

the juries that were empannelled to bring in the proper verdicts, in the present counties of Cavan and Monaghan : for the present purpose it is not needful to go beyond the Inquisition for the county of Derry, which was held at Newtownlimavady in 1609, in O'Cathain's country, and within a mile of his castle. The finding itself has been printed at full length in the Appendix to the Ulster Inquisitions ; and after carefully setting forth the lands belonging to the See, and other church property, it simply declares the whole of the remaining lands in the county, without exception, to be in the possession of, and vested in, the Crown, by act of attainder passed against Shane O'Neill, in the year 1567, upwards of forty years before ! During the intermediate time, the O'Cathain had been present at, if he had not been summoned to attend, a parliament in Dublin ; he had given shelter to the Queen's forces when in danger of being utterly routed and destroyed ; he had seen the royal word *twice* solemnly pledged, for the safety of his life, honours, and estates ; but now that old statute—which never could have been executed but for the reliance placed in a solemn promise that it should not be put in execution—was enforced, to the ruin of many hundreds of families, and thousands of individuals. For, not the O'Cathain alone, but every member of his sept, was, by this sentence, at once dispossessed of every inch of land they held.

(*To be continued.*)

CATALOGUE OF MAPS AND PLANS RELATING TO IRELAND,
IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE, WHITEHALL, LONDON.

THERE are three folio volumes in this Repository, containing the maps of which I have appended the following descriptive catalogue. They are generally of the reign of Elizabeth, with a few dated in 1609 : a larger collection is preserved in the British Museum, of which, in common with all the other MS. maps, charts, plans, and topographical drawings, an excellent catalogue, drawn up by my friend the late deeply-regretted John Holmes, Esq., has been published by the Trustees in three volumes, 8vo.

A third collection is to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

A general account of these, and of all the other MS. authorities for the ancient geography of Ireland, might form the subject of a curious volume, and would be a valuable contribution to Irish historical and topographical literature.

As a specimen of the original plans in the State Paper Office, I have appended a fac-simile of that of Carrickfergus (vol. 1, No. 31) ; there is no date, but it is doubtless to be ascribed to the reign of Elizabeth.

EV. PH. SHIRLEY.

Houndshill, July 23, 1855.

MAPS AND PLANS RELATING TO IRELAND, IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE
PAPER OFFICE, WHITE-HALL.

Vol. 1.

1. Map of Ireland carefully drawn by John Goghe, with numerous additions of names by Sir William Cecil. 1567. Printed in the State Papers, vol. iii.
2. "Map of the "newly made county of Wicklow, or Fernes," 1579. Notes in the autograph of Sr Wm Cecil.
3. Map of the Barony of Udrone, *alias*, Idrone, in the county of Carlow. "In thys Baronye of Vdrone, alias Idrone, hath ben one hundreth villages or townships, from wt churches and castels more then there nowe ys, whiche hath ben destroyed by the unciuyll order of the nations, or ye kyndredes late enhabityng and rulyng the same Baronye." Very carefully drawn by R Lithe in 1571. Engraved in Blaeu's Maps.
4. Plan of the counties of Sligo and Mayo, with the confines of other counties, and the place where the Scots made their entry, August 24, and their march till they were overthrown, Sep. 22.—Feb. 8, 1586-7.
5. Map of Ireland.—A slight and early sketch—about 1558.
6. Map of Munster, carefully drawn, about 1572. Printed in State Papers, vol. iii.
7. Map of Munster, except the county of Clare; additions in the autograph of Burghley, about 1580.
8. "The Sege of Smyrvick, in Irelande. 1580." A large drawing showing the manner of the fort and strength of the enemy, late being at Smerwick, and the stations of the ships and of the besiegers, 1580. Dec. 24.
9. "Platt of the countyc of Monogem, Dec. 1590." "It maie please yo^r Lo: this platt of county of Monaghan is nothing perfect, but only to geve yo^r Lo: a viue of it at this present; But God plesed yo^r Lo: shall haue a perfect one together wth that of Tyrone, wch is nowe almost don."—Notes in the autograph of Burghley.
10. Plan of Belfast Bay, and the surrounding country, about 1590? Large woods are drawn near the the town of "*Belfaste*," and this note is made:—"Alonge this River bi y^e space of 26 miles groweth muche woods, as well okes for timber as hother woodde wiche maie be brought in the baie of Cragfargus, with bote or by drage." At Carrickfergus is written:—"At the south-west side of the castell is a breakell touchstone." And at "Kinbaine or White-head,"—"here is alabaster and whit plaister." At "Black head"—"Here is a breakle black touche stone under other rough stone."
11. Plan and drawing of Castle Mang, with the Lord President's first and second camp: about 1572?
12. "The plat of the Countie of Manahan, 1591." This map of the county of Monaghan is much fuller than No. 9: it has various notes in the autograph of Burghley.
13. "Platt of y^e fort of Eniskillin. Feb. 1593." A sketch of the castle, and plan of the island and surrounding water.
14. "A platt of Cloneys, an abbey in McMahan's countrey."* This is a very curious drawing. Besides Clones, it gives "the Towne of the Cavan," with a cross in the centre, and "Aurelies' castell on the hills over the Cauan."—"The abbie of Mounachin, MacMahoun's house in the lough of Mounachin" (Monaghan). "The abbies of Golune." "Dunganon, the earle of Tiroun's house."—"Lough Hearne." "Belieke, an olde castell." "Bellashange," and "the Abbey of Assaroe," and the course of Lough Erne to the sea. Query, 1591?

* See Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. iii., p. 29.

15. A very curious plan or drawing of the town of Newry: notes in Burghley's autograph. By the church a bell is represented as being between the branches of a pollard tree. "*The new castell*" in the centre of the town. The name of "*Patrick Cooly*" erased, and that of "*Sr H. Bagnall*," inserted in its place. "A lytell orcharde," behind the castle; and not far off "a place for the cattell by nyght."
16. Drawing of a castle without name or date; the windows are mullioned, and the walls are finished with battlements.
17. Ground plan of the above, containing four stories.
18. Plan of "the Fort of Corkebegge, not fynessed," near "the River and haven of Corke." By Robert Lythe. 1572?
19. An early map of the coast of Ireland from Dublin Bay to Carrickfergus, about 1572?
20. Map of the coast of the county of Down, from "Dondrome Baye" to "Olderflyte."—Notes in the autograph of Burghley. 1580?
21. A curious map of the coast of the present county of Antrim; deer and rabbits represented, and the following note:—
"This plat not drawn owt by order of skayll for want of tym to tarey upon it, to do it soe exactly as I would have done yf I had had that tym to have tared to have don it in that order to mor truthe, but this and in this order the coutrey leyeth, Erlond ofe of Skotland from Glanarme to Loghfoyll."—1570?
22. Map of the coast of the County of Down, and part of that of Louth from Carlingford to Strangford: a curious map, supposed to be drawn in 1566. There are names in the autograph of Burghley, and the following note by the artist:—"Wheras any wodds doe sygnifye in these platts y^e und^rwoodds, as hasell, holye, oller, eldr, thorne, crabtre, and byrche w^t sutche lyk, but no great hoke, neyther great bwyldyng tymbr, and the mountayne topps, ys bayrayne, save onelye for ferres and small thornes."
23. A very rough and incorrect map of the north and east part of Ulster. Various names in Burghley's autograph. 1570?
24. A curious map of the county of Sligo, "Oruck his countrey of late callet the counte of Leatrim:"—endorsed by Burghley, "The county of Slegoe from Sr Ri. Bygham (Bingham). 20 April, 1589."
25. Map of the county of Mayo, drawn by Jean Baptiste, "*the paynter*," from a design by John Browne. Decr. 1590.
26. A curious plan of the peninsula of Portrush in the county of Dublin. 1580?
27. A rough map of Bantry Bay and the surrounding country. An early and curious drawing: notes by Cecil. 1558?
28. "A Draught of the Town and Castle of Roscomon in the county of Roscomon, in the Province of Connaught in Ireland. Julye, A.D. 1581."
29. "The Platte of the Citie of Lymbrick. 27 March, 1587." A very curious drawing, representing the houses in the town.
30. "The Platte of the greatt countey of Lymbrick," &c. A curious and valuable map. "Franciscus Jobson discripsit." Early in the reign of Elizabeth.
31. "The Plat of Knokefergus."* Reign of Elizabeth.
32. "The Platt of Blackwater. 27 March, 1587." This is a very interesting and curious drawing of the fort and surrounding cottages.
33. An early and curious map of the coast of Ireland between Kinsale and Dingle, with the depth of the water in the havens, and character of the ground, and particulars of wood and water. 1587?

* See the fac-simile accompanying this article.

Vol. 2.

1. "A Generale Description of Ulster." A neatly-executed map of Ulster, with the arms of Blount, Lord Mountjoy, within the Garter, which fixes the date between the year 1603, when he was made K.G., and 1606, when he died.
2. A map of the south eastern part of Ulster. Same arms and date.
3. A map of the Bay of Donegal and surrounding country. Same arms and date.

The following maps were originally bound in vellum, and are impressed with the arms of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, being presented to his Lordship by Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Treasurer of Ireland in 1609 :—

- | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|---|
| Co. Fermanagh. | { | 4. "Half ye Baronie of Knockninnie." | | |
| | | 5. "Parte of ye Baronie of Knockninnie." | | |
| | | 6. "The Baronie of Clancally." | | |
| | | 7. "The Baronie of Clinawley." | | |
| | | 8. "The Barony of Maghery Steffanah, with ye two halfe Bar. of Coole and Tircanneda." | | |
| | | 9. "The Barony of Mahbery Boy" | | |
| | | 10. "The Halfe Baronies of Lurgh and Colemackernan." | | |
| | | County Tyrone. | { | 11. "Parte of ye Baronie of Donganon." |
| | | | | 12. "Part of the Baronie of Donganon." |
| | | | | 13. "Parte of ye Baronie of Loghinisholin." |
| 14. "Parte of ye Baronie of Loghinisholin." | | | | |
| 15. "Parte of ye Baronie of Strabane." | | | | |
| 16. "Parte of the Baronie of Strabane." It gives a sketch of the town of Strabane. | | | | |
| 17. "The Baronie of the Omey." | | | | |
| 18. "The Baronie of Clogher." | | | | |
| County Cavan. | { | 19. "The Baronie of Loghtie." | | |
| | | 20. "The Baronie of Tollaghgarvie." | | |
| | | 21. "The Baronie of Clanchy." | | |
| | | 22. "The Barony of Castle Rahin." | | |
| | | 23. "The Baronie of Clonmahowne." | | |
| | | 24. "The Baronie of Tollachconco." | | |
| | | 25. "The Baronie of Tollaghaghe," under "Largie and Dowballie, being three ballibetoghes," is written—"This lande is in controversie betweene this countie and the county of Leytrim." | | |
| Co. Armagh. | { | 26. "The Barony of Orier." It gives a sketch of the town of Newry. | | |
| | | 27. "The Baronie of Fues." | | |
| | | 28. "Parte of the Barony of Oneilan." | | |
| | | 29. "Parte of the Baronie of Oneilan." | | |
| | | 30. "The Barony of Ardmagh." Sketches of Armagh and Charlemont. | | |
| | | 31. "The Baronie of Toghrany." | | |

Vol. 3.

This volume, beautifully executed by Norden on vellum, is dedicated to the Earl of Salisbury, and contains the following maps, plans, and descriptions. It was probably done in 1609 :—

1. A map of part of the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and France.
2. A map of part of the coasts of England, Wales, and Scotland.
3. A map of the whole of Ireland. Printed in the State Papers, vol. iii.
4. A list of the "Principal Townes" in Ireland.

5. "Places of Garrison in Irelande established."
6. "Castells and fortes, for the moste parte in Irelande." This is a very curious list, giving, in many cases, the names of the owners, both English and Irish.
7. "Men of note in Ireland," with the following subdivisions:—"Men of honorable title:" "men of note entitled O.O.;" "men of note entitled Mac's;" "other men of note without the former adjuncts."
8. "Earldoms of baronies, seignories, and territories, for the moste parte in Irelande."
9. "The Provinces in Irelande, and theyr several counties."
10. "Havens and Bays upon the coastes of Irelande."
11. "Principall Ilandes in Irelande."
12. "Rivers for the most part, and where they enter into the sea."
13. "The moste of the principall Loughes in Irelande."
14. "Auntient factions and private quarrells in the South of Irelande: their qualifications and present state doubtfull."
15. List of Coast Towns in Spain, France, England, and Scotland.
16. Three well drawn plans of "Forte Moungeyo" (Mountjoy), on Lough Neagh; "New Forte, or Fort Mullive," on the Blackwater; and "Forte Mounte Norris," on "Owen Duffe fluvius."
17. "Forte Charlemount," on the Blackwater.
18. "Forte of the Agher."
19. Two plans of "Forte Enislaghan," Enniskillen, and "Forte Monaghan."

NOTES ON A PLAN OF CARRICKFERGUS, TEMP. ELIZABETH.

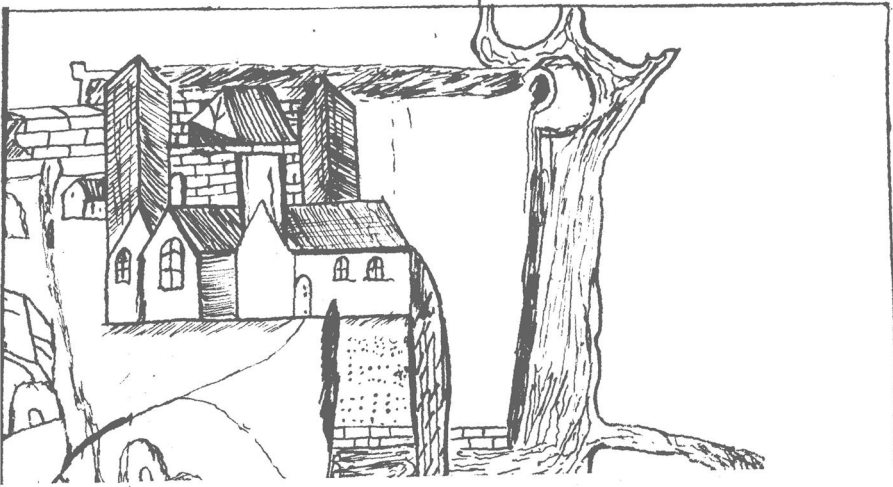
THE accompanying lithograph has been executed from a fac-simile of a picture-map or isometric view of Carrickfergus as the town appeared in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The date of the original drawing is not known, but it must be subsequent to 1575, as the town wall, which appears on the plan, was then un-rebuilt. The old walls that had protected the inhabitants in earlier ages had been levelled long ago. To repair "the king's castell of Knockferregose, re-edifye the walles" of the town, "and inhabit accordingly,"^b were among the steps recommended to Henry VIII. at the time he contemplated measures for the recovery of English dominion in Ulster. But though this recommendation was made in the year 1536, the citadel was not repaired until Sir Henry Sidney became Lord Deputy; to whom, also, Queen Elizabeth signified her gracious "disposition to wall the town," in 1575, after the failure of the Earl of Essex's enterprise to recover Ulster, and the consequent destruction of Carrickfergus, when all the churches and dwellings, excepting the castellated houses, had been burned, and almost all the inhabitants had fled away.^c Sidney, in his memoir, in an interesting paragraph^d respecting the trading wealth of this seaport town when the country was

* For this curious plan the readers of the Journal are indebted to the liberality of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P., who kindly caused the requisite number of fac-similes to be executed at his own expense.

^b State Papers, vol. ii., p. 327.

^c Collins, i. 77.

^d See page 96.



at peace, remarks that the unproductive treasure spent in Lord Essex's war would "have walled and made Carregfergus a good and strong town." Had Essex fortunately succeeded in effecting a settlement, he would, however, instead of spending money on a seaward locality, have built at Belfast, the superior advantages of its situation having determined him to found a town there. Already Carrickfergus was a *Mantua nimium vicina Cremonæ*. Lord Essex's reasons for incurring a "little charge" in building at Belfast give some idea of the state of the times and country:—"A small town," wrote he, "will keep the passage" (the important ford), "and relieve Knockfergus with wood; and horsemen being laid there shall command the plains of Clandeboy, and with footmen may kepe the passage open between that and the Newry, and kepe those of Killulto, Kilwarlin, and the Dufferin in obedience; and may be victualled at pleasure by sea, without danger of Scott or pirate."^e The good nobleman saw the importance of Belfast as a military post, but could not indeed foresee that the place would grow from a petty garrison to a second Glasgow in which foreign flags and Scotsmen would be welcomed.

Sidney commenced^f the reconstruction of the walls and fortifications in pursuance of the queen's commands; yet makes no mention of these works in his note^g of those he effected, probably because he only began them; and he is also modestly silent as to his very liberal donation of £94 9s. 6d.^h fully equivalent to £3,000 in the present day, towards the repairs of St. Nicholas' church, which stands roofless on the map; only mentioning that he had caused a water-mill to be constructed, and that he had repaired and roofed the castle-keep, which figures so conspicuously.

This view of an ancient town in Ireland, on a larger scale than any plan we have met with, will assuredly prove interesting to present and future residents in the locality, and doubtless, also, to our antiquarian readers, especially as it depicts the old *caban* or Celtic hut, by which it is explained that the singular mounds which may be seen clustering round castles in the plans in *Pacata Hibernia* were human dwellings, and, moreover, types of the primeval *bothy*, or tent-house, the figuration of which agrees with descriptions. The Celtæ are said to have always built in a circular form, enclosing most space with least materials. It will be observed that the roofs of the huts in the plan are semi-globes, and have no eaves, rising in fact from the ground. The figure of these abodes is the only point of curiosity; as the dwellings of many of our labouring classes are, in some districts, unhappily little better after centuries of peace;—but in an age of war, the genius and desolation of which are stamped on the map, these wretched hovels were sufficient for the day, for the next might bring fire and sword, and another suffice to replace them. Sir William Brereton, who visited this "preattie little town,"ⁱ as he calls it, in 1635, remarks that almost all the houses were built in castle fashion, so that although the Irish, in their frequent incursions, set fire to and destroyed the

^e Devereux's Essex, i. 43, and Shirley's Farney.

^f Collins, i. 90.

^g See vol. iii. p. 38.

^h See vol. ii. 59.

ⁱ See vol. i. 247.

inferior buildings, these fortalices remained uninjured. Thirteen such uninflamable dwellings may be counted. The governor of the garrison seems usually to have resided in one of these fortified "stone houses." In a grant of land, dated 1609, reference is made to "the castle wherein Will Piers lived;"³ this was "the good ould captain," as Sidney styles him, Sir William, who was renowned for having saved Queen Elizabeth, when princess, from the fury of her sister Mary, and who was long and well remembered by the Englishry. Every walled town was full of castellated houses, which were so many strongholds should the city be taken by surprise. Speed's maps show that Cork and Galway, and even the metropolis, were each, as Limerick was styled, "a city of castles." The walls of towns in Ireland were not only erected to prevent ingress in time of war, but, as in one instance, and probably in more than one, and in another in England, to raise barriers by their portcullised gates to the egress during peace of wild mountaineers, who could carry off the citizens and goods at their pleasure before there were obstacles to their exit. According to the story, the walls of Ross were built to prevent the repetition of the insolent act of a Gaelic horseman in galloping away with a roll of cloth he pretended he meant to purchase; and, about the same period, a still more valuable prey having been taken in Newcastle by a party of Scottish moss-troopers, who surprised a rich burgess in his house, and, carrying him across the Border, did not liberate him until he paid a round ransom,—the Newcastle men protected their town by a wall. Not having met with either record or legend as to the original erection of the walls of Carrickfergus, it may be surmised that they were constructed in the 13th century, when this sea-port, the principal one in the north, was already a guild borough, and governed by a mayor. To the Gaelic clans a Saxon city was a particular object of detestation; and the O'Neills and McDonnells, whose bards considered a single rural castle an eye-sore, would gladly have utterly erased a blot like Carrickfergus, that contained so much of offence. By an old law of the corporation of Galway, neither O nor Mac were suffered "to strut ne swagger" in the streets of that city. But armed chieftains could not be excluded from the Ulster town during peace, and much less during war, when the defences of the place were prostrate; and, accordingly, we find the chief of the Clann Hugh-buoy carrying off the mayor early in the 16th century;—Shane O'Neill making its merchants ransom their plundered cattle with hogsheads of their best wine; and Sorley-buoy McDonnell "taking the prey of the town" regularly. Consequent on the death of Shane O'Neill there were, however, halcyon days; and Sir Henry Sidney notices as a proof of the quiet state of the surrounding country when he landed at this port in 1568, that "the captains and soldiers of the garrison used to go out to hunt as freely as they would in the English Pale." The country was alive with game, from the hare to the wild deer and the wolf. Moryson, who accompanied Lord Mountjoy into many parts of the kingdom during Tyrone's rebellion, observed that red deer were plentiful in the woods because they were not hunted by the Irishry during that period of civil war, and were only now and then shot for the tables of the governors and commanders of gar-

³ Grant to J. Dalway. Printed Rolls.

rison. The "kerne shalyne, or huntinge hill," on which the townsmen of Carrickfergus were ordinarily accustomed to indulge their love of field sports, appears in the environs.^k In peaceful times, grand hunting excursions were doubtless made by great chiefs such as Sir Brian O'Neill, who hospitably welcomed^l "Will Piers" and the garrison officers to Castlereagh, the house perhaps in which, in 1574, he feasted the Earl of Essex and Lord Justice Fitzwilliam,—and, like the imaginary O'Neill of the poet:—

"Gave them each sylvan joy to know,
Sliav-Donard's cliffs and woods could show;
Shared with them Erin's festal cheer,
Show'd them the chase of wolf and deer."^m

This map does not give a trace of "Woodburn abbey," which occupied the site of the ancient *pallis* of Cnoc-Fergus, and probably was the first dwelling-place of the locality, all vestige of it having disappeared under the circumstances deplorably stated by Father MacCana.ⁿ In a grant, dated 1619, of the site and lands of "the late abbey or monastery in or near Carrickfergus," this convert is said to be "commonly called the Palace," a name it may have obtained from occupying the site of one of those Gaelic "palaces" with which Ireland abounded in remote ages. This word *pallis* of course denotes some peculiarity in the construction of these primitive residences: but there is a question as to its true derivation, and therefore as to its meaning. *Lis* denominated an entrenched earthen fort, generally square in form.^o *Pal* seems to be the root whence the modern "pale," and perhaps even the Maorite *pah*, a palisadoed stockade, are derived. An ancient writer speaks of "a foreste withouten a palaised parke."^p *Pallis*, therefore, may have designated an empaled *lis*. On the other hand, *peillichd* in Scottish Gaelic, and *peillic* in Cornish, signify a hut made of earth and branches of trees, the term being derived from *feile* or *peile*, a skin or covering, the root of *fell*, *felt*, *pall*, &c., and perhaps of *paille*, straw (the *culmen* of the Trojan *tecta*, or palaces, and possibly also of the old Gaulish *palais*), on account of its use as a covering,—thatch necessarily forming the almost invariable coating of a roof. The conversion of this antique camp into a consecrated residence was probably due to the conqueror of Ulster, Sir John de Courcy, whose firm feudal tenure enabled him to devote land in a manner a Gaelic king could not imitate; and also induced him to build strongholds in the towering and durable form of that depicted to our view, which, doubtless, either he or his successor, Hugh de Lacy, commenced when the earldom of Ulster was conferred on them.

Some brief notices of this old town may now be given, merely to bring in historical passages that are not included in any topographic account. No local reader requires to be reminded that the citadel of Carrickfergus, the principal fortress of ancient Ulster, does not yield in historic interest to any castle in Ireland,—having been the residence of the adventurous Edward Bruce when he was

^k Not included in the fac-simile.

^l Devereux's Essex, i. 34, 38.

^m Rokeby.

ⁿ See vol. ii. 59.

^o See vol. ii. 59, showing the square form of the abbey site.

^p Richardson's Dict.: voce Pale.

“King of Ireland,”—and as having been besieged by his illustrious brother, the King of Scotland,—by the tyrant John, King of England, and by the veteran Schomberg; and as the landing place of William III. Taking these events chronologically;—it seems that in June 1210, immediately on King John entering Ireland to pursue the unhappy wife of Wm. de Braos, and punish the Lacys,—the Earl of Ulster, Hugh de Lacy, with Lady de Braos and her family, fled to this castle, from whence, on the approach of their vindictive sovereign, they attempted, “dreading the fury of the king,” to sail into Scotland. The romantic details connected with this affair are too lengthy to do more than allude to. After King John had taken the castle, and during his stay in Carrickfergus, he was informed of the capture of the fugitives, excepting the earl and young Reginald de Braos who re-landed and took refuge in an adjacent fortress. The De Courcys, as near relatives of the heroic conqueror of Ulster, bore deadly enmity to De Lacy, the possessor of the earldom; and John de Courcy and Godfrey de Crancumbe, who accompanied the king into the north, were instantly despatched with a band of cross-bowmen and men at-arms to bring in the two fugitives; and executed this service with such alacrity as to lead them captive into Carrickfergus during the king’s brief abode of ten days.^q King John arrived on the 19th July, and marched southwards on the 28th, having, on the 26th, by a royal grant dated the “twelfth” year of his reign,^r rewarded his “cousin of Gallo-way,” Duncan Fitz Gilbert of Carrick, with fifty plowlands lying between Glenarm and Wulfrichfiord, for having captured the bark that contained the ill-fated Lady de Braos. The grant was “dated at Cragfergus by the hand of Richard de Marisco,” and witnessed by the bishop of Norwich, William Longespé, Earl of Salisbury, the king’s half-brother, the Earls of Winton and Ferrers, John de Courcy, Robert Fitz Walter, De Lacy, Constable of Chester, Robert de Ros, Piers Fitz Herbert, Godfrey de Crancumbe, Eustace de Vesey, Robert de Percy, &c.—high and truly noble names, more than one of these barons having affixed their seals to Magna Charta. Our Gaelic annalists, in their account of the English monarch’s proceedings, observe that he was accompanied to Carrickfergus “by his nobles;” so that this Irish town can make the singular boast that there is evidence it was visited by some of the patriot peers of Runnymede. Leaving a strong ward in the fortress, the king returned to Dublin. It is hardly out of place to note his itinerary^s in our northern province. His writs (from whence it is compiled) during his march from Waterford to the metropolis, and thence into the north and back, were frequently dated from the fields and woods in which this luxurious monarch was constrained to encamp “for lack of houses to lye in,” as viceroy Sidney wrote of his own journey south of Carrickfergus three ages and a half subsequently. On the 12th July, 1210, the king arrived from Carlingford “apud castrum Jordani de Saukeville.” This castle, built by a scion of the race of the ducal house of Dorset, who was one of the witnesses to the charter^t by which the Earl of Pembroke founded “the abbey of the vow” in the county of Wexford, is the citadel

^q Rymer.

^r Pat. Roll, 13, Jac. I. folio, p. 314.

^s Hardy’s Itiner. of King John.

^t Charta Hib. p. 80.

around which the town of Ardglass was built, and was so loyally and resolutely held out during Tyrone's rebellion that its unflinching lord never quitted his post for three entire years, as Moryson declares, styling the brave castellan "one Jordan,"—for, in Gaelic fashion, the Christian name of his chief ancestor had become his patronymic, dropping the distinguished surname of a line then living under more fortunate stars in the princely seat of Knowle.—On the 14th the king passed to "Rath;" on the 16th encamped in a field near Down, or *Dun*, the earthen fort of Downpatrick; and on his return, on the 29th, rested in the wood called *Sanctum Boscum*,—Holywood; was at Ballimore, "the great town," on the 31st; at Downpatrick on the 2nd and 3rd of August; stopped at the bridge over the Bann on the 4th; and returned to Carlingford the next day;—a rath, a dun, and a wood having been the King of England's resting-places in his circuitous passage to a northern point which the rail now connects with the metropolis without a single stopping-place.

When Ulster was restored to De Lacy the Crown probably retained Carrickfergus as a royal borough, it being politic and usual to except considerable sea-ports in extensive territorial grants. The town was already a borough in 1260, when the burgess "Abraham,"^u doubtless a thriving Israelite, repaid certain monies that had been furnished him to provide due entertainment for the viceroy of Ireland during an expected visit; and it was governed by a mayor in 1275,^v when Edward I. directed letters to that officer and the commons of the town respecting the rebellion of the Mandevilles and others of the Englishry, who, because the Seneschal of Ulster, William, Lord Fitzwarin, had distrained them to recover debts due to the townsmen, had incited the chiefs of the O'Neills and O'Gahans to lay the seneschal's estates waste, and ravage the lands belonging to the burgesses, committing homicides, burnings, &c. Their havoc had been checked by the valour of the seneschal, who was aided by Lord Byssset and others. Still, the King of England subsequently deemed it prudent to address letters to MacDonlevy, "King of the Irish of Ulster," to the King of Ennisowen, and to O'Hanlon, O'Flinn, McGilmore, and McArtan, desiring them to assist the seneschal; thus enlisting these chieftains to draw their swords on the side of the law in case of further resistance or rebellion arising from matters which civil bills and a few bailiffs now suffice for, but which, in the 13th century, raised a serious civil commotion. The estates of the English rebels were confiscated, having been "conquered in war," as stated in the ensuing contemporary record:—

"William le Fitzwarin prō de si com nostre Seynur le Roy a retenu son homage e son service des terres e tene-mens ke de luy tent en Ualwestre ke le Roy e son conseil luy facent asauer le quel receyvera somounees e atache-mences des vayllynys le Roy taunt soulevier ou de vayllynys Richard de Burgh en menie le teres ke il tent du Roy on droyt des soucys e servis purtonaunt a son fec si il les fra a Roy ou a Richard.

"Derychef de la garde de la coroune e des botes e des teres ke escheyt a Roy facent M M gardeyn pur ceo ke Ryc de Burkg a maunde a tener ces asises e pussaynt donne chosez estre fest en preindite le Roy.

^u Rymer.

^v Vellum scrap bound up in Carew, M.S. 619.

"Derychef en droyt de teres e tenemens Henri de Maundevill, Robert de Maundevill, Thomas de Maundevill, e Thom filz Ryc furent conquestes en cens de gere kauft il esteynt encoultre ley Roy e souint ore resseyis en lour teres e en lour chatels en querne le Roy par ky e comet e est la value de ters par an xx. lib. cara."^w

It would seem from this record that some of the commonalty of the town were *villani* or town serfs under the king, and that the high steward of Ulster had distrained land held by "villains" of the Red Earl either under the king or the earl. These latter may have been tenants of the Mandeville family, whose estate appears to have been approximate to the town, and who, perhaps, revenged the distraint on account of some illegality; much confusion arising from villainage, under which men were slaves, without rights of property, until they obtained the franchise of a borough rendering guild to the Crown.

However rebelliously this feudal family had acted, the king restored their lands, and no fewer than four of their name were summoned as peers in 1310; and one of these barons, Sir Thomas Mandeville, became the distinguished leader of the loyalist Anglo-Irish who manfully withstood the invasion of Edward Bruce. As the siege the citadel of Carrickfergus sustained from the Bruces is prominent in the history of Ireland, and was celebrated in many a couplet by the old Scottish poet, John Barbour, we may well introduce the verses in which the good archdeacon of Aberdeen, who may have conversed with men who had levelled their "arblasters" at the loopholes of the old fortress, gives a curiously detailed account of this passage in a war in which instances of Anglo-Irish and Scottish bravery are conspicuous. At the same time the Scotsman's story must be corrected, being not altogether reliable, by the non-poetic chronicles of our own annalists.

Upon intelligence of the invasion, the Mandevilles, Logans, Savages, and other loyalists, having mustered an army of 20,000 men (according to the poet), drew up in battle array near Carrickfergus to oppose Bruce, who had landed at Glenarm on the 26th May, 1315, with a force of 6,000 bold warriors, and was marching upon the town. The Anglo-Irish, however, were defeated with great loss; on which a small but intrepid band undertook to garrison the citadel and hold it against the invaders. In the words of the metrical narrative:—

"The castell weill was stuffyt then,
Of new with wictail and with men."

Separated from the town by water, the fortress was defended by a drawbridge; and, before the invention of cannon, its insulated position and strong and lofty walls rendered it impregnable save

^w The following translation gives the substance of the above old extract, but some of the words are uncertain:—"William Fitz Warin prays of this, that whereas our Lord the King has retained his homage and his service of the lands and tenements which he holds of him in Valwestre, that the King and his Council will cause it to be made known to him whether he shall receive the summonses and attachments of the king's villains only, or of the villains of Richard de Burgh in the same lands which he holds of the king; and as to the rights of the suits and services appertaining to his fee, whether he shall do them to the king or to Richard.

Furthermore, of the Wards of the Crown and of others, and of lands which escheat to the king, that they will make him (or William?) guardian, because Richard de Burgh has commanded to hold these assizes, and may cause things to be done to the king's prejudice.

Furthermore, in the right of the land and tenements of Henry de Maundevill, Robert de Maundevill, Thos. de Maundevill, and Thomas Fitz Richard, they were acquired in time of war when they were against the king, and they are now re-seized in their lands and in their chattels [] and the value of the lands is £20 by the year."

to the attacks of hunger. The victorious Bruce entered the town and laid brisk siege to the citadel, levelling such "artillery" as he possessed against it: but cross and long bows made little impression; and though, as the poet declares, many valiant achievements were performed, a truce was soon agreed to. The Scots, having "plundered all Ulster,"* a name then applied to the district east of the Bann, were experiencing the effects of their ravaging war in its recoil on themselves in absolute scarcity; and, after evidently having been compelled to assail their very allies, McArtan of Kinelarty, and McQuillin, for the purpose of seizing the cattle of those chiefs, made a raid into the Pale, but subsequently retreated into the north-west, and, crossing the Lower Bann, succeeded, by more than one clever *ruse de guerre*, and by hard fighting, in defeating the Earl of Ulster,—and then took possession of the episcopal town of Connor, and of—

" All the wictaill of that cytè ;
And thai fand sic foyson" (profusion) " tharin
Off corne, and flour, and wax, and wyne,
" That thai off it had gret ferly" (wonder),
" And Schyr Edward gert halily
Intill Cragfergus carryit be."

After the decisive victory of Connor, gained on the 16th September, Bruce was master of Ulster; and Carrickfergus became the head-quarters of the Scots, who resumed the siege of the castle "full starwarty." According to the annalist Grace they at first encamped near the town, and it is probable that if the place was then walled they had to storm it before they entered. In the meanwhile, a party of bold English sailors, whose ships lay in the port, drove the Scots from their camp by a sudden assault at night, and carried off all their tents. Remedying this loss by taking the town, Edward Bruce beleaguered the resolutely defended fortress in person until the 6th December,^y when he marched southwards, but left some troops to continue the blockade. Returning early in the ensuing spring, and reigning as crowned King of Ireland, holding courts of justice and taking cognizance of pleas as if the times were those of profound peace, he carried on the siege vigorously until "Palme Sunday was passit by."

Lord Mandeville, however, who determined to make a last effort, and whose estates seem to have lain round Carrickfergus, for he is described as fighting there "in his own country, and for his own rights," brought up forces from Drogheda, and attacking the invaders, put them to flight with some loss. This was on Maunday Thursday, the 8th April, 1316; and, two days subsequently, on Easter Eve, the patriotic Anglo-Irish lord made a second and less successful assault, according to our annalist's version, from which we may now turn to that of the Scottish poet, who omits the first attack, but ascribes a date to the second that coincides with Grace's account,—and who, after saying that the siege was stalwarty prosecuted, states that a cessation of hostilities was agreed to on Easter Tuesday:—

" Swa that thai mycht that haly tid.
In pennance and in pryer bid."

* Grace.

^y Not the 9th May, as erroneously stated in Grace's annals.

This solemn truce, for a purpose the religious observance of which is evidence of the devoutness of the Scots soldiery at this early and warlike period, was, according to the archdeacon of Aberdeen, broken by the Anglo-Irish ;—for—

“ Upon the Pasche ewyn rycht
 To the castell, into the nycht,
 Fra Dewillyne” (Dublin) “schippys come fyften,
 Chargyt with armyt men bedene ;
 Four thousand trow I weill thai war.
 In the castell thai entryt ar :
 The Mawndeweill, auld Schyr Thomas
 Capitane off that menyne was.
 Intill the castell prively
 Thai entryt, for thai had gret spy
 That mony off Schyr Edward’s men
 Was scalyt in the countre then.
 Tharfor thai thought in the mornyng
 Till isch” (to issue) “but langer delaying,
 And to suppriss thaim suddanly.”

Thus reinforced, and notwithstanding the truce, the garrison made a sortie. Fortunately for Bruce he had not omitted—

“ To set wachis to the castell ;
 Ilk nycht he gert men walk it wele,
 And Nele Fleming wachit that nycht,
 With sixty men worthy and wycht.
 And alsone as the day was cler,
 Thai that within the castell wer
 Had armyt thaim, and maid thaim boun” (ready),
 “And sone thair bryg’ (drawbridge) “awalyt doun,
 And ischit into gret plenté.”

Hastily despatching a messenger to inform Edward Bruce of the treacherous surprise, the gallant Sir Neil Fleming and his little band stood their ground so unblenchingly that they were “slane up ever ilk ane.” In this particular the poet’s account agrees with the chronicler’s statement, that sixty Scots fell on this occasion. Bruce, or, as the archdeacon says, “the King off Irland,” as he was “commonly called,” was either asleep in one of the houses in the town, or had scarcely risen when the tidings of the unexpected attack came :—

“ In full gret hast he gat hys ger ;
 Twelf wycht men in hys chamber wer,
 That armyt thaim in full gret hy,
 Syne with hys baner hardely
 The mydds of the toune he tays.”

The veteran Mandeville, who had divided his forces into three bands, was advancing with the main body up the principal street, while the rest rushed forwards to the right and left to intercept the

surprised and flying Scots, when Bruce suddenly encountered him, and the aged knight, being known by his armour, was presently felled to the ground by the battle-axe of the king's henchman, and despatched by a *coup de grace* from the royal poignard. At the same instant Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, "a knyecht rycht courageous," came up with a reinforcement, and as fast as the Scots could arm they poured into the melay. The assailants, their leader being slain, gave back; and, after a "hard fecht and gret debat," were chased to the gate of the castle with such severe loss that for the future—

"Thai off the dungeoun,
Durst opyn na yhat, na brig let doun."

They were deservedly chastised for their breach of faith, as the archdeacon remarks. Let it be said, nevertheless, that his legend is as open to doubt as his statistics. Four thousand men, whether in armour or in buckram, would hardly have found standing-room in the castle; nor would the fifteen ships they arrived in have been unperceived by the watch; and it is a question whether Lord Mandeville was bound to observe a cessation agreed to with the garrison; nor can it be believed that the aged nobleman, "a knyecht that of all Irland was callyt best, and of maist bounté," had he pledged his word to a solemn truce, would have broken it. However these points may have been, there plainly is truth in the ensuing passage, ascribing the extreme slaughter the Englishry sustained at the close of the contest to the arrival of a Gaelic leader and his pikemen:—

"For to the fycht Maknakill then
Come, with twa hundreth spermen.
And thai slew all thai mycht to wyn.
This ilk Maknakill, with a gyn,
Wan of thair schippys four or fyve,
And haly reft the men thair lyve."

The "gyn" must have been a stratagem by which the Gaelic auxiliary allured the shipping into danger. "Maknakill" may have been Mac O'Neill—perhaps a son of Brian McNial O'Neill (the tanist of the Kinel-Eoghain, who died in 1314), and probably chief of the Clann-Iugh-buoy that, emerging from the forest of Coill-ultagh, subsequently effected a settlement throughout the vast country around Carrickfergus afterwards known by their name, replenishing the void of English inhabitants caused by Bruce's three years' war and the cotemporaneous unparalleled famine;—and, if so, the *smallness of the contingent commanded by this chief* shows the paucity of his clan at this period.—This battle in the streets of Carrickfergus was fought on the 11th April, 1316. After it was over, Edward Bruce, as described in the metrical narrative, found the captain of the watch, Sir Neil Fleming, who had fallen so nobly at his post, yet alive, but expiring of his wounds, with his men lying slain around him; and the good poet, to whose excellent heart the preservation of the well-known anecdote of the chivalrous humanity shown by the heroic Robert Bruce to a poor laundress is due, tells how the sterner Edward, who was not wont to bemoan men, and would not listen to men moaning, stood by the dying warrior in his last hour, and

was distraught with grief at the death of his brave companion in arms.—The surrender of the fortress was consequent on the discomfiture of Lord Mandeville, according to Barbour, who says:—

“And thai that in the castell war,
 War set in till sa gret a stour,” (fear)
 For thai couth se quhar na succour
 Suld come to releyff; and thai
 Tretyt; and till a schort day
 The castell till him” (Bruce) “yauld fre,
 To sauff thaim lyff and lym. And he
 Held thaim full well hys cunnand.” (covenant)
 The castell tuk he in hys hand;
 And wyttalyt wele; and has set
 A gud wardane it for to kept:
 And a quhill tharin restyt he.”

The besieged, however, continued to keep the citadel, agreeably to our native chronicler; who also tells of a stratagem by which they over-reached the enemy in a faithless manner that corresponds with their alleged breach of the truce. Hard pressed by hunger, they had agreed to surrender; but when summoned, on the 24th June, by Edward Bruce in person, stipulated that he should send in only thirty soldiers, “whom they would receive:”—but no sooner had the Scots entered the walls than the malafidial garrison seized them, and, binding them with chains, detained those as prisoners to whom they had promised to yield. The castle, that had held out so long and desperately, was nearly exhausted of provisions; and when eight ships laden for its relief were about to sail from Drogheda, the Earl of Ulster, by an extraordinary act of interference, to procure the favour of Bruce towards the liberation of a prisoner of war, laid an embargo on the vessels. Weeks wore on; but instead of the relief appearing, Robert Bruce himself, landing in the month of September,^z gave fresh vigour to the siege, and the brave garrison were soon compelled to surrender. Yet they did not yield until they had been reduced not only to eat hides, but even to the horrible extremity of devouring the dead bodies of eight prisoners who had died of starvation.* The siege they had sustained for more than twelve months had been carried on by a considerable force, which included many veterans of the war of Scottish independence, led by the valiant Randolph and the daring Edward Bruce. The history of Ireland does not, indeed, afford a more brilliant instance of determined bravery than that of the garrison of Carrickfergus.

Recurring to the narrative of the poet, who, as before remarked, makes the arrival of Robert Bruce subsequent to the surrender of the fortress,—the King of Scotland came over to assist his brother—

^z Grace, p. 75. The date at which Robert Bruce arrived is variously stated.

* An ancient chronicler, Pembridge, who seems to have written from a contemporary diary, declares that the

garrison ate about eight Scots prisoners. Grace notes that eight died. The prisoners of course were the first to suffer want of food.

"Schyr Edward the worthy,
That, with all his chawalry,
Was in Cragfergus yet liand,"—

bringing with him, besides, as the Gaelic annalists say, "a great army of galloglasses," many an adventurous Scottish knight.

"Schyr Edward off hys come was blyth,
And went down to mete him swythe,
And welcomyt hym with glaidsum cher,
Sa did he all that with hym wer ;
And specially the Erle Thomas
Off Murreff, that hys newo" (nephew) "was,
Syne till the castell went thai yar,
And maid thaim mekill fest and far.
Thai sojournyt thar dayis thre,
And that in myrth and jolyté "

Lord Murray, best known to fame as Randolph, who had commanded the left wing of the army at Bannockburn, was indeed welcome to Edward Bruce, for he was as courageously endeavouring to raise him to the throne of Ireland as he had fought to place Robert Bruce on that of Scotland. Besides this renowned warrior, the good general Sir Philip Mowbray, the Lord of the Isles, Sirs John Soulis and Stewart, and Sir Colin Campbell, men celebrated by the poet as highly distinguished in the expedition, were doubtless in company with the illustrious King of Scots and his gallant brother; so that the walls of this old fortress once held some of the heroes of Bannockburn as well as of Runnymede.

King Robert returned to Carrickfergus after his unsuccessful military expedition through Ireland, and sailed for his own dominions, leaving his more venturesome brother to carry on the war,—the events of which are not within our theme, farther than to remark that the Scottish enemy, after the fall of their leader, and before their final departure from this town, completed a work of havoc that reduced Eastern Ulster—previously as well inhabited and as prosperous as the Pale—to a state of ruin which, followed as it was by the extinction of feudalism, enabled the Gaelic clans to over-ride the Englishry, and leave them masters of little outside the shattered walls of Carrickfergus.

After the departure of the Scots, and whilst this fortress was in the keeping of Sir John de Athy, admiral of the fleet, in 1319, it was besieged by Richard Mandeville, who perhaps thought that as his family had fought so loyally he was entitled to its custody.^b Sir John was subsequently confirmed as constable, with a fee of 100 marks yearly; and, in 1325, was appointed by the viceroy at that time in the town, "sheriff of the counties of Carrickfergus and Antrim." This town was honoured a second time by the presence of Robert Bruce, who came over in 1328 for the purpose of making peace between Ireland and Scotland.^c—In 1332 the old castle was the first scene of a tragedy of which the last act occurred at the ford of Belfast. Walter de Burgh, who assumed the Gaelic title of "Mac William," and had usurped the estates belonging to the young Earl of Ulster in

^b Grace, note, p. 88.

^c Grace.

the west, when made prisoner by the Earl was incarcerated in this fortress, and, after a year's captivity, starved to death.^d In vengeance, his sister, Lady Mandeville, incited her son to slay the Earl; and the blow was struck on the site of Belfast that left Ulster and Connaught a prey to insurgent Irish chiefs and degenerate Norman lords. The vassals of this great suzerain, on his fall,—as that of the keystone of the arch of their feudal bond,—were utterly disunited, and their families, becoming sept, speedily fell under subjection to the Irishry. In 1374 O'Neill defeated them in a battle in which "Bocksa of Carrickfergus," Sandal, Lord Roche of Louth, one of the De Burghs, and many others were slain; and in the ensuing year, the same chieftain gained another and greater victory over them, in which Lord Talbot of Malahide, then governor of the realm, De Burgh of Camlin, and numerous others fell. The heir of Ulster and Connaught, Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March, came over in 1380 in the vain hope of recovering his vast territories; and made this town his head-quarters during his summer campaign in the North.^e In order to rebuild the bridge of Coleraine, which Edward Bruce had destroyed, this nobleman transported oak timber from Monmouthshire, although the forest of *Coill-Iochtrach* was so near at hand.^f But probably it was too hazardous to attempt to cut wood in this fastness of a sept of the O'Neills. During the minority of his heir, the care of his estates devolved on the Crown; and, in 1382, a writ,^g declaring that the orders contained in it were intended "for the safety of the dominion of Ulster," and reciting that the fortresses of "Bruntarcii" (Burntcastle?) and Greencastle had been broken down by the Irish at the time the dominion lay in custody of the late king, and that the great tower and other dwellings within the fortress of Carrickfergus, together with the bridge of Coleraine, and the towers at either end, ought to be repaired, accordingly directed certain persons to provide masons, carpenters, &c., for the work. Notwithstanding the repairs of the citadel, the town was burnt two years afterwards by Niall More O'Neill, chieftain of Tyrone, "who thereupon" wrote the Irish annalists, "acquired great power of the English." In 1390, a real English knight, Sir Gilbert Halsall, whose commissions made him governor of Carrickfergus, and seneschal and deputy lieutenant of Ulster, was sent over to rally the almost vanquished colonists. Such was the command the Irish chieftains possessed over the surrounding country that the Saxon governor's household had to be fed by supplies from the Pale,—instructions being given to the constable of the castle, John Stanlow, with one Newton, a servant-at-arms, to purchase corn and other victuals in Meath and Louth for the use of the seneschal and castle in Carrickfergus.^h This difficulty of obtaining provisions in an enemy's country continued down to the time of Sir Henry Sidney, who notices as a proof of the loyal obedience of the country-people in the peaceful days of 1568 that they "fur-

^d Clyn, a contemporary, having stated that Walter de Burgh was incarcerated in Knockfergus Castle, adds that he died in prison. The Four Masters say he was starved to death in Innishowen Castle; but it is questionable whether he would be removed to so remote a place.

^e 4 Ric. II. Chartæ Hib., p. 78.

^f Moore's History of Ireland.

^g Pat. Roll, 5 Ric. II., p. 115.

^h Pat. Roll, 1 Henry IV.

nished the garrison with victuals." One of the reasons by which Lord Essex justified the arrest of Sir Brian O'Neill was that this chief had attempted to starve out the garrison by inhibiting any provisions being sent in from Clannaboy.ⁱ All mercantile intercourse between English towns and the Irishry was of course interdicted during war; and the law also wisely placed certain restrictions on trade with the "Irish enemy" during peace;—in this latter respect being similar to that of the frontiers of England and Scotland. The English border law forbade the supplying Scottishmen with bread or any kind of corn; with horses, and arms and artillery, as coats of plate, battle-axes, harquebusses, culivers, &c., and leather, iron, or any other appurtenances belonging to armour. For the same motive, the Englishry of Ireland were prohibited by the statutes of Kilkenny from selling horses and armour to Irishmen during either peace or war, and "any manner of victual in time of war." As at the time these famous statutes were framed every Irish king was as hostile to Englishmen as the Scottish monarch was, their policy was necessary. It was simply defensive—the object being to prohibit certain commerce, alliances, and intercourse with the Irish, which had proved destructive to the colonists. The social law of the Gaelic races rendered them essentially warlike and predatory; and, as each man was a clansman, it was dangerous to admit him into the pale of English societies. The citizens of Newcastle were compelled to hold a section of their own countrymen, the Gaelic moss-troopers of Tynedale and Reedsdale, as aliens,—insomuch that, by the regulations of the corporation, no burgess could take a youth from those dales as an apprentice. In perilous times, townsmen in Ireland scarcely dared venture outside their walls; and even during peace were virtually isolated from their Irish neighbours.

During the fifteenth century Carrickfergus and the adjacent country were not only exposed to the continual ravages of such immediate viciniers as the Clann O'Neill, but to the intermittent incursions of the remote Clann O'Donnell. In 1406, the custodier of the citadel, one Geoffrey Bentley, was assigned considerable wages "on account of the losses and perils the castle sustains;" and, in 1422, O'Donnell having made a great raid in Clannaboy, boldly carried his spoils into this town. In March, 1427, Sir James White, then constable of the castle, sent a petition to the Lord Deputy, reporting that he had received intelligence that O'Donnell had sent across sea for a multitude of Scots, intending to lead them, with his own forces, to attack the castle; and the castellan complained of not having received any pay beyond ten marks during the two years he had had the custody of the fortress, and declared he was unable to keep it without his regular fee and wages, so as to victual it as was needful.^j O'Donnell, however, does not seem to have acted on his intention: or, at least, the Friars of Donegal, those careful recorders of the doings of his race, do not mention any such attack, when chronicling that in this year he led an army into Clannaboy to assist its lord against O'Neill of Tyrone. In 1507, the chieftain of Clannaboy, Niall, son of Con of Belfast, was taken captive by the people of Carrickfergus, and remained for some time a prisoner, until he ef-

ⁱ Devereux's Lives, i., 90.

^j Close Roll, 6. Hen. VI.

fectured his exchange for no less than sixteen hostages; but, immediately after his release, he attacked the town, took "the great castle and the mayor," and rescued his pledges. The slaying of his son Brian Ballagh by the townsmen, as was alleged, long rankled in the memory of the clan, as is shown by a MS. letter,^k dated 1580, in which it is stated as a proof of the arrogance of O'Neill that he "is demanding a *buying* from Carrigfergus, as a composition for the death of one Brian Ballough, who had been killed by the townsmen sixty years ago." They may have resisted the payment of this mulct, which was rather an *eric* than a *bieng*, on the plea that, as the annalists record, *anno* 1529, this Brian was not slain by them, but by a certain Cormac McQuillin, "who had set out from the town in company and friendship with Brian." According to a poem of Sir David Lindsay, Lord Lion King of Arms, the naval expedition that sailed in 1512 from the Scottish Isles against England made a descent upon Carrickfergus while passing along the coast, burnt the town, killed numbers of the inhabitants, and totally plundered the place.^l In the next generation the townsmen saw a maritime force sail into the bay with an opposite intention, *anno* 1545, when nine score galleys landed 4,000 "men of warre," whose chieftain, the Lord of the Isles, together with seventeen of his lairds, then took oath of allegiance to the crown of England.^m

The difficulty of access to Carrickfergus by land, even to the mightiest earl and his forces, is shown in the ensuing paragraph in a letter from the Earl of Kildare to Henry VIII., describing his military expedition of 1523 into the north, for the purpose of chastising "his enemies," who had plundered his lands in Lecale. Whilst there, writes he, he heard that:—

"There was a Britton ship laded with Gascon wyne at your towne of Cragvergouse, whereunto I adressed me and my retynue, through the countres of myn enemyes, with som deficultie, for the passages there were defended by Hew McNeile and others, which, besides their own retynue, had 1,500 Scottes in wages, of whom there was about twenty slain. And before I came to Cragvergouse, the Britton, hering that I had som 4 or 5 vessils comyng by see, departed and fled away, leving part of his payment for the wyne that he sold to the inhabitants of the said Cragvergouse unreceyved. And then I had knowlege that a Scottish vesshell laded with vittailles lay farre out in the haven; whereupon, for that myn own vesshells were not then comyn, I manned forth 3 bootes with my servautes, and such ordenance as I had there, which chased the said Scottes upon a dosynmyle, so as they ranne their vesshell agrounde, and went theym self to land; which were rescowed by the contre longing to Hew McNeill. Notwithstanding, my servautes brought the vesshell with them. For the which rescowes, I brake a castell of his called Belfast, and burned 24 myle of his contre, and toke and burned 2 other pilis that Scottes kept there. And, for that thenhabitautes of your towne of Cragvergouse did bye and sell with your enemyes, as well Scottes as Brittons, I toke the maier of the same and 3 of his bretherne, being of good substance after the rate there, which I now send your Grace."

The offence for which the chief magistrate and three of the corporation were sent to England for punishment was the grave one of trading with nations with whom the Crown was at war. The commerce of this sea-port was not only thus restricted during those unfree-trading days by wars with France and Scotland, but the "nation" of the O'Neills constantly took predatory drawbacks on it. During the supremacy of Shane O'Neill in Ulster, when Carrickfergus was the only place in the province in which the Crown retained any power, this tyrant of the North, Sidney declares, seized any commodities the town contained as often as he listed, and did not return

^k State Paper Office, vol. 49.

^l "Squire Meldrum."

^m State Papers, vol. iii., p. 529.

any cattle his men had taken from the pastures around it until the owners sent him ransom in the form of butts of wine. In this easy manner his stock of two hundred tuns in the cellars of Dundrum was kept up. When Sidney visited the town in 1568, a year after the destruction of the unruly potentate, he found it in a peaceful and prosperous state; the yeomen of the surrounding country ready at every call to arms, and commissariat prices so moderate that 6s. 8d. purchased a cow fit for the butcher, and nineteen hides bought a hogshead of Bordeaux claret. Both home and export trade were carried on almost altogether by barter. Raw productions were sent in from the country to be bartered with sea-port traders for articles of use and luxury, and were of course taken by foreign merchants in preference to coin. Campion, writing at that period of the Irish, says:—"They exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coyne stirring." Cattle and their products were, in fact, the *pecunium* or current coin of the country.

This town was burned by Sir Brian O'Neill in the year prior to that (1573) in which Essex arrived to colonize Clannaboy "*si rebelles submoveret.*" An idea of the state of the country and the times may be formed from a passage describing Lord Rich, who landed at Castle Kilcliffe, as escorted to Carrickfergus by 150 horsemen "for his safeguard, besides fifty kerne which went afoot through the woods," armed with bows and javelins, and having a bag-pipe playing before them." The noble Essex, whose high qualities and honourable conduct at first obtained him the admiration of the Irishry, declares, in his first despatch from this place, that there is such mutual liking between them and his own party, that "men may already travel, without loss or danger, almost as far as the Bann, and the other way through the Ardes, unto the English Pale, in effect." But this freedom and safety of passage was only occasional. Sidney wrote, two years afterwards:—

"The Irishry in Ulster growe very insolent and of soch force and head as that Captain Selbie, and Bawmford, clarcke of the check, coming from Knockfergus, with fyvetie horsemen in companie, were sett upon and chased by them two or three times in the way, and hardly escaped. The 16th of this present, for my *bien-venue*, to welcome me into the country, Sorley Boy, with his companie, came to Knockfergus, there to take the prey of the town, and gave so prowde an assault as they slew Captain Baker and his lieutenant, and fortie of his bande, besides townsmen and others, and dyvers hurt and maimed."

The town was now almost deserted. Ever since the old walls were broken down it had been open to the incursions of O'Donnells, O'Neills, and McDonnells, as a place where, as a Highland chief said of a Lowland district—"all men might take the prey." In November, 1575, lord deputy Sidney made another visit, and wrote to the English council the following description, which may well close these memoranda, with the remark that his favourable prognostications were happily realized:—

"The towne of Knockfergus I found moch decaied and impoverished, no ploughes going at all, where before were many, and great store of kine and cattle belonging to the towne, now few or none left; churches and houses, saving castells, burned; the inhabitants fled, not above sixe householders of any countenance left remaining; so that their miserable state and servile fear was to be pittied. Yet they are so comforted to hear of her Majestie's gracious disposition to wall their towne (whereby they assure themselves of safetie and quiett dwelling hereafter), as that hope hath and doth procure and drawe dyvers to resort and buyld there, which, when it shall be done, the townsmen will multiplie in number, and thereby will follow an encrease of an yearly growing revenue to her Majestie."

^u Hollinshed.