

THE EARL OF ESSEX'S ENTERPRISE FOR THE RECOVERY OF ULSTER.

THE history of an entire country can never be well written, without a searching analysis of the component parts. Whenever a full and philosophic history of Ireland shall be compiled, the annals and fortunes of Ulster will enter largely into the general scheme; and a remarkable episode, the Earl of Essex's gallant enterprise for the recovery of this province for the English, will assuredly attract the historian's attention. The larger the materials at hand, the more perfect will be the summary given of this undertaking:—we therefore publish the following extracts from State Paper documents relating to this notable incident, in the assurance that, although the enterprise occurred in a corner, as it were, of Ireland, and was unsuccessful, its details and circumstances serve to explain some of the darkest passages in the history of the realm. A brief account of Lord Essex's enterprise is given in the Hon. Captain Devereux's Lives of the Earls of that name. The private origin of this undertaking lay in a bequest, by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, to his niece, of land to the value of 800 marks yearly, which land having fallen into the possession of the crown, Lord Essex, as heir of the bequest, obtained a grant of half the country of the Clan of Yellow Hugh O'Neill, otherwise Clandeboy, "provided he could remove all rebellious occupiers of the country thence." This was in 1573. The "king," or principal chieftain of Clandeboy, was Sir Brian mac Phelim O'Neill, whose ancestors had, as he declared, held the country during no less than fourteen generations. A short and sharp war ensued, and was eventually decided in favour of the natives, who banded strongly together; the O'Neills of the East being aided by those of the West, besides commanding the assistance of other clans, and of the Hebridean Scots, who had recently settled in the Route and Glynnns of Antrim. On the other hand, the enterprising Earl had many difficulties to contend with, besides the determined resistance of the natives, in either the covert or open opposition of certain powerful officials in London and Dublin. In short, were a lively history of his enterprise written, by aid of existing documents, it would be found to make a highly instructive and interesting episode in the history of Ireland.

The Earl of Essex himself wrote a summary of his doings in Ulster, a document which was among Secretary Walsingham's papers, and is now bound up in the Cottonian MS. *Titus, B. xii.* This record is a description of the state in which the Earl found the province, and of its condition when he left it. On his coming, he found the town of Carrickfergus in ashes, and the king of Clandeboy commanding the surrounding country, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse and twelve hundred foot. Before his departure, most of these insurgents had perished by the sword or by famine; and the residue, having abandoned the open country, had crept into the adjacent woods.

Carrickfergus, then the only walled town in Ulster, a seaport, and the only town of any

size and importance, was occupied by a community of Anglo-Irish, who did such service to the Crown of England as they were capable of, in resisting that encroachment of the Irish over the Earldom of Ulster, which Lord Essex endeavoured to repel. A paper in *Add. MS. Brit. Mus.* 4763, sets forth "the services of the people of Carrickfergus." Of the condition of the country immediately round the town, we obtain some idea from the following extract. "A Plott for the better inhabiting of Clandeboy, &c.," has this "item":— [*Titus, B. xii., b. 438.*]

"That there be a perambulation made of the ancient lands that belonged to the Town of Carrickfergus, and a portion thereof limited to the Constable of the castle, and the rest to the townsmen. And if they can be induced to separate the same into inclosures, by ditches or dry walls, or rather quicksetts, the rest of the Town would be of more strength, and the cattle belonging thereto would feed in more surety."

Lord Essex's second letter to Lord Burghley, after his arrival at Carrickfergus, is dated from that town on the 10th September, 1573. From it we learn that Sir Brian O'Neill, king of Clandeboy, made professions of loyalty, as a ruse to gain time, until he should be better informed of the amount of the force which the Earl might reckon on. Captain William Piers, who had for some time been governor of the town, induced the Irish knight-king to make these professions: but the governor's subsequent conduct caused suspicion that he also was adverse to Essex's enterprise. Connected in some way by marriage with the Irish chieftain, the English commandant was loth to see the native lord lose his land, and he himself feared to lose certain emoluments attached to his post, such as the cheap farming of some surrounding pastures. And the Irish chiefs in general were furious at a private person like Lord Essex adventuring to conquer their country, as if they were no better than the wretched Indians whom Cortez and Pizarro invaded.

Sergeant-Major Thomas Wilsford writes, 1st December, 1573, from Knockfergus, to Lord Burghley:—

"First, I find this nation moche more intraged with the furie of desperation then ever I have done heretofore; and that, I gather, doth come for that they suppose that this warre is taken in hand by Her Majesty's subjects, and not by herself, which is proved, for that they all are desirous to write or send their messengers to Her Majesty, for they are in dispaire to farm any part of the lands: Secondly, they affirme they are no rebelles, for that they saie it is not the Quene's warre, and that they do but defend their own lands and goods: Thirdly, I find such imperfections in our contrimen, that through longe peace had in England they have lost the minds of soldiers, and are become weke in body to endure the travaile, and miserable in mind to susteine the force of the enemy; and this, no question, doth grow of the fatte, delicat soil, and long peace had in England; and therefore nothing more necessarie for a Prince that mindeth to keep his countries and dominions, then some exercise of warres. This nation begin to know their owne force and strength, and have learned the use and sorts of weapons, and their places of strength and advantage, and therefore high time

to repulse this rebellious nation, for fear of utter ruin of the whole; and yet I think this north part is the quietest place of Ireland. My Lord, it is not a subject's purse and countenance must do this: it must be Her Majesty only."

The writer praises the Earl's "noble and honourable intent" in the enterprise, with which "he will go through, if it cost him his earldom." In the Earl's instructions for Mr. John Norreys and Mr. Edward Waterhouse, on their going over to court, 2nd December, 1573, it is stated that "all the freeholders and inhabitants of the Ardes be gonne out and joined in rebellion with Nele MacBryan Fertoughe, especiallic Ferdouroughe MacSeneshall and the rest, saving Savaige, chief of that name, Denys Smythe, and James MacJeniacke Savaige; which Denys Smythe and James Savaige, under colour of keeping in, doe more hurt by sending of victualls and intelligence unto the rebells than the rebells themselves can do."

The chieftain who wisely staid at home, seems to have been "Raoulyn," or Roland, Baron Savage, lord of Lecale and the Ardes, two countries which, being very fertile, were often attempted to be wrested from him. "MacSeneshal" was the Irish appellative of his family, because his forefathers had been hereditary seneschals of the earldom of Ulster. Ferdoragh was afterwards drawn over, and received the command of a company. Denys Smythe was, probably, of the old stock of this name. On the 2nd December, 1573, the Earl of Essex writes thus to Lord Burghley:—"My verie good Lord,

"I doo greatlie rejoyce that the revolte of theis rebells doth not make your Lordship to fall into any misliking of this enterprise; for my part I assure your Lordship I like it a great deal the better, and I doubt not but with God's favour in short tyme to overthrowe all theis rebells, yf so be Her Majesty will throughlie countenance this war, or otherwise it will cause divers which would submit themselves unto her, to confederate with the rebelles againste me. There is a gentleman come unto me by sea from O'Donell, who bringeth me word from his master, that both he and all the Lords of the Irishe will not be persuaded that this war is Her Majesty's, but take it to be such an attempt as Mr. Smithe undertook, and allege that if it were the Quene's, it should be undertaken by her Governor, whom they term the Justice, and they say that if the war were the Quene's they would thereunto yield what assistance they could, which they will never do to myself, or to any other Englishman, against their own nation. This opinion, my Lord, is of necessitic to be gotten out of their heads, and I see no other way more readie for the doing thereof than this, that I surrender my grant, which I have of the moiety of this countrey, and become an adventurer, for so many as I now have, or as it shall please Her Majestie to like of, the government which I have to cease, and the war to be followed by the governor of the realm, whom I will be contented to obey and follow, and with my own band to serve him as a private man. I desire of your Lordship that this alteration may be made with speed, and so shall both the Irish be satisfied and the soldiers here be kept from mutiny, who do alledge that they came hither, not of any duty, but of good will, onlie borne to myself, and therefore

are bound no longer to tarrie than they themselves list. Another cause also maketh me to move this, for that I fear me there will not be any governor of this realm, which, while I have this authoritie in Ulster, will be a friend to this enterprize; and whosoever shall be governor, if he shall not throughlie countenance it, he may in one month, with his onclie countenance, overthrow all that in a whole year I shall have achieved."

On the 8th December, the following testimony was obtained against Piers, the incarcerated commandant. The witnesses were two of the Earl's officers, namely, William Morgan, provost-marshal, and George Carleton, treasurer, both of whom expected large grants in the new settlement. The prisoner had sent his son, William, to these officers, to ask for an interview, and they relate what he proposed, as his "plot to ease all Essex's griefs." He spoke of the great want the Earl is in, and said he foresaw the likelihood that the service would not last long at the Queen's charge, whereof she would soon be weary. "The way to proceed would be to disperse Sir Bryan's companies in members, so that the Earl could at any time easily distress them;" meaning that the several septs under the one chieftain should be settled on certain estates far apart from each other, so that not only they could not readily combine, but could be easily beaten in detail. This advice was good. For carrying it out, Piers asked to be made seneschal over the country of Clandeboy, and recommended that "much be made of the Magines within this town, who are foster-brothers to Sir Bryan." Further he advised that the Earl should pretend to have a dislike to Captain Malbie, and then send him away, probably because the Irish were particularly apprehensive of this uncompromising soldier. Who the "Magines" were is a question: but the strong tie of fosterage, which made foster-brothers the firmest supporters of a chieftain is curiously illustrated.

The last paragraph in the above despatch from Lord Essex refers to the ill-will borne by the Viceroy, Sir William Fitz William, to the expedition. The dislike was natural, for the governor-general could hardly approve of a nobleman of rank and reputation being sent with an independent command into Ireland. But nothing could be more honourable than the course proposed by the Earl, who, seeing the difficulty, offered to serve under the Deputy.

As for the native princes, they were outraged at the irregular proceeding of being made war on by any other than the Queen's Vice-gorent.

Among the Irish chieftains who regarded the enterprize for the recovery of English dominion in the north with more or less apprehension, was one of intermediate politics, Sir Hugh Magennis, lord of Iveagh, an exceptional man, since the assurance his conduct gave of his willingness to adopt English laws and habits had gained him the confidence of the government. His predecessor, Sir Donnell, had been recommended to be created a baron, and he himself hoped to attain this dignity, and with it a patent of lands in fee to himself and his heirs. Yet the repeated attempts to expel the lords Savage, his neighbours and kinsmen, from the Ards, the O'Neills from Clanaboy, and

the O'Hanlons from Orior, made him tremble for his insecure position as seigneur of the Magennis's country. Thus disquieted, he addressed the following letter to the Earl of Essex:—

“My most humble duty unto yo^r. honor premysed. This most humbly to let your honor understand that Brean McPhelym and O'Hanlon and all those that were my neighbours in tymes past dose wrythe and send unto me dayly, saynge that my landes wear geven away as ther landes, the w^{ch}. I gave them no credens nor wyll not, for I do suppose and judge that they wold have me to be an utlawe, as they are, the w^{ch} I wyll not graunt unto hit whylst lyf doth lest, tho I had but my boy and my horse, for her Majesty wyll I serve all the days of my life. Wherefor most humbly besechyng your honor to wrythe earnestly unto her majesty, that I moyght have my landes unto me and unto my eyres male at her Majesty's handes, that I moyght be bold and wylling to serve her Majesty faythfully and diligently. For your honor doth know that hit is heard for me to do the forsayd rebels harm, for that I am not sure of my landes, and I do not know what tyme I should be dryven to the lyke myself, unles that I may be assured of my contrey. And being assured of hit by your lordship in wrythinge under your hand, with promys to get hit me of the Queene, wyll do your honor such serves that all the Irys men in the north shal not do the lyke, letting me have thre hondrith footmen and a hondrithe horsemen to ly at the Nywery to go with me whensoever I do call upon them, with a sertayn of myne owne horsemen and kern in wages, and in gevinge me thus ther shall not be one dwellyng betwyxt me and Castell Thoym, nor Dondagon, that shall do your Lordship any hurt; the which, if it would please your honor to question with Capten Malby, he knowes that I am able to do hit, and that your honor wyll trust my serves the better, I wyll put my son unto your honor if it wold please your honor to take hym. And for those men that I do request in wages, your honor may confer with the berer thereof Mr. Danyel, and to send me your honor is mind in all things by hym, for he is my trusty frend, and what your honor wyll have me to do, let this berer end hit with your honor. Thus most humbly besechyng your honor of your accustomed goodness and mercy to further me in my forsayd sutes as my most trust is in your gracyus honor. And I shall pray and serve for your honor during lyfe, according my bunden duty, and so I moste humbly take my leave with your honor, from Rathfrellan, the xii of December, 1573.”

Your Honour's most obeydent and lovinge subject,

H. Magneisse.

Postscript. “Whereas your honor wrothe unto me by Mr. More for a cesse of beefes, your honor shal understand that my lord deputie hath sent unto me for a cesse unto hym; and not only dyd his honor send for it but also dyd rere hit from me, the which I had rather to bear your honor is cesse than any man else in this land, but your honor doth knowe that I am not able to beare ii cessys, and if I wear, your honor is cesse wold I gladly bere much soner than any els.”

The good Irish knight was not dispossessed, but lived in honor at Rathfriland; is mentioned

by Marshal Bagenal, in 1585, [see *Ulster Journal*, vol. ii. 47,] as "very civil and English like;" and was then member of parliament for the county.

Articles, dated 22nd January, 1574, were entered into between the Earl, as Lord Governour General of Her Majesty's Province of Ulster, and the "Gentlemen Adventurers for the taking of Land, nomynating their severall seats, and for the better settling of the countrey, the suppression and expulsion of the rebelles, and bringing them to Her Majesty's obedience." By this instrument, it was agreed "that the inhabiting upon the Rynge or Cyreuyte of the Contrey by the Sea Coste, the Bann syde, the Logh syde, and so from thence by the edge of Kilultogh downwerd to the Lagan, was meetest to be first done. The reason is, that the inhabitants upon the borders will not only keep out any foreign enemy, and those of Tyrone, but also bringing theis of the country into a narrow straight shall, in the space of two years, overthrow them or force them to come to obedience." Among the adventurers was Mr. Barnabe Goch (Gough), a kinsman of Lord Burghley's, and who, in a letter to his Lordship, dated 2nd February, gives a sorry account of the progress of the enterprise. For himself, sea-sickness on the voyage over, and the barbarous medical treatment he received on landing, had given him "the country disease," dysentery. The ministry, or clergy, that came over to Ireland, had, at the first touch of illness and hard diet, run home. Of the town of Knockfergus he observes, "it is filthy, and fit to breed syckness, as it is already well visited; but with a littell charge might have been made a handsome thing." The writer says, "I was a fortnight among the Scots of the Glens, buying wheat."

Proposition being made to reduce the number of soldiers in the pay of the Crown, employed in this expedition, the Earl writes to Lord Burghley thus, on the 9th February, 1573-4:—"In my opinion it is a wrong way to reform Ireland to diminish the forces, and I think it not the way to save the Queen's charges, for I see noe cause why every countrey in Ireland should not mayntein the Queen a nombre of soldiars. Theise Irish Lords, which make their countreys to mayntein twentye thousand soldiars, (I speak of the least,) to warre against the Queen when they list, sholde be made to pay English soldiars to serve Her Majestie, and their idle kernes hold to their work, or to the gallows."

The following document contains some curious particulars.

1574. No. 82. "A Noate of the severall Seates for placyng of the Gentlemen Adventurers for their pryncypall dwellyngs. As also reserved for her Majestie and the Earle; beginning at Glanarm, and so compassing the Ring or Circuit, by the Sea coste, the Banne syde, the Loghe side, &c., and so downward by the edge of Kilultogh to Bellfarst, and from thence to Carigfergus, and so by Oulder- and the Glynnes. fleet to Glanarm againe aforesaid, with the distaunce of myles from place to place.

Glanarm, William Morgan, of Penycoyde; distant from the Redd Bay eight miles.

The Redde Bay, the Lord Rich, distant from Burnay Dall eight miles.
 Burnay Dall, Henry Knolles; distant six miles from
 Market Town Bay, upon the countreys of Mombray and Cary. William and John Norryce in
 Mombrey; Michael and John Cary in Cary, distant three miles from
 Whitehead, whereupon standeth a castell, not appointed, distant six miles from
 Dunsarlike, Mr. Champroune, distant four miles from
 Dunluse, Mr. Francis Kelleway, distant four miles from
 Portrush, two of Mr. Treasurer's sonnes, distant four miles from
 Colrane, reserved for the Quen, distant two miles from
 James MacHenric's Cronock, called Ynyshe Lockan, reserved to keep that ford in the Banne, and
 not appointed; distant eight miles from
 Ballybony, Ralph Bourchier, two miles from the Banne, and without the Circuit; five miles from
 Castell Toome, and two from
 Bryan Caroghe's Cronock upon the Bann, reserved for footmen, to keep that ford of the Bann,
 distant five miles from
 Castell Toome, George Carleton, distant six miles from
 Masseryn, reserved for the Quene, distant ten miles from
 Belfaste, reserved for the Queen, distant four miles from
 The Bottom benethe the Cave, having two little pyles, Mr. Barkley and Mr. Bruncker, distant four
 miles from
 Carigfergus, for the Quene, distant four miles from
 The mouth of MacGuye's Ilande, and the yland, for the Quene, distant four miles from
 Oulderfleete, for the Quene, distant seven miles from Glanarm, as aforesaid."

The "cronocks" above mentioned were the curious wattle houses, (*crannog*) constructed on wooden piles, forming, as artificial islands, the peculiar strongholds of the northern natives, and being directly opposite, in their inaccessible character, to what Lord Essex intended to build, namely a trading town, on a then almost uninhabited site near the ford called Belfast. The Earl had soon perceived the importance of the position of this ford, which had been commanded, in earlier times, by a castle erected by Lord Mandeville, but which had fallen into the hands of the O'Neills of Clanaboy, and the possession of which had been confirmed by government to more than one of their chieftains. Sir Brian MacPhelim, its occupant at this time, seems to have received such a grant, for this remark occurs in another MS. of the same date, [No. 80], entitled "the Circuit of Clandiboie:"—"Note, that it is not requisite Sir B. MacP. have Belfast, but that the Queene doe build it." This is to say, that Her Majesty should construct the castle which it was proposed to re-erect there, and that the present possessor should be expelled. The Irish prince indeed, was but as an owl in the ruins of Lord Mandeville's tower at Belfast, coming out at night and

living like a bird of prey. Some names of lands near Belfast still preserve ideas of the age when this rude chieftain resided in the old fortress: thus, there is *Skiogoneill*, or O'Neill's thorn, under which he may have held his court; and *Ligoneill*, where his hounds were loosed for the chase.

On the execution of Sir Brian, the chieftaincy of the clan was assumed by a son of another Brian, called Erto, or properly, *Faghartach*.

Articles between the Earl of Essex, and Neil, son of Brian Erto O'Neill, chief captain of Clanaboy, 7th July, 1575.

“Articuli de quibus concordatum est, inter prenobilem Comitem de Essex et de Ewe, &c. et Neilanum O'Neile, filium Barnardi Erto, quoad submissionem ab illo factam officiumque suum erga excellentissimam regiam maiestatem prestandum, ut sequitur.

1. In primis, dictus Neilanus agnoscit excellentissimam regiam majestatem Elizabetham, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Reginam, fidei defensatricem, &c. naturalem suam principem supremamque dominam suam esse, atque, utpar est subditum officiosum facere, sue celsitudini sese totum submittet et devovet.

2. Item, pollicetur quod non hospitabit aliquem proditorem aut rebellem in patria sua, verum si qui stalis venerit in patriam suam, cum primùm fuerit inde monitus à Gubernatore aut Commissionariis ab ipso assignandis, operam dabit illos apprehendere, et ad gubernatorem aut commissionarios mittere.

3. Item, quod non patietur furta aliqua fieri per aliquem ex inhabitantibus patriæ suæ, nec ex alia patria illuc adduci, quin ille aut furem et predatorem tradet gubernatori vel commissionariis, aut furta vel predas sic factas quadruplo compensabit.”

By the 8th article, O'Neill gives, as hostages, the son of Gilduff Gilmore, the son of Maurice Gilmore, and the son of Owen Gilmore.*

In consideration of the above articles, the Earl, as Captain-General, constituted the said Neil to be principal captain, or chieftain, within this country, including all the land between the river Lagan to the confines of Coillultach, and from the borders of MacArtan's country to the confines of Coillwarlyn and the borders of the Ardes, for which O'Neill was to render, as rent sec, yearly, one hundred cows.

The last document to be laid at present before our readers is the muster-roll of a “hosting” which was intended to be directed against Turlough Lenough O'Neill, chieftain of Tyrone, 8th March, 1574.

“The Plot for this entended journey, and agreed upon by the Lord Deputy and Counsail.”

* These “Gilmores” were the MacGilmores of Holywood, and descendants, as it would seem, of the O'Mornas, celebrated in Ossianic history,

HORSEMEN.	
The Viscounte of Gormanston, the Baron of Delvin, and the Plunketts, . . . . .	. cxx.
The Baron of Slane and Thomas Fleming of Syddan, . . . . .	. xl.
O'Relie, with his sonnes and kynnesmen, . . . . .	. lx.
Captain Harrington's bande, . . . . .	. xl.

cclx horsemen.

KERNE.	
The Viscounte of Gormanston, the Baron of Delvin and the Plunketts, . . . . .	. cc.
O'Reley, with his sonnes and kynnesmen, . . . . .	. ccc.
The Baron of Slane and Tho. Fleming of Syddan, . . . . .	. c.
The Kerne which I have in wages with Tho. Flemyng of Syddan,	. c.

vii^e kerne.

“This kerne, with the horsemen above written, amounting to the full number of nine hundred and sixty men, must be in one company, to passe through the Brenny and MacMahound's country and so over the mountayne of Slewe Baha, and from thence to Arte MacHenrye's, and then to the meeting place, at the fower wastes, (query, wayes?)

HORSEMEN.	
The Earl of Kyldare, . . . . .	. c.
The Baron of Dungannon, Turlogh Brasiloghe his sonnes, Phelemy Roe his sonnes, and the Captain of Ferney, . . . . .	. c.
MacGennys, . . . . .	. xxiiii.
Capten Malbie's bande with his other horsemen, . . . . .	. lx.

cciiii^{xx} iiii horsemen.

KERNE.	
The Baron of Dungannon 200, Turlough Brasilogh his sons, Phelemy Roc his sons 360, MacGennys, 100.	} 6 ^e lx Kerne.

“This kerne, with the horsemen above written, amounting to the full number of 944 men, to be another company, and to passe over the Blakewater at the forde of Benburb, and so to Slewe Gallen, and so to the meeting place at the fower wastes, (query, wayes?)

HORSEMEN.	
The Earl of Essex of his own Bande,	lx.
The Countie of Lowth and Edward Moore,	xl.
The Master of the Ordinaunce,	xx.
The Treazorer,	xx.
The Marshall,	xx.
	CLX horsemen.
FOOTEMEN.	
The bands newly arrived under the leading of Captain	
Morgan and Captain Aeres,	ccc.
Captain Moore,	c.
Captaine Dering,	c.
Captain Cornwall,	lx.
	v ^c lX.
KERNE.	
The Marshall,	cc.
The kerne which I have in wages in Lecale and the Duffreyn,	cc.
	cccc kerne.

“Theis footemen and kerne, with the horsemen above written amounting to the full number of 1120, must be in one company with the Lord Generall, and must pass over the Blackwater at the ford of Benborb, and so to the meeting place of the four wayes.

The whole number appointed to meet in this jorney, amounteth to	
in horsemen,	vii ^c xxiiii.
In footemen and kerne,	M M CCCXX.
	M M M XLIIII.”

This intended warlike expedition was not set on foot. The above documents which we publish in order to exhibit the character of the State records relating to Essex's enterprise, are but a fraction of them. A few of the noble undertaker's letters are printed in Devereux's *Lives of the Earls of Essex*. The nature and contents of the entire mass will be indicated in Mr. H. C. Hamilton's Calendar of the Irish State Papers (vol. 2), from which the following is extracted, as brief notices of the most remarkable.

In consequence of private letters from the Earl, the Queen, on the 30th March, 1574, decided on revoking him, and "lapping up the matter" with Turlough Lynagh and Sir Brian MacPhelim; yet, on the same day, her Majesty sent instructions to the Viceroy to march against Turlough, his cattle being weak; and ordered Essex to reduce the insurgent knight. Accordingly, the Earl, writing from his camp near Belfast, on the 13th of May, describes his proceedings, which had the effect of inducing Sir Brian to join him, and to promise to build Belfast (castle) as if for himself, and then deliver it to the Queen's use. The league between the colonizing nobleman and the native prince did not, however, last long. It appears by Sir Henry Sydney's narrative (published in this *Journal*) that the Earl's conduct was "intempestive"; and it also seems that he was induced by want of victuals to attack the Irish chief, who owned a vast herd of cattle. On the 14th November, the Earl writes, from Down, of "Sir Brian's treason, and league with Turlough Lynagh to combine in rebellion"; and how Sir Brian, his wife, and two of his captains have been made prisoners, 115 of his men slain, and 3,000 head of his cattle taken. To justify this step, certain informations against the knight are enclosed; and further, the Earl sends a copy of a proclamation he had issued, in justification. The unfortunate chieftain was executed at Carrickfergus. [See MacSkimmin's *History*.]

On the 14th March, 1575, the Queen was fully resolved to go through with the enterprise of Ulster; but the next day she "thought it doubtful." These vacillating counsels checked the spirit of the gallant Devereux, so that in the following October her majesty wrote to him, that she "expects him, being made of the metal he is, not to fester reproachfully in the delights of the English Egypt, where many take the greatest delight in holding their noses over the beef-pots." This brave nobleman hardly needed the admonition, for, in the year previous, he is described as "careless of reckonings, pleasures, fare, and lodging; and forward in the field to endanger his person." His accounts, which contain many curious items of expenditure in Ulster and elsewhere, prove him to have been recklessly expensive; and probably it was this failing which incapacitated him from succeeding in his costly enterprise, and, by its consequences, aggravated the disease that, on the 22nd September, 1576, ended his life.

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