# On the Levies in Somerset for service in Ireland, 1563–1583.

BY EMANUEL GREEN, *(Hon. Sec.)*

TOWARDS the end of February, 1558, one Sorley Boy (*i.e.*, Red man) Mc Donnell, "being merry wt drynk" in the good town of Carickfergus, "after soper began to tawlk, and sayd playnly, yt Inglysch men had no ryght too Yrland." "Yn effeckt," says the writer quoted, "these very wordes he spak."[1] What good liquor washed down this sentiment is not recorded, but we are told that the Sorley Boy was "of the Skotts that dwellithe in the northe by the see side, which ar now naturall Yryshemen, a pypull whose natture ys, they wyll spek what ys in ther hartes when the drynk ys in ther heddes."

For some time before this date the English interests in Ireland had been so carelessly managed, the English power had been allowed to decline so much, that the old Irish independent system of government by clans or septs had revived. The district known as the English Pale was alone held by England, and even within it the Irish were "wery and yrk" of us. At this time the Pale was so small that it extended only from Dundalk in the north to a little below Dublin, about fifty miles in length, and inland by Dublin about ten miles in breadth. The English planted within it, constantly on the defensive, were often attacked, their cattle stolen, and sometimes man woman and child put to the sword and everything burned even to the gates of Dublin. In return the country without was as often visited, although defended as it was by woods, moors, and bogs, it was very strong and difficult to subdue. But the Irish tribes among themselves were seldom

(1). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 2, p. 13.

quiet. There was often war between the father and the son, and in one such case the father had previously banished his father, after long fighting and wasting their district. In England the Irish were not considered "chrystians, cyvell or humane creatures," but heathens or rather "savage brute beastes." When they "ryse in the morning," wrote one, "they shake their eares and goe their wayes." Such was the wretched state of the country in the reign of Mary that a man may have ridden south, west, or north, twenty or forty miles and see neither "house, corne, ne cattell." [2]

So stood affairs on the accession of Elizabeth, when the papers and documents soon show that a stronger will was somewhere at work directing affairs. Attention was early given to the government of Ireland, and consideration as to how that country could be brought to peace and quiet.[3] With various plans under review, the Queen was for a long time reluctant to believe the frequent "odious rumours" of an intended invasion by France, Scotland, and Spain; but the intrigues of the papists at home, and the success of the Spanish arms in Flanders, caused her at last to listen to these reports, and showed her that she must think of her own and the nation's security.

Care was at once taken to have all defences in an efficient state. The Earl of Pembroke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somerset,[4] and a muster ordered of the whole force of the county. The certificate returned by Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Maurice Barkley, Sir Ralfe Hopton, and John Horner, Esq., showed the whole number "of all able men within the said countie, as well horsemen as fotemen, with their armour and weapons," as being 6000; viz.,

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Light Horsemen | ... | ... | ... | 100 |
| Footmen | ... | ... | ... | 200 |

(2). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 2, p. 45.
(3). *State Papers*, Eliz., vol. 1, p. 84.
(4). *State Papers*, 1559, vol. 4, p. 29.

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| Archers ... ... ... ... | 1000 |
| Pikemen, with corslets ... ... ... | 500 |
| Pikemen, with "almayne ryvetts"[5] ... | 1500 |
| Billmen ... ... ... ... | 2700[6] |

Meantime a rebellion had commenced in Ireland under Shane O'Neil, who was quickly joined by other chieftains. Shane, who was a model of his class, a gentleman "given to use a superflewte of wyne," was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, and re-inforcements asked for, as "yf Shane be overthrowen all is settled, yf Shane settell, all is overthrowen."[7] An additional force of 500 footmen and 100 horsemen was sent off, 60 men being levied in Somerset, and the Mayor of Bristol ordered to aid in their embarkation.[8] These men were "to be employed for two or three months at the farthest," but it was announced that if any were disposed to "inhabit our said Realm, and to "abide with a good will," there was "sufficient room for a number to be wealthy placed there," and provision could be made for them.[9] This extra force sufficed, as Shane, after being hunted and driven about from wood to wood, and having lost 5,000 kine, was induced to go to London, where he humbly tendered his submission in January, 1562.

At this time, when the management, payment, and welfare of the soldiers was so much in the hands of the captains, peculation was constant, both with regard to the pay of the men, and also in the quality and quantity of the supplies. To remedy some disorders of this sort, "for executing divers things," two Commissioners, one of whom was Sir Thomas Wroth, were now sent over to Ireland. They were ordered to take the musters of the garrisons; to enquire into and remedy any disorders therein; to allow no more Irish soldiers in

(5). A new kind of corslet.
(6). *State Papers*, vol. 55.
(7). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 4, p. 37.
(8). April 14, 1561. *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 3, p. 54.
(9). *State Papers*, Eliz. Dom. vol. 93, p. 18.

any band than had been accustomed, five or six at the most, and to see that the captains did not make false demands and charge for soldiers not in service.[10] Sir Thomas seems to have taken a prominent part in this work, being always present at every council meeting, and alone devised and penned all directions, orders, letters, and warrants of the commission. He however, soon found his efforts were not approved, and his position very uncomfortable. Writing on the 1st July, 1564, he says, "The whole pack would willingly get rid of me. Uprightness is not sought. All is counted well gotten that is got from the Queen."[11] At last, tired of his office, he asked to be allowed to return, and in November, when acknowledging his letters of recall, he added, "I will make good speed to come home."[12]

Whilst Shane was in London he was known to have daily converse with the Spanish Ambassador, and on his return to Ireland it was soon seen that it would be impossible for him to remain humiliated. He first showed his restlessness by attacking and defeating the Scots in the north, and then confederating with them against the English. On being questioned by the Lord Deputy he replied that he had won what he had by the sword and intended to hold it by the sword.[13] Foreseeing that this answer would bring war upon him, he endeavoured to make the dispute a religious one, and wrote to the French King asking for 5000 or 6000 men, and he would expel the English from Ireland.[14] Preparations were quickly made to subdue him; a thousand men were ordered to be equipped and put in readiness; victual was ordered to be provided at Bristol for 600 soldiers for twenty-one days,[15] whilst from the same port were sent off all sorts of war material,

(10). *State Papers*, Irish, 1563, vol. 9, p. 45.
(11). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 11, p. 18.
(12). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 11, pp. 101, 102.
(13). *State Papers*, Irish, 1566, vol. 16, p. 33.
(14). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 17, p. 34.
(15). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 18, p. 22.

including grindstones, and, what is of some interest heraldically, casting galtropes in barrels.[16] The Sheriff of Somerset was required to levy two hundred men, "with as small trouble and stirring of our people as you may," their coats to be of Blois cloth, guarded with yellow. In 1580 this uniform was altered, when the coats were to be no longer red or blue, but of some "dark or sadd colour, as russett or such like.[17] There were to be ten artificers per hundred, including one miner;[18] and two surgeons, "being men of skyll," were to be "prested from London or elsewhere," all to be ready to march at a day's warning.[19] Seven hundred good soldiers were thus gathered at Bristol, 200 from Somerset, 200 from Devon, 200 from Gloucester, and 100 from London, and Edward Randolph was appointed their "Coronell," with orders to make all haste to the north of Ireland.[20] Contrary winds detained him some days, but eventually he sailed on the 6th September, 1566, his troops being in excellent condition, and in due time, without mishap arrived at Knockfergus (Carickfergus).[21] Sailing up Lough Foyle he thought at first to have fortified Lifford, but finding the castle a ruin only thirty feet square, it offered neither sufficient protection nor accommodation for the number of men he had with him: but he saw in the fair and open country at Derry a spot every way suitable, except that there was no convenient ford. Formerly a town had stood there, but at this time there was only the "great church" and some other stone houses joining, a protection which determined the selection, and the spot was secured in the name of the Queen. The work of fortifying and entrenching was carried on with vigour, and Derry was garrisoned by six hundred footmen and fifty horsemen, who, with the artificers and others, made

(16). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 18, p. 36.
(17). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 149, p. 6; v. 175, p. 82.
(18). *State Papers*, Dom. Eliz., vol. 40, p. 22.
(19). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 19, p. 44.
(20). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 18, pp. 41, 46, 50.
(21). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 19, pp. 2, 3, 5.

up a thousand persons to be fed.[22] But now commenced as sad a winter for these men as could well be imagined. No necessary provision, either of clothing or food, had been brought sufficient for any length of time. The "Coronell" on arrival had endeavoured to buy cattle of the natives, but found them "evil to please." Besides a few beeves sent in at first by the Lord Deputy, they got none; there was neither bacon, butter, nor cheese, and but a small supply of corn. The beans were mere refuse, not fit to be eaten. The two mills brought over would not grind wheat, or what they could do in three months would not suffice to feed the garrison for one. Even then the bread was so bad that the horses refused to eat it.[23] For bread stuff they had only biscuit and meal, and without meat, butter, or cheese, were driven to live on bread, drink, and peas.[24] They were too "almost clean without" garments and shoes. Some "freses" were got from the English Pale, and the "Coronell" was reduced to the curious extremity of sending to his wife for supplies. He wrote for shirts, kersies, shoes and canvas, with other necessaries, at a cost to himself of £500.[25] Provision for a thousand men was also asked for, not to be diminished as the last was, when not half the quantity agreed for was delivered.[26] Under these trying circumstances the men became discontented, many were now sick with the flux, many had already died from cold, and all were in a miserably bad state, with the certain prospect of a worse if speedy relief were not afforded. To crown these troubles they found that the "infection" was caused from the camp being in the churchyard where the burials took place, and that they could not continue there. By March, 1567,

(22). *State Papers*, vol. 19, pp. 29, 30, 43.

(23). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 19, p. 44.

(24). England assumed the government of Ireland in 1171, and from the first papers of that year we learn that handmills were sent over from Somerset. There was but one flour mill in all Ulster so late as 1791; the quern was still used there.

(25). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 19, p. 29.

(26). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 19, p. 43.

their number had so declined that not more than 300 were able men, and of these the Devon men ran away and got safely home.[27] Victuals and relief eventually arrived, but in May, Derry was accidentally destroyed by fire, and the garrison was then removed.[28]

The military work of the winter had not been much. On the 12th November, the "Coronell" sallied out with four bands to stop a party at a passage about three miles from Derry fort. At daylight he encountered them, charged in and put them to flight, but with the much regretted loss of his own life, the only loss on the English side.

Meanwhile Shane had built himself a retreat on an island in a fen country and had continued his hostility. Finding some assistance necessary he endeavoured to form an alliance with the Earl of Desmond in Munster, and then with his mortal enemy, a brother of Sorley Boy. During some negociations with the latter, 2nd June, 1567, he was set upon suddenly and killed, and died "cutt and hewed extreamelye."[29] His successor, Turlough O'Neil, was at first obedient, and so a temporary quiet ensued.

A few men were sent over from Somerset in 1569, under Capt. Shute, 49 from "west of the water of Perrott," and 51 from "este of the water of Perrott." They were "stayed" at Bristol for eleven days, during which time some seem to have bought themselves off, as they returned home with their captain's passport, explaining that they had been discharged for certain "somes of money, some more, some less," by them severally paid to the said Captain Shute.[30] Captain Shute duly arrived in Ireland, and is mentioned from Killmallock in September, 1569. By October he had done such good service about Limerick that he was reported as deserving both reputa-

(27). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 20, pp. 54, 56.
(28). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 20, p. 77.
(29). *State Papers*, vol. 21, p. 8.
(30). *State Papers*, Dom., vol. 67, pp. 91, 92.

tion and reward.[31] About the 26th of October he arrived in Cork, and was ordered to remain there to protect the "good" subjects, and to deliver to an officer appointed to receive them the provisions brought over from Bristol.[32] He performed his work so well that he was again commended, but his men being disbanded on the 1st April, 1570, no more is heard of him.[33]

There is now a lapse of two years before the papers mention any new recruits from Somerset, but the arming and preparing at home went on without ceasing. In 1572, the reports from the continent came in fast and frequent, of the arming of France and Spain on some design "long lingering, long expected," tending to some exploit in Ireland and Scotland. It was reported that 10,000 men were promised from France, that nine great ships were being prepared at Lisbon, and that, "if England will not turn their religion" the King of Spain would land men in Ireland and send 12,000 crowns to be employed in Scotland.[34] But with all this, and the threats of invasion for herself, prosperity was general in England. The Court went on its usual course; the Queen, more and more respected, making her annual progress everywhere amidst the profoundest affection.

With what party he may have left Somerset does not appear, but in October, 1572, Captain Edward Barckley is found in the "Book of the army in Ireland," as Constable of Ballymartyr. The Castle of Ballymartyr, between Cork and Youghal, after being a centre for robbery and spoil, was surrendered to the Lord Deputy in October, 1569.[35] As it was much decayed and not strong, it was thought to give the command to a friendly Irishman rather than hold it at any charge or danger,[36] but in the end as it was well placed to annoy an enemy it was given

(31). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 29, p. 64, 67.
(32). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 29, p. 70.
(33). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 30, p. 6.
(34). *State Papers*, Add. 1572, vol. 21, pp. 4, 23, 25, 58, 62, 74.
(35). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 29, p. 70.
(36). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 30, p. 103.

to Capt. Barkley, who was considered likely to do some good service there.[37] This anticipation was not destined to be specially realised, as by some means the Earl of Desmond with other successes at this time, managed to secure it "suddenly," in Nov., 1573, all assistance being hindered "by the waters."[38] No account of what took place is found, as the messenger bearing it was "spoiled by the way." Capt. Barkley asserted that to blame him were unjust, as a grant of the place had been made to another, so that he, in doubt as to his own position "took no further care of it."[39] It was not especially valued, and certainly Barkley lost nothing by his misfortune. After this he went home, and returned to Carickfergus, in the north, in September 1573, with two hundred fresh men out of Somerset, and he now became and remained the active leader of the Somerset men throughout the campaign. The new men were evidently a very poor lot, and arrived "one half without armour or any manner of weapon except pikes." Naturally annoyed at such an exhibition, the Earl of Essex wrote to have the matter enquired into, how these men were thus "sent out of Somerset," as it was reported that Barkley had received £400 for their "furniture."[40] He certainly had money for them, but he raised it himself from his friends, and borrowed £300 from Lord Barkley. He afterwards begged for payment of this that he might meet his bills, and in June 1575, he received altogether £598 4s. 10½d.[41]

It seemed that although the men were able in person, only those were sent who were willing to go of their own free will, or "such as the county might best spare and well glad to be rid of."[42] The unarmed condition of these men was the more vexing just now, as the Irish, who at first were armed only

(37). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 38, p. 20.
(38). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 43, pp. 4, 6.
(39). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 46, p. 15.
(40). *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 34; vol. 53, p. 72.
(41). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 47, p. 17; vol. 52, p. 37.
(42). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 43, p. 11.

with darts,[43] had learned the use of weapons; and when it was clear that force and extremity alone would mend the country, where, says one, "nothing was to be got but hunger and lice."[44] Ninety more footmen and five horsemen (demi-lances) were sent from Somerset,[45] and from Bristol went a supply of corn, beer, Gascon wine, and sack.[46]

Captain Barkley, now at Belfast, wrote 14th May, 1574, that his opponents were endeavouring to gain time, hoping to exhaust his supplies. These "wicked and faythles peple," he reported, had no kind of grain; their sheep were devoured by wolves, and by keeping them so long in the woods for safety they had lost all their wool, whereby their owners had nothing with which to make either mantles, coats, or hose; they existed altogether on milk, if this could be taken from them they must famish.[47] Again from Dublin, 20th January, 1575, he wrote that the rebels were never in so poor a state, and that one month's war well followed would settle them.[48] But this estimate was not at all realised, as Turlough O'Neil, now in rebellion, held his own for some time, until at last, by a partial submission, "although still full of intolerable pride and insolency," he agreed to terms, and meeting the Lord Deputy he "put off his hat and joyed that he had peace."[49]

The struggle was now transferred from the north, from Ulster to Munster, where the great champion was the Earl of Desmond, who announced his intention of purging the country of everything English. There was also his kinsman, James Fitz-Maurice, who, having fled the country, had intrigued and "practised evil things" abroad, towards raising a force to invade Ireland. Reports of his proceedings came over in the

(43). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 85, p. 39.
(44). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 44, pp. 3, 34.
(45). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 43, p. 19.
(46). *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 39; vol. 45, p. 48.
(47). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 46, p. 15.
(48). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 49, p. 45.
(49). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 85, p. 13.

May it please your honors to be advertysed, that according to your Ma. & your honors' lres to us directyd bearinge date the xxvjth daye of Marche laste paste, for the readyenge and selectynge owt of the former musters and puttinge in a readynes of all such to be sente and brayned in the Counties of Somerset. We have accordinglie mette and conferred together, and have taken order amongst our selves that the same shall nowe selectyd owt of the former musters as also sentt and brayned unto your Ma. & honors' dailypeer allsoe, and therebesides towarde daggers and pykes, so to be brayned accordinge to your honors' instructions and have to them appointed traynors. We for the better ease of the soldiers shall have in their readynes twelve men a peece. The Traynors appointed by Gregorie Morgan. Thomas Marshall. Edmonde Lymo Kayte Sydenham Richard Hollard and Robte Smythe gent of their Countie somewhat experienced in warre. And further have taken order that the twelve so to be trayned and kept in readynes as before, shall be ready at the tyme appointed according to your honors' direction. The readynes required at the tyme will amounte to a viijth. part a daye after the rate of xvjd the daye for every soldyer for his stipend. And xvjd the daye for the allowance of Captaine and Corporall & the readynes of traynors and Drumers. Wherein we in this behalf will endeavor to followe your Ma. and your honors' directions. Wee att opinion your honors have in their owne doinge, we praye you to advise us, that we maye proceede further therein accordinglie. Have herewithe sente unto your honors a note of the names of such gentlemen as we thinke fytt to be appointed Deputies. Thus humblie takinge our leave at Wells the xxjth of Aprill 1577.

Your honors humblie to commaunde

[signatures]

Photo-litho from State Papers. Elizabeth, Vol. 112. No. 12. Somerset Archaeological Soc. Vol. 27. 1881.

W Griggs.

spring of 1577, with intelligence that Spain and France had joined together; and that Ireland was to be invaded, whilst Scotland was to be entertained with marriage, men, and money. England was to be "stored" for rebellion, plots arranged against the Queen's person, and the Scottish Queen freed and made sovereign.[50] Fitz-Maurice, with sixteen ships, was said to be ready to embark,[51] and a letter from a priest in Madrid to another in London, said that the Pope would send 2,000 men to Ireland.[52] This letter was sealed with "singing cake," *i.e.*, the wafer used in the mass.

Another 300 men were ordered from Somerset, for whom six "trainers" were appointed, gentlemen of the county somewhat experienced in service, viz., Gregory Morgan, Thos. Marshall, Edward Kenne, Roger Sydenham, Richard Pollard, and Robert Smythe.[53]

Two thousand others were ordered to be in readiness, of whom a second three hundred were to be from Somerset.[54] On June 15, nine days after the receipt of the order, the Justices wrote from Somerton to the Council, that their number was levied, but they added, "We beseech you to have consideration of this county, wch in our opynions ys verie much charged with services, as within this few years there hath gone out of the county into Ireland 700 men furnished, for whom we have received no part of their furniture back again, and now being charged with 600 more, whereof 300 are being trained and 300 ready to be sent off, we think it a heavy burthen."[55] To this letter there are fifteen signatures.

Nothing came of this Fitz-Maurice business until July 1579, when "the traitor" actually arrived with two ships of sixty tons and two barks, and preceded by two friars bearing en-

(50). *State Papers*, Dom. Eliz. Addend., vol. 27, p. 133.
(51). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 60, p. 44, 45, 51.
(52). *State Papers*, Dom. Eliz., vol. 118, p. 13.
(53). *State Papers*, Dom. Eliz., vol. 112, p. 12.
(54). *State Papers*, Dom., vol. 58, p. 44.
(55). *State Papers*, Dom., vol. 114, p. 15.

signs and a bishop with his mitre, crozier, and staff, he landed at Dingle, with several hundred Spaniards and Italians, the whole district being "infected with Papistry—the very ground of all these rebellions."[56] He quickly spoiled all the country, and then fortified himself at Smerwick, northward of Dingle Bay.[57] Forthwith came a letter to the Sheriff of Somerset and to the Mayor of Bristol, that as the peril was greater than was conceived, they should be in readiness to meet the emergency.[58] Three weeks later 600 men were assembled in Bristol, but the Justices had not forgotten their former complaint, and greatly "misliked" the whole business. They committed the choice of the men to the constables, who chose those who were so unfit, that many were sent back, even from Bristol.[59]

A year later, the unrest continuing, by Proclamation 15th July 1580, the Queen begged "ye people not to gyve creditt to the malicious purposes of such rebels who wandered from place to place, especially to Roome, and falsely and traiterously slandered her good government, and who laboured to have the realm invaded by foreign forces." She had caused the strength of her subjects to be viewed and arrayed, and doubted not but that they would keep to their duties and to their courage.[60]

The Somerset Justices now acted briskly enough, and from Somerton, a few days later, reported that they had put in readiness 200 soldiers and had chosen for their captain George Popham, a gentleman acceptable to the men, of good parentage, forward in service, and of honest behaviour; and they doubted not but that his doings would be answerable to this description.[61] Notwithstanding this flourish, Popham failed to get himself mentioned; Capt. Barkley, as usual, took the lead in all things. Sailing for Cork they arrived within sight, but whilst waiting

(56). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 67, p. 41.
(57). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 69, p. 3.
(58). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 168, p. 20.
(59). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 168, p. 59.
(60). *State Papers*, Dom., vol. 140, p. 18.
(61). *State Papers*, Dom., vol. 140, p. 24.

for the tide the wind changed and forced them to Waterford where they arrived on the 7th November,[62] and where the people entertained them and "showered on them" every imaginable courtesy. The townsmen of Youghal hearing of their arrival, wrote for immediate aid, and Barkley with 200 men went there at once whilst others went to Cork, the Lord Deputy declaring that he never saw a fairer band both men and furniture.[63]

Captain Barkley was now ordered to Askeaton Castle, in Munster, and left Youghal "not myndyng his debts," to the great trouble of his creditors.[64] He soon found work in his new quarters. On the fourth day after his arrival he was called out against the "traitors," when he killed forty, of whom six were "sworded men," and took all their goods, with six score cows and garrans. On another day he killed three score, of whom eighteen were "sworded men" and "notable traitors." On another he went "on a draught," managed to kill sixty, amongst them being a horseman called Wolf and eight of his sworded men, and took a hundred cows and garrans. On another "draught" amongst the Rowry marshes, he killed thirty men and took a hundred cows and studds. The fifth occasion he made a running camp of fourteen days, and went after the Earl of Desmond. Fire and force were used wherever he went, many of the people killed, and his enemy's strength much reduced.[65]

Next the Captain is found in "Corque," in July 1581, where some disorders occurred amongst the soldiers. It seems to have been the custom to ship the men, not always with a sufficient number of officers, a distribution afterwards taking place. This process was much disliked, as the men when all from one county, would work only under their own county officers. It happened now that the late arrivals on being told off for

(62). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 78, pp. 46, 48, 52.
(63). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 78, p. 48.
(64). *State Papers*, vol. 79, p. 5; vol. 87, p. 83.
(65). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 103, pp. 33, 34.

service under stranger officers turned restive, and the controversy between them for the choice of their captains ran so high and fierce, that the business which ought to have lasted but three hours continued for five days. Some of the men took advantage of the dispute and disappeared—"were run away and gone."[66] The especial blame for all this was laid upon Captain Barkley, and the little respect he chose very frequently to show for the authorities made him some enemies, whom he had afterwards to combat, but whom he was strong enough to defeat.

Being again at Askeaton, his sixth exploit was an attack on some traitors who were preying on the country about Limerick. During the night he went to a ford, where he judged a party must pass, and on their approach his lieutenant charged in on them, killed two horsemen, wounded many, rescued their booty, and then safely returned. For this he received the many thanks of the freeholders thereabouts, who gave his soldiers twenty cows for their service.

It was in Limerick, "in a corner behynde the worlde," that Barkley, in October 1581, heard of the death of his father.[67]

Continuing his work, his next effort was a "draught" on his enemy's camp during the night, when he killed fifty, eight being "sworded men," and took four hundred kine, two hundred garrans, and eighteen horses and hackneys. On another occasion a special messenger came to him, and offered to lead him on the Earl of Desmond. Getting assistance, he at once started, marched all night, and surprised the camp, but the Earl by good fortune just managed to escape by a back-way, and, as it was afterwards discovered, lay hid in a bush within ten paces. Thirty of his chief followers, not so fortunate, were killed in the cabin, where was also taken the Earl's shirt of mail and other apparel, together with his wine and his provisions then seething over the fire. Securing the spoil of

(66). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 84, p. 16.
(67). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 86, p. 34.

the whole camp, including eighty cows and garrans, the party then returned, being attacked on their way four times before daylight. Taking with him eighty men and two hundred gallowglasses (horsemen), he on another occasion went over the mountains and took a prey of 300 kine; and again, taking the same route, he secured 400 cows and killed 200 traitors. For his eleventh adventure he led the vanguard in an attack, forced the enemy from his places of strength, and took 300 or 400 kine. He secured also fifty "wymen," the Countess of Desmond, once only forty paces distant, just escaped him for "want of backing." Hearing that the Earl with his whole force was come to prey in Carbery, he went after him with his own company, forty horsemen and a large following of kerne, but the Earl getting information of his movement quickly disappeared. On other occasions also he went out upon his enemies and "had the killing of them." By these efforts the country round was fairly subdued and safe and the people offered to bring in any man who was suspected to answer to the law; they also agreed that if any traveller were misused, he should be doubly recompensed for his losses.[68] With this understanding the Captain left them, and having private affairs to see to, made another visit to England.[69] His band were mostly discharged, and for want of pay or provision fell out "quaied" (dispirited), into great misery, being obliged to sell their weapons and garments and to beg their bread in the streets.[70] Tranquillity was not yet, however, established. It was suggested that now the country was so much spoiled there should be more horsemen, as the footmen "for want of footmanship," were not so able to command success, and then, by making the campaign a defensive one, the "traitors" could be starved out. Writing on the 25th Sept. 1582, Barkley says, "I dare venture my life and credit this shall do more in

(68). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 103, p. 34.
(69). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 89, p. 38.
(70). *State Papers*, vol. 89, p. 38.

three months than now in two years. But if the soldiers be not so well paid that their captains can keep up their companies, it is all thrown away."[71]

On the 15th January, 1583, Barkley embarked again at Bristol with fifty men, but was driven back the next day for "never was there fowler wether." His men, perhaps remembering that one day at sea, declined to wait for a change and many stole away. This was very hard on him, as he was already supporting thirty horsemen at his own cost; and the more vexing, as the Justices had set out these men well furnished with everything requisite for service. "I know them very efficient to serve," he wrote, when begging for supplies and that his bills might be accepted.[72]

The same constant story—the want of money—was kept up in Ireland, where the Lords Justices, 19th Feb., 1583, wrote, that they were "right sorry to importune with a sute so offensyve," but were compelled "seeinge howe neere the case towcheth us in conscience, to tourne a sorte of wretched sowles a begginge without payinge them their enterteignement, which, God knoweth, they have hardly earned."[73] Barkley arrived at Waterford about the 23rd January, when his old enemy, Sir Henry Wallop, the Treasurer at Wars,[74] who was somewhat a Somerset man being Lord of the Manor of Worle, was quickly at variance with him; "favour was never bestowed upon any that worse deserved it," he wrote; "he lives, as it were, west of the law and east of all honest and reasonable dealings."[75] For all this Barkley simply cared nothing, but proceeded on his last exploit in this campaign, again against the Earl of Desmond. Subdued by famine, forsaken by his followers, and not knowing whom to trust nor where to stay, Desmond had fled over the mountains into Kerry, to seek relief by spoiling

(71). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 95, p. 69.
(72). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 99, p. 13.
(73). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 99, p. 62.
(74). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 103, p. 21.
(75). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 101, pp. 25, 1.

his brother-in-law.[76] He had managed to desolate the district, and was moving off with a spoil of 2,000 cows, when Barkley came up with him and utterly defeating him, compelled him to leave everything.[77] Tired and weary of these continued raids every man was glad of his destruction.

As may be easily imagined, the country was now a complete waste. From time to time several chieftains had surrendered, and those now out were for the most part in the same plight as Desmond and little else remained to them than submission. Accordingly, in April, 1583, several of them came in, with 700 followers, and in June came twenty-five others, altogether 2,109 persons. Two hundred others were received by Captain Barkley. Of the twenty-five chiefs there were only six who had more than a hundred men; and so, in varying numbers, down to one with only sixteen. As a token of obedience they were compelled to cut their glibbes (a fringe worn over the forehead), and the ladies had to banish their great rolls, and the priests to put away their concubines, or marry them."[78] Captain Barkley was the bearer to the Queen of the report of this deliverance; and her Majesty, after hearing it, ordered that only 100 horsemen and 200 footmen should remain in Munster "to protect the weak from the vagrant and needy," and that the English soldiers and their armour should be sent back to England.[79] An attempt had again been made to injure Barkley and besides the old report of fraudulent accounts, he was charged with showing contempt for his superiors, "jesting and scoffing in all things as if none could gainsay him."[80] He was however able to hold his own. Besides the report he carried also a letter from the Lord Deputy Ormond, recommending him "my very good friend Captain Barkley," as a

(76). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 102, p. 49.

(77). *State Papers*, vol. 102, p. 33.

(78). *State Papers*, vol. 30, p. 4; vol. 29, p. 5; vol. 41, p. 43.

(79). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 104, p. 88.

(80). *State Pap.*, vol. 95, p. 41; vol. 96, p. 8; vol. 102, p. 50; vol. 103, pp. 54, 56.

gentleman who had served her Majesty painfully and carefully.[81] The Queen consequently expressed to him her thanks, and in discharging the "band" of soldiers under him, she was "well contented therewith." Their captain too, was also "well pleased with their faithful services."[82]

At this time the whole number of men in garrison in Ireland was but 1967—1305 foot, 608 horse, and 54 kerne (Irish). There seems never to have been many, if any, more than this number, and sometimes only about 1500. From one-third to one-half of these must have been from Somerset, it is not therefore surprising that the county complained; but the cause is clear, in that, with the slight exception of Chester, Bristol was the chief port of departure for Ireland. The campaign ought not to have lasted twenty years, but it must be remembered that these events were but preliminary to the invasion of England, and that throughout the whole of this time England was arming and drilling, and was only enabled to rest for a time, by the defeat of the great Spanish Armada in 1588.

(81). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 103, p. 32.
(82). *State Papers*, Irish, vol. 105, p. 2.