

CAMPAIGN JOURNALS
OF THE ELIZABETHAN IRISH WARS

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CAMPAIGN JOURNALS OF THE ELIZABETHAN IRISH WARS

Edited by
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INTRODUCTION

It is surprising some of the things that were written down in the course of crown military operations in Tudor Ireland to form part of the official wartime record. Late in the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603), while preparing an expedition into Wicklow where native rebels were showing in strength, the English viceroy and commander-in-chief of the queen's forces received a message that had nothing at all to do with his impending mission. Instead it dealt with the fate of an Irish baby girl. She had been born 'dead, with two heads upon one body' and her little corpse had been sent to Waterford for medical examination. The message is entered, briefly summarised, in the viceroy's journal of service.¹ Markedly less poignant, but equally unrelated to the waging of war, years earlier an English commander stationed in Connacht had casually noted in a campaign report how each year about fifty English boats could be found fishing 'for salmon, herring and all kinds of sea fish' off the north Mayo coast. The observation was more suited to a travelogue, yet it too was written into a formal military record.²

Unusual details are also logged about the behaviour of the crown's officers and soldiers during the campaigns in which they participated. For example, of the seniormost officers, it is recorded that the viceroy, Sir William Russell (chief governor 1594–7), enjoyed country walks, and would sometimes leave his command to 'take the air' or 'walk abroad', often alone – something that plainly alarmed his servants and attendants, and endangered his person.³ Of the provincial commanders, records suggest that the notorious military governor of Munster Humphrey Gilbert (colonel 1569–71) invested much nervous energy in a Spartan-like show of courage and sternness when serving in the province: no surprise there, except that the same records also indicate that in private he suffered from stress and anxiety brought on by his exertions. On reaching Kilmallock after a hazardous journey from Cork in which he had brought reinforcements through miles of enemy territory it is noted down that 'the care and trouble of this service threw the Colonel in a fever'.⁴ The physical and mental strain of service could also fall heavily on junior officers, particularly those given command of remote garrison outposts. In July 1580 the stress of holding out for months in the middle of Desmond country proved too much for Captain Roger Butler, the English constable of Adare. A contemporary journal states that as the main detachment of the royal army passed by his fort, marching away towards Limerick, he 'wilfully slew himself' with his handgun.⁵

¹ LPL, MS 612, f. 89r.

² Malby's discourse, n.d., Apr. 1580 (TNA, SP 63/72/39).

³ LPL, MS 612, ff 7v, 16v, 43r, 91v.

⁴ Captain Ward to Cecil, 18 Oct. 1569 (TNA, SP 63/29/68).

⁵ LPL, MS 597, f. 67v.

Stillborn babies, English fishing fleets, raw nerves, suicides, country walks: varied and diverse fragments of information, yet all somehow reflective of English service in sixteenth-century Ireland — and, crucially, all preserved among a distinct group of official documents that record that service, the campaign journals that were kept for the commanding officers in the field.

By any measure the journals are of major importance to the history of the period. Most obviously, they comprise a key source for the many armed conflicts between royal forces and native rulers that occurred almost continually across the country from the middle of the century until 1603, and which formed the central episodes in what is usually termed the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland. Journals survive for many of the most important of these regional wars. They record the royal expeditions into central and north-east Ulster against Shane O'Neill and the Antrim MacDonnells with which Elizabeth I's reign commenced; the Munster operations against James FitzMaurice and the earl of Desmond that occupied successive administrations during the middle years of the queen's reign; the conflict in Connacht with the Clanricarde and Mayo Burkes that followed; and, lastly, the numerous 'hostings' and 'journeys' undertaken to combat the turmoil sparked by Tyrone's rebellion and Spanish invasion plans in the final years of the reign.

For anyone with a serious interest in military affairs the journals are essential reading. They provide precise chronologies for major crown expeditions, something not always attainable in other sources. They describe the routes the royal forces took and the terrain through which they passed as they proceeded through friendly or neutral areas into enemy country. They record the sites chosen for field camps and the efforts made to maintain supply lines over ever-longer distances, the impact of rough weather on combat conditions and communications systems, and the sheer difficulty of making a rendezvous, reaching a destination, or simply locating the enemy in a landscape that often enabled concealment. The journals are especially valuable for the light they shed on the internal structures of the royal army in the field, specifying such things as the total numbers of troops deployed and their captains, the proportion of cavalry to infantry and of gunners to swordsmen, the division of responsibility among lesser officers, and (no small matter) the contribution of native auxiliary forces and their leaders as guides, specialist fighters, or simply reinforcements, as operations progressed. And, of course, the journals portray the cut and thrust of combat itself. They provide vivid first-hand descriptions of battles and skirmishes on land and sea, beside rivers, forests, and mountain passes, and involving castles, crannogs, and other defensive enclosures. They also deal with atrocity, supplying unforgettable testimony to the wilful slaughter of non-combatants — women, children, and the elderly — and the deliberate inducement of famine which punctuated the wars. All told, for the sheer fascination of perceiving the Irish wars as they were experienced, from within the ranks of Elizabeth's army, the journals are second to none.

However, the campaign journals are a significant primary source for other reasons too. Not least, they record senior crown officers such as the viceroys and provincial governors performing a wide range of tasks besides waging war; that is to say, they are professional work journals as well as campaign journals. In Elizabethan Ireland, because of the

frequency of military conflict, crown government and administration was necessarily often itinerant, literally government on horseback or government by campsite. When the viceroy went on campaign routine administration followed him. Messengers galloped back and forth between his field headquarters and Dublin carrying letters to and from the members of the Irish Council remaining in the capital to oversee government in his absence, or to and from the queen and Privy Council at Whitehall, other crown commanders, local lords and landowners, merchants, purveyors, Exchequer officials, and all manner of litigants and petitioners seeking favours or other concessions. Often these letters and messages dealt with military matters, but nearly as often they did not. Appointments to secular and clerical positions, leases of crown land, authorisation of payments, redress of grievances, settlement of disputes, arrangements for public receptions, licences to trade or travel: all of these matters, and more, required the personal sanction of the viceroy, and sometimes of the provincial governor, and seeing to their implementation could demand much time on campaign. The journals record this in considerable detail, directly and indirectly. As such they are a valuable additional source for Tudor administrative history.

Indeed in some cases the administrative data they contain is unique. Sir William Pelham's journal, covering the period from late October 1579 until early September 1580, contains a number of land grants and appointments to church benefices, school teaching positions, shrievalties, and martial law commissions that are not recorded elsewhere, and concludes with page after page of 'custodiams' of rebel estates and property that were dispensed by Pelham to his servants and clients in the final weeks of his rule. This latter feature is noteworthy. Because custodiams fell within his prerogative power as viceroy they are barely noticed in other records of the crown estate at this time; their listing in his journal throws a welcome light on the distribution of wartime spoils among various crown servitors and viceregal hangers-on, an otherwise mysterious subject.⁶ Regarding the emergence of an English-style presidential administration in Munster it is only in the campaign journal of Lord President Drury, ostensibly reporting his expedition against dissident elements in Tipperary and the Limerick borders, that we know virtually anything about his gathering in of arrears due on crown lands, spiritual livings, escheats and wardships, or the revenues he raised through fines imposed at court sessions across the province in 1578.⁷ Viceroy Russell's journal, meanwhile, is almost as valuable for study of conciliar government as of military affairs early in the Nine Years War, including as it does details of more than 340 meetings of the Irish Council between August 1594 and May 1597. Many of these meetings are nowhere else recorded. The same source is also remarkable for the information it contains about Protestant religious practice, recording more than 70 Sunday services that Russell attended, mostly in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, but also while with the army in the field in places as far apart as Enniskillen, Dundalk, Galway, and Rathdrum. In many cases these entries not only name the officiating clergy, but also record whether one or two sermons were preached, with the names of the preachers, information which, again, is rarely noted in other sources.⁸

⁶ For example, LPL, MS 597, ff 41v, 43v, 53v, 64v, 66v, 69v–74r.

⁷ Drury's report, 24 Mar. 1578 (TNA, SP 63/60/25).

⁸ LPL, MS 612, *passim*.

More broadly, the campaign journals are also significant as evidence of a major European trend, namely the burgeoning bureaucracy and service culture of Renaissance states generally. Across Europe and the New World, beginning in the sixteenth century, leading government servants began to be required to make regular reports of service to the regimes they served, in line with the increased monitoring and policing of officials that accompanied the growing centralisation of state authority. Understandably officers involved in military operations were especially prone to such demands, the better to curb excessive expenditure, keep track of their movements, or rein in their ambitions. The fact that so much is known about incidents along the vast Habsburg/Ottoman frontier, for example, or about Spanish exeditions in North, Central and South America, is partly a result of increasing official reportage.⁹ Interestingly, as in Elizabethan Ireland, the usual medium for reporting military endeavours in these far-flung theatres was a *journal*. Though an old word which formerly had applied to ecclesiastical or accountancy matters, meaning a mere record of daily occurrences, ever since the rise of humanist learning and classics-based education during the later 1400s it had come also to signify a record of military happenings, the format of which was directly derived from the writings of Julius Caesar, in particular his journals of the Gallic Wars, *De Bello Gallico*. Besides echoing the practices of Ancient Rome and its greatest soldier, to sixteenth-century commanders the journal was an attractive form of military record because, Caesar-like, it enabled them to place *themselves* at the centre of the action while recording their experience in chronological order.

Provided, then, that they are examined carefully, it might be anticipated that the various journals of the Elizabethan Irish wars will contribute to a better understanding of the political and cultural impulses behind the production of military records during the Renaissance period, and enable consideration of the *mentalité* of the growing cadre of high-born well educated senior office-holders whose services facilitated greater government authority and territorial out-reach.¹⁰

For all their obvious importance, the campaign journals of the Elizabethan officers in Ireland have remained a markedly underutilised resource. They have never been written about, or even recognised as a distinct group of documents among the government papers of the period. With just a single exception, describing the journals kept for the second earl of Essex during his short viceroyalty in 1599,¹¹ not one of the

⁹ One of the best sources for the duke of Alba's Portuguese campaign of 1580 (besides Alba's own correspondence) is the journal kept by a German noble officer under his command, the 'Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau'. This has been printed in J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (2 vols, Madrid, 1952), i, 1253–92. Among the multitude of journals and diaries of New World expeditions see George Hammond and Agapito Rey (ed. and trans.), *Narratives of the Coronado expedition, 1540–1542* (Albuquerque, NM, 1940); Herbert Priestly (ed. and trans.), *Luna papers: documents relating to the expedition ... and conquest of La Florida, 1559–1561* (2 vols, Deland FL, 1928); Albert Schroeder and Dan Matson (ed. and trans.), *A colony on the move: Gaspar Castano de Sosa's journal, 1590–1591* (Salt Lake City, 1965).

¹⁰ For further discussion of this point see David Edwards, 'Fashioning service in a Renaissance state: the official journals of the Elizabethan viceroys in Ireland', in Brendan Dooley (ed.), *Renaissance now!...* (Oxford, Bern etc, 2014).

¹¹ L.W. Henry, 'Contemporary sources for Essex's lieutenantcy in Ireland, 1599', *Irish Historical Studies*, xi (1958–9), pp 8–17.

CAMPAIGN JOURNALS

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1. ANTRIM AND THE SACKING OF RATHLIN ISLAND

A HERALDIC JOURNAL, 10 AUGUST–21 SEPTEMBER 1557

TCD, MS 581, ff 86r–89v

INTRODUCTION

When Elizabeth I¹ became queen on 17 November 1558 the English crown had been pursuing a policy of military expansion and regional conquest in Ireland for a number of years. Besides campaigns in the Midlands, southern Leinster, and along the Shannon in the west, crown forces had made a particular effort to seize control of eastern Ulster, where fear of French and Scottish influence had been exacerbated by the growing power of the Gaelic Scottish dynasty, the MacDonnells, in Antrim. Elizabeth would inherit this war (and the others too) together with its chief prosecutor, Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd earl of Sussex², who serving as English viceroy had taken personal charge of army operations, with mixed results.

The following document records one of the most ambitious of Sussex's campaigns, undertaken fifteen months before Elizabeth's accession, in August 1557. Initially directed against James MacDonnell³ and his brothers, the campaign was greatly complicated by the defection of Shane O'Neill⁴, which created a dangerous second front in the province and necessitated a division of the crown forces. The earls of Ormond and Kildare and other loyalist Irish lords took the western shores of Lough Neagh, while Sussex and the English levies proceeded along its eastern side from Belfast and Carrickfergus north to Antrim town, before rendezvousing somewhere beyond Bellaghy on the Bann. The Scots proved elusive, but supported by a small fleet that had arrived at Coleraine, Sussex despatched an invasion force to Rathlin on 3 September. In the course of two days the island was sacked and many of its inhabitants killed.

The attack damaged but did not break MacDonnell power: as Sussex headed back towards Dundalk the tail of his army was waylaid by some of the MacDonnells near Killwarlin wood. Sussex returned briefly to Rathlin in autumn 1558, when forced to abandon his planned assault on the Western Isles by bad weather (This latter landing

¹ *ODNB*.

² *DIB*.

³ *DIB*.

⁴ *DIB*.

has caused the 1557 attack described here to be misdated to 1558 in some historical accounts).

There is only one extant version of this journal: TCD, MS 581, ff 86r–89v. Like similar accounts of Sussex's campaigns of 1556, 1557, 1558 and 1563 that survive elsewhere, among the Carew Manuscripts, it was composed by the Athlone pursuivant-at-arms, Philip Butler. The TCD journal may have been Butler's original working draft, as it is quite roughly written. Regrettably, the poor identification of local placenames that is common to each of his other journals is also a feature of this one, and is compounded by the poor condition of the manuscript, which is badly frayed and torn in places.



A JOURNEY MADE BY THE EARL OF SUSSEX, LORD DEPUTY

Tuesday the 10th of August my Lord Deputy departed Kilmainham and came to Mo[rnington],⁵ Mr Draycott's house, and there lay that night.

Wednesday the 11th of August my Lord Deputy removed from Mornington and came to Drogheda, and there banqueted in the Tholsel with the Mayor and his co-brethren, and from thence to Dundalk and there remained a little space, and from thence his lordship came to Latahdagh [Laghtaggard] by Raskeagh, and there camped this night. In the plain is a long stone with Irish letters written.

Thursday the 12th of August, my Lord Deputy rode to Sir John Bellew's house called Dala...⁶ from the camp to dinner, and after dinner came to the camp again, and the Earl of Kildare [and] with him the Viscount of Baltinglass, the Baron of Delvin also. And there stayed camp this night. And this day came the Earl of Ormond to the camp.

Friday the 13th of August the Earl of Desmond came to the camp to my Lord Deputy, and departed to Dundalk to tarry for his men. And this day Edward Welsh, one of my Lord's clerks, was sent against Shane O'Neill and returned on Saturday and brought with him fifty beefs to my Lord Deputy.

Saturday the 14th of August the Earl of Desmond departed from the camp home to his country for fault of his men, which came not.

Sunday the 15th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Laghtaggard by Raskeagh and came to Maghery Carran,⁷ and camped in the plain by the river called Urmanecan beyond the great hill of stones called Maghery Carran a.. Cloughelan and this night came in Magennis unto my Lord, and brought with him ...⁸

⁵ Most of the word is missing with the right-hand margin worn away.

⁶ Margin worn away.

⁷ According to Ulster placename specialists there are a number of *machaire* names recorded in the territory of Iveagh/ *Uibh Eachach*, but Maghery Carran is not among them. It probably lay north of Newry.

⁸ Margin worn.

Monday the 16th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Maghery Carran 2 miles beyond and came to Ballagh Tryhan upon a hill⁹ woods, a mile-and-a-half from Dromore Yveagh. This day departed my Lord Deputy his army into two parts, his Lordship to Knockfergus, and the Earls of Kildare and Ormond to Armagh, and with them were all the Irish army of noblemen the Viscount of Baltinglass, Barons of Delvin, Dunboyne and Dunsany, and Mr Edmund Butler, son and heir to the Lord of Cahir; and also O'Carroll, O'Molloy, Mageoghegan, with divers others as the bands of Dublin and Drogheda. Also this day we came over a little river called Arna....¹⁰ whereon is a broken bridge of timber and a little beyond it is a little island called _____ which this day we came by also in the country of Magennis. And this day also departed the Lord Primate from my Lord Deputy. Rode the day with the Baron of Dun[gannon]¹¹ unto the castle of Briekhill where is a lough and an island¹² in the same, the which my said lord took the same and gave it to the keeping of the said Baron of Dungannon. And ere ever they would have yielded the island my Lord Deputy sent for the great piece of ordnance and harquebusiers. And that being come to the lough side, and they perceiving the great piece, they yielded up the place and came to my Lord and submitted themselves and was pardoned. And within that island was a boy of Sir Nicholas Bagenal's.

Tuesday the 17th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Ballagh Cryhan and came to Donnewarne by the wood of Kilwarlin, and this day his lordship came through two little passes, the one called the pass of Dromore and the other the pass of Kilwarlin in the country of Rory Magennis.

Wednesday the 18th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Ballagh Cryhan and came to Ullagh Idyrne upon a hill by the wood of Dirry, and this day we came over a river called Garry ~~Dirry~~ Clough. Also this day we came through a great pass called ... Ballagh I Tyrrenawe, and by the camp runneth a river called Urma Lagan. At the other side of the camp standeth a chapel called Dromah. This day came to my Lord Ranall O Boy in the country of Orran Rowe in the country called Lagan.¹³

Thursday the 19th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Idyrre and camped underneath Banne Vaddegan [Cave Hill]¹⁴ in the plain by the seaside *and a monastery called Moessary Reagh*.¹⁵ And this day we came through a pass the which was by Belfast called Balle Valle Galle; also through another pass called Ballagh Belfast. This day came into my lord Brian McPhelim Backagh.¹⁶ And this day we saw part of the Scottish creaght¹⁷ going upon the hills before our eyes. And my Lord Deputy with

⁹ The margin is worn. *Ballagh Tryhan* is a defunct local minor name. It has been suggested that it is perhaps *Bealach an tSrutháin*, the route or way of the stream.

¹⁰ Margin worn.

¹¹ Margin worn.

¹² Loughbrickland, Co. Down.

¹³ Most likely this refers to Alastair, leader of the MacRanald Boy sept of the MacDonnells of Lecale.

¹⁴ *Binn Mhadagáin*, or Cave Hill, the mountain to the immediate north of Belfast.

¹⁵ The words in italics are inserted into the MS.

¹⁶ O'Neill, of Clandeboy.

¹⁷ Anglicised form of the Gaelic *caoruigheacht*, meaning a great herd of cattle and the herdsmen who tended it.

Mr Treasurer¹⁸ and Mr Marshal,¹⁹ accompanied with our horsemen rode up to the hill of BanneVaddegan beholding the cows, and from thence to another hill from whence we might see the great lough called Na [Lough Neagh], and a castle of Hugh McPhelim Backagh²⁰ called Eden Dongear²¹ 12 miles from BanneVaddegan. The lough is reputed to be 25 miles of length and 10 miles of breadth. Also this day my Lord rode to Knockfergus [Carrickfergus] and to the friary and there offered, and in the said friary is buried Hugh de Lacey and Hugh McNeill Oge,²² and at the other side is buried the MacQuillans; and from thence his lordship went to the castle and there dined with Captain Piers,²³ constable, and from thence to the camp. And in the way his lordship met with Owen Rue and his men being 200 or 3 reputed, which came to the camp that night. And there remained Friday all day being the 20th of August. And this day chanced a fray betwixt certain of the galloglass²⁴ and MacRannell Boy and his men, and certain of the galloglass and on the other part also was hurt. And at this camp remained all Saturday all the day being the 21st of August.

Sunday the 22nd of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from under Banne Vaddegan and came to Mykellagh, a little beyond the churches of Kallaghe and the foundry of Kallagh. And this day we came over a great ford or river called Urma Mylinny, the water of Moylinny, in Clandeboy, which is reputed to be the best part for grazing of cattle within the county of Ulster. And this day we came over another river called Owen Voyeh. Also this day Mr Treasurer went to see an old town and friary by the great lough called Lough Na, the friary called Massereene and the town called Enthrowe. Also this day came to my Lord Deputy Hugh McPhelim Backagh and one of the Savages, Seneschal Savage; and came to the camp and there remained that night. And Monday the 23rd of August his lordship with Mr Treasurer and Mr Marshal rode from the camp and the footmen with him to the woods and to the great Lough Na and spoke with Moriarta O'Neill's men of Lough Beg, and that night his lordship returned to the camp again. And on Tuesday his lordship rode forth again to cause the passes to be cut, and so returned to the camp that night. And this day was hanged our soldiers' boy ____ for stealth.

Wednesday the 25th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Kallogh and came to Mollogh Connlo upon a hill by the Bann. This day we came to the Lough Beg wherein is an island and a chapel therein, and a ward of Hugh McMoriertagh O'Neill. Also this day we might see the Castle of Toome which the Red Earl caused to be built. My Lord Deputy at his coming to the Lough sent word to the ward thereof which after long pro....²⁵ and divers shots the said ward came forth and submitted themselves

¹⁸ Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86) (see *DIB*).

¹⁹ Sir George Stanley.

²⁰ Also an O'Neill of Clandeboy.

²¹ Perhaps Edenduffcarrick.

²² An O'Neill leader of an earlier period, not to be confused with Hugh McNeill Oge O'Neill who was reported to be in revolt against the crown after breaking out of Carrickfergus jail in late 1556.

²³ William Piers (d. 1603) (see *DIB*).

²⁴ Gaelic professional soldiers, usually of western Scottish ancestry; they were renowned for their use of a long-handled axe that was ideal for combating cavalry.

²⁵ Margin worn away. The next letter is either an 'f' or an 's'.

unto my Lord Deputy, who after their submission pardoned them, and gave the island and the lough in custody to Brian McPhelim who put therein a ward. And after that my said Lord Deputy departed to the camp. And ere his departure his lordship sent one of the said ward in message with a letter to the Earls of Ormond and Kildare. And immediately my said Lord Deputy came to the camp where came to him 2 friars with a letter from the foresaid Earls whose cap we might perceive at the other side of the lough, and once being proved on both parts the Earls immediately sent a boy as messenger unto my Lord Deputy. Also this day Mr Treasurer and Mr Marshal marched on foot with the footmen, eschewing their horses to be left for their ease at mead[ow], and my Lord Deputy and Captain Girton with his band to attend on my Lord's person, had the voward and Mr Francis Agarde the rearward. Also this day we came over a great river called Marna _____,²⁶ and remained at this camp on Thursday and Friday. And on Thursday being the 26th of August my [Lord]²⁷ Deputy, accompanied with Mr Treasurer, Mr Marshal and Mr Francis Agarde, and all the footmen and their captains, marched all one sort through the great pass of Ballahe Toullohe and came to the Bannside, and there remained till word came from the Earls, and answer being sent to them again; and there also dined, and after returned to the camp. And that night was Captain Piers and Captain Girton sent to Knockfergus, and on Friday morning came one Connell McPhelim Riagh unto my said Lord Deputy. And this morning Mr Marshal and a band of horsemen rode forth with 2 bands of footmen towards the island called Inish Roe...; the ward thereof fled their rome once hearing the Englishmen with their drums in the wood, the which island was given in custody to Connell McPhelim Riagh, who put therein a ward. And on Friday at night came a friar and a priest from Coleraine with news that our ships were there arrived. And at this camp remained my Lord Deputy this night.

Saturday the 28th of August my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Molloh Tullo and came to Bella ne Clouehoe.²⁸ And this day my Lord Deputy came through a little wood by the river of Moyiny,²⁹ the which runneth to the great Lough Na, also his lordship came by another river called Rouyll which runneth into the foresaid river of Moyiny and also divides Clandeboy and the Route. Also this day my Lord Deputy rode this day [*sic*] to see an old broken castle the which the Red Earl built called Clough Donnay or Castle Donnay; and beyond it is a little lough and an island called Lough Donnay. And this day coming to the camp we came by the lough and island called Lough ne ...rviernis, the which the Baron of Dungannon was prisoner the space of 18 weeks when that he and his father the Earl of Tyrone was taken by the Scots. Also this night came to the camp Captain Piers and Captain Girton from Knockfergus and brought with them 300 beeves. And this night came James McHenry of the Route unto my Lord Deputy; also this night died McGillyn Magennis and was brought to Coleraine.

Sunday the 29th of August, my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Bella ne Clough and came to Caslan Lonegan by the Bann side. The said castle is broken and did

²⁶ Blank in MS: presumably the River Maine.

²⁷ MS torn.

²⁸ Perhaps Aghnecleagh.

²⁹ Maine.

sometimes appertain to one James McHenry who was this day our guide. And this day we came by the Church of Vonny where is a church and a castle the which ~~is the Bishop's seat~~ was one Bryan McElloff's [McAuliffe's] which was a famous cleric who built the same, and by it runneth a little river called Aver glass calla... Also this day came to my Lord Deputy the Earls of Ormond and Kildare, the Viscount of Baltinglass, and the Barons of Dunboyne and Delvin from the camp on the other side of the Bann. And news came of the drowning of one Edmund O'Molloene, captain of 40 gunners of Muleck who was drowned at an island the which the foresaid earls was besieging called Inish le Crosse, which was after won by a pallon [plan] devised by my Lord Deputy and the Marshal sent for the taking of the said island.

Monday the 30th of August, my Lord Deputy, Mr Treasurer, Mr Marshal [and] Mr Agarde rode forth to peruse the country and returned this night to the camp again. Also this day came to my Lord Deputy O'Cooner [O'Connor], McQuillan, and the Lord of the Outer Isles' men. And this day was proclaimed general pardon to all the inhabitants of Ulster.

Tuesday the 31st of August, my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Caslan Longhane and came to Balla na Trahah [Portballintrae] by the seaside a little from Skerris Portrush, a little from the ____ of Boyes.³⁰ This day we came over a river called Urma Boyears, and from thence my Lord, Mr Treasurer and Mr Marshal rode to the castle of Downesirck [Dunseverick] which standeth upon a erick or high rock, the sea coming unto it, and a ... of the sea cometh betwixt the Erick or high rock. The said castle appertaineth to Richard McQuillan who was expelled out of the same by the Scots. Beneath on the right hand of the said castle is an island called Dunnorouisk, and right over against it is the Rathlin, which is an island of Coll McConnell's being 5 miles of length and almost a mile of breadth, and beneath it is Kyneglle and then Moyembare near Callens: and so to Carrye and the Route going into it. And in a vault under the rock adjoining unto the said Dornsirck is an image of wood.

And at this camp remained Wednesday the first of September. And this day came Captain Piers per barque by the camp and did shoot off certain pieces of ordnance. Also this day died and was buried one of the captains of the galloglass called Phelim McNeil Boy, and at his going to burying the trumpets and the drums did sound. And at the end of the camp was divers shot of guns and the great piece shot off in like case for his sake, and certain of the captains went with him to see him buried.

Thursday the 2nd of September my Lord Deputy, Mr Treasurer [and] Mr Marshal rode forth from the camp, and ...³¹ proclamation made for the apprehension of ...³²

Friday the 3rd of September, my Lord Deputy, the earls of Kildare and Ormond, Mr Treasurer, Mr Marshal, etc., rode from the camp, whereat the Earl of Ormond, Mr Treasurer, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, with ~~Captain Lyppate~~ Captain Portas, Captain

³⁰ The modern village of Bushmills, on the River Bush?

³¹ The bottom line of page is worn away.

³² Worn away.

Sackford, Captain Bostock and their men entered into the ships to go to the island of Rathlin, and to sack the same, and there remained till Sunday at night spoiling and killing as many as they might come by or get out of the caves, both man, woman, child and beasts. And in the said island is a great cave of ____³³ and two prealy³⁴ waters or ponds of freshwater, as to me was reported.

This day, being ye Friday the 3rd of September, my Lord Deputy rode likewise to the White Head, in the which is a castle, and to Castleton³⁵ where is also a friary, as to me was reported. And this day Richard McQuillan killed 2 or 4 Scots in the Glynns as he himself reported and brought two of their heads to the camp on Saturday the 4th of September, which day my Lord Deputy with the Earl of Kildare rode forth to the castle of Dunshesk to see or hear news of our men, where they might perceive the ships lying hard on the shore on the island. And this day came news of the slaughter of 3 of our men which was sent to Knockfergus, being out in one company, which as yet are not returned, being of the band of Mr Lieutenant. And Sunday in likewise my Lord Deputy with the Earl of Kildare, the Viscount of Baltinglass, [and] the Barons of Delvin and Dunboyne rode forth in like manner to hear news from our men out of the Rathlin. And this night after midnight came from the Rathlin the Earl of Ormond, Mr Treasurer, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Captain Piers, and the footmen. And this night died Foullan, ancient bearer to Mr Treasurer, the which was buried on Monday at afternoon: and being carried out of the camp with Mr Treasurer's ancient and Captain Warren's, and with the trumpets and drums sounding with the great shot of harquebusiers, and the great piece shot off also at his departure from the camp, and accompanied with divers gentlemen and captains with divers the soldiers unto the place of his burial. Also this night went forth the most part of our footmen, and Mr Marshal, Mr Agarde and Clan Phelim Barbas³⁶ in our journey toward Molleh Tolle and over the Bann. And this said night after midnight we had a false alarm.

Tuesday the 7th of September, my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Balle ne Trahe and came to 'Rouen le san balle', a little from Dunsirsk where is a little river called 'Owen san balle'; and here remained Wednesday all the day. And Thursday morning Mr Agarde and Brian MacPhelim came to the camp, and this night also came Mr Marshal and all our men, as well footmen as horsemen, hence, and brought with them the creaghts or prey of Hugh McMorrorth [McMoriertagh] and Alexander Carragh and the Scots amongst them. And the Baron of Delvin lost one of his horsemen, the which was slain, and certain servants of my lord of Ormond's, Dunboyne's ...³⁷

³³ Blank in MS; the great cave is mentioned in Ormond's early seventeenth-century Latin panegyric, rendered as *Dirgi caverna* – 'Dirgus' cave' (see David Edwards and Keith Sidwell (ed. and trans.), *The Tipperary hero: Dermot O'Meara's Ormonius (1615)* (Turnhout, 2011), pp 262–4. This may be *Dearganán* or *Derginan Point*: 'point of the red nook or chasm' (Dónal Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'Place-names of Rathlin', *Ainm* 4 (1989–90)); alternatively it could be either 'Bruce's Cave' or *Uamha na bhFireann* 'cave of the males', the modern placenames of the two main caves on the island.

³⁴ 'Pearly' waters may be the intended meaning.

³⁵ Ballycastle, Co. Antrim.

³⁶ Presumably Clan Phelim *Backagh* is meant.

³⁷ The bottom of the page is very badly worn, with at least one line of text missing. Ormond's panegyric (see note 33 above) does not mention any fighting after the earl's return from Rathlin.

And at this camp remained Friday all day, and on Friday at afternoon came Mr Belfeld out of England by sea, and brought with him news of the great overthrow that the French king had by our king at the siege of St Quentin,³⁸ which news and letters received my Lord Deputy caused all the army immediately to be armed and kept in battle array and sort, and so cast our ... the market place with the sound of trumpets and drums and shot of ordnance, and in the midst of the market place kneeled down and had *Te Deum* and certain lauds said to the praise of God and the rejoicing of the good news, and afterward gathered about again... the Englishmen and midst of them my said Lord Deputy declared himself on high the copy of the news that was sent to his lordship out of England. And in likewise after that his lordship caused all the Irishmen to graze about and gather together and there caused the same news to be likewise pronounced in Irish: and then the sound of trumpets and drums, and the great piece of ordnance to be shot off, and then after shot of all the arquebusiers, to the great rejoicing of all.

Saturday the 11th of September my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Dunshesk and came to Balle are³⁹ by the river of Boyes [Bush], which river we came over this day, our camp being but a little from Drum Ark. Also this day we came over another river called Dervonge which runneth into the river of Boyes, and the river of Boyes runneth into the main sea hard by Balle Trahe. Also this day my Lord Deputy by misfortune his horse fell laid down in the great river of Boyes and his lordship on his back. And this day O'Kane came to my lord and his lordship took of him his pledge, which pledge fled from the camp that night, and in the morning he put in his other son, a little boy, as pledge, the which my lord accepted. And then O'Kane departed, and Cormo Ballogh's son, and Sir Christopher to Calle odoe.

Sunday the 12th of September my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Balle Are and came to Ballecoulleny bac...⁴⁰ in the country of Clonahorfyn in Clandeboy, over the river of Morne [Maine], in a plain hard by the said river. And this day we came over the said river twice, and through two passes, the one called Ballekellemory, the other called Balleconoselas, the which divided the Route and Clandeboy on this side. Also this night came news how that James McHenry fled over the Bann to the Scots.

Monday the 13th of September my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Ballecoullny Backath and came to Croscannall, a little beyond Kells on a hill and one long stone a little beyond the camp. And this day we came over a great river called Karade, and over another river called Oven Clanconry. Also this day we came by a broken castle called Connell,⁴¹ the which was a bishop's house. And this night went Hugh McPhelim from the camp to his creaght. Also this day we came through a great pass called BalleMclanny Brick.

Tuesday the 14th of September my Lord Deputy removed his camp from Croscane[II]⁴² and came over Banne Vadegan, and there remained Wednesday, Thursday and Friday,

³⁸ The battle of St Quentin occurred on 10 Aug. 1557.

³⁹ Armoy?

⁴⁰ Word worn away in margin.

⁴¹ Connor, Co. Antrim.

⁴² Edge of MS worn away; words given in the brackets following are likewise worn away.