



ARMADA LOSSES ON THE IRISH COAST

By CAOIMHÍN Ó DANACHAIR

AT the beginning of September, 1588 the Spanish Armada had been over seven weeks at sea, and a month had already gone by since it had failed in its appointed task of convoying the Duke of Parma's invasion army from the Low Countries to England. There had been severe storms in which the ships, many of them damaged by gunfire, were blown here and there about the North Atlantic. Food was running short and in the ships in which the water supply had been carried in casks on the open decks and had been swept away by shot and storm the crews were suffering greatly from thirst. But the fleet was still largely intact, with over one hundred and ten vessels of the one hundred and twenty eight which had sailed from La Coruña.

The commander in chief, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had issued his sailing orders for the return to Spain around Scotland, and had added a word of warning. "Take great care," he wrote, "not to fall upon the coast of Ireland, because of the harm that may come to you there."¹ But that warning was given in vain, for many of the ships did fall upon the Irish coast and few of these came home to Spain.²

In England the population was mainly hostile to the Spaniards. Grotesque reports about the Armada were circulated freely. All Englishmen, it was said, were to be put to death; one ship carried a cargo of halts to hang them and another was loaded with faggots to burn them. All the women were to be carried off and all the children branded with hot irons, while hundreds of cunning friars and thousands of gallons of holy water were provided to deal with the heretics. In Ireland the situation was very different. "The people in these parts are for the most part dangerously affected towards the Spaniards," wrote Sir John Popham to Burghley, "but thanks be to God that their power, by Her Majesty's good means, is shorter than it hath been."³ The Queen's government in Ireland feared nothing so much as a junction between the Irish and the Spaniards, and when the scattered ships of the Armada began to appear off the west coast in the first week of September the Lord Deputy and Council issued most stringent orders to all officers and loyal gentlemen that any Spaniard

1 State Papers, Elizabeth, Ireland (hereafter quoted as S.P. Eliz., Ire.), cxxxvii, I, ii. This and subsequent citations are from the microfilm copies in the National Library of Ireland of the originals, which latter are in the Public Record Office, London. The microfilms were used and the citations are made by kind permission of the Board of Trustees of the Library.

2 Most of the ground has already been covered in W. Spotswood Green, "The Wrecks of the Spanish Armada on the coast of Ireland," *The Geographical Journal*, May, 1906, pp. 429-451. See also R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*; J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*; Cyril Falls, *Mountjoy: Elizabethan General*; and D. W. Waters, "The Elizabethan Navy and the Armada Campaign," *The Mariner's Mirror*, XXXV (April, 1949).

3 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 34.

who landed on the soil of Ireland must be killed forthwith without mercy.⁴ Thus the stage was set.

The following is a list of the places where ships of the Armada were wrecked in Ireland, together with an account of the fate of their crews and the soldiers and others whom they carried. In most of the large ships about two thirds of the companies were soldiers—Spanish, Portuguese and Italian infantry—while in addition to the seamen there were officers, officials, gentlemen adventurers, hospital staff, chaplains and servants. In some cases the names of the wrecked ships are known, while in others they may be guessed at with some hope of accuracy. A few cannot be identified. The circumstances permit the wrecks to be divided into three groups, those in Munster, those on the coast of Connacht from Galway to Killala Bay, and those in Co. Sligo and in Ulster.

On the 5th of September three ships came into the Blasket Sound and anchored.⁵ These were the galleon *San Juan* of the squadron of Portugal, 1,050 tons, 50 guns, 500 men, in which was Juan Martínez de Recalde, Knight of Santiago and Admiral of the Armada, who had some knowledge of that coast as he had commanded the ships of the ill-fated expedition to Dún an Óir in 1580; the galleon *San Juan* of the Castile squadron, 750 tons, 24 guns, 243 men, commanded by Marcos de Aramburu who wrote a narrative of the events; and an unidentified small ship. A letter was sent ashore to the "Suffrein of Dynglecush," Dominic Rice, the Sovereign of Dingle, asking for friendship, but this was ignored.⁶ Meanwhile, Recalde landed some parties to search for food and water, apparently with some success.⁷ In a brush with the Queen's forces a number of his men were taken prisoners.⁸ Some days later while these ships were still in the Sound three other vessels came in. One of these, the merchantman *Santa Maria de la Rosa*, 945 tons, 26 guns, 297 men, commanded by Martin de Villafranca, tried to anchor but drifted on a rock and went down,⁹ only one survivor reaching the shore. This man was "examined" in Dingle and in a very garbled account of the events—not surprising in a poor wretch of an Italian seaman just saved from drowning and faced with torture and death—he stated among other things that the Prince of Ascoli had been lost in the ship.¹⁰ In fact the Prince had been left behind in the Low Countries¹¹ but the tale that a prince was among the dead spread to such an extent that the place where some of the bodies which were washed ashore were buried in Dunquin is still called *Uaig Mhic Rí na Spáinne*, the Grave of the Son of the King of Spain. He also told of two Irish captains on board, John Rice and Francis Roche, and of a great treasure of gold coin and plate which still, presumably, lies in the Blasket Sound.¹²

4 Cal. S.P., Carew, 1575-88, p. 490; S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 58 and cxxxviii, 14.

5 Narrative of Marcos de Aramburu in C. Duro, *La Armada Invencible* (1884-85), II, pp. 315-326.

6 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 24, 25.

7 Duro, *op. cit.*, II, p. 320.

8 Ibid.; S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 41 i-iv.

9 Duro, II, p. 321; S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 43 x.

10 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 41 v.

11 Cal. S.P., Spanish, 1587-1603, p. 379.

12 Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 27C, pp. 263 f.

The second of the newly arrived ships, the merchantman *San Juan de Ragusa*, 650 tons, 24 guns, 285 men, commanded by Fernando Horra, began to settle down and the company was taken off into the other four ships—the two galleons and two smaller vessels—but attempts to save the guns failed and the vessel filled and sank. Rescuers and rescued came safe to Spain,¹³ but Recalde died within a few days of reaching home.

Secretary Fenton states that a ship with 300 men was lost on the coast of "Desmond" but no further details are known.¹⁴ A report on this ship by Sir William Herbert seems to be missing from the State Papers.¹⁵ This vessel may have been the merchant ship *Trinidad* of the Castile squadron, 872 tons, 24 guns, 302 men, which parted company with Aramburu's galleon shortly before he reached the Blasket Sound.¹⁶ The exact location of the wreck is not known; "Desmond" should mean the part of Co. Kerry south of Dingle Bay, and there is some very slight tradition of an Armada wreck about Valentia Island. But the Maherees Sound and Muclachmór Rock are also claimed, in tradition, as sites of Armada wrecks.

A small ship was driven into Tralee Bay, and as their only boat had been lost three of the crew swam ashore. After a parley the company, "all of Castile and Biscay," yielded themselves and their ship to Lady Denny, wife of Sir Richard Denny.¹⁷ She ordered them to be hanged out of hand on the plea that "there was no safe keeping for them," although three of them claimed that they had friends in Waterford who would ransom them. It is said that this crew included two of the servants of the Duke of Medina Sidonia and two boys. Wine, munitions and other goods from this ship came into the hands of the Dennys, and next year there were complaints from Sir William Herbert that valuable items from the Duke's baggage had been retained by Denny.¹⁸ This vessel may have been the sloop *Nuestra Señora del Socorro*, of the Castile squadron, 75 tons, 24 guns. Local tradition places the landing at Fenit.

Seven ships took shelter inside the mouth of the Shannon. A boat was sent into Kilrush offering a cask of wine for a cask of fresh water, and later a ship with all its guns and gear offered in return for help, but this was refused by the Queen's officer, one Nicholas Cahane, and a feeble attempt at a landing in force was beaten off. The ships remained in the Shannon for several days carrying out repairs, and one which leaked badly was abandoned and burned;¹⁹ its captain was one Doliste de Ivella, but the name of the vessel is not given. Its company, mainly Portuguese infantry, was taken into the transport *Barca de Danzig*, which reached Spain.²⁰

13 Duro, II, p. 333.

14 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 47, 48 i.

15 Ibid., cxxxvi, 43 i; *Advertisements Concerning the Spanish Navie* (London, 1588).

16 Duro, II, pp. 317, 319.

17 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 24, 29 i.

18 Ibid., cxliv, 57 i.

19 Ibid., cxxxvi, 31 v, 38 ii.

20 Duro, I, p. 125.

A large ship was driven ashore near Doonbeg, Co. Clare, and sixty survivors came to land, while about two hundred were drowned.²¹ If, as is stated, this was a ship of San Sebastian, it must have been the merchantman *San Esteban*, 736 tons, 26 guns, 264 men, the only vessel of the Guipuzcoa squadron not otherwise accounted for. The survivors were all killed by the Queen's officers.

Another large ship perished near Spanish Point, which gets its name from the event; tradition places the wreck on a reef inside Mutton Island. Only four survivors came to shore; they were taken in by one George Cusack²² but later suffered the same fate as their comrades from the other ship at the hands of the Queen's men.

Tradition tells of wreckage and bodies washed ashore at Ballaghaline, near Doolin. But as there is no contemporary account of a wreck there, these may have been washed thither by currents from the other wrecks, or possibly came from one of the little ships, the sloops and fly-boats,²³ of which about twenty disappeared in the Atlantic. Some of the survivors of the Co. Clare wrecks were brought to the castle of the Queen's Sheriff of Co. Clare, Boetius Clancy, and there hanged at a place still called Cnoc na Crochaire (Gallows Hill). Their place of burial is called Tuama na Spáinneach. A local story tells of how, when peace was made, a noble family from Spain tried to recover the body of a son who had been hanged here but failed to distinguish it from the other bodies heaped into the common grave. One of those hanged seems to have been Don Felipe de Cordova, which would indicate that the ship wrecked at Spanish Point was the galleon *San Marcos* of the Portuguese squadron, 790 tons, 33 guns, 409 men.

The galleass *Zuñiga* of Naples anchored for some days in a creek about a mile west of Liscannor, and some of the crew tried to land. A small boat drifted ashore; in it was a large oil jar and a piece of wood with a brand mark which was clearly the Spanish royal monogram—the "government brand"—but which was taken to be some cypher message and duly sent by Clancy to the Governor of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham, and by him sent on to the Lord Deputy with the comment "there is some mystery hidden under this burne of three letters."²⁴ Later, while attempting a landing, the purser of the *Zuñiga*, one Pietro Baptista of Naples, was made prisoner,²⁵ but his companions regained the ship, which later reached Le Havre, having lost over eighty men from hunger and thirst.²⁶

Thus, of the various wrecks on the coast of Munster, less than a hundred survivors came to shore, and all of these fell into the hands of the Queen's officers and adherents, who, in accordance with their instructions, put them to death

21 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 38 ii, 57 i.

22 T.C.D. Ms E.3.10 (Quoted by kind permission of the Librarian, Trinity College, Dublin); S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 38 ii, 57 i.

23 *pataches* and *zabras*.

24 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 31 i, ii.

25 Ibid., cxxxvi, 43 v.

26 Cal. S.P., Spanish, 1587-1603, p. 459.

without distinction of rank. As far as is known, not one Spaniard escaped in Munster.

In Co. Galway two ships were wrecked.²⁷ One of these, the transport *Falcon Blanco mediano*, 300 tons, 16 guns, 103 men, struck not far west of Galway town—tradition points to Barna—and the other ran ashore at Dúirling na Spáinneach close to Ards Castle, Cárna, which castle was then held by one Tadhg na Buile O'Flaherty, of whom neither contemporary record nor folk memory has much good to say. Indeed, local tradition asserts that he and his henchmen brought about the stranding of this vessel so as to gain plunder. He appears to have had no qualms about handing over the crew to the Governor, unlike other gentlemen, chief among them Sir Murrough na dTuath O'Flaherty, who "used them with more favour than the Council thought meet"²⁸ and who were threatened by proclamation, backed up by force of arms, with outlawry and death if they did not at once deliver them up. The ship at Ards Castle seems to have been the merchantman *Concepcion* of the Viscaya squadron, 418 tons, 18 guns, 225 men.

Another vessel sent ashore a large boat with a party of about seventy men near Galway.²⁹ These men were made prisoners, apparently on the promise of mercy,³⁰ but the ship escaped.

All the prisoners from these vessels were assembled at Galway, and several persons of rank were set aside by Governor Bingham, in the hope of ransom, but the others, to the number of three hundred, were all killed by the Governor's orders³¹, to the horror of the citizens, whose womenfolk made shrouds for the bodies and gave them decent burial.³² Two Spaniards are said to have been hidden and smuggled to safety.³³ The same is told of a boy from the Ards Castle ship.³⁴

The large merchant ship *Gran Grin*, 1,160 tons, 28 guns, 329 men, came into Clew Bay in a sinking condition, and about a hundred men under Pedro de Mendoza came ashore on Clare Island. The ship drifted and two days later struck at "Fynglasse,"³⁵ which seems to be Toorglas on the Corraun peninsula, and sixteen men "wearing chains of gold" reached the shore and were handed over to the Governor by a tenant of the Earl of Ormond. The survivors on Clare Island tried to escape in the Islanders' boats, but the local chief, Dubhdara Rua O'Malley, ordered his people to attack them and they were all slain "saving one poor Spaniard and an Irishman of the County of Wexford," and Dubhdara took possession of their valuables.³⁶

27 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 57 i.

28 Ibid., loc. cit.

29 Ibid., cxxxvi, 47, 48 i.

30 T.C.D. Ms E.3.10.

31 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 57 i.

32 Joannes Lynch, *Pii Antistitis Icon* (Rennes, 1660).

33 Ibid.

34 *An Stoc* (Galway), Bealtaine, 1929, p. 2.

35 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 47, and see 37, 37 i.

36 Ibid., cxxxvi, 41 vi, 57 i; cxxxvii, 1 i.

A number of ships sought refuge in Blacksod Bay. One of these, the Levant galleon *Rata*, 820 tons, 35 guns, 419 men, drifted on to the strand at Ballycroy and the crew came safely ashore. In this ship was Don Alonso de Leyva, "Flower of the Chivalry of Spain," Captain-General of the Cavalry of Milan, who promptly took over the castles of Ballycroy and Doolough and began to fortify them,³⁷ but later brought his men over to the Mullet and established himself in Tiraun Castle, near Elly Bay, where he was joined by the company of a ship which had run ashore at Inver. (See below). Other ships which anchored in Blacksod Bay were the *Nuestra Señora de Begoña*, a merchant vessel of 750 tons, 24 guns, 297 men, and the transport *Duquesa Santa Ana* of 900 tons, 23 guns, 357 men, into which Don Alonso and his company were taken. The former reached Spain; of the latter we shall hear again.

The vessel which ran aground at Inver, in Broadhaven, is known in tradition as "an long maol" (the bare ship), as its masts had been swept away. The site of the wreck is still pointed out and it is said that a great treasure of gold from this ship was entrusted to the keeping of a simpleton and buried by him "in a moor between two strands just under the moon"; it is still sought by hopeful treasure hunters. The company of this vessel joined Don Alonso de Leyva at Tiraun.³⁸

In north west Mayo there are strong traditions that another ship of the Armada went down near Kid Island. This is a place of savage cliffs where even a large vessel could vanish without trace; a wreck here is not mentioned in contemporary documents.

Another ship was wrecked in "Tyrawley," that is, between Killala and Belderg; the exact place is not given, nor is it remembered in tradition. A local gentleman, William Burke of Ardnaree, was quickly on the scene and took seventy two prisoners,³⁹ causing many others to be killed; one of his galloglas, a savage named Melaughlen M'Cabb, is said to have killed eighty with his axe.⁴⁰ Burke handed over his prisoners to the brother of the Governor, George Bingham, who had them executed out of hand.⁴¹

As we have seen, Governor Bingham had spared the "persons of rank" in the hope of ransom money, but when the Lord Deputy heard of this he sent peremptory orders that these, too, must be killed, and this was done. A list of the names is preserved;⁴² it includes Pedro de Archega, captain of the *Falcon Blanco*, Gaspar de los Reyes, who was captain of the *Gran Grin*, and two others, Alonso Ladron de Guevara and Diego Mieres, from the same ship, also Captain Diego Sarmiento who was in the *Concepcion* and Captain Giovanni Avancini who had led a small party from the *Rata* at Ballycroy and had been captured, and twenty seven others. Two only were spared and later ransomed, Don Luis

³⁷ Ibid., loc. cit. and cxxxix, 25 i.

³⁸ Ibid., cxxvi, 47, 48 i, 57 i.

³⁹ Ibid., cxxvi, 41 vi, 43 xi.

⁴⁰ Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴¹ T.C.D. Ms. E.3.10.

⁴² S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxix, 2 i.

de Cordoba and his nephew Don Gonzalo de Cordoba, who were among the prisoners from the *Falcon Blanco*.

It appears that some of the survivors from the wrecks in Galway and Mayo were hidden by friends and escaped; but these were very few, for Governor Bingham's arm was long and his power great.

It was otherwise in much of the north west of Ireland, where the local lords maintained some degree of independence. When three ships were driven ashore on Streedagh strand, north of Rosses Point, Co. Sligo, the local people who hurried down to collect what spoil they might from the wreckage were able to direct many of the survivors past the English patrols to the safety of O'Rourke's and Mac Clancy's country. Captain Francisco Cuellar, who wrote the famous account of his adventures, was one of these.⁴³ But very many were drowned, and George Bingham hurried up with his forces and killed a hundred and forty.⁴⁴ Shortly afterwards Secretary Fenton visited the place and wrote that he had counted more than a thousand bodies of the drowned and slain along five miles of strand.⁴⁵ Indeed human bones are sometimes uncovered by the tides even yet, although the local people gathered up many of the bodies and buried them in a place still called Reilg na Spáinneach, Spaniards' Graveyard. A rock, Carraig na Spáinneach, is also named from the wrecks. One of these ships, described by Cuellar as a Levanter commanded by Don Diego Enriquez, was the *San Juan de Sicilia*, 800 tons, 26 guns, 342 men.

A letter preserved in the State Papers⁴⁶ tells of "a ship at Donegall, and it was saved by means of a coal boat that was sent to them from the shore, but they lost their mainmast and they cast out 120 great horses and 60 mules." Nothing further seems to be known of this vessel.

The unlucky Don Alonso de Leyva, who sailed from Blacksod Bay on the *Duquesa Santa Ana*, now appears in Co. Donegal, for this vessel was driven into Loughros Bay and wrecked. The company reached the shore and, hearing of another ship at Killybegs, marched thither carrying Don Alonso in a litter, for his leg had been injured.⁴⁷ The site of the wreck of the *Duquesa Santa Ana* is still pointed out, and a gun lying on an island in Kiltorris Lake is said to have come from it.

Three ships approached Killybegs. One foundered outside the harbour, the second ran aground and went to pieces, while the third made the harbour badly damaged.⁴⁸ This was the galleass *Girona*. Mac Sweeny Bannagh succoured the survivors who were soon joined by de Leyva and his company. The *Girona* was repaired with MacSweeny's help and put to sea again hoping to reach Scotland, then independent and neutral, but was wrecked near Dunluce, Co. Antrim. Don Alonso and all on board—said to number as many as one

43 Duro, II, pp. 337-370. There are several English translations.

44 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 57 i.

45 Ibid., cxxxvii, 49.

46 Ibid., cxxxvii, 39 ii.

47 Ibid., cxxxix, 25, 25 i.

48 Ibid., cxxxvi, 27 iii; cxxxvii, 39 vi.

thousand two hundred—perished, except five who reached the shore and were brought to Sorley Boy MacDonnell who sent them to Scotland and safety.⁴⁹ The site of the wreck is called Port na Spáinneach.

Another struck on Carraig na Spáinneach, near Kincaslough. The survivors came to shore and were sent to Mac Sweeny na dTuath at Doe Castle, who had spread the word far and wide that all Spaniards should come to him for help.⁵⁰ Over a century ago the local people salvaged some bronze cannon from this wreck and sold them as scrap. Local tradition points out another wreck in Arranmore Roads, close to Rinn a' Chaisleain; the anchor preserved at the United Service Institution, London, is said to have come from this wreck. Here, too, the survivors were guided to Doe Castle.

The great Levanter *Balanзара* 1,100 tons, 42 guns, 360 men, struck off Glennagiveny in Inishowen. As well as her own company, this vessel carried most of the people of the transport *Barca de Amburgo*, 600 tons, 23 guns, 264 men, which had foundered at sea. The local people put off in boats to the wrecked *Balanзара* and rescued 540 men, while forty were drowned.⁵¹ The survivors were headed by Don Alonso de Luzon, Commander of the *tercio* of Naples. They were directed towards the house of the Catholic bishop of Derry, Dr. Reamonn O'Gallagher, who was active in helping Armada survivors. On the way they fell in with a body of the Queen's forces, about six hundred men in the charge of Richard and Henry Hovenden, who were the Earl of Tyrone's fosterbrothers. After some parleying the Spaniards laid down their arms, and were then robbed of all they had, even their clothes. Next day the leaders were taken aside and the others set upon and massacred; about three hundred were slain and nearly a hundred and fifty escaped by running through a bog. These poor wretches were brought by the local people to the bishop, who sent some on to Mac Sweeny at Doe Castle and others to Sorley Boy. About forty five officers were brought to Drogheda. Some died on the way or in prison⁵² and the others, including de Luzon, were later sent to England and ransomed.⁵³

Most of the survivors in the north west reached Doe Castle in time to be taken into other ships of the Armada which were being repaired in Mac Sweeny's harbours. Many others, including Captain Cuellar, were passed along to Sorley Boy, who had them ferried to Scotland. And although the reports of the Queen's officials are full of rumours of thousands of Spaniards,⁵⁴ including the fearsome "Dondelango" and the "Duke of Phantasia",⁵⁵ the Lord Deputy at the end of the year reported that there remained "as it is said, 100 or thereabouts, being most miserable, both in body and apparel, and few or none of them Spaniards."⁵⁶

49 Ibid., cxxxvii, 39, 39 vi, 48 i; cxxxix, 2, 25, 25 i.

50 Ibid., cxxxvi, 51.

51 Ibid., cxxvii, 36 iii, 51; cxxxvii, 15; cxxxix, 25. Duro, I, pp. 202 f; II, pp. 451 f.

52 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvii, 17.

53 Duro, I, p. 127; Cal. S.P., Ire., 1588-92, pp. 390, 433.

54 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvii, 10 i, iii-v.

55 Ibid., cxxxvi, 43 iv; T.C.D. Ms E.3.10.

56 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxix, 25.

Finally, these stragglers were offered mercy, and about twenty of them gave themselves up.⁵⁷ In 1596 some Spanish officers, envoys of the King, made careful enquiry about survivors and could discover only eight.⁵⁸

The government made every effort to recover treasure and guns from the wrecked ships, and officers were sent out with orders to secure them, and to use torture in extracting information about them.⁵⁹ A number of persons were arrested for having goods from the wrecks.⁶⁰ Sir George Carew, then Master of the Ordnance, tried to recover the cannon. He wrote from Co. Clare about the difficulty of the task and noted the necessity of sustaining the divers with copious draughts of *usquebaugh*.⁶¹ In Donegal the Spaniards gave the people a caliver in exchange for every sheep.⁶² Sorley Boy recovered some cannon,⁶³ and Sir Murrough O'Flaherty⁶⁴ and others⁶⁵ were said to have Armada arms and munitions.

Thus we have twenty four, possibly twenty six ships of the Armada lost on the coast of Ireland with about 5,000 men drowned or slain. Besides those named above, it is clear that the ships *Lavia*, 728 tons, 25 guns, 274 men, *Santa Maria de Vison*, 666 tons, 18 guns, 307 men, and *Juliana*, 860 tons, 32 guns, 395 men, all of the Levant squadron, were lost in Ireland. Survivors from *Lavia* and *Juliana* were in Ireland in 1596,⁶⁶ while two names on a list of prisoners,⁶⁷ Manuel Orlando and Vicenzio Debartulo, both described as "Venitian Captains," seem to be those of the masters of the *Lavia* and the *Santa Maria de Vison*. Two other ships stated in a contemporary Spanish list to have been sunk in Ireland are the *Levanter Anunciada*, 703 tons, 24 guns, 275 men, and the transport *Santiago*, 600 tons, 19 guns, 86 men. These five ships cannot be clearly identified with unnamed wrecks, although it seems probable that all five were lost between Broad Haven and the Rosses of Co. Donegal. This still leaves five, possibly seven, ships lost in Ireland the names of which are unknown except in the list of missing ships.

Of the many Irishmen who were in the Armada we find some names in contemporary documents. Two members of the Desmond family, Don Mauricio and Don Tomás Fitzgerald, both survived a wreck on Fair Isle, as did another Irishman, Robert Aspolle.⁶⁸ The son of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald died and was buried at sea.⁶⁹ John Brown of Clontarf,⁷⁰ Patrick Lynch, master gunner,⁷¹

57 Ibid., cxxxix, 20, 25.

58 Cal. S.P., Spanish, 1587-1603, p. 641.

59 Cal. S.P., Carew, 1573-88, p. 490; 1589-1600, p. 6. S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxlv, 83.

60 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvi, 43 iv; cxxxviii, 14 ii.

61 Cal. S.P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 8.

62 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvii, 39 vi.

63 Cal. S.P., Carew, 1589-1600, p. 10.

64 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxliii, 12 xiv.

65 Ibid., cxliii, 12 vii.

66 Cal. S.P., Spanish, 1587-1603, p. 641.

67 T.C.D. Ms E.3.18.

68 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxli, 19 iv.

69 Ibid., cxxxvii, 39 ii.

70 Ibid., cxli, 19 i.

71 Ibid., cxxxvi, 27 i.

and William Browne, mariner⁷² are mentioned. Patrick Ronane of Limerick, and "John of all Johns" were lost, while Edmund Eustace, Cahill M'Connor, John Burnell of Drogheda and Henry O'Mulryane were among those who got back to Spain.⁷³ James Machary of the Cross within the County of Tipperary was one of those wrecked in the *Duquesa Santa Ana* and was taken prisoner.⁷⁴ An Irish friar, "James Ne Dowrough," was among those who landed in Co. Donegal, where, apparently, he stayed.⁷⁵ Others mentioned are Don Carlos O'Connor, Don Diego O'Dor, Dionisio Irlandés and Tomás Vitres "clergio irlandés."⁷⁶

As we have seen, the Queen's officers, both Irish and English, did not hesitate in carrying out their orders to slay all survivors, but the attitude of the local lords and gentlemen varied considerably. A few, like Sir Turlough O'Brien and William Burke of Ardnaree, showed their loyalty to England by joining in the massacre, but most of them showed sympathy towards the shipwrecked men until forced by threat and proclamation to give them up. Striking exceptions to this were Tadhg na Buile O'Flaherty, who is credited in tradition with causing the wreck of one of the ships and who certainly did not scruple to inform the Governor and to surrender the prisoners, and O'Malley of Clare Island, who excused his murder of the Spaniards by the plea that he must save his boats, but who was not without an eye to plunder. The independent chiefs of the north west gave all help to the Spaniards. O'Rourke, MacClancy, Maguire, both Mac Sweenys, O'Cahan and Sorley Boy were outstanding in this, as were the bishop of Derry and most of the Catholic priests. O'Neill (at this time Turlough Lynagh O'Neill) sent a herd of five hundred cattle into Tirconnel for their use.⁷⁷ The Earl of Tyrone, though protesting his loyalty in every letter, made no move against them and bitterly reproached Sir Hugh O'Donnell who had handed over thirty Spaniards in the hope of obtaining the release of his son, Red Hugh, then a prisoner in Dublin Castle.⁷⁸ A report that Mac Sweeny na dTuath had killed forty Spaniards⁷⁹ is obviously untrue, for none was more friendly or helpful to them than he.

It has been stated by some nineteenth century English historians that the ordinary people in Ireland, the "natives" as they called them, were hostile to the Spaniards and in many places abused and killed them. This is completely false. There is no evidence in the contemporary records, either English or Spanish, to show that the ordinary Irish people had any hostility to the Spaniards, or attacked them in any way except where ordered by their masters to do so. The fact that the local people took valuables and wreckage from the ships is, it must be understood, no evidence of hostility, for it has always been the custom along

72 Ibid., cxxxvii, 39 v.

73 Ibid., cxlii, 26 iii.

74 Ibid., cxxxix, 25 i.

75 Ibid., cxxxvii, 39 vi.

76 Duro, II, pp. 70f.

77 S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvii, 10 x.

78 Ibid., cxxxvi, 51; cxxxvii, 10 iv.

79 Ibid., cxxxvii, 41 ii.

the Irish coast that wrack belongs to the finder; this was sanctioned by the Brehon laws,⁸⁰ and the seizure of wreckage was often combined with gallant rescue of shipwrecked men.

Indeed, this sympathy of the common people with the Spaniards was one of the main reasons why the Armada survivors were exterminated by the Queen's adherents. On 28th October the Lord Deputy wrote to the Privy Council that he must "hasten towards them and make head against them, lest the longer they tarry the more infection they make, for that we find already that the name of the Spaniards worketh much in the hearts of the Irishry, which I will labour in this journey to remedy."⁸¹ Later he wrote to Burghley that the Spaniards were "so favoured and succoured by the country people, as it will be hard to hunt them out, but with long time and great labour."⁸²

It is quite certain that the English authorities would have welcomed anything that could cause a breach between the Irish and the Spaniards. We read of a suggestion of March, 1589 to send a force of kern to make a raid into Spain to rouse Spanish hostility against Ireland. "The sending of kern thither might breed such perpetual hatred and enmity between the Spaniards and Irishmen as they should never be in the like favour as hitherto they have been."⁸³ While the massacre of the Spaniards was in progress Secretary Fenton wrote to Burghley that he hoped that this would raise "a diffidence between the Spaniards and the Irish so long as the memory of the present transactions shall endure."⁸⁴

Later events proved how groundless these hopes were, for the bond of sympathy between Spain and Ireland was never broken, and, in the downfall of the old Irish order and the long years of oppression that followed, the flood of Irish refugees was nowhere more freely received or more generously treated than in Spain.

⁸⁰ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, p. 202; V, p. 263.

⁸¹ S.P. Eliz., Ire., cxxxvii, 45.

⁸² *Ibid.*, cxxxviii, 29.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, cxlii, 6 ii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, cxxvi, 47.