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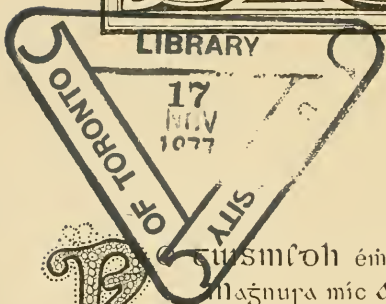
Glóda Ruafó Uí Donnghall.

L I F E

OF

HUGH ROE O'DONNELL.

1895



RÚS Mí'Oh éim clann aohamha vlla Dhomnaill (Aóth mac Mağnupa mic Aótha óicc mic Aótha Rúaroh mic Néill ġairb mic Toihyróealbaiğ an fíona, &c.). An Inghean Dub, ingln Semair mic Alaxanðair mic Eoin Chathanaig meo Dhomnaill, oo pol Cholla uair mic Eachúac Domiléim, roba bairpeitig vúa Domnaill, & pob yróe maðair an pobtarí amlğhva via éloimv. Iriact anmanna a rrlipcal ilri nupio ġline Aóth Rúaroh, Ruóiraiğe, Mağnup, & Cathbairi.

Óála an ceirómeic vithrúe Aótha Rúaró, oo maðóirúe iarí na ġlinemáin po chettoiirí vúa oileamain & vúa learpughav oo faorélanðairb poichenélchairb chenél Conaill ġulban mic Néill, 7 mri bo hiao poim na má po étt eirúe poirí altpiom & oilimáin, aét po ġabrat airí aill oo éenel Eóghain mic Néill, airí robaó vrlrb leó oo mağhav ní vóe maó via poiríroh co hoiop mflóma. Ro ġhabroiim iaríom poirí rár & poirí poiribairt airí aoi épotha & chaoimvóemáa, alaiv & ġilabha, lğna & ġiğna, ionnfair & oirvóairtair. ġo po llt a ainm & a allaó po éóicc cóiglvóairb Epeann eioiri ġhallaibh & ġaoirvóalairb éivú ma ríú iamice tarí áliir mácúachta, & po choimhliion chíğs bliáóna vóecc. Aét cuar immoio oo vanaiaib Duiblinne aóvbélor & ġrúlvóar an méicrin, & bairlv oo puimlvrlt occa in a mlinmain na baoi a aithğlin vóepiovocharb rru harthe a anpalav & vioğhalta ġpieri achlvneoil via lltéi co hoiop

¹ *O'Donnell*.—We have given his pedigree and that of Ineen Dubh, pp. xii. and xxx., antea.

² *Foster*.—See p. xxxii., antea.

³ *Puberty*.—The Irish divided life into five periods. *Macdacht* was the second, from the age of seven to fifteen.

⁴ *Provinces*.—*Cuigeadh*, a fifth. It came to mean a province because Ireland was divided into five parts at a very early date. *Keating's H. of Ireland*, p. 52.

⁵ *English*.—*Gall* was the name given to all strangers, the Gauls being the foreigners best known to the ancient Irish.



A FAMOUS progeny sprung from O'Donnell,¹ (Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the wine, etc.). Ineen Dubh, daughter of James, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach MacDonnell, of the race of Colla Uais, son of Eochaidh Doimhlen, was the wife of O'Donnell, and she was the mother of the most renowned of his children. The names of their sons in the order of their birth were Hugh Roe, Rory, Manus, and Caffir.

As for the eldest of these, Hugh Roe, immediately after his birth he was given to be fostered and brought up to the high-born nobles of the tribe of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, and it was not these alone that got him to rear and foster,² but some of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, took him, for they were sure that something would ensue through him if he reached puberty.³ Then he continued to grow and increase in comeliness and urbanity, tact and eloquence, wisdom and knowledge, goodly size and noble deeds, so that his name and fame spread throughout the five provinces⁴ of Erin among the English⁵ and the Irish,⁶ even before he passed the age of boyhood and completed his fifteenth year. Moreover, the fame and renown of the youth were reported to the foreigners⁷ of Dublin too, and they reflected in their minds that there would not be one like him of the Irish to avenge his wrongs and punish the plundering of his race if he

⁶ *Irish*.—The people of Ireland are known by various names derived from their ancestors. They are called Milesians from Milesius, Gadelians from Gaodhel, a more ancient progenitor. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 162.

⁷ *Foreigners*.—Danar, properly a Dane or black foreigner, is often synonymous with robber, pirate, ferocious person, without any distinction of nation. *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. xxxi; London, 1867.

flíghrúata. Ro hairneiríoch dóib beór sup mo éairinguiríet páirde & lucht
 iemhairneirí & tiorchananta na toúochairíhe co ttiocparóh a ionnraimáilríumh
 no béiríó mhréabúairíeasú forriaromh & fori ionn Erieanh ari élna, reib mo
 thingéalh Columb Cille mac Ferólmíoríh naomíáiríh ainiua do chenel
 cconailh & flíh lán do iarth & do veolairíeacht an Suiaríetta naomh bail
 atribhairt:

Tiocparó flíh an língha aihí,
 Do beia gólmairíh in gácl tíh,
 Bíró é rin an donn óiáiríha
 Ír hairó .ix. mbliáiríha in a Rígh.

Atbeiríat forírlíro combaó é Cáillín iaráiríha mo thairinguirí.

fol. i. b. Aiaríll anh dān. Ro oimíaríghíet na góill cletta eiríomh & an íaríla úa
 Néill (Aoríh mác Fíghíorícha mic Cuinro bacairíh mic Cuinro) do eiríaríomh
 accoríarígh & accaríaríaríó fíh ari oile in a naghairí uairí ioba ólíghíuríóe
 oia thuirítríóiríomh ó ehlín ímáirí, & ba hí veairítríurí an Aóiríha Rúaríh
 iemíeberíetmarí ioba comíamh & ioba céomíunteei don íaríla úa Néill,
 Síoban ínglíh uí Dhoimíaríll a comíamh.

An tía Néill mo hoiríonlíó íclínnur forí éenél nEogáin íeachtíet iuamh
 & oia ngoiríetí anmíamh an tan rín (Toirítríóíbach Lúneach mac Néill
 Conallíarígh mic Aihíet mic Cuinro mic Eníu mic Eogáin) ba iuaríochíuríe do
 ghalláiríh don chúirí rín, & níh bó tuálairígh íollamíaríó a ílaríthuirí la
 heiríuríet 7 aníobíiaríet, & no bíóiríomh do ghíerí occ íonníach & occ
 ítaríóparíetíet an íaríla uí Néill fíurí an íuríetí & fíurí an íeanaó ari oimíh a
 aithíuoghíetá íairí, ari ari ímne baóiríóe hí ttuile a íarthá & a aóiríe an tan
 rín, & ba íccíaríth ímóíghíla & íuríccíaríve oarí ehlín a éenéol. Ba hairíe
 rín mo gháiríat góill áetá eíaríet Dúiríblínníe íamíuríí & ímíthomíomí ve
 (ghíuríóe iuaríach óóiríomíh gó rín) ari an ccaríaríaríóirín baóí óó fíh éenél
 cconailh, & do íuimíeníetíet occaríh comba íorí oacómíal & oíomíforíetá fíh

¹ *Columkille*.—This prophecy was made not by St. Columkille, but by St. Caillin. It will be found in the poem in which the Saint foretells the kings who would descend from Conall Gulban. See *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 152. On Caillin, see p. xv., antea. We have given St. Columkille's descent from Conall Gulban at p. xii.

² *Earl O'Neill*.—E. of Tyrone. His name recurs very often in the course of this work. We have given his pedigree at p. xlv., antea.

³ *The O'Neill*.—After the chief's inauguration, he was no longer called by the name given him in baptism. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 34.

was allowed to reach manhood. It was told them too that prophets and people with foreknowledge and predictors of futurity had announced that there would come one like him who would cause disturbance among them and in the island of Eire also, as Columkille,¹ son of Feidhlimidh, the famous holy prophet of the Cinel Conaill, a man too full of grace and of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, promised where he said :

There will come a man glorious, pure, exalted,
Who will cause mournful weeping in every territory ;
He will be the god-like prince,
And he will be king for nine years.

Some say it was Caillin of Fenagh who made the prophecy.

Moreover, these same English were afraid that he and the Earl O'Neill,² *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach, son of Conn, would join in alliance and friendship with each other against them, for the Earl was much attached to his parents for a long time ; besides, O'Donnell's daughter, named Joan, the sister of Hugh Roe, of whom we have made mention, was Earl O'Neill's spouse and first wife.

The O'Neill,³ who was inaugurated chief of the Cinel Eoghain some time before, and who had the title then, *i.e.*, Turlough Luineach,⁴ son of Niall Connallach, son of Art, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan, was submissive to the English at that time, and he was not able to govern his principality owing to his weakness and infirmity, and he was ever accusing and complaining of the Earl O'Neill to the Lord Justice⁵ and the Council through fear of being deposed by him, since he was in the flood of his prosperity and (in the prime) of life then, and he was a shield of protection and defence to his tribe. Wherefore the English of Dublin⁶ conceived suspicion and an evil opinion of him (though he was obedient to them up to that) on account of this friendship of his with the Cinel Conaill, and they reflected that the capture of Hugh Roe would enable them to

¹ *T. Luineach*.—See p. xliii. antea. 'He was a lord prosperous in peace and war, till old age and infirmity came on him.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1984. The Queen intended to make him Earl of Clan O'Neill, but the patent was not perfected.

² *L. Justice*.—This is used here and in the *Annals F. M.* as synonymous with Lord Deputy, Lord Lieutenant. See Ware's *Antiquities*, p. 170.

³ *Dublin*.—Athcliath, *i.e.*, the ford of the hurdles. O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 269.

oiligheadó foyi chenél cconail & Eóghain a shighabailfoin an dóda Rúaid ceni baol acht in a shiolla buice an ionbaid fín. Conaó ar na foctair iemhaise na pceuparatt na goill chicta a cuimpeach ció na fín na fo foicht lair foibao an nlicth na omnaighictt do tocht ar a loip. Ba hamlaioh foicaomnagair an shabail hupin. Ro hioilamaisloh baie mbelouib mbraflangaiocch (im feill Michil do hronniad anno. 1587.) ino Ach cliaé cona foimno foimnata fhuimighigh go naitiomib ioighaile & go tpealmaid tpoia leo fín hupicclaié & iomguin ino aghair a neapceapad, zona fpoitain fiona & coimna fín cpeic 7 conniad ino on clnoaigeachta tuf an ttaipititir eill ngabala foyi dóoh úa nDomnoill. Ba tina aipie an turtir Sepi lohn Paipit 7 na comairle ar éina na gniithe ino fín co hionfoilgíre. Baid a oio an turtir a beit fín laim Rígh Saxon icclitour foyi inoy mbanba co tuió teoia mbiaóan. O na baol gac aóme ba haóailg ino eallia lair an luing iemhaintu, & iar ttoidecht na gaoit anolir gac nóipeach, foy na shluair an mbairie ahoit ar éian Duiblinne amach ino iomóomain an aighin, gup na féolartair fead inno Ettair buó thúach laim éle fín hoi neieann co iuacht co fínchuan Súilize hi cpeich conail mic Néill Ro aipir ainpíre fo shéomair Ratha Maoláin amac foyi fan bpaipuge. Cairtáil eipíre baol foyi up na tpaíga. Ro fothaigló ecclair fín hup 7 oippienn do Mhairie máair an éomveó hi coimfoctair do, & ba mfnat aipíreie fín hioataigíre laó 7 élepiú na ceipio coimfoctur. Lá cloimib tSuibne coniótaé 7 aiaétt na aicpeabpat an mbloirh éipe baol fín himealboio an chúain gup an moip móip, 7 aiaill cenmothá inoyin. Do éenél Eoghain mic Néill dóib iar mbunúar, 7 a halpan do éochatari an

fol.2. a.

¹ *Gunwale*.—This is the portion of the boat called *beal* in Donegal.

² *Wine*.—‘The Captain had this command given him that he should proffer his wines to be sold, being sack, which the Irishmen love best.’ *Life of Perrott*, p. 279.

³ *Beer*.—This was the common intoxicating drink of the people of northern Europe. It was made from barley, wheat, or oats, and flavoured with aromatic herbs.

⁴ *Deputy*.—Lit. by the hand of, hence the substitute for another.

⁵ *English*.—The name Saxon became

familiar to the Celtic inhabitants of Britain (and of Ireland too earlier) than the Anglican name. Hence Saxon, not Angle, has been the name by which Teutonic immigrants in Britain (and English immigrants in Ireland) have been known to their Celtic neighbours from that day to this. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 13; London, 1870.

⁶ *Banba*.—Ireland is often called by the names of its most famous kings, but particularly it has three names, Eire, Fodhla, and Banba, three sisters of the royal blood of the Danaans. *Ogygia*, p. 13.

⁷ *Rinn Edair*.—The promontory of Edar;

extend and secure their sway over the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain, though he was but a mere youth at the time. Wherefore, for the aforesaid reasons these same English planned his imprisonment before he should succeed in effecting what they feared would come about by his means. That capture took place in this way. A vessel was got ready, with black gunwale,¹ deceptive, precisely at Michaelmas in the year 1587, in Dublin, with a murderous, odious crew, having implements of battle and weapons of war for defence and attack against their enemies, with abundance of wine² and beer,³ for traffic and barter to trade with, to see if they could get an opportunity of seizing on Hugh O'Donnell. By the advice of the Lord Justice Sir John Perrott and of the Council too this was done secretly. The Lord Justice was appointed to be the Deputy⁴ of the English⁵ king in supreme authority over the island of Banba⁶ for the space of three years. When every implement that was desired was ready in the said ship, and while the wind was coming straight from the south, the vessel went out from the harbour of Dublin into the deep sea and sailed past Rinn Edair⁷ northwards, keeping the coast of Ireland on the left till she came to the old harbour of Swilly,⁸ in the territory of Conall, son of Niall. She stopped there opposite Rathmullen⁹ out in the sea. This castle was on the edge of the shore. A church¹⁰ was founded there for the divine office and mass in honour of Mary, mother of the Lord, close by, and it was a well-known resort for most of the laity and clergy of the neighbourhood. It was built by the Clann Swiny, and it was they who inhabited the portion of territory along the edge of the harbour as far as the ocean and others besides this. They were of the tribe of Eoghain, son of Niall, by descent,¹¹ and they had come from Scotland

1587.

he was chief of Eachrad shortly before the Christain era. The Bailey lighthouse, Howth, stands on the rinn.

⁸ *Lough Swilly*.—An inlet of the sea running twenty miles due south into Donegal.

⁹ *Rathmullen*.—A village on the west shore of Lough Swilly. Here the Earls embarked when leaving Ireland in 1607. See *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Church*.—The Carmelite monastery and church were seized by Knox, Protestant

bishop of Raphoe from 1610 to 1632, and made into a residence. O'Sullivan gives an account of his persecution of the Catholics. *Ilist. Cath.*, p. 286. See also De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 617; Col. Agripp., 1762, who gives the proclamations issued by Chichester at his suggestion.

¹¹ *Descent*.—See p. xix., ante. Keating ridicules Spencer's statement that they are originally of English descent. See preface to *H. of Ireland*, p. xx.

oú rin & iobtaí iat ba tuairgníde cacha do muḡ óconail ino aḡaí a
 ḡceapatt.

Tuirtéachta na luinge impháirílm hi toraig. Iarí tuiréachta vi
 gur an ecúan forí ionchaib Ratha Maoláin aḡaíl acruibiamarí, vo ielccit
 a reola ríu lárí 7 ioríuḡrít a hangcaíreáda vía himphoríat hi cōmḡómaib
 an chalaí. Vo comílat vream vía foríunno forí tíu íarí tain ino eccorcc
 clinnaiḡeádo fo veílḡ ríóda & caonchoimíarí, 7 ḡabaitt forí bḡaé & taircecládo
 forí cḡeice 7 conḡiaḡo ríur an ecách vo cuiríḡarí forí a ccinno, & aḡaíat
 combaí ríon 7 coríuaim leó rin luing.

O iorí clorí la muiríurí an vúnarí an ní rin in éaríttarí hi foríll, aḡe iorí
 ḡabrarí forí clíuac an ríona 7 an línua immaile 7 occ comíol forí a éle
 combtarí mḡrcca. Iarí bḡorí ríél von cḡuḡ ina ccomḡogur vo ionálat an
 voécum, 7 batarí aḡ ríanol combtarí rúbairí aḡaíl acceli. Iirí vo cían vóib
 ríamíarí conurí turíchaḡo aḡo ua Domínailí ríecht ainmḡarí forí céiríde von
 baile la baorí 7 ieaibḡarí forí a baorírlím 7 forí cuairí macvāceta con
 víuim vóccbarí na cḡiche in a chaomíteḡt. O iorí cloríarí éccin an ní rin
 la haorí an bḡarí imḡoat arí forí cúlarí voécum a luinge. Ro ríaríit
 vaileamíain 7 veogḡarírlída an vúnarí in a ríolḡharí vo cūingearí ríona vo
 na háoríaríarí vup ríangaríarí. Aríblíaríarí naḡ baorí leo ní baḡ mó aḡ
 olvārí ní norí ríuríreḡo an forírlín, 7 nach arí ielccití uaríarí forí tíu vo
 ríaríḡo naḡ aḡin acḡ má no éiríarí uaríarí vaḡḡaríne ina rívoécum von luing,
 fo ḡeḡaríarí arírlíarí 7 aríaríarí voḡo ríuríarí vo ríuríarí aca vía ríuríon.

fol. 2. b.

Iarí ríuríarí ríél vo mac Suiríne (vḡorí an vúnarí, Domínailí) na vaileamíain
 vo vóulḡarí imon ríuríon, ba haḡarí lárí inḡuríon, conrí í aríle vo muḡoírcc
 a ainḡén vó a ríuríarína (Aerí uá Domínailí) vo cōcūiríarí von luing. Ba
 ríaríarí on aḡoḡaríaríarí an ionḡarí rin, úarí in baorí aon vía veḡcomíarí-
 leacarí vía oríaríarí naḡ vía ollamínarí ina chaomíteḡt vo iemíomḡurí na
 vo ríuríarí comíaríle vó, 7 in iuríarí tarí aorí coice mḡlíríarí vócc, 7
 in éaríarí aḡarí naḡ aḡlíríarí an tarí rin. Ba ríamíarí on von aorí baḡ
 vḡuríaríarí batarí ina ríuríarí ḡurí iat ba ríne arí aorí náorí. Iarí cḡurí a
 ccomíaríle von foríunno ainḡaríarí iorí laríarí amach luingíne mḡice vo ríarí

¹ *Leaders*.—Some of this family came to Munster in the 13th century, and settled on land given them by the MacCarthys.

Frequent mention is made of them in *The Annals F. M.*

³ *Hy*.—Or *I*, the plural of *Uu* or *O*, a

to that country. They were leaders¹ in battle of the king of Hy Conaill² 1587.
against his enemies.

As for the ship of which we spoke in the beginning, after she came to the harbour opposite Rathmullen as we have said, her sails were lowered on the deck and her anchors were cast to secure her close to the landing-place. A part of her crew went on shore after a while in the guise of merchants under pretence of peace and amity, and they set to espy and pry about, to traffic and bargain with every one who met them, and published that they had wine and beer in the ship.

When the people of the castle heard this they made no delay, but set off to purchase both the wine and the strong drink³ and to drink together till they were drunk. When the neighbourhood learned the news they assembled there and were carousing until they were merry like the rest. They were not long thus when Hugh O'Donnell came recreating himself, to visit the place in thoughtlessness and sport on a harmless excursion and youthful tour, with many young men of the country in his company. When the spies heard this for certain, they went away back to their ship. The butlers and cup-bearers of the Castle were sent after them to ask for wine for the guests who had come. They said they had no more than what the crew would need, and they would allow none of it to go out to any one, but if some of the gentlemen would come to them to the ship, they should get attendance and entertainment with what remained over to them of the wine.

When Donnell MacSwiny, the owner of the castle, learned that the butlers had been refused the wine he was ashamed thereof. Wherefore the plan which his ill luck suggested to him was to invite his lord Hugh O'Donnell to the ship. It was easy to lead him astray then for there was not one of his wise counsellors, of his preceptors, or of his learned men in his company to direct him or to give him advice, and he was not yet fifteen years of age, and he had not then acquired wisdom and sagacity. It was the same with the thoughtless forward persons who were with him though

grandson. The tribe-name with this word prefixed is often used to signify the territory of the tribe. Introd. to *Top. Poems*, p. 8.

⁴ *Drink*.—Linn is rather a general term for any strong liquor than the name of any particular kind.

fol. 3 a.

¹ *Na dtuath*.—i.e., of the territories. The names of these three districts are still retained among the old inhabitants; they are Ross Gull, Tuath Tory, and Cloghanneely, all in the northern part of the barony of Kilmacrenan.

lived about the beginning of the Christian era. By the aid of his mother he supplanted his step-father, and became King of Ulster. As his reign was one of great renown, chiefly owing to the military organisation of the Red Branch Order, the northern province is often designated as peculiarly his. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 205.

they were older in years. The inexperienced party having taken their resolution, they unmoored a small boat that happened to be on the edge of the shore, and rowed to the big ship till they were side by side. When the people who were in the ship saw that Hugh was among them, they bade them welcome, yet they allowed in to them only a few persons, as they had promised, along with Hugh Roe and MacSwiny, &c. They were served and feasted with a variety of food and drink till they were merry and cheerful. While they were enjoying themselves drinking, their arms were taken from them and the door of the hatch-way was shut behind them, and they were put into a well secured apartment where they were not able to use either skill or valour against their enemies, and Hugh and those they pleased of the people who had come in to them were made prisoners. Meantime, the news of the capture spread throughout the district universally, and the neighbourhood crowded to the landing-place in order to inflict hurt on the deceivers. But it was not easy, for they were in the deep part of the harbour after hauling up their anchor, raising and securing it, and there were not ships or boats to pursue or take vengeance on them. MacSwiny na dtuath,¹ that is, Eoghan Oge, came there like the rest; he was Hugh's foster-father, and he proceeded to offer other hostages and pledges in his stead. This did not avail him, for there was not in the province of Conor MacNessa² a hostage whom they would take in his place, since it was solely to look for him they had come.

As for the ship of which we have spoken and her crew, when they had finished the business for which they had come, and taken with them the most desirable of the hostages and pledges of the country, they went back with the current of the tide until they reached the ocean. They sailed after that with the strength of the north-west wind along the shore of Ireland south-eastwards back by the way they had already come, till they landed in the harbour of Dublin again. It became known immediately throughout the whole city and to the Lord Justice and the Council especially that they had come after this manner, and that Hugh O'Donnell was in their custody. They were glad of his coming, yet it was not at all through love of him, and they summoned him to them without delay that he might be face to face with them, and they proceeded to converse

fol. 3. 4.

aécomáire rḡél úó, 7 ba do éairceleao 7 inéieachao fóir a aipiróib ba mó am
 mo batóiríomh. Fo úeóiró tḡa mo fóiceongḡiáó eipríom do éoir in ecáirḡiál
 comóamḡen clochúó, baíl in bátairí fóirḡelanna mac Míleao hī cummbieac 7
 hī cimbiróecht occ fóiríctim ecca 7 oiréaoó, 7 aḡ aíl óuairḡib na bḡionḡḡáil
 tḡur fanḡatairí an inḡir fecht ḡiáim mo ḡabḡat báir 7 conoalḡar fḡu ḡaoiréala
 ino ḡḡaoó na ḡḡáil tḡur ficeḡt fá úóiró a cḡuochairḡ Saxan do ḡabair na hḡirí
 fóirḡia oibḡimib. Baíó pob aínḡ 7 pob aḡeacc tóile úóir do ló 7 óaoḡ
 ḡirí cāirairí comóúnta imbatairí am bíó occ éccaoíne in imno éctḡalainḡ,
 & occ aḡirḡir in aínḡiróe aḡfóirí no hḡimberḡa fóirḡia eiteḡ ḡállaib 7
 ḡaoiréalaib, & occ ccoirḡecht fḡur na ḡúbirḡtaib no coiccenta & fḡur an
 inoiaich 7 fḡur an mḡimberḡ do bḡíḡa fóirí fóirḡelantḡaib fóirénélḡaib mac
 Míleao 7 na fḡioanḡáil hī ccoirḡimoi.

Íomḡura Aóóá uí oimḡaíl, baóiróe fāimlaró hī cumma chāirí ma
 chuimmbieach fḡu ḡé tḡoḡia mḡliadóan & tḡoḡia mḡir occ cloirḡecht fḡur an
 óaoirḡioirt in batairí ḡaoiréal. Ba tócomḡiáó & ba ḡaláirí menman 7 ba
 fḡimoi aóḡal lair a bíó ionḡur mo baor, 7 nḡir bó aḡ a óaḡ bḡóem aét
 fo bíó an éccuimāinḡ éccomāoḡair imbatairí a chāirḡe & a chomḡuḡiḡe, a
 uḡiáó 7 a ḡiróóirḡ, a nḡimḡóh 7 a naomí eccalḡa, a fḡileaoó 7 a oḡlāimān,
 a fóimāmaḡḡe 7 a oḡieacht fóirí aḡḡḡur 7 fóirí ionḡarḡaoó in aile cḡuochairḡ
 fḡéonón Eḡeann. Úó bíó occa inneḡlḡ 7 occa fḡeḡúaoó do ḡḡer caróe an
 tḡḡur elúó fo ḡébaó. Nḡir bó fḡóainḡ óóríom ón an ní fḡir, aḡ tḡur
 fuccḡa hī cubachairí fóirḡata ḡirí cāirḡiál ḡaoó noróḡḡe oia íomḡoiméct
 conoḡur ficeó tḡeḡ aḡabáḡach. Ba imne baor an cāirḡiál hḡirí, 7 lḡḡḡān
 élaḡ lānóimān líonn uḡcei ma uḡḡimḡeall, 7 clāḡḡoḡḡet comḡlúḡa
 fḡuḡḡe fo fḡichomāirí oḡairí an úime, 7 ḡaḡiáó ḡḡúamāineach na ḡḡáil
 amuḡḡ 7 ḡḡiḡ imon oḡurí oia úḡícomḡéó cona oicḡeaoó aon tāirḡib anunn
 naé amaé ḡan aécomāire oon fḡanlaé alḡimāíó. Aḡ a aor in bí fḡuothairḡe
 aḡ nae fḡaḡḡḡairí fáil fá úeóiró. fecht naon oia mbaoi Aóó con oḡuḡinḡ

¹ *Castle*.—i.e., of Dublin. It was built by Henry De Loundres, Archbishop and Lord Deputy, about 1220. 'It was much beautified with sundry and gorgeous buildings in the time of Sir Henry Sidney.' Holinshed's *Description of Ireland*, p. 27; London, 1808. The Birmingham Tower alone, if even it, belongs to the original building.

² *Fingallians*.—i.e., the white or fair-haired foreigners. See p. i., ante. The word is used here to designate the English who came over before the beginning of the 16th century, some of whom were said to be Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores. They are called by Keating Sengail, the old foreigners. *H. of Ireland*, xv.

with him and ask information of him, and in a special way they observed and searched into his natural qualities. In the end, however, they ordered him to be put in a strong stone castle¹ where the noble descendants of the sons of Milesius were in chains and captivity expecting slaughter and death, together with some of the nobles of the Fingallians² who had come to the island long before and had entered into amity and friendship with the Irish against the English, who came last from the country of the Saxons to take the island from both of them. It was their solace and satisfaction day and night in the close prison where they were, to be lamenting over the hardships and sufferings and relating the great cruelty which was inflicted on them both English and Irish, and hearing of the unjust sentences pronounced and the wrongs and wicked deeds done against the high-born noble descendants of the sons of Milesius and of the Fingallians alike.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, he was, just like the rest, in chains for the space of three years and three months, hearing of the ignoble bondage in which the Irish were. It was anguish and sickness of mind and great pain to him to be as he was, and it was not on his own account but because of the great helplessness in which his friends and kinsmen, his chieftains and leaders, his clerics and holy ecclesiastics, his poets³ and learned men, his subjects and whole people were, owing to their expulsion and banishment to other territories throughout Erin. He was always meditating and searching how to find a way of escape. This was no easy thing for him, for he was put each night into a well secured apartment in the castle for security until the morning⁴ of the next day came. That castle was situated thus. There was a broad deep trench full of water all round it and a solid bridge of boards over it opposite the door of the castle, and a grim-visaged party of the English outside and inside the gate to guard it, so that no one should pass them, in or out, without permission from the party of foreigners. However, there is no watch of which advantage may not be taken at last. One time, just at the end of winter, that Hugh was with a number of his

³ *Poets*.—File taken by itself means a poet, but it was the general name applied to a scholar. Filidecht included the study

of law, history, languages, music, and poetry. O'Curry's MS. *Materials*, p. 2.

⁴ *Morning*.—*Tert*, i.e. the third hour.

fol. 4. a.

¹ *Lagenians*.—This word is derived from *laighean*, the long spear used by the Gauls who came over with Labhradh Loingsiach to aid him in recovering Leinster from Cobhthach Caolmbreag, A.M. 3648. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 186.

² *Cavanagh*.—The tribe of the Cavanaghs descends lineally from Donnell Cavanagh, son of Dermot na nGall, to whom this name was given because he had his education in a place called Cillcaovan, in the lower part of Leinster. *Ibid.*, xxi. There is an old

companions, in the very beginning of the night, before they were put into the well secured cells in which they used to be every night, they planned to attach a very long rope to the window near them, and they let themselves down by the rope until they alighted on the bridge outside the door of the castle. There was a very strong iron chain on the door to draw it out to oneself when desirable. They put a bar of solid wood a palm thick through the chain, so that no one should come in haste out of the castle to pursue them. There was a young man of Hugh's own people awaiting their escape, and he met them after coming out. He had two well tempered swords under his cloak, and these he placed in Hugh's hands. Hugh gave one of these swords to a certain famous hero of the Lagenians,¹ of the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Feidhlimidh Firurglas, *i.e.*, Art Cavanagh.² He was a champion in battle and a leader in conflict. He then covered the flight of the youths through the streets and roads of the town. As for the guards, they did not perceive the escape immediately; and when they perceived that the youths had got off, they went at once to the gate of the castle as fast as they could, for they thought they would catch them instantly. When they came to the gate, it was impossible for them to open it or to draw the gate in; so they set to call to them the people who happened to be in the houses near the gate on the other side of the street. After coming at their call, these took out the bar which was through the chain, and they raised up the gate for the people of the castle. A great crowd of the city people went in pursuit of the youths who had escaped from them. This was not easy, for these were outside the walls of the town before they were noticed, as the gates of the royal city were wide open then. They went after them and leaped over fences and enclosures and walls outside the town until they stopped at the slope³ of the mountain opposite due south. This mountain is long and very wide; it was the boundary between the Irish of the province of Leinster⁴ and the English

church of this name close to Begerin near Wexford.

³ *Slope*.—The Irish word *reidh*, according to Joyce, is usually applied to a mountain flat, or a coarse, moory, level piece of land among hills. *Irish Names of Places*, 1st series, p. 387; Dublin, 1869.

⁴ *Leinster*.—After Ireland was divided into five parts by the Firbolgs, Slainge, son of Dela, and his followers, obtained as their share the territory extending from the mouth of the Boyne to where the Nore, Suir, and Barrow meet near Waterford. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 52.

[illegible]

fol. 5.a.

² *Shower*.—i.e., it was not comfortable.

³ *Phelim O'Toole*. — O'Donovan traces his descent to Oilioll, king of Leinster, who was baptized by St. Patrick at Naas, and whose great-grandfather Breasal Bealach was the common ancestor of the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, MacMurroughs.—*Ibid.*, vi. 1901. This tribe dwelt in Hy Muiredaigh, the

of Dublin. Its roads and ways were numerous, but fear did not allow them to go by the usual roads. Moreover, they did not delay on their way till they crossed Slieve Roe¹ before that morning, though fatigued by the journey and travelling all the night. As they were tired and weary, they went into a dense wood which happened to be on their way, and they remained in it till early dawn. They prepared to go on after that, for they did not think it safe to remain in the wood, owing to the fear and great dread of being sought after and looked for by their enemies.

His flight was not a cloak before a shower² for Hugh O'Donnell, for he could not go on with his companions from where he was, because his white-skinned, tender feet were wounded and pierced by the furze and thick briars, and the roughness and intricacy of the road by which he had come, as his shoes had fallen off his feet owing to the loosening of the seams and ties from the wet, which they had not met with up to that time. It was a great sorrow and affliction to his companions that they had not him with them farther, and as they could do nothing for him, they took leave of him and left him their blessing. Wherefore he resolved after a while, when some of the party had left him, to send one of his people to a certain nobleman of the free-born tribes of Leinster, who happened to be in a castle in the neighbourhood, to see if he could obtain refuge or protection from him. Phelim O'Toole³ was his name; he was a friend of Hugh before this time (as he thought) for he had once gone to visit him when he was in prison in Dublin, and they formed a friendship with each other, whenever either of them should seek the other's aid. So that it was fitting he should go for protection to Phelim on account of that friendship which they had contracted. The messenger went off to the place where Phelim was and told him the business on which he had come. He was rejoiced at his coming, and promised to aid Hugh in every way he needed, so far as he could. However, neither his friends nor his relatives allowed him to conceal or hide him through fear of the power of the law of the English revenging it on him. It became known to them afterwards that he was in the wood, as we have said, and every one who heard it went to look for him,

southern part of the present Co. Kildare. After the English invasion they took refuge in the mountains of Wicklow. O'Toole's

H. of the Clan O'Toole, p. 141. Phelim's territory of Glancullen was given to Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the army, in 1603.

l'róalta la Félim 7 lia b'iaéuib cáe oile oia f'ógbáil'íomh, ar f'airi veiríó leo iao buóveim oia eirgabail & a b'isicé gur an ccaéirais f'oiri eúlaó voéum an t'f'haíó. 'Do g'íóe f'amilaíó. O m'ainiceíomh co h'adé eliaé, iob'tari f'ubairge an f'lnaó im'p'óuain, & vo m'ionpac n'is'f'f'ni & b'is' m'ibice 'oon uile g'iall 7 aiteiri a'p'uila uairíob, & batari buiríó 'oon toicé'f'ni m'o t'at'heuir eúca vo m'óiri. F'ep'ba móri an'ainé'p'úe & ané'cc'p'at'ar 'ó'ó'íomh an c'é'f'na f'ech't ba huille an'f'ech't t'ana'iri a'ri a elúó uairíob, 7 vo b'is'c'a g'eimel g'lairia'iaimh f'oa f'eib ar eum'g'i con'p'ang'at'ar, 7 m'o cu'p'eaó i'p'ri cca'p'eari c'f'et'na, 7 m'o both i'ga f'p'uoé'aire 7 i'ca f'or'p'óim'íé'tt ionnu' ar f'f'li' m'o f'é'op'at't.

fol. 5. b.

At elor co com'óit'c'f'f'ni f'o c'p'uch n'ep'eanh a elú'í'íomh f'amilaíó & a l'ig'abail vo m'óiri. Ro lá f'och't móri f'or' g'ol'í'óel'ib veiríóe, & m'o má'ol'ait't m'f'f'manna a m'ileáó 7 a'ic'c'f'f'na an an'p'aríó 7 c'p'ior'f'ó'a acc'p'aríó acc eloir'p'et't an f'geoil h'ip'ri. Rob'tari iom'ó'a m'ó'g'na 7 m'óim'á 7 m'g'f'na áille uic'ht'g'eala ócc' ou'ba 7 v'é'p'ch'áoi f'o a 'ó'a'g'íon. Rob'tari ile f'ol'f'cl'anna f'oir'c'f'íneoil a'g' l'áim'com'aire 7 acc' ac'aoine co h'm'p'oil'g'í'óe a'ri a aba, 7 m'ri b'ó l'uga veill'ig' f'oiri f'an v'p'uing f'p'ur ambai a ch'á'p'íome 7 a choib'v'e'la'c'ar m'ár m'o lá f'oir'p'an l'uch't f'p'ur amb'á'at'ar a m'p'ol'ta 7 a ecc'p'at'ar. Ba f'oir'óe'í'v'irí v'oir'í'íomh ón uairi m'ob é f'aoile'ac'c'ain na f'och'ar'v'e con'áó t'p'ua v'ur f'io'c'p'ar'v'h a f'p'oir'p'et't on v'ao'p'ie 7 on v'och'p'ia'et'ti v'f'í'm'á'p'ri im'bat'arí ócc' g'all'laib.

Bao'p'riomh f'amilaíó i'p'ri cca'p'eari c'f'et'na f'ot na bl'ia'ó'na g'o v'eir'f'ó g'eim'p'úó vo m'óiri g'o hoir'ó'e no't'cl'ac'c' f'et'ell vo f'onn'p'aríó Anno 1592. An tan m'o bo m'ic'ht'ig la mac na hó'ig'e a elú'í'íomh a'p'p'iaim'ice f'eir'p'ri & a'p'ail' oia á'or com'c'a eill f'oir'p'ri na com'í'et't'ar'ig'ib m' u'p'í'op'ar'c' oir'ó'che m'ua'í'ú vo m'at'ta i'p'ri p'p'ioim'nt'ig, 7 g'at't'ar'v'o m'g'f'm'h'le v'io'v. At m'ag'at't i'ar'í t'c'ain g'ur an f'p'ia'it'te'ac'ó, 7 f'ua'ine'aim' m'io'f'p'ou'a leó, 7 vo m'el'c'c'f'et' m'io'f' l'ar an f'ua'ine'aim' t'p'ep'an f'p'él'c'ig' g'o m'ach't'at'arí g'ur an c'cl'ar'áó c'com'í'ó'om'ain f'op'ic'aoim'na'g'airi m' iom'c'á'c'm'ang' an v'ú'naíó. Ro v'p'ung'í'f'et' i'ar'p'ur'í'óiu f'p'ur an m'p'ua'c' al'lt'ar'p'ac' g'o m'bat'arí f'oiri u'p'ri na c'lar'ac' v'oon t'ao'v a'p'ail'. It'iat't g'eí'ill at m'ul'at'arí a'p'p'

¹ *Relatives*.—The Irish word *brathair* means both brother and relative.

² *Council*.—Not the Parliament, which was not sitting then. An account of the Parliaments held in the reign of Elizabeth will be found in Lynch's *Feudal Dignities*, p. 343; London, 1830, and in Hardiman's *Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 134; Dublin, 1843.

³ *Clapping their hands*.—Compare Dante's *Inferno*, canto III.:

'Parole de dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alti e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira
Semp're'n quell'aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena, quando a turbo spira.'

The Irish word *lamhchomairt* in the tex

and they set off with their followers in search of him. As it was evident to Phelim and to his relatives¹ that any one else might find him, they resolved to take him themselves and bring him back to the city to the Council. He did so. When he came to Dublin the Council were delighted thereat, and they made little or no account of all the hostages and pledges who escaped from them, and they were thankful for the visit which restored him to them again. Though great their cruelty and enmity to him the first time, they were greater the second time on account of his escape from them, and iron gyves were put on him as tight as they could be, and they put him in the same prison, and they watched and guarded him the best way they could.

1530.

His escape in this way was heard of universally throughout the land of Erin, and his recapture. There came a great gloom over the Irish, and the courage of their soldiers, and the minds of their champions, and the hearts of their heroes were confounded at hearing that news. There were many princesses and great ladies and noble white-breasted maidens sorrowing and lamenting on his account. There were many high-born nobles clapping their hands and weeping in secret for him, and he not only parted from the people with whom he was on terms of friendship and intimacy, but he went among those who had done him evil and shown him enmity. And with good reason on their part, for the multitude expected that through him relief would come to them from the dreadful slavery and bondage in which the English held them.

He was in this way in the same prison for the space of a year up to the end of winter, to Christmas night exactly, in the year 1592. When it seemed to the Son of the Virgin full time that he should escape, he and some of his companions found an opportunity on the part of the guards in the very beginning of the night before they were taken to the refectory, and they took off their fetters. They went after that to the privy, having a long rope, and they let themselves down by means of the rope through the privy till they came to the deep trench which was around the castle. After that they climbed to the opposite bank, till they were

1592.

though usually synonymous with *basghaire*, i.e., death-cry, is used to express the out-

ward manifestations of joy as shown by the clapping of hands.

fol. 6. a.

¹ *Shane*.—This was the famous Shane O'Neill. On the death of his father in 1559 he was elected The O'Neill. From that time until he was murdered at the instigation of the English he was almost continuously at war with them. See

Introd., p. cl. His history is given at some length in Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, 2nd Series, p. 262, where the author vindicates him from many of the charges brought against him, and shows that he was no worse than his accusers.

on the edge of the trench at the other side. The hostages who escaped with Hugh were Henry and Art, the two sons of Shane,¹ son of Conn Bacagh, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan. There was a certain faithful servant who visited them in the castle, a horseboy, to whom they imparted their secret, so that he met them face to face when they wanted him to be their guide. They went off after that through the crowded streets, near the castle, without being known or overheard by any one, for they were not noticed while thus engaged, but like every one else of the city people, as they did not stop to converse with or visit any one whatever in the houses of the fortress at that time, for it was the beginning of the night exactly, and the gates of the city were not yet closed. They went out through the city in that manner. They leaped over the enclosure and impediment of the surrounding fences and of the strong, firm palisade, which was outside the city, until they came to the slopes of Slieve Roe, where Hugh had come before the first time he escaped. The darkness of the night and the hurry of the flight separated him who was the oldest of the party from them. This was Henry O'Neill. Hugh was the youngest of the nobles. They were not pleased at the separation. They went away however, their attendant leading the way. The night came on with a drizzle and a violent downpour of rain and slippery slime of snow, so that it was not easy for the high-born nobles to walk on account of the inclement weather and the want of clothing, for they had hardly any upper garments, having left them in the privy through which they had come.

This hurried journey, strange and unusual, was more severe on Art than on Hugh, and his gait was feeble and slow, for he was corpulent, thick-thighed, and he had been a long time closely confined in the prison. It was not so with Hugh, for he had not passed the period of boyhood, and he had not ceased to grow in size and strength then, and he was active and light on that account, and his gait was quick and nimble. When he perceived Art growing weak and his step heavy, what he did to him was to place one hand of his on his own shoulder and the other hand on the shoulder of the servant. They went on in this way across the upper part of the slope of the mountain. They were tired and weary after that, and they could not bring Art further with them. As they could not, they went under the shelter of a lofty cliff of the mountain which was in

fol. 6. b. inbelais. Iar nairiurion óóibh annuirdé faoiróit an gíolla uadúibh lia ícealab
 go gleano Mhaoilugha bail ihaibe Fiacha mac Ofoha. Glínn oamgen
 noioégláide eiríde, 7 no gnaéaigéir gail Dúiblinne cona noónaib catha
 iomruide 7 ionnpoigíó fairí via eieachad 7 inoiead. Nó choínaó an tí
 Fiacha co feiríóda fíuu co bparcebaite iolairí cinn lair, & ní chumgaitir
 ní óo, aét arí a doí géríbat iomíóda iolairíóda an ionnpoigíó 7 géríbo calma
 accongáib chaéa, níu bo iuaiaichíom óóib cín baol im bíu. Sach gíall 7
 gad cimbíó no elairíó úairíó ní thairíur no thérígeó aét ar éuice no
 óáilead 7 ba híó aétína híuóe uol go glíno Mhaoilugha bail ambaol an
 Fiachad atuibíomí arí ba ré aóúnáiair. Achumac cétína uona gíallab
 iémiaitíu ar éuige ío óalírat faóerín, & ío íóiríóíé an gíolla. O
 ianaieíomí aium imbuí an Fiachad at réo arcéela noó, 7 an ionnuir íoíiáíab
 na hócce ío élátarí arín ccaéíiáíé, 7 naé ar bííéa imbíéhaíó íoíia muna
 éiríta óía íoíiúéín íéíiaití.

Íaróúain uo íoíígha an tí Fiacha íianlaé uia óír gíuóda uo neoch batarí
 tairíur lair uíob, & ío ííib íoíia íeét lár an ngílle íoí ammuir na nócc.
 Aíiaíat íó chíóíu íeb ío híííbaó ííuú, 7 uo comíat arí, 7 ííí íó bíuó leó
 7 aíuóíe íó líonn 7 íoíimaim, go íuachíatatarí gúir an íléib bail lí íaíccabíé
 na íioia. Monúarí áím níu bí íoínníeac íáóal íuíoíuáíó 7 íamúáíó na
 íoííeíoínníerín íoí cínó na ccuíad uo uéachatarí íoí aníiaiaíu. Ní íaóatarí
 bíoéíiacha naé hííeáína íaí éttáíge cumíuachíta ío accoííuabí uia ccaóíína
 arí íúachí & oíííeóí na gáíuíbííne glííííuítu, aét aríó ba coíleéaéa
 coítalíta ío accaóííéíííabí 7 ba chíeáílle ío accéínnabí colbaóda claóaríó
 cíomáííígeala cíoíchííneéíta aí íeóó uá gad leé íompaíé & aí íomúíam
 aníonarí nuííéttíom, 7 aríeabóínníeíntíb ínaééaol ííua ííéííííííabí 7 a
 naííían ímíeabóí 7 a íaílléííann ííua íoííeíntíb 7 ííiaíghíéí, comba íamíalíta
 íar na íioia uíur íangatarí náí uot uaoíne ííu íaéí, aét ba íe accubac
 uíóíéabí an talíían éíína baol ann íarí na ííoníólaé ííu ííeacííta, uáíí ní
 ío íáííuítííé híóígháí ína ímíallabí aét íaíííéíur íaíííé, & aríííne on híáíóí
 íoíí aét íaó hííé. Íaróúain íuaíeacábíat an íaoíííííííí arí lííge íaéí 7 íoí-
 oíéíngáííííat íoííia ní uon bíuó 7 uon líonn uo thóchííéííí, & ní híéíur

fol. 7. a. ¹ *Hostage*.—He afforded protection to the Catholics from the oppression of the Protestants, concealing some of them and

receiving others openly. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 152. See what has been said of him at p. xxxix., ante.

front of them. After stopping there they sent the servant away with the news to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach Mac Hugh was. This was a secure, impregnable valley, and the English of Dublin were accustomed with their instruments of battle to besiege and assault it in order to plunder and lay it waste. This Fiach maintained it valiantly against them, so that many heads were left behind with him, and they could do nothing against him ; but though their attacks were many and various, and though there was strength in their implements of war, he was not submissive to them so long as he lived. Every hostage¹ and every prisoner who escaped from them did not halt or go away, but went to him, and his first journey² was to go to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach was, as we have said, for it was his strong dwelling. So, too, the hostages aforesaid addressed themselves to him, and sent their servant to him. When he came where Fiach was he told his story to him and the state in which he left the youths who had escaped from the city, and that they would not be overtaken alive if he did not go to their assistance immediately.

Thereupon Fiach selected a party of his people (of those trusted by him), and he bade them go with the servant to the youths. They rose up at once as they were ordered, and went off with one having food and another ale and beer, until they came to the mountain, the place where the men had been left. Alas ! truly the state and position of these nobles was not happy or pleasant to the heroes who had come to seek for them. They had neither cloaks nor plaids, nor clothing for protection under their bodies, to save them from the cold and frost of the sharp winter season, but the bed-clothes under their fair skins and the pillows under their heads were supports heaped up, white-bordered of hailstones freezing all round them, and attaching their light coats and shirts of fine linen thread to their bodies, and their large shoes and the fastenings to their legs and feet, so that they seemed to the men that had come not to be human beings at all, but just like sods of earth covered up by the snow, because they did not perceive motion in their limbs, but just as if they were dead, and they were nearly so. Wherefore the heroes raised them from where they lay and bade them take some of the food and of the ale, and they did

² *His first journey.*—See Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 187.

úatha, uairi gac deog no eabodair oup melectir hi fpuirí for ambeolair
 rectair. Acht chéna ro chađamair an tí Arí fó úeóir, & acmaónacht an
 uí rin. Dala an dótha porcongarib an éorimaim íarí rin & ro batari
 a bnođa forí foribairt íarí na hól acht a úi choirí na má, arí ar imne
 batariúde inamballairí maríba gan mođugad íarí nat & ionbolgad fíur an
 meóó 7 fíur an ríneáđhta. Cuirítt ná fíur forí iomochurí eiríom gíur an
 ngleann ac ríubíamairí. Do ríata hirtíđ vlíurítt inríamairí an vlíurífoa.
 Ro bođ íccá lílígrí 7 learíugad anu da gac ní ba toirígríde co toirímacé
 teachta co vícealta vía áthíreor 7 vía fíorí ríccél ó a élíamíam Ofo
 úa néílí. Do ríatíróim láim forí iméétt íaríuríde íarí mbíreítt von teáđta
 fairí. Ba vóiríđ úóróim rímalí forí an túíarí rín, oírí ní ro chum-
 aingírett ná leđe ríeapad vía ríuághéib í ríuáttte íarí ná ríeíghíroá von
 meóó ríemíeríeríamí, & ba héíccelí da nach oíle a éuríccbairí forí each, 7
 a gábáíl eírí a úib láimairí vo ríurí tan no éaríblíngíeó. Báóiríomí amne
 co ro etaríccaríat leíđe a ví oríroam fíur íarí ríurólí arí ríóétam vía átharíroa
 buóóemí. Fairíurí an tí ríacha ríuríu maríacé láir írín átharíđ vía ríuáđó
 tarí ábáimn líre .i. ob ríl í coíccíuđ coíccíó gáílíán & ná míre. Ro batari
 ettarímaríde 7 áorí comíeta ó gáílairí Duíblínní forí áthairí éóomíne ná
 hábáimn 7 forí a conaríuíb coíccélíroa ot elorí vóíb Adó ó Doímmáíl vo beítt in
 glíonn mharíolugíra, arí nac elaríófo taríuríib co coíccíeá Concoóairí, 7 nach
 élaríarí ná cimbríde arí éfna ac ríula maríáon ríur arí an coáđríaríđ, gíur bó
 héíccelí ríona hóccíaríb arí a ába gábáíl in gárfíoccurí von chađríaríđ tarí áđ
 nrooríarí níomúóíamí ro báóí forí an ábáimn go ríangáatarí gan ríatuccáđ gan
 forícloíríteétt ríona gáílairíb combatarí forí íoríláimn an vóíne an uríórafé
 oríche. Ro báóí an lúcht lár ro ríeíccíeáóróim hí toríac íarípan celína
 helíró hí ríechumíurí an víoríma .i. ríelím ó túatharíb cona bíarítharí íarí
 rítocht vóíb ríuáđóóróim & vía éomáíre amáíl each vlíurírínáom 7 vo
 élíngáíl accotíaríđ 7 accarívóíra fíur. Maríarí an cođtáđrím beorí, 7 méíaríó
 coóíuríó mbétha eíríurí cénél Conáíl míc Néílí 7 rííochí Catharíurí

fol. 7. b.

¹ *Liffey*.—This river rises in the glen at the south of the Kippure Mountain, county Wicklow, twelve miles south of Dublin. Its course is at first westwards, by Blessington, Ballymore-Eustace, and K lullen, where it turns to the north, and flowing by Newbridge, in a north-easterly direction,

to Celbridge, it enters Co. Dublin at Leixlip. From that its course is due east, by Lucan, until it falls into the sea in Dublin harbour.

² *Rere*.—The Irish word is translated in O'Clery's *Glossary* 'the rere of a house where food is kept.' The Four Masters say,

not succeed, for every drink they took they let it out of their mouths again. However, Art died at last and was buried in that place. As for Hugh, he retained the beer after that, and his strength was on the increase after drinking, except in his two feet, for they were like dead members without motion, owing to the swelling and blistering from the frost and snow. The men carried him to the valley of which we have spoken. He was put into a house hidden in a remote part of the thick wood. He had medical skill and care in every way he needed until the arrival of a messenger in secret to inquire and get news about him from his brother-in-law Hugh O'Neill. He proposed to set off after the messenger had come to him. It was painful to him to go on that journey, for the physicians could not heal his feet all at once after being pierced by the frost as we have said, and some one else was needed to put him on horseback and to take him between his two hands again whenever he alighted. He was so until the physicians cut off his two great toes after a while when he came to his own country. Fiach sent a troop of horse with him in the night to escort him across the river Liffey;¹ this is a river on the confines of the province of Leinster and of Meath. There were ambuscades and watches from the English of Dublin on the shallow fords of the river and on the usual roads since they heard that Hugh O'Donnell was in Glenmalure, that he might not escape by them to the province of Conor, and that the prisoners too might not escape who had fled with him out of the castle; so that it was necessary for the youths for that reason to go very near the castle, over a difficult and deep ford which was on the river, and they came without being perceived or overheard by the English till they were at the rère² of the castle in the very beginning of the night. The people by whom he had been abandoned formerly after his first escape were among the troop, *i.e.*, Felim O'Toole, with his brother, who had come to escort and protect him like the others, to establish and cement their friendship and amity with him. This friendship lasts still, and will last to end of time between the tribe of Conall, son of Niall, and the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Fedhlim

1592.

ad ann. : 'The youths who were along with Hugh proceeded on their way until they came to the green (*faithche*) of the fortress

(*duine*) unperceived by the English.' There is an Irish word, *urlaunn*, which, according to O'Donovan, means a lawn, yard, green.

móiri mic Feilim fhuiriglaí. Tiomnaí ceiliobhaí 7 fagbaítt blínachtaim oc ár oile íarí naróm a ceapactaíaró amháiró fín.

Dála Adótha hui Dhóinnailí íarí nimteét doibhíre úada 7 íarí na fágbaí na ólnaí aét an toln óglaé .i. toirreéalbac buirí ó ógáin, do deachairí forí a íaríarí iun nglínn nairíolric, do fannmunteirí mo Adó uí Néill doibhíre 7 no labhaíó béila na ttiáé neactrono & nob aithneach eólach ftoiríra, dóig no bioí m íaríáile an íaríla uí Néill tan vur píccet fhu a éorccib go caémarí Athacliaé. Robtarí íolaríra beóirí cairíre an tí Adó uí Néill dona gallaib faólin, uairí do beiríeáí ttiólaicéte 7 tuámaríarí mória óirí ocuír aíríatíe dóib tarí cfinn gabála aige 7 labarítha arí a fion írin tpeanaó. Ba úana an tócclaé im na ttiuccaríaríb hírin 7 nírí bo himecclaé im gabáil tpe gnaicé'ligtib na nglall. Lotarí arí íaríomí Adó úa Domnailí 7 eiríum forí oib neacharíb ána utemalla íríóaríb paóinnóiríge 7 írlígtib íalcha na fínnimíre gombátarí forí urí na bóinne jua matíain fí gairíet o ínbíí colpéa íarí. Ro cumíraéet caéarí aíríolric íarí na nallímarícharíb íecht íuam occ ínbíí colpéa íorííarí abáinn 7 oíríochett taríírin oan. Oíríochíett Adó do gairíetí don baile hírin, 7 baríó conarí coríélní gall 7 gaoíreál gabáil tpeíarí ceapíarí. Aét chlína nírí pelice an omían doibhíre gabáil tpeíete, confó do jóníarí gabáil go huirí na habáinn ac fol.8.a. íubííomarí baíl ímbíóí íarícaríre oínnomí ttiíóil 7 líírtarí becc fhu íiomíuchíaró. Do éotaríírom írin ceuíaé conuír íaríccaríb an íoríet íomaríéuítíaríí íorííarí ímbíuáé alíctaríe íarí ttiabáiríet a loíge co íaríóíurí óó. Ba maríet íaríomí amílnma arí amíltet íuaríí oíríccat, 7 ba machíetnaó móirí íarí arí m ío étt aíríoráil ííam ó nach íorííumíí oia ttiarííe acuríach. Gaídaríó an

¹ *O'Hagan*.—This tribe were owners of a small district called Tullaghoge. They took part in the inauguration of the O'Neill, casting the gold sandal over his head. *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 11. There was another tribe of the same name in Munster, descended from a totally different ancestor.

² *Language*.—The Irish word *bearla* means any language; but for the last three centuries it has been used to denote English in particular.

³ *Meath*.—Tuathal Techtmar, ardrigh A.D. 76, cut off a part (*meidhe*) from each of the four provinces to support his Court at

Tara. The exact extent of the territory will be found in Keating's *H. of Ireland*, pp. 54 and 233.

⁴ *Boyne*.—This river rises in Trinity Well, at Carbury Hill, Co. Kildare, and flows through this county. It forms for four miles the boundary with King's County, and for seven with Meath. Entering this county at its south-east corner, it passes by Trim, Navan, and Slane. It meets the Mattock at Oldbridge, four miles west of Drogheda, and passing through this town it falls into Drogheda Bay. See Wilde's *Boyne and Blackwater*; Dublin, 1849.

Pirurglas. They bade farewell and gave their blessing each to the other after strengthening their friendship in this way.

As to Hugh O'Donnell, after they had gone away from him he was left with only the one youth, *i.e.*, Turlough Buidhe O'Hagan,¹ who had gone in search of him to the famous valley; he was one of Hugh O'Neill's own people, and he spoke the language² of the foreigners, and knew them and was acquainted with them, for he was in attendance on the Earl O'Neill whenever he came on business to the city of Dublin. Hugh O'Neill had many friends too among the English themselves, for he gave them large presents and stipends of gold and silver for supporting him and speaking on his behalf in the Council. For these reasons the young man was bold and was not afraid to go by the usual roads of the English. Hugh O'Donnell and he went away after that on two fine fleet horses by the straight-lined roads and the muddy ways of ancient Meath,³ so that they were on the bank of the Boyne⁴ before morning, a short distance to the west of Inver Colpa.⁵ A fine city had been built by the foreigners some time before at Inver Colpa on the river, and also a bridge over it. Drogheda⁶ was the name given to that town, and the usual road for the English and the Irish to take was through the town. But yet fear did not allow them to go through it, so that what they did was to go to the bank of the river of which we have spoken, where there was a poor miserable fisherman who had a small ferryboat. They went into the curach,⁷ and the ferryman left them on the opposite bank after generous payment was given him. His mind was happy on account of the sum of money he had received, and he was greatly surprised, for he had never received a like amount before from any persons to whom he had given his curach. The same

⁵ *Inver Colpa*.—This place has its name from Colpa, one of the sons of Milesius, who was drowned here when attempting to land with his followers. *Ogygia*, p. 182. St. Patrick landed here after being repulsed by the chief of Hy Garchon, *i.e.*, Wicklow. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 124. The ancient name is still preserved in that of the village of Colpa.

⁶ *Drogheda*.—*i.e.*, the bridge of the ford. It is latinized Pontanum. By the English

of that time the word was usually written Tredagh, which resembles somewhat in sound the Irish word. It is a seaport, thirty-two miles north of Dublin.

⁷ *Curach*.—A boat made of twigs covered with hides, having its name from corium, a hide. Formerly boats of considerable size were made in this manner. See *Ogygia*, p. 254, and Ware's *Antiquities*, ii. 174. Cæsar says boats of this kind were used by the Britons. *De Bell. Civ.*, i. 54.

man went with the horses through the city, and he gave them up to them at the other side of the river. 1592.

They mounted on their horses and proceeded after that on their journey until they were two miles from the river. They saw a bushy, dense grove in front of them on the road they came and a huge rampart all round it, as if it was a kitchen-garden. There was a fine mansion (called the great monastery)¹ belonging to an illustrious youth² of the English by the side of the wood. He was much attached to Hugh O'Neill. They jumped down from that same rampart and went in somehow, for his follower knew that place well. They unsaddled their horses and made a halt there. He went into the house and was entertained, for he was well known there especially more than in other places. He procured a retired apartment for Hugh, and took him with him, where he waited on and entertained him after a while as well as he desired.

As they thought this place where they were was very secure, they remained there till the night of the next day. They set out after that on their own horses in the dark at the beginning of the night over Slieve Breagh³ and through Machaire Chonaill,⁴ until they came to Tragh Baile mic Buain⁵ before morning. This town was built on the edge of the shore by the foreign race of whom we have spoken, between Dundalk⁶ and the sea. As the gates of the town were open in the early morning they resolved to go through it without halt or delay. They went on their way after that on horseback without being noticed, and so they passed through the city and no one recognised them while so engaged until they were on the other side. The reason why it was necessary for them to go through the town rather than by another road was, because there were watches and ambuscades set by the English on the boundary in every remarkable place and on each path and road by which they thought Hugh O'Donnell would come to them, as there were on the river Liffey, and they thought that fear would not allow him

era. It comprised the level part of Louth, from the Boyne to the Carlingford mountains. See *Ogygia*, p. 279.

⁵ *Tragh Baile mic Buain*.—i.e., The strand of Baile, the son of Buan. He was sixth in descent from Rudhraidhe, monarch of Ireland 212 B.C., who was buried here. See

O'Curry's *MSS. Materials*, p. 464. This was formerly the name of the strand.

⁶ *Dundalk*.—This place has its name from Delga, a Firbolg chief. It was the chief residence of Cuchullin, the most distinguished of the Knights of the Royal Branch. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 197.

ceathair a cinn. O mhagatari tair riarailtighib na ceathach robtair
 fubairg forbairilg ar aba a tairmaro tair gac mbairgal baor mairpo, ar ni mo
 imeacclairer nach ni ar mochtair vo huiruiru ar ba fo mairar doo uí
 Néill báor an cnoch fhu ceathairg atuaró. Lotair ar go fíor móir an adairg
 vo leigear a réir, 7 ba hinnill dóib imbir an dúir gey bo gairfoccur vo
 gallair iat. Ba cair 7 ba comair vo roim an tí bui huirir Toirirdeibac
 mac Enn mic Felim Rúar vo roirclanraib cenél Eogair 7 ba hionann
 mathair vo rairde & roir iairá úa Néill. Ro rairairgair iirair co huir-
 mairneac an adairg rir, 7 gairir rairir ar adairg rir fíair fúair mic
 birgair go mhagatari gur an macha buir éuaró. Anair ann an adairg
 fo úirir. Tairair ar a báir go úir gairann mic ceathair, bail rairde
 doo ó Néill. Ba rairirair mhair doirair vo macha cuccair, 7 vo rairair
 gan rairair in airair uairneac go huirirgair gair rairair vo ná don
 rir úirair aicht mair uairair voair rairir vo batair oir rairairair 7 oir
 airairair vo, oir ba rairair doo ó Néill in ionbair rir vo gallair
 Dublinne, 7 rir bó hair vo roir tair a rairairair aicht co huirir.

Dair doo uí Donnair, iair coir réir a airir & imir vo rir
 úirair fhu rí ceairair noirair con a láir, vo birir lair rir imairair 7
 rairair ceirairair vo doo úa Néill, 7 rairair bairairair occair. Vo
 rairairair rirair mairair lair rair rairair ar éairair 7 rairairair go

¹ *Fiodmore*.—i.e., the great wood, now the Fews. There are two baronies of the name in the south of Co. Armagh.

² *Turlough MacHenry*.—Owen O'Neill, who died in 1456, was the common ancestor, on the father's side, of Earl Hugh and Turlough. His daughter married Hugh O'Donnell; from these the O'Donnells of Spain and Austria are descended. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1922. He was a half-brother of the Earl.

³ *Mother*.—This was Joan, daughter of Cuconnacht Maguire. The Four Masters, under the date 1600, the year in which she died, say of her that 'she was the pillar, support, and maintenance of the indigent and mighty, of poets and of exiles, of widows and orphans, of the clergy and men of science, of the poor and needy, the head of counsel and advice to the gentlemen and

chiefs of the province of Conor Mac Nessa, a demure, charitable, meek, benign woman, with pure piety and the love of God and her neighbours.' After the death of Earl Hugh's father she married Henry O'Neill of the Fews. *Annals*, vi. 2223.

⁴ *Slieve Fuaid*.—In the barony of the Fews, between Castleblaney and Armagh. It has its name from Fuaidh, one of the colony which came to Ireland with the sons of Milesius. Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 134.

⁵ *Armagh*.—i.e., The height of Macha. She was the only daughter of King Aodh Ruadh, from whom Assaroe has its name. At his death she claimed the kingdom by right of descent. She was opposed by Dithorb and Kembair, her father's cousins, who with him had governed in turn, each for a period of seven years. She defeated her opponents and drove them into exile.

to go through the town at all. When they had gone through the streets of the town, they were glad and delighted at having escaped from every danger which was before them, for they feared nothing when they had come to that place, since the country to the north of the town was under the sway of Hugh O'Neill. They went on to Fiodmore¹ that night to get rid of their fatigue, and they were safe while there though they were very close to the English. Turlough Mac Henry,² son of Phelim Roe, who dwelt there, was his friend and foster-brother. He was of the nobles of the Cinel Eoghan, and he and the Earl O'Neill had the same mother.³ They were entertained with much respect that night, and they went on next day though Slieve Fuaid⁴ Mic Breoghan till they came northwards to Armagh.⁵ They remained there that night concealed. The next day they went on to Dungannon⁶ Mic Cathbaidh, where Hugh O'Neill was. He was glad of the coming of his guest, and he brought him without delay to a private chamber secretly without being perceived by any one in the castle except by some of his trusty people who attended on and entertained him, because Hugh O'Neill was submissive⁷ to the English of Dublin at that time, and he did not wish to transgress their commands except secretly.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, after getting rid of the fatigue of his journey and hardships in the castle for the space of four days and four nights, he prepared to depart and he took leave of Hugh O'Neill and gave him his blessing. A troop of horse went with him to protect him from robbers and kerne⁸ until he came to the district of Lough Erne. The lord of that

She was the only woman who occupied the throne of Ireland, having reigned from A.M. 3559 to 3586. She built the palace of Emania, now Navan fort. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 112, and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 179.

⁶ *Dungannon*.—This was the chief residence of Hugh O'Neill, Strabane and Benburb being those of Turlough Luineach. O'Neill's castle was on the rising ground just over the town. Little, if any, of it is now remaining. A more modern residence was built on the site later; of that too only a small part remains. It has its name from Genan, son of Cathbadh, a *Draoid*, who lived here in the first century of our era.

⁷ *Submissive to them*.—'Articles agreed unto by the Earl of Tyrone before the Right Hon. the Lords of her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, for the better settling and confirming of his country, June 17th, 1590,' will be found in *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 37.

⁸ *Kerne*.—They are called by mediæval writers *turbarii* and *turbiculi*. Dymmok describes them as 'footmen armed with a sword and a target of wood, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heads, or else three darts which they cast with wonderful facility and neatness. Within these few years they have practised the musket and caliver, and are grown good and ready shots.' *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 7.

fol.9 a. pianuis co hoirlí locha hliúine. Ba caia sóroim tmae an tíreirín, 7 ba bjaéairí hí pinn amaeairí dóthí máguirí atadóimnaic. Ba fáoilíóiríe oia éuróecht chucca & mo gheib áfiaúuccaó co haóaimia lair. Do bhlétha lthair oearpénaité oúibhlíamíam aóochum, 7 do éaoit mo, 7 pagbairó bentachtaim ag Maguirí. Iompairíte ar íllpóóain gur an céael ccuaréumíang baol porpán loé íeméperitmarí bail hí cóit ar an ob aóbclopaé iachiomóa púir íáitéir Erne. Bá oia athairóa feirín an perionn hírín. Dúir náiréltorí ar aill oia ólí tairuirí 7 oia íamíuuntirí búóóem, 7 do bhlíat eocho ána utmalla ina óail an oúirín, & lotairí aipiríe co hAdé Seanairí. Baol cairtíall com-daingean hípuróiu porí urí an Adá tuáirgaibíte ittopaé la rínnírlí an Adóa (Míall gairí mac Toipiróelbairí an fíona A° 1423.) Ba oúináirí aóaimia 7 ioríadó fláda oia cenéloríam an cairtíall 7 oia athairí íamíueaó, ar ar é baol hí clínnur ná cínche an ionbairí rín, 7 ba hé porpíacairí ar aill oia íamíuuntirí ag coimóa an chairpóóil, 7 íobtarí íailtíng ná íoíra íru oaimína ná fláda dúir íamícc, 7 do leccíte cuca írtíng.

fol.9 b. Baóiríum íppor hípuróiu co leice corpur íarícomláiríte an tír (do neach baol in a dómíócíarí) oia íaigíó bail íraibé. Nírlí bó hílúra éimí eipíóe ar íraimíarí baol an cínóe ina céiríe eíreach 7 caibóiln ag gállairí 7 ag gáóiríealairí, 7 íaríachíatairí oearbtha & oecééíaríe oílmíáíra ítorpíra íéin írimíóórn, co narí bó íraíraíng oia íflairí amíail íobairí téchéta oírlí, ar ba íoríaríóccílaé an ionbairí rín é 7 nírlí bó túalairíng íaéuigaó ácuat ná íímaróim a ígíall náé a ííatíre ó ío hírlígaóáóíóim, 7 oán oéillíng an írlínoata íarí írlí íoba írlí co leice. Ót chíatí gáill Dúiblínné an cínóe íamíarí íoríorí-congáiríat íorí ían íríanláé baol íaríóib íccóiceaó Olneccmachíte ar oíle íochairíe oíob do thuríóecht hí tírlí Conaill míc Néill. Bátarí íao íobtarí coóónairíng íorííra híb íorííro hírlírlíó toéit hííuríóiu Cairtín uírlírlí & Cairtín Conuill. Do corírlíte arí con oírlí cétarírlí íaéé tarí Dúib tarí Dúíobáoirí tarí

¹ *Relative*. — His mother was Nuala, daughter of Manus O'Donnell, Hugh Roe's grandfather, and consequently Maguire and Hugh Roe were first cousins. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1925. On the meaning of the word *brathair*, see p. 13, ante.

² *Erne*.—This river rises at Ballyjamesduff, county Cavan, and after a circuitous course passes through Belturbet and enters Lough Erne a little north of that town. It

leaves the lake three miles east of Belleek, and continues its course by Ballyshannon, where it is called by the name of Saimer, and falls into the Bay of Donegal.

³ *Ballyshannon*.—Properly Beul atha Senaigh, the mouth of the ford of Senach, an Ulster chief who was slain there by Conall Gulban. See *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 327.

⁴ *Castle*.—The site is pointed out in a field on the east side of the town, called

territory, *i.e.*, Hugh Maguire, was his friend and a relative¹ by the mother's side. He was rejoiced at his coming, and he proceeded to entertain him splendidly. A boat was brought to him well built, black-polished; he went into it, and took his leave of Maguire. They rowed away then as far as the narrow neck which was at the lough of which we have already spoken, the place whence issues the famous river abounding in salmon, which is called the Erne.² That territory was some of his own patrimony. Some of his own loyal and faithful people came and they brought fine fleet horses to meet him there. From that they went to Ballyshannon.³ There was a very strongly fortified castle⁴ on the bank of the ford, built formerly by the ancestor of Hugh, Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the wine, in the year 1423. The castle was a noble dwelling and a princely residence of his family, and of his father especially, for he was the chief of the territory then. He had left some of his own people to guard the castle, and the men were glad that the heir⁵ of the chief had come, and they let him in.

He rested there for the present until the country assembled (every one who was in his neighbourhood) where he was. This, indeed, was not easy, for the country was in the course of being plundered and robbed by the English and by the Irish, and there had sprung up fierce disputes and contentions among themselves, so that they were not submissive to their prince as they should be, for he was an aged man then, and he was not able to unite his people or to secure their hostages or pledges since he (Hugh) had been captured, and age lay heavy on him, for he was now old. When the English of Dublin saw the territory in this condition they gave order to the troops which were away in the province of Olneccmacht⁶ that a certain number of them should go to the territory of Conall, son of Niall. The captains of the people who were appointed to go there were Captain Willis⁷ and Captain Conell. They marched away with two hundred

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the Castle Park. Of the old walls the only part remaining is a piece incorporated with some back buildings attached to the premises of Mr. Stephens, a merchant of the town. See *The Donegal Highlands*, by Rev. Dr. MacDevitt, p. 56; Dublin, n. d.

⁵ *Heir*. — *Damhná*, the material out of which anything is made; hence the compound *Ríghdhamhna*, a royal heir.

⁶ *Olneccmacht*. — An ancient name of the province of Connaught, the origin of which is unknown.

⁷ *Willis*. — See an account of the ravages which he wrought in Maguire's territory in *Intro.*, p. liii. MacSwiny Banagh attacked him as soon as Hugh O'Donnell reached Donegal. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 156.

Եսրբ Քնարօ, & մ յօ արտ տա յնման զօ յանգտալ Օսն ի նգալ թօլ սլ
արբարէջ։ Եւօ յօ Օմնաւլ իրն մեաւ զօ սախօ թօխարօ, 7 մ յօ
թօրտ նաւ ոմ օօ։ Բօ Եւօ մանրտլ յնաւ ԵննօԵրաօ հոմօթօԵրաւ ան
ժարտօւլ ալլախար թօլ սլ ի նա ժաջա, 7 Եա Եա Եւօ Օմնաւլ ալլ յնօԵրաւ
Օսրօ S. Բրօնթրթ Բէժ յնաւ անո 1474, & Օօ իջալ ալլաւ 7
աճէաճա Օճ Երտ ան ժան իրն թօլ տօխօ & յօմջաԵրաւ ի նա յնալլ։ Եսրտ
նա զօլլ իրն մանրտլ, 7 Օօ ճնաւ Բրօլ 7 Բալլաւ Օօ լճօսրաւ յաճա
Օսրտ, 7 Օօ ժաԵրաւ ժալաւջտ նաճէրօ ի Օճ 7 ի նա մաւ մեաճաճ։
Բօ ժալլթ Օսն ան մեւօր ժրթ յօ Եսն յօ Երտր մօր Եօ ԵԵրթ 7 զօ ճլեն
Եօլաւ ժրթ մա Բօրօլմրօ Եօ Բօմաւջտ ԲօԵրաւ 7 Եա Եէճլ ինջէլլ 7
անալտլ Օօ ժաԵրաւ Օճ, Եսր Եա ԵաԵրաւ Եսման 7 իմջա ճօրօԵրաւ
ան յօԵրաւ իրն յա յօլջ իալան 7 յա ԵաճԵրաւ Եօլան (ճօԵրաւ Եաճա Օճ)
Եր ալլալաԵրաճ անոմլ 7 ան ԵԵսրթ 7 Եր յօմջալ անրալ 7 ան ԵրաԵրա,
7 Եա Բօճարթօլման Եա ժրթօԵրաւ 7 Եա ժրթլ, Եա Եալաճաճ ԵաԵրա, Եա ճրան 7
ճրալաճաճ անալթօճ 7 ան ճալլ Երմ, Եր իալ Եօ ԵաԵրա Եօլա ԵրաԵրաւ
Եսման ճօ իրն։ ԵաԵրա Եր ան սախօ յօլջ իրն Երալալալալ Եարալլ Եօլ
Բօլ ԵօԵրալ իմալ ան Եսման Օօ մալ Եսմլնօ ՕՕսն ի նա յնալլ իալ։ Եա Եսա
մեալջլլ ան Եալա ժալթալ ժօճալ Օօ Ենէլ Եօնալլ Եսլան։ Օ յօ
մոմլ Եր ի նա ճալլաւ ժրթա Երմ մեաԵրա, 7 Երալջօ Եա Երթ Բօլ աճօմ-
Եր, ոմ լճճալ Երալան Երալ Եօ Եօլլնօ ինաԵրաւ 7 ինաԵրաւ ի նա
Երալ 7 ի նա Երալաւ, Օօ ճալ անմրօ & անմլալման Բօլալ, 7 ի ալալ

¹ *The Duff*.—This river rises in the barony of Rosclogher, Co. Leitrim; it is there called the Black River. It falls into Donegal Bay four miles to the west of Bundoran.

² *Monastery*. — See Intro., p. cxxviii. What follows would seem to refer to something like a round tower, but there is no tradition of any such having ever existed there. The words refer perhaps to the bell-tower of the church.

³ *The Castle*.—See Introd., p. xxvi. Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, who visited it in 1566, says of it: 'It is one of the greatest I ever saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands, and would appear in good keeping one of the fairest, so nigh a portable water as a boat of ten tons may come within twenty yards of it.'

¹ *Religious*.—The word *sruthe* is trans-

lated seniores (elders) by Colgan; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 298, and sapientes (wise), by Usher; *Primordia*, p. 895: Dublin, 1639, and by O Donovan, religious seniors; *Annals F. M.*, i. 417.

⁵ *Servants of God*. — Hence the word Culdees. See Reeves' Essay 'On the Celi-de, commonly called Culdees.' *Transactions of R.I.A.*, xxiv. ; Dublin, 1873.

⁶ *Sons of Life*. — Wicked persons and malefactors of every kind were called sons of death.

⁷ *Bearnas More*.—See p. xiv., *antea*.

⁸ *Glencolumcille*. — A valley two miles in length and half a mile in breadth, in the N.W. extremity of Donegal. The western end of it opens on Glen bay, which has on its southern side the cliffs of Malinmore Head. It has its name from a monastery

soldiers over the Duff,¹ the Drowes, and Assaroe, and they did not stop on their way till they came to Donegal on the shore abounding in fish. O'Donnell was in the castle with a small body of troops; yet they could not harm him. There was a fair monastery² with a conical-capped tower near the castle³ to the west on the edge of the strand. O'Donnell had given it to the Order of St. Francis long before, in the year 1474. Its religious⁴ and servants of God had gone away at that time to fly from and avoid the English. The English dwelt in the monastery, and they made booths and tents of the holy retired dwellings and of the cells of jointed boards of the servants of God⁵ and sons of life.⁶ They made subject to them the part of the country from Bearnas More⁷ to Lough Erne and to the Glen of Columkille,⁸ son of Fedhlimidh, and it was necessary to give pledges and hostages to them, for the Irish had great terror and dread at that time of the English troops and of the soldiers of London (though they had only a few of them) on account of the strangeness of their weapons and appearance and the novelty of their armour and speech and the loud noise of their trumpets and tabours⁹ and war music, together with the cruelty and activity of their warriors, and the strange arms, for the Irish had no precise knowledge up to that. The castle,¹⁰ which was on the edge of the harbour, two miles to the west of Donegal, was taken by a part of the force of which we have spoken. The place belonged to O'Boyle,¹¹ a famous chief of the tribe of Conall Gulban. Since these same English had a secure position there and the hostages of the country were in their power, they used to go through the country commonly in companies and in bands in twos and threes to carry off food and provisions for themselves, and they did not hesitate to

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established there by St. Columkille: a part of which, with the leaba or bed of the Saint, is still in existence. A Station much frequented by the people is here, having at intervals on both sides of the valley some very ancient incised crosses. Of the population we may with full truth use the words of Petrie when speaking of the inhabitants of the islands of Arran: 'They have all the virtues peculiar to the Irish character, with, perhaps, as little admixture of its vices as the lot of humanity will permit.'

⁹ *Tabours*. — A small drum, no doubt from the same root as the French *tambour*.

¹⁰ *Castle*. — In the townland of Ballywell, on the water's edge, a mile by water from the town. The site is marked on the Ordnance Map. A small part of the outer wall, about six feet square, is still standing.

¹¹ *O'Boyle*. — See *Introd.*, p. vii. The territory of the O'Boyles was originally the three tuatha in the N.W. of the barony of Kilmacrenan, of which they were deprived by the M'Swinys. See *Annals F.M.*, iii. 322.

as bpeiré anas nioiméiom 7 accfénat ecluimfóto chuca do shper. Zabaite as tócuimeas fuilliró rloisg & rocharóe oia roisgíó do úil tairi blinmur móri omshuim & oarigain na tíre, 7 oia huile oisglhro ima crioó 7 ima cfeimab, 7 oia tabairt fo úaoirpe 7 fo doémaróe fo úeóiró. Acht élna uairi nari bo lainn la oia an oisglhro 7 an oioichóiaach do maiprat goill fori lucht na cuiche ina naéaróa oíur buóóem, our puce lair an mac éairngliracé moiglonóac (Aóó Rúac mac Aóóa mic Mašnura) co cenél Conaill mic Néill oia fupracé 7 oia foiméim oia rnaóac 7 oia rofíac ari an ainfíne nectriócarí neétriomn, feib our fainicc Moirpe mac Amia itoiméim tuáte Oó oia faoiac ari an náoairpe negeptacóa.

An tan ba haínliú do na gallaib fori an abairt ariubhamoim ar ann at coar oóib an Rúac ariula do éuróecht von tíri, moir shab cuioth oimain 7 imfíla iact, 7 ba fairi veiró leó veirge na cuiche oia ocaomíratair, 7 ba ró leo na tírtair inte itíri. Oála Aóóa uí Ohoimnaill mo tochuiri an tíri chuca, 7 m mo an riuú colleice (ót éuala milleac & míoiaach na mainirpíeé) go manuc go Oúin na ngall emeac hi monchais fup na gallaib. Ari a oim na tariprat an tíri éiríom hi foill gan tocht fo a éogairim (do neoé mo charpat é) na neirib 7 na mbuóirib aimaíl ar oéme conpangatarí. La roóain mo lároim a éechta ari ammur na ngall oia maóa mu gan ionfúimeas no hrrnaóac irin ecclair m ba riuú, 7 nac zebéa foimia tocht an conairi buó lainn leo, acht na má go fparcebatair oia neir amboi leó do bú & do bmoio, do chiuó, 7 do chlethiaib oionnmur 7 oéttáil na cuiche ari élna. Fasbáit íaríomí foéltóirí feib mo foiméoníamí foimia & moibairi buiróis do mochtain an anmionn leó, 7 imroac arí fori cúlac 1 coiceacó olnéccmacé o tpuohatarí. Iarí nimééct oóibíróe 1 mór febriamí our muhntairí na bpaíru fori cúlac oócom na mainairpí 7 zabaitt occa hhríglanac & occa haénúacachac oarí éri an fíanlaig allmíaróa 7 oc oénom anuipio 7 an oirfpienn aimaíl ba znapac leó, 7 occ aómolíac an éoimseo, oca atach 7 oga ítaríuróe rícal naile oarí élna accairat 7 ólíra appognaíma 7 oarí ceano Aóóa uí ohoimnaill fainpíeas, ari ar é our puce

¹ *Prophecied.*—On the belief of the Irish in so-called prophecies at all times, see p. xxvii., antea. A remarkable instance of the persistency of such a belief, in reference to an O'Donnell too, will be found in the case of Hugh Baldearg O'Donnell, in *The*

Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-91, edited by J. T. Gilbert, p. 151; Dublin, 1892. How false the hopes in this case were, we may see from O'Kelly's *Macaria Excidium*, pp. 140, 466; Dublin, 1850.

² *Moses.*—*Exod.*, iii. 7-10.

take with them their heavy cattle and long-fleeced sheep at all times. They proceeded to call additional troops and hosts to them to go beyond Bearnas More in order to oppress and plunder the territory and everywhere to rob them of their herds and flocks and to reduce them to slavery and great misery in the end. But yet as the robbery and evil deeds which the English practised on the people of the country in their own dear native land were not pleasing to God, he gave the prophecied¹ child of mighty deeds (Hugh Roe, son of Hugh, son of Manus) to the tribe of Conall, son of Niall, for their relief and succour, to protect and free them from the merciless foreign tribe, as Moses,² the son of Amram, came to the aid of the people of God to free them from the Egyptian bondage.

When the English learned the report of which we have spoken, and when it was told them that the Roe who had escaped was come to the country, a quaking fear and great terror seized on them, and they resolved in consequence to leave the country if they could, and they wished they had never come into it. As for Hugh O'Donnell, he summoned the country to him, and he did not wait for them then (because he heard of the spoiling and profanation of the monastery), but he came to Donegal face to face with the English. However, the country did not keep him long without coming to his call (such as were friendly to him) in companies and in bands as speedily as they could. Thereupon, he sent his messenger to the English to tell them not to delay or abide any longer in the church, and that they would not be prevented from going away by whatever road they pleased, but only they should leave behind them whatever cattle, captives, herds, and flocks they had, and the riches and wealth of the country in like manner. They left them behind immediately as he ordered them, and they were thankful to go away with their lives, and they returned to the province of Connaught whence they had come. After their departure in the month of February, the brethren returned to the monastery and set about cleansing and renovating it after the barbarous crew, and saying the divine office and the mass, as was their custom, and praising the Lord in their prayers and in their petitions sometimes on behalf of their friends and of their benefactors, and especially of Hugh O'Donnell, for it was he that brought them

[illegible][illegible]

¹ *Beginning of Spring*.—*Iomelc* is derived from *imnefolc*, the beginning of spring, or from *oi-melc*, sheep-milk, this being the time when the sheep give milk. In O'Connell's MS. Irish Dict. it is explained *Feil Brighde*, i.e., Brigid's festival, February 1st. *The Book of Rights*, liii.

² *Tir Hugh*.—A barony in the south of Co. Donegal. It has its present name from Aodh (Hugh), son of Ainmire, son of

Sedna, son of Fergus Ceannfoda, son of
Conall Gulban. See p. vii., *antea*.

³ *MacSwiny of Tir B.*—His chief dwelling was Bawan, in the parish of Kilcar, barony of Banagh.

⁴ *Maolmuire*. — *i.e.*, tonsured in honour of Mary, the servant of Mary; it is often latinized Marianus. Many Irish names are formed from the word *mael* prefixed to names of Saints.

back to their abode of psalmody, to their pleasant hospitable dwelling, and drove away the savage foreigners.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, he returned to Ballyshannon and remained there. He called in physicians to examine his feet, but they could not cure him until his two great toes were cut off in the end, and he was not quite recovered for a whole year. However, he did not omit during that time to do what was necessary to unite the people, to destroy and slay thieves, and to avenge his wrongs on his enemies. He was on his sick-bed, as we have said, from the beginning of spring¹ to April. When he saw the great cold of the spring season departing and the summer weather approaching, it seemed to him a long time to be on his sick-bed without leaving the castle where he was, for his physicians did not permit him, and what he did, contrary to their prohibition, was to send messengers to the Cinel Conaill (such of them as were obedient to his parents), and to assemble and collect them to the east of the well known mountain, *i.e.*, Bearnas More of Tir Hugh.² He resolved to go himself to the meeting, and those that were to the west of the mountain which we have mentioned assembled to him. O'Boyle came, Tadhg Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Turlough, a famous chief of the Cinel Conaill; MacSwiny of Tir Boghaine³ came, Donough, son of Maclmuire⁴ Meirgeach,⁵ son of Maclmuire, son of Niall. He was the third man who was in command of the mercenaries of the King of Hy Conaill, MacSwiny Fanad⁶ and MacSwiny na dtuath being the two others. Those to the east of the mountain who came to the same gathering were O'Donnell, his own father, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe, with his wife, *i.e.*, Ineen Dubh, daughter of James, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanac, mother of Hugh; the daughter of Mac Cailin⁷ was her mother. It was an advantage that she came to the gathering, for she was the head of advice and counsel of the Cinel Conaill, and though she was slow and very deliberate and much praised for her womanly qualities, she had the heart of a hero and the soul of a soldier,

⁶ *Meirgeach*.—*i.e.*, wrinkled.

⁶ *Fanad*.—This district forms the N.E. extremity of the barony of Kilmacrenan, extending from Lough Swilly to Mulroy Lough, and from the sea southwards to Ramelton. According to O'Dugan, O'Breslin

was the chief of this territory until he was driven from it by the MacSwinys. *Topog. Poems*, xx.

⁷ *Mac Cailin*.—*i.e.*, Mac Callum Mor, the Earl of Argyle. After her first husband's death she married Turlough Luineach O'Neill.

conetáirται, 7 fopí acele rairneadú occ aité a huile 7 a hecória fopí gáé náon von aipilleó, & no bioó buóne ionóa a halbain 7 aipail déirínroóib fopí a corí 7 fopí a ccommar, fopí a tuillíne 7 fopí a tuarparail buónein vo gíear, 7 go rairnifóac in aipíte baorí a mac (an Rúad), hí ccmbróeét 7 hí cumíneach óg gallaib. Tamic van ipín comóail éitna mac Suibne na ttiáac Eógan ócc mac Eógan oícc mic Eoghain mórí mic Doimnail, & mac Suibne fánat, Doimnail mac Toirphelbaig mic Rúadóru. Bá ré ionad éiríalta in mo dálarat na maíte vóblonib iccill mic nenáin in eitrimíóon tmuochait éeo éenúil luigíoeac fpu línainn an éuaró, aipim in mo halc Columb cille mac Feilim mic Feirgúra an naoim ámha vo éenél conaill, & mo baó vó mo foéugló an éeall éitup, & arinnceiríoe mo hoip-vonuigíte ua Doimnail hí éinnacht na euche, 7 ba ré aipchiníoeac na cille éitena vo oipíoeac, & moabá ar ónóru 7 ar aipmíttin vo naoim éolumb vo gniéi vin inóruin la éenél cconail. Batari imoipio vopirga váipimhe vo éenél cconail na tanagatorí hupíoe von éupíru. Bá vóbríoe dóó mac Déua óig mic Déuha Rúad. Bá vóob fíochc an éalbarig mic magnúra mic aeóha oícc. Ro batari beór vopong mórí vo élannt Suibne na ttreccummarcc íari na ttofaní ar a tíru ó éein mairí 7 ar ann mo aittearabírat fopí upí locha feabail mic loctain, & aipat ba tuipigí momgona, 7 ba tuaricceiríoe eatcha von Calbach ua doimnail & via fíol na vógharóh. Mítanmuc ann o'ocharí-taig, Seaan óg taríoeac émuochait éeo hupre heóghain mic Neill, uapí aré

¹ *Scotland*.—The employment of Scotch auxiliaries about this time was very common in the north of Ireland. Frequent mention is made of them in *The Annals F. M.* It was but natural that Ineen Dubh should put special reliance on her countrymen.

² *Both places*.—i.e., from the east and from the west of Bearnas More.

³ *Cantred*.—So the Irish *trióchat* is usually translated. O'Curry quoting from an ancient Irish poem, says there were thirty townlands in each cantred. A townland sustained 300 cows and contained twelve ploughlands besides, the ploughland being as much as a six-horse plough could plough in a whole year. For instance, Meath is said to contain eighteen cantreds, Connaught thirty more, Ulster thirty-five.

See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 106. O'Donovan says the cantred contained thirty ballybetaghs or one hundred and twenty quarters of land, each quarter containing one hundred and twenty Irish acres. *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 149. See 'The Townland Distributions of Ireland,' by Reeves, in *The Transactions of the R.I.A.*, vii., 473; Dublin, 1860.

⁴ *Leannan*.—It rises in the south of the barony of Kilmacrenan, and flowing to the N.E., passes close to the villages of Dromore and Kilmacrenan, and falls into Lough Swilly at Ramelton. It was the boundary of Fanad.

⁵ *Erenach*.—The origin of this word is very doubtful. Colgan says he was a person appointed to exercise authority over those who held church lands. *Trias Thaum.*, p.

inasmuch as she exhorted in every way each one that she was acquainted with, and her husband especially, to avenge his injuries and wrongs on each according to his deserts. She had many troops from Scotland,¹ and some of the Irish at her call and under her control, in her hire and pay constantly, and especially during the time that her son (the Roe) was in prison and confined by the English. There came to the same meeting MacSwiny na dtuath, Owen Oge, son of Owen Oge, son of Owen More, son of Donnell, and MacSwiny Fanad, Donnell, son of Turlough, son of Maclmuire. The precise place where the nobles of both places² came together was at Kilmacrenan, in the middle of the cantred³ of the Cinel Lughaidh, on the north of the Leannan,⁴ the place where Columkille, son of Feidhlimhidh, son of Fergus, the renowned saint of the Cinel Conaill was fostered, and it was by him the church was first established, and in it the O'Donnell was inaugurated in the chieftaincy of his territory, and it was the erenach⁵ of the same church that inaugurated him; and it was through respect and reverence for St. Columb that this was done there by the Cinel Conaill. There were also innumerable bodies of the Cinel Conaill who did not come there on that occasion. Of these was Hugh, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe. They were the descendants of Calvagh,⁶ son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge. Among those also who took no part in it was also a large number of the clann Swiny, who, having been banished from their territory long before, dwelt then on the margin of the Lough of Febal,⁷ son of Lottan, and they were the leaders in battle and captains of fight of Calvagh O'Donnell and of his posterity successively. Shane Oge O'Doherty,⁸ chieftain of the cantred of the island of

631. In some places the office seems to have been hereditary. The Four Masters use the word as synonymous with abbot. On this question, see O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*, p. 116, Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 160; Dublin, 1864, Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Reeves, p. 4; Dublin, 1850.

⁶ *Calvagh*.—See *Intro.*, pp. xii. and cxxv., for the reasons why his descendant did not join Hugh Roe O'Donnell.

⁷ *Lough of Febal*.—Now Lough Foyle. It is an inlet of the sea which divides the

counties of Derry and Donegal; at its mouth it is only a mile in width, at its widest part it is over ten. In ancient times all the extent of water from Lifford to the sea went by this name. Lodan was one of the Tuatha De Danaan chieftains.

⁸ *O'Doherty*.—This family was descended from Conall Gulban. See *Intro.*, p. xii. Shane O'Doherty spoken of here died in 1600; he was father of Sir Cahir, about whom see Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*, p. 191.

an énochaééctiun iainn oEoghan ó Conaill do churo ionna, 7 sur fuit co cénél cconail hī fpuithi. batari oiong mói do muinti Gallcobaig gan techt anō amāil chāch tñia miorcair 7 mīrūn. Iar taicclomao an uatāo flóig rin hī cclnn a chéle, mo eitiróelígrē an aigū 7 an uarail imaiḡin fori leir 7 ḡabaitt ac ceirú a comāirle 7 oḡ a rēirúao 7 oḡa iemíveicci cionnuir no foibēitair a namāitt, 7 no blitair fo aieiri do iuróiri an cāc atpula hīiurórácaḡ uaróib 7 ambaói ino lraonta fūú do cénél conaill fo oém. Ba fairi oēirúo Iar na maiéib 7 la húa nDomnail fēirin (o mo aigūḡitairi a eniite 7 aróble a doiri) a éigēarinar do telḡeao dia mac .i. do Aoú Rúao & ó Domnail do ḡairim oē. Ro molar cāch hiccōitēōve an cōmāirle hīin, & mo ḡuite rāmīlaró. Do matḡao an taichinveao dia raiḡrú úa Fūḡil atacomāiae. Ro oirionlīitairiurōe an tadó Rúao hī cclnnaēt na eḡiche la foricōngia & la beanvachtain a athari, & do ioinē oirō an anma fēib aḡ techta mo ba ḡnaē oia cénél

fol. 12. a. ḡó rin, 7 do ḡaria o Domnail oē. ḡabaitt clepioc na cille occ lḡtairi-ḡurōe an choimōeó vāi a chlno, & occ cantain pḡalm 7 hymon ino onoiri Cūirt 7 an Cholūmb atpūbiamoir im hīoínmūḡe a flaiēiura amail fa bér oóib. Ba hīirin tḡir lāithe do mīr Mai do rōnōiaoh mo ḡairimlō a ḡairim flāēa oēriom don chui rin.

1592.

Tuipēēta Aóua Rúaró iapioi o mo hoirōneao ino ionao a aēari amāil ioba téchta, nīr melicc eirierōeao na lḡtaircēarao ó ari oile don uatāo flóig do mālā na fōchāiri eitiri tḡoiḡēeacī & marcāch, ḡo ianaie iḡin ccoicēiuch ḡo cenél Eoghain mic Néill, ari ba holc a fola fūú an tan rōim, uairi batairiurōe occ forḡián fori a éiḡiurūm o mo lá laige 7 eniite

¹ *Island of Eoghan.*—i.e., Inishowen; not strictly an island, but a peninsula between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly. It was formerly the patrimony of Enna, hence called Tir Enda. Afterwards it passed into the hands of the descendants of Eoghan. In the fourteenth century it came into possession of the Cinel Conaill. *Book of Rights*, p. 132. In *The Description of Ulster*, written in 1586, it is stated that O'Doherty was forced to pay tribute not only to O'Neill

but to O'Donnell also. See *C. C. MSS.*, ii. 435.

² *O'Gallagher.*—This family took their hereditary surname from Galchobar, sixth in descent from Maelcobha, monarch of Ireland from A.D. 618 to 622, who was son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, son of Sedna, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 393. The Four Masters give a detailed account of the disputes that took place between the O'Galla-

Eoghan,¹ son of Niall, did not come there because this cantred was the portion given to Eoghan from Conall from his share in the division, and it came back to the Cinel Conaill again. There was a large number of the clann Gallagher,² who, like others, did not come there, through spite and dislike. When this small body of forces had been brought together the chiefs and the nobles withdrew to a place apart, and they proceeded to take counsel, and to inquire and forecast how they might attack their enemies and bring under their obedience once more all of the Cinel Conaill itself who were at variance with and divided from them. Thereupon it was agreed on by the nobles and by O'Donnell himself (since he was aware of his feebleness and advanced age), to transfer his chieftaincy to his son, *i.e.*, Hugh Roe and to proclaim him The O'Donnell. All unanimously applauded that resolution, and it was done accordingly. The erenach, *i.e.*, O'Ferghil, was sent for. He inaugurated Hugh Roe in the headship of the territory by the order and with the blessing of his father, and he performed the ceremony of naming him in the legal way that was the custom of his tribe hitherto, and he called him The O'Donnell. The clergy of the church proceeded to supplicate the Lord³ on his behalf, and to sing psalms and hymns in honour of Christ and of Columb of whom we spoke, for the success of his sovereignty, as was usual with them. It was the third of the month of May exactly that his title of Prince was conferred on him on this occasion.

1592.

1592.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, after he was duly inaugurated in his father's place in a lawful way, he did not allow the small force of horse and foot which he had with him to scatter or separate until he came into the territory of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, as he had a great grudge against them at that time, for they used to lay waste his territory ever since his father had grown weak and infirm and he himself had been captured by the

ghers and the O'Donnells, the former being in league with Calvagh O'Donnell and Turlough Luineach O'Neill in opposition to Hugh Roe's father. *Annals F. M.* v. 1873. See p. xlvii., antea.

³ *The Lord.*—The word *Coimhde* occurs

very frequently in the *Leabhar Breac* and other ancient Irish MSS., and, according to O'Donovan, is always applied to Christ, not to the Holy Trinity, as O'Brien and O'Reilly have erroneously asserted. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2073, n.

բորս ածաիւ, 7 օ յօ քերթաճած է Բուծեմ Լա Ճալաւ. Բա՛ւ օւլե ան ծան
 ար յօտար ար շենէլ յԵօջան Բա Կօւլլ քօրքարս Ե Բա քօր քօտօն քօ ճիւր
 քա ճա՛ւ ձօն քօ շենէլ Կօնաւլլ քա ծեմ յօ քիօթարթած Ե յօ յիւրիւրաջած
 յն աջարս Բ քրթաճ քիւրծիւր, Ե յիւր Բօ քօնիւրծե նամա՛ աճտ քա ճա՛ւ յեաճ
 յն ԵԿարիւրիւ յօ Բիւծ քիւրծիւր յօ նօ ԵԿարիւրիւ քիւ Կենէլ Կօնաւլլ ար Բ
 յիւրքար յնօ. Բարաւլ Բեօր յիւր Բօտ Կարօնլաճտ Ե յիւր Բօտ Կարաթա՛ւ յն օր
 օւլե քօն շիւր յիւր Եւ Եւլլ (ԿօրիւրԵլԲա՛ւ Լոււնա՛ւ մաճ Եւլլ Կօնաւլլա՛յ) 7
 ան Եարա օ Եւլլ (Դօ՛ւ մաճ Բիւրօրիւ) յօ Բա քօրիւրիւր օճօրն Ե օւա Եարիւ
 քօ ճիւր, Կօնա՛ւ ար յա քօճիւրիւ Բա քօրիւր քօրքարքար քօւա քօրքար՛ քօ
 քիւրթա՛ւ Բ Եճօթարքօ 7 քօնիւր Բ անքիւրծե Ե Բ Բարաւնօ. Եար յօճտան
 քօն ւաճա՛ւ քիւրծիւր 1 Կենէլ Եօջան յօ Երօրքիւր Ե յօ յիւրիւրքտ ան յօ Բա
 Կօնիւրիւրն քօն քօն Կիւր. Զօնար, արիւրքիւր ճաճ ձօն յօն յեճտա արա
 յիւրքարտ ան քիւր. Բարիւրքտ Երաւա քօնա՛ Բօ 7 քանի, 7 ճա՛ւ յօնլե ար Երա
 յիւր Ե ԿօնքօրաւԵ, քօն քօ քօճաճտօր յարԵի քիւրքիւ. Ե յօ քօրիւրքտ
 քիւ ան Եր Դօթի Դա՛ւ քօ Երիւի Ե յարաճտե ար ան Երիւ օճիւրիւր անԲար, Ե
 յիւր Եարթար քօ յօնի Ե յիւր քօր յիւրման քօն քօրքարքար յա Կենէլ
 Կօնաւլլ օ շիւր յիւր.

fol. 12. b.

Ար ան քիւ Բար քօնար ւի Եւլլ (ԿօրիւրԵլԲա՛յ Լոււնա՛յ) ան յօնար
 յիւր ար ան Տրաճիւրն Բար Ե Կօնար ան քա քիւրնան քօրքարքա՛ քօն Ե
 քօնա՛յ քիւ քօնլե. 1. Բօնն Ե յօնար, Ե յիւր Բօ ճա՛ւ քօրքար Ե
 արիւրն ւի Եւլլ Ե յիւր քօն քօն ան քօրիւրքաւԲ Երիւ. Ե յիւր քօն քօն
 քօնքիւր Դօթի Դա՛ւ յն Եւ Եւլլ օճ Երաւա ճօր յօ քօն քօն քօն քօն քօն
 յիւր ան քօն Կենէլ Կօնաւլլ Ե Դօթի մաճ Բիւրօրիւ մաճ Կօնն Բաճա՛յ
 (քօր Կար Ե յօ Բա Երաւան քօն) քօ Կարքիւ արիւրքիւ Կարքիւ արիւր Ե
 Կարքիւ քօն ան անման քօ քօն Երաւ Լաճ Լեօ Կօնար Լար ան Երիւ,
 Ե յիւր անար քօ ճիւր աճտ Երաճ Ե Երքքաճա՛ւ ան Երիւ յա քօնաւլլ.

Բա քօնար քօնման, 7 Բա Կօնիւրքա՛ւ քօն Լա Երա՛ւ ւա յօնիւր

¹ *Friendly*.—See an account of the battle that took place eight years before this near Strabane, between Turlough Luineach and Hugh O'Neill, in which Turlough and his English allies were defeated, in *Annals F. M.*, v. 1813.

² *Strabane*.—i.e., the white strand, a town in Co. Derry, sixteen miles south of Derry. The site of O'Neill's residence

is said to be that occupied by Castle House, in Castle Street. No trace of it remains.

³ *Left behind*.—The Irish Annalists make frequent mention of the bursting forth of lakes and rivers throughout the country. They even go so far as to set down the very year when these eruptions took place.

⁴ *Willis*.—The outrages and exactions practised by him and the English under his

English. There was another reason too, for the Cinel Eoghain were a wood of refuge and a bush of shelter at all times for every one of the Cinel Conaill itself who opposed and resisted their own true prince, and not only for them but for every one in other territories who was in opposition to or in enmity with the Cinell Conaill by reason of their hatred of them. Besides, the O'Neill, *i.e.*, Turlough Luineach, son of Niall Conallach, and the Earl O'Neill, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, who was always attached to Hugh and to his father, were not friendly¹ and affectionate to each other then. Wherefore, for these reasons it was against them he wished to go first to perform his first feat of arms and to display his enmity and anger. When that small force had come to Cinel Eoghain, they harassed and preyed that part of the country near them. Every one fit to bear arms whom the army got hold of was wounded and slain. They found much spoil of cows and oxen and every sort of beast too in the neighbourhood, because warnings had not preceded them, nor, indeed, did the people of the territory imagine that Hugh Roe would rise so soon from the sick-bed on which he was, and they did not conceive in their thoughts nor did it occur to their minds to fly before the Cinel Conaill for a long time before.

At that time the residence of the O'Neill (Turlough Luineach) was at Strabane,² the place of meeting of the two ancient rivers which the deluge left behind³ together, *i.e.*, the Finn and the Mourne, and it was not the custom of the O'Neill to dwell or stay there, except this Turlogh. The affection of Hugh Roe for O'Neill was not increased when he learned that he had invited to him to strengthen himself against the Cinel Conaill and Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach (who was his friend and brother-in-law), two famous captains named Captain Willis⁴ and Captain Folart,⁵ together with two hundred soldiers who were with him at that time, and they never ceased espying and prying about the country all around.

It was anguish of mind and a great heartbreak to Hugh O'Donnell that

command in Fermanagh and later in Donegal, while Hugh Roe was confined in Dublin Castle, are given by him and by Maguire as the chief reasons why they took up arms. See pp. xlvii. and liii., *antea*.

⁵ *Folart*.—He is called by the Four Masters *Foal*, vi. 1983, and *Fool* by O'Sullivan. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 165. His name seems to have been Fuller; so we may infer from *C.C. MSS.*, iii. p. 156.

ḡaill Duiblinne do óenom eolair a athair óa nách an chuiccró ar élna, ar nri uo heipura nairóm amuirtiuir fhuir an ecách at clumeó hī ccáirtoine fhu ḡaillóib ar aóble pobui anstairigna & an eoluir occa & aia óaithe mo imbhuirle an aincurothe ḡan fochann fairi. Iar murtóir an tíre óórom aiaail at iuibiamori, roair fori ccúlair óia chuch fepirín. Niri uo cían an iothhnaróe baori fori Adó óa n'Dóimnoill iairuiróe an tan do óeachairó óia fechtmaine do iuróir do murtóir tíri heoghain. Do iaghairt aittreabáig an tíre an óara fecht cona ccuó 7 cona celtchuir cona mionmairib & cona molenáomuib fori atheichead & fori iomḡabail bail ar iriuom coniangatar. Téiróim cona flog ina leanniam & ina luirce co iannice Cianaéta ḡlinve ḡeimhin, & ó do éolct in iomvóimain an tíre, ar ann at cuar óó óa Neill (toiriuóealbach) cona fochmairve ḡaill & ḡaioóeal & cona flog ar élna do bié ina comfóchuirib & ina nuppoichill. Ót chíalairómh tíra an nírin, mo ḡaimuirt fo celtóir a choimairilíḡ 7 acuinglōha catha euga, & o do iuachtattar aitéo na fccéla cetna óóib, & an toirce ima mbúi occa ttoghairim conepeir fhuú. At chíalára eicem la háor fíra 7 éolair ḡuab ólíb aiorce aipóirle o chlin, ḡac fíuaḡ náe fairgh fairḡiróir. Aire óta lmrá murtin, ar epriom, óia bfaircebam an curoé von chuipra & cúl do éochair fhu ar naimóib non lñfairtiróe fori ar luirḡ & fori ar ffoilluicht óia ffochair co feochair inar nourió, 7 bíó ólíb leó ḡuab ab élar & timme fo óera óuin ḡan anionfóirḡeáó itir. Maó eó do ḡlñaimne céur a ffochair iuim hī fccétra co hámnuir aindiuo nír ielccfe an uaiman 7 an curoíñbair óóiróim náe von aipfíne eéirionn fíle imaille fhuu ar toḡiam do iuróir.

Ro molarat cáe ar élna an comairle huirin. Do ḡniatt iairóim fairi aiaail aipubairiurim, ar do beirerat fobairt bioóbaó & ammuir aindiairuaḡ foriua imómeóon laori do fiontíaró. Ót chíatiróim cenél Conaill óia fairḡó m mo anrat fhuú, áct tífḡait fori a mionḡabail ḡó aiorle cairtiall mo bui fori

¹ *TírEoghain*.—i.e., the territory of Eoghan son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. For its limits see *The Book of Caillin*, pp. 395-405.

² *Cianachta*.—The tribe called Cianachta, i.e., the race of Cian, was descended from Cian, son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster in the third century. After the establishment of surnames the principal family of Cianachta of this territory took the surname of O'Conor, and is distinguished in

the Irish Annals by the name of O'Conor of Glen Geimhin. Keenaght is a barony in N.W. of Co. Derry. *Top. Poems*, xvi.

³ *Glinne Geimhin*.—The name is preserved in that of the old church of Dungiven, in the southern part of the barony of Keenaght.

⁴ *Attacked*.—This same saying occurs in a poem by O'Slevin, in which he urges O'Neill to give battle to Brian Borumha. *War of the Gaedhil, &c.*, p. 125.

the English of Dublin should obtain a knowledge of his patrimony or of the province either, for it was not easy to establish a friendship with any one who was reported to be in amity with the English on account of the great information and knowledge which they had, and of the vindictiveness with which they had inflicted cruelties on him without cause. When he had wasted the territories, as we have said, he returned to his own country. Hugh O'Donnell did not delay long after that, for he went back on that day week to plunder Tir Eoghain.¹ The inhabitants of the country, a second time, with their herds and flocks, with their treasures and chattels, went away, in order to fly and avoid capture, to the remotest places they could. He went with his forces in pursuit of them and on their track until he came to Cianachta² Glinne Geimhin,³ and when he had gone far into the territory, he was told that Turlough O'Neill with his force of both English and Irish and with his own troops also was in the neighbourhood and awaiting him. As soon as he heard that, he called his counsellors and his heroes in battle to him immediately, and when they had come he told them the same tidings and the business for which he had summoned them, and said to them: 'I have heard it for certain from persons of knowledge and experience that the well known saying has always proved true: every army which does not attack will be attacked.'⁴ Wherefore, it seems to me' said he, 'if we abandon the territory now and turn our backs to our enemies, they will follow on our track and on our footsteps to attack us boldly on our rear, and they will feel sure that weakness and fear is our reason for not attacking them at all. But if we first make the attack now boldly, obstinately, fear and deadly terror will not allow them or the foreign tribe that is with them to follow us again.'

All alike approved of that opinion. They did then in regard to it as he said, for they made a resolute attack and an angry advance on them in the middle of the day exactly. When they saw the Cinel Conaill coming towards them, they did not wait for them, but went off to escape from them to a certain castle⁵ that was on the bank of the Roe,⁶ this is a river

⁵ *Castle*.—The castle of Limavaddy.

⁶ *Roe*.—This river rises in the Sperrin mountains, near the southern boundary of

the barony of Keenaght, and running due north, falls into Lough Foyle six miles above Limavaddy.

bpiú na Roa, abann iirde ril hi cianachtaib glinne seinim. Ba daingean
 oítoḡlarúe an cairtiall uairi mo bui clocail cairiḡrúe do éaoib úe cona
 laimta a leim von let via mbui. Batai iolairi míri & mórcelaraú & clau
 ecomdangln von éaoib ariail ve cona laimta ní úó. Ba dion rloḡ 7
 rocharúe an cairtiall hupin, 7 nup uo hlnupra a iompurúe ittipi. O mangatai
 rom fo daingean an dúinarú nua rinu maince la húa n'Doinnaill cona fluaḡ
 rochtain meimib, ḡeibarú o Doinnaill longrope von táoib ariail von abann
 ḡo ari a bariach. Dála uí Chaetan, Ruarúpi mic Maḡnupra mic Doncharú mic
 Slain tóiruch an típe, faorúpi aḡeéta vo fáigro uí Dhoimnaill, 7 rccuibenn
 laip. Arló bui hupurúu oca aḡ piat ḡup bó valta úórom o Doinnaill
 maran tan rin, & ḡo monlnaipce acariaraú ó élin fup, 7 mo fáirú chucca
 hiomaipecrúe úó (an vapi laip) ari aba an chapiaraú hupin an cepeich ba
 vup faimec fopi afaoran & comaipece vo leḡeáú úó an ionbarúpin, 7 naé ar
 meicepeaú chucca vo iurúpi via mbeḡrom fopi a lupce. Ro éingail beor
 fol. 13. b. va trealanú vécce maiacá vo úa Doinnaill ari faoipe, 7 rnarúáú von chác vo
 veacáatai fopi a ioncharib von cuppin.

Soair ó Doinnaill fopi cúlaú, acht na má mo aipup inpin cepeú vapibo
 iurúllr na bú via tapet comaipece ḡo cenn éopa noirúe con aláib oḡa lot
 7 occá laimúilleaú ḡo piacht fo úeóirú ḡo a épi fepin. O manaipeumú ḡo a
 dúnapar ḡo Dun na ngall vepirú hupurúu, 7 vo bpltha a leighe chucca vo
 choimchupin a choip, & anarú occa ocpap rinu mé dá inop, 7 mo léce cuippanaú
 vía rloḡ an aipit rin. Ba fova laipumú mo bui úa Néill con a ḡallab ḡan
 fuabapit fup in mé rin. Ro tapceclomaú a rloḡ via fáigro iari tapcepin an
 va inop apubpiomai, 7 vo coipit arf tapu blupar moip, tapu Finn, tapu
 Moóaiup, ḡup au rcpaé mbán baile imbatari na ḡail 7 úa Néill vup an
 tapupititip ambolḡhal. O na faipḡbatari na ḡail dainḡln an dúinarú via
 fprobaipepiomú aiúail ba mlinmaipec úóib, ba peú vo iónipac élince 7 élinvála
 va úúó 7 va úanvaú hi cléloria hapiue an baile, 7 ni mo rccapipac fup ḡup mo

¹ *Strong part.*—Donjon, the strong tower.

² *O'Cañan.*—These were a branch of the Cinel Eoghain. In the twelfth century they drove out the O'Conors. *The Book of Rights*, p. 50, n. An account of this clan will be found in *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii. 1.; Belfast, 1855.

³ *Horse-trappings.*—These are often

mentioned in *The Book of Rights* as being given by the chiefs to the kings as a tribute, and by the kings to the chiefs as a stipend. Thus 'the truly heroic king of Uí Liathain was entitled to a steed and trappings (from) across the high sea' from the king of Cashel. p. 83.

⁴ *Finn.*—This river rises in Lough Finn,

in Cianachta Glinne Geimhin. The castle was strong and impregnable, for there was a steep cliff by the side of it, so that it was not possible to leap over on the side where it was. There were numerous walls and a great trench and a strong rampart on the other side, so that no attempt could be made on it. That castle was a shelter for a host and an army, and it was not easy to besiege it. As they had reached the strong part¹ of the castle before Hugh O'Donnell and his army could succeed in coming there, O'Donnell encamped on the other side of the river till the next day. As to Rory O'Cahan,² son of Manus, son of Donough, son of John, chief of the territory, he sent a messenger to O'Donnell and with him a letter. In it he said that O'Donnell was his foster-son before this time, and that he had entered into friendship long before with him, and he sent him word that it would be becoming, he thought, owing to that friendship, that he should leave to him the property which had come under his care and protection, and he would never again admit such if he was in pursuit of it. He promised also twelve horse-trappings³ to O'Donnell if he would secure and protect all who had come for protection to him then.

O'Donnell withdrew, but yet he remained in the country which owned the cattle to which he gave protection for the space of three days and three nights, plundering and wasting it, and then at last he came to his own territory. When he came to his castle at Donegal he remained there, and his physicians were brought to him to examine his feet; the illness remained with him for the space of two months, and he allowed his troops to rest during that time. It seemed to him long that O'Neill and his English should not have been attacked during that time. He assembled his troops after two months' preparation of which we have spoken, and they went off through Bearnas More across the Finn,⁴ across the Mourne to Strabane, the place where the English and O'Neill were, to see if he could do them harm. Since the English did not leave the strong part of the castle in order to attack them, as they were anxious they should do, what they did was to kindle and light up fires and conflagrations in the four quarters of the town, and they did not go away until they had burned and

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in the barony of Boyleagh in west Donegal, and flowing due east, joins the Mourne at

Lifford, where the united rivers take the name of the Foyle.

λοιγῆς 7 ζυγί πο νοτιρῆς ἀμβου το τοιγῆς ρη μύραις ρεάταιρ, & ζυγί πορ ευιρῆς θαρ εἰνο το μιάτ comba λόρ το τοχαρ neich πορ ιομπόλλ 7 ἀνέολ ἀν ὀλυμῆέο οἶαθ το θεαχάθ ὁ ἰμελιαν ον mbaile, & ba ἡρῖν ochtmaθ ὀεεε ἰυῆν το ποναθ ἰορῖν. Ο na ταναγатаρ τῖα na ἡαῖλ ὀανακαλ naθ ὀιμὸςῆαῖλ ἀν baile πορῖα, ραγβατῖρῖν ἔ ἱαρ na οἱccuin ραῖλαρ & τῖςῆαττ οἶα ττοιγῆς cen naθ ρηῖθεατ ρηυ.

fol. 14.a. Iomēypa Δόσθα υἱ Νέιλλ (ἀν ἱαῖλα) ἀτ ριαθαρ ρunn ρῖτταλ naile, ὁ πο αἱμῆρῖομ ἰομῆνρῶ 7 αἱmmine ἀοῖρῖβῖne buθ ὀem ρη ἡῖα nDomnaill 7 ἔλῖλοῖλ Conaill uile ἀχῖτ μαθ βῆς, 7 ἀμβῖρῖ ἄς ρυβατῖτ ῆαῖλ Duiblinn ραῖρ, ἀρῶ το ποῖne ραῖγῖρ ἀν αἱμῶς πο bu ρη λαῖν Rῖς Saxan ἰn ἰοῖρ Epeann, 1. uuilliam Fizuilliam, ἀρῖ πο ba ἡρῖτῖρ ἀν ταν ρῖν, & ὁ το θεαχάθ ἰn ἀ ὀόcom ἀτβετ ρηρ conuρ ριοεράθ ο Domnaill ρο choῖα & ἔαonchoῖmῖac chucca οἶα τταρῖοαθ ἀnaκαλ 7 ἰομῖnaῖαθ ὀό ἀρ ἀba ἀν ἔῖνῖα ἀτ ἡυῖα. Tῖngῖeallῖαρ ἀν ἡρῖτῖρ co βῖρῖghbῖrῖe ἀῖῖαῖλ πο ἡοῖρῖnaῖmῖeα uαῖρῖοῖ. Scῖnῖobῖthaρ ρῖοτῖeactῖon ἱῖρῖοῖ ρῖῖῖ το μῖonῖcoῖρῖς Δόσῖ ὁ Νέιλλ ὀon ρῖρῖbῖnrῖ, & το ἡατ ἀν ἡρῖτῖρ ἀ λαῖν ραῖρ, & το ἡαῖρῖατ ἀν ρῖῖnaῖ ἀρ chῖna. Ro ὀάῖ ἀν ἡρῖτῖρ chuza ζυρ ἀn ccaῖρῖaῖς ρῖλ πορ bῖῖῖ τῖρῖaῖa baile ἡic bῖῖaῖn eῖτῖρ ὀῖn ὀeaῖzaῖn 7 μῖῖῖ. Ἀn Stῖρῖaῖt baile ατα coῖmῖaῖc, & ἀτ βῖρῖt nach ἀρ βῖῖῖαθ ὁ Domnaill ρeaῖa buθ ὀῖῖῖ 50 ἡἄῖ εῖῖaῖt. Ceῖleabῖρῖαρ Δόσῖ ὁ Νέιλλ ὀon αἱμῖς & ὀon τῖῖῖaῖθ ἱῖῖ ταν, & ἡμῖῖοῖ οἶα εῖς, & ἡῖρ uῖῖ εῖῖaῖn ἀn ἰοῖῖnaῖrῖe το ποῖne ἀn ταν πο ἀρῖcῖnῖ 1 τῖρῖaῖtῖ ἡρῖν ρῖττ & ἡρῖν ρῖῖῖῖῖ ὁ ὀῖῖn ῆῖῖaῖnn ἡic caῖbῖarῖ ρῖaῖτῖaῖrῖ ζῖῖ nῖῖῖeacῖh 50 ἡῖῖῖcῖc ὀῖῖn na ῖῖῖaῖῖ αἱμῖ ἀmbaῖοῖ ὁ Domnaill. ἡ πο ἡατῖaῖzῖt 50 πο τῖaῖbῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ἀn ὀioῖῖῖa πορ ρan ρῖaῖtῖhῖe. Robῖtaρ ρoῖῖtῖz ἡῖῖῖῖῖb ἀn cῖῖῖ baῖο πορ accῖno ἱαρ na ρῖῖoῖρ ρῖῖῖ. Bῖῖῖ ὁ Domnaill ἡn ἀ ῖῖῖe πορ ἀ ἰοmῖαῖθ oῖῖῖaῖρ, & ἡ πο chuῖῖῖῖῖῖ ῖῖῖῖe ἡ eallῖῖa το ρῖaῖῖῖῖῖa na naῖoῖrῖeῖ το ἡῖaῖaτῖαρ ὀῖochom, 7 ὁ na caῖmῖῖaῖcῖaῖρ ἡτῖρῖ το τῖῖῖτ Δῖῖ ὁ Νέιλλ οἶα αῖῖῖῖῖῖ 5ῖῖ ἀ ἰοmῖαῖθ, & αττ ρῖῖῖ ὀῖ ἀn τoῖρῖc ἡn ἀ τῖῖῖῖῖaῖθ. Ἀτβετ ρom nῖῖῖ bo λαῖν. λαῖρ, 7 nῖῖῖ bῖῖ ρῖῖῖn ἀ ἡῖῖῖῖῖa οἶα ὀῖῖ ἡῖῖeacῖῖaῖcῖαρ na

¹ *Fitzwilliam*.—His grandfather was in the train of Cardinal Wolsey, and earned the notice of Henry VIII., who knighted his son. Sir W. was Lord Deputy five times between 1560 and 1594. His descendant, Earl Fitzwilliam, is the owner of extensive estates in Ireland.

² *B., son of Buan*.—He was fifth in descent from Rudhraighe, who was ardrigh

from 292 to 212 B.C.; he lived about the beginning of our era. An account of his romantic death caused by grief for the loss of Aillinn, grand-daughter of Fergus, king of Leinster, will be found in O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 465. He was buried on the sea shore, whence the name the Strand of Baile.

³ *Stradbally*.—This name is now obsolete.

plundered all the houses close to the walls outside, and until they drove off immediately many of a large number of horses they met wandering about confused by the thick cloud of smoke which came a long distance from the town. It was on the 18th of July this took place. As the English did not come meanwhile to guard or protect the town from them, they left it after wasting it in this way and went to their homes without any opposition.

1592.

With respect to the Earl Hugh O'Neill who has been mentioned already, when he perceived the envy and anger of his own tribe, all but a few, against Hugh O'Donnell and all the Cinel Conaill, and that they were urging on the English of Dublin against him, what he did was to go to the nobleman who was Deputy of the English King in the island of Erin, viz., William Fitzwilliam,¹ for he was Lord Justice then; and when he went in to him he told him that O'Donnell would come to make peace and friendship if he gave him protection and complete security in reference to the escape which he had effected. The Lord Justice promised that it should be given as it was agreed on by him. A protection was written then as Hugh O'Neill directed the Secretary, and the Lord Justice put his signature to it, and the Council put theirs also. The Lord Justice invited him to meet him at the town which is on the edge of the strand of Baile mic Buan,² between Dundalk and the sea, that is Stradbally,³ and he said he would not bring O'Donnell further southwards to Dublin. Hugh O'Neill took leave of the Viceroy and Council then and went home, and the stay he made then was not long, for he went immediately by the way and the road from the Dun of Genann, son of Cathbadh, north-west exactly, until he came to Donegal, where O'Donnell was. The troop was not noticed till they dismounted on the green.⁴ Every one who met them was rejoiced hearing the news. O'Donnell was lying on his sick-bed, and he could not rise readily to entertain the guests who had come to him; and as he could not, Hugh O'Neill went to his bedside to confer with him, and told him the business on which he had come. He said it was not agreeable to him, nor was his mind satisfied to go into the presence of the English, since the

⁴ *Green*.—The Irish word *faithche* means a green or enclosed space attached to a fort. See Reeves' *Adannan*, p. 360, n. A

part of the present town of Wexford, which in former times lay outside the walls, still goes by this name.

[illegible]

բոր յօրևանն ան օմնե, 7 բարօրիւտ ան ան ածագլխոյն. Օ Ծոմնաւլ երս
 օ նա յօ շուռնարտայ շինուցած բորս և շորրաւն աշտ մանօ քրքած բորս եօշ,
 օսր բլոց ան խրտր բօ օնն օսա իճիշօ արմ անսու և բաւտուցի յան, և
 օւնչար օօ ան տէնն օօ յօնե, 7 չած ցօն ար շինա. իսր անոն յօտա 7
 արարարած օօրօն բար ան խրտր արա հաւիհե, օշեաւար օօ և բաշարօ
 աննաշտան, օօ քրք իարօն անն բօր անտէշտ. Օօ ճո Ժօօ օ Նէւլ ան
 օշտա իսր անօնն աօրքա անան յօա օաա իսր. իօքար օնննօն
 բարօրք օօր օնաօ ան օնար իտօշատար օ և տիշն օօ տօրարաշտար ճօ
 Օնն ճնանոն. Յատար աշար իքրօն օշ քննօղած և օշ արքա անե
 ճար օօ մաշիշ ևս հնա անօմնաւլ անտէշտ, և օ յօ իաւննօն անօր
 տօրքարած օն ար ին բար ան Ժօ անե ճար օօ հարննք ևօ մա ան
 անքարած օօ ան տօրար. Օօ տիշտ իարօն օ Ծոմնաւլ ճօ յաշտ ճօ Օնն ան
 անաւ, 7 արքր օօ ևօշ ան և ճիս օշար օօ յնն օօ բօ օնն և անան օշ
 ան յօնանն անօա 7 օանօնարա բար ան խրտր. Օ յօ հարքրօշած օն
 օննն ատար իքրննք բարնն օօ անն օնաւ և օտաշ 7 և արարած
 օօ անն օօրօն բար ան ճաւաւն, օսր բլոց տօշտօն ճօ օնանարշտ օ
 ին օսա իճիշօ, և օօ անքարտ և օննն ան, օօ ան ար օտ տաւանշ տօշար
 ան արքրնն բար (քրքատ յօլարօ ան օն) ար ար անն և անն օնա.

[illegible]

mission, making a great show of sorrow for his misdemeanours committed, protesting henceforth to hold a more dutiful course of life, and very willingly yielded himself to be sworn to perform the several parts of his submission and several other articles,

one God allowed him to escape from them, on account of their vindictiveness and the extent of the cruelty which they had inflicted on him without reason, though before this it was hard to give him a refusal; but yet he would go with him if it was his wish.

It was painful to him to go on this journey for his feet were wounded, and they were not healed immediately after his two great toes were cut off, as we have said. They were together that night taking counsel, and when they had taken it they set off the next day with a troop of horse, and they did not stop on their road except at night, till they came to Stradbally of Dun Delgan. The Lord Justice came to meet them there, as he had promised. The troop dismounted at the rear of the castle, and rested there that night. Since O'Donnell was not able to move about on his feet but only rode on horseback, the Lord Justice himself came to the place where he was and bade him welcome, and forgave him the escape he effected, and every fault beside. After he had entered into peace¹ and friendship with the Lord Justice, he then took leave of him and left him his blessing, and prepared then to depart. O'Neill did the like after he had completed his business to his satisfaction. They both returned by the same road they had come from their homes till they reached Dungannon. They were feasting and enjoying themselves there for a while, until Hugh O'Donnell thought it time to go away, and as he proceeded to part then from the other Hugh it was painful to both to be separated from each other. After that O'Donnell went his way until he came to Donegal, and he remained again in his sick-bed, as he had no fear, having entered into peace and friendship with the Lord Justice. When it was told to the party which was in opposition to him among the Cinel Conaill, that amity and friendship had been entered into between him and the English, they came immediately very submissively to him for peace, and they made full submission to him, because they were not able to contend with or hold out against him, as his warriors were many; for the strength of a prince are his men.

These were the principal persons of those who came for peace to him. First came Hugh,² son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, the senior of the race

whereof, as also of his said submission, your Lordship shall herewith receive the copies.' *C.S.P.I.*, v. 569.

² *Hugh*.—He was descended from a younger son of the great-grandfather of Hugh Roe. See p. xii. antea.

Dálaidh mic Maighéilpeidh cen mothá dó mac Maghnusa & ba fhuar do rann-
aite abhíth hi cluach na cuiche oia éirí, fíhí níláinn foibéad, cluach,
caimhímhail eiríde con lineach con doiríochairie 7 con lúghnám, feintíó ar
fíntíórlét, fíhí ar fíhídecht, & ba fhuar at bhídeí reachtónn Eireann hi
coitcheiníde sup uo heiríomh glúin oiríólnaé gairceíó gairídeal, úairi ba rannálda
do luáidí mac cén no do Troilur mac Bhuairí ar maiceirígeacht. Ba haitéigin
fo. 15. a. do éom na clíra ar ní tálcead ná nóchairí mionmíll, 7 ar ing má mo tálma
neach mian fíhí ar fíhílead no fíhí ar fíhíreirí fíhí mo bo bér don gairceirídead
gmaegó do díchíll mac Peil, 7 van ní deacharó i cat nó hi clíadaé in
íomairíng nó in íomairígal na gónaíó nead éiccin eiríntur. Ba fíhí oíogálda
7 aite a anpáldaí amáil Conall chlínnach mac Aimeiríng, cona fíhí abaozal
cein báoi imbí. Acht élna níhí bo náhí nó meabál dóíom amáil mo fíhí &
mo íonfíhíarí aríberí 7 aníóirídecht, détlacht 7 dánatíhí an míagáiríe
míoghíóa pímhíóiríchantáirí tháirí. 1. Dó Rúaí mac Dóda mic Maghnusa,
óirí ba fíhí dírí doíóiríce dána dólíhílabíad gó ngníur íochmíng fíhíbhí gó
namíarí 7 con áiríde aígíó, gó níntíeét 7 con aíríeag míhíman, gó fíhí &
gó fíhíllamíneacht fíhítha gó tcomáilíhí 7 gó nuplíhíaríe ina fíhídeíngíra
co na lamítha upíáíhíacht aíhíngáiríe náé abíeríeíe, amáil bíó é an Céaríhí
aíríeríe fíhí a íeríobáirí fíhíó rannáil na tálra híhí. Conad aíríeríhí náhí bo
híóbhí dónáiríe & náhí bo rannína ranníáda dádó mac Dótha ranní uí
Domíhíll ina da náé áon oia bunad fíhíhí ina píe an mac táiríngíhíad
míhíngíonad aíríbhíamíhí oia íhíaríhíngáí, ar do íhíeríce do ílénéíhíhí na
híhíhí in mo gíhíarí ó éom míhíhí, 7 van ba daldá dóíomí fíhíhíhí an tan mo
bíhí in a míhíhíaríhí, gíhí bó íhíhíhíhí fíhíhí don eiríhíhíhí míhíhíhí íhíhíhíhí.

¹ *Dalagh*.—See p. xii., antea.

² *Lughaidh*.—There were two of this name, both famed in Irish history, one called Lamhfodha, *i.e.*, the Long-handed, a Tuatha De Danaan chief, whose exploits are a favourite theme of the Irish bards. See *Ogygia*, p. 177, and Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 93. Another of the name was ardrigh from A.D. 182 to 212. He was slain at the instigation of King Cormac, by whom he had been expelled from Tara, at Gort an oir, four miles N.E. of Cahir, Co. Tipperary. See *Annals F. M.*, i. 110.

³ *Troilus*.—The allusion no doubt is to Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 474.

⁴ *The hound*.—*i.e.*, Cuchullin, or the hound of Culainn, who was King Conor Mac Nessa's artificer in metal. From him Sestanta got this name. He was a native of Ulster and cousin of Conall Cearnach. Tigernach in his *Annals* calls him 'fortissimus heros Scotorum.' His residence was at Dundalk. He was killed at the age of twenty-seven, at the battle of Muirtheimhne in Louth. See O'Curry's *MSS. Materials*, p. 37, 'The Deathbed of Cuchullin,' *Atlantis*, July, 1858, and *Ogygia*, p. 279.

⁵ *Conall Cearnach*.—He was chief of the Red Branch Knights. The Irish records speak of him as the greatest hero of the

of Dalagh,¹ son of Murchertach, except Hugh, son of Manus, and he thought he was likely to be at the head of the territory after him. He was a comely, well-mannered man, kind, friendly, generous, and hospitable, dexterous in the use of arms, a soldier in martial exploits, a poet as regards poetic skill, and of him it was said throughout Erin commonly that he was the last generation of the Gadelic heroes, for he was likened to Lughaidh,² son of Cian, or to Troilus,³ son of Priam, in horsemanship. He was equal to the hound⁴ of the artificer, for he never made an erring cast, and hardly ever did any one escape from him in deadly slaughter or red carnage, as was the custom with the Grecian warrior Achilles, son of Peleus. Moreover, he did not go into a fight or skirmish, into a dispute or a struggle, that he did not wound some one certainly somehow. He was a vindictive man and keen to avenge his wrongs, like Conall Cearnach,⁵ son of Amergin,⁶ so that he was never worsted so long as he lived. But yet it was not a shame or a disgrace to him that, in preference to him, the royal prophecied Hugh Roe, son of Hugh, son of Manus, should be proclaimed the royal ruler, since his vigour and courage, his bravery and fortitude, had grown and increased, for he was a man hard to oppose, intrepid, eloquent, with a pleasant, cheerful countenance, with subtlety and superiority of knowledge, of generosity and inventiveness of mind, with the firmness and ruling power of a prince, of severity and sternness in his commands, so that it was not allowed to dispute his order or his words, just as if he was the noble Cæsar, to whom the poets ascribe such qualities as these. For that reason it was not a cause of shame nor was it a matter of dishonour for Hugh, son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, nor for any of his family in his time, that the prophecied child of great deeds of whom we have spoken should be placed over him, for he surpassed all the people of the island in which he was born for a long time past; and he was his foster-child when he was in his infancy, yet he was envious of him at this time on account of his supremacy.

western world. He was ancestor of the O'Mores and the other tribes of Leix. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 210, *The Book of Rights*, p. 214, n., and *Ogygia*, p. 278.

⁶ *Amergin*. — His pedigree is given by

MacFirbis thus: Amergin, son of Cas, son of Fiacha, son of Caipe, son of Ginge, son of Rudhraighe, from whom the clan Rudhraighe descends. See *The Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 28.

Եւր բանեւ շուքարոն քոն օքրսէ օքրտն ինչալ շարն մաք Ըմն մե ան
 Շախաւն մե Մաշնաք մե ճոճա ճիշ, տանգարոյ ճոճ տն. Եւ բնի տան
 տեմմեոեաճ տօնոմարթել քրտե օ քե ճիշտ երթաճ ճո նեմ ճոճաչ ճո
 Լմնե Լեման. Եւ ճարաւ ճաւե 7 ճարեթաճ, Եւ ճնն յլոյն Եւ յոճարե
 քի ճաճ 7 քի ճոճաճ, ճաչ ին մա Եւ յօյմեթաճ քիւրոն ճիւալ ճաչ ճոմօ Լի
 տեարնիւր ան ճոճա յօ Եւ Եանճեւե ճո. Դօ յալա ճարաքաճ օւլե լտօյյա, ար
 յօ Լալա ան ճաճո մ Եւ մաճաչաչ ճոճա տարտնիւրոն, ար Եւ ճօ մ յա
 յարնիւր Եւր բանն ճաչ Եւ ար օման յտար. Դօ ճիւտ ան Եւր օ Դօճար-
 տայն .1. Տեան ճոճ մաք Տեան մե քելմ մե Ըոնճօար Ըարյայն ճօյրօճ
 քիւոճար ճեօ նար Լեօճան մե ինչալ. Եւ տարն ճաչա 7 Եւ երթոն
 յօյճաւե, Եւ Եօքարն յլոյն ճար յաօմեթ յօյյա ան բնի տօ ճօտ յիւրոն.
 ճաչ ար Եւ ճօ Եւ յա յոն 7 յօճար Եւր քաճ ճօմնալ ին միւմեթար
 ճար յօ Լանլոն. Եւ մե օմ. Եւրոն ան ճի օ Դօճարայն ճօ
 տօյարն ճի Դօմնալ ճիւա արնի տալա ճօ տօ ճեւն յիւտա քար, 7 յօ
 ճիւմնն ճիւա ճան տօչա յիւ տալ ճեթ մաճ տա մարաճ տեճ, Եւ Եւ յանլաւ
 տարաճօն ին տօչա տօն ճօճ արալ. Լի յօնար լաճա ին տանլն քար
 Եւ մ յօ յիւրար յաճա մար տարա ճաչ մաճ յիւ. Դար քաճ ճօմնալ
 յիւ տալ, 7 մ ճար Լար ճաչ ան Լոն ճարնար ճար. Դանաք յա օ
 Դօճարայն տօն ճօճ ին ան Լոն ճիւտ ճօմարար տլ ին տլ. Եւ յիւմն
 ճօճալ Լա իւա ինճօմնալ, Եւ նար տօ մաճ յօ մար Լար ճօն տարաչ տա
 միւմար տար Եւր ճօճեմ տօ ճի ճոճ քիւտնար Եւ ճոճ յօյար քար, ճօնաճ Եւ
 տօ յօնե յօնար ճօն յօն ճօ քար Եւ ճօ Եւրար ճօ յաօմեթ յօ յա
 ինճօմնալ ճօն Եւ միւմար, 7 ճարնար Եւ Եւր ճօն, 7 տօ Եւր Լար, Եւ տօն
 ճեմել ճարարոն քօ, 7 յար յելաք ար ճօնար ճար Եւ ճօնար յօ 7 ճել
 7 տարաք քի ճօմնալ տօ ճար. օ յօնա յօմար ճիւտ օ Դօճարայն 7 ճեմել
 Ըոնալ ար ճիւտ ճար ին յօ Եւր Լի յիւտնար քար տօն, յօ ճաճ ճոճ
 յօմնալ ճօն Եւ ճաճա ճեմ յօնա ճեւտ, ճօ ճօք ճիւտ 7 միւմն, ճօ
 տօն Եւր Եւ Եւրն, 7 ճոճ յաճաճ ճաճ ճօն յօ ճօն քի յաւա Եւ

¹ *Niall Garbh*.—‘This man might well be called Garuff, *i.e.*, rough or rude, for he was, as Sir Henry Dowra writes of him, proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, unnecessarily covetous, without any knowledge of God, or almost any civility.’ Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, 1426. It is remarkable that friends and foes agreed in their estimate of Niall Garbh’s character.

² *Sister*.—*i.e.*, Nuala. She left Ireland with the Earls in 1606. See p. cxxiv., ante.

³ *O’Doherty*.—See p. xii., ante. Later he took an active part on O’Donnell’s side against the English garrison of Derry. He died in 1600. Our author speaks of his death as a great disaster to the cause of O’Donnell.

There came to him to the same meeting Niall Garbh,¹ son of Conn, son of Calbach, son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, who was called Hugh Dubh. He was a violent man, hasty, austere, since he was spiteful, vindictive, with the venom of a serpent, with the impetuosity of a lion. He was a hero in valour, and brave. He was the head of an army and of troops in battle and war. But yet he was envious towards him like the rest, though the sister² of Hugh was his wife. There was another bond of friendship between them. Hugh had been fostered in his boyhood by his parents. But yet it was not for real love for him he came, but it was wholly through fear. There came also, O'Doherty,³ *i.e.*, Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Phelim, son of Conor Carrach,⁴ chief of the cantred of Inishowen Mic Neill. The man who came then was a prop in war and a pillar in the contest, and the shelter of an army after defeat. But, however, it was by the point and edge of the sword that O'Donnell brought him to his friendship, though he was a mighty champion. It happened in this way: O'Doherty invited O'Donnell to a conference with him under a show of peace, and he told him that only twelve horsemen should come to the meeting, and would come in the same way on the other side. He did not take promises or bonds from him, and he did not give sureties and securities but in this way. O'Donnell came to the meeting, and brought with him only the number mentioned. Meanwhile O'Doherty came on the other side with the same number, so that they were face to face. It was a great trouble to O'Donnell, and it was not an honour or an ornament to him that one chief of his own people should be in opposition and enmity to him; so what he did was to make an onset on them angrily, vigorously, so that O'Doherty and his people were overcome, and he was himself seized. He took him with him and put iron fetters on him, and he did not let him go⁵ until he made his submission to him, and gave him pledges and hostages for its observance always. As O'Doherty and the Cinel Conaill, even to the portion that had been in opposition to him, were subjected to him, he proceeded to govern his principality as was right, preventing theft and evil deeds, banishing rogues and robbers, executing every one who was

¹ *Conor Carrach*.—So called, probably, from Carraig Braoidsidhe, a district in the N.W. of Inishowen.

⁵ *Let him go*—He was kept in confinement for nearly three years. *C.S.P.I.*, v. 308.

αιρέαλλ, conari bo heicclín do chác ósícititín im comúda analúna na aninnile
 acht donsfairitir foí éona 7 éeachair namá, zombuí an cnuoch zan connaí
 zan comoiuib zan naé fuitchoisain ó chách fíu a éile, & no éuitéir an ví
 námaí foí doimóisgáó ar níu pteígeó an omán oóib foíaitéimíe appalaó
 oiaioile. bá daoinéac óálac caiteimáé conzairieach airtieac eppaóal
 aipocéaeach níuáigteaé mo éochaié aéó Rúao úa Doimnaíll an éitit
 bliaóain fín do fíoiéofach a fláta, 7 ar foibairit báoi fairitíoe occa gac
 bliaóain oiaó in oiaó co ttangatai aéuig láite.

1593, an 2. bliaóain.

fol. 16. a. O mo óeipróimí ina fúíoe flátha (.i. 24 Ian. 1593) & ina ioraoó
 aipeachair i leébeir foí ionchais a namat úa Néíll Toimíóealbac Luineac,
 mo gáb occ imblitir a aineiuóe & aeapaitiu fairi oia éofann ar a flaitéir
 7 oia enipitigáó hi foimíitín aéóa uí Néíll do oipóneacó ina ionao. Do
 óeachaoó foí bail oófoim an iemíoeccerí do móimní úairí do mochaiu an flaitéir
 fo óeóíó do fáigíó aéóa uí Néíll, 7 do matit Toimíóealbac Luineac óínta
 7 airtititín oó imon ainm ar úa Néíll do gairimí oe. Do gairimí íarimí, &
 leigeaó an tí Toimíóealbac uairí na gail mo batari lair ó do óeachaoó
 iccottaé 7 hiecaipóirí úi Oíomnaíll. Hi mír Man oó fúnniaó do móimérimí
 inoimí A.D. 1593.

O mo ba móoac ó Doimnaíll fúrimí, do matrat an oa aéó cóiceacó
 Conóobairí mic Nííra fo a rímaeht cam móoamíil co leicc, & mo blíhacit
 anzéíll 7 anaitie oíob oia nacomaí 7 oia ceumbieach fíu tairití do gíer.
 O do blíit ó Doimnaíll aéó oia uíó gúir bo tairití & góir uó hinníll lair an
 éoicceaoó uile an tan fín, mo éumníg amífolta foéim fíu gállaib, & báoi
 occa foíaitéimíe on moó celtna do gaoíóelais ar éína aóóble anapfaáo
 fíuú 7 an ólígenrat uile, 7 oaimóisgeaoó ó céim máirí fíu ríol gaeóail
 glair mic Níail, ag goir attochaiu lttairieairí 7 nemíltairieairí foíma, og
 a ttabairit hi ceapierais 7 hi ceimbíóeachit, og a ríagaoó tma aineiuóe 7

¹ *In one bed.*—The Four Masters say that Hugh O'Connor, son of Cathal Crobhderg, and the Mac William Burke, after concluding peace, slept together in the one bed cheerfully and happily. See *Annals F. M.*, iii. 387.

² *Chieftaincy.* — Turlough Luineach renounced the title of O'Neill, and yielded at the Queen's intercession the government of those parts to the Earl. In 1595 Sir Turlough died, and the Earl took the title of O'Neill to himself, which was treason by

plundering and robbing, so that it was not necessary for each one to take care of his herds or cattle but they differed only in prosperity and want, and the country was without guard or protector, without plundering one by the other, and two enemies slept in the one bed,¹ for fear did not allow them to remember their wrongs against each other. Hugh passed the first year in the very beginning of his sovereignty in a manner that was kindly, generous, joyous, progressive active, hospitable, aggressive, and he was advancing every year in succession till the end of his life came.

1592.

1593, the 2nd year.

Whilst he was staying in his princely seat and his chief residence in Lifford (24th January, 1593), confronting his enemy Turlough Luineach O'Neill, he proceeded to wreak his vengeance and his enmity on him by driving him from his principality and weakening him, in the hope that Hugh O'Neill might be inaugurated in his place. The foresight which he used proved of advantage to him, for the chieftaincy fell in the end to Hugh O'Neill, and Turlough Luineach gave his consent and yielded to him as to the title that he should be styled The O'Neill. He was proclaimed after that and Turlough sent away the English who were with him, since he entered into peace and friendship with O'Donnell. In the month of May exactly, in the year of our Lord 1593, he did this.

Since O'Donnell was at peace with him the two Hughs brought the province of Conor Mac Nessa under their friendly peaceful sway immediately, and they held hostages and pledges for its observance and maintainance faithfully at all times. When Hugh O'Donnell saw that the whole province was obedient and secured to him, then he called to mind his own wrongs done by the English, and he reminded the Irish in the same way also of the extent of the wrongs done to them, and of the evils and injustices which they had wrought for a long time to the descendants of Gaedhal Glas, son of Nial, robbing them of their inheritance singly and collectively, putting them in prison and in chains, executing

Act of Parliament. still excusing himself subtilely that he took it upon him lest some other should usurp it, promising to renounce it, yet asking that he might not be

urged to promise it upon oath. Moryson, *Rebellion, &c.*, p. 9. Leland, *H. of Ireland* ii. 330; London, 1873. This was one of the chief charges brought against him later.

aininne, & baó imne do meltair ar é co roíro mbítha in gac tan no
 gebráir eill nó baogal foirna gaoitheas, & tan at fílte roib gup no fáoró
 feirín ateachta 7 a feirín do fáigir na Spáinne do éoúieas conganra
 fíorú in ágair na ngall, 7 gup bo lanfaoileachtan lair a tteiríocht in gup
 úair. Ba fíorú dóroim moirín ar no lá epríob éille halair attechtairíocht
 co Ríú na Spáinne deccaoime a moirín fíur 7 tfeirín a chaitíora 7
 chaitíora éloimne Míleas ar chína. An tteiríocht moirín in foiríníocht
 lair foas foiríníocht lair fíleas an tan no fáoró an tteiríocht na
 caomíaccar fíleasíocht fíur foiríníocht a élnn, & do bíre lair tfeirín an alair, 7
 ní éainn beor. Ro gac fíleasíocht do tteiríocht fíur úair no ádair 7 no
 ádair epríora 7 éttairíocht íar moiríníocht íaríocht fíleasíocht Míleas
 Spáinne fíur gac fíleasíocht moiríníocht gup bo hé doimíocht & doimíocht
 baorí na moiríníocht uile moiríníocht foiríníocht gac fíleasíocht, gup no fáoró
 7 deiríora deiríora íaríocht tteiríocht la haríocht & la haitíora uile uile
 foiríníocht gaoitheas, lá fíleasíocht 7 lá foiríníocht in tteiríocht na gaoithe
 fíleasíocht & foiríníocht fíleasíocht gac fíleasíocht do éainníocht doimíocht
 moiríníocht íaríocht deiríora, no fáoró tteiríocht 7 foiríníocht co halair
 do tteiríocht fíleasíocht fíleasíocht fíleasíocht, tfeiríníocht 7 doiríora tteiríocht. An
 tan at éor la haitíocht fíleasíocht tteiríocht na tteiríocht in loch naitíocht an tteiríocht
 do moiríníocht ó doimíocht, ba fíleasíocht lair fíleasíocht é doiríocht élnn moiríníocht
 comairíocht deiríocht íaríocht. Ba fíleasíocht fíleasíocht fíleasíocht co mite moiríníocht,
 co náiríocht áiríocht, moiríníocht aríocht fíleasíocht, gupíocht aríocht gaoitheas gaoitheas 7 gaoitheas,
 tteiríocht aríocht éoúieas, go moiríníocht nócc 7 doiríora lair. Fo chaitíora aríocht aile
 oia fíleasíocht íaríocht epríora bairí fíleasíocht élnn moiríníocht gaoitheas, gaoitheas
 oiríora 7 gup no oiríora an bairí. Feacht naile oia doiríora Míleasíocht
 áoríocht (fíleasíocht moiríníocht 7 tteiríocht uile doimíocht), & bairí conairíocht do lairíocht
 go líon áiríora tteiríocht fíleasíocht bairíocht conairíocht lairíocht élnn fíur loch
 áiríochtíocht, fíleasíocht uairíocht na náiríocht, fíleasíocht epríora, tteiríocht

¹ *Bishop*.—John O'Cahasy occupied the see of Killala at this time; he was appointed in 1580. See Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, i. 175. But the person alluded to is no doubt Cornelius O'Mulrian, bishop of Killaloe from 1576 to 1616. See *Introd.*, p. lii., ante.

² *Killala*.—A town in the N.W. of Co. Mayo. It gives its name to a bishopric.

³ *D. of Milesius*.—i.e., those of the Spa-

nish people descended from Milesius, who was the ancestor of the Irish also.

⁴ *Warrior*.—His name is not mentioned by the Four Masters.

⁵ *B. of Connaught*.—i.e., Brehn O'Rourke.

⁶ *Lough Allen*.—In the middle of Co. Leitrim. The river Shannon flows through it.

⁷ *Tircill*.—A barony in the S.E. of Co. Sligo. It has its name from Olioll, son of

them through cruelty and anger, and it was thus they would defraud, said he, to the end of time, whenever they could get an opportunity or advantage of the Irish. And also he told them he had himself had sent his messengers to Spain to ask the aid of an army to oppose the English, and that he had great hopes of their arrival in a short time. This was the fact, for he had sent the Bishop¹ of Killala² as a deputation to the King of Spain to complain of his sufferings to him, and to obtain his friendship and the friendship of the descendants of Milesius³ also. The Bishop, however, did not succeed in coming back with the news when the one God sent to him a messenger whom he could not avoid, and took him with him to another world, and he did not come afterwards. That mission was of use to him, for it enkindled and inflamed enmity and distrust among the freeborn descendants of the race of Milesius of Spain against the English of Dublin, so that the one thought and anxiety in the minds of all was to turn on the English, for dissensions and quarrels had grown up between them after a while, owing to the instigation and entreaty of O'Donnell to the Irish, telling and reminding them of what the English had done always to them and to their ancestors up to that time. When he saw all his associates of one mind about the war which he desired, he sent messengers and letters to Scotland to invite an additional force of soldiers, warriors, and mercenaries. As soon as Hugh Maguire, lord of the territory about Lough Erne, heard of the great attempt which O'Donnell intended, he wished to be the first to enter into partnership in the war. He was a proud, self-willed man, with elevation of soul and magnanimity, a hero in warfare, a champion in deeds of prowess and bravery, a lord in generosity, having many warriors and people. He sent some of his own people to the neighbourhood of the town, where there was a famous warrior⁴ of the English, and they wasted and plundered the town. On another occasion Maguire set off by the advice and recommendation of O'Donnell, and the road he went by with the whole of his forces was through the southern part of Brefsny of Connaught,⁵ having Lough Allen⁶ on his left, through the upper part of Tirerill⁷ and Corran,⁸ over

1593.

Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, and Mongfinn, queen of Connaught. *Ogygia*, p. 374.

⁸ *Corran*. — The account of the origin of this name will be found *Ibid.*, p. 334.

manuirtrech na buille airté co machaire mairge haid oia ngairi Machaire éonnacht.

Ro leice rcaoirleas da rgenneleir in dobarfoillir na máitne muiche in on tír ina chimeall. Ba hann do mala do goibernóir choicéir Connacht (Sir Risteard Biongom) ablié an aóairgín ar an cenuc hi comhóc-
 fol. 17.^a maib tuillce occ coirteacht ie rgeleir an tíre ina chimeall. Do peccann víreim oia mairleog occ rirleas na noirli ccomhóccur don telach fori ambaoid an goibernóir, & ni maairget nac ní la dail éad na camáire, conour malatui & Máguirí cona mairleas tul hi tul gan clougas da nach noirung víob. Ro tualleat mairleog an goibernóir rcaó ina
 rruélm, 7 no báir ina linnáin aga leó 7 lóirleas la Máguirí 7 la a muirir, go maingatar gur an maing inmbai an goibernóir foúlin. Ro muirleas lair don chuir rin neach uairle airtéir do galair uilliam Cluoir a domáin co ririr mairleach cenmoáirí. Sóirer fori Máguirí do mairí rin conair éltne, 7 no báir occa toiraim go maich ina éiré caá 7 ina éiréir comáir. O no ririr an goibernóir nar bó toirba do rairí foirir, no íar fori caila 7 no baó lánburé lair téirir aiar do éiré. Do moirator ééca móir ó máguirí don mairí rin .i. Eamann mac Samuáin Ruomáir Aira Macha do mala tíra sinfen ina farras & an tab Máguirí .i. Catal mac garair, & mac aóirleat. Acht éiré gur bo lail lair na mairí rin oia éirleat, rug lair in no toirleas 7 in no toirleas do cuir 7 do éirleat na ceirle chucca, 7 do luir on longroir go ar oile co cobair ceirugín go maic go fíleat manach. At éiré tíra do galair Dublinne moirir, no lionair do lonnur & oirir. Ro hír-
 fógair ílrean lair an tuirir fori móirleirí Míre, lairle, 7 leiré Mogha tul hi coicéir Conóirir rin rógair do fonnairleat dairé foirir in oir-

¹ *Monastery*. — It was erected in 1161, according to the *Annals of Connaught*. In 1235 the English, under the Lord Justice Maurice Fitzgerald, plundered it of all its valuables, vestments, chalices, &c. In 1603 it was granted to Sir John King, ancestor of the Earls of Kingston. *Archdall's Monasticon*, p. 601.

² *Governor*. — Properly the President. What his powers were may be inferred from the instructions given to Sir George Carew, president of Munster in 1600. See *Pac.*

Hib., p. 10. The usual system of government was martial law. Hence Davis speaking of the then President of Connaught, Fitton, says he governed 'in a course of discretion,' in other words, very much as he liked.

³ *Tulsk*. — A village ten miles north of the town of Roscommon. O'Connor Roe erected a castle there in 1406. About the same time a monastery was erected there for Dominicans by the MacDowell family. See *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 314.

the bridge of the monastery¹ of Boyle, thence to the plain of Magh Aoi, which is called the Plain of Connaught. 1593

He let his scouts scatter in the twilight of the early morning through the country around. It happened that while the Governor² of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, was that night on the hill in the neighbourhood of Tulsk³ listening to the news of the country all round, a troop of his cavalry happened to be reconnoitring the plain near the hill where the Governor was, and they saw nothing owing to the blinding fog of the early morning until they and Maguire met with their horse face to face without the knowledge of either party. The cavalry of the Governor retreated, and during the pursuit they were mangled and cut down by Maguire and his people till they came to the place⁴ where the Governor himself was. A well known nobleman of the English, William Clifford by name, was slain and seven horsemen besides. They turned again on Maguire on the same road and pursued him till they came to the battle front and to the strong lines. When the Governor saw that it would not be advantageous to attack them he retreated, and he was very thankful to escape as he did. Important persons were slain on Maguire's side in that skirmish, *i.e.*, Edmund MacGauran,⁵ primate of Armagh, who happened unluckily to be with him, and the Abbot Maguire, *i.e.*, Cathal, son of Geoffrey, and his brother's son. But though he was much grieved at the loss of these noblemen, he took with him what had been collected and brought together of the cattle and plunder of the country, and he went from one encampment to another steadily and slowly till he came to Fermanagh. This was told to the English of Dublin, and they were filled with anger and wrath. An order was issued then by the Lord Justice that a large force from Meath, Leinster, and Mogh's half,⁶ should go to the province of Conor in harvest precisely to revenge on them what they had

¹ *Place*. — O'Sullivan says the skirmish took place at Scieth na bteart, which he translates Scutum Miraculorum. *Hist., Cath.* p. 151. The date was July 3rd.

² *MacGauran*. — See pp. liv. and lxi., *antea*.

³ *Mogh's half*. — This refers to the division of Ireland into two parts that took place between Con Cedchathach and Mogh

Nuadhat, called also Eoghan Mor, in the middle of the 2nd century of our era. See *The Circuit of Ireland*, p. 44, n.; Dublin, 1841. The account of the contest between Conn and Eoghan will be found in *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 19, and *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, a MS. in the R. I. Academy.

ցնիրատ 7 օտ յաշտ ազնոնսր սւե տօն խալս զա Ռէւլլ քե ոյր Եօ Լաոն Լալր
 տօլ իրոն տօլնրտալրոն, 7 Եօր տօ մալսրեալ առ Խօճալր. Բօ քօրաօնչալր տոն
 առ Խրտլր քօր ցօրեյնօնր ճօւրքօ ճոննաշտ քոն առնաօր տօ ինչօ ճ Տիօնաոնոն
 ցօ Օրօնաօլր տօլ մա մալսրոնք քօ հէյրմե. Լալր տէլցալմաճ առ ճէրնա ինչօ
 իրոն աշխարհաօլր, տօ քօմալալ յեմոն ցօ Լօճ Ելրմե մշմե Եսլրց Եսլրքաճաճ
 ալլառալր. Տլր իեղլր Եսլրցել յոքեյր ալրմա տօ ցալլալն ալր Եա տօլրեալ
 մօմշօնա տօն յրօշքաճ. Մալա Օրօնա մէջսրօլր իալր քօլօլրտեալր իճէլ առ
 յրօնչ քաշտառօ քօճէրօ ա Եսլր 7 ա մոմե քօր առօմշաԵալ ցօ յլր Կօնալլ
 մօք Ռէւլլ քօ ճալր, 7 տօ յոնօլ ինչօ մօլր տա յլր Եսլրմե տալրալն 7 տօլր
 տալրալրալ ալք քօնօճ 7 տօ ճօմոն տօլրմե յլր Կօնալլ 7 յօ Եալր քօն ալրօշ
 Եսլրմե տօն տօլն ալր ալլ տօն Լօճ, 7 քօնրոլրտէ քլր առ ինչալի նեշտառօ
 քօնա իւրքքէր քաշա իալր. Մօ քօմալալ ալր առ ինչալ ցալլ Լալր ճլր քլր առ
 Լօշ ցօ յառչալալ ցլր առ ալաոն տօ ճօլրտ ալր առ Լօշ. Եալր ալի քալրքօալ
 քալրքէրօ քլր իոմաճօլքաճ տօն ճաճ Եա տօլրօնք. Մէշալք սառ ա
 քօմաոն, 7 Եա հէ տօմաոն առ իօնալր քլր է. Բօլրալք նա ցալլ առ յաճ առ
 քէրքաճ Լա տօ օքտօբեր տօ իօնրալ. Բօ Եսլր մաջսրօլր քօն ա ինչօ տօն տալա
 Լեւտ տօն աճ իքօմալք նա ինչալլ քօնրոլրտէ քլր քօ քլրքալա ալալր քօնա.
 Ոյր սօ քօնառք տօշալր քլր քէնե առալրքալրօն, իալր յօճալր տալրոն իաշտ
 առ տալ քլր մ ալրքէլառ նա ինչալլ Լա իօնալր ա յէրօն յալլալրօն 7 առ
 ցալլաճ ինչալրալրօն քօն յալլալր ինչալրալրօն քօն քօնալրալրօն քօն քօն
 ինչալրալրօն առ Եսլրալլալլալլ Լալրօն քօն ալրօն քօնալրօն քօն ինչալրալրօն
 յա իօնա տօն տօլն ալրալլ տօն ալաոն ցալր նեաճ քլրօճօլրալ քլր քօնալրոն.
 Եալր տօ Լօնալրալր ա Լաճ քօնալրալրալրօն առալր ցօ յօ ինչալրալր առ
 տօլնալրալր քօ տօնօն .i. Լալրօն իօնալր քօն իաճաճ, իալր մ քօն ալալրալր
 առ ճօճաճ քլրալրօն քլր քօնալրօն քլր մ Եա ինչալր. Տլրալրքալր քօնա
 իալրօն ճն աճ, ցօնալր ալրալրօն յօնալր տօն, 7 ալրալրալր ալր քօն
 քլրօնաճ առ Լալրօն ալր յօնա ցալրօքքալր տօն ի. ցօնալր Մօն իա Ռէւլլ
 իրալրօն 7 Եա իճ Լալր տալր յալրալր ցալլ առալրօն քօ.

¹ *Marshal*.—i.e., Sir Henry Bagnal. See p. lv., ante.

² *Newry*.—An *iubhair*, i.e., of the yew-tree, said to have been planted here by St. Patrick. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann. 1162. A Cistercian monastery was erected here by St. Malachy O'Morgair in 1144. This was granted to Sir Nicholas Bagnal by Edward

VI. It still belongs to his descendant, the Earl of Kilmorey. See Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 116, n.; Dublin, 1347.

³ *Athculuain*.—A ford on the river Erne, half a mile to the west of Belleek. O'Sullivan translates it *os vadi prati*, the mouth of the ford of the meadow, p. 159.

done, and he gave the chief command of them to the Earl O'Neill, though it was not pleasing to him to go in that army, and also to the Marshal¹ of Newry.² The Lord Justice also ordered the Governor of the province of Connaught with all the forces from the Shannon to the Drowes to go and wait for him at Lough Erne. When the first body of which we have spoken was assembled, they went on eastwards to the Lough of Erne the daughter of Burg Buireadhach. Sir Henry Bingham, a famous knight of the English, was the leader in battle of that host. As regards Hugh Maguire, after hearing news of the foreign army, he sent his herds and flocks, lest they might be captured, northwards to the territory of Conall, son of Niall, and he gathered a great host throughout his own territory of soldiers and mercenaries of other districts and of the MacSwinys of Tyrconnell, and he was with his troops on the other side of the Lough, and they opposed the foreign army so that they did not allow them further westwards. The English army then marched on, having the Lough on the left, till they came to the river which flows out of the Lough. There was a special ford over it for every one to pass who needed. Its name was Athculuain,³ and it was deep at that time. The English attempted the ford, on the sixth of October exactly. Maguire, with his troops, was on the other side of the ford, waiting for the English, and they resisted them manfully for a long time. It was not easy for the Irish to defend it, for they were at that time unarmed in comparison with the English, with their abundance of strange armour and of their grey steel lances and their powder-guns producing sparks of fire for shooting and sending forth circular balls of lead and brilliant sparks of fire, so that they reached the men on the other side of the river without any one of themselves being injured. Owing to the number of their forces and the difference of their arms they verified the proverb in the end: 'The many shall overcome the few,' for the youth of the Irish could not hold out against them any longer. They were driven after that from the ford. Crowds of them were wounded and taken prisoners. Most of them fled to a wood, for it was very near them. Hugh O'Neill was wounded⁴ there, and he was pleased thereat, so that the English should not have any suspicion of him.

⁴ Wounded. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1941.

7 7a8aite an rlua8 7all tairur co leice, 7 7a8aite lánm cli rruir an loch
 allanairi our an tairurir éóála cpiuró no cftiua, 7 o na tairirftari ionpait
 oia tti8ib, 7 vo mel8it eiriréuó oia rlo8. Iair ttochit vo 8uibemioir
 coir8r connacé 7 oiaula tuarómuhan Donnchaó mac Concóbaui mic Donn-
 chaó uí Buián co heochairumliú Eirne co rocmairve coir8r connacht imaille
 rruí, roait ina rrruélins 8o mainiriri na Buille, 7 vo ia8at iaruió oia
 tti8ib aihail vo ueacáatari an rlo8 naile. Acé éfna porriá8aib úa Néill
 (Aóó) & an mariaicál rrechta ueimaria uóccbaio 7 vo ríoirhuiruib 7all
 rrraiaia concóbaui mic concóbaui Rúairó mé8uiróui io bui in lúiró & in
 eocraiteir rru Má8uiróui vo 8ruer in élnour na cpiúe. Ua Donnáil van ba
 fol. 18. a. tociaó móri mfnman & aicclnta lairúe na 7aill vo éionntúó ramlaio.
 Ari a aóirui ó na io ríoirirftet fairi ní io ríai8 porriia ari a anruiréi io baio, &
 io rra8aite rream móri oia muiriri rru acé ríéiríáite vo iatet hi fupitacht
 mé8uiróui 8e io ion8ab é ríirui ari poraileam uí Néill, úair io bui teé-
 tairieé ltoiria po úéleir 8an iá8uccaó uona 7alliaib.

1594, an tpeaf bliáóain.

Baatari uin 8aill 7 8aioúeal iair rin occ ccoirteé rru ari oile 8an naé
 rruoéoriceam o ceacáarinaeairi ari oile rru teoraiú míoiaib 8einhúó coliomulce
 na bliáóna ariail a° 1594. In eaémain8 na ríe 7 na haunirrie rin io
 érlaiaí an lúirir ríua8 móri 8an iá8uccaó uon éach lair ari míoiair.
 Our ríicetari na cpiucha batari comíoircepi 8an naé nomíuirieac 8o ianaiz
 1 tairitte co hinir cfiéleann por loé neirne in eiríuúftóon cpiúe monacé. Ba
 heirúe uonáiair 7 ba porit oirreachaíir Má8uiróui Aóó 7 8ac aoin no
 hoirionite hi élnnar na cpiúe. Ba uúnaó uain8en 7 ba múi uioé8lúiré
 rru rlo8 neetiaio, acé na batari na rruiméuin an tairin. Ueiró an lúirir
 ríoirbaui porran uúnaó & 7a8aite an ríua8 por to8ail am muir ríeib con-
 ian8atari, & uui ba toirba uóib inoirin co ttairerac ari aill oia aóir
 ionéomíeoa an baile úaiaib po uéóró uair élnn lóirí. O io baio an baile

¹ *Enniskillen*.—i.e., the island of Ceth enn, a town in Co. Fermanagh, on a narrow neck between Upper and Lower Lough Erne. Cethlenn was the wife of the famous Formorian chief Balor. It gives the title of Earl to the family of Cole, the first of whom was an Undertaker. In 1611

he obtained possession of a large part of the ancient territory of the Magennisses.

² *The dwelling*.—The site of the castle is now occupied by the barracks. The gateway on the water's edge is the only portion of the buildings remaining from Maguire's time. The position was very

The English army crossed over immediately, and went westwards, keeping the lake on the left, that they might seize on the spoil of cattle or flocks, and as they did not find them they went to their homes and allowed their army to scatter. After the Governor of the province of Connaught and the Earl of Thomond, Donough O'Brien, son of Conor, son of Donough, came to the banks of the Erne with the forces of the province, they returned to the monastery of Boyle, and they went after that to their homes as the other army did. However, Hugh O'Neill and the Marshal left strong bodies of English youths and soldiers with Conor, the son of Conor Roe Maguire, who was discontented and at variance with Maguire always on account of the sovereignty of the country. As for O'Donnell, it was a great affliction of mind and soul to him that the English should go back as they had done. But yet as they did not attack him, he did not attack them, on account of the unprepared state in which he was, and he left a large body of his people at the aforesaid ford, which he gave for Maguire's protection, though he withdrew himself by command of O'Neill, for there were messages between them secretly without the knowledge of the English.

1594, the 3rd year.

Now the English and the Irish after that were listening to each other, without either attacking the other, for three months of winter up to the beginning of the spring of the next year, 1594. At that period and time the Lord Justice collected a great army without the knowledge of any one, through hatred. They marched into the neighbouring territories without any delay until they came very soon to Enniskillen,¹ on Lough Erne, in the middle of the territory of Fermanagh. This was the dwelling² and principal stronghold³ of Hugh Maguire and of every one who was appointed to the chieftaincy of the territory. The fort was strong, and the wall impregnable by a strange force, but they were not prepared then. The Lord Justice sat down to besiege the fortress, and the forces proceeded to break in the wall as well as they could; this was of no avail to them till some of warders gave up the place at last for a bribe. As soon as the castle was

strong, being surrounded on all sides by Lough Erne. See p. lvii., *antea*.

³ *Stronghold*.—Any kind of fortified resi-

dence is expressed in Irish by the word *port*. It is used in the composition of many Irish words.

foi commar an hupir Sepi uuilliam Fizuuilliam faccebaró tpuoca laoc oia
 éomtha fpuir an ceacé fpuir no hēctapūfcaireā cona congāib tēēta vo būró 7 oairm,
 7 roaró ar fēirín foi cūlaó toirūoiri. Foraiēit iaiomí foi gāc leir gān crieā
 gān oirgāin foi ariole fpu cēiteoria mīorāib o fēbriuaru co hlun. Ba haōnari
 lá hūa n'Domnail l'áó Ruac afoi no būi gān tocht ipfupitacēt Mhégurōir ar
 ar é no arlaig an cōccacó, 7 ba foi afoicōngia no haōnacó ar tūr. Ba rēó
 rooirūairi oōrom gān oul in ellina ina fōirētīn aīair ioba mēnmaric lair, a
 beirē occ ioōnairōe 7 occ iomfuiyieac fpuir na halpanchāib vō iunēall chugā
 foi aīiraine. O no ba fōda lairōm no batayirōe gān turōēēt, tapicclomēta
 cenēl cconail l'air co leicc, 7 vo ēolē ieiimib con a rēōg go hinir cēlēleann.
 Oeirō iriūe ipoirbairi fōirpan vūnacó o ēorac lun co mēōōn Augur go no
 fol. 118 b. cpoirērett go no aircēirēt go no inoirērett ambui rō mamar na nēall hi
 cūch aīirgiall 7 in bpeirne uī Raigillēg co tapicērat ambū 7 ambeoēe-
 acia i lōn rēōig oia nāirāib 7 oia naor tuairatail. Batari na gail ipor
 an tan iin ir na poirāib gābala in no gābpat for rēēt iuam .i. mainirēir
 mūneachain, eluain ēōair hi cūc aīirgiall, & mainirēir an chābam iin
 mbpeirne, uāir ba in eacclairāib na nāōm & na mac mbeacāó ba mēnce an
 aīirim oē crieacāó 7 occ inoirēacó na cēpuoch & oē gābail inēiall 7
 anaitēir.

lomēura ui Odomnail bupirōe cona fōcuarōe ipoirbairi & ino iomfuiōiu
 foi inir cēlēnn co hupēorac fōchmūne rēib acpūbriamari co no rēac
 ambāó von fīanlac batari iin cēairēiall acēt maó bēg. O no fēoatari gail
 Duiblinne combatoirōm rāmlarō rāoirōt tēchta gup na gailāib batari hi
 ēoirgacó olneccmacēt oia fōicōngia fōirpō turōēēt go lōintib bīó 7 vīgē
 leó gup an cēairēiall. Tapiclamair na gail rēuac mōri in aoin ionac
 aīair no fōicōngiacó fōirpō combatarī cōig cēo vēc lech vōccbāó aīirita
 con oīuīg oīrāib Mhōe vō bpeirne ui Raēallāig 7 vo bhionēamaēāib
 cōigō connacēt. Iair tēlēlōmāó vōibpōe, gābaro occ bāig 7 occ bubēacó

¹ *Brefny O'Reilly*.—It included originally the whole of the present county of Cavan except the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco, which belonged to Brefny O'Rourke. In the reign of Elizabeth these baronies were united to Brefny O'Reilly to reward Sir John O'Reilly for his services. He was called the Queen's O'Reilly. See D'Alton's *Army List*, ii. 747.

² *Clones*.—i.e., the retired place of knowledge, a town on the eastern boundary of Co. Monaghan. St. Tigernach founded a monastery here about the beginning of the sixth century. It was destroyed by Hugh De Lacy in 1207; five years afterwards it was rebuilt. It belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.

³ *M. of Cavan*.—It was founded by Gilla

in the possession of the Lord Justice Sir William Fitzwilliam, he left thirty soldiers to keep it against any one by whom it would be attacked, with proper supplies of food and arms, and he went back himself again. They ceased after that on each side plundering or slaughtering each other for four months, from February to June. Hugh Roe O'Donnell felt ashamed at being so long without going to the aid of Maguire, for it was he who urged on the war, and by his advice it was enkindled in the beginning. What he did for him was not to go with all his forces to his aid, as he intended, but to delay and wait for the Scotch, who had promised to come to him for pay. As he thought they were long in coming, he mustered the Cinel Conaill then, and he marched forward with his forces to Enniskillen. He sat down there besieging the fortress from the beginning of June to the middle of August, till they wasted and plundered whatever was under the power of the English in the territory of Oriel and Brefny O'Reilly,¹ and they gave the cows and herds as provisions to their auxiliaries and mercenaries. The English were dwelling at that time in the fortresses in which they had been dwelling some time before, in the monastery of Monaghan, Clones² in Oriel, and the monastery of Cavan³ in Brefny, for it was in the churches of the saints and religious they dwelt most commonly, plundering and wasting the country and taking pledges and hostages.

As for O'Donnell, he was with his forces besieging and attacking the castle of Enniskillen up to the beginning of harvest as we have said, till all but a small part of the provisions which the party that was in the castle had was consumed. When the English of Dublin learned they were in this state, they sent messengers to the English who were in the province of Olneccmacht, ordering them to go with supplies of food and drink to them to the castle. The English assembled a great host in one place as they were ordered, so that there were fifteen hundred armed soldiers, with a multitude of the men of Meath, of Brefny O'Reilly, and of the Binghamms of the province of Connaught. After assembling

1594.

Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly for Dominicans in 1300, and transferred to the Franciscans by The O'Reilly in 1393. See *Hib. Domin.*,

p. 285. Not a vestige of the monastery remains, the materials having been used in the erection of the barracks close by.

foi na gaoiúealaib & occa éinḡeallaó go ttaotpaḡaib hi toiuētin an baile
oia naim̃ḡeoin, aēt c̃fna ñiḡ melic an oīan oóib tuióēcti tḡiaitci. Baḡaḡi
gaoiúeal ina ḡḡoim̃ctin cecib tan oḡi ḡioḡpaḡaib.

Tuiḡēctha na nAlpanaē oḡ iunḡeall foi an aīḡaine oḡ ḡaiḡiḡ uí
Ohoim̃aill, oḡi ḡiceḡḡḡiḡe muiḡoḡlaē móḡi ḡo loē ḡeabail mic loḡḡain
eiteḡi cēnēl cconail 7 Eoḡhain, co ḡo ḡabḡat foi ḡim ecclaiḡi naim̃ḡeḡe
oiaḡaḡ aīnm̃ Doḡie bail in ḡo b̃lnoaē Cḡioim̃ḡann mac ḡeḡl̃m̃iḡo mic
ḡeḡḡḡa oia nḡaḡoḡi an Columb cennaiḡ. Aḡ ḡiaḡoḡi oóibḡioim̃ combuí ó
Doim̃aill foi ḡlóḡeāó ḡim ccoicḡḡuch ḡeḡ aḡubḡiamoiḡ. ḡoiḡiḡioim̃ tēctha
oia toēuḡeāó chuca 7 ḡeḡbenna. O ḡanḡataḡi na tēctha co haiḡim ambuí
ó Doim̃aill, oḡ b̃ḡiaḡ a liḡie oó. Aḡi l̃ḡaiḡ iat baḡeḡ a ḡoḡaēt .i.
Doim̃aill ḡoḡim mac Doim̃noill 7 mac l̃eóro na haiḡa oḡ ēoḡt ḡo ēoḡaiḡim uí
oḡoim̃aill foi an muiḡoḡlaē aḡubḡiamoiḡ ḡo ḡiáḡataḡi an Doḡie ḡiemḡiáitci,
7 muna tḡieāóḡioim̃ iḡiaitci oia ḡḡoḡaḡo aīmaill ḡo ḡeall, ḡo ḡoiḡoiḡi ina
ḡḡiḡēl̃ñiḡ oia naḡaḡiḡoā ḡan ḡḡiḡáḡoā ḡan iom̃ḡiḡeāó. Iai naim̃ḡeḡeāó na
ḡeḡibeann oúā Ohoim̃noill ḡo l̃uḡiḡ ḡoḡt móḡi ḡaiḡi combuí ḡan l̃abḡia athaḡo
ḡoḡa occa ḡeḡiḡoāó 7 ḡiem̃ḡēccḡi c̃iḡ oḡ ḡl̃naḡ. ḡeḡt aīnm̃ ba haḡnai laiḡ
a ḡeallāó oḡ ñl̃m̃coim̃oill ḡḡiḡ na haḡbanacaib iai na ḡoēuḡeāó chuca hi
c̃iāna. An oāla ḡeḡt ba hiom̃oim̃an laiḡ na ḡail ḡiem̃eḡeḡḡamaḡ oḡ ēichtain
i ḡiḡḡaḡt an oúnaḡo oia ḡḡaḡḡbaḡoim̃ an l̃onḡioḡt. Conaḡo ḡaiḡi oeiḡiḡo
occa ḡo oēóro a ḡl̃oḡ oḡ ḡáḡbaill ḡim l̃onḡḡoḡt 7 ḡim iom̃ḡiḡiḡe ambáḡaḡi, 7
é buḡo oḡim̃ con úaḡaḡo oāoīne im̃maillle ḡḡiḡ oḡ oḡl foi am̃m̃uḡ na nAlbanaē
oia ḡḡoḡoāó aḡ na heḡeḡḡaiḡi ḡeāch ḡḡiḡ. L̃uḡiḡ iaiḡioim̃ oḡim̃ m̃aḡeāó co
haiḡim im̃baḡaḡi. ḡeḡaḡo ḡáilte ḡḡuú. Ro ḡḡeāḡḡlaḡ 7 ḡo ḡḡoḡaillit iḡioim̃
ḡḡiḡ tēoḡia hoḡoḡhib cona l̃áib oḡ l̃l̃noaib im̃m̃ḡeāaib & oā ḡāc ḡim̃oail
tuāia ba oēāó ḡim̃ c̃ḡiḡ.

Ceileabḡaiḡi Doim̃aill ḡoḡim oúā Ohoim̃noill 7 ḡoḡḡaḡaib abḡiaḡaḡi ba
ḡo aīm̃ occa ḡo c̃c̃oḡiḡ c̃eḡoāib l̃áo c̃oḡc̃baḡo aḡim̃ḡha, 7 oḡ l̃aoḡiaḡo l̃eḡoim̃ḡ,

¹ *Derry*. — In ancient times Doire Calgaich, *i.e.*, the wood of Calgach. A site for a monastery was given to St. Columkille here by King Aedh. The church built by him in 545 was called Dubh Regles, perhaps to distinguish it from the Teampul Mor, built in 1164 by Flathbheartach O'Brollaghan. The site is now occupied by the Catholic church of St. Columkille.

See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 398, and *The Ordinance Survey of Templemore*, p. 17.

² *Criomthann*. — This was the name given to Columba in baptism by the priest Cruithneacan; but the word being synonymous with crafty or cunning, his playmates designated him Columba, *i.e.*, the dove, on account of his gentleness, and added to it *cille* because of the frequency of his coming

they proceeded to bluster and threaten the Irish and to assert that they would go to the relief of the place in spite of them; but yet fear did not allow them to go immediately. The Irish were ready for them whenever they should come.

As for the Scotch who promised to enter O'Donnell's service, they came with a large fleet to the Lough of Feabhall, son of Lodan, between the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain, and they occupied the famous church which is called Derry,¹ the place which Criomhthann,² son of Fedhlimidh, son of Fergus, who was called Columba the Mild, blessed. They were told that O'Donnell was on a hosting in the neighbouring territory, as we have said. They sent messengers and letters too to invite him to them. When the messengers came to the place where O'Donnell was they gave their letters to him. He read them, and these were their contents: Donnell Gorm³ and MacLeod of Aran⁴ had come at the invitation of O'Donnell with the fleet we have mentioned until they reached Derry aforesaid, and if he did not come immediately to retain them as he had promised, they would go back to their country without dallying or delay. When O'Donnell read the letters, a great silence came on him, so that for a long time he did not speak, thinking and forecasting what he should do. At one time he was ashamed not to fulfil his promises to the Scotch after inviting them to him from a distance. Again, he was greatly afraid that the English of whom we have spoken would come to the relief of the fortress if he left the encampment. Wherefore in the end he resolved to leave his army at the encampment and siege where they were, and to go himself with a small body of men to meet the Scotch to retain them, as every one advised him. He went after that with a troop of horse to the place where they were. He bade them welcome. They were attended and entertained for three days and three nights with strong drink and every sort of food that was best in the country.

Donnell Gorm took leave of O'Donnell and left with him his youngest brother with five hundred armed soldiers and robust troops. MacLeod

from the cell in which he read his psalms. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lxx. and p. 6, n.

³ *Donnell Gorm*.—He is called in *The*

State Papers Lord of the Out Isles. See Hill's *Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 148.

⁴ *Aran*.—An island in the Firth of Clyde.

remained with the same number, and O'Donnell retained both of them. These were recognised among the Irish soldiers by the difference of their arms and clothing, their habits and language, for their exterior dress was mottled cloaks to the calf of the leg with ties and fastenings. Their girdles were over the loins outside the cloaks. Many of them had swords with hafts of horn, large, fit for war, from their shoulders. It was necessary for the soldier to put his two hands together at the very haft of his sword when he would strike a blow with it. Others of them had bows of carved wood strong for use, with well seasoned strings of hemp, and arrows sharp-pointed, whizzing in flight.

1594.

As for the English, when they were told that O'Donnell had gone away from the camp and left his army behind at the siege in which they were engaged, and that great numbers of them had gone to their homes for want of provisions, they marched in haste on hearing the news till they were on the borders of Fermanagh, west of Lough Erne. When Maguire heard they had crossed the bounds of his territory he took his troops with him to meet the English, viz., his own faithful people and O'Neill's brother Cormac,¹ son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacach, with a number of his people and of the tribe of Eoghan, son of Niall, and some of O'Donnell's troops, for fear did not allow these to transgress the word or the warning of their prince, for he ordered them to remain in the encampment until he returned to them, and their provisions were not consumed, as were those of such as had gone away from the encampment. When Maguire and the people of whom we have spoken came near the strange army they halted opposite them at a rough, difficult ford, where they were sure the enemy would come to them marching by the road they did, and their stay in that place was not long when the army of the English came up. The entertainment which they received from the party there was unfriendly. A battle, sharp and fierce, took place between them until in the end the English were defeated, and they left a multitude of heads of high and low born and a large prey of horses and mares which they had bringing the supplies of food and drink for the castle to which they were going, so that from the many cakes and biscuits left at the ford then the ford and the battle got the well known name of the battle of the Ford of the Biscuits. The men of Meath and the O'Reillys

ոյօն) in a բշօղանցաւ բշօլտե բշօնտիւտե co Երբեքն ու Բաղաւայ. Եւրի conար in յօ Լարօ Տօղարի օշ Եօնցօմ շար an Լուիտ յօ Լնն է ար an իօարիցօլար in շի Լննցօն շօմմե շօտայշ Բարօ մեշ Տաւրաօան, շի Երբեքն ու Բարիւ Է արիւտե co Տիշե. Լի մի Լարարտ օօ յօնաօ իօրար. Օտ շիւաւատար օլր շօմմեա շիարտօլ իրի շեւլնոն բարօնաօ բօր an բօշ յօ շիւալլ տօւտ տօա տօլիւտն յօ Ենրատ շեւլ տօա շաւարի Է օօ Ենրատտ an Եալե յարօն օօ մաշարօլի, Է օօ յարօմ բօլարի տօլն շօն օօլիօնաշտ շիար an շի շօ յաշտատար Եալ in յօն իմլլ Լօ. Տօա ու օօմմալլ իլր բօրտօ na ռալԵանաօ տօրաօ օօ շօմա շօ շիւիտ մօնաշ օօ շիւօւշտ իր in իօմբարօ շեւտնա 1 յալե բօ իրի շեւլնոն. An շան Եալիւմ իար na բեւտ, ա շի շիւշար արալլ տօա անրօն յօ Եար in բարօնաօ an մաօմա բօլարա շալլաւ շօն նօւալաւ Լօ. ա բիւօտ a բօւաա անալ բօրաօմնաշար. Եա բարիւտիւմն օնրօւ, աշտ na ma Եա տօմարաշտ Լար na Եաօ բար in իր տաշար, ար na շաւալաօ ար օօ na շալլաւ in աշիւա տօն. Տօար յա Տօմմալլ շօն a Լարանաշաւ բօր շաւաօ, Է յօ արար in a շի շօ յաշատ տաշտա Մեղարօլի բար in բարիւ տօա արար օօ շօմար an Լարար Տար արալլաւ Բարբալ աշ տօմարեւն Է աշ տնշալաօ տաշտ շօ իրի շեւլնոն տօա շաւալ an տարա բաշտ. Լար շօլտեւտ na բալ իր տօա Տօմմալլ յօ տաշտաա a բօշ Լար երիւ սարաօ 7 տօրաօ, Է օօ շօմա շօ շիւիտ մօնաշ. Բարաշիւ իարօմ in շի շօնաա բար Լաշ ռարնա անար. Տօ շիւաա an բօշ Եա Է Եարաաա անարօ 7 անալ բարաօ օ տարաօ Լարարտ շօ 5. տՕտօբար.

fol. 20. a.

Օտ շիւաաօ an Լարար օ Տօմմալլ օօ Եար in սարալլ, 7 մաշարօլի շօն a բօւարա տնլնոն, օ յօ բարար co տօրաօ օ ռեւլ in տօլիւտն յօ աշարար in շօն յօ բաշաւ Լաւաա an շան իր. Օ յօա տարն Լա իւա ռՏօմմալլ na շօն տօրաօ an Լարար co իրի շեւլնոն տօն շարար, իօմար in բարեւն տօա շիւ 7 յօ Լար a Լարանաշ յաօ իլր ռարնաօ աշարարալ տօն 7 յօ շալլարա շիւաա օ յար in սարաօ բարաօ ար աւոն.

¹ *Largan*.—This territory was held by the Magaurans, subject to O'Rourke. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 347.

² *Clan Cobhthach Ruadh*.—The tribe-name of the Magaurans. They were chiefs of Teallach Eochdach, which now forms the barony of Tullyhaw, in the north-west of Co. Cavan.

³ *Russell*.—He was the youngest son of the Earl of Bedford. See p. lxxxv., ante., In 'The Account of his Journey to Ballenacor' there is a description of the cruelties which he practised towards the O'Byrnes and other Wicklow tribes. See *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 226, and *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1955. He was recalled in May, 1597.

escaping from that battle went in confusion, scattered and disordered, to Brefny O'Reilly. The road by which George Oge Bingham went with the people who followed him out of that fight was through Largan¹ of Clan Cobthach Ruadh² Magauran, through Brefny O'Rourke, and thence to Sligo. This took place in the month of August. When the warders of the castle of Enniskillen heard of the defeat of the army which intended to come to their aid they gave up all hope of relief and surrendered the castle to Maguire, and he gave them a protection during their journey through the district till they came to a place where they were safe. As to O'Donnell, after engaging the Scotch, he went to the territory of Fermanagh to continue the same siege in which he was engaged before at Enniskillen. After the journey he saw some of his soldiers who were at the defeat in the fight against the English with the plunder in their possession. They gave him the account of how it happened. He was pleased with them, but yet it was anguish to him that he was not himself in that battle, for so many of the English would not escape as there did. O'Donnell went back with the Scotch, and he remained in his territory until Maguire's messengers came to him to tell him that the Lord Justice, Sir William Russell,³ was threatening⁴ and asserting that he would go to Enniskillen to take it a second time. When O'Donnell heard this news he assembled his forces, both high and low-born, and he went to Fermanagh. He went afterwards into Tir Kennedy,⁵ to the east of Lough Erne. The army made huts and tents there, and remained so from the end of August to the 5th of October.

When the Lord Justice heard that O'Donnell was well prepared, and Maguire with his auxiliaries also, and as he knew that O'Neill would come to their aid, he prevented them from leaving Dublin then. When O'Donnell was certain that the Lord Justice would not come to Enniskillen then, he returned to his own country and sent away his Scots after giving them their pay, and they made a promise to him again for the very beginning of the following summer.

⁴ *Threatening*.—‘He formed a resolution that provisions and stores should be put into every town in the Queen's possession in Ireland, in despite of all those who were opposed to him. . . . He went to Athlone

at that time and from thence to Roscommon.’
Ibid.

⁵ *Tir Kennedy*.—Now a barony in the east of Co. Fermanagh; it lies between Enniskillen and Fivemiletown.

Anno 1595, an 4. bliadain.

bláirimí 1 for íarimí ílí nimmécht oía aihraib go mórínfóon límaiz. Tanḡataim iliomat oúailib coicció Meaúba do faihíó uí Ohoimailí fhuir in iérim ḡombátaim fori aihraime lair ílí na ttoronh ar a ttií. la haimmachet ḡall, & ni antair do ḡier déet aḡa atáérim & oḡ áilḡlí faihí iméuróéet oáite an aihpallat forina hallmarichail & oirḡain 7 uinoríeáó doira ino iomfúlaing 7 na ttuat pobtaim forimámaizéte oóib. Ro baol immorio oía aineuróerim & oía inoíie fhu ḡallail ḡu uó foróaing a ahlaiḡ faihí an ionoríeáó 7 an oirḡain oía ccaohraó. Baire mfnuat fainneáó ro taircéleáó oía inoríeáó hí torad Raé crioichín crioireige fori maḡ náóí mic Allḡubha in eiríimíóón na nḡall bail imbataim ambeoórim & aninóile. Míi uó hliura oórim on inuim, úairi do iatrat na ḡall coiceeáó Connadé uile fo amáimur ḡombataim 1 foribairi in oúimib oioóḡlaró 7 1 poritail ḡabála na éuche 7 fori abliamáib bolḡail. 1. oimong oioó írim cairtiall fíl fori uir na fíhábonn foriḡaib an oíle na oíoharó oía nḡairi Sligeacé, & ariole oib imbaile an Moḡaiz, oúnaó oainḡean fíl hí comfocraib don enuc aihóerie do éirí éoriamh cpiuiriie. Socharóe oíob írim Porit náa, míi oainḡean eiríóe ro clairíle na ḡall eiríi loch cé 7 loch naibacé. Ari ail oíob hí mainuiri monach fíl fori bpiú na Slḡra, ob írúe do éat a loch teichle oía nḡairi Buill an tanra. Oream oile hí tuilce in eiríimíóón Mhailí hdoi fhu Raé cpiuachan anairéúaró. Ro baol ḡoiblíimóim coicció Connadé Sipi Rihóerio bionḡom 1 Ruirí commáin. Ríuie cpióa eiríóe, & a pé ba haimuḡ fhu laim an tpeanaró foriḡan ccoirḡeáó uile feb ariubriamoi. Ba uilíḡ oioéuimáing oanaó míoúlaé ammuir do éabairt foriḡan fírianlaé ieméirberitmai oía cceieáó náé oía inoríeáó la haóúat 7 la hupḡain anairi 7 ino inuill, láir an uinḡin 7 láir an oimbhíḡ do ríonrat do ḡaoróea-

fol. 20. b.

¹ *Middle month.*—The year was divided by the ancient Irish into four parts, each beginning with a stated day on which the lighting of fires and games took place. O'Donovan thinks the last month of Foghamar, or summer, corresponding with our November, was also the last of the year. Accordingly the middle month of spring would be our April. See *The Book of Rights*, liii.

² *Sligeach.* — i.e., abounding in shells. This was formerly the name of the river Garvogue, which flows through the town of Sligo. From it the town has its name.

³ *Ballymote.* — A town fourteen miles south of Sligo. The castle was built by Richard De Burgo, called the Red Earl, in 1300. A good part of it is still standing.

⁴ *Kesh.*—A hill immediately to the west of Ballymote.

The year 1595, the fourth year.

1595

He was then at rest, after the departure of his mercenaries, until the middle month¹ of spring. Many of the nobles of the province of Meadhbh came to O'Donnell at that time and were in his service, having been banished from their territory by the oppression of the English, and they never ceased beseeching and begging him to go to punish the English for their misdeeds, and to plunder and prey the people who bore with them and the territories subject to them. It happened, moreover, that owing to his resentment and anger against the English it was easy to tempt him to prey and plunder them whenever he could. The precise place fixed on to be plundered first was Rathcroghan of Crobdearg, in the plain of Aoi, son of Allgubha, in the middle of the English, where their flocks and herds were. That was not easy for him, for the English had brought the whole province of Connaught under their power, so that they were in possession of the impregnable castles and strongholds of the country and in the gaps of danger, viz., some of them in the castle on the bank of the ancient river which the flood left behind, called the Sligeach,² and others of them in Ballymote,³ a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of the celebrated hill of Kesh⁴ of Corann the harper. Some of them at Newport,⁵ a strong fortress which the English had erected between Lough Ce and Lough Arrow.⁶ Others of them in the monastery of the monks on the bank of the Seghais, a river which comes from Lough Techet,⁷ now called the Boyle. Another body in Tusk, in the middle of Magh Aoi, north-east of Rathcroghan. The Governor of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, was in Roscommon,⁸ a valiant knight, and he was Governor, under the direction of the Council, over the whole province, as we have said. It was a hard, difficult, bold, brave thing to make an attack on the party of whom we have spoken already, in order to plunder or prey them, owing to the great dread and abhorrence of their arms and accoutrements, and to

¹ *Newport*.—This is no doubt the great fort between Loughs Ce and Arrow erected by the Governor of Connaught, spoken of by the Four Masters under the date 1590.

² *Lough Arrow*.—Five miles N. of Boyle.

³ *Lough Techet*.—Now Lough Gara, six

miles W. of Boyle. Coolavin, the territory of the O'Garas, lay on the west side of it.

⁴ *Roscommon*.—This castle was built by William De Ufford, Lord Justice, in 1268. See an account of it in *The J. of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Oct., 1891.

fol. 21. *a*.

² *Braulieve*.—Four miles S. of Dromahaire, where Leitrim and Roscommon meet.

³ *Tír Tuathail*.—A territory in the N.E.

⁴ *Knockvicar*.—Five miles N.E. of Boyle.

⁵ *Daghda*.—i.e., Eochaidh Ollathar, ardrigh from 3371 to 3450. He died at Brugh na Boinne of a wound which was inflicted on him in the first battle of Moytura. *Annals F. M.*, i. 23.

the contempt and insults they offered to the Irish for a long time. However, O'Donnell resolved to go on a hosting at the request and petition of the nobles and gentlemen who complained of their sufferings to him. He assembled and gathered together the Cinel Conaill, and they came to Ballyshannon. Then he went, the third day of March, with his host across the old stream of Saimer, having the Lough of Melge,¹ son of Cobthach, on the right, over the border of Brefny, to Braulieve,² and from that to Tir Tuathail.³ He encamped there till morning. The next day they set off through the wastes and deserts of the country, without being noticed or heard, to the river at Boyle, east of Lough Ce. The army crossed the river in the beginning of the night at the place called Knockvicar⁴ bridge. From that silently through Moylurg of the Daghdha⁵ and through Magh Aoi Finnbendaig, till they came at the twilight of the morning to Croghan, the royal fort of Aoi. However, though houses and dwellings were close in the neighbourhood of the royal fortress, and though the cows and herds of cattle, the swift foreign horses, the oxen and preys of cattle were numerous, and though they might with profit forbid their marauders to scatter or their soldiers to separate from each other in order to collect herds or flocks (for they would find plenty of them, and of every treasure they wished except gold or silver), it was not this they did at all, but far and wide they separated one from the other from the hill of the royal fort, for some of them went into the territory of O'Conor Roe and Annaly, and others to the bridge of Ballymoe,⁶ and another body beyond Castlereagh,⁷ westwards. All these active marauding parties, with their spoils and booty, returned with what each one could, moving together and driving before them herds and cattle, after mid-day on the same day to Elphin,⁸ where O'Donnell was. It was a long time before that since the same quantity or the like was gathered and collected as was brought together of spoils in one place, the plunder of one day, by any one of the race of Gaeidhel Glas,⁹ son of Nial. O'Donnell went forward with his army by slow marches over the border of Magh Aoi

⁶ *Ballymoe*.—Six miles S. of Castlereagh.

⁷ *Castlereagh*.—Fifteen miles N.W. of Roscommon. No trace of the castle remains.

⁸ *Elphin*.—See *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 89, 139. It is fifteen miles north of Roscommon. It

gives its name to an ancient bishopric founded by St. Patrick.

⁹ *Gaeidhel Glas*.—Or Gadelas. Milesius was 19th in descent from him. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 107.

րանճատարի օժ հալի Տօնո՞ժ ար արժ ո՞ժ ժհալեցի անարի տսար՝ ճա՛ն ո՞րմբա՛ւի Երիւն
 ւն՝ Եղիան & Ըոմմաեռե Քկն. ճա՛նտ լոնջիօրէ հիւրսե՛ն անտհա՛յ ին.

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 Tanaic an Žoibljnópi pėipin žo nžalləib Rojpa commain laip, 7 žo nojpuis
 móji vo žəoičəaləib imajoln pju, žombatai occ Rait cčūəəan, 7 vo iľžhətt
 porj pľiochčlojcc na pľuaž & na cčpəach, & žepi bo jočəins a lojž vo
 bpič (api nup bo pľiochč pjonvəisž porj oisžpəos ľnž 7 joilľechč an cčpəəč
 pľoiž baoi mľniju) ba pəin conajpi jo chingľt la vūvə laoi & la hupčopəč
 oččəi iapi na mľžəəč mľpjužəč la hálžip 7 la tinnľnup əttajpəəttəin 7
 əttəžpəim, ūaij bajľo ľənjəoiľəəttəin na nžall žup bo hi an conajpi i
 tčúčəəč ūa Žoimnail von čip nó aržnəipəəč vo jučip occ joač ma pjučľins.
 OŽoimnail tpi (ó jo žľə an lá co na ľənjəoiľi api əbajpəč) jo porjčónžajpi
 porj a žioľľənjəvč 7 porj žač əon vía pľóž və nap bo heol ajm vimbəajp no
 vionľūəč in əžəvč a nāməť əpcənəim žán pjuipəč la əcčpəəčžəbáləib 7 la
 anėvóləib vo joisžio na Sionvə žó ajoiľə əč vomiain baoi pojppan əbəinn
 pjuip jəitəpi Əh čille tpiənəin. Vo jónəč pəijpionm inoipin pəčľtčťoip 7
 loťťəpi təppan əbəinn žan nəč mbəožəľ žombətopi pojppan mbjuəč əľľəťəpəč
 icconmāicəne maižə Rľm pjuip jəitčľi muimčľi Čoləip an tən pə.

Iométurá an tSionóidí Ríochas biongam, ó vo bléit oía uío ó Domhnall
coná ríos vo iomgábail 7 vo feachna na rligís taipra tuúcéatari von tíri
io fáir techta gur na gallaib fhuar ai dálartairi occ moimirtiri na buille

¹ *Slishen*. — Now Bellaslishen, a mile south of Elphin.

² *Hy Briuin*.—Now Tir ua Riuin, the territory lying between Elphin and Jamestown, Co. Roscommon. It belonged to the O'Monaghans, descended from Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin.

³ *Conmaicne Rein*.—i.e., the plain of the track. Through this the Formorians flying from the battle field of Moytura passed to Fenagh, where they were slain. It comprises the southern part of Co. Leitrim.

⁴ *Cluan n-í gcaishel*.—Now Cloone, in the barony of Mohill.

having on the right the old ford of Slishen¹ and Hy Briuin,² until they came to the bank of the Shannon, for it flows straight from the north-west between Hy Briuin and Conmaicine Rein.³ They encamped there that night.

As for the Governor Richard Bingham, when he was told that O'Donnell was marching before he came into the country, and he was as well prepared as he could be, he thought it well that he had come anyhow, for he supposed he could not escape back without a great disaster, he assembled all the English in the country in general, from whatever garrisons they were in, and he summoned them to meet him at the Seghais called the Boyle, for he thought O'Donnell would pass there when going to his own country. There came to that gathering the English who were in the garrisons of Sligo, Ballymote, and Newport, and they were in the monastery of Boyle. The English who were in Cluan na gCaishel⁴ came to the same gathering. The Governor himself came with the English of Roscommon and with a great body of Irish, and they were at Rath Croghan. They went on the track of the army and of the prey, and though it was easy to find the track, for not like the track of a fox on the ice were the track and footsteps of the plundering host before them, they took a different road at the end of the day and beginning of the night, after wandering and straying through a longing desire and haste to take vengeance on them and pursue them, for the English were fully persuaded that O'Donnell would march again, when returning back, by the same road by which he had come to the territory. Meantime (as soon as the day shone out with all its light on the morrow), O'Donnell ordered his attendants and every one of his army who did not know how to use or wield arms against their enemies to march without delay with their booty and spoils to a certain deep ford of the river Shannon, which is called the ford of Killtrenan. This they did immediately, and they crossed the river without any hurt to the opposite bank in Conmaicne Magh Reim, which is now called Muintir Eolais.

As for the Governor Richard Bingham, when he perceived that O'Donnell with his army had escaped and had taken a different road from that by which they had come into the country, he sent messengers to the

fol. 22. a.

Ἀρτὸ ἀπεῖκε ἀπύχτη λα húa nDomnaill πο θεοῖο. Ro θελῆσται

² *Killargy*.—i.e., the church of St. Ferga. The village is six miles south of Manor Hamilton.

³ *Monastery of the Seghais*.—The Cistercian abbey of Boyle, which is called here by the name of the river close to which it is built. The church and a considerable part of the monastery are still standing, but they are in very neglected state.

English whom he had summoned to the monastery of Boyle to ask all of them to go in pursuit of the host which had come to plunder the territory, and as they did not come instantly, for they did not wish to go meet the other army unprepared, they went from thence across the Shannon north-eastwards before the English came up, all but a small number of their soldiers whom they left behind to fight in their defence and to protect them on their rear. A great body of the infantry of the English army and of the shooters came up and a skirmish took place between them, so that many were hurt and wounded on both sides. However, at last the Cinel Conaill went across the river after a victory in the fight. The Governor with his English retreated, and his mind was not at ease, for he was sorry that the country was plundered in spite of him.

O'Donnell and his army went on their way to their homes with vast treasures and great joy. They remained there to get rid of their fatigue to the end of spring. When the beginning of the summer weather was approaching a longing and a great desire seized O'Donnell to go again into the neighbouring districts to attack the people that were in subjection to the English and obedient to them, to bring them back to an alliance and friendship with him, and to protect their patrimony from the English, or to prey them if they did not return. Wherefore he got together his troops on the 18th of April. His first march was across the old stream of the Saimer, having the Lough of Melge, son of Cobthach, on his right, and they came to Ross Inver¹ that night. They remained there till morning. They went the next day to Killargy.² They made a halt there until the rear of his army came up with them. After that they went through Brefny to Brailieve. They encamped for a night there, and held a council afterwards. What they agreed on was whatever hurt they found an opportunity of doing to the English who were in the monastery of the Seghais,³ they thought it right to do, for these were with two hundred soldiers in possession of the church,⁴ and they wasted the neighbouring territories on every side so that they were wildernesses without residence or dwelling.

This was the plan adopted by O'Donnell in the end. He detached a

⁴ *Church*. — *Regles*, an abbey church, of the secular or of the regular clergy. See whereas *teamful* may mean a church either Petrie's *Eccl. Arch.*, p. 153.

fol. 22. b.

fol. 23. a.

naught and Munster, where his descendants, the families of O'Ferrall and Reynolds still dwell. O'Curry's *Manners, &c.*, ii. 86.

troop of horse from the army of his own people and sent them away by another road across the Boyle to the monastery, and told them to go reconnoitre for the purpose of driving off the cattle belonging to the English, to delude them, and draw them beyond the fences and walls of the monastery as far as the level plain after their cattle, to see whether the force could go between them and the fortified place, for O'Donnell was told that they had one hundred milch cows for food. O'Donnell went away with his army by a private road to conceal himself by the bank of Lough Arrow to the east, and to Corrsliabh of the Seghais. The English who were in garrison in Newport, between Lough Key and Lough Arrow, heard the talking of the army when passing by. They set to shoot their leaden balls and to burn their powder in order to give information and warning to the soldiers in the monastery, so that the force should not deceive them and come on them without notice. When O'Donnell had passed over the Corrsliabh southwards, he rested in a retired wood near the river in ambush for the English until the morning of the next day. As for the troop that was sent to reconnoitre about the prey, as we have said, they came in the early dawn to the monastery and drove off the cattle from them immediately. The English saw that a stratagem was attempted against them, and did not leave the fortress but remained therein. When O'Donnell had given up all hope of their coming out of the monastery into the level plain in pursuit of their small herd of cattle, the loss of which was an injury to them then, he rose from his ambush and passed on across through Magh Aoi with his soldiers, so that it was completely gleaned by him and what remained to them after the first time was entirely plundered, and he went straight on till he came to the western bank of the Shannon.

He went across the river to Conmaicne Rein, and he encamped in Leitrim of Muintir Eolais, and remained there with his army until they had finished the celebration of Easter, and while his enemies thought he was going to his native country, such a thing was not in his mind, but he summoned to him privately some of the people of the country, and told them to go into the neighbouring district to spy and watch the people who were in subjection to the English. They went afterwards by the prince's order to watch in Annaly. This is a district in which some of the nobles of Conmaicne of the race of Fergus Mac Rossa dwelt. They were

բիւղիս Գլոնօսօրաժե. 7 յօտար բոնամայժե ոօ չալլայն ան տան իմ. Ետար
 Իմեաւաճաճե ուա շրէճոօ ար յօ Եաօ չարբօսար աւոնայժէր տ արօւե. Ռօ
 բօրօ Եօր ւա Դօմնալլ տէճա օօ Իաօօ Միաջարօրի ուա տօշարաճօ շուււա, 7
 յօ-Յալարտօրի բարի արի օւօւօւրիւ շէնա. Դար բիւրօւ ամալ յօ Իարաւօ.

Տօւտ օրի ան Եարաի բօր օււալն օօ բարի բիւլ 7 Եաօջալ նա արօւ օւա
 Դօմնալլ. Դօ օմա ար իրօմ օնա միււաճայն Լւան արչ օօ իօնարօ
 տարա Եալճի յօ տօնօւրբիւտ ա շօրչ օնարա օօ շօ բարաւ բա մաւա
 տօն Անջալե. Օրբօւր ան օա Անջալե 7 ան արօւ արբ օրի չալ Լէ Լօ
 օնա բարբալիւտ միօլ ոմմա օճա Տալն Միլաւ օււալն օրբ մի բար
 ուա յարօրի բալն Եարալ արօւ շօ շարի Երաւարօմ բարի բալի Եիւնե,
 Եալ մ յօ Եարաճ Եիւնե մնլն Եօւաճ բօրօւն. Դօ բարաւ տա մարալ
 ու Դօմնալլ բօ բարմնէլ տնլն ան տիւ մա տարաւ շարի Եօ բարաւ
 տօնարօ շարաւալ տօրա օւալաճ անօրբիւր Եալ ւարա Եարաւալ, շարի Եօ
 Լօր ուա Լօտ 7 ուա Լանաճալաճօ տարաւ տօնօրալն բար ուա Եօ
 տարա 7 ուա Եօ իօլլէրի ուն անալաւա 7 անալ օնալալաճ (տարալ
 արաւալն ւարն) օւաւ անալաւ 7 անալաւա Եարա.

Եալ արալալ արի օւալն, Լոնթօր տիւ Բիւղիս ա անա, ար ար Եօ
 տարալ տօրաւ Ե տօն տի ու Եարա Լի օւալալ նա արօւ ուա օնալ. Եօ
 տարա տարալն տօնալաճ արօւ 7 ար բար շար նա չալլայն ան տօնարօ
 իմ. Դօ բարալ իրօմ Չալլ բիւրօմ ուա բարմարալն ար ուա տօնօմնօ 7 շար
 7 արալա ան տիւ Լար, Եարալ Եարա ա անա. Եօ Եարաւալ աւաւ տօն
 արօւ Լալալ բար տարալ 7 արալալ օօ Եարալ օրի արալն Ե արալալ
 ան տիւ օրի չալ Լալալ օ. Եարալ ան արալալ Լա Լա արալալ, Ե օ
 բարալ Եարալ 7 ա Եարալ ար անալալ օն ա մարալ տօնալն. Դօ
 բարալ օն Լալալն մա Բիւղալ մի Եարա Լար ան բարալ Ե Եօ արալն
 ա օնալ արօւ, Լա Մալալն օօ բարալն. Լալալալ Եարալ մա ան
 Բարալ ու Լալալալ Լա արալալ նալա տօն բօլալ.

fol. 23. b.

¹ *Annalies*. — In 1445, at the death of William O'Ferrall, lord of Annaly, the territory was divided and two chieftains established. *Annals F. M.*, v. 941.

² *Slieve Ullin*. — It is mentioned in the *Book of Lecan*: 'Lughaidh went to be revenged of Furbaidhe and killed him at the summit of Slieve Uillen, and he made his carn there.' fol. 252. a. The name is now obsolete.

³ *Slieve Carbray*. — A mountainous district in the barony of Granard, Co. Longford. It takes its name from Cairbre, brother of Laeghaire, ardrigh in St. Patrick's time.

⁴ *Inny*. — This river rises in Lough Sheelin. Flowing southwards, it passes through Lakes Derravaragh and Iron. For a part of its course it forms the boundary between Longford and Westmeath. It falls into the eastern angle of Lough Ree.

called the Clann Farrell, and they were subject to the English then. They were very much afraid to separate from them, for they were very near each other. O'Donnell also sent a messenger to Hugh Maguire to invite him to him, and he appointed a meeting in the same territory. He came as he was asked.

The spies returned with an account of the country and of its dangers to O'Donnell. He set off then with his soldiers on Easter Monday precisely through the passes which his guides informed him of, and he came before morning to Annaly. The two Annalies¹ and the whole country on every side were wasted by them, so that they did not leave a single beast from the mountain of Uillinn of the red spear, son of Finn, called Slieve Carbry³ now, to Glais Beramon, called the Inny,⁴ where Eithne, the daughter of Eochaidh Feidhleach,⁵ was drowned. O'Donnell's people put a heavy cloud of fire on the land all round, so that there was a gloomy, blinding, dark cloud of smoke of a strange kind overhead, enough to make them wound and endanger those who were defending them, for their acquaintances and fellow-soldiers could not be recognised and distinguished (if they were any distance from them) more than their hereditary foes and enemies.

There was a castle in the territory called O'Farrell's fortress,⁶ for it was his fortified residence, and that of the person of his tribe who was at the head of the territory. It was a strong impregnable castle, and it had fallen into the hands of the English then. The English gave it afterwards to one of their own people to hold, and the hostages and pledges of the country with it. Christopher Brown was his name. He was a giant in bravery; besides, he used contempt and abuse towards the nobles and chiefs of the country on all sides of him. The castle was taken by Hugh O'Donnell, and Christopher and his brother-in-law were carried away as pledges with both their wives. Hubert, too, son of Fergus, son of Brian, fell by the army; his family was of the nobility. He was slain by Maguire. Conor, son of the Prior⁷ O'Reilly, was taken by another part of the army.

¹ *Eochaidh Feidhleach*.—For an account of the manner in which he reached the throne, and the chief events of his reign, see Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 196.

⁶ *O'Farrell's fortress*.—The town and county of Longford take their name from

it. Tradition says the castle occupied the site of the present barracks.

⁷ *Son of the Prior*.—This was Maelmora, the illegitimate son of Philip O'Reilly, called the Prior though not an ecclesiastic. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1966.

Ro maribax 7 jo muraxizfo xaxine romox leox an la jin nac tabaxitar jo
axo an anmanna xaxieaxoxa la tax na pe xizall xexx xo xaxielanxax
na exche (baxo in axexie la Exoxoxo jo in la in xall jin longxoxe)
xo loxexox, ax ni jo cunoxfo a xexaxexan la xexax na xoxfo 7 la
loxexoxe na luxax laxax baxo in xax axo & in xax axoxo xon xaxe.
Ro loxexox leox xox an la jin xexie xaxexox oxle xo xaxexallax an
xex cexnox an longxox. Xo bax lionxaxie xa nexaxax xa naxexox 7
xa cexexaxax nax axax jo xoxax a xoxox ox xaxax na haxaxle
xox.

Lottarai arf íairi ninníreacó an tíre gurú mo shabhar longphort i teallach
 nóinnchapha an adais i m. Do leicce aréimnealta ariabarae gur an sú
 imbatari goillíforibairi irin chích .a. go mainitiri conióttacé la hoipo San
 Fiancey in ionfoccur von chabán (longphort uí Raḡallaiḡ) & do bhar
 leó gach eóáil fori a iugrat ó na fuairíreac baogal forirna gallaib la
 oainḡin innille an ionaro ambátari. Shabar forr an adais i m i teallac
 neachrach alla éairi do bél Acha Conaill.

Ro burō fúáill an fínoaíle ionnópa fopí atabpíataip muinteí uí Thoinnáill móplúach epurō & clétha ip na conaíob ílmpa in opí an va bpeíne 7 í ílíaiob monac apí a lionnáipe batapí leó apí a fíto 7 apí a iméline úaiobí oía tíip, apí laige 7 apí eneipite gáca cenéoil clépa in ionbáir ím. Nipí bó pádal íuanioipéimeach ío éochaté áóó Rúáóh úa Thoinnáill an tpeéctmainím, 7 ba íe ícipéhuán o apí oíle a íuóeaóa & a ímteécta, apí ba oía íachaiím ío blípat a ímuinteí a mbú oó gállaíob mainepípe na buílle 7 ío aipííle íachaiípe connáéct. Ba oía íaipit apí ceíuno ío epeaéloípeceíle a ílóíó an va Angháile aínaiob atpíubpamopí, & ba oía céoaom ílíom ío ípíleínaíópíle áipííthe ímon ceabán. Íotapí cenél conaíll ílípetain oía tígíob íapí íeííeíuóáó áneachípa. An Cíuoítoopí bípoun íeíípáíte baopíóde íngíallínap ía húa íThoinnoíll gup ío lípín úaíó a íuapíeclaó .í. íé ííclíit ponnta.

Ro pŕŕ do ǵallais Duiblinne ó Néill do óul i ccomhbairt cogair na nǵaóirel ar arlac 7 poiríteam uí Dhoimnail cem ba poirírel farr co leice

¹ *Tullyhunco*. — Now a barony in the west of Co. Cavan.

² *Tullyhaw*.—Now a barony in the N.W. of the same county.

³ *Ballyconnell*. — A small town in the barony of Tullyhaw. It has its name from

Conall Cearnach, the famous Red Branch knight, who was slain there by the men of Connaught, to avenge the death of Oilioll Mor, husband of the famous Meadhbh. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 199, and O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 483.

There were slain and destroyed many persons by them on that day whose precise names are not given, together with the sixteen hostages of the high-born nobles of the territory (they were hostages with Christopher Brown by direction of the English in the castle) who were burnt, for they could not be saved owing to the rush of the fire and the burning of the red-hot ashes which were in every part and corner of the town. Four other castles also of those of the territory were burnt besides Longford. There were more spoils and plunder and cattle than they were able to take away with them when leaving Annaly.

They went away after plundering the territory, and they encamped at Tullyhunco¹ that night. They sent out their scouts on the next day to the place where the English were in garrison in the territory, *i.e.*, to the monastery built by the Order of St. Francis, very near Cavan (O'Reilly's fortress), and they took away with them every kind of booty which they met with, as they could get no advantage of the English owing to the place where they were. They rested that night at Tullyhaw² to the west of Ballyconnell.³

O'Donnell's people thought nothing of the quantity of treasure which they took, the wealth of cattle and flocks on the roads before them on the borders of the two Brefs and in Fermanagh, owing to the great quantity they had and to the remoteness and distance of their own territory and the weakness and feebleness of all kinds of cattle then. Hugh O'Donnell did not pass that week in a pleasant, sleep-producing manner, and his journeys and marches were far from each other, for on Saturday his people took their cattle from the English of the monastery of Boyle and plundered the plain of Connaught. On the following Tuesday his forces wasted the two Annalies, as we have said, and on the Wednesday after his marauding parties spread about Cavan. The Cinel Conaill went away after that to their homes, having ended their expedition. The afore-mentioned Christopher Brown was kept in confinement by Hugh O'Donnell until his ransom of six score pounds was paid by him.

It was known to the English of Dublin that O'Neill had entered into the confederacy of the Irish at the instigation and request of O'Donnell, though it was not evident then, and though he concealed it as long as he

could. When this was proved to the Lord Justice Sir William Russell and the Council too, they could not overlook his fault. He sent a thousand men with proper implements to Iubhar cinn tragha to keep in check the Cinel Eoghain, and the Lord Justice promised¹ to come himself with his army in a short time to ravage the country and to destroy its strongholds and difficult passes. Thereupon O'Neill sent his messengers to O'Donnell to tell him of the assembling of that great army that was intended for Tir Eoghain. The mind of O'Donnell could not suffer to hear the news. Wherefore, what he did was to assemble his forces immediately in one place and to go to Tir Eoghain, where O'Neill was. They went together to Faughart² Muirtheimhne,³ the place where the famous Cuchullin performed the great feat of bravery.⁴ They made tents and sheds to the east of Faughart in the month of May precisely. They waited for the Lord Justice here for some time to protect and guard the province against him. However, the Lord Justice remained in Dublin then, having learned that they were ready for him in this way.

There was a roguish, powerful soldier of the English then in the castle on the bank of the ancient river Sligeach in garrison, and one hundred soldiers with him; George Oge Bingham was his name. He was a leader in fight and a captain of war by appointment of the General who happened to be over the province of Meadhbh then, *i.e.*, Richard Bingham. As for George of whom we have spoken, the crew of the ship sailed north-eastwards, having the coast of Ireland on their right, till they came to the old harbour of Swilly in the territory of Conall, son of Niall, while O'Donnell was with his forces in Tir Eoghain. A monastery was there on the edge of the shore built in honour and reverence of holy Mary, Mother of the Lord. They went to the monastery and took away twenty-four mass-vestments that were there and the vessels for the offering of the body of the Saviour, and other treasures besides. They went back till they came to Tory,⁵ a place which the famous Columba⁶ blessed; this is an island opposite the territory due

by Queen Meadhbh at the head of an army, known as the Tain bo Chuailgne. For an account of it see O'Curry's *Manuscripts*, &c., ii. 296.

⁵ *Tory*. — An island off the N.W. coast of Donegal. For the origin of this name

and its history see Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 78, *The Irish version of Nennius*, p. 4.; Dublin, 1848. and Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 279.

⁶ *Columba*. — He is said to have erected a church, monastery, and round tower there. *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 151.

north out in the sea a long distance from the land. They plundered the glebcland ¹ of the saint and the whole island, so that they did not leave a four-footed beast on it. O'Donnell was told of the plundering of the territory by the strange fleet in his absence. He went to his territory to avenge its devastation. He had not long to wait after that when the news reached him that the Lord Justice was coming with his army to Tir Eoghain. O'Donnell turned back once more until he came where O'Neill was waiting to see what road the Lord Justice would choose. O'Neill was glad of his arrival, and his soul was stirred on seeing him. They set to watch and observe the Lord Justice face to face; they did not attack him, neither did he attack them. But, however, they did not allow his forces to scatter or collect herds or flocks, so that in the end the Lord Justice was obliged to go back to Dublin since he could do nothing against the Irish. As for the above mentioned George, after his return to Sligo, the Lord of the Universe did not allow him to be long unpunished for the irreverence which he did to the church of the Blessed Mary and to the church of Columb. as we have said. It happened in this way. There was a nobleman of the province of Connaught in the pay of George, with twelve soldiers of his own people in his company. Ulick Burke was his name. He was the son of Redmond na scuab,² son of Ulick na gceann, son of Richard, and though he was not of the Irish by descent, he was kindly and respectful to them owing to the length of time they lived³ in the island, and the love which the Irish had for the English was not less than his love for them, for the hatred and cruelty of the English of Dublin towards both of them was the same. Great contumely and insult⁴ was offered to Ulick by the English, in whose service he was. He was filled with anger and wrath, and he was continually thinking how he could avenge the insult on the English, and become intimate with O'Donnell after that, for he was anxious to enter into friendship with him. In this way he was spying and watching George continually until he got an advantage of him in a room one day, and he charged him with his injustice and illegalities, and he got

1595.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expug. Hib.*, ii. 16, for a description of his character.

⁴ *Insult*. — O'Sullivan gives a different account of the cause of the dispute. He

says Ulick was wroth, because the Irish soldiers who had accompanied Bingham into Tyrconnell had not got a fair share of the booty from him. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 74.

ainoligheo faip, 7 no confuair ppeccia buo ní só, 7 ó na fúair gebao claiólp
nóo co tobacé a élnó da chunleiré. Gabtar in baile la hilleacc ísionn,
& mo faoió aéeéta co hAd Seanais. Ro lápat muincli uí Domhnaill a tteeéta
oia faigir co tíri Eoghain aipm ambói. Ad faóat a pceél oia Ohoimnaill.
Ad cuar oia Neill ísli ttain. Robtar iubairi oiblinib. Do thaoet tria
úa Domhnaill oia tiz ísli ccelebriao oia Néill, 7 ni mo aipur act in oiochib
go paimicc gur an Slliccead cona rochiaroe laip. Fo gairbh failte hipuroiu
7 do patte hilleacc a buie an cairtiall só. Foraisir ipan mbaille atharó
pamlaio, & ba páim laip a mlnma. Hi mór lun do funpiao mo rin.

fol. 25.b. Ba hipin ié rin do iala do laeé aipia do gallaib tocht fo pceálaib
an baile co ttriub céoairb laech ina páipiao. Ba cairtin coceairó 7 bAd
toipead momgona eiprío William Mor aiponao. Ticprío co hEipaoia
ció ie rú fo pteiri pceéla uí Ohoimnaill, 7 ni éolinnaccairi iompuó i
ttriaitiu an tan pangatopi muincli uí Ohoimnaill don toeb oile don
abainn, combátopi linead in ioncharib aip gac taoib oón oioichle mo baoi
porpan abainn 7 naé ba mó oim olóar lóh oioibpaithe baoi ltoipia. Ni
baoi conairi gur na gallaib act triépan oioichle, & ni mo ptepat
muincli uí Ohoimnaill oül treampa aipail mo ba mlnmaic léo, acht élna
mo hoipa cairtin aipia dona gallaib lár na oioibpaitéib do ionta ltoipia
oerú 7 anall. O taimicc oioicatu na hoioche mo élaioile app na gail
feb ar olme mo nucpat oialaile, & ni mo pachaigitt co mattain. Ro
línpat na hóicc iat ipin olóoil tairi muinóinn an tplebe 7 ni nucpat
porpia, & ba méla móri léo actlipnuó úairuib aipailó rin. Soair pori ccúlad
gur an Sllicceé do iuróiri.

Ro págaib ó Domhnaill oipong oia aipiaib 7 oia áor tairipri hi coairlen
Sllicció oia iomóoiméu, & ba plan laip aipmna fo óáigh an baile do bit
pori a éomay. Luróipiom íspatm con a plóó vaippan Eipne buó éúair co
panais oia tiz go Dún na ngall. Báoipiom i porp go mlóon Angurc. Ad
coaoatari oóipom tapceairi mupéoblaé do éeacht i loch feabail an tan rin.
Ba hé ba haipéad pori an cooblaé hipin .i. Mac Leoio na haia (oilen píl

¹ *The head.*—In 'The Journal of the Lord Deputy Russell, the following entry occurs under the date June 6th, 1595: 'Letters from Sir Richard Bingham, certifying the betraying and murdering of Captain George Bingham at Sligo castle by one of the

Bourkes (Ulick Bourke), his ensign, who took the castle the same time from the enemy, and slew all the English of the ward.' *C. C. MSS.*, iii. 231.

² *Delighted.*—'That killing was of great service to those of the Connaughtmen who

no answer whatever ; and as he did not, he took his sword and cut his head¹ from the trunk. The place was seized by Ulick then, and he sent messengers to Ballyshannon. O'Donnell's people sent his messengers to Tir Eoghain, where he was. They told the news to O'Donnell. It was related to O'Neill afterwards, and both were delighted.² O'Donnell then went home, having taken leave of O'Neill, and he stopped only at night until he came to Sligo with his troops. He received a welcome there, and Ulick gave up the castle to him. He rested at that place for a while, and his mind was at rest. That was precisely in the month of June.

It happened just then that a famous warrior of the English came to reconnoitre the place, having three hundred soldiers with him. He was a captain in battle and a leader in fight. His name was William Moss.³ He came to Assaroc before he had news of O'Donnell, and he could not return immediately when O'Donnell's people came up on the other side of the river, so that they were face to face on either side of the bridge which was over the river, and the space between them was not more than a gunshot. There was no way to the English except over the bridge, and O'Donnell's people could not pass through as they wished. However, a famous captain of the English was killed by the shooting which took place between them from one side and from the other. When the darkness of night came, the English fled away as quick as they could all together, and they were not perceived till morning. The youths followed them at the dawn over the upper part of the mountain, and they did not overtake them. They were very sorry that they had escaped from them in this way. They went back again to Sligo.

O'Donnell left a party of his soldiers and of his trusty people in the castle of Sligo to hold it. His mind was at ease in consequence of the place being in his power. After that he went with his army across the Erne northwards till he came to his house at Donegal. He was at rest till the middle of August. He was told that a fleet of ships had come to Lough Foyle then. The commander of the fleet was MacLeod of Aran

were in exile.' *Annals of Loch Ce*, ii. 517. 'Each of them afterwards went to his own native territory. In the course of one month the greater part of the inhabitants of the district, from the western point of Erris and

Umhall to the river Drowes, had unanimously confederated with O'Donnell.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1975.

³ *Moss*.—Perhaps Captain Mostyn, who is mentioned *ibid.*, vi. 1867.

in Albain dianao ainm Aia ar úairde ro gábhroim ainmnuaḡaó) ré céo laech
 a lion, 7 ba ríó for moḡluair do beir fori ainpame la húa nDoimnaill.
 Itiátt aium batari léo ríóḡbáca réthirnoiré 7 raiḡhve rruibḡeria 7 lann
 cloróme lſchanḡosa cona nupróḡnais veblinḡacha. Do éolt úa Doimnaill
 aium imbátari & for forr fpu ré éoria moir, & ba hi mſóón an mſr Augur
 rſeñiaitru do rſunnaó moir. Do ionta accoimnſó fori choarḡais &
 bpuḡeáóais iſritain ḡo melceſt arcſr íari na moirḡaoḡari muiróe & combḡari
 ellma a lóinte. O roḡbḡari ruiḡe íarom, do riat ó Doimnaill lair íat
 ḡur an Eirne, & a rlóḡh ar élna do ſul hi coirḡeáó nAilealla. Do
 coirſt ar íarom tair Oirḡaoir, tair Ouir, tairan Sligich, tair lſr nḡara,
 tair munclinn rlebe ḡam ḡur an lúḡne 7 aſrúe co ḡoirḡealbachais.
 baor ſúnaó raimḡn hſurou, Cairtiall móri mec ḡoirḡelbaḡ do ḡoirḡeóe.
 Do ruit ḡur na ḡallais rſeb do rochriatari cairtialla an churcſr ar élna.
 Ro rſurſ ó Doimnaill a lonḡroir imon ſúnaó, 7 ro ḡab aḡ rſubair &
 occ tomairſm fori olr comſoa an cairtſoill. Ba rſlſro veóroim om moir
 ar roḡ éiḡn von baḡra fo ſeóir an baile do éabairt úaróib ſúa
 Ohoimnaill. Do riatroim íarom commur an baile rona hſb rari bo roich,
 7 ro éinḡealrat techt ina munclſar 7 fo aóḡarim ḡac tan burſ tol ró,
 7 beóir aſurroim hi combáir coḡar na nḡaoirḡeal.

Luro van ó Doimnaill iſritain, 7 ni ro aſur co rianac rſurſac Mochain.
 Cairtiall eirúe rſil in rſeáḡ mic Feorair. Ro ḡab occ ionſurde an
 ſúnaó rſm. Sebitt a munclſr fori roḡail an mſr, 7 ni ro rſarpat lſma
 rſur ḡo rſagbatari an cairtiall ar eirſi 7 co rſarpat ar inḡiallſur rſḡ-
 rſanna an tíre Rſrſſro mac mic Feorair con rſurſ do mſarib an tíre
 imarſn rſur 7 inba rſeac rſomaomib 7 ionmſarib an ſúnaó. Ro
 rſáoſpet íarom a rſelmealra pá Connaircne, pá Mhunnclſr Mſurḡaó, pá

¹*Province of Oilioll.—i.e., Connaught. He was the second husband of Queen Meadhbh, and with her ruled over Connaught about the beginning of our era. At an advanced age he was slain by Conall Cearnach at Croghan. She bore him seven sons, known as the seven Maine. Keating's H. of Ireland, p. 199.*

²*Slieve Gam.—A chain of mountains on the boundary of the baronies of Leyny and Tireragh, Co. Sligo, now called the Ox Mountains. This name arises from an*

error, as if the Irish name was *Sliabh dhamh*, the mountain of the oxen, whereas it is always written *Sliabhghamh*.

³*Leyny.—Now a barony in the south-west of Co. Sligo.*

⁴*Costellos.—The Nangles in Connaught took the surname of MacCostello from an ancestor Osdalb.*

⁵*Castlemore.—In the barony of Costello, Co. Mayo, near Ballaghareen.*

⁶*Turlach Mochain.—Five miles E. of Tuam.*

(he took the title from an island in Scotland named Aran) with six hundred soldiers, and the reason why he came was to take service with O'Donnell. The arms they had were bows of carved wood and sharp-pointed arrows, and long broad swords with hafts of horn. O'Donnell went to where they were, and engaged them for the space of three months, and this was in the middle of the aforesaid month of August precisely. Their quarters were provided in the castles and farmhouses. After a time they got rid of their fatigue after the great toil of the sea, and their supplies were got ready. When they were fit after that, O'Donnell took them with him and his army also to the Erne to go into the province of Oilioll.¹ They marched away then across the Drowes, the Dubh, Assaroc, and the upper part of Slieve Gam² to Leyny,³ and from that to the Costellos.⁴ There was a strong castle there called Castlemore⁵ Mic Costello. It fell into the hands of the English, just as the castles of the province had come to them. O'Donnell made his camp round the castle, and proceeded to attack it and threaten the garrison of the castle. He was the better of that in truth, and in the end the warders were obliged to surrender the place to O'Donnell. Afterwards he gave possession of the town to the tribe whose property it was, and they promised to enter into friendship with him and to be at his call whenever he wished, and also to continue always in the war-confederacy of the Irish.

O'Donnell set off after that, and he did not halt until he came to Turlach Mochain.⁶ This is a castle in the territory of Mac Feoris.⁷ He proceeded to besiege that castle. His people set about pulling down the wall, and they did not cease their efforts until they brought the castle to straits, and they put in confinement the successor to the chief of the district, Richard, son of Mac Feoris, and some of the leading men of the district with him and seized the best part of the substance and treasures of the castle. They scattered their marauders over Conmaicne,⁸ Muinter Murchadha,⁹

¹ *Mac Feoris*.—i.e., the son of Pierce. This was the name taken by the Anglo-Norman family of Bermingham when they wished to conform to Irish customs. Campion, in his *H. of Ireland*, p. 11, written in 1571, says they were then 'very wild Irish.' See Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 102.

⁸ *Conmaicne*.—The barony of Dunmore, so called from Lughaidh Conmac, ancestor of the O'Rourkes, O'Reillys, and other septs in Leitrim and Cavan.

⁹ *Muinter M.*—The northern half of the barony of Clare, Co. Galway. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 308.

leithimeál an Mhaéaire Riabais, & fa Thúaim da gualann, go mo cpioithílt an cpioch fori gac lech síob ima cpioó 7 ima hinnile. Soair fori ccúlad con éodalais iomúa. Do mada tpa goiblínoíu an éoicero Siu Rirdeairt biongom hi ccomfócaib do ríuag uí Othoinaill an tan rin. Beirt ar annroin mo báoi in Eriu in ionbairt rin dona gallais eirde. Cóicc céo vécc laech ayméa éirithe eirpi tpaighiteach & maicach a lion. Ot éúaladóirde ó Doimnaill cona rlogib do sul tairir riari hi cconnaétais, & gac in da nreigéine in gac conairi in deachaó, mo báoi ma uipóichill 7 ima lícomairi occ iompiúó dó, & do léige in ac goirte gacha conaire in iobao dóig lair ó Doimnoill do éochairi ma éirto.

O mo éirtirí úa Doimnaill an nírin mo báoi fori iomgábail na nGall peb ardeac mo féo ar ba síb lair sup bo móri deiréitin an t-rloig imma ceirúó 7 ima cepeachais, ima néóáil 7 ima ninnile, 7 mo buó moa a faoileéttain 7 a éairirín ar a rílózáib im chothtuagáó cairé gliaó & im éorpaín caé laithieach ríá noul íreilb éodala iníiccaríad mór an tan iobtarí deairé gan deiréitin iompaib itirpi. Airail ann dan iobtarí líá do na gallais oívat imbátóirpín, & beóir ce in ba líá a ba rúilíng rírebeairt ríu gallais an ionbairt rin ar íeabur a nairim ar allmairóacht anéoraig 7 ar iongnairé aninnill cén go iugrat gaoiríó ar eolur an airmimbírita ílí tain in gairí úairi. Dála uí Doimnaill ríánaicirde cona rloghaib 7 con a cepeachais ílí mórínfóón an t-ríó laóí co munchno rílebe gáin. Bátarí tin na gail occ ríanaicpaín na conaire ina nroócum aínail ar déine mo íéorac ó baile an Mhócaig fo thúad. Ro eiripódelig úa Doimnaill ríim maicac fori a ceirno do ríagíó uíria ríupia, & ríá nioimfórtac itirpi ar na ríagbatair gíollanpaó na alí ríairim nó ríomíaoín ríá rílógróin imbaogál. Ríánaicc ó Doimnoill gan nac rípuóéorígan tarí na tpi ríoichléais, ríoichlé chuntemáoirle, ríochat baile ríra ríara, & ríoichlé Sligig co iuacht con

¹ *M. Riabach*.—It lies between Knockdoe and Lough Corrib.

² *T. da ghualann*.—i.e., the tumulus of the two shoulders, so called from the shape of the sepulchral mound near the town. Joyce, *Irish Names*, i. 234. This is a cathedral town in the N.W. of Co. Galway.

³ *Monster*.—He took part in the slaughter of Smerwick, A.D. 1580, where 700 Italians

were butchered in cold blood by Lord Grey after their lives had been guaranteed to them. He was recalled to England in consequence of his cruelties in Connaught. See p. liv., ante. After the death of Bagnal at the battle of the Yellow Ford he was appointed Marshal of Ireland, but he died on his arrival in Dublin from England. *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 228.

over the border of Machaire Riabach,¹ and Tuam da ghualann,² until they wasted the territory on every side of them of its herds and flocks. They returned with much booty. The Governor of the province, Sir Richard Bingham, happened to be in the neighbourhood of O'Donnell's army at that time. He was the greatest monster³ of all the English that were then in Ireland. He had up to fifteen hundred men with arms and armour, horse and foot, with him. When he heard that O'Donnell was passing westwards into Connaught with his troops and everything he had done on every road he had gone, he prepared to meet him in order to attack him, and he placed his troops in all the short cuts of every road by which he thought O'Donnell would come towards him. 1595.

When O'Donnell learned that, he avoided the English as well as he could, for he was sure that the anxiety of the army for their herds and prey, their goods and cattle, was great, and his expectations and reliance on his army to sustain the fight and to hold the field of battle was greater before they got possession of their enemies' property than when they were careless without having any anxiety at all. Besides, there were more of the English than of his men, and even if they were not more numerous, it was difficult then to oppose the English on account of the superiority of their arms and the outlandishness of their armour and the strangeness of their weapons, though the Irish attained a knowledge of the use of arms soon after. As for O'Donnell, he came with his army and spoils after the noon of the third day to the upper part of Slieve Gam. A body of the English was marching along the road towards him as fast as they could northwards from Ballymote. O'Donnell detached a body of horse against them to skirmish with them and to impede them, so that they might not leave the servants or the unarmed or the defenceless portion of his force in danger. O'Donnell went without being attacked across the three bridges, the bridge of Collooney,⁴ the bridge of Ballysadare,⁵ and the bridge of Sligo, and he came with his army and plunder to the neighbour-

⁴ *Collooney*. — The castle stood on the south side of the river Owenmore, close to where it receives a stream from Lough Dargan. It was built by Murrough Mac Donough in 1408. *Annals F. M.*, iv. 797.

⁵ *Ballysadare*. — A monastery was erected here by St. Fechin in the 7th century. Later it belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. See O'Rorke, *History of Ballysadare*, p. 1; Dublin, n.d.

ա լճօճ 7 con a քրեախա՛ն in iomփօփա՛ն շլնո՛ւս ծալլա՛ն. Iomփօրս an ջօրեկնոյս Տըյ Կրօնիքօ Ծօնջօմ օ na տարած ջրեյմ քօյ լճօճ ւն Փհոմնա՛լլ սօր բիւ քօյ a քօյլլաւիւտ ջր an Տիւսսեա՛ծ. Ճաճա՛տի Լոնջքօրտ քրոյ մաւրիւքի ա՛մա՛լ քա եր քօ ճալլա՛ն արքնի ք na ռաօմիւսսա՛լքի, 7 յօ Բաօ՛ւ օսսա յքքիւսօ՛ւս յոնոսք no քօրեքա՛ւս an քալիւա՛լլ քօյ միւսքի ւն Փհոմնօ՛ւլլ. Թօ քօրօ յոքքիւս ւն Ծօմնա՛լլ քրոյ մաճա՛ն ար a Բա՛րա՛ծ Բուրօն մեյք քօյ քօփա՛ն ա՛նա յտմալլա քօ Բքիւք արքօմկա քօյքնա ճալլա՛ն 7 քքօր քքել an սօնա՛ւօ 7 na ո՛սս Բա՛տալ ւնօ քրոյ քալիւա՛լլ.

fol. 27. a.

O յաճաճալ քօ հիւսալքօրոյ na հաճոն աւ քիաւ na ճալլ քա՛ն քա՛ն քքիւնօն an Բա՛ւ. Թօ Բաօ՛ւ օսսաւ ւալլա՛ծ յօտօլտա՛ւս քքալա՛ւս Կրօնիքօ Ծօնջա՛մ an տալքն, & Բա մաւ քքիւալ ո՛ւս քքիւս քալքիւ մալքիւ քօ ճալքիւ ո՛ւ. Արե՛ Բա տօրքաւ սօքքա Լալ an ջօրեկնօնի, Բա հե՛ յոնօ աճա 7 յօլքալս Բաօ՛ւ Լա ճալլա՛ն քօսսօ Օլնէսսա՛ւ. Ոո Բիւս օսս քալքքալա՛ն 7 օսս Բալքքալա՛ն քօյ Լօս Միալքիւքի քօ ջրեյ 7 քօյ ճա՛ւ ռաօն ար a քքիւսսօ սոնն ո՛ւս ալլա՛ւ no քքիւ Լալիւս քօ ճաօրօքալա՛ն իլլէք քրոյ մալքիւսքիւք քալքիւք. Ոո քօյքիւսալքալքիւք սօսս քալա՛ւս քօն տաճ արալլ քօն աճա՛ն ճա՛ն արքաԲալք. Ճքիւք a քա՛ւ, 7 ճաճա՛ւ an սօքքա ար քքնա. Օտ քիաւ միւսքի ւն Ծօմնա՛լլ յաքօն սիա քալքիւ, քօ յաղաւք արք ա՛մա՛լ ար քքիւս քօնալաճալք. Ելքալքիւք մ a Լաօմա՛ն 7 ուր քալքիւք. Տօալք քօյ քքա՛ւ. Աւ քաճաւ միւսքի ւն Փհոմնա՛լլ a քքելա քօն քլճօճ քքն քօ ջլնտա քօ մօքքիւքա՛ւ & սօմալք, 7 ճքալ Լա Լիալ an քքա ալքալալալք արք. Լալ քքօլքքէք na քքել սիա Փհոմնա՛լլ, Բաօ՛ւ օսսա յքքիւսօ՛ւս 7 յեմսօսսս յոնալք ո՛ւս քօրեքա՛ւս na ջօլլ & no եքա՛ւս միւն յօմքա. Արքօ արքիւքիւք Լալք քօ սօճօր. Փօ քօլքա քքսսա an քքօ մալքա՛ւս յօ Բա՛ւ սօա՛ւ սիա լճօճ ջօ տքն քքիւս քքալքիւքա՛ւ օն միւս քքիւս քօնա տքքալա՛ն սօքքալքէք .i. քօսսԲա քքօմնկքքալա քօնա քալքիւքօլքքալ քքքիւստա, ար ուր քաճալք ա՛նալքալք սօսմօն սօքքալքէք աճա an տալքն ա՛ւք մա՛ւ Բլք. Լօտալք ար ջօ քաղալալք Լօսս մալք Բօ հիւնլլ Լօս an քքալք քօ հքիւսիւքա՛ւ. Բա մօ ալն օլտալք միւս քքիւսնօ օն տՏիւքա՛ւ. Լա քօճա՛ն յօ քօրօ օ Ծօմնա՛լլ արալլ սիա մալքիւք քօյ ա՛մալք na յալլ սիա մեյքքա՛ւս քքսսա ջր an արքն մեյս սիա քքաօմքալքի, 7 աքնօս սօք ճա՛ն տօփալ քքր na ճալլա՛ն, 7 նա Բա՛ւ աճնալք Լօս քքիւքն քքքք, աւք ա՛մալք օսսա տքալալք ջօ քօլլ Բիւս մ քքօլալք ալալք քօնք տքալքալք ճա՛ն

fol. 27. b.

¹ *Glendallan*. — Now Glencar, a valley situated partly in Co. Sligo, partly in Co. Leitrim, six miles to the north of the town of Sligo.

hood of Glendallan.¹ As for the Governor Sir Richard Bingham, as he did not meet O'Donnell's army, he went in pursuit of it to the Sligeach. He made his encampment in the monastery, as it was the custom of the English to dwell in the holy churches, and he was considering how he might take the castle from O'Donnell's people. However, O'Donnell on the morning of the following day sent a small party on fine fleet horses to bring intelligence about the English and to get news of the castle and of the soldiers that he had left in the castle.

When they came to the bank of the river they saw the English up and down through the town. There was a vainglorious, obstinate youth with Richard Bingham at that time, his sister's son, whose name was Captain Martin. He was the commander of a troop with the Governor. He was a leader in battle and conflict with the English of the province of Olneccmacht. He was crying out and blustering against Hugh Maguire continually and against every one of the Irish whose name, fame, or repute for skill, especially in the matter of skill in horsemanship, he had heard of. He could not endure seeing his enemies on the other side of the river and not attacking them. He took horse, and his troop too took horse. When O'Donnell's people saw them coming they went away as fast as they could. These went after them and they did not overtake them. They turned back. O'Donnell's people told the fact to the army how they had been pursued angrily and haughtily, and that it was owing to the fleetness of their horses they escaped. When O'Donnell heard the story he set to reflect and forecast how he might attack the English and give them a lesson. This is what he resolved on in the end. A hundred horsemen were chosen by him, the best in his army, with three hundred foot of the same kind, with their implements for shooting, that is, elastic bows and well filled quivers of arrows, for only a few of them were well acquainted with implements of shooting then. They went back until they came to the spot where it was safe for them to place the ambuscade, more than a mile from Sligo. Thereupon O'Donnell sent on some of his horse towards the English to entice them to where he was if they could, and he commanded them not to fight with the English, and told them that it would be no disgrace to them to fly, but to keep drawing them

on little by little one after the other till they brought them without their perceiving it to the place where the ambuscade was arranged for them. The soldiers went away as was commanded them, and they did just as O'Donnell asked them to do. As soon as they had come to the bank of the river, then Captain Martin jumped on his horse on seeing them (as quick as a hound would go in pursuit of its favourite game), and a large body of the cavalry of the English jumped on them also. They went after that towards the soldiers whom they had seen as fast as they could go together. When O'Donnell's people saw them coming as they desired, they left the place where they were and set off on their horses, proceeding at first to hold quietly the bridlebits in the mouths of the swift-galloping horses and of the fleet, restless steeds to hold them back, keeping them very near the foreigners, and by decoying them to bring them to the place where O'Donnell was. The youths were not long so when it was necessary for them at last to spur and whip the horses at once and together, owing to the great speed the English made galloping in pursuit of them. O'Donnell's people proceeded to ride quickly and hasten along the road as fast as they could. They left behind one of them unwillingly, for he was not able to keep up with his company owing to the slowness of his horse, so that he went slowly and was in danger from his enemies. Hence it was necessary for him, against the commands of his lord, to fight against the English, since he was sure he would be killed on the spot. Felim Reagh Mac Devitt was his name. He turned his face to Captain Martin, for he was the next to him of the party in hot pursuit, and he was the captain in battle of the horse of the English, and he was leading the way. The aforesaid Felim had a sharp, piercing spear² to shoot when he wished. He put his finger to the string and he drew the javelin boldly, and the shot of the dart struck Captain Martin with such force that it passed through the border of the foreign armour at the hollow of the armpit straight and it pierced his heart in his breast as his misdeeds deserved, for he who was wounded there was a merciless rogue, and his hatred of the Irish was very great, and his evil deeds

² *Spear*.—The *fogadh*, called also *ga* or *gae*, was rather for hurling and for thrust-

ing. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., i. ccccxli. Here it means an arrow.

allop a bpačari. La ročam iompait na gail fori ceúlaiš iari ngum a
 tpeínfi 7 atpóirich iombúalta, & vo bfiat leó fori iomochuiri fori
 iřannatirib écca go iangatai an baile. Ro écc iariom anathaiš yri.
 Robeiri ile ornaóa 7 malláeta bocht 7 aróilgnech mo řajaióřiom imo řeilb
 noiliri bátairi in caomíteéct oš arnaim orior an alltai 7 aš celeabraiš óó-
 von éeannatari von chuiri yri. Ot connairic ó Ohoimnail na gail vo řoaó
 tai an air, pur lion vo lonnar lanaóbal řpur an laóčraiš ona tairraiš mian
 aínlínian 7 alšur a inntinne řoirna hallmarčaiš aínail vo iuimen cštur.
 Our řiccet řianlaó na řářřuabaita hippeacnairic na řlaéta (řeri bo voilriš
 voib itiri ari aróble řřáirnaró) & att řiaóat aínail vo řala óóib, & mo
 čomřřit uile vař cšno an čuiri mo řon Cairtin Maiřtin na bui
 ní non beiaó arri muna tairraó an taon řoirřomřiri řen mothá cunháeta
 an chomíteó. Ro řétnaiřřitai řřřř uí Ohoimnail, 7 mo člačaiřřitai
 a aicneó veřřóe, & at čuair vo ari a bairé go néřibail an cairtin
 aínail atřubřamari. Ro buó luřaróe oia řřiomřom inřiri cen ba
 řlán laiř a inlma vo řaič iřř tpeimáó na ngail aínail atřoneřřit & iari
 nouil oia čelř & oia řtairraiš fori neřni, ačt marřbaó an aomřiri
 řémepeřitmai. Iomčura an řoiřeřimóřia iari nécc abřačari & ařomřlic mo
 liriřóe orřřřř & vařnnne, & mo řoirčongari řori a řřiaš vol řón maiřaitiri 7
 čřannčaiřgeal & čubáča na cceliř nDe vo bloóat & vo břireat, 7 a-
 řolairraiš vo čabairt čuřarom oia cčlariš čomółita čaomřřaiřřeti 7 oia
 řailřřib řonairite řéimřnoičči ari go nořřinaóřom třřlailma tořalta mři oioč.
 Vo řatčat iariom čuřa in mo čuimniš. Donuccča iolai řáori & oibřřčte
 iomóa oia ionmřoiřeáó. Vo řiňřat teřóuřie tairčłřřailte třénořaiřřne
 třiořa vonaib řailřřib & vonaib řřeainancłariš hiri & cunřaiřřči
 člaričairřgeača čomairřoiře čobraiš řř čačuraó vo čuřiaóaiš voib.
 Vo řuccetha řeichłóa bó & vař řoirřio oianectaiř. Vo řatča řočaóa
 řemóřřie řalaó vařřne řoičib oia řřořřuračt řur an oúnat.

¹*Rood-screen*.—The Irish word is explained in Cormac's *Glossary*: the wooden structure between the laity and the clergy.

²*Machine*.—This was commonly called

a sow. *Pac. Hib.*, i. 24; which O'Sullivan translates mucum bellicum. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 175. He says 600 soldiers were slain in this assault.

many, wherever he had been throughout the whole province from Limerick to the Drowes, on account of his relative. Thereupon the English retreated after the wounding of their defeated hero and leader, and they carried him, weak in the throes of death, till they came to the town. He died that night. When going to the other world and leaving this at that time he bore with him many a groan and curse of the poor and distressed whom he oppressed on account of their property. When O'Donnell knew that the English had turned back, he was filled with very great wrath against the soldiers, as he did not get the wish of his mind and the desire of his soul regarding the barbarians as he planned at first. A party of the assailants came into the presence of their prince (though it was very hard for them on account of his great anger), and told how it had happened to them, and they all testified on behalf of the soldier who had wounded Captain Martin that there was nothing to save him if he did not make that shot except the power of the Lord. They quieted O'Donnell's anger, and his mind was appeased thereby, and he was told on the following day that the captain had died, as we have said. His anger was less on that account, though his mind was not at ease immediately because the English escaped as they had done and his stratagem and ambuscade had effected nothing but the killing of that one man, as we said before. As for the Governor, after the death of his relative and nephew he was filled with wrath and anger, and he ordered his army to go to the monastery and pull down and destroy the rood-screen¹ and the cells of the servants of God, and to bring him enough of the firmly bound, well jointed boards and of the strong, smooth-hewn beams to make a machine² for pulling down walls. They brought him afterwards what he demanded. Many carpenters and numerous workmen were brought. They made closely jointed, very firm sheds for war of these beams and elm planks, and they were covered with boards nailed straight-edged, fitted firmly for the soldiers to fight from. Skins of cows and of oxen were put outside. Straight-moving wheels of strong oak were placed under them for their removal to the fortress.

When these cleverly devised strange implements were ready they were filled with soldiers and warriors and brave mercenaries of the English. They were brought there by strange motion in the darkness at the

co jó puióigēte tul i tul ppi huiłłinn an chaireoil. Gabait for cógail an mui ířitēam. Sió iac luche an chaireoil van, níi bó mliuē & mui bó tim jo gābpat for ppeartal ářa na toglā, úairi jo batari paoiri yim vúnaó ma uppoichill 7 gabait oce bloóáó an balla fó anřicómaiui oia nnoib-puccaó i ttořaig. Tiágħait alaiēgāile fori tairibē an vúnaó, 7 vo leccēte forpna anuar ile vo čairigib cfinēgāibā cobřairē & vo ttiomēlochiaib tuiigē tul ammaiř ġuri bōt mionbaighēti móibloóta ġach ní řpuri tēřġiātáir ġo talimam. Tiágħait ar oile vōib fori řenerġuib 7 fori řepaib an chaireóil, 7 ġabait oce vūibpaccáó an ubailłimeal luarē 7 attořannēóori tēřitirē forpna, ġuri jo řoiřigēti an řianlaē bátari ir na cūmōaigib člariāř vōn čloicēřřim, & vó ġāc cenēł vūibpāicēti ar čhřna vo čořāčori vōib, cona bai bá oia nuiřpāllāó itēiri. Mi řoiřioelāngēari na ġailł accēřēčtēnuřāó ni ba mo am ó na jo řřēřāč ní vōn vúnaó āčē čuiřē a ččairēčlāčā vōib, 7 řāřbaitē a tēigē ttiōva & a tēřġōuiřē toglāčā mui 7 řoait ma řřuiēłing itē beóřōnta, & řobčari buřōig vō břerē an anmōnn leo. Ba točoiřpāčēti móři 7 ba řnioim āóbal řar an āiuř Ĥiřōřřio vionġam na čaoimnacčari a anēřioirē & a muiřē vūmbřit forpna ččairēčlāł & řoiřna hīb batari imō, & ó na jo čūmāing řoair forpna āir yim conairi iturēčāó čari čoiřpřřilāč na řřēřia 7 čari māř nāoi mic Alłřubā ġo řanaice řořřēommam. Ro āiuř amuiřē ar bāřē a vūnāřar, & níi bo řlān řair a młłma řari māřbāó a břāčari uāó 7 řari mōřpēāó an tēřē čairiř. Soaró van ó vōmāilł řari mbūāó & tēřē čairpna řamāóiri řairēčaró 7 řeicēř vāó na hāłbanāig batari fori āiřřāne oce 7 jo eiriřřēari a tēčariřēčā řřui.

Níi bó řāva an iořmarē vūā vōmāilł ġo tēamice vo řiōiri ġur an řřēřāč & jo břui čairēčlāł řřēřē cona řāřēčāř čloč fori čloic vē ar úāimān na nġall oia ġābail ġan řāčōřāó vōřōim. Ro břuiřēāó beóř řair tē čaireoil vēcc vo čairēčlāłib conāčē 7 vo břit ġeill 7 āitēřē o nāč āon řob oimān řair vo řřēčairē řuiř nó oia āiřiřari itēiri. vō čħāč ma řřēčłing čari řan ēřine buó čūāó, & jo řāřāřřēčari oce řēřēāó āřēiri ġo

¹ *Alive*—At the approach of the English Burke went out to meet them, and fought bravely in front of the castle, Their superior numbers forced him to retire. He tied a rope to a huge beam and by letting it fall from time to time on the assailants he killed 600 of them. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 176.

² *Corrsliabh*.—See p. ci. antea. Its sole connection with the Seghais or Boyle river is that it is on the north-west of Lough Ce, into the southern part of which this river falls.

³ *Plain of Aoi*.—Called also Machaire Connacht. See p. xxv., antea.

beginning of the night, until they were placed face to face at the angle of the castle. They then proceeded to pull down the castle. As for the people who were in the castle, it was not in a slow or timorous manner that they set to receive the assailants, for there were masons in the castle well prepared, and they set to pull down the wall opposite them to hurl it down on them at first. Their brave men went on the battlements of the castle and they threw down on them from above many of the sharp solid rocks and heavy massive stones rapidly, so that everything which they met with to the ground was shattered and destroyed. Others of them went to the windows and loopholes of the castle and proceeded to shoot their leaden bullets and cast hand-grenades of fire on them, and they crushed the soldiers in the wooden sheds by the dropping of the stones and by every kind of shot also, which were discharged against them, so that they did not succeed at all in their attack. The English did not wait to be wounded further, as they could do nothing to the castle; they threw away their defences and left their houses for fighting and their erections for breaking down walls, and they went back severely wounded, and they were glad to get away alive.¹ It was a great disappointment and a mighty sorrow to the Governor, Sir Richard Bingham, that he could not vent his cruelty and wrath on the castle and on the party who were in it; and as he could not, he went back by the same road he had come, over Corrsliabh² of the Seghais, and across the plain of Aoi,³ son of Allghubha, till he came to Roscommon. He stopped there, for it was his fortified dwelling; but his mind was not at ease after the death of his relative and the preying of the territory in spite of him. O'Donnell went away after his victory and proceeded across the Saimer north-eastwards, and he sent away the Scots who were in his service and gave them their pay.

O'Donnell did not delay long till he came back to Sligo, and he pulled down the castle of Sligo, so that he did not leave a stone of it on a stone, for fear the English might take it without his knowledge. Thirteen more of the castles of Connaught were pulled down by him, and he took hostages and pledges from whosoever he feared would oppose him or be at all dissatisfied. He went back across the Erne northwards, and he went to take rest until the month of December. Meantime

fol. 29. b. mí d'ecembei. Baatarí tpa úarail 7 aipúg coisgú olnéccmact occa monnaribad & oga tofoinn ar a tírri lar na Gallaid cén mothá imbaol i muinntirí 7 hi ccariaríad uí Dhomnaill oib. Dúf fanḡatatarí rocharúe oía raorielanraib & oía nraorielanraib do íaigú uí Doinnaill do éccaoine an imnó 7 a nstuaralainḡ fíur. Deitíurí ón arí ba hé a porc coḡarúe 7 an rof vóinn 7 arciaḡh imóḡḡla arí ḡach nanbuain. No éongbaib ran anúairle & anairḡ ina chaomíteét 7 ina ccoméanur buó óein. Do bñiríó beór cormomló ífénón a chíre forí a bñuḡarúib 7 forí a éoaríttarib oía náor vóinnim olíóil oía naríreabacharib 7 oía naor anffann enepit. An tan tpa do beiríeab ina tírri buó óein iatḡ no foríéongḡaríad forí a muinntirí hi ccoitichinve conḡnaim cñuró & cléḡhíra íḡha 7 aríba do óáil oóib arí óaig ionatochtá 7 aitḡrebe a tírre do móríurí. Dúf mairicc voin Teaboiró a búiríe mac úáteri éioḡaríḡ mic Seadin mic Oilíreḡaríar iccumma éaríḡ do acáoine a anforlann fñu húa n'Doinnaill 7 aroile raoríelanna ḡenmoḡaróim.

Ba tñoḡ lairíom an eccaoine 7 an ioméoraoir, & mo tñḡeall ḡo tḡuaráilcrló on raoríe 7 an rocharíatḡe imbaatarí oíamaró e buó foríarail, 7 ḡo tḡuñbñaró ina náḡaríóa iao do móríurí. Lá roḡaríon mo foríéongḡaríarí foríḡa aníarib 7 forí a ólrí túaríarḡoíl 7 forí ólrí oíolmáim a cñuche conairíccritḡarí lar na húaírlíb íeñeḡeḡitḡaríarí írín ccoicḡcñich oíannḡaró in aḡharó a namáatḡ. Do ḡñíat íamílaró íeb mo íraírlíomí foríḡo. Tiaḡaríat lar na húaírlíb co coisḡeab Míeabóba, 7 ḡábaíat forí ionóḡaríad 7 oḡḡaríon na nḡall 7 ḡac áoin do málá hi ccoḡḡaró 7 hi ccariaríad fñu. O mēḡon rocharíaríe oóib forí an araríaríarí ḡo míḡon ḡamíuró.

lomḡura uí Doinnaill íarí léiccln a ícírí oḡarúe ífḡol íoḡa íeb aríuñbñomarí, do iomairicc a íḡoḡha i mí d'ecemblí do íunḡaró, & do óeacharó iccoisḡeó Míeabóba, & ba ír conairí do íuró taríḡaríon Slíḡíḡ tarí tñaríḡ Neoḡhírlé 7 tñe chírlí íñíaróíac Míhúarúe tarí Míuaró íaróein 7 ḡo tírlí n'áimáḡḡaróha

¹ *Meadhbh*.—She was the wife of Conor MacNessa, king of Ulster. She left him and returned to her father, Eochaid Feidhleach, to Tara. By him she was made an independent Queen of Connaught. A war sprang up in consequence between Conor and Meadhbh. Conor was at length slain. After the death of her second husband, Oilioll, at the hands of Conall Cearnach,

she withdrew from Croghan to Inis Cloth-rann, in Lough Ree. There Furbaidhe, a son of Conor by another marriage, lay in wait for her and slew her with a sling-stone, to avenge his father's death. See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 290, and *Ogygia*, p. 269.

² *Travohelly*.—The strand near Ballysadare, Co. Sligo, where Eochaidh, the Firbolg king, was slain in his flight from

there were nobles and chiefs of the province of Olneccmacht in banishment and exiled from their territory by the English, besides those who were in amity and friendship with O'Donnell. Many of the nobles and of the common people came to O'Donnell to complain to him of their hardships and great sufferings. With reason, since he was their pillar of support, their bush of shelter, and their shield of protection for all those that were weak. Moreover, he kept their nobles and chiefs in his company and society. Besides, he gave entertainment throughout his territory in his farmhouses and castles to the wretched poor people, to the houseless, and to the weak and feeble. At the time that he received them into his territory he ordered his people generally to distribute aid in herds and flocks, young cattle and corn to them, with a view to their dwelling in and inhabiting their lands once more. Then Theobald Burke, son of Walter Ciotach, son of John, son of Oliver, like the others, came to Hugh O'Donnell to complain of his great hardships, and certain nobles besides him.

Their complaints and accusations were painful to him, and he promised to set them free from the bondage and slavery in which they were if he could, and to restore them to their patrimony again. Wherefore he ordered his soldiers and mercenaries and the faithful people of his territory to march rapidly with the nobles of whom we have already spoken into the territory against their enemies. They did as he ordered them. They went with the nobles to the province of Meadhbh,¹ and set to prey and plunder the English and every one who was in amity and friendship with them. They were at this business from the middle of harvest to the middle of winter.

As for O'Donnell, after resting from fatigue for a long time, as we have said, he brought his forces together in the month of December exactly, and came into the province of Meadhbh, and the road he went by was across the Sligeach and Trawohelly,² and through Hy Fiachrach³ of the Moy,

Moytura. The carn under which he was interred is one of the *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*. See *Ogygia*, p. 289.

³*Hy Fiachrach of the Moy*.—Now the barony of Tíreragh, Co. Sligo. It lay along the eastern bank of the river Moy. It was so called to distinguish it from Hy Fiach-

rach Aidhne, which was coterminous with the diocese of Kilmacduagh. MacFirbis's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, edited by O'Donovan for the Irish Archaeological Society in 1857, gives an exhaustive account of this district and its inhabitants in former times.

Doir fangataxi i'm éomhoail c'tna h' cuma éais 'do fairsi'ó uí Doimnail
 coirig & bairiun an típe, Mac Ghoirlelbaig, Sean 'oub, mac Siurp'tain .i.
 Emann an machaire, & Mac Doimnail galloglach. .i. Maic'ur mac an
 Abbá, & Mac Muir'ur .i. Emann, & O Maille .i. Coghan. Ba h'ia' na

²*Fiachrach.*—The name Fiachra is known on the Continent as that of a saint whose hermitage was near Meaux. The French word *fiacre* is said to have been given to hackney carriages employed in taking pilgrims from Paris there. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, August 30th.

Niall of the Nine Hostages, so famous in Irish history. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 303.

⁵ *D. an fraoch*.—i.e., of the heath, now a townland in the parish of Crossboyne, barony of Clanmorris, Co. Mayo.

¹ O'D. *an chhorraín*, i.e., The Devil of the reaping-hook, usually called the Devil's Hook. He was a son-in-law of Grace O'Malley. His descent is given in *The Annals of Lough Ce*, ii. 488.

⁷ *Cong.*—A village in Co. Galway, between Lough Mask and Lough Corrib. There are here still the ruins of a monastery built in the seventh century by St. Fechin.

over the Moy itself to the territory of Amhalgadh,¹ son of Fiachrach,² son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin.³ The tribe who inhabited it then was different from the tribes whose property it was from remote time. Burke was the name of the family inhabiting it then. The tribe was descended from the French, and they had come from the English territory to that country, and it was by the power of the English they had first got possession of the territory; yet they were hated by the English no less than the Irish were. Mac William Burke was the chief title of the lord of the territory, and he was not called so for some time as they were overpowered by the English. They had also many chiefs and princes, and they did not agree among themselves about the title, for each one thought that to himself belonged the headship and lordship of the territory. They came, both small and great, at the call of O'Donnell when he came to the territory, and it was the duty of all to come, for the Cinel Conaill had given it over to them under tribute long before, and it was not levied for a time owing to the cruelty and severity of the English and the greatness of their strength and power. The nobles who were in contention with each other for the chieftancy were William Burke of Shrúle;⁴ the senior of them all; David an fraoch;⁵ Richard, son of Deman an chorrain;⁶ Oliver, son of John, son of Oliver; Edmund, son of Thomas an machaire, from Cong;⁷ Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn; John, son of Richard, son of Shane an termáinn;⁸ and Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of John, son of Oliver.

There came to that same meeting, like the rest, to O'Donnell, the chiefs and barons of the country, MacCostello (Shane Dubh), MacJordan,⁹ *i.e.*, Edmund an machaire, and MacDonnell the gallowglass,¹⁰ *i.e.*, Marcus, son of the Abbot, and MacMaurice, *i.e.* Edmund, and O'Malley,¹¹ *i.e.*, Owen.

⁵ *Termáinn*.—*i.e.*, the glebeland of St. Mochua of Balla, Co. Mayo. There are still remains of the old church and of a round tower here. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 789, and Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture of Ireland*, p. 452.

⁹ *Jordan*.—The De Exeters of Gallen, Co. Mayo, took the name of Mac Jordan from Jordan De Exeter, founder of that family. Campion says that the Jordans, like the Berminghams, were in his time 'very wild Irish.' *H. of Ireland*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Gallowglass*.—*i.e.*, foreign soldiers. Dymmok describes them as being 'picked men of great and mighty bodies, cruel without compassion. The greatest force in battle consisted in them, choosing rather to die than to yield. Their weapons are a battle-axe or halberd six feet long.' *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 7.

¹¹ *O'Malley*.—They were lords of Umhall, now the Owles, the district around Clew Bay, Co. Mayo. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 43.

fol. 30. b.

comairliyrōe & iar na ttoḡae no hoimōnuēi tighlīma fori an tīr & i iarth
 Eapra caoite do ḡairtli an tannam ar Mac Uilliam de, & ba he mac
 Teapoit no ḡoiriōh. O iō ēfḡlaimyrut na maitheryn uile atpūbriamari co
 húa nDoimnail cuf an maigūn cētnae, do iōnaō la húa nDocharitaiḡ Seaan
 óḡ (fēb iō foriōngairiōm fari) cētheora loig buriōne oia floghairb uruim
 ar uruim ni iomtaemang an līra 7 na laōḡiatha ima ccuairt. Ochc cēo
 .x. oia aīpail & oia oer tuillme & tuairtair fū enīr na iuoghiatha iyn
 cetna buriōn. O Docharitaiḡ fōem & ó baḡail Tāōḡ ócc con ḡlailait
 thīe Conail allamūḡ uīpūōe iyn cuairt tanairi. Na tyn Mac Suibne
 con a nḡallocclācāib oia nēachairiōe. Fū Conacht con a ttoichlītal
 von leth amūḡ uīpūōe uile. O Doimnail fū iyn cona aipeachail &
 úairlīb ina ipeethiōpail bōba fori oia na iatha & ni lamaō neach oia
 úairle no oia aīuīōmūḡe tocht ina fpeacnairi iyn iarth aēt an tī no
 foriōngiaōrom do ḡhairm chucca ar nūairi. Sebarō iīuōm occa fēcūōāō
 & iēmōēccer fū na maīb batari ina fochairi cūeo do ḡlailait fū na
 úairlīb imon annuim oḡa mbatari fūēbairt & coruam. Ror tochuiri
 chūḡe bairuim & toirḡ an tīpe iīr nūio oia athcomairi chucca ima
 reach cia uona hūairlīb no oirōmīfō hī cīnōur na cūche. Mac Doimnail
 7 Mac Muir 7 ó Maille bairlōh acbīratōri ó ónḡhuth ḡuri uō von
 tīnōrīri Uilliam būie iō ba techta tighlīma do ḡhairm, úairi arlōh iō ba
 ḡnait bēf uōīb oirōnēāō an tīnōrīri ar bēlāib an tīrīri. Rō iarth Mac
 ḡoiriōlbaḡ 7 mac Siurcain ḡuri uō do Theabōit mac Uateiri chioctaiḡ mic
 Seaan mic Oīuepār iō buō uōri ḡairm flatha ar ba fūiḡ fūitpuch eirōhe
 illo & inn aōhaiḡ iōri 7 iōicēpuch ciambaō uācāō ciambaō fochairōe uō.

Iar cēuō á choimairle oia Doimnail ba fari uēiō lār iō uēōiōh
 cīnōur na cūche do thabairt do Theapoit mac Uateiri chioctaiḡ & iō
 foriōngairi fori Mac Teapoit Mac Uilliam do ḡhairm de. O iōnaō
 fairiūm iō iyn, úairi iō ḡoiriōāō annam de iarth na floghīb iōitcīnōi,
 ḡe iō batari ar aīll oia chīnēl ba iōmū ar aoi naōiri & ba mo aīi
 ḡairmōlta. Ar a aōiri arē do uēachairō cettur cūḡarōm fori atchūri 7
 iōnnaībaō ar a thīr, & do iairiḡeip uō co ttiōbairi ina uēchāiḡ do
 uōhīri oia ccālmāoth. Aīail bēōr, baōiōe iūil a aōiri & a lḡnamai

¹ Tille.—See p. xliii., antea, for an account of the ceremony of inauguration.

Some further details will be found in Ware's *Antiquities*, p. 65.

After that consultation and election a lord was inaugurated over the district and he was called by the title¹ of Mac William on the rath of Eassacaoide, and it was the son of Theobald that proclaimed him. When all these nobles had assembled, as we have said, to Hugh O'Donnell in the same place, Shane Oge O'Doherty, formed (as he was ordered to do), four lines of troops back to back around the liss, and the chiefs all about. Eighteen hundred of his soldiers and hirelings and mercenaries round the royal rath were the first body; O'Doherty himself and Tadhg Oge O'Boyle with the infantry of Tyrconnell outside them, in the second circle; the three MacSwiny's with their gallowglasses outside them; the men of Connaught with their party outside them all; O'Donnell himself with his chiefs and nobles in a close circle on the summit of the rath, and no one of the nobles or gentlemen was allowed to go into his presence in the rath but whomsoever he commanded to be called to him at the time. He proceeded then to consider and forecast with the chiefs who were with him what to do to the nobles in reference to the title for which they were in contention and dispute. He called to him the barons and chiefs of the territory in their order to ask them which of the nobles he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the district. MacMaurice, MacDonnell, and O'Malley said with one voice that it was right that the senior William Burke should be styled chief, as their custom was to appoint the elder in preference to the younger. MacCostello and MacJordan, said that it was right that Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of Oliver, should be styled chief, for he was strong and vigorous by day and by night at home and abroad, whether he had a few or had many with him.

When they had given their opinion to O'Donnell, he resolved in the end to confer the chieftainship of the territory on Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and he ordered the son of Theobald to proclaim him Mac William. That was done to him, for he was called by the name in presence of the forces publicly, though there were others of the tribe older in years and better qualified than he. Yet it was he that had come first to him after his expulsion and banishment from his territory, and he had promised to restore him to his inheritance if he could. Besides, he was in the flower of his age and dexterity in arms to meet the suffering and hardships of the war in

քի բոլորէին մանր & բնական ան շոգարձ անբարութիւն, & զան քիւր
 քի ան թէ ան զի Երօրտ ան մո ան մարգար Լաք ան Գալլան զոն զի Լոնտառի
 քի 7 ան Լաքարե ոն զեբար Գարուն անքիւր զե ան անտառի քի.

Ro heipgábach Oiluepur mac Seann 7 Emann mac Tomair an machaire & Seann mac Riocairt mic Seann an tSluimainn, 7 do bhlétha inghlímip la húa nDomhnail conour puccait co típ Conaill. Do bhlé gélle & aitiye ele ó ar aill dona húairib batop occ cuingead an tighlmar ppu lann an tSlpourt ilpi na oipronead ipm pflaithiur. Do éaet ó Domhnail íarí tam ilpi ttochaidemín na Noelacc do im bapuntaet chille mldóm, & ip na bphghib icloino Muirp) tapí Múaró úa namalgaró co típ Fiachpach, & po oiponlftairi tighlma fopí an típ ipm. Ba de do ghoipí anmann do Tathg mic Tharohg maabagh mic Eóghain uí Dubda. Aré tpa ó Domhnail po ghoipí ó Cellag don Phioipiopeha mac Ceallag mic Domhnail mic Aftha na ccailleach 7 mac Diaimava Muighi luipce do Conéobari mac Tarohg mic Eoghain, & mac Doncharó thípe hOilealla do Muirgíur chaech mac Taró, & mac Doncharó an éopainn do Ruómaige mac Adóthae, & o heghma maabach do Felim mac Concharil. Mípi úo deacmaircón arí po batop a pmpipphohe po chioip & cháin do chlnél cconail do gup, & ba cubaró maillatoh cia buró é ó Domhnail no oipronead ina naéarída iapomí, & do gapa na hanmanna apupbiamari. Ba pain íe do pomepíom mtopm. Do íatpíom oan o Rúaire 7 Mac Diaimata ina nachapída íarí na monapíbach la gallaib, & nipi bo hiaopomí namá act gach don do gaoipealaib coigió Meaúba po íitipíoeíghlftairi ppu na gallaib do pome an ccétna ppu. (Mop gairmead ó Ruairí íe hua nDomhnail puamh).

1596. an 5. b11a0an.

1. Τα βροπιάς να ηγιοίμ πειμπατε, το λειτσε ό Τοιμνοίλ con α πλίσααλι ταί
 2. παν Σλίστς παί έυαοη an 15. Ιανουαρί in υπτοπαέ na βλίσάνα πο 1506, & το

¹ *Kilmaine*.—In the south of Co. Mayo.

² *The Brees*.—A castle in the parish of Mayo, in the barony of Clanmorris.

³ *O'Dowd*.—They were lords of Hy Fiachrach of the north, from the Robe to the Codnach. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 343.

⁴ *O'Kelly*.—A genealogical table showing

the descent of the different branches of this family will be found in the *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 96.

⁶ *MacD. of Moylurg*.—They were divided into three families, the head of which was styled The MacDermot; the other two were The MacD. Roe and The MacD. Gall. *Top. Poems*, pp. 20 and 47. The Mac

which he was, and, moreover, this Theobald was of that family most hated by English, and the Irish would have less suspicion because he was so. 1595.

Oliver, son of John, and Edmond, son of Thomas an machaire, and John, son of Richard, son of John an termainn, were seized and put in fetters by Hugh O'Donnell until they came to Tyrconnell. He took hostages and pledges from some of the chiefs who had sought for the chieftaincy in opposition to Theobald. after he was inaugurated in it. After celebrating Christmas, O'Donnell went next into the barony of Kilmaine¹ and to the Brees² of Clanmorris, across the Moy of Trawley to Hy Fiachrach, and he appointed a chief over that territory. He conferred the title on Tadhg, son of Tadhg Reagh, son of Owen O'Dowd.³ It was O'Donnell who gave the title of O'Kelly⁴ to Ferdoragh, son of Ceallach, son of Donnell, son of Hugh na Calleadach; and of MacDermot of Moylurg,⁵ to Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen; and of MacDonough⁶ of Tirerrill to Maurice Cacch,⁷ son of Tadhg; and of MacDonough of Corran to Rury, son of Hugh; and of O'Hara⁸ Reagh to Felim, son of Concashil. This was not difficult, for their ancestors were under tribute and tax to the Cinel Conaill always, and he was the proper person whomsoever O'Donnell inaugurated in his native country and gave the title to, as we have said. It was right he did this. Besides, he restored O'Rourke and MacDermot to their territories after they had been banished by the English, and not those alone, but every one of the Irish of the province of Meadhbh who had separated himself from the English, he did the same to them. (O'Rourke was never appointed by O'Donnell).⁹

1596, the 5th year.

After performing the aforesaid actions, O'Donnell departed with his army over the Sligeach north-eastwards on the 15th of January, in the beginning

Dermot had his residence in a small island in Lough Ce, called the Rock. This place is frequently mentioned in *The Annals F.M.*

⁶ *MacDonough*.—They were descended from Muireadach, king of Connaught, who died in 710, and were a branch of the tribe commonly known by the name of the O'Conors of Magh Aoi.

⁷ *Cacch*.—i.e., one-eyed or blind.

⁸ *O'Hara*.—They were chiefs of Leyny, Co. Sligo. Since the 14th century they were divided into two branches, O'H. Buidhe and O'H. Reagh. For an account of the family see O'Rourke's *H. of Ballysadare*, p. 363.

⁹ *O'Donnell*.—This is a marginal note in the Manuscript, in the author's handwriting.

óeacharoh tair Duib tair Ombair & tairan Samair buó thúar. Ro airur
 ina chruich fearin gan fogluaracht co hupiorach ranniaró iar tain. Bá
 hupin céet rannairin rannearó dur rannec ar oile duine úaral ó Righ na
 Spáine an 3. Pilib. Alonja Copir ba hainm don duine úaral iun. Bá hi
 tuccait fo dor no gluar co hinir mbanba daithieor 7 orior rcel
 na ngaróeal, úairi nobtar dor coraig & comicngail garóil Poela do Righ
 na Spaine aia tuirheacht ón Spain reacht rian, & do iatrat oriong
 do rpuithib & do rfncharóib rlii rreime hi roraithamilt & i cumine don
 Righ tuirheachta 7 rcela mac Milearh, & van beór an lucht no lairi for
 longurir lar na gallair a hinir Euno iar ngarat an atharóa roraib
 no tiaghtair decaoine in imneó rpuirumh & rpu airorrepairb ó chem
 mair. Dur rannig an techta cipinour reb atpupamair. Ar i conair
 no rreolarair a lungá lam óear rpu hori nEienn aniar gur no ghaph
 porit i crúch boghaine hi ccúan na cceall mblig rannearó. Fo garb
 railti hupiróiu la húairlib na cruche ilri na riorrrel & do óeacharoi ar
 aill óioó do éolur lar tré beairnar móri co rannec Leithbiori airim imboi
 ó Doimnail an tan rin. Ro riaróiglo co rorpparóiló amail ba óú rpu ré
 théora noíóche cona laib, & no gab ag athchomairic rígel an chogaró at
 chuala fo clíorpat na garóil rorina gallair. Att coathachair óróim
 co leicc. Atbriuróim gur bo vía narélor & via rrior rcel do óeacharó
 for rorcongra an Righ, & naé ccaomnagarir vol airim ambaoi ó Neill, no
 anao ní buó rpuú la tinolnar, úairi ba homan lar via ccloririr garill
 athocht co hEuno co lairfir longur rannib for an réo. O no ririr
 ó Doimnail gur bo riori anebairic & an baoghal impoiróim, no rgruob
 lar gur an Righ ar a uet buó óein & a huct uí Neill 7 a hucht na nGaróeal
 ar éana. Bá rlii totacht an rgrubino do chuingear congarra rlorig 7
 rocharóe airim 7 iolparair in garó & nannat & vía roraóróim iat on
 raorie ambarair occa mbioóbaróib do grier (ag garat an atharóa rorina &
 agá roraóó on cripioróim catholacóa Romanóa no rpuotcharó Naomh
 parairic vía rlnaib & vía rinnreair, & no congarbirt o chem mair)

fol. 31. b.

¹ *Philip III.*—This is a mistake, as Philip II. did not die till 1598.

² *Copis.*—See p. lxxvii., antea.

³ *Inis Banba.*—This and Inis Fodhla were

names given to Ireland by the bards.

⁴ *Fenians.*—So called from Fenius Farsa, an ancestor of Milesius.

⁵ *Wrote.*—See p. lxxvii., antea.

of the year 1596, and he went across the Dubh, the Drowes, and the Saimer northwards. He remained after that in his own country without leaving it up to the beginning of summer. It was in the beginning of November precisely that a certain nobleman came from the King of Spain, Philip III.¹ Alonzo Copis² was the nobleman's name. The reason why he came to Inis Banba³ was to confer with and get intelligence from the Gaels, for the Gaels of Fodhla were friendly to and united with the King of Spain on account of their having come from Spain long before, and a number of learned men and historians of the Fenians⁴ had set down in remembrance and record before the King the doings and history of the sons of Milesius, and besides, the people that were driven into exile by the English from the island of Erin, after taking their property from them, used to go to complain of their hardships to him and his ancestors for a long time. The messenger, however, came, as we have said. The course he directed his ship was westwards, keeping the shore of Erin to the right until it entered Tir Boghaine and the harbour of Killybegs precisely. He received a welcome there from the nobles of the territory when they got news of him, and some of them went to guide him through Bearnas Mor until he came to Lifford, where O'Donnell then was. He was entertained very hospitably, as was right, for the space of three days and three nights, and he set to inquire about the history of the war which he had heard the Irish had been carrying on against the English. They laid it before him then. He said it was to inquire and get information he had come by order of the King, and he could not go to where O'Neill was nor delay any longer owing to haste, for he was afraid the English, hearing of his coming to Ireland, would send ships on his way. When O'Donnell knew that his statement was true and the danger which he ran, he wrote⁵ by him to the King on his own part and on the part of O'Neill, and on the part of the Irish too. The purport of the letter was this: to request aid in men and a supply of arms and various weapons against the enemy, and to rescue them from the bondage in which they were held by their enemies always (taking their patrimony from them and persecuting the Roman Catholic faith, which St. Patrick had preached to their elders and ancestors, and which they held for a long time), and that they would be subject to

him and to his successors always. The messenger then prepared to depart, and left his blessing.

O'Donnell accompanied him on his way, and he did not part from him till the next day, and he sent with him some of his soldiers on the road to protect him from robbers and kerne till he passed over the above mentioned Bearnas; this is an intricate mountain, difficult to pass over, and it was a place of refuge for robbers and rogues robbing and plundering until Hugh Roe banished them, for he did not allow robbery or plundering in the country since he was inaugurated in the chieftaincy till he left the island. Wherefore he was called the legal executioner on account of the number of robbers and thieves and of every kind of malefactors too whom he had executed. As for Alonzo Copis, he came to the port where he had left his ship and embarked in it, and O'Donnell's people gave him plenty of flesh meat in the ship, large hinds and white-fleeced sheep. He was ready for the east wind whenever it should come. At last he set sail with the first breeze of wind from the north-east, keeping the shore of Ireland on the left, south-westwards straight until he reached Spain.

As for O'Donnell, he was at rest up to the beginning of June. Not long after messengers came from Mac William to him to tell him that a war-general of the Queen, Sir John Norris, had come to the borders of his country, having with him a great army, in order that he might subject the whole province of Connaught at once, wholly and entirely, to the English Sovereign. The chiefs and nobles who were with the General's army were the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, with all his troops, and the Earl of Clanricarde, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach,¹ son of Ulick na cceann, with his force too. It was commonly said then that for a very long time there had not been gathered and collected in Ireland on behalf of the English Queen so great a number as was in that army. O'Donnell did not neglect or slight the news which was reported to him, for his forces were in complete readiness to go into the province of Oilíoll even before the messengers came. Letters and despatches were written by O'Donnell to the Irish of the province, and he summoned them to meet him to the west of the place where he heard the forces of the strangers had encamped.

La roðan vo leize úa Domnaili icclinn tpeoa cona f'loz lair
 tappan Eime fíarí tapí Slíceð lam' ól'í f'pí p'pauib flébe žan tpe lúžne
 7 tpe chích žailnž co januice po ðeoíó in aipir vała f'pí Seon
 Noipir aipim imbui occ fubaipe 7 occ báž teét vintpeaó na c'uche
 mana éápettaóáir žéil 7 aipit'pí úaróib. O janžatari vin teéta uí Ohoimnaili
 žo žaorðealaib an coigro amail atp'ub'p'omopi vup' p'iccl'p'íro žan ep'p'naoá žan
 iomf'up'ieaé pon tožai'pim h'ipim. Tamice ann cl'et'up' allanai'pí úa Ruai'pí,
 b'p'uan óž mac b'p'uan na múp'cha mic b'p'uan ballaiž mic eožam žo poé'p'arve
 chača ó m'p'uan. Tanai'ce ann úa Conéobai'pí Rúao, áóó mac Toip'ðealbaiž
 Rúaró a himeal'boip'et m'aižé áoi f'pí háé Sl'ip'ín anai'pí. Tanai'ce ann ó
 Ceallaiž (p'f'ip'op'ieha) a huib Maine anai'p'ólr' f'pí Sionam' anai'pí. Tamice
 ann Mac Diaimatta (Conéobai'pí ócc), a Muiz l'up'iz an Oážh'ua f'pí
 coip'p'f'iaib na Sl'žra anai'p'ólr'. Tanžatari ann beóp' na hí po aip'ieab'p'iat
 an ce'p'ich ó coip'p'f'iaib žo muip' h'í tuai'p'eccl'p'it an éoic'cio l'óón an va mac
 Donncharó 7 an vá ó Ežh'ia & ó Dub'ua. Iar p'coip'p'iač'tam na nžarðeal
 žo h'ait nóln'baile po'p'arv'it po'p' ioncharib Seon Noipar ap' žaé taoib
 von abaim' vianao amim an Rooba. Ro baoi ioma'p'iažl'ó vep'í 7 anall
 f'pí p'íó 7 caonéom'p'iaé l'op'p'ia, 7 m' ba h'íó ón iari p'p'op'í aét ba vo b'p'iaé &
 tai'p'eccl'eaó & vo éabai'p'it b'p'ieicce im ap'oile via ccof'm'p'atari. Báoi van
 Mac Uilliam Teab'v'it mac Uat'ep' chíotaiž co líón a éionóil ip'p'í toic'f'ital
 p'p'í uí Ohoimnaili. Anai'p' atharó an tuch'ep'p'í eimeaé m'o ioncharib ap' oile
 žo p'tai'p'nectari a loim'p'í lár na žallai'p'ib. O po p'earé íf'p'om ambiaó vóib'p'íro
 fol. 32. b. ap' p'ari vep'íro leo v'lip'iz an p'up'it ambáttari o na cáom'nažatari ní vona
 žaorðealaib. Vo žn'íltet p'am'laró. Soáit'et p'p'oth'p'op'ec & n'ip'í uó p'lán la
 Seon Noipar a m'lnma ap' n'ip'í uó žnaé lair a iomp'úó ah'í'p'haib écc'p'iat
 imne. Vo éol'tet úa Domnoil' 7 na žaorðeal ap' éf'na via p'tižh'ib žo p'ubáé
 p'om'f'lnmnaé.

Ot chíltet p'f'naó Duiblin'v'e žai'p'ceó & ž'p'iatteét žaorðeal v'p'ar &
 v'p'p'oribai'p'it, 7 žomb'tari eolaiž m' aip'm'm'beai'p'it 7 m' f'p'p'ov'aleaó an écc'aró
 po m'eccl'ai'p'it p'em'ib. Áóbari oile beóp' ima po oim'naró'f'ltet an f'p'naróm

¹ *Gailenga*.—This tribe inhabited a district now included in the diocese of Achonry and a part of Sligo. They had this name from Cormac Galeng, third in descent from Olioll Olum, King of Munster, who drove

out a Firbolg tribe, the Clan Gaileoin. *Top. Poems*, xxxix.

² *Hy Many*.—A district which in former times included the barony of Athlone, in Co. Roscommon, and the baronies of Bally-

Wherefore O'Donnell set out with his army across the Erne westwards, across the Sligeach, keeping the extremity of the Slieve Gam on his right, through Lefny and the territory of the Gailenga,¹ until at last he came to the rendezvous where Sir John Norris was threatening and boasting that he would go plunder the territory if they did not give in hostages and pledges. As soon as O'Donnell's messengers went to the Irish of the province, as we have said, they came without delay or hesitation at this call. First came from the west O'Rourke, Brian Oge, son of Brian na Murtha, son of Brian Ballach, son of Owen, with the fighting men of Hy Briuin. O'Conor Roe came, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, from the border of Magh Aoi, east of the ford of Slisean. O'Kelly (Ferdoragh), came from the south-east of Hy Many,² west of the Shannon; MacDermot (Conor Oge) came there from Moylurg of the Daghdha, to the south-east of the Corrsliabh. There came also those who inhabited the territory from the Corrsliabh to the sea in the northern part of the province, *i.e.*, the two MacDonoughs, and the two O'Haras, and O'Dowd. After the Irish had assembled at one place they halted opposite Sir John Norris on the banks of the river called the Robe. There were very many on one side and on the other for peace and amity, but it was not so in truth, but they were spying and circumventing and deceiving each other if they could. Mac William too, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, with the whole of his forces, was at this gathering of O'Donnell's. They remained for a while in this way opposite each other, until the English had consumed their provisions. When their supplies were consumed they resolved to leave their encampment, since they could effect nothing against the Irish. They did so. They turned back, and the mind of John Norris was not at ease, for it was not his custom to withdraw from the enemy's territories in this way. O'Donnell and the Irish also went away to their homes merry and cheerful.

When the Council in Dublin saw that the bravery and valour of the Irish had grown and increased, and that they had a knowledge of the use of arms and of the management of war, they were much afraid of them. Another reason too why they feared was the union of friendship

moe, Tiaquin, Killian, and Kilconnell, in Co. Galway. It was inhabited by the O'Kellys

and O'Maddens. See O'Donovan's *Introd. to the Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 2.

caiaitíaró 7 combağa fhu Ríğ na Spaine, 7 an long meimíarí do machí ón Spáin ainíal at cóadatarí dóibíomh. Arí aipile aiphoéht lár an rínaó 7 lár an ecomáipile d'eipíohie teéda do choirí do fáigíó uí Néill & uí Ohoimínail. D'fulaíplíh & d'arlach ríohha & colíneomíaiac foipia. Bapíat teéda do tagoaó lár an rínaó fhu hionlíuáó naithírec na ríohha ítopia 7 na goívealaib íapla Uímuínan Tomár Buicíleirí a anmáim. A Saxaib d'ur pangatari an cenél d'iambaioi. Ro baioiríóe in doirí eníit rínoata an ionbaró ríu, & aipíeipíeop Cairil Maolmuípe Mac Raíe. D'ur píceítríóe lár an tectaipeéht go pangatari gur an ceatípaíğ ríl foirí b'píu tpağa baile míc Buain víangapíorí an Spíatbaile. Ro fóiríóíft teéda d'ú imbóí ó Néill do píelaó na ttopíca ima tpuóóatari. Foiríorí úa Néill na píeela eítna in doohum uí Ohoimínail. Ticepíóe ílíomh oipum máíeacé co haipum imboi ó Néill. Do ílghatí oíblíomh co íochapíro Muipéíluíne foirí ionchaib tpağa baile buó éúaró. Tanáice an eíapla aipíubíomari 7 an tepíeop foirí ionn na tolecha eítna. At péttat d'ona pílaíeíb an toipíe ima tpanagatari 7 aipííeírat goirí bo ríípi cópia oívar ceallac & no bíad íomáithbaó chaíe oíob foirí apí oíli muna oíínta an ríó.

fol. 33. a.

At eúaothatarí d'óibí na comítha do maipmgeipírat an rínaó úaríob tapí eíno an t'píohha .i. oílípuccat d'oiiceíó Conóobapíu d'óibíomh génmothá an mbloirí típe ríl o d'ún Delgan co Boínn ío talíeta d'e ó éíln máip lár na gailaib & na tírtapí na goíll foipíio tapí toipíomh aét namá gailí eapííge ríííğupí do léceat fhu eíeíe 7 conníat do ríorí, & na gailí batapí í ceapílínn & íno íobapí eíno tpağha ón muó celóna, & d'an na toepíaoapí maopí ínaít aipíuoğha foipia no accumat naile do thobach chíopa nó chíana, aet na má ceipí eíorí do bípítha foirí apínníplíapí do íoíhnaeal d'óibíomh go híe chíac 7 na cuíngíeíte gáíll na aítípi foipia aét maó ríu, & ío gébhoapí an celóna na goíóil aipíachíatapí ín a ecomíbaíğ coğaró íccóíğíó Olnéccmaét. Íapí tpaíeepíín a aithírec 7 a oíííuígíll don íapla, aipíacé

Butler. — The tenth Earl, commonly called 'Black Tom.' He succeeded to the title at the age of fourteen. He was brought up at the English Court with Prince Edward, later Edward VI. For his services against Gerald Earl of Desmond and the O'Mores of Leix he received grants of several abbeys with their lands from

Elizabeth, to whom he was distantly related, Sir William Bullen, the grandfather of Anne, having married Margaret, daughter of the seventh Earl of Ormonde. See Archdall's *Peerage*, iv, 31.

² *M. Magrath.* — The apostate Bishop of Down. He was Protestant Archbishop of Cashel from 1570 to 1622, and held that

and sympathy with the King of Spain and the coming of the ship from Spain, as was reported to them. The plan adopted by the Senate and Council in consequence was to send messengers to O'Neill and O'Donnell, and to propose and offer peace and friendship to them. One of the messengers chosen by the Council to discuss the business of the peace between them and the Irish was the Earl of Ormonde, Thomas Butler¹ by name. The family to which he belonged had come from England. He was weak through old age then. With him was the Archbishop of Cashel, Myler Magrath.² They went on the errand until they came to the town which is on the edge of the strand of Baile Mic Buain called Stradbally. They sent messengers to the place where O'Neill was to tell him the business they had come about. O'Neill sent the same message to O'Donnell. He came after that with a troop of horse to the place where O'Neill was. They both went to Faughart Muirtheimhne, opposite Stradbally, a little to the north. The Earl of whom we have spoken and the Bishop came to the summit of the same hill. They told the princes the business on which they had come, and said peace would be better than strife, and they would blame each other if the peace was not made.

They stated to them the terms which the Council offered in reference to the peace, viz., to hand over the province of Conor to them except the tract of territory from Dundalk to the Boyne, which was cut off from it long before by the English, and that the English should not encroach beyond the boundary except the English of Carrickfergus, who were allowed for trade and traffic always, and the English of Newry and Carlingford in the same way, and that they should not send stewards or governors over them, nor in any such way force rents or tributes, but only the same tribute that was laid on their ancestors, which was to be taken by them to Dublin, and that hostages or pledges should not be demanded from them beyond this; and that the Irish in the province of Olneccmacht who had risen to aid them in the war should have the like terms. After the Earl had set forth his statement and proposal,

see with those of Waterford and Lismore. A sketch of his career will be found in the *Eccles. Record* for 1884, p. 633. Bruodin says he returned to the Catholic church

about a year and a-half before his death. He gives some interesting details of Myler's early life in his *Examen Anatomicum*, p. 71; Prague, 1671.

ó Néill 7 ó Domnaill & ambáttarí ina pfocharí do chuingsfóharb an
 éoirí do ar an áitib fúiríe 7 do ífghat don táob ar aill don tealaig.
 Gabáirte ag curó accomaíle 7 occ aiplegadó gniompaó na ngall ó po
 chéó gabáirte an innirí cfeur gup an tanrin.

Ba roðainz dóibíomí on, úairí batarí meabíra leó & la húa nDomnaill
 rainíeadó, doig bairírohe ag coirteóirí fúú na clíteora bliaóna 7 na teora
 míora po bui irin cearícarí in Aé cliaé, & ba hírin aicléirí ar mo aín po
 meabíraó o na cimbíróibí po clírota irin cearícarí imaríóíní fúur, & batarí hí
 ccumíne 7 í foríaríóíníe lair, & acbíre gup bóirí ceolunícheadó togaóthadó
 tingeallta Gall do gíreir, & gup bó tma gíúaríngíre po gáiríat anatharíóirí
 forí Ghairíóealáibí éoiríóirí Ghailián & éoiríóirí Coníaríóirí mic Dairíe & ní híó
 na má acirí cecibí neadó oia tcallírat acríirí inn Eíru ba tmaí thangnachirí &
 fol. 33. b. híreíríe do bíreírat óe. Bíó imíne do gíneacirí fúurí an ionbairí búrí clíreí búrí
 ccongáirí cacha & cecaríóirí & búrí tana búrí ccliaé gabála & an tan gíreir
 foríóirí ná Góiríóirí acíachíratarí in búrí mbairí gup fúun oíaríóirí in oíaríóirí, 7 ragaóirí
 cecirí ní chuingsíreíre ar búrí tceiríóirí. Do beiríat na gáiríóirí híreírí íomairíóirí
 aíníreíre & rairíreíre foríóirí an tan ragaóirí co hainlíreíre aníreíríre íb in
 uachadó aríu 7 éoiríóirí, ócc & híreírí, máó ríre do gíneírí fúú 7 gáiríat naíre
 aíríurí foríóirí fúu cónalladó fúurí in do híreíríngíreíreíre óaríóirí. Adóirí oíre beóirí.
 Ro acíreíríuríóirí a caríaríóirí forí Ríóirí na Spairíe máó ríre do gíneírí, & bíó
 naí 7 bíó meabáirí óaríóirí gó do óínom fúurí an tí na híreírí góirí, & cónallíreírí
 in po thairíngáirí, & po báó aíníreíríóirí máirí óaríóirí aíníreírí do gabáirí óe, & oírí
 fúurí rín níre cóbíreíratarí úaríóirí do híreíríóirí tan beíríe híreíríóirí a leírí íarí ragaóirí
 foríaríóirí óona gáiríóirí. Ro móirírat aríóirí óona máiríóirí an éiríreírí, & po
 aíníreíríóirí fúurí na híreíríóiríóiríóirí in po híreíríóirí. Batarí foríóiríóirí oíre
 oíríóiríóiríe lair aríóirí laíní an ríóirí do óénoírí, & acbíreíríreíríóiríe ba híreíríóiríe
 óíreírí an éiríóirí, & báó aíníreíríóirí muna óíreíríe.

Monáirí aíní ba híreíríóiríóirí in po híreíríóiríóirí cío ífíreí tain, úairí batarí
 íomóirí mna & mionóiríóiríe 7 foríuríóiríóiríe do éotarí écc óúachirí & góiríat po
 óaríóirí an chócáirí hírin. Robíat aríóiríóirí beóirí laech lonnairíóiríóiríe 7

¹ *Curoi MacDaire*.—He was King of Munster about the beginning of our era. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 220, and O'Curry's *Courtship of Momera*, p. 164, n.; Dublin, 1855.

² *King of Spain*.—See pp. xlviii. and cxxxiii. The support given by the Archduchess, the King's daughter, to Irish Catholics in the Low Countries is well known.

O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other chief men of the province who were with them rose up from where they were seated and went to the other side of the hill. They proceeded to take counsel and to recount the conduct of the English since they first seized on the island up to that time. 1596.

This was easy for them, for it was remembered by them and by O'Donnell in particular, since he had been listening to it during the four years and three months he was in the prison in Dublin, and that was the tale which he remembered best from the captives cast into prison with him, and it was in his recollection and remembrance; he said that the promises of the English were always vain and deceitful, and that it was by false promises they had stolen their patrimony from the Irish of the province of Leinster and of the province of Curoi mac Daire,¹ and not that merely, but whomsoever else they deprived of his land in Ireland it was by fraud and a false peace they obtained it. 'It was thus they acted towards you when implements of war and conflict were few and your battle-ranks thin; and when the Irish attacked you, they took your part heretofore in the conflicts one after another, and they obtained whatever they desired by abandoning you. The English tell you lies now, and they will attack you when they find you unprepared, not ready, with scantiness of arms and armour, of soldiers and champions, if peace is made with them and if securities or hostages are not given by them for fulfilling to you what they promised you. Another thing, too; you will give up the friendship of the King of Spain² if peace is made, and it will be disgraceful and shameful for you to practise a deceit on him who never tells a lie and who will perform what he has promised; and it would be dishonest also for you to entertain any suspicion of him; and, besides, you will never again be helped by him when you will need him after going over to the English.' Some of the chief men commended what had been said and agreed with the resolutions which he proposed. There was another party of them who were satisfied to make peace, and they said it was right to make peace, and they should be sorry if it was not made.

Alas! what they said proved true, though later, for there were many women and children and old men who suffered death by cold and hunger on account of that war. Besides, there were many proud heroes, and

leaders in war, and freeborn nobles who met with an untimely death on both sides in consequence of the same war. Yet, whatever may have been the advantage or the loss which arose from it, it was necessary to reject the peace at the request and demand of O'Donnell. The Earl and the Bishop returned to Dublin and told the Lord Justice and the Council of the refusal of peace and the answers of the Irish.

Thereupon the Council sent the news to England to Queen Elizabeth. Anger and wrath seized on her. A large number of men was assembled and collected by her to be sent to Ireland, with proper equipment of every kind too, so that there was no less than twenty thousand mercenaries and soldiers ready for the Irish war. The Governor and the chief man who was over the province of Meadhbh then, *i.e.*, Sir Richard Bingham, and his relatives were set aside¹ and summoned to Dublin, and sent from thence to England. There came in the month of December another in the office of Governor who was better and more faithful to his promises to the Irish. Sir Conyers Clifford was his name, a knight famous by repute; he was noble by blood, a man who bestowed jewels and wealth. This was an advantage to him, for a great number of the chiefs of the province of Meadhbh came to him on account of his good qualities. The first who came to him was O'Conor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, and MacDermot of Moylurg, Conor, son of Tadhg; so that they became intimate and entered into peace with him. O'Conor Sligo,² too, *i.e.*, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge, came from England in harvest precisely, having been appointed by the Queen to the command of many hundred troops and soldiers in complete readiness; as he was near the men of Ulster and Connaught he would bring them under her power. He came to Connaught immediately to fight against the Cinel Conaill and wage war on them on behalf of the English, for his misdeeds against that tribe were great ever since he withdrew his obedience from them owing to the wrath and hatred of the English, and he was not obedient to them as he should be; and it was no wonder that he should be subject to O'Donnell, for his ancestor Brian,³ son of Eochaidh, was so to Niall, who was younger, and they were

1596.

³ *Brian*.—See O'Donovan's Genealogical Table in *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 477.

Eachthad mo halta an tí Conall Gulban, 7 hī coigirō Olnéccmachte boi doomnuir cen co nup leiccl̃stairi hī foill ó moir ḡab an mbloirō tirié fil fpuir an Samairi adúar co loē feabail iar nairt̃li, & iar na ḡabail a loir a lamha dōrom mo mann í. for a bairt̃uib & do iratt an tpuochair c̃eo fil ó abainn mōir fari t̃úar co call caoin aḡ loē ñeipine do Chaiuppie mac Néill sia d̃l̃ibh̃iaithairi, & ó mo t̃reab̃ratt r̃liocht b̃riain mic Eachthad an r̃lionn iar ñoibad c̃em̃eol̃ Coirppie act maō becc. Ro l̃ápat cenél chonail̃ fo chíor & r̃luaiḡeā d̃oib̃ bur̃ d̃eipin ari aba r̃lioinn amb̃iaithairi. Ñi uō machtnad̃ eim̃ d̃eipr̃oe cia no thairp̃eāó ó Concōbairi Slicc̃e amuñt̃liar 7 hī cel̃pine uí Dhomnail̃ 7 cia bur̃ iraiad̃ d̃ó c̃lin f̃rit̃h̃b̃l̃ie f̃puir, act chl̃na mo d̃lech̃t an cel̃t̃na do Chonnach̃t̃aib̃ co leicc c̃eñm̃och̃á riñ úair mo foruair̃l̃uig̃r̃le r̃iol̃ Néill mic Eachthach for ḡoir̃eal̃aib̃ ó c̃lin, 7 ar̃ d̃oib̃ ba d̃ut̃aig̃ iḡe na h̃uip̃i. D̃ala an uí Concōbairi im̃p̃oir̃eāḡr̃lm̃, ó m̃aiñc̃c̃r̃oe co cóig̃eō Meaōba mo r̃ail̃eñ̃ig̃r̃le a ól̃i c̃ott̃ar̃ó & cair̃ol̃ra iḡam̃, & mo lioñrat a ál̃i ḡiaōa & t̃air̃p̃i d̃úail̃ 7 do d̃uim̃ar̃, d̃oiñp̃ie & d̃im̃eol̃ta sia t̃uir̃eact̃, 7 mo ḡab̃rat aḡ b̃aig̃ 7 occ b̃aḡairi, occ t̃aiñp̃uim̃ & oḡ t̃om̃aēt̃l̃m̃ for̃i cenél c̃conail̃. Muñt̃p̃i d̃air̃t̃ ar̃loñd̃ar̃p̃r̃oe & ar̃ao ba t̃air̃p̃iḡ t̃p̃oir̃i a ioñar̃p̃om̃ do ḡiér̃.

fol. 35. a. Ot chualad̃ ó Domnail̃ a t̃uir̃eact̃p̃om̃ f̃puir 7 amb̃aig̃ b̃riat̃ia 7 an d̃ul̃ hī c̃coñib̃aig̃ ḡail̃ na aḡar̃ó, ní mo air̃p̃i f̃p̃i t̃l̃ḡlam̃ad̃ a r̃luaiḡ do leip̃i ḡo t̃tol̃t̃ t̃air̃p̃an Sl̃ig̃eē r̃iari c̃ona am̃p̃aib̃ 7 c̃ona ól̃i t̃uair̃p̃at̃ail̃ lair̃ ḡo nup oir̃ḡ an t̃ol̃i t̃air̃p̃i 7 ioñm̃aine im̃p̃oir̃eāórl̃m̃ mo bui la h̃úa c̃concōbairi in ḡad̃ d̃ú im̃bat̃oir̃i im̃l̃ñd̃at̃t̃aib̃ m̃oḡar̃oaiñḡne 7 in t̃p̃oir̃ib̃el̃aib̃ d̃iam̃p̃ia c̃ona f̃ar̃iḡaib̃ m̃iol̃ ñinñile leo, & in moir̃ c̃p̃oir̃e d̃on ch̃p̃uch̃ act̃ íl̃t̃p̃om̃ na má cia moir̃ coig̃eill̃ d̃oib̃ ḡo riñ ari añd̃oiñm̃e 7 ari añd̃eap̃oile lair̃ cen ḡo moir̃ b̃p̃oir̃t̃ amb̃p̃iaḡia b̃oir̃p̃at̃h̃acha añaiñch̃p̃r̃oe 7 anñp̃ie r̃l̃ip̃in na col̃m̃ñacc̃t̃ar̃i do d̃ic̃leir̃e a ñoir̃cc̃aiñ for̃p̃ia. ḡab̃air̃o úa Domñiol̃l̃ long̃p̃oir̃e íl̃it̃t̃aiñ hī m̃b̃r̃eip̃ne c̃onnach̃t̃ f̃p̃i r̃l̃iab̃ d̃a eñ añoir̃i. Ro oir̃p̃i aññp̃r̃oe c̃onup̃ t̃oir̃p̃act̃ ar̃l̃oir̃ḡ sia f̃ar̃iḡr̃ó ar̃ ḡad̃ d̃ú im̃bat̃air̃i.

¹ *Mongfinn*.—She was sister of Criomthan, ardrigh A.D. 360. She gave him poison in order to obtain the crown for her son Brian; but she, too, died of the same draught, having tasted it in order to recommend it to the King. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 307.

² *Blackwater*.—This river rises on the

eastern slope of Benbrack, Co. Cavan, and flows into Garadice Lough, Co. Leitrim.

³ *Callaorn*.—This name is not given in the Ordnance Survey list of townlands.

⁴ *O'Harts*.—This tribe was seated in the barony of Carbury, Co. Sligo, between Grange and Bunduff.

both children of Mongfinn;¹ and it was by Fiachrach, son of Eochaidh, that Conall Gulban was fostered, and his residence was in the province of Olneccmacht, where he did not remain inactive as he seized the portion of territory north of the Saimer to Lough Foyle on the east; and after taking it by force he divided it among his brothers, and gave the cantred which was from the Blackwater,² on the north-west, to Callcaoin,³ on Lough Erne, to Cairbre, son of Niall, his brother, and as the family of Brian, son of Eochaidh, inhabited the territory after expelling the descendants of Cairbre all but a few, the Cinel Conaill put them under tribute and hosting to themselves because the territory belonged to their relative. It was no wonder, therefore, that O'Connor Sligo should render obedience and submission to O'Donnell and be subject to him without opposition, for the same was due by all the people of Connaught besides, since the race of Niall, son of Eochaidh, had become supreme over the Gaels long before, and to them belonged the sovereignty of the island. As for O'Connor of whom we have spoken, when he came to the province of Meadhbh his supporters and friends welcomed him, and his trusted people and followers were filled with pride and arrogance, and with anger and self-will, in consequence of his coming, and they proceeded to boast and bluster too, to insult and threaten the Cinel Conaill. They were called the O'Harts,⁴ and they were obedient to the man in his place always.

When O'Donnell heard of his coming and of his boasting language and of his having entered into an alliance with the English against him, he did not wait for the assembling of all his forces, but he went across the Sligeach, westwards, with his soldiers and mercenaries, and plundered O'Connor's subjects and friends of whom we have spoken in every place where their dwellings were clustered together, strong and difficult of approach, so that he did not leave a single beast with them, and he disturbed no one in the country but them, though he had spared them up to that on account of their weakness and wretchedness until their insolent language, enmity, and hostility, which they could not conceal, brought this plundering on them. O'Donnell pitched his camp after a while in Brefny of Connaught, to the east of Slieve da en. He remained there until his forces came to him from every place where they were.

fol. 35. b.

² *Ca low*.—A district comprised principally in the barony of Kilconnell, Co. Galway.

³ *Athenry*.—A town thirteen miles east of Galway. This place was granted to the Berminghams soon after the English invasion. In 1241 Meiler, second Baron of Athenry, founded a Dominican convent there. The ruins of the extensive castle are quite close to the town. See Archdall's *Peerage*, iii. 30.

1597, the 6th year.

1597.

After assembling in that way at the end of January,¹ 1597, they marched through the province south-westwards to the cantred of Tirerrill, from thence to Corran, through the level part of the plain of Connaught, to Clann Conway, to the territory of Maine, son of Eochaidh. When he came to the middle of Hy Many he let his active marauders spread and extend themselves over the district of Callow² and to the upper part of the country, and they returned with the proceeds of their plunder and cattle, with their captives and captured cattle, at the end of the day, to Athenry,³ where O'Donnell was. O'Donnell invited Mac William Burke (Theobald), to him there. He came at the summons of O'Donnell. That town was a short distance east of Athcliath⁴ of Marce.⁵ It was a well secured fortress, and an attack on it was not easy. However, the army attacked the stronghold and they put fires and firebrands to the gates on each side, so that the gates of jointed wood of the beautiful fortress were set on fire on the outside. They took with them there very large and long ladders, and they put them to the walls and ramparts of the place, so that they mounted to the strong, lofty battlements of the solid fortress on every side. Some of them jumped from the parapets, so that they were in the streets standing after wounding and skirmishing with many of the brave soldiers. They threw open the gates for the soldiers afterwards, so that they came to the middle of the town. They set to pull down the storerooms and the well secured apartments, and the private chambers which were in the fortress, until they took all the treasures and wealth that was in them and they plundered the residence immediately. Great would have been the slaughter by the Queen's people in defending that royal stronghold against the party who entered the town if these by themselves had contended for it with them. However, it was a painful and difficult task for him who was there or for his people, if the Almighty and good fortune were not aiding him. There was taken away from that town an immense quantity of every sort of treasure, of wealth, of brass and iron, of clothing and dress, and of everything needed

¹ *Athcliath*. — Clarinbridge, eight miles S W. of Galway.

bay of Galway, five miles S. of the town. Mention is made of it in the *Life* of St. Enda. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 709.

⁵ *Marce*. — A peninsula extending into the

lucht batari occa ionatoc 7 oga aittreabao do élfari 7 do élflomao chuca ar gaé airo ó chlin mári zo rin. Aripfó úa Domnaill con a rloz rin mbaile an adhaiz rin. Fágbaire an baile ari a bariac iari na oiecam. Do leccle a peclimealta do cpeacopzain éloimne Riocairre da gaé leir don abainn. Ro cpeachao 7 no cuaricaiageao la vruing dona ipeimealtaib rin o lfehparé zo maiz Senehomlaoh. Ro loipreao 7 no leipreapreao lar an lucht naile oib ó baile áea an Rioz & ó Raithgoirgin ríari zo Rinnmíl zo mfohparé 7 zo vopur na Gaillimhe. Ro loipreao leó van Tefh Bpughoe ril for ionchaib na caépac cerna .i. Gaillim ainmighleir on abainn forp no baréao Gaillim mglé birlpar.

Do gíat forlonzporic & rianbotha, pulacht 7 peolehombach, ruan & rianchoval an adhaizrin eirir Uarian móri 7 Gaillim occ cloichan linriz. Do thale ó Domnaill cona rloz ari a bariac zo mainarvori an énuic in vopur na Gaillime ari óaiz iomazallma rin lucht na caépac vup an rruizbléoh caoméluó vía nliyaharib ionghaire 7 vía réoarib roimlíla úaróib for ari all dona épeacharib batari occa, ari nri bó roóang vía muinleir ina mbaor do épor 7 do cléha oca do éiomarizao naé do éiomain leó vía naéaríoa, 7 van no buó mlinmaric laipom zan tiontúó vía éirí (munbaó aróble éóála arloiz) zo nochtain vó zo zoiprinr Gaipie i cenél áeoha na heétgá. O na ruaripom an roba lainn lair ó lucht na caépac, ba rari vepíó occa rilfó ina rpuhleing zo rannoc tina clirpmlóón coizíó Connaét zan anbuain zan uirfela zan fairéir zan fuipreachriar zo nochtain vó tarpan Slégeé tarí Duib tarí Oipobair 7 tarí an Samarip buó éuarí. Turpéleáa uí Conébairí Slieciú at ríarí rin rícal naile, rapcloméa ríúaz móri lair

fol. 36. a.

¹ *Clanricarde*.—It included the baronies of Loughrea, Kiltartan, Clare, Dunkellin, Athenry, and Leitrim, *i.e.*, the south-eastern portion of Co. Galway. See O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 323.

² *The river*.—*i.e.*, the Suck. It rises near Ballyhaunis, and passes by Castle-reagh and Ballymoe. From this to Shannon Bridge, where it joins the Shannon, it is in great part the boundary between Galway and Roscommon.

³ *Lara*.—A townland six miles N.E. of Athenry, containing the ruins of a castle.

⁴ *Magh seancomladh*.—*i.e.*, the plain of the old gate. The name is now obsolete.

⁵ *Rathgorgin*.—A townland in the parish of Kilconerin, barony of Athenry. On the rath there are the ruins of a castle, surrounded by a fosse.

⁶ *Rinnylle*.—A townland on the eastern end of Galway bay. There are here the remains of an old castle.

⁷ *Teach Brighde*.—*i.e.*, Bridget's house, a hospital on the east side of the town, built by the citizens in 1542. See Lynch's *Pii Antistitis Icon*, p. 57; Dublin, 1847.

⁸ *Gaillimh*.—See Hardiman's *Hist. of Galway*, p. 2; Dublin, 1820.

⁹ *Oranmore*.—A village on the eastern end of Galway bay. On the shore there is

by those who dwelt in and inhabited it, which they had plundered and collected from every place long before that. O'Donnell with his forces remained in the town that night. They left the place the next day, after plundering it. They sent out their marauders to plunder Clanricarde¹ on both sides of the river.² It was plundered and scoured by some of the marauding party from Lara³ to Magh seancomladh.⁴ The district from Athenry and Rathgorgin,⁵ westwards, to Rinvylle,⁶ Marce, and to the gate of Galway was burned and wasted by the remainder of them. Teach Brigdhe⁷ was also burned; it is close to the same city, *i.e.*, Galway, which is so called from the river in which Gaillimh,⁸ daughter of Breasal, was drowned.

They encamped and made tents, killed cattle, and prepared food; they rested and slept that night between Oranmore⁹ and Galway at Lynch's Causeway.¹⁰ The next day O'Donnell went with his army to the monastery of the hill,¹¹ at the gate of Galway, for the purpose of a conference with the townspeople to see if he could obtain an exchange of strange clothing and beautiful property from them for some of the plunder which he had, for it was not easy for his people to collect and drive with them to their own lands all the flocks and herds which they had; and besides, he did not mean to return to his own country (were it not for the great treasure his army had) until he came to Gort¹² of Inis Guaire,¹³ in Cinel Aedha¹⁴ na Hechtgha.¹⁵ As he did not obtain what he wished from the people of the town, he determined to turn back, and he came through the very middle of the province of Connaught without anxiety, fear, apprehension, opposition; and he came across the Sligeach, the Dubh, the Drowes, and the Saimer, northwards. As for O'Connor Sligo, who has been mentioned elsewhere,

a castle, said to have been erected by one of the Earls of Clanricarde.

¹⁰ *Lynch's Causeway*.—The name is obsolete.

¹¹ *M. of the hill*.—Not Knockmoy, as O'Donovan thought, which is fifteen miles off, but the Augustinian monastery, which was on the south side of the town. See Hardiman's *H. of Galway*, p. 272.

¹² *Gort*.—Gort insi Guaire, *i.e.*, the field of the island of Guaire, a town midway between Ennis and Athenry.

¹³ *Guaire*.—The common ancestor of the

O'Heynes, O'Clerys, &c. He was King of Connaught from A.D. 652 to 665. The Irish poets speak of him as the personification of hospitality. See *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 60; and *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, v. 34; Dublin, 1860.

¹⁴ *Cinel Aedha*.—Aedh, son of Cobtagh, from whom this tribe has its name, was eighth in descent from Eochaid Moighmheadhoin.

¹⁵ *Na Hechtgha*.—Now Slieve Aughty, the mountainous district between Loughrea and Mount Shannon, Co. Galway.

ո չձալաւ և ո չճօրձեալաւ ո չեաշտ չար ան Տլիւշիւ 1 մի քերթար չար
 Բիօշ 1 ար մոմաւե. Ո յալա իւ Վոմնաւ ան Եան րո 1 Եալարօ 1
 քօրնօնքօրե քո Տլիւշիւ անար Խ քօիւիւ քօրրա և ան արիւր յալա յօւն. Ո
 Երիւ քաԲարիւ անար քօրրօ քերթ քանգաԵար չար ան Տլիւշիւ. Քօ շիւիւրիւ
 քան և ո յիւլաւիւ արիւ Եժ մաժ Եժաժ ԵարարԵար յօւն օշ Երաւ
 յԵօԵալե. ՇօԵար Եարեք քօնօն մօր յօւն. Քօ քարԵաժ ան Եան մաշ
 ո Սիւլիամ Եար 1. ՔօԵար մաշ Սիւլիամ մի Քիւրիւր մի Օլեւարիւ և ար
 Եւ Եա արմիւրիւ քոնքաժ. Տօար օ ԵոնօԵարի քօ Եւլաւ 7 ո Եա քան
 Եար Ե միւմա մ Եւրօժ ան Եարար րո. Եանաւ օ Վոմնաւ յօ Եւ և
 ո Եեւշ Երքերօժ 7 քԵաօլեաժ յօ քնօն Եո շեւշար արիւ Եժ ո Եա մօ
 քօրքաժ Եր անքան և ԵարարԵալ Խ Եօւշաժ Մեաժ Խ քօիւիւ Եօւաժ
 մ ԵոնօԵարի 7 ո Եալ 7 մալ չար օ Վոմնօւ յօ յիւիւմե Եւրօժար
 1 Եաօրիքաժ Եօ. ՏաԵարիւ քօ մքաժ 7 Եւմիւլեաժ ո Եաժօրձեալաւ
 քերթօժաԵար Խ Եոմաւ յա Եալ 7 մ ՔոնօԵարի, ԵոԵարԵար քօ Եւալ
 ո քօրիւ քօնօն մօր յօւն. Եանաւ ան Եար մաշ Վիարաժ (1. ԵոնօԵար)
 Եարիւ Խ մաւշ Եար քի քո Եարիւլաւ ո Տիւր անարիւր Եո քար Ենարեւ
 Ե մարիւր 7 Ե Եար քո իւ յօ Վոմնօւ ան Եար քաշ և Եո Եարաւ
 Ե-օրիւ Եո յօ քի Եա Եիւր Ե Եոնաւ ո չիւր. Ո յօնքա Եարիւ ո
 Եաւ քի քո քիւլաւ Եաւ 7օ մար ան ԵԵԵա և ո մաԵար անշիւ 7
 անաԵար յօ Վոմնօւ քո Եոմալ չաւ ուի յօ Երքալաւ.

ba in eacmaing na peepin .i. i mir Apul von amice long on Spain go
núathao foime daíreor na ngaoideal. Ro gab poit hi ceuch Conaill
mic Néill hi cúan na cceallmbfz painieao hi tíri boğaine íar níarthaí
allanaíri von glionn in po bfnnae an Columb aipóhic. Tangataí aipríoe
fol. 36. b. aipm ambaosí ó Doimnaill go Dún na ngall. Roptoí foiletiğ cae oíob fpu
ar oile 7 po fíaduğitpíom co haipmíttneae la húa nDoimnaill, & vo pat
arceaoa con 7 each oóib. 7 íompoírt ar fopí cúlao & vo bfiac pccéla na
cpiche leó. Tuipécta mic Uílliam bupe at fíadoaipunn po toipnfear ar a
tíri la íomfoipian a čenuril buódeipin & la glíatecč gall, íaíri po naíom
úa Cončobairi Slíccíğ covaó 7 capaoao eipí a člíamain mac mic Uílliam
bupch Teaboitt na long mac Rípoepio an íapíomn mic Dauro mic Eamainn
mic Uíllícc & an goibfínóipí Sípí Coneup Clípoit co po hačupieao 7 guí po

¹ *Calry*.—A parish in the barony of Carbury, between Glencar and Lough Gill.

² *Glen.*—*i.e.*, Glencolumkille. See p. 35, *antea*.

a large force was gathered by him of English and Irish to go to Sligo in the month of February, very soon after the beginning of spring. O'Donnell happened then to be encamped at Calry,¹ to the east of Sligo, ready and waiting for them. He made a vigorous attack on them before they reached Sligo. They fled before him and ran off, all but a small number who remained behind at Trawohelly. A large number of them were wounded and drowned. A son of Mac William Burke, too, *i.e.*, Richard, son of William, son of Richard, son of Oliver, was killed, and others who are not specially mentioned. O'Connor returned, and his mind was not at ease because he had gone on that expedition. O'Donnell came home, and he let his forces separate and scatter that they might get rid of the fatigue, but he left his hirelings and his mercenaries in the province of Meadhbh, in readiness for war against O'Connor and the English, and Niall Garbh O'Donnell, one of his relatives, in command of them. They set to prey and devastate the territories of the Irish who before that had joined in alliance with the English and O'Connor, until they brought back a great number of them to him. First came MacDermot (*i.e.*, Conor), the chief of Moylurg, which is near the Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, to the south-east, so that he established intimacy and peace with Hugh O'Donnell a second time and made submission to him, as was the custom of the man who held his place always. The chiefs of the district north of the mountain to the sea did the same, and gave hostages and pledges to O'Donnell to observe all they promised.

It happened at this time, *i.e.*, in the month of April, that a ship came from Spain with a small party to confer with the Irish. It came to the territory of Conall, son of Niall, to the harbour of Killybegs, in the western part of Tir Boghaine, to the east of the glen² which the famous Columba blessed. They came from that to Donegal, where O'Donnell was. They were glad to meet each other, and they were entertained honourably by O'Donnell, and he gave them presents of hounds and horses, and they returned and took with them an account of the country. As to Mac William Burke of whom we have spoken, he was banished from his territory by the violence of his own people and by the hatred of the English for O'Connor. Sligo established an alliance and friendship between his brother-in-law, the son of Mac William Burke, *i.e.*, Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn, son of David, son of Edmund, son of Ulick, and the

hionnairibh do lar na maiuibh rin cona tcionol Mac Uilliam Teaboirte mac Uateiri doicairg ara acairha sup bo heiccln do arcnaim go cenél Conaill mic Néill. Iáir tteacht dóroin airm imbaoi o Doimnaill dacoine a imnro puy no airm ina fochair go mionlóon raimhar. Do gni o Doimnaill rluairg do an veiread lun go coicead ndilealla con tulir tar Múar úa ndamalgar. Ni éadonnaccator an chnoé pueblir puy go tairtair an géill do. Do bfeirion do Mac Uilliam.

Ro rai úa Doimnaill ina pueblirg iari pfragbail na cuche fo airtitir & uinla do Mac Uilliam & forriagarib Ruómarge o Doimnaill (a dfeirbriachair buódein 7 muog daima cenéol cconail) na fochair oia nliar do in aghar a namiat go rlog móri oia miltshair tpaighthead & oia airmoir tuairtarail imaróin pur. Ba forpnteach tria Teaboro na long rin mac Uilliam im on pflairir 7 dan beór niri bo raimreaircach im o nDoimnaill oia oirionló fori a belairb. Niri bo luza immorpio miorcair uí Chonóbaire Sliccig im cenél cconoil 7 im Mac Uilliam, con airm rin no gab airgír 7 accobair iat uiblinib im aite anpalad 7 aneccriachair fori Mac Uilliam & fori cenél cconail raimreab. Ba rfoh do pionrac in gar úair iari nimteet uí Ohoimnaill rlog móri do gallairb 7 do goirdeairb do tglomaó, 7 raigead fori mac Uilliam co moir coirpniort ar an tíri co na mteadairb, úair ni forprielangair an forpilion baoi ina aghar & o no tualirion cona ógarib págbair an tírie. Do iomairglet rlmra clthia 7 innile na cuche cona nairreabteachair tar Múar úa ndamalgar 7 tie tíri rhuairach Mhuairde co pangatar rliab gam rua naóairg. Gabairte occ arcnaim an rliarib i rort na horóde.

Iomairra an airmugh Coneur Clorort, o fo éfirion o Conóbaire 7 an rlog atriubriamair do torann Mac Uilliam ar a tíri, no tochuiri chuige an lion ar lia fori colinnaccair do roémarde. Don angattair ann an ra larla batari irin coirgead, larla Tuadmunian, Donnchar mac Conóbaire mic Donnchar uí Bhrian, & larla cloinne Riocair Uilleac mac Riocair Saxanairg mic Uilleac na cceann, 7 a macraide Riocair

¹ *Province*.—Clare at this time belonged to Connaught. It had been added to that province by Sir John Perrott in 1584. It was reunited to Munster in 1602 at the request of the Earl of Thomond. Cox, *Hib. Angl.*, i. 454.

² *Dunkellin*.—A townland in the parish of Killeely, Co. Galway, in which there are the remains of an old castle; and close by is a rude stone seat called Clanricarde's chair in which the Mac William was inaugurated.

Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, so that Mac William, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, was driven and expelled by the nobles, together with his forces, from his inheritance, and it was necessary for him to come to the race of Conall, son of Niall. When he came where O'Donnell was to complain of his sufferings to him, he remained with him till the middle of summer. O'Donnell made a hosting at the end of June to the province of Oilioll, and he went across the Moy of Tirawley. The district was not able to offer any resistance, and it gave hostages to him. He gave them to Mac William.

O'Donnell went back, having left the country under the control and obedience of Mac William, and he left Rory O'Donnell (his own brother and the roydamna of Cinel Conaill) with him to strengthen him against his enemies, and a large body of foot soldiers and mercenaries with him. Theobald na long was envious of Mac William on account of the chieftaincy, and, besides, he had no special love for O'Donnell for having appointed him in preference to himself. The enmity of O'Conor Sligo too was as great against the Cinel Conaill and against Mac William, for which reason a violent desire and longing seized on both of them to avenge their wrongs and injuries on Mac William and on the Cinel Conaill especially. Shortly after the departure of O'Donnell they gathered a great body of English and Irish and attacked Mac William and banished him from his territory with his soldiers, as he was not a match for the great numbers opposed to him, and he proceeded with his soldiers to quit the country. They drove before them the flocks and herds of the country, with the inhabitants, across the Moy of Tirawley, and through Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, until they came to Slieve Gam before night. They set to march over the mountain all through the night.

As for the Governor, Conyers Clifford, when he sent O'Conor and the army of which we have spoken to banish Mac William from his territory, he summoned to him the greatest number of soldiers he could. The two Earls who were in the province¹ came there, the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, and the Earl of Clanricarde, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, son of Ulick na cceann, and his son Richard, Baron of Dunkellin,² and Murrough, son of Murrough, son of

baipín Duim Coillín, & Mupchaó mac Mupchaóa mic Diaimata uí
 Bhuain baipín inni uí Chuinn, iatpíóe uile cona foémarce. O vo
 muachtatar co hairim amboi an goiblínoí vo ígíat uile foí cínó mic
 Uilliam cona óccab an conair na colmnaaccatar vo feachmall 7 in po buó
 veimín lair ipogbail chuga, fohón gur an ccairtiall fíl foí aboinn móirí fíu
 fíab fám anoir, 7 fíab da én aníar. Cuilmaoile a ainmíóe. Ba conair
 coitcéann 7 ba pett fuaithnó an mennot hírin. Baor an goiblínoí irin
 cairtiall an aóairíin 7 fíóg móirí vo gíeipe laoch airta eiríóe. Narí bo
 lughla óltaat cois céo vecc a lion i foichill foirína gaóíóealab. At coar
 vo Mac Uilliam & vo Ruómaríge o Thomnoill an goiblínoí vo tocht
 fímpo foirían fíghíó na po fíórat díomgabáil. Ar fíarí veiríó leo ó
 manáatar ía matcain tarí muinchinn an máig fíeóe atpíóimóirí fíógeaó
 gur an abainn fo an fíehomáirí anáiríóccur von chairtiall, 7 a celfíra 7 a
 ninníle, a ngíollanaríó 7 an glaríarí 7 an ríong bá díarim aca vo léccaó
 úatha ífíghíó ba hinníle mór fíó imchían ón ccairtiall. O po batáiríom
 úataó daóine anáiríógeaó na nállímaríac ní po fíóiríe foirína acé vol tarían
 abainn fán íaéugaó díob amáil na po fíóiríe, 7 ba fíó vo muinníle con-
 oílnírat inníllíor 7 íomíraódaó día ccríó 7 celfíoríó 7 gíollanaríó o po
 fíabírat fíerín accomíochíaríó an chairteoirí foí belab an tíloig ecríonn,
 ionnup gomaó íáat no foíberíca tarí cínó amunníe. Ní híó vo íala
 díobíríom éim an ní ba mímáiríe leo, acé vo díotóiríom tarían abainn
 gomíatarí von díob aráil fán íaéugaó fán foíclíoríe. Ba írin taríin
 atíacht an goiblínoí cona allímaríacab ara íuan la fírtan 7 fíeríeíle an
 tíloig acc vol tarían abainn.

fol 37. b.

Ba méla móirí lar an goiblínoí an vol íeice íeríú taríaríó gíllim foiríó.
 La íódaí at chúalatarí buíreab beiceab na mbó 7 na nraí 7 allílóirí na
 nanmann neicíallabí ag comííneccíra a chéle 7 íogháiríuall óíra a íomána
 7 an alíaríeab allanarí díob írin veóóil muich. Vo leicclé a maríclóghí na
 íomíongabí 7 ína íríorímaríó fo comíarí na cceáíra díur an taríaríeí. Díur
 naríet on dírim díona hinníle, 7 atíulat ar aríóle díob. Sonat ríong móirí

¹ *Dermot O'Brien*.—Murrough O'Brien, second son of Turlogh Donn, King of Thomond, surrendered his title and country to the Crown in 1543; and in return Henry VIII. created him Earl of Thomond for life

and Baron of Inchiquin, with remainder to his heirs male. The Earldom was re-granted to his nephew and his heirs male by Edward VI. in 1552. The title of Inchiquin passed to Murrough's son, Der-

Dermot O'Brien,¹ Baron of Inchiquin, all these with their forces. When they had come where the Governor was they all went against Mac William and his forces by the road which they could not avoid and on which he was certain he would find them, *i.e.*, to the castle, which is on the Blackwater, east of Slieve Gam and west of Slieve da en. Collooney is its name. That place was the ordinary road and a well known pass. The Governor stayed in the castle that night, and a large body of chosen soldiers with arms and armour; there were not less than fifteen hundred in readiness for the Irish. The news reached Mac William and Rory O'Donnell that the Governor was advancing by the road which they could not avoid. Wherefore they resolved, as they had crossed before morning over the top of the mountain-slope of which we have spoken, to go to the river opposite, which was near the castle, and to send away their flocks and herds, their servants and recruits, and the unarmed crowd, by a safer road than that, which was a long distance from the castle. As they were but a few persons in comparison with the foreigners they did not attack these, but they crossed the river without being noticed, as they did not expect, and they thought they should obtain safety and security for their flocks and herds and servants, whilst they themselves went close to the castle, opposite the foreign army, in order that they might be a help to their people. What they wished, however, was not what happened to them, but they crossed the river and reached the other side without being noticed or heard. Then the Governor rose up with his foreigners from his sleep owing to the shouts and the talking of the army when crossing the river.

1597.

It was a great sorrow to the Governor that they should have passed by before he overtook them. Then they heard the loud bellowing of the cattle and of the oxen, and the noise of the senseless animals responding to each other, and the loud cries of their drovers, and their shouts in the early dawn of the morning to the east of them. They sent their cavalry in troops and squadrons in the direction of the herds to see if they could overtake them. They seized a quantity of the cattle, and some escaped

mot, and to his grandson of the same name; his son by Anabella, daughter of the ninth Lord Delvin, was Murrough, mentioned above, born in 1562. He was present in

Perrott's Parliament in 1585. His grandson Murrough played a very important part in the war of 1641. Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 46.

bona gillib & volir na hiomanu. In no fceopatt arluağ rliym anſoriam nach ananacal la hanporillon 7 iomac an tſloiz vo mała poyma monchais. Tifghait na Galroil ar raimlaib co manğatari tari ran Eiyne bur thiaro & ni no lñyat na goill ari nool tairirib doib an clctna fect amail no aynnehyrom. Soair an Goibhnoiri ina fñuchling & niri bō rlan lai a mñmma ot iulatai a namiat aye ilri na bpağbail in iatcharo 7 ilri nğabail poymio in aic momchumainğ amail mon ġab. An 29. luri vo mała ino rin.

Don anaic tpa iurtir nua in Eymio i torac mir mſōoin an tpañmiao vo runnmao .i. loyo Borough. Tomar a ainm. Batai iomro iolairō an oğbaō iorğale 7 an rianlach tachaii 7 tpoa vo beje lai ina caomteet. O vo maacht no ġab orlam clorōim an Riğ chuga, 7 no cumrcaigſō lai Seji William Ruyrel baci ina iurtir pui ie teoia mbliatōna ġō rin. Do bñao lai beor ġenepalaet an eoğarō vo Siyi Seon Noymur 7 no oiyon e buōdeim ir na cēimib rin. Ro rōmēonğmaō lār an iurtir rin poi ġoibhnoiri eoicciō Olneccmaet tocht co lionmai lēimēionoiſte poi cenel cconail iyn clnoſai vo eoicceaō Conchobaii vaiſe anpalaō & eccmaiſi ġall poyma. Niri bō heyliraē no ppeartlaō an rōmēonğmaōrin lār an nğoibhnoiri, & ba rlanioioñao mōi lia mñmian oia ttiſeaō ve a aineyōe 7 a mnyie vo ōioğal poi cenel Conail ġulban mic Néil rcah cāc.

Ro tairicclomaō & no tionoileao lai in ioba iñaiac oō vo ġallaiō & vo ġoioealaiō an eoicciō, 7 no ōail ina noochum ġo mainiyti na buille an 3. la vo Augyrt. Vo maacht cēuamur iyn toichſrtalrin laiā Tuāōmumian Donnchaō mac Conchobaii mic Donnchaō uī bñain. A rē ba tiğſma poi ġairibſñionn Luğōeaē mñno mic Olñğura tiyğ ril pui an Luimneach a tuarō, ari arē an Luğarō huiy no bñ an mbloio ēiſe aſpuiñiomoi vo eoigſeaō Olneccmaet ġo no tpeabſat a ſiol ina ōeaohaiğ. Don anaicrōe ġo ttiōnol na Tuāōmumian imaiōſñ pui. Tāimce laiā cloinne Riocaiyo iyn toichſrtal eſona co lēimēionol a tñiſe in a pochaii 7 cona mac Riocaiyo mac mñllic mic Riocaiyo Saxanağ vo rliōet William conquerey. Vo pñancaib

fol. 38. a.

¹ *Borough*.—Camden says he was sharp-witted and courageous, but of very little skill in military affairs. *H. of Eliz.*, p. 542.

² *Lughaidh Mean*.—He was fourth in descent from Cormac Cas (à quo Dalcassian). He wrested Clare from a Firbolg tribe. See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 209.

³ *Descendants*.—Keating says this district was exempt from all tributes and taxes, and paid no reverence to any of the kings of Ireland. *H. of Ireland*, p. 92. See also *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 35.

⁴ *Richard*.—He was afterwards fourth Earl of Clanricarde. More of him later.

from them. A great number of the servants and of the drovers were wounded. Their own army could not interpose or help them owing to the greater number and force of the army opposed to them. The Irish went away in this manner until they crossed the Erne, northwards, and the English did not follow them when they passed them by the first time, as we have said. The Governor returned, and his mind was not at ease that his enemies should have escaped from him, after finding them so weak and coming on them in a very difficult place as he did. This happened on the 29th of June.

1597.

A new Lord Justice came to Erin in the beginning of the middle month of summer exactly, *i.e.*, Lord Borough.¹ Thomas was his name. Many and various were the soldiers for battle and companies for fight and strife that he brought with him. When he came he received the King's sword, and Sir William Russell, who was Lord Justice for three years, was replaced by him. The chief command of the army was also taken by him from Sir John Norris, and he himself assumed that position. An order was given by this Lord Justice to the Governor of the province of Olneccmacht to go with his forces in full muster against the Cinel Conaill, to the western part of the province of Conor, to avenge the wrongs and enmity of the English on them. This command was not received negligently by the Governor, and it was a great satisfaction to his mind to go to wreak his cruelty and vengeance on the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, beyond all others.

He assembled and mustered all the English and Irish of the province that were obedient to him, and summoned them to meet at the monastery of Boyle, on the third of August. The first who came to that meeting was the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien; he was lord of the rough district of Lughaidh Mean,² son of Oenghus Tirech, which is to the north of Limerick, for it was that Lughaidh who separated that portion of territory of which we have spoken from the province of Olneccmacht, and his descendants³ in succession inhabited it. He came with the troops of Thomond. The Earl of Clanricarde came to the same meeting with all the forces of his territory, and his son Richard,⁴ son of Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, of the race of William

Իսկ մբնածար 7 ձիւոճաւ Տաքան ո՞ժեօճատու ձ շենէլ ան ուրմ ան
 ձաւոն անմնղիւղի ան բնիոնն. Դանաւ ըն Դեաօւր ձա լոնց մաւ Կրօնիւ
 ան ձալոնն անաբօճարե. Օ Կոնօճարի Տնիցն Ծոնիւճա՞ծ մաւ Կաթաւ ձից մաւ
 Դա՞ծց մաւ Կաթաւ ձից 7 Օ Կոնօճարի Դա՞ծ Դօ՞ծ մաւ Դոյրեալեալց մա՞ծ
 ան լիւն ձ մաւնիւր անմալլե բա՞ծ. Դօ բա՞ծ անոյր Լարիւր ձիոնց ու
 բօճարե ձօ Դալլա՞ն ձօ Դարօճաւիւր Դոնաճա մօրա ու բաճա՞ծ Դար
 Դաճալլի.

[illegible]

¹ *William the Conqueror*.—William Fitz-Adelm De Burgo, so called because he was said to have conquered Connaught. See *Annals F. M.*, ad ann 1204, and p. 92, ante.

² *Name*.—It has its name from Ricard Oge, son of William FitzAdelm, and Una, daughter of Aodh O'Connor, the last King of Connaught. The head of this branch was called Mac William Uachtar.

the Conqueror.¹ They were from France originally by descent, and the tribe came from England to that place, and from them the district has its name.² There came also Theobald na long, son of Richard an iarainn, with his forces; O'Connor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge; and O'Connor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, with all their forces. The Justice sent besides a body of his troops to Galway, that they might bring large guns to him to the Saimer.

When the army was brought together to one place, there were at the monastery of the Seghais twenty-two regiments of foot soldiers and ten regiments of horse of chosen troops, with their strong coats of mail and their stout, long, broad-shouldered spears, and their loud-voiced sharp-sighted guns, and their slender, sharp, hard-tempered swords, with beautiful firmly-secured hafts, and their curve-crested hollow helmets, so that they imagined there was not in the province of Conor MacNessa a power to cope with them on account of the outlandishness and strangeness of their arms, armour, and weapons, for the Irish had only a few guns then and did not wear armour like them. These forces then marched to Sligo, and from that to the Erne. They encamped that night on the bank of the Saimer. They determined to cross the river opposite them at early dawn the next day, for they were sure that there was not a single ford from Cael Uisge³ to Assaroe that had not a guard of O'Donnell's on it. When they had determined on that plan they went to Athculuain in a heavy, numerous mass, and they poured in at once and in one body to cross over. The guards who were placed there to defend the ford against them did as best they could, though the numbers of the defenders was not great compared with the crowd that advanced against them. With vigour and strength they set to receive the enemy till the whole army crossed the ford in spite of them in the end. It was a great disaster for the foreign army that the Baron of Inchiquin, Murrough, son of Murrough, son of Dermot, son of Murrough O'Brien, was mortally wounded and drowned, for he was between his people and the deep part of the ford, to protect them against danger,

³ *Cael Uisge*. — This place, at present called Cael na hEirne, is where the lower river Erne issues from the lake, a short distance above the town of Ballyshannon.

There is another place of the same name on the north side of the entrance to Newry harbour. See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places* 2nd series, p. 395.

when he was struck by a bullet exactly in the armpit, at the opening of his plate-armour, so that he was pierced through from one armpit to the other, and though there were four or five thousand of his men about him they could not aid or assist him, for he fell from his horse in the deep part of the ford, so that the nobleman died in this way. The army did not wait to take his body with them for burial as was fitting, but they marched forward on their road till they came to Sith Aodha,¹ on the bank of the cataract. The day of the week was Saturday. They encamped there, and some of them stayed in the monks' monastery² on the banks of the Unshinn.³ They remained so from shortly before mid-day on Saturday till the following Monday morning.

As for the ships of which we spoke in the beginning that were summoned by the Governor to go from Galway, the people who were ordered to go on that expedition unmoored the greater number of the ships in Galway to bring and convey the loud-voiced guns,⁴ great and large and sharp, to break down and destroy the fortresses and strong castles of their enemies. Besides, they put in them everything that was needed by the army. They sailed, keeping the northern part of the province on their right till they came to the Erne, on Sunday precisely. They entered the harbour opposite the island of Saimer, and they landed all their supplies both of food and strong drink and of everything needed by them while besieging the castle in the island, on Monday. They drew the large guns on land and they planted them face to face with the castle, which was on the bank of Ballyshannon.

The people who were in the monastery came, and all placed themselves on the summit of Sith Aodha around the ordnance. Then they proceeded to cast their heavy bullets and their loud-sounding balls of fire, so that the report and loud thunderings were heard far away from there. They sent a countless number of the choicest of their soldiers to the foot of the castle with implements to pull down the wall, and with strong iron armour round the bodies of their heroes, and with bright-shining helmets on their heads.

³ *Unshinn*.—This is the stream close to which the abbey is built. It rises in Lough Unshinn, five miles N.E. of Ballyshannon.

⁴ *Guns*.—The besiegers brought four guns from Galway to batter down the walls of the castle. See p. cxxx., ante.

baoi lebeinn laimslíoda do cnuinoréadaib comhléchna cnuaidiáirimh ina miontaimh an eétauí oía mionléghail fori doibhaicéib na riuinze doicoinneicéle vslghlaod do miala iwin vúnaó. Baotí gan anaó gan ionnuaríad óg an imbebaó rin co clíon tpi la 7 éopia noitóe, luam, Maic, 7 Céttaoin. Adé chlna nipi bo toirba dona hallmáicheaib an fuaabait do mactat, 7 ba flípi dóib na vslgíur an tuipir tuóchataí úaípi mo vaíte ar an vúnaó forpua fpiuiclétha caoirtaioleach tclintíoe a gunnaóab foraióche ríuóuige 7 a mupcaettib moicheortai. Aiaile do cloichéilí caipias clíngai 7 tpiocloch tuiníoe do fáilgib do fionnaib do miala fori taiblib an vúnaó conaí bo vóion no vainglí vóibíomí accuapicléit comhionnta no accaébaipi coinnleacha coí bat mionbpiute muóaióche i mlvón an líttiz níapinaíoe vóna trénoibhaicéib taplaicéi forpua. O mo muóaióit na mlaeáa go móí ó muó rin m fori doalangóai fupieach fpiu anaipleaé m ba ríuú. Do mactat an rpiomanna fpiu naipíob. Meabairé maíom vóib gup na rcoiaib. Gabaitt ólí an vúnaio occ anuubiaíad ina noíohaió go mo maipait vpiuie & cinnteach aip eccinteac vóib. Atipulat ar aipíoe vóib ítebeoíonta bioéainmeach.

Baíró do miala vúa Doimnaill beir i teipice ríoió & m úathaó rochpíaoe an Sathapin don anóataí an tpiomvám vóilíó vóigáltaé rin oia éipi. Ro cpiumuíóit 7 mo tapicelomíit a toicheaptal pía mlvón laoi oía luain ina vócom aip nipi bat eipíaióit do gíep m éuivléit fo éogaiuppiuim gac tan no éuíngeaó cuca toivéet ina váil. Do éaoe ann eétuí Maguíópi, Aoó co lion a muintipe. Do maéet ann van ó Ruapic, bpiuam óg mac bpiuam mic bpiuam ballaíó mic éogain con a éionol. O do píachaataipíom go húa nDoimnaill m mo leigeaó éuínup no cuípann illo no m oivóche don góibeaipí nipi nach oia muintípi. No chuipíóí ríuaó uí Doimnaill cioípa an champa Connacht ina chlíptimlvón & a lápi ina leicímeal, & m mo leigeaó an oíman nó an uipíglá vóib an eachpía no an aipílí do éopi fori mgeíit tpi imeal-
 .fol. 39. b. boíro an longpíuip m eétauí la haróble a móméuínge ambataí occ ambioó-

¹ *Covering*. — Called by Latin writers testudo.

² *Brian*. — Surnamed na murtha. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, in 1591, the principal charge against him being that he had given shelter to some shipwrecked Spaniards. When he

was on the scaffold Myler Magrath strove 'to counsell him for his soule's health,' but he was sternly rebuked by O'Rourke for his apostacy. His death the Four Masters say 'was one of the mournful stories of the Irish.' See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1905; Lombard's *Comment. de Hib.*, p. 149; and

There was a bright covering¹ of round, broad shields of well-tempered iron all round outside to defend them against the shots of the impetuous party of heroes who were in the castle. There was no hesitation or cessation in that contest for the space of three days and three nights, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. However, the attack which the foreigners made was of no avail, and it was better for them that they had not come on that expedition, for there were poured from the castle on them showers of bright fiery balls from the well planted straight-firing guns and from the costly muskets, and of missiles of rough-pointed, sharp rocks, heavy, massive stones, with beams and blocks, which happened to be on the battlements of the castle, so that their well made bent shields and their closefitting helmets were not firm or strong enough, for they were crushed and killed within their iron armour by the well aimed shots directed against them. When the soldiers were massacred in numbers in this way, they did not prolong their stay any further to be slaughtered. They turned their backs to their enemies. They were driven into the camp. The people in the castle continued to shoot after them, so that many were slain, both reckoned and unreckoned. Some of them escaped severely wounded.

It happened that O'Donnell was in want of soldiers, and had only a small force on the Saturday the fierce, vindictive multitude entered his territory. His forces assembled and collected to him before mid-day on Monday, for they were never slow to come at his call whenever he asked them to come to meet him. First came Hugh Maguire with all his forces. Then came O'Rourke, Brian Oge, son of Brian,² son of Brian Ballach,³ son of Owen, with his party. When they came to Hugh O'Donnell he did not allow quiet or peace day or night to the Governor or to his people. O'Donnell's force drove those on the outskirts of the Connaught camp into the middle of it, and those in the middle to the outside, and fear and terror did not allow them to put their horses or cattle to graze beyond the boundary of the camp outside owing to the great straits in which they

¹ 'Offences of Sir Bryan O'Rourke,' in the *Egerton Papers*, p. 144, Camden Society, 1840.

³ *Brian Ballach*. — i.e., the freckled or spotted. A notice of him will be found in *Annals F. M.*, v. 1591. He died in 1562.

baóairb. No bioó iomruaḡaó 7 imóibbriaccaó ḡaó laoi eiri an maicrluaḡ a oíú 7 anall fhu mé na tri lá no bátaí an rluaḡ ḡall occ ionnhoiḡeaó an oíuairb.

Ro ḡonaí & no trlḡoaí rocharoe ltorra rán cán an airtirín, aét na ma ba móo no cpechtaíḡit an rluaḡ ḡall oíoaét na ḡoíóil. Ba oo na huairláb ba hlróeice no ḡonaó úairóib an tan rín úa Conóobairi Sligiech Donnchaó mac Cathail óḡ. Ro roaó for maircluaḡ na nḡall fo óeóiró irín treairlaíte ḡur na rcoiráb combataí mlrcc ar mlrcc fhuí na triaíḡiteaóairb. Scaraíe íaróim fhu arioile, 7 m tria íairnlric no rcairrat aét úamán arioile oíanltaíḡaíe. O no maíḡírlc na ḡall ḡairceaó 7 ḡairateét na nḡaoiúeal oíár 7 oíhoirbairt tairiríb amáil na no íaoilrlc, ba meía mói leo tuioéet an tuíar tuóeatoí rie a bparceairbriot oía ceuiraóairb imon ceairtiall, & la rluaḡ uí Oíominail don leir náile & ḡabail forrio irín ceuirl éumainḡ iteaconnaḡairi 1 teannta occa nlrceairuib cona baol ina ceumainḡ roaó for eúlaó oo íaíḡeaó an átha tairra tanḡataí ittorae, ina ionnhoiḡeaó naó atha náile oía loch Eirne inḡine buirḡ ḡur an muir mói. O oo maíḡataí an rluaḡ ḡall oía rcoiráb níí bo íáim contuirrlc 7 níí bo mlinnaó iugrat ar an aóhaíḡ rín la huamán 7 cnoílnbair énéoírl cconail, ar ba oírlb lár na ḡallairb ḡur uó hara leóroim an oíoeó ar én laéairi inár aneimeaó oo brieí.

ḡabrat an ḡoírlínóim na hiaírlaóha 7 na maíte acuibriamoi aḡ eiuó a ceomáirle ó uirtoíae oíoeé oía clóaoim ḡo muicóíóoírl marone oía oáiraoim uir eir oo ḡlnoair imon nḡáíraét nanffoírl baol for eir oíóil, conaó fairi oíeírl leo fo óeóiró o no ḡle baníóilrí an láol forrio arḡnaí for imonchaírl ar an maíḡean imbataí oo mullaó ríche aóúa oionnhoiḡeaó na haóann úar uir Eirra Rúair 1 fair nar bo conair coitcheírl oo oáoiníb íráim ḡó rín, aét namá muna oíḡirir euiráó no crenríu tairirín hi tairt íamíairó oo ffríoimáó anlírlc 7 a maóachair, oíeírl ón ar barírl anmáim an ionairirín no ionnhoiḡírlc foríran abáinn eairán na ceuiraó. Ro baol oan nlríe mói oḡa nḡoírlachtoim chuga don chuírlín .i. eirín 7 uaman, ḡur no oíuirlrlc in aoinfeét ina naonbrioin oíuic oíeimmneoaíḡ ḡur an abáinn fo an líóomairi.

fol. 40. a.

¹ *Cassan na ccuradh*.—O'Sullivan translates this semita heroum, the heroes' path. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 203. It is immediately

above the cataract of Assaroe. For a more detailed account of this flight see *Introd.*, p. lxxviii., ante.

were placed by their enemies. There was skirmishing and shooting every day between the cavalry on both sides for the space of the three days that the English force was besieging the castle. 1597.

Many were wounded and hurt on both sides, here and there, during that time ; but yet more of the English force were wounded than of the Irish. Of the nobles among them who were wounded then the best known was O'Connor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge. The English cavalry retired at last on the third day to the camp, and they were mixed up with the foot-soldiers. They separated afterwards from each other, and it was not through love but through fear they separated from each other. When the English saw the bravery and courage of the Irish grow and increase beyond them, as they did not expect, they were greatly grieved for having come on this expedition, on account of those of their heroes whom they left behind round the castle, and at the army of O'Donnell on the other side coming on them in the narrow corner in which they were confined by their enemies, so that it was not in their power to go back towards the ford across which they had come first, or to go by another ford from the Lough of Erne, the daughter of Burg, to the ocean. When the English army reached their camp they did not sleep pleasantly, nor did they pass that night agreeably, through fear and terror of the Cinel Conaill, for the English were certain that it was more likely they should be destroyed all together than come off safe.

The Governor, the Earls, and the nobles of whom we have spoken went to take counsel from the beginning of Wednesday night to the early dawn of Thursday morning as to what they should do in the great danger before them. Wherefore they resolved in the end, when the bright light of the day shone on them, to go forward from where they were, from the hill of Sith Aodha, across the river, up the bank of Assaroe, at the point where the river was not a common passage for people up to that, but only heroes and brave men would cross it in the drought of summer to prove their strength and courage, so that the name of the place where they entered the river was Cassan na ccuradh.¹ There was, besides, a great power urging them on then, *i.e.*, necessity and fear, so that they passed on together in one violent, thick crowd to the river opposite them. The crowd, both front and rear,

Ծութաւորէ ան օրոց Եւ տօրնիչա 7 Եւ Եւրօնիչա զօծ ջոմբած Ին
 Եւրոմիւնօն ան Երլօւց ո՞ր քննօղիչ Իս Գլ ԳԵԱ ՍԵՅԵԱՐ 7 ԳԻՆԵԱՐԻՆՅԱՐԵ ՆԱ
 ԽԱԲԱՆՆ ՔՈՐ ԳԵՍՈՒՆՈ Ե ԳԻ ԻՄԼՅԼԱ 7 ԵՐՈՆՆԻԿԱՐ Ե ՆԱՄԻԱՏ ՎԻԱ ՔՈՇՄԱՐՄ ԻՆ
 ԱՆՈՒՍԻՐՈ. ԲՈ ՔԱՅԻՆԻՐԵ ԱՆՃԱՆՆԱԾԻԱ ՄՈՒՅԻ 7 ԱՆ ՕՐՈՒՆԱՐ 7 ՃԱԸ ՈՒ ԵԱՐԻ ԼԵՈ
 ՆԱ ՄՈ ՇԱՄԱՆՃՐԵՏ ՈՒՈՄՈՇՈՐԻ ԵԻՇԻՐԻ ԵՍՈՅ 7 ՈՂՅ 7 ՃԱԸ ՆԱՐՈՒՆՅԵ ԳԻ ԸՆՆԱ.
 ՉՈ ԵԼԻՄԵՐԱՏ ԻՅՈՄ ԱՆ ՍԵՇԵՄԱՆՆԵ ՔՈՐ ԱՆ ՔԼՅԵՐ ՆԱ ՃԱՐԵԼՆԱՆՆԱՄԻ ՆԱՄ-
 ՄԵՆՈՐԻՆ, Ե ՄՈ ԵԱՐԻ ՉՈ ԵՐԵՐԻ 7 ՉՈ ԵՐԵՆՆԻՄԵ ԽԻ ՔԻՄԵՇ ՆԱ ՔԼՆԱԲԱՆՆ (ԱՄԱԼ
 ՄՈ ԵԱ ԵՐՈՒ) 7 ՉԱՆԼԵԱՐԻՆՅԱՐԵ ՆԱ ՍՐԱՄ ԼԵԻՇ ՍԱՐԵԼԵՄԻՆԵ ՄԱՐ ԸՆՈՒՐԻ
 ԸՈՒՇԻՆՆ ՉՈ ԵՐՈՄԻՆՈՅ 7 ՉԱՆ ՎԵՆԵՐԵ 7 ՉՈ ԱՐՈՒՅԵ ՆԱ ՆՃԱԼԼ ՈՒՅԵԱՐՈ
 ԱՐԵԼԻՄԵԱ ԵԻՇ ՃԱՐԻ ՄՈ ԵԱՐՈՒՇ ԻԼԵ ՎԻԱ ՔԼԼԻԱՐԻՆ ՎԻԱ ՄՈՒԱՐԻՆ ՎԻԱ ՆԵԱՇԱՐԻՆ 7 ՎԻԱ
 ԸՇԱՐԼԻՆ, ՃՈ ՔԱՇՇ ԵՐԼԵԱՆ ԱՆ ԵՐՄՈՇԻԱ Ի ՔԱՐՈՒՄԱՆ ԸԱՐՐԱ ՔԱՐՈՒ ԻԱՇ, 7 ԱՐՐՈՒԸ
 ՔԱՐԻ ՃԱՐ ԱՆ ՄԱՐԻ ՄՈՒՐ. Օ ՄՈ ՔԱՇԱՐԻՐԵ ԼՈՒՇՏ ԱՆ ՉՈՒԱՐՈ ԱՆ ՔԼԱՅ ԱՃ
 ԸԼՈՒՈՒ ՔԱՄԼԱՐՈ, ՃԱԵԱՇՏ ՕՇՇԱ ՆՈՒՈՅՄԱՇՇԱՐՈ ԱՄԱԼ ԳՐ ՎԵՆԵ ԸՈՒՄԱՆՃԱՐԻ.
 ԲՈ ՔԵԱՇՇԱՐՈ ԻՍ ՔՐՈՒՄ ՕՆ ՔՈՐԱՆՆ ՉՈ ՔԱԼԱ ԻՔԵՄԵՐ 7 ՔԱՆԱԸ ՃԱՐ ԱՆ ՄԵՄԱՇ
 ԱԼԼԵԱՐԱՇ, ՄՈ ՃԱԵՐԱՏ ՕՇՇ ՎԵԱԲԱՐՈ ԵԱՐ ԸՆՆ ՆԱ ՍՐԱՄՅԵ ՄՈ ԵԱ ՎԵՐՆԻՇՈՇ, ԸՈ
 ԸՇՈՐ ՔՐԱՄԱՆՆԱ 7 Ե ՔՐՈՇԽԱՐԵՈՒՄԱՆ 7 Ե ՄԱՇԱԼԼԱ ՔՈ ՆԱ ԵՐՈՇԱՐԻՆ ԸՈՒՄ-
 ՔՈՐԸՐԱ ԸՈՄԵԱ ՔԱՄԼԱՇԱ ԼԵՈ ԸՈՐԻ ԵՈ ԽԵ ԸՈՒՄԵԱԸ Ե ԵՐԼԵԱՆ ՆԱ ՆՈՒՆ
 ՆԼՆԱԸՐՈՒԸ ԱՇՇԱԼԱՏՈՐԻ Ե ԽԱՇՇԱՐԻ ԱԵՐՈՐԻ Ե Ե ՔՐՈՒԼԵԻՇԵ ՔՐԱՄԱՄԵՆԻ.
 ԱՆ ԵԱՆ ԵՐԱ ԱՇ ՇԱՒԱԼՈՒ Օ ՉՈՒՆԱԼԼ ՍԱՐԵՄԱՇԸ ՆԱ ՎԵՐԵԱ 7 ՄԱՇԱԼԼԱ ՆԱ
 ԽՈՐՅԻԱԼԵ ԱՇՄԱՇՏ ԳՐ Ե ՔՐԱՐԱԼ ՔՈ ՇԽԵՐԻ, 7 ԱՇՄԱՇՏՐԱՏ ԱՆ ՔԼԱՅ ԳԻ ՇԽՆԱ.
 ԵԼՅԱՐԵ ՄԱ ՇՐԵԼՆԱՐԻՆ ԵՐՈՒՇ ԸՈ ԸՈՒՆՔՆԱՇ, Ե ՉՈ ԸՈՐԼԵՏ ԳՐ ՉՈՇՈՒՄ ՆԱ
 ԽԱԲԱՆՆ ՉՈ ՇԽԱՐԱՇԵԱՆ ՆԱ ՆՃԱԼԼ ԱՄԱԼ ԳՐ ՈՒՆԻՍ ՄՈՆԱՇՏՐԱՏ ՎԻԱ ԱԼԱԼԵ.
 ՈՒ ՇԽԱՐԱՐՈՇ ՃՐԼՄ ՔՈՐՄՈ ՃՈ ՄԵԱՐԻ ՔՈՐՐԱՆ ՄԵՄԱՇ ԳՐԱԼԼ ՎՈՆ ԱԵԱՆՆ.
 ԲՈ ՃՈՒԱՇՏ ՄՈ ԵԱՐՈՒՇ ԻԼՈՄԱՏ ՉՈ ՎԵՐԵԱՐՈ ԱՆ ԵՐԼՈՂՅ, 7 ՈՒ ՈՒՅՅԵՆՐԱՏ ԱՇՏ
 ԵՐՅ ՄԵՐԸ ՎԵ Օ ՉՈ ՔՐԱՏԱՐԻ ԱՆ ՎԱՐԱԼ 7 ԱՆ ԱՐՄՅ, Ե ՔՈՐԻՅ ԻՈՄՅՈՆԱ 7 Ե
 ԼՈՒՇՏ ԸԼՄԵՆՆ 7 ԸԱՐՍԱ. ԲՈՇԱՐԻ ԵԱՐՈՂՅ ԻԱՇՐՈՒԸ ՉՈ ԵՐԵՐՈՒ ԱՆ ԱՆՄՈՆՆ Օ
 ՉՈՒՅՄԱՇՏԻՆ ՍՐՅԵ ՉՈՒԱՆՈՒԵՇՏԱՐԻՅԸ ԼՈՇԻՇՏԱ ԱՆ ՉԱՆԱՐՈ 7 ԵԱՐԱՆ ՔՐԱՇ
 ՆՈՒՄԱՐԻ ՆՈՒՔԵՇՏԱ ԵԱՐԱ ՉԱՐՈՇԱՐԻ ԵՐԵՐԻՐԻ ՃԱՆ ԵԱՐԼԸ ՃԱՆ ԵԱՅՈՒՆ
 ՔԱՄ ՔԵՐՔՐՈՒՄ. ՉՈ ՇԽԱՏ ՎՈՆ Օ ՉՈՒՆԱԼԼ ՄԱ ԼՆՄԱՆ ՎԱՐԱՆ ԱԵԱՆՆ
 ԱՇՏ ՆԱ ՄԱ ՈՒ ԵԱ ՔԱՆ ԸՈՒԱՐԻ ՉՈ ԸՆՃԱՏ.

fol. 40. b.

Օ ՉՈ ՎԵԱՇԱՐՈ ԱՆ ՃՈՒՅԼՈՐԻՐԻ ԸՈՆԱ ՔԼՈՅ ԵԱՐ ԸՐՄԵ ՔԱՄԼԱՐՈ ՔՈ ԸՐՈ Ե
 ՄԱՄԼԵՐԻ ՈՆՈ ՄՆԵԱԼԼ 7 ՈՆ ՕՐԱՇՇԱՐՈ. ՉՈ ՔԱՇՏ Ե ՉԱՄ Ե Ե ՃՐՈՒԸ ՄԱՐԼՈՄԱ

¹ Took.—See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2031.

was so eager, that they were placed in the middle of the army on account of their dread and the difficulty of the river opposite them, and their fear and terror of the enemy pursuing them. They left behind their great guns and the ordnance and everything they had which they could not carry away, both food and drink, and every other necessary too. They then presented their breasts to the passage of that rough, unfrequented torrent, and on account of the strength and power of the current of the river (as was usual with it), and the difficulty of the very smooth surface of the flags as the common passage of the great host, and, moreover, from the weakness and failure of the English from want of a proper supply of food, many of the men, women, steeds, and horses were drowned, and the strength of the stream bore them into the deep part of Assaroe, and thence westwards to the ocean. When the people in the castle saw the army escaping thus they set to shoot at them as fast as they could. They were answered by the party who were in the van, and had reached the bank on the other side. They began to fight in defence of the crowd that was in the rear, so that the noise and report and the echo were heard in the places near, and it seemed to them that it was thunder and the conflict of the heavenly elements which they were hearing from the upper part of the atmosphere and from the depths of the sky. When O'Donnell heard the shooting in the engagement and the echo of the contest, he came from his tent immediately and the forces came too. They went with their weapons of war speedily and set off towards the river to take vengeance on the English as quick as they could, all together. They did not come up with them until they were on the other side of the river. Many of the rear of the army were wounded and drowned, and they set little value on them, as their nobles, leaders, and chiefs of war, their followers and friends had escaped. They were glad to carry away their lives from the straight, deep-wounding shots of the people of the castle, and over the strong, violent stream, over which heroes had never come before them without ruin and death. O'Donnell set out in pursuit of them across the river, but however that was not the way took.¹

When the Governor and his army came across the Erne in this way he put his people in order and array. He placed his oxen and horses used

pén & captað (batapi lár an rluasð vromfulang a loim & a narðilge ap chlna) an grollanpiarð 7 an olr vialpim & gac aln no gonta vob ltoppua 7 moi. Vaoi pcpim cona vrompauð vafplopð cona aipaið 7 cona ogðarð von taoið apail, 7 no la a olr voubpauete poi ambélaib vupplaiðe & vrom-
 çorpmam vapi clm an úapal 7 anapueac cona hsta atpamang na a tpméallao ap a pabur no puiðigic. Apia ao iin no flpuc muntli uí Voinnoil veadarð vochpua puið go no gonta ile ltoppua ve iui 7 anall, 7 go pparicpauete eich & vaoime an lá lupin. Gabait na gail an tuchc iin laim olr pui an mui. Flpici glér fleocharð poyua ilpctam 7 ba hanaiclna a meo. Ro poyigic na poyua vepiðe gopiðo hmbpéctam von loeparð an apim vromluao la harðble an fleacharð. Ba mo aii no la ipiðe poi muntli uí Voinnail olváp poyua gallaib íapi na noietgao úapi no pagapipiot appoyipiaa anapana ionnpotta 7 anallépmanna 7 apioile via nétgao la tinnlnur 7 la tpiçe na togapma vo thapiacéam na nfall. Batapi an vi foçpauoe poi an apapicpim occ an imvoadarð no mairpimoi 7 occ clctapi-
 fol. 41. a. mochtam bofghail apioile go puachtatapi tap Vioðaoip tap Vuib 7 go Mag cclitne. O pobtap pccitliç muntli uí Voinnail von togapim ionpait ma bpucling & apulat na goill via tciçhib po mela 7 aicp. Ac clina pobtop puiðig poybpaolig ap aba an eluða ap na gaitib imbatapi, & m olpupac ac bpiç mbicc via pparpagapipiot ó vo lpmatapi flpim. Nii bó paillarð vúa Voinnail ni no polapicnaiç vópm ammelachtnugao gan plān a mlnman vpagðail poyua & no gao occ mapiçmuçao 7 occ mapi co moi ma tclpmúo uao an tuchc iin. Batapi in Slieceac an avaiç iin, bapfo accclna lupiðe, ap a bapac vavhaiç i mapiçpeli na buille, 7 an tpiç orochc hi tuaiç Acha liacc. In fél eicpcta na hi naom Maie 7 hi coicc vecc Augup ap ao laithe mip gpiene ac pulatapi an plúag iin vapi Samaoip.

O vo puonnapic na maitcpim voblionaið via tciçhip nui vo púanað pãvhal no vocharð Avoh Rúao úa Voinnail cona foçpauoe imbu iplmpa

¹ *Magh Ccetne*.—i.e., the field of compulsion, where the Formorians obliged the Nemedians to pay a tribute of children, cattle, wheat, milk, and butter on the first of November each year. It lies between the rivers Drowes and Erne. See Keating's *H.*

of Ireland, p. 78, and *The Book of Fenagh*, p. 250. This place is often mentioned in *Annals F. M.*

² *Athleague*.—A village on the river Suck, in the N.W. of the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon.

for the wains and carts (which the army had to carry their provisions and their implements also), his attendants and his unarmed people, and every one of those wounded between them and the sea. He was himself with companies of chosen troops, with his soldiers and youths, on the other side. He put his shooters opposite for the defence and protection of the nobles and chiefs, so that they should not be surrounded or circumvented owing to the perfect way in which they were placed. However, O'Donnell's people made a fierce attack on them, so that many among them were wounded on this side and that, and horses and men were left behind that day. The English marched then, keeping the sea on the right. A shower of rain fell on them after that, and the intensity of it was unusual. The men ceased in consequence, for it was dangerous for the soldiers to use their arms on account of the heavy rain. This had a greater effect on O'Donnell's people than on the English on account of their clothing, for they had left behind their cloaks, long stockings, and shoes, and other parts of their dress, owing to their haste and the urgency of the call to take vengeance on the English. The two armies were engaged in this way in the contest of which we have spoken, harming each other until they crossed the Drowes and the Dubh to Magh Ccetne.¹ As O'Donnell's people were tired by the pursuit they turned back, and the English escaped to their homes with sorrow and confusion. But yet they were pleased and glad on account of their escape from the straits in which they were, and they made but little account of those whom they left behind since they themselves escaped. It was not so with O'Donnell; their joy was not pleasing to him, since his mind was not satisfied that they had got away, and he proceeded to lament and reflect very much at their escape from him on that occasion. They stayed in Sligo that night; that was their first journey; on the night of the next day, at the monastery of Boyle; on the third night in the district of Athleague.² On the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the 15th of August, according to the solar month,³ the army crossed the Saimer.

When the nobles on both sides had gone to their homes, O'Donnell and his forces did not pass idly or slothfully what was before them of the

³ *Solar Month*.—See *The Book of Rights*, p. xlviii.

oon foghmairin úairi zach tan no éomhaítló lighnóáil no anffoilonn
o ghalluib fori úa Néill (Doó mac Fhoghacha) no fáoiúeáó liri 7 teeta
co húa nDomhnail deccaóine a eptúalaing ffori oia aíl 7 oia athelhuingeaó
im thocht oia choðairi 7 oia chompoitachit an tan na pagðavairi gail a
baoghal buðeín 7 na leigeaó an oman voib bié occ forpian fairi. Ba
voiríó vichumaing vo nach naon naile na harparia eiripéiana na fluaighit
riublaða 7 na veabða vuirge nó fíearclaó hi coicceó náiella ina éir
buðeoin 7 gáé tan no éirgeaó i tíri nEoghain hi toiméin uí Néill. Niri bo
cian báoi úa Domhnail írfor íairi niméet an éoiréimóia 7 na nlaílaó amáil
io peimairneiríom an tan tangetoiteéta uí Néill vo fáirgeaó uí Domhnail
oia airneir óó combui an lurtir (Tomar loio boiough) & laíla chille
Daria (Henri mac Shioit) co roémaroe gail fíri mío 7 laígh occ tocht
co tíri Eoghain airi tairiaing 7 airi tioncoirg Toimíreálbaig mic Eirí na
fol.41.b. ngairéaó mic Felim Ruair uí Néill, 7 io fáoió chucca tocht co lion a
thionoil oia coðairi 7 oia nlaílaó in aghaó a namátt & io éirgeaíl beóir
cecip tan naile vo iucefeáó úa Domhnail a lír toét oia éomfupiaét co
tiréaóroim ina toiméin éirí límaoáó gan iomfupiaéá.

O io lílíg úa Domhnail na liri, io foréongairi fori a toichlítal
tionól ar gáé airí ina vochoim ró éltóirí, úairi niri bo láinn lair úa Néill
vo bié iríi eiríi imbui gan alábágha vo éabairt liri. Veiréirí ón airi niri
uó coimveó co io chin oia cenél aiaon oiaí laíairi oile & laíairi éocha
airi oile olóatt an va dóóirí batari coúnaig, 7 batari flata fori a cenéluib
an tairíi. Vo éolt íairíom o Domhnail i tairiatte co harim ambaoi ó Néill
con voioima moiri oia máicfluaig 7 oia míleaóuib imairíi ffori 7 airíle voib
ina línnáin airi io io airíiríom ina noigé ffori la tinníhuir airi uaman na
nGalí vo tairéet i tíri nEoghain éirí iua ríu tiréaórom gur an maigín iuaíbe
úa Néill.

Óala an lurtir 7 na nGalí ariubriamoiri tangetairíre co fluaig lánníoi
lionmairi leiríonóitae go voioichit átha, airíre co tairígbaile go

¹ *E. of Kildare*.—This was Henry, twelfth Earl, called by the Irish na dtuagh, i.e., of the battle-axes. O'Neill urged him to renounce all allegiance to the English Crown and to join with the Irish. His second daughter, Brigid, married Rory

O'Donnell, brother of Hugh Roe. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 238o.

² *Men of Meath*.—O'Sullivan says one of the Barnwalls commanded the forces of Meath. He detached a party under the command of his son to attack Tyrrell, one

harvest, for whenever any oppression or violence was threatened by the English against O'Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdoragh), he sent letters and messengers to O'Donnell to complain of his sufferings to him, and to ask and beseech him to come to his aid and assistance when the English did not strive to harm himself and fear did not allow them to oppress him. The long journeys, and swift hostings, and difficult skirmishings which he carried on in the province of Oilíoll and in his own territory and each time he went into Tir Eoghain to the assistance of O'Neill, were painful and hard to every one else. O'Donnell was not long at rest after the departure of the Governor and of the Earls, as we have related, when messengers came from O'Neill to O'Donnell to tell him that the Lord Justice (Thomas Lord Borough) and the Earl of Kildare¹ (Henry, son of Gerald), with the forces of the English and the men of Meath² and Leinster, were coming to Tir Eoghain at the instigation and by the advice of Turlough, son of Henry na ngarthadh,³ son of Phelim Roe O'Neill, and he sent to him to come with all his forces to aid and strengthen him against his enemies, and he promised besides that whenever O'Donnell would require him to come to his aid he would come to help him without hesitation or delay.

When O'Donnell read the letter he ordered his whole force to assemble from every place to him immediately, for it was not agreeable to him that O'Neill should be in such straits without giving him help. This was natural, for it was not usual that two such flames of mutual love and of affection should spring together from their stock as these two Hughs, who were lords and princes over their tribes at that time. O'Donnell went soon afterwards to where O'Neill was with a large body of his horse and of his foot-soldiers, and others of them followed, for he did not delay in his journey for them in his haste, fearing lest the English army might come to Tir Eoghain before he reached the place where O'Neill was.

As for the Lord Justice and the English of whom we have spoken, they came with a very large, powerful, numerous army to Drogheda, from

of the Anglo-Irish of Leinster, who was friendly to O'Neill. Young Barnwall was captured, and a great part of his forces slain. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 184.

³ *T. Mac Henry na ngarthadh.*—i.e., of the cries. See p. 31, antea. Owing to his guidance the Lord Justice crossed the river in safety. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2023.

fol. 42. a.

mother's house in Drogheda.' *The Earls of Kildare*, by the M. of Kildare, p. 234, and *Addenda*, p. 316. His mother was Mabel, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown.

that to Stradbally and to Armagh, and they did no stop till they came to the bank of the Blackwater. O'Neill and O'Donnell went with their forces to meet them there. It was not easy to attack the den of a lion and the nest of a griffin when face to face with them. The Lord Justice and his army halted and encamped close to the river, for he was sure it would not be easy for him or for his army to advance against them farther. The reception which the Lord Justice and his people met with from the armies of O'Neill and O'Donnell while defending their territory and lands against them was bloody, sharp, wounding, maiming, quick-shooting. Never before or after did they do anything heroic while defending their native land from their enemies to be compared with what they ought to do if they knew then the many evils that came on them afterwards, which it would be too tedious to relate now. However, neither the calm of delight nor the sleep of repose was allowed to come or abide with them day or night without attack and shooting at them continually by the Irish, so that numbers of their noble, magnanimous horsemen, of their destructive, impetuous youths, and of their beautiful foreign horses were killed and destroyed.

One day while they were thus engaged, a great desire seized on the Lord Justice to go to the summit of the hill that was near to view and survey the country all round, and it were better for him if he had not gone on that business he went on, for some of the Irish soldiers came face to face with him there, and they made a hard, fierce onset and a daring attack on the Lord Justice and on the Earl of Kildare and the nobles who were with him, so that the chief officer of the army was slain there, together with a large number of the captains and gentlemen whose names are not remembered or recorded, besides the common soldiers who were killed. The brother of the Lord Justice's wife too was slain. Some of the people of the Earl of Kildare also were slain, and the Earl himself was wounded. Even the Lord Justice himself did not escape without being wounded from that encounter. With all their valour and perseverance they were driven to the camp, and if it had not been near them, those of them who fled would not have returned alive. It was necessary for the Earl of Kildare to take leave of the Lord Justice, as he was wounded, and to return home. And when he reached Drogheda he died¹ in that town of the poison and the

Rugaó a coirp oia thair-benaó da thairuib co cill daria, 7 mo haonaét Leo e inothairiúge a íln 7 a ínniúí 50 nonoiri 7 50 naínniúttin aínail mo baó oíori.

fol. 42. b. Dala an Iurair mo rai ina ínnéilng aia bairac 50 manacc 50 hAíromacha, 7 ba fori imochori in áriac nō hi cairpat baori a coirp oga thairiurib 7 oga rannmuntí an lárín. Rugaó íarittain co hiubairi cinto triagha 7 acbail annuim oia gónaib. Iompait an íluağ gall oia ttiğib fo mela 7 aithur anílarió rín. Ro ttiualípat cenél Conaill 7 Eoghain roaó oia nóúnaib 7 oia mbailtaib bunarió 50 íuba 7 co íomílnmain íaríran ecorzari rín. Tíomnair úa Dóimnaill celeabíarú oia Néill 7 íob aóllírec la ceétari nae oíob íeariaó rín arioile. Ba íosa la húa nDóimnaill batari góill coisíó náilella íramhe gan ammuir íoríio 7 íoríran luche mo nínaiírec accuia ííuú fo óeóíó & vo íoine amuntíliar ííuríom íari na ttiégaó a ttoracé. Ba oíbíróe ó Concobairi Rúao (Aeoh mac Toiríróealbaiğ Ruarió). Ba miorcari la húa nDóimnaill eiríróe ó mo íímaróm a muntíliar ííur na gallaib gíribó caia oó íeacht íamh. Baoríom oga íecíuroaó ionnuir no oirígeaó áííuoch. Ba oíuiliğ em eiríróe úari ba hinniú íomóoíarió an mííroac imbuí an tía Concobairi hírin, & ba gáííoccur vo aírím ílariíóh a innile 7 a ííaoíne ari élna ari íomgabail a eecíar muna tíoríta gan íacúgaó íari. Ro ttiégaúll ó Ruairíe oóíom náe ar íielígeó ó Dóimnaill oia oirígan gan íabao 7 aírííeéct úaóaróm oó. Ar íariíe oeríó la húa nDóimnaill a ílóğ vo teglomaó 7 vol írin coiccló. Vo choiró oin 50 mo aírur ííu gílnn nóallain oíariíóí. Gabair longíoríe ííuríou. Baíó munnbeac vo íacít im ó Ruairíe oíur an oirígeaó íorí ó Concobairi tairur. Íoróir teécta chuga oia tochuíreao ina oáil gíur an longíoríe & oia íáo íur toéct ina oóéum aia bairac gan náe íomííuieac íttíur. Na Ruairíe ímmoríio íí mo íaoílíróe aínlaró rín oéíac an longíuríe oia Dóimnaill 50 ttiíreaoíom éuga. Baíeó aíríeag menman aíríuocht la húa nDóimnaill íari ecorí a teétaó vo toéuieao uí Ruairíe. Íorííagáib a longíoríe íari ííomííoón laoi & oíur íielcee oíaríran Slígech buó ólí, 7 íí mo aírur co íamíce 50 coíííííííab na Slígha. Ro gáb íoríur bíuce hííuríe gíur mo tochaiéííe a

¹ Tomb.—He was buried in St. Brigid's church. *The Earls of Kildare*, p. 235. The family burial-place at Kildare was rather the Franciscan monastery, since the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Earls were buried there.

² He died.—The accounts differ as to the cause of his death. Moryson says he fell sick in the course of the second expedition which he made to relieve the Blackwater Fort. *Rebellion*, &c., p. 21.

soreness of the wound. His body was taken to Kildare to be shown to his friends, and was buried by them in the tomb¹ of his predecessors and ancestors with the honour and respect that were meet.

As for the Lord Justice, he set off on his return the next day and he reached Armagh, and he was carried on a litter or in a carriage by his faithful followers and his own people that day. He was carried after that to Iubhar Cinn Tragha, and he died² there of his wounds. The English army returned home with grief and shame in this way. The Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain set off to return to their family strongholds and castles cheerfully and gladly after that victory. O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill, and it was very painful to both of them to part from each other. Hugh O'Donnell thought it long that the English of the province of Oilioll were at rest without any attack being made on them and on the people who had entered into friendship with them in the end, and had contracted friendship with him after separating from them at first. Of these was O'Connor Roe, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe. O'Donnell had a dislike to him since he entered into friendship with the English, though being his friend some time before. He reflected how he might ravage his country. This was difficult, since the dwelling of that O'Connor was very safe and hard to reach, and very near a place where he might put his cattle and treasures also beyond the reach of his enemies unless they came on him unawares. O'Rourke had promised him that he would not allow O'Donnell to plunder him without notice and help from him. Wherefore O'Donnell resolved to collect his army and to go into the province. He went on, therefore, until he halted to the south-west of Glendallan. He encamped there. This was the deception he practised on O'Rourke, in order to plunder O'Connor. He sent messengers to him to invite him to a meeting at the camp, and to tell him to come to him the next day without any delay whatever. Meantime O'Rourke did not think O'Donnell would leave the camp there until he would come to him. This was the plan adopted by O'Donnell after sending his messenger to invite O'Rourke. He left his camp after the middle of the day and went across the Sligeach, southwards, and he did not halt till he came to Corrsliabh of the Seghais. He made a short halt there, so that his soldiers might take some refresh-

[illegible][illegible]

² *Alliance*.—It lasted but a short time, for O'Rourke was on the side of the Irish

at the battle of the Curlews and took part in the forays made by O'Donnell into Thomond, Meath, and other places held by the English or their friends. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2035 and 2103.

ment and get rid of their fatigue, and not cross the mountain of the Seghais, southwards, in the full light of day. When darkness prevailed in the beginning of the night over the light of day while they were resting, they went forward through the mountain, over the Seghais, through Moylurg of the Daghdha, and the level part of Magh Aoi before morning. They sent their marauding parties in the twilight to scatter over the wastes and remote parts of the territory, and they did not leave a single beast from Ath Slisean to Slieve Baune.¹ They returned after that in triumph with plentiful spoils, as was usual with them. O'Rourke was ashamed that the preying should have taken place without his knowledge. No less was the chagrin and confusion of the Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, for the plundering of the country which was under his protection without fighting for it, for it was his special care, and he was anxious to go in pursuit of O'Donnell if fear allowed him.

1597.

When O'Donnell and his army came home they rested in merriment and pleasure during the winter time, hearing of the province of Meadhbh. No important fact was heard of between them during that time except that O'Rourke entered into a friendship with the Governor aforesaid, Sir Conyers, on account of the plundering of which we have spoken and the rivalry and jealousy of his own brother, Tadhg O'Rourke, for there was no accord between them on account of the division of their patrimony and territory, though they were the children of one father.

1598, the seventh year.

The time when O'Rourke made his alliance² with the Governor was at the end of January, 1598. O'Donnell was not pleased at hearing the news, for the family to which O'Rourke belonged were friends of his ancestors for a long time, and he was himself his relative. Wherefore for these reasons he was not eager to attack him or to prey his country like others, and he knew that would be necessary unless he returned to the confederacy of the Irish, for his friendship was withdrawn from every one who made friendship with the English. He proceeded to beg and entreat him, secretly at first, to return, and then to threaten and menace him for remaining in the condition in which he was. O'Rourke continued to listen to him to the

iml̃gl̃aó amh̃r̃óe im̃l̃ó a éir̃e ot éonh̃aig̃e naí bo t̃r̃l̃r̃i na f̃oill̃ ol̃t̃at̃ na f̃or̃óeal̃, 7 aif̃o do ioiñe t̃éet̃ fo f̃aig̃im̃ uí Doim̃naill̃, 7 m̃ iú afaig̃ f̃uig̃ do oíh̃aí, 7 do b̃l̃ic̃ a oígh̃uair̃ ñoo aif̃ail̃ iú ch̃uinñogh̃ f̃air̃i.

fol. 43. b.

Tuig̃t̃éet̃a uí Néill̃ f̃l̃eal̃ naile, bat̃ar̃i uig̃m̃íe aóeab̃t̃ha 7 a uoñoig̃ne f̃oir̃r̃na uañaig̃aib̃ f̃uig̃ iú oir̃t̃uig̃toir̃i il̃iom̃at̃ oía naif̃aib̃ 7 oía t̃toir̃each̃aib̃ iom̃gh̃ona. Ro m̃uig̃i na t̃uátha bat̃ar̃i óga t̃t̃uig̃h̃aí & fo am̃am̃uig̃ co iú c̃uad̃f̃air̃t̃air̃i na c̃uocha f̃uig̃ an m̃b̃oig̃m̃ aóúar̃ f̃o t̃r̃aig̃m̃baile geñ m̃oóat̃ na oúme 7 na óaig̃l̃h̃eal̃t̃eoir̃i h̃i t̃t̃ar̃t̃t̃ar̃at̃ a laeap̃aó 7 a laeígaile 1 f̃f̃oir̃baire f̃oir̃i ch̃enél̃ ñeoíam̃ 7 f̃oir̃i r̃na h̃aig̃uig̃alla do iála f̃uig̃a t̃toeb̃. M̃i uiañoic̃leir̃ eim̃ na oia neir̃óbaó na t̃ar̃t̃rom̃ na com̃p̃aíha h̃ir̃m̃ f̃oir̃i aig̃o com̃p̃aíha 7 f̃uoñíuáa na ñgaor̃óeal̃ aig̃i ch̃l̃íha, 7 m̃i f̃oir̃oal̃ na iom̃p̃oll̃ iú baor̃i f̃oir̃m̃ iua f̃f̃oir̃aich̃m̃l̃e, aét̃ aig̃i óaig̃ na baor̃i eóaig̃ f̃uoññ a f̃f̃ir̃t̃h̃ie f̃oir̃et̃he f̃eal̃mac̃acha an oll̃aíam̃ 7 an aig̃uig̃ beor̃, 7 na heper̃t̃air̃i c̃oir̃i bo h̃úail̃ 7 iom̃t̃ol̃ta 7 maor̃óuig̃e f̃oir̃uair̃i uoññ uol̃ f̃oir̃i a m̃bel̃aib̃íom̃ñ do iúim̃t̃uig̃l̃m̃ t̃r̃l̃r̃i 7 tochar̃i aet̃uad̃ aet̃aóir̃ig̃ 7 a t̃t̃r̃eñm̃uig̃each̃. Aig̃i aill̃ aññ uia aet̃ beir̃t̃air̃i ba do t̃ar̃ic̃uig̃al̃ 7 do t̃haéaóir̃i añ eec̃r̃i iú f̃uoñt̃e. Aig̃aóir̃i aig̃i aig̃uig̃f̃eam̃ añ m̃b̃l̃f̃ra uair̃ic̃cel̃aó na h̃eoíam̃ c̃loim̃ne uair̃t̃l̃ic̃ugaó aig̃f̃l̃r̃ó .i. caé añ aet̃ha buir̃e ó iú éur̃oig̃l̃e cenél̃ Coñaí. Aig̃i m̃ne f̃oir̃i c̃ol̃m̃ñagaí eir̃íoe.

Do iála poir̃t̃ f̃ab̃ala oec̃ na f̃all̃aib̃ f̃oir̃i ab̃aíam̃ m̃óir̃i f̃uig̃ añ Mach̃a a t̃uáir̃ 7 ba m̃i ioñbaíur̃ iúoíha 7 c̃ol̃ñcom̃p̃aíe com̃ioir̃uig̃ c̃et̃uig̃, 7 iú cum̃-uáig̃eal̃ añ uair̃a f̃eac̃t̃ l̃áir̃ añ t̃uig̃t̃ir̃ Tom̃aig̃ loir̃o buig̃uogh̃ f̃uig̃ f̃oñm̃óim̃ añ c̃oic̃aíur̃, f̃uig̃ bo m̃uig̃i uir̃eoílaíoe uaiñgh̃ñ c̃uad̃ 7 t̃uig̃ t̃uig̃a f̃oir̃i a t̃aib̃l̃ib̃ iua c̃euaig̃e f̃oir̃r̃a m̃bat̃ar̃i f̃eneir̃t̃ia 7 f̃oir̃l̃eíra f̃uig̃ uair̃b̃iugaó eir̃t̃ib̃. Fo ch̃l̃ic̃at̃ na f̃aill̃ t̃uig̃i c̃eo laeoh̃ do iúoig̃m̃ñ a lae ñgoir̃e iúir̃i poir̃t̃ uir̃oib̃air̃i f̃oir̃i c̃enél̃ ñeoíam̃. Ro ch̃uig̃i uoñ ó Néill̃ añ com̃l̃ioñ c̃l̃ona f̃uig̃ añuoh̃t̃ aig̃i na t̃ir̃t̃air̃i uioñoíuáa na t̃t̃uad̃ f̃oir̃i nach̃ leir̃ iua t̃t̃im̃óeal̃l̃. F̃éet̃ naile do óeach̃aíur̃ o Doim̃naill̃ 1 t̃toir̃uig̃im̃ uí Néill̃ ó iú f̃ir̃l̃r̃i añ eec̃l̃ñoal̃

¹ *Bosfin*.—Inis bo finne, *i.e.*, the island of the white cow. There are several islands of this name off the Irish coast, and one in Lough Ree, above Athlone. The one referred to here is probably that off the coast of Donegal, a little to the south of Tory.

² *Oirghialla*.—The descendants of the three Collas. See p. xxix., antea. These

and the Cinel Eoghain come from a common ancestor, Cairbre Liffechair. See *The Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 9, 139.

³ *The Yellow Ford*.—Properly *Beul atha buidhe*, *i.e.*, the mouth of the yellow ford. The name is now applied to a marsh or cutaway bog in the townland of Cabragh, about two miles north of Armagh.

beginning of summer. He feared very much at that time the preying of his territory, for he saw that the English were not stronger than the Irish, and what he did was to come at the call of O'Donnell and do what he asked, and to make him such submission as he demanded from him. 1598.

As to O'Neill again, so numerous were his skirmishes and preyings on the English that he slew many of their soldiers and leaders of battle. He preyed the districts that were supporting them and under their power, so that he wasted the territories from Boffin¹ in the north to Stradbally, beside the fortresses and the strong castles which their soldiers and best men held to keep down the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain and the Oirghialla² who happened to be near them. It is not to conceal or blot them out that we have not brought to light these great deeds and exploits, the great deeds and exploits of the Irish in general, and it is not through error or mistake in remembering them, but lest their educated doctors, their ollamhs, and their learned men also should be jealous of us and say that it was pride, presumption, and vanity that caused us to supersede them in relating the battles and skirmishes of their princes, leaders, and heroes, and also lest they should assert it was through contempt for their learned men that it was done. However, I will relate this little of the history of the Clann Eoghain as a subject for their poets, *i.e.*, the battle of the Yellow Ford,³ since the Cinel Conaill took part in it. It was thus it happened :

The English had a fortress to the north of Armagh, on the Blackwater. It was first erected⁴ in a time of peace and amity, and it was built a second time by the Lord Justice, Thomas Lord Borough, in expectation of the war, so that there was a strong impregnable earthen rampart, and war-towers on the battlements all round, in which were windows and loopholes to shoot out of. The English placed three hundred of their choice warriors in the fortress to hold it against the Cinel Conaill. O'Neill, too, placed the same number opposite them, that they might not come to prey the country anywhere around him. Later O'Donnell came to aid O'Neill

⁴ *Erected*.—Sidney in the 'Memoir of his Government,' says: 'I builded a tower for the gard of the bridge over the great ryver

called the Great or Black Water, in Tyrone; the bridge being builded by the Earl of Essex.' *Ulster J. of Arch.*, viii. 195.

imboi. Ro acaoin na Néill a imneadh fúir fo dháig an fúirte meirice 7 at bfuir fúir bo reit lair beir occa fúirceimheo do fúir amáil no bioo do fúir.

fol. 44. a.

At bfuir ó Domhnall ba cora comóir ammuir do éabhairt fairi via triarceirad 7 via cori vair cfino ma connioirair oboar na tuatha do lot 7 oirneadh ar a loir, 7 nair bo fúirceing vona cūmaoib beir hi caiféir cūmaoib. Ro aontadh ó Néill fúir an aiféir. Fúirceingairat oibneib fúir a muirteir fúirair an fúirte. Do bfuir iairm ammuir calma fairi amáil no hfuir fúir. Ro fúir no mairbadh vponing móir úairib, & ni triarairre ní de. Ro vfuirre fúir iairm & triarair via triarib. Baor ó Néill ag correir fúir iairtair co no fúirair a loirte de maó bfuir. O no aiféir iairm fúirair no fúir longfúir fúir ambelair fúir 7 an Mhacha na triar fúir naile oia fúirair ar eirceirair fúirair imbair. O no fúir von triar & von comair a mfuirceing fúir bioo 7 fúirair fúir oia Néill amáil von fúir, triarairre fúirair móir do fúirair fúir combair cōig mile eirir triarair 7 mairbadh do oibair aiféir eirirre cona cōingair teirra va fúir ni ba triarair.

Do maia Henri Beging hi triarairre fúir. Ritair aiféir imreirair eirirre & ba von triarair fúir. Iobair cōir choirre mic Neirair aiféir. O no fúir ó Néill iairm do eirir fúir a teirra do eirirair uí Domhnall fúirair batair fúir na fúir.

Ticair co leirair a loirair eirir triarairre 7 mairair 7 ar aiféir do correir olneirair ina fúirair. Triarair triarair correir Concoirair iirir triarair co eirirair. O iobair fúirre eirir na fúir vuir nangair fo eirirair accōna huirre co vfuirre aiféir, aiféir co triarairre vuirre Deirair, iirir von iobair & fo hfuirair. Fúirair iirir co fúirair aiféir. Fo fúirair na fúirair von leir airair i comfóirair oib eirir 7 an fúir meirice. Fúirair occ fúirair 7 occ fúirair fúir ar oirre, 7 at triarair 7 ag baiféirair. O no ba fúirair lár na fúirair fúirair a muirre, triarair imreir do ló 7

fol. 44. b.

¹ *Nothing*. — O'Sullivan attributes the failure of the attack to the fact that the garrison, having learned that the besieging party were preparing numerous scaling-ladders, made the fosse round the castle

deeper. When O'Neill's men applied them to the walls they were found to be too short. He gives the number of the assailants slain as one hundred and twenty. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 188.

when he knew the straits in which he was. O'Neill complained to him of his hardships in consequence of the said fortress, and declared he was tired of being on the watch continually, as he always was.

O'Donnell said it would be far better to attack it, in order to pull it down and destroy it if they could, than that the districts should be injured and preyed by its means, and that it was not easy for the soldiers to be watching it for a long time. O'Neill agreed with that opinion. Both of them ordered their people to attack the fortress. Afterwards they made a fierce attack on it as they were bidden. A great number of them were wounded and killed, and they gained nothing¹ thereby. Then they retired from it and went to their homes. O'Neill heard after a while that they had consumed nearly all their provisions. When he found that they were in this condition he encamped opposite them, between them and Armagh, that no other force might come to relieve them from the pressing danger in which they were. When it became known to the Senate and Council that they were without food, and that O'Neill was about to attack them, as he was, they assembled a large body of the best soldiers of the English, so that they were five thousand horse and foot soldiers, with arms and armour, with regular supplies of everything that was needed.

Henry Bagnal² was given the command of them. He was a famous, daring knight, and one of the Council too. Iobhar³ Cinn choiche mic Nectainn was his dwelling. When O'Neill learned they were assembling he sent his messengers to invite O'Donnell, before the English were ready.

He came with a great body of his forces, both horse and foot, and some of the province of Olneccmacht also. The Irish of the province of Conor came very readily to that hosting. When the English were ready and prepared they went the first day's march to Drogheda, from that to Stradbally of Dundalk, after that to Newry and Armagh. They remained there till they got rid of their fatigue. The Irish on the other side came near them, between them and the aforesaid fortress. They proceeded to watch and prepare against each other, and to threaten and bluster. When it seemed to the English full time to assist their people they rose up at

² *Bagnal*.—See Intro., p. lv.

³ *Iobhar*.—i.e., Newry, which has its name from the yew planted by St. Patrick at the

head of the strand. The above is the more ancient name. See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 276.

-ḡabait oḡa neittuḡaó vionaraiḡ examaiḡ iḡinaróe 7 vo chaḡbairiaiḡ
ciomurairóa comḡolurta 7 vo raiathaiḡ allmaróa víairann imḡuḡin
aithlḡḡta.

Ro ḡabrat a rḡlḡha rḡinnlḡchna rḡmannchruaióe arḡnóaó & a mbíála
belḡoḡa blaiḡlḡḡiannacha 7 accloiróme vḡiḡe veḡoebruiacha 7 a lanna
lanḡoḡa lḡḡḡaróabaiḡ 7 a nḡunnaróha ḡuḡairóa ḡrianaoibḡleacha coiḡ bo hin-
reacḡtain via naiḡlḡnaó anḡairḡna muna aithlḡta iat foiḡ an lḡilabḡia lár
an leibḡlḡn raiacḡ 7 caihbarḡi 7 eittḡiḡ iḡo baiḡ foiḡaiḡ via neḡtaiḡ aḡ vicleiḡ
7 viamluḡaó anaiḡḡeaó 7 an eimeacḡ 7 la hiliomat a narim aiḡ élna via
ccomḡolach. ḡabaitt anaiḡuḡ chatha 7 a rḡoḡirḡiḡ iomḡona arḡ a haitḡle occ
ruióiuḡaó na laeḡairóe 7 na laḡ nḡaile ma mionatḡaiḡ lḡróalta combataḡi a
rḡraiḡḡeaḡ na rḡi loiceaiḡ vḡuim aiḡ vḡuim in vḡohaiḡ aiḡ oile. Fochlḡi-
rat a lointe 7 an aḡóilḡe aiḡ élna imḡóón lḡoḡia

Vo mionrat eirḡóa catha via marḡḡluḡ ina rḡiethburóinḡ ruióighḡe via
noibḡ-leithibḡ. Ro lapat ealḡaóa ána uttmalla via namḡaiḡ eḡḡioma 7 via
naró vḡoibḡiaḡi allamuiḡ via marḡacáibḡ via nuḡḡelairóe 7 imḡḡail. Nḡi
bo hḡiura éinḡ turóeḡ rḡóeḡaromh imaróln ḡoran tuiniḡe rḡaiḡuḡmeḡ
imbataḡi atḡḡeoin 7 atḡoiḡiḡ a ccuḡḡlḡóa catha 7 anaiḡuḡiḡ iorḡaile, 7 via
rḡḡḡa itḡiḡ nḡi bó rḡóainḡ raiḡeaó foiḡran nḡḡ nḡḡiḡe 7 foiḡran rḡoḡla
leomáin imbataḡi loechaiḡó lunoan la halḡmaróacḡ 7 ionḡnaiḡḡhu anarim
7 an eittḡiḡ 7 an innill 7 la anolairóacḡ 7 la anaróble raiḡerin, úaiḡ in
éalla foiḡ mḡnmain 7 nḡḡa iccuimne la rḡuithibḡ rḡnoḡroa ná la rḡḡaiḡiḡ iḡe
rḡoḡa coiḡ rḡḡlaimḡḡe rḡi Saxon raiḡail an rḡluaiḡ hi rḡin vo chaḡ rḡi
ḡaróelaiḡ ó iḡo mḡraiḡḡe cḡḡur an mḡi rḡuḡio. Ro ḡabrat oc mallar-
cnaibḡ na conaiḡe rḡon ionnur rḡin a ccomḡóail na nḡoliróeal. Tiaḡhaiḡrḡóe
ina rḡrealmáibḡ rḡiḡoḡa ḡo tinnlḡnach rḡo an lḡichoiḡaiḡ. Ba raiḡ inneall 7
éccorḡ vḡoibḡrḡe aiḡ mḡbtaḡi eiróighḡe na ḡaróil rḡo amonnrḡailaróḡiḡm aḡḡ
maó blḡ, & iḡobtaḡi viaḡim inaitḡeḡaó na nḡall aḡḡ na má iḡo batoiḡ a
rḡolairḡnaró vo rḡlḡḡaiḡ rḡinnlḡḡnaiḡ 7 vo laighmibḡ leathanḡlara leo cona
vḡóelḡraiḡ vḡainḡne vḡaḡuimḡiḡonn inntibḡ. Ro bataiḡ leo clóiróme vḡiḡe ve-
ḡoebruiacha 7 tuḡaḡa tana taróleacha rḡi rḡaiḡccaiḡe rḡiemḡḡi, in rḡabatoḡi
rḡearcca naró ecclonna rḡuḡio rḡeb baiḡ foiḡ biaiḡibḡ na nḡall.

fol. 45. a.

¹ *Spears*.—For a detailed account of the implements of war used by the Irish in

ancient times, see O'Curry's *Manners, &c.*, i. cccxxx, and ii. 229.

the dawn of day and proceeded to clothe themselves with strange armour of iron, and high-crested, shining helmets, and foreign shields of well tempered, refined iron.

They seized their broad-shouldered, firmly rivetted spears, their wide-edged axes, smooth and bright, and their straight sharp-edged swords, and their long-bladed, broad-edged claymores, and their loud-voiced shot-firing guns, so that it would be very hard to recognise their leaders if they were not known by their speech, owing to the size of the shields, helmets, and armour on them, concealing and covering their features and their faces, and to the quality of arms also concealing them. Their captains of battle and chiefs of combat proceeded then to place the soldiers and champions in fit array, so that the foot were in three bodies, back to back, behind each other. They placed their provisions and supplies also in the middle between them.

They made battle-wings of their cavalry in dense bodies placed on both flanks. They put active bodies of their light soldiers and of their marksmen outside the cavalry to defend and protect them. In truth it was not easy to go through them together to the secure position where their champions and chiefs, their heroes in battle, and leaders in the fight were, and if one did at all go through, it was not easy to attack the nest of griffins and the lion's den in which the soldiers of London were, owing to the outlandish and strange weapons and armour, and the variety and vast number of themselves, for it did not enter the mind or occur to the memory of learned men nor to the old for a long time past that the English had assembled a host like that to fight against the Irish since first they took the island from them. They proceeded to march slowly along the road in that way to meet the Irish. These advanced with their war-weapons very quickly to oppose them. The weapons and dress of these were different, for the Irish did not wear armour like them, except a few, and they were unarmed in comparison with the English, but yet they had plenty of broad-shouldered darts and broad, green spears¹ with strong handles of good ash. They had straight keen swords and light shining axes for defeating the champions, but there were neither rings nor chains on them, as there were on the axes of the English.

[illegible][illegible]

Faé oile uua ina mo eimís aicclneta na nós. Ac coaradair uoir co mo
 tiopichan naoini bñichán faid Dé co ttiobairta ead an uú rin fori Ghalllaib
 Dublinne la hofo ó néill 7 lár an coicead ar éina úair mo éingeall co

¹ *Morann*.—He lived in the beginning of our era. He was celebrated for his love of justice. He had a ring which being put on anybody's neck would not suffer him to utter a word save the truth. See *Ogygia*, p. 190, and O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 21.

² *Property from others*.—The allusion is to the practice of the Irish settling by force

in other places when driven from their own territory either by the English or by other Irish clans.

³ 3500.—*Annals F. M.*, i. 25.

⁴ *Hy Eachdach*.—This tribe inhabited the baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh, of which the Magennisses were chiefs for many centuries. *The Book of Rights*, p. 165, n.

The implements for shooting which they had were darts made of wood and elastic bows, with sharp-pointed arrows, and lock-guns, as was usual with the English. O'Neill and O'Donnell proceeded to harangue the champions, and exhort the soldiers, and instruct the heroes, and this was what they said to them: 'Brave men,' said they, 'be not dismayed or frightened by the English on account of their strange weapons, their unusual armour and arms, and the thundering sound of their trumpets and tabours and war-instruments, and of their own great numbers, for it is absolutely certain that they shall be defeated over this day's fight. Of this, in truth, we are convinced, for you are on the side of truth and the others on the side of falsehood, confining you in prisons and beheading you, in order to rob you of your patrimonies. Moreover, we are quite sure that this day will distinguish between truth and falsehood, as Morann,¹ son of Maen, said in the well known proverb: "There has not been found, nor will there be found, a more truthful judge than the battlefield." We have heard this from our poets, and they have long since taught it to us. Besides, it is easier for you to defend your fatherland against a foreign race of strangers than to wrest their property from others² after being driven from your own lands, which have been in your possession from the year 3500³ of the age of the world to this day.'

The nobles and chiefs said that what their princes asserted was true. The address which they made to the brave men produced an effect on them, for the minds of the heroes and the courage of the soldiers were roused, so that fury, and vigour, and a great desire to use their arms filled the Cinel Conaill, the Cinel Eoghain, the Hy Eachdach⁴ of Ulster, owing to the harangue of their princes and true lords, and they promised them that they would not yield a foot, but would suffer death on the spot rather than be defeated.

Another reason too for which the spirits of the soldiers were roused. It was told them that St. Berchan,⁵ the prophet of God, had foretold that a battle would take place there against the English of Dublin by Hugh

⁵ *Berchan*.—⁴ Bishop and prophet of God, of Cluainsosta in Hy Failghe. He was of the race of Heremon. Ferdaleithe was another name for him; *i.e.*, he spent half his

life in Alba and the other half in Erin. He was one of the four prophets of the Gaels.' His feast is on 4th of December. *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 327.

ττιοφταταιρ ινα ετοιμητιν 7 cenél Conaill paimpeaó. Ro épioitpe na cupiaó na hepepaó an páio naoim zoa. Apé mo foillpiz vóib cltur piemélichanta an naoim apiole pili aipóeapc vo páimhuintiri ui Domhnaill vo mala m a páipiaó porí an pluaiglé ppi haimpiz tuile vó, plpi plpa ó Cleipuz a éomaimm. Ro ioméomaimpepóe cia haimm baol porí an maigipin. Ro haimnéveaó vó. Atpéiprom zupí mo éaimpizi naoim blpichán ppaioineaó porí Ghalllaib an vú rin ma n deó úa Néill aimaíl atpibpimopi, & zopi bo meaimari laip ppi pe póa an tapicetal vo pime an ppi naoim, 7 mo zab oce zpapaét 7 oce laoíveaó na laeépaíve aimaíl ba vú via ionnpaímaíl, coipveáipc mupó, A ceath an Acha buíve ap laip éuipit na vanaip, íapí noitépáó allmupieach bro páolío ppi ó thopiazhi.

O thaimic vona maíib a muimcli vo éecopce 7 vo éplingpapaét, mo puióizit íli ttain ma monaiaib iomaimpíve po licheomari na nallmapiáé & mo bui upipiaic papiia ó na plaitib na piemtiaptai h comvail na nHall conour piccop ipfail imbatari claió & clapaia 7 úam póelaóa talman. mo claióit an zaoíelpluaó porí ciuro na nHall an conaip m pob lípóalta leó an zabail. O mo éompoicepizit na zoill vóib mo plinvoit aptuic 7 an aóapca 7 a ceaimpita cacha zupí bo haóbari aóuachia 7 upizpame vaipaóai anpanna anapiochta 7 vo áop oipmíta anaihmó coipteaét ppi caipmeapiaib na ceath néachtpann. O vo piúachatai an pluaó gall vaippan celona lathanclaii lánvóimain mo claióveaó porí accino, atpazat zaoívil m a naóaró & mo comzáipit vóib zo vóizai vaiaévochi. Rob eiccln via ttopaé anmian pe himpzin & oipmíom pe himvóibpiazáó. Ro plpait ppiopéla pogaó monnéaol nuipitcpiom vóib 7 paizhit ppiuibzepi & ubaillmeal luavé. Zabait na zoill oce an vuibpaccavóim pon ceumma celtna a coel gunnaóai clpita cobpaíve 7 amupaeitib mópallaó zo celopí a ppúamanna 7 a ppozhapéomán 1 plóaió 7 1 papcoillitib 1 coccupaib caipiaé & h cuimvazhitib cloch na cepioch ccompozup. Ro zonait, mo epiehtnaizit vóipime von tpíuaó ceétapíóa láp na comvuipiaicéib aét na má ba pia aih mo poichtip vuibpiaeéiu na nHall. Ba heó aipmimblic vo monpat na zoívil vepíve. Ro heipieróit mma Galllaib m a ceuapit, 7 mo íaópat ma

fol. 46. a

¹ *In the battle.*—O'Curry says this is not found in any of the Saint's prophecies. He believes it was specially made for the oc-

casion. *M.S. Mat.*, p. 417. We have already alluded to the proneness of the Irish to believe in prophecies. See *Introd.*, p. xxx.

O'Neill and the province also, for he promised that they would come to his aid, and especially the Cinel Conaill. The heroes believed that the holy prophet would not tell a lie. He who first made known the prophecy of the Saint was a certain famous poet of O'Donnell's own people, who happened to be with him on this expedition, to gratify him. His name was Ferfesa O'Clery. He asked what was the name of that place. It was told him. He said that St. Berchan had foretold a defeat of the English there by Hugh O'Neill, as we have said, and that he had in mind for a long time past the prophecy which the holy man had made, and he proceeded to excite and exhort the soldiers, as was meet for one like him. He said, therefore, 'In the battle¹ of the Yellow Ford it is by him the foreigners shall fall. After the destruction of the foreigners the men from Tory will be glad.'

When the chiefs had ended instructing and exhorting the people they placed them then in suitable positions opposite the foreigners, and a peremptory order was given them by the princes that they should not go forward to meet the English until they came to the rampart where the ditches and trenches and a deep pit of earth were, which the Irish army had made against the English in the road they were sure to take. As the English drew near them they sounded their trumpets and horns and their martial instruments, so that to hear the martial instruments of the strange forces was a cause of terror and dismay to the weak and feeble camp-followers and to the timid and cowardly. When the English army had crossed the first broad, deep trench which had been made in front of them, the Irish advanced against them, and shouted at them boldly and fiercely. The van was obliged to halt, owing to their numerous wounds, and stop on account of the many shots. They poured showers of very slender, light darts on them, and of sharp-pointed arrows, and of heavy leaden balls. The English proceeded to shoot in the same manner from their slender, straight-aiming guns and from their loud-sounding muskets, so that the report and noise of their discharge was heard in the woods and forests and hollows of the rocks, and in the fortresses of the neighbouring territory. Many were wounded and hurt in both armies by the many shots, but yet the shots of the English reached farther. This was the manner of fighting which the Irish adopted in consequence. They spread themselves about the

nomēacmang 7 mo ōluēaiōrlē an ōeabaiō fpuī na ōanapoiō co mo lāpat
na heitlōa cacha mo buī forpua ōianeētaiū 7 an tōlf ōiobpaitchi 7 an
occbaō imeētpach inntiō ai mltōōn co mo forpūgē na ōoill ōeiriōe 7 ōo
ōiobpaitchiō na nŋaōrōeal la ōluy 7 ōorcoilte an ōainglī tpaīmāigēi
itapōpat atpōiūgē tpoōa 7 a naiūgē iomaiūgē iāo. Ron ŋab flīg 7 lonnuī an
lāēbairō fori ŋaē leiē iāi ccomoiūc iāi cciopuibāō 7 iāi ccechētnuŋaō
accapāt 7 accoiūgleaēt 7 a naōra iōniāine fori anionēaiō. Batai aēaiō fōōa
7 iē imēiōn fori an abaiūtpin oc iomuibāō 7 occ aiūleāē aiōile ŋup mo taimūgēlō
tiūg 7 tuiūiē an tīlōiūgē ŋall 7 ŋup mo hoīūbflīmō anaiūgē 7 anūapail.

fol. 46. b. O mo ōeonaiō an fīaōa forpōrōa 7 an coimōe cumāētaē corpāi 7
cāēbuiō an laoiūn ōona ŋaōrōealāiō, mo ēlōaiūgē ōo lāēē fainpēāōāē
ōona ŋallaiō iŋi ccaētlīn imbui ōo pūōai laiū ōol ŋup an mbaiūlle ba
coimūlŋa ōō ōona baiūllēō pūōai batai fori imochaiū aca meiūiūmōōn
an flōiūgē ōo forpionāō a buŋpocoīōe ōoūōiū, & an tan mo mūgē a laiū
ŋup an pūōai, mo lūg mūōpūēle naiū ba mōi ap an maiūōe baiō fori aōānnaō
laiū iūn mbaiūlle 7 aiūiūōe in ŋaē baiūlle co aiōile ŋup mo tōgbat
in iōnaiō 7 in ellaiō aēieoiū lēaiūbaiū in mo ba cōmōccuy ōon iōnāō i
tapiūapaiū eiūi oŋbaō 7 eoehaiūō, aiūm 7 eiōrō & ŋaē nī aiū ēlīna iōb aōlāic
lēō ōo beīē aiū an lachaiū pin aca. Ro cumŋcāiūgēlō ōan an ŋonna mōi
bāi leo fori iōmochoiū ap an maiūgēlī imbōi ŋo aiū oile iōnāō la tpeachān 7
la tlnōalēaēt an tōiūmpūōaiū aŋ tpenlāpāō cōniulla nūme. Baiō beōī
an tealach ina tēimēeall ina haommeall ōoīcha ōuibchīāē ŋo ēlīn
aēhāō iŋi tēain, cōnaiū bo hīlūpa ōo neach ūaiōiō aīchne ōo ēabaiūc fori
fioī ōia mūūtiū būō ōein tpi aōn ōia eccpaitēiō. Aēt ēlīna mo hoīta
ŋenepail an tīlūaiūgē ŋall & accuiūgēiō cacha .i. Henūi Bēgīng, 7 ilīomāē
ōia nūaiūlīō & ōia naiūeacaiōiō imaiōlīn mū. Ro mēabaiō tpi forpūna
ŋallaiō lapōōain aiūail ap ŋnaiēbēī ōon tīlōg fīua nŋēaiūcapiēaiū anaiūeāē
cāēa 7 accenn corpāōa 7 cōmaiūile. ŋabat na ŋaōrōil aŋa leoō & occa
lēaōpaiō, occa māibāō & occa mūōūgēō nanōeiriōiō na tēūaiūaiō na fīētiōiō
na tēūiōētaiōiō na cciūiūiō na cēēaiōiō ŋo pāngatāi iūteach tpi na mūaiūiō

¹ *Bagnal*.—A short distance to the north of the marsh where the fight took place, is a whitethorn bush still called 'the great man's thorn,' which is said to have been planted over Bagnal's grave.

² *Slain*.—Sir Richard Bingham, formerly President of Connaught, was recalled and appointed to succeed Sir Henry Bagnal as Marshal of the Army. But he died soon after landing in Dublin.

English all round, and they closed on them and engaged the English at close quarters, so that they drove the wings which were on the outside, and the sharpshooters and soldiers beyond them, into their midst, and the English were weakened by that and by the shots of the Irish, by their number, and by the closeness of the compact order in which their leaders of battle and captains of the fight had placed them. Anger and wrath seized on the soldiers on both sides in consequence of the killing, the slaughtering, and the wounding of their friends, their companions, and those dear to them before their faces. They were skirmishing and fighting with each other in this way for a good while and a long time, until the closeness and compactness of the English army were weakened and their leaders and nobles were gapped. 1598.

As the providence of God and the mighty Lord ordained victory and triumph for the Irish that day, he allowed a certain English soldier who had spent all the powder he had to go to the nearest of the barrels of powder carried by them, in the very middle of the army, to refill his pouch once more, and when he stretched out his hand to the powder a spark that was not large fell from the match which he had lighting into the barrel, and from that to each of the barrels in succession, so that whatever was near the place where they were standing, men and horses, arms and armour, and everything which they needed to have by them, was blown up into the regions and clouds of the air. The great gun which they carried with them was moved from where it was to another place by the force and conflagration of the dry powder, when it blazed up fiercely to the wall of the heavens. The hill too all round was one mass of dark, blinding fog for a while after, so that it was not easy for any one to distinguish exactly who were his own people from one of his enemies. However, the General of the English army and their champion of battle, Henry Bagnol,¹ and with him very many of the nobles and leaders were slain.² The English were defeated, as is usual with an army whose leader in battle and defenders and advisers have been scattered. The Irish proceeded to mangle and hack, to kill and destroy by twos and threes, by scores and thirties and fifties and hundreds until they came within the walls in the

meoðonchaisb in Aíroimacha. Imfaisc an glaislaí & a ngiollanais & mo gáibrat as fúabá an fíantáe atpochaiscisc isin ceat, & occ oíclnóas na rpuinge pobtai beoðaoite ann. Batari víjume anéwála deijmádaib anachlnta exaimla.

fol. 47. a. Aisisc Saoróil os iomfúróe Aíroimacha mo gach ais to cheíteorais aisioib an baile, conari leiciscisc neac inunn no allec fpu me teopia noioche con a laib. In eacmaing na iieepin mo lapat na Saill a tteecta to íaigró na nSaoróel oia éumgeas éuca acomaisleccaó oíob deiaich an puipe iemheieitmai ambatari a muinleir ífopibairi fpu mé fota 7 conaisleicceci oia lucht ioméoihéoa toet plán oia íaigíóruim co hAíroimacha íari bpaigbaíl an baile la húa Néill 7 a éfougaó oíob oiblinib roas ma fpuéling a hAíroimacha. Do éotari na maiche to épuó accomaisle im on ceainglin rin. Acbliscrat foislin to oib coi bo hiomaisigróe a legaó dona Gallaih iméect ai oiaí gáigbala an puipe, ai ba tpeimíuríoe to mala ltoipia 7 mo chuiscisc an cat mo gonta & mo maibéa iliomat oia muinleir, 7 ba coipeccari mói leó a tpaiceccaisc & acoi oai clno. Do batari ai oile oib oga taimisciscisc 7 occa maó nai bo cói na Saill to telgaó ar na hioméumgaib ambattari 7 na fuisibithe in éirleir to muíoi, oia neipnáitir úaíob an tanrim. Ai a doi rin ar fari deiríó laf na maieib fo oéoió a legaó úaíob. Ro naiómeas maicha ltoipia oiru 7 anall im éomall oiaioile. Acet namá in mo éeasaiscisc Saoróil nach nlinovail bró ai élna, aym ná opoanar, púoi na luaróe to legaó la haon ar an bpope rin cln mothá a thipone 7 a aym to legaó lár an ceaprin buí ann. For págaibiscisc na Saill la fúoain an poipe & to ionasó arpaoraim 7 a ccomaisigé go maéatattori co hAíroimacha. Lotari Saill oiblinib aiaabaiac a hAíroimacha sur an íobai 7 oia ttiuib aflnóas & mo lápat aipmíle for afíuas oir eia lion to lita foipia ó éuócatari for a ttiup. Baíeo a lionpáioe feb atpimiscisc an eolais oi mule ai éoic céoas in an gneipail con ocht ceaprimib decc imaille fpuí oúaisib 7 to óagóaoimib. Act acá ní élna atpulaatari oipong mói oibíróe gan oíoeas to maíe iteett cieectnaighéi 7 atpimiscisc oia tteapbaíó amáil na hí mo hoipia. An deacmav lá to Auguisc in upéorac

¹ *Battle*.—For a more detailed account of this very important battle by English writers see *Introd.*, p. xciii., *antea*, and

Gilbert's *Facsimiles*, pt. iv., p. xliii. A contemporary plan of the battle will be found *Ibid.*, plate xxiv.

middle of Armagh. The soldiers and their attendants returned and proceeded to strip the people who had fallen in battle and to behead the crowd who were severely wounded. The booty of unusual, strange clothing was great.

The Irish remained to besiege Armagh at each of the four quarters of the town, so that they did not allow anyone in or out for a space of three days and three nights. After that time the English sent messengers to the Irish to ask them to confer with them about leaving the fortress we have mentioned, where their people had been in garrison for a long time, and about allowing the warders to go safe to Armagh after giving up the place to Hugh O'Neill, and both being permitted to retire from Armagh. The nobles went to take counsel on the proposal. Some of them said that it would be right to allow the English to go away after they had surrendered the fortress, since it was on account of it they had fought and the battle had taken place, in which many of their people were wounded and slain, and their defeat and expulsion was a great triumph to them. Others of them opposed this, and said it was not right to let the English escape from the great straits in which they were, and they would not be found careless a second time if they escaped from them then. However, it was decided by the chiefs at last to let them go away. Terms were agreed on between them on this side and on that to be observed by both. However, the Irish did not allow any supplies of food, guns, or ordnance, powder, or lead to be taken away by anyone out of the fortress except his trunk and his arms which were allowed to the captain who was there. The English thereupon left the fort, and protection and quarter was given them till they came to Armagh. The next day the two bodies of English went from Armagh to Newry and to their own homes, and they showed great anxiety as regards their army, what number had fallen since they went on the expedition. The number, as the well informed reckoned, was two thousand five hundred, besides their General and eighteen captains also, with nobles and gentlemen. But all the same, a great number of them escaped without being slain on the spot, though they were wounded, and they reckoned the missing as well as those who were slain. The battle¹ took place on the tenth day of August, in the very beginning of harvest.

Meantime O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Irish also returned to their homes after that victory, and the minds of the nobles were satisfied though their losses were many, and they did not show great sorrow or distress for those who were slain, for a battle for right is not remembered with regret, as the proverb says. As for O'Donnell, he was at rest with his army, getting rid of his fatigue after that battle of the Yellow Ford.

There was a strong, very secure fortress in the province of Oilioll, at Corran precisely, named Ballymote. The English were in garrison in that castle continuously for the space of thirteen years, to see if they could get an opportunity of seizing on the neighbouring territory by means of it, and it could not be taken from them during that time. Some of the nobles who claimed the town and lands near it found the place unguarded and took it by force from the English. Those by whom it was taken were of the Clann Donough of Corran, Cathal Dubh and Tolmaltach Oge, the two sons of Cathal MacDonough; to them the castle belonged by inheritance. It was a great affliction to the Governor of the province, Sir Conyers Clifford, that the place should be taken from his people, and he set to beseech the Clann Donough to restore the castle to him, and he promised large rewards for it, together with the possession of the land for themselves and their posterity. When this was told to O'Donnell he assembled his forces in the month of September, and he did not halt until he came to Ballymote, and he set to besiege the place, at one time blustering and threatening the Clann Donough if they did not deliver up the place to himself rather than to anyone else. At another time he begged and prayed them to give it up to him for the price they would themselves put on it. Wherefore it was decided by Cathal and Tomaltach, of whom we have spoken, to surrender the place to O'Donnell and his family for ever for four hundred pounds and three hundred cows. When they had concluded the agreement with each other in this way, O'Donnell went immediately with his forces to lower Hy Many. What was under the power of Sir Theobald Dillon¹ was plundered and preyed by them, so that his army took away with them a plenty of every kind of treasure together to Ballymote, and he gave the four hundred pounds of which we have spoken and the three hundred cows to the sons of Donough,

Do b'fuit ó Dochaitaig Seaan óg naoi p'fichit ponnta von aigatrin v'ia Ohoimnail h' ccongnaim. Do iactaó an baile iaioim v'ia Ohoimnail 7 aipuir ann íl'itain.

In eachaing na iieepin vo toft Mac Uilliam Teaboite mac Uaeli éioitaig vo f'iaig'ó uí Ohoimnail vo chuimgaó conganta pociaoe f'aiu oianl'itao in a'garó a ec'p'at. Ro f'aoi'óioim v'p'échta v'f'inháia v'ia muin'it'f' l'air v'ia aip'uib & v'ia ol'f' tuap'artail in úa n'Dochaitaig Seaan óg 7 in Mac Suibne mbogaimn, Donchaó mac Maolmuire m'f'ig'ig'. Do v'eachao iaioim Mac Uilliam i'ápan i'lo'g' i'in go tóit'f'nach' gan aip'ua'g'ao gan p'oi'cloir-teét (aét maó b'f'g) t'p'e g'ao t'p'i t'p'ua'p'a t'p'uochatai co i'p'achatai na h'umail, a'p' a'p' aip'p'óe bui c'p'ao 7 cl'f'p'ia, inuile 7 aip'eir i'ainn mic Uilliam uile v'up'io'p'i. Ro leiceao e'p'p'eroeao 7 i'g'aoileao va p'f'lonachail v'ighaie v'io'coir'ce a'p'f'uo an t'p'ie ma t'p'imécl' go i'io t'f'glaim'f't al'ia 7 aip'eir b'ua'p' 7 beoch'p'ao na c'p'uche chuca vo neoch nat bui p'oi in'f'ol'hib u'p'ec'róe no p'oi oléinib ma'ia combatai alo'p'óao'ain leó va g'ao cenél c'p'uir a'p' cl'f'na. F'ep' b'ó i'óuaing at'og'iaim a'p' t'p'uime acc'p'ea'g'abail i'angatai gan g'uin gan g'abao cona naip'ec'itib 7 cona ne'óal'ib co t'p'i na'ail'g'ao 7 Mac Suibne co t'p'i bo'g'aine 7 úa Dochaitaig co h'uir e'og'ain.

Ro l'f'e t'p'ia an com'g'oil co'ceao p'oi c'p'uch ne'p'unn íl'itain 7 i'io g'oi'p'eaó i'ap'la v'f'f'muim' an ionbaio i'in la n'f'it g'aoi'oeal vo Semur mac Tómai' R'uaio va'p' t'f'p'eu'g'ao g'all 7 at'p'acht i'in co'g'ao a'iaail chach. Do g'f'ial-tachail a p'lon'ao'p'aoe ia'p' mbuna'ao'p' íl'p' n'g'abail ainm'igh'ée vo f'f'ialt i'ain'f'ib ó i'io co'et'p'ui'm'et' a cenél. A c'p'uo'chail Saran vo v'eochatai g'ur an in'p' v'ia g'abail a'iaail a ec'cl'iu, 7 i'io at'p'ea'p'at h' co'p'uo'chail f'f'p' mo'p'ic f'p'p' Sionaino in'ol'f'. Ro na'ó'm'f't acc'ap'at'p'ao f'p'p' macoib m'ileao íl'p' t'p'io'cl' 7 p'og'niat' v'ia naip'ib'f'it bio'f' 7 be'p'tataó 7 bat'oi lán v'eimeag' 7 v'ao'v'eachai'p'e p'ón ion't'p'ain'ail'p'ioim. O'ur p'ic'et'p' loech'p'ao lon'aoan a'p' úa'p'i

¹ *Thomas Roe.*—He was the eldest son of James, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, but he was set aside by his father's will, and Gerald, his second son by another marriage, succeeded to the title and estates. He was slain in 1583. At his death the title was claimed by James, Thomas' eldest son. He is known in history as the 'Sugan Earl.' He was betrayed by his relative, the White Knight, in 1601, to Carew, President of

Munster, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died in 1608. We have given his history at length in the *Irish Monthly* of 1877.

² *Gerald.*—The first of the family who came to Ireland was Maurice, the son of Gerald (hence FitzGerald and Geraldine). He is the common ancestor of the Earls of Kildare and of Desmond. His eldest son became Baron of Offaly. From his third

as they had arranged with him. Shane Oge O'Doherty gave nine score pounds of that money to O'Donnell to aid him. The place was given over to O'Donnell then, and he remained there.

1598.

At that time Mac William, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, came to O'Donnell to ask him for aid in men to strengthen him against his enemies. He sent with him strong bodies of his people, of his soldiers and mercenaries, with Shane Oge O'Doherty and MacSwiny Banagh, Donough, son of Maolmuire Mergach. Mac William went with that army silently and without being noticed or heard, except by a few, through every territory through which they passed, until they came to the Owles, for it was there the greater part of the herds and flocks and property of the whole of Mac William's territory had gone. He sent his marauders, fierce and wrathful, to spread and scatter through the country all round, and they gathered the herds and droves of oxen and cattle which were not in the islands of the lakes and in those of the sea, so that they had full and plenty of every kind of cattle then. Though it was easy to follow them owing to the quantity of plunder, they came without wound or danger with their plunder and treasures to Tirawley, and MacSwiny to Tir Boghaine, and O'Doherty to Inishowen.

In the meantime the miseries of war spread throughout the extent of Ireland, and James, son of Thomas Roe,¹ was made Earl of Desmond by the authority of the Irish, without the permission of the English, and he rose in war like the rest. His family was of the Geraldines by descent, having taken the name by which they were called from a certain Gerald² from whom this family is descended. They came from the English territory to the island to seize it like the rest, and they dwelt in the territory of Fermorc,³ south of the Shannon. They contracted friendship with the descendants of Milesius after a time, and conformed to their manner of life and habits, and were full of generosity and hospitality like them. The soldiers of London came then to the island by order of their

son Thomas, the Earls of Desmond are descended. *The Earls of Kildare*, p. 10.

³*Fermorc*.—This family, soon after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland

acquired large estates in Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. In 1329 Maurice FitzThomas was created Earl of Desmond. See Lynch's *Feudal Dignities*, p. 231.

King to subdue the country and put it under law, and they brought the Geraldines, of whom we have spoken, into subjection and contempt, like the Irish. The Geraldines rose in arms against them at last. They were driven from their territory by the English, and soon all but a few were slain. One of these was James, son of Thomas Roe, of whom we have spoken, and they thought he would not oppose them, owing to the disrespect and contempt they had for him, and they set little store by him, because the son of the true prince,¹ James, son of Gerald, who first began the war, son of James, son of John, was in prison in the Tower of London. However, the one God made an oak of the acorn and a consuming fire of the spark and other things in the same way. He raised up too families after their ruin before this. Since it was so, it was not right for the English of Dublin to wonder that James, son of Thomas Roe, should be made Earl, and that he should be able to vent his enmity on them.

1598.

Great numbers came to him to serve under and assist him from the province of Meadhbh and the province of Conor Mac Nessa. The Irish of the province of Leinster too rose in arms in the same way, *i.e.*, the race of Cathaoir Mor, son of Fedhlim Firurglas.² The contentions and victories of both were many in disputes and struggles against the English, in plunderings, taking droves and preys of cattle and flocks, in the countries which were under their power and obedience, which it would be tedious to relate or describe.

As for O'Donnell, when he had concluded all the business mentioned above, his dwelling and abode was at Ballymote. He thought it long that the Spaniards did not come to aid the Irish as they had promised. Wherefore he sent his messengers to Spain to complain of the sufferings and hardships of the Irish³ to King Philip. In the month of September, in the middle of harvest, the messengers were sent. Philip died⁴ before they set out. There was not in the world more important news, for his fame was spread over the whole earth. If one like him followed him in

Ogygia, p. 349, and Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 99.

⁴ *Died.*—Philip II. died 15th September, 1598, after a reign of 43 years, at the age of 72. His successor, Philip III., was of a

character in many respects different from that of his father, though not less anxious than he to aid the Irish both at home and abroad in their efforts for their faith and country.

uaóá fεirín nio ḡlñairi. Baol tñia ó Domnail 1 fopñ imbaile an Moñais
co féil ḡline an coimñeó, & ó thairnic lair an troillamain do airmñitñuḡáó
aíñail nio buó vóioi, nio cḡlñomait a fḡoigh oia fḡaigíó do vñil irñi eccoicñuch,
fol. 49. a. 7 ó do maechtatar co haon mḡaigín fo a cḡghairim, nio arcná co hñicḡñ-
the ḡan airmḡáó ḡan uifḡoḡia do mochtain maím ḡo cloinn Riocairio (ḡeḡtari
oimñáíḡ imḡḡlñaiḡ airtñeáḡaíḡ na cñuche ierñíñb) ḡo maímce ḡan maḡáó ḡan
maḡuḡáó hi cñepurcñil na maíone mñuche co cñil Colḡan. Air mochtain
vóó an vñ fñ nio iccaolñit arclñimeálta uairíñb vñ ḡach leíḡ imon tíñi ma
timḡeall tñia clñitñmḡóón cloinne Riocairit fñari ḡo maḡhit vñong vñob
mo iomḡocñiaib vñoirceḡ Remainn, 7 aḡoile ḡo vññ ḡuaíñe hi cñíll ó
bḡiaḡiaḡ. Do maḡbaó & do muḡaíóñlñ ile do vñicḡñéḡaíb 7 do fñi-
cḡñéḡaíb leopairḡe. Icñit moḡtari airmḡáó vñona fñicḡñéḡaíb do moḡmaḡari anñ
Toiḡñḡealḡaḡ buíḡe & bñuan vñá mñac Roḡa mñic Uairñe mñic Maóileachloinn
uí Lochloinn. Ro maḡbaó vñan lair an ttoiḡñḡealḡaḡ fñi occa imḡoḡñam
buḡóein air oile do cloinn nDomnail ḡallocḡlaḡ baol ipñaiḡaíó mñic Uílliam
fñoi an fḡoigḡeó fñi, Aeó buíḡe óḡ mac Aeóa buíḡe mñic Maólmñuip a
cñomaimñiḡe. Do maḡbaó beóñ la vñuimḡ oile do mñuimḡi uí Oñomñioíll
vñá mñac Uílliam mñic Seaañ o Rinnmñil 7 mac Teaboitḡ mñic Vabóḡ o vñhoiḡe
uí Oñomñail 7 mac a mñic. Ro baó ile foḡha bñiom 7 baḡḡaíñe hi cloinn
Riocairio fo biḡ atḡoḡémaḡari uairíñb cen mo thac na maíḡe fñi. Eḡḡaḡḡari
mñac hoibñio ó vñḡñit ceallaiḡ (.i. Uíllice mac Uíllic maíó mñic Uíllice
óíḡ) la Maḡñuñ óḡ mac Aeóha mñic Maḡñuñ vññibñachairi uí Domñail.
Ro leimḡionoiḡeáó cñioḡ 7 cñeáḡaḡḡthe na cñuche ma tñaintíḡ tñioma
toiḡḡñmñla, 7 évñla aíóñle oile cénmoḡáḡ lá mñuimḡi uí Oñomñioíll ḡuñ an
maíḡín a tñaiḡaḡairi é buḡóein, & ḡeḡtari iomḡá aímair 7 oḡbaó laíñla
cloinne Riocairio irñi cñuch, 7 ḡeḡñb vñuñlḡ vñon tíñi an aímñieáḡa vñuñlanḡ
air vñaiḡ an imḡóim fñoi an eccñairíñb mñuḡ ó Domñail cona fḡoḡ na cñeáḡa

¹ *Kilcolgan*.—A village nine miles south-west of Athenry.

² *Oireacht Redmond*.—A district in the barony of Kiltartan, Co. Galway, which takes its name from a family of the Burkes of Clanricarde.

³ *Dungory*.—A townland near Kinvarra, in which is a ruined castle said to have been built on the site of the palace of Guaire,

king of Connaught in the 7th century. See p. 133, ante.

⁴ *Hy Fiachrach*.—i.e., the inhabitants of the district now comprised in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. They went by the name of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, to distinguish them from another tribe inhabiting the present barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo. See *Tribes, &c. of Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 3 and 33.

the world it was from him he sprang. Meantime O'Donnell was resting at Ballymote up to the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, and when he had finished celebrating the feast in a fitting way he gathered his forces to go into the neighbouring territory, and they came together at his summons. He marched secretly without being perceived, without any warning preceding him, into Clanricarde (though the inhabitants of the territory were in fear and terror of his coming), until he came unnoticed, unperceived in the twilight of the early morning to Kilcolgan.¹ On coming there his marauders were sent out on every side into the country all round, right through the middle of Clanricarde, westwards, until a body of them came to the confines of Oireacht Redmond² and more to Dungory,³ in the wood of Hy Fiachrach.⁴ Many of the common people and of the gentlemen were killed and massacred by them. The principal men of the nobility who fell there were Turlough Buidhe and Brian, two sons of Rossa, son of Antony, son of Malachy O'Loughlin.⁵ There was slain also by that Turlough, when defending himself, a certain one of the Clann Donnell Galloglach, who was with Mac William on that excursion; Hugh Burke Oge, son of Hugh Buidhe, son of Maclmuire, was his name. There were also killed by another body of O'Donnell's people two sons of William, son of John of Rinvyle, and a son of Theobald, the son of Davock, from Derry O'Donnell,⁶ and his son's son. There were many causes of woe and lamentation in Clanricarde for those of them who were slain beside these nobles. MacHubert⁷ of Disert Kelly, *i.e.*, Ulick, son of Ulick Roe, son of Ulick Oge, was seized by Manus Oge, son of Hugh, son of Manus, O'Donnell's brother. The flocks and herds of the country were gathered in large, plentiful droves, and the other different treasures besides, by O'Donnell's people to the place where he himself remained, and though the troops and soldiers of the Earl of Clanricarde were numerous in the district, and though it was hard for the territory to endure the hardships, not being protected from its enemies, O'Donnell

⁶ *O'Loughlin*.—They were chiefs of Burren about the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. O'Donovan says their pedigree has not been made out with anything like certainty. *Top. Poems.*, lxxii.

⁶ *D. O'Donnell*.—A townland in the parish of Athenry, three miles east of Oranmore.

⁷ *MacHubert*.—A sept of the Burkes. Isertkelly is 5 miles south-west of Loughrea.

léo gan tpoio gan tachap go pascatai ina nuroheadóib iomhálla mteáda go baile an Mhótaigh. Ino tíomaiugeadó coibear na curpomuádo do na creachaiibíon do búair bioóbaó ionn doimpecht naíu go rin gur an mbairle rin ó comiotacht céduir eiríoe. Tifáitc íluaí uí Doimnaill oia ttiáib íarí tainn.

fol. 49. b. An tan tpa do iat bainríogain Saxan oia huíó an comieirge cozáio do ioniat Saoróil 7 aiaill do pionnállaió Eieann ina haáio 7 ino hoitao oia húaiuib 7 oia haromaiuib oia hógbao 7 oia hainioib i ceath an Achaburóe 7 in gao maigín ari éina ino muóáigic a munatli pechnón Eieann no la hi rinom 7 hi toirri nolmíaii iríoe, conao faui oeríó le & la comaipe Saxan íaíla of Eirrex do éoi co hEiunn rin mbeltine ari ceimo gur an lion ceó 7 caé buíóln ba mo aín ionniric liubaii do toét in Eiunn a Saxaib íaíu go rin. Hioiríeui Febriuaii no tmaílaó mo rin, 1599. Ar aipe éin no éimoeao léo an tlaíla of Eirrex ariuibiamoi oíaoíoeao go hEiunn tair aon oile duir anbaó flíui achonaó caéa oíaoi conachi na foirne duir fanáatari inoe ó mbainmíogain pecht íaíu, íaui ba heiríoe élin iomaiúbaíá na Saxan 7 a iunn aía 7 iomaiice, 7 ba tuaiigineaó caéha oia Píuonhpa in gach maigín i ffoicongíaoí faui oul rin Eoiuap.

1599, an 8. blaóain.

Oala Aoíá Ruaró uí Doimnaill ba foíá lairíomí no batari aílúaí oíe leceao ariíui fíu íé aoin míoia na má, ari aoi in fíttui íainíeoao caíthe an tionaó íuaíaoí, íaui no íaríáibíomí arii no ariéno naie ionta ionnle hi cooíceao náillioíla na no ionniríaii no na tairi gail 7 ariui íaíuib cenmíóá an mbloíó típe fíui an lúimíeoao aíuáioh no talíla ion coíceao ó élin, íohón íaíuibííann lúíóeoao meinn mic Aíngúra tíuá oia ngaiori túaómuíia ann tairí. Gíó iríoe oia ba íaíuó uíua 7 oiaíá íaíuó fíui na íaoíelannaió íui ariíeoab .i. Oal Cair mic Conaill Eáchluarí mic lúíóeoao meinn íloimíeapí ó brian boíuía mac Ceinníííí aní. Robtari

¹ May.—*Beltine*, so called from the fires lighted by the pagan Irish on the first of that month in honour of their god Beal.

² Powers.—See p. xcix., ante.

³ D. of Cas.—Oilioll Olum, king of Munster in the 2nd century, had seven sons, of

whom Eoghan, ancestor of the M'Carthys, was the eldest; Cormac Cas, ancestor of the O'Briens, the second. Oilioll made a law that the senior of their descendants should be king. If he was of the race of Eoghan, then the tanist should be of the

and his army took the prey with them without strife or skirmish till they came by slow marches to Ballymote. Never before was there collected a spoil of enemy's cattle equal to or like it in that place since it was first built. O'Donnell's army then returned to their homes.

As soon as the Queen of England observed the general rising in arms which the Irish and also some of the old English of Ireland engaged in against her, and the number of her nobles and chiefs, youths and soldiers, who were slain at Atha Buidhe and in every other battlefield where her people were massacred throughout Ireland, she showed grief and violent sorrow, wherefore she and the English Council resolved to send the Earl of Essex to Ireland in the following May¹ with the fullest powers² and the largest army, as books state, that came to Ireland from England up to that. This was decided in the beginning of February, 1599. The reason why the Earl of Essex, of whom we have spoken, was selected to be sent to Ireland rather than anyone else was because his success in war was greater than that of any of those who had come hither from the Queen before, for he was the commander in battle of the English and the front of conflict and contention and the leader in the fight of his Queen in every battlefield where he was ordered to go in Europe.

1599, the eight year.

As for Hugh Roe O'Donnell, he thought it long his army was taking rest, though it was only for the space of one month. Yet he did not know precisely to what place he should go, for he had not left a quarter or a border or a garrisoned place in the province of Oilioll which he did not prey or take hostages or pledges from, except the portion of territory to the north of Limerick, which had been separated from the province long before, *i.e.*, the rough district of Lughaidh Mean, son of Oenghus Tirech, which is now called Thomond. It was to engage in fighting and contention to attack the noble tribe who inhabited it, *i.e.*, the descendants of Cas,³ son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Mean, who have their

1598

1599.

family of Cormac Cas; if of the race of Cormac Cas, the tanist should be of Eoghan's family. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*,

xiv., and *War of the Gaedhil, &c.*, p. 160. Cas mentioned in the text was sixth in descent from Cormac Cas.

fol. 50. a.

¹ *Brian*.—He was 20th in descent from Cormac Cas.

See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 239. Brian re-established it to punish the Leinster men for their adherence to the Danes. Hence the name given him. O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 231.

³ *Kennedy*.—He was son of Lorcan, king of north Munster, and heir apparent (Roy-

name from Brian¹ Borumha,² son of Kennedy.³ The race from which they sprung was valiant and warlike.⁴ The prince ruling over them then was a man of great power, *i.e.*, Donough, son of Conor, son of Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. His voice and influence were powerful among the English of Dublin, and though it was a great crime that his tribe should be with the English troops, he himself being of the Irish, he was the one man most active, violent, full of hatred who was in Irish territory in taking part in and carrying on the war against the Irish by the order and command of the English. The desire and longing of O'Donnell to prey his territory was the greater for this conduct of his. This was not an easy thing for him, on account of their strong places, of their thick woods and unknown deserts, their very long crooked passes, and the roughness and intricacy of their roads. Another reason also why the preying was difficult, though their borders and their interior parts were neglected, was the multitude of their heroes and warlike⁴ champions, and the pride and vigour of him who was their ruler, *i.e.*, the Earl of Thomond. Yet O'Donnell could not refrain from going to prey the territory in some way. He assembled his forces in one place, at Ballymote, for this was his residence since he had bought it on the feast of Holy Mary, mother of the Lord, in the preceding year, as we have said.

The first that came there to the hosting were the Cinel Conaill, *i.e.*, his own brothers, Rury, Manus, and Caffir, with their forces, and Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine; Niall Garbh, son of Conn, son of Calvach, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh; O'Boyle, Tadhg Oge, son of Tadhg, son of Turlough; O'Doherty of Inishowen, Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Felim, son of Conor Caragh; MacSwiny Fanad, Donnell, son of Turlough, son of Maelmuire; and MacSwiny Banagh, Donough, son of Maelmuire Meirgach, son of Maelmuire, son of Niall. There came also to that hosting, Maguire, Hugh, son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, son of Brian, son of Philip, son of Thomas, and the son of

damna) of Cashel. See *War of the Gaedhil*, &c., p. 45.

⁴ *Warlike*. — See the encomium passed

on 'the gracious, noble, highborn, beautiful Dalcassians,' *Ibid.*, p. 55, and in Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 59.

O'Rourke, Tadhg, son of Brian na murtha, son of Brian Ballach, son of Eoghan, all these with the whole of their forces. There came also those who had been appointed by him to the chieftaincy of their patrimonies in the province of Meadhbh, Mac William Burke, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of Shane, son of Oliver, O'Dowd of HyFiachrach, Tadhg, son of Tadhg Reagh, MacDonough of Corran, Rury, son of Hugh, MacDonough of Tírerill, Maurice Cooch, son of Tadhg, and O'Hara Reagh, Felim, son of Conchaisil; all these, with all their forces. O'Connor Roe came to the same hosting, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, and O'Kelly, Ferdorcha, son of Ceallach, son of Donnell, and MacDermot of Moylurg, Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen, and other forces besides those which it would be tedious to enumerate.

When these chiefs and their forces came together to him at Ballymote, he determined to send away a party to Mac William's district, whilst he himself should be with his army in Thomond, and he put Mac William and Niall Garbh O'Donnell in command of them. As for these, first they went in waves of a great host from the eastern extremity of Costellos to the Owles of Clangibbon.¹ They set to prey and plunder their enemies and foes in every territory they passed through, and they found neither contention nor fight, dispute nor shooting, which they set any store by, though the people of the district were able to oppose them if they knew they were alone. They advanced in great exultation of mind, and these laid aside all thought of defending themselves vigorously against them, as they thought O'Donnell was in their midst, for his enemies were absolutely certain that whatever forces they had assembled they could not obtain a victory though he had with him but a few, on account of the great dread and abhorrence, fear and terror, which he spread among his enemies wherever they were. Mac William and Niall Garbh arrived with their forces at the island of Leathardan,² and they attacked the place boldly and fiercely, and though the defence was made against them bravely it did not profit those who made it, for they leaped from every side and quarter into the place among them. Eighteen of the chief men of Clangibbon were slain and slaughtered, and a great number of others besides. The place was plundered by them then.

fol. 51. a. Iomēura uí Dóinnail, iú aghná ina iemim ionmál iméleā gan ínnm
 rēuic gan comāaimm cāimlīc 7 ba íuail má iú iāēaisēō itir (zēpí bó
 vóochumāing vó nāē ílāit oile tioneōrē na vōpōngēbuiōēn nōur vōpūvōā
 vōumrāch vōoifōriāna batāi lāir, m iú clōr zūē nā ēlōir, íēpēlēē nā
 ílīrtān úarōib i conāir tūiāra tēuōcatāi) zō iāngatāi zō clōinn Riocāirv.
 Mí hāitērlīrtāi anuioheāōā zō ínn. Vó ēmīē aipūiōm m tēiēnōna ar an
 Ruaiōbēitēiē ēitir cill colēan & Aipōiathāim. Av annat tēinte & tēnōāā,
 & iú ēābpat occ upēnāim anāipēlēā bē 7 oc ēpōmūgāō amēnēlēē íar nā
 nārtāi imēian 7 iūa tēēāēē iēlno mōipāoēthāir. Bā vōēbīr zēmtāi íēitēiē
 occa mīpēlōāim m bāō ía an lūchē vōn āngatōi a hōipīlī Tōiāighe ílī
 tēúāipēlīc, & ó íuēb bīuāim m mīr ēōghāim. Rō bāoi bēōr ar aill vó
 íion 7 cōpimāim nā Spāine occa vāil íōpūiā ílēthāib batāi íuivōē
 cōngābpat occ íāinōl íōi ar oile gan nāē mīlēlēā mō imēian ó an
 āēārvā hī ēpūch āmbiōvōāō. Contūilīē íāpōim būēē zō mōmēlēōōn oivōche.

Atiāchātāi íāpōim āmāil bīō ēipēē nāoin ípí lā íōiēōngēiā nā ílēā, &
 vó vōēachātāi hī cēlno tēvā 7 imēēēā tēi íōvāib íāoinvīpēē nā ēpūche zō
 iāngatāi imūchōlōvōil nā māōne ípīn cēlno tōií vó chōil ó ílēlānnēhāōā
 vó tēiōchāit ēēō cēnēōil ílēííuāiē i Tūāōmūmān. Rō íānnāō úā Dóinnail
 āpēlīnēālēā vā lēgēāō úāōā ar an māigim ínn. Vó lēiē vōpōng vā
 mīlēāōāib tēiāiglēēāē m Thāōē úā Ruāip & m Mac Sūibne mōōēānēāē
 írtēach būō ēúāō m bōiūmō Connāēē cōnā hēlēitir ēpēāchā nā tūāōmūmān
 tāipir íō vōitēābāib nā vāinglēn bōiūmē, 7 iú vālēārtāi cō hēitíuīlēōōn
 nā ēpūche chūēēā íāē. Rō lēiēē an vōiūing nāile vōn tēāōē ēlī írtēach cō
 bāile uí Ōgāim nā cōilē mōiē, vó Thūlēiē uí vōlēhāiē, zō vōpūir bāile
 uí ēpūōlēā. Mīpāipēē ar ínn būō ēúāō zō vōiūm íōnnlēlāipí zō cōiāō
 ínnōē 7 zō cill mēiēne bāōit hī cēōmōāil uí Vhōinnail. Rō ímāchēpōim
 íōi nā vōpōngāibípin iú íāōiō úāō gan mīpāō nā oipgāim nēimēāō ēccāilí

¹ *Roevehagh*.—A townland in the parish of Killeely, barony of Dunkellin, Co. Galway.

² *Ardrahan*.—A village seven miles north of Gort.

³ *C. O'Flannchadha*.—A woody district in the parish of Kilkeedy, in the north-east of the barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare.

⁴ *C. Fermaic*.—The tribe name of the O'Deas and of their territory. This is now

included in the barony of Inchiquin. The name is derived from Deadhaigh, 20th in descent from Cormac Cas.

⁵ *Burren*.—O'Heeren speaks of it as 'ruggedly fenced, of white stone fields and active men.' *Top. Poems.*, p. 83.

⁶ *Ballyhogan*.—A townland in the parish of Dysert. Coillmor was a district near Ballyhogan.

As for O'Donnell, he went on his way, marching slowly, without sound of trumpet or shouting of troops, and he was hardly perceived at all (though the direction of the vast, fierce, contentious, proud, unruly multitude which was with him would be very difficult for any other prince, neither the sound of speech nor the noise of shouting was heard from them on the road by which they marched) until they came to Clauricarde. His marches are not reported up to that. He made a halt in the evening at Roevehagh,¹ between Kilcolgan and Ardahan.² They lighted fires and brands and proceeded to prepare their supply of food and to lighten their pouches after such a long march and before they came to face the great labour. It was natural that the people who had come from the confines of Tory in the north-west and from Srub Brian in Inishowen, should be tired by their very long march. They had also some wine and strong drink of Spain to give to the chiefs who were there. They set to drink to each other without any fear far away from their own country in the territory of their enemies. They slept there for a short time till midnight.

They rose up then as if it was the rising of one man, at the order of their chief, and they proceeded on their way and march by the straight roads of the country till they came at the early dawn of the next day to the eastern extremity of Coill O'Flannchadha³ in the cantred of the Cinel Fermaic⁴ in Thomond. O'Donnell formed his marauding parties to send them out from that place. He sent a party of his foot-soldiers with Tadhg O'Rourke and MacSwiny Banagh northwards into Burren⁵ of Connaught, lest the preys of Thomond might escape through it to the deserts of strong Burren, and he told them to meet him in the middle of the country. He sent off the other body in a southern direction into Ballyhogan⁶ of Coillmor to Tully O'Dea,⁷ and to the gate of Bally O'Griffy.⁸ They went from that northwards to Drumfinglas,⁹ to Corofin,¹⁰ to Kilnaboy,¹¹ to meet O'Donnell. He ordered the parties whom he sent away not to plunder or

¹ *T. O'Dea*.—A townland three miles N. of Dysert church.

² *B. O'Griffy*.—A townland in the parish of Dysert, where there is a ruined castle.

³ *Drumfinglas*.—Between Corofin and Dysert. The name is now obsolete.

¹⁰ *Corofin*.—A village six miles north-west of Ennis.

¹¹ *Kilnaboy*.—*i.e.*, the church of the daughter of Baeth, who was of the royal line of Cormac Cas. The church is a short distance to the north of Corofin.

na elaðan cipri aic attoðriachai chuea. Do éadot tria ó Domhnaiú buó ðein co triúg 7 co ttothacht antriúg ina fáriú tria lári éoilte ó bflanchaða trie bealaig an triúgail gó cill inéline baot in úachtari Dálccair ma mionúóón laoi an reachtiaú la vécc do mi feðria do fonnriú.

Do riataú chuice crieacha ceineoil flhumaic uile tuimíó on Driepic co gleann Colaimbeille 7 go tulaiú cumann 7 ó cluain riórléinaig co leim an eich. In riainic la Taóó ó Ruairé na la Mac Suibne crieacha 7 caomaipeche boirne do éabairt leó icenno uí Ohoimnaiú an aóhaiú rin ai na ttiomaipecaú & ai na ttiompuúgáú uóib la an aóible 7 la an iómaiic lionmaiic.

fol. 51. b. Do riata uia do Mhaúuóiri con triúing uia muintri ma fáriú uol do éoi cháiia iuin coiccepiic. Do ieccaim uó fói a chinn ariote uine úaral do fáriélanuab Dál ccair go riú gon 7 iú éab íflitain, Concoðai ó brian a ainmriúe. Bliuú Mhaúuóiri lai é go uúnaó Concoðai buó ðein go hlini uí chuino, & baot an cairiáiú fói commur Meúuóiri 7 iú an ino go ai a bariach. Ro éab uia Domhnaiú longpóic in aóaiú rin hi cill inéline balich, & ba heitriéian flhriaiote ó ai oile iú batari éinte 7 éinuála a riúig, triúing úiob in boirino éonnac 7 triúing oile i triúéait céo ó flhumaic, 7 ariúú in éill inéline baot cen moá an lueht naiie iú batari in Mac Uiliam 7 in Miall éaiú uia nDomhnaiú in Uimall. O riú fóiiaúaiú riúiri an laoi fóiina ienoiab ariúúe, ariach uia Domhnaiú 7 do bliit a aghaiú fói triúéait céo Coiemoúúiaú go riainic go Cill fhionnaúiaú. Ro leic riúaiéaú uia ienimealúab buóúri co hEriúig, fon mbriúintri flhriaiacaiú, 7 coiccumaiú, go uoiur inriúiomain, go cill Eppuic lonain, go baile paiúin, 7 triú naii riú go

¹ *B. Feabal.*—i.e., the road of Feadfal, six miles west of Kilnaboy.

² *Dysert.*—Five miles N. W. of Ennis. St. Tola founded a hermitage here in the 8th century. See Colgan's *Acta SS.* p. 703. Later it was called Dysert O'Dea, a chief of the Cinel Fermaic having fixed his residence here. A print of the beautiful doorway of the church will be found in Lord Dunraven's *Irish Architecture*, ii. 112; London, 1877.

³ *Glencolumbkille.*—In the parish of Carran. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 238.

⁴ *T. comann.*—In the parish of Kilnaboy.

⁵ *Cloonselherny.*—A townland in the parish of Kilnaboy, where there are remains of a castle.

⁶ *Leimeneach.*—Two miles N. W. of Corofin. There are here the remains of a fine Elizabethan castle. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 327; Edinburgh, 1751.

⁷ *Conor.*—This was probably Conor O'Brien of Leimeneach, son of Morrough, first Earl of Thomond. See Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 42.

Inchiquin.—An Elizabethan castle on

prey the lands of the churches or of the learned men, wherever they met with them. O'Donnell himself went with the body and flower of his army through the plain of Coill O'Flannchadha through Ballyfeabal¹ to Kilnaboy in upper Dalcas, before mid-day of the seventeenth day of the month of February exactly.

There was brought to him a great booty of the whole of Cinel Fearmaic from Dysert² to Glencolumbkille³ and Tullycomann,⁴ and from Cloonselherny⁵ to Leimencach.⁶ It was not possible for Tadhg O'Rourke or MacSwiny to bring the plunder and spoils of Burren with them to O'Donnell that night, for they were not collected and brought together by them owing to their extent and great number.

It happened also that Maguire with a body of his people went to make a circuit in the neighbourhood. A certain nobleman of the noble race of the Dalcassians met him, whom he wounded and captured afterwards. Conor⁷ O'Brien was his name. Maguire brought him to Conor's own castle at Inchiquin,⁸ and the castle was given over to Maguire, and he stayed there till the next day. O'Donnell encamped that night at Kilnaboy, and the fires and conflagrations of his army were far separated from each other, some of them being in Burren of Connaught and another party in the cantred of Hy Fermaic,⁹ and some in Kilnaboy, besides the other forces which were with Mac William and Niall Garbh O'Donnell in the Owles. As soon as the light of day prevailed over the stars of the night, O'Donnell rose and turned his face to the cantred of Corcomroe¹⁰ until he came to Kilfenora.¹¹ He allowed his marauders to scatter southwards to Inagh¹² through Brentir¹³ of the Fearmacaigh, to Corcamaigh, to the gates of Ennistymon,¹⁴ to Killeasbuighlonain,¹⁵ to Ballypaidin,¹⁶ and back eastwards towards Kilfenora again,

the lake of the same name, near Corofin. From this place the O'Brien family have taken the title.

⁹ *Hy Fermaic*.—This district is included in the present barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare.

¹⁰ *Corcomroe*.—This territory formerly included not only the present barony of the same name, but also the whole barony of Burren. It was coextensive with the diocese of Kilfenora.

¹¹ *Kilfenora*.—12 miles N.W. of Ennis.

¹² *Inagh*.—A village 9 miles W. of Ennis.

¹³ *Brentir*.—*i.e.*, the fetid district, perhaps from the sulphur springs in which it abounds. It lies N. E. of Mount Callan.

¹⁴ *Ennistymon*.—18 miles N.W. of Ennis.

¹⁵ *Killeasbuighlonain*.—*i.e.*, the church of Bishop Flannan, the patron of the diocese of Killaloe.

¹⁶ *Ballypaidin*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmacreehy.

Cill fionnabhaic do mhóirí aghim imboi ó Domhnall. Taimc Taóg úa Ruairic 7 mac Suibne boğaineac do cepeachais Bóinne leó via fáigiró gur an ionaó ccfona. An tan tna ac connaire ó Domhnall gaé tealach 7 gaé vinn vía mbui ina uiricmcheil occa nompolaó do epio 7 do cepeachais (conar bo leiri an talom tpeotcha ar a ólur mo vainglnóingit hi cfnó apioile lár an laeciaró ngnamóa ngnuróoróa batari ina noméacémainz ina ceuaric) ayeaó mo éinn aige roaó aiaabhaic tna belgib bioépoa baoglach na Bóinne blingáirbe. Aghur úa Domhnall cona rloğais in aóaig rin i ceill fionnabpach, imbaile Eomgabann, & hi ccachairi Beneoin, ar ni éaomnaccatarí longpóir do gábal in aomionaó, ar pobtarí lionmaria accpeacgabala epuró 7 éftra, bpoiré 7 buaíña, 7 van beor pob ionóa

fol. 52. a. tigeapna típe & taoiruch túaithe, cfnó éeo 7 cuirpe (mo ba vifpézia bhuğ 7 boippaó, úail 7 ionnogbail, ionéolca 7 ainoiumur, & lar ar óuiló uúla no airore do éabairic do nach náon naile) batari foir an rloigeaó rin.

Do gmaet uignam afpéir 7 a bpoimre íarí ttain 7 geibitc og enamcombach foir buari ambioúbaó irin cepuch aineoil gan úamian gan imfzla aét amáil bíó ina tčír nólur buó vein no beirir. Aét chfna mo batari vponga raimfóáca iróe lár ar óuiló an míoiaé & an miumblir do blirpar foir alimáil anepceapac do éabairic foippan cepuró baol leó ina naireiré bunaró buó vein.

Ro éuilrfe an rluag ílrí ppoimróugaó vóiré gur bo peil lanfoilrí an láoi ar a bapach. Oiuétpair úa Domhnall ara fían, 7 mo opoaiğ gan fupieach na rlóig do argnam arin cepuch. Ro opoaiğ an gíollanpao, an glaplaé, 7 an alí vaipim i peiméur na conaire con a cepeachais 7 cona nairectir 7 cona nevalais ar éfna. Ro ching rlin co maicib 7 go moigrib an tpoimfloiğ ina fáipiaó in eirpimfóónna conaire cftena i lupz na vpuingburóean mo opoaiğ lar na cepeachais. Ro foipcongarí foir a amírais foir a oğbaró 7 foir a aor vuibpaicé aghurim fo vóuró do véabao tarí acceann via ttipra ina Unmain. Lotari íarim i mucha do ló irfórlighicib na rlnboipme rairi go rpeirbe móir 7 go monğar naóbal. Ba forao ionmall a nimééet gan eirónóó gan tinnlur ag ionain angpioré 7 angabal, úari ni mo chumangrfe inqum an eac tna chairpğib eúarchuinğa coguarpa coipmanğeria na epuró.

¹ *Smithstown*.—This castle is still standing in the parish of Kilshanny.

² *Cahermenan*.—In the parish of Killelagh, barony of Corcomroe.

where O'Donnell was. Tadhg O'Rourke and MacSwiny Banagh came with the plunder of Burren to the same place. Meantime, when O'Donnell saw every hill and mound all round completely covered with flocks and herds (so that the ground could not be seen between them owing to the closeness with which they were pressed together by the surly, dark-faced soldiers who were round about them), what he determined on was to go the next day by the long dangerous roads of rough-hilled Burren. O'Donnell stopped with his forces that night at Kilfenora, Smithstown,¹ and Cahermenan,² since they could not encamp in one place, for their preys of herds and flocks, of captives and oxen were very abundant, and besides there were on that expedition many lords of territories and chiefs of districts, heads of hundreds and of divisions, whose violence and anger, vanity and pride, self-will and arrogance were intolerable, and who could ill brook to render submission and obedience to any one else.

They made preparations for their feast and meal after a while, and proceeded to slaughter the enemies' cattle in that strange territory without fear or terror, but just as if they were in their own country. And indeed there were certain parties who would find it hard to ill-treat and injure the cattle which they had in their own family-dwellings as they did those of their enemies.

After their meal the army slept until it was broad daylight on the following day. O'Donnell awoke from his sleep, and ordered the army to march away without delay from the territory. He placed the attendants, the recruits, and the people without arms in the front on the road with the preys and herds and booty also. He himself marched with the nobles and the chosen men of his great host in the middle of the same road in the track of the party which he placed over the prey. He ordered his soldiers, his youths, and his shooters to remain in the rear to skirmish in defence of them against anyone who should come in pursuit of them. They went then in the early part of the day by the roads of ancient Burren eastwards with much noise and great shouting. Their march was calm and slow without haste or hurry in driving their steeds and their prey, for they could not ride the horses through the crooked, narrow, perilous, sharp-pointed rocks of

boime combatar a ttraiḡchead mḡṣ ar mḡcc fuy an marḡṡuaḡ co
 ianḡatar i celḡno tpeoa & imṡeaḡta a cill fionnabhiaḡ¹ do nllaconḡbaile,
 don Tuirlach, tḡia inanṡtṡi Corcomorḡiaḡ, tḡia charḡai na cclerṡc co
 ianḡtṡṡaḡ in deorṡi laoi ḡur an tṡiaṡ dianao ainm Mḡḡarṡe ananṡṡiaḡ
 fuy an mboiunn ḡur an Ruḡa do iunṡaḡ in ianṡar ṡ fṡiaḡach Aṡṡne.
 ḡabait longḡoṡ hiṡuṡiu an aḡaḡ iṡ, aḡannaṡ tḡintṡ & tḡṡala 7
 fol. 52. b. auṡḡaṡ ambiaḡ 7 contuṡṡt aruan tairṡim cotṡalta ara haitṡe co maṡain.
 O ior ionṡoṡhiaḡ an lṡa foy an loeḡarṡ aṡiaḡhṡṡ ar a fccorṡib 7 ḡabaitṡ
 occ arḡaṡ na conaṡe fṡiaṡṡiaḡ ina noṡonḡaṡ 7 ina mbuṡṡṡ foy leiṡ
 ḡan fṡaṡṡṡ ḡan uṡṡian.

Ar aṡie iṡ batari na ṡṡonḡ buṡṡe foy leiṡ aṡṡiaḡ ar nṡa iṡ cumairḡtṡ
 accṡeaḡa foy aḡeile, ṡiaṡ iṡ fṡelbaḡṡṡ an fṡoḡ a fainṡṡṡi ṡṡṡ ṡ
 ianḡatar tairṡan mboiunn fṡiaṡ tṡiaḡ. Iṡi uḡ heicḡṡ tuiṡḡ conaṡe
 inaṡ eolṡḡ fṡiḡeḡ iṡan fṡoḡ ṡ funn amaḡ ar iṡ baḡ coṡ ionḡnaḡ de via
 mbeṡ foyṡol conaṡe foy iṡuṡtṡi uṡ Ohoṡnaṡṡ ṡṡa iṡ ḡo baile an
 Mhoṡaḡ, ṡṡḡ iṡṡar ile accṡiaṡa iṡṡ ccoicṡṡ. Loṡar ar a bṡiaḡ
 tḡia uṡṡar cloinne Riocaiṡ 7 ḡo ṡoṡur baile aḡa an Riḡ. Iṡ haitṡṡṡar
 a nṡṡeaḡta ṡ iṡ amaḡ, aḡ na mṡa ṡo iṡala Mac Mṡṡiam 7 Mṡṡ ḡaṡṡ
 cona cṡeaḡaṡ ina ccoṡṡaṡ ileṡṡmel ṡ Maine, 7 ṡo ṡaṡ cāch ṡaṡṡ
 uṡe via tṡiḡib ḡo fṡeṡaḡ foyṡaṡneḡ mḡṡnaḡ moṡiaḡṡṡaḡ.

Bṡoi aṡṡe fṡiaḡ foyṡṡṡi fṡieolach iṡṡ Tuāṡmṡian an tan iṡ. Ba
 fṡaṡ fṡṡṡaḡ 7 fṡi ṡana eṡṡe ṡolṡṡnaṡ an tṡie ṡo, Maṡṡin ṡḡ mac
 Maṡṡin mṡe Conḡobaiṡ mac Bṡiaṡeaṡa aḡṡṡṡ. Oṡ nairṡṡar
 ṡṡonḡ ṡo fṡoḡ uṡ Ohoṡnaṡṡ ar aṡṡ ṡo cṡṡ an fṡṡṡ a cṡuma na cṡeaḡ
 ar cṡna. Oṡ ṡaṡ an fṡe mṡṡṡaḡ na ḡabala co haimbbaṡ ṡ Domṡnaṡṡ,
 ar ba ṡeṡṡ laiṡ oḡaṡeaḡ a cṡuṡ ṡo fṡaḡbaile ṡaṡa. ḡeṡṡ an fṡe oḡ
 fuyṡannaḡ aṡṡa 7 a mṡṡeaḡta fṡaḡ an fṡṡaṡ don fṡaṡṡ foy aḡṡṡ 7
 aḡ aṡeaḡ tṡile nṡṡ, & aḡṡṡṡ nṡi bṡ nṡi no meabaḡ ṡo ṡaṡ cṡaiṡ nṡa ṡo

¹ *Noughaval*.—An old church giving its name to a parish in the southern part of the barony of Burren.

² *Turlach*.—A castle on the road from Corofin to New Quay.

³ *M. of Corcomroe*.—Founded for the Cistercians in 1194 by Donald O'Brien; the church and some other parts of it are

still standing. See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 44, and *Triumphalia S. Crucis*, xxxviii.

⁴ *C. na cclereach*.—i.e., the narrow road of the clerics, now the Corker road, leading in a north-westerly direction from the monastery of Corcomroe.

⁵ *Roo*.—A townland near the village of Kinvarra, close to the boundary of Galway.

stony Burren, so that their foot-soldiers were mixed up with their horsemen till they came to the end of their road and journey from Kilfenora to Noughaval,¹ to Turlach,² by the monastery of Corcomroe,³ by Carcair na cclereach,⁴ and they came at the end of the day to the district called Maree to the north-east of Burren at Roo⁵ exactly in the west of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. They encamped there that night, and lighted fires and beacons, and prepared their food, and then slept soundly till morning. When the day shone on the soldiers they rose from their encampment and proceeded to march along the road north-eastwards in parties and in companies separately without concern or fear.

The reason why the bodies kept thus apart was in order that their prey would not mix together, for the forces had each their own share since they passed through Burren to the north-east. There was no need of guides or persons acquainted with the roads for the army after that, for it would be truly wonderful that there should be a mistake about the road on the part of O'Donnell's people from that to Ballymote, as their visits to the neighbouring territory were many. The next day they went through upper Clanricarde and to the gate of Athenry. Their marches from thenceforward are not related, only that Mac William and Niall Garbh met them with the prey at the borders of Hy Many, and each of them went to his home wealthy and rich, cheerful and in high spirits.

There was at that time in Thomond a certain learned poet of much knowledge. He was a historian and a poet of the ollamhs of that country. His name was Mailin Oge, son of Maolin, son of Conor MacBriody.⁶ A party of O'Donnell's army had taken some of the poet's cattle also as a prey. However, the poet followed after the prey to the place where O'Donnell was, for he was sure to get back his cattle from him. The poet proceeded to display his knowledge and talent in presence of the prince before whom he had come and to compliment him, and he said it was no disgrace to the Dalcassians or to the Queen's people that

⁶ *Mac Briody*.—*The Annals F. M.* say, 'there was not in Ireland one who was a better historian poet and rhymmer than he.' vi. 2321. He died in 1602. A list of his

poems is given in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, clxiv.; Dublin, 1820. The Mac Briodys were the hereditary bards of the O'Briens. See O'Curry's *M.S. Materials*, p. 22.

muinntir na bainneogán úa Domhnall cona flog do bheir na ceineach rin
leo gan tioro gan tachaí gan suin uine os a nomóirnamh, úair mo
thairingir an naoim eilam Colam cille mac Felim co tiorcrao dóo do
cénel cconall no oigéilí foy Dhail ccair tiorccaoileao grianan Oilig, 7
ar aill oia clocaib do bheir co luimneac la Muiréilíac úa mhuam
mac Toirreéalbaig mic Tairg mic Buam bóiamé, 7 acblit an ríle suir bo
oig lár suir bo heiom an tado hirin. Ro gab ílittam bloró don
fol. 53. a. tairingir cneblit inoio.

Mo úoirie, mo úoirígan, mairg 7 mairígan, ar mairg
a úe tolaib fíli, da bfuil an sun amilleaoth
Ar nairgan mo úoirie oíl, & ar rccaoileao mOilig
o rin amac go bíac mbinn m gébair óalccair Eunn
E oigéolur mOiléac óg, an taeó grioúeac don gairb nóo
an coirp rleamain clu gan goio an foileabair a fanoio
buó é rin an Taeó lúgaó da niallrair tuir na tñmíac
ar e fuigfí monar ngnnn oíl gaó cuicoró in Eunn, 7 arioile.

ba don ariéltal aómolta do iugne an Maolin céona oia Domhnall an
ianarra.

Do baor an oán an oioghail Oilig, a dóo Rúiaró, do meac an fáir
Tocht do rluag co hiar mág naóair. a tairó iariari cabair caighi.

Do matcaó íarom oghairí 7 a éuiró 7 a clthia cona foiréomach don fílar
7 tiomnair ceileabíao oia Domhnall 7 pagbair blnoáctoio occa.

Baor tía úa Domhnall imbair an Moirg, i foy gan feét gan rloigéao
ó veireao februaí go mórómóon Samíaró. Rugrat a éeéta fair on Spain
in uporaó lum & long leó imbair aym oí míle laech do manáoirb

¹ *Grianan*.—The word means nothing more than a place for enjoying the light and warmth of the sun, a chamber, a balcony. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 50, n.

² *Aileach*.—This was the residence of the northern Hy Neill up to the Anglo-Norman invasion. It is on a hill five miles N. W. of Derry. For a minute description of the fort and the details of its history, see *The*

Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, pp. 217-234.

³ *The stones*.—Under the date 1101, *The Annals F. M.* say: 'A great army was led by Murtough O'Brien, king of Munster, into Inishowen, and he demolished Grianan Oligh in revenge of Cencora, razed by Donnell O'Loughlin some time before. And Murtough commanded his army to carry from Oileach to Limerick a stone for

O'Donnell with his army should take away that prey with them without a contest or battle, without any one being wounded in defending them, for the holy patron Columkille, son of Felim, had of old prophesied that a Hugh of the Cinel Conaill would come to revenge on the Dalcassians the destruction of Grianan¹ Aileach,² and the carrying off of some of the stones³ by Murtough O'Brien, son of Turlough, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Borumha, and the poet said he thought it was this Hugh. He then recited a part of the prophecy, and said as follows :

My Derry,⁴ my little oak-grove, my dwelling, and my little cell, ah ! woe.

O God ! a multitude of men who are destroying the fort !

On the destruction of my dear Derry, on the scattering of my Aileach

From henceforth till final doom the Dalcassians shall not possess Erin.

He who will avenge my Aileach, Hugh Oge of steeds of rough roads,

The polished body, fame without deceit, the long hair in ringlets.

He is the clamorous Hugh, to whom the lords of Tara shall give pledges.

He will obtain a pleasant portion from every province in Erin, &c.

Of the hymn of praise which the same Maolin composed in honour of O'Donnell this was a stanza :

It was fated that in revenge for Aileach, Hugh Roe, the prophet announced

Your army's coming to Magh Adhair;⁵ from the north all aid is sought.⁶

His herds and flocks were afterwards restored to the poet by the chief with an addition, and he took his leave of O'Donnell and left him his blessing.

O'Donnell was in the castle of Ballymote resting, without any expedition or hosting from the end of February to the middle of summer. His messengers returned to him from Spain in the beginning of June, and with them

every sack of provisions which they had. These stones were used by O'Brien in the building of his palace at Limerick. See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 401.

⁴ *My Derry*.—St. Columkille's love for his monastery of Derry is often spoken in his *Life* by Adaman.

⁵ *Magh Adhair*.—Now Park Myra, 4 miles south-west of Tulla, Co. Clare. Here the

O'Briens were inaugurated. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 156, and *The Circuit of Ireland*, p. 47.

⁶ *Is sought*.—O'Donovan remarks that this line was so constructed as to please O'Donnell, and yet not to offend the Earl of Thomond, for the last three words separated from what goes before would refer only to help in general. *Annals F.M.*, vi. 2105.

moirleabha & do gúnnaslaib gleruibne cona nairéilge 7 cona nairóimib tecta. Ro iannata in ué, 7 do iactaó an iann tanare uía léill aihail ba hiomairgíde ar ar ué ioinn no bíod fori gach nairceóó d'ur picceó uía raiúó on Spain, 7 ba ríó no ba tecta uóib ó ié na rín, ar ní no úligré cenél cconaili impoiriarió ó chenél nEoghain aét teaét ina tcionól an tan buó la cenél cconaili iuge nEiunn 7 cenél cconaili do uól ina tcionóloróim an tan buó la cenél nEoghain an iuge.

fol. 53. b. fol. 53. b. Dala an aihug no baoríu lánm an tirlíarió fori éoirceaoó Olnéccmaét Seri Coneur Clioforí, no gairíróe occ baig 7 buptáo bhiaéarí fori úa nDoimnaili íarí ninoiréao na Tuadumúan tairí, 7 no éingéall tairéacht gur an Slisceaoó co ríongarib ríuimé do laechiarió Lonvan lair conour raircebaríó ó Concóbairí Sligigí mo raimíróeoin uí Ohoimnaili 7 naé ar ielccarí ariem uóporóim in buó ríuú. Deirébirí on úairí tainicc ó Concóbairí Sligigí a Saxaib in eiríais na bliadóna iemáinn 7 baoríróe irfaiúarí lairíla of Eirrex tainic in Eiríunn im beltaine na bliadóna ríiechnairíce feb no comairíleigéaoó lár an mbairíuogáin 7 lár an ccomairíle a éorí co hEiríunn im feil bhugíróe aihail at iuibíamairí iemáinn. Ot éualaoó ó Doimnaili an comairíleim 7 an tairícural do éaoí fo céltorí uioiríma maríeílóig ó baile an Moéaig go ianaic gán anaó gán oirírlí co háé Seanaisí mo aihlí a ílóig ar uaisí atcionóil chucca gán uicéll gán líeóiréimíó go mbeirí irfóichil an góirílínoirí Seri Coneur Clioforí 7 an tirlóig iemíaríu. O éangatarí cenél cconail gur an Samíarí aihim amíbuí ó Doimnaili tirléarí tairíu in eiréimíóón raimíarí. Gabairí aó mallaríam na conairíe tairí Oiríoboir tairí Duib tairí Mairí célténe na bFomairí. In buí éúónoó no tinníur ríuúia aét beirí oó tófarí fori aighib allta oc aihurí 7 éluiré conur tairírló ríeéla an tirlóig eéporíno. Níu bo éian uóiríríomí raimílarí an tan at éuarí uía Ohoimnaili go tainicc uía Concóbairí go hincéiré uáéaoó uaoiríe go cairíall Cuirímaoiríe no buí fori eóéaríimlíb abann móiríe líó góiríuó ó lí uairí rairíórlí 7 go iug gábail bó ó ríuugí do munníu uí Ohoimnaili

¹ *Division*.—See the extract from O'Donnell's will in Introd., p. cliii.

² *Hosting*.—This was the rule laid down in *The Book of Rights* to determine the mutual obligations of these two neighbouring tribes in time of war.

³ *Fomorians*.—These were pirates, who ravaged the country when in the possession of the Nemedians. Their chief stronghold was in Tory island. For an account of them see Keating, *H. of Ireland*, p. 77, and *Annals F. M.*, i. 11.

a ship in which there were arms for two thousand men, very long spears and lock guns, with the necessary and proper implements. They were divided into two parts, and the second part was given to O'Neill, as was meet, for this division¹ into two parts was made of every gift which came to him from Spain, and that was the custom from the time of their ancestors, for the Cinel Conaill had no right to submission from the Cinel Eoghain, but only that they should go to their hosting² when the sovereignty of Ireland belonged to the Cinel Conaill, and the Cinel Conaill should go to their hosting when the sovereignty belonged to the Cinel Eoghain.

As for the President who was placed by the Council over the province of Olneccmacht, Sir Conyers Clifford, he proceeded to boast and bluster against O'Donnell for preying Thomond in spite of him, and he asserted he would go to Sligo with large bodies of the soldiers of London, in order to restore O'Connor Sligo in spite of O'Donnell, and he would not allow him to act as he liked any longer. This was natural, for O'Connor Sligo had come from England in the spring of the preceding year, and he was then with the Earl of Essex, who had come in May of the present year, as it was decided by the Queen and Council on the feast of Brigid that he should come to Ireland, as we have said already. When O'Donnell heard of the threat and insult, he set off immediately with a body of horse from Ballymote and he came without stop or stay to Ballyshannon where his troops were, in order to assemble them to him without delay or loss, to be in readiness for the Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, and the afore-said army. When the Cinel Conaill came to the Saimer where O'Donnell was, they went across it in the middle of summer. They proceeded by slow marches along the route, across the Drowes, the Dubh, through Magh Ccetne of the Fomorian.³ They made no hurry or haste, but were pursuing the wild deer, sporting and gaming, until news of the foreign army should come. They were not long so when news reached O'Donnell that O'Connor had come secretly with a small body of men to the castle of Collooney, which was on the bank of the Owenmore, a short distance south-east of Ballysadare, and that he had taken into that castle a prey of cows from some of O'Donnell's people,

baíorí fóir fepíúir 7 fóir ingeilí feaénón na cliche chuga munn von baileirín. Iní baíor eimí úináó no daingeachaírtiáil inníll sóróim náó fóir accommuy buíóein irín cliche uile cén mothá an táon chaírtiáil hírín. Fóirícongaírt ó Domínáil fóir amáiréluag zan anaó fua míleaóab tpaighéac co iurir an caírtiáil cona taírígló la húa Concóbaíri ueíoch an úináó íe írú iurírtáir an ílóí. La íoóain ío leablaingírt an maírtílóí fóir aneachaírt ío hutmáil anéírtáí úáir ní laméa upéúaraé a bpeíthíeríomí.

fol. 54. a

a neach ío mbatáir óí an mbaile. Do leicélt an ílóí in anóíoháíí íur an úináó. Ba daingín oíógláííe an baile buí íuríóu 7 ba hínníll an tíonáó ambuí úáir ío íala ábáinn fóir íac leíé úe, 7 íoócoílléáó coimóíúta von táóó aíuáil von ábáinn ío ííííáim ííur a tíuáí, conáó aíe írín náí ío íoóainíí íabáil íoírín tí íar buí mínnmaíe íagábáil an úíime. Aí a áoi íabáíó ó Domínáil íongíóíe aí íelaíb an ííóa é ío éínííeáil na íuicéííó an íomíuríóe íomíeíé ó Concóbaíri 7 Cúlmaoíle aí a commuy. Do íuíníé an ílóí íoíha 7 íelííeáíe. Ro íoíríuáííé íuchí ííííhíme 7 ííuóíhaíe in oíóchíí 7 í íáíb ím on úináó fóir íac leíé. Do íomíaríaríóe uíuáíóa cíuáó 7 cíoch uíncláíó uíuóíma ííoíríma 7 áor an ímíéíéí 7 an uíuáíeíe aí an úináó. Ro íaóííar íamíáíó fóir íac táóó úe. No bííur uíóíng uíuáíanna móíma oía maíeííluag fóir an eachaírt írín ííoírímaíe o íuíní na nona co maóáin na ío elarííó ó Concóbaíri úáíóíb íaríóe íóíaríí na oíóche úáir íobíarí buíóíí von áoin Oía ío bííur íhúca írín íomíéumáíí ambaoí. Ro ííé co coírtéííí ío Eíuíníí uía Domínáil ío íeíé occ íomíuríóe an baile fóir uía cconcóbaíri. Oí íhúaláó íaríla of Eíííex ó Concóbaíri ío íeíé írín aíe 7 írín eíccéíí ambaoí ba íoííarí íarí a íhaíma 7 a coimíann coíarí ío íeíé írín ííabáó íuáííe ían áíuríacé oía tíííeáó úe, con aíe írín ío íáíóí a íheéíe ío éóíáíuím an íoíbeáíuíoíma ína íoóíum ío íííuáíb ceáil ío éíurí a ccomíáííle an uíírín íur cíó ío ííííuáíí íuóáíáó uí Concóbaíri. Do íecharí an íoíbííuíoíí ío íhíííuíoí la íoíéonííma an íaríla

¹*Evening.*—*Nona or trath nona*, the time when the canonical hour of the divine office called none is said, *i.e.*, three o'clock in the afternoon.

²*His friend.*—‘Require Tibot na long to send me present word in what stay O’Conor

Sligo is, what time he is able to hold out, . . . and to assure him that if he give me time to assemble an army, I will march in person and set up my rest to free him, to have a revenge for my worthy friend, and especially to recover her Majesty’s honour.’

which were on the pastures and grazing throughout the country. There was not a fortress or strong, secure castle in the whole country that was not in his possession except that one castle. O'Donnell, without waiting for his foot-soldiers ordered his cavalry to go to the castle, that O'Connor might not effect an escape from the castle before the army came. Therupon the horsemen jumped on their horses speedily and actively, for no one dared to disobey his words. 1599.

They marched after that as fast as they could together, and set to spur and whip their horses until they reached the place. The army came after them to the castle. That place was an impregnable stronghold, and its position was secure, because a river was on every side of it and there was a thick wood on the other side of the river extending to the north of it, so that it was not easy to seize on any one who desired to leave the fortress. However, O'Donnell encamped opposite the wood, and he declared he would not give up the siege until O'Connor and Collooney were in his power. The army made tents and huts. Guards and sentinels were set night and day round the castle on every side. They made mounds of earth and stones and very large trenches between them and the archers and shooters of the castle. They enclosed it on every side in this way. There were large strong bodies of his horse on horseback on the watch from the dusk of evening¹ till morning, lest O'Connor might escape from them under cover of the darkness of the night, for they were thankful to the one God who had brought him into the 'strait in which he was. It spread universally through Ireland that O'Donnell was besieging O'Connor in his castle. When the Earl of Essex heard that O'Connor was in that difficulty and strait in which he was, he was vexed that his friend² and companion in war should be shut in as he was without help coming to him. Wherefore, he sent his messengers to summon the Governor to meet him at Fercall,³ that they might take counsel there in order to see what he should do to go to O'Connor. The Governor set off immediately in consequence of the order of the Earl to him, and he incurred great danger and

Essex's Instructions for Lord Dunkellin, August 10th, 1599. *C.C. MSS.*, iii. 318.

³ *Fercall*.—This territory is now included

in the baronies of Eglish, Ballcowan, and Ballybritt, King's Co. The O'Molloys were chiefs of it. *Book of Rights*, p. 189.

oia fairsiú 7 iú foðaimi gairbúi 7 suapácta móra ag sul tma físaib ceall
 go manaic bail ambaoi an clapla, 7 baoi ví oróche cona láib ina fochairi
 occ i ghuáda a ccomhairle. Do iat an clapla fuilleaó rochmaroe don
 góibearinóir 7 iú aithin de an tan tipesaó co hAdélúain ambui do míleaóuib
 & oairib 7 oóirí túsairiadaíl fo miamur bainRiogain. Saxan hi ccoisgíó
 olneccmaét 7 ambaoi beor do gaoiréalaib in uimla 7 in airoe ví on muró
 cclctna do éionol chuga co haoimonaó 7 tocht iúmpa ofupitacht
 uí Chonócobairi fori úa nDomnail. Ro líb oan fairi afoicongia fori
 fol. 54. b. Teaboirt na long mac Ríorlíro an iapainn mic Emainn mic Uillice 7
 ari Mupichao na máoir mac Domnail an chogairó mic an gíollaóuib
 uí fílaibfítaig, 7 ari eirge amach na gailme an ioruirí do biur 7 oia gach
 naibíge ari éina, 7 an aóme ofnma cairteoir tainicc ó Saxaib go gailmí
 do bpiet illoinglí lamí oírí fíu hoir nErean fairi túairó co Sligeaó. An
 goiblínoirí gur an fíuagh ariubíamairi do éocht fori tíri 7 Teabóro na long
 gur an loinglí rin na gailme do éocht fori muiri co ccomhairleirí fíu ariole
 i Sligeach íari ccabairi uí Conócobairi a Cuilmaoirle, & iú fmaéht oim an
 clapla fori an goiblínoirí gan roaó fori ceulaó conofínta lairí cairtíall
 coimóainglí 7 cuirí clochaolta ag an Sligeaó iú baó clao coisgíuée 7
 iobaó cliaé gábala fíu híltaib do gpiér. O do bíre an goiblínoirí lamí
 im na éainguib rin do foibáó iú éleabairi don íapla 7 imíri ina fíutheing
 co baile Adaluain, 7 iú foíairí fori Theaboirt na long tocht an tuíur
 iemíaire feib iú foicongiaó fairi buóein.

Oir pícc ífírtain co Rur commain, 7 ba ríomí aóbal 7 ba haónairi
 lairí úa Conócobairi do beirí irin éinnia anbpóill ípáibe 7 a fíor iú baoi gan
 toiríetín úaó ari ba heiríomí feirín iú aílaiú fairi tocht do bíat & do
 thairceáo an tírie & oríor ícél uí Ohoimnail. Act éhína niri bo ní lair
 tocht co heiríomíll aníuicé oia fupitacht, oisgí iú imóinnaiú coríari 7
 caébuairí ainíuiri 7 aínairi an fíu iú baoi fori aóimó. Ro cuíeaó ífíomí
 lairí an goiblínoirí éionól 7 églamaó fori ambui do gíallaib 7 do
 gíaoiréalaib uimla don bainRiogain hi ccoicceó Connacht do neoch iú
 batari ó Eachtge co Oíobaoir ino aínairne le. Íatí na fíonngáill 7
 na gaoirí don angatoirí ipochmaroe an goibearinóira élan íapla éloimne

¹ *M. na maor.* — i.e. of the stewards.
 See Hardiman's *H. of Galway*, p. 41. He

died in 1620, leaving a son and heir, Mor-
 rough na mart.

risk in going through Fercall until he came to the place where the Earl was. He was two days and two nights with him taking counsel. The Earl gave more soldiers to the Governor and ordered him, when he should come to Athlone, to bring together all the soldiers, warriors, and mercenaries in the service of the Queen of England within the province of Olneccmacht and also whosoever of the Irish were submissive and obedient to him in the same way and to go to the aid of O'Connor against O'Donnell. He then issued a command to Theobald na long, son of Richard an Iarainn, son of Edmund, son of Ulick, and to Morrough na maor,¹ son of Donnell an chogaidh, son of Gilla Dubh O'Flaherty, and the auxiliaries from Galway, to carry in ships, north-eastwards having the coast of Ireland on the right, to Sligo, the stores of food and everything needful, and implements for making castles which had come from England to Galway. The Governor himself with the army we have spoken of should go by land, and Theobald na long with the ships from Galway should come by sea, that they might meet at Sligo, after helping O'Connor at Collooney. Moreover, the Earl commanded the Governor not to return until there was built by him a castle and dwelling of stone and mortar at Sligo, which would be a boundary and wall of defence against the Ulstermen always. When the Governor undertook to carry out these arrangements, he took leave of the Earl and returned to Athlone, and he ordered Theobald na long to go on the aforesaid expedition, as he was ordered to do himself.

He came afterwards to Roscommon, and it was a great grief and confusion to him that O'Connor should be in such a great strait and so long without aid from him, for it was he who had persuaded him to go spy and reconnoitre the country and get news of O'Donnell. But yet he thought it would be of no use to go to his relief weak and unprepared, for he dreaded very much the fierceness and bravery, the perseverance and subtlety of the man opposed to him. It was arranged after that by the Governor to assemble and bring together all the English and Irish submissive to the Queen in the province of Connaught from Hechtgha to the Drowes in her pay. These were the old English and the Irish who came to the army of the Governor: the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, *i.e.*, Richard, baron of

fol. 55. a. Riocairio 1. Riccario bairiún dúine cóilín 7 Tomar cona rocmairde, Teaboirt
 Dóilínain co lion aétionoil, ó Concobairi donn, Adó mac Diaimada, mic
 Cairpre cona toichlétaí, 7 mac Suibne na ttauat, Maolmuire mac Muiréaró
 moill mic Eogain óis baorí forí rogaíl 7 oibers ó úa nDomhnail 1 farríad
 an goiblínoira. O mangatarí an luchterín uile co Rorcommain combatarí
 ríog ómóirí d'anairí d'úiríoiríeach comba raimalta lair an aigúg Ser Coneur
 naé baorí acmairg írrílétaí naé affreagairítha do óaoimib aq úa nDomhnail.
 Lotarí íarom a Rorcommain oét mbriatacha ríchlé co mangatarí co Tuillreí.
 Aիրිරóe óóib 50 mairírtirí na buille 7 no gabrat longróirí hiríuoirí.
 Dala Teaboirt na long 7 Muircharó na maorí 7 an loingirí ríemíerírtmarí,
 no íeolratíaróe laim veap ríu hoirí nEirinn feb no hírbad ríuú, 50 mangatarí
 in íomóomáin an chíuáin ríur an Slígead aníarí. Aիրíríe aníuoiróe amáil
 do muonóoirígead óóib co írrílétaí ríela an tírlois oile no óail chúca
 an dúirín.

Tuiríeéta uí Domhnail rílétaí naile ó ríainice lairíom an ríuoirígead do
 óiríu 7 do óluéuagad ríur an dúnad amáil ba mlinmaríe lair 50 na leicirí
 neach anonn no ille aca 7 na buí conairí no írríur elíúa aq ó cconcobairí
 aríu ccairíalí, do íagabí níalí gáib ó Domhnail 1 tuirígeét an
 comíeoa, & no tioróiríge é in gach ní ba ríoirí óó 7 ba ríainírlíe lairíom
 do óenoim óó. Luro feirín cona ríog co Cairírlíab na Slígra 7 gabair
 longróiríe íuoiróe arí óaig na tíreag an ríluag íall éairíur ían íaéuagad.
 Bairíom írín dúnad hírín on céona ríehte ac chúalad an goiblínoirí do
 beirí aq tioróíl chúga ríu íé d'á mior co cois .x. Augurí. Ro íntíamílaig-
 írtairíom é buíóein on muíorín ríu íulíur Caeríarí an tan íoríagabí
 Decíur íríríur ino íomíuoiróe íorí chathairí na Maírí, 7 do cóiríh feirín
 cona ríog do tocharí ríur an d'á aիրíu no batarí ríu laimh íoimp íoríur
 Eiríain, íetíur 7 Aիրíur an anmánná. Robtarí ríubais íoríoríaoiríó
 muíntírlí uí Domhnail ríu ríemírlí an d'á miorí acíuóíamoirí no batarí írín
 dúnad ríemíáirte ríu Cairírlíab na Slígra acúaró, 7 íerí uó heirírlíhian
 úaríob ímírlíam 7 taríuú a loíntírlí ní buí naé tíríbaró bíó íoríur ríurín

¹ *Encamped there*.—His camp was in the extremity of Bealach Buidhe, now Bellaghyboy, near Ballinafad, Co. Sligo. *Annals F. M.*, vi., 2124.

² *Julius Caesar*.—For an account of the

battle of Lerida, in which these two lieutenants of Pompey were defeated, and of the subsequent surrender of Marseilles to Caesar, and his generosity to the inhabitants, see his *De Bello Civili*, i. 34.

Dunkellin, and Thomas with his forces, Theobald Dillon with all his troops, O'Connor Don, Hugh, son of Dermot, son of Cairbre, with his party, and MacSwiny na dtuath, Maeltuired, son of Morrough Moll, son of Owen Oge, who was then at variance with and in rebellion against O'Donnell and with the Governor. When all these people came to Roscommon, they formed a strong, cruel, hard-hearted army, so that it seemed to the leader Sir Conyers that O'Donnell had not a body of men to meet or encounter them. They went away after that from Roscommon with twenty-eight standards, until they came to Tulsk; from that to the monastery of Boyle, and they encamped there. As for Theobald na long and Morrough na maor and the ships of which we have spoken, they set sail, keeping the shore of Ireland on the right, as was commanded them, until they came to the deep part of the harbour west of Sligo. They remained there, as they were instructed, till they should get news of the other army which he sent to them there.

As for O'Donnell, some time after he succeeded in closing and securing the position before the fortress as he wished, so that no one was allowed in or out of it, and there was no way or means of escape for O'Connor out of the castle, he left Niall Garbh O'Donnell in command of the guard, and instructed him in everything he needed and he specially desired he should do. He himself went with his army to Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, and encamped there¹ lest the English army might cross it without being noticed. He was in the fortified place then from the first time he heard the Governor was collecting his forces against him for the space of two months to the fifteenth of August. In that way he resembled Julius Cæsar² when he left Decius Brutus besieging the city of Marseilles and he went himself with his army to fight against the two generals who were Pompey's lieutenants in Spain; Petronius and Afranius were their names. O'Donnell's people were glad and delighted during the space of the two months they were in the aforesaid strong place to the north of Corrsliabh of the Seaghais, for they had no lack of provisions during that time, though the carriage and bringing of supplies was very long for them

fol. 55. b. mé rin, úairi nri bo luḡa oluat céo mile ceimino imecuirteir ar aill oia lointib fori ghuib 7 eochuib a hinir Eoḡain mic Néill, a fanoit. típe Conaill, a goll, a hitorḡol, a puir toiraghe ísli ttiáirceir. Nri bo heiccln laodémar na laithḡaile rri ḡairceó mairt óicc ariméa rri huprélaiḡe dair clno amogaó no ameanbolḡ, aét arfóh ba ríávaó & comairce dóib ḡille 7 aiaóa & daoine diaim 7 lucht mḡairḡiú 7 mioslachair, 7 ni láméa bein rriú la huamán uí Ohoimnail ar na foribuirte armaéccain riosáimil.

O vo maclatataricéla ḡo húa nDoimnail Teaboirt na long cona longlr vo éeac irin ccúan rriur in Sligead acúar, mo faoir ar aill oia amraib na rrruthairḡeac na tirtair fori tíri ḡombatar irin poric ro anlréomair eneach in ionchuib rriú. Nir farḡaibrim dān rirhir mairt conairiróha náro earrura eluóa ó loch Cé rriur an Slḡhair anair ḡo loch Techlt alla thiar ḡan lucht riréme & forairie forria na tirdac an ríuaḡ rcaáa ḡan maéḡaó cipinour. Ac blirrat a éoirḡ 7 a émeabaimn a conrail 7 achomairilḡ ar ceana ba tlrbar móri oia mileaóuib 7 ba tanaoirtte acclatḡabala rri ḡallar anrcaoirleaó 7 an tarriréac vo matr fori a mhinir. i. oionḡ móri dóib inn ionruróe an chairtéoil ambui ó Conéobair 7 ar aill fori huchc brianne an loingir imririáórim, ar oile ríob acc comírt forria conairib acúadamar.

fol. 56. a. Vo matrim foraril mbicc 7 fori nlrin ruiḡle na nuáral 7 na nairiaó 7 acblir rriú ḡur bó heiccln inoirin, 7 mo mar beor ḡur bo rirnbmar ar ó chlín mair naé ar líon óḡ buprlir caé aét rri nlr an choimrceó 7 ririr neach tairuirḡlr irin rrimoirt aré ar corḡmaé 7 crierlr ḡur ab é an taoin Dia ror fori an rocharóe bior fori ḡáoi maran úaéac bior fori ríor. Ar imne acamaoirtne in ar núaéac fori ríor an dair linn buóvein, 7 acac ḡaill ma rocharóe móir fori ḡói aḡ ḡoir bair naéaróa 7 bair nairblirca bié forarib, 7 ar ura óaóib comóri caéḡaó calma rlrirḡ ririré vo venom rair clno bair naéaróa 7 bupnanma an tan acairtcl ar bup ccomur rāvein 7 bup nairim in bup lámair, ná an tan no bair beréa hi carirarib 7 hi cuimrighclhib iar nḡoir bair nairim forarib ísli ccoméclnḡal bair mball

¹ *Goll*.—A promontory in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal, on the eastern side of Sheephaven, now Rosguill. The

limits of Ross Irguill are not determined. It adjoined Ros Guill on the west. *Top. Poems*, xxxi.

during that period, for they brought some of their provisions not less than a hundred miles on mares and steeds from Inishowen Mic Neill, from Fanad of Tyrconnell, from Goll¹ and West Goll, from Port Tory in the north-west. Soldiers and armed men were not necessary, nor armed youths, to protect their servants or flour-sacks, but their protection and guards were servants and peasants, and people without arms, and persons not fit for war and cowardly, and no one dared to harm them through fear of O'Donnell, that his peaceful rule might not be broken through.

1599.

When the news reached O'Donnell that Theobald na long with the ships had come to the mouth of the harbour of Sligo, he sent some of his soldiers to prevent them from landing, so that they were in the harbour face to face with them. Besides, he did not leave the roads or passes or means of escape from Lough Ce of the Seghais to Lough Techet on the west without guards and watches on them, lest the army should pass by without being observed in some way. His chiefs and captains, and his counsellors too said they were very short of soldiers, and that their attack on the English would be weaker on account of the scattering and dispersion which he had made of his forces, *i.e.*, a large body of them was besieging the castle in which O'Connor was, and some confronting the fleet of which we have spoken, some of them keeping watch on the roads we have mentioned.

He made little or no account of the words of the nobles and chiefs, and he said to them that this was necessary, and he declared moreover that there was an old saying from long ago, that it was not by the number of soldiers the battle is decided but by the power of God, and that he is victorious whosoever trusts in the Trinity and believes that the one God is against the crowd that is on the side of cheating and with the few who are on the side of right. 'We, though a small number, are on the side of right, as it seems to us, and the English, whose number is large, are on the side of robbery, in order to rob you of your native land and your means of living, and it is far easier for you to make a brave, stout, strong fight for your native land and your lives whilst you are your own masters and your weapons are in your hands than when you are put into prison and in chains

ալլ տօյրօժ տօն թօմարօն, իկի յա իար շօմօնօնցալ 7 ալ յա իար յաօմմալ
բօր քանօն 7 արտախօն շիա քիարօյնօնցօն, շիախիաժ յա յոցալ տօա իար
քաժօսօյն 7 տօա իար շարօթօժօ. Ենօժօժ տարօր քօրօն ձ քիօրմիտօյն,
տաքարօն յո իար մօնման առ տօքիաժի շալմա յո իարօն ին առ շան յո իարօն
առ մօրօժ 7 առ ծօքիարօժօն քոն քօրօն (ամալ տօ քարօժ քօր իլ տօ իար
շօնօն) շօրօն առա յոն լօ իարօր քօժօն ալար շաժօնցօն քիարօն յո շիօն
տօ շօրման իար քօրօյն շօնօն ձ մօր իար լան 7 ձ քիար իար շարօն առ շան
աժօն իար շարօյն ալ իար շարօյն 7 իար յարմոն յո իար լանօն, ամալ յա
իարօն արօն մօն յառ առ քիարօն շալլ իար շարօն. Եա շարօն շիար յա
մօնցա յա լօնմարօյն լօնօնօն լարօն յա յա յալմարօն առ մոնլ յա
ձ յարմ, ձժ շարօն իար քիարօյն 7 իար քօնլօնօն յոն շարօն քօրօն.
Ալ յոն լարօն տօ քաքարօն տօ իար յարօն առարօնօր քոն շօ քիարօնօն
քօր շալլօն, 7 շարօն ին շարօն. Եարօն յա քօնց շարօնօն քօրօն
քիարօն յա քիարօն. Եոն տօնց տօն տօնօն շալմոյն շարօն
յոն յարօնօն ալ արօն ձ շօն 7 ձ իարօն. Եօ շալլօն շալ յարօն
շարօն յարօնօն քօն յո քօնօնցօն 7 յո արօնց քօն.

[illegible]

¹*Feast.* — *i.e.*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is fixed on that day.

² *He.*—*i.e.*, Sir C. Clifford, who had ap-

pointed the monastery of Boyle to be the rendezvous of the forces that were summoned to go to the relief of O'Connor Sligo to Collooney.

after being robbed of your weapons and when your limbs are bound with hard, tough cords of hemp, after being broken and torn, some of you half dead after you are chained and taken in crowds on waggons and carts, through the streets of the English towns through contempt and mockery of you. My blessing on you, true men ; bear in your minds the firm resolution that you had when such insults and violence were offered to you (as was done to many of your race), that to-day is the day of battle which you have needed to make a vigorous fight in defence of your liberty by the strength of your arms and the courage of your hearts, while you have your bodies under your control and your weapons in your hands, as it is not a necessity that the English should be your conquerors. Have no dread or fear of the great number of the soldiers of London or of the strangeness of their weapons and arms, but put your hope and confidence in the God of glory. I am certain if you take into your minds what I say to you, that the English will be defeated and that victory will be with you.' The troops listened to the words of the prince. It was not difficult for them to hear, though they were not very close, on account of the loudness of his voice and speech. They promised all together that they would do as he ordered and requested them.

As for the commander Conyers Clifford, he was for the space of a week preparing and getting ready for the journey, which he made at last. He was blustering and showing his contempt for and reviling the men of the north each day, and saying that he would go in spite of them over the mountain northwards. He was thus until the feast¹ of Mary the Mother of God, on the 15th day of August. He promised that he would be in O'Donnell's camp before night that day after defeating his forces. The occupation of O'Donnell's forces during the time that he² was in the monastery was exercising themselves and preparing for the fight and for the encounter which they were called to engage in. They were cleaning and getting ready their guns, and drying and exposing to the sun their grain powder and filling their pouches and casting their leaden bullets and heavy spherical balls, sharpening their strong-handled spears and their war-pikes, polishing their long broadswords and their bright-shining axes, and preparing their arms

and armour and implements of war also. A prudent pious cleric and a comely psalm-singing priest were with O'Donnell continually offering Mass and the pure, mysterious sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, and it was his usual practice wherever he went on a journey or a hosting, or whenever he was threatened with any kind of danger, to observe a fast and confess his transgressions to his confessor,¹ after he had grieved for his sins before God, and to receive the Body of Christ himself. He requested his army to fast on the eve of the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Mass was offered for him on the next day, and for everyone of the army also who was in that encampment, and he recommended the chiefs of the army to receive with him the Body of Christ with great reverence for the Lord Jesus Christ and his holy Mother on her feast that occurred then. When he heard of the boasting of the proud leader the Governor, who promised to come to his encampment that night, he besought the Son of the Virgin, who had lain on her breast, and the Virgin herself, in whose honour he had fasted the day before, to pray to the blessed Father and to her loving Son, first for his soul, and afterwards if God did not grant that he should be victorious, that he should be left on the field of battle and that he should never return, but that he should be beheaded by his enemies rather than be disgraced, as was the wish of the Governor. After hearing Mass, the army went to their tents and prepared to take their food and their meal before engaging in the great labour, and then they were hungry and thirsty after the fast of the preceding day in honour of holy Mary. After taking their meal they came from their tents very readily with great delight and gladness, owing to the great hope they had of obtaining a victory and triumph over their enemies.

They proceeded over the level part of the plain in order to review their forces together. O'Donnell then divided his forces into two parts. He placed his swift energetic youths and his nimble athletic men and his shooters apart, with their loud-sounding straight-shooting guns and their strong bows and their bloody venomous javelins, and their missile instruments also. He appointed leaders of battle and champions of the fight and generals for sustaining the battle with them, with command to the youths to press and urge and close them to the battle, so that they may

not be defeated, and to hew down and wound after them as soon as their missile weapons were ready. His nobles and chief men and veterans¹ were placed in the other division, his leaders and his chiefs, his trusty brave men, and his leaders of battle, with their strong, keen-edged swords and polished, thin-edged battleaxes, with large-headed, smooth, narrow lances, their long, smooth spears, to support the conflict and maintain the fight and battle. The place was not one for galloping and riding, wherefore he made foot-soldiers of his cavalry in the midst of his soldiers. After dividing his forces in two, O'Donnell ordered the second division, with whom the shooters² were, to advance as far as the foreign army to engage them, and they should be the chief men of the fight and battle to wound and cut down before they came over the difficult and rough part³ of the mountain, for it would be easier to defeat them in the end if they were wounded by them in beginning, and he himself with the main body of the army would wait near to engage them where he was sure they would pass. There were strong bodies of O'Donnell's people day and night by turns watching on the summit of the mountain lest the foreign army should go through without being noticed.

There were parties of them that very day there, and they were reconnoitering and watching the monastery at a distance and the party which was in it. When the sun was in full brilliancy as they were reconnoitering, they saw the army taking their arms and raising their standards and colours and sounding their trumpets and tabors and war instruments. They sent word to O'Donnell in all speed. After hearing the news, he told the party whom he had ordered to take the van in the pass, that they should march forward rapidly to engage the army before it crossed the rugged parts of the mountain slope. They advanced then as they were commanded with the magnanimity and courage of soldiers all of them, till they speedily came to the summit of the mountain before the English. O'Donnell set out after them steadily, firmly, with the steady troops and faithful heroes whom he had collected round him, and they came to the appointed place and to the spot where they were sure the English would come up to them. They remained there to meet them.

As for the van of the army which O'Donnell had ordered to the front

gabalat occ argnám na conaíre hí ccomódaíl na ccaé neéctionn combataí ucht fhu ucht. O mo éomfoiceiríglé via aroile do melcect na gaoiúil ppoia fuileacha foichib úfoğaðaib alcthoíma uinníonn 7 faithe raighlé rruibgeir rianlítead a ríobacaib ppoa perómneairímaia 7 capai-ceaéa cejunéaoir ceíorúlrí & ubaílméal luairé a gunnaóaib ceirtoiríge caolraóaire. Ffuinníllcthai ó ogbaró na Saxan via ramlaígeaó pon ceumma cctna do grianaoiblíb gpurğoríta glanluairé a gunnaóaib gleioibhe 7 a cmaormurcoetaib coguarta cianfoğmaéa combtai línnaíglé na himtelectí ltoirua deirú 7 analí go clor a ríuamanna 7 a rírlíğaríta 7 a rífoğharítoirímeaó i ríoríglé 7 a ríroóbaóaib a ceairtiallaib 7 a ceum-vaiğib clochúa na ceíoch ccomfoceur. Ba maétnaó móir na ríğríoce aer oíumíta 7 aiaúa foir ríemni 7 oaríadé la coirteé ríur na caírmearíab caéa 7 fhu mac alla 7 coirman an ríemnoibuaicé. Ro ríeáénaíglé curaró 7 mo loiríct lofchíaró foir oib leiríab leó combot líri bomanna lgha matan gáimíur mo aé foirra ttaoc ríoríma ağ ríainmíur lánia 7 leiréchno 7 la aia na loechíaró foir gá leir na mbíuríglé bloóta 7 na ceanaímebaró

fol. 58. a. combíurte ó charaínaíğ caoríoríğnen celírelígha cejuníluairé & la ríoríchlíthab ríğað ríanníuáó ríorbíglé 7 raighlé rruibfoa ríinn-coiríanaé 7 gach aiaim ímteílece a rí éíma. Ac blíctat a ríoríglé ríroa & a naíuríğ íomğona fhu ímíurí uí Ohoínoíll gan aiaíuríom foir íonchaib na naílmíaríach aé go ríurímeaíllaoir íaó foir gáé toíab do chochaí ríurí. Laróóam mo íaúrat íompaib foir gáé leir aiaíal mo ríoríonğmaó ríurí, 7 gábatat og an ríuríaccáó 7 occ ríeabaó ríurí go ríemíneoaé ríóíomíuríel co mo laírlé anlíctúa caíha írtaí a rí mlóón la ríurí 7 ríeme na ríeabéa. Cíó ríí ann ríra aé mo rírlíglé na gáíll ra ríeoiró a ríoríomanna do ríemírlíab an ríuríurí.

Do ríala ó Ruairíe (ríglíma bíeríne Connacht) an ríuríalílla anarí ríon coíuríglíab ílongríoce foir leir. Ro ríngéallíaróe ríua Ohoínaíll beir mo ríuríochíll na naílmíaríac ríra ríuríaríaríe a ceumma chláíğ ríeab tan no ríoríeabíoríom cona ímíurí íaó. Oc chlalaóríe búríeáó beiré na ríuríompaó 7 na ríurí, ríuríneá & ríalámíchíuríeúğáó an ríemnoibuaicéthe aríacht ara longríoce cona loechíaró laí 7 ríuríaríabíorí an íorína caéa

¹ O'Rourke.—Some writers give him the whole credit of this victory. See O'Rourke's *H. of Sligo*, ii. 297. Not so our author and

O'Sullivan. O'Rourke had but 120 foot; they could hardly resist the 2,500 foot of the English. See *Hist. Cath.*, p. 209.

they proceeded to march along the road to meet the foreign army until they were face to face. When they came near each other, the Irish discharged against them terrible showers of beautiful ash-handled javelins and swarms of sharp-pointed, whizzing arrows from their long elastic bows, and volleys of blood-red spherical balls and leaden bullets from their straight-shooting, sharp-sighted guns. They were responded to by the English soldiers in the same way exactly with sharp-wounding leaden balls from their iron lock-guns and their far-sounding muskets, so that the missiles were re-doubled between them from one side and the other, and the reports and echoes and thundering noise were heard in the woods and groves, from the castles and stone fortresses of the neighbouring country. It was a great wonder that the timid people and the camp-followers did not run away through panic and frenzy on hearing the blasts of martial music and the echo and loud reports of the great shooting. Heroes were wounded and champions were hurt by them on both sides, so that at the place where the division came to a close hand-to-hand encounter on that wintry morning there was many a death-sound from the slaughter of the heroes on every side, whose flesh was shattered into fragments and whose bones were broken by the lightning flames of the well directed circular leaden bullets, and from the showers of blood-red, well aimed javelins, the long-pointed, flat-barbed arrows, and every sort of missile besides. Their battle leaders and chiefs in the combat told O'Donnell's men not to remain opposite the foreigners, but to surround them completely in the fight. Thereupon they closed in on them on every side as they were commanded, and they proceeded to shoot and to fight against them rapidly, unsparingly so that they drove the wings of their army into their centre by the pressure and rapidity of the attack. However, the English turned their backs at last to the brave men of the north.

O'Rourke,¹ lord of Brefny Connaught, was then to the east of Corrsliabh in a separate camp. He promised O'Donnell to be ready to attack the foreigners like the others, whenever he encountered them with his forces. When he heard the loud noise of the trumpets and tabors, and the thundering and earth-shaking of the great firing, he rose from his encampment with his soldiers, and they put on their battle-

fol. 58. b.

¹ *Through him.*—The place where Clifford fell is close to the old road in the townland

of Garroo. The King family erected a small tower there to mark the spot.

armour, and they did not halt on their road until they came to the place where O'Donnell's people were carrying on the fight. They proceeded to cut down the heroes like the rest and to shoot, till those who were able to go away with their lives ran off defeated to the aforesaid monastery. They did not retreat negligently, for not one of them looked for friend or companion behind him, and he who was the first of them thought he was the last of the whole army. O'Donnell's forces did not succeed in killing every one they might, owing to the great number of those who fled and the small number of the force who were in pursuit, for they did not come to the body of the army where O'Donnell was when they were defeated by the first body which had been ordered by him to the front in the road. However, the English left behind many a head and weapon with the soldiers. The Governor, too, Sir Conyers Clifford, was mortally hurt in the beginning of the fight, and he was left in a feeble state lying on the mountain severely wounded, and the soldiers did not know who gave him the first wound, but only that a leaden ball had gone through him,¹ and the soldiers did not heed him until O'Rourke at last came where he was, and he knew that it was the Governor, and he ordered him to be beheaded. This was done then, so that he was a maimed, naked trunk after his head was cut off and he was mutilated.

There was great grief for the person who fell there ; the fate that befel him was sad, and the Irish of the province were not pleased at his death, for he never told them a lie and he was a bestower of treasures and wealth among them. After the defeated had fled to the monastery, O'Donnell's forces went back and proceeded to cut down those whom they had mortally wounded and to slay the wounded whom they met with on the battlefield and to behead them. They then went to their camp with great exultation and gladness, and they made a thank-offering for their victory to the Lord, and they expressed their joy aloud for having defeated the English, and their great pride and their exultation at the issue of the battle, and they proceeded to bluster and threaten them. The unanimous voice of the army was, as if spoken from one mouth, that it was not by force of arms they had gained the victory but by the prayers of O'Donnell to God that he obtained it after receiving the pure mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ in the

naoine ino onoiri na hi naoim Maire an lá maím. Ro bas o'leacé oinrímh an t'raoghaíl aóalacó an góibhínóma ari vo beirícha acútioma sóri 7 oarígat ari matcam an laoi hírin oíambacó hieimibídeet no beiré, & an coirp críacó ara cuibairéa an línoaíl ionnmura rin no oáonleiré mo gábacó lairíde in nóin an láoi píeníaiate, sóig iugacó a coirp oía aónacal co hoilen na tmuoníoe fopi loch cé imbaipuntaéc Muiže luipce hi contae Rora commain 7 a élnó go cuilmaoile imbaipuntaéc éipe hOilealla i contae Slieció hi

fol. 59. a. ttauíelbacó oúa éonéobairi. Ioméura na n'gall íari pílleacó úaíoví vo muinripi uí Ohoimnaíl, vo leiceet hi élnn t'íoa go tinnlífnach fopi teicheó in vo iúaiacó soib go mangatari oia t'ígíbh fo mela 7 meabail. Foparíge muinreari uí Ohoimnaíl ma puirpib, 7 ba íaimí contuirlíe an aóaiž rin íari mbíreir coirgari oia mbíobáovab 7 íari maríbacó accuingsó cacha con oíuins mórí vo aipeacab 7 vo úaírlíbh imaríoln iur cen mochá i ttoiríatari vo mílíobab 7 sóccabab ma íaríacó. Aónaíe muinrí hiú Ohoimnaíl in mo hoiríacó uáíoví & vo bíliat leíže go an olí gonta & ot chualatari íoacó oona gállab ímuéioirce t'agharit go caríalíl Cuilemaoile baíl ífparíccairíe ino iníuríoe fopi úa Conéobairi.

Ro haipíreacó oóparíoe cachaímaíoeacó coirpíleíbe fopi Seí Coneur Clíoforí 7 a chíutim la húa n'Ohoimnaíl, ba oíeríomeacó lair inoirin go mo tairíelbacó élnó an góibhínóma oó. Ba ooghailíreacóomí oe rin 7 mo bíh ceíl oia comíuríacé ari an cearíeari mbui, coneó vo píone teéc fopi líneac uí Ohoimnaíl 7 a oíghíuari ó gac muó vo éabairíe oó. Ba oagáiríle oóíomí ón a cooach 7 a cháíaoíacó oerííaríom ííu húa n'Ohoimnaíl, ari mo bííe m'ínce achuaríta íccoiríeíochab 7 go íainniríoaé i cčíochab Saxon oíur an b'púížeacó cabairi no comíuríacé oia n'lítuíacó in ađarí a í'ccaríat an tan rin, nó an ccaomíat íonacóche nó aíríeí a chíuée no acaoííoríba, acé élna in cháomínaccaíuríomí inoirin co píonlíaríž amíunreapíarí ííu húa n'Ohoimnaíl oon chíurí. Ba íeíuríoe oóíomí on 7 mo éharíunnaíž ní oó & oía éíri hi ccoiréíonne an caríatíacó hírin, ari vo beáíe úa Ohoimnaíl oíuríne vo buab, oeocharíbh, 7 oínnlíbh & oa gac cenél cíurí 7 aríba ari élna

¹ *Trinity Island*.—In 1215, Clarus O'Mulchony, archdeacon of Elphin, founded an abbey for Præmonstratensians here under the invocation of the most Holy Trinity.

Monast. Hib., 615. It is in Lough Ce, a short distance N. E. of the town of Boyle.

² *Soldiers*.—Fynes Moryson gives the number of the English slain as only 120,

beginning of that day, and after fasting in honour of the Blessed Mary the day before. The spoiling of the Governor was a proof of the vanity of the world, for his treasures of gold and silver were taken away on the morning of that day, having been seized, and his body of clay from which all his treasure was taken away was not carried in one direction on the evening of the aforesaid day, for his trunk was carried for burial to Trinity Island¹ in Lough Ce in the barony of Moylurg in the county of Roscommon, and his head to Collooney in the barony of Tirerrill in the county of Sligo, to be shown to O'Connor. As for the English, after the departure of O'Donnell's people from them, those who survived went their way, flying in haste until they came to their homes in sorrow and disgrace. O'Donnell's people remained in their tents, and they slept soundly that night, having obtained a victory over their enemies and slain their leader in the battle with a great multitude of the chiefs and nobles also, besides those of the heroes and soldiers² who fell with them. O'Donnell's people buried those of them who were slain, and brought physicians to the wounded, and when they heard that the English had turned back they proceeded to the castle of Collooney, where they had left O'Connor in a state of blockade.

The defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford at Corrsliabh and his death were made known to him by O'Donnell. He was incredulous about it until the head of the Governor was shown to him. He was perplexed thereat, and he gave up all hope of release from the prison in which he was, and what he did was to come into O'Donnell's presence and to make a full submission in every way to him. It was a good plan for him to enter into amity and friendship with O'Donnell, for though he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring territories and especially into the lands of the English, that he might get help and aid to strengthen him against his enemies then, or protection to dwell in or inhabit his territory or his patrimony, yet he could not do that until he made friendship with O'Donnell then. He was the better of it, and that friendship was of use to

'besides many more hurt.' O'Sullivan says 1,400 of the Queen's forces were killed, nearly all English. All the arms,

standards, and baggage of the English were taken. He gives the number of Irish slain as 140. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 211.

fol. 59. b.

1 conghnam uía Concéobairi, conaó fhuíriúe fhuir céadairieab a éirí ció
 ífictam. Tuirééda Teaboirt na long, at cuar vóraiúe fon ccumma éctinna
 rraoineab fopirna Gallab 7 toirim an aihu, & ó Concéobairi vo éabairt
 arin cairtiall at coadamar, mo éinnriom occa ina mfnmain gan fhuéblit
 fhu huá nDomnall ni baó fhuí, 7 mo nfhairce a charactiaó fhuir ífictam, 7
 vo moine airt 7 conhairleice von loinglr néimraite ionpuó fopí ccularb
 fhuir an nGaillinh vo mórí. Ro fái ó Domnall cona muintirí via ttióib
 íarí mbúaró écorfaiir 7 ccommairóme. Robtarí mfnmnaiz ceorabóiz
 fadairí von cupí rin, & mobtarí mífíu mfnitriúe muintlí na bainríogán.

Uala uí Domnall baoríúe iffor íaríran ceairhgleorin atharó imbaile
 an Mhoiriz 7 atharó oile i Leiréirí i nDún na nGall 7 imbaile Áda Seanairz
 oz airieaz toile 7 occ ainuip gan ríomh gan veiríúe gan uamhan gan uiríglá vo
 mhuip naó vo éirí fairí an vairí lair. Amem vórom ó torac foóamairí go mír De-
 cember. In eacmairiz na íee rin vo maéctarí teéda via íairz co fforí rcel
 leó combui uamha veabéa 7 ionairíiz eirí Mac Uilliam Teaboirt mac
 Uairí éioiriz 7 Teaboirt na long mac Ríríolhíro an íaríann. Ni mo foóamh
 úa Domnall gan vól vo ríóúgáó ltoríia co lion ríóiz & foóairúe, & ó vo
 vóchiaró vo vóúairz Clonme hUilliam mo íairmirt na máite íeimraite ina
 vóóum, 7 íarí neirteacé fo éaimn an mairína vó mo maiaiz ltoríia combtarí
 ríovac fhuí arioile arí a foiréonhíarom. O charíimic lair ímaróm an tírívá
 mo íab airtílr vo éorí chuairta i clonnn Ríocairí, 7 ó mo aríina fopí a ionchiarb
 ni vóacharó tarí úarían móirí írteacé von vól rin. Vaoi fhuí íe élorí noiróche
 cona láir i ceampa írin machairie maabé 7 hí comíochíarí na Gailíne.
 Vo maóab imbaoi vo cpeacharí ó comíaróab an baile móirí amac via
 íairz vó mívóein lucta na cathíach íavóem. Ro vólvairt íceoil
 ionvó arí a loirí von chupí rin fhuí mo lioníat ambaoi ó íhailínn co leim
 Concculainn vóamhan 7 vóiríglá, vo comíeíuóvnuíab & vo cívóeanbair uí
 Domnall, arí an vairí la íac noíuinz vóib 7 la íac taríreac tíuochairt ééó
 bairí a éuac buó veirín cena no oírííreac 7 bairé a vónairíar mo baó longíroir
 vo úa Oíomnall cona ríóíarí íarí na oíríam leó. Acé élna mírí bo

¹ *Loophead*.—Properly Leap Head, a promontory in the south-west of Co. Clare. Cuchullin flying from a woman made his way here. He leaped on to the promontory, a distance of twenty-five feet. His pursuer

did the like. He leaped back to the mainland; the woman, nothing daunted by the danger, attempted to follow him, and fell into the sea and was drowned. See *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 92, n.

him and his territory universally, for O'Donnell gave O'Conor oxen, horses, and cattle, and every kind of beast and of corn too, to help him, so that with these he dwelt in his territory after a while. As for Theobald na long, he heard in the same way of the defeat of the English and the death of the Governor, and that O'Conor had been let out of the castle, as we have said. He determined in his mind not to oppose O'Donnell any longer, and he confirmed his friendship with him afterwards and made his peace, and allowed the aforementioned ships to go back to Galway. O'Donnell and his forces returned to their homes with the joy and exultation of victors. The Irish were in high spirits and full of courage then, and the Queen's people were weak and feeble.

As for O'Donnell, he rested after this victory, sometimes at Ballymote, and other times at Lifford, at Donegal, and at Ballyshannon, enjoying himself in security, without anxiety or care, fear or terror from sea or land as he thought. He was so from the beginning of harvest to the month of December. At that time messengers came to him to say that there was a subject of contention and dispute between Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and Theobald na long, son of Richard an Iarainn. O'Donnell could not but go to make peace between them with his full force and army, and when he came to the territory of Clanwilliam he summoned the aforesaid chiefs before him, and after hearing the cause of their dispute, he arranged between them, so that they were peaceful towards each other by his command. When he had concluded the making of the peace between them, he had a desire to make a raid into Clanricarde, and when he came into it he did not go farther than Oranmore on that expedition. He was for three days and three nights encamped in Machaire Riabach and in the neighbourhood of Galway. A prey was brought to him from the gates of the great town in spite of the people of the town itself. Many a tale was invented about him then, so that from Galway to Loophead¹ was filled with the fear and dread, with quaking and terror² of O'Donnell, for it seemed to every portion of them and to each chief that it was his own territory which was the first to be invaded and his castle that would be the encampment of O'Donnell and his army after they had plundered it. But

² *Terror*.—The Irish word means properly the trembling or shivering of death.

hamlaio pín do málá doib, doig mo fill ó Doimnaill óia éirí afeicta. Batai
 tía ambui hiccogeaó uilaó uile an tanra ina linn laoi ina ttopaí techit, 7
 ina tuinn eilege gan suair gona ná gabala eiginie na foiligne eiride na
 cafa foipia a haon ahoi oheiuinn, 7 eagla an doigroí foí gac en éirí itti. Ro
 fol. 60. a. thochairtlietoí ó Doimnaill ino ainmíu ara haítele i ráothaile & hi foimnighe
 co toíac fáimíuig ari ccino gan faigeaó foí neach gan neaó do fáigeaó faíu.

1600, an 9. bládaín.

Inn eacmaing na pree baioirioí iífoí, mo eilelomaó plogh lanmóí la húa
 léill do óul do choí chuairta iíin Muíhain. Do málá Maguioíi dóo foí
 an íloiccheaó huiín. In huiíteari ainmteóta co mactatari tairi Coícaig
 & tairi laoi buó ólí, suí mo gábrat longpóit eiríu laoi & banoain i
 coiccué Muiccepaige & Cairibreach. Aon doia láib (gair beag na pfeil
 paitiaice) oia mo gabh ioméolca & accobari Maguioíi doí do moíacó na
 ccinoé coimhóccu pfeib mo ba béí óó do gúér tan no éligheó in eétaíreuoéaib,
 go mo thaimhóclimneó oíuim maícaé & tmaíghteaó ariín longpóit, & in mo
 hanaó leó co mactatari doíuay Coícaig, & ariíre co Rinn doíuian oíuay
 an Baíuag óig hi cenél dótha. Soaitt ina pfeitling iíin lo éleia co
 ccieachaió 7 gabalaib iomóaib cona mo chumáingíut muiclí meguioíi
 mochtain suí an longpóit an aothaig iín ariaoíle anéola, conaó bo heigín
 doib ariírioí in gac ariín atatariuayí uoíéata toíuag na hoíóe. Maguioíi
 oain baféó mo eimíre fáigeaó an longpóit an aothaig iín eipínay. 1
 maóain an laoi iín in mo fágaib Maguioíi longpóit uí léill, madaice foí
 pfeil co Coícaig go Síí Uapam Salenoeí (baoi ino ionaó pfeíreoií oia

¹ *Munster*.—See his proclamation to the Catholics of the towns of Ireland, dated Dungannon, Nov. 11th, 1599, in *The Flight of the Earls*, p. 21. It was intended chiefly for the southern parts of Ireland.

² *Hosting*.—A detailed account of it will be found in *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2147.

³ *Lee*.—The river rises in Gougane Barra. After a course of forty miles due east, it discharges into the sea in Cork harbour.

⁴ *Bandon River*.—It rises on Owen hill, five miles W. of Dunmanway, and flowing though that town, Bandon, and Inishannon, falls into the sea at Kinsale.

⁵ *Muskerry*.—There were formerly six districts in Munster bearing this name, the inhabitants deriving their descent from Cairbre Musc, son of Conaire Mor, ardrigh A.D. 158. The district referred to here is that now included in the baronies of E. and W. Muskerry, Co. Cork. *The Book of Rights*, p. 42.

⁶ *Rincorran*.—See p. cxxiv., antea.

⁷ *Barry Oge*.—See p. cx., antea.

⁸ *Kinelea*.—A barony in the south east of Co. Cork.

⁹ *St. Leger*.—The first of the family who settled in Ireland was Anthony; he came

yet nothing of the kind happened to them, for O'Donnell returned to his territory then. While he was in the province all Ulster was a still pool, a gentle spring, a haven of repose, without dread of wound or capture, of shout, violence, plunder, or battle from any quarter of Ireland, and there was a dread of the province in every other territory. O'Donnell passed the time that followed in delight and prosperity till the beginning of the following summer without attacking anyone, without anyone attacking him.

1599

1600, the 9th year.

During the time he was resting, a very large army was collected by Hugh O'Neill to go and visit Munster.¹ Hugh Maguire happened to be in that hosting.² Their marches are not told of until they passed Cork and the Lee³ southwards and encamped between the Lee and the Bandon river,⁴ on the confines of Muskerry⁵ and Carbery. One day, just before the feast of St. Patrick, a desire and longing seized on Maguire to go and plunder the neighbouring country, as was always his custom when he came to strange districts. A body of horse and foot set off from the camp, and they did not stop until they came to the gate of Cork, then to Rincorran,⁶ a castle of Barry Oge,⁷ in Kinelea.⁸ He set out to return the same day with much prey and booty, but Maguire's people could not reach the encampment that night, owing to the quantity of the booty, hence it was necessary for them to remain where there was shelter, owing to the darkness in the beginning of the night. However, Maguire determined to reach the camp that night somehow. On the morning of the day that Maguire had left O'Neill's camp, the news came to Cork to Sir Warham St. Leger⁹ (he was then Deputy¹⁰ of the two provinces¹¹ of Munster), that

1600.

over in 1537 as Commissioner, to set the lands upon the marches of the Pale then lying waste. He was Lord Deputy from 1540 to 1556. His son Warham was appointed Governor of Munster in 1566. A list of the lands given for his services will be found in Archdall's *Peerage*, vi. 112.

¹⁰Deputy.—Sir Thomas Norris, the President, was mortally wounded in an encounter with Thomas Burke near Limerick

the year before. He died at Kilmallock soon after of his wounds. *Annals F. M.* vi. 2115. St. Leger and Sir Henry Power were appointed Commissioners for the government of Munster until a President should be appointed.

¹¹Two provinces.—i.e., Ormond and Desmond, East and South Munster. Thomond originally belonged to Connaught. See p. 164, ante.

fol. 60. b.

¹ *Was slain.* — The date of St. Leger's death is March 4th, 1599. Archdall's *Peerage*, vi. 110.

³ *Warlike*. — O'Sullivan makes special

Maguire had left the camp as he had, and the direction in which he had gone. The news was not responded to negligently by Sir Warham, for he set out immediately with a sour-faced, active troop of foolhardy, odious, evil-intentioned cavalry, and they were stopped and placed as a line of concealed watches in a safe secure place where they were certain that Maguire would come to them. They remained there till they saw Hugh coming towards them as they desired. He did not set about making his escape, though they were seen by him in front before he came up to them, but he attacked them swiftly, fiercely, as a wolf does sheep or a lion bears. So it happened to him and Warham, and they proceeded to wound each other with their strong, firmly made, sharp-angled darts so that they pierced each other with great wounds, until at last Sir Warham St. Leger was slain¹ by Maguire, for it was usual with him up to that to obtain the victory over his enemies whenever they fought with him. Five of the other leaders and gentlemen also fell by his single hand, besides the common soldiers and the waggon-drivers. However, the many were victorious over the few in the end, and it was necessary for Maguire to quit the place of battle, for he was pierced quite through, owing to the dropping and flowing of his blood in pools out from his wounds, through want of strength and vigour and the failing of his activity and dexterity in arms. He did not go far after that when he was obliged to come down off his horse through torpor and weakness, and they took him in their arms and laid him on the ground. The rigours of dissolution and the darkness of death came on the hero after that, so that he died very soon, March 13th.²

The loss of this nobleman who died then was a cause of lamentation throughout the whole of Ulster, and his praises were very great on account of his natural qualities. He was pleasant, stately, free-spoken; he was generous, hospitable, profuse, mild, kindly to his friends, stern and aggressive to his enemies; he did not retreat a step before few or many of his enemies since he took up warlike³ arms to those days, a man who did not go

mention of his bravery. So too Mooney, who was probably on the expedition. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 213. The English version of the

encounter, in many essential points different from that given by Irish writers, will be found in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 39.

away from the place of fight or battle without wounding or killing some one, a man that had killed and defeated many parties both of gentle and simple of foreign race with whom he contested and fought to protect his faith and native land until he fell by them then. The day after the news came his own people and O'Neill's found the body of the hero, and it was buried by them at Cork after a while with great respect and honour, as was fitting.

O'Neill returned home, and it was better for himself and for the province of Ulster also if he had not gone on that expedition, on account of the death of that one man who parted from them then. There arose a great dispute and disagreement in the following summer in Fermanagh between Conor Roe, son of Conor Maguire, and the brother of Maguire, whose death we have spoken of, Cuconnacht Oge,¹ son of Conconnacht, son of Conconnacht, for the chieftainship of the territory. Conor had a right to the dignity and headship of Fermanagh on account of his age and seniority even before Maguire himself who fell as we have said, and when it seemed to Conor (as he thought) that there would be no opposition as regards the chieftaincy after the death of Conconnacht, father of Hugh, the title of chief was given to Hugh by Donnell, son of Hugh, son of Manus, the rigdamna of the Cinel Conaill, long before that time. The aforesaid Conor Roe was quite sure that the chieftaincy would come to him now by reason of his ancestry, his age, his dignity, his friendship, and his relationship² to O'Neill, whose cousin he was by his mother's side, as the mothers of both were sisters, and this was the same purpose of mind and thought which O'Neill himself had and his advisers also. He went to O'Neill to ask for possession of his patrimony. Cuconnacht also went for the same purpose to where O'Donnell was to complain of his powerlessness to him.

When Conor came where O'Neill was he sent letters and messengers to ask O'Donnell to allow him to inaugurate Conor Maguire in the chieftaincy, for he was afraid to rouse the anger and wrath of the powerful war-dog against him if he did not grant his demand and appointed Cuconnacht Oge or any one else of his tribe to the chieftaincy of the territory of Fermanagh contrary to his prohibition. When the messengers came

&c.) and the wife of the Baron O'Neill, *i.e.*, mother of Hugh O'Neill and of his brother Ferdoragh, son of Conn, &c. She was the Cormac.

erigaipeiríon. O mianagatari na teachteta bail iuaíbe úa Domhnaill ní taro ipóill a tpoicea, áct do veacharó oíum ináicad & tpoicechtead do moigúib a muintíe imó oíuibiaéai Ruóiraiže & im Coinconoaét ócc, & ní mo hanaó leó go poétain doib žur an oú imbaoi ó Néill cona maíeib imbe ož epuró a ccomaipe imon ccamžln éfona. O mo éaiuiblínžruih poruorplann an oúine, mo líb poru a chaomíteéctaiš oíuiuih ina naonbriom aigheiróe poru leirh úaosa. Ro fáoroh ó Néill a íam muintíe & a chaiuirž do fiaohužad na flatha dui paimice, 7 oia éochuipíš chucca do melad a choimaipe oó dui an caomírad ácealžfóroim tma caonžaoiréilž poru lon aipe puii puiin. Dor piceiríh po éeoiri, & poctari rubaiž poruibpaoilž cectarímae oib pui ariole. O mo óeipíú úa Domhnaill i papiad úi Néill žeibíróe poru puiipanoad 7 poillíužad oó Domhnaill na ceirta & na camžne poru caomínažaii & žš tabaipe poru aipio žad tuccaroe mo baoi poru mlinmain oó im mo ba comadaii lair tižlíma do žaiim oó Conéobari Mhažuiríui. Iai mbeiré oóroim peatal ina éaoi až coirteét pui puižlead na flata úi Néill, aeblipe po óeoiró nai bo tol oó ciunouir oiríonead Conéobari irin élinuip, ooiž ba oaoim leir & oaoim mian la žallaiš Duiblinne & lair an aipfime ectarícheneoir no bioó do bunn im ažaró žaoiréal an choiciró & na biaó áaiuirin ara oílii tma biéiu. Iui bo plan lá húa Néill amlinma oon ppežia huiin do blipe ó Domhnaill papi, ari mo fittari nai bó poóainž puiéblipe na puiétažia puii im nach camžln po tparoad laim.

Do veachataru na flaithe do flíužad, do íamol, & do aipž toile ara haitéle. Ro puióžead an éłhnola iai nuipio, úa Domhnaill eimead im ionchaiš pui húa Néill & Conéobari Mhažuiríui poru a laimíróe & na maíte ílii na tteéta ari éfna. Žeibíte na oáilímain occa puiioáileamh & puiřtal íaipřtain. An tan tma mo žab úa Néill an aipoiž go pñion ina laim, íbíó oíž poru ó nDomhnaill. Žeibíó úa Domhnaill an cuaiž a laim an oáileamh 7 mo řill peacha, do blipe luath éuairt oia možpiorž peachnón na éłžóaii ima ccúairt, & ní conpaca Cuconnaét ócc irin tiž, & ó na řaca mo poríéonžaii ažaiim chucca po éeoiríui. Do ionnaó puiipioim moirin & íaii toipiaétain oó mo líb papi puióe poru láim adlíuibiaéai Ruóiraiže poru moóřlior na

¹ *Castle*.—In the margin is : *Dungeanain*, Dunganon. This was Hugh O'Neill's usual place of residence. See p. 31, antea.

² *Conor*.—He joined the English later and

was called the English Maguire. Many of his clan went over with him. But that did not prevent their lands from being confiscated. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, pp. 233, 281.

where O'Donnell was he did not delay the business, but he went with a body of horse and foot of the choicest of his people together with his brother Rury and Cuconnacht Oge, and they did not halt until they came to the place where O'Neill was with his chief men round him taking counsel on the same subject. When he dismounted at the lawn of the castle¹ he ordered his attendants to remain in one close group apart from them. O'Neill sent his people and his trusty men to entertain the prince who had come and to invite him to make known to him his opinion, to see if he could succeed in alluring him craftily to one opinion with himself. He came immediately, and they were merry and confiding one in the other. When O'Donnell was seated in the company of O'Neill, he proceeded to declare and make known to O'Donnell the question and the business as well as he could, and to set out distinctly every reason which he had occurred to his mind why it was right to give to Conor Maguire the title of chief. After listening for some time in silence to the statement of the Prince O'Neill, he said at last that it was not his wish at all to appoint Conor² to the chieftaincy, for he was on the side and of the party of the English of Dublin and with the foreign race who were by nature opposed to the Irish of the province, and he would not be a party to its subjugation so long as he lived. O'Neill's mind was not pleased with the answer which O'Donnell gave him, for he knew it was not easy to oppose or contradict him in whatever subject he set his hand to.

The princes proceeded to feast, to drink, and to make merry after that. They seated themselves in the banqueting-hall according to their dignity, O'Donnell face to face with O'Neill, and Conor Maguire next him, and the chief men in their due order also. The butlers proceeded to attend and serve them after a while. Meantime, when O'Neill took the goblet with wine in his hand, he drank a draught to O'Donnell. O'Donnell took the cup from the butler's hand, and looked aside, and gave a quick glance of his keen eye through the hall all round. He did not see Cuconnacht Oge in the house, and as he did not see him he ordered him to be called to him immediately. This was done for him, and when he came he bade him sit by the side of his brother Rury in the place of honour of the palace in the

fol.62. a. bhuighe meitiumeóón a muintie. O mo deiríó Cuconnaét mo íbprimh an
ccúais co tongaib ina ouim ino airtet rin fairi, & do gairi an anmair ar
Maguiriú de piat mairib an coicció hi coiténne gan ceatuccaó gan
comairlecccaó do naé don lar ar maircair a oirionó in ionaó a ólribiaíar
& a aéarí muim. Rugiat ar an aóais rin rocharde oib go rubaé ionn-
chinnuch & ar aill mo muiré meanman & do gairí fo deiré an oirionó at
muiriamoi. O mo gile an lá cona lanfoilrí ar a bairé tiomnair úa Doimnail
ceileabpiat oia Néill 7 do na mairib ar chlna. & do éolt feirín & Maguiriú
cona muintie oia tighib comhinnnach móiragearaé ara hairle.

Ot ciao rlnaó Duiblinne na mo cumaingile coirnaí coicció Mlóbá rin
húa nDoimnail ilí rraoineaó caéa an belaisé buirde & iarí mairbaó an góib-
ghnora amair at cúadomair, & iarí ninnoraó óroim na ttiáé rilte rin in
luimnle 7 rin in édtge aéúar gac tan ba tol óó, & ó mo acasoirle na
híarilaó batari foirna tuiatib rin in innle rin an reanaó, arló arhuocht
leóirde oiroraó uí Ohoimnail in a éirí a comairle na níarilaó piemairte
tarccair muircoiblaig móirí do éochair foir muir imbatari ré mile rli voccharó
arimta eirigíte gur na hairóimib batari coirccirde oóib eirí buir 7 arim. Ba
la banhuogam Saxan 7 lar an ccomairli ar chlna do muirnganta an
coblaé rin do éorí co heirinn in fel Patraice do fonnpiat an tan mo
hoiroraigearó loiró Montyóy ina lurtir or Eirinn. O do machatari an
coblaé piemairte a Saxaib co hde eliaé i mi Arpil do fonnpiat, mo faoirte
airirde iarí ttián gur mo feolpat lam éli rin hoir heirinn anoirpiat rin
heoárimnib eiriche birlé & Míre allatíri do tman Congail clairngneair
mic Ruóiraghe co piatari ling in ling i lurtí don luince co loch feabail
mic Loran co mo gabpat moir in inir Eogam mic Néill do rochari co cenel
conail ó élin mairí, & ar oib rochari romamairge an tan rin. An
io. Man do machatari an oúrin. O Rochairag an tairirde no bioó
foirnan moir rin lam uí Ohoimnail do gíer, 7 ba ré ann a tairirg an
ionbaró rin Seann óg mac Seann mic Felim uí Ohoairag. Ba tui

¹ *The Earls.*—i.e., of Clanricarde and of Thomond.

² *Mountjoy.*—He was Lord Deputy from February 24th, 1600, to May 26th, 1603. See *Pac. Hub.*, p. 3.

³ *Bregia.*—The plain lying between the

Liffey and the Boyne. Its precise boundaries are not known. See *The B. of Rights*,

⁴ *Territory.*—The south-east of Antrim and the north-east of Co. Down. Here it means the province of Ulster, of which Congal's father Rury was hereditary king.

middle of his people. When Cuconnacht was seated he then drank to him the bowl that was in his hand to the bottom, and gave him the title of Maguire in presence of the chief men of the province universally, without the permission or advice of anyone who did not like that he should be appointed in the place of his brother and his father before. They passed that night some of them merrily and pleasantly and others with sad thoughts and doubts in consequence of the appointment we have mentioned. When the day shone out with full light on the morrow, O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill and his chief men also, and he and Maguire with their people went to their homes glad and in high spirits.

When the Council in Dublin saw that they could not defend the province of Meadhbh against O'Donnell, after the defeat in the battle of Beal Atha Buidhe and the slaying of the Governor as we have said, and after he plundered the territories to the north of Limerick and Slieve Baughty whenever he wished, and as the Earls¹ who ruled over these districts complained of their sufferings to the Council, they came to the resolution, in order to keep O'Donnell in his own territory, by the advice of the said Earls to launch a large fleet of ships on the sea in which were six thousand men, with arms and armour, with the necessary supplies of food and weapons. It was the Queen of England and the Council also who planned to send this fleet to Ireland on Patrick's Day exactly, when Lord Mountjoy² was appointed Lord Justice over Ireland. When the above mentioned ships came from England to Dublin in the month of April, they were sent away after a while, and they sailed, keeping the coast of Ireland on the left, to the north-east by the shores of the territory of Bregia³ and Meath to the east of the territory⁴ of Congal Claireneach,⁵ son of Rury, till they came step by step, as the track of one ship, to the Lough of Feabal, son of Lodan, and they landed in Inishowen MicNeill, which had fallen to the Cinel Conaill long before and was subject to them then. On the 10th of May they came there. O'Doherty was the chieftain who ruled over the island, subject to O'Donnell always, and the name of its chieftain at that time was Shane Oge, son of Shane, son of Phelim O'Doherty; he was a

⁵ *Congal Claireneach*.—i.e., the flat-faced. He was ardrigh from A.M. 5017 to 5031.

fol. 62. *b*.

¹ *Culmore*.—See Introd., p. cxiv., ante. It has not been occupied as a military station for the last two hundred years, yet the tower, earthen ramparts, and ditch are still in existence. The original plan of the fort is given in *The Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p. 231.

³ *Derry*.—It had been taken possession of in 1565 by a Colonel Randolph and a

⁴ *Criomthann*.—The name given to Columba in baptism. See p. 70, *antea*.

^b *Monastery*. — Docwra says of Derry, that 'it was a place in the manner of an

pillar of battle in courage, and the subjugation of his territory was not an easy thing for any one who came into it, when opposed by the brave men who were in his service, as he would be. There was a small castle which O'Doherty thought little of on the shore of the Lough in the narrowest part of the harbour, *i.e.*, Culmore.¹ It was deserted then, for it was not safe to hold against an enemy. The English stopped there, and built a strong, very secure wall round the castle, and left in it some of their forces. Another body of them went and took Dunalong,² in O'Kane's country. The greater number remaining went to the famous Derry,³ which Colum the gentle, the servant of God, Criumthann,⁴ son of Phelim, son of Fergus, son of Conall, blessed. The English made very large mounds and strong ramparts of earth round the monastery and church first. They made passages and covered ways of earth under the walls and war-towers upon them with windows and loopholes in them for shooting from. They dug deep trenches all round on the outside. They were much stronger and more secure than the dwellings of stone and mortar and the castles, in the making of which much time and great labour were spent. Then they tore down the monastery⁵ and the church,⁶ and they showed neither honour nor respect to the great Saint, for they destroyed all the ecclesiastical edifices in the place, and made rooms and sleeping apartments of them, and used some of them to eat in them. Henry Docwra⁷ was the name of their commander. He was a famous knight, prudent and skilful, with profundity of knowledge. He was a pillar of battle and fight.

For a long time the English were so afraid of O'Donnell that they went but a short distance outside the walls, and large bodies of them were on the watch every night lest an attack might be made on them, so that they were full of distemper and diseases, owing to the narrowness of the place in which they were, and their wants, and the heat of the summer season. Very

island, comprehending within it 40 acres of ground, wherein were the ruins of an old abbey, of a bishop's house, of two churches, and at one of the ends of it an old castle,⁷ and that when he came there 'he used the stones and rubbidge of the old buildings to fortify and set up houses to live in.' *Narration*, p. 238.

⁶ *Church*.—Properly a church which is built of stone. See Petrie's *Ecc. Arch. of Ireland*, p. 141.

⁷ *Docwra*.—He was appointed chief commander of all her Majesty's forces of horse and foot assigned for Lough Foyle in March 1599. In 1621 he was made Baron of Culmore. See *Introd.*, p. cxiv., *antea*.

fol. 63. a.

Տոն անշատի ճոճաճեացի ունե օ Տւսա օ Սրօծար 7 օ իսթար շիւր
 համալճած օ Սրբիքն ու Քաջալալի ճոծատր օգա բարմարծ քրո մբաւե
 քրո ու յօ ծախարար քրո. Իտէ յօծար ճիւղհոճ տար քիւլէ քրո տօճարտալ
 կիրո. Դամիւ ան օ Քնար քօ մՍրբիքն ճոճաճէ .1. Կրան օճ տար Բօ
 հաճար ան Կրան յօ կօրտաճ Ի Լոտան. Դամիւ ան օ ճոճօծար Տիւլիճ ճոճ-
 ճաճ մաճ Ըճալ օճ ճար քա շաճալ քիւլէ քրո ան անօրքիւլաճ ա շար քօ մար
 քա թօճար, Է մաճ Սիւմաճա Մարճ Լարճ .1. ճոճօծար մաճ Դարճ մաճ Ըօճան
 մաճ Դարճ քօ մաճոն Մաօրքանար քա թարաճ. Դամիւ ան օ ճոճօծար
 Քնար .1. Ըօճ մաճ Դօրքիւլաճալ քնար մաճ Դարճ Կրօն մաճ Ըճալ Քնար.
 Մի քիւլէ ան օման ծոնա կնարկիճ Բատր Լո ճօրքարիճ քա ճճալ տարճէ
 քրո տօլիկտալ քրո, ար Բա քիւլէն ծօլքրօն արքրօն օճ մօրօլն ա ճախարաճ

¹ *C. of Enna*.—i.e., the territory which Swilly. Enna got possession of it. See lies between Lough Foyle and Lough Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 370.

many of them died in the end before the diseases left them. When O'Donnell perceived that they were in that condition and that they did not go outside the camp through fear and apprehension, he reflected with himself how he might bring contempt and contumely on them, and he made little or no account of them, in order that they would retire and leave the camp in which they were. Wherefore the plan which he adopted in order to show his contempt was to go on an expedition to the southern part of the province of Meadhbh, to plunder the districts on both sides of Slieve Baughty, and especially Thomond. The reason was because the Earls of whom we have spoken, whose patrimony these were as we have said, had recommended the Council and the Queen that the great force should set out and come to them to keep and retain him within his own territory, and they had told and informed the Queen and the English Council that there was a passage and a way of entrance between the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain for the above mentioned fleet to come to Lough Foyle.

O'Donnell adopted this plan of going to wreak his enmity on the Earls of whom we have spoken, and he left the chief of the island, O'Doherty, to confront the strangers and prepared to prevent them from coming to plunder the territory. He left Niall Garbh O'Donnell and some of the forces blockading them on the island to the west between them and the cantred of Enna,¹ son of Niall. He sent on his messengers to the Irish of the province of Meadhbh to order them to meet him at Ballymote.

All the Connaughtmen came, from the Suck to the Drowes and from the west of Tyrawley to Brefny O'Reilly, and they were waiting for him in that place which he had appointed for them. The chief of those who came to that hosting were these. There came O'Rourke with the people of Brefny in Connaught, *i.e.*, Brian Oge, whose father Brian had been put to death in London. Then came O'Conor Sligo, Donough, son of Cathal Oge, with the people north of Corrsliabh as far as the opposite sea, and MacDermot of Moylurg, *i.e.*, Conor, son of Tadhg, son of Owen, son of Tadhg, with the people of Maelruanadh. O'Conor Roe came, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Turlough Roe, son of Tadhg Buidhe, son of Cathal Roe. Fear did not allow the nobles who were in the neighbourhood of the English to come to that hosting, for it was necessary for them to stay for the defence

ar na hoirgeir Saill a ttiú oia néir. Do éadot ann tina mac Uilliam buice, Teaboirte mac Uatair chiotais & cenib do giordealaib do ba tuéais orioir a ionaid eia no éiofaó, úairi batari árinneiriu iuaib 7 an cenél oia mbaoi fo éioir do éenél cconail mic Néill onó úairi no gabratt na buiceais fori forib Amalgada mic Fiachra. Ba hiomairgíre doibíroib eie no eimiteir a ccoir do Ohoimnail, 7 in ba coir ionghaó de rois ba bpatiair do Conail mac Néill an ti Amalgad mac Fiachra 7 no ba comalta beóir, ar ba he Fiachra mac Eadháe Muigheóom ion oíl an ti Conail.

fol. 63. b.

Taireclamta om a flog la húa nDomnail i mí lun do fionnaó co noiceirle oarí Saíaoir iuychmaigíus tarí Ombaoir tarí Duib 7 tarpan Sligeaé go ianice go baile an Moirí, airm imbatarí Connaétais oca fupinaíre. Ro ching ílpetain cona flogaib don Coiann, tpe Mag doí an fimbendais, do cloinn Conomais, tina éuch Maine mic Eadhach 7 tina oirlaí cloinne Riocairí gan ead gan eumnece, gan gum dune chunge na úairí an airtí iun. Do gab oirpíom in iartairí cloinne Riocairí in oirpéet Remann in tpaich nona oia patairí, 7 ba heiríre an Satairí nía fíel Eoin baorí fori an maíre ar eoin. Rannice iabaó 7 iemíor iúmpa i ttiáómuíam, aét aia doí ba rois leó na tairmíaraó úa Domnail airm maigín hi tairpáirí go maraí oia lúam. Ní bó heaorín do iomneirí itirí, aét líge iua muichófoirí maíone oia domnais, íarí neirteáet oirpíom dóroib & dona maírib batari ina fáiríad, no argha íaríom cona flog oirpéacht Remann tarí fíab neétí iníne Uirpéatí mic Tíne do éenél Adóa do éenél Dunghaile 7 do cloinn Cuilen úachtairí go ianice tarí forí- gur fíarí iua míoíheadóin láoi oia Domnais conaó ann no gabrat airmíom don taob éiaitíad do éluam Rannata 7 omir. Ro loirpéad & no hoirpéad

¹ *The Burkes*.—An account of the manner in which this tribe 'came over' the Barretts in Tirawley, which belonged originally to the Lynotts, will be found in *The Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 339.

² *Cousin*.—Eochaidh M. was the father of Fiachra (a quo the Hy Fiachrach), and Niall of the Nine Hostages. The children of Fiachra and Niall, *i.e.*, Amalgadh and Conall, would be cousins-german. See the pedigree *Ibid.*, p. 477.

³ *Maine*.—He lived about the middle of the 4th century. The territory named from

him extended southwards from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, to the borders of Clare, and westwards from Athlone to Athenry. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 2.

⁴ *Feast*.—*i.e.*, of his nativity, June 24th.

⁵ *C. Dunghaile*.—The tribe-name of the O'Gradys. Their territory in later times comprised the parishes of Tomgraney, Moyno, Iniscealtra, and Clonrigh.

⁶ *Glancullen*.—This name is not given in the Ordnance Survey list of townlands.

⁷ *Fergus*.—This river rises to the west of Corofin, and flowing through lakes Inchi-

of their territory, lest the English might lay waste their lands in their absence. There came also Mac William Burke, Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and though he was not of the Irish, it was the duty of the chief of the district to come, for his ancestors and the family to which he belonged were under tribute to the Cinel Conaill Mic Neill from the time the Burkes¹ came to the territory of Amalgadh, son of Fiachra. Some of these paid a tribute to O'Donnell, and we should not wonder thereat, for Amalgadh, son of Fiachra, was the cousin² of Conall, son of Niall, and his foster-brother besides, for it was Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, who fostered Conall.

His troops were gathered together by O'Donnell in the month of June precisely, and they crossed the Saimer, a stream abounding in salmon, the Drowes, the Dubh, and the Sligeach, until they came to Ballymote, where the men of Connaught were waiting for him. After a while he went with his forces by Corann, through Magh Aoi Findbendaigh, through Clan Conway, through the territory of Maine,³ son of Eochaidh, and through the plains of Clanricarde, without fight or conflict, without wounding any one or any one being wounded by him during that time. He made a halt in western Clanricarde in Oirecht Redmond on the evening of Saturday, and this was the Saturday before the feast⁴ of John, which was on the following Tuesday. Report and warning went before him to Thomond, but they thought O'Donnell would not leave the place where he had stopped until Monday morning. This was not what he did at all, but he rose before the early dawn of the morning of Sunday, and after hearing Mass himself and the chiefs who were with him, he marched with his troops by Oirecht Redmond to the mountain of Baughty the daughter of Urscotach, son of Tinne, of the Cinel Aodha, by Cinel Dunghaile,⁵ and by upper Glancullen, until he crossed the Fergus⁷ westwards before mid-day on Sunday, so that they made no halt on the north-western side of Clonroad⁸ and Ennis. Ennis was burned and preyed entirely and made bare

quin and Aledaun, passes by Ennis and Clare Castle, and falls into the Shannon by a broad estuary fifteen miles below Limerick.

⁸ *Clonroad*.—It was erected for the Fran-

ciscan Order by the O'Brien family and transferred to the Observantines in 1540. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1455. The church and a part of the monastery are still standing. It is half a mile S. of Ennis.

Inir co leiri & co lomairda lár an rloḡ cen mothá an mainiréir na má
 oia mo lhpuaḡairi úa Dóinnail comairce & caður do tabairt ino onoiri an
 éoinneó. Ba hann do málá oiaíla Tuasóimúian (Donnchaó mac Conḡobairi
 uí Bhuain tigḡina a Tuasóimúian) beith irin ionaimm rin. Do óeacairó
 úa Dóinnail cona rloḡaib irin ceuch i cclúam Ráimacra lóh mblḡ alla
 éiaí omir con úaḡaó rloḡi ina fpaḡiaó nari bat lia olḡaó oá éeo laoch a
 lion. Ot chúlairóim monḡair an móirfloḡi & ríḡan na rocaróe & tirlḡhan
 na ttriomburóin & roḡairéoirman an luathlamaiḡ a gunnaó ḡlanailne
 ḡlḡmaóaircacha reachnón a éiríe ina éimcheall, 7 na rorlorcéte roriréile
 rorirlethna mo lḡt in ḡaó airó 7 in ḡaó airceann ina imḡacmang
 fol. 64. a na mo chumang vanacol no oimolḡail, ba ríḡh do moine arceann con
 úaḡaó buróne co hionfóirḡóe la hoir an Forḡair ríair cech noíreach rēb
 ar innille ror caomnaccair co mairce ḡur an ccláir. Ba oia bailḡib-
 longḡuirḡóim an baile irin, & ba oainḡin oirḡolairóe eiróe ce ni bléiróim
 cur an lion mo baol occa imóiróin.

Iómtúra uí Dhomnail ó mairce co hinir mo leice rccaóileáó oá
 rḡeimealḡaib imón tíri ina thimcheall. Ar fahirḡing rorileathan airceḡaó
 ionḡorḡeḡaó mo rccaóirle na mḡroḡonga mḡia mḡmnucha rin ó ar oile,
 ar mo cuairḡaḡeáó & mo cpeaólorceáó leó ríá noróche oḡá cpaḡ uí
 Cioḡrúḡain in iochḡair na coiceḡuche itḡmocha éeo na noirén co cathairi
 Muḡhaóá hi corca baiceinn iarḡhariaḡ ḡo ouur chille Muiré & caḡpach
 Ruir & an maḡa ino uib bḡacain co ouur baile Eoin ḡobann hi córica
 monḡiaó & boirhi Néill hi cenél rḡlmaic. Rob iomóa rḡia oaoḡhain
 oḡḡoume uáirail no tigḡina tíre do cpeccḡaib & do chḡḡhariaib & oá ḡaó
 lḡnoail éoála aḡ buróin cḡḡhariai no chuicirí do muintiri uí Dhomnail hi
 tuiróe tuirí no éuim, cairḡi no coillirí i tuasóimúian an oiróe rin, ar moḡ
 eirḡin oirib airceann in ḡaó maiḡin a tḡairḡairi cairḡóiróia uirḡarḡi na
 horóe iatḡ.

ḡabair ó Dhomnail longḡoir an aóairḡin ror bḡi an Forḡair állaḡairi

¹ *Monastery*.—It was erected for the same Order by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, about 1240. The church is still standing. See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 44.

² *Clare*.—A village on the Fergus, one mile S. of Ennis. The castle was built by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien.

³ *C. Kerrivan*.—A townland in the parish of Cloondagad, 8 miles S. of Ennis.

⁴ *Islands*.—A barony in Co. Clare, S.W. of Ennis.

⁵ *C. Murphy*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmihil, containing a cyclopean fort in a ruinous state.

by the army all but the monastery,¹ for O'Donnell ordered protection and indulgence to be given to it in honour of the Lord. It happened that the Earl of Thomond, Donough, son of Conor O'Brien, lord of Thomond, was with a small force of not more than two hundred in number in the territory at Clonroad, a short distance to the west of Ennis, at the same time that O'Donnell and his force came there. When he heard the roaring of the great army and the shouts of the soldiers and the noise of the large body and the loud report of the quick-firing of their bright, sharp-sighted guns throughout their territory all about him, and the bright, wide-spread fires which extended in every quarter and on every border all round, which he could not defend or protect, what he did was to march with a small body of troops secretly by the bank of the Fergus due west as securely as he could till he came to Clare.² That place was one of his fortresses, and it was strong, difficult to take, even if he had not the number with him for its defence which he had.

As for O'Donnell, when he had reached Ennis, he sent off his marauding parties immediately to spread themselves in the surrounding territory. Far and wide, violently, aggressively, these active, joyous bodies of men separated from each other, for they traversed and plundered before night from Craggykerrivan,³ in the lower part of the territory in the cantred of Islands,⁴ to Cahir Murphy⁵ in west Corcobaiscin,⁶ to the gate of Kilmurry,⁷ and Caher Ross,⁸ and the plain of Hybrickan, to the gate of Smithstown in Corcomroe, and Bohneill⁹ in Cinel Fermaic. There was many a feast of gentlemen, noblemen, and lords of territories made of the prey and cattle and of every sort of spoil, in companies of four or five of O'Donnell's people under the shelter of a precipice or bush, of a rock or wood in Thomond that night, for it was necessary for them to stop in every place when the darkness in the beginning of the night overtook them.

O'Donnell encamped that night on the bank of the Fergus to the west

⁶ *Corcobaiscin*.—This territory forms the south-west of Co. Clare. The O'Gormans, when driven from Leinster by the Anglo-Normans, settled in the northern part of it. Later the MacMahons became its chiefs. See *The Book of Rights*, p. 48.

⁷ *Kilmurry*.—Five miles S. of Milltown Malbay. The ancient church is still standing.

⁸ *Caher Ross*.—A townland in the parish of Kilmurry, containing a ruined castle.

⁹ *Bohneill*.—A townland in the parish of Rath.

of Clonroad. This was a famous castle¹ and princely abode belonging to him who held the chieftaincy of the country. The host rose up (on Monday exactly) steadily, slowly from their tents and huts, and they proceeded to travel over the road diagonally across Thomond in a north-easterly direction exactly through the east of Hy Cormaic and the plain of Cinel Fermaic and the speckled-hilled Burren, till they came at the end of the evening to the monastery of Corcomroe and to Carcair na cclereach. Those of the forces who were unoccupied throughout the day were traversing and preying every place all round, so that they did not leave a habitation or dwelling that was important without being burned and destroyed completely that day. Early on Tuesday they went with their spoils and preys towards Carcair, and though their march was severe and their pace slow, owing to the quantity of cattle and plunder, they left the rocky passes of white Burren behind. When they came to the dwellings of the smooth plain of Maree, they rested at Knockangerrainbane, between Kilcolgan and Galway.

They divided the spoil between them after that, so that each body had its own share of the enemy's cattle, flocks, and booty, and they proceeded the next day to guide and drive their portion of the prey along the roads of the ancient province of Sreng, son of Srengan.² The journey they made on that day was not long, for they were tired after the great toil in coming through the crooked roads of Burren; neither had they eaten or slept during the course of the preceding night, for they thought the Earl of Thomond would come with all his forces in pursuit of them and on their track to attack them, on the crooked, narrow roads by which they marched, though he did not come at all. They made their encampment in the neighbourhood that night, since they had banished their fear. They made neither huts nor buildings, owing to the heat of the summer weather, but they lighted strong, flaming fires, and their attendants and servers, their cooks and people of the household, their servants and their soldiers set to and fell to slaughter and hew the bones of the enemy's cattle in order to prepare their dinner for their chiefs and their nobles, till they were satisfied and had feasted and slept calmly, as they had set aside their fear. The army rose up from the refreshing rest of sleep at the

imítecta. Ro cómairleicc ó Doimnaill do Mac Uilliam cona muinntir 7
 don luét dor fainice a hiaréar an coiceir fo a éogaimm roaó via ttiúib.
 fol. 65. a. Do leige fíurir fairi ceé nóiréach ir na conairib coitcélnna go manaic ma
 nveoir láoi co Conmaicne chuile tolaig in eirinníóón an éoir. Gabair
 longróir huiróiu an aóais rín, & airiric ann go ar abairac. Ro fóiréonairi
 íarion ó Doimnaill fori a muinntir an innile crieche a mbu 7 a ccléia 7 an
 euala ar élna do leigín áiróib via ttiúib, an gíollanair 7 an aor airim &
 gonta 7 airill via rloz do leiceaó leó. Do ílgaic gan fúiréac feb mo
 híribáó fúú.

Conairleicc vúa Rúairic cona muinntir tuiréct via ttiúib amail éac.
 Do rafga áa Doimnaill coicc céo laóó go fearceat maricac do ríógnib
 a rloiz, 7 mo líb foria airirion ina fochairi buóóin, go mbatarí ag cuirann
 7 occ legeaó a ríirí irin longróir co híarí míoón láoi. Lotoir arí ara
 haitle & gabairic trierán coiceaó fairióir co vian veimneveac & co
 taoitceílnac do ló & vaóais go manceatarí co loch Riac in doribluir na
 mairne muiche arí a báirach. Ba heiríre porit airéachair & íoríacó flatha
 íaríla cloinne Ríocairí. Do leiceit a rccíimealta co rgaóilteaó va ceclí
 leith vioró vinnveaó na crieche. Do ionalat ambaoi do cuir & do
 ccléirib ina comfocairí, & do bíricat leó co haonmáigín combatarí a
 rpolairicnaó ríu aniomlíac & ríu aniomain leó.

Tiaóairc ríimib íarítan trierán coiceaó fairíthúaró gurí gabairc long-
 róir inn imeal an tíre ríur an Súa anvear aóais an Doimnaig do ríuníac.
 Airiric ainríre co matam an luain. Do comíat ar íarí ríain tarí Ath lías
 ríinó forían Súa, 7 ríe maó náoi mic Allgúba go mangatarí gurí an
 Slghairí in ríacéóna. Gabairc forí ríur an abainn a tuaró an aóais rín.
 Do comíat arí a báirach tarí coirírlíab na Slghíra, 7 rímarán cooirann co
 baile an Mhoarí, conaó airíre mo ríaoilríc na mairí via nóríonib &
 via ttiúir cona eualairí ionróairí.

fol. 65. b. Do rílicc ó Doimnaill ríirí vía airíairí & vía aor tuaríarí ó íul co
 Septembéir, go ríur tochuirí chucca do ríóirí ríur an ríeoairírlí bórlgal forí

¹ *C. Cuile Tolaigh*.—Now the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. It has its name from Conmhac, son of Fergus and Meadhbh, from whom the inhabitants were said to be descended. *The Book of Rights*, p. 100.

² *Loughrea*.—The name of a barony and town in the Co. Galway, 12 miles south-east of Athenry.

³ *Aoi*.—On the origin of this name see O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ii. 11.

break of day and went on their road and journey. O'Donnell allowed Mac William and the people and forces who had come from the western part of the province at his call to go to their homes. He set out himself due eastwards by the ordinary roads until he came before the end of the day to Conmaicne Cuile Tolaigh,¹ in the middle of the province. He encamped there that night, and they halted there till the next day. O'Donnell then ordered his people to send away to their homes their prey of cattle and sheep and the booty also, and to let the servants and unarmed people and the wounded and others of the army go with them. They went off without delay as they were ordered.

He allowed O'Rourke and his people to go home like the others. O'Donnell chose five hundred soldiers, with sixty horsemen of the choicest of his army, and ordered them to remain with himself, that they might rest and get rid of their fatigue in the camp till after mid-day. They marched away after that and proceeded through the province south-eastwards vigorously, actively, silently, by day and by night, until they came to Loughrea² in the twilight of the early morning next day. This was the chief residence and princely abode of the Earl of Clanricarde. They sent out their marauders scattered in every direction to prey the territory. They gathered together all the herds and flocks in the neighbourhood and took them to one place, so that there was plenty to bring and drive away with them.

They marched on after a time through the province north-east until they made an encampment on the borders of the territory south of the Suck on Sunday evening exactly. They stayed there until Monday morning. They went after a while across Athleague Finn and across the Suck and through the plain of Aoi,³ the son of Allgubha, and reached the Seghais in the evening. That night they rested north of the river. The next day they marched over Corrsliabh of the Seghais and through Corann to Ballymote; then the chiefs separated to their castles and houses with much spoil.

O'Donnell gave rest to his soldiers and his mercenaries from July to September, when he summoned them to him again to see whether he might

na gallaib, ar at cuaf dóroin gup bo gnaítheb do gíofhaib na nGall tocht
 gac laoi dappan uprochac baol for ioncharb Doine buí thúar do
 ingealtarab for feigúit fáraig baol for anghíomai con úaéad marcflaig
 via ffoicéimé. Baolom íarom oga fceudab & fceudab ionnur no
 beirab main im na Gallab do garo an eoch forpao, conab ri aile aipiocht
 lair. Do maéa oiong mói via míleabab & oiong marcad nat bat luá
 oíat fe éeo a lion eitir traigthead & marcad. Do blit lair iatpaoe ar a
 haile co dichealta in doichata na hoíche go for fáraig in eadpaoe in
 ucht allbuaig íomóimain mo bai irin maigflaib do maia for ioncharb an
 Doine a túar bail in iobab fceudab doib muintir an baile, 7 nac ba
 forpaoe do chach ífcom. Ro lá úaéad mibg via marcflaig in ionattab
 ionfoilgíre in aífoccur don baile in fceudab forpaoe heochab 7 for an
 oir forpaoe cona foitir an eachpaoe for oíla do míoir fceudab tan
 tírtar gup an bfeigúit at eadpaoe. Batar pailar co hupioe an
 laoi. At chiat an fceudab chuea dappan uprochac con an aif forpaoe
 éomíla feb mo gnaíthead. Atmaéat marcflaig uí Dhoimnail doib dapi
 anéir, & do iatpaoe ammuí calma for luét an éomíla. Ro gionat aiaill
 oíab, & aipioe aiaill úaíab la oíne & utmoile an eima. Gabat
 muintir uí Dhoimnail oíe íomain eachpaoe na nGall fo accuimang.

Ticc ó Dhoimnail gup an flog tapuirtar ina fáipab via ecomfupiaét 7
 atnaghat an fceudab fceudab. Ro forpaoe uí Dhoimnail for oíne via
 marcflaig uí lár na heocha aiaill ar oíne connoceatir & gan aipioe
 fupioe ífcom. Do ionta íarom inoíne. Anar ó Dhoimnail fo oíne &
 an do maéa via marcflaig ina fáipab & a míleabab & traigthead ar éina.
 Oíe ciat na Gall an eocha do uíleabab fupioe, atnaghat in oíne
 via tapuirtar & fceudab an aipioe & do líceit inoíne deachar uí
 Dhoimnail. Ro leablaing an geneail Henri Docu for a eoch, & mo
 leablaingíre an marcflaig ar éina do neoch oga iabatar eich & for forpaoe
 in ionattab muintir 7 na mo líceitíre fupioe. Do líceitíre irin toíne
 aiaill ar oíne conpangatar. Oíe éonap ó Dhoimnail marcflaig na nGall
 for oíne inoíne na uíleabab aipioe dapi éir a míleabab traigthead cona oíne
 marcflaig ina fceudab co iatpaoe marcflaig na nGall fupioe. Do blitpaoe

fol. 6. a.

¹ *Horses*.—An account of the capture of these horses will be found in *Annals F.M.*, vi. 2203, and O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 218.

not harm the English ; for he heard that it was usual for the horses¹ to go each day across the bridge which was opposite Derry northwards to graze on a grassy field which was opposite, with a few of the cavalry to protect them. He was considering and reflecting how he could make a descent on the English to take their horses from them. This was the resolution he came to. He chose a large body of his soldiers and a troop of horse, so that the number of horse and foot was not less than six hundred. These he took with him very secretly in the darkness of the night, and left an ambuscade in the recess of a steep cliff which was on the mountain slope opposite Derry to the north, a place from which the people of the town could be seen by them, and they could not be seen by any one. He placed a small number of his cavalry in retired places very near the town in ambuscade for the horses and their keepers, lest the horses might return whenever they came to the field of grass of which we have spoken. They were there until the beginning of day. They saw the horses cross the bridge towards them with their guard, as they were accustomed to do. O'Donnell's horse rose up behind them, and made a vigorous onset on the guards. They wounded some of them ; others of them escaped owing to the fleetness and speed of their galloping. O'Donnell's men proceeded to drive off the horses of the English which they had in their power.

O'Donnell came to their aid with the force which remained with him, and they drove the horses before them. O'Donnell commanded the body of horse to go with the horses as fast as they could, and not to wait for him at all. This was done then. O'Donnell remained behind, and the horse he had chosen with him, and his soldiers and foot also. When the English saw that their horses had been taken away from them, they rose up quickly to avenge themselves, and took up their arms and set off in pursuit of O'Donnell. The General Henry Docwra leaped on his horse, and the horsemen, too, on theirs, such as had horses and kept them in safe places and had not been separated from them. They set off in pursuit as fast as they could. When O'Donnell saw the horsemen of the English in full speed after him, he stopped behind his foot with a body of horse by him, until the English horse came up with them. They made a quick, bold

ammur uioeria dhanaróa fori húa nDomnaili dani clinn a ceiriche, & do éorname an einig uiblinib. Foraisir ó Domnaili co déola tuirgiortheach fuprin deabair & fíreairi iomairfz ammur ltorria ceéтары an dá leirte com-batar an mairerluaz ceéтарыa mlie an mlee, & go magabpacc fori iompuabó 7 fori imóubmagá apoirle co comóioeria. Do mlaa Adó mac Adóha uuib uí Domnaili & an toireach Henru Docur tul 1 tul fpu apoirle ipin iomguin. Tarlaic an tOfoh úa Domnaili an foza fožablaicé baol ina laim an ammur an toiriz go tparla hi tcul a eoin zan iómpoll uó co pur zon co haicélu. Soair an tuireach fupthiorc íli na tpeghoaó famlaio 7 poaic na Faili an élna po mela íli nguin an tpeinfpi tairupme & a ceuingio aatha & ni po glínrat a necciait ni ba fpuú. Tighaite muintli uí Odomnaili oia iropairib íari ttain, & acumile a ngailgipóa zan guairim, fuilllé an uib céoaib each ba fló a lion. Rannair ó Domnaili ílcc ara haicéle forpna húairlib íari na miaó & comnam. O Domnaili tra baoiróe ipoirbaoiri forp na Failaib zan fogluapacc ar a thipi co uerpeaó Octoberi. Do puimlnairi ainnpíoe uol gur an Tuaoimuinan do puóipí oia hinpló.

Tariccloméa a floz lair íari ceinnlé a chomairile & ni po airp co mainice dairan Slisceac íari & forpaccairi Niall ó Domnaili mac Cunn mic an Calbaigmic Maghnura oia gailfime buó óein dani a éip ipin ceipuch oia comóa forp na Failaib na tiopairi oia hinopreaó ina óuio. Ni anoir Faili do gpiér aét occ ail & occ atoch az gpiapacht & occ guioe Néill uí Odomnaili co hinclerthe imchocht ina mbairh & ina muintliar buó óein, & do mairnglipile iuge 7 clinnur na cipiche uó oiamtar corpmaiz, & po éingéalipac noó fuprin reóite iomóa & maoine mária & cuip & clinnra fpu comall gá nlicé an élna. Baoiriom dani acharó foia occ coirteét fpu na comairib fol. 66. b. pin po boé aga nliail fairi con do mat a ainfen fairi pó ócoró a álnuzaó uol daomleir 7 daonpinn la Failaib, & a bpeccáó & a tožalchaó la a ttingeallicairb goacha 7 la mairile mo olpa fligh forpallairz po gpiop 7 po arlaiz fairi an chomairile hipin.

¹ *Hugh*.—He is spoken of by our author at p. 55 as being the equal of the greatest of the ancient heroes, and well fitted to rule over the Cinel Conaill.

² *Javelin*.—Dowra's own account of the encounter, which was so near being fatal

to him, will be found in full in the *Introd.*, p. cxv., *antea*.

³ *Number*.—Dowra says it was but 60, whereas O'Sullivan makes it 168. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 218. In the *Annals F. M.* it is stated to have been 200.

attack on O'Donnell for his prey, and to save what was under the protection of both. O'Donnell met them valiantly and resolutely in the skirmish, and a fierce battle took place between them on both sides, so that the horsemen of both were mixed with one another, and they set to hew and shoot each other very actively. Hugh,¹ son of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, and the commander Henry Doewra met face to face in the conflict. Hugh O'Donnell cast a forked javelin² which was in his hand at the leader, so that it struck him straight in the forehead and wounded him severely. The leader turned back after being wounded in this way. The English, too, turned back in sorrow that the trusted hero and their captain in the fight should be wounded, and they did not follow their horses farther. O'Donnell's people went to their tents afterwards, and they reckoned the English horses accurately to be something over two hundred in number.³ O'Donnell divided them afterwards among his nobles according to their dignity and deserts. O'Donnell continued to besiege the English, without moving from his territory, to the end of October. He determined then to go to Thomond to prey it.

16co.
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He assembled his forces after taking the resolution, and he did not halt till he crossed the Sligeach westwards. He left Niall O'Donnell,⁴ son of Conn, son of Calvagh, son of Manus, of his own family, behind in the territory to guard it against the English, lest they should come to plunder it in his absence. The English did not cease to entreat and implore, to urge and beseech Niall O'Donnell secretly to enter into an alliance and friendship with them, and they proffered him the kingship and chieftaincy of the territory if they were victorious, and they promised him many jewels and great wealth, and engagements and covenants, too, for the performance of everything. He listened for a long time to these proposals which were made to him at their suggestion, till his ill-luck at last made him consent to join and unite with the English and be deceived and circumvented by the lying promises and evil counsels of envious, proud people who incited and urged him to that resolution.

⁴ *Niall O'D.*—*i.e.*, Niall Garbh. At p. cxxv. of the Introduction we have given the motives which, in addition to personal am-

bition, induced him to lend ear to the suggestions of the English and obtained for him considerable support among the clan.

Μαιης μλνμα μο ιομπάρó, μαιης εριοθε μο ιγμυο, μαιης ελνγα το
 μιονέοιγς αν αιγλε ανουοο ανίαγμαιοταό μινγνεch μινόμνach μο cogμαó
 von chup rin. Μαιης βμαχαιρ μο ερείcc a coipprine 7 a choimoió talímanva,
 a chaireve 7 a chomfuilíthe ar úil hi cleié & hi ccomáontaó a éccpao 7 a
 l'ccapiao. Μονύαρ άιη nac θαοιμλειó μο ιομαινίε & το βλίεπατ a mbáipe,
 αρ ηίη βó ποιυβ & ηίη υó ποúαιγς a ετολαó ná a εελίγθαó a εταcμαιγς na
 a ετιμceallaó an cclín βαταρ ι ccoipa & hi cáonéoiμiac pñ apoié. Το
 éeachataρ τη a τηαρ θαυιβμαερεach lá Miall ηην comliuigeηη .i. áóth
 buíthe, Domhnall, & Conn ócc. Βαταρ τιν na γαίλλ hi μαχetaη a leap
 Miall cona βμαεέυb το úil vía μιονηποιγíó, úαρ πορταρ ιείεíγς μλνιεμíγς
 hi caíεfeir & hi ccaéconγpam γαé noíóche la hoíman uí Domhnall 7 ποbταρ
 páothaíγς γάλμαíγς la hioμchumge an ionn ambataρ 7 lap na βiaóuib
 pñna pñbólaíó 7 lapna peolaib pailíte pñbγoipte 7 la ταρβαíó γαéa
 túapa ba haólaic úoib & na huipéola pochaichíne pampáo. Kop aipchup
 Miall úa Domhnall im γαé η ba εlíβαíó ποημα, & πορ púapceail τοib apñ
 ccumang éapcaρ imbatap. Το βλίε .x.c. laoch laip úaóuib co leíéblí
 naoi mile clímenn óη τοίρε ιάγ γαé noípeac πορ ηρ an locha cletna.
 Ba óúnapup aipófic túa Oíomhnall an úú rin & ba heipmmill an ionbaíó
 rin, úαρ η baoi óúnaó vainglin ná caiprial clacháolta áηη pñ ηe ποva ó
 μο blovaó peéε μαíη, áεε μαó óúncíaó vinnim íap na imóenaíη το epiaó &
 opóεταib an talíman & coelélaip évomam uipéthe ma ioméacmang oc
 imfúipeaó 7 oc línaóaó pñ haichélin an óúnaíó μο baoi anη peéε μαíη το
 éupgbail áηη ι pñéηη. Ποpμaccaib an εolp comheva an πορε páp la hoíman
 ó μο ματαγίε na γαίλλ éuca 7 na baoi ó Domhnall mo occup τοib via
 ppuptaéε. La ποúam tanγataρ na γoiú von pópe & túapγabíε μup
 mópaíóble & vumaóa epiaó & cloé πορ apcaéth γopi υó hinnill pñ huip-
 claió & iomaiνíγς mo aghaíó a náíμαε. Úuó ap aile pñi το pammíuneti
 uí Domhnall ma ébóhaíγς co ppoipceel an tíηe laip, & ac péo noó uile an
 το μionaó anη. Ba hionγnaó móp & ba machetaó mñman la hó

fol. 67. a.

¹ *Advised*.—See Introd., p. xxiv.

² *Contest*.—The word *baire* is the name that the people of Erin had in ancient times, and have still, even in Dublin, for the game of ball and hurleys. It is applied figuratively to any contest, combat, or battle. O'Curry, *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 113. n.

³ *Lifford*.—'The 8th of October I assigned to the said Neale Garvie 500 foot and 30 horse, under the leading of Sir John Bowles, to go and take the Liffer, where 30 of O'Donnell's men lay in garrison in a fort in one of the corners of the town, and most of them being abroad when they came, were

Woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the heart that entertained, woe to the tongue that advised¹ that violent, ruinous, odious, malicious plan that was entered into then! Woe to the kinsman who abandoned his own tribe, and his earthly lord, his friends and relatives, to go plotting and uniting with his enemies and his foes! Alas! that they did not strive and carry on the contest² together, for it was not simple or easy to pierce or penetrate their surrounding or to circumvent them as long as they were in peace and amity with each other. However, his three brothers joined with Niall in that revolt, *i.e.*, Hugh Buidhe, Donnell, and Conn Oge. The English needed, too, that Niall and his brothers should come to them, for they were weary and fatigued with watching and preparing for fight every night through fear of O'Donnell, and they were diseased and distempered owing to the narrowness of the place where they were and the old musty victuals and the bitter salt meat and the want of every condiment which they required, and of fresh meat especially. Niall O'Donnell supplied them with everything they needed, and relieved them from the narrow prison in which they were. He took with him ten hundred of their soldiers to Lifford,³ nine miles due west of Derry, on the bank of the same Lough.⁴ This was a famous residence of O'Donnell; it was not safe then, for there was not a stronghold or castle built of stone and mortar there for a long time, as it had been destroyed some time before, but only a poor earthen fort that had been made of clay and of sods of earth, and a narrow, shallow ditch of water around it to prepare for the re-erection of such another fortress as had been there before.

The guard vacated the fort through fear when they saw the English approaching and that O'Donnell was not near to aid them. Thereupon the English came to the castle and raised huge walls and ramparts of earth and stone for shelter, so that it was safe for defence and attack against their enemies. A certain man of O'Donnell's own people went after him

surprised and slain, and the place taken; yet so as one of them had first put fire into the fort, which consumed all the buildings in it; but the rest of the houses scattered about in the town (which were about 20), were preserved, and stood us in singular

good stead.' Dowcra's *Narration*, p. 246. O'Donnell had entrusted Lifford to Niall Garbh. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Calh.*, p. 219.

⁴ *Same Lough.*—The name of Lough was then given to the river Foyle from the sea to Lifford.

nDomhnall a bpiachair & a cliamhain do fíoradh fairsí dóig ba rí ríur in Oítha
 no ba bainímuirtear don tí Miall. Iompair ó Domhnall a coiceceadh
 ndilealla úair ni pianaic tar baile an Mhotaig ríair ipin coiceceadh an tan
 puccerac pceela fairi, & iompáit a fíogh ppuothiojee feb monuccerac vialaile,
 aét na má ni puacht la a milísa úa Domhnall do ppeartal aét maó úaéadh
 via maicfílog combui anathpoccur don leébioi acpuibpumaí. Ni contairinic
 lap na Gallairb cpeacha nair oipcene do óenom ie ríú pianaic ó Domhnall
 fori ccula aét beith acc daingnuigadh a pcori & occ clairde a míú, & ot
 chúlatoir ó Domhnall do thurdeacht nír melic an oíman doib vépach
 an púirt ambatarí fori clinn nac neit no baor do élfbaró forpua. Tarpuirair
 ó Domhnall ino ionao nair uó hifitipéian ó na Gallairb co puccerac úaéadh
 via miteadhóib tpairgthead fairi.

ba fova la húa nDomhnall no batari na Gallairb gan fuabairt, & ni no
 aipir púir an fílog ni ba ríurú go púir tairpen an túaéadh no baor dona
 Gallairb fori toeb Cruacháin Lúghn alla anolr púir an abainn a túair. Ot
 chifet na Gallairb eipthe do puachtatarí a docum, & Miall ó Domhnall
 cona bpiatpib hi toipricheét na tpiosa. Do bfiact poirgin nuigra púir apioile
 cfin nach nvanatar véabéa an lá rin cltuir, aét bfieth anupfoichill fori a
 chéile, úair ni no fairsit na Gallairb ó Domhnall do beith in úaéadh aínail
 no baor, & batari iomoinnairg in bfiag do éabairt iompu & nír uó hail dóib
 vol ino iméline on mbairt air aorthe. A chumbat cftena do múintir
 uí Domhnall, ba vichuinn doibpion vol imfice a namiat ino iomfoiccur
 an púirt an túaéadh fílog batari. Ro eipiróelirg fori air oile air a aba
 cenib fo dóra & chaonchompac no pcarpat. Ro gonta air aill úairóib de
 fol. 67. b. ríú 7 anall la duibpaitéib fílgí & fairghit & fogaó fogaer fogaiblaigthe
 & ubairl meall luairde, aét na ma ba mo aín no cpeactnaighit muintir
 uí Domhnall air níairt inait na Gallairb. Tifghairt na Gallairb via tairghib
 íar tain, & do tolt ó Domhnall cona muintir via pcorairb, & ba co
 ppuaradh & fígluinnne luiró ó Domhnall annpíro air a meó no la fairi gan
 a fílog via éairpáctain an lá rin dóig ba veairb laipion via mbfittir occa

¹ *Niall's wife*. — See Introd., p. cxxiv., ante.

² *Cruachan Lighcan*. — Now Croaghan, a hill which gives its name to a townland in the parish of Clonleigh, barony of Raphoe,

three miles north-west of Lifford. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 782.

³ *More*. — The sense is, O'Donnell's party being less in numbers suffered more hurt than the more numerous one of Niall Garbh.

to tell him the news of the country, and related to him all that had taken place there. O'Donnell wondered greatly, and was surprised that one who was his cousin and brother-in-law should turn against him, for Hugh's sister was Niall's wife.¹ O'Donnell returned from the province of Oilíoll, for he had not gone beyond Ballymote westwards into the province when the news reached him, and his forces came back as fast as they could together, but yet his soldiers were not able to keep up with O'Donnell, except a few of his horse, until he came very near Lifford of which we have spoken. The English had not succeeded in making preys or depredations before O'Donnell came back, but they were strengthening their encampment and erecting ramparts, and when they heard that O'Donnell had come, fear did not allow them to go out of the fortress in which they were for anything they needed. O'Donnell halted at a place which was not very far from the English, until some of his foot-soldiers came up with him.

It seemed long to O'Donnell that the English were not attacked, and he did not wait longer for his army, but he displayed before the English the small force which he had on the south side of Cruachan Lighean,² to the north of the river. When the English saw them, they went out to meet them, Niall O'Donnell and his brothers being leaders of the fight. They skirmished with each other, though there was not an obstinate battle on that first day, but they were in readiness for each other, for the English did not think O'Donnell had so small a force as he had, and they were greatly afraid an ambushade was laid for them, and they did not wish to go very far from the town in consequence. So, too, with O'Donnell's people, it would be unwise for them to go among their enemies in the neighbourhood of the fort, their forces being so few. They separated, therefore, from each other, though it was not for peace and friendship sake they separated. Some of them on both sides were wounded by the discharge of spears and arrows and of very sharp forked darts and of leaden balls, but more³ of O'Donnell's people were wounded on account of their small number than of the English. The English returned to their houses after a while, and O'Donnell and his people went to their tents, and O'Donnell went away in anger and wrath, because he had not his army with him to avenge himself on that day, for he

an ionbaró rin na hejmairitir na Góill úarthe feb atpóneriot. Rangatai a flog via faigiórium ar a haite & mo oluáiglitairi mo iomfuithe poirina gallaib íar mbeie via míleasab fairi co leice, & gabair longpóit po ó míle ceimlín do leitebeari iompoiaróim poiríeac mo olra treabta co mo lílaimaigti na harbanna batari mo iomfoicci do na gallaib. No laaóim ólrí bparé & tairceéla poirán mbaile cech noróche naé ar ielccéó óen anonn nach alle muna moirtiar dairán búr ólrí, & nír faiceaib conaie náitíe ríthír náro lírua elúó po míle cilmín don baile na mala poiarífoha 7 ltairinaíthe poirio do choimé & do rmoáie poirina gallaib na tirtair tairíib fan maéugáó, & poirí cloinn Cuinn uí Dhoimnáil raimífoh & poirí a muirtiar, ar ar poirina ba uilge lairíom a choimé & ar íatíe potruairí iliomat na netíraíthe 7 mo olra rmoáie. Baoríom ríu ié rmoachatt laithe an óu rin cín fogluaraé ar co tairmíc la bpuátoib 7 coaróab na cliche an aibonna rertíoraó & do éioiríoraó, & co tairíoraé 1 minclíabab & 1 mclíbolceab tía tairíuó 7 via nímífoáin poirí lchaib 7 gíoraíob co mo lairíe in óuimíb óaingníob 7 in ionatáib inmílíib na rírtair anamíatíe.

feétt nólín óó Doimnáil íe ríu óur faiceaib an longpóit lírin tairíruairí occa uil poirí ammuir na nGall óur an tirtair dairína muiaib amach poirán maígníob. O do deachatai muiríu uí Dhoimnáil poirí ionchaib an baile mo batari na Góill aga poirí 7 aga mórínam & in mo íaigíe poirio ó moíe gínatari goirí uó do chuíngeaó ugnia do deachatai. fol. 68. a. Imrairíe muiríu uí Dhoimnáil íríthííí na conaie do moirí ó na ruairíe an ní poirí a tairíoraé íaríraó. Do gíntíe aíríomí poirí urí na habann allathuaó óianao áinn an baolíob nachgairíe on mbaile. Tíghatíe óionga móra óíob via ríoraib 7 ríu oile do éoríeab ar ní íaóiríut na Gall via leanmóin an lá rin rígníeab. Ót éonnaie líall ó Doimnáil muiríu uí Dhoimnáil co heiríííe aníruíe, at bíríe ríur na gallaib coirí uó líomairíííe óíob ammuir do éabairíe poirio. Gabatíe na Góill occ aíríeín an áim 7 occa níttíe co ríóll íatáéa (poirina líáíííuín)

¹ *Sons.*—i.e., Niall Garbh and his brothers. See *Introd.*, p. xii., ante. This Conn had nine sons, five of whom died violent deaths; their names are given in O'Donovan's Appendix to *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2385. Niall Garbh was Conn's fourth son.

² *Deel.*—This river rises in Lough Deel in the north-west of the barony of Raphoe. Athnacarbait, where St. Patrick is said to have foretold the future greatness of St. Columkille, is a ford on this river. Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 390.

was sure that if he had it then, the English would not escape from him as they did. His army came to him afterwarwards, and he besieged the English closely as soon as his soldiers came to him, and he made his encampment two miles from Lifford of which we have spoken, for the protection of the husbandmen, that they might secure the crops of corn which were in the neighbourhood of the English. He sent spies and scouts to the town every night, that no one might be allowed in or out without passing over the river to the south, and he left no road or pass or means of escape for a mile from the town, on which there were not watches and ambuscades to watch and observe the English lest they might pass through without being noticed, and the sons¹ of Conn O'Donnell especially and their people, for these he thought more difficult to watch, and on their account he placed so many ambuscades and guards. He was about thirty days there without moving away until the farmers and peasants of the country had succeeded in drying and threshing their corn, and they took it away in small baskets and meal-sacks by removing it and bearing it off on horses and mares and putting it in the strong fortresses and safe places where the enemy would not come.

Once, before O'Donnell left that camp in which he was staying, he happened to go towards the English, to see if they would come outside the walls on the level plain. When O'Donnell's people came before the town, the English reconnoitred and examined them; but they did not sally out against them, for they saw it was to challenge them to fight they had come. O'Donnell's people returned by the same road, as they did not find what they had gone in search of. They made a halt on the bank of the river, which is called the Deel,² to the north a short distance³ from the town. Large parties of them went to their camp and about other business, for they did not think the English would follow them on that day precisely. When Niall O'Donnell saw O'Donnell's people scattered and unprepared, he told the English that they ought to make an attack on them. The English set about getting ready their arms and putting on their armour leisurely and carefully (at his bidding) in the middle of the fortifications, that they might not be

³ *Distance*.—The Deel joins the Foyle a mile to the north of Lifford.

in tciimíóón na mír ar na baó foveic oia naimtib comtir améa erithe. O pobtar ílloim íaríom vtr ficcét vartna míraib reactairi ino upo chatha. Laroóam vo líccét fori ammur muintiric uí Ohoimnaill fon ílímín, & an tí Níall cona bmaírb & muintirí hi íéméur íemíra oia réóúgaó.

At chí ó Doimnaill chuga iat fon toichímín & ba ró lair affaierín oia raigíó & ío íuioíó vān a míleaóa ina mionavaib íróalra fo anlícoimairi cona moónaib aíg úairtib, & mtr íelie anoiobíaccaó combatarí foríran mbíúach alitaraó von abainn. Im a compainic óoib ílírtaín combatarí mlícc ar mlíó, & ílíéarí óleo ainmín eccíatuch ítoíría ólí uó óaríóccur accoimíalur. Scuchaitt an maríóloó voóum a cheile combatarí aó tuinnírlíó aríale vo mianaoirib móiríleabíra & vo óraoiréachairb élníóólara. Vo íatc íra Níall ó Doimnaill tuinnírlíó von írlíóó íimníóó írlíóóba baí ina óuín fori ólírbíatáir uí Ohoimnaill. 1. Maónur, co ío élanuríarí an eccíaoiríóó ío íóéarí a íomóa ino, & óur írlíóóóóóó a ímíóóoncha íraíran líóóóh ílíóóóhín vo íala uimbe. Ot connairic Ruóíraíóe ó Doimnaill íuoóóamína élíneoil cconailí a ólírbíatáirí vo óuín íamíláó vo bílíe ammur calma vāna óuíoíoíoíheáé íóííra tí Níall co íraío íoíoóóí ammur aíchíí vo óa íóío ío líóóóamíra a ochta íarí. Níall íra ot connairíóóóe an óáraé íur mbaoí Ruóíraíóe occ íaríóó íarí, 7 ot chí tuinnírlíó an omna chucca ío íocairíélnn aríuainmííenaó íngíonóob an eích aríóóímaíó alíímaríó vo íala íoa co ítuaríccairb acílnn ítaríóóar ítoíría co íéícoimíacairí an eccíaoiríccí eccíuaríóíuóín hi tul a eóain von éoch óo íainaic an ínéínó. Ro bloóáíaríarí cíoínnííma na cíoaríccíhe occa ííeníaríímaíó forí a íarí von tí Ruóíraíóe co ííaríóáíb a ííaríínélnn írínó eoch cona baóí laíríomíh áéí an óíchealíarí óíambííuríe ina óuín. Ro íhathamairí an íeacíh óeíríóe ío óeíóó íarí íoóéamín an báile íarí íóáíatc an íaríín arí.

fol. 68. b.

Ba óíííran náé ímmáille ío láíríot an loechíaríó ino íomairíóó íru anamíííu & ambáíamín íru a mbíóóóbaóáíb 7 nách hi cóíra batarí, óarí m ío cumííccáíóó accónaó an cceín ío aníat íamíláó, & íobtarí coríccíaríó ííra coíccííuochairb no chingíur, & m ío íaóaríbanía íra íoírb íoílír ía íeéíarí cénél amíal vo íionía eíó íarí íraín. Maíícc cíoóh & caomíóíba, maííóó ííí & túáé m ío éíóáíó an ainííhen vóna comíííarírb & vóna comíííííóírb

¹ *Battle*. — O'Sullivan says that Conn shoulder, while Niall Garbh pierced him in the right side. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 219.

seen by the enemy until they had their arms and armour. When they were ready, they sallied out from the fortifications in battle array. Then they advanced to attack O'Donnell's people in this manner, Niall and his brothers and people being in the van to lead the way. 1600.

O'Donnell saw them coming, and he was glad to see them advancing, and he put his soldiers in their proper places opposite, with their weapons of war raised over them, and he did not allow them to shoot till they were on the opposite bank of the river. When they met after that they were mixed together, and a fierce, furious battle¹ was fought by them, though their relationship was very close. The horsemen rushed at each other and dashed at one another with large pikes and green-headed lances. Meantime Niall O'Donnell made a thrust of the long, sharp lance which he held in his hand at O'Donnell's brother Manus, and the spear entered underneath his shoulder and penetrated his internal parts through the armour made of skins which he had on. When Rury O'Donnell, roydamna of the Cinel Conaill, saw his brother wounded in this way, he made a vigorous, bold, merciless attack on Niall, and aimed a forcible, furious thrust of a large spear straight at his breast. But when Niall saw the fierceness of Rury approaching him, and when he beheld the thrust of the lance, he pulled hard the bridle-bit in the mouth of the high-rearing, foreign horse which he rode, and raised his head between them, so that the hard-tempered spear struck the horse straight in the forehead and pierced his brain. The socket of the spear was broken by Rury in drawing it back, and he left the iron head in the horse, and he had but the broken handle in his hand. The horse died finally of this after coming to the town, when the iron was taken out.

It was sad that these heroes did not combine in fighting against their enemies and in their anger against their foes, and were not at peace, for their prosperity was not banished from them while they remained so, and they were victorious in the neighbouring territories they entered, and they would not have been banished from their dear native land by a strange race, as happened afterwards. Woe to the country and fair land, woe to the territory and district in which ill-luck permitted relatives and kinsmen to hew and

iompuabā 7 iomēlaibēabā a chéle žan čoičcill amail forcaominaccari von churi rin. Iomēura na nžall (mo aipēt batari na haiuž at puḃramari aš comḃuabarič arioile) vo matpatirōe mo aigēe mo doimfēč & in alnḃaball fori triaighitechaiḃ uí Odomnail co mo roaro iemib biuž, ačt na má ni mo žonta, úarōib ačt maō úačāō ari ni mo lñrat na žail iatc tairan ccačlathari pēčtari, & ba haipe na mo lñrat po ōaiž žona a tcuriž mo triegōāō irin tochari rin cori bo hñcceln voib iompuō laiḃ co leičbiḃ co ppuari bar iaričtan. Ro lñrat vponž mōri vo muimeli uí Ohoimnail iatc, & žabarič oca noibhrižāō 7 claiōbeāō co tcorēmatari ariall voib & co mo žonta, & iobaō lanpaoleačtan la hoŃ na tožarima co pparipēe forpjo via lñāō an plož iŃ co leičc. Ačt člna niri pelič an āōnaipe 7 anaičmele vona hib ppiḃ mo roāō cēoammur a leanniam ipuḃhiri. Iompari ó Doimnail cur na pcorpiaiḃ iari nimēlēt vona žallaiḃ. Ba triamiam toipreāč mo voč irin longpōrit anōaižrin po ōaižin meic a pḃlathā 7 a pōžōamna beor via mapāō a haičle a bhiaichuuch. Batari mñinci la cenél cconail a molaōa búāōha & corccari vo thabarič oḃ airo aš commaoioŃm a nečt & anaičli iari ppaomēāō mñmpa oboāḃ lamcomaiḃ a loechiaiōe 7 baržaipe a mbanchuipe aš caomŃoh a ccaratc & aš žli-chaōi anžepiḃat žup an tanrin vōiž ni mo triomžonaiteč & ni mo točiaiōit ón tan mo žāb āōoh Rúāō pūghe & pḃlaičura forpjo žup an laičhi hiri.

Ba heiriōe laičhe čoiruich in mo tubāō a tpeiri & in mo cumḃžaižlō a ccorccoi, & amail nach lann laiḃ an doim. Via triŃhri voimāōa žan tḃiḃpuō na ainŃi žan hiepa vo bepe pḃēbepe foill fori conach člmeoiḃ lūighōāč mnc Ńlonač pēatā naičle. Cia atbēpēčari alŃ iomforimaitc & omēnuirō pōoioḃ 7 lžnač ainciriōe 7 eccpaittiḃ coriab vo aiche anovlīccēāč & a eccopia fori ó nDoimnail mo pōirō an ppi Oha pōioḃōa papi von chuppa ni ppi voib eccin, ačt aḃ aipe vo pōine. Via moirin nachar pāghbaō úail na ionnocčbail accobari na iomčolčta āōō úa Doimnail a vpižē a bhilčh & a čoičcearič aš pollominuccāō a pḃlaičura & ari āba a chlñ & a corccari fori

¹ *Leader*.—This was Captain Heath. 'He took a shot in the thigh, whereof he shortly died.' *Docwra's Narration*, p. 246.

² *Chief*.—The reference is to Hugh Roe's father, though he had resigned the chieftaincy to his eldest son Hugh eight years

before, when he was solemnly inaugurated as chief of the Cinel Conaill.

³ *Prince*.—He was Hugh Dubh's third son. See p. 3, antea.

⁴ *Lughaidh*.—He was third in descent from Conall Gulban. *Introd.*, p. x., antea.

destroy each other without sparing one another, as happened then! As for the English (during the time that the chiefs of whom we have spoken were attacking each other), they faced at once and in one body O'Donnell's infantry. These retired before them for a short distance, but yet only a few of them were wounded, for the English did not follow them beyond the field of battle, and the reason why they did not follow was that their leader¹ was pierced through in the fight, so that they were obliged to return with him to Lifford, where he died afterwards. A great number of O'Donnell's people followed them and proceeded to shoot and cut them down with the sword, so that many of them were killed and wounded, and those in pursuit thought they would have been defeated by them if the main body pursued them then, but shame and sorrow did not allow the party which had retreated at first to follow them again. O'Donnell returned to his camp after the English had gone away. Those who were in the camp that night were weary and sad on account of the son of their chief,² who would be their prince³ if he survived his brothers. Up to that time to proclaim aloud the praises of their victories and triumphs while boasting of the deceased and their heroism after victory was more common with the Cinel Conaill than the clapping of hands of their soldiers and the lamentation of the women weeping for their friends and bewailing their champions; for they had not received a severe wound or suffered disaster since Hugh Roe obtained the sovereignty and chieftaincy over them up to these days.

These were the days of the chief when he displayed his power and obtained victories, and yet as worldly successes without worldly reverses and happiness without eclipse are not pleasing to the one God, he permitted at this time a trifling check to the prosperity of the race of Lughaidh,⁴ son of Setna. Even though jealous and envious people may say, through murmuring and resentment, spite and enmity, that it was to punish O'Donnell's transgressions and injustice the great provident God turned away from him then, this is not true indeed; but the reason why God did this was lest pride or haughtiness, covetousness or self-will, should take from Hugh O'Donnell his rectitude, his judgment, his probity in ruling his kingdom, and lest for the sake of his superiority and victory

[illegible]

Ba ruathneadh ón foy an oirtheadúib & foy cfeafú na mac mbfethú & na nanamcaiat neoladh do mata ipheacnaicup a mbair. O muinnec ó Domhnaill don longfóir aithail acriubhnaioi mo fhaill fúasaraich fitha fionnchaolais do ólnoim do Mhaighnir ó Domhnaill oia iomchuir tair an mbfhuir fíar. Ro ghritha an táraich feb mo hlfabú, & do bfeitha an tí Mhaighnir ino ífhoim. Tighaitt óronz buirne aribble lair oia ólf ionmáine 7 oia éairuib ari élna co ruachtatoir Dúin ná nGall. Ro vlfáitha a iomúais othiair úorom ainniríde. Do mata leighe uí Dhomhnaill chuga oia choimchuir, & ni mo fíorac fpeapú do. At bfeirac gur uó maib. Ro batari mic bfeithú iomúa uuir S fhuairer iuin mainirer bai Allanaia ino iomfoccur don oúnaú. Dor ficeit ariall don lucht iobtari eccnaíde oib oia faigiríomí do fhuairim a chaigiríla fhuir an coimúir. Gabait occ a thioncoroc & occ puiocfpe inó. Do gni faoiruin aóolais éln naú nóichell 7 aóuam a tuicebala co leice. Ro chifirari a peacta fiaú Oia, & bat anaithieú ima inoocbail 7 ima mnaú mfhman in aifit ruaiar. Ro po maithneach beor don tí iur gon, & acbfir gur uó he buó úein fofuair a oiréad oóig afe mo faig foy Miall cfeur. Baoirim faílarú fhu ié fíctmáine ag foiréll écca ceú olnaithe, 7 céle Dé don uir ieiuiarui foy aifnaí na hionúais na fochair do grier oia ioméomíet foy inelldúib Diabail. Do bfeiríom acoibfina oia anncaiait comfmoic fhuir an ié iun, & mo thochair coir an éomúeú ífritain, & mo écc afínoú (an 22. October, 1600) iar mbuaúuaccú foy úeaiman & oimán. Ba í cfeafú na mac mbfethú batari ipheacnaicup occa co bfuairíom élnia an choimúir aia vlfhailúllú. Atráúnaét íarim ino oarilú a fionnir iun mainirer acriubhnaioi.

¹ *World*.—This is a very common ending of obituary notices in Irish Annals.

over the neighbouring territories he might set his mind and thoughts on his own strength and powers, and not on the decrees and gifts of the Lord of Heaven and earth, who can humble the brave and exalt the needy ; for this is what the one God often does, to bestow the possessions and wealth of his faithful children who do his will and obey his rule, on his unfaithful children who observe neither his testament nor his law. So it happened to Hugh O'Donnell and his brothers, whom the Lord checked in the course of their victories, and he gave them the kingdom of heaven afterwards.

He was consoled by the visits and presence of the sons of life and of the learned confessors who happened to be with him at his death. When O'Donnell came to the camp, as we have said, he ordered a litter of woven fair wattles to be made for Manus O'Donnell to take him over Bearnus westwards. The litter was made as was ordered, and Manus was carried in it. A great crowd of his companions and friends, too, accompanied him till they came to Donegal. A sick man's couch was made for him there. O'Donnell's physicians were brought to him to examine him, and they could not cure him. They said he was mortally injured. There were many religious of the Order of St. Francis in the monastery close to the castle a little to the west. Some of the most experienced of these people used to come to him to strengthen his friendship with the Lord. They proceeded to instruct and advise him. He made a contrite confession without any concealment, and he declared his transgressions then. He wept for his sins before God, and he was sorry for his pride and arrogance in former times. He forgave also the person who wounded him, and he said he himself was the cause of his death, for he first attacked Niall. He was in this way for a week preparing for death every single day, and the servants of God of the said Order were continually with him at the head of his bed to strengthen him against the snares of the Devil. He confessed frequently to his confessor, and received the Body of the Lord afterwards, and he died October 22nd, 1600, having been victorious over the Devil and the world.¹ It was the opinion of the religious who were with him that he found favour with the Lord on account of his merits. He was buried then in the tomb of his ancestors in the monastery of which we have spoken.

Ro baol athairíomh dóth mac Maḡnupa mic Adótha uib ina fínḡatáró an tan rin oḡa ḡairie ino occur don mairírtir. At cóar dóiríde a mác do epíle, feacair fori mairírtennáó & murrí ḡo móri imo mác co mo díanaiḡ-
lḡairí fori a écc. O thamice dóiríom ḡur na dḡlḡlḡnáa do muḡḡḡairt a anmcharia a dóchum 7 do maet acoibḡlḡa & do ḡnḡ aichmucche nḡocria fḡu Día. Ro thathamair ílḡi mitchirín mbicc ina dḡlḡhaiḡ an 7. do Decembei
íarí na beiríomnocht im dḡlmain ó dḡlman 7 o dḡoman. Ro haḡnaét irín
othairíḡe clḡtḡna hḡ comḡóḡaib dḡa mác co fḡilḡet a ielccí 7 atḡairí
dḡibḡnḡb irín mairírtir clḡtḡna inḡou. Baol an tí clḡḡa anḡirín .i. Adóth mac
Maḡnupa mic Adótha uib mic Adótha Rúaró mic Neilḡ ḡhairíb ina thḡḡlḡina
chḡneoil cconailḡ, inḡi heoḡham, cheneoil Moam, & iochḡairí Connocht,
& fori fḡoirí a fḡlḡ 7 a fḡuríḡ arí éḡna fḡu ié iḡ mbḡaḡḡan fḡichḡet co mo
hemḡicmḡchḡó la ḡallairí co ḡḡaró a thḡḡlḡmḡr cḡna bḡnnachḡain dḡa mác
Adóth Rúaró ílḡi na éḡuró ó ḡallairí (amairí at cḡaḡamairí), fḡlḡ fḡúairí ḡiḡlḡmḡr
ḡan fḡeill ḡan fḡionḡairí ḡan cḡccaró ḡan comḡúacharó an ḡAdóth mac
fol. 70. a. Maḡnupa hḡirín ílḡi nécc a dḡlḡḡarí an Calḡaró, fḡlḡ áḡhmairí ionḡiríḡḡeacó
co mbúaró ḡirḡóa & ḡachairí i ḡiḡlḡmḡr & iḡa ḡiḡlḡmḡr, inḡḡaríḡḡeoirí 7
airíccḡoirí na cḡoiríccmḡch & na cḡomḡarḡan dḡairí uó dḡ aríairíccaró occ
ḡaríḡó cheirí a cheḡneoil con do bḡlḡ co ḡomamairíḡḡe dḡa fḡlḡ, fḡlḡ iḡo lá
ḡmḡmh & dḡeithḡḡe an ḡarḡḡairí dḡe ílḡi ḡairíḡirí a ḡiḡlḡmḡr dḡa mác, 7
iḡo baó dḡlḡ airíḡḡmḡó ilḡeirí fḡu Día occ ḡuillḡó ḡocḡairíccḡe dḡa anmain fḡu ié
ochḡet mbḡaḡḡan ḡoirí iḡo écc don chḡuríḡa.

Ionḡurá uí Dhomḡnailḡ íarí bḡoiríḡaró dóiríom an ḡmḡchḡat lairíche iḡo
ḡairíḡiríom i ḡoiríḡairí ḡoiríḡna ḡallairí, do comḡḡairí fḡairí dḡeiríḡe an ḡuirí
imbui fḡur an ié rin & dḡol co mḡnnat naile nairí bo heḡinnille, & ba iḡa
am bḡoc ó na ḡallairí fori urí na fḡinne alla tíarí ḡḡoiríḡa & an bḡlḡmḡr,
úairí iḡo áḡharḡairí úacht na ḡairíḡḡime ḡlḡmḡrḡa dḡa fḡemḡnḡóib clḡh
nḡoríche occ ḡoiríḡma & occ fḡuḡḡairíe ḡoiríḡna ḡallairí ḡo dḡarí em ba rí
an ḡramḡan ḡairíḡurairí ino an tan rin, & ba mḡchḡó lairíom a ḡlḡḡ do
bḡlḡ lairí an ionaróh cḡmḡranta ílḡi na mḡmḡarḡarí, oirí ní iḡo ḡhailḡlḡ
hḡ ramíe fḡu dḡlḡur ḡḡoa. ḡocḡmḡat arí iaríom ḡur an mairíḡh inḡoiríḡaríom.

¹ *Fratricide*.—The Irish word *finḡal* means the slaying of one's own tribesman. Hugh had succeeded his brother Calvagh, who held the sovereignty of Tirconnell but

a short time. He was killed by a fall from his horse at Balleeghan. See *Introđ.*, p. xxxviii., *antea*, and *Annals F. M.*, v. 1607. Calvagh was Niall Garbh's grandfather.

His father, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh, an old man then in a state of dotage, was living near the monastery. When he heard that his son was dead, he was so much bowed down with the intensity of his grief and distress for his son that he was near dying. When he was coming to his end, he called his confessor and made his confession, and did severe penance before God. He died very soon after, on the 7th of December, after being freed from the bondage of the devil and the world. He was buried in the same tomb near his son, where their remains are, and they are both in the same monastery to this day. He who died then, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Manus, son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, was lord of Cinel Conaill, Inishowen, Cinel Moen, and lower Connaught, and of the territory of his ancestors and forefathers also for six and twenty years, until he was weakened by the English, and then he gave up the lordship with a blessing to his son Hugh Roe after his escape from the English, as we have related. He was a man who obtained the sovereignty without treachery or fratricide,¹ war or disturbance, after the death of his brother Calvagh. He was a valiant and warlike man, victorious in battle and fight during his chieftaincy and before it, a preyer and plunderer of the neighbouring territories and those near who were bound to obey him, asserting the right of his tribe until he made them subject to their lord, a man who laid aside the cares and anxieties of the world after giving up his lordship to his son. He was a good earner as regards God, increasing rewards for his soul for the space of eight years² until he died then.

As for O'Donnell, after he had passed the thirty days that we have spoken of in besieging the English, he arranged to leave the encampment where he was during that time and to go to another position, which was not less secure, a little farther from the English on the western bank of the Finn, between them and Bearnus, as he feared the cold of the severe winter season for his soldiers, who were every night keeping watch and guard against the English, for he remained there up to All-Hallowtide, and he thought it time to bring his army to a place of rest after their great toil, for they had not slept at their ease for a long time. They assembled

1600.
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² *Eight years.—i.e.*, since he resigned the chieftaincy to his son in 1592.

Ḡabaitt longḡorait hiruirthe i porccao fíorbairde ino imfoiccri na habann. Do ḡníst rianboetha & forighníma ara haítele 7 ḡabaitt occ tŕiceao an fŕotha ina momēacníang conolŕimrac dainḡŕn aribe doirao doimēlēta don ŕluicth-fíorbao ſtoppa & a naíaitt conari bo rothainḡ araigŕo tŕienítt. Oíro úairi porpaccarib ó Doimnail an iomfuirde iriabe, batari muintŕi Néill huí Odomnail na neirib & na mburónib occ iomaŕoiḡŕó fori ammur a ccariat 7 a coiccleo do bŕiā & tairccēlaō an típe dŕr an té tairŕitŕi bolḡhal cŕeiche no oiricne dona ḡallairb. No ŕaltair a ccariaitt chugarom in inēllíche feēt nann co fori baogal & rccēl na cŕuche ari ēŕna leō. Ro ríaghta ari oile ŕiob la hó nDoimnail forŕan fforŕieil a níŕun & a meabail. Nirí pó toríba doŕŕ an tairccēlta a ttŕiar, úairi nir íelice ó Doimnail a muintŕi in eŕŕŕ ari no bioŕom buō ŕŕŕn cona fŕogh ſtoppa & na ḡail ŕia nimŕŕḡail, 7 ba ŕiomaoir do neoch afŕuabairt tairŕi ŕia norccain. Baorí ó Doimnail cŕn roḡlúaraēt ari dŕ rŕn co cŕnn cŕthiachat laithe
fol. 70. b. ḡan cŕeich ḡan oirccain ḡan ammur ó cēētarinae ŕiob fori ariole eŕiŕiōn & na ḡail.

Inn eacníang na íee & na haíŕŕie rŕn doŕ ríccēt rēēla chuiccriom ḡo ttŕŕŕó ſon ḡn Spain co cŕan in inbŕi inŕi in íarŕari cōiccrí Meaoŕa. Arŕacht a inŕmarom & a aiccrí doŕŕde, ari ba celmaine conaiḡ laŕi ŕóḡ ŕo rŕim in combaoi rochŕaroe rŕoiḡ & tŕiŕth in ŕn Ríḡ ina leanníain, & río la a theēta ḡŕr an ŕú inbŕi ó Néill co rŕiŕ rēēl leō 7 ŕia tōchŕieao chucca. Dŕr íeŕlce rŕiŕ in iccŕnn tŕéŕa dŕrŕan mbŕimŕ ŕiŕŕm marcaē 7 foriagbarí a rŕoḡ ina longḡorait & Ruŕŕarḡe ó Doimnail a ŕŕibŕiāŕiŕ hŕ cēŕnnŕ forŕio.

O rianaiŕcriom tairŕan mbŕimŕ in río aŕŕi aēt maō beacc ḡo ríāēt tairŕan Eŕŕne tŕi Oíobair tŕi Dŕib, tŕi muḡ cēŕtne na rŕomŕach, tairŕan Slíccae, co tŕi ríāŕach Múaroe. O do ríala íeŕl ḡŕne an choimŕŕó in ḡarŕoccur ŕóŕom an ionbarí rŕn, aŕeao do ríome a lŕŕi do rŕuobao ḡŕr an lŕing, & barŕó a tŕthacht, rēolaō laŕ an cēŕna ḡaoŕē dŕr ríocŕao anŕiŕŕŕŕ co cŕan na cceal mbŕḡ hŕ tŕi ŕhŕghaine & co bŕiḡbēttŕi eŕiŕom & ó Néill íeŕmib inn. Anairí ó Doimnail aŕenoat i ttŕi ríachŕiāc Múarthe

¹ *Vessel*.—*The Annals F. M.* say two ships arrived there from Spain with war materials. vi. 2221.

² *Broadhaven*.—In the north-west of Co. Mayo. The town of Behmullet is at the southern extremity of it.

afterwards at the place we have mentioned. They made a camp there in the shelter of a wood very near the river. They made tents and dwellings afterwards, and they set to cut down the trees all round them until they made a strong palisade, intricate to enter, of the thick trees, between them and their enemies, so that it was not easy to cross it. When O'Donnell left off the siege in which he had been engaged, the people of Niall O'Donnell in troops and bodies were going round among their friends and companions prying about and examining the territory, to see whether they might get a chance of a prey or spoil for the English. Their friends used to meet them privately at times, to let them know the weak parts and news of the country also. Some of them were executed by O'Donnell, to make known their deceit and their treachery. Their excursion was of no use to the spies, since O'Donnell did not allow his forces to be negligent, for he was himself with his forces between them and the English to protect them, and it was useless for any one to venture beyond for booty. O'Donnell did not go from that place till the end of forty days; there was no plunder, booty, or attack by either of them on the other, himself or the English.

1600.
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At that time and season news reached him that a vessel¹ had come from Spain into the harbour of Broadhaven,² in the western part of the province of Meadhbh. His mind and thoughts were roused by this, for it was an omen of success to him, since he supposed that forces and aid from the King would follow. He sent his messengers to the place where O'Neill was, to take the news to him and invite him to come to him. He went himself by the road across Bearnus with a troop of horse, and he left his forces in their encampment with his brother Rury O'Donnell in command of them.

When he crossed Bearnus, he halted but a short time until he passed the Erne, the Drowes, the Dubh, Magh Cettne of the Fomorian, the Sligeach, to Tireragh of the Moy. As the feast of the Lord's Nativity was very near then, what he did was to write letters to the ship, and these were the contents: to sail with the first wind, so that she might come from the south-west to the harbour of Killybegs in Tir Boghaine, and they would find himself and O'Neill before them there. O'Donnell himself

co mo ġle lair ɣaoɣie an coimhdeó daɣmūtenuġaó. Luioh aɣɣ aitheɣɣiach ġur an Sluceaó ɣoɣi vo ɣuóɣi. Aɣ cuar vóɣom combui ó Néill ɣin cconaiɣi chucca tɣie maġ cclitne ɣiaɣi ceaó nóɣieach, co mo óianapená ó Domhnall ɣin ɣlɣló ina voohum conur taɣila tul 1 tul. Ro ɣailenocclɣ-taiɣi ɣiani. Soaɣ immaɣaon ɣuotɣoɣec ġur an Samaoɣi ɣoɣi, aɣɣóe co Dún na nġall. ɣoɣaɣiɣt hi ɣuóe ɣɣi ɣé coicc la nóécc áġ ɣupinaóe na lunge ɣeimɣaɣe. Ro éionoiɣlɣt aɣuocch 7 úaɣle coicció Conóobaiɣi vo neoch baoi ɣó mamur uí Néill ó Loch ɣeabail co Boinn oia ɣaɣió an vó ɣin. Tangataɣi ón muó cclɣna maɣe coicció Meaóba vo neoch batari vo ġuɣe ɣó amamur 7 ɣoɣi a ɣainn in voohum uí Odomhnall vo chuɣlġó aɣaó ġó & ġunnaó, aɣim, eɣtɣiġ 7 a ɣainne aɣi cclna va cecch ɣunvail éonganta tɣɣeáó chucu amail ba ġuaɣéber vóib. Batari tɣia na ɣáoɣelanna occ ɣainol 7 occ ɣlɣuoccaó ɣupin ɣé ɣin vo ġaoine bió & leavoa.

fol. 71.a. Taimoc an loncc ílɣi ttain co cúan na cceal mbicc 1 tɣi Boghaine. Tɣlġhaiɣt na ɣlaɣhe oia haiɣhiéoi. Ro baoi eɣɣcob amia ɣoɣɣan luince. Oup ɣicciɣhe amach & na tēcta aɣi élna imaɣoln ɣuɣ. Ro ɣailenġlɣttoi na maɣhe ɣeimib, & ɣuapen eɣɣcob ɣainɣeáó. Vo ɣaɣá in aɣaccal ɣoɣi leié ílɣi ttain, & vo ġuicthe a ɣɣiaóuccaó & a ɣɣuothaileáó con onoiɣi & aɣmūtɣin amail ɣio ba vó, co mo láɣlɣt ɣoɣi & mliɣlɣn na maɣia vóob. Aɣ ġlaovataɣi ɣaɣom & ɣaɣma ɣoacht vóob eɣi tucaiɣt ɣot ɣio ġluaiɣ, von aɣɣoɣlɣt vóib on tɣoɣe ima tuócataɣi comba oia nliɣaóɣom in aɣaó anamiat vo vēcachataɣi ɣia ɣiu talɣaovaiɣi céill oia ccaabaiɣi ó Riġ na Spainne, & co ttaiɣtɣat ɣé mliɣe pont leó cclɣur oia éabaiɣe vóibɣom a ttuaɣuɣtal oia namɣaib & ɣuiaóuib, & ouɣ ɣioccɣaó aɣcatt ba mó am an ɣeéct tanaɣe, & conġnam ɣloġ ɣeb ɣio ġeallta. Teɣt ó Domhnall 7 ó Néill ino iomaccallaó, & ɣio éliɣ mliɣma cēctaiɣmae vóob co moɣi ɣoɣɣan aɣcatt, oɣi ba vliɣb leó co laɣitɣi a namaiɣt ɣúil ɣoɣia aɣi vinnuɣe & vliɣoile an éonganta ouɣ ɣainoc, & comba é tɣoɣuɣi vóib a ɣainmɣuɣlɣi ɣliɣin & a nolɣ cottaó & coméclinuɣl onv úaiɣ aɣ ġéntaiɣ neimhóclitɣin ɣuġ na Spaine in na ġaoivēalaib & naé vliɣma óct ɣoóail & buccch mbicc vóob, ġo ɣio mlióuaiɣlɣt

¹ *Bishop*.—This was Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1600 to 1610. *Introd.*, p. cxvi., *antea*. In *Pac. Hib.*, pp. 200 and 300, there are two letters written by him from Donegal

in 1601, one to the Earl of Desmond, the other to Florence MacCarthy. He seems to have left Ireland with O'Donnell after the battle of Kinsale. See Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 193.

remained in Tíreragh of the Moy until he had completed the celebration of the feast of the Lord. He went back eastwards to the Sligeach again. It was told him that O'Neill was on his way to him through Magh Ccettne, due westwards, so that O'Donnell went on the road towards him, and they met face to face. He welcomed him. They went back together to the Saimer eastwards, and from that to Donegal. They remained there for the space of fifteen days, waiting for the above mentioned ship. They summoned to them there the chiefs and nobles of the province of Conor, whosoever was under subjection to O'Neill from Lough Foyle to the Boyne. There came also the noblemen of the province of Meadhbh, such as were always in subjection to him and in his division of territory. to O'Donnell to ask him for presents of spears and guns, arms and armour, and their share of every kind of wealth too that could come to them, as was usual with them. The nobles were revelling and feasting during that time with the choicest of food and drink.

1600.

The ship came soon to the harbour of Killybegs in Tir Boghaine. The chiefs went to confer with them. There was a famous Bishop¹ in the ship. He landed, and the messengers with him. The nobles welcomed them, and especially the Bishop. They were placed in an apartment by themselves after a while, and entertainment and attendance were given them, as well as honour and respect, as was fitting, and they got rid of the fatigue and weariness of the sea. They afterwards called them, and on being asked the reason of their coming, they told them the business on which they had come, that it was to strengthen them against their enemies they had come, before they should give up all thought of aid from the King of Spain, and that they brought with them six thousand pounds first, to give it to them to pay for soldiers and armour, and that more money would come next time, and a supply of soldiers, as was promised. O'Donnell and O'Neill went to converse together, and the minds of both were very ill at ease on account of the money, for they were sure that their enemies would look down on them on account of the smallness and meanness of the aid which had come, and that their own people and their friends and kinsmen would be dissatisfied with them when they learned the disregard of the King of Spain for the Irish and that he did little or nothing for them, so that

na maite tloimao an aigaitt cettur. Aí doirín nri bo háil doib tóduirceao
 flirige na Spainnech úairí ní baol nach nólmbhíur leó fíur ceaoiméir an
 mholó no an ecclehoál no forcuimíste a ttoimichin aín aipe imbatatari aét n
 na Spainne namá. Ro gábrat an aiceatt aia aba & ní tma íaint no
 aigíly maoine. Do bhrat a buíde fíur an Rí gíat na teétaib an do
 moónacht dóib, & do iatrat coice éett ponnta dona teétaib feirín. Ro
 láirle muinleirí uí Dhoimnail a ffolaitenaró chuea irin lumce dpeolairb
 a gí moimíom na laichtimeith & celtinatmolt cclumíettiocht cclaoi-
 aolhapacé. Ro feolrat na teéta ara haíte fmoéioirg irin ceonairí celtina
 la ceirt tinfó na galithe anairéúaró. Tifáitt na flaithe fori ccúlaó co
 Dúin na ngall 7 mo iannta an aiceatt in oib leitéib eirí ó nDoinnoill &
 fo .71. b. ó Néill, & do bhrat 1 tuairpelaib oia nuimíarab & oia ccomíann cocearó
 oia naíraib & oia nílíreab. Anair an tEiricob mo ionmíaróim íochairí
 uí Doinnail & na mac mibíthaó baol irin maíuríur co iur tocharíe íe
 foá imaiorín fíur. No bíó featal naile 1 fíurí uí Néill, baol famílaró
 ftoirpa oiblíuib ima feach fori a chuairt co bhriceab an Eiríe íarí ttioll.

1601.

O Ranceatari na flaithe co Dúin na ngall an feét tanairí mo lítirídelí-
 ílt na húarail & na haíreoch fíur aíoile. Tílt ó Néill cona muinleirí oia
 ttióib. Soaitt fíur Chonnacht 7 an ead don angatari a coiceao Meadóba oia
 ttióib & oia noimíab. Do comla ó Doinnail tairían mbíuríur aílínoac &
 oairían fíur co iacht eir an loncepoir íariceab a íloí in uiríochíll fori
 ghalíab & oí gábal foríra tocht oimíeao na eiríe oia éirí, nach ar
 íagbaíe in íaríbaogal nach ino eiríur. Ro gáí gíeim doiblíomí an tuir-
 comíett híurí oíí ní oííííírat íaíll íoíáil no íngíeim íob íonáíurí
 tairíra an cclín baol ó Doinnail a gíleao na ceanglí íemíaríe, aét na má
 tan ann do bhrat íaíll Doirí amíur amíur eiríeoirí fori úa nDochairíag
 Seaan óce eir an tairíuríur íobíal gona nó gábal íarí. Aí a doí mo baó
 cllín 1 cuiríe leomán nó laí in eadgíbe a ionníoigeao itíur cein baol an
 toice & an conách a gí congnaí íarí 7 la a comíeao talímanoa. Íarí íochí-

¹ *O'Doherty*.—He was one of those who were unwilling to submit to Hugh Roe after his inauguration as chief. See p. 57, antea. Later he became one of his most faithful

supporters, though his territory, lying slong the coast of Inishowen, was more exposed to the attacks of the English than that of most of the other chiefs.

the nobles thought to refuse the money at first. However, they did not wish to stir up the wrath of the Spaniards, for there was no one friendly to them to whom they could complain of their sorrow or sufferings, who could aid them in the straits in which they were, but the King of Spain. They took the money for that reason, and not through avarice or a desire of wealth. They thanked the King in presence of his messengers for his gift to them, and they gave five hundred pounds to the messengers themselves. O'Donnell's people put on board the ship for them plenty of flesh-meat of heavy cattle with rich milk, and of white-fleeced crooked-horned wethers. The messengers sailed back then by the same way with the first breeze of wind from the north-east. The princes returned to Donegal, and the money was divided into two parts between O'Donnell and O'Neill, and they gave it to their supporters and confederates, to pay for soldiers and armour. The Bishop of whom we have spoken remained with O'Donnell and the sons of life in the monastery, and spent a long time with them. He was for some more time with O'Neill; he was in this way between both by turns during his visit, till he left Ireland after a while.

1600.

1601

When the princes came to Donegal the second time, the nobles and leaders separated from each other. O'Neill and his people went to their homes. The people of Connaught and all who had come from the province of Meath returned to their districts and castles. O'Donnell himself went through Bearnus and over the Finn until he came to the encampment in which he had left his forces to be in readiness against the English and to prevent them from going to plunder the territory behind him, that it might not be left in danger or neglected. This protection was of service to them, for the English made no inroad or attack on them worth mention during the time that O'Donnell was concluding the above mentioned business, except when the English of Derry made a fierce, merciless attack on Shane Oge O'Doherty,¹ to see if they might find an opportunity of wounding or seizing him. For it was to put one's head in the den of a lion or one's hand in the nest of a griffin to attack him so long as good luck and prosperity were on his side or on that of

1601.

taim dona Gallaisb atuibhiamarí eineach ino ionchaisb fhu húa n'Ochairtaig
 mo fúabairí cach a chelí úioib co hainzib ettriocarí co maoinib dona Gallaisb.
 Ro muráigirí rocharóe úairíob imón coimel ba toiríuch iomgona úoir.
 Rroipe aipiróepic eiprúe Sepi Iohn Chamberlin atacomnaic.

Soair úa Ochairtaig co corceapac. Monúarí am bi heiprúe a éorzarí &
 a aicirí veiglnach forí gallaisb acc corpaím a achairóa & a úoinnarí fhuú,
 arí ba zarí úairí fupí mo fáb tlróm úifulaing & falcí úfhuáirí co mo arcná
 anoirbne oríor an alltarí an 27. Ianuarí fainnearó. Roparó liach & pobaró
 uoiríg úiréaró an tí tlrta ann rin, uóig ar ing má mo bairí toiréach aoin-
 tpuocha éeo ino inir Epeimíom ir na uerólnchaisb mo ba epíotha coimnamach
 fol. 72. a. in fhuoinaisb goile & zaríccaró inoarí, mo ba ueach zarí & fhuoiní, líneach &
 aipberí, allaró & aipirófícarí, ba epíuaró coimnarí fhu cothuccaró, ba hāgmarí
 aigmeil fhu hionnporígaró an tí tātáimairí an tan rin. Tanzararí tēēta lie
 pcelaisb a úiréaróa fup an mennac ambairí ó Domínoill.

Ro lá ipmíom 7 itoirí ueríre & uellíg forí a mīnmaim co móirí & tlrítt
 pó ácarcepmí ittríatce, úairí niri bo rotha cumpana lāir a écc. Foríaccarí
 a ríógh ina longporítt áct maró blg uo blítt ina chaomíccētt fāuēim, & íarí
 ttríelomaró an neich pobtarí úairíle aipílgúa uo fíol fíamāim mic Cínofāoláró
 (uairí uó toich oiréachur iníre hEoghain) co haoin baile chuga, uirí cía
 uo na maicib no oipmíorífb líi cceannur an tpuocharítt éeo atuibhiamarí,
 ba fāirí uellíg occa ílíi ccrúaró a éomāiríle tígíma uo fāim uo fēlim ócc
 ó Ohochairtaig úlíbratāiprúe Seadain óicc atbail fēb iomporídarípmí, úairí
 ba heiprúe ba ríne arí aoi naoirí 7 ba hūairíle ílíi bfuil, uóig ba rí inglín
 uí Ohoinnaríll (Māgūur) a mātāirí. Roirí atcomnaicirí.

Uo zaríarí ílíomí a fāim fíatā uo fēlim fíaró na maicib in óigē in
 na tuccaríttēb cēna in aipr na ttrāoiríg imbaile aigfóhāom & uo birlā

¹ *Chamberlain*. — Docwra says he was mortally wounded with 16 wounds on the 28th of June, 1600. *Narration*, p. 241.

² *The death*. — 'About Christmas this yeare dyed Sir John O'Dogherty, in Tyrconnell, being fled from his own country with his goods and people; a man that in show seemed wonderful desirous to yield his obedience to the Queen; but so his actions did ever argue he was otherwise minded.' *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³ *Fiaman*. — See *Introd.*, p. xii., *antea*.

⁴ *Phelim Oge*. — 'O'Donnell had at our first coming seized O'Dogherty's son, afterwards called Sir Cahir, and kept him as a pledge. Being now dead, O'Donnell set up in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the son, who had been bred and fostered by Hugh Boy and Phelim Reogh (of the septs of MacDavids). These men took it as the highest injury that could be done unto them that their foster-child

his earthly lord. When the English of whom we have spoken came face to face with O'Doherty, each of them attacked the other with merciless hatred till the English were defeated. Many of them were slain, with the colonel who was their leader in battle. He was a famous knight named Sir John Chamberlain.¹

O'Doherty came off triumphant. Alas! this was his last victory and triumph over the English while defending his native land and his home from them, for soon after an intolerable disease and a violent sickness seized on him, and he went speedily to the other world, January 27th precisely. The death² of him who died then was sad and doleful, for there was hardly a chief of one cantred in the island of Eremon in late times who was braver and more active in deeds of war and arms than he. He who died then was great in renown and deeds, in hospitality and profusion, in fame and excellence. He was stern, vigorous in helping, he was active, courageous in attack. Messengers came with the news of his death to the place where O'Donnell was.

He showed great sorrow and grief then, and it lay very heavily on his mind. He set out immediately in consequence of the news, for O'Doherty's death was not a cause of comfort to him. He left his forces in the camp all but a few whom he took with him, and having assembled the principal nobles of the race of Fiaman,³ son of Cennfaeladh (to whom the chieftaincy of Inishowen belonged), to see which of the chief men he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the cantred of which we have spoken, he resolved, after taking counsel, to give the title of chief to Phelim Oge⁴ O'Doherty; he was the brother of Shane Oge, who died as we have said, as he was the oldest in years, and the noblest by blood, for the daughter of Manus O'Donnell was his mother. Her name was Rose.

The title of chief was then given for these same reasons to Phelim in presence of all the chiefs at Ardnataoisig,⁵ in the townland of

should be deprived of what they thought was his clear and undoubted right . . . and thereupon addressed themselves to me, and made offer that in case I would maintain the son against the uncle, they would work the means to free him out of O'Don-

nell's hands, and yield obedience to the State . . . From that day forward we had many faithful and singular good services from them.' Docwra's *Narration*, p. 248.

⁵*Ardnataoisig*.—i.e., the chiefs' hill. The name is now obsolete.

úa Dochartaig sanmain faoi. O thairmice lairioin mo rin mo fai ina
 rruéling oia pceoraiñ & mo foréongair fori a fíoz an oaingnaiñbe mo
 tñceorac ina momthacainang vo óaingniuagó & gan faille vo lñgáó ina
 ceaiéñir nach ina ceaiéttairmaió vo ló no uoiúche fo óaiñ nach ar
 melectir Gaill nair Clann éunn uí Domhnail tairra gan maéuccaó uinoréaó
 no vo cneachoirigain na cñuche. Vo monaó eiccin fairuioin mo rin. An
 tan na fúairuotte Gaill ná Niall cona bñaiéñib & cona muinirí elang
 na eirñir foruñan bñorairie 7 foruñan fñorcomíeo baorí foruñia vo gñir ó úa
 nDomhnail, ni mo forúairñit gan arceonám íleth nairle lár an aoiúge
 imbatari vo cuingéaó acnainaiñ 7 airbñirca bit uirñeola, conaó fairi ueríó
 leó bñorolom fíoiñ lánmoirí vo tñaiñgeaóib & vo máiríoloz vo bñiré
 uairuñan fñnabainn uairí fñnn hi cenél Eoghain mic Néill. Ro arñnátari
 fñmñia ina fñmñm go maachtatari co gleann Aichle hi cenél Eoghain, & mo
 cneachoiríccain an uú rin co léirí leó. Spairmíe beórí fori cloinn an
 fñuoríche mic Eoin mec Domhnail oc enuic buiréñ uñirí, & fñgábzarí
 Toirñuéalbaó ócc ó Coinne la Niall ó nDomhnail 7 ni mo leiccló a
 gñimul co mo heirñeáó fñrceat maiz vo arñat arí. Vo gabaó leó íñir
 ttain an baile núa & cairlén na uñiríge (uó uúñairí aríuérice íaroiríe)
 goirí mo eñoiríit monuile maíití vo neoch tairéatari muinirí. Vo éolc
 Niall con a bñaiéñib & cona Gallairí ina fñruéíeo co leiréñir íairuñan
 tuirairí rin.

Óala uí Domhnail baoríuó i forí an airíitirín oc coirteét fñu Niall
 cona gallairí, & ni mo raiñ ceétairmae uoió fori aríuile. Ambaoríuoin an tí
 ó Domhnail fainlárí vo maachtatari teéta arochum co lñrñib leó ó airail
 oia uirñib 7 éairuoirí batari in gairíeocur vo Aethelíat acc coirteét fñu
 fñcélaib na cathmaó & an tñrñarí arí élna. Ba fñó tothacht an fñrñbenn
 combaorí aon uúairñib na bñionngall laiche nann imo éorccairí 7 imo
 chaignuoirí foréin uirín tñgúairí togaríe imbatari fñrñbñuó & fñrñetairíuó
 na comairíle & co mo leñiríoe lñrín ítechumuircc airíuoirí vo fñrñbñuoirí ann

¹ *Aigedhcaoin*.—Now Balleeghan, a town-
 land on an arm of Lough Swilly, in the
 parish of Ryemoghy, and barony of Raphoe;
 it contains the remains of a beautiful old
 church.

² *Glenelly*.—A valley near Strabane, in

which the old church of Badoney is situated.
 See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 181.

³ *Knockavoedcarg*.—A lofty hill over the
 town of Strabane. It has its name from
 Budhbhdearg, a Tuatha De Danaan chief.
 See *Tribes, &c.*, of *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 410.

Agedhcain,¹ and the title of O'Doherty was conferred on him. When he had done this he went back to his camp and ordered his forces to strengthen the fortifications which they had cut all round, and not to cease watching and guarding night and day, lest they might allow the English or the sons of Conn O'Donnell to go through without being noticed to ravage or plunder the territory. This was done exactly by them. When neither the English nor Niall and his brothers with his people discovered any weakness or neglect, owing to the watch and guard which was kept on them continually by O'Donnell, they could not but go out on the other side, in the straits in which they were, to procure food and supplies of fresh meat; wherefore they resolved to take a large body of chosen horse and foot across the old river across the Finn into Cinel Eoghain Mic Neill. They marched forward until they came to Glenelly,² in the Cinel Eoghain, and that place was completely plundered by them. They also defeated the sons of Ferdorcha, son of John, son of Donnell Oge of Knockavoedearg,³ and Turlough Oge O'Coinne was captured by Niall O'Donnell. He was not set free from his chains till sixty marks of silver were paid down. Newtown⁴ and Castlederg (these were two famous castles) were taken by them later; and they destroyed all the goods which they found in them. Niall with his brothers and the English, returned to Lifford after that expedition.

As for O'Donnell, he was resting at this time hearing of Niall and the English, and neither of them attacked the other. O'Donnell continued so until messengers came to him with letters from some of his confidants and friends who were in the neighbourhood of Dublin and used to hear the news of the town and of the Council also. The purport of the letters was, that some days before one of the nobles of the old English was on his own business and affairs in the appointed house in which the clerks and secretaries of the Council were, and that he read a letter among the number which the clerks had, in which was a covenant of friendship between

⁴ *Newtown*. — Now Newtownstewart, 9 miles south of Strabane. Docwra, who captured the castle on the 25th of May, describes it as 'a pile of stone, strong and well built, having before it a large bawn

compass with a good high stone wall, and in the midst of it a fair Irish thatched house, able to hold 50 or 60 men in it.' *Narration*, p. 253. The castle, with the exception of the roof, is still nearly entire.

imbaoi linnairm capairiaró uí Concóbaire Sligiz Dónchaó mac Caéail óice
fuir an Iurair ari éairceclao 7 ari éairibhlic uí Doimnail Adóha Ruair (cipri
cipit, sum, no lrigabail) don Iurair & don éomairle.

ba trizáz trá lair an dağouine 7 lair an úaral an mimbhlic 7 an
oroielhóach hupin baor for cinto don ariuz & don arioflait zan a ariéireet
7 zan a fupitacht oia ttiéao úe cía mo baorirúe cona uile fúirib máoin 7
mairuir fo rmaéttchain & cumaéta na nGal, conao lóh do moine an pccél
dairneir fo uicléit oíairioile eppcob iurpeac catholeoá mo ba deairbhup
oó Ohoimnail conao ló inoirin toéacé na fepubhno do ríacht chucca don
chup rín. Ro la rocht anbaill for úa nDoimnail ílí legeao na fepubenn
co maibe fpu me fova zan labhria fpu neach & ni mo éuil & ni mo loing
fol. 73. a. iraimie co haéaró imélin, uoiğ ba uuiliz lair an gabao & an guaracht
anffoil iraimie fepirin 7 ba tanairi lair oia oiréao an tí do maó ma cheill-
rine 7 ma muineltiar trua iunn 7 fáobair 7 oia tparao arzaóa máia da zach
lmuoail & da zach cenél ciuró & clthia 7 ariail do ionmup do
ionatoét & do airtieab a épuhe & a éaomfopiba, do éori i fpuébhlic &
i fúarao fpuir i fpuéiri. Ariail beór mo la rímoih 7 iorup ó Doimnail ba
hoimian lair aor fovoipio & lgnaiğ oia iomchainó ma éccimair oia nligabail
ó Concóbaire, & do éubá fpuir guir mo feall fairi zan chionairh. Ba
fairi veilliz a mlinma fo úeoir íairan econtabairie fova imboi ariole oia
thairuib & oia ólí griaóa do fáorveao co húa Néill (Adó) do chiuó & do
éltenucchao na caingneirin chucca & oia choimairleccéó fpuir ciuó do glnao.
Iair uoul uoihriúe i fpeacnaicup na flatha uí Néill at fepuacc co lion-
foilegúe noó an ttoirpe ima tuóaccatari. Geirbó uá Néill rpu jé fova
oga gpurfpuoao cipi hairle do beiaó oúa Ohoimnail iom contabairie
imbaoi, conao lóh mo fáoirú chucca fo úeoir, ó mo ba veimh lair ó na mairib
iurpeachuib do bhlic iobaó 7 ariéireet noó an tanghacht & an meabál mo
heirpiallaó chuga guir bo techta 7 guir bo haóa noó neach oile do chuimpuuch
olóar a oiréao foúlin do tocht tpeimut, no áoiri hi ceaircari 7 a ceumpeach
aimail do maia oó ara dóiréao 7 ara mias bhiaéari feb accúaoamoj co leig.

¹ *O'Conor Sligo*.—The Four Masters give as the reason for O'Conor's treachery, 'that the Lord Justice had promised some time before to obtain again his own territory for him from the Queen, and that theyoung Earl

of Desmond (whose mother was O'Conor's wife), who was in prison in London, would be let home to his patrimony.' vi. 2248. Besides, O'Conor's son was married to the Earl's daughter.

O'Connor Sligo,¹ Donough, son of Cathal Oge, and the Lord Justice, to spy upon and deliver up Hugh Roe O'Donnell no matter in what way, whether by wounding or capture, to the Lord Justice and Council.

1601.
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The good nobleman thought it a pity that this wicked plot and evil design should go forward against the prince and chief without giving him help and warning of what was coming upon him, though he was with all his territory and wealth and property under the obedience and power of the English. Wherefore what he did was to communicate it privately to a certain prudent Catholic bishop who was O'Donnell's intimate friend, and this was the purport of the letter that reached him then. O'Donnell was exceedingly distressed when he read the letter, and he did not speak for a long time to any one, and he did not sleep or eat calmly for a very long space, for he was grieved at the danger and great peril in which he himself was, and it was a second time he received this man whom he took into favour and friendship at the point and edge of the sword, and gave him large presents of every kind, and of every sort of flocks and herds and other things, in order that he might come and dwell in his territory and enter on his lands ; yet he placed himself in opposition and in enmity to him again. In addition to the great sadness and grief O'Donnell felt, he was afraid that prudent and wise people would complain that he had omitted to seize O'Connor when it was proved that he had conspired against him without reason. At last, after a great deal of perplexity, he determined to send some of his trusty and faithful people to Hugh O'Neill to consult about and inquire into that business with him, and advise with him as to what he should do. After they had come into the presence of the prince O'Neill, they told him privately the business on which they had come. O'Neill set about considering carefully for a long time what advice he should give to O'Donnell in the perplexity in which he was. The message he sent to him in the end was, that as the treachery and deceit plotted against him was proved to him by the trusty chiefs who had given him warning and help, it was right and meet to imprison anyone else but his own guest who came at his bidding, or to put him in bondage and in chains, as happened to him at the hands of his host and the the son of his relative, as we have already stated.

O'Donnell's people returned to him with the message given them by O'Neill, and they told him everything as we have related it. O'Donnell then selected a troop of horse, the choicest of his troops, in whom he had most trust and confidence, and he did not let out to any one of them what was in his mind, but merely ordered them to be ready to do on the spot whatever he should order them. They promised to obey the chief in that.

He marched rapidly after that with a troop of horse, without halt or stop, till he came to Grange¹ in Carbury of Drumcliff, and he sent on messengers to summon O'Connor to him at that place. He came as he was ordered to do. When they came face to face with each other, he ordered his people to seize on O'Connor. This was done immediately, and the soldiers warned him not to think of employing skill or courage, for he would be slain if he should offer any resistance to them, and he would be kept in bonds by O'Donnell as long as he pleased. The soldiers proceeded to guard him without any concealment afterwards. O'Donnell, however, returned to his encampment, and he sent O'Connor to be imprisoned² in Lough Esk.³

As for O'Donnell, he was again engaged with his forces in the same watch, as we have said, so that there was no danger of wound or capture, of depredation or plunder for any of his faithful people then, and the English and Niall O'Donnell, too, and his brothers did not attempt to leave the fortress which they had first come to, on the side where he was. There took place a great contention of battle some time before that about the division of their territory between the Earl of Clanricarde, *i.e.*, Ulick, son of Richard Sassanach, and his relatives the sons of John na Seamar, son of Richard Sassanach; Redmond, William, John, and Thomas were their names. These were filled with suspicion and envy, spite and hatred against Ulick because he was chosen for the chieftaincy, and because of every old grudge which happened between them for a long time which it would be tedious to set forth now; and the sons of John were driven and banished from one place to another, after committing intolerable trespass and robbery in their native place on their enemies and on the subjects of the Earl

ʕaɪɲɲeəð, cona ʕáɪɲɲɛɛɛ ɔɪɲo no ɔɪɲɛɲo in ɲob inɲɪɪe leð ɲochɛaɪn oɪa
 ɲaɔɔhað & ɔo inɲɪɛɛ a mbayaɲɲne & a naɲɛɲɔɛe ʕoɪ a mbɲaɔɔaɪɲ an
 ɛɪaɪa ɲa ɔul ɔo ʕaɪɲɔ ɲí ʔhominɲaɪɪ, ɔoɪɲ em ba ɔɲɲb leð oɪa ɛɛɲeəð
 ɔa nach náon oɪle ɔo ʔhaorɔealɪb a bɲoɲɛɲɛɲ nað a ecomɲɛɲɛɛɛɛɛ combað
 ɔe a alɲaɲ ɔur ʕɲɛɲɔ. ʔon aɲɔaɲoɲ íɲɲom.

[illegible]

100. 74. a. Rō tapicclomað a vochum for foricongra an iurtir loſo Mountioy a
 ail dona ðponzbuſiðonb veipmairib batari ó gallaib in vúnib vaimzib &
 ino ararairb aipeazhðairb na Muſian vo neoch tſcomnacairi ina comfocharib
 .1. i Luimneach, hi Cill moðeallóce, in Earzeibetline, & inn vionzgraðairb
 oile cen mochátt. Batari beor inſilomhe for a chionn na plóiz tecom-
 nactari on mbairmoſain in ápurðúnairb aiphrðſica coiccro Olneccmaðt .1.
 in Gaillinn, in Achluain, &era. O vo monáiriu na maite rin co hoſnbairle
 con vo mairealbat von laſla rin Cloinne Riocairio vía taprað a cclinnur
 ba heð io chinriur vaoimmlinain arccnañ cſtur po a ccumanz co
 Mainritiri na buille dyp an ccaomparair veipir nó vétim pochain aiprðe
 co Slisceach. Iomþura uí Domnaill van ón cſtina peðt pangatari pocéla
 via ſaizir combatari na toichſrtail tjomirloiz rin occ tuall ina vochum, io
 faoir forairiða rðilſthna foryna conairib coitclhna in io bað vóiz lair
 an tlaſla cona ſochmaritu vo éoðuri ina cſnn. Ba tanairtu a conſairb

¹ *Earl Ulick*.—The Four Masters say of him that 'his death was a mournful piece of news among the Irish, that he was gentle towards the people of his territory, fierce to his neighbours, impartial in all his decisions.' vi. 2236.

² *Inaugurated*. — Not elected. He succeeded his father according to English law.

³ *Kilmallock*.—17 miles south of Limerick. It was one of the principal strongholds of the Earls of Desmond. Some parts of the walls and one of the gates still remain. Close by are the ruins of a Dominican priory founded in 1291 by Gilbert, 2nd son of John, Baron of Offaly, and ancestor of the White Knights.

especially, so that they found no place or spot where it was safer for them to go seek protection and resist the oppression and cruelty of their cousin the Earl than with O'Donnell, for they were certain that even if aid and help would come to them from no one else of the Irish it would come from him alone. They went to him then.

A short time after they came to the place where O'Donnell was, the Earl Ulick¹ died in the month of May of this year, 1601, and his son Richard was inaugurated² in his place. A desire and longing seized him in the pride of his strength, through vanity and vain glory, after his inauguration to go and avenge his wrongs and enmity on all the people who were under the authority and sway of O'Donnell, and without delay to go to the bank of the Sligeach if he could. The reason was that it was incumbent on him and his whole territory universally to keep watch on O'Donnell and his people, that they might be able to resist their attacks on them, for his plunderings and visits to them in their territories were frequent.

There assembled to him, by command of the Lord Justice Lord Mountjoy, some of the large bodies which the English had placed in the strong castles and principal fortresses of Munster, whichever happened to be in the neighbourhood, viz., in Limerick, Kilmallock,³ Askeaton,⁴ and in the other strong places besides. The forces which the Queen had in the principal fortresses of the province of Olneccmacht in Galway, Athlone, &c., were also in readiness to meet them. When these chiefs had assembled in one place and presented themselves to the Earl of Clanricarde, to whom the chief command had been given, they determined unanimously to march first with their forces to the monastery of Boyle to see if they could, through the neglect (of others) or with risk to themselves, go from that to Sligo. As for O'Donnell, the first time the news reached him that these great hosts were marching towards him, he sent out wide-spread watches on the usual roads by which he thought the Earl with his forces would come towards him. His conflicts and contests in battle against the

1601.

³ *Askeaton*.—16 miles west of Limerick. There is a view of the castle in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 94. A great part of it is still standing, as well as of the Franciscan monastery founded by the Earl of Desmond in 1420, but both

are sadly in need of some sort of care. We earnestly trust the Board of Works will take speedy action in this matter, and so save from absolute and complete ruin a most interesting group of monuments.

chachapoin & a cliaé gabala fpuir hectairchénelu an ríghaó & an ríccaoillíó
 do bhlit fori a ríoghínníleasóib in gáé maigin im batoir .i. oíechta oíghíápa
 irin chaitíobairíó 7 ir na ríopais áirubriamoir ino uífoichill na nGall
 tairiurairi in Doiríe & Leithbhirí & Néill uí Dhomhnaill cona briaithrib
 raimíeasó, oíongá móra ina miosghróuinib oia ccoimíó fori a bíoíobasóib ar na
 fasgabair in lctairíabogal gan coirnaíu itirí. Átiact na oúine oíén locha
 hiarccais, Dún na nGall, Ach Sínaí, Culmaoine, & baile an Mhoirí. &
 ariall oia ríogáib ina áaoimíeéct fádeim tan éligéasó fpuir áaólaice eigin
 cecip nach leé.

O maínaice an tíapla cona ríog tairpan ábainn oíanao ainm Suéa, ót
 chuala an fúróiugáó 7 an raimíuccasó forípa maabairi muimírlí uí Doinnaill
 ríechínón na ríórlíglíó ríuáitíhíó 7 na cconairíó ccoitíeunro, & co taoíráó
 buóóeim in eallíma oia ríoiríeín oíambasó áiríe no eiccen oíóib, ba ríó do
 moine mo tairimcheimníó cona ríogáib forí gáé noíreacó oíomíuioasíb
 maíghíeríhe macháiríe maíghíe haoi co ríanccatari co hólírlínn lí ccoicépuoch
 maíghíe lúirí & úa mbriam na Síonna cloimne Cathail 7 maíghíe haoi
 an ríinnbénasí. O'Doinnaill típa ó mo háiríneíreacó oíó an tíapla cona
 ríoccaib do éocht an oú rínn ní átiat 1 foill naé an eirírlí, áet mo lírccomíá
 7 mo oíanao do ló & oasíhais gup an líon ar lía forícaomínaicairi do
 ríocíaríe ina fáirípaó gup mo fúróiúg a longíróiríe áiríe in áiríe fpuir an long-
 róiríe náile. Ro batari átharíó ríamílaríó líneach in ioncháib fpuir ariall. Ba
 fúileach, fpuiríuubíacéíuuch, eíechíach, eíoiríeáiríatíac na hammaírlí ainro-
 línnas 7 na oíabíeá oíuílghíe oíoiríngabála mo ríochíe lctóirípa do oííb leithírb
 mo basó eimírlíe oíairíneírlí ina ríeacó, áet cína mo muoáiríe íle oia nóccbaríó do
 maíe & do maíe ánnailí 1 fúilírb & a cceíechíaríe combatari ríghíhíghíe tóirírlíghíe
 oíeoirí oia ar oíle gup uó míoírlíe lár an tíapla cona ríogáib íompríó oia
 tírlírb 7 oia tírlírb, & do ríonasó áírlíhíllíeasó & áóbaríe ríccíuor áírlíochíe &
 áírlíe lár an tíapla cona tóíeárlíe áírlíe ríeasó oíóib fori a nílccáiríe .i. ríol

¹ *Donegal*.—Sidney, the Lord Deputy, who visited Donegal in 1563, says of the castle: 'It is one of the greatest I ever saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands, and would appear in good keeping one of the fairest, situate in a good soil, and so nigh a portable water as a boat of ten tons may come within twenty yards of it.' That castle

was burnt by Hugh Roe in 1589, to prevent the English from garrisoning it. Mangan has translated in his own perfect fashion the "Lament" of Mac an Ward, the bard of O'Donnells, on its destruction. Sir Basil Brooke, who in 1609 had a grant of 100 acres from the castle to the sea, rebuilt it. On the chimney-piece of the principal room are

foreign race were weak owing to the division and scattering which he had made of his soldiers in the several places where they were, viz., strong bodies in the ambuscade and encampments of which we have spoken, ready for the English who dwelt in Derry and Lifford and for Niall O'Donnell and his brothers especially, large numbers in the royal castles to guard them against the enemy, so that they might not leave them in danger without any protection whatever. These were the castles of the island of Lough Esk, Donegal,¹ Ballyshannon, Collooney, and Ballymote, and some of his troops were with himself in case he might encounter some special difficulty anywhere.

When the Earl with his army had gone across the river called the Suck, and heard of the position and situation in which O'Donnell's men were along the well known roads and the usual passes, and that he himself would come in full force to assist them if they were in strait or need, what he did was to march with his forces due east by the deep roads of the level part of the plain of Magh Aoi until they came to Elphin, on the boundary of Moylurg and Hybrian na Sionna, clann Cathal,² and Magh Aoi an Fennbendaigh.³ Meantime, when O'Donnell learned that the Earl with his forces was coming to the place where he was, he was not slow or negligent, but he assembled and brought together by day and by night the greatest number of troops he could, and encamped part for part, opposite the other camp. They were for some time like that facing each other. The stout onsets, the fierce attacks, and doleful conflicts in fight which took place between them on both sides, too tedious to relate singly, were bloody, with showers of shot, wounding, pain-causing. However, many of the soldiers were slain at once and others were laid in blood and wounds till they were both weary and tired of each other in the end, so that it seemed time to the Earl and his forces to return to their lands and homes. Great ruin and destruction of the dwellings and crops was wrought by the Earl and his

the arms of Brooke empaling those of Leicester. See *Flight of the Earls*, p. 414.

² *Clann Cathal*.—i.e., the O'Flanagans, who were once chiefs of a district between Belanagare and Elphin. They are descended from Cathal, second son of Muiredach, who was King of Connaught at the

end of the 7th century. See *Topog. Poems* p. xxxiv.

³ *Finnbendaigh*.—i.e., the white-horned. The allusion is to Queen Meadhbh's bull, spoken of in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. Her palace was at Croghan, in the north-west of Magh Aoi. O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 34.

cconcóbair Rúaró & riol cceallais bátorí hí pann & hí muintear uí
Domnail.

Tuipéecta Néill uí Dhomnail cona ósibiairib & cona gallaib,
ó mo cloaear leó ó Domnail do dól hí coiccló ndilealla co tóthacht
a fílóig & an imuirí éada imbaos fíu híaíla Cloinne Riocairí con a gallaib
amail atriubamur & an lucht fíléme & foicéimeua faicéir 7 fuieachair
fóiríáib ó Domnail fairgíom vía fórtas allathoirí don bhlímur do
rcaoilead ó aoirle do chuingeat acnamais & aiblíra bith, ba ósib
laí muna chingíoh con a fíanlach don cuí rín tairran bhlímur naí bó
foirib 7 naí bo píeró dó a ionnfóiglé fécé naile via mbeiré ó Domnail in
nád mlnmat irín epich uile, conad aipe rín mo foicéongairí foí ambaos fo
amamur do gallaib & do ghaoróealaib argnam co neimlígh neamfádal laí
sur an mblímur nroairí nroiméecta baos ílmia. Do ponaó an aipe rín
fairgíomí fo élttoirí, & mo chingíle ífíomí ina mbuíoib tíoma coirclíla
& ina tuinníomíob tíugha tothachtada ípéimíuige na conaípe sur an
mblímur mbieacíobeach.

Ro la Níall úipem marcach píeméib do thaircélad & do píemíeírin
na conaípe euaríchuíngé baos foí a cciunro dúr an mbiaó eatarímaíre no
íoméomínt ó na rcoíraib imbatáí muintlí uí Dhomnail fúipie féb mo ba
gnatébér vobí itíir. Mí paos éccin adé maó úadad vobí mo lípíeróíroct
imón cciuch ina ccomírocaíab laí an adáilge loim ípabíat íarí nroil
uí Dhomnail úaróib í cconnachtaib amail píemepíctmarí. Do íala eíteir
an úadadóirín & an tolí fairccílna mo oíroaíg Níall ó Domnail píeme.
Ro ímaímead foíma in ucht Néill cona muintlí 7 mo muóáígeat arail
vobí. O mo íatáígríut na foícoímevóige úaíte mo íomíaróíomí do muintlí
uí Dhomnail na baos bá vobí coínamí na conaípe fíur an íochairé & ó mo
láírléat aipomílrí foí an anffoíplann batáí occ mallarccenamí ina nroochum, ba
fíó mo chínóírocté gan a ccoígrí 7 gan a naíélrí do éabáípe via mbíobóóab
& oílríuccaó na conaípe vobí gan coimíralí a coínamía fíuú ní baó fíuú
& aníomgábail don cuíirín, go íainícc Níall cona tíoméíóíéltal amílarí rín
gan anad gan oíuríum, co íagbáírlé longíroíct í mainírtíir Dhuínn na ngall
maíglí mbíéír na meic beadad 7 na íruíte píarlméltéclachá do upí S.
Íroníerí fíu hupí & oírríeann clíí íogíluaradé do gíep lá gall nó la

¹ *Monastery*.—See Introd., p. cxxviii, ante, for an account of its condition at this time.

army on their way back upon their enemies, *i.e.*, the family of O'Connor Roe and the tribe of O'Kelly, who were united with and friendly to O'Donnell.

1601.

As for Niall O'Donnell and his brothers and the English, when they heard that O'Donnell had gone into the province of Oilioll with the main part of his army and the battle strife with the Earl of Clanricarde and the English, as we have said, and that the soldiers and guards, the timid and slow, whom O'Donnell had left to keep guard for him to the east of Bearnus, had separated from each other to obtain food and the means of living, he was sure that unless he went with his forces then through Bearnus, it would not be pleasant or easy for him to go there at any other time, when O'Donnell would be in every homestead in the whole territory; whereupon he ordered all the force under his command of English and Irish to march very actively and swiftly with him to Bearnus, intricate and difficult, in front of them. This plan was executed for him immediately, and they went away after that in large, powerful bodies and in dense, strong crowds along the direct road to speckled-hilled Bearnus.

Niall sent a body of horse in front of them to reconnoitre and examine the crooked road which was before them, whether there were ambuscades or watches on it from the camp in which O'Donnell's forces were, as was their custom always. There was needed but a small body of them, for after O'Donnell had gone away into Connaught, as we have already said, they scattered about the neighbouring territory in search of food which they wanted. This small body and the guard which Niall had sent on before him met. They were defeated in the presence of Niall and his people, and some of them were slain. When the outposts of that small party of O'Donnell's that we have mentioned saw that they could not hold the road against the crowd and put away their pride, owing to the great force which was marching slowly towards them, they determined not to give a victory or a triumph to their enemies, but to yield the passage to them without coming to an engagement with them further, and to retire then, so that Niall came up with his large force then without halt or stop, and they made their encampment in the monastery¹ of Donegal, the place where the sons of life and the psalm-singing elders of the Order of St. Francis used to say the divine office and offer Mass without leaving it ever

Ḥaoróeal ó mo céoghab an tAdó Ruadhra ó Domnaill flaitiur gur an tanra, & sin na mo hachchuireadó & na mo hionnairbaduamh arin mñnotrin on éstena feét mo hfoibharó an bñcóbair bñvachit ipin lair an Reclain Rioghóa iemíelíchantaé Adó Rúad mac Néill ḡairb mic Toiyyóealbairg an Phiona, déit maó an mitchipin mbicc mo iemairneróipiom iua noiyrónló an Afoha Rúadó verólnaig in aipóclinnar a athairóa. Ba ḡair úairi con vo bñitpóm ina bñpichling oia noeiréigib vñiyuttib & oia ocubaclaib claiuaigite combatar occ foḡnam co vuoera von comóro ḡan tñibaró nñit forpua ina iemíelr eitip bñat & biuó ḡur an laithe hipin. Ni má ionnúa mo ḡhnaip on cclainnpiemih comnaipit, & ón vor vóim, & ón ail nñmchumpecaiti, & ón upro lpoipcene bñuiri bioóbaó .i. ó Adóh Ruad mac Néill ḡairb vo iao an fobairt poinlíuipin vo Dhía & vo naomh upro S. Fñanpñir vo iaté a anma buóóem & a bunatpñemie ipin peachmattaé & a clannmhaicne ipin toóocharóe & viampoi hi ttoicéln atabairt an tanra von aipñine eéatpñiclineoil & von bioóbaóaib bunaró batopi ag iñinñlioht Ḥaoróil ḡlair mic Niuil ó élin maii anall.

O mo iñicht la Niall cona bñairpñib 7 cona ḡallair tocht ḡur an mainpñitpñi atpñubñamopi, ba iñan lair a mñhma ap iochtain hipuóe fo bié ba vaignean innill an tionaó atpñuipñairi, & nñi bo heicclñ oia mñleaóaib mñuip naitt pccopia vo clarohe ina nioméacmaing ap batap apfolaitpñaró ann cñna. Ba ḡairpoccur vó van epiothaó & moipñeáó na epiche iccoitcinnne chuccu ḡac tan ba tol von cummupceflóḡ tecoimnacairi ina fapñiaó ó na baoi nñit iñlóig ag ḡabail pñup no inniomfñuóe fapñi. Ro lá apail oia mñuipñi & vona ḡallair ḡur an machairp mñbñg allatñairi vo Dún na ngall, ecclup oile ipróe vo iatpñott a iñnupñipñiom feét iñam oi apioile iainvopñong von upro éstena & ba hinnillpñohe pñu forpucchaó innití ón muó ccltña.

fol. 75. b.

Dála uí Domnaill iapñi nvolóail vóipóm & vo laipla cloinne Riocapñro pñu apioile pñeb at cúatpñamopi co leicc, iainic pñop chucca Niall ó Domnaill cona ḡhallair vo éocht vapñan mñbñmar naitpñirolñic co Dún na ngall, 7 ionnup von angatapñi, & an vo iñḡñipñat itpñi. Ba pñiomh aóbal lair na mo chumaing bié ina bñomvoin & ina nupñoichill ag iocéain vóib tñuapñan mñbñmup

¹ *Magherabeg*.—It was founded by one of the O'Donnells about the middle of the 15th century for a community of the Third

Order of St. Francis. Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 103. A considerable part of the buildings is still standing.

either for English or Irish since first this Hugh Roe O'Donnell assumed the chieftaincy up to that time ; and, moreover, they had never before been driven or banished from that dwelling, from the first moment that blessed conical roof had been given them by that royal star that was prophesied, Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlough of the Wine, except during the very short space of time of which we have spoken already, before the last Hugh Roe was inaugurated in the chieftaincy of his native country. It was short, for he brought them back to their retired dwellings and to their cells of well-fitted wood, so that they were serving the Lord fervently, not wanting anything during his reign, either clothing or food, up to that time. There was no descendant born such as he from that vigorous stem, and bush of shelter, and fixed rock, and hammer of crushing ruin to his enemies, *i.e.*, from Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, who made, a long time before, this comely gift to God and to the holy Order of St. Francis for the welfare of his own soul and of the souls of his ancestors in the past and of his descendants in the future, even though it turned out a help to the foreign race and to the enemies of the ancient race of Gaedhel Glas, son of Niall.

When Niall with his brothers and the English succeeded in coming to the monastery of which we have spoken, his mind was at ease at coming there, for the place where he dwelt was a secure fortress, and it was not necessary for the soldiers to erect walls or shelters around, for there was enough of them already. It was a convenient place, too, from which to ravage and plunder the country generally whenever the mixed troops which were in it pleased, since there was not a strong force to oppose them or to besiege them. He sent some of his people and of his English to Magherabeg,¹ to the west of Donegal. This was another church which his ancestors had built some time before for another body of the same Order, and it too was safe to take shelter in.

As for O'Donnell, after he and the Earl of Clanricarde parted from each other, as we have just said, news reached him that Niall O'Donnell with his English had gone through the famous Bearnus to Donegal, and how they had gone and all they had done. It was a great grief to him that he could not be before them and prepared for their coming through Bearnus

mbelechumanz & tpuapan cconairi nnoiriad nnoimceēta tpuapa tpuochatapi,
 uóiz jo ba lanpaoleaētain laip plán a mlnman uechtib & uairóbnaiš
 opažbail poipia oia mbeir in eplaimie poip acciuno. Api aoi to jóine pošail
 7 bpuce mbice uona pccēlaiš jo hapiueiōeāš uó & jo žab poip oiamlužāš
 ina mbaoi to žalai ina mšóonchaiš, api ba ber bunaró uó nach tan no
 eluinšoh ní no lašó ipuoiu no hitopuip in conaipealbaš nach comairōa
 nnoimlnma itcip, aēt ba žnuip řubaē pořopuřpaoiuō uon aipenaš ipoišlpi
 řiaš elch naon no bioš ina ēšeparō. Apiail uan to blpit comiōiošnaš mópi
 oia topuip řo biē ba řuail blž ambaoi oia řainmuipitipuiu oia cēpioš nach
 oia celthipaiš alla ēuāš uon třamaliř in ionbaró řin, uaiř ba cian puapan
 tanřin ó jo hřibaš uāša poip a muipitip točoiuāš cona nuile řolaiš &
 inuile hi coiceeāš Meašba .i. hi cepuch Caiřpie mic Neill & hi tpi
 řiaēpach mūaiōe župi jo žabřat ionatocht & aitpeašbaš ip na tpiuipin ciro
 puapan tan uip řangatař an tarccupi muipēoblaiž piemetuočatař co loch
 řeašail mic loctain. Act ēlna ba nlnmaš mópi laip Niall cona žallaiš
 to biē žan řuābaiř uāšaiš, & na jo legeāš uoiš tocht řectaiř ar na
 pořitaiš ipažbairřet to chuingřó cpeiche na oipcene, conaš řoh aipuoht
 laip řo ēšetoiř a řloiž to tpaicelomaš uaiřan Eipine řo thūaró co jo
 eillžiořtaiř a longřpořit in žařpoēup uona mlnnatpaiš imbatař na řoil, 7
 jo oipoiž pořaiřlōa řlithmeacha řobairtacha & álř ioncomlřeta āithe
 ētřpioma poip lnaizib řiōalra & poip blřinašaiš baōžail cona helarořó
 cūana naiřt cāibōlna uāšoiš in uořecha oiohce no itaroihe řolaiž to
 chuingřó an aōaižge no to thabaiřt řuillō loin ina llnmāin ar na
 pořitaiš in jo žabřat hi ttořaē, župi jo řar uochma 7 tēpice mópi i long-
 řořitaiš Néill uí Domnoill 7 na nžall ueřiōe. Ro řaořoiřet lēřie la
 haomžille jo lāipřet uāšoiš co hionřoiřžrōe žup an Uořie naiřpřlřic, aipin
 hi ipažbairřet pořit cetřup oia aipřluch poip aipēchaiš an choēblaiž batař
 beōř an uīřin long uambaoi leó to thočopi oia řaižrō ar in Uořie
 aipuibamopi la hoř an tuaiřceipř žach uoiřeachi žup na harōme jo pa
 tēřbaš pořaiš eitip aipin & biuō, ó to ipaiřuipřc ó Domnail ionpřaiš

fol. 76.a.

¹ *Territory of Cairbre.*—This district is now the barony of Carbury in the north of Co. Sligo. It was called C. Drumcliff from a famous monastery erected there in the sixth century by St. Columkille, to

distinguish it from several other places called by that name. *The Book of Rights*, 130 n. See *Introd.*, p. xv. *antea*.

² *Gaps of danger.*—i.e., a perilous pass where the chief usually placed the most

of the narrow roads and through the difficult, intricate way by which they had come, for he was quite sure that he could inflict as much hurt and injury on them as he pleased if he were fully prepared to meet them. But yet he paid little or no heed to the news which was told him, and he proceeded to conceal his sorrow in his soul, for it was his constant practice whenever he heard anything which caused sorrow or sadness, not to exhibit any signs of his thoughts at all, but his countenance was merry and agreeable when he appeared in public before all who were in his presence. Moreover, it was a great satisfaction to him in his sorrow that there was but a small number of his people and but little of their property and cattle to the north of the Saimer then, for long before he had ordered his people to go with all their goods and flocks to the province of Meadhbh, *i.e.*, into the territory of Cairbre,¹ son of Niall, and to Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, and they proceeded to settle and dwell in these territories even before the fleet of ships came, which had already reached the Lough of Feabal, son of Lottan. But yet he thought it a great misfortune that Niall and his English should not have been attacked by them, and that he would not allow them to go outside the strong places which they had seized to look for booty or plunder, so that he determined to collect his army immediately at the other side of the Erne to the north, and he entrenched his camp very near the dwellings in which the English were. He placed his strong, vigorous watches and his nimble, light-armed guards on certain roads and in the gaps of danger,² in order that rogues and thieves might not escape in the darkness of the night or secretly to provide for their wants or carry additional food after them from the harbours to which they had come at first, so that there sprung up ill health and great scarcity in the camp of Niall and the English in consequence. Letters were sent by one of the servants, whom they let out secretly, to the famous Derry, the place where they had encamped first, to persuade the chief men of that fleet who were still there to bring the ship which they had from Derry, of which we have spoken, to the coast of the north straight with the supplies they wanted, both arms and food, since O'Donnell restrained them from going

1691.

reliable of his guards to prevent an enemy territory. Sometimes it denotes a forlorn
from making sudden irruptions into his hope.

Tairteall na tadóall an típe cipinúir nó éabhairt crieiche no gabál éuca oia
 mbílethamínur, & muna ólúnta foíyia inórin combo hliglín oioib ólúyge na
 puipit imbatari no ólúruáó an anmann oia naimóib. Ni no leigeaó foí-
 óail in no chuinnúgríe, oóig no hliglamáigeaó in eallma an mbairie
 mbionnphairiing cori no feolartairi la tinflmh na gaoiú an. aipéúaró ceeh
 nóipeachí supi no gáb foíy inó inódomain puipit an iomchuirí foí ioncharib
 mainiuríe ambatariyóim. Niú bo foimneacó ráóal no tochariéríe na flóig
 ceéatúó an aipéte no báy ooc na huipitmalíab inóóóaróíom, aét no ba
 gunneacó, gírlach, fíuchí, fíunlíneach, crieichtacó, crioileavairéacó na
 fuabairtá feigíurígneacha, flighe, foíyíánacha, & na trova tlnna taléaria
 mata nithgónacha naimóíóe no hiomclaióeacó eatoíyia oo oib leicib.
 combaó emile lá anaiyíerí óeabtha & óunoíccne gach laoi ari núairí
 aét na má no machtaite & no maibáite óíoncca óííííe óagláoch gálgaite
 & gílyíatae oo ráit ltoíyia rán cán, & oo mata ari aill i fuilab & i fuilíacó
 in alab 7 in iolgónab in no hoigíocacó juam combtari biothaimíng
 go an écc.

fol. 76. b.

Fire.—‘On the 19th of November the
 abbey took fire, by accident or purpose, I
 could never learne, but burnt it was, all
 save one corner, into which our men made
 retreat, and through the middest of the
 fire were forced to remove their provisions

about or visiting the territory at all, to seize on plunder or booty for their subsistence, and if this was not done on their behalf, that it would be necessary for them to leave the camp in which they were or forfeit their lives to their enemies. What they asked was not neglected, for the capacious ship was got quite ready, and she sailed by the force of the wind straight to the north-east, until she stopped in the deep part of the lading-place opposite the monastery where they were. The time which both armies spent in the contentions of which we have spoken was not happy or pleasant, but the wrathful, vindictive, fierce attacks were cutting, sharp, destructive, venomous, wound-giving, bloody, and the conflicts were firm obstinate, injuring mortally, hostile, which were fought between them on both sides, so that it would be tedious to relate the skirmishes and devastations of each day here, but only that large bodies of soldiers, recruits, and warriors were slaughtered and slain between them on this side and that at once, and others were laid in blood and gore, in gashes and wounds which were never wholly cured, so that they were wasted away to death.

They continued both of them in this way prepared for each other till the last days of the month of September, 1601. At that time the Lord displayed his power against the people who dwelt in the cells and homes of the sons of life and of the guileless Orders, and by whom they were driven out and scattered about in the woods and winding glens as if they were wolves and wild beasts. The first vengeance, then, which God took on them, however it happened, whether from heaven or the earth, was, that fire¹ seized the barrels of powder which they had in the monastery of Donegal in preparation and readiness for the war in which they were engaged continuously against the Irish, and against O'Donnell in particular, so that the powder exploded in the air on high, and the smoke was not higher than the red glare which reached to the loftiest whitened summit of the windows and loopholes of the wall and to all the buildings of stone and wood of the blessed church above that were near the powder, and it consumed the well made rood-screen and the cells formed of wood, and the firmly-jointed beams too, which were joined skilfully below. The stones and the wood and the

of victuell and the very barrells of powder they had in store. Captain Lewis Oriell

commanded in chief.' Docwra, *Narration*, p. 255.

[illegible]

Օ յո յառաջիկէ ան Լիւիէ քիւիմե & քօլքօնիմէտա Բաթարօ յա յՈմնոսէլ քօր յա Զաւարծ ան Դմաւեճօ Ծած & Վօհալիցի Վիմալիք յոցնաւեճի անաւելտա յօ յաւա յիւր ան մամուրէլ, յօ Զաւրաճ Զ Ծառնօսսիւցած յո ՍԲաւլլեալլ Լիւսօք & Եճօր յարօւեալ տէրնօք յօ Եօցիւլլ Սի Ծոմնոսէլ Եօնա քիւօջ յոն ոճալ 1 քիւրէլ յօ քսաքիւր յա յԶալլ, Ծալջ Եմ յօԲթալ յաճ յա Եօրմոն յօսքիւսէս Եքիւսիկէ Եաճիտա յօԲթալ Եալլիւն Երքօրօ յօն Լրքւաքիւն Ծօրօն Եսրօճաճ յոն Եթօլլիւն. Ոլլ սօ Խօմէօնալքեալ յօ քիւաքիւս ան սլքօքիւլլ լա Խիւն յՈմնոսէլ Եօնա քիւօջ, Զի յօ Եմքիկ Եօ յօն Վեմմոսօճ քեծ յօնսքիւր յօն ալօլե յոն ոքիւնԵալծ & յոն ոքիւլլմալծ Եօ Սի յոԲթալ 1 միւրէլի Եճ ան մամուրէլի.

Ro daingnfolstelaigiet an deabao do oib leirib ftoipia iari ttain. Robtari aigti nainat im iae & niptari aigthi caiao im doimaim do nairpénpat na coibdealcaio & na comfúnlúe diaioile von chuppin. Ba ouilg' oichumhainz do muinntiri uí 'Dhoimnaill ppearal ouibiaictiu na nóce batari ipin mainiptiri la daingeaninnille na múri ina nomtácmanz og a nimórofn foipia & la ppariouibiaictib na ngalzat do pieccaim allanari ouob hi caipriall óúin na ngal, & beop la comtealzaó na ccaoi momtipom maipnluaioe no laice foipia la foipinn na luingsi luchtmaipe baoi inn ionróimain an chúain foiri anionchaib allanari. Aét aia do iobtari iate muintli uí 'Doinnaill battari foipille ipin iongúin co leicc. O io aipuz Mall ó 'Doinnaill a muintli & na Gall oga pfoipiaach ipin pfoipeigln do muimoin ina mfnmoin ionnup uo foipieao ift, conao fú do jóine elúo co hincleithe co cipotha clinnliptemari la hoji an chúain piai ceé noúieac gur an machaipe mbfz aipm ambatari pianlaé móri dona Galluib (feb atjuibia- mari), 7 do bfiit laip iate ipin conaipi éfctna ofupitacht a muintipie 7 na nGall, & io gáipat foipino na luingsi ieimepeiptemari acc upreclaoe & acc deabao dapi a ccenn co piochtain oóib tati na múiaib mfoónchaib inunn ip in mainiptiri. Batoupi aneini dóipoin & dia muinntiri anlucht pin de beip

men, wholly and completely, without any separation of their bodies, were mixed up in their flight and motion upwards for a long time, and they fell on the ground charred corpses, and some of them fell on the heads of the people beneath when coming to the ground, so that many of them were consumed by the fire then.¹

1601.

When the sentinels and guards which were set by O'Donnell over the English perceived the dense cloud of vapour and the strong, unusual, extraordinary smoke, which was rising from the monastery, they set to shoot vigorously their leaden balls and bright-firing flashes in order to summon O'Donnell and his forces to come in haste and attack the English, for it was the noise of the shots that was employed as the readiest messengers to tell him to come to their aid. That summons was not answered very mercifully by O'Donnell and his forces, for they advanced as fiercely and rapidly as they could in crowds and troops to the place where their people were near the monastery.

They came to close quarters in the contest on both sides after that. They were the attacks of enemies in the field, and they were not the attacks of friends in the strife, which the kinsmen and the relatives made on each other then. It was difficult, impossible, for O'Donnell's forces to withstand the fire of the soldiers who were in the monastery, on account of the great strength of the surrounding walls protecting them and the showers of shot of the soldiers who were to the west of them in the castle of Donegal, and also the throwing of the heavy bullets of iron and lead by the crew of the well manned ship which was in the deep part of the opposite harbour to the west. But yet O'Donnell's people had the best of it in the fight then. When Niall O'Donnell saw his people and the English who were aiding him in such great straits, he reflected how he might relieve them. Wherefore, what he did was to make his escape secretly with courage and speed by the edge of the harbour due west to Magherabeg, where there was a large body of English (as we have said), and he brought them with him by the same road to the aid of his own people and of the English. The crew of the ship of which we have spoken proceeded to support them and fight in their defence until they passed within the inner walls of the monastery. The force he brought with him were to him and

fol. 77. a. via faigib' ari baicitir muinleirí uí Domhnaill iobhtarí corḡmaig' muna bioib' inoipin. An tan do iact' ó Domhnaill oía uioh' daingiminnille an ionaitt' ambaoi Miall cona ḡallaiḃ & an foiribion r'loic'ch mangatoirí via foig'hib' ba n'lm'aothae inóirí lair' a muinleirí do m'iothuccaḃ ino éccomlann n' baḃ mo amh, ḡoirí nio foirichonḡairí foirí a m'ill'ohaiḃ veig'he na veabh'cha & roaḃ' via i'coiraiḃ. Do m'ionao'ib' fo ch'ettoi'irí faig'iríu' inoipin.

Ro hoir'ia rochar'oh'e úairíḃ aoiu 7 anall. Ba dona húair'liḃ' do rochar'irí ó úa n'Domhnaill ipin veabaḃ' Taohḡ mac Cathail óicc mic Ois'ima'oa do fois'ic'lan'oiu'ib' r'leac'c'a Maolruana'oiḃ' a muig'ib' Luig'ce co noip'uing' oile cén moth'á'oiu'. Toir'char'irí don leir' oile Conn ócc mac Cuinn ois'ib'ria'c'airí Néill uí O'hoimnaill co t'ir'ib' cé'oiu'ib' imaille r'uir' eir'irí ḡuin & lo'p'c'caḃ. Ba munn aḡa & liḡ'haile & ba ḡna'c' búair' cé'cha ceoḡuine aḡ an c'conn'ra do éir'í don cuir' ipin. Ro ól'utair' is'ioim' ó Domhnaill a long'p'oir' n' baḃ ḡoir'ie biucc' don m'aine'ir'irí, & m'oir' faoiḃ' ariail' via muinleirí ipoi'ba'irí ipin Macha'ir'ie m'ib'ḡ' uí in nio fo'raig'ir'et' c'et'uir' na ḡail' do beir' Miall lair' do fo'ir'ach'it' a muinleir'ie r'eb' impoi'ar'óir'iu'. H'í r'eil' Mich'el Arch'ang'el ari aoi lair'c'e r'e'c't'maine do m'ionao' ino ipin.

Ba'oi ó Domhnaill r'am'lar'oi ipin iom'f'uir'c'e é'ct'na foirí Miall cona ḡallaiḃ & oḡa t'abair'it' i'cl'nn'ta 7 accuimḡe do'f'ul'ach'ta ó veir'eaḃ' Septem'ber' ḡo u'iu'ib' Octob'ir' ḡan na'c' nḡuioim' naip'ir'ó'li'c' nio baḃ' u'ioir' o'foir'ia'ch'm'it'et' do venoim' li'p'oir'ia an aip'it'et' ipin cen co toir'ia'c'et' m'ioir'c'c'él' chucca an t'ar'ccu'ir' m'uir'c'ob'laic' don ang'at'airí ó R'ig' na Spáine o'ian'li'p'at' in aḡ'haiḃ' an écc'riact' r'eib' do iunḡeall' u'óir'ib' ó é'lin. Ba'ir'c'oi ionao in nio ḡab'ir'at an cob'la'c' Spainneach' cala'ó'p'oir' h'í cúan Chinn Sáile occ bun ḡla'ir'linne ban'oi'an i'ccoig'c'iu'c' c'ir'che cuip'reach' do éaob', & cenél' a'ó'oh'a .i. u'it'c'aig' an baip'iaig' óicc' don t'aob' ari all. Donn ioh'n ve aḡ'olo ba'ra'c'oi an'maim' an ḡ'li'ne'ia'la nio ba foir'ic'onḡair'at'air'oi úair'it'ib'. O nio ḡab'ir'at' tal'ir' an u'ú'ipin do b'li'p'ir'at

¹ *Maelruanaidh*.—The tribe name of the MacDermots of Moylurg, who are descended from Maelruana, eldest son of Tadhg an eich gill, king of Connaught from 1014 to 1036. *Top. Poems*, xxxv.

² *Conn Óge*.—He was the ancestor of Manus O'Donnell of Castlebar and of the O'Donnells of Spain and Austria. See *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2400.

³ *Fleet*.—Six of the ships intended to bring

men and materials of war to Ireland were scattered by a storm while convoying some galleons with treasures from the West Indies to a safe port. During the delay caused by this mishap the number of men destined for this expedition was much lessened by sickness and desertion. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 223.

⁴ *De Courcy's*.—For an account of John De C., the founder of this family, see the

his people of great advantage, for O'Donnell's people would be victorious if these were not there. When O'Donnell perceived the great strength of the place in which Niall and his English were, and the great force that had come to them, he thought it very wrong that his people should be destroyed in the unequal contest any longer, and he ordered his soldiers to leave off fighting and to go to their encampment. They did this immediately at his bidding.

Many of them were slain on this side and that. Of the nobles who fell on O'Donnell's side in the fight were Tadhg, son of Cathal Oge MacDermott of the noble family of the Sliocht Maelruanaidh,¹ from Moylurg, with a large number besides. There fell on the other side Conn² Oge, son of Conn, brother of Niall O'Donnell, and three hundred besides, whether by wounds or by burning. This Conn who fought then was a bulwark in battle and fight and it was his usual boast that he gave the first wound. O'Donnell afterwards made his camp a little nearer the monastery, and he sent some of his people to take possession of Machairebeg, to which place the English had first come, whom Niall took with him to the aid of his people, as we have said. As for the day of the week, this happened on the feast of Michael the Archangel.

O'Donnell continued in this way blockading Niall and his English and reducing him to intolerable straits and extremities from the end of September to the end of October, without any important deed which should be recorded having been done between them during that time, until news came to him of the arrival of the fleet³ which had come from the King of Spain to aid them against their enemies, as he had promised them long before. The place where the Spanish fleet put in was in the harbour of Kinsale, at the mouth of the Bandon river, on the confines of De Courcy's⁴ country on the one side, and of Kinelea, *i.e.*, the patrimony of Barry Oge, on the other. Don Juan de Aguila⁵ was the name of the general who was in command of them. When the people came there, they put the fortress of

Book of Howth in *C.C. MSS. Miscell.*; London, 1871. His son Miles was granted the barony of Kinsale instead of the earldom of Ulster, which had been conferred on De Lacy during the imprisonment of

De Courcy. Archdall's *Peerage*, vi. 138. But see *Annals F. M.*, iii. 143, for an account of this family.

⁵ *Del Aguila*.—O'Sullivan says he was skilled in the art of war. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 223.

uúnaó chinn Sáile fo a noighieiri & fo amamur buó óem. Ro mianhrat a nairiú & a núairle a ceoúnaiz & a ceairtine foir uiongnaóaiú ólirceaiúthe an baile, & a brianlach áizh & iongóná foir a blinaiú baogail & foir a élinaiú coirnaia fpu fuitchiur 7 fpu focricoinéó ina feach íai nuiro feib uo muoncoirceirut a celinhuirta uoib. Uo matrat chuca ílmuí hi tíri ar a longaiú gáe nairóilgi baor leó eiruiarim & oruonár, púuar & lúaroe, biaó & uig. Imrairle á longa ina bpuithling uia tairiú & uia élnaohachaiú fo óem, uáiz in thairorac ina mlinmain acairmuomairchui inuib in oibne.

ol. 77. b.

Ro baor ar oile baile allathoiri uo chían chinn Sáile uar uó comáinn Rinn choirriam hi fflionn an bairiaiz óice i cceenél Altha rairneao. Ro chuirle na Spairnigh airill uia nairiachaiú i foiréoinle & i foirbaiu irin mbairle rin. Gabairt ílittain foir uaingmúgá a rceoir & acc clairé, ag rairmúgá & ag reoiluiróuagá an oruonair foir an epcho máiri ina momtáe-maniz ina ceairtachaiú cobraiúthe comnairta, úair uob lírúalta leó go tairuagá an iurair co nairmal na bairmuoghan ina uoochum uia fflúabairt an tan uo foiriuó rceéla chuccu. O uo hairneruao ílmuí uon iurair gabail uoib an uú rin, & na huile uo uiglinrat, uo muonail an lion ar lía conanagairi gan línaóá gan ionfuirerach co muacht hi celin conairi fpuú combatai eimeach in ionchaiú fpu airill. Uo muoch ann beor prieruonir uá choiceao Muían ón muó celena cona uoichlíral. Uon anaice íaira cloinne Riocairt con foichairt, & níri uó hairuóe na má áet gáe celin ríoiú & gáe tíglinia tírie uo neoch baor inn uúla & inn airtairt uon bairmuoghan i Muíain, i Laignib, i Muíhe, & hi Connachaiú, uo muachtatari, gup uo chomfuiróigle & ceairia tul i tul fpu cino ráile & fpu Rinn coirriam rairneao. Ni uo leiceao tathainná tionnabraó, aohall ná ionn-foiglé uona Spairneachaiú uo eecain i Rinn choirriam, áet ueabtha uiana uuibairttheacha & ammur flíuóá fuileacha foirua uo ló & uáuáiz, go uo heiraleao foirua fo uoeró tocht uirceir uairim foir eimeach & foiram an iurair, & ó uo uingéal & rnaóá uo mian iairtuirhe foir airóbaileib

¹ *Troops*.—O'Sullivan gives 2,500 as the number of Spaniards who landed at Kinsale. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 224.

² *E. of Clanricarde*.—See *Introd.*, p. clxiv., ante.

³ *Obedient*.—Carew did not trust his Irish

allies. On November 7th he wrote to the English Privy Council: 'At O'Neill's coming the provincials will discover themselves against us, or neutrals (as they are), for better we do not expect from them.' Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 162.

Kinsale under their own obedience and power. They distributed their commanders and the nobles, their chiefs and their captains in the well furnished forts of the town, and the troops¹ for battle and fight in the passes of danger and at the points needing defence, to watch and keep guard all round, according to the orders which their officers enjoined on them. They then landed from their ships all the supplies they had, both arms and ordnance, powder and lead, food and drink. Their ships returned to their own country and to their merchants, for they did not conceive that they should be carried back in them so soon.

There was a certain castle to the west of the harbour of Kinsale named Rincorran, in the territory of Barry Oge, in Kinelea exactly. The Spaniards put some of their distinguished men to guard and garrison this castle. They then set about fortifying their camp, and digging trenches, arranging and planting the ordnance close all round on steady, strong carriages, for they were certain that the Lord Justice would come with the Queen's army to attack them as soon as the news would reach them. When the Lord Justice was told that they had landed there and all they had done, he assembled all the forces under his command without delay or stop until he came to meet them, so that they were face to face with each other. The President of the two provinces of Munster also came with his forces; the Earl of Clanricarde² came with his troops; and not these only but every head of a host and every lord of a territory who was submissive and obedient³ to the Queen in Munster, in Leinster, in Meath, and in Connaught. They came and pitched their camp⁴ opposite Kinsale and Rincorran exactly. Sleep or repose, visit or entrance was not allowed to the Spaniards who were within Rincorran, but there were violent shooting conflicts and fierce bloody attacks on them night and day, so that they were obliged at last to come out unarmed⁵ under the protection and security of the Lord Justice, and when he promised them protection

⁴ *Camp*.—Moryson gives 11,800 foot and 857 horse as the total of the army before Kinsale on November 20th. A month later the number was reduced to one-half. *Ibid.*, pp. 169 and 176.

⁵ *Unarmed*.—'Nov. 1, the Commander

offered to surrender the place if the garrison was allowed to go to Kinsale. This being refused, he resolved to bury himself in the castle. But his company threatened to cast him out of the breach. So at last he yielded.' *Ibid.*, p. 149.

móira na Mumhan co bfeirí cionnair no biaó a liciuigléoó fhuir an lucht naile do ariurairi hi cionnó Sáile.

ol. 78. a.

Baoi immoio an iurair cona flocchaib & gur an lucht naile batari i forbairi fori Rinn choiriain zó rin fori an abairt éitna accaílm & acc coimóirubragáó na Spainneac batari hi cionnó Sáile an éitna feacht. An feacht tánairi occa náil & oga nltairighuiohe tuiua chaoimbuatáirib & miliráurceairib iméochte fori iochte & emeac an iurair feb tuóchataru an lucht naile don angtari a Rinn choiriain. Aclitairatariom nari uó gnaíebér do mileaóairib an tíre ara tuóchataru feall fori an emeach nach fori a ccoimóir talmanra, & nari bo roóairg a trogaotó tuiua tinguelluib gan tóthacht no tuiua cealtghomáthairib céoluitheacha, & na tilitair tuiua a mbreithiui fhuir an bfuiríairé ffuirighiúe oia ffoignatariu la ior ffoithit i tuiuitim na núairal batari inn immuiri choceair & chatha fhuiríom ag coruam a iurair & a nachairó io ba mltuairie leóiríom do zóir foriua ari zác ló. Batari tuiua an tuchairu combatari fíctiuih tuiuirighi ceétairuae uioib oia aloile la a iméline leó bith iur caitéir comfuaratariu zán cootlaó zán coétomaltui, zán airíui, zán aoirbúir, acé cac uioib iuríomíom & i foichill ariuire do ló & uáóairg, acht éitna ba móo uoilíu fori an iurair cona fíloz bith an ionnuir iuríom olóár fori na Spainneachairib, uoiz ba hiaruioe ba mo am io gnaéairílt iuríuioe foriua & áairíom, & ba mltuio io ffoimac in zác nltuairil do fíuoiríom an éocair, áairí ba fhuiríom io hoileac 7 io lltairílt éimíom an élineoil éoríamíu z oia mbatariom co tuiuirat tíre 7 tuiua, éuiocha 7 éituaóachairle fo amamui 7 fo accuimachairib alíor iurí, amíamui, 7 mltuilecta, ari aoi éituaécta, calmatari, 7 caituáóá, conari bo iuríom fíutitit fhuí muna baó amíén foríam cac lár conguitui. Conatí ariue rin io baó fori mltuamíom don iurair roac do iuríui zo hact éitna & a mltuac do iuríomílt fori puiomíomíom fíuoiríomíom leíte Moza Núacat één co tuiuirac lltuia Tuathíumíam la forícongíua na uamíuogán a Saxair uóéum nltuenn do congíam lltu an iurair co celtíomíom mltu do gíltuie gíamíloiz lltu gurí io gábtari don leit ambaoi an iurair do éitna Sáile.

¹ *Leth M. N.*—i.e.. Munster. See *Introd.*, p. x., *antea*. On the origin of the name

Mogha Nuadat given to Eoghan Mor, see *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. xix.

he divided them among the chief towns of Munster until he should know the result of the contest with the other party who were in Kinsale.

The Lord Justice with his forces and the others who were besieging Rincorran up to that were at the same business at first, playing on and shooting at the Spaniards who were in Kinsale. Then they begged and besought them by fine words and nice promises to come under the clemency and protection of the Lord Justice, as the others had done who came out of Rincorran. They said that it was not usual for the soldiers of the country from which they had come to break their promise or to deceive their temporal lord, and that it was not easy to cheat them by means of unmeaning promises or deceitful devices, and that they would not violate their promise to their true prince whom they served, by whom they were sent to aid the nobles who were in the hardship of the fight and battle against them, defending their faith and fatherland, of which they wished to rob them daily. Meantime they were in such a state that both parties were tired and weary, owing to the long time they were expecting the attack without sleep or food, pleasure or enjoyment, each of them waiting and prepared for the other day and night. But yet it was more severe on the Lord Justice and his army to be in this condition than on the Spaniards, for these were more accustomed to sieges against and for themselves, and most of them were trained to every kind of war, for most of the warlike race to which they belonged were reared and brought up in it, and they gave up many lands and dwellings, territories and lordships under their authority and power for the sake of their faith, virtue, intelligence, valour, bravery, and success in war, and opposition to them was not easy unless ill-luck befel those whom they aided. For this reason the Lord Justice thought of going back to Dublin and scattering his soldiers throughout the principal strongholds of Leth Mogha Nuadat,¹ if the Earl of Thomond had not come by order of the Queen from England to Ireland to help the Lord Justice with four thousand² choice troops, and they landed on the side of Kinsale where the Lord Justice was.

² *Four Thousand*.—*Pac. Hib.* p. 382, gives the number brought over by the Earl of Thomond as 1,000 foot and 100 horse. See

Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 151. Very probably the besiegers exaggerated the number to induce the Spaniards to surrender

ba irin pé rin do bñitpat na Spainniñ ionnhoiñgeað ainhuiro aipñitach añ na noiróche ann, 7 iangzatar peétair ar a múirib co campia an iurtir & zur an maizín ambaoi an toiroanár móri no bioð acc blaróiebað 7 aq boñibbñipeað zach laoi na múichairteol, nà nñiom òloch, & elaiarò io cumóacht leó ina moméacmang, conað e aipñz aipangzatar aiaill do na zonnaróib zutairóib do zñiorolionarò, do elochairb elnngairbairb, do ñonnairb, do ñabairb, 7 do zñinntib íñi muðuccað an ñianlaiz batari occa moméomiet. Ro maðairit íñiom oc on upobairin 7 imfairit muñtñi an iurtir fótair 7 io zábpat aq zñin & aq zeaiorileach aipile achairò foða òon oiróe zur io chingñit na Spainniñ co cobrarò ceimñizín ñnoethioyce oia reoiarib fo òeoirò, 7 io hoitait rocharò leó & úarohib. Do ionpat bñiz mbicc oia ttearbarò ó do iugñipat an coibñir rin do chuittbeað a mbioðbað. Mi baoi orað laoi na oiróche ñitir an òa camparin ó con iangzatar ñu aipile zan toðail cñó 7 rñiðe foða aoiú 7 anall & aipia zur an laithe òñóññairz òa ttanaic an iompeearað & an nñitirñleóth.

fol. 78.b.

loméura úi Ohoññairl, ó io hairnerðeað òó an coblach Spainneach rin do zábail chalaðpñit i ceimno Sáile feð iompoioarorñm, for maðairb an iomñiðe imbai fñi Miall ó Ohoññairl cona zhallair batari i mainitir Oñin na ngall (aññail atpññamoi) & do ñoine foðail 7 oimbiñz do nach caingean itir acht mochtain in òail na Spainneach, úair ba hiaitirðe cona Riz òoinnneññ & òoinpaoileáctain báoi occa oia òoinñetñ, & ba ara loip conúarpeað a choccað eltur. Roñ lion lanne 7 lanñairpeachur é oia toipñáctain, & ba oimbiñz lair zail do aipñiom no do atpñeabað ir na poipairb i maññairñit ina éñi, ar ba òññib lair nò elaróitir in òónar eirñib oiañno lá zaoirðelairb 7 la Spainneáðairb coiceoi ñari na nimñiñ cacha ñuñ an iurtir hi eimno Sáile òon chur rin, conað òññ do ñóime tñuñ na foðairñin a hñongñia & a hñofogñia oia mbaoi fñó a mñuñ 7 fo a chumaðairb ó òoiñiz an tuarpeair co huñuachtarí ó Maine, ó Sñuibñ ðñain moñiñ Eogain mic Neill, co hioipñur íññiñairtar elñari 7 tional in a vochum co haoinñiñizín co baile an Mhoñairz. Ro aipñiom an òú rin co ttarñacair lair hñrach na Samina, & con do peccñaimñit a ññoiñ ina òail ina noñonccairb,

¹ *Attack*.—2,000 men were engaged 'in this brave sally, and continued their resolution with exceeding fury.' *Ibid.*, p. 165.

² *Castles*.—When O'Donnell drew off to the relief of Kinsale, Docwra marched to Donegal, and Diggs, with two companies,

One night then the Spaniards made a fierce, vigorous attack,¹ and they came outside the walls to the camp of the Lord Justice and to the place where the ordnance was which was breaking and dashing down the battlements, the stone works, and the mounds erected by them all round, and the plan they adopted was to fill some of the loud-voiced guns with sharp stones, beams, blocks, and wedges, after killing the soldiers that were guarding them. They were observed at this work, and the forces of the Lord Justice attacked them, and they proceeded to wound and slaughter each other for a great part of the night, and the Spaniards returned victorious and steady to their camp at last, and many were slain by them and of them. They thought little of their loss as they had done so much to grieve their enemies. There was no cessation day or night between the two camps since they came near, without death-wounds and flowing of blood on one side and on the other, and slaughter to the last days when the final separation and the decisive battle came round.

As for O'Donnell, when he was told that the Spanish fleet had entered the harbour of Kinsale, as we have said, he left the siege in which he was engaged against Niall O'Donnell and the English who were in the monastery of Donegal, as we have said, and he made little or nothing of every business whatever except to go meet the Spaniards, for they and their King were of one mind and one idea with him to aid him, and it was through him that they first began the war. He was full of satisfaction and joy at their coming, and he thought it of little importance that the English should remain or dwell in the castles² which they had seized in his territory, for he was sure they would abandon them at once if the Irish and the Spaniards were victorious in the contest with the Lord Justice at Kinsale then. Wherefore, what he did in consequence was to send his proclamation and summons to those who were under his control and power from Tory in the north to the uppermost part of Hy Many, and from Srubh Brian, in Inishowen MicNeill, to Erris³ in the west, and to assemble them to him in one place at Ballymote. He waited there until the feast of All Saints was celebrated by him, and all his forces assembled to meet him in crowds and

took Ballyshannon, 'a place much coveted by the English.' Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, i. 442.

³ *Erris*. — Now a barony of the same name in the north-west of Co. Mayo.

& ina n-oiriomaib co mhnmnuch m-iaðach m-oiriaghtach gach tighina típe 7 gach tairiuch túaithe ina donbhíom fop leith ag mallaragnaí ina reach gur mo fopis leó tairéalbað atcionol ar núairi do aroílaí.

Doir pangatopí cltup fo a thoğairmíomí cenél Conaill Gulban mic Néill uile nóğ aét Míall ó Doimnaill na má cona b-iaírib. Don angatari ann na teopra tuairceonóe catha no bíod l-aiomí & la a cenél do gúir .i. no tpi mac Suibne do fiol Eoghain mic Néill, a Panaitt, a túathairb Toiraghe, 7 a tpi boğaimí. Do m-achitatarí ann beor in job aipíğda do fiol b-ian mic Eacðað Muiğmíolhoim cona móiríonol cen motha ó Concòbairí Slíccíğ, Donnchað mac Caðail óice baor in geníeal occarom feb m-emeperimari. Donaot ann ó Ceallag .i. Pírooichae gur an lion ar lia co nanagairi do uib Maine immaile fup. Do mocht ann oin na hi mo aipiebrat i Connaétairb do fiol Coribmaic gailng mic Tairğ mic Clín mic Ailella Auloim cona muinílaib. Doir pícc ann úa Dubda do fiol Fiachach mic Eacðað Muiğhmíolhoim co toichírtal úa Fiachach Muaróe ina f-iaiað. 101. 79. a. Taimice ann ón muó celtina mac Uilliam buic Teaboitt mac uateri mic Seadin mic Oluílaí co lion afoceairte. Batari van ipchoairi ui Ohoimnaill an tan rin na húairle don angatari a hiltírib fopí athchup & ionnairbað oia ionfioiríomí d-aoine ino imnig & in eccuimang fup oip an t-iaeð óe a b-uríacht nach a f-oiríuchin on anffoilann i maíbrat ag gailairb & ag aiaill oia ccenélairb. Ro ba oibíro clann Seadin a buic .i. Seadin na Slmaí, mic Riocairí Saxanaig, Remann, Uilliam, & Tomar.

Ba oibí don mac Muipir cís-iaighe Tómar mac Paíreicín mic Tómar mic Emainn mic Tómar, & Riopie an gleanna, Emainn mac Tómar, & Tachg caoch mac Toipíreálbaig mic Maéğamína & Diarimatt máol mac Donnchaða méce Cáiríhaig. Ba hinuig toichim & tuaircebaí an toicírtal tpiomíloig batari la húa n-Doimnaill an oúrin oiaiað lann lap an f-iaiað f-oiríomí n-írt & clinnup do gábaí oibí. Ar oibí deimín co mağairírt arí aill do moğairb Eirínn maní inu ughoini la foehiaití ríloig jobtari úairte olttait an f-ianlað f-iaochairímeil do píccclamaatarí iuróe

¹ *FitzMaurice*.—See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 14, for his descent.

² *K. of the Valley*.—Now of Glin. He was descended from Maurice FitzGerald.

³ *MacMahon*.—This was Turlough Roe,

who became chief of Corcabaiscín in 1594. *Annals F. M.*, vi. 1947.

⁴ *D. MacCarthy*.—He and his base brother Donough were then at variance about the chieftaincy of Duhallow. See *Life of F.*

troops, with spirit and magnanimity, each lord of a territory and each chief of a district in one body separately, marching slowly in their order, until they succeeded in showing all their forces then to their prince.

The first who came at his call were the descendants of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, in all their strength; except Niall O'Donnell and his brothers. There came the three leaders in battle whom he and his tribe always had, *i.e.*, the three MacSwinys of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, from Fanad, from the districts of Tory, and from Tir Boghaine. There came also the most illustrious of the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, with their great gathering, all but O'Conor Sligo, *i.e.*, Donogh, son of Cathal Oge, whom he had in chains, as we have said. O'Kelly came too, *i.e.*, Ferdorcha, and the greatest number that could come from Hy Many with him. There came also those who dwelt in Connaught of the race of Cormac Gaileang, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilíoll Olum, and his forces. O'Dowd of the race of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, came with the gathering of Hy Fiachrach of the Moy. MacWilliam Burke came too, *i.e.*, Theobald, son of Walter, son of John, son of Oliver, with all his forces. There were besides with O'Donnell then the nobles who had come from many districts in consequence of their expulsion and banishment, having come to complain of their sufferings and hardships, to see if aid or help would be given them by him in the straits in which they were held by the English and by some of their own people. Of these were the sons of John Burke, *i.e.*, John na Seamar, son of Richard Sassanach, Redmond, William, and Thomas.

With them was FitzMaurice¹ of Kerry, Thomas, son of Patrickin, son of Thomas, son of Edmund, son of Thomas, and the Knight of the Valley,² Edmund, son of Thomas, and Tadhg Caoch, son of Turlough MacMahon,³ and Diarmuid Maol, son of Donough MacCarthy.⁴ The great assembled host which O'Donnell had there was blameless in discipline and repute, if it were pleasing to overruling Providence to give strength and supremacy to them. It is, indeed, certain that some of the Kings of Eire took possession of the island of Ugaine⁵ with a smaller army than the fierce, vigorous force which

MacCarthy Mor, p. 351, and *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2331.

⁵ *Ugaine*.—He was ardrigh from A.M. 4567 to 4609. Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 183.

co haonmáigín céni conguitir na laoch buiríne lífíona luthmáia nó
 tionoilfó la húa Néill foy an fíoiḡeáḡ lionmáia laimínmnoch nó baol
 lair ina leanmoin. Do arḡnatai ífíom na tpiomfíoiḡ rin an vāia lá vo
 mír Nouember ina nuiréaḡaib ionmalla imḡeḡta ó baile an Mhotaig co bel
 an áḡa fāda la hoj locha Cé có hOifíinn tpiā contae Roḡra comain
 voipḡli contae na ḡaillíne, ḡo fíol nAnmchaḡa, co bel an tpiāma, &
 co haḡ cpiochva foy Sionainn. Aipḡve ífíom co Dealbna Meḡ Cochlain.
 Ro hinḡveaḡ & nó hoipceḡ an cpiochrin co leir leó, & vo blḡḡat
 tpiomneill teineḡ tairi, & nó loipceḡt vúnáip Meḡ Cochlain fāḡein.
 Ro ba piāiaig na típe tpiāa tpiḡchatur voib ḡó rin. Lotai íāpiom tpiā
 fliāib ceall vāi muncinn Sleibhe blaḡma co huib cāipin. Ro ḡāḡaḡ
 longḡoḡt la húa nDomnail cona fíoiḡ fín enoc Opioma Saileach in Uib
 cāipin, 7 nó aipir fín pié mír irin māighin rin occ iomḡuieach fín húa Néill
 baol aḡ arceḡnāim co hionmall imḡuḡhin ina leanmoin. Mí antai na fíoiḡh
 áḡt acc piḡeáḡ & acc piḡmḡeḡt aḡ cpiēachāḡ & acc cúāipḡḡaḡ na cpioch
 ina iomḡeacmāḡ an aipḡt rin in ḡāc aipin nó fpiḡthāipḡaḡ fín & in ḡāch
 māighin nó ba tairi vo ḡallāib fāipieáḡ, & ba mo um noj mntpiāmlāigēáḡ
 fín. Do piāchta cūca 1 lich laithe fēile Anḡveā fāipieáḡ an cpioch
 naom úachtaḡilāimann, vāia fliāaḡh & fnaḡaḡ co noḡuinec vo māchāib
 Māipḡḡie na cpiochie naom occa hionchupir & nó hioḡaḡ iatḡḡiḡhe vḡ-
 baḡḡaib voḡḡaib & vālmḡānaib iolāipḡaib ḡomvāi buirig.

fol. 79. b.

Mí piāchmāḡḡiḡt vēpiāch an luicḡrin meallma lair an aig anaicḡnta
 & lair an fneachta fíeamḡḡiḡḡ nó fliāḡ ann von chupir rin. O nó cloir la
 hāipḡ iurḡir na heḡinn o Domnail con a fíoiḡh occ tpiāll fon toichim
 rin vāia ionḡiḡiḡḡḡ ba hionmān 7 ba hupḡḡāim lair áḡoi atḡḡnta & h
 cumḡe anḡḡoil eitir Spāimneachāib & ḡaḡvālaib, & nó ḡḡta foy a
 mūḡḡir aḡhāll nó aḡḡiḡeáḡ an típe úāvib naḡ anunn itir vo ábaipḡ

¹ *Sil Anmchadha*.—The tribe-name of the O'Maddens. Their territory included the barony of Longford, Co. Galway, and the parish of Lusmagh in the King's Co. See *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 69.

² *Athcroch*.—A ford on the Shannon, near Shannon Harbour.

³ *Delvin MacC.*—The Dealbna, descended from Dealbaidh, 3rd son of Cas, ancestor of the Dalcassians, acquired

several territories beyond Thomond. These included the present barony of Garrycastle. *Book of Rights*, p. 182.

⁴ *Castle*.—Now Kilcolgan, near Ferbane. At the death of the last MacC., or Maw as he was usually called, in 1790, his estates passed to his sisters, and later, by sale, to the Bernards.

⁵ *Slieve Bloom*.—A range of mountains extending in a north-easterly direction from

assembled here together, even if the active, joyful crowd of heroes assembled by O'Neill on that numerous, gladsome hosting which he had following him did not aid them. After that the large forces marched on the second day of the month of November by very slow marches, advancing, from Ballymote to Ballynafad on the shore of Lough Ce, to Elphin, through the county of Roscommon, the east, of the county of Galway to Sil Anmchadha,¹ to Belansama, to Athcroch² on the Shannon; then from that to Delvin Mic Coghlan.³ That territory was plundered and spoiled entirely by them, and they produced a heavy cloud of fire throughout it, and they burned MacCoghlan's own castle.⁴ The territories through which they had come up to that were obedient to them. After that they went through Fercall over the upper part of Slieve Bloom⁵ to Ikerrin.⁶ O'Donnell and his forces encamped on the hill of Druim Saileach⁷ in Ikerrin, and remained in that place for a month waiting for O'Neill, who was marching slowly and steadily after him. The forces did not cease going about searching and seeking, plundering and exploring the territories all round during that time wherever they were guarded against them, and were submissive to the English, especially those who acted like them. He came on the feast day of Andrew exactly to the Holy Cross of Uachterlamhan⁸ for a blessing and protection to the community of monks of the monastery of Holy Cross who brought him, and he presented them with oblations and offerings and alms, and they were thankful.

They could not leave that place readily, owing to the extraordinary ice and to the heavy slippery snow which fell then. When the Lord Justice of Ireland heard that O'Donnell and his army were marching that way, he was greatly afraid and anxious lest he might be placed in straits and great difficulty between the Spaniards and the Irish, and he ordered his people not to give them entertainment or lodging, or anything that they

Roscrea along the boundary of the King's and Queen's counties.

⁶ *Ikerrin*.—Formerly the territory of the O'Meaghers, now a barony in the N.W. of Co. Tipperary,

⁷ *Druim Saileach*.—A hill five miles S. of Roscrea.

⁸ *Uachterlamhan*.—i.e., of the eight hands.

The legend which has given rise to this name will be found in *Triumphalia Monasterii S. Crucis*, p. 27.

⁹ *M. of Holycross*.—Three miles south of Thurles. It was founded for Cistercians by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, in 1169. For an account of the Relic from which it takes its name see *Ibid.* p. lx.

an neith mo ba toirceite úoib' oia fairsiú, combo heiccl'n úoib' ecc la húacht 7 gopta ó fótt paimpeccéi iompaib' biaú & tene vo chabairt chucca, nó aiaill san a noilruigad & a tairibh'it buú óein oia mbioú-baúab' & tocht fori a rnaoú 7 comairce feb' our pangatari na Spainnig batari i Rinn éorriain fori an ionchab'riom' feét muamh, conaú aie rin mo eib' fori ppeiróenr' oá éoiccl'ó Muíian Sipi Seoip'ri Capi oul co ccl'theoraiú milib' vo gléipe galgatt & dóccbarú aumtha inn eanach ioméumang & mo inotiuch inoill fori ciuno uí Ohoínnail' our an ccaom'raú a cloú oia éonairi nó a l'ghairt' dona huip'uallaib' mo baol ma nínmoim. Ot chuala ó Ohoínnail' an ppeiróenr' gur an mboib'rluaú rin vo chocht hi com'pocraib' Cairil ni r'ghinn na r'gáth c'moethnugaú na c'mólnbár mo our gáb, áct taiméimnuigaú iemhe r'íari gáé noípeaé ouáchtari Uíuúuáan, vo cloinn Uílliam b'ruaig na Sionna, la ourur Luimnecch raiúólr' illó & in aohaiú gan anao gan oip'riom' co paimuú tairi Máig' i'peaé in Uib' conail' gábra. O vo bh'it an ppeiróenr' oia úiró an iem'poeir' 7 na huip'ualla mo haipeccé l'airiom' & lar an iur'it' vo oul fori neip'ri & ó Ohoínnail' cona r'lócc' vo oul tairur' i' na conairib' nari bo ooiú l'air' a ttoip'iaétain i'it'ri, im'rai ma r'p'el'ing co haium' ambaol an iur'it' combaú oaoimleít no r'li'rair' ambaig' a'f'noao.

Ba von éur'rin mo faoiú ó Ohoínnail' b'ioúlom' r'loig' & o'pechta o'luuaria oia muin'it'ri hi toip'it'hin meic Muip'ri Ciaruiaig'e baol ma f'airuáú r'ri ié na bliaúna ro anail' (aiaail' mo iom'iaú'riom') & ari ail' vo muin'it'ri mic Muip'ri ro óein vo eolur' i'eampa t'ria ouéaig' cloinne Muip'ri our an b'ruig'bet'ir elang no eataib'aoúal' fori aiaill vo baileib' meic Muip'ri & mo l'iaúil' ó Ohoínnail' fori mac Muip'ri buúoein aip'riom' ma f'ochair' co b'f'ir'aoú cionnur' no biaú iom'p'ecaiúá an f'ianlaig' rin fóir' i'eil'ce'riote úaioib' r'ri na hib' our f'air'nectatari fori accino. Ro éa'umnaig'ib' vo muin'it'ri uí Ohoínnail' an tairur' vo o'eachat'oi ari mo c'ieachaoú & mo l'air'p'io'raú roéa'oe leó vo l'iecaip'oiú mic Muip'ri vo neoch iob'tari roéa oia tochar'riom' fori longur' & ionnair'baú co húa n'Ohoínnail', 7 mo gábaú leó t'ri c'air'teoiú vo o'agh'oúim'ib'

fol. 80. a.

¹ *Upper Ormond*.—The district between Nenagh and Borrisoleigh, now a barony bearing the same name.

² *Clanwilliam*.—There are two districts, now baronies, of this name near each other,

one in Tipperary, the other in Limerick. The latter is meant here.

³ *Maigue*.—This river rises to the west of Charleville, Co. Cork; and entering Co. Limerick, it passes by Bruree, Croom, and

needed when they came, so that they should die of cold and hunger, as long as it was forbidden them to give them food or fire, or else they should humble themselves and give themselves up to their enemies and come for protection and security, as the Spaniards who were in Rincorran had come into his presence before. Wherefore, for this reason he ordered the President of the two provinces of Munster, Sir George Carew, to go with four thousand chosen champions and armed soldiers in close array and in a secure body to meet O'Donnell, to see whether he should make him change his course or prevent him from the journey which he intended. When O'Donnell heard that the President with that haughty army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Cashel, neither fear, nor dread, nor death-shiver seized him, but he marched on due west by Upper Ormond,¹ by Clanwilliam,² on the bank of the Shannon, by the gate of Limerick south-eastwards, day and night, without stop or halt until he crossed the Mague³ into Hy Conaill Gabhra.⁴ When the President saw his progress and that the great marches⁵ made by himself and the Lord Justice had come to naught, and that O'Donnell and his army had passed them by the roads which he thought he would not come at all, he returned to the place where the Lord Justice was, so that both might unite together.

It was then that O'Donnell sent choice troops and strong bodies of his forces to the aid of FitzMaurice of Kerry, who was with him during the past year (as we have said), and some of FitzMaurice's own people to guide them through FitzMaurice's territory, to see if they could find any weakness or neglect in some of FitzMaurice's castles. O'Donnell ordered FitzMaurice himself to remain with him until he knew the result of the sending away of the party which they had sent against the force that opposed them then. The journey they went was made use of by O'Donnell's people, for they plundered and preyed many of FitzMaurice's enemies who were the cause of his having come in exile and banishment to O'Donnell, and three of the chief castles of the territory were captured by them

Adare, and falls into the Shannon, five miles below Limerick.

⁴ *Hy Conaill G.*—Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello.

⁵ *Marches.*—See *Introd.*, p. cxxxix. and

Pac. Hib., p. 377, for a detailed account of the wonderful march of O'Donnell and his forces on this occasion. Moryson says he took advantage of a frost, so great as seldom had been seen in Ireland. *Rebellion*, p. 163.

an tíre .i. Leacfnaima, Cairlén geyir Aíroa físta, & baile uí éaðla, & for-
 masabíste oriong oia muinirí occa nomchomhéo. Impairt co coirgari &
 vo pfiop pccél leó go húa nDomnail & co mac Muirir. Ar fon ionamm
 cclena vo mala oia Concobairi Ciarrmaige, Seaan mac Concobairi, gur po
 gabaó lair a baile & a ppuimóúin feirín .i. Cairnac an puill baol fuillíó for
 bliadóin ag Gallair & vo deacharó fein cona baile i combaig uí Ohoimnail,
 & po epinaróm a chuia & a chapiaró pui. Baol imoipio ó Domnail fpu mé
 reáctmaine i nuib Conail gabra ag clunpugeo & ag cúppacharó gaé áoin
 vo pílzaní i ccombaig gail gupí po forchonghairi forpua oáir & oisín
 oíohail fpuú 7 coét oáoin leir fpuimí & fpu gaoróala ar chlna. Ro
 lreomla ílpoim ó Domnail cona flog vo muinchino Slebe Lúachra, vo
 cloinn Amhaorib, vo Mhupairí, co banóain i ccaippraeáib. Oup pangatarí
 lpuioi gaoróel Mumán uile po áoinmílnmain oia raigí, & po narómpuic a
 ccupia & a ccotach fpuir epua biche, & ba haimur & ba hupgairíuigáó
 aigenta leó apochtain chuca vacomíal a ccaippraeáir fpuir & po tingéalprae
 vo gan aópaó vo gallair nach vo óanarí, & gan congnaí fpuú níbaó
 ppuú. Acht élna ní éanaic Mag cáirhoig maóac .i. Domnail mac Corbmaic
 na home, iná van tigíuna Mupairí .i. Corbmac mac Oílmatta mic
 Taróg po chópa chugapom feb oup pangatarí an lucht naile.

Oala uí Néill .i. Aóó mac Fipropcha mic Cuinn bacarí mic Cuinn mic
 Enu mic Eoghain, po aipuríe atharó coribo hírlam lair gaé naróailge po ba
 coirccrohe vo vo bpeith forí an flogíó nuccat, ó & vo pecclamprí a flogí
 ina vochum co lionmair leipíonoilte in hinnirí a nimécta co pangatarí
 tarí Donn. Ro aipurí aeatal ipin maigínirín ag epaeachlorgaó epuche
 bplí & Míre. Luró ílpoim cona flog epua ílprí Míre & epua oiprí

¹ *Lixnaw*.—Ten miles north of Tralee. There are remains of this castle still. In the ancient church close by there is a monument to the 3rd Earl of Kerry.

² *Ardfert*.—Four miles north of Tralee. There is no trace of this castle. Tradition says it was close to the entrance of the demesne of Ardfert Abbey. There are several interesting remains here still.

³ *Ballykealy*.—In the parish of Rathronan and barony of Shanid, Co. Limerick.

⁴ *O'Conor Kerry*.—The territory of this family, Iraghty O'Connor, lay in the north of

Kerry. After this war and that of 1641, it was confiscated, and planted with English settlers. Several of the name achieved distinction in foreign countries. See D'Alton's *Army List*, ii. 325.

⁵ *Carrigfoyle*.—In an island in the Shannon, two miles west of Ballylongford. There is a plan of the castle in *Pac. Hib.*, p. 121.

⁶ *Slieve Luachra*.—A range of mountains on the borders of Kerry, Cork, and Limerick.

⁷ *Clan Auliffe*.—This territory extends

i.e. Lixnaw,¹ Caislen Gearr of Ardfert,² and Ballykealy,³ and they left some of their people to hold them. They went away victorious to give news of them to O'Donnell and FitzMaurice. On the same occasion it happened to O'Connor Kerry,⁴ John, son of Connor, that his dwelling and chief castle, *i.e.*, Carrigfoyle,⁵ was captured by him, which had been more than a year in the possession of the English, and he and the people of his dwelling-place made an alliance with O'Donnell and entered into peace and friendship with him. O'Donnell was for the space of a week in Hy Conaill Gabhra, reducing and harrassing everyone who was in alliance with the English, so that he enjoined upon them obedience and submission and separation and to unite with him and with the Irish in general. After that O'Donnell marched with his forces by the upper part of Slieve Luachra,⁶ by Clann Auliffe,⁷ Muskerry, and the Bandon in the Carberies. There came a great part of the Irish of the whole of Munster, being of one mind, and they entered into friendship and alliance with him for life, and they were glad and their minds rejoiced that he had come to them to make friendship with him, and they promised not to bow down before the English or the strangers, and to help them no more. However, MacCarthy Reagh⁸ *i.e.*, Donnell, son of Cormac na aoine, and the lord of Muskerry, *i.e.*, Cormac,⁹ son of Dermott, son of Tadhg, did not come for peace to him, as the rest had come.

As for O'Neill, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Conn Bacagh, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan, he waited till everything was ready which he needed to bring on the expedition on which they were going, and after his forces assembled to him in their full numbers their marches are not told of till they crossed the Boyne. He remained some time there preying the territory of Bregia and Meath. He then marched with his army through

from the river Alla to the Co. of Limerick. Castle MacAuliffe was near Newmarket.

⁸ *MacCarthy R.* — The father of the famous Florence. His residence was Kibrittain Castle, six miles south of Bandon on an inlet of the sea. See *Life of F. MacCarthy*, p. 3.

⁹ *Cormac*.—His residence was Blarney

Castle. The last of this family who held the estate was Lord Clancarty, who had an important command in the army of James II. Later he was pardoned, and would have been restored to his estates but for the interference of Sir Richard Cox. He died at Hamburg in 1734. See D'Alton's *Army List*, ii. 115.

west Meath and east Munster over the Suir¹ westwards without any remarkable deed worth mention being done by his troops, until they came to the Bandon, where O'Donnell was with his army.

1601.

When the Irish of the north had come together, the plan adopted by them and the Irish of the south (who had joined them) was to make their encampment to the north in Belgooly in Kinelca, a short distance from the Lord Justice's camp. They were for some time in this way face to face with each other, so that the Irish did not allow recourse or resort in or out to the English, and they placed them in intolerable straits and difficulties and in great want of food. The fear they had of the Irish did not allow them to send their mares or horses to the pastures or for grazing outside the walls, so that many of these and numbers of the soldiers also died owing to cold and hunger, having been reduced to the want of grass and water, corn and grain, straw and fuel, and every thing they required, so that they were not able to bury outside the walls the corpses of the soldiers who died, and the entrails of the horses and the corpses of the dead men lay among the living throughout the tents in the midst of them, so that there arose an intolerable stench in consequence of the great blasts of air mounting up which arose throughout the camp from the filth and the dirt of the lower part. It was the idea and opinion of many of themselves that the greater number of them would die if they were let alone without being attacked, owing to the contagion and sickness, and the people who were alive would go away if they could find any means or way of escape at all. Meantime, the Spaniards were in great straits and helplessness, owing to the blockade carried on against them by the Lord Justice with the forces of the English and Irish, and they did not cease asking the Irish to assist them, for they preferred to be killed immediately, though before this they would not endure an affront from their enemies or from anyone else in the world, and their death was imminent through cold and hunger merely. It was not so with the Irish, for they were vigorous and fierce, proud and courageous, not heeding anything, for there was no prohibition for them to take from any place or any quarter far or near plenty of heavy beeves and long-fleeced sheep, and every kind of fresh meat, and every sort of provision, the best that was in Ireland. They were in that state up to the feast of the

fol. 81. a. an tucht rin co feil' gline an tSlaniópa 105u, & mo gabrat fori l'roach na pollamain & an liélaíthe amail mo ba roir na maíthe ima reach as fleavuccaó & os ainfz tuile os aroile as ainfz & as urghairuigsaó mfnman & aiglna, feb no beirtir ina mozhóinaib moihóinaib 7 ina narpopraitib oipeachair fo ólin zeri uo h'hehian úaróib iatp'rohe.

Monúair am ba zari úair na zaipeuba & romfnman vo b'p'cha ór aip'aca ipin liélaíthe rin combatari ina n'zairib tuba & roghairi os t'etari-
peccaió f'ui aroile roib c'ioó íf'ri t'p'ioil íf'ri na melachetnugaó la ambioó-
baóib & an lucht mo batari fo m'uió mfnman i tacha & i t'epice nach p'araió
nor f'ui'p'as zuri bo leo baoi a f'p'olap'etairó & a n'aothain íf'ri tocht roib
aran ccuimang cuimb'each i'ab'etari acap'om an tan rin. Ba ip na laithib
rin vo m'ach'etari lit'pe leip'oiain'ia & agalloim m'cleithe ó Donn Iohn (ó
g'ene'ial na Spainneach rin chinó Sáile) co h'ua Néill co h'ua n'Domhail
& zur na maítib ari élna via a'rlach f'op'io ionn'p'oi'geaó vo éabairt don na
noiróe p'ain'p'eaó fori champa an iur'ir an p'p'et'oen' 7 na m'ar'laó batari
ina f'p'ap'iaó & no foib'liadó'om cona Spainneachair iat' don leiró oile our
an c'eaom'p'as c'eaó'et'ap'inae úaróib eip'oió cona Spainneachair o'f'oi'p'et'om a'rin
ccu'it chumain'g in mo cong'ba'it. Vo deachairó rin o Néill & ó Domhail &
na maíthe vo c'p'uró acco'm'ap'ile imon aig'f'irrin an g'ene'iala.

O Néill t'p'a at'p'li'et'p'roé zur uó haróil'f'p'ce lair na Zail vo f'uaabairt ari
v'ain'g'in'om'ille na m'ui n'v'ain'g'ln n'v'it'hog'laíthe vo peccaim iompa ima
ccuairt íf'ri na p'p'iet'h'ion'ao vo g'onn'ao'ib zuch'ap'ia zop'it'v'oiub'ia'et'iu'cha,
7 at'p'li'et' rin ba f'f'p'ri zan f'ail' zó legeaó ipinó iom'f'uióe cong'abrat fori na
Zallair c'onepl'it'ir vo zop'ia amail oó h'ib'latari ari ail roib élna, 7 co t'p'oi'p'f'ó
in mo' ainf'z'óa roib fori a b'p'ap'ain'p'om 7 com'ap'ice fo deoiró, 7 nar bo ní lair a
nail'g'f'ir vo éabairt via bio'v'baóib roig' mo'baó l'ainne leó c'athuccaó v'arí élnn
an anma 7 am'ap'baó vo ma'it' ol'óár an ecc vo theó'm'aim & zop'it'u. O Dom-
noill imo'p'io ba ri a com'ap'ile na Zail vo f'obairt cip'inv'ur, úair ba haóhná'ri
& ba meab'al lair a éub'a f'p'ur an t'lig'ln an'p'oi'll im'baoi Donn Iohn cona
Spainneachair zan am'm'ur vo éabairt fori a b'p'p'it'ac't via t'p'p'eaó a o'v'eaó

¹ *Hunger*.—‘If Tyrone had lain still and not suffered himself to be drawn to the plain ground by the Spaniards’ importunity, all our horse must of needs have been sent away or starved.’ Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 178.

² *Died already*.—Of the 15,000 troops which the English had at the beginning of the siege, 8,000 had died of cold, hunger, and disease. Of the remainder but 2,000 were English, the rest Irish or Anglo-Irish,

Nativity of the Saviour Jesus, and they proceeded to observe the feasts and the holidays, as was meet, the chief men in turn feasting and rejoicing together in delight and gladness of mind and soul, as if they were in their own great royal castles and in their chief residences, though then they were very far off from them.

Alas ! soon these cries of joy and pleasure, which were raised so loud in those days of festivity, became cries of sorrow and anguish when they were separating from each other after a time, after being defeated by their enemies, and the people who were in sadness of mind, in want and scarcity of every kind of food, found that they had full and plenty after coming out of the narrow prison in which they were put by them at that time. In those days there came mysterious letters and secret communications from Don Juan, the general of the Spaniards in Kinsale, to O'Neill and O'Donnell and the chief men in general, requesting them to make an attack on a certain night precisely on the camp of the Lord Justice, the President, and the Earls who were with them, and that he himself would help them with the Spaniards on the other side, to see if both of them could rescue him and the Spaniards out of the great straits in which they were kept. Wherefore, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the chief men went to take counsel in reference to the wish of the General.

O'Neill then said that he would be slow to attack the English on account of the great strength of the firm, impregnable walls which were all round, filled with loud-sounding, straight-shooting guns, and he said it was better to continue the siege carefully which they had begun against the English till they should die of hunger,¹ as many of them had died ² already, and that would turn out best for their relief and protection in the end, and that he did not wish to gratify his enemies, for they were better pleased to fight for their lives and to be killed immediately than to die of plague and hunger. O'Donnell's opinion, however, was that the English should be attacked somehow, for he felt it a shame and disgrace that the great straits in which Don Juan and the Spaniards were should be witnessed by him without making an attempt to relieve them though it cost him his life ; and besides,

who intended to come over to the Irish camp. A very considerable number of these

had come over already. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 228.

de, & don beór nó béircha Saeiríil ipfoill 7 anuimbigh la Rí na Spanne
 via ffoeintair a mileaóa do beir 1 tteanta 7 in eccumanz occa mbioúbaóab
 zan a bfoirichin feb mo arlaigírlt forpua. Acht élna areaó a cummai mo
 chinnírlt fo deoir an lurtir cona Gallab do ionnpoigead feb mo cuingírlt
 éucá. Ruccpat arf famlaio zur an aóaiú rainieaó in mo hliabá fpuú
 fol. 81. b. ionnpoigead an chamia. Ro gabpat in uirchorach oiróche a moónaóa aíg & a
 tpealína tpuoa co taoitoirílnach & do éotar in innéal 7 in opuccaó amail
 do muonóirceirlt a nairiú & a nuairle, a ccounaig, & a ccomairilíú doib.

Ro ba damna deabéa 7 aóbaí iongaile eiriri na oi apoflaie do mala for
 éenél Conaill & Eoghain ná mo fúdaí ceétarinae aca oiaí oile iemairghaí
 ma aiaill damur 7 ofuabair na nGall la miaó mánman & la boirfaó
 bpuceche gaó neich oioó, ai an oiaí la gaó aon úaioib moibair táí & tapcural
 fair flin & for an ccenél oia mbaoi tma biche oia noamáó ieméur na
 conaire & reougaó na rligíú do rlogh noile ma na rlogh buóein. Ro
 baó loí oia lot & oia laimílleaó oia mbiaath & oia mbaogluáó an
 moúéiacht & an inneclín mo fáí ina ceiróhi fpu aroile tmafan tuuccaie
 hirin, cona baoi ouéiacht deabéa na aigírlt ionnpoigíú na talchairie
 éaiuirie 1 rlogh oioó la néo & ionpormao fpu an rlog náill zur
 bat timme tlaiche mliúbe molaachóa cío ma riu do deachataí iccenn
 móimmoú 7 moirgnioí in gaóaó no in guaraét do ionclaióbeaó fpu nlr-
 ccairioib, go mbo hing na pob eirlín oia mbioúbaóoib an airiú oimblit
 forpua baíl in mo comiaicruut irin cathlachairi. Ba celímaie moí uile
 don oá aóóhirin an do mala doib don chuiriin. Deirbiri ón ní tecomnagairi
 cober no cuttroma atairla an tan rin eatorpua cein batari imbiú, úairi ba
 for aoin innethlín & for aoinmílnmain no bitir do bunao cení beirtir
 ipreacnaicaf aroile, oóig niri bo coimrio zur mo chin ó a mbunaófpiemab
 aiaón oiaí moptari cuirírliaig im aroile oltaatpoin. Ro thochairírlt
 mitchiri fúoa do uirófaé na hoiróe imon fpuothaioaó & imon fpuithimírlain
 do ieccaíú ltorpua. Ro afghaattari na oá fáoirlog & an oá foómaie fo
 deoir airo in airo & gualainn fpu gualoinn fpu aroile con do mala oioib
 reachrián rligíú & imioll inntig cona mo lmairírltari a neolaig conaire

¹ *Straits*.—‘It is strange that the battle being fought within a mile from Kinsale, the Spanish in the town should know nothing of it; yet it is certain they made

no sally till the battle was over, and even then they sallied twice to little purpose.’ Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, i. 443.

² *Dispute*.—See *War of the Gaedhil*, p. 143.

the Irish would be thought little of and contemned by the King of Spain, if they suffered his soldiers to be in hardships and straits¹ from their enemies without being aided as they had requested. But yet this was the agreement which they made in the end; to attack the Lord Justice and the English as they were asked. They separated thus till the night on which they were ordered to attack the camp. They took in the very beginning of the night their weapons of battle and their implements of war silently, and they went in order and array as their chiefs and nobles, their lords and counsellors directed them.

It was a subject of dispute² and a matter of contention between the two principal chiefs who were over the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain that neither of them would allow the other to march in front of him to attack and assail the English owing to the nobility of mind and pride of strength of both, for each one of them thought it a reproach and disparagement to himself and his tribe for ever to allow the first place on the road and the position on the way to the other force before his own. The ill-will and the thoughts which grew up in their hearts towards each other for this reason were full of harm and ruin, of treachery and danger, so that there was not the desire of battle nor anxiety to attack nor the firm obstinacy in their army, owing to the jealousy and envy against the other army, and they were timid, languid, slow, cowardly, even before they entered on the great labour and work in the danger and peril of the close encounter with their enemies, so that it was almost unnecessary for their enemies to employ arms against them where they contended in the battlefield. What happened to the two Hughs then was a great omen of evil to them. With good reason, for never had the like or so much taken place as then between them as long as they lived, for they were of one thought and of one mind always from the beginning, though they were not in each other's presence, for it was not usual that there should spring from their original stock together two more loving towards each other than they. They spent much time in the beginning of the night in the dispute and contention which took place between them. These two noble hosts and the two armies marched at last side by side and shoulder to shoulder together, when they happened to lose their way

fol. 82. a. nach a ԲՈՒՐԻՅ ԲԼԻՃՆԻ ԲՈՐ ԱՆ ԵՐՈՆԱՐԻ ԵԾՈՐԻ ԵՐԱՐ ԲՈ ԵՐԱՐՈՒԱ ԱՆ
 ՃԻԱՆԱՅԻՆՆԻՅ Ե ԶԵՐ ԲՈ ԶԱՐԲՈՐԵՐ ՎՈՐԻՆ ԱՆ ԼՈՆԶՐՈՐԻՄ ԲՈՐ ԱԵԴԱՐՈՐԱԵԸ
 ԱՄՄԱՐ ԵՈ ՐՈԼԱՐԵՄԱԵ ԼԻՐԳԼԻ ԵՐ ՆԱ ԽԱՐԱԵ ԶԱՐ ԿՈ ԶԼԱՆԿԱՅԻՆԵԱԵ ԱՆ ԶՐԱՆ
 ՕՐ ՕՐԵԻՇ ԱՆ ԵԱԼՄԱՆ ԵՄԻՐՈՒԵ ԵՈՆԱԾ ԱՆՆ ԲՈՐ ԲԱՐԱՐԵԸ ԲՈՐԱՐՈՒ ԿԻ ՈՒՆԻԼ
 Ա ԼԵԱԽԵԱՅ ԲՈ ՎԵՐ ԲՐԱ ԵԱՄՔԱ ԱՆ ԽԱՐԻՐ, Ե ՈՒ ԵՐԱԼԼԻԲԱԵ ԲՈՒՅ ԵՆ
 ԵՈ ՈՒ ԲՈՐԻՆ ԼԵՈ ԱՆ ԻՆՆԵԱԼԼ Ե ԱՆ ՕՐԱՐԱԾ ՎՈ ՈՐՈՐԻ ԵՐ ՈՒ ԵՐԼԵՐԵԸ ԱՆ
 ԵԼԵՆԱ ԻՆՆԵԱԼԼ ԻՆ ՈՒ ԻՆՆԻԼԵ ԼԱՐ ԱՆ ԻՈՄՔՈԼԼ 7 ԼԱ ՎՈՐԻՇԱԵԱ ՆԱ ԽՈՐՈՇԵ.

ՎԱԼԱ ԱՆ ԽԱՐԻՐ ԵՈՆԱ ԲՈՐԱՐՈՒ ԵՄԻՐ ԲԱՅԱԾ Ե ԵՄԻՐՈՐ ՎԱ ԲԱՅԻՑ Օ
 ՕՐԱՐԱՐ ԲԱՐԱՐՈՒԵԱԾ Ա ԼՈՆԶՐՈՐԻՄ ՆԱ ԶԱՐՎԵԱԸ ԵՈ ԲՐՈՒԵՐԻՇԱ ԻԱԵ ԱՆ ՎՈՒՅԻՐԻՆ,
 ԵՈՒԲԱՐԻՐՈՒ ԵՈՆԱ ԲԼՈՂԻՆ ԼԻ ԵԱԽԻՐԵՐ ԲՈՒ ՆԱ ԽՈՐՈՇԵ ԵՈ ՈՐԱՐԱՆ ԲՈՐ
 ԱՆ ԵԱՆԱՅԻՆ ԼԻՐԱԵԱ Ե ԲՈՐ ԱՆ ԵԼԻՄԱՅԻՆ ԲԱՅԱԸ 7 ԲՈՐ Ա ԵԱԻՆԻՆ ԵՐՈՒԱ
 ԻՆԱ ՈՐՈՒՆԱԻՆ ԱՅ ԵՈՆԱ ԽԱԼԻՆ ԱՐՈՒՆ ԵԱԽԱՅԻՇԵ Ե ԵՐՈՐԱՆԱ ԻՆՆ ԵՐԼԱՆԻ
 ՕԵԱԻՆ ԵՈՐԱՐ ԲԱԵԱԵԱՐԻ Օ ՈՒՆԻԼ ԵՈՆԱ ԲԼՈՂԻՆ ԲՈՐ ԱՆ ԻՈՆԵԱԻՆ ԲՈՐ ԱՆ
 ԱԵԱՐԻ ԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԻ. ՈՐԻ ՎՈ ԵՐԱՆ ՎՈՐԻՆ ՕԵԱ ՈՐՈՒԵԱՆ ԱՆ ԵԱՆ ԵԱՐԼԱԵՐԵԸ ԵԼԻՇԱ
 ԵՈՒՐԵԱՆԻՄԱ ԵՐԱՐԱՐԻԼԵՐ (ՎԱ ԵՐԱՐՈՒԵԱՅ) Ա ՈՐԱՐՈՒՆԱՅԻՆ ԶԼԱՆԱԼԼԵ
 ԶԵՐԲՈՒՐՈՒԵ Ե Ա ՈՐԱՐԵԸՆ ԻՆՈՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՈՐԱՐՈՒՐԱՐ Ե Ա ԶԼԱՐՈՒՆԱՅ
 ՆԱՅԻՆ ԶԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԶԼԱՐՈՒՆԵ, Ե ՈՒ ԵԼԵՐԵԸ ԲՈՒՆ ԵԵՇ ԵՆԵԼ
 ՎՈՒԲԱՐԵԸ 7 ԻՆԵԼՅԵ ՆԱԼԵ ԵՆ ՈՒՇԱ ԻՆՈ ԲՐԱ. ՈՒ ԵՐԱՐՈՒՐԵԸ
 ԱՐԼՈՒՅ ՎԱՐ ՆԱ ՈՒՐԱԻՆ ԱՄԱՇ ԻՆԱ ԵԸՆՈՒ ՎՈՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՎԱՐԱՐ ԵՈ ԻՈՆԶԱԼԱ
 ՎՈ ՈՐԱՐԼՈՂ ՈՒՐԱՐԱՐ ՈՐԱՐՈՒՐԱՐ ԼԱՐ ԵՐ ԵՐԱՐԱՆ ԶԱՐ ՈՒ ԵՐԱՐԼԵՐԱՐ
 ՎՈՐԻՆ ԼԱԵ ԱՆԵԱԾ ԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՎՈ ԵԼԻՐԱՐԱՐ ԲՈՐ ՈՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՆՈ ԲՐԱ.
 ՈՒ ԼԵՐԱԸ Ա ԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԱՆ ԼԵԱՆԻՄԱՆ ԻԱՐՈՒ, ԵՐ ԵԱ ՎՐԻՆ ԼԵՈ ԶՈՐ ՈՐԱՐ ԵՐԱՐԱՐ
 ՆԱ ԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ Ե ՎԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԱՆ ՎՈՐԱՐԱ ԵԼԻՄԱՐԱՐ ԵԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ
 ԲՈՐ ԱՄԲԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ. ՎԱՐԱՐ ՆԱ ԲԼՈՂ ԵԱԵԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՈՒՐԱՐ ԵՐ ՈՒՐԱՐ ՎԵՐՈՒ
 ԵՈՒՇԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ Ե ԵՈՒ ԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԶԱՐ ՈՒ ՈՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ
 ԵԱՐԱՐԱՐ ՎՈ ՎՈՒ ԼԵՐԱՐ. ԱԽԵ ԵԸՆԱ ՈՒ ՈՐԱՐԱՐ ՎՈ ՎՈՒՐԱՐ ՎՈ
 ԲԵՇ ՈՐԱՐ ԱՆՆԱՐԱՐ ԼԵՈ, ԶԱՐ ՈՒ ԼԱԽԱԵԸԱՐԱՐ ՎՈՆ ԼԱԽԱՐ, ԵՈՆԱՐ ԲՈ
 ԵՈՐԱՐ ՈՒ ԶՈՐԱՐ ԱՆ ԵՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԵՈՒՇԱՐԱՐ ԵՈՒՇԱՐԱՐ ՎՈ ՎՈՒՆԱԼԼ
 ՎՈ ՈՐԱՐԱՐ ԱԼԼ ԱՆԱՐ ՎՈՐԻՆ ԶԱՆ ՈՐԱՐԱՐ ԵՈ ԼԱԽԱՐ ԱՆՈՐԱՐԱՐԱՐ ԵՐԱՐ.
 Օ ՎՈ

¹Warning.—‘23rd December, information was given by one of the chief commanders in Tyrone’s army having some obligations to the Lord President, who sent a messenger to him for a bottle of usquebagh, and by a letter wished him that the English

army should that night be well on their guard, for Tyrone meant to give upon one camp and the Spaniards upon the other, meaning to spare no man’s life but the Lord Deputy’s and his.’ Moryson, *Rebellion*, p. 176.

and to go astray, so that their guides and leaders of the way could not bring them to the right road, though the November night was very long and though the camp on which they made the attack was very near them, till the time of sunrise on the next day, so that the sun was shining brightly on the face of the solid earth when O'Neill's forces found their own division at the Lord Justice's camp, and they tried to go a short distance that they might regain their ranks and good order, for they had left their first order in which they were arranged owing to the mistake and the darkness of the night.

As for the Lord Justice and his army, there had come to him warning¹ and foreknowledge from certain persons² who were in the camp of the Irish that they would be attacked that night, so that he and his forces were watching throughout the night till morning in chosen spots and gaps of danger and on the war battlements with their war accoutrements, with all their implements of battle and defence in readiness, when O'Neill and his forces came opposite them for the purpose we have said. They had not long to meditate when they poured on them a strong shower of globular balls (to entertain them) from their great cannons with polished barrels, and from their straight-firing, costly muskets, and from their sharp-aiming, beautiful lock-guns, and they fired down on them every other kind of shot and missile besides. Then the nimble troops burst out over the walls to lead on the active, steady cavalry, to whom the order had not been given for a long time before up to that to make a trial of the speed of their high-galloping horses on the plain. They allowed their foot to follow after, for they were certain that the flame of the spherical balls and the fierce attack of the troops would make destructive gaps in front of them among their enemies. The armies on both sides were pell-mell in consequence, maiming and wounding each other, so that many were slain on both sides. But yet in the end O'Neill's forces were defeated, an unusual thing with them, and they hastened away from the place, and their haste made them take the road confusedly to meet O'Donnell's forces, who happened to be to the east of them and had not yet come to the field

1601.

²*Persons*.—The author of *Pac. Hib.* says the information was given by Brian Mac-Mahon, a principal commander in the Irish

army, who had been present at the council when the plan of attack was agreed on, to Captain William Taffe. p. 414.

fol. Sz. b.

riúachtatopí an ríraonrluađ rín uí Néill & rochmaroe an Iurair ma leanmáin
 oce a lúachéuairigam íarí na ceulaib 1 mífce muintiríe uí Dhoimnáill noí
 geb uomaille & anbhairíe an ócebaó fúarđarí 7 ríurđén a nđírlíoa, & gemaó
 cothugaó na caélaríuríg buó uuthíachíe leó & mo oleachíe uioó m
 chaomnagađatopí, úairí naí bo tol íar an coomroó corceuir uo bhlíe uoib
 uon éurí rín, & na mo toltanaíđrlíe aréua uo mo éall Día forí an ua
 éaoimchenél ceopaóaca crioóa rín na pagbala ríora ríaoónacha & na
 búaoíha bhuoghmaría buanmaríeanna forímađaíb naomí Pađđmaícc (oia mboi
 ađ blínnachtam Erienn ríora mna maca 7 mđlna) forí na uib bhíachíuíb
 oírlđíoa ađmaría & forí a clannmaíene oia néir .i. forí Conall gíoinnmírlí
 Gulban & forí Eoghán ađmárlí oímaíđteac. Írlíe na pagbala .i. buaró naíđ
 7 ionnroígríó forí Eogan, buaró coorccairí & cođaíđe cathlaíđreach
 forí Conall, arí a aoí ríma mo rímaíatrlíe na ríachénéla a rípagbala
 aríeatchíra đurí mo chíomíreacuíatrlíe an oí rođmaíatrlíe mo aenfaball ma
 rílóđaíb an Iurair, & mo maríbatrlíe & mo muóaíđíe rođmaíe uaríuíb.

Somí muintirí an Iurair íarí mbuaró coorccairí & íarí melacétnugaó
 a mbíuóbaó amílarí rín an tan ar lúga mo ríaoírlíe. Ba pollur an amfen
 forí cenél Conall & forí cenél Eoghán míc Néill írín laíe rín m ríoba
 techta uoib & m baó mo moí baoí úaríuíb forí chalma uo óenoím (ó mo
 ríeacuíatrlíe an ua chíomíchenél chíomímaíaca rín ríu arí oíle ađ an Ríđ Níall
 *rítheach naoríallíaríđ) an tan na taríorac oia nuíó cathuiceaó rírlíeíuach
 ríonairíe uiochíra uíreíoríeac uo óenoím uo chíornamí a nílrlí, a natchíroa, 7
 a nanma, uo chíornamí a neimíđ a núairíe 7 a noírlíuórlíeacuí, co bháicebárlíe a
 rílaíthe forí ríóuab ríaoínlíge, gomba ríreégonra a ríreíoin, gomba ríaoírlíe
 chírlíghíraíđíe a ríeaoírlíge, gomba enamíachchuméa a ceuíarí, gomba muóaíđíe
 the a míleaóa cíu ma ríu mo melacétnaíđíe ón muórlín ní na má ríraónaírlí
 a mbíuóbaó batarí ma coomírlíe ríarí, acé abríeacnaíeuir na loingreac &
 na noírlíeacé eéarírlíeíneorí uon angatárlí forí aríaríamí & comárlíe
 ríeérlíe maím írlí na natcheuirí & íarí na mionnaríbaó arí a rírlíuíb & arí a
 ríreabárlíe conríeírlíeíneíatrlíe írlíeíamí bhlíđ mblíđ uona harírlíeírlíeírlíe & uona
 haríreacharíb ríobtarí uoírlíe uoírlíe & ríobtarí coíll ríreacarí uoib đo rín,
 đo mo beanríat ceíll oia coobairí & oia ríeírlíeírlíeírlíeírlíe a rírlíeacé co

¹ Battle.—An account of this fight by Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, is given in the

Trevelyan Papers, published by the Camden Society in 1862.

of battle.¹ When these defeated forces of O'Neill and the troops of the Lord Justice's army in haste behind them came into the midst of O'Donnell's people, wavering and unsteadiness seized on the soldiers, and fright and terror on their horses, and though it was urgent on them to remain on the field of battle and it was their duty, they could not, for it was not the will of the Lord to give victory to them then, and they did not follow the rules which God marked out for the two noble, clever, warlike tribes, the true, lasting gifts, and the firm, long-enduring victories which St. Patrick² (when blessing Erin, its men, youths, and maidens) left to the two famous, warlike brothers and to their posterity after them, *i.e.*, to the glorious Conall Gulban and to Eoghan the warlike and aggressive. These were their gifts, victory and vigour in attack to Eoghan, victory in battle and valour in the field to Conall; yet the famous races forgot their gifts on that occasion, so that the two hosts were defeated together by the forces of the Lord Justice, and many of them were slain and slaughtered.

1601.

The Lord Justice's forces returned after the victory in battle and the defeat of their enemies when they least hoped for it. Ill-luck was evidently with the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain MicNeill on those days when it was their duty and they needed most to act bravely (since these two noble stocks separated from each other in the time of Niall, the warlike, of the Nine Hostages), when they did not resolve to fight bravely, courageously zealously, mercilessly in defence of their faith, fatherland, and lives, in defence of their hospitality, nobility, and splendour, so that their princes were left lying on the earth, their champions wounded, their chiefs pierced through, their heroes had their bones hewn, their soldiers were massacred, though before this they were not defeated in this way, not only in presence of their enemies who were looking on, but in presence of the banished and exiles of foreign race who came for safety and protection to them before this after they were expelled and banished from their territories and dwellings, and soon they made little account of the princes and of the chiefs who were trees of shelter and woods of refuge for them up to that, and they gave up all hope of help from them to the end of the world.

² *St. Patrick*.—The blessings which the Saint promised to the posterity of Conall will be found in Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 192; and to that of Eoghan, *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Yet, though there fell but so small a number¹ of the Irish in that battle of Kinsale that they would not perceive their absence after a time, and moreover, that they did not perceive it themselves then, yet there was not lost in one battle fought in the latter times in Ireland so much as was lost then.

1601.

There was lost there first that one island² which was the richest and most productive, the heat and cold of which were more temperate than in the greater part of Europe, in which there was much honey and corn and fish, many rivers, cataracts, and waterfalls, in which were calm, productive harbours, qualities which the first man of the race of Gaedhel Glas, son of Niall, who came to Ireland beheld in it, *i.e.*, Ith,³ son of Breogan, in opposition to the last kings who were of the Tuatha de Danaan over Ireland. There were lost, too, those who escaped from it of the free generous, noble-born descendants of the sons of Milesius and of the prosperous, impetuous chiefs, of the lords of territories and tribes, and of the chieftains of districts and cantreds, for it is absolutely certain that there were never in Erin at any time together people who were better and more famous than the chiefs who were there, and died afterwards in other countries one after the other, after being robbed⁴ of their fatherland and of their noble possessions, which they left to their enemies on that plain. There were lost besides nobility and honour, generosity and great deeds, hospitality and goodness, courtesy and noble birth, polish and bravery, strength and courage, valour and constancy, the authority and sovereignty of the Irish of Erin to the end of time.

When the forces of the Lord Justice went away with the joy of victory and glory, as we have said, the Irish retreated westwards to Inishannon that night, and they set to consult hastily, hurriedly, blaming and reproaching each other. Some of them said that they ought to resume once more the siege of the Lord Justice's camp and not raise it at all on account

⁴ *Robbed*.—MacFirbis wrote sixty years after: 'It is no doubt a worldly lesson to consider how the Gaels were at that time conquering the counties far and near, and that not one hundred of the Irish nobles at this day possesses as much of his land as he could be buried in, though they expect it

in this year.' *Tribes, &c. of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 321. How cruelly they were disappointed, even those who had served the King most faithfully at home and abroad may be learned from Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, London, 1870. The spoliation was completed after the war of 1688.

[illegible]

1602.

Ba ri aiple aghnocht la húa nDoimnaill iapran tuisa d'fhuaimi imbó. Epe vo fagbail & tuis dón Spáinn vo acaoine a mnaíó fup an Rí an 3. Philip vo chuigfó fuillíó flocch & roémaro úaíóib. O mo chinníom fop an comáiple hupin batapí íó vo maégoim in a choimééct vo tuis fop an eachtra pin (cennóááct oíong oia thapupíó fepín) Remann ábuic mac Seáan na Seapapí, & captin Áoth Mopí mac Roibepíó. Iapí ccolipteéct na ccomáiple pin la cách hí ccoiténne mo bató loí vo tpuáighe & vo nemíeile, an laimchomáipí aipfóil & an gólmáipígneach gíopupilam & an nuallgúba apoccaoinéac mo tpuigbat op apí reachnón longpupit úí Doimnaill an áóáig ma niméacéct óó. Ro báoi a mopíóamna aca oia fflírtapí é an tan pin, úapí ní mo fíllíóct an luéct pin fopmaíóib in a óeasharo

¹ *Siege*.—The Spaniards, numbering about 3,500, surrendered January 12. The Articles of surrender are given in Moryson's *Rebellion*, p. 184. On the 20th, 20 Spanish captains and 1,374 common soldiers set sail for Spain. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

² *The plan*.—The Four Masters say, ‘he came to this resolution by the advice of O’Neill, who, however, gave it to him with reluctance.’ vi. 229I.

³ *Faithful people*.—Besides Mulchonry (See Introd., p. cxlix. antea), he had with

of those of their people who had fallen, and that their implements of war would not be wanting to them, for there was plenty of materials of war scattered about, if fate and good-luck favoured them. Other parties said that it was best that each chief and each lord of a district should return to his own native place and protect it against the English as long as he could, O'Donnell, however, said he would not go back to his own country, and he would not continue longer at the siege,¹ and he promised in presence of the chiefs of the men of Erin who were there, that he would not go a step in the fight or in the battle to fight any battle with the Irish alone, and especially in the company of the party which was first defeated then, for rage and anger had seized on his soul, and he would have been pleased if he was the first who was slain on that field before he witnessed that calamity which the Irish met. His people were greatly afraid that he would bring on his death, through the suffering which he endured, and he did not sleep or rest for three days and three nights after. It was on the 3rd of January, 1602, the defeat of Kinsale took place.

1601.

1602.

The plan² which occurred to Hugh O'Donnell in his great grief was, to leave Ireland and to go to Spain to complain of his distress to King Philip III. and to ask for more forces and soldiers. When he had determined on this plan, those whom he chose to accompany him on that voyage (in addition to a number of his own faithful people)³ were Redmond Burke, son of John na Seamar, and Captain Hugh Moss,⁴ son of Robert. When this resolution became known to all publicly, the great clapping of hands, and the violent lamentations, and the loud wailing cries which arose throughout O'Donnell's camp the night before he went away were pitiful and saddening, and there was good reason if they knew it at the time, for

1602.

him F. Maurice Ultach (Dunlevy), 'a poor friar of the Order of St. Francis from the convent of Donegal.' *Annals F. M.*, vi. 2191.

⁴ *Moss*.—Probably Hugh Mostian, whom Moryson calls 'a famous rebel.' *Rebellion*, p. 181. O'Sullivan says he was the son of

an English father and an Irish mother. He and his brother had been in the English service, and had taken part in an engagement near Ballina against Mac-William on his way to join O'Donnell. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 169.

via púilíḃ é ó rín alle, & tiamadó veimín leó mórín nír bo machtnadó dóib
 tpmóḃeja epó vo rínóe rectairi vair a nḡmuadóib.

Do ḡeachadó ílpmí ó Domhnall ílluing hī cúan an Cairleín cona
 chaoimḡeáctoib imaille ruir an 6. la Ianuairi, & po vof mo ḡluair tinféḃ na
 céḡḡaoithe vof panaice tmaran bḡairiḡe rḡmaochaiḡmíel, ḡo mo ḡabrat
 caladópoit an 14. la von mír clctna hī comḡocraib von Cpuinne. Dúnaíar
 epólic eipróe i muḡhacht na ḡailirí rín Spáinn. Ba hainniróe baol toí
 bḡeogham via nḡairi bḡḡantia mo cumḡacht féct maíḃ la bḡeogán
 mac bḡaḡa, & ba hainniróe tanḡatarí mic mīleaó Eḡppame mic bīle
 mic bḡeogán vo céḡḡabail Eḡenn for Thuathailḃ ve óanann. Ó vo
 muacht ó Domhnall i tír rín Cpuinne ḡebadó for tairteal 7 tadóall an
 baile & vo thaoḡ vo veḡḡain tuir bḡeogham. Do blḡit comḡoíóḡadó
 móí ófoim mochtain hī tír an dúrín, ar ba vóíḡ lair ḡur uó celmaine
 móímaithiura vo athochair ḡur an maíḡín ar mo ḡabrat a ínnirí neairt &
 cumḡachta for Eḡunn fécht maíḃ, 7 no ḡebadófoim vo mḡóirí for a luirḡ. Iar
 mbeirḡ athair mbicc occ leccḡó a rḡíirí rín Cpuinne vo choirḡ co hairm
 imbaol an Rí rín Cairtilla, ar ba hann vo pála vó abliḡ an tan rín (íar
 taimcealléadó a ílaidiura) rín cathmaíḡ vianao ainm Samóia, & ó vo
 ḡeachadó ó Domhnall i maíḡairí an Ríḡ vof melic for a ḡluimḃ ina
 rḡeacnaíre & von ḡuirḡ a éloia hitche rairí. Ba rḡó an clḡona haḡchuingḡó
 arimail vo éorí lair co hEḡiunn cona cconḡaib comadóair & cona naíóimḃ
 teḡta. An athchuingḡó thanaíirí ḡan aóim neach vo raoríclanvóib Eḡunvo
 ce mī beirḡ via úairle vo choí i nḡíre nach hī ceumáḡtaib úara, na van úar
 píoí a ionairḡ tma bīḡu vianḡabaó moíróacht an Ríḡ nḡíre & clḡunur for
 Eḡunn. An tḡíḡ itche ḡan clḡit a ínniríorí vo laḡhḡuḡadó no vuirḡblḡmaó
 rairí fein no forḡan tí no bīadó ina ionadó vīarḡ mī vīarḡ mī ḡac maíḡlín i
 tairiurairí nḡíre & cumáḡta ó élin aca inn Eḡunn maran tan rín. Do
 muḡeall an Rí vó mórín uile & po forḡonḡairí rairí eḡiḡe vía ḡluimḃ &
 for rúairí maíḡḡaḡh & airimḡctin moíirí úarḡha conadó ar imḡéctain nach
 rḡúairí aoin neach vo ḡaíóealaib maíḃ ó naḡ Ríḡ naile coibḡir no cutḡoma

fol. 84. a.

¹ *Ship*.—The 28th of December intelligence was brought to the Lord Deputy, that Pedro Zubiaur was lately landed at Castlehaven, and hearing of Tyrone's overthrow he made no stay, but set sail for Spain,

taking O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, and Hugh Mostian with him.' *Pac. Hib.*, p 424.

² *Castlehaven*.—A village five miles south-west of Skibbereen. The castle from which it has its name is standing still.

those whom he left behind never again set eyes on him, and if they were aware of that, it is no wonder that large tears of blood should flow down their cheeks.

O'Donnell and his companions then went on board a ship¹ at Castlehaven,² the sixth of January, and when the first breeze of wind came, they crossed the boisterous ocean. They landed, the 14th of the same month, near Corunna. This was a famous fortress in the kingdom of Galicia in Spain. Breogan's tower,³ called Brigantia, was there. It had been built long before by Breogan, son of Bratha, and it was from that place that the sons of Milesius, son of Bratha, son of Breogan, had first come to take Ireland from the Tuatha de Danaan. When O'Donnell landed at Corunna, he went to visit and view the town and to see Breogan's tower. It gave him much satisfaction to land there, for he thought it a great omen of success that he should have come to the place from which his ancestors had obtained sway and power over Ireland formerly, and that he should have returned on their footsteps. After remaining a short time at Corunna to get rid of his fatigue, he went to the place where the King was, for just then, after making a circuit of his kingdom, he happened to be in the city called Zamora.⁴ When O'Donnell came into the King's presence, he went on his knees before him and made his three requests of him. His first petition was that an army should be sent with him to Ireland with suitable engines and with the necessary arms. The second petition was that he would not place any of the nobles of Ireland, unless he was of his own nobility, in power or authority over him, or over his successor so long as they lived, if the King obtained power and sovereignty over Ireland. The third request was that he should not lessen or impair the rights of his ancestors as regards himself or whosoever should succeed him in any place where their power and sway existed long before that time in Ireland. The King promised him all this, and bade him rise from his knees, and he received entertainment and great respect from him, so that I think no one of the Irish ever before received so much and so great respect and

³ *Tower*.—A detailed description of it will be found in *The Ancient Lighthouse of Corunna*, by Rev. Dr. Todd, Dublin, n. d.

It is mentioned also in Wilde's *Voyage to Madeira*, I. 13; Dublin, 1840.

⁴ *Zamora*—55 miles west of Valladolid.

[illegible]

fol. 84. b. do fionnrao íarí ccaoi a cionao & tuigabál, íarí naitéighe díochra ina
peacthoib & doairleib, ílfi ttabairé a choibfín gan dílochta oia anm-
chairoib ppiopacta, íarí ccaitlín cuip CRIST & a fola & íarí na ongaó
aimail no ba techta al lamairb a anmchairob & a fpuithlío ecclaiptaóda
buó óein no bioth in a chaoimtheacht do grier co halt na húaire pín. Ba
hírin ticch baol ag Ríú na Spáinne foóein ipín mbairle pín Simancai at
bathróm. Ruccaó oan a éopp go Ualladolro (go cuip an Ríú) hí ceith-

¹ *Waiting*.—Much of what is set down here is taken almost word for word from this work by the Four Masters and inserted in their *Annals*, vi. 2291.

² *Prepared*.—We have given in the Introduction, p. cxlviii, O'Donnell's letter to the King, asking permission to go to the Court in order to make known his wishes

and his wants. From the language of it he would seem to have but little hope of aid from Spain just then. A facsimile of his letter will be found on the opposite page.

³ *Simancas*.—See *Introd.*, p. cxlx. It is ten miles to the south-west of Valladolid. This palace was given by the Admiral of Castile, Don Alfonso Enriquez, to the

honour from any other King as he received. With good reason, for his appearance, his fame, and his eloquence, the extent of his wrongs, and his lordly language impressed him much. The King bade O'Donnell return to Corunna, and wait there until everything which he wanted to take with him on his return should be ready. He did so, and remained at rest there, an unusual thing with him until then, during the spring and summer up to the beginning of the following harvest, one time in delight and joy when he thought of the aid and help which the King promised him, at another sad and sorrowful at the length of time he was away from his native land and the great delay in the departure of the army promised to him, for he felt anguish of heart and sickness of mind when he reflected on the state in which the Irish were, without aid or help, while waiting¹ for him

He was in this condition until he prepared² to go into the King's presence again in order to learn the cause of the delay and procrastination about the troops and the army promised to him. When he came to the town called Simancas³ (two leagues from Valladolid, the King's palace) God permitted, and the ill-luck and misfortune, the wretchedness and the curse attending the island of Eremon and the Irish of fair Fodla too, would have it that O'Donnell should catch his death-sickness and his mortal illness. He was for sixteen days on his bed of sickness. At last he died at the end of that time, the tenth day of September exactly, lamenting his faults and transgressions, after rigid penance for his sins and iniquities, having made his confession without reserve to his spiritual confessor, and receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, and being duly anointed by the hands of his confessor and his ecclesiastical elders, who were in his company always up to that time. It was in the palace of the King of Spain himself in the town of Simancas he died. His body was then taken to Valladolid, to the

Crown, in 1480. It was enlarged in 1540 by the famous architect Herrera, and made the depository of the State Archives by Charles V. It continues to serve the same purpose still. See Sanchez's *Guía de la Villa y Archivo de Simancas*, p. 13; Madrid,

1885. Señor Sanchez has been for many years the chief official in charge of the archives. We take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to him and the other officials of Simancas for their very great courtesy to us during our visit.

uinnad cumdachta co noiongaib úinne do Stata, do comairle, & do
 gairid an Rí ina uiréiméall go lochmanraib laimnaib & co fupalluib
 folurtaib do éirí caomálainn ar comlaraí ina ioméadhang da gac leir
 dé. Ro haónacht ílloim i manrtir S. Fianrfeir irin chairtíl do ionnuaí
 go miasad móionoraich ionnur ar airmuóige mo haónacht gairdeal maí.
 Ro ceileabuaí oifrieno & hymna iomra claircail & cantaise ceolbinne
 do maí & anma & mo gairdeal & éccairic aiaí moabá oíor.

Monúair tría mo baí liach do rochairib muich fíchea an tí clícta ann
 rin, ar nui bó hogrlan a gmochara bhaí an tan acbath. Ba hé iríre
 ceann coimne & comairle, athcomairic a iomagalma hímóir gairdeil Eireann
 cío fíu ríó cío fíu coceab. Tiglína cóthachtaí táirbclitach co fíor-
 maltaí fíla & co noluéugad meachta. Leo ar neir & chumáda go
 tomairéim 7 co fíorppaíe móir, co ná laméa uiréaraí & brieíre, ar ba
 hliglín cecir ní no fíoriongaí do óenóm fairí rochettoir. Colum ar
 clíra & aigíne fíu neimlé eccairí & ealaían, & fíu gac náon ná
 fíuóaraí fíu. Fíu mo óing a óian & a uiríla fíu chach i cclín &
 inocur & fíu náir la nach naon imíla itir. Fíu vóchuiríche vóirícaí,
 muraíche míiríleá, moiríla mác mbeathaí & maíá mác mbair. Féar
 na mo leir & fairínoceí na a iomfíoraí, a óubairí na a óimíá gán a
 aithe & gán a óioghaí fo óetóir. Imeachtraí aonuirí ainnur aonána
 na noirí. Airceóóir coceíach cpeachach coingíleacach na coirícoí.
 Óioirícaíleach gál & gairdeal do neoch batarí ina aíar, féar na mo
 leir óe gán óenóm gac neir mo ba coirícoí do fílaí do gíom an cclín
 mo máir. Buaball bíonngíoraí co mbuaí ninní 7 nílábíra, ceille 7
 comairle co tairíóirí fíreí ina óreí & tarla gac aon acurí. Tairíng-
 lítaí toghaíre mo meiríclíchaíat fáíre ní chían ma na gíneamain.

fol. 85. a.

¹ *Court*.—Valladolid was the principal residence of the Spanish sovereign until Philip II. built the Escorial, in a situation more fitted for a Carthusian monastery than for a royal palace. The Palace in which Charles V. lived and Philip II. was born is still standing.

² *St. Francis*.—Besides the fact of Conry the Franciscan's constant attendance at

the bedside of O'Donnell, another proof of O'Donnell's affection for the members of this Order, which has rendered such great services to religion in this country, will be found in the Franciscan Convent of Valladolid being chosen as his burial place. See *Introd.*, p. clii., *antea*.

³ *First sight*.—O'Mooney, who most probably had a personal knowledge of Hugh

King's Court,¹ in a four-wheeled hearse, with great numbers of State officers, of the Council, and of the royal guard all round it, with blazing torches and bright flambeaux of beautiful waxlights blazing all round on each side of it. He was buried after that in the chapter of the monastery of St. Francis² with great honour and respect and in the most solemn manner any Gael ever before had been interred. Masses, and many hymns, chants, and sweet canticles were offered for the welfare of his soul, and his requiem was celebrated as was fitting.

Alas! the early eclipse of him who died there was a cause of sorrow to many, for he had not yet completed his thirtieth year when he died. He was the head of council and advice, of counsel and consultations of the greater number of the Gaels of Ireland both in peace and in war. He was a mighty, bountiful lord, who upheld good government and enforced the law, a lion in strength and force, with determination and power of character so that it was not allowed to contradict his word, for what he ordered to be done should be done on the spot, a dove in meekness and gentleness towards those in dignity of the clergy, and the learned, and every one who did not oppose him. A man who impressed fear and great dread of him in everyone far and near, and who had no dread of anyone, a man who drove out rebels, destroyed robbers, exalted the sons of life, and executed the sons of death. A man who suffered neither wrong nor defeat, contempt nor insult, without being avenged and atoned for immediately, a determined, fierce, and bold invader of districts, a warlike, predatory, aggressive plunderer of others' territories, a destroyer of any of the English and Irish that offended him, a man who never omitted to do what was right for a prince to do so long as he lived, a sweet-sounding trumpet, with power of speech and eloquence, sense and counsel, with a look of amiability in his face which struck everyone at first sight,³ a prophesied chosen one whom the prophets foretold long before his birth.

Roe, describes him as being of middle height, ruddy, of comely face, and beautiful to behold. His voice was like the music of a silver trumpet. His morals were unimpeachable. *Flight of the Earls*, p.

149, n. The Four Masters say the look of amiability on his countenance captivated everyone who beheld him, vi. 229. Both O Clery and the Four Masters speak of his great powers of command.

Pitiful, indeed, was the state of the Gaels of Erin after the death of the great prince, for their characteristics and dispositions were changed. They exchanged their bravery for cowardice, their courage for weakness, their pride for servility. Their success, valour, prowess, heroism, exultation, triumphs, and military glory vanished after his death. They gave up all hope of relief from any one, so that the greater part of them were forced to seek a refuge among strangers and enemies, under pretence of peace and friendship. And some of them were dispersed¹ and scattered not only throughout Ireland but throughout Europe universally in troops and bands, poor and miserable, engaging themselves in the service of other countries for pay and hire, so that many of them were killed and others of them died, and the graves in which they are buried are unknown. But, however, it would be tedious for me to relate the great woes which sprung up and took root in the island of Ugaine in consequence of the death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, of whom we have spoken hitherto.

FINIS.

diers maintained for service in Flanders, aventurados, soldiers receiving ordinary pay, poor people in this city, students, Irish widows, young girls, those who are receiving a pension. There are in all about 230 names in this list. The names are nearly all those of southern families, O'Sullivan, O'Driscoll,

MacCarthy. After several there is a short account of their former condition in life. It is signed Florence Conry, who evidently employed his influence at the Court to obtain some way of living for these poor Irish exiles from the king and the royal officials.



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