefeild, Foskew,† Esmond, Malborow, Palmer, and Crompton to victuell the fort of Leix, kept by Sir Frauncis Rush with his companie of 1500, whoe were besett by the Lord Montgaret, Ony MacRowry, and divers other rebells. As they

\* Pages 144-6 are blank.

† Fortescue.

marched from Kylkeny they were drawn to Ballygarret, a village with a castell of the Viscount Montgarretts. This they tooke, lying before it three dayes. There were fiften in that ward, whoe were all hanged by the Erle of Ormonds commandment. Thence they went to the High Ossery and to the Holy Crosse, to take prayes of cattell, and to spoyle the rebells. They were fought with by the way both goeing and cominge, the rebells powringe lowse shotte (as theyr maner was) from woods and places of advantage as they passed. Thence they came backe agayne to Kylkenney, where they remayned; but Malborow, Crompton, and Palmers companies were cashired\* by the Erle of Ormond to make other companies stronge. The rest lay for the most part at or neare Kilkenny, and were not much employed in service, but most in victuellinge the fort of Leix twice or thrice in the yere, and sometimes to convoy the Erle of Ormond to Tomastan, Cashill, Carig, and Fedar. Sealdom were they else sent out of the Erle[s] contrie; and the cheifest exploit don by them was the kylling of Brian Reugh with the overthrow of his company.

The Castell of Ballygarret taken.

Captaynes cashired.

Many of Captayne Wiltons company were cutt off† about the Duffery in the countie of Waxford by the people of the contrie, the soldiers goeing lowsely abroad to seake reliefe. It was alleaged that one Captayne Masterson layed the plotte to surprisethem. He was sheriffe of Waxford, and questioned for this; but noe direct proffe made agynst hym. They were drawn out in a draught to fech cattell, and the kerne of the contrie drawn upon them; where a brother of Sir Thomas Sokeleighs, with divers others, were slayne.

Many of Captayne Wiltons men slayne by the contrie.

The tenth of Aprill 1598 the Lord Liffenant assisted with the Buyshop of Meath and Sir Geffrey Fenton, parlied with the traytor Tirone and his confederates neare Dondalke, the cariage and effect of which conference was thus certified. It continewd for five dayes. Tyrone, in shew, made semblance for his part to be desirous of peace, but did still conclud that without the consent of his complices (to whom he was sworn and they to hym) he could not submitte hymselfe nor accept of his pardon, an evident argument that his mynde was alienated from all purpose of obedience. Both his demaundes and his adherentes were most unreasonable, by meanes wherof the treatie brake of;

P. 161. †

The Lord Liffenant parlieth with Tirone.

Tirone would conclude noething without consent of his complices.

\* Disbanded.

† For "off."

‡ Pages 148-160 are blank.



A cessation  
of armes  
till the  
fourth of  
the next  
moneth.

Tirones  
messengers  
to the  
traytors  
taken.

Some  
without  
cause gave  
hope of  
peace.

Tirone  
informes a  
mittigation  
of the  
rebells  
demandes,  
but untruly.

p. 162.

Odonells  
demaundes.

MacWilliams  
demaundes

and yet a cessation was yelded unto tyll the fowrth of May next following, and for three weekes after if noe breach therof were made on either partie in the meane time. As the Lord Liftenant was at Tredath,\* goeing towards the treatie, certayne messingers were taken of Tyrones directed to the rebells in Leynster, and some from them to hym, by which it appered that notwithstandinge his pretended desier of peace, he animated them underhand to continew theyr rebellion, assuringe them that he would stand for them as well as for hymselfe. The maner of the proceedings of this treatie, the coppies of those letters found with the messingers, and the generall oppinions of the Lords Justices, Lord Liftenant, and Counsell there concerninge the same were sent unto the Privey Counsell of England. It was thought that, notwithstandinge the little hope they had of sound peace, yet some had privatly underhand informed the contrary; which bredde a feare of hindering the supplie of men, armes, and munition to be sent out of England.

The nyntenth of Aprill Tirone wrate a letter unto the Lord Liftenant sygnifyinge [that]† findinge his Lordship did mislyke with hym at the parlie, he had synce that time delt with his confederates, and brought them to mittigate theyr demaundes (as he termed it), which, by a particuler therof in that letter, should appere. This beinge perused, although he stiled it a mittigation yet theyr demaundes were as arrogant (if not more) then at any time before they had made.

Some parte of theyr undutifull and disloyall demaundes were these :

First, Odonell (besydes his owne contrie) requireth the castell with greate landes in the countie of Sligoe, and much in the countie of Mayo, which he would holde without yelding to receive any governor, either unto these teritories or into his owne contrie of Tyrconell, and would have all the landes of them both spirituall and temporall, freely to his owne use and dispose.

MacWilliam (whoe had usurped that name longe before this last rebellion began), and had expulsed others out of that segniory which he claymed to be his owne in the county of Mayo, requireth to be established in it with all the landes spirituall and temporall, and not to have any governor over hym (a matter that they all much aymed at, for they would be soe many pettie poore princes

\* Drogheda.

† torn.

in every parte of the kingdom. These counties of Sligoe and Maio were a greate portion of the province of Conaught.

In the county of Cavan, which had byn peaceably governed by the space of thirty yeres last past, the landes wherof were surrendered to the Queene by Orelie, cheifetayne of that territory, and by hir Majestie graunted agayne by letters pattentes to severall cheife gentlemen of that septe, whoe yelded hir certayne rentes and services, the traytor Tyrone, out of his usurped authoritie (waranted only by the sword in this troublesome time) aboutes a yere past had sette up an olde man, not lawfully borne, to be Orelie; and the same must holde duringe his life, or else, the traytor sayes, he could conclude noe peace; to such heigh[t] of praerogative, by power only, contrary to the dutie of a subject, was he now aspired; not only to be an absolut lord, but to make lords at his pleasure.

Tirone sette up one base-borne to be Orelie lord of Cavan.

Felime MacFeugh and one David Eustace, of the howse of the attaynted Viscount Baltinglas, must have agayne all such landes as they auncestors formerly helde, whither by right or wronge. The Omoores and Oconors, whoe forty or fiftie yeres past had possessed most part of the Kinge and Queenes county, requier now to have the halfe of each of these counties betwixt them.

[\*]ers must be advanced [\*]Tirones pleasure, or else [n]oe peace.

Such sharers were they now become as they made a full account to canton and devide the whole kingdom accordinge to the power they had of themselves, and the favor they helde with the arch-traytor, whoe, not yet content with devidinge of landes and dominions as they owne desiers directed them, he would needes inforce a pardon for all such within the English Pale as had taken parte with the traytors; thoe many of them were not of the meere Irish descent. Besydes these, Donaugh Spainagh, a cheife man of the Omoores in Leinster (whoe had stood upon reasonable termes with the State) now, seeinge how the world went, thought the time did serve to sette up sayle for hymselfe, as others did. He was out with 200 kernes, professed he was for Tirones part, and would stand upon his peace or warre (as the word was common emongst them) allthough he dwelt above sixe score myles from Tirone. For hym Tyrone writteth in his last letter that not only he but all the rest of the Kavenaughes must be restored to all such landes as they auncestors possessed, which was more then a third parte of the county of Wexford,

p. 163.

A pardon demanded for all the traytors in the English Pale.

Donaugh Spanaugh Omore stirres in Leinster.

The Cavanaughs must be restored.

Tirone  
aspiringe to  
be arbitrator  
and monarch  
of Ireland.

Malefactors  
required to  
be released.

and had byn excheated to Kinge Henry the eight above sixty yeres synce, by the attaynder of MacMorow Omurch, cheifetayne of that septe; and without this there must be noe peace. But if these thinges were graunted, if then any of the Omoores, Oconners, Kavanaghes, Obriens,\* or any other bortherers uppon the province of Leinster shall committe any outrage and make noe satisfaction, uppon complaynt unto hym this greate arbitrator and (in his owne conceipt) governor, or rather monarch of the kingdom, he would forsooth inforce them therto.

By these his letters he requiers the inlargement of certayne preistes Jesuites and some theives and murtherors committed to prison, whereby it might appere he intended that all malefactors should be his dependants, and noe punishment to be inflicted on any but to such as he should geive leave, [and] that all the leude and louse men of that kingdom might be at his commaundment. Soe had he instruments goeing about most partes of Ireland to incite as many as they might to rebell. Such power hath presumption in rebels, when they prevayle, to thincke they may doe what they liste, and to demaund those thinges which before they neither desired nor drempt on. Soe Tirones dependants, which were most of the discontented and eivell disposed of that kingdom, sette on hym to seake all that themselves could wish, thoe without right or reason, and he as redy to propound, or rather to requier it, as they were to covet what was most unlawfull and unbeseeing the dutie of subjectes.

p. 166†

Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor }  
Sr Robt Gardner, Ch. Justice } Lords Justices

Dangerous  
preparations  
of Tirone  
certified.

In June 1598 the two Cheife Justices, beinge Adam Loftus, Lord Chauncellor, with Sir Rober[t] Gardener, the Erle of Ormond, comander of the forces, with others of the Counsell in Ireland, doe certifie unto the Counsell of England the dangerous preparations of Tirone with the other Northerne traytors, to invade Leinster and the English Pale with fower severall forces at once, as they were informed and feared; the probability of which dangerous enterpryse they collected both by other reportes, and out of his owne letter received within few dayes before; besydes the observation they made, how he omitted the wonted stile of

\* Obyrnes.

† Pages 164-5 are blank in the original.



observation in his letters to that State, not respectinge the counsellors soe much as with the tytles due unto theyr places, which at other times he did usually afford.

They lykewise were informed that Orurke was revolted, and combined with Tirone and Odonell (which proved trew); and of his lykelyhood to joyne in the intended invasion, by whose healpe and confederacie the danger could not but be the greater, by reason of Orurckes contry confyninge with the borders of Longford, Westmeath, the Breney, and Conaught. They complayne of the want of sendinge forces that sommer into Ireland, wherof Tirone and the other traytors tooke advantage, and particulerly that a good stronge garison was not settled at Lough Foyle, beinge the most indifferent place to curbe Tirone and Odonell in theyr owne contries; which was formerly signified by frequent letters at severall times, and more amply by two or three projectes digested by persons of best understandinge in the warre within that realme. They say that they were inwardly sorie theyr advertisements in this poynt had not byn better allowed, and did feare that by the sequells and callamities lyke to insue, the blow therof should be felte, before it were longe, to be more heavie and greivous. For the forces beinge not greater then was formerly sette downe, which was helde to\* weake to incounter such danger in soe many places at one time, it was lefte unto this extremitie: that to preserve and defende the hart (meaninge Dublin and the English Pale thereabouts) they were driven to leave some outward limbes abandoned, which might have byn kept longer if the remedie had byn as seasonable applied as the eivell was foreseene in due time. And in this regard, untill they were inabled to make a thorow defence of the whole, they were driven to draw all the companies from the Cavan; and resolved to send unto the garison at the Blackwater, either to rayse the place and drownd in the river two or three small robanetts that were there, or otherwise to yelde up the fort upon the best conditions they can for hir Majesties honor and theyr owne saffetie, havinge noe other meanes (as they affirmed) to vittell it.

Orurke  
revolted.

Wante of  
forces and  
of settling  
a garison at  
Lough Foyle.

Companies  
drawn from  
the Cavan.

p. 167.

A purpose  
to rayse or  
to yelde up  
the fort at  
Blackwater.

And to induce the Counsell of England to yelde consent unto this, they sette downe theyr oppinions that the losse of this place was of noe greate moment. For allthough as longe as it

\* For "too."

stoode for hir Majestie it would be of some importance, yet to them that knew how chargeable and troblesome it was unto hir Majestie to victell and defend it, beinge both burdenous and grudging to the contrie, the leaving of it for a time was not such a losse as might be thought in common understanding (all circumstances wayed), and the easines to winne it agayne in a better time when it should please hir Majestie to put for it. Soe willinge the Counsell of Ireland were to savegard themselves and the partes neare the State, that they were content, and used the forciblest reasons they could devise, to persuade the quitinge of the fort at the Blackewater, and withdrawing the forces from the Cavan, consistinge in the whole of eight bandes of foote, with which they intended to strengthen themselves and to repell the intended invasion of Ulster. For which purpose they pray that 2000 soldiers, promised to be sent out of England, might be hastened, with victuells and money, which might in some measure healpe to reinforce them.

2000 soldiers  
levied in  
England  
desired to  
be sent into  
Ireland.

Confirmation is brought of the revolt of Orurcke, and the betrayinge of Ballymote. A letter is intercepted from Brian Reugh, sent to Tirone, in which he offered to carie all Leinster if five or six hundred men might be sent thither out of Ulster. Here grew greate suspicion and feare of the rebells attemptes, and as much confidence in them to prevayle in their purposes, beinge not prosecuted at home, but permitted to make incursions abroad at their pleasures.

Whilst the rebells grew stronge, some of the olde English race inhabiting emo(ng)st them, either for feare, discontent, or falce hartednes, take part with them agaynst the State, emongst whom Edmond Buttler, beinge Viscount Mountgarret, was one, whoe, fallinge at variance with his kinsman the Erle of Ormond, and maryenge his sonne unto the Erle of Tyrones dawghter, was out in action of rebellion. He, to strenthen hymselfe, had joyned with the MacGylpatrickes and others of Upper Ossery and those partes, and once, incamping on the hills neare, when Phelime [blank] one of the cheife of the MacGylpatrickes tolde hym: "You see, my Lord," quoth he "all those goodly landes under theys hylls runninge alongst the river of Suer. They were once my auncestors, and I meane to have them agayne; for now the time is come that we shall be righted of the wronges hertofore don unto us."

To which the Viscount aunsered: "I hope you meane not by landes that lies there" (for he had fower or five manors in that syrquite, and his auncestors had helde it two or three hundred yeres).—"Yes," quoth the other "we meane to have all, for it was our auncestors; but you shall have sesse and cuttings to pay us a rent, and the landes must be owers." When the Viscount heard this speach he spake little, but pondered it in his mynde; percevinge by this what theyr purpose was. Soe he saw how little saffetie there could be unto hymselfe and others of his condition by joyninge and dependinge on the Irish, to forsake his soveraigne and the State. Therefore he could not be at reste in his mynde untill he had sent unto Dublin and made meanes for his protection; purposinge to sette hymselfe noe more into such hands. By this it may be seene, and by many the lyke examples, that the olde English race of Ireland had as small reason to truste unto the Irish, thoe they had married and made other contractes or combinations with them, as they had to take armes agaynst the Crowne of England, from whom they had theyr first advauncement, howsoever discontentments might draw them unto designes as hortefull as well to themselves as to the State.

p. 168.

In the begynninge of July 1598 a supplie of 2000 soldiers were sent out of England and arived in Ireland. They were men new levied out of the counties of [blank], and such as for the most parte had not seene the faces of an enemie in the feilde, not fitte to be sent at first without trayninge and the practise of some service agaynst men thorowly exercised in armes, as the Irish of late yeres had byn. Yet shortly after were they drawn into the feilde, with other forces, for the releife of the forte at the Blackwater; an adventure sumwhat dangerous, consideringe to what strength and skyll the rebells were growen. This expedition was the rather resolved on by the advise of Sir Henry Bagnall, whoe wrate unto the Counsell of Ireland that what might be don in this yeres service for the releife of the fort and resistance of the rebells in Ulster was now fitte to be determined. Unto hym they committed the cheife charge and command of the action, beinge a man better experienced in the knowledg of that contrie then in the command of an armie; for he was never trayned in any forayne service.

Soldiers sent  
into Ireland.

Aboutes August the 7th 1598 Sir Henry Bagnall, Marshall of

p. 169.



Sir Henry Bagnall sent with forces to victuell the fort at Blackwater.

The armie devided in theyr march.

The vauntgard assalted.

p. 170.

Newes that Sir Henry Bagnall was slayne.

Our men fall into a route.

Ireland, was appoynted and provided with the power of 3000 foote and 400 horse, five peeces of ordinance for the feild, and an answerable proportion of other amunition, to victuell the fort of Blackwater, which now agayne began to be distressed with wantes. Sir Thomas Maria Wingefeild went with hym ; Captayne Cuney was Sargeant Major ; Captayne Percie, brother to the Erle of Northumberland (as theise forces came tawards Ardmagh) was coronell and led the first regiment of the vuantgard ; Captayne Turner led the foreloren hope. The armie was devided into sixe regementes, or rather batalions, because the waies were narrow, but they were drawn into three mayne bodies when they came into the champaine ground.

As they incamped neare Ardmagh, some goeing for cabaninge stuffe, the enemie, lyinge in waite in the woods, sette upon them, and slew twentie of the common soldiers. The next morninge, the campe arisinge and marchinge forwards to victuell the fort at Blackwater, as they tooke not the high way, but on the right hand Coronell Percies regiment havinge the vanguard, was incountred within a myle of Ardmagh by Brian MacArt, sonne to Art MacBaron, the traytor Tirones reputed brother, whoe began the fight from a bogges side, discharginge shotte still on them that marched forwards ; the next that seconded hym was Randoll MacSorley with his Scottish Irish. Yet notwithstandinge theyr skirmishinge the vanguard marched on still, till they passed a trench cutte in a feild of greene corne aboutes two myles from the Blackwater. From whence they saw Captayne Williames come forth, with his company and cullers displayed, to meete them.

The hylls were layed thicke with Irish on all sides. As the English vanguard passed the trenches, which was full of water and thornes, with bogges or rotten plashie ground on either side, they made a stand, the mayne battaile not marchinge neare to second them. There came some horsemen up to the hyll, called on the vanguard, and bad them retrayte, for the Marshall, Sir Henry Bagnall, was slayne. Then Coronell Peircie (whoe had shewed hymselfe very valiant in forcinge his way and beatinge the Irish out of theyr trenches) hearinge of the Generalls death commanded the soldiers to turne faces about. With which, and the report that the Marshall was slayne, our men were soe dismayed that from retyringe they began to fall into rout. This

beinge seene the enimie came on amayne with a full crie after theyr manner. At the first, Captayne Turner and Captayne Lee, havinge command of the two wings of the forelorne hope, were slayne, the rest driven in greate disorder over the trenches. Many were slayne, and some stiffeled, tumblinge one over another (as it falles out, where sodayne flightes and frightes overcomes as many as doth the armes of the adversaries).

Captaynes  
slayne and  
the soldiers  
disbanded.

Coronell Percie this pusled, and not able to staie his soldiers, tooke\* downe thorow the gappe of a trench, and, havinge a foreplate or brestplate for his armor of proffe with crosse stringes or buckles, he was shotte on the brestplate there, which stounded and stricke hym into the mudde. Soe, not being able to gette thence without ayde, his horse-boy, an Irishman, tooke hym uppe, ledde and convayed hym away, tyll he came to the hyll where the horsemen staid that called on hym first. The rest of that regiment that were lefte alive ranne up to this hyll. But the coronells ensinge, called Evan Owen, (beinge a resolut man) when he saw there was noe hope of succor or of life to hymselfe, brake his ensigne staffe, and wrapped hymselfe in the cullers which was heavie and new, full of halfe moones. There he was cutte to pieces, for he would not part with his collers tyll he was slayne. There were kylled of that regiment Captayne Streete, Captayne Banckes, Turner, Leae, Morgan.

Coronell  
Percie  
shotte and  
caried away.

Coronell  
Percies  
ensigne  
slayne in his  
collers.

Captaynes  
slayne.

As those that escaped from the vantgard came up to the hyll, they found the mayne battayle, which came not to the trenches, much amased with this discomfeyture, but more with some barells of powder blowen upp which burnt divers of the common soldiers. After this was don they made retrayte to Ardmagh as fast as they could, leavinge three peeces of ordinance behynd, the oxen beinge not able to carie them as fast as they retired. And these, with some other armes of the slayne and flyinge soldiers, the enemies tooke. There were kylled at this time, besydes the forenamed captaynes, divers other liffenantes and officers, many hurte, and 700 common soldiers slayne. It was reported that Sir Henry Bagnall was shotte and slayne by one of his guydes, a Ulsterman, whoe was the more trusted because his brother had byn hanged by Tirone.

p. 171.  
Barells of  
poulder  
blowen up in  
the mayne  
battell.

Sir Henry  
Bagnall  
sayd to be  
slayne by  
his guyde.

At Ardmagh the forces staid three daies under the commande of Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild, duringe which time

\* ? looke.

divers messages were sent betwixt hym and Tirone. At the first, pledges were demanded for the saffegard of Captayne Cuney, the Sargeant Major, to come and goe in saffetie. To this Tirone answered proudly and peromptorily that, for soe much as he had passed his word, he would performe and geive noe other assurance then his credite and honor; which, he sayd (thoe falcely and untruly) he had and would ever keepe without any blemish. To which he subscribed his name, Hugh Tirone. Soe much was he puffed with this sodayne and more then expected successe, that he thought hymselfe fitter to geive then to receive lawes in anything. Other conditions of retrayt and saffe returne from Ardmagh of the remayninge armie was then treated of. The traytor Tirone demanded the fort of Blackwater to be delivered unto hym, and that the English forces should not march to the Newry but thorow the Fewes to Dondalke. This thoe unreasonable demand, because it could not well be denied, was out of necessity yelded to, and two pledges delivered on either side for performance of theyr promise. After the pledges geiven in on both sides, Captayne Thomas Williames, whoe had with greate corage and good conduct helde the fort of Ardmagh agaynst the attemptes of Tirone with all his trayterous adherentes, uppon this composition yelded up the fort, which had byn hitherto kept with greater charge and hazard then benefitte unto the State. For this and other fortes in Ireland (which in former times served to good use when but few traytors were out, and those but weake as well in number as in judgement or experience of armes) then might fortes with wardes in them worke sometimes good effectes, both for takinge of prayes, sodayne surprisinge of traytors uppon good spialls, and keepinge them from conjoyninge when they were but new entered into combination. But now, when there was a generall conspiracie of all Ulster and many other partes of Ireland, a few soldiers placed in this or any other forte could serve or sorte to noe other ende but to the greate increase of the princes charge, to rayse greate forces for the victualling and releiving of it, beinge allways in danger to be lost thorow want of provision, or to be beseiged by the enemie. Yet when they were a while with greate charge and much adventure, it yelded small benefitte to the State, and by experience of these later times were only to keepe that place and corner without any effectual annoyance to the rebells or speciall service to the

Tirones  
proud  
answer.

Conditions  
made with  
Tirone.

p. 127.

The fort  
at the  
Blackwater  
delivered to  
Tirone.

The small  
use of fortes  
at this  
time in  
Ireland.



State, more then it should be sayd such a fort was helde in the heart of the rebells contrie ; or, at the best, that other garisons (if there were any lying neare unto it), might on a sodayne march and healpe and releive the one the other. But this could not be in that contrie at this time, when there were many rebells out in most places, and fewe garisons of any forte seated the one neare to the other. Yet the care that was had not to loase such other fortes, and leave it to the traytors (beinge reckned a dishonor to the prince) did occasion not only this but more disasture ; as in the victuelling of Iniskelline, where Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Herbert were discomfeyted ; the relevinge of Sligoe, where in the way at the Curlewes Sir Coniers Clifford with other worthie gentlemen were slayne.

Two brethern of the Kingsmells were geiven as pledges for the English to Tirone. When Sir Thomas Maria Wingefeild marched with our men from Ardmagh, halfe the way betwixt the Newry and Dondalke, aboutes eight myles from Ardmagh, our captaynes fell into consultation which way they should take : whither to the Newry, or to Dondalke. The officers and soldiers cried out they would goe to the Newry, and not to Dondalke, for they had a distrust that the Fewes (which was the way to Dondalke, beinge a greate fastnes) was besette by the enemie, and the way to the Newry was playne and champaine ground, which might make theyr passage lesse perillous. Soe they marched that night to the Newry, without hurt of any savinge one, Captayne Romley, whoe had his throate cutte under a bush whilst he was aloane takinge of tobacco. At the first sight of the English forces cominge to the Newry, which was in the night, those of the garison there tooke them to be enemies, and shotte at them, tyll they called and were knowen.

The fort at Blackwater was delivered before the forces marched from Ardmagh. At the fort Captayne Williames kyled such beaves as he had before his departure thence and conditions concluded, doubtinge yet whither he should be able to remove. Whilst they were in speach of agreement and the beaves were in killinge, the churles and others of the Irish on Tirones part, havinge lisenche to come thither, bewraied theyr want of victuells ; for they gathered up the heades, puddinges, livers, and the very garbech of the slaughtered beastes, relevinge themselves with that the soldiers refused.

The pledges delivered unto Tirone.

P. 173.

The English forces march to the Newry.

The Irish want victuells.

There were lefte at the Abbey of Ardmagh some sixtie of them that had byn burnt with powder, beinge much difingured and many of them maymed. It was conditioned with Tirone that, upon the gevinge up of the fort, he should see theise burnt and wounded soldiers to be saffely conducted to the English Pale after they were well. Yet afterwards this traytors men dragged some of those that were lefte sicke out of the Abey of Ardmagh, and divers of them died, but the rest that remayned there alive Tirone sent (accordinge to his promise) saffe unto the English Pale.

The English hurt and lefte at Ardmagh sent away by Tirone.

p. 174.

Tirone not satisfied with Sir Henry Bagnalls death.

When Sir Henry Bagnall was slayne Tirone shewed small signes of relentinge; for, where before he reckned Sir Henry Bagnall to be his mortallest enimie, and pretended at first that the ground of his discontent and difference with the State grew from supposed injuries which he alleaged were offered hym by Sir Henry Bagnall, whom, havinge now slayne, his revengefull mynde was not therewith satiated; but rather it gave winges unto his ambition to clime higher, and by castinge of\* the yoake of dutie and obedience to aspire unto absolut soveraintie.

The forces sent into garisons.

After this discomfeyture, and the returne of the English from the Newry, the forces were dispersed and settled into garisons in severall places, but specially sent into the English Pale, wherof it should seame the Lord Liftenant and the two Justices, which were the Lord Chauncellor and Sir Robert Gardiner, had the cheifest care. For they, fearinge Tirone and his confederates both power and will to invade the English Pale, placed the cheifest savgard of the State and of themselves in the defence of this principall part of the kingdom, nearest the seate of justice and themselves that governed the State. Therfor divers companies were settled at the Nauce, at Kelles, Colene,† and thereabouts, of which forces Captayne Cuney was appoynted to be Sargeant Major and cheife commander first by the Lord Liftenant, whoe retired hymselfe into his contrie, [ † ] with hym some parte of the forces, and afterwards Captayne Cuney was established in the same by Sir Richard Bingham, whom the Lord Liftenant deputed to command those partes in his absence.

p. 175.

Five weeks before the overthrow geiven to Sir Henry Bagnall neare the Blackewater, other partes and people of the worst disposition tooke hearte to rebell, wherof, and of sondrie dangerous

\*For "off."

† Probably Collon.

‡ Illegible.

preparations made by the haynous traytor Tyrone and his confederates in the North redie to invade Leinster and the English Pale (as it was then conceived), and of his intention to perill the whole State by strickinge as it were at the heart with all his power at one time, the Lords Justices and Lord Lifenant with others of the Counsell in Ireland doe advertise the Counsell of England by letters bearinge date the xvij<sup>th</sup> of June 1698,\* as allsoe of the probabilities of these dangerous practises wherof he, the arch-traytor, did not sticke to make shew by his letter then written, and grounded on a dispatch sent by them unto hym within few dayes before, wherein he not only omitted his wonted observation of reverence in writting to that State, but slighted them, and used rather commination then any dutifull or decent wordes.

This should  
be sette  
before the  
overthrow.

xviiij Junij,  
1598.

At the same time report came that Orurcke was revolted in Conought, and joyned with Tirone and Odonell, the danger wherof was conceived to be the greater by his confederacie with these traytors, by reason that his contrie confined with Longford, West Meath, Breyney, and Conaught. This advantage was judged to be taken by the rebels for that they found the Queene had noe meaninge to sette upon them in Ulster this sommer, and particularly not to draw a garrison to Lough Foyle, beinge the most indifferent place to curbe both Tirone and Odonell in theyr owne contries.

The force they had for the Queene in Ireland was then deemed to† weake to incounter such danger in soe many places at one time. Therfor it was signified that some outward limbes must of necessitie be abandoned to preserve and defend the heart, though it were with losse and hazard of some of the members, untill a thorow defence might be made of the whole. It was then resolved there thorow this extremitie to withdraw the companies from the Cavan.

Poore  
advise.

Letters were sent by the Cheife Justices and counsell of Ireland unto the Privey Counsell of England in behalfe of Captayne Henry Cosby, whoe had byn taken prisoner at the defeture of Sir Henry Bagnall neare Ardmagh, to exchange hym for two of the Quynes leftē pledges for Tirone. He was dayly threatned to be delivered to Owny Omore, a deadly enimie to Captayne Cosbys name for the good services don by his father upon the

p. 176.

October 98.

\* So in original, for 1598.

† For "too."



Moores. Captayne Constable was once offered to be delivered for James MacSorleys base brother, but afterwards the traytor Tirone would not accept of that exchange.

p: 177.

Quere de  
temp.

In March 1699\* Tirone sent his sonne with 1000 rebells out of Ulster, into Mounster, to stirre the people there to rebellion, and incamped at Temple More (in the Irish called Corke-a-Henny) within the countie of Tipperary. There they staid two daies (most of the contrie beinge out in rebellion). Therfor he thought to take the two castells of Temple More, wherein there were but twelve soldiers, but the constable and a few soldiers there defended it agaynst his forces. Soe he rase and marched tawards Cashill, where the Erle of Ormond mette or sent unto the rebells, and made them retier. They went noe farther into the contrie. When Tirones sonne lefte those partes, the Erle of Ormond hanged divers of the contrie, and some of his owne kindred, whoe had surrendred theyr castells or joynd with the rebells.

This should  
be sette  
after the  
overthrow of  
Blackwater.

Novemb. 99.

Henry  
FittsSimons  
a Jesuit  
committed  
for  
trayterous  
wordes.

The more to move commocion emongst the people, Tirone and the rest of his confederates send abroad Romish preistes, whoe were apt instrumentes to norish discontent and by it to stirre insurrection. Emongst whom one Henry FitzSimons, an Irish Jesuite borne at Dublin and brought up beyond the seaes, a man of much note and estimation emongst the recusantes, was soe inflamed with particuler zeale to his function, heate to his owne faction, and hatred to the present goverment and profession of religion, that he burst out into trayterous speaches agaynst the Queene and State. For, beinge at the howse of one George Blackney in the parish of Swords within the countie of Dublin, accompanied with two preistes and some others; he bragged of the successse that Tirone with his adherentes had agaynst the Queene and hir forces; and farther presumed to reason with one George Taylor, then present, what right the Queene and Crowne of England had to the realme of Ireland. For which being, after appr[ehe]nsion, committed to the castell of Dublin and there examined, unto some interrogatories he answered cautelously, to others peremptorily: both wayes he did bewray the unsoundnes of his heart to the State. This Jesuite was one of those that were fitte billowes to blow the coales of sedition, and to foster rebellion in the myndes of ignorant

p. 178.

\* So in original, for 1599.

men. For which purpose there was such account made of hym amongst the symple recusants and perfidious rebels that he maynteyned the bull of Pius Quintus agaynst the Queene to be lawfull. The Oconors offered to deliver two of Sir Ed Herbertes sonnes, prisoners with them, for this Jesuite; and Tirone imperiously required the inlargement of this man by his letters to Sir William Warren, challenging the apprehension and deteyninge of hym to be a breach of the cessation of armes. Unto soe high a degree of pride were these traytors grown, and theyr instrumentes were are\* as pernicious as they were, full of malice.

Tirone  
offended  
with  
FitzSimons  
committe-  
ment.

## THE ERLE OF ESSEXES GOVERNMENT.

The state of Ireland thus growen from bad to worse, and the most parte of this kingdom now revolted; the English forces dispersed and dishertened, and the eivell affected Irish much animated; the Queene and hir counsell began seriously to bethinke of some worthie generall whose countenance, judgement and courage might blotte out the memorie of former disastures, encourage the good subjectes, and daunt the bad. Emongst whom Charles Blunt, Lord Montjoy was first thought of, as a man favoured by hir Majestie and forward in service. But (as his frendes and followers have sayd) the Erle of Essex, thoe professinge love unto hym yet desiringe the imployment for hymselfe, persuaded the Queene that the Lord Montjoy was not soe well experienced in service as was requisite for soe greate a charge in soe dangerous a State. Then was it resolved that the Erle of Essex should be sent Lord Liffenant of Ireland, wherto his owne inclination to imbrace the cheife command of forayne imploymentes in warre, and his adversaries desier to sende hym abroad (that in his absence they might the better prevayle in theyr owne purposes), gave the Erle an easie passage. Soe was he sent by commission dated [blank] to be Lord Liffenant of Ireland, with power to prossecute and pardon all rebels in that kingdom. Allthough at the first it was sumwhat stode upon that the archtraytor Tirone should be exempted out of his power to pardon, yet at the lengthe this was graunted, and more would have byn obteyned (if he had asked more) rather

p. 181.†

The Queenes  
consults of  
a new  
generall for  
Ireland.

The Lord  
Montjoy  
first  
designed.

The Erle of  
Essex  
appoynted  
Lord  
Liffenant of  
Ireland.

Once  
questioned  
but  
afterwards  
resolved, the  
Erle of  
Essex should

\* So in original.

† For pp. 179, 180, see below.

have power  
to pardon  
Tirone.

p. 182.  
Divers  
opinions of  
the Erle of  
Essex  
employment.

A sodayne  
tempest at  
the Erle  
departure.

Tirone  
offereth  
submission  
to the Erle.

then he should stay at home. Before the Erles departure some of his frendes wished that he would reconcile hymselfe to his adversaries that he might finde a freer passage and lesse opposition in his services. Others advised the contrary, sayinge it would but take away, etc.\* When it was knowen that the Erle of Essex should be sent into Ireland, divers men censured diversly of this service and of his successe. Some that either for hope of employnment to themselves, or as wishing hym well, without any deepe foresight of the future event would have hym goe thither, sayd his favor with the prince, love emongst the people, and credite of a cheife commander in the warres, would be sufficient to draw the rebells to subjection; or if that fayled, yet they doubted not but he had by his practise and studies of the warres gotten such stratagemmes as would soone subject all the revolters. Others as wise and as well affecting the Erle as they, affirmed (and this more truly) that this service could purchase hym small honor or proffite.

At the Erles setting forwards from London for his jorney towards Ireland, the xvijth of March 1599, beinge accompanied with most of the nobillitie and gentlemen of worth that then were at Court or neare London, as they passed thorow Islington ridinge that night to St. Albans in greate troupes and the people pressed on all partes to see the Erle and his trayne, there sodaynly and unexpected in a fayer sonne-shine day, aboutes two of the clocke in the afternoone, arase a shewer of hayles and rayne. Of this they that made usuall conjecture of such accidentes might conceive sumwhat, thoe happily amisse. But the gallantes that attended the Erle for gayne or for glorie made noe account of this matter. Presently upon the Erle of Essexs arivall in Ireland, which was in Aprill 1599, Tirone (accordinge to his wonted and well experienced maner of dissimulation) adresseth message unto the Lord Liftnant; sendes word how willinge he was to be at his direction and devotion in all thinges, synce he had followed the Erles father in Ulster and had first employnment under hym; and protesteth deeply there was noe man he did more honor or would sooner obey. This made the Lord Liftenant confident of the traytors conformitie, and slower to prosecut hym in hostile manner then otherwise he might and ment to have don.

\* The two last sentences are entered on p. 182 in the original MS.



The Erle for a time imployed hymselfe at Dublin consultinge with the Counsell concerning the affayers of that kingdom; mustering and trayning the forces sent out of England and the Low Contries; devising how he might geive charge and contentment to such commanders and men of worth as came with hym, which was difficult if not impossible to be don, they beinge soe many and of soe extraordinary qualitie, that the principall places he had to bestow were not sufficient to satisfie the principall persons whoe followed hym with greate charge (for the most part on theyr owne purses); soe that the multitude of them made many more burdensom to hym and themselves then they should have byn, and rather lefte some of them unsatisfied or discontented then did further the service. But greate commanders in the warres generally followed and beloved must runne this hazard, or else want followers of worth.

p. 183.  
The Erles  
impleyment  
after his  
arivall in  
Ireland.

Whilst the Erle lay at Dublin cominge to veiw the forces, when he saw the regiment which Sir Henry Dockwray brought out of the Low Contries (they beinge olde and expert soldiers): "I mary" quoth he "I lyke these men well; and I durst adventure to passe thorow Ireland with this regiment." Wherat some olde servitors of that contrie did mervell to heare the Erle soe confident that such a small number should be able to passe thorow the kingdom, where all places were filled with rebells and most of them beinge become more expert in the use of theyr armes then in former times they had byn. But as yet the Erle had not made triall of theyr forces and maner of fight.

The Erles  
high com-  
mendation  
of the Low  
Contry  
regiment.

The captaynes whoe escaped at the defeature of the Blackwater the Lord Lifenant did much distast, and would admitte none of them to have any command although they had byn formerly knowen to be valiant, and some of them his owne followers. It was conceived by them that he was the more strict and stearne in this because he would bestow theyr companys on others whoe came with hym out of England, and to whom he had tied hymselfe by promise for theyr preferment. This was sayd by them whoe were cashired; but whither he did it for this purpose, or as beinge persuaded they had not well demeaned themselves in that incounter, was only knowen to hymselfe and kepte cloase in his owne concept.

The Erles  
disfavor to  
the  
captaynes  
defeated  
at the  
Blackwater.

At Sainct Georges tide he kept that feast in Dublin (hymselfe beinge Knight of the Garter) with greate solemnitie and magnifi-

p. 184.

cence, attended and wayted on by the cheife knightes and captaynes in that kingdom; eche man striving whoe should shewe hymselfe most forward to doe hym honor by bringinge dishes to the table and doeing other services at the feastivall; insoemuch as it was conceived there was not greater state, plentie, and attendance used at that time in the Court of England on the Queene and all hir knightes of the Order. Such power hath hope of preferment, joyened with an affection to a person in high place and favor, to attract attendance from men of high spirites. But this sumpteous feaste was not it that sette forwards the present necessary service. Well it might represent state; but could noething cuer\* the distractions and distempers of the kingdom. This solemnitie ended, the Lord Liftenant drawes together the forces and marcheth in Mounster with an armie of 4000 foote and aboute 500 horse. The cheife occasion of this his jorney [unfinished].

The Erle by some was persuaded to march first into Mounster and not to goe directly at first agaynst the rebells of Ulster, as he formerly purposed and promised. Theyr reasons were that havinge once beaten or brought in the weaker ones, the stronger would the sooner yelde or be the easilier subdued: that the first prosperous successe in service would yelde fame and terror in future actions, where if at the first there should fall out sharpe incounters and stronge oppositions it would afterwards animate the rebells, and teach others by theyr examples to stand out longer agaynst the State. Besydes it was alleaged that etc.

p. 189†

Aboutes two monethes after the Lord Liftenant arived in Ireland, findinge that the forces he had there (thoe greate in liste and charge to the Queene yet much fewer in number and force then was accounted and payd for, these allsoe dispersed in divers garisons and partes of the kingdom) could hardly be soe drawn into one mayne armie and yet sufficient strength leftte to maynteyne the garisons and defend the contrie in severall partes where the rebells were out, that he might both performe this for saffegard of the good subjectes, and prosecut the rebells of Ulster therè to stricke at the roote of the rebellion, as he promised the Queene and hir counsell he would cheifely doe, withall beinge informed by some of the Counsell and other servitors there (whoe perchaunce favored Tyrone more then in dutie they

\* Doubtful.

† Pages 185-188 blank in original.

ought to doe) that Ulster would not afford sufficient provision for the mayntenance of such an armie (duringe the somer) as must be brought thither to affront and subdue soe many thousands of rebells as were in that province and would be drawn thither by theyr partakers out of other partes, the Lord Liffenant either harkeninge too much unto theyr counsell, which as hymselfe sayd afterwards were the Erle of Ormond and Sir Warrham Sentleger that gave hym this advise, or else he hoping still to bringe in the trayter Tirone and his confederates at his pleasure (as he promised), and as some conceaved beinge discouraged and discontented at the Queenes displeasure and some sharpe letters sent unto hym, now he alters his former resolution of goeing into Ulster, and resolves to take a jorney into Mounster, where, besydes many other rebells, there was one called the Lord of Cayre, by name a Buttler and of kindred to the Erle of Ormond, whoe, with the Viscount Montgarret and divers others of that name were in rebellion, did much trouble the contrie and dispite the Erle of Ormond theyr kinsman. He therfor sollicites hym to come into these partes with some power for the suppression of those revolters his kindred and contrimen. The Lord Liffenant, willinge to doe somewhat, and knowing that to sitte still (when the Queene was at soe greate a charge and that kingdom in such combustion) would be a matter of greate dishonor to hymselfe, and of high offence to his soveraine, he therfor undertakes an expedition into Mounster, drawes thither betwixt 4 & 5000 foote, most of the Low Contrie soldiers, & garisons fortes (levinge the new men on the frontiers of the rebells, which some conceived to be the ruine of the future service), besydes many captaynes and other voluntaries of worth whoe followed hym in that service. The Erle of Southampton was Liffenant Generall of the horse, the Erle of Rutland Coronel Generall of the infantrie, Sir Christopher Blunt made Marshall of the feilde, and Sir Arthure Chichester Sargeant Major of the forces. Sir George Carew, Treasurer at Warres, is appoynted to be Justice, and to have the cheife orderinge of the affayers of State at Dubline, in the Lord Liffenantes absence, with the advise of the Counsell there.

Soe he marcheth into Mounster with 4000 foote and 500 horse. The first night he came unto the Nasse, the second to the bridge of Kylkollen, where the randevous of all the forces was appoynted. By the way they had a light skirmish. From thence they



marched to Athie, to which place the Erle of Ormond did bringe the Lord Mongaret whose sones were in rebellion, and the Lord of Chaier whose brother and Lady helde his castell agaynst the Queene ; such skylle had these men to come in person for the savegard of themselves and to let theyr followers goe out agaynst the prince. At this place\* did lykewise submitte hymselfe, his castell and moste of his contrie holdinge out agaynst the Queene.

The Lord Liftenant lefte at Carlough Sir Edmond Morgan there with fower or five companies to command that towne and to defend the contrie agaynst the ranginge rebells that might any the best affected subjectes in the absence of the Lord Liftenant.

When the Lord Liftenant came to Rabane, the Erle of Southhampton and the Lord Gray did fall out about the Lord Grayes adventuring to charge the rebells farther into the woods with a smaller number then he was commanded and contrary to the directions geiven by the Erle of Southhampton, Generall of the horse. Whereuppon the Lord Gray was committed. This bredde much harte burninge, not only betwixt them both, but stirred soe much stomache in the Lord Gray that he afterwards did not only forsake the Lord Liftenant but inforced matter agaynst hym in England.

The Lord  
Gray  
committed.

From Rabane the forces went unto a castell of Mr Cosbeys. By the way a few rebells offered some small fight. The next day, marchinge in the Lord Montgarretts contrie, they were fought with by the Lord Montgarretts sonnes, Ony MacRoury, and others, where Captayne Boswell and Captayne Gardner were slayne ; Captayne Foliat, whoe behaved hymselfe very valiantly, was hurt ; and that night, in makinge the quarter, Edward Bushell received a wound.

At Kylkeney the Lord Liftenant received greate interteynement of the Erle of Ormond, much feasted but little farthered in the service. From thence they removed to Clomell ; Captayne Price died by the way. On the river of Clomell they tooke in a castell helde by the rebells. From thence they marched unto Chaier Castell helde by the Lady of Chaier (whoe was kept by another man, as she kept this castell agaynst the Queene, as the castell was kepte agaynst hir husband as well as agaynst the Queene, which, he at least affirmed, the Lord of Chaier affirmed

p. 191.

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\* Name omitted. ? James FitzPiers.

for hys owne defence, whither trew or falce, and alleaged for hymselfe ; the former was knowen to be trew, and whither the later were soe is uncertayne. This seige continewed before this castell some fower or five dayes. It was invironed with water all save a garden on the north side.

Mr Henry Carew, sonne to Sir George Carew, was hurt, slayne with a shotte as they lay before this castell. When the castell was taken it was lefte to the custody of Captayne Bret and Captayne Cuney. Bret beinge there hurt, shortly after died at Camell.\*

From Chaier Castell the Lord Liffenant led the armye tawards Lymbricke. Before he came thither Sir Thomas Norys, Lord President of Mounster, marchinge from Molow† with 2000‡ foote over the contrie two myles from Lymbricke west-ward, had in his company the Erle of Thomond, with Sir Henry Norys, Coronell Generall of those forces, Sir Anthony Cooke and Sir John Brooke, Commanders of horse, Captayne George Flower Sargeant Major, Captayne Bostocke, the three Kingsmells brethren-in-law to the Lord President, Captayne Gifford an auncient servitor, with other commanders. As they passed these partes one Henry Baker, a soldier beinge scout, brought word to the President that the rebells were in campe at an abey neare Sir George Bowers castell, beinge in number aboutes a thowsand, for those of the contrie revolters had joyned with the Burkes and other Conaught men lately come into the contrie. And although the Lord Bary, the Lord Roch, Cormock Mac Dermond neare Cork, Dermond MacOwen neare Malow, with other gentlemen of the contrie were with the Lord President, yet Chaier mother Occalhahon dwellinge there and strivinge for landes with Dermond Cormock MacDermond, whoe should be MacDonaugh and princ[i]pall of the scept, had proffered to stand for the Queene soe he might have peeces, powder, and shotte to defend his castell as he pretended. The Lord President, desirous to gayne hym to be a good servitor unto the State, delivered unto hym three barells of powder, twenty musketts, with mach and bullets. Noe sooner had he this but within two dayes after he turned traytor ; an example for governors in this kingdom to trust such men upon theyr bare wordes in times of trouble and insurrection.

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\* ? Clonmel.

† Mallow.

‡ Corrected from 3000.

p. 192. Besydes this man, soe sodaynly but yet not strangely revolting at that time in that province, for others did the lyke in many other partes of that kingdom, emongst whom one John MacRothery his sonne, whoe had byn page unto the Lord President, played his parte. He, followinge company, kindred, and eivell counsell, forsooke his late master and followed the rebells. The White Knight with his sonnes (sithence lefte childeles) were out in rebellion. Soe were divers others of that province at that time, more redie to follow the multitiud, which seamed to thrive with eivell doeing then to doe anything that might argue constancie of well doeing, when it was dangerous for a mans selfe to doe soe. This haltinge in corage emongst his people, and want of faythfullnes in the provincials, made the Lord Presiden[t], uppon newes of the Lord Liffenantes approach and a sodayne aloarome of the rebells beinge at hand, unter\* to do more, or at the least more sodaynly to attempt sumwhat that might be worthie of honor then otherwise he would have don with more advise. Thus hearinge of rebells soe neare neighbourhood, which was brought hym as he was walkinge with the Erle of Thomond a foote before the armie, the horse beinge in the reare allmost two miles off† (a matter sumwhat to be mervelled at in a well governed armie especially in such a contrie and at such a time when an enemie might allways be suspected to aproach), yet the Lord President, willinge to overtake the rebells before they should remove, and to prevent the report of his cominge, which might make them sodaynly to rise, he commandes the horse that were with hym and some shotte on horsebacke to follow on as fast as they could trotte. Soe they went on speedier then the foote forces could follow. Thus makinge over much hast, he, with not many of his horse troupes, overtakes the rebells. At the first he geives them a charge, and was one of the first that came to the charge in this incounter. Passinge thorow some of the ranckes the Lord President received a hurt in his head with the push of a pyke, geiven, as it is sayd, by Burke.

p. 193. When the Lord President was this wounded by ventering further in person then was fitte for one of his place and command, whose charge is rather to direct and to incourage then to geive an attempt uppon the enemies without counsayle or most needefull cause of hazard, he growinge faynt with his wound,

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\* So in original.

† For " off."



and not cloasely followed with his horse troupes, nor the foote cominge yet neere to second hym, he is inforced to retier ; and the rebells were as willinge to go another way, when they saw greater forces comminge on and redie to incounter them.

Within fower dayes that the Lord President had this hurt, which yet had not byn mortall (as it was thought) if the chirurgion had byn skylfull, the Lord Liftenant marcheth up that way tawards Lymbricke ; and understanding of the Lord Presidents perill comes unto hym, imbraces hym with some signes of love and sorow, sees his wound dressed, and departes, leavinge the Lord President, whoe shor[t]ly after lefte this world, and died of that wound.

The Lord Liftenant marcheth on to Limbricke, and thence to the bridge of Adare, soe\* there hence to victuell Asketen. In the way they were fought withall by skirmishes and powringe in of shotte from pases of advantage allmost all the day, but lost noe man of any account. Goeinge to† from Asketon in the eveninge there was an onsette geiven by the rebells wherein Captayne Jeninges and Captayne Browne were slayne. Sir Henry Noryes received his deathes wound havinge his legge broaken with a shotte. Soe both theise brave warlicke brothers (besydes the former death of theyr renowned brother Sir John Norys) were borne to make this contrie theyr buriall.

Whilst the Lord Liftenant was in Mounster, Tirone, with his troupes to the number of betwixt three and fower thousand, drew tawards the Newry, and incamped within two myles of the towne at a place called Carigebane. Sir Samuell Bagnall, governor of the Newry (not broaking Tirones soe neare neighbourhood), with more resolution then judgement, drew out of the towne halfe of his small power to incounter or at the least to skirmish with Tirone. There were at that time in the Newry under his command only 600 foote and some 80 horse. Of theise he brought out all the horse with some 300 foote, and lefte the rest to garde the towne and to secuer hys retrayte. As he marched out the enimie lay in ambush at a grove betwixt the towne and Carigebane, uppon whom he fell and had a fight. Others from the rebells campe seconded theyr ambush, and came on with such numbers that he began to be overlayd, but yet fought with them and retired tawards the towne. At the

p. 194.  
Tirone  
incampeth  
with 3000  
neere the  
Newry.

Sir Samuell  
Bagnall  
with small  
force  
marcheth  
out of the  
Newry.

\* "foe" in original.

† Interlined.

length one of the rebells pressed neare Sir Samuell hymselfe ; and, speaking in English, cried : “ Have at your golde jerkin ! ” (for he not armed ware golde lace which glistered). “ Wine it and weare it ! ” quoth Sir Samuell, holdinge his pistoll in his hand redy to discharge it ; but the rebell came not home. Yet was Sir Samuells company hardely besette, and constraigned to retrayt, not without some difficultie and danger, beinge fought withall even neere unto the towne, which he might have hazarded with this attempt had the rebells byn as skylfull to approach and assault townes as they were redy and nymble for skirmishes.

Sir Samuell  
Bagnall  
very valiant  
but vayne  
glorious.

Sir Samuell Bagnall was a man very valiant and noe lesse vayne glorious. For when he came first to be governor of the Newry, where the olde followers of Sir Nicholas and Sir Henry Bagnall seamed joyefull that one of his name should be their commander, he shewed them his sword and pistoll. “ Do you see this ? ” quoth he, “ this shalbe the death of Tirone.” And at this time he made this salley more to shew what he durst doe, then in any hope he could conceive to doe any speciall service with soe few soldiers.

The Lord  
Gray  
desiers the  
command  
of the  
infantrie.

p. 195.  
The Lord  
Gray  
departes  
discon-  
tentted.

As the Lord Liffenant marched from Kylmallocke tawards Lysmore, by the way in a skirmish Sir Henry was hurt, and they took [him ?] in ye D[e]smonds castell. They marched thence to Dongarvan, and soe to Waterford, where the Erle of Rutland, whoe was Liffenant generall of the infantrie, goeing for England, the Lord Gray, thoe full of discontentment (as it should seame to trie the Lord Liffenant), desired of hym the charge which the Erle of Rutland had helde. The Lord Liffenant sayd before he would resolve theron he desired hym to make answer unto one question : which was whither he loved hym or Sir Robert Cicill best ? “ My Lord,” sayd the Lord Gray, “ I hope you do not aske this question to take holde of anythinge I shall say.” He replied he did not, nor would make any such use of that demand. “ Why then ” quoth the Lord Gray “ I will not dissemble ; the truth is I love Sir Robert Cicell better than I doe your Lordship.” “ It is nobly spooken and worthily don ” sayd the Lord Liffenant “ to deale soe playne with me. You shall therfor have the place you desier ; but then you must execute it yourselfe.” “ Nay my Lord,” sayd he, “ if that be the condition I will none of it.” Soe they parted, of neither syde well pleased. And shortly the

Lord Gray went for England, where he did the Lord Liffenant noe good offices.

In the countie of Wexford, as the Lord Liffenant marched towards Dublin, they were fought with by Donaugh Spainogh, a principall man of the Morowes, called Spainaugh because he had leived some times in Spayne and went thither very yonge with Stukely. He, with others of his confederates in that countie, uppon places of advantage in bogges and woods sydes, did sometimes charge the foote as they marched, either in the reare or in flancke. The maner of theyr fight was sodaynly to power in shotte, and as soone to retier, especially if our men stood to it and did not shake. The best course taken by counsell to withstand theyr sodayne attemptes was thus devised: when our men did march thorow any passes or\* woods or places of advantage, to draw the shotte and pykes by files, and those to be led and myngled with officers and other voluntaries beinge knowen to be resolut men. By this means the rebells had theyr handes full; and thoe sometimes some of our men were slayne or hurt, yet comonly the traytors were beaten backe and had most harme. In this last skirmish with Donaugh Spainaugh and his parteners there were slayne on our side Captayne Roch and Captayne Coxe: Sir William Constable and Captayne Esmond were hurt.

The effectes of this Northerne† journey were the takinge in of Chaier Castell, with some other castells, into which wards were put and some garisons planted. Upon the Lord Liffenants returne greate falte was found with his attemptinge of this journey, helde unnecessary, and a consumption of the Quenes treasure and subjectes, and, as it was alledged, contrary to the Lord Liffenantes promise unto the Queene and hir counsell, which was that he would bend his cheif forces agaynst Tirone and his confederates in Ulster. Of these thinges the Queene wryttes unto hym in a sharpe and reprehensive manner, whose displeasure was noething mittigated by the Secretary Sir Robert Cicell. This letter received, the Erle (whoe was before much discontented by the disposinge of the Mastership of the Wardes unto Se[c]retary Cicell, which he alleaged the Queene had promised unto hym, and by such other restrayntes and affrontes as he supposed were procured by his adversaries in his absence),

The best course resolved on to incounter the rebells sodayne attemptes.

The effectes of this Mounster journey

p. 196.

\* Might be "of."

† So in original.



he professeth hymselfe playnely to be discouraged if not discontented.

About the time of the Lord Liffenant returning out of Mounster tawardes Dublin, Sir Henry Harington, governor of the Obirnes contrie and those partes neare Newcastle, havinge under his command 500 foote and 50 horse, received a disgracefull and dangerous discomfetur by the Obirnes and other rebells of Leise joyned with them, whom he mette. In this incounter there were divers of Sir Henry Haringtons men slayne, emongst whom Captayne Loftus.

The occasion of this overthrow, as was affirmed, grew by the treachery of one Walsh, liffenant unto Captayne Loftus. He, beinge of the Irish birth and of kindred unto some of the principell rebells, was noted to have private conference with some of them twice or thrice before this defeature. There were slayne and hurt abouts 140, and of the rebells killed about 20. Most of the English were new men late rayseed in England, and not trayned nor drawn into the feilds. They wanted victuell, only some beives were brought in by Captayne Mountacuts horse, most northerne men, except Captayn Loftus company beinge all Irish men rayseed out of faver of the Pale & mountayne men.

After the overthrow of Sir Henry Harington, the Lord Liffenant called a Marshalls Court of the coronells, and Counsell at Warre to adjudge them that might be found the causers of this dishonor and losse of the Queene. When sentence was geiven, Sir Henry Dockwray, a coronell and counsellor at warre, delivered that oppinion which was best approved : that he did acquite Captayne Charles Mountacue, commander of the horse, from any blemish of cowardise, for it was proved that he charged with his horse, discharged his pistoll, and strake with his sword : Captayne Linley and Captayne Malery he did not condempne, neither could he soe much cleare [them] as to allow what they did, for thoe they did forsake the front and stode not in the place of charge, yet they did not rune away, but went out of theyr stations to bringe in theyr soldiers which (as it was alleaged) fell to rowte and did or were redy to rune away : Liffenant Walsh he absolut(ly) helde worthie of death for runing away, which by some was esteemed cowardiz and could be noe lesse, by others helde treacherie ; therfor he was condempned to be shotte unto death.

This oppinion most of the coronells did follow ; but the Lord Liftenant was more seuire, and in his owne judgement helde them for the most parte worthie of examplarie punishment. The iudge of the Marshall Court gave sentence according to the opinion of the greater number of the Counsellors at Warre. Only Sir Henry Harington hymselfe was not there questioned, because he was a Counsellor of that kingdom, and an auncient servitor of Ireland. Liftenant Walsh was shotte to death by his fellow soldiers.

The second jorney which the Lord Liftenant made was into Offaley, where they tooke some castell, and spoyled the enimie without the losse of any man of account. This jorney he performed without losse was reckned without profite, the rather because the graund rebells of Ulster were not prosecuted. P. 197.

After this the Erle of Essex, Lord Liftenant of Ireland, made his last jorney into Ulster, accompanied with as much force as could be drawn into the feald (leaving such power as might be spared to supplie the garisons in other provinces and places). Yet his preparations in this expedition (as it should seame) was rather to conferre then to fight with Tirone ; for that he had allways, synce the Lord Liftenants cominge into Ireland, offered to submitte hymselfe unto his disposall, so that he might have securitie of life and estate.

[They made the randevous at Keles, in which place there appered in the night a strange cloude over the campe for five howers, which did breake into many fashions. The next day they marched to Louth, where they had a small skirmish and lost a French gentleman.]\*

[Before the Lord Liftenant mette with Tirone, the soldiers, cominge in sight, had some light skirmishes ; and the Lord Liftenant sendinge hym word he would be redie to meete hym in feilde in such a place, Tirone returned answer he would by noe meanes fight with his Lordship, but would be redie to attend hym, and to submitte hymselfe wholly to his dispose, if he might obteyne his owne with saffetie]†.

After they meetinge, which was in the countie of Louth (unfinished).

After some messages sent for the conveniencie of place and number of persons to be present at this parlie they came together

\*Entered in margin in the original.

† *Ibid.*

and eche of them two withdrew themselves, forsakinge those that were appoynted to come on theyr sides and for theyr saffeguards. There was a small brooke over which they must passe to come together. Tyrone was more skillfull, either in his own knowledge or by instruction of his guydes, in the passinge of that place; and percevinge the Lord Liftenant redy to adventure where there was some danger, or at the least beinge willinge to make semblance of care for his saffetie, called uppon hym, and sayd: "Good my Lord, come not there; for you will finde danger." At length they mette, and some few of the Lord Liftenants cheife followers standinge sumwhat neare, yet could heare little of what they sayd. They had private conference for the part of an hower, the rest of the forces standinge farre of;\* a matter much mislyked by the Queene, and inforced to be perilous (by such as loved not the Lord Liftenant) both in the president† and consequence; that the princes Generall, a thinge sealdom seene, should come with an armie to conferre and not to fight with a traytor; "nay," sayd they, "that which is worst, the conference must be secret, and none might heare it but themselves." This meetinge, how well soever ment, was thus construed and the Queene by this meanes highly incensed. At this parlie the conclusion betwixt the Lord Liftenant (as he affirmed) and Tirone was: that there should be a cessassion of armes; and that Tirone should render hymselfe to the Queenes mercie, havinge pardon for his offences past, with assurance of such estate as he formerly helde.

p. 198.

This shorte and the more myslyked (because secret) conference ended, the Lord Liftenant retiers to Dubline, and disperseth the forces with intention to returne into England, both to repaier his reputation by this conclusion of the warres in Ireland (as he thought), and to right hymselfe of his adversaries, whoe had drawn the Queenes displeasure soe heavily uppon hym. For this purpose he had private consultation with some of his best affianced frendes, wherof some advised hym to keepe hymselfe there, uppon the strength of an armie, untill the Queene might be better certified, and satisfied by the successe of his service and the conclusion of this intended peace: others wished hym, if he would returne into England, to secuer hymselfe, and his saffe arivall to the princes presence, with some such power as

p. 199.

\* For "off."

† Precedent.



he might carie from thence or finde where he should arive, beinge everywhere much favored. But the Erle of Essex relyinge (as it should seame) more on the Queenes favor, the opinion of his owne merites, and the generall affection of the people, then adheringe to the advise of his frendes, or to the precise politicke consideration of that which should most import his owne saffetie, resolves, and that sodaynly, on a cleane contrary course, which was (hymselfe without any strength) to goe out of Ireland unto the Queene, and unto hir to make it knowen how much he helde hymselfe to be injured, and hir Majesties services prejudiced, by the opposition of his adversaries.

Soe sodayne a resolution once taken, the Erle of Essex (beinge absolut in his owne opinion) leaves all the State and forces of Ireland to the government of Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Warre, and shippes hymselfe, with his owne followers, before his purpose was knowen in England; and comes to Hampton Court (where the Queene then lay) sooner then he was lisenced or expected. At his sodayne approach (without approbation or notice before geiven) the Queene did conceive some dislyke and expressed indignation, which, with the incensement of others, wrought his ruine; for he was presently commanded to his lodginge, speedly committed to his owne howse, and after some inlargement drawen to destruction.

When Tirone heard of the Erle of Essexs committment he tooke this as an occasion and used it as an opportunitie to breake the truce lately made, and to make it as a meanes to worke his will of over much-desired dominion. For now he peromtorily protesteth: that synce the Erle of Essex was committed (in whom he made shew to place the cheife hope of restauration to his estate and peace) he would noe more repose confidence in any of the English nation, but would trust to hymselfe and his owne strength and performes this promise; for presently he gathers all his forces and frendes of Ulster, besydes some out of Conaught, and with these makes incursions into the English Pale, even to the countie of Meath, cominge to the hill of Tarrow,\* where the olde doatinge prophesie was: that if Oneale could come and shoe his horse he should be kinge of all Ireland. Thither comes Tirone attended with greate troupes.

The Counsellors of Ireland, hearinge of Tirones comminge so

p. 200.

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\* Tara.

neare that State with soe greate a power, and findinge the English Pale to be soe ill provided for resistance of such rebells, begynne to be much frightened, and bethincke how they might prevent soe eminent a perill. They adresse theyr letters unto the Counsell of England, complayninge of the present distresse and danger wherein Ireland then stode. Now this kingdom grew to a dangerous estate; noethinge was found for mens selves and theyr states more unsaffe then to be good subjectes, especially for such as leived emongst or neare the rebells, to whom scarce anything was accounted soe greate an offence as not to committe haynous crimes.

p. 201.

After this the traytor Tyrone, not sought out but shuned, and suffered to passe in a maner where he pleased, marcheth with his Northerne confederates into Mounster, there betwixt feare and fayer meanes to procuer a combination if it might be as well of all the weake mynded as of the eivell affected in that province, that they might be redie to joyne not only with hym in his rebellion but with the Spaniards when they should approach these partes in the intended, and much sollicitated, invasion of Ireland. At his first cominge into those coastes without any resistance, there beinge noe President but two commissioners for the government of that province, that was Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Henry Poore, they had small forces under theyr command, the Erle of Ormond beinge Lord Liftenant and he had at his disposall such power as was in the province. The traytor geiveth out generally that the cause of his cominge into that contrie was\* conjoyne them for mayntenance of the Romish religion, which he called the Catholicke fayth, this beinge of late growen the generall costome and coninge not only of Tirone but of all other his fellow traytors under the visaz of religion to maske theyr treason. Soe he thundered out greate threatens agaynst all that will not joyne in this cause.

p. 179.†

Tyrone, much puffed up with his former prosperous succeesse, thought he might now passe where he pleased, and therfor, with most of his followers and many of his adherentes, in February 1699,‡ he came into Mounster, burning the contrie and spoylinge as many in his way as would not joyne with hym. Soe he

\* "to" omitted.

† These pages are inserted here though written on pp. 179, 180, as a marginal note directs "This must be sett after the Erle of Essexs goeing out of Ireland."

‡ So in original, for 1599.

marched along tyll he incamped within two myles of Corke, uppon the river of Blarney, and made account to gette Blarney, beinge Dermont McCormockes castell, where he remayned two dayes, yet went away without it, and marched backe agayne to Corke within musket shotte of the towne, but stayed not there. Only he sent a trumpeter to the cittie, offeringe to geive them cattell, money, hides, or tallow, for bread, beare, and other provision which he wanted and the towne refused to geive hym. There were in Corke, at the time of Tirones cominge thither, two companies of soldiers under the command of Captayne Gybbes and Captayne Kemeys, with halfe Sir Henry Poores companie, whoe hymselfe was then in Shanden Castell on the north side of Corke; and Sir Warham Seinct Leger lay in the towne. Whilst Tyrone lay in campe neare Corke his sonne in law, Magwier, with some of his companies, went tawards the passage on the south side of the cittie. They spoyled and burned within five myles of Corke. Sir Warham Seinct Leger and Sir Henry Poore (whoe were in joynt commission for the command of those partes) havinge notice therof went out of Corke tawards Magwier with such small forces as they had, and mette hym within five myles of Kynsale; Magwyer expectinge Tirone with all his forces to come thither. But the fresh water of the river of Corke did rise soe high that Tirone could not passe over the river to joyne with Magwier. In the meanetime our men lighted on hym at a small ford (a moyntayne beinge cloase on one side and a bogge on the other side of the foord). Sir Warham Seinct Leger and Sir Henry Poore, havinge with them aboutes fiftie horse, charge Magwier and his troupe, in which incounter Sir Warham Seinct Leger shotte Magwier with his pistoll into the head, and at the same instant Magwier runne Sir Warham with a horsemans staffe into the body. Of which woundes they both died; Magwier the same day, and Sir Warham within fower daies after. When Tirone heard Magwier was slayne he greived much, and soe did most of the rebells, for they helde hym to be one of the valiantest and best horsemen of all Ulster.

p. 180.

Then Tirone marched away by Corke, within a musket shotte of the cittie, to Bariscourt, beinge the Lord Baries castell, and hoped to have taken it by meanes of the Lord Baries brother, whoe was with the traytors, but lefte hym\* and went to his

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\* So, but ? them



brother. Tirone, being thus disapoynted of his designes in Mounster, returneth into his contrie. Soe was it seene, and not unworthie still to be noted, that when Tirone was assayled in Ulster, for the most part he prevayled, but when he came out of these confines from his frendes and fastnes he usually received the foyle.

When Tirone with his trayterous adherentes was in Mounster, he sent his messages unto some and his mandates unto others whom he thought he might overawe and more absolutly command. Emongst whom he wrate unto the Lord Bary, a nobleman of the auncient English race, and one that at this time of extremitie, when the rebells were most prevalent and the good subjectes most oppressed, a thing rare to be found, did yet shew hymselfe loyall to his prince, faythfull to the State, and resolut to induer all adversitie, rather then he would stayne his howse or spotte his allegiance unto his prince. The example wherof in these tempestious times beinge soe sealdom seane and soe remarcable deserves remembrance ; and therefore the letter written unto the Lord Bary from Tirone, and his answer, are here inserted.

Theise  
letters must  
be here  
sette downe.

February,  
1599.

At this time, as the rebells spoyled the good subjectes, soe did many of the meaner and worst minded captaynes pillage theyr soldiers and purloyne the armes committed to theyr charge. Wherof information and complaynt was made into England by the Counsell of Ireland ; especially agaynst some by name, for convayinng theyr soldiers and sending theyr armes to be solde in England, and of one, Captayne Saxey by name, whoe was trusted with the carriage of a proportion of aparell from Dublin to Wexford for the armies in Mounster, wherof, as they certified, he had solde there some and sent more of it into England. The lyke they informe others had don, both for apparell and armes, and had con[v]ayed themselves sodaynly into England without lisencc ; soe lisencious was this time growen, when the worser sorte of servitors for theyr owne corrupt gayne concurred to worke perill to the present State, and yet past without punishment ; neither durst they have don this under marshal[\*], which they durst to doe under the command of gowned men.

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\* Remainder of word illegible.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES LORD MONJOY.

p. 205.\*

Charles Blunt, Lord Monjoy, is now choasen and sent to be Lord Liffenant of Ireland, and Sir George Carew whoe had byn Master of the Ordinance of that kingdom is appoynted Lord President of Mounster. Before theyr departure, the Queene havinge conference with them both together, tolde the Lord Monjoy with a smiling countenance after hir majesticall maner, "Doe you see this man" (poyntinge with hir finger at Sir George Carew), "doe you see this man? Relie not on his judgement, for he is unwise, and doth not understand Ireland," but she ment and would have hym conceive the contrary, for she was confident that Sir George Carew knew the contrie well, where he had served longe. The Lord Monjoye commission with other instruction beinge dispac[h]ed, he departed for Ireland, and beinge accompanied with Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, they imbarqued at Bewmaras the 23 of Februarie 1599 landed at Hoath, arived that night and came to Dublin the next day† where by relation of the Counsell they found the state of that kingdom ruined and rent with the rebels continuall incursions and they as much elated with theyr late prosperous and prevaylinge successe.

Before the Lord Monjoys cominge into Ireland, Tirone with his Northerne confederates havinge come into Mounster to unite and animat them at the request of James fitz Thomas, Florence MacCartie and others, and there hearinge of his arivall with power and purpose to make head agaynst hym and the other traytors and troublers of the State, he hiked home with more hast then good speade unto hymself. The traytors, not incountred by the Erle of Ormond, whoe before was Liffenant Generall of the Queenes forces, passed thorow his contrie and countie of Tipperary where the Erle of Ormond, either beinge not able to incounter hym or for what other respect best knownen to hymselfe, suffered hym to passe that way without fight, but followed after, yet did not overtake the traytors.

[Soone after the Lord Monjoys arivall in Ireland, he tooke

p. 206.

\* pp. 202-4 are blank in the original.

† This passage in the original is confused by the alterations which have been made. Mountjoy did not leave Beaumaris before the 24th Feb. and arrived at Howth the 26th of that month.

a journey into Ulster carying with hym all the forces he could. After he came to the Newry he incamped the first night at Carigbane in Ohanlons contrie, where the rebells shewed themselves not in any mayne body but by devided troupes, and tooke some for or five of our men that went straglinge, whom they slew. From thence he marched about eight myles and incamped in the mydde way betwixt the Newry and Ardmagh where he buylt the fort called Mount Noryes because before Sir John Norys had fought in this place with Tirones forces. There agayne the rebells fell uppon the guard and sentonells whoe lay halfe a myle from the rest of the forces on a bogge syde. The fight grew hotte for two howers and divers were slayne on both sides. But the Lord Deputy departed thence for the space of three weekes untill the fort was finished duringe which time they offered noe more fight in this place.

Captayne Blayny with his company was lefte there to command the fort. From thence the campe removed to Ardmagh and in the Abbey lefte Sir Henry Davers company. The next day they marched to Blackewater, fower myles of,\* lay cloase by it and intrenched hard by the enimies. The ordinance was mounted to batter downe theyr pallisadoes and diches placed on the other side of the river.]†

p. 207.

Whilst the Lord Deputy was advisinge with the Counsell what course to take for settlinge the State and disposing of the forces whereby he might assuer the Pale and other partes of Ireland when hymselfe should march with as much power as he could make agaynst the rebells of Ulster, the President of Mounster was inforced to make longer stay at Dublin then otherwise he would, to expect and thorowly to make provision for the forces allotted unto hym for Mounster, beinge in liste 3000 foote and 250 horse, whoe were dispersed in divers garisons, to procuer the dispatch of his instructions from the State, and the passinge of his office under the Greate Seale. Havinge attended longe at Dublin for the forminge and finishinge of these services, he departed thence on the 7th of Aprill, accompanied with the Erle of Thomond, the Lord Audley and some other captaynes with 700 foote and 100 horse. The third day after, they came unto Kilkenny, the Erle of Ormond howse, where the Erle tolde the Lord President that the day followinge he was to parlie with

\* For "off." † The passage within brackets is struck out in the original.



the rebell Ony Mac Roury Omore at a place 8 myles from the Erles howse, and requested the Lord President to be present at that parlie, seaminge confident of the rebells conformitie to yelde subjection and obedience unto the Queene, which made the Lord President and his company the lesse carefull to bringe theyr owne forces with them, the rather because the Lord Presidents horses beinge abouts 10 or 12 myles dispersed in the Erle contrie by his officers, and the Lord President desiringe his roo horse might be sent for to goe with them for the Erles better guard. Whoe answered it needed not. Soe the Erle went to the parlie only attended with seventeen horse of his owne (fewer then he was used to ride withall and not much about the lyke number besydes of others unarmed, wherof some were lawiers marchantes and they mounted for the most part on hackneys, not weoponed but with swordes. Thus they rade to the place appoynted for parley called Cornneduffe uppon the borders of Ydough, 8 myles from Kylkeney. The Erle of Ormond lefte his company of 200 foote two English myles short of the place assigned for parley. The place where they mette with the rebells was uppon a heathie ground discendinge tawards a narrow straight; havinge on either syde of it a low shrubbie baggie wood within three pykes length at the farthest from the place where they parlied and the lyke distance from the straight; which the Lord President and his companie much mislyked.

[Ony MacRowry brought all his forces neare to the place of parley and shadowed them under a hyll which had betwixt it and the place of parley a thicket, beinge an unfitte and unsaffe place for parley.]\*

Ony MacRowry when he came unto them brought with hym a stand of his cheifest pykes, leavinge in a little playne beyond the straight within halfe a musket shott of them in theyr sight his whole force, beinge in number (as one Redmond Ketinge beinge of the rebells company affirmed) 500 foote stronge and 20 horse wherof 300 were bonaughts or hired men well furnished with armes. At theyr first meeting, and during the parley (which was appoynted for some causes best knowen unto the Erle) the rebells stood (as they might) every one trayling his pyke and holdinge the cheeke therof in his hand reddie to push. The Erle of Ormond hymselfe was uppon a little weake hackney

The Erle of Ormond goes to parlie with Ony MacRowry.

In how weake a maner the Erle went to the parlie.

The place of parley.

p. 208.

\* Entered in margin in the original.

unarmed (as all they were that came with hym) standinge soe neare with the syde of his hackney to the rebells, that some of the traytors touched hym. After an hower and more was idly spent, and noe thinge concluded, the Lord President and the rest with hym did pray hym to depart, but he desirous to see the Jesuite Archer (whoe was with Ony as his counsellor) did cause hym to be sent for. As soone as he came, the Er[l]e and he fell into argument, wherein he called Archer, traytor, and reproved hym for settinge (under pretext of religion) hir Majesties subjects into rebellion. In this time the mayne of the rebells forces had lefte theyr standinge in the playne, some crept into the shrubbes and some did soe mingle themselves into the Erles company that they were invironed, wherof divers did advertize the Erle. At the last the Erle of Thomond willed Ony to put back his men, and the President wished the Erle to be gon, for that he did not lyke the mynglinge of the rebells with them. As the Erle was turninge his horse to depart, at an instant they seased upon hym, offered to lay hold on the Lord President and the Erle of Thomond but drew the Erle of Ormond from his horse. The Lord President and Erle of Thomond beinge better horsed brake thorow them, only the Erle of Thomond received some slight hurt with a pyke. The Erle of Ormonds horsemen were farre from succoringe them, for such as he had there were talkinge with the rebells abouts borderinge busines. Those few of the Erle of Ormonds men that were with hym and talkinge with the rebells fled. This\* was the Erle of Ormond taken by the traytor, which was lyke to put that contry into greate perill and to ruine his famely, as it did much dishonor and indanger hymselfe, if the Lord Presidentes care had not procured from the State two sufficient gentlemen, Sir George Boucher and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, to be sent thither for the gard of Kylkeney and the contrie there abouts.

Upon this surprisall of the Erle of Ormond, different reportes were raysed, wherein men censured as either affection, judgement, or (betwixt both) oppinion did induce them. Some did not sticke to say that the Erle was taken with his owne consent, and they rendered these reasons: that it could not be a man of his extraordinary judgement in most matters, and particuler longe grounded experience of the treachery and condition of such

The rebells crept, and came neare to the Erle.

The Erle of Ormond taken and the Lord President hardly escapinge.

p. 209.  
Different reportes of the Erles takinge.

\* So, *recte* Thus.

people as rebelled agaynst theyr prince in that contrie, should be soe deluded and deceived by a notorious rebell, or repose any confidence in his good dealinge : that the Erle, if he ment to departe in saffety from that parlie, would not have come soe simply horsed for hymselfe, soe slenderly garded with force of horse and foote : that he would not appoynt a place to parlie of soe greate opportunitie to the enemie and disadvantage unto hymselfe, nor command his owne forces to stand soe farre from any place of rescue, or permitte the rebells to stand soe neare hymselfe and the Lord President and to inviron them without shew of feare or distrust ; unto which they adde this as a stronge presumption (how trew or false it is for matter of facte is uncertayne) that the Queene havinge conceived some dislykes of the Erle uppon complayntes had commanded hym to repayer into England, whoe hearinge of this (as some sayd) choose rather to be taken by the rebell then he would be brought to answer offences objected agaynst hym. On the other side, such as loved or knew the Erle better gave it out, there could be noe coller of that suspicion : that the Erle a man of soe high estimation with the Queene and State, one whoe had leived soe longe in the Court of England where he had received education and preferrements, had byn often and was lately employed in places of much trust, should now in his later dayes sette hymselfe into the handes of bloody and barbarous persons it was (sayd they) incredible nay in some sorte impossible. Thus the Erles captivitie gave cause to censure diversly the cause therof.

Yet howsoever this happened certayne it is that it coulede not but be dishonorable and greivous unto hym, as it might have proved perilous not only to his owne howse but to that contrie, if uppon certificat of this disaster sent from the Lord President present order had not byn taken to assigne Sir George Bowser and Sir Christopher St. Laurance with some forces to governe that contrie. p. 210.

When Tyone heard of the Erles takinge, he wrate unto Ony MacRowry tellinge hym that those handes were happie which had handfasted the Erle, and desiringe, if not requiring, the Erle might be sent unto hym. But Ony MacRowry would not doe this, for either it was contrary to his promise unto the Erle of Ormond, or else he ment by keepinge the Erle with hym to make his owne peace into what perill or extremity so ever he should

Tirone demanded the Erle of Ormond and Ony MacRowry denied to deliver hym.



fall, or else to procure a greater some of money by the Erles ransome. This nobleman, thoe he had excellent partes of nature, was brought up in the Court of England much favored by the prince from whom he had received greates guyftes, had byn twice generall and Lord Liffenant of the Queenes forces in Ireland, at other times he had severall speciall employments, and was sealdom without charge of horse and foote in the princes pay when there was any stirring (as it happned often in that province of Mounster), yet notwithstanding all these habillities both in hymselfe and by publicke employments, hardly had it byn seene that he did any remarceable service agaynst the rebells except it were some of his owne kindred, or others with whom he had particuler contestations; a thinge much marvelled at by such as made observation of his cariage and courses, which whither it happened thorow eivell successe, the enmitie of his nearest in bloud, over much caution in hymselfe in observinge the times and his carefullnes to observe private prejudice, or what else might be the cause, they only could judge best that were least parcial and most acquaynted with his proceedinges.

p. 211.

The Lord Deputy upon consultation helde with the Counsellors of Ireland and conference with the principall servitors of that kingdom, as he found by theyr relation, and by generall reportes in a maner an universall revolt of the natives, soe was he advised to make provision first for defence of the garisons and anoyance of the rebells upon the borderinge partes of Leixe and Leinster before he brought the armie into Ulster, for which purpose he placed garisons at Dondalke, Ardee, Kelles and Carlingford, that these should infest the rebells of the Fewes, Ferney, Oreyer, the Cavan, and make incursions into MacMahon and MacGwyers contrie, if Tyrone drew not his forces thither. If he did, then those appoynted to plant at Lough Foyle and Balashanan might more redily settle themselves, and be upon the backes of Tirone and Odonell.

p. 213.  
James Rex.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER LORD DEPUTY.

The Kings Majesty in the beginning of the yeare 1604 revoaked Sir George Carye that was Lord Deputy and before had been Master of the Ordinance and Thresurer at Warre and sent over to Sir Arthur Chichester who had been Governor of

Carickfergus 4 yeares, a gentleman who had done excellent service in the warres of Ireland giving therein frequent proofs <sup>this to be put after.</sup> of his great wisdome valour and conduct, [and had with singular industry wisdome and zeale for the space of seven yeares and more prosecuted the great work of Reformation and brought it well neer to an absolute perfection]\* his patent to be Lord Deputy Generall of Ireland with directions to take upon him presently the place and government of the kingdome, which he did and received the sword from Sir George Carye and tooke his oath in the Cathedrall Church of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church in Dublin upon the 3rd day of February in the said yeare 1604.

In the first yeare of his Government he established two new circuits for Justices of Assise, the one in Munster and the other in Conaught. I call them new circuits, because although it be manifest by divers records in Ireland that Justices Itinerant have in former times been sent into all the shires of Mounster and some parts of Connaght, yet in 200 yeares at least before this time no such commission had by reason of the disorders of that space bin executed in either of those provinces till the whole Realme beinge divided into shires as before and in the sequell of this history appeares and every bordering territory, wherof any doubt was made in what county the same should ye, being added or reduced to a county certaine (among the rest, the mountaines and glinnes on the south side of Dublin (as hereafter will be shewed) were made a shire by itselfe.

This Lord Deputy was most religiously disposed and in the time of his government had a care in the first place to advance <sup>p. 214.</sup> the gospell endeavouring not only to plant godlie and learned <sup>1605.</sup> men in the church of God but also to reedifie and build up againe the ruinated and decayed churches that were in the kingdome.

[This yeare dyed that Right reverend father in God Adam Loftus Lord Archbishop of Dublin and after him succeeded Thomas Jones that was first Lord Bishop of Meath and thence to be Primate of Dublin and also made Lord Chancelor of Ireland, his patent bearing date the 8th day of November in the 3d yeare of his Majesties reigne.]†

And that he might also provide for the living temples, if it <sup>1606.</sup> should please God to worke upon the hearts of the ignorant

\* Crossed out in the original.

† Entered in the margin.

natives by proper meanes, he greatly encouraged that reverend preacher Mr. William Daniell, Bachelor of Divinitie, in the translation of the booke of Comon Prayer into the Irish tongue, and gave strict order to the printer for the well printing thereof with large recompence out of his Majesties thresure and commission for disperseing of them throughout all the churches of the kingdome.

1607.

In this yeare the 4th of November Richard Nugent Lord Baron of Delvin was comitted to the custodie of Tristram Eccleston, Constable of the Kings Castle in Dublin, for suspition of high treason with great charge that he should be kept close prisoner, and when he was put up, the Constable gave also strict charge to his man called Thomas Farmer that he should suffer no man to have any accesse unto the said Lord Baron ; this notwithstanding, in few dayes space he so wrought with the said Thomas Farmer that upon the 20th day of November he brought into the Castle one John Evans who was the Barons man and left him in the prison a while with his master, where they plotted a device for the Baron to escape out of the Castle, which should be perfected by a long rope and a dagger, and when they had concluded upon their designe, the said John Eevers\* was lett out againe, and the next day he returned with the rope and the dagger and delivered them to the said Farmer, whereof such use was made that the Baron slipt downe over the Castle wall, long before the breake of the day on the next morning, beinge the 22th day of November, and so escapeing went away into his owne country where he lay one night in one of his Castles called Fennaa, and the next day he went from thence to a strong castle called Cloghwoughter which standeth in the middle of a great Lough called [blank] where he determined to make his aboad and defence against any forces that should be sent to follow after him.

p. 215.

When the Lord Deputy heard that the Baron was escaped he presently committed the Constable to prison, and withall sent away Sir Richard Wingfield, High Marshall of Ireland, with 200 foot and a troope of horse to follow the said Baron, and first the Marshall marched to the said castle of Fennaa, which he tooke in and placed there a ward of 20 men with a Constable, and then marched to the other castle in the Lough, where he settled his

\* So.



campe as neer to the castle as any land would afford him roome to lodge in, and in that place he staid about 3 or 4 dayes, doeing what lay in his power (considering the nature of the place) to winne it, the Baron himselfe being gone out of it and fled to the woods, leaving some of his owne men as a ward to keepe the castle

Noe sooner was the traitor Tirone with his complices of the North put to flight, but he began to meditate his saffety by submission, for within few dayes after theyr discomfetur at Kynsale, he sent [blank] unto the Lord President of Mounster, to be a meanes unto hir Majestie for mercie. Soe he that of late helde hym selfe noe lesse then a kinge and thought he might geive lawes unto the whole kingdom, findinge his owne downefall to draw neare, begynes quickly to stoupe and to pull downe his peacokes plumes. Such is the nature of men soday[n]ly puffed with prosperitie; as soone to be dejected with adversitie when theyr new blown bladder receives a pricke and lettes out the winde, which made it swell soe high

p. 249.

## ODOGHARTIES REVOLT.

p. 277.\*

In this season of peace and a settled seaming tranquillity of the countrie when Tirone had wilfully exiled hymselfe, Odonells brother, whoe was stiled Erle of Tirconell, together with Magwier, fled beyond the sease and forsaking theyr contrie. By this meanes the greatest part of Ulster and Tirconell at the Kings dispose. Sir Henry Dockwray whoe had quitted the goverment of the Deryie and lefte the command of it together with his company of foote and horse unto Sir George Paulet, a gentleman of Hamsier, one of the [ † ] of Norhamptons famely, whoe sometimes had seene the warres in Fraunce. He was of a hotte spirit, knew his owne birth and qualitie in England, but knew not well the conditions of the people in Ireland, he holdinge hymselfe to be an absolut commander there, by his assigned place under the prince. But Sir Chaier Odaughartie, lord of the contrie of Enisowen, conteyninge a great circuite of landes and command of such people as inhabited these partes, thought hymselfe as absolut in his owne privat and personall power

\* Pages 250-276 are blank in the original.

† Illegible.

as the other was by commission and countenance of his place under the prince. Betwixt them both in shorte time grew greate dislykes. In soe much that Sir George Paulet pubilickly tolde Sir Chaier Odoughartie he would bringe hym lower, and used worse or more terifyinge words. Sir Chaier Odohartie, a man full of stomacke and standinge much on his owne strength, studied revenge. At the length he devised to surprise Sir George Paulet by night at the fort within the towne of Derye, which he knew might easily for the attempt be don, not lookinge into the danger that might come unto hymselfe when it was done, for desier of revenge reacheth not to inco[n]veniences that may fall out, or to selfe danger, but to that it would have, without waighing soe much what may fall out for the future as what desier and dislyke would have don for the present, when furie ministers armes and thinks that force can carie all agaynst kinge and contrie. This yonge man whoe had byn brought up from his yought and allmost childhood under Sir Henry Dockwray whoe bred hym civilie\* and by that breeding he shewed more signe of civilitie then any of that . . . birth in those partes Yet once . . . forgettes and forsakes . . . and obedience . . . hymselfe to armes . . . † He gathers for that purpose a greate part of his people togeether to the number of 500, enters the towne of the Dery by night, the towne beinge not then walled, nor noe gard of soldiers in it, but some few at the fort, and noe wach kept by them, whoe suspected not the aproch of any enimie. At the first they enter the fort without any resistance, findinge the doores to the lodginge wherein Sir George Paulet with his lady, children and a few other lay, to be shutte, they offer to breake up the doores, with the noyce of which Sir George awakinge did arise, whoe with his Liftenant and some others runinge to the doores for defence, the multitud brake in uppon hym, slew his Liftenant valiantly standinge with his sword to make resistance and afterwards layed holde in hymselfe, whom they crewely mangled and murdered. His wiffe and children they caried away prisoners, ransaked his howse of the goods, and burnt the buildinges, doeing the lyke unto the most part of the towne, where they lefte noe thinge to be seene but ruines, and a spectacle where fier and furie had layed all wast ; only one Liftenant Baker, hearinge the fort was assalted and

p. 278.

\* Doubtful.

† The dots signify that the manuscript is illegible.

Sir George Paulet taken, stood upon his gard, defended the howse wherin he lay, and some thirtie more of the cittizens and soldiers cominge unto it he made good the place untill he had composition with the rebells for hymselfe and his companye to depart with saffetie of life, and to be covayed unto Manus Ochan, brother to [blank], whoe then was reputed a good subject, and one that seemed to favor the English. The Buyshop of Dereys wiffe was taken by the rebells and caried thence to [blank].

Newes beinge brought unto the Lord Deputy of Odougharties revolt, the murder of Sir George Paulet, spoyle of the Derye and raysinge of armes (for he had collected all the forces of his contrie with other his frendes and beinge not able to justifie soe fowle and haynous a fact, he placed now noe saffetie for hym selfe, but by the strength of those forces, with which he had at first comitted this offence), therfor, to prevent farther insurrection and to suppress that all redy begune, the Lord Deputie and counsell enter into consultation what course is to be taken. The Lord Deputie was willinge to undertake a jorney hymselfe in person, but the Counsell advised, first to send some other cheife commaunders with a competent power for the affrontinge of this desperat yonge man, and if that tooke not effect, then he might march thitherward in person with a greater power. Soe was it concluded that Sir Richard Wingefeld, Marshall of Ireland, accompanied with Sir Oliver Lambert, should conduct [blank] soldiers into Odaugharties contrie either to compell hym to yelde or to subvert hym and spoyle his contrie if he stood out.

Sir Chaier Odaughartie hearinge of the Marshalls approach with such power to suppress hym, before the Marshalls cominge thithir lefte his contrie and drew downe into Fannet, MacSwines contrie, with the most part of his men and caried with hym two thousand coves but lefte some stoare of cattell in the mountaynes of Inish Owen. 400 foote were appoynted to enter into the contrie.

p. 279.

The Marshall came to the Derry the xx<sup>th</sup> of August, found it ruined and burnt, all save the church into which he put a ward, there beinge noe other place of defence lefte in the towne. The same day after veiw taken of the seate where the demolished fort and towne stode, the Marshall accompanied with the Treasurer Sir Thomas Rigeway rade to Kyllmore Castell 2 myles from the Derye, found it replenished with rebells, whoe made



countenance that they would holde it, he lefte the forces some two or three myles thence at a castell of Odaugharties lefte wast.

The next day Sir Oliver Lambert went to veiw it, placinge a foote company within halfe a myle to prevent the burninge of a myll and some howses necessary to lodge in. The same night the rebells at tenne of the clocke sette fier in the castell and on such howses as were within the fort, and without neare the rampier, and fled by boate with part of the artillary, and such goods as they had, leauinge for hast behynde them 4 peeces of ordinance, three of iron and one of brasse. They made tawards Greene Castell, yet put not in there but went about the heade of the land tawards the Island of Torray, a place fitte for their retrayt and refuge, when they should be sette unto and an assurance for their saffetie. The same day beinge Saterdag upon intelligence, the Marshall sent a partie of soldiers into the mountaynes of Inishowen, whoe harried the contrie and tooke some cowes. Beinge wearied with travell they stayed there and wrate of Odaugharties cominge into the contrie to impeach theyr returne, desired a supplie of foote with some horse to assuer theyr passage. Therfor they went with horse and foote to second and secuere them; havinge mette our men, they advised to stay two or three dayes in those partes, and sent out some companies abouts 200, whoe went into an island at low water, lighted on stoare of cowes mares and garons. The next morninge they returned, whereupon the forces dislodged and marched to the campe; the mares and garrens fell to the Irish soldiers, the sheepe were geiven to the Derey beinge about 1000. Twelve or thirten rebells were slayne.

Captayne Lions brought 150 unto the campe for supplie, wherof 25 delivered to reinforce Sir Toby Calfeilds company, as many to Sir Thomas Row, the rest were lefte unto hymselfe. Captayne Baker was allowed 12 men for the ward of [blank]. The fort of the Derey to be reedified was lefte to Captayne Vaughans charge. Manus Ochane and his father in law Manus MacEnally had 50 men apeece in bonaught, and Neale MacArt Oneale as many. At the Marshalls cominge thither, there were few others in those partes that came to hym but Donell Grome MacSwine. Sir Neile Odonell, comonly called Sir Neile Garvy, whoe claymed to be Odonell as his grandfather had byn and

hymselfe uppon service in the Queenes time had byn fayerly promised, now he thinckes it a fitte time uppon the troubles of that contrie to sette upp sayle for hymselfe. He sendes unto the Marshall and makes offer to doe greate service agaynst Odaugharty (as well he might doe, beinge of hymselfe resolut, stronge and well beloved in the contrie). But either knowinge his owne guyltines in confederacie with Odaughartie or else desirous to draw large conditions for hymselfe or not to come in or do any service at [a]ll, at the first he proposeth restitution to the landes which his grandfather helde and to be made Odonell as he was. This the Marshall could neither graunt, nor did not harken unto. Then he desired a protection that he might saffely come and parly uppon other poyntes. A protection was sent hym; this he returned desiringe it might be confirmed by the Counsell; that was denied, but they wrat that this should be a sufficient assurance. He had a second protection sent hym which he mislyked for want of words. Then he made request for a third (as the last he would send for, and sent such a one written as he would have for hymselfe and nyne more, where before he desired but three besyds hymselfe. This was sent but noe thing hard from hym in [blank] dayes, which made the Marshall thincke all his offers were but delayes to gayne time. At length the Lord Deputy, hearinge of Odaugharties holdinge out and that he could not be had, determines hymselfe to bringe in those partes with more power, least Odougharties continuance in rebellion might animat others to revolte, making full account by devidinge the forces to finde hym out where soever he should flie. Soe the Lord Deputie accompanied with the Erle of Kyldare, Sir Oliver St. Johns and other commanders caried with hym aboutes 900 soldiers wherof Sir Oliver St. Johns had the command under the Lord Deputy, but before they could come to joyne with the Marshall, Odaughartie finding his contrie harried, the cattell taken and all goeing eivell on his side, determined to returne from MacSwines contrie and other places where he had retired, to see if by some adventure and shewing hymselfe in his contrie, he might animat his people to stand out, if he could not effect any thinge else but the stirringe others to joyne with hym; and this he thought he might more saffely doe, before the Lord Deputies cominge thither with more forces, wherof it should seeme he had heard sumwhat. Soe he drew first into the farther

p. 281.

parte of Enishowen with some 500 foote and forty horse. As he went alonge he sent messages and wrate letters to stirre up the people whoe had any power in those partes to joyne with hym wherof one letter beinge written in Irish and translated into English for the strangenes of the stile and imperiousnes of command may well clayme a place in this passage of the storie.



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