

## MARSHAL BAGENAL'S DESCRIPTION OF ULSTER, ANNO 1586.

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The following description of the state of Ulster in the year 1586 is an accurate transcript of a manuscript in the State Paper Office, written by Sir Henry Bagenal, who was at that time Marshal of Queen Elizabeth's forces in Ireland, and resided at Newry. This State Paper appears by its postscript to have been composed while the author was living temporarily in London; and it was evidently drawn up for the use of Lord Burleigh, in whose handwriting the M.S. contains some interlinear annotations: the document, therefore, possesses the interest of having been written by the principal officer of the crown in Ulster for the information of that celebrated minister. By comparing it with John Dymmok's description of the Northern Counties in his "Treatise of Ireland," (recently printed by the Irish Archaeological Society,) it will be seen that Dymmok's paper was copied largely from the Marshal's, but with omissions of considerable portions, and which are now published for the first time.

Bearing in mind the chief object of this Journal—namely the publication of contributions to the Archaeology of Ulster from original and rare sources—any remarks in illustration of this interesting contemporary description of the Province must be confined to introducing some notes, taken for the most part from the Irish Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

Valuable as this State Paper is in an historical point of view—containing as it does an account of the political state of the North of Ireland in the year 1586, with short descriptions of some of the fastnesses in Eastern Ulster—we should have prized the document more highly had it formed part of the writer's plan to describe with more minuteness, and had he given even "a slender and brief description" of the house in which the Gaelic chief, Sir Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Enys, lived "very cyvellie and English-like." The writer himself resided in "the New Castell," which is depicted as a handsome fortified mansion in the little town of Newry upon a map preserved in the above-named repository. His theme was to prove to Lord Burleigh how few "wardable" castles the desolated province contained; for, having in the preceding summer indited an offer to government "for the making a walled town in Ulster" <sup>a</sup> his thoughts were full of the necessity of sufficient fortifications against the increasing power of his dangerous neighbour, the Earl of Tyrone, and also against the impending armaments of Spain. Marshal Bagenal's sympathies were altogether opposite to those of Fearflatha O'Guive, bard to the potent O'Neill's of Clanabuoy, who laments in one of his poems the usurpations of the Sassenach, by whom the fair territory, once the patrimony of his clan, had been narrowed, and its hunting-fields disfigured by towers. <sup>b</sup> The most topographic architectural detail in the document is the notice of the "olde defaced castle" which still handed down the name of one of those bold adventurers who subdued

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<sup>a</sup> Lansdowne MS., No. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Walker's Bards, I. 261.

the fertile plains of Down. Assuredly Sir Henry Bagenal never rode by those ruins without thinking of the days when King John kept royal court in Carrickfergus,<sup>c</sup> surrounded by great nobles whose names are "of famous memory" in Magna Charta—William, his brother, surnamed 'of the long sword,' and Earl of Salisbury, Earl Ferrers, and the Earl of Wiltshire, the Constable of Chester, John de Courcy, Robert Fitz-Walter, De Ros, De Vescy, Percy, Fitz-Herbert, and other valiant knights and peers.

It may be gathered from Sir Henry's careful recapitulation of localities formerly "the enheritances" of extinct barons and freeholders, that the colony established by "one Sir John Coursie" and his companions in arms did not extend into the interior of Ulidia, but was confined to the eastern countries and coasts between Drogheda and Coleraine, and comprised no more than the three counties of Louth, Down, and Antrim, "of auncient and olde making," which, even down to the close of the sixteenth century, were the only districts "sheared off" from Gaelic rule, and made shire ground. To compare the subjugation of the North of Ireland with that of North Wales would instructively contrast the clan and feudal systems. The conquest of the latter region was undertaken in person by a monarch not less skilful as a lawgiver than as a general, Edward the First; and it occupied him ten years. Stately fortresses were erected as garrisons throughout the principality; its countries were made counties; and its brave inhabitants prevailed upon gradually to adopt feudal and primogenitural succession instead of gavelkind and repartition, customs which were altogether abolished by statute under Henry VIII.<sup>d</sup> These customs were not abandoned in Ireland until the seventeenth century. Giving only a transitory and uncertain possession, their effects are described by Sir John Davis as preventing land from being fenced or improved, and as deterring the building of houses; for no man would build where his children had no right of inheritance; so that those parts of Ulster where these customs were followed remained in a state of wilderness. Sir John Davis's statement is borne out by a letter in the S. P. Office, dated 20th Jan., 1597-8, in which it is observed that the people in the interior of the country lived *without houses*. He also explains that under the law of Tanistry the chieftaincy of a clan was not conferred by descent, but by election, or by the strong hand. Nor was the chieftain by any means owner of the land. It belonged to the clansmen, and was accustomably, under the law of gavelkind, apportioned and re-applotted among them at various times. Under this system the sons of "the greate O'Neylle, chief capytayne of the nation within the regyon of Tyreown,"<sup>e</sup> were liable to be left without land on the death of their father, especially if they were hostile to his successor; and, also, should they incur the new chief's displeasure, to be kept captive in some island prison. At the time Sir Henry Bagenal wrote, the country of the clan MacEnnis was the only country in Ulster belonging to the native race where it had been agreed to "put awaie the rude custom of Tanestship;" and the Marshal strongly recommends that the territory under Turlough Luineach's rule should be settled on that chieftain's son, with the primary object of abolishing a custom truly deemed

<sup>c</sup> Cal. Pat. Jac. I. p. 554;— See also p. 141, in which the Abbey of Carrickfergus is stated to be "commonly called the Palace," perhaps from having received King

John during his sejour.

<sup>d</sup> Davis, on Gavelkind, &c., p. 50.

<sup>e</sup> State Papers, vol. II. p. 1.

to be "the occasion of much mischief and disorder;"—for it was indeed the very fountain of discord and war.<sup>f</sup> But as the Tanist or successor-lect to the chieftainship, together with all the other subordinates, would have been deprived of their expectant interests if both their tribal estate in the soil and the governorship of the clansmen were appropriated by any one man, so as that he should hold it in fee with right of descent to his child as his heir, the proposed change was naturally and strenuously resisted by them; and it was not until the reign of James I. that hereditary estates were generally obtained. In estimating the injurious operation of these national laws, by which succession to power and property was regulated, it must also be recollected that it was the policy of the Gael, both in Scotland and Ireland, to offer neither temptation nor advantage to invaders. This policy is said to have been recommended to them in the last counselling words of great and experienced rulers. Thus we read of the ban laid by Conan More O'Neill, on his death-bed, upon any of his posterity who should sow corn or build a house; declaring that for them to build was but for the crow to make a nest to be beaten out of it by the hawk. And so he

—Vow'd his race

For ever to the fight and chase,  
And curs'd him of his lineage born,  
Should sheathe the sword to reap the corn,  
Or leave the mountain and the wold  
To shroud himself in castled hold."—ROKERV.

When his country was invaded in 1541 by the royal forces, which remained three weeks therein "burning grete part of the same, and destroying much of his corn and butter, which is the grete living of the said O'Neill and his followers,"—"the said O'Neill never made show of no power, but kept him and his and their cattell in grete woodes and fastnes, where we could not attayn them, nor yet have perfect knowledge where they were." [*Printed S. P.* vol. III, 337.] Yet at that very time, so soon as he had secured his wealth in the mountains and forests, he left the invaders to work their will,—and, making a descent into the English Pale, retaliated upon the enemy's country the destruction which was taking place in his own. This fierce mode of warfare was the same advised in the rhymes considered as a legacy from Robert Bruce to his successors:—

"On foot should be all Scottish war,  
By hill and moss themselves to weir;  
Let wood for walls be bow and spear,  
That enemies do them no dreir.  
In strait places gar heep all store;  
And burn the plain land them before.  
Then shall they pass away in haste,  
When that they find naething but waste;

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<sup>f</sup> Moore's History of Ireland, vol. I. 171.

With wiles and wakening on the night,  
 And mickle noises made on height;  
 Then shall they turn with great affray,  
 As they were chased with sword away.  
 This is the counsell and intent  
 Of good King Robert's testament." §

To the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce the succeeding barbarism and consequent weakness of the Englishry have been ascribed in the graceful writings of a calm and philosophic essayist on the history of our country.<sup>h</sup> Its effects in the North, where the Scots remained for some years in league with the Irish chiefs, were so to weaken the English colonists that they became the subordinate power. Their decay and subjection became complete when they adopted Gaelic usages. So far from the invaded people having, as in Wales, conformed themselves to the laws of England, the settlers themselves, whether of Saxon, Welsh, or Norman origin, gradually assimilated their customs of succession to power and property to those of the neighbouring clans. To enable the feudal baron to cope with his bold and uncompromising neighbour, he was obliged to assume the full authority of a patriarchal chief. Of this transformation and its results the social history of the Anglo-Irish affords many a remarkable instance. A singular one occurred in that "pleasaunte and fertile country" the Route; to which "the Capten making claim" was known by the title of "Mac-Gwillin"—evidently a corruption of Mac Llewelyn. Eager as the poet Spenser was to trace some of the native clan surnames to British origin, he overlooked a case in which his theory was really correct. The council-book of Henry VIII's time contains this entry under the year 1541:—"the submission of Maquillen;—note: he desireth to be reputed an Englishman, as his ancestors were." [*Add. M.S.S. Brit Mus.* 4790.] In the following year the Lord Deputy writes to the King that he had a meeting "with O'Neill, and divers other Irishe capteyns of the North, and amongst them one Maguyllen, who having long strayed from the nature of his alleigeance (his ancestors being your subjectes and *came out of Wales*,) was growen to be as Irishe as the worst, and was, in the late conflycte with O'Neill, in his ayde ageniste your Majestie." \* \* \* "His contrey lieth far off from ayde of your Englishhe Pale, which hath been a great cause of his long rebellion, beyng forced to adheare to some Irisshemen for its defence ageinste some other of them; and, as he confesseth, none of his name, sithe the first conquest of their saide lande, *being captain*, have dyed in their beddes, but were all slayne by Irisshemen."

In alluding to the "baron's wars in England," Sir Henry Bagenal implies that the decay of the Ulster colony may be attributed to the effect of those contests in drawing away the flower of the

§ Fordun's *Scotochronicon*; quoted in Sir W. Scott's *Essay on Border Antiquities*.

<sup>h</sup> The Very Rev. Richd. Butler, whose introductions to some of the publications of the *Irish Archæological Society* are most valuable commentaries on Irish history.

Anglo-Irish chivalry. The primary cause of the decline of the colony may be traced to the revolt of the Ulster baronage against feudal tenure under the Earldom, analogous to that revolution in Connaught by which two families of De Burgh were transformed into independent septs. The O'Neills did not rise predominantly on the ruin of the feudal system until the 15th century. It was in 1423 that the chief of that powerful clan, after having defeated the men of Louth in battle, first put the town of Dundalk under tribute.<sup>i</sup> In 1468 his successor, Con, gained a victory over the settlers in Lecale, killing Lord Savage and many others; and in the following year aided the head of the Whites of Duffryn to banish that nobleman's family from Lecale and usurp the lordship of their territory. A reference to annals at the close of the same century will show as well the contentions among the native chieftains, arising from disputes as to succession, as the narrowed and weakened state of the colonists. Although Carrickfergus still held out, the castle of Belfast was demolished by O'Donnell in the year 1489. But hostility was as fierce between the clansmen of Tyrone and Tyrconnel as between themselves and the veriest *Sassenach*. O'Donnell induced the viceroy to march northward in the year 1498, with the King's cannon, those new and sure engines of offence against stone walls, to lay siege to Dungannon castle, and wrest it from one of the O'Neills. He soon after totally demolished that fortress during a single-handed incursion into Tyrone. An anecdote is related of the son of this chief which is highly illustrative of the helpless condition of a "baron" descended from once potent peers of parliament. Hearing that MacEoin—the Gaelic title of the head of the ancient family of the Lords Byssett of the Glynnns—possessed the finest wife, most famous steel, and fleetest hound in the country, the son of O'Donnell surprized the owner of such very desirable goods by a night attack, and carried them off.<sup>j</sup> Carrickfergus itself at length yielded to the prowess of O'Neill; "the great castle and the mayor of the town" being both taken by him anno 1507. Yet, invincible as the brave Ulidians—who always sustained the character of being the most warlike of the Milesian race—proved themselves to be, their own dissensions prevented them from uniting to repel foreigners from their sea-board. They were as unable to drive them thence as they themselves were inexpugnable in their own fastnesses. And—although Sir Nicholas Bagenal, on settling at Newry, the key to the North, found Shane O'Neill guarding the pass by land like a lion—fainting hearts in the sea-ports were constantly revived by maritime succour; and it was the mistressship of the sea that enabled Elizabeth, by establishing a garrison at Derry, to quell at length the last long and formidable revolt.

When the title of Earl of Ulster became vested in the Crown, pride and policy both suggested a royal attempt to make the Earldom a province. Accordingly, various endeavours were made during the sixteenth century to regain the lost dominion. Lord Surrey writes to Henry VIII. in 1521:—"No men in Ireland will be more sorry to see your Grace recover your rightful inheritance of the Earldom of Ulster than O'Donnell and Hugh MacNeill; for they and their servants and subjects, have more

<sup>i</sup> Annals, Four Masters.

<sup>j</sup> Ibid.—1495.

ground of your Grace's said inheritance than six of the greatest men of land in England have within your realm. Notwithstanding, it is not so profitable to their purses, only for lack of good order." Lord Surrey adds that neither O'Donnell nor his subjects are ready to "answer the King's courts or obey the King's laws."

The enterprise was not undertaken seriously until the time of Elizabeth, in the second year of whose reign the Earl of Sussex, who was experienced in border warfare, was directed to reduce Shane O'Neill to obedience "by all manner of means, as well as by force if need be, as otherwise,"—to set apart certain taxes to purchase victual for the army, "procure habitations for the English people in Ulster, recover Lecale, Newry, and Carlingford from the Scots, and recompense Sir Nicholas Bagenal for his interest:"—at the same time the chief of the Scots was to be admitted to hold such lands as he had inherited; Hugh O'Neill, the Baron of Dungannon, was to be invested with the Earldom of Tyrone; and hereditary estates were to be granted to such other chieftains as were loyally inclined.<sup>k</sup> Several victories were gained in succeeding campaigns by O'Neill over the redoubted general, Lord Sussex; and Sir Nicholas Bagenal wrote despairingly to Lord Leicester, in 1566,<sup>l</sup> that the Gaelic chief "has all from Sligo to Carrickfergus and thence to Carlingford, and from Carlingford to Drogheda, and, having won all by the sword, declares he so will keep it."<sup>m</sup> The triumphant conqueror had also expelled any of the inferior chieftains who disputed his sovereignty. In the preceding year, on the 25th November, John Maguire, (brother and predecessor of "Sir Conohour M<sup>c</sup>Gwire," whose loyal disposition is mentioned by Sir Henry Bagenal,) writes to the viceroy from "Maguire's Castle," complaining grievously that O'Neill had left neither house nor corn in all his country, excepting only in certain islands, which Hugh O'Donnell has prepared twelve boats to attack and plunder; and that O'Neill is coming again to fall on him with all his power. Though in the depth of winter, Lord Sussex determined to march with the royal forces as far as Armagh; stating this intention in a despatch of the 20th December, in which he mentions his wish for a hasty parley with O'Neill, "while the bright moons last, to keep him from preying the Irish chieftains."

Upon the assassination of this turbulent enemy, the Lord Treasurer, Sir William Cecil, (afterwards Lord Burleigh) writes to the Lord Deputy, 24th June, 1567, congratulating him that the unfortunate insurgent was "delivered from his evil doings;" adding, "you shall do verie well to see his lodgings in the fen, where he *built his lodging* and kept his cattell and all his men," and desiring that so useful a fastness should be secured for the Queen's service. This stronghold was undoubtedly a *Crannog* or wooden house, and was probably constructed either on the "little iland called Loch Coe," mentioned by Bagenal, or on the artificial one called *Inish-na-gardy*, or Guard-island in Loughinsholin. At the same time the Prime Minister enclosed a plan for the future security of the province, which is more fully developed in instructions subsequently addressed to the viceroy by

<sup>k</sup> *Desiderata Curiosa Hib.* vol. I p. 2.

<sup>l</sup> *State Papers*, 1561, and *Wright's Elizabeth*, vol. I, 67

<sup>m</sup> *MS. Correspondence*, 24, Feb. 1565-6.

Elizabeth herself.<sup>a</sup> Forts were ordered to be erected at Coleraine, Castletown, Massareen, Newry, Strangford, and other places. The region of Tyrone was at that period to be divided in two, and partitioned between the two great claimants for the chieftaincy, namely, Shane's cousin and Tanist, Turlough Luineach, (whose claims to the succession were supported by the clan in general,) and the Baron of Dungannon, who, as a peer of state, was regarded with suspicion by the clansmen. Ulster was for the future to be a province governed by a President; who was to be stationed at Armagh, assisted by a regular council, and supported by standing troops. Lastly, inquisition was to be made as to the Queen's title to lands through her right to the Earldom of Ulster. The instructions close by observing that "generally we think very good in the reducing of the Irish countries to obedience, that in such as cannot presently be brought to a perfect obedience as to the obeying our ordinary writs,—which we take to be the best degree of obedience in that realm,—some degrees be used to train the people from the inordinate tyranny of the Irish captains, and to cause them to feel and taste of the sweetness of civil order and justice." The Crown was, however, unprepared to carry this plan out in full; and, in the meanwhile, several private individuals were unfortunately encouraged to attempt to settle English "plantations," as they were termed, in the North. These private enterprizes, desperately undertaken and weakly supported, roused the just indignation of the possessors of the countries against which such aggression was projected. The first offer appears to have been that of Sir Thomas Gerrard of Lancashire, "for the planting of the Glynnes and part of Clandeboy;" his proposal bears date the 15th of March. 1569 70.<sup>b</sup> That of Sir Thomas Smith then Secretary of State, seems to have been the first put into execution: it was to serve his natural son, Mr. Thomas Smith, whom Bagenal notices as having "undertaken" the Great Ardes, and who took possession in 1572, but was slain the next year.<sup>c</sup> The grand attempt for "the recovery and reformation of Ulster" was boldly made by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex; but it brought that gallant nobleman to an untimely grave. His declared object was to conquer land for himself; and when this design became publicly known all Ulster was ripe for revolt and resistance. O'Donnell told him the Irish would assist the Queen if she undertook to reform the North for her own honour and benefit, but not for the private gain of others.<sup>d</sup> Bagenal remarks that the interest bestowed on Sir Nicholas Malby in Ma'Cartan's country had never been "quietlie enjoyed." That district is represented by Sir Henry Sidney as waste and desolate, full of thieves, outlaws, and unreclaimed people. He observes that "none of the old owners dare occupie the land, because it hath pleased her Majestie to bestow the countrie upon Captain Nicholas Malby," and proposes the grant should be surrendered. Bagenal does not notice the greatest failure of all; that of one Chatterton, to whom O'Hanlon's country and the Fewes had been granted. Sir Henry Sidney describes these districts, which he visited in 1575, as in extreme disorder, and the grantee as absent in

<sup>a</sup> MSS, S. P. Off. 6th July, 1567.  
<sup>b</sup> Shirley's Farney, p. 47.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.—P. 52.  
<sup>d</sup> S. P. Oct. 1573.

England, in dismay at the untowardness of the business; for the few settlers he had placed there had done little, even by way of fortifying themselves against the attacks of the natives, who refused even to meet the viceroy, and declared they never would yield to Chatterton. In the following year the viceroy writes respecting this unprosperous enterprise of Mr. Chatterton's "to expulse and subdue the O'Hanlons, and reduce the countries of the Fews and Anrerie to yield him commodity,"—"in troth, my lords, the poor gentleman hath utterly undone himself in wrestling with them, and hath nothing left to maintain him to live on; and his brother likewise, an honest valiant gentleman, was wounded and maimed in the service, and lost and spent all that ever he had." \* \* \* "The countrie, though it be large and long, yet it is altogether waste, neither house, pile, nor castle left standing in it, but only a little sorry fort, pitched of sods and turves, that he built there for his strength and defence."<sup>r</sup>

Our observations may close with some remarks on Marshal Bagenal's last recommendation; viz., that the countries in Ulster should be brought to the nature as well as the names of Shires. He wished to see the power of the chief superseded by that of a sheriff under the Crown. A commission "for reducing Ulster to shire ground" had been appointed 18th September, 1585,<sup>s</sup> but had been unable to proceed. When it was attempted in 1579 to make a county of O'Reilly's country, it was remarked that that territory was one "where never writ was current," and one which it was "almost sacrilege for any governor of Ireland to look into."<sup>t</sup> The events attending the introduction of a sheriff into Monaghan, ten years subsequently, are given in contemporary letters which have recently been published.<sup>u</sup> There is a well-known anecdote of the chieftain of a country to which it was intended to send down a sheriff having written to the Lord Deputy, stating that such an officer would be welcome to himself, but at the same time requesting to know the amount of the *eric* or compensation payable in case his people should kill that official! A Captain Willis<sup>v</sup> was sent into Monaghan, where he was soon slain and his guard driven away.<sup>w</sup> Sir Ross McMahon, the then chieftain, is accused of having refused to permit a sheriff to enter his country; of having forbidden his tenantry to till their lands for three years; and also of having encouraged his followers to plunder the county of Louth. To punish these offences Marshal Bagenal led a government foray or "journey" into Monaghan, and did not leave a house unburnt or a grain of corn behind. Sir Ross, however,—who is mentioned in the foregoing writings of this unsparing general as "verie desirous to be governed after the English manner," seems to have been personally ready to admit a sheriff, but to have been opposed by the clansmen, for he writes that the bulk of the people deserted the country when they heard a sheriff would be established over them, but that he himself will receive such an officer willingly, if he can gather them back again. The establishment about the same time of a settled government in Fermanagh

<sup>r</sup> Collins, vol. I., 148.

<sup>s</sup> Shirley's Farney, p. 78.

<sup>t</sup> S. P. O.

<sup>u</sup> Mr. Shirley's Farney, p. 83.

<sup>v</sup> Moryson mentions the misconduct of a Captain Willis as sheriff of Fermanagh. See also Captain Lee's statement, *Desid. Cur. Hib.* p. 106.

<sup>w</sup> 1589.—Shirley's Farney.



was the main cause of the Earl of Tyrone's discontent, for he saw it was preparatory to a similar course in his own territory. It was not until the 15th July, 1591, that the extensive region of Tyr. Eoghan, the land of the Clan-Owen, which included the present county of Derry, was reduced to shire-ground. \*

In the year following that in which Marshal Bagenal wrote, Sir John Perrot, then Viceroy, in order to guard against the effects of the impending invasion from Spain upon the malcontent chiefs, obliged them to give hostages:—at the same time, seizing by stratagem, the extraordinary and promising son of O'Donnell—Red Hugh—whose unjust capture, and long and cruel incarceration in Dublin, aroused in him those energies which, added to the ambitious views of the Earl of Tyrone, and the general grievances, induced those brave leaders to join their standards in 1595—when, in the words of the Four Masters, “the entire Province of Ulster rose up in one alliance, and one union, against the English.”

HERBERT F. HORE.

\* Archbp. Colton's Visit, a. by Dr. Reeves, p. 125.

## THE DESCRIPTION AND PRESENT STATE OF ULSTER.

[From the State Paper Office. Endorsed—Description of Ulster, 20th December, 1586, with some interlineations by Lord Burghley.]

The Province of Ulster lieth in the further part North of the realme. It is devided from Meath with the Ryver Boyon upon the South-east parte, and with the Breny which is Orelve's countrey on the South part, and on the South-west parte it bowndeth uppon Conaght, namelie uppon Orurke's countrey, and Oconohour Sligah; the rest is altogether environed with the sea. It conteyneth in it 9 counties, that is to saie, 3 of auncient and olde making, and 6 made (or rather to be made) newe; the names of them are these:—

<i>Old.</i>	LOUTH,	}	3	<i>Newe.</i>	MANACHAN,	}	6
	DOWNE,			FARNENAGH,			
	ANTRIM.			TIRONE,			
					DUNGALE,		
					COLRAINE,		
					ARMAGHE.		

LOWTH.—The Countie of Lowthe lieth betwene the Ryver of Boyn and the Haven of Carlingford; uppon the Este parte liethe the sea, upon the West it confineth upon very barberous countreys, namely upon the Breny, Clanechye, Farney, McMahon's contrey, and the Fewes: by mean whereof it is exposed to th' often incursions of many lewed and disordered people, who kepe a good parte of

this countie (lienge next them) wast. <sup>a</sup> It is parte of the Englishe Pale, and berethe in contribution with th' other Englishe Counties, therefore I will say little thereof. Corporations in this Countie are these :—Drogida, Dundalk, Ardea, and Carlingford. Chife inhabitours there, are the Archebushop of Ardmache, the Lord Baron of Lowth (Sir Nicholas Bagnoll somtymes,) Sir Edward Moore, Sir John Bedlowe. The principall Sirnames in the Shire are these :—the Plunkettes, Clyntons, Taathes, Moores, and Verdons. <sup>b</sup>

**MONACHAN.**—The Countie of Monachan conteyneth these countreis ;—Iriell, Dartrey, Loghtie, and Trow. The chife Capten therof is one Sir Rory M<sup>c</sup>Mahon, who hath ben sometyme contributory to Tur. Oneyle, and nowe is left to the government of the Earle of Tyron, yet of him selfe is very desirous to yeld onlie to the Quene, and to be governed after the Englishe manner. He is able to make of his owne nation, and other his followers, 100 horsemen and 400 footemen. Buildings in his countrey are none, save certeine olde defaced Monasteries.

**FARNMANAGH.**—The Countie of Farnmanaghe conteyneth all Farmanaghe, Tyrmingraghe, and Tyrmyng Omungan. The Capten of all this Countie is Sir Conohour M<sup>c</sup>Gwyre, left alwaies to the commandment and rule of Tur [logh] Oneyle, and yet he very desirous to depend on the Quene. <sup>c</sup> He is able to make (and moste of his owne nation) 80 horsmen, 240 shot, and 300 kerne

<sup>a</sup> Lord Delvin, in a tract written two years previously, on the "Reformation of Ireland," observes that "the Irish neighbours, when the nights waxeth long, as from Michaelmas to Candlemas, do usually spoil the Pale by stealth and robberies in the night time." [*MS., S. P. O., 26 March, 1854*]

Attorney-General Sir John Davis, writes, on the holding of a sessiōs at Monaghan, and execution of two notorious malefactors, one a notable thief, and the other a receiver of thefts, that their execution "struck some terror into the best men in the country; for the beef which they eat in their houses is for the most part stolen out of the English Pale; and for that purpose every one of them keepeth a cunning thief, which he calleth his caterer." He adds that two of the principal gentlemen were indicted as receivers of such stealths, but pardoned :—"however," observes he—"I believe stolen flesh will not be so sweet unto them hereafter." [*Vallancey's Collect. I, 149.*]

<sup>b</sup> The following list of residents in this county, about this time, is given in "a Perambulation of Leinster, Meath, and Louth," in the Carew MS., No. 600.

THE COUNTY OF LOUTH.

Drogheda, the chiefe towne, is situated upon the river of Boyne, at the either or southern part or end of the county. Ardee lyeth from it viii myles north and by west. Dundalk, xvi myles north.

THE PRINCIPAL GENTLEMEN AND THEIR DWELLINGS.  
Christopher Tath, of Ballibragan, x myles by n. & w. of Drogheda.

Robert Tath, of Cookestowne, by n. xii myles.

Tath of Stearston, by n. x. m.

Tath of Rathelane, n. v. m.

Verdon of Clonmore, descended of Theobald Verdon, High Constable of Ireland, n. viii myles.

Clinton of Dromcashel, by n. vii m.

Tath of Clintonstown, by n. viii m.

Rice ap Hugh, Provost Marshall, at Ardye.

Sir John Bellew, at Castleton, less than a myle beyond

Dundalk.

Dromgole, of Dromgolstown, vii m. n. from Drogheda.

Dowdall, of Newton, 3 m. east.

Dowdall, of Glaspestell, n. e. iii m.

Lord of Lowth, a Plunkett, at Tallanston, n. x m.

Plunkett of the Newhouse, 3 m. n.

Gernon, of Gernonston, x m. n.

Gernon, of Drumoghau, 3 m. n.

Babe, of Dervor, n. x. Stanley, of Merlinston, viii m. n.

Warren, of Warrenston, viii m. n.e. Hadsyor, of Kep-

pogh, vii m. n.

Barnewall, of Bathesker, v. n. Garret Fleming, of

Crownston, n.e.

Talbot, of Castleryn, n. xiii.

Sir Edward Moore, at Mellifont, 3 m. w.

Lord Primate, at Termonfehan, 3 m. e.

The Marshall's Towne of Carlingford, viii n. beyond Dundalk.

BOWNDES.

By west, part of the Brenny; by n. w., Ferney, and Clancarville; by n. the Fue's and O'Hanlon's country."

<sup>c</sup> Con Maguire writes to Colonel Sir Nicholas Malby, from Inyshkellyn, 25 March, 1583, that he dares not forbid any Scot or other rebel to pass through his country, since Sir Henry Sidney granted O'Neill to be his sovereign, and declares that he pants to see the time when he may serve the Queen. During the heat of Tyrone's rebellion, 1594, the then Maguire would not suffer any man to pass through his country, who wore an English hat or cloak. [*S. P., 10 Feb.*]

His countrey for the most parte is very strong of wood and bogge, especially nere the great lake called Earne, wherein is divers handes full of woodes. Buildings in this countrey non of importaunce.

TYRON.—The Countie of Tyron<sup>d</sup> conteynethall the land from Blackwater to Liffer; the chife Capten there is Tur. Oneyle, (save) that of late the halfe thereof and more, by a composition made by the nowe Lord Deputie, is let to the Erle of Tiron for certen yeres, for which he shold paie to Tur: a 1000 marckes by yeare, which hath ben deteyned by the said Earle. Where throughe it is like that some troble will arise betwene them or it be longe. Turloghe desireth from Her Matie to his sonne that porcion of Tyron wherein he dwellethe, and is the remotest part from th' Englishe Paleward. The grauntinge hereof in my opinion were very expedient, especially for 2 respects; the one, for extinguishinge their barborous custome of Tanestship, which is th' occasion of much mischife and disorder; th' other, that by this division it will weeken the force and greatnes of suche as shall succede, whereby they shall not be of power to do the hurt they were wont. The principall Septes of this countrey are these;—first the Oneyles, who most ar all horsmen; the Clandonelles,<sup>e</sup> all galloglas; the Odoonelles, a very stronge Sept and much affected to Shane Oneyle's sonnes; the Hagans and the Quyns; so as the whole force of this countrey may make 300 horsmen and 1500 footemen. But it is to be considered that allwaies the strengthe and greatnes of the Oneyles stode chifftest upon bandes of Scottes,<sup>f</sup> whom they caused their Uriaghcs to victuall and paie. Buildings uppon Tur:

<sup>d</sup> Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Cusack, in a remarkable letter dated 8th May, 1552, noticed by Ware, writes:—"TYRONE,—where the Erle of Tyrone hath rule, is the fayrest and goodlyest country in Ireland, and many gentlemen of the Noyles dwell therein. The same is at least 60 miles in length and 24 in bredth. In the midst standeth Ardmagh, pleasantly situated, and one of the fairest and best churches in Ireland, and round about the same the bishop's lands. Through occasion of the Erle and Countess his wife, they made all that goodly country waste; for, whereas, the country for the most part, within these three years past, was inhabited, it was within this twelve months made most part waste, through his making of preys upon his sons, and they upon him. So as there was no redress among them but by robbing the poor and taking of their goods. Whereupon my Lord Deputy appointed a band of English soldiers to lie at Ardmagh, and left the Baron of Dunganon in commission, with others, to see for the defence of the country and quiet of the people; whereby the country was kept from raven as before was used." [S. P. Off.]

Although the Marshal must have been tolerably acquainted with the countries and inhabitants of Tyrone, his description of that vast region is brief. According to Blaen's map, engraved from a survey of Elizabeth's time, that district was divided into "Upper" and "Nether;" this corresponds with the partition above mentioned. In the north of the latter are marked the woods of "Killetra," below these is the fastness of "Glenconcan," and southerly, "y<sup>e</sup> stone where Oniale is chose." A despatch in the S. P. O., dated 9th May, 1599, describes Slieve Gallen as "desert, craggy, and

boggy, for forty miles round." It is strange that the Marshal does not notice the celebrated fort on the river Blackwater, which was so frequently gallantly contested on both sides. Lord Justice Sir William Drury writes to Walshingham, 17th September, 1579;—"Turlough Lenogh demandeth the fort at the Blackwater, which is an argument of his good meaning. I cannot blame him for desiring to be uncurbed by such a bridle." [S. P. O.]

<sup>e</sup> Gillaspick Mc'Donyll is styled Constable of Lord Con O'Neill, in a treaty with that chieftain, for whom he acted as emissary, 1535. (Printed S. P., 1535)

<sup>f</sup> Treasurer Brabazon writes to Crumwell in 1539:—"all the power that O'Donell and O'Neill trust in is in the Scots of the Out Isles, which be scant obedient to their King there; and also they trust in the Scots in Ireland. I do certify your lordship, that there is of Scots now dwelling in Ireland, above 2,000 men of war, as I am credibly informed, which Scots have as well driven away the freeholders, being Englishmen of that country as others, the Irishmen, and have builded certain castles there. The head captain of them is one Alexander Karrogh, otherwise called MacDonell; who, as himself saith, will take the King's part against all men, and so he promised me at our last being together; but under pretence to do the King's grace service, since he taketh the country to himself and others of the Scots. I have a farm of the King's majesty toward that country, called Lecale, where some of the King's soldiers under me do lie, and the Scots be daily at war with them. Some of the captains of the Scots say they will serve no man; but what they can get with the sword that will they have." [Printed S. P.]

parte is the Castle of Straban, <sup>g</sup> wherein he most comonlie dwelleth, and the Newe Castle. Uppon the Earle's part is Donganon, <sup>h</sup> and a defaced castell built by Shan Oneyl uppon the Blackwater, called Benburbe. <sup>i</sup>

DUNEGALL.—The Countie of Donnegall conteyneth all Terconell, <sup>j</sup> which is all the landes belonging unto O'Donell and that sirname, and all Odohertie's countrey. Odonell is Capten and Governour of Tirconell, the chife strengthe of whome standeth most uppon two Septes of people called the Ogallochelles and M'Swynes, who are all galloglas for the most parte. He is able to make above 200 horsmen and 1300 footemen. Betwene him and Oneyl hath ben contynual warres for the Castell of Lyffer <sup>k</sup> and the landes there aboutes, lienge betwene bothe their countreis bordringe upon Loughe Foyle, which by meane of their dissention is kepte altogether waste and uninhabited, neither is there any dwellinge in the Castle.

*O'Doghertie's Countrie* is a Promontory almost environed with the sea, namelie with Lough Swylie, on the South parte and Loughe Foile <sup>l</sup> on the Northe. It is governed by a Capten called Odoghertie, who beinge not of power able to defend him selfe, is forced to contribute bothe to Oneyle and Odonell, and (*alterius vicibus*) to serve them bothe. His countrey, lienge uppon the sea and open to the Isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, is almost yearelie invaded by Scotese, <sup>m</sup> who take the spoile of it at their pleasures; whereby Odoghertie is forced allwaies to be at their devociions. He is able of his owne nation and other his followers to make 60 horsmen and 300 footemen. Buildinges in his coun-

<sup>g</sup> Srath-ban, i.e. the fair valley. It is mentioned first by the Four Masters, under the year 1583, as "the town of O'Neill," (Turrough Luineach), and as having been burned by O'Donnell.

<sup>h</sup> Dungannon is first mentioned in the Four Masters, at 1430, as the residence of Owen O'Neill.

The adjoining barony of Loughinsholin derives its name from a small lake near Stranagard, in a *crannog* or artificial island-house in which the Earl of Tyrone detained his rivals for the chieftaincy, the sons of Shane the Proud. (*Letters S. P. O.*, 9th May, 1599.) This island was called *Guard Island*, and, as a place of considerable strength, was successfully defended by O'Hagan, in the wars subsequent to 1641. (*See Dr. Reeves' notes to Cotton's Visitation.*)

<sup>i</sup> Benburb is only once mentioned by the Four Masters, in their notice of Lord Mountjoy having been opposed in the pass there by a body of O'Neill's kernes in 1601, after which, that general did not venture further, but remained in the fortress. *Beann-borb* signifies the bold *ben* or cliff. A letter in the *S. P. O.*, dated 3d September, 1595, notices that the stones used in building the little castle in the adjacent part of Blackwater, were brought from the ruins of this castle. The place is memorable as the scene of the great victory gained in 1646, by Owen Roe O'Neill, over General Monroe.

<sup>j</sup> Lord Chancellor Cusack writes in 1552:—"O'Donel's country, named Tyroconnell, is a country both large, profitable, and good:—a ship under sail may come to

four of his houses. By mean of the war betwixt him and his father, the country was greatly impoverished and wasted. He did banish his father at last, and take the rule himself; and now the like war is between him and Callough O'Donel; so as their wars in effect wasted the whole country." (*S. P. O.*)

<sup>k</sup> Lifford.—Manus O'Donnell commenced the building of this castle in 1526, when he defeated O'Neill in an attack intended to prevent its erection. The place was called *Port-na-dri-namhad*, the port of the three enemies, and is described by the Four Masters as "a perilous pass." O'Donnell completed the castle in 1527.

<sup>l</sup> There is a "Description" of Lough Foyle, and the adjacent country in the State Paper Office, dated 12 April, 1601. Lough Eske is mentioned as O'Donnell's "chief keeping" i.e. principal store-place, and refuge during war. M'Swyne Bane's tower, and the chief places in O'Dogherty's country are also noticed.

<sup>m</sup> The writer of a "Memorial for winning Leinster," anno. 1537, desires that example be taken "of the poor Scotts of the Out Isles, who, being but naked men, and having neither wages of any men, neither succour ne help within the land, have not only of late conquest in the north parts of this land, as great a portion in manner as this (Leinster) is, but also have builded there both great garrisons, and in manner made subject all the Irishmen bordering to them." (*Printed S. P.*, Vol. II., 417.)

try ar the Dery<sup>n</sup> which is defaced, and Greencastle<sup>o</sup> and [ ] which ar wardable.

**COLRAN.**—The Countie of Colrane conteyneth all Ocahan's country, and lieth betwene Lough Foyle and the Bann; the Capten thereof is one Rory Ocahan,<sup>n</sup> allwaies left to the government and rule of Tur. Oneile, and therefore contributethe to him. The chiefe strengthe of this man is his owne nation, who are able to make 140 horsmen, and about 400 footemen. Yet because he borderethe so nere the Scottes, he is much affected to them, and at all tymes doth yelde them great reliefe and succour. He hath buildinges in his countrey upon Loughfoyle side, two stronge Castles, th'one called Anaghe, and the other Lymbevadie, and uppon the Bann nere the Samon fishinge<sup>1</sup> 2 castles, th' one called the Castle of Colran, somewhat defaced, yet wardable, th' other Castle Rooce, whercin Turloghe Oneyl kepeth a constable and a warde, to receve his parte of the fishing.<sup>3</sup>

**ARDMAGHE.**—The Countie of Ardmache conteyneth these countries, viz., Oriragh which is Ohanlon's countrie, Clanbrasell, Clanacan, Clanawle, Mucknoe, Tireaughe, Fues, and Oneylan; most of these have severall Captens, to whom these countries do appertene, but ar of late made all contributaries to the Erle of Tyron, tho' them selves be desyrous to take their land of the

<sup>n</sup> The Fort of Derry was destroyed in May, 1567, by a fire which began in the smith's forge—the colonel and garrison then sailed away to Carrickfergus. (S. P. O., 12 May.)

<sup>o</sup> The Four Masters state it was in the new castle of Inishowen that Walter Burke was imprisoned by the young Earl of Ulster, anno 1332, and where he afterwards died of hunger. The learned editor of those Annals annotates that the fortalice was Greencastle:—but Friar Clyn, who lived at the time, declares Knockfergus was the place of incarceration. Grace says, the castle of North-burgh; a fortress he also mentions under the year 1315. However, Greencastle, near Carlingford, is a more likely place than the remoter one of the same name. Whichever it was, it is memorable as the scene of one act of a tragedy which was a primary cause of the loss of Connaught and Ulster.

<sup>p</sup> Dymmok adds that the captain of the county of Cole-raine "is O'Chane, and no other of that name in yt but himself, saving his freeholders under him. O'Chane is chiefest of O'Neill's *Uraughts*, and createth him O'Neile by casting a shoe over his head, upon a hill in the county of Tyrone, a place allwaies assigned for that purpose." (Tracts, Irish Arch. Society, vol. II.)

O'Cahan, in a simple letter to Sir Arthur Chichester, declares he could not choose but join against the Queen, being between O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Scots, and unable to defend himself against either of them.—21 June, 1602. (S. P. O.) His submission, which was considered that "of the greatest Uriaght in Ulster," was made the preceding year. As to the difficulty of his position, see *Miscell. of the Celtic Society*, p. 277. The beautiful altar tomb in Dungiven church, understood to cover the remains of a chief of this name, who died in 1385, is noticed in a note to the Annals of the Four Masters, under that date.

<sup>1</sup> The Bann appears to have been the most productive and famous river in Ireland for salmon fishing. If as

much as 320 ton weight were taken in one year in Pen-nant's time, it may be believed the produce was not much inferior in earlier ages. There is an entry on the patent rolls of Henry IV's time, of permission to four merchants to import victuals to the fishers in that river. The Foyle was next in importance, and appears to have belonged to O'Donnell, who is stated in the Carew MS., 614, to be "the best lord of fishe in Ireland, and he exchangeth fishe allwayes with foreign merchants for wyne, by which his call in other countreyes is the King of fishe." It was perhaps from this traffic also that Tirlough O'Donnell, who became chief in 1393, acquired the *soubriquet* of an *Fhiona*, "of the wine;" or it may have proceeded from deep potatoes. A certain merchant of Dublin, Henry Quin, writes, anno 1608, that he has abandoned the business of purchasing yarn and sending it to Manchester, the trade having decayed on account of the long civil war, and adds he has now taken to the trade of fishing. [S. P. O.]

<sup>2</sup> The L. D. and Council write in 1542,—“We had sent John Travers, Master of your Majesty's Ordnance here, with a company, in aid of McGreybyn, against a prowde obstynate Irysheman called O'Cathan, and assure your highness that the said John at this present is returned, having taken as well the said O'Cathan his castell from him, which standeth upon your river of the Ban, being an obstacle to your highness' farmers and other your English subjects to fishe there, as depredate and brent part of the said O'Cathan's lands.” (*Printed S. P., Vol. III.*, p. 408.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1579 one “Mathias de Monte” proposed to take a castle from Turlough Luineach, and “bring in Spanish merchants to the fishing.” His real name was Manus O'Cahan, and he produced a letter from the King of Spain to the Governor of Castile, recommending him as having served in the Huntsman's and Body Guard. (S. P. O., Feb., and 4 March.)

Quene. Ohanlon's cuntry reacheth from the Newry, and from Dundalk to Armache. It is for the most parte without wood, but full of hills and boggs; it is able to make nere 40 horsmen, and 200 footemen.

*Clanbrasell* is a very woodie and boggie cuntry, upon the great Loghe's side called Eaghe; it hath in it no horsmen, but is able to make 80 kerne.

*Clanacan* is a very stronge cuntry, almost all wood and deep bog; it is invironed on th' one side with the aforesaid great Loghe, and of th' other side with a greate bogge and 2 deepe ryvers, th' one called the Blackwater, and th' other the Little Bann, both which in this cuntry do fall into the foresaid Loghe. In this cuntry are no horsmen, but about some 100 kerne, who lyve for the most parte uppon stealthes and roberies.

*Clanawle* is a pece of cuntry which of right apperteineth to the Archebushop of Ardmache and his freeholders, and lieth betwene Ardmache and the Black Water. There is in it nere to the ryver much under woodes and boggs, but the rest being toward Ardmache is champion and fertill. Upon parte of this lande is the bridge and fort of Blackwater built. Turloghe Bresolache holdeth this portion of land from the Erle of Tyron, to whom he paieth his rentes and service. The said Tur: with his sonnes now is able to make 30 horsemen and 80 footmen.

*Muckno* and *Tivrauh* lie between Ardmache and M<sup>c</sup>Mahon's cuntry, not long since apperteyning to him, but now possessed by the Erle of Tyron, who hath placed there certen of his own waged followers, that yield their rents and services only unto him.

*Fewes*<sup>a</sup> bordereth upon the English Pale, within three miles of Dundalk; it is a very stronge cuntry of wood and bogg, peopled with certeyne of the Neyles, accustomed to lyve much upon spoile of the Pale. It was of late appointed to contribute to the Erle of Tyron. They are able to make some 30 horsmen and 100 footemen.

*Oneylam* is likewise a woode land lienge betwene Ardmache and Clancann; this th' Erle of Tyron hathe and claymeth to be his enheritance. He hath placed there some of the Quins and Hagans, who fostered him,<sup>v</sup> and sometymes he dwelleth him selfe amongst them there, in a little Iland called Loch Coc.<sup>w</sup>

Buildings in the countie of Ardmache, none, save the fort at Blackwater, most needfull to be re-

<sup>a</sup> The nature of ancient freeholds on church lands is shown in the appendix to Colton's Visitation, page 117. In Irish Coe.

<sup>v</sup> The Fewes, i.e. the *Fiodha* or woods in the south of the country.

<sup>w</sup> Henry O'Hagan was the Earl's Secretary, and probably his foster-brother. The great affection between foster-brethren in those times is well known. The Earl may have been preserved by his fosterers after the murder of his father by Shane the Proud. The custom of fostering secured children from the jealousy of a rival chief.

<sup>x</sup> Blaen's map places an island called "Enis Garden," off the Eastern shore of Lough Neagh.

Mr. Evelyn Shirley, in his interesting "account of the Territory of Farney," (the most original and valuable work yet published on Irish Topographical History,) observes that island-fastnesses in inland lakes formed the universal system of defence in the north. He notices that "the cabins (for they were no better) of the petty chiefs of Monaghan" sketched on the map made of that county in 1590, "are in all cases surrounded by water;" and also quotes the following passage from Phetplace the pirate's answer to an inquiry from the Priory Council as to what castles or forts Shane O'Neill had, and of what strength they were:—"For castles I think it be not unknown unto your honors he trusteth no point thereunto for his safety, as appeareth by the raizing of

paired and better fortified, and Armaghe a small villadge,<sup>2</sup> having the church and other the Frieries there for the most part broken and defaced.

DOWNE.—The Countie of Downe, conteyneth these countreis, the Lordship of the Newrie and the Lordship of Mowrne Evagh, otherwize called Maginis countrey, Kilulto, Kilwarlyn, Kinalewrtly, Clainbrasel, M'Goolechan, Lecahull, Diffirin, Little Ardes, Great Ardes, and Southe Clandeboy.

The Lordships of *Newrie* and *Mowrne* [in ye County of Down\*] are the inheritaunce of Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, who at h cominge thither founde them altogether waste, and Shane Oneil dwellinge within less then a mile to the Newrie, at a place called Fedom<sup>7</sup> suffringe no subject to travell from Dundalk northward. But sithence the fortifications and buildinges made there by the said Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, all the passages are made free, and muche of the countries next adjacent reduced to reasonable civilitie.<sup>2</sup>

the strongest castles of all his countreys; and that fortification which he only dependeth upon is in sartin fresh-water loghes in his countrey, which from the sea there come neither ship nor boat to approach them; it is thought that there, in the said fortified islands, lyeth all his plate, which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages;—which islands hath in wars before been attempted, and now of late again by the Lord Deputy there, Sir Harry Sydney, which for want of means for safe conduct upon the water it hath not prevailed.

<sup>x</sup> Con, Earl of Tyrone, in certain "Articles of complaint of injuries done by Marshal Sir N. Bagenal," dated 9 Feb., 1552, writes of his "best mansion and dwelling-place" at Armagh.

<sup>y</sup> This is called by the learned editor of the *Four Masters* "the remarkable place called Fathom," in Glenree, or the Vale of the Rìghe. The boundary of ancient Ulidia was on the West side of that valley; it was protected by a fosse and rampart of great extent, the remains of which are still to be seen, and are known as "the Dane's Castle" and "the Valley of the Black Pig." (*Note sub anno 1178.*) Norden's map, engraved in the third volume of the *State Papers*, marks "Ca. Fedan" on the boundary line of the province, between Dundalk and Newry. Probably the name is derived from *Fiodh*,—woods, for the surrounding country is delineated on Blaeu's map as a forest, and as containing "the Pass" into the North, which was thus jealously guarded three centuries ago, by the representative of the Kings of Ulidia, but through which passengers are now conveyed by railway. A glance at the map of Ireland will show how well Ulster was defended by nature from Southern invasion. Reaching half way across the island, the noble Erne and its spreading lakes, with the loughs and morasses of Monaghan, and the rivers which fall into the sea on the Eastern side, combined to form a chain of natural defences. The numerous decisive engagements fought between Dundalk and Armagh, prove that the district between those towns was the principal battle-field of Ireland. Thus, Sir John De Courcy fought a battle in Glenree, during his attacks on the North; Edward Bruce was defeated at Faughard, near Dundalk, in that victory which relieved Ireland from an

army of marauders; and, subsequently, in 1344, when the viceroy, Ufford, who married the Countess of Ulster, entered the territories of her murdered husband "cum manu valida," he, as Sir R. Cox writes, "gained the pass;" and, according to Clyn, repaired and rendered passable the passage of Ymerdoylan. When Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, undertook his ill-judged enterprise, he opened ways, through the woods which covered the country, into Tyrone, Farney, the Brenny, and Mac Mahon's country; these he cut so wide that ten horsemen might ride abreast.—[*Devereux's Lives of the Earls of Essex.*]

Captain Lee, writing in 1590, observes that the passage by Cloonis Abbey was the only pass from Maguire's country and the backward regions where it was possible to check incursions into the Pale.

It was on the hill of Faughard that Tyrone and O'Donnell encamped in May, 1595, where they first joined their standards. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give interesting details, showing the importance of the pass by Newry, in the various conflicts which took place on this frontier during Tyrone's wars. When Lord Mountjoy marched Northward, in 1601, he found *Bealach-an-Mhaighre*, called by Tyner Moryson "the face of the Moyrey," defended by O'Neill's guards. As the annalists significantly write:—"Many men and troops of the English and Irish had been often lamentably slain and slaughtered about that pass between O'Neill and the English." Lord Mountjoy, having beaten off the enemy, then erected fortifications on the side of the road, which are marked on a map in the S. P. O., under the name of "The Castle and Forte of the Moierie Pale," and a part of the road "The Cause (causeway) of Moierie."—[*Note to Four Masters.*] In evidence of the importance of the passages on this frontier it is sufficient to allude to the more recent famous actions of Blackwater and Armagh (at Twisser), in 1595, of Benburb, in 1646, and the battle of the Boyne.

<sup>z</sup> The admirable state of the Bagenal property is reported by Sir Henry Sidney, who visited Newry in 1575. "I found," wrote that admirable viceroy, "such good policy and order in the country where the Marshal Burghley.

\* Added by

*Evaghe*, otherwise called M<sup>c</sup>Gynis country [in<sup>e</sup> County of Down†] is governed by Sir Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Enys, the cyviliest of all the Irishrie in those parts. He was brought by Sir N. B. from the Bonaght of the Onels, to contribute to the Q. to whome he paiethe an anuall rent for his landes, which he hath taken by letters patentes, to holde after the Englishe manner for him and his heires males, so as in this p<sup>l</sup>ace onelie [amongest the Irishry‡] of Ulster is the rude custom of Tanestship put awaie. Maginis is able to make above 60 horsmen and nere 80 footemen; he lyveth very cyvillie and Englishe-like in his house, and every festivall daie weareth the Englishe garmentes amongest his owne followers. <sup>a</sup>

*Kilultoe* <sup>b</sup> is a very fast country, full of wood and bog; it bordereth upon Loghe Eaghe and Clanbrasell; the Capten thereof is one Cormock M<sup>c</sup>Neil, who likewise was brought by Sir N. B. from the bondage of the Oneils to yeld to the Quene. He is able to make 20 horsmen and 100 kerne. This country (afore the Barons' wars in England) was possessed and enhabited by Englishe men, and there dothe yet remayne an olde defaced castle which still berethe the name of one Sir Miles Tracie. <sup>c</sup>

*Kilwarlyn* boundinge upon Kilultagh is a very fast woodland, the Capten thereof by sirname is a M<sup>c</sup>Genis called Ever M<sup>c</sup>Rorie, and sometymes did contribute and yeld to Clandeboye, but nowe reduced to have dependance onlie upon the Quene. He is able to make some 12 horsmen and 80 footemen.

*Kinalaurtie*, otherwise called M<sup>c</sup>Cartan's country, is likewise a woodland and boggy; it liethe betwene Kilwaren and Lecahull. In tymes past some interest therein was geven to Sir N. Malbie, but never by him quietlie enjoyed: nowe the Capten thereof is called Acholie M<sup>c</sup>Cartan, and doth yeld onlie to the Quene. He is able to make aboute 60 footemen, but no horsmen.

*Clanbrasell M<sup>c</sup>Goolechan*, is a very fast country of wood and bog, inhabited with a sept called the Kellies, a very savage and barborous people, geven altogethor to spoile and roberies, greatlie affected to the Scott, whom they often drawe into their countries for the spoilinge of the subject.

dwelleth, his lands so well manured, his tenants so well cherished and maintained, the town so well planted with inhabitants, and increased in beauty and building, as he is much to be commended, as well that he useth his tenants to live so wealthily under him, as his own bounty and large hospitality and housekeeping, so able and willing to give entertainment to so many, and chiefly to all those that have occasion to travel to and fro northwards, his house lying in the open highway to their passage."—[Collins' Sydney Papers, vol. I., 75.] See also a letter of his in the same volume, p. 99, commending Sir Nicholas; and also, p. 189, "A declaration how the town of Newrie may be fortified by the Queen without charge, by the travail of Sir N. B., to the advancement and establishment of the peaceable government of the North,"—dated 1577. In a subsequent letter, Sidney recommends his godson, Sir Henry B., to Lord Grey, who became viceroy in 1580.

<sup>a</sup> This is a remarkable proof of readiness on the part of the Gaelic chieftains to brave the dislike of their clansmen to their adoption of English customs, &c.—  
† Added by Burghley.

An anecdote is related in Sir John Perrot's Memoirs, from which it appears that when old Turlough Luineach donned the attire of the foreigner, on attending Parliament in 1585, he wished not to attract popular notice. For a chieftain to show himself conspicuously in favour of changes which were then generally and strenuously resisted, by wearing the Sassanach garb at home, was to expose himself to certain obloquy.

<sup>b</sup> The writer of a plan for the reformation of Ireland, anno 1515, recommends that the issue of Hugh Boy O'Neill be expelled out of all the lands from the Green Castle to the Bann, "and be assigned and suffered to have their habitation and dwelling in the great forest Keylultagh, and in the Pheux, which habitations and places they hath and dwelleth ofte before, now by compulsion."—[Printed S. Papers, Vol. II. 27.]

<sup>c</sup> The name of Tracy does not appear in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, nor in any of the ordinary printed sources of research. William Tracy was one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, and may have settled here.

‡ Added by Burghley.



They do contribute, (but at their own pleasure) to the Capten of South Clandeboy. They can make no horsmen, but some 120 kerne and shott.

*Lecahull*,<sup>d</sup> is th' enheritance of th' Erle of Kildare, geven to his father and his mother by Quene Marie; it is almost an island, and without wood. In hit is the Bushop's Sea called Downe, first built and enhabited by one Sir John Coursie, who brought thither with him sondrie Englishe gentlemen, and planted them in this countrey, where some of them yet remayne, though somewhat degenerate and in poore estate; yet they holde still their freeholdes. Their names are Savages, Rusels, Fitzimons, Awdleis, Jordans, and Bensons.

*Diffrin*, sometymes th' enheritance of the Maundeilles<sup>e</sup> and nowe apperteyninge to one White, who is not of power sufficient to defend and manure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most parte, by a bastard sorte of Scottes, who yeld to the said White some smale rent at their pleasure. This countrey is for the most parte woody, and lieth uppon the Loghe which goeth out at the haven of Strangford. There are of these bastard Scottes dwellinge here some 60 bowmen and 20 shott, which lyve most uppon the prairie and spoile of their neighbours.

*Little Ardes* lieth on the North side of the River of Strangford, a fertile champion countrey. It

<sup>d</sup> Lord Leonard Grey describes an expedition he made into this region in the year 1539:—"For so much as Mr. Treasurer was farmer of the King's country of Lecayll, and that Savage, chieff capitayn of his nation, would not pay his farm unto the Treasurer; and besides the said Savage brought into the said country divers Scottys, which had much of the said country in their subjection, it was concluded betwixt the said Mr. Treasurer and me that we should have gone towards the said Lecayll. And so with the host, we set forward, and entered into the said country, and took all the castles there, and delyvered them to Mr. T., who hath warded the same. I took another castle, being in McGynous' countrey, called Doundrome, which I assure your lordship, as it standeth, is one of the strongest holts that ever I saw in Ireland, and most commodious for the defence of the whole country of Lecayll, both by sea and land; for the said Lecayll is invironed round about with the sea, and no way to go by land into the said country, but only by the said castell of Doundrome. \* \* I assure your lordship I have been in many places and countries in my days, and yet did I never see for so much a pleasanter plott of ground than the said Lecayll, for the commoditie of the land, and divers islands in the same, environed with the sea, which were soon reclaimed and inhabited the King's pleasure known."—*Printed State Papers*, Vol. III. p 135.]

<sup>e</sup> The Mandevilles seem to have been the first to rebel against their liege lords, the Earls of Ulster, and they were the assassins of the last De Burgh who bore that title, and whose tragic death caused the downfall of the feudal colonies in Ulster and Connaught. As early as 1275, Sirs Henry and Robert Mandeville, knights, with two more of their name, instigated Odo O'Neill king of the Clan Eoghain, and Connoy O'Kathán King of Kenacht, to ravage the lands of the Seneschal of Ulster; he and they were afterwards subdued by him and Hugh Byset, assisted by several Gaelic chieftains. [*Rymer*,

in *Lascelles' Liber IIb.*] No less than four magnates of this name were summoned to parliament upon Edward Bruce's invasion. Immediately after the decease of Richard de Burgh, the Great Earl, three of the Mandevilles were appointed to offices of high trust in the Ulster colony:—Richard M. being made *custos pacis* in the bishopric of Derry and Connor; John M. appointed Sheriff of the County of Down and of New Town (Ards); and Henry M. *custos pacis* in the bishopric of Down. [*Col. Rot. Pat.*] The Mandeville family had by this time become a clan, and it is not improbable that some of them were favourable to the conspiracy of the De Burghs of Connaught, to throw off tenure under the Earldom. According to the annalist, Grace, the young Earl was slain by Sir John Mandeville, whose wife, sister of the Earl's uncle, had incited her husband to avenge her brother's death. But the statement of Friar Clyn is most to be relied on, for that chronicler was living at the time. He writes that the Earl was assassinated on the 6th July, 1333, near Carrickfergus, by his own esquires, in whom he confided; the authors of this wickedness being John Logan, Robert, son of Richard Mandeville, and Robert, son of Martin Mandeville; but that they suffered for their crime before two months elapsed, though they joined themselves to the Irish, for that John Mandeville and some others of the country killed more than 300 of their party in one day. He adds that they had been instigated to this murder by the wife of Sir Richard Mandeville, in order to avenge the death in prison, of her brother Walter Burgh. By the patent rolls it appears that in 1334 Greencastle was taken from certain felons by Henry Mandeville, who was then made constable of that fortress:—and that Richard M. led a multitude of Scots into the Isle of Man, in order to conquer that island, 11th Edw. III. (1336).

<sup>f</sup> Rowland Whyte of the Duffren wrote in 1571 a tract on the "Reformation of Ireland," which is in MS. in the State Paper Office.

is th' enheritance of the Lord Savage, s who hath now for certain yeares farmed the same to Capten Peers. There are besides dwelling here certeine auncient freeholders of the Savages and Smithes, able to make amongst them all, some 30 horsmen and 60 footemen. They are often harrowed and spoyled by them of Clandeboye, with whom the borders of their landes do joine.

*Great Ardes* is that cuntry which was undertaken by Mr. Smithe; it is almost an Island, a champion and fertile land, and nowe possessed by Sir Con M<sup>c</sup>Neil Oige, who hath planted there Neil M<sup>c</sup>Brian Ferto, with sondrey of his owne sirname. But the auncient dwellers there are the Ogilmers a riche and stronge sept of people allwaies followers of the Neils of Clandeboy. The force of th' enhabitantes nowe dwelling here is 60 horsmen and 300 footemen.

*Southe Clandeboy*, is for the moste parte a woodland, and reacheth from the Diffirin to the River of Knockfergus; the Capten of it Sir Con M<sup>c</sup>Neil Oig Onele, who in the tyme that th' Erle of Essex attempted this cuntry was prisoner in the castle of Dublin, together with his nephewe Hughe M<sup>c</sup>Phelim, capten of North Clandeboy, by meane whereof Sir Brian M<sup>c</sup>Phelim (younger brother to Hughe) did then possesse bothe the countries. The Southe parte is now able to make 40 horsmen and 80 footemen.

ANTRIM.—Antrim, stretchinge from the haven of Knockfergus to the going out of the Bann, cunteyneth these countreis,—North Clandeboy, Iland Magve, Brian Caraghe's cuntry, Glynnnes, and the Rowte.

*Northe Clandeboye* is for the most parte a plaine cuntry, lienge in lengthe from the River of Belfart and Knockfergus to the Rowte, and in bredthe from the Glinnes to the great Loghe called Eaghe. All this land is geven by letters patentes to Sir Brian M<sup>c</sup>Phelim's sonnes, the Quene's pensioners, notwithstandinge by a newe division latlie made by the nowe Lord Deputie, the one moietie thereof is allotted to the rule of Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Phelim's sonnes, whereby great dissension dothe depende betweene them, and greate slaughter on bothe partes often commytted. The principall followers in this cuntry are these :—the M<sup>c</sup>Gies, M<sup>c</sup>Onulles, Onulchalons, Durnam, and Tarturs. The force which they are able to make is 60 horsmen and 300 footemen, but by meane of their domestique dissention the cuntry is for the most parte waste and depopulate; so as yet it is able to yeld litle or nothing to Her Matie.

*Iland M<sup>c</sup>Gye* is a portion of land within 3 miles of Knockfergus, almost environed with sea, the head land thereof makethe the haven of Olderfleete; it is five miles longe, but little more then a mile brode, all plaine, without any wood, very fertile. It is almost all waste; suche as be there be the M<sup>c</sup>Gyes, and contribute to the Lords of Clandeboy, but doth of right belong unto the Quene's Castle of Carikfergus.

*Brian Caraghe's cuntry* was a porcion of Northe Clandeboy, won from it by a bastard kinde of

¶ The Lords Savage appear to have been hereditary Seneschals of the County of Ulster, from the time it was an Earldom. Robert S. married Christiana, dau. of

John, Lord of the Isles, 10, Rich. II. [*Exchequer Records*, memb. 218.] In latter times Lord Savage m. daughter of Con, 1st Ear of Tyrone.

Scottes, of the septes of Clandonells, who entred the same and do yet holde it, beinge a very stronge peece of lande lienge upon the North side of the Bande. The name of the nowe Capten thereof is Brian Caraghe, <sup>h</sup> who possessethe likewise another peece of a cuntry of Tyron side upon the Band for which he doth contribute to Onele, and for his landes on the North side to them of Clandeboye; by reason of the fastnes and strengthe of his cuntry, havinge succour and frendes on each side the Band, it is very hard to harme him, which maketh him so obstinate and careles as he never yet wolde appeare before any Deputie, but yeldethe still what reliefe he can to the Scottes. His force in people is very smale; he standethe onelie upon the strength of his cuntry, which in dede is the fastest grownde of Ireland.

The *Glynnes* so called because it is full of rockie and woodie dalles, it stretcheth in lengthe 24 miles (on the one side beinge backed with a very steepe and bogie mounteyne and on th' other parte with the sea) on whiche side there are many small creekes betwene rockes and thickets, where the Scottishe gallies do commonlie land; at either end are very narrowe entries and passages into this cuntry, which lieth directlie opposite to Cantire in Scotland, from which it is 18 miles distant. The *Glynnes* conteyne 7 Baronyes, whereof the Ile of Raghlin<sup>i</sup> is counted half a Barony; the names of the Baronies are these:—

Larne,	}	Lade,
Park,		Cary,
Glanarme,		Mowbray.
Redbaye,		

These were some tyme th' enheritance of the Baron Myssett,<sup>i</sup> from whom it disceded to a daugh-

<sup>h</sup> "The King of Scots hath this year (1539) twice sent for Alexander Carragh, captain of the Scottes of this land, who hath gone thither, and by his return it is not perceived what business he had there; but only it appeareth he was well entertained in the Court of Scotland; though of truth hitherto there was no amity but mortality betwixt them, the King of Scot's ancestors having killed and put to death the said Alexander's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and exiled him out of the isles, whereby he was constrained to inhabit here." [*Alen to Crumwell, Printed S. P., Vol. III., p. 136.*]

<sup>i</sup> The Cottonian Library contains the following papers:—a grant of the forfeited lands of Hugh Byset, in the Isle of Raughery, to John de Atye. 12 Edw. II. [*Titus B. XII*]—"A declaration that the Isle of Raughery hath been for the space of two or three hundred years possessed by the Clan-Donald and other Scots subjects, and is now claimed by Geo. Crawford." [*Do.*, p. 29.] "Arguments to prove that the Island of R. is part of the kingdom of I. and not of S." [*Titus B. x.*, pp. 298, 304.] "An inquisition taken at Carrickfergus, concerning some royal domain in the Isle of R." 1604. [*Do.*, p. 171.]

<sup>j</sup> Wildelm de Misset is one of the witnesses to a charter from Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin, dated 1178. [*Chartae, &c., Lib. p. 2.*] Peter Misset was Baron of Lune, in Meath, and of the Glynnes, in Antrim, anno 1213, and

left three co-heiresses, married to Talbot, Lord Verneuil, and Loundres. [*Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 4814.*] In the 14th century Sir Thomas Vernoyl and Sir William Loundres held lands in the barony of Lune. [*Rot. Pat. 5, Ric. II*] A male branch of the family, however, appears to have resisted the feudal right of females to inherit, and adopted Gaelic customs of succession so that the estate in the North remained in their name, which became to be spelt Bissett. It was in Sir Hugh Bissett's island of Rathlin that the heroic Bruce took refuge in 1306, and where he formed the resolution of re-conquering Scotland; and it was at Glendun, in Sir Hugh's manor of Glenarm, that Edward Bruce landed with the victors of Bannockburn. Upon the news of that invasion parliamentary summonses were issued to no less than five magnates named De Byset, John, Hubert, William, and two named Hugh. One of these latter was the traitor Baron, who, like Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Say, and Michael of Kylekeoran, also summoned as peers on the same occasion, adhered to the Scots. [For their forfeiture see *Rot. Pat.* 13, Edw. II., p. 28.] May not the Bissetts have persuaded the Bruces to attempt the conquest of Ireland? Dowling the Chronicler states that John Bissett accompanied the invading force from Scotland, and leaves it doubtful from a subsequent paragraph, whether Sirs Hugh B. and John Logan defeated or commanded a large body of the invaders. Sir Hugh's hereditaments in Rathlin and Glenarm were

ter who was married to one of the Clandonells<sup>k</sup> in Scotland, by whom the Scotts nowe make their clayme to the whole, and did quietlie possesse the same for many yeares, till now of late (beinge spoyled of their goodes) they were totalie banished into Scotland; but againe the country, by instructions from Her Matie, is let to be helde from Her Highnes to Agnus McKonell, Lord of Cantire, in Scotland, and to his uncle Sorlie Boye. The force of this country is uncertaine, for that they are supplied as nede requireth from Scotland, with what numbers they list to call, by makinge of fiers upon certeine steepe rockes hanginge over the sea.<sup>1</sup> The aunccient followers of the country are these—the Myssetts some fewe remayinge, but in poore estate, the MacKayes, the Omulrenies, the Mac y Gilles, the MacAwnleys, the MacCarnocks, and the Clanalsters, who are most desirous to lyve under the Scottes, because they do better defende and lesse spende them then the Irishe Lorde dothe.

The *Route*<sup>m</sup> a pleasaunte and fertile country, lyinge betwene the Glynnnes and the ryver of the Band, and from Clandeboye to the sea. It was some tymes enhabited with Englishe (for there remayneth yet certaine defaced castles and monastaries of ther buildinges). The nowe Capten that makethe clayme thereto is called McGwillim,<sup>n</sup> but the Scott hath well nere expulsed him from the

afterwards given away by Edward II. [See *Note by Very Rev. R. Butler, to Grace's Annals.*] Hugh, son of Walter B. obtained a general pardon from Edward III., excepting any share in the murder of the Earl of Ulster. [*Rot. Pat.*, p. 53.] Some of the family had thrown off their allegiance altogether and became a clan, their chief assuming the title of MacEoin, i.e. the son of John, from whence the surname Mac-Keon is derived. John B. married a daughter of O'Neill, and MacEoin was at deadly feud with the Savages. [*Four Masters sub annis 1383-7.*] One branch, however, continued under the feudal system for some time longer:—Sir Hugh Bysset was regularly summoned as a baron to parliament by Edw. III. and Rich. II.; and, in the year 1400 Richard Savage obtained, in consideration of his important place, as seneschal of the liberty of Ulster, and guardian of the Cross lands therein, the wardship and marriages of Elizabeth and Marjory, heireses of Sir Hugh. [*Rot. Pat.*, p. 146.] Blaeu's map names a mountain in their country "Slew Meset."

<sup>k</sup>Marjory Bissett married John Mor MacDonnell, second son of John, Lord of the Isles, by a second marriage. On the rolls of Scotland in 1400, there is a safe conduct "pro nobili viro Johanni de Insulis, Domino de Dunwage et de Glynnns." [*Note to Four Masters, anno 1590*, in which a pedigree of the Mac-Donnell's of Antrim is given.] This marriage of the heires of Missett gave the Mac-Donnell's that feudal title to Irish lands which they afterwards fought manfully to maintain, and which was at last fully recognized in the Patent of the Earldom of Antrim. Elizabeth in 1560 ordered "Sourley-boy, the Scot, to be admitted tenant of such lands as he claims by inheritance, with reservations of service."—[*Desid. Cur. Hib.* I. 3.]

<sup>1</sup>The following inscription appears on Norden's map of Ireland, (made about the year 1610), indicating a hill lying inland of Fair Head:—"Att this marke the Scottes used to make their warning fires." Sir William Cecil writes to the Lord Deputy, 25th February, 1566-7:—

"The Queen of Scots, now an unfortunate widow, I cannot tell how, hath privily made assurance to the Queen's Majesty that she hath prohibited the coming of any more Scots into Ireland, and will speedily worke those that be there. My Lord of Argyle promiseth to execute her commandment." [*State P. Off.*] "The Irish Scots, after sowing their barley in their own barren crags of Scotland, come to Ireland, and return home in the winter." [*Sir N. White, April, 1580.*] Sir Nicholas Malby writes, 28th Oct., 1582, that Turlough Luinech retains 2,400 Scots; and Dr. Hanmer (the chronicler) writes to Lord Burleigh, 23d March, 1593-4, that the Earl of Tyrone's power in the field was at that time 700 horse, and 3,000 foot, adding that he has only to make a signal fire on the coast, when within seven hours he can be joined by an endless supply of Scots.

The biography of Hugh Roe O'Donnell describes the Highlanders who came over with Donald Gorm, and McLeod as clothed in "a mottled garment of divers colours, hanging in folds to the calf of the leg; with a girdle round the loins. Some of them were armed with large horn-hafted swords, hung over the shoulder. A man when he had to strike with them was obliged to apply both hands to the haft. Others carried bows, well polished, strong and serviceable, with long twanging leather strings, and sharp-pointed arrows that whizzed in their flight." [*Translation of O'Clery's Life of O'Donnell, British Museum.*]

<sup>m</sup>The Cottonian MS. *Titus B. XI.*, p. 456, contains a letter dated 15 Aug., 1556, at Carrickfergus from Geo. Stanley and others to Lord Fitz Walter, Lord Deputy, reporting the steps they had taken for seizing the country called the Rowte.

<sup>n</sup>A MS. Journal of the Earl of Sussex's progresses, anno 1556, notes that "in the monastery of Colraheen is buried the ancestor of McGuillim, on the left hand of the altar, and on the tombe lyeth the picture of a knight armed." Shane O'Neill in a letter to the Queen mentions "Magwillen" as "a mere Englishman."

whole, and dryven him to a small corner nere the Bann, which he defendeth rather by the mayntenance of Turloch Oneil then his owne forces; and the said Scottes did inhabite the rest, which is the best parte, till likewise they were by Her Maties forces banished as aforesaid; but nowe come back and possesse all in usurped manner, as before. The chiefe auncient followers of this countrey are—the O'Haryes, and the O'Quyns, who dwell upon their lands and yeld rent and service to the Scott; they are able to make 60 stronge and well-furnished horsmen and about 200 footemen. Townes in this countie is onelic Carifergus. Castles wardable are onelic Belfast,<sup>o</sup> Edenduchar, and Olderflecte; and castles defaced are these: Portmucke in Iland Magy, Glanarme,<sup>p</sup> and Redbaye<sup>q</sup> in the Glyns, and Castle Martyn<sup>r</sup> in the Rowte.

It may easlie be perceaved by this slender and brief description of Ulster, what hath ben and ar the reasons why this Province hath ben from tyme to tyme more chargeable to Her Matie then any other, as namlie, the want of good townes and fortified places, wherewith other places are better replenished.

2. And next the sufferance of the Oneils to usurp the government of the severall Captens and freeholders, and by little and little to excede the bowndes of their owne and so encrease upon the possessions of other; wherby they were made stronger then otherwise they colde have ben, and abled thereby to wage and mainteine the greater number of Scottes.

3. Thirdlie, the confininge so nere to the Iles of Scotland, and the contynuall comerce which the Irishry have with the people of those partes, occasionethe the often cominge in of them, to the greate hurt of this Province and the subjectes which dwell there.

4. Fourthlie, and lastlie, the want of due exercises of religion and justice, of sacred and civill in-

<sup>o</sup> The Earl of Kildare in a despatch of 1523, relating the particulars of his expedition against Hugh McNeill, who retained a force of 1,500 Scots besides his own troops, states that he "toke a castle of his, called Belfast, and burned 24 myle of his contre, and toke and burnt two other piles that Scots kept there." [*Printed S. P.*, vol. II., 100.]

An ancient map in the S. P. Office, has the following inscribed near the site of Belfast:—"Along the River for the space of 26 miles growth much wood, as well okes for timber as other wood." Belfast castle is described in a letter dated September, 1591, as almost surrounded by woods.

<sup>p</sup> King John, while at Carrickfergus, granted to Duncan Fitz Gilbert and his heirs, the town of Wulfrichford, (*ford*) and all the lands which Roger de Preston and Henry Clemens held near W., viz., Innerth, and all the land from W. to Glynarm, with the town of G:—so that he might possess 50 plowlands, to hold by the service of a knight's fee. [*Cal. Rot. Pat. Jac. I.*, p. 354.]

<sup>q</sup> A despatch dated 5th March, 1567-8, remarks that forty men may keep the Red-Bay against five hundred.

<sup>r</sup> Castle Martin does not appear on the old maps. Dunluce, one of the most remarkable places of strength in Ireland, is not noticed by the Marshal, although it had recently been besieged and taken. *Dun-lis*, i.e., the Strong Fort, is mentioned twice by the Four Masters.—There being a dispute between the clans descended from Garrett Mac Quillin and Walter Mac Quillin, Dunluce was taken, in 1513, from the former, by O'Donnell, and given to the latter, to whose claims he was favourable. A despatch in the S. P. O., of 1534, states that the "impregnable" fortress of Dunluce was kept against the Queen; however, its claim to that adjective quality was disproved the same year by Sir John Perrot, who, in order to banish the Scots leader, Sorley Buoy McDonald, marched into the Route; the Gaelic chief retreated into the valley of Glanconcan, between Slieve Gallion and the Banagher mountains, taking with him his *creaght* or herd of cows, his women and people, but leaving warders in Dunluce, which, "although," as observed by the annalists, "the strongest fortress in the Province, was, nevertheless, taken by the Lord Justice, after he had besieged it for two days and nights; and he placed the Queen's warders in it."

structions, is the occasion of much impietic and barboresnes; which two are the mother and nurse of all their disobedience, disorder, and disloyaltye.

#### REMEDIES.

1. For a remedie to the first: thoughte it be a thing greatlie to be wished, that the example were folowed by K. Henry the Second, of K. John, and of others since ther tyme, of famous memoye, who havinge great desire to reforme that countrey, did make sondrie fortifications, as well there as in other places of the realme; yet considering Her Maties excessive charge nowe bestowed, as well for the defence of this her realme as in other partes beyond the seas, for the necessarie strengtheninge of her whole dominions: it is not convenyent to desier Her Maties greater expense, but onlye that such revenaues as this Province may be made to yelde Her Matie may be employed upon fortyfications in places most needeful, for certaine yerres.

2. And to the second: lyke as in former tyme of good government it was a thinge most regarded in all treaties to weaken the force of the Oneiles by withdrawinge from them their Uryaghcs, as was done by K. H. th' Eighte with Con O'Neil, who when he had made him Earle of Tyron, gave him no more by patent than the bare countrie of Tyrone, and specyallye provided that he should not intermedle with anie on this side the Blackwater; soe is it most needeful to take the oportunitie which now the people and the time doth better offer then it did then. Thearfore the way is, to apportionate both to Tur. Lenoghe and the Earle of Tyron (beinge both of one sirname) landes on the North side of Blackwater to them and their heirs males,\* indyfferently bounded by some well acquainted with those countries, wherwith they should only deale, and medle no further, but leave the govern-

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\* With the objects of abolishing that potent chieftaincy which had so long wielded rule in the North, under the magic title of O'NEILL, and of creating two noble houses, which should each own an hereditary estate, instead of a chieffy for life and a leadership of clans. In 1583, (June 7th) the Lords Justices wrote to the Secretary of State, desiring directions as to "Lord Dungannon," who, when, with his own, he should obtain O'Neill's chieftainship and country, "will be able to command all Ulster, and as far South as Dundalk." In 1584, (Aug. 31.) Sir John Perrot was ordered to establish a President in the Province, in order "to curb the proud barbarous people." But, instead of obeying this order, he divided the North into three licutenancies, to be governed by Sir Turlough Luineach, the Baron of Dungannon, and Marshal Bagenal.—[S. P. O., 25 Oct., 1584.] Fynes Moryson writes that the Baron petitioned the parliament, which sat in 1585, for the title of Earl of Tyrone, in virtue of the patents to his grandfather and father; this could not justly be refused, and was granted him; but his claim to the inheritance, which had been vested in the Crown by the attainder of Shane O'Neill, was referred to the Queen's pleasure. Sir John Perrot, upon promise of a large rent to be paid to the Crown,

gave the Earl letters of recommendation to the English government that the country governed by him should be granted to him; and, on going over to England, "so well," says Moryson, "did he know how to humour the Court," that he obtained letters patent for the Earldom, without any reservation of rent. The conditions of the grant, dated 1587, were—that the bounds of Tyrone should be distinctly defined; 240 acres should be reserved, adjoining the river Blackwater, for the use of a fort to be erected there; that the sons of the late chieftain, John the Proud, and those of the present nominal chief, Sir Turlough Luineach, should be provided for; that the Earl should challenge no authority over the bordering chiefs, and that Sir Turlough should continue chieftain of Tyrone, with a right of superiority over Maguire and O'Kane, two subordinate lords or *wriaghs* to the O'Neill. [*Note to Four Masters*, 1590.] Moryson adds that such were the young nobleman's endeavours in the Queen's service, and such his protestations of faith and thankfulness, that old Sir Turlough was induced, by royal intercession, and upon certain conditions for his own maintenance, to surrender the county to him, with all command in those parts.

mente of the rest for Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to the cheef commissioner, or other Her Highnes' officers in that Province.

3. To the therd : as there is noe way soe good as to fortifie the coast neere their landinge place, soe me thinketh that will seeme too chardgeable, and thearfore will not lyke Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> soe well. In which respect a second way should be thought upon, and that may be this :—

It is evidente that the people which most any us from Scotland are the Clandonells, who are ever in contynuall warre with another secte of people of the Isles named M<sup>c</sup>Alans.<sup>†</sup> And yf on M<sup>c</sup>Alan Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> would bestowe some convenient pension,<sup>‡</sup> he will I thincke undertake to kepe the Clandonells soe contynually occupied, as they shalbe hable to sende none of their people to disturbe Her Highnes subjectes in Ulstar, whearof will aryse to Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> a treble commoditie with a single chardge ; for she shall bothe prevente the myscheef which is now wrastled with rather than redressed, and save the chardge which is allmost yeerelie in this frutelesse labour spent, amountinge oft to above ten thousand powndes a yeere, together with the loss of manie mens' lyves, and also assure herself of a good frend and instrumente in the backes of the Scottes, to afflicte them and worke diversion of their forces when they shalbe aboute to attempte any thinge against us.

4. As for the fourth : it might doubtesse be remedied yf these countries weare as well broughte to the nature as to the names of Sheeres ; that is, that the Sheeres beinge perfectly bonded, Sheryffes of Englysh education may be appointed in everye countie, and in certaine convenient places some Preachers and Free Schooles. And for the whole Province a Counsaile weare established, of the wysest, gravest, and best disposed, dwellinge within the same, havinge some other joyned with them that were not possessyoners thearein. That alsoe Assizes, Quarter Sessions, and such other lyke tymes should duely and orderly be in every countie observed ; which all require not soe great chardge and travaile in the beginninge, as they yeeld both proffitt and honour in the ende.

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Since the writinge of the premises I doe perceave by letters lately received out of Ireland, that the Earle of Tyron hath taken upon hym the rule of Sir Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Enys, Sir Con M<sup>c</sup>Neyle Oge, the

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<sup>†</sup> The Mac-Leans, known in Gaelic as the Clan Gillian ; one of whose war songs is admirably translated by Sir Walter Scott :—

“ Clan-Gillian is to ocean gone ;  
 Clan-Gillian, fierce in foray known ;  
 Rejoicing in the glory won  
 In many a bloody broil :  
 For wide is heard the thundering fray,  
 The rout, the ruin, the dismay,  
 When from the twilight glens away  
 Clan-Gillian drives the spoil.”

<sup>‡</sup> The Scots of the West paid but slender allegiance to their own monarch, and were often subsidized by the English crown. The curious agreement by which one of the Lords of the Isles accepted pay from Edward IV. is printed in a note to Sir Walter Scott's fine poem. In 1545, Donald McConell, Lord of the Isles, accepted a pension of 2,000 ducats yearly from Henry VIII.—[S. P., Vol. III., p. 525.] The supposed natural son of the last-named King, the hot-headed Sir John Perrot, writes to the Privy Council, 21st August, 1584, when viceroy, that his “intention to consider Ulster a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land” has been altered by Mac-Lean's sons' invasion with the Scots, against whom he is about to march.—S. P. O.

Capten of Kylwarlyn, and sundry others, who at my cominge thence depended only upon the Queen.

(Indorsed by Lord Burghley)

“ 20 Dec., 1586,  
“ Sr. Henry Bagnalls  
“ declarat. of ye Pvyce  
“ of Ulster in Ireland.”

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ETHNOLOGICAL SKETCHES.—No. 1.

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THE FISHERMEN OF THE CLADDAGH, AT GALWAY.

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THE village of the Claddagh is one of the most important fishing stations in Ireland. It is situated contiguous to Galway, on the bank of the river, commanding a view of the splendid bay, and near it is a little island called *Mutton Island*; at low-water mark a person may wade over to this island. Here is the projected site of the break-water and American packet station; so that the present village of Claddagh may, at some future day, become one of the great commercial cities of Europe, and the connecting link between the Old and New Worlds. It is, therefore, very desirable that a record of this ancient village and its primitive inhabitants, should be preserved for the future merchant princes, who may spring up from the men now living in thatched cottages.

The people of the Claddagh, are, in my opinion, purely Irish, of the most ancient Celtic type. The village at the present day is like any ordinary Irish village; and, that it was a mud city when Rome was founded, is more than probable. I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Mr. Hardiman, the eminent antiquarian, for the following extract from an ancient Irish author, clearly referring to it.

Mr. Hardiman says:—“ The Claddagh is supposed, with every probability, to have been occupied as a fishing station, since the first peopling of this island. That it was so, in the fifth century of Christianity, appears from the life of *St. Endeus*, compiled from ancient authorities by A. MacRaiden, about A.D. 1390, and published by Colgan, A.D. 1645. [See *Acta. SS.*, p. 709, s. xxiv.] “ Post hæc venit S. Endeus in terram quæ *Medraighe* dicitur.” This place is now called *Mááree*. It is a peninsula running about five miles in a direct line into the Bay of Galway, to the south of the town.—Again, [s. xxv.] “ Veniens post hæc S. Endeus ad mare, videns ibi *piscatores* quæsit ab eis pro se et suis pisces. Qui respondententes dixerunt: pisces ad nos a mare de *Arann* venerunt, et tibi