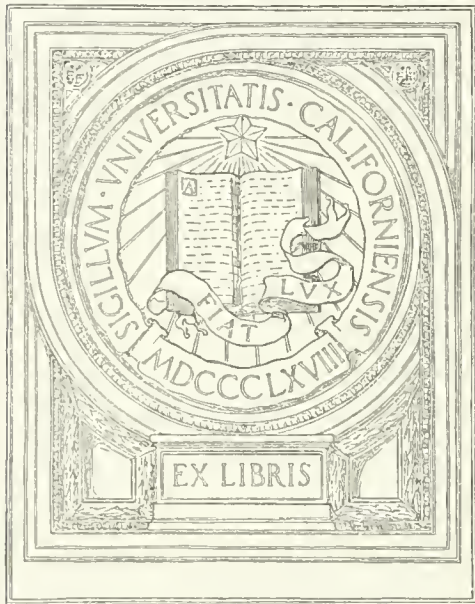




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*1575-1588*

# CALENDAR

OF THE

# CAREW MANUSCRIPTS

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1575—1588.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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I PROPOSE in this Volume to redeem the promise I made in my last of entering into a more specific examination of the Carew Papers relating to the early periods of the Tudor dynasty.

I was prevented by the limits of the space prescribed to me from placing this subject before my readers in as full detail as I could have wished. Some account of Sir George Carew, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of these valuable documents, so important for the elucidation of Irish history, appeared to challenge priority to all other considerations.

Hitherto the life of Sir George has been involved in great obscurity; and in consequence of three George Careys or Carews,—the name is spelt indifferently,—living at the same date, the accounts of all three have been frequently confused in biographical dictionaries. It was necessary, therefore, to examine carefully Carew's own manuscripts, and gather from them whatever materials could be found for elucidating his career. I may add, that the important part played by Sir George Carew, both as President of Munster, and as the main and most confidential adviser in all matters connected with Ireland, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., seemed to justify this course. In fact, it is impossible to understand either the policy of this country in reference to Ireland

during that period, or many of the allusions in Sir George Carew's own papers, without a more detailed account of his life than has hitherto been submitted to general readers.

But the task of examining these documents in detail, and showing their relation to the history of Ireland, is not an easy one. They contain no connected view of the times. They are at best only occasional papers filling up blanks in our information, and subsidiary to the great body of authentic materials, which, through the munificence of the Treasury and the sound judgment and discretion of the Master of the Rolls, have now of late been made accessible to the historians of Ireland. Pre-eminent above these in bulk, authenticity, and completeness are the Irish State Papers preserved at the National Record Office in England, of which a Calendar is now in the course of preparation by Mr. H. C. Hamilton under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The Irish Calendar of the Patent Rolls, by Mr. Morrin, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, contains, so far as it goes, a full and connected view of the proceedings of the Council in Ireland, and its correspondence with the English Government, and though inferior in extent and variety to the Irish papers in the English Record Office, is a most important contribution to the historical memorials of that country. The selection from the Ormond Papers, now in progress at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, though it takes up the subject at a later date, can scarcely be regarded with less favour and less interest than the works already mentioned. To these I may be permitted to add, without vanity, this Calendar of the Carew Papers. Their importance has been already tacitly acknowledged by the copious use made of them by the editors of the State Papers of Henry VIII. When to these are added the

Sydney and Ormond Papers by Collins and Carte, and those of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, the Governor of Ulster, not now to mention others which I need not particularize, it will be admitted that a body of authentic materials for illustrating the history of Ireland has been placed within the reach of all readers, scarcely second in variety and importance to our own.

But with this great accession of materials, the task of forming a true and correct judgment on the policy pursued by this country towards Ireland, on the motives and conduct of its rulers, whether Englishmen or Irishmen, on the true character and progress of events, is scarcely less difficult than before. The same perplexity which Englishmen now feel, in real life, of arriving at a clear understanding of the condition of Ireland, is experienced in every chapter of its history. The accounts given by opposite parties, and often by the same parties at different intervals, are so conflicting, so irreconcilable, that the bewildered reader is at a loss to determine what conclusions he ought to adopt. And this remark applies not to the accounts simply of Roman Catholic writers as compared with those of Protestants, or to those of Irishmen as compared with those of Englishmen, but of Protestants with Protestants, and Englishmen with Englishmen. The same small body of men, possessing equal opportunities of judging, bound together by community of religion, of blood, and interest, differ widely from each other in the judgments they express, as to the conduct of their contemporaries, or the condition of Ireland, which they undertake to describe, at one and the same moment. How much of these discrepancies is to be attributed to carelessness, how much to error, how much to party and political prejudices, the historian finds it not easy to determine. In English history, notwith-

standing the conflicting statements of opposite races and contending factions, there is at the bottom a broad basis of unity. By making sufficient allowance for the prejudice and exaggeration of party or personal attachment, the careful and candid observer may arrive at something like a fair and consistent account. But the history of Ireland, reflecting the history of its people, seems to run on in two opposite and incommunicable channels. There is no middle term in which the extremes agree; no fusion of race; no community of faith or interest—(of course I am speaking of the Tudor times);—no national unity, which throws the faintest reflection of itself on the surface of Irish history.

These national contrarities, which we might be inclined to regard as an inevitable misfortune, to be borne with patience because they could not be remedied, or endured with resignation as a necessary evil arising from causes removed from our control, were not regarded in that light by Henry VIII., or his immediate successors.

In the Norman conquest of England, where the invaders could scarcely be more numerous than were the English settlers in Ireland in the days of the Plantagenets, the conquest was deprived of half its severity by the rapid amalgamation of the two races. The intermarriage not merely of inferior followers, but of the royal and the noble with the oppressed race, soon fused into incipient if not complete unity the two antagonistic elements. The King and his nobles tilled their lands, fought their battles, and often filled their households with Anglo-Saxon retainers. Common cares, common enemies, and a common national cause, of necessity produced common and kindred sentiments and affections, and something of mutual help, toleration, and respect. But forgetful of this great lesson, worked out on their own soil, the



Tudor princes, in their government of Ireland, seem to have acted on an opposite principle. Their efforts were directed not merely to keeping the English and the Irish apart, but if possible to counteract all those natural tendencies to unity between the two races, which, spite of all policy and all legislation, were continually struggling to assert themselves.

*Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurrit.*

The English settler rapidly adopted Irish habits. The English farmer, moved by his interest and the difficulty of providing English servants, was happily tempted to employ Irish labourers.\* English gentlemen were continually forming friendships and intermarriages with Irish chiefs and their families.† English deputies, aware of the

\* “The poor English earth-tillers in the English Pale, who cannot skill upon penury nor wretchedness, as the Irish tenants do sustain and bear, but must keep honest residence, the lords and inheritors taketh such a greedy lust of profit, that they bring into the heart of the English Pale Irish tenants, which neither can speak the English tongue, ne wear cap or bonnet; and expulseth oft the ancient good English tenants. . . . In effect by that means the poor English tenants are driven hither into England and Wales, and the Irish tenants in their rooms and farms.” (R. Cowley to Cromwell, in 1537. State Papers, II. 449.)

† Spenser, a better poet than historian, forgetting the example of his own country, marvels that English settlers in Ireland should take more delight to speak the Irish language than their own; “whereas they should, methinks, rather take scorn to acquaint their tongues thereto. For it hath ever been the use of the conqueror to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all means to learn his.” Then, in searching “the original cause of this evil,” he remarks: “I suppose that the chief cause of bringing in the Irish language amongst them, was specially their fostering and marrying with the Irish, *the which are two most dangerous infections.* . . . . So that the speech being Irish the heart must needs be Irish, for out of the abundance of the heart the tongue speaketh. . . . . Therefore are these evil customs of fostering and marrying with the Irish most carefully to be restrained; for of the two, the third evil, that is the custom of language, chiefly proceedeth.” (State of Ireland, p. 524, MEXON.)

misery of the times, alive to the impolicy and weary of the endless labour of rousing Irish blood into rebellion by undue strictness and severity, were continually relapsing into milder habits and more congenial treatment of the native Irish. But the energies of the English government—(I repeat that I am speaking only of the Tudor times)—were strenuously exerted to oppose this wise and beneficent provision of nature, and arrest by every device in its power this heady current. And though its devices were as often swept away, and the current rolled on with greater force than before, again and again it reverted to its old schemes. By straiter and more stringent enactments it attempted to control the course of nature, and set up the narrow maxims of human policy in its stead. This volume and other volumes of similar papers are full of the complaints of short-sighted and unwise men against what they denounced as English degeneracy, against what they considered was treason to English maxims and traditions of government. Statesmen, churchmen, the theorist, the utilitarian, are loud and unanimous in their outcry, whenever some Deputy less rigid than his fellows, or grown wiser by experience, thought that Ireland could be ruled better by kindness and conciliation than by penalties and proscription. Again and again, as will be seen by these papers, repeated suggestions are made by persons high in office in Ireland to the authorities in England to adopt more stern and uncompromising measures, not only against the native Irish, but against all those who held communication with them. And the English government, nothing loth to follow these suggestions, passed acts, from time to time, disabling Irish chiefs, forbidding Irish labour, denouncing the least approach to Irish manners and customs, and levelling the whole force

of indignation and disgrace against the very name of Irish. The protection of English law reached not beyond the narrow limits of the English Pale. Its privileges, sparingly granted by the Crown to a favoured few, only brought into stronger relief the precarious tenure of life and property among the native Irish. They were held and treated as enemies to all intents and purposes; to be slain and plundered without restraint and without pity.

The effect of this policy on the Deputies and the Irish Council I need not attempt to describe. But on the lower orders of English retainers the consequence was perilous. They learned to regard the Irish as fit subjects for plunder, to commit all sorts of atrocities under the degraded name of patriotism, to fill the whole country with discontent, immorality, and disorder, that no government, however wise, considerate, or judicious, could hope to overcome. Whilst on the part of the native Irish the feeling that they were beyond the pale and protection of English law tended to increase their lawlessness and violence. Hunted down like wild beasts, they turned like wild beasts upon their pursuers. As the Englishman learned to associate with the name of Irish all that was vile, savage, and degrading, the Irishman was naturally taught to connect all forms of oppression, cruelty, and wrong with the name of Englishman; to hate what his conqueror loved, and to love what he hated.\*

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\* Thus speaking of the kerns and galloglasses, *i.e.*, the ordinary soldiers trained for the Irish wars, Spenser says: "These be the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people, I think, under heaven; for from the time they enter into that course they do use all the beastly behaviour that may be. They oppress all men; they spoil as well the

Whilst the minds of the two races were thus kept in a state of alienation from each other, a new occasion arose, more bitter, more irritating, more pertinacious in its effects, than any I have named, to separate them still further. Much has been said of the devotion of Irishmen to their national Church. How far this boast might be justified in other periods of their history I cannot undertake to say; but if we may judge by the condition of their cathedrals, by their monasteries and their churches, the education and discipline of their priesthood, or the state of the flocks committed to their charge, this boast, however honourable, however true, had little reality at the accession of Henry VIII. Years before the Reformation was introduced, and when the Catholic faith was untainted by Protestantism in Ireland, we have repeated proofs throughout this and other volumes of the deplorable state of religion in that country. Here is the

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“ subject as the enemy; they steal; they are cruel and bloody, full of revenge, and delighting in deadly execution; licentious, swearers and blasphemers; common ravishers of women and murderers of children.” (State of Ireland, p. 525.)

A special instance of their exactions, not the only one or the least oppressive, will be found in a letter from Chief Justice Luttrell to Sentleger: “ The soldiers, where they have displeasure, some of them taketh such oats as they have for their horses all of one man continually, so that they leave not oats within to sow his land, ne to make malt for his sustenance the year following, whereby the poor man is constrained to leave his land sown, and to buy his malt for his provision after a dear price. Therefore it were necessary the soldiers do take their oats of every man indifferently in a town or parish, by the appointment of the constable.” (State Papers, II. 507.)

Lord Chancellor Cusack reports, in the reign of Edward VI., that in Lex and Offally (King and Queen’s Counties), where was a garrison of 700 soldiers, they insisted on having “ the peck of wheat for 5s., which is sold in the market for 20s.; they also give them the beef for 12s., which is sold in the market for 4l.” (Carew, p. 241.)

evidence of a writer in 1515, a good Catholic, and an Irishman :—\*

“Some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land ; for there is no arch-bishop ne bishop, abbot ne prior, parson ne vicar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the Word of God, saving the poor friars beggars ; and where the Word of God do cease, there can be no grace ; and without the special [grace] of God this land may never be reformed. And by preaching and teaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer and orison of the devout persons of the same, God useth alway to grant his abundant grace ; *ergo*, the Church, not using the premises, is much cause of all the said misorder of this land.”

And here again, from the same author, as showing at that time in what respect the Church was held by the great Irish nobles :—

“The noble folk of Ireland oppresseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties ; and therefore they have no fortune ne grace, in prosperity of body ne soul. Who supporteth the Church of Christ in Ireland save the poor commons ?”

\* \* \* \* \*

“The premises considered, the Pander showeth in the first chapter of his book, called *Salus Populi*, that the holy woman, Brigitta, used to inquire of her good angel many questions of secret divine, and among all other she inquired ‘Of what Christian land was most souls damned?’ The angel showed her a land in the west part of the world. She inquired the cause why. The angel said, ‘For there the Christian folk dieth most out of charity.’ She inquired the cause why. The angel said, ‘For there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrary to charity ; and without charity the souls cannot be saved.’ And the angel did show till her the lapse of the souls of Christian folk of that land, how they fell down into hell, as thicke as any hail showers. And pity thereof moved the Pandar to conceive† his said

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\* State Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. II, p. 15.

† “Consayn” in S.P., for “consayv.”

book, as in the said chapter plainly doth appear; for after his opinion, thus (this?) is the land that th' angel understood; for there is no land in this world of so long continual war within himself, ne of so great shedding of Christian blood, ne of so great robbing, spoiling, preying, and burning, ne of so great wrongful extortion continually, as Ireland."\*

Nor is there any reason to suppose that between the period here spoken of and the proclamation of the King's supremacy in 1536, the state of the Irish Church had been much improved. The faith of the poorer Irish was kept alive, not so much by the self-denying efforts of their native clergy, as by the irregular missionary activity of Spanish, French, and English friars. These men naturally obtained over the poor and uneducated an influence they could hardly have hoped to acquire in any other Christian country. The great mass of the population was indebted for the little instruction it received to those who were the national enemies of England; to men, now inclined more than ever to regard with implacable bitterness that country which had treated themselves and their brethren with remorseless severity. As for the Irish chiefs, they scrupled not to burn churches and cathedrals dedicated to the service of the old religion, with as little compunction as they would have destroyed a Protestant barn or a Protestant sanctuary. An O'Neil in Armagh, or a FitzGerald in Kildare, would have been as little withheld by religious considerations from sparing churches or cathedrals, had it suited his purpose, as Bale of Ossory, or George Brown of Dublin, would have been tender of a friars' house or the shrine of our Lady at Trim.

When, therefore, the royal supremacy was enforced, although the chiefs might make little scruple in accepting an obligation which did nothing to diminish their peculiar

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\* State Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. II., pp. 10, 11.

privileges,\* it was otherwise with the mass of the Irish population. In their estimation, it was reason sufficient to condemn whatever England approved; to hate a doctrine propagated by English bishops, to whom they had never been accustomed to listen, and with whose residence among them they had associated much of their miseries and their misfortunes. If Irish Catholics had been lukewarm before, this alone was enough to inflame their zeal in defence of their ancient faith; to bring out in prominent relief the papal tendencies of Ireland; to induce them to regard their priests, whether of their own nation or other nations, with a veneration and respect they had never paid even to their chiefs; to cling with unalterable attachment to a class of men who, like themselves, had been exposed to the hostility of England, and had drunk, like themselves, of the same cup of persecution. Priest and people had been subjected to the same fiery baptism, from which both never flinched under the strongest temptations which policy or anger could suggest. So the cause of the priesthood became the cause of their nation. Their nationality was bound up with their faith. And no one at all acquainted with the spirit of the Irish people can wonder at their imperishable devotion to those who had, as it were, been trodden down in the same mortar and been welded in the same blood and suffering with themselves.

In no country on earth has the priesthood been so completely identified with the sacred cause of nationality and suffering as in Ireland. Nowhere else has the priest been considered the sole depository and guardian of truths hallowed by ages of holy memories and happier times;—at once the temporal and spiritual guide of his

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\* See Carew Papers, Vol. I. pp. 183 et seq.

people, carrying, as it were, the keys of Heaven and of earth at his girdle.

It is not surprising that the English government should have felt sore and disappointed at the result of an experiment as unsuccessful in Ireland as it had proved prosperous in England. It was the fond hope of Henry VIII. that, by severing the connexion between Ireland and the Pope, he should find that kingdom more obedient, more manageable. It was not to be doubted that popish emissaries in Ireland possessed great influence; nor was that influence used, either with chiefs or with people, to bring the natives into a better state of obedience. It was not forgotten, at least by the Irish, that Ireland was held by the English sovereigns as a fief from the Pope; and it seemed anomalous to them that England should pretend to exercise authority over Ireland when it had thrown off its obedience to the papacy, on which that right was founded.

Little as such an argument might appear cogent now, it proved no ineffectual instrument in the management of Observant friars and papal emissaries among a poor and unsophisticated population, especially when the shape which the Reformation assumed under Henry VIII. turned more on the respective limits of the papal and royal authority than on matters of faith and doctrine. Even Irish bishops, though appointed by Henry in opposition to the Pope, were not always inclined to surrender at discretion this article of their ancient creed; and Dowdall, the Archbishop of Armagh, withdrew with his suffragans rather than admit the King's supremacy. Is it then surprising that the mass of the Irish people who had never known what it was to be ruled by a King, to whom the supremacy of the Pope had been the mainstay of their religion, above all, who had never been pre-



pared for the change, should have obstinately resisted? Is it strange that their obstinacy should have grown in proportion to the severity of the measures employed to enforce the obnoxious maxim? In vain the highest ecclesiastical preferments in Ireland were offered to the most able and most uncompromising advocates of the new doctrine. Few in number, unaided by their clergy, coldly supported in general by the Deputy, the cardinal doctrine of English Protestantism fell unheeded from the lips of a few right reverend preachers. Received with menaces and defiance even in the cathedral of Dublin, guarded as it was by the Deputy and his soldiers, it found no hearers beyond those walls, it made no proselytes.\* Sick of the fruitless attempt, Protestant bishops yielded to the storm of opposition they encountered, and either were silent altogether, or only roused into occasional exertion by a sharp rebuke from England. The letters of Brown, the Archbishop of Dublin, an active promoter of Protestant doctrine, furnish a most curious and striking illustration of this subject.† Originally an Augustinian

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\* See Abp. Brown's account of a riot in church on one of these occasions,—not the only one,—in Carew Papers, I. 135, 139.

† “Your humble servant (meaning himself), receiving your mandate, as one of his Highness' Commissioners, hath endeavoured almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation (Ireland) to due obedience, in owning of his Highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his Highness' supremacy, saying that this isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors [who] gave it to the King's ancestors. . . . The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel.” (Abp. Brown to Cromwell, Nov. 28, 1535. *Life in the Phoenix*, p. 121.)

friar, and provincial of his order, Brown had embraced the Reformation, and was appointed successor to John Allen, whose violent death in 1534 is described in the Carew Papers.\* Supported mainly by Cromwell, Brown had taken possession of his diocese with a fixed resolution to denounce the ancient religion and the orders in which he had been brought up. Such a task would have been formidable to a man of greater prudence, forbearance, and wisdom than Brown. He soon got involved in disputes with his clergy, in disputes with the Lord Deputy, in disputes with Dr. Staples, the Bishop of Meath, the only other vigorous champion of the Protestant religion in Ireland besides himself.† But even he felt, after a time, the enervating influence of his position, and, resolute and active as he was, he began to fold his arms.

Disappointed, justly, perhaps unjustly, in the expectations which he had formed, Henry VIII. addressed the bishop in a letter as characteristic of the Tudors in their treatment of churchmen as it must have been mortifying to this well-meaning but injudicious prelate:—‡

“Whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye showed an appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere Word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs, as much as in you lay, and might appear to be to our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue still in that your good purpose; yet, nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry advertisements and ways be informed, the good opinion that we

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\* Vol. I., p. 56.

† Carew, I. 141. See also State Papers, III. 1. And see note † on p. xxii.

‡ State Papers, II. 465.

had conceived of you is, in manner, utterly frustrate. For neither do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people there in the Word of God, ne frame yourself to stand us in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs. Such is your lightness in behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in *we* and *us*, in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself, therefore, with this gentle advertisement, and do first your duty towards God in the due execution of your office; do then your duty towards us, in th' advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither, from time to time, of th' estate of the same; and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve to induce you to it, but that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness, that ye cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound, in all the points before touched, to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance that we be as able, for the not doing thereof, to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to prefer you, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceived of you, appertaineth." [31 July 1537.]

Well might the Archbishop "tremble in body," as he expresses it,\* at this instance of his Majesty's displeasure, and wish that "the ground would open and swallow" him if he did not show all promptness "in rebuking the " papistical power, or setting forth benignly the advancement of his Grace's affairs." What could he do? He could not create listeners; he could not expect by the mere force of his own preaching, by his own example and that of the Council of Ireland, to draw men to the precepts of the Gospel, which appeared to their ignorant eyes garbed in the guise of the executioner, armed with manacles and instruments of torture. In vain the Arch-

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\* State Papers, II. 513.

bishop threatened and preached; in vain with one hand he held forth the Gospel, and with the other cast friars and popish seminaries into prison. Preachers and people remained equally obstinate. This land, says one of the most zealous admirers of the Archbishop, is in a manner overflown with men “whose pharisaical ceremonies and  
 “hypocrisy, of so long time continued here, hath not  
 “only trained and brought the people in manner wholly  
 “from the knowledge of God, but also in an evil and  
 “erroneous opinion of the King’s most noble Grace, and  
 “of all those that under his Majesty be the setters forth  
 “of the true Word of God, and repugnators against those  
 “abuses.” \*

Again, in another letter from a different hand, but in the same strain, and animated by the same spirit:—†

“Here as yet the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men’s hearts, what with that monster the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents, in especial the false and crafty bloodsuckers the Observants, as they will be called most holiest, so that there remains more virtue in one of their coats and knotted girdles than ever was in Christ and his passion. It is hard, my good Lord, for any poor man to speak against their abusions here; for except it be the Archbishop of Dublin, which doth here in preaching set forth God’s Word, with due obedience to their prince, and my good Lord Butler, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more, which are of small reputations, here is else none, from the

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\* White to Cromwell, 28 March 1538.

† State Papers, II. 570. See also Abp. Brown’s letter to Allen, State Papers, III. 1, complaining of the Bishop of Meath when he preached at Christ Church. “He hath not only sithence that time by pen, as you know his wont full well, railed and raged against me, calling me heretic and beggar, . . . but also on Palm Sunday, at afternoon, in Kilmainham, where the stations and also pardons been now as bremlly used as ever they were.” It was not a very edifying sight to see the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath, the two most prominent Protestant prelates, thus openly abusing each other in the very sanctuary.

highest, may abide the hearing of it, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal; and in especial they that here rule all, that be the temporal lawyers, which have the King's fee."

Nor were the inferior clergy qualified by their learning, zeal, or ability to supply the defects of their superiors. During the latter years of Henry VIII., and at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, many of the clergy of England had been deprived of their livings. Very few of the more eligible in point of morals or learning were likely to expatriate themselves and accept benefices in Ireland, who might fairly hope to obtain a suitable provision in England. There was nothing in the state of the country, still less in the provision made for the spiritual wants of people, to induce men to sacrifice utility, comfort, ease, and society at home for missionary exertions among the native or Anglican Irish. For this service the English Church had no class of men like the friars,—none who, devotees to peril, hardship, and poverty, were willing to sacrifice themselves to an arduous service with the same zeal, fearlessness, and self-denial as did these barefooted emissaries of the Pope. They plunged into the woods and wastes and desolate fastnesses of the native Irish, with the same animosity and religious fervour as prompted the new-born society of Jesus to brave the terrors of an unknown career in India, China, and Japan. I am not now inquiring into the reasons of this difference. It might be that the motive principles of the two churches naturally led to these consequences; that whilst the Protestant was occupied at home in refuting Romanist errors, and putting forward the great principle of Faith as the pathway to heaven, the Roman Catholic, adhering to the old doctrine of works, found a new scope and practical application of his creed, when monasteries were put down, in missionary labours among the

heathen or the heretics. Certain it is, whatever be the cause, that the missionary spirit of the Church of Rome formed a striking contrast to the absence of that spirit in the new birth and infant career of Protestantism. Consequently, as the new faith was rarely to be found among the native Irish, those of the clergy in England who could be induced to take livings in Ireland were neither the best nor the most eligible for the task. Either they were men who had no sufficient recommendation for character and attainments to succeed in England, or dissatisfied with the English hierarchy and the discipline of the English Church, they carried with them more religious zeal than discretion into their new sphere of action, and were the least fitted to propagate the faith among their new and refractory flocks.

On this head the evidence of the poet Spenser, long resident in Ireland, is clear and peremptory. After speaking of the absence of religious teaching in Ireland, and answering the remark that those who held "the place of government" were not without blame for suffering the people "to wallow in such deadly darkness," he thus replies:—"That which you blame is not, I suppose, any  
" fault of will in those ghostly fathers which have charge  
" thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous  
" occasions wherewith that wretched realm hath continu-  
" ally been turmoiled; for instruction in religion needeth  
" quiet times, and ere we seek to settle a sound disci-  
" pline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto  
" the laity; for it is ill time to preach among swords,  
" and most hard or rather impossible it is to settle a  
" good opinion in the minds of men for matters of re-  
" ligious doubtful, which have, doubtless, an evil opinion  
" of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old must  
" be removed."

Then, after enlarging on this topic, the poet proceeds to consider how far the cause of religion had been hindered through the negligence and misconduct of those who were appointed to teach it. On this head he observes:—"What-  
 " ever disorders you see in the Church of England,  
 " ye may find there (in Ireland) and many more; namely,  
 " gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency,  
 " careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the  
 " common clergyman. And besides all these they have  
 " their particular enormities; for all Irish priests which  
 " now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner  
 " mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders,  
 " but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow  
 " all kind of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other  
 " Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures, nor  
 " preach to the people, nor administer the Communion;  
 " but baptism they do, for they christen yet after the  
 " Popish fashion, only they take the tithes and offerings,  
 " and gather what fruit else they may of their livings,  
 " the which they convert as badly."

The bishops, he avers, were not without their share of blame in continuing and augmenting these disorders. They ruled their clergy, who were generally poor, licentious, and illiterate, with absolute sway; "yea, and some  
 " of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat  
 " out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices  
 " which are in their own donation upon any, but keep  
 " them in their own hands, and let their own servants  
 " and horseboys to take up the tithes and fruits of  
 " them, with which some of them purchase great lands  
 " and build fair castles upon the same." He concludes—a conclusion which most of his readers will have anticipated:—"For the clergy, excepting the grave fathers,  
 " which are in high place about the State, and some few

“ others which are lately planted in their new college, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.”\*

This was the state of the Irish Church as late, if not later, than the year 1593, when Trinity College was first opened for the reception of students.

It may appear surprising that in the face of these difficulties—difficulties which every day accumulated and clogged the wheels of government—the Tudor sovereigns did not adopt a more conciliatory and politic course. The whole power of Ireland was in reality shared between the Irish chiefs and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Until the attempt was made to force, at all hazards, the King’s supremacy and the doctrines of the Reformation upon Ireland, the chiefs of the nation, at all events, if not the great mass of the people, were, as we have seen, little affected towards their ancient religion.† No Irish chief had as yet, as in the case of James FitzMaurice FitzGerald,‡ or Desmond a few years later, proclaimed himself the champion of a holy league, or combined friends and foes in the common cause of religion against the English government. No Irish chief had, as yet, appealed to the religious affections and sentiments of the people, and made

\* State of Ireland, p. 529.

† I do not mean to insinuate that the Irish chiefs were not religious in their own way; but that way did not prevent them from treating priests and churches with a freedom not easily reconciled with our modern notions of the Isle of Saints. In the time of Henry VII., when one of Kildare’s predecessors was brought before the Council to answer the charge of burning the cathedral of Cashel, “By Jاسus,” he exclaimed to the astonishment of the board, “I would never have done it, had it not been told me that the Archbishop was within.” It is creditable to Henry VII., though a King given more to sadness than mirth, that he heartily enjoyed this Irish apology. See Holinshed (or Hooker’s) Chron. of Ireland, p. 83. But indeed the fact is too notorious to need any laboured proof.

‡ Carew, Vol. I. p. 397.



their devotional faith subservient to his own designs. Beyond the ancient ties of clanship, undoubtedly strong, and apparently as indefinite as they were strong, religion had not as yet intervened to bind an enthusiastic and susceptible people, chiefs and dependants, priests and laymen, in one close and compact union. The rights exercised by Irish lords were as oppressive as those exercised by the Russian nobleman over his serfs. The general improvement in the condition of the poorer Irish population introduced by English settlers, the regular habits of labour and fixed employments in English farms and homesteads would have created more intimate and tender ties between the two people—would by degrees have raised the population, and emancipated them from the ignorant tyranny of semi-barbarous chiefs, or made the interests of the two incompatible. By increasing the number of these settlers, by improving the general condition of the population, by restraining insensibly the powers of the chiefs, by putting a strong curb on the licence of the soldiers, England might, after a time, have created for itself the strongest barrier and support in the affections of the Irish people—it might have attracted towards itself, by a sense of gratitude and community of interests, those strong affections which now ran violently in an opposite channel. By wise and conciliatory treatment, the great mass of the people, like the Lowlander in Scotland, would have proved a barrier to the turbulence and insurrections of the chiefs. But indifferent to the condition, the wants, and the wishes of the broad mass of the population, the Tudor sovereigns merely sought how to force the Irish into compliance with English manners, English habits, dress, and customs; and when the task proved impossible, nothing remained except to retreat or to ride rough-shod over all obstacles to good government and improvement.

Throughout the papers of Carew there are to be found repeated and fruitless enactments for obliterating from the face of Ireland all traces, accidental or otherwise, of Irish characteristics. The land was in all respects to be remodelled, *volens nolens*, upon an English platform, so far at least as it was possible in a conquered province—so far as a humble and distant dependant can be made to assume the dress, manners, deportment, religion, and policy of its superior. Its Deputy was to be the *alter idem* of English royalty; its council board the counterpart in its constitution and its authority of the council board in England. Its chiefs, some of whom were scarcely superior in civilization to their followers, were to abandon their wild and intemperate habits, and wilder lives among wild dependants, and, holding their estates, like English noblemen, of the crown, to strut in the robes of peers of the realm.\* Ireland must have its bench of bishops, and its dioceses, most of which existed only in name; and even the people were to be remodelled after the English fashion. The weight of the law was brought to bear against forelocks and moustaches: it regulated the size of noblemen's and gentlemen's shirts, and took under its protection hats, caps, French hoods and tippets. Saffron cloth and embroidery were little better than constructive treason. To listen to Irish lays or give alms to an Irish minstrel exposed the offender, by the bitter sarcasm of the laws, to the forfeiture of both ears if the offence were repeated. “All carroughes, bards, rhymers, “ and common idle men and women, within this province “ (of Munster), making rhymes, bringing of messages, and “ common players at cards, [are] to be spoiled of all their

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\* There is a curious instance of an Irish nobleman, who having to make his appearance at the Irish parliament in his official robes, requested that his chaplain might have a suit of the same, as the boys would laugh at him.

“ goods and chattels, and to be put in the next stocks, there  
 “ to remain till they shall find sufficient surety to leave that  
 “ wicked thrade of life, and fall to other occupation.”\*  
 As if, forsooth, they could !

Nor did these restrictions end here. They descended even to the women's apparel. According to the ordinances proclaimed at Limerick by Sir John Perrot in 1571, no maid or single woman was allowed “ to wear or put on  
 “ any great roll or kercher of linen cloth upon their heads,  
 “ neither any great smock with great sleeves, but to put  
 “ on hats, caps, French hoods, tippetts, or some other  
 “ civil attire upon their heads,” upon pain of forfeiting  
 “ the said Irish garments so worn ; the same forfeiture to  
 “ be to such person or persons as shall happen to seize  
 “ the same.”†

Narrowing their notions of government rather to their own limited experience of what was suitable to and had succeeded in England, the Tudor sovereigns scarcely considered how far a different country might require a different rule. Believing that all the disorders of Ireland were to be traced either to the neglect or the misconduct of English Deputies, bishops, captains, or settlers, who had failed to carry out their instructions with the diligence and success expected of them, the government at home was chiefly occupied with the thought, how they could

\* Carew, p. 410. “ Harpers, rhymers, Irish chroniclers, bards, and  
 “ isshallyn commonly go with praises to gentlemen in the English Pale,  
 “ praising in rhymes, otherwise called danes, their extortions, robberies,  
 “ and abuses, as valiantness, which rejoiceth them in that their evil doings,  
 “ and procure a talent of Irish disposition and conversation in them.”  
 (State Papers, II. 450.) A much more effectual method was adopted in  
 the reign of Edward VI. for extinguishing the spirit of Irish minstrelsy.  
 It was ordained that no poet hereafter should make or compose any poem  
 except in honour of the King. (Carew, 215.)

† Carew Papers, I. 411.

best force the acceptance of their laws and institutions upon the unhappy Irish. By dint of repeated efforts, by enormous waste of blood and treasure, the O'Neils, O'Connors, and O'Mores were humbled ; the still more formidable chiefs of the Butlers and Geraldines were over-awed or conciliated. But their submission, extorted by fear or the hope of a peerage, by English honours or English protection, produced little effect upon the population in general. Rather it broke the neck of their own influence, and only tended to bring into closer union the Irish priesthood and the Irish people.

It will be seen from these remarks that if any advice had been offered for conciliating the native Irish clergy, it would have been rejected with the utmost disdain. Yet here was the difficulty ; the people, obstinately opposed to Protestant teachers, must either be obliged, for the little religious instruction they had, to Popish emissaries, employed by foreign sovereigns, or grow up uncared for and untended, in grosser barbarism than before. To the former alternative the English government refused to listen ; in the temper of those times no religion was more hopeful and acceptable than the Roman Catholic.

So nothing remained except for the people to become daily more barbarous and more unmanageable, or be forced upon Protestantism by the edge of the sword. How could the Reformation, under these circumstances, commend itself to the convictions or affections of Irishmen ?

Of the actual condition of the great mass of the population it is impossible to speak with precision. We have no sufficient or authentic data for determining this important question. Occasional and intermittent notices now and then flit across the page of a public document, leading the reader to infer that the state of the "mere Irish" was as wretched as might be expected after centuries of

mismanagement and neglect. The English Deputies and their Council, mainly interested in the narrow and immediate safety or prosperity of the English Pale, could not be expected to raise their eyes beyond their own exclusive province, or entertain broad and comprehensive views for the amelioration and improvement of Irish outcasts. For turbulence and crime, whatever might be the motive or the cause—idleness, hunger, or the commands of the Chief—these English governors had but one security, but one precaution—the power of the sword.\* It may be urged in their defence, that gentler means and milder efforts would have been equally fruitless; that it was useless to offer opportunities of improvement to a people obstinately bent upon resisting them; or try to infuse habits of industry and order among those who found congenial occupation and delight in turbulence and idleness. But without here insisting on the fact, of which, indeed, we have repeated proofs in these papers,—without urging the evidence of English writers,—that whatever labour of any kind was done in Ireland, even for English settlers, was done by the native Irish; I regret to say that I cannot trace in the correspondence of the best and wisest of the Lord Deputies any scheme for the general improvement of the Irish people. I fail to find in their numerous projects for keeping Ireland in order any indications of a nobler aim or loftier purpose than that of retaining Ireland for the benefit of

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\* Hooker, well acquainted with Ireland, the adviser of the Carews and their faithful friend, speaks the sentiments of the times in the following quaint extract:—"As the husbandman then prospereth best, when he fields and gardens are weeded and cleansed from thorns, brambles, and briars, prepared for the fire; even so shall the magistrate enjoy the quiet state of a commonwealth, when justice taketh place, and judgment is executed; when the good are preserved and cherished [*i.e.*, the English settlers]; and the wicked [the Irish], prepared for the gallows, according to their deserts are punished!" (Chronicles of Ireland, p. 141.)

England at the smallest possible cost and trouble. Forgetful of the truth that governors exist for the benefit of the governed, that only by fearless and unflinching recognition of this law can rulers count upon the obedience of their subjects, no more comprehensive view crossed the vision of English authorities in Ireland, so far as I can discover from these papers. Sometimes, indeed, projects are discussed for establishing schools, for improving and extending the influence of the clergy, for protecting husbandry, tilth, and cattle; but with these and similar designs the condition is invariably coupled that they, for whom these devices are intended, shall learn the English tongue, adopt the English dress and manners, promote in other words, English influence and interests under the guise of their own improvement. There is scarcely a single Lord Deputy—not now to mention inferior officers—to whom some grand and novel panacea does not present itself for the evils and disorders of Ireland; yet withal there is not one, so far as I have been able to ascertain, who ever attempts to emancipate himself from the notion that his highest, if not his exclusive, duty is to promote the ease, the welfare, and security of the English settlers; without this no panacea could prove efficacious.

Not that in these respects native chiefs were much better than their conquerors. Little superior to the mass of their countrymen in education, manners, or civilization, they could do nothing substantially to improve the condition of their people. Irish antiquarians, more competent to speak of these matters than I am, may tell us what advances they had made in learning, arts, science, and civilization since the days of Henry II. They may be able to point out satisfactory evidences of progress in the native Irish nobility, if not in the people, from the day when the Saxon first planted his foot on the Irish strand.

For it is hard to believe that any people should go backward—any people so witty, subtle, quick, and versatile,—whose cheerfulness centuries of famine, war, and misrule have never been able to extinguish, nor impair the strength and elasticity of their physical powers.

But so far as I may judge from the evidence before me, in the Tudor times—let others determine the reasons, I am only concerned with the facts—Irish chiefs had not yet advanced to the elementary proficiency of signing their names. Careless of art and literature, indifferent alike to the customs and luxuries of civilization, the O'Neals, O'Mores, and O'Connors—*absit invidia verbo*—still lived in unglazed huts\* and savage plenty, exercising their martial spirit in plundering their neighbours' beeves; whilst the squirearchy in England, not to mention its nobles, were gazing in their Tudor halls and stately mansions on the trophies of Crecy or of Agincourt, or learned the lessons of chivalry in the pages of Froissart or Sir John Malory. The great Shane O'Neal drank to excess. Tirlough Lenough, scarcely his inferior in rank and power, spent on one occasion 400*l.* “in tippling and carousing, in three days' time.”† When Sir Edward Bellingham was Deputy in 1547, he paid an unexpected visit to the great Earl of Desmond in Munster, “whom “he found sitting by the fire, and there took him, and “carried him with him to Dublin.” “This Earl,” says Hooker, “was very rude both in gesture and in apparel, “having for want of good nurture as much good man-

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\* Speaking of the houses of the tenant farmer in Ireland, “rather swine styes than houses,”—Spenser remarks that this was “the chiefest “cause of his so beastly manner of life, and savage condition, lying and “living together with his beast in one house, in one room, in one bed, that “is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill.” (State of Ireland, p. 529.)

† Coxe, I. 351.

ners as his kerns and his followers could teach him. The Deputy having him at Dublin, did so instruct, school, and inform him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformity in manners, apparel, and behaviours appertaining to his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of his duty and obedience to his sovereign and prince, and made him to kneel upon his knees, sometimes an hour together, before he knew his duty.”\*

Easy, irregular, and indulgent as may have been the rule of their native chiefs, it was in no degree calculated to encourage Irish industry, or improve the condition of the people. In place of a fixed rent, Irish landlords oppressed their tenantry with irregular exactions, sometimes burdensome, generally mischievous. In the inquiries

\* Chron. of Ireland, p. 109. And yet as a set-off to these accounts of the general rudeness and uncouthness of the Irish upper classes, the imagination of Spenser is finely touched, not merely by the gallantry, but the appearance of the mounted Irish soldier. No other seemed to bring back to the poet's mind so completely the ancient days of Arthurian knights, and what use he has made of it is evident to the readers of the “*Faerie Queene*.” Speaking of the quilted leathern jack then used by the Irish horsemen, and, with native English pride, claiming for it an English origin, Spenser remarks in his stately language :—“It was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas' apparel and armour, as he went to fight against the giant in his robe of sheeklaton, which is that kind of quilted leather with which they use to embroider their Irish jackets. And there likewise by all that description you may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truly set forth, in his long hose, his riding shoes of costly cordewaine, his hacqueton and his habergeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

“*Endoxus*. I scarcely thought that the manner had been Irish, for it is far differing from that we have now, as also all the furniture of his horse, his strong brass bit, his sliding reins, his shank pillion without stirrups, his manner of mounting, his fashion of riding, his charging of his spear aloft above his head, the form of his spear.” (State of Ireland, p. 525.)



made by English commissioners on this subject we find that Lady Catharine Poer required not only coyne and livery\* for her own horses and boys, but also for all her guests, whether English or Irish;—no slight demand, considering the profuse hospitality of the Irish nobility. From every ploughland and every three cottages Lord Kildare demanded a workman for a week in the year, for ditching and building fastnesses on the borders, and an axeman for one or two days to cut passages through the forests. When Lord Poer or Lord Ossory hunted, their dogs were supplied with bread and milk or butter. When the Deputy or any other great man visited Lady Poer, she levied from her tenantry a subsidy of meat, drink, and candles, at her pleasure. On one occasion she exacted a fine of five marks from one of her retainers whose horse or cattle had been stolen, through his want of due vigilance. Whenever she took a journey to Dublin, the charges were defrayed by her tenants. In other instances it was found that the lords insisted upon purchasing the produce of their tenants at a price fixed by themselves, and prohibited the sale of it without their

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\* “What livery is, we, by common use in England, know well enough; namely, that it is allowance of horse-meat, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keep horses at livery; the which word, I guess, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly food. So in great houses the livery is said to be served up for all night; that is, their evening’s allowance for drink. And livery is also called the upper weed, which a serving-man weareth, so called (as I suppose), for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleasure. So it is apparent that by the word livery is meant horse-meat, like as by the word coigny is understood man’s meat. . . . The which is a common use amongst landlords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tenants. For all their tenants being commonly but tenants at will, they used to take of them what victuals they list; for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning.” (Spenser’s State of Ireland, p. 513. See also Carew Papers, II. 153.)

leave. When a great captain desired to obtain possession of a poor man's freehold on the marches, and the tenant refused to part with his property, the captain withdrew his protection, and allowed the unfortunate recusant to be robbed and destroyed by the Irish borderers.\*

Out of this practice grew the great abuse of annual tenures, with all their train of consequences. "The lords of land and freeholders," says Spenser, "do not there use to set out their land in farm or for term of years to their tenants, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure; neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to rack their tenants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them, besides his covenants, what he pleaseth."† With the effects of this on the general conditon of the country, I need not trouble my readers.

Such was the general state of Ireland during the early period of the Tudors.

When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the English Pale had been greatly diminished. Its limits had receded from year to year, until in reality it had ceased to extend beyond half the county of Louth, half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, and half the county of Kildare.‡ Beyond these narrow boundaries the

\* See the Report of the Commissioners, in 1537, of which an abstract is given in State Papers, II. 511. See also Carew Papers, I. 339, sq.

† State of Ireland, p. 528.

‡ State Papers, II. 9. The following passage in the Carew Papers, Vol. I. p. 7. is worth notice :—"The four shires here which should obey the King's laws, called Meath, Louth, Dublin, and Kildare, the foresaid abominable order of coyne and livery was begun in them above 50 years

regal authority was neither acknowledged nor regarded. Within them the condition of the people was worse, if possible, than of those without it. Deputies, judges, officers, and clerks were as numerous and as exacting “as when all the land for the more part were subject to the law.” The English, oppressed as much by their own government as by the native Irish, had rapidly diminished in numbers, or had melted away into the Irish population, adopting their language, manners, and dress, and even their names. “Unless your Grace,” says Surrey to Henry VIII.,\* “send inhabitants of your own natural subjects to inhabit such countries as shall be won, all your charges should be but wastefully spent.”† More than five and twenty years after, Chief Justice Luttrell complains that “English husbandmen, labourers, servants at husbandry daily, for the eschewing the oppression of coyne

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“ by Thomas Earl of Desmond, son to the aforesaid James [Earl of Desmond]; and he was then the King’s Deputy; for the which order and precedent he was put to execution. And then the said order shortly began and [was] renewed within these 30 years; coyne and livery, and carting, carriages, journeys, and other impositions, far hostings and journeys, and wilful war began since that time. The Deputies’ wives go to cuddies, and put coyne and livery in all places at their pleasure, and do stir great war, that now, by the foresaid extort means and precedents, all the King’s subjects of the said four shires be near hand Irish, and wear their habits and use their tongue, so as they are clean gone and decayed; and there is not eight of the lords, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the four shires but be in debt, and their land be made waste; and without brief remedy be had they must sell their lands, or else depart them, and go to some other land.” This was written in 1515.

\* 30 June 1521.

† One of the causes of this degeneracy of the English settlers, as pointed out by Chief Justice Luttrell, will surprise my readers. He desires an order shall be given that no Irish beggars, rhymers, pipers, and the like “shall be suffered to come amongst the Englishmen; for by their gifts and minstrelsy they provoketh the people to an Irish order.” Englishmen have not in general been thought to be so susceptible to the influence of music. (State Papers, II. 508.)

“ and livery, and some, after they have lost their goods by  
 “ the occasion thereof and by spoils and robberies, goeth  
 “ daily into England, and never after returneth, and in  
 “ their steads none can be had but Irish.”\*

In the four great provinces the O’Neils, the McMoroughs or Cavanaghs, the Desmonds, the Ormonds, and the O’Connors fought out their interminable feuds without the slightest regard to English law, or the least anticipation of English interference.

(1520.) Gerald Earl of Kildare, who had succeeded his father as Lord Deputy in 1513, contrived still further to extend the influence of his family ; and the Geraldines, supported by the Deputy’s authority, became omnipotent in the south, much to the envy of their opponents, the Butlers. Unfortunately, for this period of Irish history authentic materials are extremely scanty, and it is not possible to ascertain with precise accuracy either the course of Kildare’s government, or the causes which led to his disgrace. In 1520, the Earl was brought before Wolsey and the Council “ as touching the seditious practices, conspiracies, and “ subtle drifts ” of himself, “ his servants, aiders, and “ assisters.” His examination had been deferred in consequence of the preparations for an interview then pending between Henry VIII. and Charles V. in the summer of 1520, and Wolsey had “ no convenient leisure hitherto ” to give his attention to the subject. Who were his accusers, upon what evidence Kildare was charged with neglecting his duty as alleged, and with disturbing the peace of Ireland, we have no information. On Kildare’s recall, the Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was appointed as Deputy. Surrey’s appointment could not be looked upon without satisfaction by the house of Ormond,

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\* State Papers, II. 509.

with whom he was connected by the ties of marriage. Throughout his administration he received the support of the Butlers.\* To the prejudice of the cause of Kildare he did not scruple to avow his conviction that English and Irish were alike afraid that, if Kildare was allowed to return, the land would be in greater trouble than ever.†

The only enemy of importance with whom Surrey had to do battle was the great O'Neil, who apparently submitted; and Surrey could report, though somewhat prematurely, that the land was in as good peace as it had been for many years. But Surrey was soon tired of a dignity, which was attractive to those only who had never tried it, and of a task which appeared no sooner to be drawing to a favourable termination than fresh and greater troubles sprang up to retard it. Sick and tired of command, sore vexed in mind as well as in body, the Earl begged earnestly to be recalled. He was glad to purchase peace at any price with enemies, whom no treaties could bind, no conquest could dismay.‡

Short as was the Earl's administration, he left office not without the lasting good will and gratitude of the Irish. The author of "the Book of Howth" is loud in the Earl's praises.§ He says:—

"The King, thinking the realm of Ireland expedient to have a wise, circumspect, prudent, valiant, and a stalworthy gentleman to

\* See S.P. II. 49, 50; see also p. 89.

† It was during his administration that the proposition was set on foot, in the autumn of 1520, for contracting a marriage between Lord James Butler, Ormond's son, then residing with Wolsey, and Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter, *i.e.*, Ann Boleyn. (State Papers, II. p. 50.)

‡ S.P. II. 85, where it is stated by Stile that no longer dependence could be put upon the revolted Irish, "than that they do see their advantage, or else that they be pleased with great rewards, in like manner as that they have been since my Lord Lieutenant's coming hither." 19 October 1521.

§ Carew MS. 623, f. 116.

have the charge and government of the realm of Ireland, did choose out among other the nobility of England the Earl of Surrey, son to the Duke of Norfolk ; which sent him over into Ireland to be the Lord Lieutenant, and sent with him over certain of the guard to attend upon his person, as undoubtedly worthy he was. In his time the realm was brought to such civility, the like was not a long time afore ; by reason whereof all the nobles of the Irish was content and did agree that all such orders which the said Earl did prescribe by indenture to them they would observe and keep to the uttermost of their power ; which things themselves did confess a long time after, which they said themselves they were willing to observe. This Earl of Surrey, by reason of some that was desirous of estimation inform the said Earl that Sir Nicholas Lord of Howth was not such as in the Council meet was to be allowed ; meaning thereby, in case he were of the Council, things should not come to that end as their desired purpose was looked for ; affirming more that the said Lord was so affectioned to the Earl of Kildare that nothing seemed right or indifferent to him, but that soundeth only the honour of the said Earl of Kildare, and also he being a judge or counsellor, the Earl his side was to be preferred rather than he which did complain ; for which cause the Earl of Surrey dismissed the said Lord of Howth for a time. And also they did affirm, that he was so stout and wise withal, that few or none that then was in the Council could or would say anything contrary to that he had once determined. This was spoken by the Lord of Tremletstoune, the Barnwells, and the Prestons, which then bare no goodwill to the Geraldines.

“ A time after, the Earl of Surrey, understanding those sayings aforesaid to be but a dissimulation or craft invented for a set purpose for displeasure that they bare against the Earl of Kildare, called the Lord of Howth and declared to him those that was cause of his dismissing from the Council, and so placed him as one above all other worthy to be of the King’s Privy Council ; and so continued to his end.

“ This Earl of Surrey was so just a judge, that no man from him departed without that law and right he ought to have. He also rendered to all men, whom he charged or bought anything of, rather above the market, than egall or under the market. He was so true and upright in all his doings, that where as he went the market always followed him. He would say often that he would eat grasses and drink water rather than he would be at a banquet with the heavy heart and curse of the poor. So that all things which was

necessary for his Lordship's [ac]cattes and provision was always ready at his gates to be delivered. His Lord[ship] commanded his officers that no man should depart from his gates without meat and drink, insomuch the poor and simple people thought he was the King's son, and all other thought his Lordship another Solomon among them. He also commanded that none of those whom he brought out of England in especial should not take more use of any in Ireland, no nother but as they would have been used themselves. And at his departing he made a proclamation at a day certain he would depart into England, if wind did serve, before which time his Lordship required all men that he owed anything, or any other of his could be charged withal, he himself would have seen it paid; the which he did accordingly. By reason whereof all English and Irish men, women, and children in Ireland, that heard of this, upon their knees did pray devoutly that his generation should continue as long as any man in England or Ireland. *Amen.*

“His men was kept in great towns and within his Lordship's house, and also his horses; so that no man had cause to say nor think evil of his Lordship's doing. And often he would say that he came to Ireland to do the country good, and so was commanded by the King, and also would say that his conscience was grieved when he heard a poor man complained. This nobleman departed out of Ireland the last of May, after the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, which was the year of our Lord 1520 [*sic*, for 1521], with as many prayers as blessings, both of poor and rich, as ever man that did depart out of Ireland; for in his time was corn, cattle, fish, health, and fair weather, that the like was not seen many years before.

“He had such grace that there was neither poor, neither rich, but lamented his departure, as though all goodness were from them ravished. He was so careful for the poor, so upright amongst the higher powers, that he was rather to be *alter Sulmon* called, than a private minister. He never sought no man's blood; he never coveted nothing of any that was other men's; he was never malicious to any. To be short, without many frivolous words to multiply, it was thought by divers that he never offended within the compass of the seven deadly sins all the while he was in Ireland. What shall I say of his Lordship more? My wit do not serve me to give him half his worthy commendation. Therefore to God I leave his Lordship and his generation *in secula seculorum.*”

(1522.) Surrey enjoyed a greater authority thau was entrusted to any subsequent Deputy. To save expense the

King resolved to place the sword, with a more restricted power, in the hands of some nobleman of Irish extraction, and probably the influence of Surrey may be traced in the appointment of Sir Pierce Butler, called Earl of Ormond. But Sir Pierce had apparently little other conception of his duties than that of making his authority subservient to his own interests and the annoyance of the Geraldines. After a short rule, and numerous complaints from Kildare and his friends, Ormond was removed, and Kildare once more became Deputy on the 4th of August, 1524.\*

Kildare had not been long settled in his office, when complaints were made against him, by Ormond, of partiality in his administration, and infringement of his indentures. His accusation was answered by Kildare, who retaliated upon Ormond by accusing him of fostering rebellion and discontent. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to determine the truth of these charges and counter-charges. Ormond had a powerful advocate in his son, the Lord James Butler, a member of Wolsey's household. Nor was the government of Kildare likely to be popular with the Irish Council. He was sent for to England to be confronted with the titular Earl of Ormond, afterwards created Earl of Ossory, on 22nd February 1528.†

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\* During his stay in England he had married his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, second Marquis of Dorset. Among his sureties for good behaviour are found the names of Cecily, the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset, Lord Leonard Grey, and others. (Carew Papers, I. 17.) His indenture as Deputy will be found at p. 27. I may observe in passing, that Thomas Cromwell had been a servant in the household of the Dowager Marchioness.

† See the account of the ceremonies of his creation in Carew Papers, I. 37. On this occasion Ossory was accompanied by Sir Thomas Bullen, lately created Viscount Rochford.



Of the precise period when Kildare was recalled it is impossible to speak with certainty. His examination at the Council table, and his bold reply to Wolsey on that occasion, are notable passages in all popular histories of Ireland, but the source from which they are derived is not entirely free from suspicion.\*

During Kildare's absence in England, his substitute, the Lord Delvin, was attacked by O'Connor, taken prisoner, and many of his men slain, "to the great discomfort of all the King's subjects here, and encouraging of his Grace's rebels." † The malice, as Norfolk expressed it, between the Earls of Kildare and Ossory continued as bitterly as ever. The whole land was thrown into confusion by their ceaseless disputes. "I most humbly beseech your Grace," the Duke writes

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\* It is not easy to determine the precise date of this event. Kildare was twice in England, and twice in disgrace. According to Lord Herbert, quoting from Campion, "Kildare was sent for to the Council table, 1527, where the Cardinal, his old enemy, declaimed against him. But he wittily and boldly defended himself, as our history, and especially Campion, hath it at large. Howbeit he was committed, and more accusations produced against him; and particularly that the invasion his brethren had made upon the Earl of Ossory, now the King's Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof also being convict, he was condemned, and reprimed in the Tower. At which the Cardinal offended, sends the lieutenant a warrant for his execution. But the lieutenant, favouring Kildare, acquainted our King therewith; who thereupon not only respited his death, but some while after pardoned and sent him home to his country; checking the Cardinal in the meantime not a little for his presumption." (Complete History of England, II. 96.) If this statement be correct, Kildare's appearance at the Council table must be referred to the year 1522, for Ormond was not Deputy in 1527. If we adopt 1522 as the true year, it is very unlikely that Kildare would have been sent a second time to Ireland, after he had thus provoked the powerful Cardinal;—such a supposition is scarcely reconcilable with his subsequent professions of attachment to Wolsey. See especially his letter in the State Papers, II. 98.

† Council of Ireland to Wolsey, 15 May 1528.

to Wolsey, on the 3rd of July 1528, "as well for the  
 " honour of his Highness, your Grace, and of this realm,  
 " now in this time of great need, so to look upon the  
 " poor land of Ireland, that it take not more hurt  
 " this year than it hath done in any year sith the first  
 " conquest; which was never so likely to ensue as  
 " now, considering the great weakness as well of good  
 " captains of the Englishry, as lack of men of war, and  
 " also the great dissension between the greatest bloods  
 " of the land, and the Irishmen never so strong as  
 " now."

(1528.) In this perplexity the King proposed that the Earl of Ossory, or his son, Lord James Butler, should be appointed Deputy. Wolsey's thoughts at the time were fully occupied with the King's divorce. From July to the end of September in 1527 he had been in France, arranging a treaty with the French King against the Emperor, who had already become aware of Henry's intentions to separate from Catharine. He did not need the interminable difficulty of Ireland to be added to the rest of his troubles; and in his memorial addressed to the King by Vannes and Uvedale,\* he complains that he was at that time "right unable and unmeet" to put in execution the King's wishes touching Ireland. He thought it scarcely advisable that James Butler should be appointed Deputy, as from his youth and inexperience he was as yet unmeet for so grave an employment. Ossory, the father, "his age, unwieldiness, and other passions considered," was still less eligible. He therefore proposed "that none other Deputy should be made at this time." By continuing of Kildare in his office, the Irish, in hope of his return, would remain

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\* See Carew Papers, I. 39.

quiet; for, “if by good wisdom, dexterity, and policy  
“ they be not contained by dulce and fair means, and  
“ some hope of the Earl of Kildare’s return,” they would  
combine and destroy the whole Englishry. So pre-  
carious at that time was the tenure of English authority  
in Ireland!

(1529.) So, in conformity with the advice of Wolsey, Kildare was retained in office for the present; and by a clever stroke of policy the King contrived to extricate himself out of the difficulty in which he was placed. For on the 22nd June 1529 he appointed his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, as Lord Lieutenant, giving him for his Deputy Sir William Skeffington.\* Skeffington reached Dublin in August 1529, attended by Kildare, who had made a faithful promise to the King “to employ and endeavour himself for the annoyance of “ the King’s rebellious subjects of the wild Irishry.”† Skeffington took with him 200 horse; but it was specified in his instructions that if Skeffington, who was at that time old and sickly and often incapable of action, should not fortune to be engaged in person on any expedition, he should, at the requisition of Kildare, allow him the use of the said horsemen. Kildare was to receive a moiety of the profits gained in their exploits. In fact the authority and emoluments of the place were divided between the two, and led to consequences which are sure to follow from such arrangement. The two could not long work harmoniously together. The enemies of the Deputy were not the enemies of Kildare; nor Kildare’s friends the friends of the Deputy. Quarrels intervened. Kildare complained of Skeffington’s inability

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\* See his Instructions in Carew, I. 41.

† Carew, I. 42.

and misconduct, and seems to have been appointed in his place in 1532.\*

(1533.) The animosity of Kildare's natural enemies, the Butlers, who were favourable to Skeffington, now broke out with greater violence than ever. Kildare was accused of favouring O'Neil—of marrying his two daughters to the Irish rebels, O'Connor and O'Carroll. The Council sided against him, and John Alen, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, hereafter notorious for his intrigues "as the subverter of Deputies," was sent to England in 1533 by the Irish Council, to employ his abilities in having Kildare recalled. Perhaps they had a better foundation for their dissatisfaction with the unpopular Deputy, that neither the English tongue nor the English laws were observed "above 20 miles in compass" around the capital; and even these narrow limits were in danger of being brought into the same condition as the rest of the island. On the causes of this decay I need not now insist; how far it arose from the refractory conduct of the Irish Council, or the faults of the English themselves, the employment of Irishmen, the liberties of the temporal lords, always "prejudicial to the King and the weal of the land;" how far it ought to be attributed to the frequent change of Deputies, the ruin of border fortresses, the alienation of royal manors and rents, must be left to the historian of Ireland to determine. They who desire information on these points may consult with advantage the instructions and correspondence of Alen in the Irish State Papers.†

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\* The date of this appointment is uncertain. Skeffington was certainly Deputy in May 1532. (See Carew, I. 49, and Hamilton's Calendar, I. p. 8.) In 1533, Skeffington seems to have still held some office, as he writes to Cromwell in October that he was lying in wait for Kildare.

† Carew, I. 50; and State Papers, II. 162.

Kildare was summoned to England. He endeavoured to evade the summons as long as possible. He anticipated the fate that awaited him; and his letter printed by Coxe in his History of Ireland, if authentic, gives an affecting account of the feelings with which the old and grey-headed chief now viewed the clouds that gathered round the close of his career. If the accusations of Ossory, Skeffington, and others be true,\* that he had employed his influence and authority in securing his interests with the Irish chiefs, we may attribute these acts to his sense of insecurity in Henry's favour. More than once he had visited the English court, sometimes freely, sometimes a prisoner; and every time he had found his escape from it more difficult than before.

(1534.) He sailed for England in February 1534, leaving his son Thomas, or, as he was called, Silken Thomas, in his room. On the 31st of May 1534, an indenture was drawn up between the Earl of Ossory and Henry VIII.,† in which it is stated that the King “upon manifold enormities alleged and proved against the Earl of Kildare, late his Deputy there, had not only discharged him of that room,” but had appointed Sir William Skeffington, then in England, to repair thither and take his place.

Skeffington and the Butlers were evidently on good terms, and therefore Ossory undertook to assist the Deputy with all his powers in the King's causes, against his English and his Irish rebels. In fact, Ossory now held the same position as Kildare had occupied at the previous appointment of Skeffington. At this period of our history the support of one or other of these powerful Irish chieftains was indispensable to the security and even the existence of English authority in Ireland. Their dissensions paved the way to their own ruin, and cemented

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\* Carew, I. 53.

† Ibid. I. 54.

the power of England. Historians may have failed to perceive or to recognize this fact; but it is clear that the combination of the Irish nobles, or even the absence of their aid, would have been perilous in the extreme. In the lands of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossory the Deputy had no power without their consent.\* In the countries where the said Earls held dominion, English influence had universally decayed; “for their English tongue, their English habit, and English order was turned into the Irish tongue, Irish habit, and Irish order.” In the counties of Kerry, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, “which shires had been as obedient unto your laws as the shire of Middlesex is now,” the King’s laws were no longer observed, and no revenue could be levied except from Meath, Dublin, and Louth. The Scots poured in their streams of hardy adventurers on the northern coast, and kept that portion of the island in constant alarm. Whilst elsewhere, what from the ignorance of the gentlemen, what from the imperfect education of their children, murder, felony, extortion of all kinds prevailed, and divers other heinous offences grew up unchecked.†

To add to the difficulty of ruling Ireland, the King had now resolved to enforce the acknowledgment of his supremacy—to add religious to the civil dissensions of the times. As the Irish had been taught to consider that the King, as Lord of Ireland, was no more than the Pope’s vicegerent, it was thought necessary by Cromwell and the English Government to enforce the submission of the Irish in terms as bitter and offensive to Irish prejudices as could well be devised.

“Considering that it is manifest and notorious that the provisions and usurped jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome hath been, and continually is, the most and principal cause of the desolation,

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\* State Papers, II. 183.

† Ibid. p. 191.

division, ruin, and decay of the said land of Ireland, by the abominable abuse whereof the cathedral churches, monasteries, parish churches, and all other, regular and secular, for the more part, in effect, thorough the land ben in utter ruin and destroyed;—for the said Bishop of Rome commonly hath preferred, by his provisions, to the administration and governance of them, not only vile and vicious persons, unlearned, being murderers, thieves, and of other detestable disposition; as light men of war, who, for their unjust maintenance therein, some time to expel the rightful incumbent, and other seasons by force of secular power to put the true patrons from their patronage, and other their misorders, have not only spent, wasted, and alienate such lands, as the King, his noble progenitors, and his nobles, gave to the augmentation of God's divine service, in the churches of that land, the exhibition and maintenance of the ministers of the same, and the utensils and ornaments there; but also, by occasion of the same, great wars hath been stirred amongst the King's people, and countries brent, bishops and divers other persons spiritual and temporal murdered, and many other detestable things have ensued thereby, which would abhor any good Christian man to hear, to the high displeasure of God, the violation of his laws, the derogation of the King's jurisdiction and regality, and the great detriment of his nobles and people:”—Therefore the King “hath willed his said Deputy to resist with all his power the abuse and usurped jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome in the premises.”\*

Could the most tortuous ingenuity have devised a method of making an unpalatable act more odious and unpalatable to Catholic Ireland?

This was the task imposed on Skeffington and Ossory; a task undertaken by them without any apparent consciousness of their own inability to perform it. In the meantime (1534) Kildare's son, an inexperienced youth, whose warm blood had been fanned to fever heat by the treatment of his father, goaded to disloyalty, if report may be trusted, by the intrigues of Alen, united with his relative O'Connor, and overran the English Pale. At the

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\* Carew, I. 55; and State Papers, II. 196; cf. p. 215.

same time Desmond was negotiating with the Emperor Charles V., to send an army of Spaniards into Ireland, and support the faction of the Geraldines.\* To conciliate the favour of his countrymen and render the King's supremacy odious, the Earl's son, Thomas FitzGerald, his "brethren, kinsmen, and adherents did make their avaunt  
 "and boast that they be of the Pope's sect and band,  
 "and him will they serve against the King and all his  
 "part-takers; saying further, that the King is accursed,  
 "and as many as take his part shall be openly ac-  
 "cursed."†

Some months had passed away and Skeffington came not.‡ The English court, alarmed at the coming danger, was unwilling to irritate the Irish by precipitate measures. Meantime, Thomas FitzGerald and his associates had laid siege to the city of Dublin. The notorious Archbishop Alen, conscious of his unpopularity, made his escape; got on board a small fishing vessel, was driven back by stress of weather on the coast near Clontarf, fell into the hands of FitzGerald and his adherents, and was murdered under circumstances of great brutality.§ The act could not fail of bringing ruin on the cause of FitzGerald. His adherents were put under an interdict. The people of Dublin made an able and apparently unexpected resistance, and were suddenly reinforced by Skeffington,

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\* State Papers, II. 198. This was a report only; but it is by no means improbable, considering the relation between the two countries. It is certain that Desmond had been in correspondence with Charles in February 1530. See the Emperor's letter to him in Carew Papers, I. 42.

† State Papers, II. 198.

‡ Carew, I. 57.

§ Alen, formerly Wolsey's chaplain, was hated by the Geraldines, who suspected him of secretly fomenting discontents against Kildare's administration.



who had arrived from England as they were making terms with the enemy.\*

FitzGerald was proclaimed a traitor. His army, ill-organized from the first, and never probably large, dwindled down to 100 horse and 300 foot. Its chief exploits consisted in burning Dunboyne, Trim, and the neighbouring country; exploits more fatal to its own eventual success than the most energetic operations of the Deputy. FitzGerald soon after fell into great distress; found no safety in flight, asked pardon† (1535), submitted unconditionally to Lord Leonard Grey,‡ who was then in

\* Alen apparently adhered to the old faith. It is curious that Skeffington, who must have been a Protestant, at least so far as falling in with the royal supremacy, should have proposed to subject FitzGerald and his adherents to the rigid forms of excommunication such as had prevailed in the palmiest days of the middle ages. The Chancellor (Armagh), whom he consulted, demurred at first, but afterwards consented. His difficulty may have arisen from some tenderness for the son of Kildare, rather than from any legal objection. The sentence of excommunication, or the curse, as it was called, will be found in Carew Papers, I. 56, and verbatim from the Carew MSS. in State Papers, II. 217. It is to the full as terrible in its imprecations as the celebrated curse of Emulphus, which plays so important a part in Sterne's "Tristram Shandy."

† Carew, I. 73, and State Papers, II. 274.

‡ Stanihurst, who is in error in supposing that Lord Grey was Deputy at the time, states that Grey, at the suggestion of Brereton, proposed a parley, and during the conference persuaded FitzGerald to submit himself to the King's mercy, upon an assurance that he should be pardoned on his arrival in England. Both parties received the sacrament openly in the camp, in confirmation of this agreement. On arriving in England with the letters of the Deputy and Council, FitzGerald was apprehended, in 1535, on the road to Windsor, and committed to the Tower. But before this act was known in Ireland, his uncles were invited to a banquet at Kilmainham, manacled—"sweet sance will have sour sauce," says the writer—marched to Dublin, and shortly after sent to England, although two of them were known to have opposed their nephew's treasonable proceedings. But the King, adds Stanihurst, in his quaint way, "was resolved to lop " off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitless berries. " Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a King is " disposed to sweep an alley." (Chron. of Ireland, 97.)

Ireland,\* marshal of the King's army, was made prisoner, sent to England, and committed to the Tower. Here he lingered in great misery till 1537, and was relieved from his wretchedness by the gallows. Of the royal mercy to which he had submitted, on the assurance of favourable treatment, we may judge by the following letter which he wrote to his servant, John Rothe,† during his imprisonment in the Tower :—

“ Jhs.

“ My trusty servant, I heartily commend me unto you. I pray you that you will deliver this other letter to O'Bryen. I have sent to him for 20*l.* sterling, the which if he take you (as I trust he will), then I will that you come over, and bring it unto my Lord Cromwell, that I may so have it. I never had any money since I came into prison but a noble, nor I have had neither hosen, doublet, nor shoes, nor shirt but on[e]; nor any other garment but a single frieze gown, for a velve[t] furred with budge; and so I have gone wolward, and barefoot and barelegged, divers times (when it hath not been very warm); and so I should have done still, and now, but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, hath sometime given me old hosen and shoes, and old shirts.

“ This I write unto you, not as complaining on my friends, but to show you the truth of my great need, that you should be the more diligent in going unto O'Bryen, and in bringing me the before-said 20*l.*, whereby I might the sooner have here money to buy me clothes, and also for to amend my slender commons and fare, and for other necessaries. I will you take out of that you bring me for your costs and labour. I pray you have me commended unto all my lovers and friends, and show them that I am in good health.

“ By me, THOMAS FITZGERALD.”

“ A coarse frieze gown instead of velvet furred with budge ! ” Silken Thomas, so named by his Irish minstrel for the gay apparel of himself and his retainers, was thinking of past splendour. His was not the only mightiness that mated with misery in those tragic times.

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\* State Papers, II. 273.

† Ibid. II. 402.

Leonard Grey and the Lord Deputy received small thanks for their capture. "We accept it thankfully," says the King coldly to Skeffington; "yet, if he had been apprehended after such sort as was convenable to his deservings [*i.e.* slain], the same had been much more thankful, and better to our contentation." One regrets to read such expressions as these in a royal letter. But it must be remembered that the King had expended 40,000*l.*\* in crushing this rebellion, scarcely less than half a million in its modern equivalent. The insurrection had been formidable in all its proportions. Eight baronies had been wasted in Kildare alone,† the crops destroyed, foreign power summoned to the aid of the rebels, and the inability of the King to keep Ireland in order was made notorious to all the world. It must be added also, that the King was at this time entirely under the influence of Cromwell. In his treatment of the English and Irish nobility, that minister seems to me, notwithstanding his abilities, to have displayed, more than once, some traces of the narrowness and ignobleness of his origin, as men of sudden elevation are apt to do. I can trace no magnanimity, and very little generosity, in the exercise of his irresponsible power whenever the great and the noble were concerned. Perhaps he had seen too much of both in Wolsey's service.

O'Connor and other chiefs submitted during Skeffington's administration. Though his activity was frequently interrupted by sickness and advanced years,‡ he contrived to strengthen English authority in Ireland. Yet, like other Deputies, he could not escape the reproaches or calumnies of his associates. Ossory complained that the Deputy never acknowledged his services, and exposed him to needless expenses.§ "He followeth

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\* State Papers, III. 31.

† *Ibid.* II. 263.

‡ *Ibid.* II. 281.

§ *Ibid.* II. 271.

“ the counsel of such,” says the Earl, “ as have neither strength, activity, practice, nor yet good will to further the King’s most necessary affairs.”\* “ My Lord Deputy that now is,” says the Treasurer Brabazon to Cromwell, “ is a very good man of war, but he is not quick enough for this country, and somewhat covetous; therefore my poor advice shall be to your mastership that he may repair into England.”† But the King refused to listen either to these repeated accusations or to Skeffington’s reiterated prayers to be recalled. He was too conscious of the importance of the Deputy’s services in Ireland to release him from his arduous post. Skeffington died shortly after, on the 31st December 1535; but before his death the English sessions were kept in five more of the shires than they used to be. “ And sithence the first conquest,” says Justice Aylmer, “ Irishmen was never in such fear as they be at this instant time.”‡ Happily, by his death, the grey-headed Deputy anticipated any change in this favourable opinion of the King. He was succeeded by Lord Leonard Grey.

(1536.) This Leonard Grey, son of Thomas Grey of Groby, Marquis of Dorset, and of Cecilia his wife, grandson of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, had already distinguished himself for his bravery on various occasions. In 1511 he was one of the knights at the tournament, when Queen Catharine gave birth to a prince.§ In 1512 he served with his brother, the Marquis of Dorset, in Guienne. In 1513 he obtained leave of the King, with four of his brothers and other gallant Englishmen, to take part in the jousts at St. Denis, held by Francis of Valois, afterwards Francis I. He attended the Princess Mary, in 1514, into France, on the occasion of her marriage;

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\* State Papers, II. 272.

† Ibid. 279.

‡ Ibid. 295.

§ Brewer’s Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. I., 1491.

and among the female attendants were his sisters, Miss Grey, and Miss Elizabeth Grey, afterwards married to Gerald Earl of Kildare. For Kildare, Grey became one of the sureties about 1521; went into Ireland, and was sent, about the year 1525,\* from Maynooth to the King by Kildare, as bearer of certain complaints against the Earl of Ormond. He attended the King to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and was with him at the meeting of the Emperor. In 1521 he and Arthur Pole fell under suspicion in relation to the treasons of the Duke of Buckingham.† In 1523 he served with Dacre in the north against Albany and the Scotch, and distinguished himself greatly by his able defence of Wark Castle, in July.‡ In November of the same year we find him, in conjunction with Skeffington, employed under Suffolk in the campaign against France.§ With 20 men he carried the passage of Capyc, defended by 200 men-at-arms.

No means exist, at present, for tracing his history further.|| In July 1535 he was sent into Ireland,¶ ap-

\* Carew Papers, I. 30, 32.

† See my Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. III., No. 1,204, cf. p. 500.

‡ Ibid. No. 3,158.

§ Various notices of Skeffington may be found in the same volume.

|| Mr. Froude thinks that he was implicated in some foolish affair of magic or alchemy, but the evidence seems to me too slight to substantiate the imputation. The passage to which this able historian refers is found in the information of a priest named Stapleton, addressed to Cardinal Wolsey in 1528-9, and runs as follows:—

“ The plate which was made for the calling of Oberon by them hath rested in the hands of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, since that I was before him. And when I had all the said instruments, I went to Norwich, where I had remained but a season, when there came to me a glasier, which, as he said, came from the Lord Leonard, Marquis, for to search one that was expert in such business.”

¶ State Papers, II. 261.

parently as Marshal of the army; and, on the surrender of Thomas FitzGerald, carried his prisoner over into England.\*

Already, as early as 21st August, the veteran intriguers in the Council, John Alen and Justice Aylmer, had written to complain of Skeffington's inability, recommending that Lord Leonard should be substituted in his place. "In judgments by his doings now," they say in their letter to Cromwell,† "he would execute that room very well; " for he beginneth to order well the army, and is a stirrer " abroad, and no sleeper in the morning;" alluding to Skeffington's infirmities. Their recommendation was seconded on the 10th of September by Brabazon, the Treasurer, in a letter to the same minister:—

"My Lord Deputy that now is is a very good man of war,‡ but he is not quick enough for the country, and somewhat covetous; therefore my poor advice shall be to your mastership that he may repair into England, seeing he hath done well, and considering his age and sickness, which is not meet for the wars here."

So, on the death of Skeffington, Grey succeeded to the Deputyship. We need not the confirmation of State Papers to assure us that the new Deputy was active and even rigorous. He was perhaps scarcely tolerant enough of the infirmities of others, who, accustomed to more indulgent rulers, were not prepared all at once to second his efforts with that willingness and activity which the new Deputy expected. It is clear also from his antecedents and from his connexion with Kildare that he was not likely to favour their antagonists, the Butlers. This consideration may have

\* Skeffington writes to Henry VIII. on 24 August, "his [*i.e.* Fitz-Gerald's] desire is, now that he is brought to uttermost extremity, to be conducted to your Highness by the Lord Leonard Grey."

† State Papers, II. 267.

‡ *Ibid.*, II. 279.

had some weight with the English Government in Grey's appointment; for now that the Geraldines were humbled, more danger was to be apprehended from the Butlers. He had not been many weeks in office before his enemies were in full cry. As early as the May of 1536 I find him writing to Cromwell, requesting him not to listen to false rumours. Grey incurred needless odium by adopting severe and parsimonious measures against Skeffington's widow—measures as useless as they were unpopular. His enemies increased as his administration went on; for in Ireland an easy and indolent Deputy was hated and despised by his Council; an active one hated and feared. Factions sprang up in the Council chamber, and before the expiration of a twelvemonth the Deputy reckoned among his most pertinacious enemies some of those who had once been foremost in desiring his advancement. First Brabazon; then Alen and Aylmer; then Brown, Archbishop of Dublin; finally, a host of inferiors hunted him singly or in packs; criticised his operations, or misrepresented his proceedings to the King and Cromwell.\* It had now become one prime object of Cromwell's policy to reduce the expense of the Irish establishment, diminish the army, and, if possible, extract a revenue from Ireland. The King's expenses had been great during the Northern rebellion, and on 28th May 1537 we find Take stating to Cromwell that he found great difficulty in raising even so small a sum as 3,000*l.* for the Irish establishment. Retrenchment ill suited either the military purposes of Grey, or the interests of the Irish Council. Without sufficient reinforcements it was impossible to extend the King's authority or keep the Irish in subjection. The FitzGerald, exasperated by the treatment of their

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\* Letter to Cromwell, 31 October 1536.

relatives, still more by the apprehension of the five brethren of the Earl of Kildare, were either ripe for rebellion, or their moody discontent, worse than open rebellion, proved a serious obstacle to economic reforms.

Through the interested activity of the Butlers, and the execution of the Geraldines, the carldom of Kildare had become little better than a desert. The Earl's lands in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Westmeath, and elsewhere were wasted, "not occupied ne manured."\* But void lands in Ireland meant lands without English tenants; meant lands without English defenders; meant also lands occupied by the turbulent and wasteful Irish, who contributed nothing to the King's revenue, and could live where Englishmen starved. "Please your Mastership," writes Herbert to Cromwell,† "the gentlemen of the county of Kildare are the most sorriest afraid men in the world; for they think that they shall be taken, one after another of them, as Sir James FisGerrot was, and his brethren. The country is much waste and void of inhabitants; for here is no farmers that is able to inhabit, which is the greatest decay now of this country."

The submission or death of their chiefs did not necessarily carry with it the subjection of the Irish population—did not necessarily diminish the Deputy's labours, as the Council in England vainly imagined.

In July 1536, William Body,‡ a creature of Cromwell's, was sent over to induce the authorities in Ireland to bestir themselves, and encourage them to greater activity in advancing the King's financial projects. He found them reluctant; they were already hampered

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\* The Council to Henry VIII., State Papers, II. 338.

† Ibid. 308.

‡ His report may be seen in the Carew Papers, I. 103.



by want of money; they had no means for repelling the Irish chiefs, Desmond and O'Brien, or for keeping the soldiers from open rebellion, now murmuring for the arrears of their pay. "I do perceive," says this busy and opinionated spy, "little diligence in my Lord Deputy, " in the Master of the Rolls, and the Chief Justice in " this matter [*i. e.* of revenue], who take upon them " to be ringleaders, . . . . especially the Master of " the Rolls (Alen), who never, after my judgment, " speaketh as he thinketh, nor thinketh as he speaketh." But this anxiety for raising a revenue was not without one good effect. It modified the severity of the English Court. Some were not wanting who seriously proposed to put all the Geraldines to death, two only excepted, and confiscate their estates to the King's use.\* Others, again, like Robert Cowley, a partisan of the Butlers, thought that burning and starvation would be the most effectual teachers of loyalty and obedience. Cowley writes:—†

"The very living of the Irishry doth clearly consist in two things; and take away the same from them, and they are past for ever to recover, or yet noy (annoy) any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corns, and as much as cannot be husbanded and had into the hands of such as shall dwell and inhabit in their lands and country, to brenne and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; then to have their cattle and beasts, which should be most hardest to come by, for they shall be in woods, and yet with guides and poliey they be oft had and taken in Ireland this day. And again, by the reason that the several armies, as I devised in my said other book, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the same Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies, with their guides and assistors, by hap, poliey, espial, or some other mean,

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\* See Hamilton's Calendar, I. p. 16.

† State Papers, II. 329.

shall come thereby. And admitting the impossibility that their cattle were saved, yet in continuance of one year the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten; for by the reason of the continual removing of them, going from one wood to another, as they shall be forced to do, their lying out all the winter, and [their] narrow pastures, they shall be stolen, lost, strayed, and dead. And most of all, when all the great number of the Irishry, so being in exile, being together with their tenants and sequel, [by] taking their corn and other victual, [they] shall have no manner sustenance, but alonely the residue of the same cattle, if there shall be any; whereby their said cattle must in short time be consumed, and then they shall be without corn, victual, or cattle, and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect of all these wars against them."

Fortunately the necessities of the English government compelled it to adopt more moderate counsels. The adherents of FitzGerald, and of other chieftains who successively rose in rebellion, were wisely admitted to mercy on payment of a fine, thus strengthening the hands of the government, and diminishing their powers of mischief for the future.

Step by step—slowly advancing and as slowly receding—Grey contrived to bring the country into a better state of obedience. The Geraldines were no longer formidable. In 1537 Desmond submitted, and shortly after O'Connor's powers were impaired by the loss of the castles of Dangan and Athlone. In September he was in such great distress that Grey was able to write of him:—As to "that  
" arrant and rank traitor, I trust in God and in our said  
" sovereign Lord that he is now at the best that ever he  
" shall be; now going from one to another of his old  
" friends to have meat and drink, and hath not over four  
" knaves with him; more like a beggar than he that ever  
" was a captain or ruler of a country."\* In fact the

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\* State Papers, II. 474. See also 344, wrongly placed in 1539.

Council admitted that there never was so diligent a Deputy:—"We never see any here in that room of more forwardness and activity than he is."\*

Strange to say—if any thing can be considered strange in what relates to the government of Ireland under the Tudors—the King deemed it necessary to send commissioners over to Ireland to examine not merely into the state of the country, but into the conduct of the Deputy. It is clear he was not popular with the home government. More than once he had to complain that his services were disregarded, and his privileges diminished. Now he is thwarted by the Treasurer, anon by the Provost Marshal; then he falls under displeasure through the insinuations of Cowley, or the pretentious criticisms of Body, Cromwell's special correspondent. "I suppose," he writes, "it had  
 " been good for me that I never had come here; and better  
 " it were for me, your displeasures put apart, to be at  
 " home, though I should live there like a poor gentleman,  
 " than to be here in this high authority, never in rest  
 " ne quiet. And yet, what travail and pain soever I take  
 " to do my master service, according to your advertise-  
 " ments, the praise and thanks due thereunto by naughty  
 " detractions, reports, and other crafty means shall be  
 " taken away; so, as I suppose, it is predestinate to  
 " this country *to bring forth sedition, invention, lies, and*  
 " *such other naughty fruits*, and also that no man shall  
 " have thanks for service done here. For, as far as I  
 " can learn, few men hitherto, being here in any authority,  
 " hath finally consecuted favours and thanks, but rather  
 " the contrary, with poverty for their farewell."†

The commission was appointed after some deliberation. It arrived in Ireland in September 1537, and proceeded to inquire *præ ceteris* into the state of the crown lands, and

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\* 26 June 1537.

† State Papers, II. 389.

the best means of reducing the army.\* A detailed account of their proceedings will be found in their letters to Cromwell, published in the State Papers.† Their survey was completed on the 2nd of January 1538, but they remained in Ireland until April of the next year, when they left for England, taking with them Aylmer, Alen, and Cowley.

Besides reducing the army and raising a revenue, Cromwell and the King had another object at heart—the recognition of the royal supremacy. In this, as in other matters, Alen took a prominent part; ‡ and he did not fail to insinuate to the commissioners that the first and chief ground for the reformation of Ireland was “to have  
 “ a good Deputy, whose room requireth such knowledge,  
 “ experience, wit, activity, discretion, and other qualities,  
 “ that it is not a little difficulty to get a perfect man for  
 “ the same.” He intimates that Grey was not ruled by the Council; that he was too much inclined to insist upon hostings; that he was not always sober in language. “And to  
 “ be plain,” he adds, “except my Lord Deputy use another  
 “ moderation and temperance than he hath done of late,  
 “ he shall be more meet to be ruled than rule; for, no  
 “ doubt, he hath lost in effect the hearts of English and  
 “ Irish, friend and foe; so as, the duty which men bear to  
 “ the Sovereign set apart, he is served with cold hearts.”§

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\* It is worth noticing that the instructions for the commissioners were founded upon articles in Alen's handwriting, drawn up some months before.

† State Papers, II. 510 *seq.*

‡ Ibid. II. 480.

§ Ibid. p. 488 *seq.* There is a passage in this despatch of Alen's too noteworthy to be omitted:—“For, in mine opinion, whosoever regardeth  
 “ not the hearts and service of Irishmen shall do the King but slender  
 “ service; and, as I have learned, the King's dominion this many years  
 “ hath been defended much by the strength of Irishmen; for whoso will  
 “ refuse them all and set them at naught, shall not be able with all the  
 “ King's subjects to defend the King's dominion, without extreme im-  
 “ poverishment of the same.” (P. 490.)

We may reasonably conclude that Grey, soured a little by the contradictions to which he was exposed, was inclined to be imperious, and sometimes expressed himself in language scarcely calculated to soothe the irritable minds of his opponents.\* But this was not the whole extent of his offence. Archbishop Brown, created not long since Archbishop of Dublin, a bustling prelate, somewhat proud of his exaltation and his influence with Cromwell, took occasion to insinuate that Grey was not loyal to the King's supremacy. He attributed his little success in the conversion of Ireland to the opposition he encountered from the Deputy.† He had been treated by Grey with great contempt;—and the Deputy's example had proved infectious. “Neither by oaths of them  
 “solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction,  
 “can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular,  
 “since my coming over, once to preach the Word of God,  
 “or the just title of our most illustrious Prince.”‡

These accusations were multiplied by a knot of inferior men, mainly in the interests of the Butlers, supported by Cowley and Alen; all of whom unremittingly poured their contingent of scandal into the ears of Cromwell, and praised each other whilst they defamed the Deputy. “Thanks be to God!” exclaims one of these disinterested

\* See Carew Papers, I. 89.

† The Irish clergy and religious seem to have adopted a plan of frustrating Brown's efforts, which must have been very mortifying to his self-esteem. “The faction,” as he calls them, who, before the passing of the act of supremacy, would preach till the “right Christians were weary” of hearing them, now refuse to open their lips, especially the Observants, “which be worst of all others, for I can neither make them swear, ne yet preach among us, so little regard they mine authority.” (State Papers, II. 539.)

‡ See his letter of 8 January 1538, S. P. II. 539.

zealots,\* “the King’s Majesty hath one Catholie city, and  
 “one champion, the Lord Butler, in this land, that dare  
 “repugn against the detestable abusions of so sundry  
 “sects as this miserable land is in manner overflowen  
 “withal, whose pharisaical ceremonies and hypocrisy, of  
 “so long time continued here, hath not only trained and  
 “brought the people in manner wholly from the know-  
 “ledge of God, but also in an evil and erroneous opinion  
 “of the King’s most noble Grace, and of all those that  
 “under his Majesty be the setters forth of the true Word  
 “of God, and repugnators against those abuses.”†

Lord Butler followed up the attack in almost the same words;‡ and was supported by Agard, another member of the same clique. Since the departure of Robert Cowley, writes Agard to Cromwell,§ “here is no news, neither  
 “business, but all after one rate; so that here as yet  
 “the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men’s  
 “hearts, what with that monster the Bishop of Rome,  
 “and his adherents. . . . . It is hard, my good  
 “Lord, for any poor man to speak against their abu-  
 “sions here; for except it be the Archbishop of Dublin,  
 “which doth here in preaching set forth God’s Word  
 “with due obedience to their Prince, and my good  
 “Lord Butler, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Treasurer,  
 “and one or two more, which are of small reputations,  
 “here is else none, from the highest, may abide the

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\* White to Cromwell, 28 March 1538. White was in Lord Ormond’s service, or had been.

† Grey had intimated in one of his letters that the Butlers were becoming formidable, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to the Crown. Not unlikely, considering that their great rivals the Geraldines were now powerless. See S. Pap. II. 419.

‡ State Papers, II. 563.

§ 5 April 1538.

“ hearing of it, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal ;  
 “ and in especial they that here rule all, that be the  
 “ temporal lawyers, which have the King’s fee.”\*

My Lord Deputy, says Archbishop Brown, still bears  
 “ his favours towards the Observants.”† “ Our Governor,”  
 says Lord James Butler in a letter to Cowley, then in  
 London,‡ “ threatens every man after such a tyrannous  
 “ sort, as no man dare speak or repugne reasonably  
 “ against his appetite ; more than I or any other true  
 “ Christian man durst speak against the Bishop of  
 “ Rome’s usurped authority, if we were there ; of whose  
 “ sect he is chief and principal in this land, albeit there  
 “ is nothing so apparent but he will deny.”

So far as these charges were intended to insinuate that  
 Grey was not active in enforcing the King’s supremacy,  
 they are disproved by his actions.§ But probably the  
 authors of them were justified in ascribing to Grey a  
 strong partiality for the old religion. “ Surely he hath a  
 special zeal to the Papists,” || might with some justice be  
 urged against him by his enemies ; for we find that on one  
 occasion whilst he was holding a sessions at Trim, with  
 the Archbishop of Dublin, Brabazon, and others, he not  
 only refused to allow “ the Papists, hypocrites, and wor-  
 shippers of idols,” as the writer calls them, to be indicted  
 and arraigned,¶ but whilst the other three remained  
 outside “ the chapel where the idol of Trim stood, . . . .

\* Agard had a personal animosity against Grey, as we learn from another letter. He had set up broad looms and a dyehouse in Dublin, and his project was not countenanced by the Deputy, “ which is my heavy lord.” (State Papers, II. 569.)

† State Papers, III. 67.

‡ Ibid. p. 34.

§ Ibid. p. 59.

|| Lord James Butler to Cromwell, 26 August 1538.

¶ Thomas Alen to Cromwell, 20 October 1538.

“ my Lord Deputy, very devoutly kneeling before her,  
“ heard three or four masses.” \*

Nor, inconsistent as it may appear to us, was this attachment to the ancient faith considered at that time as incompatible with the fullest acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. Prelates like Gardyner and Bonner, zealous Roman Catholics of all ranks, even Mary herself, found no difficulty in reconciling this article of their political with their religious creed. Ireland, like England, was divided into four parties: those who, like Grey, acknowledged unreservedly the King’s supremacy, and yet thought they might hold it with due regard to doctrines long established, and submission to ministers who still preached them. Secondly, Protestants, like Archbishop Brown, Agard, and others, who considered the least toleration of Romish doctrine as no better than hypocrisy, and would have rooted out with fire and sword all those who retained any affection for the mass, and refused to denounce the Pope as Anti-christ. Thirdly, Roman Catholics who looked with unloving eyes on the proceedings of Henry VIII., but yet reluctantly complied with the King’s commands when they could not escape them. And fourthly, those—by far the greatest number at least in Ireland—who placed their obedience to the Pope above all other considerations, and flinched not from disobedience, disloyalty, and death

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\* Yet Alen admits that Ireland was never in better order (III. 102).  
“ This country was in no such quiet these many years, for throughout the  
“ land, in manner, it is peace both with English and Irish. I never did  
“ see, in my time, so great resort to the law as is this term, which is a  
“ good sign of good quiet and obedience; which I do not only impute  
“ to my Lord Deputy’s martial feats, but also to the industry, policy, and  
“ compassing of other of the King’s Council, who have of late taken great  
“ pains in that behalf.”



itself, whenever their consciences dictated the sacrifice. The moderate men of either party disappeared in the terrible commotions by which Ireland was shaken for so many years, leaving the hot-headed zealots, a small active minority on one side, a disunited and uninfluential multitude on the other, to carry on their interminable feuds, to the loss of good government, of national peace, prosperity, union, and happiness.

The religious inclinations of Grey naturally exposed him to another charge, of which his pertinacious assailants were not slow to avail themselves, and which Grey found it less easy to shake off. As the Butlers were the champions of Protestantism, their enemies the Geraldines were the supporters of the Pope.\* Now, Grey's sister, Elizabeth, married to Gerald FitzGerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, was the mother of Gerald FitzGerald, second son of the preceding Earl, whose marvellous escapes from the clutches and snares of the English government form such a picturesque episode in Irish history.† I shall not here detail how he was carried off by his aunt—how he fled to France—was placed under the protection of Cardinal Pole—defeated the ingenuity of numerous English spies, hungering after English gold. His wonderful and almost incredible adventures, his nearness in blood to the Deputy, seemed to justify the suspicion that all the efforts of England to secure the prize had been frustrated by Grey's connivance. The accusations were numerous; they were repeated with the utmost pertinacity.‡

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\* State Papers, III. 176.

† Upon the death of his half-brother Thomas, in the Tower, this Gerard FitzGerald became heir to the earldom. His mother, the Countess, resided with her second son, Edward, at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire, a house belonging to her brother, Lord Leonard. See S. P. II. 344.

‡ See State Papers, III. 52, 56, 63, 78, 102. See also Alen and Aylmer's charges to the same effect, Ibid. III. 39, 87, 129.

It was useless for Grey to assert that he had used every effort to capture his nephew, whose name had now become a rallying point for a growing anti-English party in Ireland.\* His failure to take his nephew, whom he had never seen, and was never destined to see, was attributed to any but the true motive. The escape of FitzGerald, the temporary triumph of his party in 1539, the encouragement which it gave to the enemies of England both on the Continent and in Ireland, were received by the King and his minister Cromwell with the utmost mortification, and probably contributed more than anything else to the Deputy's eventual disgrace. If he was not made to feel the immediate consequences of the King's vengeance, that delay was not owing so much to the important services he had rendered in Ireland—for, whatever might be his defects of temper, even his enemies could not deny that he had done more by his activity to secure peace and extend the King's authority than any of his predecessors—as to the belief that he might still prove a useful instrument in securing the person of his nephew. It is probable also that the King was unwilling needlessly to provoke the resentment of the Geraldines, who were still unquestionably the most popular of all the septs in Ireland. The Irish priests and friars throughout the country preached daily in young FitzGerald's behalf, and promised the joys of heaven to those who suffered death and martyrdom in his cause.† “I ensure your Lordship,” writes Cowley

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\* See State Papers, III. 16, 106, 127, 156, 193.

† Ibid., III. 141. “I suspect much our own country,” says Alen, in a letter to Cromwell, 19 July 1539, “what for the affliction part of them bear to the Geraldines, and the favour that many hath to the Bishop of Rome and his laws and errors, that they will either turn against us or otherwise stand us in small stead; much the rather I

to Cromwell, on the 8th of September 1539, “that this  
 “ English Pale, except the towns and very few of the pos-  
 “ sessioners, be so affectionate to the Geraldines, that for  
 “ kindred, marriage, fostering, and adhering as followers,  
 “ they covet more to see a Geraldine to reign and triumph  
 “ than to see God come amongst them ; and if they might  
 “ see this young Gerot’s banner displayed, if they should  
 “ lose half their substance, they would rejoice more at  
 “ the same than otherwise to gain great goods.”

Nor were other circumstances wanting to give an edge to the accusations of Grey’s enemies, and poison the ear of the omnipotent minister whose power was now absolute with his master. As if the very climate of Ireland, in the Tudor times, had something fatal in it to English good sense and sobriety, no sooner had the royal commissioners, who were sent from England to examine into the state of the country and heal its divisions, set foot on Irish ground, than they yielded to the spell and curdled into parties. Among the commissioners was George Poulett, a younger brother of Sir William Poulett, afterwards Marquis of Winchester. Emancipated from the restraints of the Court, holding familiar converse with Alen, Poulett gave utterance to certain scandals affecting Cromwell’s intercourse with the King. He had told Alen, speaking of the King, that there was neither the Lord Privy Seal,  
 “ ne the best lord in England, if the King take a thing in  
 “ the head, that dare speak or move him to the contrary ;  
 “ he hath won that advantage of his lords ; and as for my  
 “ Lord Privy Seal, I would not be in his case for all that  
 “ ever he hath ; for the King beknaveth him twice a  
 “ week, and sometime knocke[th] him well about the

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“ doubt nothing by the enticement and conduct of our friars obstinates  
 “ and other our religious persons.” (State Papers, III. 137.)

“pate; and yet, when he hath been well pommelled  
 “about the head, and shaken up as it were a dog, he  
 “will come out into the Great Chamber, shaking of the  
 “bush with as merry a countenance, as though he mought  
 “rule all the roast. ‘I,’ saith he, ‘standing at the lower  
 “‘end of the chamber, perceive these matters well  
 “‘enough, and laugh at his fashion and ruff’ (ruffles).  
 “And then my brother and my Lord Admiral must drive  
 “a mean to reconcile him to the King again.”

At another time, when he and Alen were riding together towards Alen’s house, speaking of certain lands that had been given by his Majesty to Lord Butler, Poulett took occasion to remark that this was done by the means of Cromwell, “who had caused the King both to spend  
 “his treasure to recover the land, and after all his  
 “charges he is again the only mean and instrument to  
 “cause him to give away his revenues.” He proceeded to accuse the minister of issuing the commission merely to smother rumours derogatory to his character. “How-  
 “beit,” saith he, “that shall not help him, for I will find  
 “the means to put the matters in the King’s head after  
 “that wise as shall be to his displeasure.” According to the evidence of another witness, Chief Justice Aylmer, Poulett had said that “my Lord of Norfolk, Mr. Treasurer  
 “(Sir Wm. Poulett), and my Lord Admiral (FitzWilliam),  
 “when they were secreted together,” used to laugh when they saw Cromwell shake his head after being well pommelled by the King,—that the King had taken more of his subjects, and had greater revenues, than any six kings before him, but it had been all spent by Cromwell’s rapacity. He repeated that he would inform the King how his revenues were mismanaged in Ireland; “for  
 “there is none but my Lord Privy Seal that hath made  
 “him both to spend his money and give away his land;

“ for there was never King so deceived by man.” He added on another occasion that “ the Lord Privy Seal drew “ every day towards his death, and that he escaped very “ hardly at the last insurrection, and that he was the “ greatest briber in England, and that he was espied “ well enough.”\*

Other particulars of this strange story are furnished by the deposition of another witness, one William Berners, which seem hitherto to have escaped the notice of historians. Berners deposed that George Poulett assigned as a reason for Cromwell’s affection for Ireland, that his ancestors had been born there.† He gives a more temperate and probably more accurate version of Poulett’s indiscreet and mischievous gossip. He makes Poulett say “ that my “ Lord Cromwell was a great taker and briber, and fol- “ lowed much his old master the Cardinal’s fashion, but “ he said and sware by God’s body it was well bestowed “ upon him, for he spent it honourably and freely like a “ gentleman (though he were none), and did help many “ honest men and good fellows, and preferred his servants “ well.”

Alen, the active contriver of the mischief, who, either to curry favour with the Lord Privy Seal, or out of hatred to Poulett, had betrayed the conversation, repeats the substance of his information in an unpublished letter,

\* See the depositions, State Papers, II. 551.

† From Ireland came the report that Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith. “ The country folk here,” says Abp. Brown, “ much hate your “ Lordship, and despitefully call you in their Irish tongue *the blacksmith’s* “ *son.*” (Brown to Cromwell, 30th March 1538. See Brown’s Life in the “Phoenix.”) Stow reconciles the two reports respecting Cromwell’s origin, with great probability. He says that Cromwell was born in Putney, that his father was a blacksmith and afterwards a brewer, and his mother married a second husband, a shearman (cloth shearer), whose business Cromwell apparently followed. (Chron. 580.)

dated the 9th of March 1538. He says to Cromwell it had been affirmed that "there was no lord or gentleman  
 " in England that loved or favoured your Lordship,  
 " because your Lordship was so great a taker of money,  
 " for your Lordship would do or speak for no man but  
 " all for money." These words, he adds, were repeated by Mr. Moyle, another of the commissioners. These reports reached Cromwell's ears at the close of 1538, through the instrumentality of Alen.

When Grey was called upon to explain the part he had taken in this matter, he made an insufficient apology. In his letter to Henry VIII.\* he supports substantially the main heads of Alen's information; acknowledges all that Poulett had said of Cromwell's declining popularity with the King, and the efforts made by his brother, the Treasurer, and the Admiral FitzWilliam to bring him into favour again. Anticipating the question, why he had not reported Poulett's scandals before, he attempts to excuse himself by saying: "The very truth is, he spake certain  
 " words to me by (of) my said Lord (Cromwell), which I  
 " forbare to relate the same to your Highness, looking  
 " daily and making suit to have been the messenger  
 " myself, by your most gracious licence, and so to have  
 " declared the same."

A man of more discretion and calmness than Grey would have found it difficult to stand against this torrent of accusations, which gained force and volume every day, and threatened to overwhelm the unfortunate Deputy. If he could have spared time from his military and other duties, and have devoted himself exclusively to the work of self-justification, explanation, and defence, he would have found it no easy or enviable task. What with

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\* 9 May 1539, S. P. III. 127.

the inability of his messengers, what with his ignorance of the main points charged against him—except so far as they could be gleaned from his correspondence with England—his uncertainty as to the temper of the King and his minister, Grey found it impossible to continue his administration, and begged anxiously to be recalled. It was the only chance he had of explaining his own conduct. The insinuations or gross assertions of his enemies were unceasingly circulated and kept alive by an active knot of malicious informers in England and in Ireland, who did what they could to prejudice the King against the Deputy. “My good Lord,” he writes to Cromwell,\* “for the love of God, considering my poor service and true heart to serve my master, and that I have matter to utter unto his Majesty, and to speak with your good Lordship, for his Majesty’s honour, profit, and the commonwealth of his Grace’s subjects of this poor land, [I pray] that ye would be a mean for my repair thither, according my old long suit; assuring your good Lordship that it is the longest and painfulest suit to my heart that ever I made or ever shall make during my life, and the suit that my poor heart coveteth to have an end of.”

In the February of the next year he repeats this request, with greater earnestness, if possible, than before. “For the love of God, and for the poor goodwill, love, and zeal that I bear unto your Lordship, help to alleviate my burden, be it for never so short a time; for I assure you, next the goodness of God, there is not that thing in this world that I more desire.”†

Aware, as I have said, at this time, of the disadvantages attending upon Grey’s recall, of the critical

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\* 30 December 1539; State Papers, III. 168.

† State Papers, III. 185. See also pp. 190, 193.

state of Ireland, always more critical at the rumour of a change of Deputy, the King and Cromwell attempted to soothe Grey's irritation,\* and wisely enjoined on his chief opponents, Ormond and Alen, peace and reconciliation. Ostensibly the King's injunction took effect, for Ormond writes on 20th December to Cromwell, that although heretofore "I had my Lord Deputy in no less  
 " jealousy than he had me, much by the means of such as  
 " passed more to please our objections, than having respect  
 " to the common weal or charitable concord amongst us,  
 " . . . . . this unity that is now knit betwixt him and  
 " me shall not, God willing, dissever, for my part."† And in a letter by Grey to the same, it is stated that he had sent James Bathe to utter his "grievs against the Lord  
 " Chancellor (Alen) here; howbeit, since the receipt of  
 " your Lordship's letter to me and the Council, addressed  
 " for our joining together, I assure your good Lordship we  
 " have been and beth in good conformity to serve the  
 " King's Majesty, and trust in God the same shall con-  
 " tinue; and I promise your good Lordship there shall be  
 " none occasion given of any breach of my part, though  
 " there be occasion given unto me to the contrary."‡

(1540.) To maintain this appearance of unanimity the Council of Ireland, on 16th January, next year, in their letter to the King, not only applauded Grey for his painful services and good conformity that he was now in "with us of your Council," but recommended that he should be preferred to some advantageous marriage. "Considering that  
 " your said Deputy hath lived a great season sole without  
 " a wife, and is desirous to marry, it might please your  
 " Grace to prefer him to some honourable and profitable

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\* State Papers, III. p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 167.

‡ Ibid. p. 168.



“ marriage, whereby he shall the better live well towards  
 “ God, and be the better able to serve your Majesty.”\*

But whilst they held one language to the King, they held another language to Cromwell. Only two days after, writing in favour of Alen, whom they describe as a wise, sober, and discreet person, they request Cromwell to be upon his guard against all complaints made against him and others by Grey; “ nothing doubting but your Lordship, knowing the conditions of my Lord Deputy, will regard his writings and informations, especially proceeding of malice, as they be worthy.”†

It was clear, notwithstanding Grey’s services, that he must be recalled. Whether his temper, soured by age, disease, and disappointment, was intractable, or that the divisions of the Council had grown to a height too great to be remedied by ordinary means, it was impossible that he could continue any longer in office. Grey was accordingly summoned to England on the 1st of April 1540, with orders to accelerate his journey, that he might be “ eftsoons dispatched thither again.”‡ He left at the beginning of May of the same year, and soon after his arrival was thrown into the Tower. His ancient enemies did not cease to press their opportunities against the fallen Deputy. Among others, Archbishop Brown, whose

\* State Papers, III. 173. In this they had more regard to Grey, or rather to their own fears of offending him, than to the lady; for Grey suffered from attacks of the gout. (See pp. 135, 159.) “ This man,” says Walter Cowley to Cromwell, in the commencement of 1540, recommending Grey for some reward for his painful services, “ is waxing aged, and hath none issue, and I judge his disease will much shorten his life, whereby his Grace may the more liberal depart with him.” (Ib. p. 180.)

† Ibid. III. 175. This letter is signed by the Earl of Ormond, Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, Aylmer, Brabazon, and Cowley, all of whom two days before had concurred in recommending Grey to the King.

‡ See the King’s letter, Ibid. III. 194.

charity and meekness have been so extraordinarily be-lauded in the account of his life taken from Sir James Ware, and printed in the "Phœnix,"\* could not resist the temptation of flinging a dirty stone at the prostrate lion.

"I think," he writes to Cromwell, "there is neither English ne Irish (the old corrupt sort set apart), but they be glad of his [Grey's] departure. Would to God that he mought be tried by the country. If the King's Grace heard the lamentable exclamations that been here made against him, it would pity his Majesty's heart. The best of the King's Council here were none other with him, saving your Lordship's honour, but knaves and villains; and he would hang the knaves, his own hands, nothing esteeming them. His chief counsel was Justice Howthe, James Bathe, Walter Goldyng, and Sir Gerald FitzGerald, and others such like; and even as was their counsel, so hath this land been ruled. Now being left at large, I cannot say that his Lordship favoureth that false traitor, Reginald Poole, whom, in communication between his Lordship and me, I called 'papish Cardinal'; and he, in a great fume, called me 'poll-shorn knave friar'; and shortly after that his Lordship took his journey towards Galway and Limerick, where, as it was commonly bruited, the said Cardinal should arrive, leaving there the King's chief ordnance."†

Under the superintendence of his successor Sentleger and the Irish Council, evidence was actively collected against him. Among the most minute of the depositions, and as a pattern and summary of the rest, my readers may take John Darcy's information, printed in the first volume of the Carew Papers.‡ No less than seventy witnesses were

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\* I can find nothing in Brown's acts or correspondence to justify this eulogium. Besides being extremely overbearing, he was scarcely less avaricious than his successor Loftus. He is charged with dissipating the property of his see in behalf of his family. Basnet, the Dean of St. Patrick's, complains that Brown refused to confirm his election, unless he received a fee of 200*l.* The dean on his advancement had already given Cromwell a *douceur* of 60*l.* for his goodwill, and felt no inclination to comply with Brown's exorbitant demand. (See Hamilton's Calendar, I. 39.)

† Stato Papers, III. 208.

‡ Carew, I. 164.

examined, of all ranks and employments, friends, enemies, and servants, Irishmen and Englishmen, a list of whose names will be found at p. 171. It would be impossible to give here even a slight abstract of the contents of these voluminous depositions, or attempt to sift the truth from the falsehood contained in them. The proceedings lasted many months. The substance of the accusation may be reduced to four heads—conclusions at which the English Council had arrived at the close of the year;—first, that Grey had entertained the King's enemies; secondly, that he had injured the King's friends; thirdly, that he had released FitzGerald and others committed by the Council for treason; and lastly, he had maintained and favoured O'Connor's [O'More's] sons.

How far he might have been able to give a satisfactory answer to these charges, it is now impossible to determine. A state prisoner in those days had little opportunity of calling witnesses from so great a distance as Ireland, or of obtaining efficient legal help for testing and examining voluminous and complicated charges. In the hopelessness of the task, or else relying upon the King's favour, Grey attempted neither; he pleaded guilty, was condemned for high treason, and executed on the Tower Hill, on the 28th of June following. Even if the charges had been fully and satisfactorily sustained, this will be thought a hard lot and an ungrateful return for Grey's services. But it is probable that Grey was not so much condemned for these his misdemeanours in Ireland as for his supposed complicity with Cardinal Pole. The Greys were at this time labouring under suspicion. There is a notice in the State Papers (VIII. 82) of a former secretary of the Marquis of Dorset, Grey's brother, holding correspondence with the Cardinal. Pole was actively engaged in forming a confe-

deracy of all the continental powers, in conjunction with Scotland, for the invasion of England. On the 3rd of March 1539, Wriothesley writes to Cromwell that he has “heard that the French King, the Bishop of Rome, and the King of Scots should be as it were in a league to invade us this summer, and how the Emperor will send to their aid certain Spaniards, which shall arrive in Scotland.” Pole, he adds a little while after, is a great counsellor with the Emperor; “England is made but a morsel amongst these chops.”\* And again, in March 1539,—“I hear that in Ireland should be some practices.”†

It is likely also that Grey’s antecedents were never wholly forgotten.‡ In 1540 and 1541, the ferocity of the King, edged on by various causes, outstripped its ordinary bounds. He had only lately escaped from the perils of the northern rebellion. Then came the suppression of the monasteries, and the elements of discontent and disorder were rapidly growing to a formidable head. To these causes of irritation succeeded his distasteful marriage with Lady Ann of Cleves. Then followed the death of Cromwell, the execution of Protestants and Catholics, the marriage with Lady Catharine Howard, the discovery of the Queen’s misconduct, a fresh rebellion in Yorkshire, the execution of the Countess of Salisbury, and various other incidents of a similar nature too numerous to be mentioned.

Under these circumstances it was hardly probable that Grey could have expected mercy.

Grey was succeeded by Sir Anthony Sentleger, a man of some ability; but Sir Anthony had not been long in

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\* State Papers, VIII. 166.

† Ibid. p. 175.

‡ See this Preface, p. lv.

office when he in his turn was exposed to precisely the same accusations from the same enemies as had proved fatal to his predecessor. He was accused by Cowley, the defamer of Grey, of erecting a new Geraldine band,\* and he justified himself upon the same grounds as Grey had done before him, in whose condemnation Sentleger had taken an active part. Both alleged, and truly, that as the Geraldines were annihilated, there was no longer any due counterpoise to the overgrown powers of the Earl of Ormond. He now found, as he might have expected, an opponent in Ormond no less bitter and implacable than his predecessor had found; and such was the influence of the Earl, that he contrived to draw over to his own views not merely those inveterate plotters Alen and Aylmer, but most other members of the Council. Before he had been five years in office, he has to complain to the authorities at home,—almost in the words of Grey,—that false and most crafty means were employed to bring him out of favour. In this confusion and elemental strife the voice of Archbishop Brown was still heard, not allaying but increasing the storm. Ormond had given him some offence. “I know not,” he says, “how these matters depending between your said Deputy and the Earl of Ormond can be taken up, unless it may please your Grace with celerity to send for them both to her Majesty’s presence; not doubting but then your Highness shall easily perceive in whom the default is, and of all men’s juggling here.”†

Alen, as before, led the charge against the Deputy. In his notes on the state of Ireland he asserts that the English Pale, since Sentleger’s accession to office, was “nothing amplified, but in strength decayed; and many

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\* State Papers, III. 379.

† Ibid. III. 558.

“ of the Irishmen never stronger.” He sums up his unfavourable estimate of Sentleger’s six years’ administration in these pithy and pointed terms—“ It is a strange thing  
 “ to me to consider how the King is beguiled, what money  
 “ he hath spent these six years past, and his ancient  
 “ enemies stronger than they were, his subjects feebler,  
 “ and his Grace’s profit nothing augmented.” If we might believe so clever but captious a witness, the King’s jurisdiction had almost ceased to exist within the territories of the reconciled Irish, who had in no respects carried out their promises of obedience.\*

The most judicious act of the English government during Sentleger’s administration was the proclamation of Henry’s title as King of Ireland in 1541.† As the Irish Council wrote to the King on 30 December 1540 ‡—“ It were good that your Majesty were from henceforth called  
 “ King of Ireland; whereunto we think that, in effect,  
 “ all the nobility and other inhabitants of this your land

\* State Papers, III. 573.

† See the ordinances and provisions made upon that occasion in the Parliament held at Dublin, Carew, I. 180 *seq.* As to many of the Acts then passed, they were not worth the paper on which they were written. Passing laws is one thing, securing obedience to them quite another. Of this nature was the ordinance No. 7, that every person committing a robbery beyond the value of 1s. 2*d.* should for the first offence lose one of his ears; for the second offence, the other ear; and the third time *suffer death*. Such also, as applied to Irishmen, the ordinance that all faithful people should pay their tithes under ecclesiastical penalties. Such also, that no players or mummers should be allowed gratuities at Christmas or Easter under the penalty of losing an ear. How far the ordinance in reference to dress was likely to be regarded, I must leave to others, who are better judges, to determine. It is there stated (§ 21) that no lord or nobleman shall have in his shirt beyond 20 cubits of linen; no horseman more than 18 cubits; no kerne more than 16; grooms and servants, 12; labourers, 10 cubits. All persons wearing saffron-coloured shirts were to forfeit their shirts and pay 20s.

‡ State Papers, III. 278.

“ would thereunto agree ; and we think that they that be  
 “ of the Irishry would more gladder obey your Highness  
 “ by name of King of this your land than by the name of  
 “ Lord thereof ; having had heretofore a foolish opinion  
 “ amongst them that the Bishop of Rome should be  
 “ King of the same.”

The administration of Sentleger, notwithstanding Alen’s assertion, was not so wholly ineffectual as he wished to make it appear ; that is, if the submission of the Irish chieftains may be considered as a satisfactory proof. In 1541 James Earl of Desmond submitted, and renounced the Pope. His example was followed by O’Connor, O’Dyn, O’Neil, and others.\* In 1542 O’Neil became Earl of Tyrone ; in 1543 O’Byrne Earl of Thomond, and Uliek Burke Earl of Clanricard. And thus the foundation was laid of a great Anglo-Irish aristocracy, depending for favours and advancement on the smiles of an English Sovereign, less purely national than before, bound less closely than before in tastes, habits, and sympathy to the native Irish population.

On a general survey of the whole reign, it must be admitted that English authority had not declined in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII. We may lament the excessive and apparently needless severity often exercised towards the Irish chiefs, and the motives which dictated the indiscriminate punishment and death of the Geraldines. We may admit also that the great measure for advancing the King’s authority, by insisting on his supremacy, and still more that the efforts of men like Archbishop Brown in the conversion of Ireland to English Protestantism, had signally failed. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, Henry’s policy towards that country was

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\* Carew, I. pp. 162, 163, 174, *sq.*

marked with much of the same vigour, the same clear views, and unswerving decision which characterized his reign in England. The Irish knew well what they had to expect from such a King; and even severity, if it be uniform, is less disastrous in its consequences than a milder rule, erratic and undecided, vibrating uncertainly and capriciously, sometimes to the excess of mercy, sometimes to the opposite extreme.

(1547.) At the accession of Edward VI. the influence of the Seymours became predominant. In the scramble for power during the closing months of the last reign, and through their close relationship to Edward VI., they had managed to overthrow the Howards, from whom alone they had anything to fear. Their rise was the advancement of Protestant supremacy in England; the overthrow of those who either still adhered exclusively to the ancient religion, or were willing to temporize with both. In fact, to the Seymours we must trace the broad separation and irreconcilable antagonism between the two parties, which had acted together under Henry VIII., if not heartily, yet with a sufficient appearance of unanimity. The triumph of Protestantism, however, was not so complete as it appeared, not only throughout England, where, at the Council table itself, there were many who secretly adhered, notwithstanding their compliance with the times, to the ancient faith; but in Ireland also, where the accession of Edward VI. made little change in the prospects or the position of the two great parties.

Sentleger, who had nearly fallen a victim to the snares of his enemies, was reinstated in office. Walter Cowley, Solicitor-General for Ireland, an adherent of the Ormonds, languished in the Tower. Ormond, whilst in England with James White and others of his followers, was poisoned at a banquet given at Ely House, in Holborn, on the 17th of



October 1546. The authors of the crime escaped detection; nor does it appear that any attempts were set on foot by the English government to discover the murderers. Alen, who had signalized himself by his mischievous intrigues against every Deputy, was deprived of his chancellorship and committed to the Fleet, and Sir Richard Rede was appointed in his place.\* Thus, by a concurrence of circumstances, as disastrous to his enemies as they were favourable to himself, the Deputy triumphed unexpectedly over all his opponents.

To Sentleger has been attributed, apparently on no sufficient authority, the authorship of a copy of verses against the Real Presence.† If the accusation was well founded, then Sentleger, like many others, probably temporized; for his inclinations, so far as we can gather from the facts of his life, leaned to the opposite direction. He was accused by Archbishop Brown‡ of favouring Papists; and though Brown's statements are point-blank contra-

\* Alen had, however, so much favour with the Council in England, that he was discharged from imprisonment, and appointed in the same year constable of Maynooth. See Morrin's Calendar, p. 147.

† Printed in Nichols' Remains of Edward VI.

‡ Brown states in a letter to the Earl of Warwick, that Sentleger, on his last arrival (1551), "went to the chief church of this realm, Christ Church of Dublin, and there after the old sort offered to the altar, then of stone, to the comfort of his too many like Papists, and the discouragement of the professors of God's Word." He charges Sentleger also with encouraging Dowdall, the Archbishop of Armagh, in his opposition to the Reformation. On another occasion he said to Brown, "Go to! go to! your matters of religion will mar all." The whole of this letter furnishes a curious illustration of the religious disputes at the Council table. Brown was not a disinterested informant; he was grasping at the honour and emoluments of Armagh, shortly to be vacated by the pertinacious opposition of Dowdall. (Irish State Papers, Vol. III., No. 45.) Alen, in his deposition, flatly contradicts Brown's statement as to the words said to have been spoken by Sentleger. He admits, however, that Sentleger had confessed to him that, in his dread of seeing the Irish incline to the French more "for religious cause than for their own sakes," he

dicted by Alen, who had no tenderness for the Deputy, it is, I think, evident from other circumstances in Sentleger's life and administration that he did not sympathize with the Protestant party of the Seymours. In 1549 he was employed by the Council in England to arrest the Protector. He afterwards assisted at Mary's coronation, and apparently felt no difficulty in complying with her instructions for restoring the old religion in Ireland. With these proclivities to the ancient faith, either real, or assumed from the necessities of his position, it is not wonderful that Sentleger soon fell out of favour and was removed from his office. Sir Edward Bellingham, one of the King's privy chamber, was appointed in Sentleger's room on the 12th of April 1548;\* and to mark the feelings of the Council, Alen was restored to the room of the Chancellor,† through the instrumentality, as it has been said, of Bellingham himself.

(1548.) Little is known of Sir Edward before this time. He had originally been in the service of the Duke

felt great reluctance in putting into execution the wishes of the Council touching matters of religion.

“ Long after this my Lord (Brown) and I met not together, but it was told me that he said, and I heard himself say no less, that Mr. Sentleger should say to him, that if the Lords of the Council had letten all things alone in the order King Kenry the VIII<sup>th</sup> left them, and meddled not to alter religion, neither had the rebellion of England, nor all these hurly-burleys have happened; and to prove this article, it was told me he should avouch me for a witness; wherein I said, albeit Mr. Sentleger have so wronged me by taking from me of honour, estimation, and living, so as if I should follow the flesh, if I might drink him up in a cup of water, he hath deserved it of me; which considered, no man will accompt me for an indifferent witness against him; yet if I shall be used for a witness upon the matter proponed, they are like to have a faint witness, for if Mr. Sentleger would do to me as much more harm as he hath done, I will not lie to hurt him,”—as he insinuates the Archbishop had done. (Irish State Papers, Vol. IV.)

\* Hamilton's Calendar, I. p. 79.

† See Morrin's Calendar, p. 164.

of Norfolk, though he certainly did not embrace Norfolk's religious opinions, for he had the reputation of being a strict Protestant. In 1542 he was sent as an envoy to Hungary, and was lieutenant of the Isle of Wight in the war of 1545. He appears as Mr. Bellingham at the siege of Boulogne in 1546, and probably attracted at that time the regard of the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset. At the close of that year, or the beginning of the next, he was despatched on a mission to the Emperor,\* but he must have returned early, since in May 1547 he was sent over to Ireland with reinforcements for the Deputy, who is recommended to use Master Bellingham's counsel and advice in all cases touching his Highness' service, he being a gentleman in whom, for his wisdom, policy, and experience in the affairs of war, both his Majesty and the Council put great confidence. Bellingham was preparing to leave Ireland at the close of 1547, when he was ordered to remain. During his employment there he had distinguished himself by his activity, mainly in building forts and providing against foreign invasion. Danger was expected from the French,† with whom at this period many of the disaffected Irish kept up a correspondence. The whole coast of Ireland was infested by pirates, and all the energies of the new Deputy were employed in urging reluctant mayors and burgesses to make due preparations for fortifying the towns and repelling assaults. His efforts were crowned with success. "There was never Deputy," writes one,‡

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\* Turnbull's Calendar, Edw. VI., p. 5.

† Among other projects, one was that of sending young FitzGerald with an army into Ireland. (Alen to Sir Wm. Paget, Nov. 21, 1548, and to the Protector, same date.)

‡ Richard Brasier to the Protector, 14 November 1548. (Irish State Papers.)

“ in this realm that went the right way as he doth,  
 “ both for the setting forth of God’s Word to his honour,  
 “ and to the honour of the King’s Majesty, and his  
 “ Grace’s great commodity and profit.” With the Arch-  
 bishop of Dublin he seems to have continued on good  
 terms, and to have joined that prelate heartily in his  
 efforts to advance the Reformation. Though Bellingham’s  
 sincerity could not be questioned, he not only preserved a  
 moderation which the difficulties of his place required,  
 but he acted with a spirit of kindness and forbearance  
 towards those who differed from him, not generally found  
 in the men of his times. His letter to the Archbishop of  
 Armagh, who still continued refractory, is a model of  
 Christian charity and discretion, which other governors in  
 like circumstances might have done well to imitate.

“ My Lord Primate,

“ I pray you lovingly and charitably to be circumspect in  
 your doings, and consider how God hath liberally given you divers  
 gifts, and namely of reputation amongst the people, which requireth  
 a great consideration at all times, as well in your acts as words. The  
 King’s Majesty also is, and hath been, your good and gracious lord;  
 and I, his minister here, doth not a little love and esteem you.  
 Wherefore I require you, let all these in part be with the gratuity  
 of setting forth the plain, simple, and naked truth recompensed;  
 and the way to do the same is to know that which, with a mild  
 and humble spirit wished, sought, and prayed for, will most certainly  
 be given, which I pray God grant us both.

“ Your friend,

“ EDWARD BELLINGHAM.

“ I pray you fail not to hearken for my return to Dublin, and to  
 repair thither, to the intent consultation be had for the better  
 setting forth of the truth and obedience amongst the King’s  
 Majesty’s loving subjects.”\*

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\* Irish State Papers, Vol. I., No. 162.

(1549.) But Bellingham was not destined, any more than his predecessors, to escape the tooth of detraction. The widow of the Earl of Ormond, whose death in England has already been mentioned, had married Sir Francis Bryan, better known by his services to Henry VIII. Bryan seems to have enjoyed the favour of the Council,\* for he was created marshal of the army on 6th January 1549. The new Deputy, like most of his predecessors, regarded this augmentation of the influence of the Butlers with feelings of dislike and suspicion.† He was by no means inclined to tolerate the least derogation from his authority or share its dignity with another. To increase his dissatisfaction, some dispute sprung up between him and the Countess of Ormond respecting the guardianship of the young Earl's property, who was at that time residing in England. In a letter to Esam,‡ Bellingham urges that “ it is a good quiet time of reformation of that fault, [*i.e.* “ the independence of the Butlers] whilst their heirs be “ within age, and the order of their possessions and “ servants be merely in the Deputy's hands, which if it “ be committed to any other of their friends, they will

\* See Cowley's letter to Bellingham, Irish State Papers, II. 47 and 49.

† Alen says in a letter to Cecil, written some time after, “ What was “ betwixt him (Bryan) and Mr. Bellingham before their coming hither, I “ know not; but I think Mr. Bellingham bare him such displeasre as “ I never see him bare to none other; and, as I judge, he would have “ done the like to any other that had married my Lady of Ormond. I “ will not divine what King Kenry VIII. see in Mr. Bryan, to use him “ in such trust of the weighty affairs of his realm; nother what the Lords “ see in him to make him, as it were, Viceroy of this realm.” (Irish State Papers, III. 26.) Of Bryan, Asehan says: “ Some men being “ never so old and spent by years, will still be full of youthful conditions, “ as was Sir F. Bryan, and evermore would have been.” (Schoolmaster, p. 129, ed. J. B. Mayor.)

‡ Irish State Papers, I. 140.

“ get thank of the infant when he cometh to age, and  
“ for their own private commodity together maintain the  
“ old misdemeanours.”

In conformity with this resolution, and the strict determination to uphold his authority to the utmost, the Deputy had strongly advised that the young Earl should be detained in England. In fact, this appears to have been Bellingham's fault, and sometimes to have given to his conduct an appearance of absolutism. In a letter written about the same time to the Earl of Warwick he remonstrates very warmly, and in language not likely to be acceptable to so ambitious a member of the Privy Council, against any interference on their part with his authority. The Council had resolved to erect a mint in Ireland, to which they had appointed one Agarde, notorious for the part he had taken against Lord Leonard Grey. They had resolved to exempt the mint from Bellingham's control, much to his dissatisfaction; and in his remonstrance there is a mixture of haughtiness and boldness, to which evidently the Council in England had not been accustomed. “ I am,” he says, “ at your honourable  
“ Lordship's commandment, as Bellingham, as much as  
“ any servant you have; but, in respect I am the King's  
“ Deputy, your good Lordship may determine surely that  
“ I will have none exempt from my authority, in Ire-  
“ land's ground, but sore against my will.” In the same letter he urges Warwick to stand his good Lord, “ that all  
“ men here may know I am the King's Deputy; so  
“ that they shall think, when they have my favours,  
“ things go well with them, and the contrary when they  
“ have them not.” \*

“ My Lord,” he adds, “ there hath been such letters, so

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\* Irish State Papers, I. 132.

“ many, and in manner all, and namely that came from  
 “ your Lordship, which sounded so much to the little con-  
 “ fidence there is in my proceedings, that if I had not with  
 “ words and countenance affirmed here that they were  
 “ [written] upon sinister information, so that they were  
 “ the less material, I take God to record, I think that,  
 “ besides that the King had been utterly unserved by me,  
 “ I should, with most ignominy, and for lack of reputa-  
 “ tion, have been driven to have returned into England.”\*

Was the ambitious Earl to be propitiated by such language ? †

To add to his discomfort, his old friend Alen seems to

\* Bellingham in this letter touches on a practice, which, as we have seen in previous instances, was productive of many evil consequences; namely, that the sinister information of certain persons has “ been more  
 “ hindrance to the reformation of Ireland than all the rebels and Irishry  
 “ within the realm. . . . Till your Lordship and others perceive  
 “ what is for the reformation of this realm, better than yet your Honours  
 “ do, the best minister that ever was, and he that best doeth or meaneth,  
 “ were as good sit still as go about it.” He adds that none but those who were importunate with the Council, for the sake of their own interest, had any chance of being attended to. “ And till this be otherwise, it is  
 “ not possible this realm should be reformed or amended, so that it shall  
 “ not continue. And to confirm their informations to be good, once in a  
 “ year or two, certain commissioners are sent over with the good and  
 “ careful zeal your Lordship and others of the most honourable Council  
 “ have to the bouncing out of the truth; and those same commissioners  
 “ are by these sinister informers there in England procured, and lither  
 “ into Ireland conveyed, and here by them and their means delicately  
 “ used (as the country will bear it). The said commissioners, nothing  
 “ able to abide the pain and time requisite, (which two are the finers and  
 “ triers of all truth), but so by those that procured them, brought them,  
 “ and here had the handling of them, they quietly return, with such  
 “ little pleasures (as this country will give) received at their hands.  
 “ Where their report to your Honours is, according to their corrupt voca-  
 “ tion (as a man may call it), to come in at the window; and so con-  
 “ firmeth your judgment with errors worse than the first.” (Irish State Papers, I. 132.)

† See his own account, *Ibid.* I. 166.

have turned against him. Alen had been told that the Deputy was dissatisfied at his claiming too much credit for himself in the government, which Alen denied. "If he would my death," says Alen, "I would say of him, as I have heretofore both said and written, that he is the best man of war that ever I saw in Ireland, having sithence his coming hither done more service to the King for his Grace's honour and the terror of his rebels there, than, after the repressing of the Geraldines, was done here in all the King's father's years, for all his charges; having nevertheless wished, which I wrote to your Honour only, that Jupiter and Venus had been as bonntiful to him as Mars and Saturn hath been;" meaning that Bellingham was more remarkable for his saturnine temper and his military exploits than for dignity and beauty of person. He confirms in all particulars the accounts we have received of Bellingham's lofty bearing. The Council was but a shadow, and he treated them as such. He went so far as to say that he had not "so great an enemy in Ireland as the Council; and if they were hanged, it were a good turn." He was fond of telling them "that their wealth and undoing depended upon him," and he threatened to commit them if they offended him. "At other times," says Alen, "he would keep them waiting in the Council Chamber for two or three hours without making his appearance." To Alen himself he had been particularly offensive. "By God's body!" saith he, "whensoever my Lord Chancellor goeth about to work mischief, then he feigneth himself sick." At the same time Alen admits that Bellingham was wholly free from the prevalent vice of greediness.

Bellingham was recalled, and Sentleger was once more sent to replace him. The author of the "Book of Hothe"



sums up the character of these two men in the following words :—

“After Sir Anthony Selinger was Lord Deputy. He was a wise man, well beloved in his beginning. He did so much by his wisdom, that he brought in all the Irish lords in Ireland, and sent them to the King, which did surrender all their land to the King, which the King did give this same to them again with rich gifts. He began the cesses in his time, which gat him displeasure. After him, Sir Edward Bellingchame, a good man, a very true payer of all men, and never took anything but that he paid for; and in his time Afale and Lexe was wan, and a strong fort builded in every of them; and after being sent for into England, [he] there died. This man had cesses worse than Selingere, but for his own horses wholly was kept in his own stable, and paid for all he took, and was a true-dealing man. He could not have bide [abide] the cry of the poor. He never in his time took anything of any man but that he truly paid; for he ware ever his harness, and so did all those who he liked of.”\*

Brian died in February 1549, and Bellingham shortly after.

Sentleger arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1550.† His demands on taking office will be found in the Irish

\* “The Book of Hothe” (Carew MS. 623), f. 119 b.

† He was certainly not there on 11 March, when Sir William Brabazon was acting as Lord Justice. (See Carew Papers, Vol. I. p. 224.) At a meeting of the Council, 27 July 1550, a sum of money was voted to him, as Deputy, for his service in Ireland, and 500*l.* by way of reward, from the King. The Deputy’s salary had been increased already, 28 June 1550, 200 marks, making it 1,000*l.* per annum. In King Edward’s journal there is a notice of Sentleger’s appointment under 4 August 1550. (See Nichols’ Remains of Edw. VI., pp. 287, 289.) His instructions are dated July 1550. (Carew, I. 226.) Alen, in a letter to his brother, seems to have had hopes of the deputyship. “Ye shall declare,” he says, “to my Lords “ what pains I have taken sithence my coming hither, specially sithenece “ the Deputy’s departure and this sudden chance, the care and direction “ in effect of the affairs of the whole realm lying upon me, so as if in “ these cases there had been one in my place, I speak for no vainglory, “ I take God to record; but to remember the Lords how necessary it is “ to have more officers, in such a country as this, than one, to be expert

State Papers preserved in the Record Office.\* Among other articles in his instructions he is directed to set forth the service of the English Church in English and in Irish, as it may best be understood; to take inventories of all the goods, jewels, and bells of parish churches; to urge on the labours of the miners in Ireland, especially in digging for alum; to survey timber fit for shipbuilding; to place the countries of Leix and Offally in greater security, by letting the lands for 21 years, and allowing the farmers one or two years rent free. He is commanded also to do his best in reducing those parts of Leinster which were still occupied by the Kavanaghs, the Tooles, and the Byrnes.

It could not be expected that Alen would see without displeasure the return of his old enemy to power. Whether he signalized his animosity, or—shall it be said his restlessness?—by complaining of Sentleger's conduct to the Privy Council, I cannot tell. But on the 12th of September he received letters of revocation. He was allowed either to return to England, or remain in Ireland on his pension, and he preferred the former, giving way to Sir Thomas Cusack, who had been appointed in his room on the 4th of August.†

Though no longer a member of the Council, he could not forbear at times expressing his dissatisfaction at the treatment he received from the Deputy. Before the close of the year, and again in the beginning of 1551, Sentleger finds himself compelled to answer the complaints of Alen and others, in the following letter to the future Lord Burleigh.

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“and in credit.” He acknowledges that he found great obstacles, especially because he is defamed that he “can agree with no man;” and expresses his willingness to give up his office for an annuity of 100*l*. (Irish State Papers, II. 50.)

\* II. 54.

† See Morrin, p. 208.

“ Gentle Mr. Ceeil,

“ I cannot render you condign thanks for the goodness I hear you daily minister to my furtherance and the maintenance of my good name ; yet ye shall have that God requireth—the poor heart to requite it. And where I hear that my late companions here, now displaced upon just ground, speak their pleasures upon me, my trust is that the most honourable Council will consider my deeds, and not the malicious report of such persons, but as the same are untrue. I doubt not the King’s Majesty hath now 5,000 hearts moe in Ireland than he had at my repair ; and I trust it is not unknown to my good Lords that my coming hither was not mine own suit, and much less to serve mine own turn, but by their honourable commandment, and to serve my Sovereign Lord, which, God to witness, I study to the uttermost of my power. I hear also that they name me a Papist. I would to God I were to try it with the best that so nameth me, that most honourable Council excepted.”\*

(1551.) At the same date Sentleger earnestly requested leave to throw up his office and return to England. There were other causes at work, besides those already mentioned, to render his administration far from agreeable to himself. The Privy Council in England had determined to impose upon Ireland the English Service-Book;† and there can be little doubt, I think, that Sentleger had not only a predilection for the old religion, but in common with some of his predecessors a personal friendship for Dowdall; all the stronger, perhaps, from his dislike of Archbishop Brown. When the order for appointing the

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\* Irish State Papers, Edw. VI., Vol. III., No. 3.

† In the order issued to Sentleger, dated at Greenwich, Feb. 6, 1551, he is commanded to see that the Liturgy and Common Prayer be used throughout Ireland, as they had been “ translated into our mother tongue ; of this realm of England ” (Phœnix, p. 128). But in his instructions, preserved by Carew, I. 226, he is permitted to substitute the Irish for the English tongue, where the latter is not understood, till such time as the people may be brought to understand English. So this enforcement of the English Liturgy had a political as well as a religious purpose.

service was discussed in the Irish Council Chamber, and proposed by the Deputy, the motion was resisted by Dowdall and his suffragans, who eventually withdrew, after employing the same arguments against the service in English as had generally been employed by those who held similar views in England. The author of *Brown's Life*, already referred to, has given a very dramatic version of this story in terms highly complimentary to Archbishop Brown. But Brown has left us, in his own handwriting, another version of the same matter, which throws rather a different light on the character and conduct of the chief persons concerned in it.

“ This massing, with like, being spoken in open Council against, by the Lieutenant, Sir Raphe Bagnall, and me, that it was too much against duty to suffer the Primate so to contemn the King's proceedings, and required he might be called before him (Sentleger) and the rest; who came and disputed plainly the massing and other things, contrary the King's proceedings, and that he would not embrace them; whereat the Deputy said nothing. The same Sir Raphe Bagnall called him errant traitor. Sir Thomas Cusacke, the Chancellor, the said Primate's cousin, answered, ‘ Mr. Bagnall, no traitor.’ So the Primate departed, and continued as he did, till the same Mr. Sentleger was discharged of the deputation; who, coming hither, sent in message to the Earl of Tyrone by his servant, ‘ Have me most heartily commended to my Lord your master, and pray him in anywise to follow the counsel and advice of that good father, sage senator, and godly bishop, my Lord Primate, in everything; and so he shall do well.’ Howsoever the matter was, the Primate, like a traitor, soon upon fled, writing to the said Chancellor—(I pray God to send in that trusty vocation an Englishman)—that he would never be bishop, where the holy mass (as he called it) was abolished.”\*

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\* Irish State Papers, III. 45. From a document in the Irish State Papers (Vol. I., No. 141), it will be seen that some of Archbishop Brown's contemporaries held views of his character and conduct very different from those which were put forth in his *Life* in the “*Phoenix*.” In a paper

Sentleger was revoked on the 11th of April, and Sir James Croft was appointed in his place. Sir James had already been sent to Ireland at the commencement of the year, to co-operate with the Deputy.\* His instructions upon his appointment were much the same in effect as those issued to his predecessor.† Croft's attention was

of interrogatories to be administered to himself or the Deputy, I find the following charges brought against him; whether justly or unjustly, whether by an enemy or an official, I cannot undertake to say.

(1.) Whether the Lord Protector and Council wrote to George, Archbishop of Dublin, before Christmas last, not to alienate any part of his bishopric. Nevertheless he alienated most part of it to his children.

(2.) Whether he said he had matters of treason and other abuses to lay to the charge of Master Seintleger.

(3.) Whether he at any time did set out the King's injunctions and homilies.

(4.) "Whether he preached at any time from November last till September 1548; which day he long before premonished to the people; and whether he procured or sent to Justice Luttrell, parson Luttrell, the vicar of Drogheda, or to any other to be at that undecent sermon, wherein he willed the audience to do all their former ceremonies, affirming that, like as Luther condemned the Bishop of Rome's traditions and ceremonies, so doth this Scot, that last preached here, condemn the mass and other our ceremonies. Therefore whatsoever he is that [doth] either maintain, succour, or credit this Scot in his preaching, is not the King's true subject."

(5.) Whether he has received any letters from the Earl of Desmond or [other] Irishmen.

(6.) Whether he suffered the said preacher to obtain a licence, or inveighed against him in the said sermon, &c.

It is stated in Brown's Life (p. 133) that according to some papist's writing, he relapsed under the reign of Queen Mary, and died for joy on receiving a bull from the Pope confirming him in his see. The writer of that Life, however, contends that this is nothing more than a scandal of Brown's enemies, and thinks that it is sufficiently refuted by Brown's religious zeal and activity in behalf of Protestantism. I think myself it is very improbable, but not for the reason stated. Had the rumour any connexion with these interrogatories?

\* See his Instructions, Carew, I. 230.

† See Carew, I. 231.

mainly directed to the administration of justice, and the means of reducing Ireland to a state of tranquillity.

Sir James contrived to secure the good opinions of the Council in England, as well as of his coadjutors in Ireland. This man, says Brown, "hath taken such pains and charge since his authority as no Governor did, ne mought have done more. He hath been at Ballagheyntymore, where there was no Governor heretofore. There came to Cork McCarty More, who never submitted himself to the King, ne to any other his most noble progenitors, before." Brown praises Croft above all other Deputies; especially for his sobriety, affability, and sincerity, still more for the efforts made by him to carry into effect the King's orders touching the Reformation. But the commendation he receives from Cusaek is far more valuable than any testimony from Brown, for he was a man of much greater ability, more sound and impartial in his judgment—and evidently no enemy to Sentleger. "The gentleness," he says, "that my Lord Deputy doth devise among the people, with wisdom and indifference, doth profit and make sure the former civility; so as Presidents in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, by God's grace, make all Ireland without great force to be obedient."\*

These qualities of prudence, conciliation, and gentleness, of which Sir James Croft possessed no small share,

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\* Carew Papers, I. p. 246. Of this document there is another copy in the State Paper Office; and this, as well as that in the Carew Collection, is dated May 1553. If the date be correct, it might be objected that the words quoted in the text applied to Sentleger, not to Croft, who was recalled at the end of 1552. I am, however, of opinion, that though dated in 1553, the document was some time under preparation, and refers entirely to the events of the previous year. Mr. Hamilton does not scruple to place it in 1552.

were fortunately for himself assisted by favourable circumstances. Of the two great Irish chiefs, Kildare was an exile, and was not restored until 25th of May 1552.\* The young heir of the Ormonds was still detained in England, there to be indoctrinated in English manners and sentiments, and taught to forget if possible his Irish origin. English law was administered without opposition in Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and the extreme west. "The lords and " captains of those countries," says Sir Thomas Cusack, in his admirable report of the state of Ireland, at the close of this reign, " as the Earl of Desmond, the " Viscount Barry, the Lord Roche, the Lord FitzMorris, " and divers others, which within few years would not " hear speak to obey the law, be now in commission with " the justices of peace to hear and determine causes." McCarthy More—then the most powerful Irishman in Ireland—had conformed. The Byrnes in Leinster had followed his example; and the Kavanaghs, restrained by the vigilance and example of their neighbours, were willing to purchase peace by apparent if not real submission. Tanistry had been put down in Thomond, and the Earldom erected by English patent took its place. The whole country between Limerick and Tipperary, which within a few years had been " all wild and not conformable to any good order," was now in such peaceable condition that any man might " pass quietly throughout their countries " at pleasure without danger of robbing or other dis- " pleasure."† In fact south of the line drawn from Galway Bay to Dundalk, containing the larger moiety of Ireland, the Irish Lord Chancellor could report that respect for English law and order prevailed, not only to

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\* Morrin's Calendar, p. 263.

† Carew, p. 237.

an extent it had never prevailed before, but to an extent which promised the most beneficial results to the peace, industry, and prosperity of the country.

Passing over to Connaught. On the death of McWilliam Earl of Clanricard the succession had been hotly contested between his son Richard Bourke and Sir Ulick Bourke, the latter of whom had been elected according to Irish custom captain of his nation. The feud was followed by its usual disastrous consequences—cessation of agriculture, war, waste and devastation. Cusack had reduced the disputants to order. “Within one fortnight, having  
 “ put certain gentlemen to execution for their offences,  
 “ by terror thereof and by other means, or (before) that I  
 “ left the country I placed the Earl quietly (in possession),  
 “ and made every one of the country willing to  
 “ . . . . obey him . . . ., and left two hundred\*  
 “ ploughs manuring the land, where at my going thither  
 “ there was not past forty ploughs in all the country, but all  
 “ waste through war; which ploughing increaseth daily,  
 “ thanks be to God! whereby the country is universally  
 “ inhabited, and so brought to quiet that now the people  
 “ leaveth their ploughs, irons, and cattle in the fields  
 “ without fear of stealing.”†

Sligo was held by O'Connor in spite of the King; but O'Connor Sligo, O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roo, and McDermott, of inferior account and of less considerable power than the chiefs already mentioned, had by incessant disputes among themselves ceased to be formidable.

In Ulster alone no improvement could be reported. It still remained, and was destined to remain, the scourge

\* This correction is supplied from a copy in the Record Office. In the Carew MS., the word *hundred* has been omitted.

† Carew, p. 238.



and plague of the English government. Neither force, art, or conciliation could bring it into conformity, or lighten the cares it imposed upon every successive Deputy, whatever might be his character or his policy. On "the side of the Banne," says Cusack, "is Tyrone, where the Earl of Tyrone hath the rule, the fairest and goodliest country in Ireland universal, and many gentlemen of the Neils dwelling therein. The same is at least sixty miles in length, and twenty miles in breadth. In the midst of the country standeth Armagh, pleasantly situated, and one of the fairest and best churches in Ireland, and round about the same the bishop's lands. And through occasion of the Earl and Countess his wife they [have] made all that goodly country waste; for whereas that country for the most part within these three years was inhabited, it was within this twelvemonth made most part waste, through his making of preys upon his sons, and they upon him, so as there was no redress among them, but by robbing the poor and taking of their goods, whereby the country was all wasted."\*

As a last resource, when all other methods had failed, the Deputy had summoned Tyrone and his Countess to Dublin, where they were detained in a sort of honourable captivity.†

\* Carew, p. 243.

† There are various remonstrances from Tyrone in Vol. IV. of the Irish State Papers, complaining of his arrest, and of the injuries done him by Bagnall and others. He asserts that he was trained from place to place, and so at last to Dublin, where he was arrested. (See Mr. Hamilton's Calendar, pp. 122-128.) He adds, what seems a needless aggravation of cruelty, that his wife, who came to visit him, had been confined in the Marshalsea for the last six months, his tenants and his country being universally devastated. (Ibid. 54.) He complains bitterly in a letter to the Council, dated from Dublin, 10 April 1552, against the harsh proceedings of the Chancellor, Cusack. There is so much of native

I will conclude my remarks on this subject with one more acute observation taken from the same able report,

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foree in his appeal, that I am tempted to place the following extracts from it before my readers :—

“ My duty remembered to your Honours.—It is not to you unknown, noble magistrates, that like as the ground is well tilled, so doth it bring forth fruit accordingly. And so as I, a man being from the beginning of rude education, in anywise could not temper myself after such sort, but that some spark of the old leaven must remain. Therefore, inasmuch as the Prince of most famous memory Henry the VIII., father to my Sovereign Lord the King that now is, ennobled me with the name of honour of Earl of Tyrone, and endowed me with all the lordships, manors, jurisdictions, and hereditaments within the limits and precincts of Tyrone during my life natural, as in the letters patents thereof at large appeareth. And as before the time of my submission, for lack of knowledge, I used a certain kind of discipline with those under my jurisdiction, as when they disobeyed me in things reasonable, I took away their kine and cattle ; so after, upon occasion, I omitted not the like. And this was because, after my said submission, no Deputy repaired into the confines of my said territory either to prescribe any order to those of my jurisdiction to do their duty towards me, or to limit to me how I should use them.

“ Nevertheless, now of late I am so scourged by means of my Lord Chancellor here, that as a captive or prisoner I am kept at Dublin, not once able to go see my country, to my great impoverishment, wonderful discredit, and utter undoing of my tenants. And such is the example thereof, that I fear other potentates of this realm will sooner revolt than once come to the Deputy, taking their pattern by me. For first, after my submission, no man can prove that I misbehaved myself against my Prince in any point, but the uttermost of my power served at the Deputy’s commandment from time to time ; yet have I the Baron of Dungannon so maintained against me ; I am detained, as is afore declared, to my undoing ; my country in the meantime spoiled and made desolates my tenants and followers killed, robbed, and spoiled, to the evil and pernicious example of other ; and this in respect of rewards given by the same Baron.”

He then states that he had made several petitions for redress, which had not been attended to ; that in the disputes between O’Donnell and his son the Calloghe, the castle of Neffynne “ was evulsed out ” of O’Donnell’s possession, and delivered to the Calloghe contrary to all equity ; “ not without suspicion of 400 kine to be delivered to the said Chancellor and others therefor, which is a piteous case. And the very cause why I speak of O’Donnell’s matter in this my letter is, that he being an old

to which I must refer such of my readers as desire a more minute account of the state of Ireland shortly before the accession of Queen Mary than can be expected from me in the brief limits of a preface. I cannot, however, forbear calling attention to one or two facts, upon which the writer is at no pains to conceal his opinion. First, in regard to the oft-disputed question, whether rebellion is so cognate to Irishmen that good order and government are impracticable there, he tells us that there wanted not some, even in those days, who held "that it were good with the sword to destroy all the inhabitants of that realm for their wickedness, and to inhabit the land with new." The task seemed so hopeless and so wearisome, always beginning and never ending, that even Englishmen, who would have shrunk with abhorrence from confounding the

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"impotent person, and in the remote parts of this realm, and, thinking that my petition should be of some moment with your Honours, desired me thereunto." He then adds that, after the departure of Sir Anthony Sentleger, the hostages taken from the Irish nobility, and remaining in Dublin, had been dismissed, but the King's people in the north had scarcely been so well treated. He desires, therefore, that indifferent persons might be appointed to determine these matters; "wishing that it might please his Majesty in the meantime to appoint a Chancellor, born within the realm of England, to supply the room here, for, albeit I am Irish, I take mine own countrymen to be neither of like estimation or indifferency to rule here, as I see in Englishmen." He concludes by desiring his freedom, that he may return to his country, and be serviceable in his old age to the King; "and that the lady my wife may have licence to go see his Majesty, and confer with your Honours of weighty matters." During the last twelvemonth he had been prevented from sending horses and hawks to the King; "and, my Lords, this last summer the nest of hawks I had for the King's Majesty, which contained three goshawks and a tarsell, whereof one of the best came to the Chancellor's hand, whereby it may be known who was stealer of them. . . . And besides, four years past, having three hawks to send to his Excellency, I was persuaded by the now Chancellor, in respect of the King's lack of years, not to send them; by which shift one of the best of them was given to him, and the rest to others."

innocent with the guilty on their own soil, had, in their desire for peace and order, reconciled themselves to the notion that almost any atrocity was justifiable to secure this desirable end. It was easier to cut the Gordian knot than attempt to disentangle the confusion and mismanagement of centuries. The steady advance of good government in Ireland, as reported by Cusack,—even if we allow something for exaggeration,—is a proof of the unsoundness of such a notion. It was a convincing argument that under good management Irishmen are just as capable as their neighbours of obeying steady rule, and making as rapid progress as others in the arts of civilization. This was evidently Cusack's conviction founded upon careful observation. The rapid change from waste and disorder to "civil obedience"—the certainty with which agriculture improved, and ploughs were multiplied, wherever firm and temperate measures were adopted by able Deputies, called forth his just commendations; but such results betokened and deserved the highest praise, not merely so far as the Deputy was concerned, but the Irish also. It is clear that they needed nothing more than good rule "to be observed and kept amongst them," for peace, prosperity, and contentment to be established in the land.

As to the second fact. Cusack notices that there were some who, advocating the opposite policy, thought it would be desirable for Ireland to be governed by Irish Lords. Without adopting his opinion that such rule must necessarily degenerate into licentiousness, and that Irish rulers would only make use of the opportunity to strengthen themselves for fresh rebellion,\* this only I will observe,—that, if the writer's accuracy may be depended upon, the good effects which he pointed out in the rule of Sir

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\* Carew, p. 247.

James Croft bore their fruits under a Deputy of English blood. In short, the welfare of Ireland and the civility of its people are independent of blood and race; they follow inevitably from the same causes as have raised other nations to power and plenty.

The writer regrets that there were no preachers amongst the Irish "to tell [them] their duties towards God and their King." "As for preaching," he observes, "we have none, which is our most lack, without which the ignorant can have no knowledge."\* Whether by preaching—by which he meant the preaching of Protestant doctrines—that end which he desired would have been sooner attained, some, looking forward into Irish history, might be inclined to question. Perhaps the success of Sir James was in some measure due to the fact that, earnest and sincere as he was in the profession of the Protestant faith, he showed his faith and sincerity by refusing to propagate it by ways which in Ireland as elsewhere have always brought discredit upon it. And always will.

In the justice and ability of the following remarks all readers will coincide. "Irishmen," he remarks towards the conclusion of his memorial, "are now soon brought to obedience, considering they have no liberty to prey and spoil, whereby they maintain their men. . . . The policy that was devised for the sending of the Earls of Desmond, Thomond, Clanricard, and Tyrone, and the Baron of Upper Ossory,† O'Kerroll, McGynnes, and others into England, was a great help of bringing those countries to good order; for none of them who went into England committed harm upon the King's

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\* Carew, p. 246.

† The playmate and friend of Edward VI., better known in England as Barnaby Fitzpatrick.

“ Majesty’s subjects. The winning of the Earl of Desmond  
“ was the winning of the rest of Munster with small  
“ charges. The making O’Brien an Earl made all that  
“ country obedient. The making of McWilliam Earl of  
“ Clanricard made all that country during his time quiet  
“ and obedient, as it is now. The making of McGilfadrick  
“ Baron of Upper Ossory hath made his country obedient ;  
“ and the having of their lands by Dublin is such a gage  
“ upon them as they will not forfeit the same through  
“ wilful folly.”\*

Here I must conclude for the present.

J. S. BREWER.

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\* Carew, p. 246. In the Carew MS. this paragraph follows immediately after Cusack’s memorial, in a postscript. A more complete copy of this postscript will be found among the Irish State Papers, endorsed “Welshe’s Declaration.”

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## APPENDIX.

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It has been stated in a note at p. xxxvii. of this Preface that coyne and livery were begun by Thomas Earl of Desmond, about 1465, for which he was beheaded. It is, however, just to state that a different cause has been assigned for his execution in a memorial by his grandson, written in the Irish tongue, and translated into English by his representative, then in the English Court, and addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council.

“So it is that this Earl’s grandfather was brought up in the King’s house, and being well learned in all manner of sciences and an eloquent poet, as the author affirmeth, was in singular favour with his Highness, so far forth that his grace took much pleasure and delight in his talk. And upon a day being in chase a hunting, his Majesty questioned with him, and amongst other things said, ‘Sir cousin O’Desmound, for as much as I have you in secret trust, above others, and that ye are a man who doth both see and hear many things, as well in my court as elsewhere abroad, which shall not perchance be brought to mine ears, I pray you tell me what do you hear spoken by me?’ To the which he answered his Highness and said, ‘If it like your Grace, nothing but honor and much nobility.’ The King, nevertheless, not satisfied with that answer, demanded of him again, three or four several times, what he had heard; and willed him frankly to declare the truth, not hiding one jot thereof from his knowledge; whereunto the said Earl made answer as he did before. At the last his Majesty, wading still in that communication as most desirous to grope the full, required him, for that he took him to be not only a man of a singular wit, but of a long experience and judgment withal, and none within this realm in whom he had more affiance, to declare his own opinion, and what he himself thought of him. To the which the said Earl lowly made answer and said, ‘If it shall please your Grace to pardon me and not to be offended with that I shall say, I assure you I find no fault in any manner of thing, saving only that your Grace hath too much abased

your princely estate in marrying a lady of so mean a house and parentile; which though it be perchance agreeable to your lusts, yet not so much to the security of your realm and subjects.' Whereunto his Majesty immediately condescended, and said that he had spoken most true and discreetly.

"Not long after, the said Earl having licence to depart into his country and remaining in Ireland, it chanced that the said King and the Queen his wife, upon some occasion fell at words, insomuch that his Grace braste out and said: 'Well I perceive now that true it is that my cousin, the Earl of Desmond, told me at such a time when we two communed secretly together;' which saying his Majesty, then in his melancholy, declared unto her; whereupon her Grace being not a little moved, and conceiving upon those words a grudge in her heart against the said Earl, found such mean as letters were devised under the King's privy seal, and directed to the Lord Justice or governor of the realm of Ireland, commanding him in all haste to send for the said Earl, dissembling some earnest matter of consultation with him touching the state of the same realm, and at his coming to object such matter, and to lay such things to his charge, as should cause him to lose his head.

"According to which commandment the said Lord Justice addressed forth his messenger to the said Earl of Desmond, and by his letters signifying the King's pleasure willed him with all diligence to make his repair unto him and others of the King's Council; who, immediately setting all other business apart, came to them to the town of Droughedda, accompanied like a nobleman with eighteen score horsemen, well appointed after a civil English sort, being distant from his own country above 200 miles. Where without long delay or sufficient matter brought against him, after the order of his Majesty's laws, the said Lord Justice (the rest of the Council being nothing privy to the conclusion) caused him to be beheaded, signifying to the common people for a cloak, that most heinous treasons were justified against him in England, and so justly condemned to die. Upon which murder and fact committed, the King's Majesty being advertised thereof, and declaring himself to be utterly ignorant of the said Earl's death, sent with all possible speed into Ireland for the said Lord Justice; whom, after he had well examined and known the considerations and circumstances of his beheading, he caused to be put to a very cruel and shameful death, according to his desert, and for satisfaction and pacifying the said Earl's posterity, who by this execrable deed



were wonderfully mated, and in manner brought to rebel against the sovereign lord and King. His Majesty, by his letters patent, gave liberty to the Earls of Desmond successively, to remain at home, and not at any time upon commandment to frequent the Deputy and Council, but at such times as they at their own pleasure, for declaration of their duties, should think it so meet. Sithens which licence, so granted, none of them came either to Lord Justice, Deputy, or Council.

“And when the late Earl of Ormond’s father, Peers Butler, and he himself also had weighed and considered what licence was granted to the said Earls of Desmond, being in enmity with them, and taking occasion to find great fault, that such liberty should be given to any subject, which mought (as he suggested) cause in them no small disobedience, chiefly when they should most declare the same, he persuaded as well with Sir William Skevyngton, as with the Lord Leonard Grey, in the time of their several rules, and found such mean, that the said manor of Dungarvan was by authority of Parliament, evict out of the said Earl’s possession; because he being of purpose so moved to the same parliament came not, only by force of the said licence to him granted. Which manor was after conferred to the said late Earl of Ormond, who, to the intent he would enjoy it himself, drave the mean to avoid the said Earl of Desmond’s interest and possession in the same. And since his time being removed, by what mean I know not, the charge and keeping of that castle was committed to Mr. Robert Seyntleger, and afterwards to one Matthew Wykynge, and now lastly to James Walshe, a servant of the late Duke of Somerset, who hath presently the charge thereof, not without burdening the King as well with men in extraordinary wages as with sundry other like charges standing to small effect, either for the service of his Majesty or defence of the country thereabouts; the same being chiefly, at this day, by the said Earl’s policy and power, kept in the stay it is, by having his men and constables planted everywhere upon those borders. And now when after the death of the said late Earl of Desmond, uncle to this Earl, the Lord Leonard Grey, then being the King’s Deputy, came into the west parts of Ireland, and of his own courage, being a stout valiant captain, having but small number of soldiers with him, attempted to go through Mounster; where if the Earl, that now is, had not aided him with his power and strength, although he durst not trust the Deputy himself, ne yet come into him, fearing the late practice of his said grandfather,

he had there lost the King's honor and had repulse; as I doubt not divers of the army now here, which then were there can well declare; but the said Earl, which never digressed from his duty to his sovereign lord, nor yet at any time rebelled against his highness, sent with him such power and conduty, as he passed all straits and dangers without obstacle or resistance, notwithstanding that the O'Braynes being sithens [created]\* into Earls of Thomond, were then in open hostility against him. And although the said Earle none of his ancestors, sithens the beheading of his said grandfather, at the town of Drougheda, came in at any time to the King's Deputy, yet this Earl, in the time of Sir Anthony Seyntlegier, late Deputy, forsaking his said liberty and abandoning all fear, came in unto him to Casell; who then promised him faithfully, on the King's Majesty's behalf, that he should not only have and enjoy the Earldom, but all other claims, titles, pre-eminences, and dignities in as large and ample manner as any of his ancestors heretofore had, or of right ought to have, the same; as upon his submission made and registered in the Council Book may appear more at large.

“Upon which trust and promise, forasmuch as the said Earl had then lost the letters patent of the gift of Dungarvan, of the which he entreated with the said Deputy, he made humble suit by petition to your Honors to have the same grant to him of new confirmed; nevertheless, sithens upon search made he hath found again the said letters patent, the exemplification whereof your Honors have seen, and doth most humbly beseech that according to the tenor and effect of his said grant, and in respect of his true and faithful service done, and hereafter to be done, to the King's Majesty, it may please his Highness to vouchsafe that he may have and enjoy the benefit of the said letters patent; which standing with his Majesty's pleasure, and your Honors', he trusteth shall be well employed; considering that both the same manor and all other the manors and castles, which the said Earl hath, and his own person besides, are and shall always, God willing, be at his Grace's disposition, to give or take the same, according to his princely pleasure.”

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\* Blank in original.

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## A LIST OF THE CAREW MSS.,

Showing the Ancient Letter-marks both of the Volumes which are still to be found in the LAMBETH and BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, and of those which are now wanting.

## Old lettering.

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A	Carew MS. 596.
AA	„ 597.
AAA	Described in the old catalogue of the Lambeth Library, but now missing.
B	Carew MS. 598.
BB	„ 599.
BBB	Described as above. Missing.
C	Carew MS. 600.
CC	„ 601.
[C]CC	„ 602.
D	„ 603.
DD	MS. Laud. 611, in the Bodleian Library.
DDD (altered to QQQ)	Carew MS. 604.
E	MS. Bodl. Laud., 612.
EE	Missing, but printed as Davis's Reports.
EEE	Carew MS. 605.
F	„ 606.
FF	Described as above. Missing.
FFF	Carew MS. 607.
G	„ 608.
[GG]	„ 609.
GGG	„ 610.
H	„ 611.
HH	„ 612.
HHH	Described as above. Missing.
I	MS. Bodl. Laud. 613.
JJ	„ 610.
JJJ	Described as above. Missing.
K	MS. Bodl. Laud. 614.
KK	Described as above. Missing.
KKK	Carew MS. 613.
L	„ 614.
LL	„ 615.

## Old Lettering.

LLL	Carew MS. 616.	
M	„	617.
MM	„	618.
MMM	„	619.
N	„	620.
NN	Described as above.	Missing.
NN[N]	Carew MS. 621.	
O	„	622.
OO	Described as above.	Missing.
OOO	„	„
P	Carew MS. 623.	
PP	Described as above.	Missing.
PPP	Carew MS. 624.	
Q	„	625.
QQ	„	626.
QQQ	Described as above.	Missing.
R	„	„
RR	„	„
RRR	„	„
S	Carew MS. 627.	
SS	Described as above.	Missing.
SSS	Carew MS. 628.	
T	MS. Bodl. Laud. 615.	
TT (“Tomus Primus”)	Carew MS. 629.	
TT (“Tomus Secundus”)	„	630.
TTT	Described as above.	Missing.
V	Carew MS. 631.	
VV	„	632.
VVV	Described as above.	Missing.
W	Carew MS. 633.	
WW	Described as above.	Missing.
WWW	Carew MS. 634.	
X	Described as above.	Missing.
XX	Carew MS. 635.	
XXX	Described as above.	Missing.
Y	„	„ (Printed as “Davis’s Discourse.”)
YY	„	„
YYY	Not described in the old catalogue, but a memorandum respecting it has been made by Archbishop Sancroft.	

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C A L E N D A R

OF THE

C A R E W M A N U S C R I P T S .

1575 — 1588.



# CAREW MSS.

## ELIZABETH.

1575.

March 14.

Vol. 628, p. 266a.

I. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAMS).

The Queen is fully resolved to go through with the enterprise of Ulster, and to follow the plot of the Earl of Essex, which you and the Council there do not mislike. "Seeing her Highness will precisely have no more soldiers in pay than 2,000, we were willing to think upon that one thing, amongst other, how those might be best employed and placed." We send you a plot, which we think "may be confirmable to her Majesty's design and expectation for the rest of the realm besides Ulster." The Queen has written more fully to you.

Richmond, 14 March 1574.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1. *Headed:* From the Lls. to the Lo. Deputy, Sir H. Sydney.\*

II. "The draught for the number of horsemen, footmen, and kerne under the Deputy the 15th of March 1574."

The Deputy; horse, 50, foot, 50. The Treasurer; horse, 10, foot, 10. The Marshal; horse, 24. The Master of the Ordnance; horse, 10. The Clerk of the Check; horse, 6.

The fort in Leix; horse, 30, foot, 100. The fort in Ofall; foot, 10. These two countries to be under the charge of one sufficient person, and to have the order of the Irish adjoining.

Lawghlen and the Cave[n]laughes; horse, 20, foot, 10. Francis Agard for the Birnes; horse, 10, kerne, 20. Athelone; foot, 20. Roseoman; foot, 15. Dongarvan; horse, 5, foot, 5. Castelmaine; foot, 10. Catherlaughe; foot, 8.

Spare bands; horse, 50, foot, 100.

For Leyx—Francis Cosby; kerne, 33. Ony McHewgh; kerne, 21.

For Offaley—Ministers of the Ordnance, 20.

Total, 737.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 2.

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\* This is an error. Sir William FitzWilliams was Deputy at this time.

1575.  
 March 15.  
 Vol. 628, p. 214.

2. [QUEEN ELIZABETH] to the LORD DEPUTY and the EARL OF ESSEX.

"We have at good length considered of the matter propounded by you, our cousin of Essex, for th' enterprise to reduce the province of Ulster to our obedience by yielding to the maintenance of the garrison there, with the yearly charges of 26,000*l.* for two years, and by granting to expend 13,000*l.* in fortifying certain places there within the same two years."

"Though [you] the Earl first have, by your several letters and now also by the declaration of Nicholas Maltbye, laboured to make this enterprise appear feasible and honorable, and in the end also profitable; and you the Deputy, with some others of our Council there, have by your letters recommended the same enterprise; yet we cannot but think the matter doubtful, whether th' effect that is pretended may certainly follow, considering we hear not of anything of moment in any parts of Ulster answerable by the charge that hath been borne by us, and some part by you, the Earl, almost these two years. Neither do we see it made manifest, but conjectural, when the two years shall be at an end, that there shall be good and assured means first to bear such a garrison as shall be necessary to continue there afterward, which we think must needs be more than 500, which we think too small a number by your plot limited; and next also to make some recompence of our great charges, which certainty must be spent in those two years, over and above in any uncertain accident charges not now thought of.

"Besides that also we find it not expressed by any advertisement from thence, that admitting to have the numbers of 2,000 to be maintained by us for the charges of the whole realm, as you, the Earl, did first in your letters of October suppose to be sufficient, and that out of those there might be 1,300 employed as a continual garrison for this enterprise of Ulster for two years, how we may think or judge the rest of Ireland should be governed and kept, if, out\* of that number of 2,000, 1,300 should be taken, and always for the space of these two years continued in Ulster." You must therefore enter into the following considerations.

(1.) In all the rest of Ireland there is no notable trouble, and we do not mean to continue the charge of 2,000 except for the respect of Ulster. We do not think that 1,300 out of the 2,000 might be employed in Ulster, and the rest of the realm staid in quietness by 700, unless you, the Earl, could yield assistance to the Lord Deputy in any case of necessity.

(2.) You, the Deputy, without any frequent calling for aid from the service of Ulster, may do well to forbear from irritating any of the captains of the Irish in other parts, or the

\* "not" in MS.



1575.

lords out of the English Pale. Thus, if you both concur for our service, 1,300 may be well spared for Ulster, and, as we have more cause to doubt of the success in Ulster, than to have the rest of the realm staid by the 700, you the Deputy shall, at times requisite, "give aid or some hostings for carriage and victualling of the places where the fortifications shall be until the same may be brought into defence."

(3.) It is thought that the bands in Ulster may be from time to time relieved by the other bands.

Having showed you some of our doubts, if you will join you good wills towards this enterprise, we will consent to the same, and authorize you both to proceed herein. "And because you, our cousin of Essex, did at the beginning require, beside the number of 1,300, 400 kerne and 100 pioneers, we can be content with the charge of the said kerne and pioneers," so as it exceed not 3*d.* a day for each person. "Where your motion was to have the wages of our garrison in Ulster to be sterling pay, we cannot assent thereto, neither for example sake, nor yet for the charge thereof; neither do we think it so needful, seeing there shall be a staple of victual provided for the same, as is in the rest of our realm; and yet if you shall think it meet to reward some that have need, as it may be thought the horsemen, we think that you may reasonably require, within a small time after your entry, for the first two years, that some cesse or relief be given and contributed to th' amendment of their wages by the Irishry, whom you shall defend from the tyranny of O'Nele and the Scots. And we see not but, to ease us also of some further charge in other things, you may reasonably require and obtain of the said Irish some reasonable relief."

We think neither of you have had care of our unnecessary charges, for you, the Deputy, seem to continue in pay the number of 1,850, and you, the Earl, 1,291, both which numbers make 3,141. We have great marvel by what warrant or for what service so many were first taken or are continued in pay, for you, the Deputy, know that when you had the journey to make against Desmond, 1,900 was thought sufficient. We command you both to discharge all above the number of 2,000. If you two do not accord to proceed with the enterprise of Ulster, we charge you, our Deputy, that no more be continued in our pay than 1,500 or 1,600. And yet though this enterprise take no place, we think some convenient force should be left in Knockfargus and elsewhere in Clandeboy, and some also near the Newry.

"And where we seem here to write some words as in case th' enterprise of Ulster might not peradventure take effect," yet we trust it shall not now quail or come to nothing.  
15 March 1574.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7. Headed: Deputy; Essex.*

1575.

April 8.

Vol. 628, p. 217a.

## 3. [The QUEEN] to the DEPUTY and the EARL OF ESSEX.

"It did appear to us very strange that so suddenly th' enterprise of the reduction of Ulster to obedience, which hath been so costly to us, should be as it were clean overthrown without our knowledge, for we did never think that upon such a sudden either you our Deputy would have refused to take that charge with those numbers, or you the Earl have given over your government of Ulster. And therefore this is to will you both to continue in the same order which by our last letters we did appoint, until you shall have further knowledge of our pleasure, and to casse no more of such as be in our pay, but so that the numbers of 2,000 English soldiers, beside 200 kerne and 100 laborers, as we have appointed in the same letters, be retained still, according to such division as is there made.

"And where you our Deputy do make accompts as though you had but 150 soldiers as those which be in spare bands, we must needs think this a strange reckoning, that all your own bands of horsemen and footmen and all the rest of th' officers' bands should be reckoned for no soldiers and men of war, whom yet we do daily pay for such. Some reason there had been for the guards necessary of castles, which cannot well be removed, especially footmen, that they might have been accounted as not fit at all times to follow you, the Deputy, at any sudden attempt or occasion, the which we cannot reckon in the whole to be not past 100, or thereabouts, to which number we could be content further to charge ourself. Then is there yet 700 at all times and commandments to follow you, our Deputy. And seeing that the Earl of Essex shall chiefly use his forces in summer until he hath builded his forts and places of strength, which being once done and finished, in the winter, what time the English Pale is most disquieted with wood kerne, and such thieves and rebels, you may be by some of his spare bands helped, we do see no cause why, following our advices and designs in our last letters specified unto you, you our Deputy have any cause to complain, or to frustrate the honorable enterprise of our cousin, the Earl of Essex. And therefore this is to will and command you with all speed possible to set such order that the bruit of this sudden alteration and changing may do no hurt."

We will send you by Malby further instructions. In the meantime you our Deputy shall signify to such as you think should by these bruits either be too much encouraged to mischief or discouraged from service, that it was mistaken by you or by them who did sow such bruits. And you the Earl of Essex shall signify so much to O'Donell and others whom you have brought to our service.

At our manor of St. James, 8 April 1575, the 17th year of our reign.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2. Handed: Deputy; Essex.*

1575.

II. "INSTRUCTIONS for NICHOLAS MALBY, sent into Ireland, to be declared as followeth."

"Because you have been made acquainted with the consultations here had since your coming from the Earl of Essex concerning the enterprize of the said Earl, for reducing of the province of Ulster to the Queen's Majesty's obedience, according to a plot thereof propounded by the said Earl, there needeth not any recital to be made of the particular difficulties found in the same, whereby the resolutions were prolonged, but yet in sum you may report that the greatest difficulties rested upon these several points."

(1.) As almost two years and a great deal of treasure and victual had been spent, and a great number of men lost, without any apparent profit, her Majesty feared the continuance of such loss in time to come; but it was earnestly declared to her what were the causes of the former expenses and losses, and how the enterprize might now take place with great likelihood of good success.

(2.) "Her Majesty found herself and this her crown so burdened with unmeasurable charges and expenses of treasure for the government of the realm, adding thereunto the great debts there now claimed, as she could not readily assent to enter into such a new charge as was required for this enterprize, as well for fortifications, which are great, as for continuance of a great garrison during two years. And were it not that it is to be hoped that her Majesty may be eased of these charges by some benevolence by way of subsidy here in England, her Majesty could not hereunto have in the end consented."

(3.) "Her Majesty had no small regard of th' adventure of the person of the Earl of Essex to prolong his continuance in those northern parts, having already borne forth the labours and dangers almost of two years, whereas there are few other that accompanied him thither being but of mean degree but they are returned, as misliking to continue, for danger of their healths, in the same. And likewise her Majesty had care to see the Earl, being so toward a nobleman, there left without any principal person meet to accompany him and to assist him in prosecution of this enterprize."

These matters have been the causes of her slow resolution. Therefore, considering how grievously the Earl takes the protracting thereof, as you have seen the proceedings herein, you shall declare to him the premises at more length.

The Earl shall do well to consider of these difficulties, "and take good regard how to ease as many of them as may lie in his power; that is, first, when he shall now begin, not to lose any time and season of the year for anything to be done, and specially in all his doings to use good advice, and foresee how the soldiers may be kept in discipline, his bands kept full, and not by abuse of captains for gain to keep void rooms; likewise to have as few of the Irish in bands as may be; next to

1575.

cause regard to be had of the soldier's health, and to avoid the infected from the other. And for these and such like his Lordship must make good choice of his captains, officers, and ministers."

It is hoped that, when the fortifications are begun, he will obtain great help of the Irish people, to dig and carry and such like, either gratis or for small hire; and that towards the victualling of flesh for the soldiers and oats for the horses, he may, by preys of the enemies' cattle, and contribution of his Irish friends, help to ease the charge of the victualling.

For the Earl's comfort and reputation, and for advice and assistance, Sir Peter Caroo shall be commanded to repair to him, "as a person for his wisdom, discretion, reputation, and for his affection to the Earl, most meet."

"And to th' intent he may without his own charges there continue, it is thought meet that he shall occupy the place which is mentioned in the Earl's plot, that is, to be lieutenant to the Earl of the whole garrison, and to have the allowance of 10s. per diem, and 20 horsemen in wages, and also to have the charge of 100 other horsemen or footmen; for which purpose her Majesty hath written letters to the said Sir Peter.

"And here it hath been also thought meet that when the Earl shall begin to attempt the fortifying of Blackwater, that the Lord Deputy, should in person, with an hosting of the English Pale, accompany the Earl, to th' intent that by help of garrons and carriages the victuals and other necessaries which are brought from the Newry, or thereabout, may be carried safely and speedily to the Blackwater; and that, whilst that is in doing, and the place intrenching, some exploit be made upon th' enemy to recover or destroy his cattle and other victuals, so as afterwards in the next winter the garrison that shall remain at Blackwater may be in more surety; and that also in the latter end of this summer there may be order taken and provision aforehand of ploughs for to till and sow some quantity of ground near the fort, to provide corn for the next summer, for sustentation of the garrison that shall remain in the fort. And as this is thought meet for Blackwater, so also the like is thought requisite for that which shall be placed in Colran."

"You shall also shew the Earl that toward the provisions of certain necessaries for the buildings to be made there and to the fortifications, and namely for certain frames of timber for houses of stowage, and of handmills, and a hoy and a frigate, and of iron, lead, and all manner of tools for works, with many other particular things whereof you can make recital, there is warrant made for 1,000*l.*, to be distributed by me, the Treasurer of her Majesty's Household, whereof 500*l.* is already expended; and at this time you have also 4,000*l.* sterling delivered to your charge, to be carried into Ireland, and to be delivered to the Treasurer of Ireland, to beby him defrayed only by warrant of the Earl for the charges now hereafter to

1575.

grow with this enterprise, as parcel of the sum that hath been demanded, whereof the rest, with this already delivered, being as much as shall serve for one half year, shall also be sent as soon as it may be heard from the Earl that he is entered into this action."

"All these instructions serve as though the Earl certainly shall have resumed that enterprise.

"It shall be good to remember that if he fortify at Colran, he must dam all fords and stop all passages over the Banne betwixt Colran and the lough; saving such places as he will keep open for his own passage, guarded by some wards, whereby Clandeboy shall be divided from Tirone."

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

2. Copy of the preceding. *The last two paragraphs are omitted.* Pp. 4.

Vol. 611, p. 361.

April 11.

4. [The QUEEN] to the LORD DEPUTY and the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 221 a.

Of late we wrote to you our letters dated the 8th of this month, for you, the Earl, [to] resume again the enterprise of the reducing Ulster to due obedience. We have thought good to put you in mind that it must be done with one accord, amity, and agreement within yourselves. If "any mistrust or misliking be conceived of you, the Earl of Essex, against our Deputy upon th' interruption of your design or any other thing, or of you, our Deputy, against the said Earl, our will, pleasure, and commandment is that, either within yourselves, or by mediation of such of your friends as ye do both trust, the same be reformed and pacified without any delay."

You, the Deputy, must help, by hostings and garens for carriages and by all other means to set forward the Earl's enterprise, and specially this summer, until the fortifications be put in some strength and made guardable; and you, the Earl, if any stir should rise or any disorder in any other part of the realm, are to aid our Deputy.

We commend to you Captain Nicholas Maltbye, whom, for his painful and long service done there in Ireland, we have admitted and sworn into our service.

St. James's, 11 April 1575.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 2. *Headed:* Deputy; Essex.

April 11.

5. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 222 a.

We have received your letter of the last of March, in which you lament the dissolution of the enterprise of Ulster. Although we think you might be fully satisfied by our last letters sent the 8th of April that it was a thing unlooked for of us, yet we have thought good to signify to you that by all your actions we have great cause to think you a rare treasure of our realm and a principal ornament of our nobility.

We are sorry that "you should be discouraged or have any suspicion that we should have any sinister interpretation of

1575.

your doings, which we confess to have been hitherto bold and courageous, full of virtue and manliness, and for your years and experience as wise and discreet as ever any nobleman was, yet careful we be, and must always be, of you, and fearful that any mishap should chance unto you, or that this enterprize which you have begun, to reduce Ulster to obedience, should not have that end and good success which we see well you propound as your butt and mark to bring it unto."

St. James's, 11 April 1575.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.

*Headed (incorrectly):* Deputy; Essex.

April 12.

Vol. 628, p. 290 a.

## 6. [The QUEEN] to SIR PETER CAREW.

"Considering of the great zeal and noble courage of our cousin the Earl of Essex towards our service and the reduēing of the province of Ulster to due obedience and good order, we find no greater lack than of such a friend and assistant unto him as you are." Therefore you shall make your repair to him with speed, and have the name and entertainment of his lieutenant, with 20 horsemen in pay, and further the charge of a band either of horsemen or footmen.

12 April (*year omitted.*)

*Contemp. copy.* P. ½.

*Headed:* To Sir Peter Carew.

April 22.

Vol. 628, p. 184 a.

## 7. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ORMOND.

For your advertisement of the departure of James FitzMorris and the White Knight \* into Spain, without leave from us or our Deputy, we give you hearty thanks. We pray you still to have an eye to the behaviour of the Earl of Desmond, who cannot be thought altogether ignorant of their counsels and designs. We are in the same opinion of your good will as we were when you departed hence. "Yet one thing you seem to have forgotten, and wherefore we have some cause to be displeas'd with you, as though of anything that you write to ourself any person living should be made privy, but ourself alone." Of the matter which we gave you most in charge to write, you have not written one word.

St. James's, 22 April 1575, 17 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1¼.

*Headed:* To th' Earl of Ormond.

April.

Vol. 616, p. 80.

## 8. ULSTER.

"A brief note of the number of horsemen, galloglasses, and Scots and kernagh'es entertained at this present by the Lords and chief men inhabiting within the province of Ulster."

Ferney, adjoining the English Pale, 50 horsemen and 200 kernagh'es. Phelim Ro O'Neile's sons, Lords of the Fewes,

\* Edmond Fitz (or Mc) Gibbon.

1575.

30 horsemen and 100 kernaghcs. McMahon with the Dortryc, 100 horsemen and 600 kernaghcs. The Baron of Dungannon with his followers in Oneilan, 60 horsemen and 300 kernaghcs. O'Hanlon, 12 h., 120 k. Art McDonnell, galloglasse, and his brethren, 20 horsemen, 300 galloglasses. Henry McShane's sons, 30 h., 100 k. Tirlagh Breslaghe and the McKannes, 40 h., 200 k. Maguenisse, 50 h., 300 k., and 40 gunners. "All these do inhabit between the Blackwater and the English Pale. Their number of horsemen is 392, galloglasse 300, gunners 40, and kernaghcs 1,920. The number total, 2,652."

Magueyer, 80 h., 600 k. Tirlagh Lenaghe, inhabiting a parcel of Tirone from the Blackwater to O'Donell's country, with Clanconkie and O'Cane's country adjoining to Tircconnell and the Banne, 200 h., 400 galloglasse, 1,000 k., 400 Scots. Clandeboy, in Sir Bryan McPhelime's time, with the Ardes and the Duffren, 600 h. and 800 k. McUlin of the Route, 24 h., 100 k. Alexander Og McConnell of the Glinnes, 12 h., 100 k., "which now Sorleboy MacKonnell doth by usurpation occupy and possess, with 40 horsemen and 200 Scots." O'Donnell in his country of Tircconnell doth entertain 20 h., 600 g., and 1,000 k.

The total number of the whole province of Ulster is 8,356.

## II. The wages of the Irish men of war.

"The bonnought or wages of a galloglasse for a quarter of a year, when it is best cheap, is one beef for his wages, and two beefs for his feeding and diet. The wages of a Scot is like. The captain of galloglasse hath for a quarter, one chief horse and a hackney, or for the hackney an habergeon, and in a band of 100 he hath to advance his wages, 13 dead pays out of the 100; so the band of 100 is but 87 men. The captain is also allowed for his own victuals six men's allowanees. The captain of 100 Scots and the captain of 100 gunners have the like. The horsemen hath for his wages as the galloglasse hath, besides horsemeat allowed him. The captain of the horsemen hath as the captain of the galloglasse. The captain of 100 kernaghcs hath for his pay 8 men's pay and the allowance of their meat, and at his first entrance hath as in way of reward over and above his quarter's wages commonly 10 kine to bestow as a benevolence among his gentlemen, which they look for as a common duty. The kernaghe hath quarterly one heifer, valued at 8s. sterling, and his victuals."

*Pp. 2. Corrected by Lord Burleigh, and endorsed by him as follows: "A note of the numbers of horsemen, footmen, and gallogl., maintained by all the Traitors, April 1575."*

*Also: "A note of Ulster,—Mr. Maltbye's."*

May 5.

## 9. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 223 a.

"Having seen certain offers and requests made by you unto our Deputy in your letters of the 15th of this present,

1575.

directed to our Council, by the which you do not only show yourself providently careful to avoid th' inconvenience that might have ensued from the sudden giving over of th' enterprise for the reformation of Ulster, but also, for the preventing of such mischiefs as were likely to ensue thereby, was content to spoil yourself of that reputation that birth and desert hath cast upon you, offering to serve under our Deputy there in place not answerable to your state and calling, for which most dutiful kind of dealing towards us, the same appearing most evidently to proceed of a singular and extraordinary zeal and devotion ye bear towards us, we could not in honour but by our letters make known unto you in what great good part we accept the same, and how sorry we are to see your honorable mind wounded with so just cause of grief as seemeth to have grown of the Deputy's over straight dealing towards you, to whom we have (by our letters presently sent unto him) signified how greatly we do mislike the same, as also commanded him not only to further hereafter your service to the uttermost of his power, but also to seek by all the means he may to repair the decay of your reputation and credit that lately hath ensued of his hasty and violent breaking of the said enterprise."

5 May 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1. Headed: Essex.*

May 5. 10. [The QUEEN] to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAMS).  
Vol. 628, p. 224.

We have seen a letter from our cousin of Essex to our Council, dated 15th April, concerning certain offers and requests made to you, which, although reasonable, have been rejected by you. Therefore because we would be loth to condemn you without receiving your answer, we thought it convenient to impart to you the offers and requests that were made to you by our said cousin. He proffered to serve in Ulster, for the stay of that country, with a certain number, until our further pleasure were known, and also, if you would take the execution of the plot upon you, to serve under you.

"Now, touching his requests: First, he desireth you to make some show of a journey northward. Secondly, that the hosting appointed the 10th of April might proceed, which, used with seerecy, he showed you that it was likely that there would ensue thereof a profitable peace. Lastly, that men might be cassed to 2,000, besides the wards and officers, until our further pleasure were known; for that he thought better to venture a month's pay of a few, than by so sudden a discharge to have our honour touched and our charges already bestowed quite lost."

The inconvenience that might follow of so sudden a breaking off is so apparent that we cannot rest satisfied with your refusal of the same. We did not so tie you to your instructions, that nothing was referred to your own discretion; and



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therefore, seeing that the benefits were laid before you, that would have ensued by the general hosting upon Tirlogh and the rest of the heads of the wild Irish, we have great cause to suspect some misliking between you. We hear that since the refusal of his offers you have forborne to call him to any conference or consultation; which thing, touching so nearly the honour and reputation of our said cousin, we greatly mislike.

5 May 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2. Headed: Deputy.*

May 22.

**11.** [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 225.

Notwithstanding our late commandment given you, to resume the government of Ulster, lately given over by you, we are now of another opinion, "having more just occasion of late to look more inwardly into our estate at home, and finding great cause for us to forbear the prosecution of your enterprise." You shall "direct the course of your proceedings in such sort as th' enterprise may yet be so given over as our honour may best be saved, the safety of such as depend upon us in some good sort provided for, and the province left in that state as there may follow no such alteration as may disquiet the rest of that our realm." Further instructions will be delivered to this bearer by our Privy Council.

Manor of Greenwich, 22 May 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½. Headed: Essex.*

May 22.

**12.** EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 225a.

Instructions given to Asheton, despatched to the Earl of Essex, 22nd May 1575.

You shall assure the Earl of Essex from us, that her Majesty's forbearing to prosecute the enterprise for the reformation of Ulster does not proceed of any misliking of the same, and that her Majesty will have consideration of the great charges and travail he has already sustained.

The manner of breaking off so that no inconvenience may follow we refer to his judgment. He shall confer with the Deputy therein, if conveniently it may be done; if not, then he shall send you or some other, fully instructed of his opinion in that behalf, to the said Deputy, that he may direct his actions accordingly, and signify to the Earl what liking he has of his said opinion. They shall advertise her Majesty what they judge fit to be done.

"You shall also signify unto his L. that we desire him to consider, now that Tirlogh Lenoghe shall see him resume the government, as also in field with forces, whereby it shall appear unto him that there is a thorough intention to go forward with the reformation of Ulster, whether he may not be brought to be content to renounce the title of O'Neil, to relinquish the claim he maketh to certain curaghes, to content himself

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with that portion of Tiron that lieth beyond the Blackwater, (being assured thereof by grant from her Majesty for term of life,) and to join with her Majesty's forces in th' expulsion of the Scots; which thing, considering her Majesty's present disposition not to proceed in the former enterprise, so that by the building of a fort at the Blackwater there might be any likelihood of Tirlough Lenoghe's continuing in the performance of the same, were not in our opinion to be misliked, if he might be brought to yield thereunto, so that the charges of the said fortification might be reasonable, and the euraghes brought to contribute to the maintenance of a convenient garrison to be placed there."

Such provisions as were lately sent thither from hence to be employed in the said enterprise are to be so ordered as there may be no spoil made of the same.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

May 22. 13. [The QUEEN] to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAMS).

Vol. 628, p. 227.

We have thought good to forbear the prosecution of the enterprise for the reformation of Ulster, taken in hand by the Earl of Essex. It is very expedient that the enterprise should be so broken off as thereby may grow no danger in the said province nor dishonour to the Earl. We have therefore willed him that, before this be commonly known, either by composition or otherwise he should so deal with Tirlogh Lenoghe and the rest of the heads of that province, that some good way may be devised for the stay of that part of our realm. He is to confer with you.

22 May 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1. Hecaded: Deputy.*

June 10. 14. The EARL OF DESMOND to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 616, p. 165.

Your letter of 20th October last has been no small comfort to me. I beseech you to be a mean that I may have possession of my castles, which I delivered to her Majesty during her pleasure, as they grow to no commodity to her Majesty, and the keeping of them not a little hinders me. I was informed by Thomas Chester of Bristol that he can have no allowance for my son there, which in short time will grow to no small charge. I desire licence to have the child brought hither, where he will not put her Majesty or me to any charge, until he be able to go to school, at which time I will return him thither.

Asketten, 10 June 1575. *Signed: Gerot Desmond.*

*P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed.*

June 72. 15. TIRLOUGH LENAGH O'NEILL.

Vol. 628, p. 235a.

Articles indented between Walter, Earl of Essex, captain general of Ulster, on the one part, [and Tirlough O'Neill on

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the other part], made at the new fort near the great river, 27 June 17 Eliz.

The said Tirlough (*Terentius*) O'Neill humbly submits to the Queen. He will assist the said Earl against any person who opposes the Queen in Ulster. He will renounce all who are called "uriaghes." He will not claim any of the followers of Clandeboy dwelling beyond the Bann; or any superiority over the Baron's\* sons or any other persons dwelling between the great river and Bundalke. He will not harbour any traitor or rebel, or suffer any thefts to be committed in or brought into his country; but he shall deliver up every thief, or restore the theft fourfold. He will serve the Queen against all upon whom she may make war, and endeavour to expel the Scots, to whom he shall give no wages or bonought. He will answer to all hostings with 50 [?] horsemen and 100 footmen. He will conduct himself peacefully towards O'Donell and all other faithful subjects of the Queen. He will deliver to the said Earl, as pledges, Arthur O'Neill, his son, and James Og McCon Moy.

In consideration of the premises he shall have, of the Queen's grant, all lands from Lough Foyle to the river, and from the Bann to the borders of the country of Maguire, with all monastic lands in that precinct. He shall also enjoy the dependent countries of Llancon and Clambrehilogh. In consideration of his and his father's services to the Queen, he shall have Maguire as long as he well conducts himself. After his death his sons shall have a portion of those lands which are called Niall Connilagh O'Neil. He shall have part of the custom of Lough Foyle called "coked," in as ample a manner as it was possessed by those who formerly held his place; and likewise of the Bann, provided he shall make agreement with the fishermen, according to the custom of the Bann. He shall have the rent which he claims from Odocharton, if he can prove that it was due of old. He shall have Bernard Scabitus,† "modo dictus Be[r]nardus habitaverit in prima‡ sua ultra Banniam ex parte Tironæ;" and if the said Bernard shall come to dwell this side the Bann in the parts of Clandeboy, then he shall remain there, and shall pay to the Queen a rent for his country. If the said Bernard shall adhere to the sept (*septis*), then Tirlough O'Neill shall possess his lands beyond the Bann, for which he shall make war upon him. No thefts shall be committed in his country by the sons of the Baron or other persons dwelling between the great river and Pundoleke; or they shall be restored fourfold. He shall not appear before the Governor, unless he please. For the better security of his person he may have 300 Scots in wages, provided they be of the nations of McAllins and Cambells. If

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\* Matthew O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon.

† Qu., Sir Brian McFelim O'Neill.

‡ Mistake for *patria*?

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any thefts be pursued from one country into another, the inhabitants of the latter shall redeliver the thefts, or make compensation fourfold.

*Contemp. copy. Lat. Pp. 4.*

July.  
Vol. 628, p. 227a.

16. [The QUEEN] to the DEPUTY and the EARL OF ESSEX.

We have heretofore signified that we intended to proceed no further in the enterprise of Ulster for a time, but that you our cousin of Essex should make some countenance with your forces upon Tirloghe Lenoghe and the Irishry until they were reduced to some good stay and composition. We now understand that you have agreed and compounded with him, and are long since marched into Clandeboy, to reduce the inhabitants and Sarleboy to some honorable agreement, which we hope you have by this time performed, so as we shall not need to be at such great charges. Therefore our pleasure is that our whole garrison shall be reduced to 1,600 soldiers. Sufficient wards to be left both in the new fort now by you the Earl of Essex made at the Blackwater, and also at Belfast, or such other places in Clandeboy and at Knoekefergus, until the coming of Sir Henry Sidney thither to be there as our Deputy.

*Dated in the margin, "1575, July."*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1. Headed: Deputy; Essex.*

July.  
Vol. 628, p. 228a.

17. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

"We are right glad to understand by your letters sent unto us by this bearer, William Carie, directed both to us and our Council, that you are grown to so good a composition with Tirloghe Lenoghe, which giveth us great hope that your intended travail in Clandeboy, in reducing the Scots and the inhabitants there, to some good accord, will take like good success and effect." We have been made privy to certain private instructions delivered by you to Asheton containing certain requests.

(1.) "Whereas you desire that such sums of money over and above all imprests as may appear to have been spent in our service by the accompts taken by our Auditor of that our realm may be allowed and paid unto you, we cannot as yet yield our resolute answer therein, for that the said accompt is not yet come to our hands."

(2.) Whereas you desire, in respect of your credit, and the avoiding of the dishonour which you conceive will grow unto you through your discharge, to be created Earl Marshal of that our realm of Ireland, and the same to have continuance to you and your heirs males, you shall understand that it is not thought convenient to grant it in such sort; but we are content that you shall have the same during our pleasure.

(3.) Touching your request of the country of Ferney, we are content to grant you the same, reserving 20 marks rent,

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and the bonnaghe which heretofore has been levied of the inhabitants of the country.

(4.) Whereas you desire the leading of 100 horse and 200 footmen during your life, we have, upon conference with Sir Henry Sidney whom we mean presently to despatch from hence into that realm to supply the place of our Deputy there, agreed that there shall be allotted to you by him some such convenient number of both horsemen and footmen as shall seem [necessary] for the guard of that country.

(5.) Touching your request for continuance of your estate and interest in Mac Guise Island,\* you shall receive our resolution at our said servant's hands at his repair thither.

(6.) "Whereas suit hath been made unto us before Asheton's arrival, by certain your friends in your behalf, for the stay of the forfeiture of your lands, and also for the remission of the interest, you shall understand that we are well pleased to condescend to the same and to give order for the stay thereof accordingly."

*Dated in the margin, "July 1575."*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Headed: Essex.*

July.

18. [The PRIVY COUNCIL] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 229a.

We have seen your instructions to Asheton, touching the course you intend to hold in the breaking of your former intended enterprise, the same being allowed of by the Lord Deputy, as appears by his letters. We leave it to you to do therein as time and opportunity shall lead you.

Whereas you determine to build rather at Belfast than at Blackwater, her Majesty's pleasure is that you should advertise what the charges of the building will amount to, as also what convenient numbers of horsemen and footmen you think requisite, to be placed as well there as at Knockfergus or elsewhere in Ulster.

"As touching the granting unto Tirloghe Lenoghe of Maguire and MacMahound, whom † he pretended to appertain unto him as his euraghes, in consideration of rent and service to be by him paid to her Majesty for them until her Majesty's pleasure shall be either to resume them or further known in that behalf; she hath willed us to signify unto you that in no case she can yield thereunto, for that she holdeth it less dishonorable to suffer him to enjoy them as heretofore he hath done rather by usurpation, than to grant them by composition, being led so to think, for that it hath been given her to understand that the said Maguire and Mac Mahound do utterly disclaim to appertain to him as euraghes, as the said Tirloghe pretendeth, and that McMahound is the fittest person, of all such as he claimeth to be his uraghes, to

\* Magee Island.

† "wherein," MS.

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be continued in her service for the surety and defence of the English Pale.

“And as for his enjoying of the title of O’Neill by usurpation, as heretofore he hath done, considering her Majesty’s present determination for that province, we think it rather to be winked at for the present, than by striving with him to draw the intended course of composition to such a length by protracting of time as is likely to prove more chargeable than beneficial. And yet we do not doubt but that your Lordship, by putting him in mind of the Act of Parliament whereby the said title of O’Neill is inhibited, as also of his own renouncing, as by bill indented appeareth, not only of the said title, but of such uraghes as he pretendeth to have appertained unto him in the time of Sir Henry Sidney’s government there, your Lordship will do what you may to cause him to renounce both the one and the other.

“Touching the rent and service your Lordship meaneth to reserve upon such composition as you shall make with Sarleboy and the natural inhabitants of the Rowte and Clandeboy, her Majesty would be glad to know” what rent and service you can draw them to yield to. Of the reservation of the land between Belfast and Olderfleete to be possessed by English subjects her Majesty doth very well allow.

“Touching your Lordship’s requests to have authority to grant estates to the Irish for lives and to the English in fee, when it shall be known what rent and service shall be reserved, then her Majesty will give order that your Lordship shall have knowledge of her further pleasure therein.”

*Dated in the margin, “1575, July.”*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2. Headed: Essex.*

July 31.

Vol. 632, p. 8.

## 19. The EARL OF ESSEX to the QUEEN.

Though I took order for the breaking up of camp, which I was forced to do by want of victuals, I thought it good to make war on the Scots. I left a garrison of 300 footmen and 80 horsemen at Carigfargus under Captain John Norrice, “to whom I gave a secret charge that (having at Carigfargus the three frigates, and wind and weather serving), to confer the captains of them, and on the sudden to set out for the taking of the island of the Rawghlins.” I then withdrew myself towards the Pale.

Captain Norrice and the captains landed on the island on 22nd July, and drove the Scots into a castle of very great strength. After a fierce assault on the 25th, when the captain of the island was slain, the besieged called for a parley. The constable “came out, and made large requests, as their lives, their goods, and to be put into Scotland;” which were refused. Finally all the company came out unconditionally, and were killed by the soldiers, except the constable, his wife and his children. “A pledge which was prisoner in the castle was also saved who is son to Alexander

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Oge McAlister Harry, who pretendeth to be chief of the Glinnes; which prisoner Serleboy held pledge for his father's better obedienee unto him." 200 were slain.

"News is brought me out of Tyrone that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain (that they have found hidden in caves and in the cliffs of the sea) to the number of 300 or 400 more. They had within the island 300 kine, 3,000 sheep, and 100 stud mares; and of beer corn upon the ground there is sufficient to find 200 men for one whole year." Captain Norrie has left a ward there of 30 soldiers. 100 men kept there will do more service than 300 elsewhere in the North. The frigates have lately burned 11 Scottish galleys. I recommend to your favor all the captains and soldiers serving under me."

From the Newry, this last of July 1575.

*Copy. Pp. 2½.*

Aug. 2. 20. SIR HENRY SYDNEY, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 614, p. 29.

Instructions for Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, our Deputy of our realm of Ireland.—Signed by her Majesty at Lichfield, 2 August 1575.

After you have received the government of that realm as our Deputy there, you shall peruse our instructions to the last Deputy and Council there.

(1.) Due consideration is to be had of our debts to any manner of person in that realm, and what means might be there devised by the benevolence of the realm, or by some other agreement to pay or acquit the same. Such large sums of treasure have been sent from hence to pay our debts there, that it will be a long time before we can make payment of any more. "It is seen by daily experience that a greater number of merchants of that realm do usually compound with the captains and other our creditors of that realm for divers sums of money, much less than the principal debts are, or than the sums which we have here of late years fully paid to such merchants to their great benefit, the like whereof is not like hereafter to be looked for."

(2.) The state of our revenues is to be duly examined. Re-entries to be made upon farms for lack of due payment. No new leases to be made without either good fines, to be converted towards payment of our debts, or else reservations of corn over and above the rent, towards the victualling of our army; "and in this point is to be remembered [a] device often times prescribed for the reducing of the benefit of the port corn to our benefit, in like sort as particular subjects yet counsellors to us have there practised for their own particular gain, by procuring of leases and assignations of leases from us of the said port corn."

1575.

(3.) Consideration to be speedily had of the countries of Leix and Offally, how they may be reinhabited with good subjects, and the rebels O'Connors and O'Mores expelled. We give you full power to let our lands and to make grants, under our great seal of that realm, of all such lands in the said two countries as are now void by death, escheat, or forfeiture, with "such covenants and conditions to be made to the new grants as \* th' Earl of Sussex, when he was there Deputy, was authorized by act of parliament to make of those two countries. And because there hath been doubt made of these estates, being but in special tail and not in fee simple, as whereby the tenants under them have not been enabled † to make any estates under them of any continuance for years or lives to any other persons of portions of their tenancies, as in some causes hath been thought reasonable, for the more replenishing of those countries with inhabitants; you, the said Sir Henry Sydney, shall, with advice of our Council there, consider how those causes may be remedied by some special ‡ order and warrant from us without inconveniences of alienations of those lands from the race § of th' English blood, or to women and persons not serviceable, or otherwise to come to the occupation of the ancient rebels there, to the diminution of the strength of the said countries against the said rebels."

(4.) "It shall be considered how we can be answered hereafter of the profits of the two countries in Munster, that is, of the Knight of the Valley's and of the White Knight's country, both reduced to our crown there in the time of you the said Sir H. Sydney, being Deputy."

(5.) It is to be certified hither why the Auditor there has not made perfect certificates of our debts for the army there, as for lack thereof no account or estimation could of long time be made of our charges and debts there. The like knowledge to be had of the charges in Ulster under the Earl of Essex; "the certainty whereof was by Mr. Ashton reported should have been sent hither within 15 days after his last coming from thence: the lack whereof hitherto || is an occasion of our stay of resolution here to the Earl of Essex' demands." The Auditor is also to be charged "to make certificate of the benefit of the grant of the English countries to us of the debt due to them for the time they have been certain years discharged of cesse."

(6.) "Considering we have yielded unto you, the said Sir Henry Sydney, taking upon you this office, wherein you have given us great hope of a quiet government, that there should be order taken here in England for the delivery at Chester,

\* "to" in MS.

† "spied" in MS.

|| "thereunto" in M.S.

† "inhabet" in MS.

§ "ratte" in MS.



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or some other convenient port of the sea side, the sum of 20,000 pounds sterling yearly, to be paid quarterly to the Treasurer of Ireland beforehand the sum of 5,000*l.* at a time." With this sum our army shall be victualled without our further charges or burthen of the country. Therefore it shall be necessary for you to cause all the victuallers to deliver their remains of all manner of victuals and other provisions, and cease from continuance in any entertainment from that time. The remains are to be viewed and prised by the oaths of indifferent persons to the most commodity of us, and to be either delivered in a value to you, as a parcel of our assignation, or else to be there sold in Ireland to our most advantage. The vessels and utensils to be taken into your charge.

(7.) We hope that, by increase of our revenues, we shall, after a small time, be disburdened of some good part of the foresaid assignation of 20,000*l.* Therefore we desire to be quarterly, or at the least every half year, advertised of the numbers of our garrisons contained in ordinary wages, and in what places they serve. As you have offered, with this assignation, to cause the town of Knockfergus to be fortified and certain bridges to be made in sundry places for the better ruling and daunting of sundry rebels, you shall make certificate of the expenses every half year.

(8.) "Because we have ordered by our late letters to our Deputy and th' Earl of Essex that there should be a discharge of the excessive number of soldiers serving in Ulster specially, and also in other places, to the reducing of the whole garrison and numbers in pay not to exceed the number of 1,600; whereby it may be that sundry such captains may be discharged as shall have had imprest of larger sums of money than the time of their service until the time of their discharge shall amount unto for th' Earl of Essex causes. Therefore in the consideration of the army and garrison that shall now be in entertainment under you the said Sir Henry Sydney, we wish that you would continue such captains with their bands in entertainment rather than to take any new into wages, at the least until the time that their imprest may be expended, except you can otherwise provide how we may be duly answered of our imprest, which, if the numbers be duly mustered, it is thought that the said imprest ought not to be allowed; but the captains, having taken large[r] imprests and pays than than their numbers extend unto, ought to be compelled to repay the same."

(9.) Heretofore, when you were Deputy, you found sundry of the Irish lords and captains disposed to become obedient subjects, and to surrender their estates to us, with intention to receive the same of us by grant and letters patents, and to yield rents and services. We like very well of the said offers, and therefore we will you to treat with them.

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(10.) "We will that you continue all such persons, as our counsellors for our estate there, as you shall find authorized thereunto; and that you admit also th' Earl of Essex to be one of the Lords of the Council there."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7. Endorsed.*

Vol. 611, p. 323.

2. Another copy of the same instructions.

*Pp. 6.*

Aug. 6.

21. The QUEEN to the EARL OF ESSEX.

Vol. 628, p. 231a.

By your letter dated at Droghdaghe, 22nd July, we understand your painful travails in Ulster and good success. With as small effusion of blood as may be, you have brought Ulster into obedience and quiet.

We have appointed to send Sir Henry Sidney with all speed into Ireland as Deputy in the place of Sir William Fitz-Williams, who has been long suitor to us for the recovery of his health to come into England.

Touching your petitions and requests, in former letters we have in part written our mind to you. "Where for the Ferney, besides the bonnaghe, we did reserve of you the yearly rent of 20 marks; we do not esteem the money so, but we can be content, in lieu of that rent, to have a chief horse or some such thing yearly to be presented to our Deputy for the time being, for an acknowledgment of sovereignty only. For the office and honour of the Earl Marshal, although we do not use willingly to grant any such office otherways than during pleasure, yet we are well content to give it you during life. For the rest of your requests we have willed the said Sir Henry Sidney to confer with you."

"Concerning Sarleboy for to enjoy those lands, the which he saith unto you was granted to him in the Lord Chamberlain's time,\* when he was Deputy there, we do remember that there was such a communication at that time with him, but because neither my Lord Chamberlain nor Sir Henry Sidney be here at this present, we cannot upon the sudden give answer."

We pray you to give our right hearty thanks to Sir Peter Carew, the Lord Norrice's son, Nicholas Malbye, Edmond Barekley, and all the other captains and gentlemen who have so faithfully and painfully served us in this service done by you at this time.

We make here no mention of McGuise,† contained among your requests, but you shall understand our good disposition therein by our said Deputy.

Chartley, 6 August 1575.

\* The Earl of Sussex.

† *i.e.* Magee Island.

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*"This was written with the Queen's own hand:—*If lines could value life, or thank might answer praise, I should esteem my pen's labour the best employed time that many years hath lent me. But to supply the want that both those carrieth, a right judgment of upright dealing shall lengthen the scarcity that either of the other wanted. Deem therefore, Cousin mine, that the search of your honour with the danger of your breath hath not been bestowed on so ungrateful a Prince that will not both consider the one and reward the other.

*"Your most loving Cousin and Sovereign,—E.R."*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½. Headed: Essex.*

Aug. 6.  
Vol. 628, p. 291.

22. The QUEEN to SIR PETER CAREW, the Sons of LORD NORRIS, CAPTAIN MALBIE, and CAPTAIN BARKLEYE.

The Earl of Essex greatly commends your diligence and faithful service. We give you our right hearty thanks, especially considering that in all services and hard accidents you have continued still with our said cousin when others have left him.

Chartley, 6 August 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

*Headed: From the Queen, a letter of thanks, to Sir Peter Carew, &c.*

Aug. 12.  
Vol. 628, p. 230a.

23. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.

By your letters of 31st July you advertise us of the taking of the island of the Raughlins, the common receipt and harbour of such Scots as do infest that realm of Ireland; and that your proceeding against Sarleboy has taken happy success. Give the young gentleman John Norrice, the executioner of your well devised enterprise, to understand that we will not be unmindful of his good services. You shall receive our resolution touching the keeping of the Raughlins at Sir Henry Sidney's hands, who means within eight days after the date hereof to be at the sea side, there to embark, whom, after his arrival and acceptation of the charge of government there, we have appointed immediately to repair into the North, there to confer with you for the stay of that province.

*"In the meantime, we think it very convenient, according to your own opinion and allowance, that there be continued a ward of 30 soldiers in the fort lately taken in the said island; and if you shall see any necessary continuance for the entertaining of the frigates until you shall confer with our said servant and counsellor Henry Sydney, we can be content to allow thereof."*

Dudley Castle, 12 August 1575, 17 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2. Headed: Essex.*

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Aug. 12.  
Vol. 605, p. 49.

24. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAMS to ROBERT HARPOLL,  
Constable of Cathourleghe Castle.

Warrant to restore the kine and garranes, which he wrongfully levied upon Sir Peter Carewe and his tenants.

Plattyn, 12 August 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 16.  
Vol. 628, p. 178.

25. [The PRIVY COUNCIL] to the LORD DEPUTY (SIDNEY).

“The Earl of Desmond, by his letters unto us dated the 12th of June from Asketton, hath sent hither certain examinations taken touching the conveying away of James FitzMorrice by a French merchant, not without the privity, as may appear, of the Mayor of Limerick, being forewarned before by letters from the said Earl of Desmond to the said Mayor and the Bishop of the same town.” We send you the said examinations, requiring you, at your coming into that realm, “to give order that the very truth of the matter may be bolted out and the offenders punished.”

“Besides this, the said Earl hath requested three things:— the one, to have his castles restored to him, which he saith be chargeable to her Majesty to keep, and no profit; the other, to have his hostages or pledges remitted also to him; and the third, to have licence to carry his son into Ireland, who is now in Bristol.” You can best judge how these requests should be answered. Nevertheless, the Queen thinks that the Earl’s doings “have been such of late, as that there is need to have further trial and proof of his obedience and good conformity, before so much be granted unto him; for it is not unknown what dalliance he made, and what charge he put her Majesty unto, before he would come in after his undutiful flying from Dublin; and even now, as it is informed, he will not suffer her Highness’ sheriff to serve process, nor her writs to be current, nor her laws to be executed in the more part of his lands, as well such as by charter is made a liberty palatine, as in such which was never so made by any grant.” We refer him “to be answered by you there as you shall, upon further inquiry of his good demeanours, see expedient for her Majesty’s service.”

“Whereas in his said letters unto us he hath confessed that he hath been heretofore enticed by the practices and ill counsels of the Baron of Lixenawe to commit such undutiful parts as he late did, and thereupon hath beseeched us to be suitors for her Majesty’s favour towards him: we have signified unto the Earl that upon the good report of you, her Majesty’s Deputy, of the said Baron’s good and dutiful behaviour, we may hereafter be brought to deal for the recovery of her Highness’ entire favour again, and therefore require your Lordship so to use the matter in that point as you shall see cause and he shall deserve.”

Worcester, 16 August 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3. Headed: Deputy.*

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Aug. 19.

Vol. 628, p. 179a.

## 26. [The PRIVY COUNCIL] to the EARL OF DESMOND.

We have received your letters of 12th June last from Asketton, and have been right glad to understand as well thereby as by others from the Lord Deputy, of your continuance in good behaviour and loyalty towards her Majesty. Having now found out the lewdness and falsehood of such persons as heretofore practised to divert you from your allegiance, we trust hereafter you will be the more circumspect in not giving credit to such bad counsellors. We have been informed of your dutiful and conformable behaviour since your late submission. If you continue the same, as her Majesty has remitted her displeasure, so will she also be willing to restore you to her entire favour again.

“For that it appeareth that the Baron of Lixenawe, and James FitzMorrice have heretofore been the chief practisers that made you to mistrust the Lord Deputy and enter into those actions which you then did, like as we hope that this will be a sufficient warning unto you not to be led with such counsellors again, so, upon the motion of your letters, we are contented to suspend our judgment of him\* until such time as, by the report of Sir Henry Sidney, appointed Lord Deputy of that realm, we shall be more particularly advertised of the qualities of the person and his dutiful and loyal behaviour there; which if we shall understand unfeignedly, then, according to your Lordship’s request, upon so good a ground we will not fail to be a means to her Highness for her entire favour towards him, which there is no doubt he shall by this only means procure; and so may your Lordship put him in good comfort, and certify him in our names.

“Touching James FitzMorris, who, by his former actions and late departure out of the realm and practices there, hath showed to have little deserved such favour as hath been granted unto him heretofore, we trust no cause shall move your Lordship to give any credit or assistance to any so notorious offender, but that you will employ yourself, as occasion shall require, to the uttermost to resist all attempts that may be made, and suppress all persons whatsoever as he† shall seek by any kind of ways to disturb the quietness and peace of that realm. And as concerning his departure over the seas, having seen a copy of your Lordship’s letter sent beforehand to the mayor and officers of Lymericke for his stay, and also perused the other examinations taken by the Commissioners concerning that matter, we are perfectly satisfied for your Lordship’s doings, and for your pains taken therein render unto you, in the Queen’s Majesty’s behalf, right hearty thanks, upon hope that you will continue in the same, and see in whom the default was why he was not

\* *Scilicet*, the Baron of Lixenawe.† *Sic*.

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stayed, by giving their information to the Lord Deputy who is now appointed, when he shall come over, if by any means you can."

Sidney has been charged to make answer to your demand for the restitution of your castles now in her Majesty's possession.

Worcester, 19 August 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4. Headed: "To the Earl of Desmond.*

Sept. 2. 27. [The QUEEN] to SIR. H. SIDNEY, LORD DEPUTY.  
Vol. 628, p. 233a.

The Earl of Essex desires to have 300 soldiers in our pay during his life, which we are given to understand may be very profitably employed for Farney, with none other conditions but that they may be used elsewhere in that realm for our service, as urgent cause shall require. We desire to have your opinion therein.

"Another request is touching McGuise Island, the granting whereof we referred to your consideration. We desire to gratify our cousin, unless there appear great cause to the contrary.

Woodstock, 2 September 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1. Headed: To Sir Henry Sidney L. Deputy.*

Sept. 2. 28. [The QUEEN] to the EARL OF ESSEX.  
Vol. 628, p. 234.

The humble and most dutiful manner of writing used in your two last letters did not a little content us. We perceive that, after long exercise of patience, you have achieved the reputation to have a mind armed with such rare constancy as no adversity can daunt, or prosperity cause to exceed the limits of true temperance. You may think it has been a dear conquest to you, in respect of the great care of mind, toil of body, and intolerable charges you have sustained, to the consumption of some good portion of your patrimony, but you have invested yourself with immortal renown.

"Now to come to your question, by the which you desire to know whether we think that your demands made unto us were grounded on the respect of your own benefit or our service, you shall for answer thereof understand that we conceive for both, interpreting as we do the word benefit not to import that servile gain that base minded men hunt after, but a desire to live in action, to make proof of your virtue, and not unprofitably, or rather reproachfully, (being made of that metal you are,) to fester in the delights of English Egypt, where the most part of those that are bred in that soil take greatest delight in holding their noses over the beef-pots. And thus much touching your question.

"Now for full answer of your demands. We are persuaded you rest contented with that we made touching your land and charges, as also concerning the Earl Marshalship. And

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as for the latter of these two, we protest unto you, on the word of a Prince, that none but yourself (whose credit we especially tender and whose satisfaction we greatly desire,) could have obtained at our hands. For the other two, the one concerning the entertainment for 300 men, to have continuance during your life, and the other touching McGuise Island, these are to let [you] wit, that for the first we are grown to a full determination with the Deputy last sent over, both touching the government, as also the charges, (a certain proportion of the treasure, which we mean not to exceed, being set down for the defraying of the same,) and therefore cannot, without alteration of our former resolution therein taken, directly answer you until we have heard from him. Notwithstanding, we have some cause to think that he will well allow that we shall yield to your request, for that we are given to understand the said number you desire may be very profitably employed at the Farney, and yet to be used in other places for our service as urgent cause shall require to use them. And because we think it convenient for many respects that with some speed you know his allowance thereof, we have directed (by this bearer) our letter unto him, requiring him to signify unto you his opinion therein."

Touching your last demand for McGuise Island, although we referred it to our Deputy's consideration, yet are we content absolutely to yield that you shall have the same.

Woodstock, 2 September 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

*Headed:* To the Earl of Essex.

Sept. 9. 29. LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAMS to ROBERT HARPOOLE,  
Constable of Catherloghe.

Sir Peter Carewe has complained that you have not restored his pledges according to our order taken at Trym. As he is to enter into bonds of 100*l.* st. to pay you such lawful duties as you shall prove before us, we straightly charge you to deliver the said pledges.

Maribourghe, 9 Sept. 1575.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 27. 30. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SIDNEY).  
Vol. 628, p. 291a.

On consideration of certain petitions which the Mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of Limerick have caused to be made unto us here, we have resolved in such sort as hereafter particularly ensueth.

They require confirmation of their privileges and liberties, and that there may be added their charter, warrant and commission to have a sword borne before the Mayor of that city, with a hat of maintenance, and authority to deliver the gaol of the said city; that none of the Irishry be preferred to any ecclesiastical living in the cathedral church of

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Limerick; that no ship coming within the river there do sell or discharge any munition, shot, powder, wines, or other wares to any other than to the said corporation; to have all such fines and forfeitures as are given by statutes penal, concordatum, or by any other means which are or shall hereafter be due upon any of the said citizens; that neither the Mayor nor any of the bailiffs, during their being in office, shall be compelled to travel in person to Dublin; and that the dwellers in Clankillan may appear at all assizes and sessions in Limerick, as heretofore. We have thought good to grant the same petitions by letters patent under our Great Seal of England.

They do also make petition that their Mayor and his successors may be Admiral within the river of Limerick, and also for grant of an island, lying in the said river, called Iniskattie. We think it meet to be further advised upon the first point, but as touching the said island, we refer it to be granted by you.

Whereas they are indebted to us in the sum of 24*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, Irish, for the arrearages of the fee farm of the said city, being 15*l.* Irish yearly, payable in our Exchequer there, they desire to be released from the same in consideration of their great charges and expenses about the repairing of their old walls and building of new fortifications. We are contented to release to them 100*l.* Irish, parcel of the said arrearages, and also to allow to them out of the remainder "so much as they can show any way due unto them by us for such cesse as hath been there taken by order from our Deputy."

They also require to be as free from cesse as the cities of Dublin and Waterford are. We refer this to your consideration.

They require also that the said corporation of Limerick may have in their own disposition the granting of the offices of searcher and gauger\* of the said city. We refer the same to you.

Finally, they require us to grant a commission to such as shall be thought good, "to inquire what lands, tenements, or other hereditaments have been granted to the said corporation by any of our progenitors, Kings of England, and of other common land of the same city. This we refer to be done by you there."

Manor of Woodstock, 27 September, 18 (*sic*) Eliz., 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

*Headed:* From the Queen to the Lord Deputy.

Sept. 30.  
Vol. 628, p. 244.

### 31. FYTON'S ACCOUNTS.

Account of Sir Edward Fitoun, Knight, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, from 1st April 1573, 15 Eliz., to 30th

\* "granger" in MS.



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September 1575, 17 Eliz., containing all payments by him made not only for services under the Lords Deputies, but also for the like charges under Walter, Earl of Essex, Lord\* General of Ulster.

“Defalcations of imprests under Sir William Fitz William, Lord Deputy, which were delivered by:—By indenture from Sir William Fitz William, knight, late Treasurer at Wars, 25,076*l.* 19*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Stephen Waters, clerk of the fines in Mounster, 226*l.* 17*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Thomas Sackfourde, for victuals delivered *anno* 1574, 2,026*l.* 16*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Henry Sackfourde and the said Thomas for victuals delivered *anno* 1575, 11,033*l.* 3*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Jaques Wingfeilde, Master of th’ Ordnance, for munitions by him delivered, 1,556*l.* 4*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal of th’ army, for beeves by him delivered in the camp, 415*l.* 16*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* The Earl of Bedford, for money imprested to Thomas Prideux, besides 32*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for coats, conduct, and upon transportations by him paid, 101*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; [Total,] 40,437*l.* 5*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*”

Like defalcations made under the Earl of Essex:—Ready money by divers ministers serving under the said Earl, 9,956*l.* 7*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Wares provided for the clothing of soldiers by sundry ministers under the said Earl, 321*l.* 10*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Victuals delivered by divers victuallers serving under the said Earl, 5,531*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* Munitions by the ministers of the ordnance under the said Earl, with 581*l.* 19*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* by Ja. Wingfeilde.

Ready money out of England, from the Court of the Exchequer there, 127,857*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; from the Court of her Majesty’s Wards and Liveries, 2,317*l.* 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

The clear “remaine” of her Majesty’s revenues for one half year, ended at Mich., 15 Eliz., 1,392*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*; for one whole year, ended at Mich., 16 Eliz., besides the impost of wines that year, 4,529*l.* 3*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; for one other whole year, ended at Mich., 17 Eliz., 1,779*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*

Impost of wines for 15 Eliz., 1,985*l.* 14*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; for 16 Eliz., 670*l.* 17*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*; for 17 Eliz., 837*l.* 4*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Foreign receipts.—Checks taxed, 2,430*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*; cesse money, 9*s.* 4*d.* Money and warrants received of divers persons, for which the Treasurer hath given bills, to be repaid by her Majesty, 9,366*l.* 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.*

Sum total, 211,543*l.* 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Fiton has paid and laid out the following sums for wages and other charges, under the government of the Lords Deputies:—

Coat money, 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* “Old debts due upon sundry captains’ pays which were long sithence discharged, 551*l.* 15*d.*

“Full and whole pays” of the Lord Deputy and chief officers, Presidents and Councils, bands of horsemen and footmen,

\* Sic. Qu., mistake for Lieutenant.

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warders in castles, Irish horsemen and kernes, pensioners, victuallers, ministers of the ordnance, and impotent soldiers, 89,335*l.* 12*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Extraordinary and necessary payments for sea services, freights, and transportations, diets of Justices and Commissioners, carriage of letters, gifts and rewards, charges of prisoners, hire of gaols, recompence of losses, riding and travelling charges, over prices and losses in victuals, buildings and reparations, "allowances to the Lord Deputy and Secretaries' clerks," espial money, allowances of checks over taxed, hawks for the Marquis of Sara in Spain\*, emptions necessary, land carriages, parchment and paper for these three years accompts and foreign accompts, and portages of treasure, 12,681*l.* 3*s.* 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ *d.*

Surplusages upon accompts for victuallings and buildings, 3,159*l.* 6*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Prests upon accompts for victuallings, buildings, and the office of the Ordnance, 19,245*l.* 14*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ *d.*

Prests upon entertainments, 21,018*l.* 7*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Debts.—Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, for money lent to him in England, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; Malachias O'Crossy (*sic*), Bishop of Carbery, 8*l.* 17*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* ; Thomas Mighte, late victualler, for money paid in England for his debts, 297*l.* 6*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* ; Don Diego, late pensioner, deceased, for money to him prested beforehand upon his pay before his death, 13*l.* 19*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* ; William Bassnete, late captain of horsemen, for money overpaid to his soldiers, which his executors are to repay, 16*l.* 8*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ *d.* ; John Pette, executor of Nicholas Pette, for money to him imprested by Sir John Perrote, whereof the said Sir John was repaid after the said Nicholas's death, which the said John is to repay, 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; Arthur Brer-tone, late pensioner, for so much munitions to him delivered, not defaulted upon his pay for want of certificate, 100*s.* 2*d.* ; the administrators of Thomas Chestone, for so much paid upon their ticket to his soldiers, 12*l.* ; George Bouchier, "for money to him prested more than was due, and would not come to his reckoning," 62*s.* 3*d.* ; Thomas Morgan, who came not to his reckoning for money to him prested more than was due, 22*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; Sir Peter Carewe, for money to him imprested beforehand more than was due at the time of his decease, 17*l.* 20*d.* : total, 1,116*l.* 9*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.*

Sum total of all the payments before specified, 147,161*l.* 18*d.*

"The like wages and charges under the regiment of the Earl of Essex, in Ulster."

Conduct money to William Selby, for certain horsemen, 101*l.* 15*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* ; full and whole pays of the chief officers and ministers, bands of horsemen and footmen, warders in castles,

\* The sum paid was 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

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pioneers, and Irishmen, 36,531*l.* 15*s.* 1¼*d.*; extraordinary payments for marine affairs and sea causes, carriage of letters, gifts and rewards, allowances of over-prices of victuals and horse meat, diets of prisoners, fortifications and buildings, riding and travelling charges, spial money, diets of generals, and portage of treasure, 7,910*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.*; surplusages upon accompts, 1,988*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.*; prests upon accompts, 10,950*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; prests upon entertainments, 4,067*l.* 18*s.* 9¼*d.*

Debts depending upon the Earl of Essex and upon Sir Peter Carewe; Thomas More; William Piers, the elder; George Gill, captain; Edward Barkley, late captain; Henry Stutville, corporal; Thomas Morgane, captain; George Bourchier, captain; Hugh, Baron of Dungannon; Arte McBaron; and William Selby, captain of horsemen, for money to them over-paid by the Earl's ministers, 2,840*l.* 10*s.* 6¼*d.*

Sum of the whole payments for charges under the Earl of Essex, 64,397*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.*

Sum total of all and singular the payments and allowances contained in the account of the said Sir Edward Fiton, 211,553*l.* 6*s.* 3½*d.*

And so he is in surplusage upon this accompt, 10*l.* 4*s.* 11¾*d.*

Examined by Tho. Jenyson, [auditor,] 30 Nov. 1577.

*Pp.* 14. *Endd.*

Oct. 19. 32. SORLEY BOY McDONNELL.

Vol. 632, p. 9a.

"Memorandum, that the 19th of October 1575, there were letters brought and delivered to the Lord Deputy by Sourleboye's secretary, wherein were contained the petitions of the said Surleboys, with a report of an agreement made by him in times past with the Right Hon. the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of this realm, unless James McDoneil, the said Surleboy's brother, should be a let or hindrance to the same. And further it were expressing that this is the same peace that was then concluded, *viz.*, that Surleboy's brother should have freely the inheritance which he calleth [claimeth?] from Inewr or Funir to the river Buassi, and from Buasi to Bannium, paying to the Lord Deputy out of that country 60 kine, and to send unto him 60 footmen and 20 horsemen in every rising out, to be levied in Ulster, from Lowghfoyle to Greenwood, that is to Newry; humbly requesting that he may obtain all those things at her Majesty's hands, through the mediation of the said Lord Deputy, showing that his meaning was to pay all the abovesaid duties." At the end of the letter he asked credit for the bearer. The limits above mentioned include the Glincs and the captainship of Rowte.

Thereupon the Lord Deputy and Council granted that he should enjoy such possessions as he now occupys by the Queen's good leave, and in the mean season his request should be showed to her Majesty. Pledge was given on behalf of Surleboys. The followers of Barnard McFelim

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O'Neil may return and do their business about and near Caricfurgus, "if so be by Captain Peers and the aforesaid\* Donaldus, who are authorized to examine and give sentence upon their agreement and the conditions they have made with him, [allowed]."

Surleboys has taken oath to observe the premises in the presence of the Barons of Louth and Dungannon and Captain Moore.

*Copy. Pp 2.*

Dec. 15. 33. SIR HENRY SYDNEY, Lord Deputy, to the LORDS OF THE  
Vol. 601, p. 43. COUNCIL [in England].

"Since my last letters, wherein I made report of the state of Ulster,† and in the same omitted (as I think) to write of O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, and McGuire, Lord of Fermannaghe, who wrote humbly unto me, live wealthfully, and deny not to pay rent and service to her Majesty (so as that they may be discharged from the exactions of others), I have passed and gone through the whole English Pale, containing the greatest and best part of the provinces of Meath and Leinster, and of the same have had conference with the principal personages, as well English as Irish, of the estate of those two countries, in like sort as I mean, before I cease to travel (in journey as I do), to visit the most and chiefest parts of every province within this realm.

"And yet, before I enter to particular discourse of any other part, I must return back to the province of Ulster, and speak of the county of Louth, being a parcel of the English Pale, which I find greatly impoverished, through the continual concourse of soldiers passing to and fro the North, and besides the ill neighbourhood of the men of Ferney, the P'ues and the Orrery, mentioned in my former report of Ulster. The good towns of Carlingford, Dundalk, and Ardee are extremely impoverished, and only the town of Drohedaghe in better state, which was much amended and increased in wealth through the great expenses of the Earl of Essex, who lay and continued there much, and during his abode very bountifully and very honourably spent in the same; howbeit, the rest of the country is in great confidence of speedy recovery, for the gentlemen are willing to obey and forward to serve, and the rather for the good inclination I find of my Lord of Louth, who is one both well given and forward (as it seemeth) to execute anything committed unto him. The good neighbourhood of the Marshal, who governeth those under his rule without doing of harm, but rather by their labours and travails procurers of amity, friendly society, and quiet to their neighbours; so that only Ferney is the gap open to the hurt of the rest, which I beseech your Lordships to hasten my Lord

\* Sic.

† This Report is not preserved either amongst the Carew Papers or in the Public Record Office.

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of Essex to take order in, as the occasion of his stay, in resolution to place some one man, to take the charge of the country, breed not further trouble, than in short time is to be recovered.

“And thus, to begin with Meath, I find the same curstly scorched on the one side, as well by the incursions of the O’Connors and O’Moloyes, while they were in open rebellion, as oppressed by them, since they were protected, not yet recovered nor reformed, but in very good way to be, the noblemen and gentlemen of the same performing in their doings that which frankly they have offered; and a great deal the better it is, for the good neighbourhood and just dealing of O’Reilie, whose country, for that it is in the province of Connaught, for the present I write the less of him and of it, yet for that he confineth within this country, and it very well used by him, I thought good thus much to touch of him and it, as of the justest Irishman and the best ruled Irish country (by an Irishman) that is in all Ireland.

“The most of the baronies of the borders of Westmeath are sore spoiled and made waste by the forenamed rebels, as Fertullagh or Tirrell’s country, the barony of Ferbill, called Darcie’s country, and now held of the Earl of Kildare, Dillon’s country, Dalton’s, and De La Mare. Those and divers others, as the Brawney Urin, or O’Birne’s country, were made baronies of Westmeath when the same was first made a shire, and in the time of my last government here I added Kinalaghe or McGoghagan’s country, the Caulderie or McGaul’s country, [and] Clancolman or O’Malaghlin’s country, to be likewise members and parcels of the said county. In these Irish countries the writ yet hath no perfect currency, but, God willing, it shall have, whereunto the Lords of the same have willingly agreed, and most humbly desired to take their lands of the Queen, yielding for the same both rent and service. Fercall or O’Moloy’s country, Montereagan or the Fox’s country, together with the rest before remembered, are all wasted or extremely impoverished by the rebels aforesaid (McGoghagan and McCoghlan’s country only excepted), but I hope well of the speedy reformation of this country, a great deal the rather through the good hope I conceive of the service of my Lord of Delvin, whom I find active and of good discretion. There joineth unto this the Annalie, a country by me heretofore made the county of Longford, being a parcel of the province of Connaught, the lords of the same being of two lineages, though of one surname. They were with me, and proved by good testimony that they were good neighbours both to Westmeath and the rest of the Pale, and lived now in far better order and greater wealth among themselves than they did before they were shire ground. They confess to be in arrearage for the rent for all or most of the years since I departed, which they willingly agreed to pay speedily and in convenient time. And thus much for the state of the province and countries of Meath.

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“In the province of Leinster, first, I find the borders of the county of Dublin greatly annoyed almost by nightly stealths and some daily bodderaggs, chiefly fathered upon one Pheaghe McHughe McShane, of the surname of the O’Birnes, but under his father owner and farmer of sundry lands apart from them. The father was with me without protection, but the son liveth aloof yet, without hurt for anything I hear, since my arrival; but my circuit once finished, I intend to attend him somewhat nearer than hitherto I have done. The county of Kildare is extremely impoverished, and especially the Earl of Kildare’s lordships and lands, which in a great part are wasted, partly by the last-named loose people, partly and chiefly by the O’Mores, as well in the rebellion as since they were under protection; and in one barony of the said county, called Carbrie, it was constantly affirmed unto me by old Henry Cowlie, with tears in his eyes, that that barony was 3,000*l.* in worse case than it was the last time before I was there with him. The county of Catherloghe is more than half waste, as well by the forenamed outlaws of all sorts; as partly by the inhabitants of Kilkenny, the Kevanaghes, and some other of their own soil living under Sir Edmond Butler; and some doubt I have of the good order of that quarter, for that Sir Peter Carew is lately departed this world, and the land left to a young gentleman, his kinsman. For the county of Wexford, it is constantly affirmed, both publicly and privately, (by Thomas Masterson and many other principal gent,) that if it were divided into two parts, the one of them is utterly wasted, most of them by the county of Kilkenny, partly by some of themselves, and much by the Kevanaghes, living in worse order, for that their captains (Englishmen) agree no better, which is much to be pitied, but hardly it will be redressed, it is so innate after they are once placed here.

“For the Irish countries on the east side of Leinster, being under the rule of Mr. Agard, as the O’Tohills and the O’Birne’s country, I find they are in very good order, except Hugh McShane’s son, whom before I remembered. And here, my Lords, except I should forget it, I cannot but lament the lack of Mr. Agard so long from hence; surely the loss of 1,000*l.* should not so much have grieved me as the wanting of him hath troubled me.

“The Kinshelaghe [are] divided into three lineages, but originally all Kevanaghes, now under the order of Thomas Masterson, who, in my opinion, is a good servant, both for the Queen and country, for he hath brought the people to good order, and made them obedient and willing to pay that rent which heretofore I brought them unto, and though much arrear, yet pay it they will and shall. The O’Moroghes, another race of the Kevanaghes, are under the rule of one Richard Sinnett, in indifferent good order, and shall pay the rent and service, as well that in arrear, as that shall grow due hereafter. That race of the Kevanaghes that dwell about Fernes, by the good policy and rule of Thomas Masterson,

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constable of the same, are willing and ready to yield all rents and services due to her Majesty. And thus much for the Irish in East Leinster.

“On the west side lieth the countries of Ophali or O’Connor’s country, Leix or O’More’s country, Upper Ossory or McGillpatrick’s country, Iregan or O’Dunne’s country. The two first were shired by the names of King’s and Queen’s Counties, and in the time of my Lord of Sussex’ government granted in fee farm, with good reservations, to sundry tenants, whereof the greatest part then were mere English, and now both countries are much spoiled and wasted by the race and offspring of the old native inhabiters, which grow great and increase in number, and the English tenants decay both in force and wealth, not of ability to answer the rents and services, but let their lands to Irish tenants. They are daily so spoiled and burned, the charge they have been at, and the daily, expenses they be at, to defend themselves, so weaken them, as their estate is to be pitied: 200 men at the least in the Prince’s pay lie there to defend them. The revenue of both the countries countervails not the 20th part of the charge, so that the purchase of that plot is and hath been very dear, yet now not to be given over in any wise, for, God willing, it shall be recovered and maintained; but this may be an example how the like hereafter is attempted, considering the charge is so great, and the honour and profit so small, to win lands from the Irishry so dearly as these two countries have been to the crown.

“Rory Oge hath that possession and settling place in the Queen’s County, whether the tenants will or no, as he occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Gesbell, in the King’s County, is very necessary to be had of the Earl of Kildare; it is a matter of consequence for her Majesty’s service in that county; and therefore it was necessary he were dealt effectually with to depart withal. During my time of being at the fort at Maribrough, the Earl of Clamr-eard came unto me, not unsent for, but very humbly and loyally offered his service; what and how I find of him I will more at large write to your Lordships when I shall come to Connagh, where he is.

“Upper Ossorie is so well governed and defended by the valour and wisdom of the Baron that now is, for the old man, in whom before the cause of the greatest disorder of that country grew, God hath taken (I hope) to his merciful favour, as, saving for surety of good order hereafter in succession, it made no matter, the country were never shired, nor her Majesty’s writs otherwise current than it is, so humbly he keepeth all his people to obedience and good order; and yet united to some shire it shall be. And the Baron himself very well agreeth to yield rent and services, as other countries lately brought to such frame do and shall do. Iregan or O’Doynne’s country [is] in good case; the Lord of

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it a valiant and honest man after this country manner. And here I thought fit to remember likewise Ely or O'Carrell's country, though the same be of the province of Munster, yet adjoining in land and neighbourhood to the countries aforementioned. He came unto me, being in the Queen's County, and desireth to hold his land of her Majesty, and offereth a very large rent and service. He hath of long time been answerable to the law, and obedient to the direction of the Governour.

"The last of this province in this my account is the county of Kilkenny, which I find in very bad case, and by many due circumstances proved to be the sink and receptacle of innumerable cattle and goods stolen out of many other countries, but undone by their own idle men, and partly by harbouring of protected rebels, which yet was done by order, and for avoiding a greater or at the least a more present mischief. Here Rory Oge came unto me, upon the Earl of Ormond's word, and in the cathedral church of Kilkenny submitted himself, repenting (as he said) his former faults, and promising hereafter to live in better sort, (for worse than he hath been he cannot be, for by him the greatest spoils and disorders have been committed upon the Queen's County and the Pale). I accepted him upon entreaty and trial of amendment till my return, and both lessoned him and threatened him for his former faults, so that I stand in some hope he will live more quietly and orderly than he hath 'done, renouncing that aspiring imagination of title to the country, which if he do not, and content himself with such a portion of freehold as I shall allot and think meet for him, he shall be the first that will repent the match, for he shall forego life, land, and all, otherwise I will fail much of my purpose, for so I have given him warning, and will keep touch with him if I can. At this town likewise the Earl of Ormond feasted and entreated me very honorably, and accompanied me to this city very courteously, where I was received with all shows and tokens of gladness and pomp, as well upon the water as the land presented me with the best commodity they had."

"In passing through the counties and countries I have heretofore spoken of to your Lps., I left each of them, before my departure from them, under government and guard (for the most part) according to their own devices, which they thought would be most for their safeties and commodities till my return. Some I left to themselves and to the guard of their own borders, as they desired, yet with authority sufficient to levy force among themselves if needs so required. Some other parts I left well guarded with the garrison and other sufficient strength of their own, for such was their desire, and so, by conference with them of their states, it seemed best and likeliest to me. I placed the Baron of Upper Ossory Lieutenant of the King's and Queen's Counties and divers Irish countries adjoining. The like authority I left with the Earl of Ormond of the two counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary: so that I find in all the



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places I have yet passed the people remain in good confidence, being so provided for and guarded as they be, to remain in good quiet till my return."

Waterford, 15 Dec. 1575. *Signed.*

"Note, that the latter end of this letter is omitted, for that it concerned only cesse, treasure, and victual."\*

*Copy. Pp. 7.*

### 34. THE REVENUE.

Vol. 628, p. 241.

"A brief declaration of the Queen's revenue in Ireland in anno 1575," by Thomas Jenison, auditor of Ireland.

Lands and possessions.—The ancient inheritance, 756*l.* 9¼*d.* Attainted lands, 893*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Lands of the late religious houses, 6,608*l.* 12*s.* 11¼*d.* Tributes of Irishmen, 27*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* Compositions with divers Irishmen for the bonnought money, 601*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Escheated lands, 4*l.* 19*s.* "Procuration," 60*l.* 7*s.*

Casualties.—Lands of wards, 200*l.* Subsidies, 200*l.* Twentieth parts of spiritual promotions, 300*l.* Forfeited merchandises, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Hanaper, 80*l.* Fines for homages, 4*l.* Moneys payable by sheriffs, 200*l.* "Profer' major et vic' cum finibus eorundem," 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Fines for the marriages of wards, 10*l.* For liveries of lands, 50*l.* For alienations, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Forfeitures of recognizances, 20*l.* First fruits, 100*l.* Clerk of the crown, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Fines for leases for term of years, 20*l.* Star Chamber, 20*l.* Customs on wines, 800*l.*

Total, 10,996*l.* 9*s.* 0½*d.*, from which sum the following are to be deducted:—

Fees and wages of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Under Treasurer, and other officers, 1,787*l.* 11*s.* 11¼*d.* Constables and soldiers of castles and keepers of the Queen's houses, 273*l.* 4½*d.* Annuities granted for term of life, 325*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Annuities and pensions issuing from divers religious houses, 150*l.* Stipend of Christ Church, with 100*s.* granted for the stipend of the curate of Balliboughell, 65*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* Allowance for rents, 73*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* Necessary expenses, 267*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* Total, 2,942*l.* 12*s.* 4¼*d.*

So there remains towards the payment of the army in Ireland, the sum of 8,053*l.* 16*s.* 8¼*d.*

*Lat. Pp. 2. Endd.*

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Vol. 628, p. 293.

### 35. [THE PRIVY COUNCIL] TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

By your letters of 4th November and 15th December, we perceive the travail that you have taken to visit and establish first the North and now the South and West parts of that realm. Other weighty affairs have hitherto been a let from answering with speed. At this present, for the dispatch

\* See the Privy Council's reply to this letter, 24th January 1575-6.

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of this bearer your servant, we make answer to such particulars as are for the time most requisite.

“First, touching your motion that Chatterton and his partners should be compounded withal for the Fewze and O’Haulon’s country, the which is all one cause, and in your opinion agreeable with that of Captain Malbie’s for Rynaliaritie or McCarten’s country, it is meet that both of them shall be very shortly treated with, and your L. thereupon to be advertised to what points they may be brought, to the intent you may direct your proceedings accordingly.”

Upon the good report that you make of the inclination of McGennes to obedience, and his desire to take his country of her Majesty’s grant to him and his heirs males of his body, it is intended, for his advancement, to make him a baron, according to your motion; “but for so much as we do not understand whether it be meant that he shall have the grant of the captainry by inheritance, and the land only which he holdeth presently at his own freehold, leaving the rest to other freeholders that presently have the same in occupation, whereof we think there are many, or else to grant to him the captainry of the whole, we would willingly understand your meaning. If it be meant of the whole, it is not thought reasonable, neither in this nor in any other of that nature.” The rent of 100*l.* yearly is thought very mean for McGennes’s country, that is far greater than the country of O’Haulons, which you esteem to be valued at 200*l.* yearly.

“This answer touching McGennes, unless it be in that point to be made a baron, may serve you in the consideration of McMahaound’s petition, or any other that is or may be moved to you in that kind, with this general advertisement, that the more freeholders and possessioners that you can erect in every country to hold of her Majesty, the better service you shall do her in our opinions.

“Touching Sarleboi’s petition, we would gladly understand your opinion to whom you think meetest of those kinds of Scots that the Glynnes and the Rowte should be granted unto, because of the diversity of the competitors, as James McConnell’s sons, Sarleboie, and the request made for the second son of James McConnell by the Lady O’Neill. In which consideration of placing of any of James McConnell’s sons, it shall not be unnecessary that you foresee the greatness which by that means may be betwixt Tirloughe Lennoughe and him, in respect of the alliance between them.

“We would gladly also understand your intention touching the disposition of Clandeboy, and whether it be not meet to have a captain there, who, joining with such as shall be captain of the Rowte, may withstand Sarleboie and hold him in order.

“Tirloughe Lennoughe’s requests set down in articles, and postiled in the margents with our opinions, shall be sent unto

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you herewith." He shall be created Earl during his life, and his son is to be Baron.

"Touching your motion for the increase of the ordinary pay of the soldiers, we think the precedent thereof may be over chargeable, considering the burthen this realm already sustaineth towards the charge there; as also the soldiers may be better satisfied, for that from henceforth their payment shall be more sure and certain than it hath been of late time, when their payments have been more doubtful."

"In explanation of her Majesty's meaning touching the 20,000*l.* yearly assigned unto you out of this realm, it is intended also that the revenues growing of that realm shall be issued from time to time by your warrant to the Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer there, first having regard that all civil officers and patents payable with the revenues of that realm be thereof paid their entertainment as hath been accustomed. And to that effect we do presently write our letters to Sir Edward Fitton, the Vice-Treasurer aforesaid.

"For the composition for the cesse that you write of to be made with the gentlemen and inhabitants of the English Pale, it is not thought convenient that her Majesty should give such freedoms and exemptions upon the acceptation of the composition of 1,000 soldiers as that she should be thereby concluded to impose any cesse in case upon any extraordinary accident there should be occasion of the use of any greater number of soldiers for the pacification of any rebellion there, or for the defence against any foreign invasion. Nevertheless if in the respect of victualling 1,000 soldiers, they may be drawn to contribute 2,000*l.* yearly, we do think in that case her Majesty may be inducted to give them exemptions accordingly for the proportion of such a number.

"The inclination of Henry O'Neale, son of Shane O'Neale, being best known to you there, it hath been thought meet to reserve\* the disposition of him to your L. own discretion.

"Upon understanding of your L. loving entertainment off the citizens of Waterford at the time of your passage by them, we do presently send you for them our letters of thanks both in her Majesty's behalf and in our name; and the like we do to Sir Lucas Dillon, for his travail, pains, and good assistance of you in all your journeys and causes of her Majesty's service. To the rest that have accompanied you we pray your L. to yield thanks in our behalf."

Hampton Court, 24 January 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

*Headed incorrectly: From the Queen to the Lord Deputy.*

\* Qu. mistake for refer.

† i.e., by.

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Feb. [27].

Vol. 601, p. 46a.  
Collins, Sydney  
Papers, 89-97.

## 36. SIR HENRY SYDNEY to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

From Waterford, on 15th December last, I wrote of my passage through Meath and Leinster. The English Pale is in quiet, through the careful service of my Lord of Upper Ossory, whom I left my lieutenant of the King's and Queen's Counties. My expedition in these parts is now ended, and I am ready to pass into another province.

The night after I departed from Waterford I lodged at Corraghemore, the house that the Lord Power is baron of. The Poerne country is one of the best ordered countries in the English Pale, through the suppression of coyne and livery. They are both willing and able to bear any reasonable subsidy towards the finding and entertaining of soldiers and civil ministers of the laws; and the lord of the country, though possessing far less territory than his neighbour, lives in show far more honorably and plentifully than he or any other in that province. Albeit the soil is for the most part barren, yet there is no gentleman or freeholder in that country but may make more of an aere of land there than they have of three in the county of Kilkenny, where the soil is very good, or in the Decies next adjoining on the other side.

Of the Decies Sir James FitzGerald is chief lord. "His brother was Viscount of the same, who being the first so created, and dying without issue male, his lands (though not his title) descended to this gentleman, who is one of bad government; and so it well appeareth, for being left by his brother and other friends very rich, is since much spent, and almost no better than a bankrout." His lands are four times as much as my Lord Power's, and yet made so waste, that competent food cannot be found for a mean family in good order, yet are there harbooured and live more idle vagabonds than good cattle bred. The rest of that country is either in mean gentlemen's hands, (who have had long continuance of antientie and dwelling there,) or else in citizen's hands of Waterford, by purchase or mortgage. But all are desirous of reformation.

From thence I came to Dungarvan Castle, where I lodged three nights, and whither the Earl of Desmond came to me and humbly offered his service. That town, of late, is much decayed by the rebellion of James FitzMaurice, but in great hope of amendment by the diligent travail of Henry Davells, constable of the castle there.

I passed from Dungarvan to Sir John of Desmond's, leaving Yoghall, for they were not able to receive me and my train by reason of the great spoils done upon them in the rebellion. Passing out of the county of Waterford I entered the county of Cork, and from Sir John's came to the Lord Barrie's, and on the 23 December arrived at Cork, where I was received with all joyfulness, tokens, and shows. I abode there six weeks. The townsmen received half of the soldier's wages for his board, fire, and lodging. That city well approves

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the good effects of resident authority amongst them, for it has been greatly amended in few years. I was very honorably attended on and accompanied by the Earls of Desmond, Thomond, and Clancare, the Bishops of Cassell and Cork, and the elect of Rosse-Carbrie, the Viscounts Barry and Roche, the Barons Courcy, Lixnaw, Dunboyne, Power, Barry Oge, and Lonthe, who, only to do me honour, came out of the English Pale to that city. There were also divers of the Irishry not yet nobilitated—the Lord of Carbrie, Sir Donnell McCartie, and the Lord of Muskrye, Sir Cornucke McTeg McCartie; “neither of these but (in respect of his territories) were able to be a Viscount, and truly I wish them both to be made barons, for they be both good subjects, and in especial the latter.”

“There came to me also Sir Owen O’Sulevan and the son and heir of O’Sulevan More, the father not being able to come by reason of his great years and impotency; Sir William O’Carroll, of Ely Carroll and McDonoghe; never a one of these but for his lands might pass in rank of a baron, either in Ireland or England. There were in like manner with me of the Irishry, O’Kife, McFivine, the sons (or heirs as they would have them) of McAwlive and O’Callaghan; the old men not being able to come by reason of extreme age and infirmity; O’Maghon and O’Driscoll; each of these have land enough (with good order) to live like a knight, here or there. There were with me that descended of the English race, Sir James FitzGerald, brother to the Viscount Decies, Sir Theobald Butler, whose uncle and cousin germaine were Barons of the Cahir, whose lands he lawfully and justly enjoyeth.” Sir Thomas, Sir John, and Sir James, of Desmond, brethren to the Earl, were continually with me, and a number of other gentlemen.

“There came to me also many of the ruined reliques of the ancient English inhabitants of this province, as the Arundells, Rochfords, Barretts, Flemings, Lombards, Terries,\* and many other, whose ancestors, as may appear by monuments as well of writing as of building, were able, and did live like gentlemen, knights some of them, and now all in misery, either banished from their own or oppressed upon their own.

“Lastly there came to me five brethren and the sons of two other brethren of one lineage, all captains of gallowglas, called McSwynes, who, although I place them last of the rest, yet are they of a[s] much consequence as any of the rest, for of such credit and force were they grown unto, (though they were no lords of lands themselves,) as they would make the greatest lords of the province both in fear of them and glad of their friendship. And the better to furnish out the beauty and filling of the city, all these principal lords had with them their wives during all the Christmas, who truly

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\* “Tirrells,” in the margin.

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kept very honorable, at least very plentiful, houses; and, to be brief, many widow ladies were there also, who erst had been wives to earls and others of good note and accompt." I found Mr. Dowdall and Mr. Welshe commissioners in this province.

"They seemed, in all appearance, generally to loathe their vile and barbarous manner of life; they offered all fealty, homage, and service to her Majesty and crown for ever; and I dare undertake there is never a one of the above named, but (if her Highness will) shall perform it at Westminster." They desire to hold their lands of her Highness, and to yield both rent and service. They agreed to deliver in the names of their idle men and to answer for them, "and if any were found unbooked, to be used as a felon or vagabond."

I caused daily sessions to be held in that city, from the morrow after Twelfth Day till the last of January; 24 notable malefactors were condemned and executed. Condon, or Canton, of Armoj, was attainted and judged to die, and yet stayed from execution, but his lands, which are great, are escheated to her Majesty. A younger son of the Viscount Roche was condemned to die, but stayed from execution, for, as the world goes here, his fault was very small. More has been done for the recovery of the Queen's decayed rents and embezzled lands than was ever done in the memory of man. Her Highness has a diligent servant in Lancelot Alford, her surveyor here.

I have taken pledges of all who are of any regard, especially of the McSwynes, a brood not a little perilous to this province.

I have considered how I might satisfy the lords with some certain revenue instead of their extortions, and find them in this point very tractable, though the matter in handling is somewhat tough.

"For the last point of my doings in Cork; I hope I have laid such a plot as the province shall bear 50 horsemen and 100 footmen of her Majesty's English soldiers continually, if foreign invasion impeach not the device, and find them both victuals and wages, and daily pay them their entertainments. This plot is to begin at May Day next, and none will impugn this, but it shall take place, if it be not a great one or two; neither shall they be able to resist it, if they find not countenance and maintenance there."

I left Cork the first of this month, and lodged two nights by the way hitherwards at my Lord Roche's; then I entered into the county of Limerick, and lodged one night in the town of Kilmallocke, which was lamentably spoiled and burned by FitzMaurice, but has been speedily reedified.

From thence I came to this city, the 4th inst., accompanied by the Earl of Desmond, the Bishops of Cassell and Cork, my Lord of Louth, and others; I was received with great pomp.

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All the principal gentlemen of this county, and likewise those that dwell in the lordships adjoining, (who are doubtful whether they be of this county or no,) repaired to me, "as namely, the Burkes, Lacies, Suppells, Parcels, the Red Roche, and divers other original English, divers also of the lords of the Irishry, as, O'Mulrian, McBrian O'Gonoughe, McBrien Araghe, O'Brien of Arloe, which do inhabit the south side of Shenan, and many other of note, original Irish; all lamenting the waste and spoil of their countries." They crave to have the forces of their mean lords suppressed, to be equally cessed, to bear an English force, to have English laws planted amongst them, and English sheriffs to execute those laws, and to surrender their lands to her Majesty.

To this town the Earl of Ormond came to me and friendly accompanied me five or six days, and likewise my Lord of Upper Ossory, who made report to me of the universal quiet and good state of the Pale, wherein his service and great travel taken therein is worthy of note; likewise both the Earl of Clanrickard's sons, Ulick and John Burghe, who, not many years past, were most execrable evil doers, but since pardoned; I licensed them both to depart, but with condition that they should meet me again at Galway. To this place came to me (and still continue with me) the Earl of Thomond and all the principal gentlemen of his surname, being near kinsfolk, yet extreme enemies. Two Lords of Thomond, called the McNemaries, came likewise to me, lamenting the ruin and waste of their countries, and craving to have English laws and English sheriffs. As to the O'Briens and their country, as I mean to lay it to the government of Connaught, I will write thereof in my discourse of Connaught, which I will dispatch by the beginning of April next.

Two other counties there are in this province, namely, Kerry and Tipperary. The Queen's writ is not allowed currency in them. I conjecture that, as long as any subject has any jurisdiction palatine in either of them, there will be no perfect reformation in Munster. The principal gentlemen of each county have been with me.

Thus I end with Munster, in which I have found great towardness of reformation since my late repair into these parts; and "I dare affirm that, if Mr. Perrott had continued till my arrival and maintained the course still he held while he was here, I should have found Munster as well as I left Wales; and Mr. Agard, considering the impediments he found, (which Mr. Perrott left not,) did as much as might be; and so have two gentlemen of this country birth, James Dowdail and Nicholas Welshe, both professors of the law, and remaining here since the revocation of Mr. Agard, have done as much as was to be looked for of men of their quality, wanting men of war and force to execute their orders, arrests, and decrees."

Munster needs a discreet and active governor, "for these

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people are of the most part Papists, and that in the maliciest decree, *et novarum rerum cupidi*, delighted in ravyne and licentious life."

"James FitzMaurice lieth still in St. Maloes, and keepeth a great port, himself and family well appareled and full of money; he hath oft intelligence from Rome and out of Spain; not much relief from the French King that I can perceive, yet oft visited by men of good countenance. Thus much I know of certain report, by spial of my own from thence, the man is subtil, malicious, and hardy, a Papist in extremity, and well esteemed and of good credit amongst the people. If he come and be not hotly dealt withal at the first, (as without an English commander I know he shall not,) all the loose people of this province will flock unto him; yea, the Lords, though they would do their best, shall not be able to keep them from him. So as if he come and in show and appearance like a man of war (as I know he will), and that I be in the North—as, God willing, I will be at Carrigfergus before Midsummer Day—he may take, and do what he will, with Kinsale, Cork, Youghall, Kilmallock, and haply this city, too before I shall be able to come to the rescue thereof. Hasten therefore my good Lords, him that shall take the charge here\* in the Queen and country's behalf,—I crave it; and the only man I hope you will find is Sir William Drurye."

The like [governor] is requisite in Connaught, and also a Chancellor for the whole realm. The Queen has paid, ever since the death of Mr. Weston, late Lord Chancellor, 300*l.* a year to the Keeper of the Great Seal, who never sits in court, or does anything else incident to the office of a Chancellor, but only keeps the Seal. I once heard that Mr. Rookebie was ready to embark hitherward to have supplied that office, and since that Mr. William Gerrard was appointed to it. If it be so, I beseech you that he may be here before the beginning of next term. I have had long experience of him, having had his assistance in Wales now 16 years.

At Cork, certain pieces of counterfeited coin of Spanish stamps were brought to me, uttered from hand to hand. I found out that the money was made in a castle of the Earl of Ormond's, in his liberty of the county of Tipperary, whither I sent. The parties were brought to me, with some of their money pots for melting stuff for minting, and other instruments. The parties were but two, "the master and the servant, both Englishmen, born in the north; the master, a gentleman (as he saith) and is called Harrison, and much delighted (as he confesseth) a long time in alchymistical practices; his man an excellent artizan in sundry occupations." The fact they confess, having been persuaded it is not felony and treason by the law of this land by some of the best lawyers in England; and the like is affirmed to me by some

\* *i.e.*, in Munster.



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of the like profession here, though I am given to understand that the fact is treason, by others of better trust about me, as namely, Sir Lucas Dillon. If the matter be tried here by the ordinary course of law, it must be tried before my Lord of Ormond's officers, for the offence was committed within his liberty, or else he will think himself much wronged and his grant infringed. After their apprehension a barque arrived at Waterford, which brought them certain stuff, pots, and instruments, which I have caused to be stayed, and the party that brought it. Certain pieces of English counterfeits were found in those quarters with simple people.

My servant, John Gefford, has just arrived here, with letters from your Honours, dated at Hampton Court, the 24th of the last, in answer to mine of 4th Nov. and 15th Dec.

"Touching my suit for McGennes, wherein you desire more fully to understand my meaning, whether it be meant that he shall have the captainry by inheritance, and the land he holdeth presently as his own freehold, leaving the rest to other freeholders, or else to have the captainry of the whole;" though I am of opinion that, the dissipation of the great lords and their countries, and the reducing of their lands into many hands, is a sound way of proceeding to perfect reformation, yet the attempting of it is perilous. My Lord of Essex's plot for the reformation of the North is the best and surest foundation to build on. But if that enterprise be not pursued, but let fall, what better mean is there to make the lords of countries to apply to obedience, than to assure them of their own? Then, if obedience and rent may be had, it seems better to take some rent and service than to forego it, since a better composition cannot be had of them except by force. As for the lands of McGennys, they are her Majesty's, and given her by Act of Parliament, so that she may give him part and reserve part to herself, if she please. It is objected that the rent is small in respect of the greatness and quantity of the soil, since O'Hanloyne's country, being a less scope of ground and territory, is valued at a greater rent. I answer that the one person is an open enemy, and the other has continued a dutiful subject, since the overthrow of Shane O'Neale.

I thank you for having in remembrance to deal with Chatterton and Malbie; "and because at May Day, commonly, the Irish captains and lords use to bargain and compound with their tenants, which time now approacheth, I am the bolder eftsones to renew the matter to your Honours, so that, your resolutions therein known, I may take order accordingly."

I thank you for having considered Tirloughe Lenaghe's requests. According to your directions I will conclude the best bargain that I can. His agent is not yet returned, and I cannot have his warrant drawn, or anything done in good form, before I come to Dublin. As to "the articles your Lps.

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sent me, postiled with your opinions, I think they were mistaken, for I received the copy of the treaty betwixt the Earl of Essex and him, and not your Lps. resolutions in those articles I presented unto you for his causes."

I recommend to you my servant John Gyfford "whom I have expressly sent to attend upon your Lps. pleasure, for order for the receipt of my quarterage due the last of March next, to be brought over by him, who hath my acquittance to deliver for the same, where he shall be directed to receive it."

Limerick, — February 1575.

*Signed*: Henry Sydney.

*Copy*. Pp. 16.

March 31. 37. CHARGES OF IRELAND.  
Vol. 628, p. 314.

"Charges of the realm of Ireland for martial affairs and all other extraordinary charges for one half year ending last of March 1576."

*Diets, wages, and entertainment of the head officers*:—Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, 1,500*l. per annum*; a captain, 4*s.* a day; a petty captain, 2*s.*; a standard bearer, 18*d.*; a trumpeter and a surgeon, 12*d.* a piece; 50 horsemen at 9*d.*, and 50 footmen at 8*d.*, for 240 days, beginning 1 August 1575, and ending 31 March. Sir Edward Fitton, Treasurer: himself, 6*s.* 8*d.* a day; 20 horsemen, 20 footmen as aforesaid, for 183 days. Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal of the army: himself, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a trumpeter, 12*d.*; 30 horsemen. Jaques Wingfeld, Master of the Ordnance: himself, 6*s.* 8*d.*; petty captain, 2*s.*; a guydon, 12*d.*; 30 horsemen. Oliver Moore, Clerk of the Check: himself, 4*s.*; 5 horsemen. Total, 3,038*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*

*Horsemen*:—The Earl of Essex as captain, 6*s.* a day; his petty captain, at 3*s.*; his guydon, 18*d.*; two officers, 12*d.* a piece; 100 horsemen, at 9*d.*; for 183 days. Francis Agard, 10 horsemen, at 9*d.*. William Norris, 6*s.*; petty captain, 3*s.*; guydon, 18*d.*; 65 horsemen, for 36 days. Humfrey Mackworth: himself, 4*s.*; petty captain, 2*s.*; 3 officers, at 12*d.*; 50 horsemen at 9*d.*; for 42 days. Henry Harrington: himself, 6*s.*; petty captain, 3*s.*; a guydon, 18*d.*; 2 officers at 12*d.*; 100 horsemen, for 183 days. Robert Harpoole, 10 horsemen, for 83 days. Total, 1,908*l.* 6*s.*

*Footbands attendant on the Lord Deputy*:—Captain Wm. Collier, at 4*s.* himself; petty captain, 2*s.*; 5 officers, 12*d.*; 100 footmen, 8*d.*; for 183 days; and George Akars with the like number. Captain Wm. Fures, 4*s.*; his petty captain, 2*s.*; 4 officers, 12*d.*; 100 footmen, 8*d.* Captain Wm. Baker, his petty captain, 4 officers, and 100 footmen. Total, 2,222*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

*Warders in sundry forts and castles*:—The Lord of Upper Ossory, lieutenant of the forts in the King's and Queen's County, 6*s.* 8*d.* a day; 40 kernes, 3*d.* Francis Cosbye, constable of Maryborough, 2*s.*; a porter, 12*d.* George Harvey,

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captain, guarding the said fort, his petty captain, 4 officers and 100 men for 56 days. Humfrey Mackworth, who succeeded him, for 127 days. Edward Moore, constable of Philipstown, 2s.; 20 horsemen, 9*d.*; for 147 days; and as captain of 100 foot, with petty captain and 4 officers, for 36 days; porter for 61 days, at 12*d.* John Gifford, succeeding in the guard of the said fort, with petty captain, 5 officers and 100 footmen, for 147 days. Thomas Lee, constable of Carifergus, 3s. 4*d.*; 20 footmen at 8*d.* Wm. Peerce, as constable by patent, 3s. 4*d.*, with 20 footmen; and as captain of horsemen at 4s., with petty captain at 2s.; 4 officers at 12*d.*; 50 horsemen at 9*d.* Richard Lloyd, captain of footmen, for guard of the said town; petty captain, 4 officers, and 100 men. Peter Carew, constable, 4s.; a porter, 12*d.*; 20 horsemen, and 10 footmen. Robert Mostian, constable of Roscoman, 2s.; with 12 footmen. William Appesley, constable of Castle-maigne, 3s.; 3 horsemen, 13 footmen. John Cornwall, constable of the new fort upon the Blackwater, 2s. 8*d.*; a porter and 24 footmen for 152 days; his pension at 18*d.* for 31 days. Henry Davells, constable of Dugarvan, 4s.; 6 horsemen, 3 footmen; 3 archers at 6*d.* Henry Harlepoole, for the castle of Catherlaugh, 4 footmen and 4 archers. Daye Floddye, porter of Philipstown, 12*d.* Sir Edward Fitton, for the castle of Athlone, 20 footmen. Total, 3,765*l.* 16s. 10*d.*

*Kernes* :—Francis Cosby, General, for term of life, at 3s. 8*d.* a day; 32 kernes at 3*d.* ster. a day, for 183 days. Francis Agard, 40 kernes. Owen McHugh, 20 kernes. Total, 291*l.* 15s. 8*d.*

*Pensioners at sundry rates*, 244*l.* 7s. 2*d.*

*Ministers of the Ordnance* :—the clerk, 20*d.* a day; the master gunner, 20*d.* for him and his men; the smith and his men at 20*d.*; the fletcher by patent, 16*d.*; divers other, some at 12*d.*, some at 8*d.* a day. Total, 191*l.* 2s. 8*d.*

*Ministers of the Victuals* :—Thomas Sackeford, himself at 8s. a day; his clerk, 4s. Impotent soldiers, 13, at 6*d.* a day.

Sum total, 11,832*l.* 0s. 7*d.*

*Extraordinary Charges* :—Diets of Commissioners in Munster, 387*l.* 11s. 1*d.* Irish; viz. the two Justices of the King's Bench 20s. ster. a day; the second Justice in Munster, his half year's fee, 33*l.* 6s. 8*d.* ster.; Henry Davells, 6s. 8*d.* a day; Attorney, half year's fee, 13*l.* 6s. 8*d.*; "all Irish as above."

Journeys with the Lord Deputy: to the Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer, the Queen's Secretary, and the General Surveyor, 738*l.* 13s. 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.* Irish.

"Freights and transportations of the Lord Deputy and his train out of England, 117*l.* 12s.; of munitions from place to place, of soldiers out of the realm, and victuals, of the Deputies in passage of rivers, 199*l.* 16*d.*

"Carriage of letters from thence to the court, ordinarily 13*l.* 6s. 8*d.* a letter; and sometime their attendance considered, 93*l.* 6s. 8*d.*"

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Provision of necessaries for the Queen's storehouses, brew-houses, &c. 13*l.* 15*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

The sword of estate, furnishing (?), 13*s.* 4*d.*

Riding and travelling charges for apprehension of notable malefactors, 69*l.* 19*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Allowance of losses and charges in victualling delivered to the captains after Irish rate, 1,419*l.* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*; whereof lost by sea, 89*l.* 4*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*; victual uttered at less price, 164*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; beeves bought at 26*s.* 8*d.*, sold at 11*s.* to the soldiers. Gifts and rewards to workmen and to messengers from the Irish and Catholics (?), and alms to old servitors and decayed ladies and gentlemen, 761*l.* 17*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Espial money, 59*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* "Conduction through and searching pays with guides," 13*l.* 10*s.* Carriage of victuals, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Forages of the Deputy and his company in voyages, 12*s.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Recompences of losses and charges taken away by soldiers, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Reparations, 93*l.* 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Portage of treasure, viz., 5,000*l.*, 33*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Prests upon victualling, building, &c., about 2,000*l.*

The whole half year's charge, almost 13,000*l.* sterling.

"In Ireland. The charges of 100 horse: captain 6*s.*; petty captain, 3*s.*; guidon, 18*d.*; 2 officers, trumpet and surgeon, 2*s.*; 100 men at 9*d.* for a month of 28 days, 122*l.* 10*s.* Of a band of 100 footmen: the captain, 4*s.*; petty captain, 2*s.*; 5 officers, 5*s.*; 100 men at 8*d.* amounteth to 108*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*"

*Contemp. copy. Pp.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

April 27. 38. SIR HENRY SYDNEY, LORD DEPUTY, to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 601, p. 54 a.  
Collins' Sydney  
Papers, I., 102-110.

I crave pardon that I have not with more diligence addressed this my fourth and last provincial discourse, namely of Connaught. By this and the other three before sent, you may perceive how I have occupied myself these six months since I arrived here, in which I have viewed and almost circled this whole realm on every side. The cause of my deferring was, that I expected the arrival of Mr. Agard, whose miss hath been no small main to me in this my travail; and also for that I looked to have received somewhat by Gifford, but by letters which arrived here the 24th inst., I understood of his death.

In my last discourse of Munster, I omitted to write of my being at Kinsale, where I continued three days, and went to the Old Head, six miles beyond the town, which is one of the forticablest places that ever I came in. The town is much decayed, by the great and long unquietness of the country, yet through the continuance of justice and English government near them it holds its own well enough, and is on the mending hand. A castle they had upon the pier, which was all ruined, and the pier itself greatly decayed. I granted them some aid towards re-edifying the same. They are to find stuff, victuals, and labour, and the money which I gave them is to

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be expended only in defraying the wages of artificers. I trust the work will be finished this summer.

“After my last dispatch made at Limerick and sent to your Lps. by Gifford, I departed thence the 27th of February, and so entered into Thomond, attended on by the Earl of Thomond, Sir Daniel O’Brien, Teg McMorogho, Teg McConnohor, Tirloghe, the Earl’s brother, and Donnoghe McMorrogho;—all these gentlemen of one surname, called O’Briens, and yet no one of them friend to another, and sometime have been named kings of Limerick. These are the great doers and undoers of their own country and neighbours, yet so near kinsmen as they descended of one grandfather. I had also with me the two McNemarrows, by us called the East and West McNemarrows, chief gentlemen of that country, which if it were in quiet, they might live like principal knights in England. There was also with me in company the two landlords of the McMaghons of Thomond, and O’Laghlan. These are captains and lords of large territory.”

There were many others of meaner sort, but amongst them all I could not find one descended of English race, although that country was once the Lord Clare’s of England, and most part of it possessed by Englishmen. All these and many more complained upon the O’Briens and each other for the ruin of their country. “If they were not a people of more spare diet than others are, both of flesh and bread and drink made of corn, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustain them; and yet many they are not in number.”

I lodged, the first night after I left Limerick, in a dissolved friary of the Queen’s, called Coyne, where by the Earl and country I was well provided for. The night following I rather encamped, than lodged, in the ruined see of Kilmakoagh, where I and my company had bad fare and worse harbour. Here the Earl of Clanricard met me, in very comely and civil manner, but immediately departed from me. The next day again he met me, and so passing into O’Shagne’s country, “where Thomond (being of Munster) confineth with Connaught,” I came the same day to Galway, where I was honourably entertained.

As soon as I could get all them of Thomond to me I entered into consideration of their griefs and losses; the spoil of goods and cattle was infinite, and the whole country not able to answer a quarter of that which was affirmed to be lost among them; though Sir Lucas Dillon, who examined every particular matter as it was booked, reduced the same to a reasonable and certain quantity. Commissioners were appointed to take the proofs and the goods restored to the losers.

The mutual hurts and revenges done betwixt the Earl and Teg McMorrogho were one great cause of the ruin of the country. I bound them by bonds in great sums to abandon their country during my pleasure, as well to restrain them, as to bind them to perform such orders as I took with them,

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which they have observed. I took the Earl's brother, and still detain him in iron; and Teg McConnoghor I detained likewise, until he had delivered a sufficient hostage for his good behaviour. I made Sir Daniel O'Brien sheriff of the shire, and appointed others of the country birth to be serjeants, cessers, and other mean officers. The country consented to be at the charge of a provost marshal, and to give him wages and food, for himself, 12 horsemen, and 24 footmen, for that the country swarmed of idle men, and by this means they thought best to suppress them.

During my abode at Galway, divers notorious malefactors were brought in and executed. According to their desire I sent them commissioners. Lastly, for that the origin of their ruin was the uncertain grant and unstable possession of their lands, (whereupon grew their wars,) I brought them to agree to surrender all their lands into the Queen's hands for forfeited, and take them of her again, and yield both rent and service.

"Thus much for Thomond, a limb of Munster, but in my last government here annexed to the President of Connaught by the name of the county of Clare."

I divided Connaught (besides the East Brenye or O'Reilie's country, and the Annalye or O'Ferrall's country) into four countries, namely Sligo, which was a part of Nether Connaught; Mayo, another part of the same; Galway, which was called Upper Connaught; and Roscommen, called the Plains of Connaught.

"Out of the county of Sligo I had nothing but letters, but those humbly written, from O'Connoghor, affirming that he durst not come for fear of the wars happened between O'Donnell and Con his nephew, but lewd and malicious tales rather made him afraid, as I take it. He hath under his tyranny O'Dowde, two McDonoughes, two O'Hares, and Agare, and yet he himself tributary to O'Donnell. They be all men of great lands, and they shall not choose but yield both rent and service to the crown. All but O'Conner himself have offered it, and he, to be discharged of O'Donnell, will most willingly do it. I look daily for O'Rwrke (whose country, called West Brenye, is also a portion of this county), with whom I doubt not to conclude for a good rent and service for the Queen. This county, or these countries, are well inhabited and rich, and more haunted with strangers than I wish it were, unless the Queen were better answered of her custom."

Out of the county of Mayo came to me to Galway first seven principal men of the Clandonnells, all by profession mercenary soldiers by name of galloglas; they humbly submitted themselves. I was informed that McWilliam Eughter would not come to me, and therefore I won his chief force from him in getting these Clandonnells; but in the end McWilliam came very willingly, by the good persuasions of the Dean of Christ Church (one of the Council), whom I sent into Connaught, when

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I went into Munster. I found McWilliam very sensible, though wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin. He desired to suppress Irish extortion, and to expulse the Scots. He bound himself, by oath and indenture, to hold his lands of her Majesty, to pay yearly 250 marks sterling, and to find 200 soldiers, horsemen and footmen, for two months by the year. In one of his petitions he "besought (doubting that I would have taken away the bouaght from the Clاندonnells which they held of him and his country) that they might (withdrawing it from him) hold it of the Queen." They accepted this overture. "He received his country at my hands by way of seneschalship, which he thankfully accepted, the order of knighthood I bestowed upon him, whereof he seemed very joyous, and some other little tritles I gave him, as tokens between him and me." He was desirous I should send thither an English sheriff; I sent one with him. He is a great man; his land lies along the west north-west coast of this realm, wherein he has many goodly havens. His territory is three times as large as the Earl of Clanricarde's. "He brought with him all his brethren, McPhillipin, who in surname is a Burke, as he is," and others. O'Mayle came likewise with him, who is an original Irishman, strong in galleys and seamen. He earnestly sued to hold of the Queen.

At that instant were also with me McPhaten, of English surname Barrett, McIvilye, of English surname Stanton, McJordan, of the like, Dexter, McCoshtelo, of the like, Nangle, McMaurice, of English surname Prendergast; and these five show matter of some record and credit, that they have not only been English, which every man confesseth, but also Lords and Barons in Parliament," but now they have not three hackneys to carry them and their train home. There were with me many more of lower degree, as the chief of the Clan Andrews and McThomin, Barrett[s], Cusakes, Linches, and sundry English surnames now degenerate, and all lanenting their devastation, and crying for justice and English government.

Touching the county of Galway; first, I find the town of Galway much decayed, both in number of expert sage men of years and in young men of war, through the horrible spoil done upon them by the sons of the Earl of Clanricard. 50 householders of that town inhabit under McWilliam Eughter. They had almost forgotten that they had received any corporation from the crown, but I trust they are now revived. The Earl of Clanrickard continually attended on me, and so did the Earl of Thomond, the Archbishop of Tweom, the Bishop of Clonfert and Killmakogh, and the Baron of Athenry, by surname Birmingham (a poor baron, though the ancientest in this land), O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, and many of their surnames, which are very great, O'Madden, and all of any account of that surname, O'Naughton, and many other petty lords and captains of countries, craving to hold their lands immediately

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from her Highness. "These are the principal of this country, saving such as be of my Lord of Clanricard's surname, as O'Heyne, original Irish, and in old time very great, now mean; McOwge, McHubbert, McDavy, McEdmund, McRedmond, all these Burghes and many more, but all holding of the Earl of Clanricard (by due service as he saith), but through oppression say they." Many other there were who durst not show their faces, for that they had been partakers with the Earl's sons in their rebellion.

These two hopeless sons came into the church of Galway on a Sunday at public service, and there craved their pardon. I committed them to my marshal, and have them here prisoners in this castle of Dublin.

I departed from Galway the 22nd of March and passed through Athenry, which was totally burned—college, parish church, and all that was there—by the Earl's sons; yet the mother of one of them was buried in that church. "I took order for the re-edifying of the town, and I have taxed (for the satisfying of the old inhabitants) indifferently upon that country, weighing the ability of each person, and the quality, of the faults, as I thought most reasonable; and the sum of this taxation amounteth unto 2,000*l.*, which shall be confirmed and ratified by order of commissioners authorized under the Great Seal, according to the meaning of her Majesty's letter granted to them; and I doubt not to levy it, and the rather for that the Earl is entered into band of 5,000*l.*, to see as well this performed, as the first order taken at Limericke against his sons in my predecessor's time. I have cut the town almost into equal parts, it being before full as big, with a fair high wall, as the town of Calais. I took from the Earl (the better to answer the expectation of the people) two principal castles and keys of strength, the one called the castle of Ballinesloe, which standeth betwixt Galway and Athenry, and the other called Clare, and seated betwixt Galway and McWilliam Eughter's country." I went from Athenry with the Earl of Clanricard, and was very honourably entertained with him. The next night I lodged in the O'Kellies' country, and the night following in the castle of Roscommon. The county is indifferently manured, by reason of the Earl of Clanricard's force, whose friends and followers fare well, the rest go to wreck. The Bishop of Meath came to me to Galway.

I staid at Roscommon but one night, both for that I had appointed provision at Athlone, as also that I found nothing there laid in, to furnish me withal. During my abode at Roscommon, O'Connor Dun came to me, whose ancestor (they say) was sometimes called King of Connaught. The castle of Roscommon I took from him in my former government. Under his rule there are O'Birne and O'Flin. O'Connor Ro came not at me, for fear I would compel him to make recompence for his hurts done in the rebellion time. Under him is O'Flanagan. "McDermond was with me, and one under him



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called McManus. These people and some more petty lords inhabit the plains of Connaught, and are all destroyed by the Scots chiefly. The country is large and of excellent soil, the best, and all the rest beggars, desirous to be delivered from the tyranny of their stronger neighbours. They all crave to be subjected to the English government."

At Athlone I remained nine days, in which time was executed a notable rebel of the Burkes.

I daily look for O'Connor Sligo, O'Rwrke, O'Donnell, and Con O'Donnell, his nephew, and doubt not but so to agree with them as the Scots shall be soon banished out of Connaught. As to the Annalye or O'Ferrall's country, and East Brenye or O'Reilie's country, they all attended upon me during my abode in the counties of Roscommon and West Meath. At my being at Athlone I sent commissioners thither to hold sessions. This country was made shire ground by me, by the name of the county of Longford, and the chief lords are bound to pay 400 marks by the year of increase of revenue, whereof albeit they were in arrear for four or five years, yet immediately upon my demand they paid part, and took short days for payment of the rest.

From the East Brenye, or the O'Reillies' country, I received all dutiful offices. The captain of the country is a very honest man, but old, very impotent and bedrid. His death may breed great trouble. The competitors for his place will hazard the destruction of the country. I mean to dissipate it into more captainries than one, if I can.

I left in Connaught Thomas Lestrangle and Thomas Dillon, learned in the laws, as commissioners, to determine controversies, and Robert Dampart, provost marshal, to apprehend and execute the thieves and destroyers of the country. They of Connaught are willing to bear men of war for the suppression of rebels and outlaws. "The Queen's revenue revived, and that, with casual revenues, will go near to bear the charge of civil magistracy." Connaught may be made to bear its own charges within one year and a half, so as a President and Council be sent thither to reside amongst them.

I am advertised that my Lord of Essex is minded to come again into this realm. He is held of the people of this country both in honourable and dreadful terms. If he be placed as President with a Council in Connaught, it will imprint in their minds the Queen's resolution to reform them. "I will so impart with him, as, without her Majesty's further charge than presently she is contented to be at, he shall be able to live honorably there." While his Lordship and Sir William Druerye join together in the south and west, I will deal with the east and north. If I may not have the Earl of Essex, let me have another.

I departed from Athlone the 2nd of April, and lodged by the way at Mr. Lestrangle's, Mollingarre, my Lord of Delvin's, my Lord Bishop of Meath's, and Lawrence Delahide's. On the

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14th I arrived in Dublin, being the first entry I made into it since I landed last in Ireland, which was the 12th of September last. By the way as I went, sessions were held in the counties of West Meath, Louth, Longford, Meath, and Kildare. I could not have wished for better service to be done in my absence, and in especial by my Lord Bishop of Meath,\* and such as I joined with him in commission for guarding of the borders of the Pale.

“I write not the names of each particular varlet that hath died since I arrived, as well by the ordinary course of the law, the martial law, as flat fighting with them, when they would take food without the good will of the giver.” The number of them is great, and some of the best; and the rest tremble. “They fight for their dinner, and many of them lose their heads before they be served with their suppers.”

I beseech you to mark these few heads following.

(1.) The church must be reformed, being deformed and overthrown by the ruin of the temples, the dissipation and embezzling of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers. The means to amend it are easy, whereof I have written to the Queen.

(2.) An army must still be maintained. A garrison of 300 horsemen and 700 footmen may continually be kept here, without any great charge to England. “This charge now must be reared by the new rents of the Irishry, and by an alteration of the old burthen of the English Pale.”

(3.) “I heartily wish that it might please her Majesty to send hither four personages, whereof one well acquainted with the course of that grave and wise Council, as it might be Mr. Tremayne; two stout and well learned lawyers, as two of these three; viz., the Master of the Rolls, the Attorney General, and Mr. Bell; some one discreet gentleman, as Sir Edward Mountecute, that were able to argue what might be reaped out of a good soil peaceably possessed.”

(4.) That it would please her Majesty to send hither three lawyers, to be Chief Justices of three principal and common benches, and one to be Attorney General of this realm. There is none here so meet for those places as is to be wished, Sir Lucas Dillon excepted, who is Chief Baron.

Castle of Dublin, 27 April 1576.

*Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 17.*

July 13. 39. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 295.

It seems you conceive that small care is had of your letters sent. If you thoroughly mark the letters which we sent you in January last, you shall find that yourself have not fully answered us; “namely, touching Sarleboy, the disposition of Claudeboy, nor to what conclusion you are grown

\* Hugh Brady.

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with Tirlough Lenough upon those articles and postilles sent unto you ; no, nor yet of McGennes, in such sort as it is to pass for work of such a warrant as we required to be drawn by the learned counsel there and sent hither. And if your L. had sent over those warrants for the grants to be made from her Majesty to Tirlough Lenough, McGennes, O'Hanlon, and others, it might ere now have been granted and perfected ; and that thereupon such of them might have been created into degree of honour as your L. moved, the which afore that time we thought not meet to be done."

You complain of time lost and service hindered by the long stay of the Chancellor\* and the President of Munster.† The same has not grown in her Majesty's or our default, for the President had his full dispatch here many months before he departed, and the Chancellor after his coming hither tarried not many days for anything belonging to his dispatch. "The stay of the treasure proceeded of the death of [John] Gifford ; the same being paid unto him at the day limited by your composition."

"Touching the revocation which you required to be made for the grants passed to Malbie and Chatterton of those Irish countries, we caused Malbie to be dealt withal, who seemed contented to yield to anything that should be thought reasonable."

In your letter of the 27th of April you gather certain principal heads requisite for the reformation and good government of that realm. For your better assistance you seem to desire to have certain chosen persons sent over by the midst of September ; but it has been thought meet by her Majesty and us that you should first consult there upon those matters, and send over your opinions by some well instructed persons, such as Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Agard (being of each nation one), if they two may be spared from thence.

The sending thither of lawyers is a matter most requisite, but such opinion is conceived of the barbarism there, and so small are the gains and entertainment there, as at all times when any have been chosen to be sent thither, they do ever make some means to her Majesty whereby they may be stayed.

"The grant of entertainment for the ward of Athlone passed to Sir Edward Fitton as a matter alleged heretofore to have been from time to time appertaining to such as used the office of Treasurer at Wars in that realm, and hath his grant so long as he shall enjoy the office of Treasurer, and not during her Majesty's pleasure as you take it."

In another letter you declare the inconvenience of putting in execution letters of reprisal against them of St. Maloes. Some composition should be made, for the satisfaction of our merchants that have been damnified.

The captains' bills required by you for the perfecting of the account remain with the Auditor here, as his warrant,

\* William Gerrard.

† Sir John Perrot.

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whereupon he allows payment ; and until he have some other discharge under the hand of the Treasurer of that realm, there is no reason to deliver them. We therefore send for a brother of Sir Edward Fitton ; and if he be not warranted to give such discharge as is requisite, some other must be sent from the Treasurer fully authorized.

The treasure due to you by composition for this quarter ended at Midsummer is delivered to your servant, James Prescotte.

St. James's, 13th July 1576.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

*Headed:* From the Lls. to the Lord Deputy.

July 23.

Vol. 628, p. 297.

## 40. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Your letters of the 9th inst. from Athlone were delivered to us here at St. James's on the 21st. The Queen graciously takes all your proceedings, upon the sudden news of that revolt in Connaught, wherein you had, for her service, directed your course another way. You have prevented a great many mischiefs and saved a great deal of cost which else might have ensued.

You complain of want of answers to your letters. We trust, when you have considered our letters sent by Cateline, you will not find great cause to lament our slackness.

“ For the stay of those persons that you required to be sent unto you out of this realm by your former letters, as the time will be now passed before your return to Dublin, and your course altered from taking that of them that you determined by your time appointed of the midst of September, so we remain still of opinion that your intended purpose shall be sooner established by persons to be sent hither from thence to confer with such here as be well acquainted with that government, than by any that can be sent from hence not so acquainted, nor so skilful in the same ; and yet nevertheless, if your L. shall persevere to think the sending of them so necessary for her Majesty's service, we shall, upon signification thereof from you, procure the coming of them.”

\*Ibid., p. 255.

As to your request for a meet man to be sent over to take the charge of the government\* of the province of Connaught, we trust by this time you have understanding of her Majesty's resolution upon Captain Nicholas Malbie for that purpose. His services “ in dealing with his soldiers, in keeping his band complete, living upon the country without exactions, extortions, or bribes,” have proved him to be a honest and discreet man.

Lastly, for the house at Athlone, her Majesty has sent letters by Cateline signifying her pleasure that Fitton shall from henceforth give over that entertainment.

St. James's, 23rd July 1576.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

*Headed:* From the Lls. to the Lord Deputy.

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Oct. 19.  
Vol. 628, p. 301.

41. MR. WILLIAM GERRARD, LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,  
to MR. SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

“According to your Honour’s request that I should make known to the same the judges, Queen’s counsellors, and officers, the certain revenue within this realm and how her Majesty hath been answered thereof,” I have gathered as much as I could of every of them. I have also added a roll containing a brief of such good laws as are meetest to be put in execution, which I desire your Honour to commit to the Queen’s Printer, “to have 300 or 400 of them to be in form of proclamations, which before the circuit I wish were in all the parts twice proclaimed.”

I also enclose a copy of the letter I have written to her Majesty and some articles, in consequence of the sharp commandment which her Highness gave me to advertise her what I should find of the state of this country, and her officers, courts, and revenue.

The garrison is the chief cause of the consuming of her Majesty’s treasure.

“Through the waste of divers parts within the Pale, a great part is depopulated, and the most of the inhabitants in the other parts so wretched poor creatures in person and substances as not able to defend themselves; wherefore necessity urgeth the keeping of a garrison until they may be able to defend themselves.

“To work this waste to a populous habitation, that with small help the country might defend themselves, is the way to discharge the great charge her Majesty is at. The multitude of idle thieves are the wasters of the country and the impoverishers of the poor churles, as they term them. To cut them off by justice is the plat I lay, and that must be put in execution by circuiting the Pale yearly twice, and even upon the very borders, and by executing the same with all severity, and chiefly upon the best sort offending. English justices must be the executioners. What these be who serve here, my notes shall tell your Honour. I have therefore desired the help and assistance of two persons, th’ one to be her Majesty’s Attorney, th’ other a justice. And because I cannot perceive how to have such competent fee as requisite to entertain those two out of the proportion allowed to my Lord, therefore I have thought good to move to your Honour this way, that you would please to commend the Bishop of Dublin to her Majesty to be preferred to some bishopric in England now vacant, and to retain the see of Dublin vacant for these three years in her Majesty’s hands, and the profits to give to one person learned to be Attorney one 100*l.*, to another to be justice, 200*l.*, and to a preacher and officers to discharge ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the rest. The Bishop I have heard offer the same bishopric to farm for 400*l.* by year, and if her Majesty’s pleasure be not to forbear this (a thing her Highness never had), I know not how to be assisted or her Majesty well served.

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“I will do that which I cannot learn that any my predecessors have used—descend from the place of Chancellor and be still in commission with them as a justice, but alone to take the travail. I know the burthen is over heavy, and if I were able, yet my single report cannot carry the credit as if three joined. If they be sent speedily we may confer before Lent (which is mine appointed time to begin the travail) upon some plat to settle justice with fewer officers and courts, less fees and better servitors, than are at this day. Although I see, in my opinion, a plain way to work the same by making four courts one, yet stay I to certify my conceiving, in hope your Honour’s earnest travel to her Majesty will procure the speedy sending over of such as I have required, that (concurring in opinion) we might signify our minds together.

“Here was never an Earl attained in this land but by Parliament. I shall desire your Honour to cause the Queen’s counsel learned to send hither their opinions, whether the Earl of Clanricard be here to be tried by his peers as in England; if not, what other way than by Parliament we may proceed with him.

“When I wrote to your Honour to have Bassenet sent over, I was altogether a stranger, and chiefly desired him as one whom I thought I might trust to learn the disposition of the judges and other persons I had to deal with, of whom sithen now by other means I am satisfied, and have sufficiently gathered the understanding of them, I shall not trouble your Honour to write to him.

“The bag for to carry the seal and the discharge for my 20th part for the deanery I am to put your Honour in remembrance of.

“I heard of the people so quiet in every part at my coming, and finding them so fickle in manner in all parts of the Pale in this time of my Lord’s absence, I am persuaded the conspiracy to withstand justice was great.

“I have in this travail found one good token of likelihood to do good, which is obedience to process. I think I have passed 300 or 400, and assuredly I have not five persons who wilfully contemn, but either I have appearance or lawful excuse.

“I wish I never had come; and yet sithens I am come, abashed I shall be either to return to my grave here or into England without some show of good service to her Majesty, which because it resteth only in these journeying circuits, which without English help I shall not well be able to take in hand, therefore am I the more earnest with you for assistance.”

This bearer shall tell your Honour my mind.

Dublin, 19th October (*year omitted*).

*Signed*: William Gerrard, Canc[ellarius].

*Pp. 2. Add. and endd.*

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Vol. 628, p. 311a.

II. "The NAMES of the CHIEF OFFICERS in IRELAND, and a guess of their dispositions."

This document contains a list of the officers in the Chief Place, the Common Place, the Chancery and the Exchequer, and of the Queen's learned counsel. The writer (Chancellor Gerrard\*) not only specifies their dwelling places and the ladies whom they had married, but states his opinion of their qualifications for their respective offices, and of the ability or negligence with which those offices were exercised. Here is a specimen:—  
 "Thomas Cotton, Keeper of the Records in the Treasury; himself honest, but the records ill kept and embezzled." Among the Queen's learned counsel in Meath he mentions "Barnaby Skurlocke, of Trayne, married to a daughter of Mr. Justice Plunket's, reported to be best experienced in the laws, somewhat aged and sickly, of modest behaviour, and juster knew (just enough?), but honest."

III. List of "the Earls and Lords on this side the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster."†

IV. Account of the Revenue in Munster and Connaught.

*Munster.*—The Queen's possessions in co. Waterford, 260*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.*; Cork, 225*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.*; Kerry, 97*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.*; Limerick, 126*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*; Tipperary, 409*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*

*Connaught.*—The revenues not known and embezzled. The church lands detained and concealed.

V. "Charges of the realm of Ireland," for half a year ending 31 March 1576.‡

*Contemp. copies.* Pp. 10.

[Nov.]

Vol. 628, p. 121.

42. PETITION of the INHABITANTS of the ENGLISH PALE to LORD DEPUTY SYDNEY and the COUNCIL.

For some years past we have been oppressed with cesses and exactions contrary to the laws, and our corn, grain, beeves, mutton, and other "accates" have been taken up at mean and base prices, whereby we are reduced to great decay and poverty. We therefore beseech that "henceforth her Majesty's subjects be no further exacted or oppressed other than her Highness' laws and statutes of the realm doth warrant and allow of; and yet are we most willing, of our own accords, with all humility, to yield unto your Honour (her Majesty's Deputy here) all like preeminence as her Highness might have being here resident in her royal person, wherewithal we humbly crave that your Honours will hold you pleased, or otherwise not only to license such of us as will repair unto her Mat<sup>tie</sup> to seek redress of their said griefs, but also graciously

\* See the commencement of the preceding letter.

† It may be doubted whether this list was enclosed in Gerrard's foregoing letter, although it follows No. II.

‡ This paper has been noticed under its proper date.

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to suffer us with your honorable letters and other good means to our aid and succour in the same."

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec.  
Vol. 628, p. 255a.

43. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (GERRARD).

We have perused the note which you sent over containing such casualties as have of late been answered to her Majesty there. Understanding the offence and the offenders (by report) to be very many, we marvel that so small fines have been answered in the Castle Chamber, and nothing at all touching the execution of the Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes. Her Majesty and we mislike such careless proceedings.

Hampton Court, ——— December 1576.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

1577.  
Jan. 11.  
Vol. 628, p. 148a.

44. VISCOUNT BALTINGLAS and OTHERS to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Of late we made humble suit to the Lord Deputy and Council for redress of certain things, whereby this poor country is brought to decay. We besought "to have the same either by them reformed, or else some of us to have been licensed to repair to her Majesty to seek relief." Finding no comfort, we have made choice of Barnaby Skurlock, Richard Nettervill, and Henry Burnell, to relate our griefs and to require redress at her Majesty's hands. This case not a little concerns your Lordships. Dublin, 11th January 1576.

*Signed:* Roland, Viscount of Baltinglas; Christopher, Baron of Houthe; C. Delvin; Peter, Baron of Trimleston; James, Baron of Killene.

- II. "A BRIEF ESTIMATE as well of all such CEsSE as is yearly taken up within the English Pale of Ireland for the provision of the Lord Deputy's household, together with their several rates and the prices accustomed to be paid for the same, as also what loss and hindrance the country doth sustain by the small prices thereof, and having not therefor the worth as they might be sold in the market."

Beeves, 1,000, at 9s. sterling the beef, which is the price allowed unto them by the Council. If they were sold in the market they would be worth 20s. sterling. Beer malt and wheat, 1,000 pecks, at 2s. 6d. sterling the peck, may be sold for 5s.; oat malt, 700 pecks, at 16d. the peck, may be sold at 3s. in the market; and so the country lost 1s. 8d. in every peck. Muttons, 3,900, at 12d. a piece; which they affirm they may have in the market at 2s. 6d. Veals, 130, at 12d. a piece; may be sold at 5s. a piece. Porks, 240, at 3s.; worth 8s. Bacons, 12, at 5s. a piece; worth 13s. 4d. Butter, 2,580 gallons, at 9d. the gallon; worth 2s. 6d. Lambs, 300, answered by the said Lord Deputy but after the rate of 3d. a piece; worth 12d. Pigs, 700, at 3d.; worth



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12*l.* Geese, 200, at 3*l.*; worth 6*l.* Capons, 160, at 3*l.*; worth 6*l.* Chickens, 1,500,  $\frac{3}{4}$ *l.*; worth 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *l.*

“Horse meat: 120 horses kept at hardmeat, having sufficient hay, litter, and gray, with six sheaves of oats double banded for every horse, day and night, for the which the country hath allowance for every horse but after the rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$ *l.* sterling for 126 days beginning primo Octobris, and ending 14to Mayi then [ensuing], 84*l.* 15*s.* sterling; against which they esteem the keeping of every one of the said horses to be worth 4*l.* sterling, day and night, which amounteth unto 452*l.* sterling; and so there is clear lost by the country in the keeping of every one of the said horses by the day and night, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *l.* sterling, amounting unto over and besides the keeping of them at grass in their best pasture, for the which there is nothing answered nor paid from the 14th of May to the last of September, amounting to the sum of 367*l.* 5*s.* Horse boys: 60 boys keeping all the fore-said horses answereth no more for his two meals per diem but  $\frac{3}{4}$ *l.* sterling;” whereas every several horse boy’s two meals by the day are worth 4*l.*

Carts for the carriage of hay, faggots, wood, and coal, with divers other provisions; two carts taken up for the carriage of the Lord Deputy’s provisions, with four garrons and two men for every cart, for which there is paid but 2*s.* sterling a day; yet they cannot be hired in any place under 5*s.* a day.

Sum total of the money lost by the country in paying the cesses aforesaid, 2,210*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

III. “A BRIEF CERTIFICATE as well of such GRAIN and BEEVES as hath been taken up in the country towards the victualling of th’ army for the year last past 1576, as also the charges of the horse boys there likewise cessed, belonging to the chief officers, captains, and pensioners, together with the losses thereof borne by the country, by reason of the small prices answered for the same.”

*Similar to the preceding.*

Sum total of the losses, 4,339*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* sterling.

Also, her Majesty’s army pay nothing commonly in their travel through the country, but rather receive money of the subjects. They\* are forced to entertain kerne upon their own charges in sundry times of service. They affirm that they always serve and guard the Pale upon their own charges in the absence of the Lord Deputy.

Sum total of all losses, as well for the cesse taken up for the provision of the Lord Deputy’s household, as also for the army, 6,600*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* sterling.

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\* Seilicet, the Lords above mentioned.

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## IV. "CESSES laid upon IRELAND in the EARL of SUSSEX' time."

1556.—Grain, 8,000 pecks, lacking one. Beefs, 1,000.

1557.—Grain, 3,800 pecks. Beefs, 240.

1558.—Grain, 9,267½ ccls. Beefs, 1,240. Porks, 570.

1559.—"As before."

1560.—Grain and cats for the garrisons, 1,917½ [?] pecks.

Grain for the Lieutenant's household, 3,700 pecks. Beefs and porks, as before.

1561.—Grain, 5,600 pecks. Beefs, 1,340. Porks, 610.

1562.—Grain, 4,600 pecks. Beefs, 1,340. Porks, 610.

1575.\*—Beefs, 2,000. Wheat, 1,000 pecks. Beer malt, 2,000 pecks. Oat malt, 2,000 pecks. Oats, 9,000 pecks.

## V. To the LORD DEPUTY and the PRIVY COUNCIL in IRELAND.

"Showeth your suppliants, the lords, knights, and gentlemen whose names are subscribed, now prisoners in her Majesty's castle of Dublin, that whereas it is declared in a letter written by her Majesty to the Lord Deputy and Council here that the [Lords] of our country now resident in that her realm of England were called before the Privy Council there soon after the exhibiting of their letters of complaint sent to her Highness by Barnaby Skurloge, and the rest sent for that purpose, and that the [Lords] being questioned withal, did confess and declare that cesse hath been used and accustomed to be taken within this realm by the Governor with the assent of the Council and nobility of the same upon necessity for her Majesty's garrison, and also that they thought him to be no good subject that would withstand the same. And it is also contained in the said letter that the said messengers hath humbly submitted them to her Majesty and confess to be in error for holding opinion to the contrary; and that also her Majesty willed that those whose names were subscribed unto the said letter should be punished for withstanding and repugning her Royal prerogative, like as her Majesty had there committed those that carried the same letters from hence, as more at large in the said letter appeareth. Whereupon your suppliants being called before your Honours here, and committed to her Majesty's said castle for subscribing of the said letters and sundry times examined severally and some of them, as the [Lords] of Howthe and Trymlestone, with other gentlemen, being put in close prison, they all have there remained these ten days." To appease her Majesty's ill opinion of them, they humbly submit themselves to her in such sort and ample manner as their

\* Sussex was not Lieutenant or Deputy of Ireland in this year.

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agents there have done, beseeching your Honours to be mean to her Highness for recovering her favour, and to be petitioners with them to her Majesty for relief of this poor country, now brought into great decay, and also for the enlargement of their factors there; and in the meantime to take order for your suppliants' discharges.

*Signed:* Rowland Baltinglas, Trymleston, Delvyn, Lavallen Nugent, Christopher Howthe, Edward Plunkett, William Sarcefield, Richard Myseett, Patrick Nangle, Oliver Plunkett, F. Nugent, William Talbott.\*

p. 152.

VI. "QUESTIONS to be RESOLVED by BARNABY SCURLOOKE, RICHARD NETTERVILLE and HENRY BURNELL, sent hither by the Lords of the Pale to seek redress for the burthen of the cesse."

(1.) Whether her Majesty's Deputy, with the advice and assent of the nobility and Council there, has not of long time used to make cesse of victual at reasonable prices, for provision of the Deputy's house, and the furniture of the whole garrison of that realm.

(2.) Whether they do find themselves aggrieved with the cesse or with the [manner] of exacting the same, or with both, or with any other thing thereto belonging.

(3.) Whether the Deputy did not offer to reform the disorders in the levying of the said cesse.

(4.) Whether when they complained to the Deputy that every plowland was charged with 9*l.*, he did not offer to discharge them for 5 marks the plowland.

(5.) Whether the soldier is able to find himself with the present pay; and in case he be not, whether they think it not reasonable that the soldier should be victualled at reasonable prices, being employed for their defence.

(6.) If they think it reasonable, then what order they think convenient to be taken, whereby the country may be eased, the soldier paying no more than his wages will bear, and the Queen no further burthened.

(7.) Whether they find themselves aggrieved with any other thing than the cesse.

p. 151 a.

VII. "The ANSWERS of BARNABY SCURLAKE, RICHARD NETERVILL, and HENRY BURNELL to the questions proponed unto them by the [Lords] of her Highness Council."

(1.) Cesse for the garrison has been made by the Lord Deputy and Council for these 29 years, but for the Lord Deputy's house not so long. Whether the one or the other were always made by assent of the nobility we know not. "The prices were always rated as they thought fit that made

\* There is a copy of a similar submission in vol. 623, p. 135.

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the cesses, who, for a long time after cesse began, priced things either as the market went, or so nigh the same, as the subject felt no great loss; but now the prices are far otherwise."

(2.) With the taking of all such provision as the country is able to spare for furnishing the garrison, we are well contented, so as the prices be reasonable and the payments good. But with cesse, as it is now taken, the country hath good cause to find itself greatly grieved, considering the same hath brought the Pale to more decay than ever coyne and livery did when the same was used. The manner also of exacting cesse is misliked, for that it is not according to the prescript rule of the law, nor by any consent of those whose goods are taken. We cannot here fully declare the abuses depending upon cesse. Since the Conquest until within these few years, it cannot be remembered that the Governor there had cesse for his household. The same also appears to be forbidden by a statute made in that realm in the time of King Henry VI., that there should be no purveyor, harbinger, or avener in Ireland, but that the Governor should pay or agree with those from whom any goods should be taken by his achators. It was also established that all statutes in this behalf made in England should be put in execution in Ireland.

(3.) The disorders in levying of cesse are so notorious and public that they cannot be unknown to the Governor, "whom we have often heard offer to reform the same."

(4.) Although the plowlands are now charged at least as deeply as ever they were, and with so much as, 9*l.* yearly the plowland and upwards, yet upon the Lord Deputy's last repair into Ireland the Council condescended to impose the country with a cesse far greater (if not double as much) as it now bears, in grain and beeves. Accordingly for levying thereof, commissions were directed forth; but the Lord Deputy, upon the exclamation of the country, perceiving the extremity of it, qualified and brought the same to the proportion which the country now bears.

"After this, the motion of discharging the plowland for 5 marks being made by his Lordship, the same would not be accepted by the inheritors and owners of the lands for divers reasons. First they suspected that extremity was used with them to draw them to inconvenience, whereunto if they yielded in an extraordinary manner, they foresaw what mischief their posterity lay open unto, being always subject to such devices; and therefore they thought good, leaving private composition, to refer the matter to Parliament, the most lawful and convenient place for compounding and ordering of such causes. Also they saw that the most common rate of plowlands throughout those shires that bare cesse was but six score acres, unto which rate also they understood, by report and otherwise, the Lord Deputy intended to bring plowlands. And so where five marks sterling the plowland amounted well nigh to 9*l.* the acre of

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that country money, the acre in most, or at least in many places, being letten for 12*d.* by the year; the landlord by this means should become not only a bare freeholder of his own land, but also should have left him but 3*d.* rent out of an acre by the year. Further they foresaw that the country itself yielded no money nor corn;\* and therefore it was likely that in time corn and cattle, the principal things which the country breedeth and bringeth forth to bear charges withal, would grow so cheap as it would become little worth, and so would the payment of five marks be as chargeable as their present burthens are.

“There have been muttered abroad devices that carried shows of more ease to the country than the payment of five marks, as 2*d.* or 1*d.* out of every acre, which is an old device invented long sithens by one that wrote of the reformation of that realm, yet hitherto not put in execution, nor presently liked of by the country; not for that they are unwilling to contribute towards the ease of her Majesty, but for that they would both have whatsoever charge they bear to run upon their goods or persons, and not upon their inheritance; and also that they would have their burthens not to rest in discretion, but to be grounded upon law.”

(5.) If the horseman's entertainment be but 9*d.* Irish by the day and the footman's 8*d.*, they are not then able to find themselves. Notwithstanding we think it reasonable that they be victualled, but at reasonable prices, having regard as well of the ability of the country as to the quantity of their pay, for otherwise the victualling of 1,000 soldiers may destroy 10,000 subjects, each one able to serve a soldier's stead being well used, as the present manner of victualling by cesse in Ireland has done already.

(6.) “We think it none otherwise reasonable than as before we have declared. And as for easing of the country, the soldier to pay no more than his wages will bear, and the Queen's Majesty to be no further burthened than now she is, we can devise no better order to be taken for that purpose than to increase the soldier's pay, as we have set forth in the notes which we last delivered unto your Honours, by following of which way her Highness shall be at less charge than now she is said to be at, as may be gathered (besides the matters in the said notes disclosed) by this also, that the victualling of the soldiers hitherto by cesse hath stood the Queen's Majesty yearly in exemptions (as the victuallers term them), viz., freights, venture, carriage, wastes, stowage, buildings, vessels, reparations, and sundry other things to a far greater sum than this increase of pay amounteth unto, as appeareth by sundry victuallers' accounts which some of us hath seen. At this present also, a great part of the garrison (if not all) have allowed them in place of

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\* “coyne” in M.S.

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cesse 1*l.* sterling per diem, wherewith they hold themselves well contented, the commodity of cesse being turned another way to no relief of the country. And for the further easing of her Highness in respect of his increase of pay, both her Majesty and your Lordships may assure yourselves that, this being proponed in Parliament, the country will contribute towards it, to the uttermost of their powers, wherein we will persuade by all the ways we can."

7. As to any other grieves besides cesse, we were not appointed to deal therein.

*Signed* : Barnaby Scurloke, Richard Nettervyll, Henry Burnell.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7½.*

Jan. 27.

Vol. 601, p. 63.

## 45. LORD DEPUTY SIDNEY to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since my letters of the 20th September last, dated from Galway, I still remained in expectation of answer to my former letters, which came not before the 23rd inst., when it was brought me by my servant, James Prescott. I cannot justly lay the fault to his negligence, but to the contrariety of the winds and untowardness of the weather, which would not suffer him to pass.

In my letters from Galway I spoke of my proceedings in Connaught in pursuit of the rebels. The day following I went to Athenry, so to the Shrugher and into McWilliam Eughter's country, and within a day or two came to the castle of Ibary, which I had caused to be besieged beforehand by certain companies I had dispersed from me, to lie in that country and to make head against the Scots, who were reported to lie not past five or six miles from the place of this siege, and to have gathered together all the prey of the country. The castle was noted to be a very strong piece.

"At my coming thither, the mother of two of the principal gentlemen that were in the ward of the castle and sons to Edmund Burke (who was sent from the Earl of Clanrickard' sons, to entertain the Scots to come into Connaught to the aid of those rebels,) made humble suit unto me, that she might speak with her sons; and first she entreated for their lives, that I would grant them pardon, which I would not in any sort assent to, except they would presently yield the castle into my hands, and simply submit themselves, their lives, lands, and goods to my devotion; and assured her that since I was come thither I would not depart thence and leave the place before I had won it. She thought the conditions very hard; nevertheless, tendering much her son's lives, went to them by licence from me, and put them in so hard hope to obtain mercy (but upon these conditions) as the misery of their state made them to hazard the extremity of fortune, and so privily at a spikehole on the back side and in a main wall of the castle (which during the parley they had wrought somewhat wider), and made passage to let down a man by

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device into the ditch betwixt the twilight and setting of the watch, the ward stole away and escaped with their lives."

Hither came to me McWilliam Eughter, whom I rebuked, because, though I was come into those parts to repossess and settle him in his country, he had neither come nor sent to me. He alleged that he had gathered his strength and people together, and forthwith gave a sudden charge upon the Scots, crying "Bows! Bows!" The Scots, thinking it to be true fled away, and left all the prey behind them. I delivered to him the castle I had taken, to keep it to her Majesty's use, and all the castles and piles of which he had been dispossessed.

From this place I meant to have gone to Sligo, but by reason of extreme rains the water of Moy was risen so high that, having no boats, I could not pass either my horsemen or footmen over. And besides the soldiers were overtoiled and wearied, and many of them feeble and sick. Moreover, I thought the journey less necessary, for that O'Connor Sligo came to me thither, with the Clandonnells and all the rest of that country, and because the Scots were fled the country, leaving Ulick Burke, who likewise fled to the mountains of Slevartye to his brother Shane; O'Roorke also sent to me, to meet me where I would appoint him.

"I returned homewards by the plains of Connaught towards Dublin, and left Sir Nicholas Malbye possessed of the houses of Roscommon and Athlone, and all the Earl's houses in Clamrickerd, besides two bands of footmen, and Captain Daniell's company of horsemen, 200 of the Clandonnells of Leinster, being her Majesty's galloglas, with 100 kerne; all to be at the direction of the Colonel, over and besides his own company, being 30 horsemen and 20 footmen; and gave him order and commission to take bonaght and spending for the finding of the galloglas upon such countries and lords as had not yet compounded with her Majesty for their lands. And so leaving him sufficient authority and power for the government of the province, I departed thence and arrived in Dublin the 13th of October." Sir Nicholas Malbye is a sufficient man for the service of Connaught, being forward and valiant. I thank your Lordships for your choice of so fit a man to the place.

The hope of the Earl's enlargement, so daily gaped for, is the only cause of the wars there. But "in truth the Earl's cause falleth out against him every day fouler and fouler, as both by his own confession and the depositions of others" will appear to you. With them I will send you a bill drawn for his attainder by Parliament, if he be not found a bastard, as it is thought he may be, and then he may be tried by a jury of common persons. His sons' wars and his once suppressed, the revenue of Connaught will in short space bear the charges of Connaught.

"The province of Munster is universally quiet as yet, but the President findeth some stubbornness of Thomond, in not

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obeying such orders as be taken against him; and some wilfulness of Desmond, that he will not be withdrawn from his wonted exactions; and such a general repining throughout to bear cesse, not without some intelligence, or, as it is rather to be suspected, conspiracy, with them of the English Pale." Howbeit the Lord President holds them in great security of quiet. If the cess might be converted to a certain subsidy, the revenue of that province would do more than bear the charge of the same.

The English Pale is very quiet. Never has a winter passed over with less loss and fewer stealths and bodderagges. "The only gall of the Pale for this present is the wilful repining at the cesse, which is stirred up by certain busy-headed lawyers and malcontented gentlemen, who indeed bear not themselves the burden of it, but the farmers and husbandmen, who willingly would contribute toward it, if the gentlemen would suffer them; insomuch as the county of Meath being twice as big as any other county of the English Pale, hath offered to give five marks sterling out of every plowland, which is not above 2*d.* sterling out of every acre; and yet if the same were universal over Leinster and Meath it would amount unto above 5,000 marks sterling by the year; and yet in this accompt all ancient freedoms shall remain and continue free still. The repiners from whom these new freedoms are now taken, and to whom the same were first granted in respect of service to be done by them at general hostings, it was a mockery to see what sorry service those men they set forth either did, or for their training or ability were able to do, for their freedoms, so that the Queen lost both ordinary and extraordinary subsidy; the consideration whereof moved me to call the statute in question, whereby they challenge these new freedoms and exemptions; and the statute being seen and scanned upon, it was found that they could not justly any longer claim any freedoms, by force of the same statute, and so abridged both by my Lord Chancellor and Sir Lucas Dillon, none of the rest professing the laws, willingly agreed to that judgment, and yet not any of them all, in learning nor reason, able to maintain probable argument to the contrary.

"And lest this name of cesse, being not an usual word there, might seem to carry some secret mystery in the term, being misconceived, may it please your Lordships therefore to conceive that cesse is nothing else, but a prerogative of the Prince, and an agreement and consent of the nobility and Council to impose upon the country a certain proportion of victual of all kinds to be delivered and issued at a reasonable rate, and, as is it commonly termed, the Queen's price; so that the rising and falling of the prices of victuals and accatts, and the seasonableness of the times, dear or cheap, makes the matter heavier or easier to the people. For when the cow was commonly sold for 8 or 9*s.* sterling, the peck of wheat for 2*s.* 8*d.* or 3*s.* the peck, and the mutton at 12*d.*, and of the



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rest after the like prices, this burden was not felt, but such an agreement betwixt the soldier and the countryman, and so desirous and loving one of another, as there was no repining, but so welcome was the guest to the host, as there was ever grief and sadness at their departing each from other. And now, although as much be paid as ever was in rate, yet the price growing higher, and the insolency of the soldier more, than it was wont to be, in exacting of money upon the poor farmers, and sometimes escaping uncorrected for the same, (which happeneth as seldom as never if they be complained upon), provoketh this kicking and spurning at cesse.”

At first they exhibited their complaint to me and the Council, and I offered to join with them in advice, if any way might be thought of to ease their griefs, and not any further to charge the Queen; for the soldier could not pay above the rate he did for his victual. My Lord Chancellor afterwards took great travail to set down their device and had both the gentlemen of the country and victualier[s] before him, and heard their objections and the victuallers' answers. Yet the gentlemen, not satisfied with any thing I can do or invent for their good, conspire to complain of cesse, and of me and my government. Your Lordships should mightily maintain it with your grave censure, for without it, or a subsidy instead, the revenues will never bear the charge of the defence of this country.

As to my government I crave no more but that I may be heard before I be condemned. “The poor man's burden (whom I seek most to ease), by reason of the revocation of these new freedoms, bear a far more easy charge, since some of the gentlemen then neighbours contribute with them more than heretofore they did. They are glad and thankful for it, though others repine and spurn at that which they cannot in any sort remedy, as long as they are not able to defend and maintain their own without the aid and help of a garrison to reside amongst them. It was avouched unto me in a general speech by the country that there was paid 9*l.* out of every plowland for cesse. I offered to discharge them for four marks. And this is the hard hand and ill will I bear the country.”

I send herewith the state of the charges of the whole year from 1 October 1575 to 30 September 1576. Although I have somewhat exceeded my promise for this year's charge, the same hath grown chiefly by payments and imprints I made out of my assignations for \* grown due, before the time I entered government. Yet for urgent causes, and saving her Majesty's further charges, and to disburden the country of the extortions and oppressions of the soldiers that remained

\* A word omitted?

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discharged and not paid, I caused to be issued out, as may appear more plainly by a book of particularities and rates set down, and signed by Mr. Treasurer (Sir Edward Fyton) and the Auditor (Thomas Jenyson), which herewith I send to your Lordships; of which sum I disbursed for things due before my time, amounting in the whole to 1,263*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* sterling, I am humbly to crave allowance and consideration at Her Majesty's hands; besides the large imprest delivered by order there unknown to me, or without my privity here; and some entered into entertainment so long before their coming hither, and nevertheless the whole charge continued here, for the service of the country, although no such allowance had been granted there, which grew in the end to a double charge to the Queen; moreover, this unlooked for broil and stir in Connaught, which drew some extraordinary expense."

It cannot be expected that this next year her Majesty's charges can be lessened, these winter's wars have been already so chargeable. I endeavour to bring each province to defray its own charges. Both in Munster and Connaught I have made compositions with divers lords and potentates of Irish countries for a certain annual rent and service, as may appear by a book of a particular rental sent to Mr. Secretary Walsingham. If justice may be continued amongst them, I doubt not within two or three years to make that as certain a rent and revenue to the crown as any yielded by the English Pale.

"There is besides, for the reducing of Munster and Connaught to more pliantness and aptness to yield obedience and embrace justice and civility, several commissions devised, wherein the Commissioners take travail to appoint a certainty betwixt the lord and tenant, that the lord may know what he should demand and the tenant what he should pay, to the end to abolish all Irish extortions and unjust customs amongst them."

I likewise send a book of the state of the army, and a book of all such fees as are due to the patentees. I beseech you that money may be sent over hither to discharge that debt. It will be greatly to their comforts, if special care be had of them in time; "for if they should expect their payments to be made out of the arrearages (as they are brought in), that will not be in a long time, and as the same cometh in, it must be employed for the payment of old debts, due for victuals taken up, for wages of artificers, labourers, and stuff taken by commission for buildings, fo[r] wages of stipendiaries and other extraordinary [expenses]."

In my memorials for Connaught I left unremembered the good service done by Thomas Le Strange and Captain William Collier, "whom I left, in the interval betwixt my first journey into Connaught and the settling Nicholas Malbie colonel there, to have in mine absence the principal rule in that province." Placed by me at Balliloghreughle, a principal house of the

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Earl of Clanricard's, they so manfully and valiantly defended both the castle and the town, in which they were besieged by 2,000 Scots and Irish, brought thither by the Earl's sons, that no house or cottage perished, although they were but 100 foot and 50 horsemen.

"Some hurt hath happened of late in the King's County by the sudden starting out of the O'Connors, grown chiefly by unadvised and negligent dealing by some put in trust, who, too hastily giving credit to the oaths of the outlaws, dismissed the guard of the country, whereof ensued the burning of some ricks of corn and a few cottages."

The book of arrearages of the Queen's debts, which has been continued from year to year, in appearance and bulk shows no small matter. The debtors are for the most part dead, slain, or in miserable and poor estate. Therefore in order that it may more plainly appear to her Majesty which are sperate and which are desperate debts, you should do well to write to the Auditor and Surveyor (Alford) to certify the state of the said arrearages, and to yield you their best reasons why the book is continued. A commission also should be granted to me and the Council here, to compound with them at our discretions.

I intend within a few days to repair to the North, and there to deal with Tirloghe O'Neale, whom I have sent for to meet me at the Newrie, whither, when he shall come, I will compound the best bargain I can for her Majesty, and likewise conclude with McGenis and other Irish lords in those parts.

I will shortly send over bills for Parliament, and then I will show my advice about letters for the subsidy.

The Lord Chancellor is the best beliked man that ever sat in his place. I fear lest the daily toil he takes without assistance may hazard his weak and sickly body, and therefore put you in remembrance of the speedy sending over of two learned persons, the one to supply the office of a justice, the other to be her Majesty's attorney.

I end with some special requests.

(1.) Your good acceptance and allowance of my letters for the court of the Marches and March causes, and your answer upon them.

(2.) To know her Majesty's resolution in the liking or disliking of those persons I recommended of late to be placed in the rooms of the bishops here, as namely for Ossory, Ardaghe, and Rosse in Carbric.

(3.) For that by reason of these winter wars in Connaught, supply of money must speedily be had, I beseech you to take order, that as well such money as is due already the first of January present, as that which shall be due the last of March next, may be presently delivered to the Treasurer or his factor there.

Dublin, 27 January 1576.

*Signed:* Henry Sydney.

*Copy. Pp. 16.*

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46. WILLIAM GERRARD, LORD CHANCELLOR, to [the PRIVY COUNCIL ?].

Vol. 628, p. 145a.

Opinions in London respecting the government of Ireland and the subjection of the Irishry. The Pale to be stretched further by little and little. The Deputy keeps above 1,500 in garrison, besides holding kerne in pay. Since my coming to this land, he has been forced at times to hold them all occupied. I heard it said in England that even to Dublin gates every man was forced to keep his cattle in fastness. I find this true, but my long knowledge of Wales shows me the cause, namely, the mountain thieves; for the mountains stretch within 4 miles of Dublin. In the east side of those mountains the Br[e]nes and Tooles have their habitation. The chief cause of the continuance of Welsh felonies was "the privileges and customs which lords marchers had to agree and redeem felons;" and it is the same here. The Lord Deputy is going this Lent to keep sessions at Kilkenny and Wexford, taking Mr. Agarr and my assistants. He will return through those mountains, one part of which he will make a county of itself, and join the other part to Dublin. He will keep sessions in both of them, take like recognizances for idle followers as I have done in Trim, banish all mountain meetings used to compound and agree for felonies, and "work hanging in place of agreeing to recompense felonious offences."

Ib., p. 140a.

Now to this uncurable sore of the cesse. On my first arrival the Lord Deputy, hearing of the common murmur of the people, called divers of the best within the Pale together, to whom he opened the cause of this cesse for the army. He told them that there were 1,000 soldiers in garrison; that their pay could not victual them; and that the Queen lost near 2,000*l.* yearly by the victualling. He therefore desired them to devise how the soldier might be found and the Queen at no great charge; otherwise the cesse must be had, or the soldier laid upon them. They held long conferences, but could not devise to ease the Queen's charge and help themselves, except the cesse was withdrawn. Although they affirmed that every ploughland by means of the cesse did bear the yearly charge of 8*l.* and above, yet they would not hear of the Lord Deputy's device to have the ploughland charged for a time with 4 marks, besides the subsidy, to ease them of all cesse. They said it would be a perpetual charge to the inheritance. The cesse was then set down as it was the year before both for the army and the Lord Deputy's house.

The Lord Deputy perceived that the chief cause why the ploughlands were now more heavily burthened than before was the multitude of new freedoms obtained from former deputies. He therefore willed me to consider of these new grants. I consulted with all the learned in this land being in office. We found that no such grant could in law extend to discharge them of cesse. Proclamation was made throughout the Pale containing our opinions, and leaving the cesse to be

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imposed on all ploughlands not discharged by ancient freedom. It also contained some orders to meet with the disorders of the soldiers travelling in journeys.

This proclamation was much disliked. Most part of the best sort within the Pale assembled, and after conference exhibited a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, requiring to be discharged of all cesses, which they termed impositions and exactions not warranted by law. They also requested letters to the Queen commending their suit, or else liberty to repair into England. I made them answer from my Lord that he could neither remove her Majesty from the possession of what she had so long enjoyed, nor move her to any greater charge than she was at; but if they would set down the particular griefs which they would offer to her Majesty, and if his Lordship could not give them remedy, they should have both licence and commendation of their suit. Their counsel learned affirmed that the Queen could not impose any cesse without their consents by Parliament.

They then delivered a note of their particular griefs. It contained the proportion cessed of beeves, corn, and other achates, with the corn levied for the horses, the charges of the horseboys, the market prices, and the small price paid. The victuallers were called and proved before them that the proportion cessed would not find the garrison. The Lord Deputy said he kept a greater number in his house than his predecessors, and took but the proportion set down in the Council Book for them. He offered the sight of his book of weekly expenses. He agreed with them that prices were risen, and told them that if they would make suit to her Majesty to pay for things as they were sold in the market, he could not any way move her to that charge.

They then in few lines exhibited such a bill as they said they would prefer to the Queen, "which contained nothing but in generality that was not thought fit to be recommended." Then they asked for licence to go to England, and my Lord said they might do as they pleased. This was the end they had with him about St. Andrew's Day.

Since then two of the best sort of them repaired to me, —by the way, I have been suspected over much to favour their cause,—and told me of a mean how the soldier might be found without cesse, and the Queen at no greater charge. I undertook that my Lord would assent to any such device. They laid it down in writing. They charged the victuallers with much hid gain in victualling. The victuallers set down their answer in writing, containing four ways of victualling, and in every way the certain loss. Thereupon the country set down notes falsifying the victuallers' proportion.

"Because they varied in the weight of every beef and the number of loaves which every peck of corn would make, I played the butcher and baker two several market days, and

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weighed of the best, meanest, and worst sort of beeves, and also weighed the peck of corn, and received the same by weight in loaves, containing the weight of 3 lbs. every loaf of bread; and finding the same neither so weighty as the country set down, neither so light as the victuallers alleged, I have rated as well to the beeves as to the peck of corn a certain mean proportion, which I think draweth near to the truth; and victualling the soldier after that proportion, I have plainly set down what the loss would be, if for beeves and corn the like price should be paid as at this day" in the market.

This discourse will enable you to devise means at their coming up how to deal as well for the Queen as for their help. Their impudency in grudging at the charge of a penny where the Queen spends 12*l.* for their defence should be reprov'd. With good handling they may be wrought at the next Parliament to assent to charge every ploughland with a certain charge, and so to be discharged of all cesses, to continue for ten years, as subsidies here do. If it were 4 marks besides the subsidy, it would draw to a round yearly sum, charging all new freedoms a sufficient finding for the soldier.

"These gent' who now complain should take some taste of the pain which the poor perforce abideth. For, Mr. Secretary, say what they list, I find it by their own confession the gent' never lived so civilly and able in diet, clothing, and household as at this day; marry, the poor churl never so beggarly." Their cruel exactions upon their poor tenants. I abash to tell with how few soldiers all this Pale could be overrun, if they were left to be defended by their own power; and yet a lord said at the Council table that they of the country needed no garrison!

Dublin, 8 February 1576.

*Signed*: W. Gerrard.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

47. "The PROCEEDINGS in the CESSE, *anno* —\*."

Vol. 628, p. 141a.

Great grief of the country at the heavy burden they bare the year before. Assembly of the Lord Deputy and Council to set down the cesse; divers of the lords and gentlemen [of the Pale], and of the learned in the laws present. Speech of the Lord Deputy. 1,000 soldiers in garrison. The Lord Deputy's household. The soldier unable to live on the Queen's pay. The Deputy willed them to consider of any way how the soldier might be victualled with that pay.

Divers speeches "from those and the learned of the country." The burthen was so heavy that they were not able to yield.

\* Blank in MS.

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Some said they needed no soldier; they were as able to defend themselves as their fathers were. Disorders of the soldiers. Grief at the number of horses cessed. The charge of some ploughlands the year before drew to 10*l.* or 12*l.* Some said the Irish countries should contribute.

The Lord Deputy offered to take 4 marks only of *every* ploughland. This was misliked. He willed them to confer amongst themselves.

Another meeting the day after. It was alleged that the proportion of corn and beeves levied was more than sufficient. "Sackfourde the victualler was, and is, under officers." He showed them the proportion was not sufficient. The Lord Deputy offered to show his officers' book of the weekly expenses of his household.

Because they of the country would grow to no other end, the cesse was set down as it was the year before. Then certain of the country exhibited a petition against the unlawful exacting of cesse without warrant by law, and for redress; otherwise that they might have licence to repair into England. Answer delivered them by the Lord Chancellor. The Council would not give them liberty to go into England, unless they would first signify what suit they would make there, and desired them to set down in writing a note of their griefs, which they did; but the Lord Deputy made them answer at Trim, that he did not approve of it. Afterwards they exhibited a short bill, which being general and containing no special matter, the Lord Deputy refused to commend it to the Queen.

In Hilary term some of those who had new freedoms denied to pay cesse. The matter was heard by the Lord Chancellor and others in the Castle Chamber. Three councillors at the bar, Burnell, Barnewall, and Skirlocke. These maintained that all the laws for purveyors in England were laws in this land; that by those laws nothing ought to be taken without present payment; that without parliament or grand council there could be no imposition laid upon the subject; and that by statute 27 Hen. VIII. grants of freedom had continuance.

The Lord Chancellor replied that his Majesty's prerogative was such as she might impose a charge for defence of the country without parliament or grand council. "He had a great bundle of rolls of acts of parliament co[a]ted with papers fixed to turn to the laws." Cesse imposed since Hen. IV.'s time. The counsel seemed not well able to answer.

"The Chief Baron affirmed that the manner of laying the cesse as it was by a grand council,\* and vouched the opinion of his father yet living, learned in the laws, and of great years. Sir Edward Fitton demanded of them questions whether

\* Sic.

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without parliament or grand council it were lawful for the prince to command that men's haggards should be threshed, taken, and sold. Burnell the counsellor denied it."

"The Lord Chancellor persuaded them to desist their enterprise to the charge of the country to travel into England." He willed them for this year to pay the cesse, and undertook that hereafter no cesse should be imposed but by parliament or grand council, or by direction from the Privy Council above.

"For that Burnell and Neterville came the same day to the L. Chancellor his house, the L. Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, and Chief Baron dealt with them to stay them from their journey, offering them divers such means of redress as to their knowledge they were assenting to before dinner.

"After dinner, they varying amongst themselves, and Neterville with a mere contrary recital of the things that passed before dinner showed them to be of another mind.

"In the end, they plainly said that they were persuaded that the L. Chancellor and the others used these speeches ———\* to put off the journey until towards Whitsunday, and then ———\* following, whereby they should have no hearing, and so the time of the year will come when cesse must eftsones be laid." After some sharp speeches from the Lord Chancellor and Chief Baron to Neterville, the ringleader, "they brake off, and the next tide they departed."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

#### 48. ANCIENT FREEDOMS.

Vol. 628, p. 120.

"The case set down between those which claim to be discharged of cesse by ancient freedom, and those which have charged them."

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

#### 49. VICTUALLING.

Ibid, p. 120a.

"A proportion of victuals for 400 footmen and 100 horsemen for 10 days, now ready in store."

Biscuit, 5,000 weight;" beer, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  tuns; beeves, "30 serves for 4 days." Salt beef, "6 heddles (hhds. ?) serves for 3 days;" wheat, 50 pecks, which will serve for 6 days.

*Signed: Francis Laney.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

#### March. 50. THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN ENGLAND TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 628, p. 253.

By your letters of the 27 Jan. last we perceived that the long passage of your servant, James Prescott, in his return to



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you, by means of contrary weather, was the cause your L. was so long silent from writing hither. We understand your good success against the rebels in Connaught, having restored and settled McWilliam Eughter in his country.

We concur with your opinion that the hope of the Earl of Clanricard's enlargement is the cause of the continuance of the wars in Connaught, wherefore you mean to send hither a bill for his attainder. Her Majesty is glad to understand the quietness which the English Pale has enjoyed all this winter. We have considered your discourse touching cesse, and the repining of some persons of mark at it, but we find it very meet to be yet continued, until by a subsidy in lieu thereof, or by some other good mean, it may be otherwise ordered. Whatsoever shall be here reported or exhibited against you in that behalf, shall be so well weighed, as until you be heard, the plaintiffs will receive small comfort.

We have seen the book of the charges for the last whole year, from 1 October to 30 September, wherein we find that year's charges to surmount the appointed allowance. We will be suitors to her Majesty to allow it, and procure payment thereof, at the next quarter, if it may be, for we perceive you have already paid it. The sum is 1,663*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*, sterling.

"Whereas your L. writeth of certain compositions you have made with divers lords and potentates of the Irish countries for a small" \* \* \*.

*Contemp. copy, unfinished. Pp. 2.*

*Dated in margin: March 1576.*

*Headed: A letter to the Lord Deputy; answer to his of the 27th of January 1576.*

April. 51. McCARTY REOUGH.

Vol. 628, p. 114a.

Covenants and agreements made ——\* April, 19 Eliz., between Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, and the Council of the same on the one part, and Owen McCarty *alias* McCarty Reough, esquire, of the said province, on the other part.

The 100 horsemen and 200 footmen, allowed to the Lord President by the Queen, cannot be victualled and maintained with her Majesty's pay, owing to the dearth of victuals. The whole country has therefore been rated and cessed like the English Pale, to give finding to the soldier, his horse and horseboy; but the said Owen has declared that this charge, "and other his burthen and charge" rated and cessed on his lands in Caribry, have for this year past been so heavy that his tenants and farmers have not been able to pay him their rent and finding; and he desires that he may be discharged of that manner and order of rating and cessing his tenants. In consideration thereof, he proffers to pay and grant a rea-

\* Blank in MS.

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sonable yearly rent to the Lord President, towards the finding of the garrison aforesaid and all other burthen of cesse; and the Lord President and Council, considering the disorders as well in the soldiers and their boys as in the cessors, purveyors and takers, have assented to confer with the said Owen touching the same.

It is therefore agreed that he shall pay the yearly rent of 250*l.* sterling for two years next ensuing, and that he, his heirs, tenants, freeholders, and inhabitants of Carebry shall be exonerated from all cesses and subsidies during the same term. He shall "charge, divide, and contribute" the said sum upon all the said country, excepting his own principal manors and demesne lands, and the Queen's inheritance. If he can gain the consent of said freeholders and tenants, the rent shall be continued after the said two years. According to custom, they shall allow sufficient meat, drink, and lodging for 30 or 40 footmen of the sheriff of the county of Cork, for two days and two nights, whenever he shall be appointed to repair to those parts.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

[May.]  
Vol. 628, p. 119a.

52. PETITION of SHURLOCK, NETTERVILL, and BURNELL to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Where we, as messengers from the lords and gentlemen of her Highness' English Pale of Ireland, have had speech before your Honours sundry times touching the cesses levied there, wherein our meaning was to seek redress only of taking up those things at prices extremely under the market, of slack and never paying therefor, and of sundry other great abuses used about the same; most humbly protesting that our intents never was to deny, but that her Majesty may, by force of her royal prerogative, take up provision upon all occasions of necessity, at reasonable prices under the market; and therefore, in all that we have uttered in words or writing contrary to this, we confess ourselves to have grievously offended, and do most humbly beseech that your Honours, of your clemency and goodness, will accompt this our straight and painful imprisonment for sufficient punishment of the same."

*Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

May [13.]  
Vol. 628, p. 268a.

53. [THE PRIVY COUNCIL] to SIR WILLIAM DRURY, LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER.

Sundry complaints have been made by letters from the Earl of Desmond and others, that the horsemen under your charge not only "exact upon the poor countryman of that province, where they come, over and above the ordinary rate he is cessed at, 20*l.* sterling *per diem* a horsemen," but also "further in most outrageous sort abuse the said poor man."

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We are informed that the people are already so greatly moved by these outrages, that it is to be doubted some dangerous consequence may ensue thereof, if they be not redressed. We hope that these bruits are false and untrue. We have written to the Deputy to give order to you, "both for th' examining and also the punishing of such your troops, if any shall be found to have offended that way."

Greenwich, May 1577.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

May 13.

54. [The PRIVY COUNCIL] to the EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 628, p. 269.

We have considered your letters of 2nd March last to the Queen and certain of us. You show your great care and grief, as one of her Majesty's Council, that so great sums are spent about the reformation of that country, and yet no good ensues to the public weal of her subjects. You also set forth the discontentedness of that people through the great burthens, cesses, and disorders, and that you fear that great inconvenience may thereby ensue.

You are much to be commended for this your honest care, but we find it strange that you have thus sent hither without the foreknowledge of the Deputy or the President of Munster.

Her Majesty has been informed that the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor, upon like complaints of others, have taken very great pains to examine the matters, and after undutiful boldness of some that went about to bring her Majesty's prerogative in question, their Lordships offered to join with them for reformation of those pretended abuses, which they refused, seeking to have cesse utterly taken away; and so, without licence or foreknowledge of the Lord Deputy, some are come hither to complain.

For satisfaction of your Lordship and the rest, these matters have been daily considered, and her Majesty has resolved, that if cause of just complaint do continue, you shall deliver the same in particularity to the Lord Deputy or President in Munster, and require of them reasonable redress, which you will doubtless obtain. They are written to now, and shortly they shall be more fully informed of her Majesty's further pleasure in this behalf.

Greenwich, 13 May 1577.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

May 14.

55. THE CESSE.

Vol. 628, p. 271.

"Advertised over by the Lord Deputy what discontentment certain of the Irish grew unto, through th' instigation of the Lords of that country and certain other busy headed lawyers, against the cesse, which the husbandmen and farmers would willingly contribute unto if the gentlemen would suffer them. Now cesse is nothing but a prerogative of the prince, and an agreement and consent by the nobility and Council to

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impose upon the country a certain proportion of victual of all kinds, to be delivered and issued at a reasonable rate, and, as it is commonly termed, the Queen's price. The deniers of this cesse pretended their supplication to the Lord Deputy, who gave them full hearing and debated the matter with their advocates, who in their answer maintained that in law they ought not to be charged, for they were free subjects, and without composition ought not to have their goods taken from them; and because the charge of cesse was imposed by the Lord Deputy and Council, therefore, though the like order had been used for many years past, yet all was against law, and they more wronged. Their learned counsel were heard at large two several days, and they defended their answers to the uttermost.

"Hereupon, not according with the Lord Deputy upon the matter, they, the Lords of the Pale, sent over Barnaby Skurlocke, Richard Netervill, and Henry Burnell, to complain of the burthen of the cesse to her Majesty and the Lords of the Council; to whom, after they had presented their letters and supplications, the Lords of her Majesty's Council proposed seven articles, whereunto they gave their answer in writing signed with their own hands, which was found such with conformity † of their other dealings that they were committed. And her Majesty by advice of her Council wrote to the Lord Deputy as followeth."

#### II. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY [and COUNCIL].

Not long since Barnaby Skurlocke, Richard Netervill, and Henry Burnell were sent hither with letters and supplications from some of the noblemen and gentlemen of the English Pale, without direction from you, our Deputy, complaining of the present cesse as a matter contrary to the laws and ancient usage of that realm, and of the great abuses committed in the levying and exaction of the said cesse. Their allegation that the relieving of our army by way of cesse is a matter against law and custom, tends manifestly to the overthrow of our prerogative, by which in our own time, as in the time of our progenitors, the said cesse, according to the quantity of the garrison, has been, with the consent of the Justices, Lieutenants, Deputies, Council, and nobility of the realm, thereto usually called as councillors, from time to time imposed. They cannot be ignorant of this, especially such of them as are members of the said Council; and the same is avowed to be most true by such of the principal noblemen of that country as at this present attend here in our court.

We cannot but be greatly offended with this presumptuous and undutiful manner of proceeding, and therefore must let

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\* Blank in MS.

† "Conforbaitie" in M.S.

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you know that you, and the rest of our Council there, did very much fail in your duties in suffering our royal prerogative to be impugned by them in open speeches and arguments, and in not committing such as appeared to be principals. Had you done this, the matter might have been remedied at the beginning. We have already given order for the punishment of the parties sent over with the said letters, not in respect of their coming over to lay before us their griefs, but for that they did, since their arrival here, both by speech and writing, maintain the imposition of the said cesse to be a matter against the laws and customs of that realm, although they do now acknowledge their offence.

You likewise shall send for the lords and gentlemen that subscribed the letters sent to us, and demand of them whether they will maintain that the imposition is against the laws and customs, and not maintainable by our prerogative. If they so far forget themselves as to do so, you shall commit to ward the chiefest of them. You shall notify to the subjects of that realm that we are most resolutely determined to maintain the same.

As we are informed that certain of our learned counsel of that realm, who were present at the debating of the matter, did forbear to stand to the maintenance of our prerogative, so many of them as you think fit shall be displaced and discharged of our fee.

Touehing the abuses in levying the said imposition, though you our Deputy have heretofore offered redress, you shall make it known that we have given to you, and you, our Council, express command to punish any who shall be found culpable in that behalf, and, if the cesse lately imposed be found too grievous, to yield to some convenient qualification thereof.

Greenwich, 14 May 1577.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

May 14. 56. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 628, p. 273 a.

We think it very convenient that you should be instructed of all that has passed here since the coming over of Skirlocke and the others. Upon receipt of a letter signed by the Viscount of Baltinglasse and others of that realm, and declaration of their message, we have had sundry speeches with them, both touching her Majesty's prerogative to impose cesse, and also concerning the great charges which they allege the inhabitants of the English Pale to be at, by the undervaluing of things being taken up far under the prices of market.

By their doings there, whereof we were advertised from you and the L. Chancellor, and by some of their own speeches and writings here, we perceived that their intention was not so much to seek relief for the over great charge of the cesse,

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as to take it away wholly as a thing contrary to law, which her Highness will not bear. We called before us the Earls of Kildare and Ormond, Viscount Gormeston, and Lord Dun-sany, who misliked their undutiful proceeding, and acknowledged that cesse had been always taken; although, considering the scarcity of things in the English Pale, they could have wished that the poor inhabitants might have been eased of some part of the burden which they now bear. Thereupon, having declared to the said noblemen that further order should be taken for the rest, we committed Sherlocke and his two companions to the Fleet for their presumptuous behaviour.

By your letters it appears that it was avouched to you in a general speech by the country that there was paid about 9*l.* out of every ploughland towards the charge of this cesse. This seems to be a very heavy burthen, or else the officers and soldiers take greater quantities than are appointed to them, which is thought to be the chiefest cause of so general a discontentment and complaint at this present, more than hath been heretofore. You must have an especial regard that, considering the scarcity and dearth, the inhabitants be not surcharged further than shall serve for the necessary use and furniture of your household and the bands remaining there.

Of late the Earl of Desmond has sent letters to the Queen and some of us touching those matters of cesse. We send you copies of the same, and desire you and the President to use the matter in such sort as neither her Majesty be prejudiced in her prerogative, nor the poor men overburthened. Because there is great occasion offered to suspect some general accord in other places, you shall dispose of the garrisons as may best serve to impeach any attempts. In case the Lords and gentlemen of the English Pale that sent hitler their complaints shall acknowledge their offence and recognize her Majesty's prerogative, you shall take their submission in writing under their hands.

Greenwich, 14 May, 1577.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

May 19. 57. LORD DEPUTY SYDNEY to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 26.

I have received since 29th April six several letters from your Lordship, of 16th February, the last of March, and 3rd, 10th, 15th, and 16th of April, all written with your own hand, and containing grave counsels flowing from brotherlike love.

I have acknowledged Sir Nicholas Bagnall's friendly offices used to the Queen to my advantage. I doubt not but before this time your Lordship has sounded to the bottom of the subtilty and faction of the peers and people of this country. I have written to my Lord of Gormanston my thankful accepting his friendly dealing with me.

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“It is, I think, by this time, if not by letters now brought by this bringer, Mr. Waterhouse, apparent to your Lordship from what head the malicious and factious floods do flow out of Ireland into that court.” The report of my hard dealing with Sir William Drury “is but one of the crabs that the eankered trees of this cursed country, for want of better sap, bringeth forth.”

“I am glad that I do, and hope shall, find Mr. Seeretary so assured to me. I will write oftener than I have done. I most heartily thank your Lordship and him for your joint letter of the burning of the Naas and of Clanryekard. By my former I have advertised I am glad of the Marshal’s credit with the Queen; he will write some time to her Majesty, for so she willed him. I send Waterhouse thither with all the favour and credit that I can. I beseech your Lordship let him have your honorable countenance.”

Your footman’s father is not dead. I will attend to the proceedings of Sir Edmond Butler as well as I may.

“I am not a little bound to your Lordship that mine adversaries, or rather the Queen’s rebels, found so cold entertainment upon the delivery of their supplication; and in especial, that it pleased your Lordship in such sort to ruffle that seditious knave, Nettervyle, as you did. I learn of your dealing with him from his own complices. Sir Edmond Butler departed no more suddenly from the court than his coming was lither from Waterford and his going away again. He delivered me your letter and my Lord Warwick’s, and told me he was much beholden to the Queen, and went his way.

“The complaint out of Munster hath conspiracy with that of Leynster, as it manifestly appeareth, and it is proved that there the Lords charged their tenants to yield neither to horsemeat nor man’s meat for the soldier, but to give money; yea, the Lord[s] cared not how much, only for that they would have in appearance some cause to complain. I saw a letter or the copy of one that Desmond lately wrote to your Lordship, of the disorder and misery of Munster. If it were his own doing, as it may be that it was the writing of some malicious clerk of his, and not altogether with his consent, he was imprudent in so writing, for, saving your honour, it is a stark lie.

“How the intelligence of intention to invade this land by La Roche is confirmed by other means here, your Lordship shall understand by the enclosed copy [of] my letter to the Lords, and report of Waterhouse. I rejoice that your Lordship so conceiveth that the showing of their griefs in sort as they do is meant to suppress the English government. God grant the English officers may speedily be sent! Of Clanryekard, I hope you be satisfied that we can proceed no further here until we hear from thence.

“If I may get comfortable answer of my letter now sent to

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the Queen, both her Majesty and the commonwealth of this country shall gain by Ormond's abasing. In his inlawful greatness, how imperiously he useth his peers and her Majesty's people, your Lordship may see by the copy of a letter of his, written to the Baron of Dunboyn, wherein I pray you note his signature. If he had signed so in any times but now, I think he would have been shent for his labour. That Nettervyle reported that he was one of the greatest setters forward of these complaints doth appear by the Lord of Slane's letter, which Waterhouse shall deliver to you. Agard's wife is and hath been long without hope of life. I hope Waterhouse will do sufficiently. Trust me, my dearest Lord, there is no such disorder of the soldier as is reported, and that which is, is severely punished.

"Let me have a form sent me how to put Clanrykard to his trial, and the opinion of the learned in the laws there, what his offence in law is; not that I or any reasonable man doubteth, that knoweth the matter, but that it is high treason, but that it might satisfy some simple souls of the nobility here, and admonish some that are froward enough, how to give their verdict; and doubt you not but he shall have as he hath deserved, which, if he have, it will do more good for the reformation of Ireland than the spending of 40,000*l.* I wish her Majesty not to doubt anything within this country that can rise thereof.

"The Council here think it not good to write in the matter of the cesse, unwritten to from your Lordships,\* lest they should seem to prejudicate; but what I writ to them and what they writ again to me, firmed with our hands, here enclosed, you shall receive.

"I am ashamed of Cokrain's doltishness. Truly, my Lord, any man that had been able to have borne away his cross row † might have carried enough to have satisfied your Lordships, hearing it so often spoken of and pleaded to and fro, repeated again and again, and lastly, notes given to him of it in writing; the cesse I mean. I think the dryvyll was bereft of his wits."

I most humbly beseech you to expedite the munition money and arraying of the men. If I may have that, though 4,000 Frenchmen land here, they shall be very near hand looked on. One thing I lack, a good man of war; one that were able to command with discretion the use of the great artillery; and for that purpose I desire Nicholas Earryngton; but to have a continual companion with myself, above any man alive, I would have Master Edward Horsey, if I could get him; if not, Mr. Pelham; and if neither of these, Captain Brykwell and his men, or Captain Read and his company.

\* *i.e.*, the Privy Council in England.

† Sic. Qu., mistake for *bow*.



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I pray you let me know what sum of money and at what days you have ordered me to pay my Lord of Pembroke. I am made very happy by the match. If God should take me away, it would be more charge to your nephew or yourself than if it be done in my time.

For mine own suit, I am in utter despair of it, and wish I had never moved it.

Kylmaynham, 19 May; "very near my going out of the diet."

*Holograph.* Pp. 10. *Add.*: To the Right Honorable and my [ver]y good Lord and brother, [the E]arl of Leycester, [Knight] of the noble Order of [the] Garter. At the Court.

*Endorsed.*

**58.** SUBMISSION of BARNABY SCURLOCK and OTHERS.

Vol. 628, p. 140.

Whereas we, "the Lords," on 1st June\* 19 Eliz., were called before Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., Lord Deputy, and the Council, "to join with him to subscribe to the cesse then agreed upon within this Pale, and to sit with him in her Maties presence chamber at Dublin, at the proponing and treaty of the cause, and being amongst others at that assembly moved to subscribe to the same, after the agreement thereunto had by the Council and certain of the Lords, we publicly and openly in their presence refused to subscribe, and presently upon our refusal rose from our places and departed; for which behaviour of ours we be most heartily sorry, protesting, in this honorable presence, that the same proceeded then from us more upon th' expectation of the success of our agents at her Maties hands, than upon any stomach or wilful contempt; wherefore we humbly submit ourselves," and crave pardon. We freely allow of the cesse, but beseech that the abuse in levying the same may be redressed.

*Signed*: Barnaby Scurlock, Christopher Flemynge, Nicholas Taaffe, Richard Myssett.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

June 9. **59.** JAMES FITZMORRICE.

Vol. 628, p. 185.

"By Mr. Waterhouse, letters of the 15th of May 1577."

On Whit Sunday, 26th May 1577, Mr. Waterhouse arrived at the Court at Greenwich, with letters from the Lord Deputy and Council there, certifying her Majesty and the Council that he had received from parts beyond the sea news of an invasion upon Ireland, intended by James FitzMorrice, accompanied with certain Frenchmen, as La Roche and others.

He demanded:—(1.) That a mass of treasure should be sent to wage soldiers, and to remain in the Treasurer's hands, "and the bulk thereof in any sort not to be broken without this accident of foreign invasion fall out."

\* Barnaby Scurlock was in England at this time, a prisoner in the Fleet, with Nettervill and Burnell.

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(2.) That order might be given for 1,000 men to be in readiness to come to him when he should send for them; the same men to be levied in South and North Wales, and the English shires within the presidentship there.

(3.) That munition should be sent.

(4.) That some shipping might be sent abroad to scour the seas, and to watch and attend upon James FitzMorrice.

The Queen and the Council answered as follows:—

II. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

By your letters of ——\* May to Her Majesty, and us, we understand the intention of James FitzMorrice to invade that realm, assisted by the French King and other foreign princes, and the likelihood you find, that not only in Munster, but in many other places, he has by practice a sufficient party already framed, both of the nobility and popular sort that daily expect his arrival, with intent to render him assistance. You signify that as you are therefore constrained to keep a greater garrison than otherwise you would, you desire 5,000*l.* for the next quarter, being 1,000*l.* more than you received for the last. You further require a mass of treasure, 1,000 men, and munition.

(1.) Her Highness' pleasure is, that in respect of the continuance of these numbers which you meant to have cashed, you shall have 5,000*l.* for this next quarter, together with 10,000*l.*, to remain in the Treasurer's hands, and not to be broken, except in case of foreign invasion.

Her Majesty has ordered that 2,000 soldiers shall be levied within the commission of Wales and the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, whereof 400 are to be levied in North Wales, and ordered to be embarked at Chester and to be transported to Dublin, with seven days' victualling only, to serve their transportation. The other 1,600 shall be embarked at Bristol and Barstable, to be landed at Waterford, with like proportion of victuals to serve them upon the seas, and corn, butter, and cheese for 21 days after their landing for the whole number of 2,000.

“This number of 2,000 soldiers, being sorted, as in times past they have been, every 100 into 60 shot, and 40 armed men with corslets, that is to say, 40 calivers, 20 bows, 20 pikes, and 20 bills, upon your letter to the Vice President in Wales, and to the Sheriffs and Commissioners for the Musters in the above-named shires, shall be presently embarked.” The coat and conduct money, and the charge of the transportation, will be defrayed at the places of their embarking for the sake of expedition.

(3.) Warrant has been procured from her Majesty for the munition which you desired, with an increase of 500 calivers,

\* Blank in MS.

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to remain as her Majesty's store. As great waste has been heretofore made in the office of the Ordnance there, you will as carefully look to the officers in the issuing of this proportion without her Majesty's loss, as if it were defalked upon your quarterage, as it has usually been.

(4.) As you persuade that certain ships may be set forth to keep the western coasts of that realm, it is ordered that *The Lion*, of 500 tons, *The Dreadnought*, of 400, and *The Swiftsure*, of 360 tons, shall be victualled and set forth for that purpose. We think it also convenient that as soon as the ship called *The Handmaid*, lately rigged out by you, has touched upon this coast at Lyme, Poole, or Chester, to transport or waft the treasure and munition now to be sent, she should go westward to fall in consort with the rest.

For the rest of your letter, especially concerning the cesse, before the receipt of yours, we informed you of our whole dealings therein, with our opinions how to have you proceed. We pray you to consider well of the time and the discontentation in the people of the Pale, "and to bear such a moderate hand upon them, as, with preservation of her Majesty's prerogative, may confirm them in duty without alienation of the rates\* by extraordinary burthens in these perilous † practices from that accustomed service which they have naturally borne to the crown of England."

Lastly, you desire to have a commission to compound generally for the arrearages. It is requisite, first, to have information what the sum is, and how it grows, whereof we look to be advertised from the Auditor.

Greenwich, 9 June 1577.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7.*

June 30. 60. WAGES of the GARRISON.

Vol. 628, p. 348.

"The state of the remaine due to the garrison" in Ireland. 31st March 1577, under the government of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy General.

*Chief Officers.*—Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal, 44*l.* 4*s.* 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*; Owen Moore, clerk of the check, 343*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*

*Presidents and Councils.*—Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, 814*l.* 13*s.* 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*; James Dowdall, Second Justice of the Queen's Bench and chief commissioner in Munster, 304*l.* 4*s.* 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>*d.*; John Meaughe, Second Justice in Munster, 59*l.* 7*s.* 0<sup>2</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*; Thomas Burgete, clerk of the Council there, 47*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*; Thomas Vaughan, an assistant of the Council in Connaught, for money due to Oliver Bamford, 5*s.*; Edward White, clerk of the Council there, 26*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

*Captains of horsemen.*—William Beckwith, otherwise Daniell, for money due to Oliver Bamford, 12*s.* 8*d.*; Francis

\* *Sic, for rates?*

† "p'cous" in M.S.

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Agard, Esq., 197*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*; William Pers, constable of Cragfergus and captain of horsemen, for himself and his creditors, 95*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.*

*Captains of footmen.*—William Collier, 7*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.*; William Furres, for himself and his creditors, 325*l.* 2*s.* 6¼*d.*; George Acres, 377*l.* 7*s.* 9¼*d.*; Thomas Fisher, 240*l.* 18*s.* 0¼*d.*; Edward Moore, for money due to Oliver Bamford, 33*s.* 6*d.*; Richard Lloyd, *nil.*

*Warders in sundry forts and castles.*—Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick, Lord of Upper Ossory, 33*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*; Francis Cosbie, towards the payment of 24*s.* 3½*d.*, due to Oliver Bamford, 10*s.* 8*d.*; Henry Davells, Esq., for the like money due to O. B., 25*s.*; Peter Carewe, Esq., and his creditors, 22*l.* 6*s.* 7¾*d.*; George Carewe, 27*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*; William Appesley, for O. B., 7*s.* 8*d.*; Robert Harpole and his creditors, 201*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; William Paine, porter of Maribroughe, with 18*d.* due to O. B., 9*l.* 3*s.*; David Fludde, porter of Philipstown, for O. B., 18*d.*; John Barnishe, for desert, with 6*s.* 9*d.* to O. B., 46*s.* 10*d.*; John Cornwall, constable of the Blackwater, 104*s.* 1¾*d.*; James Brinckelowe, for the fishing at Cragfergus, with 3*s.* 2*d.* to O. B., 31*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; John Henry, for the castle of Athenrie, for money due to Oliver Bamford, 5*s.* 6*d.*

*Kernes.*—Owen McHughe, with 19*s.* 8*d.* due to O. B., 154*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

*Pensioners.*—The Lord of Lowthe, Sir John Desmonde (100*l.*), Richard Billie, George Thornton, Giles Cornwall, Anthony Dering, William Portas, George Huntington, Thomas Mericke, Richard Woode, Edward Birne, Nicholas Perne, Nicholas White, Nicholas Narbone, William Burne, Walter Dornier, Richard Weldon; total, 379*l.* 18*s.* 1¼*d.*, out of which various small sums are payable to Oliver Bamford.

*Ministers of the Ordnance, with others.*—Richard Shepparde, clerk of the Ordnance, 45*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; Thomas Eliote, master gunner, 20*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; John Morgan, master smith, 24*l.* 15*d.*; gunners, artificers, and other ministers serving the Master of the Ordnance, and placed in sundry forts and castles, 450*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* Small portions of these sums are due to O. B.

*Impotent soldiers.*—William Wolverston, Walter Potte, Ralph Adale, David Aprice, John Harberte, Roger Barris, Giles Westecote, William Dixon, Thomas Litle, William Clarke, Robert Clowse, Hutchen Savvell, Thomas Tynesleye, William Sewell; total of payments, 45*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, are portions of which are due to Oliver Bamford, Walter Ball, merchant, and John Alee, butcher.

*Sea service.*—George Thornton, for the wages of 10 men for 2½ months 3 days, from 8 March to 19 May, 1577, 8*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; victuals for the same time, 18*l.* 5*s.* ster.

Total due to the garrison and sea service 4,379*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* Irish = 3,284*l.* 10*s.* 11¾*d.* sterling.—Further due to the army for one quarter ending 30 June 1577, 6,400*l.*

Pp. 8. *Endd.*

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Vol. 628, p. 3.

**61.** EXTRACTS from the COUNCIL BOOKS relating to CEsSE.

“In the Council Book of the Government of Sir Anthony Sentleger, Sir Edward Bellengam, and Sir James Crofte, amongst other matters is found registered as followeth:—

Folios 73 and 74.—In July, 35 Hen. VIII., the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Wexford were commanded, upon a general hosting proclaimed, instead of their rising out and carriages to that hosting, to cause indifferently to be cessed within every of those counties, so much money as should serve for the furniture of three score kerne for a quarter of a year; viz., 204*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ster., for 240 kerne.

Folio 74.—The same month, upon the same general hosting, are likewise cessed in money for a quarter of a year, viz., the counties of Kildare and Catherloughe for 120 kerne, Uriell for 60 kerne, Westmeath, Eastmeath, and Dublin for 240 kerne. Total, 420 kerne, for a quarter of a year, 647*l.* 10*s.*

Folios 74 and 76.—The carriages due for the same general hosting converted into money, and also cessed and levied at 2*s.* 8*d.* a day for every cart for 30 days, viz., upon the rest of the county of Dublin for 48 carts, 192*l.*; the rest of the county of Meath for 76 carts, 304*l.*; besides the risings out of the gentlemen and their men bound to serve.

And that the carriages and rising out for the general hostings have been converted and levied in money, may appear in sundry records of years precedent, and amongst others in the Rolls of the Pipe of 11 Hen. VIII., 20 Hen. VII., and other years

Folio 162.—On 20th May, 36 Hen. VIII., 240 spears of galloglas were cessed for two days and two nights in every barony within the English Pale:—1,186*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ster.

Folio 213.—On 18th November, 38 Henry VIII., 400 galloglas were retained for half a quarter of a year, and towards their charges and entertainment 400 marks were imposed and cessed upon the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Uriell, and Meath, and 40*l.* on Westmeath.

Folio 214a.—On 27 February, 1 Edw. VI., a book was delivered to the Lord Deputy and Council of such cesses as had been concluded on by their Lordships. It was delivered to John Rian\* “to make out process for the rest.”

Folios 215 and 220.—Also, the same 27th February, a cesse imposed upon the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, Uriell, and the Polles, at the rate of 6*s.* upon the plowland, for the retaining of 200 spears of galloglas, 210*l.* 12*s.*

Folios 230 and 231.—On 28th April 1547, a general hosting proclaimed for 21 days, 18*s.* 8*d.* upon every plowland; total 695*l.* 16*d.*

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\* *Note in the margin*:—“That book since Ryan’s death is lost,” &c.

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Folios 251 and 252.—18th May, 2 Edw. VI., a general hosting proclaimed for 30 days. The carriages and rising out due by the county of Louth to that hosting were converted and cessed in money at 100*l*.

Also for the hosting last afore that one, 100*l*.

Folio 263.—Also, last of February, 3 Edw. VI., cessed upon the baronies of Meath, except Farbill and Fertullaghe, so many carts towards building and fortifying in Offaley as to certain of the Lords and others of the Council nominated should be thought requisite. Also the same year, towards the fortifying in Leix, cessed on the baronies of the county of Dublin, 19 carts, furnished.

Folio 264.—On 10th June, 3 Edw. VI., cessed by the Lord Deputy and Council, upon the county of Dublin, 17 carts, for carriage of great timber to the fort in Leix, 45*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Irish.

Folio 291.—On 31 October, 3 Edw. VI., for the victualling of the fort in Leix, called the Protector, was cessed on the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Carlaghe, and the baronies of Rathtowth, Dece, and Douboine, in Meath:—Wheat, 2,400 pecks for 3*s*. Irish the peck, or 2*s*. ster. Beer malt, 1,040 pecks, for like price. Oat malt, 2,080 pecks for 22*d*. Irish the peck, or 14*d*. ster. Beeves, 440 for 12*s*. Irish, or 8*s*. ster. And likewise cessed upon the county of Meath (except those baronies) and on the barony of Carbry, in the county of Kildare, with certain other baronies in Westmeath, which, at the last cesse, was charged with Meath:—Wheat, 2,400 pecks. Beer malt, 1,040 pecks. Oat malt, 2,080 pecks. Carriage, 4*d*. Irish every garran, and 6*d*. Irish every driver, a day. Moreover, a cesse of beeves for the same purpose. At that time there also lay soldiers at cesse in the English Pale. At the fort lay but 300 men, and as many at the other fort.

The county of Kilkenny was then cessed with corn sufficient to the victualling of Leighlin Bridge, and the county of Tipperary for the victualling of Captain Watkyn Ap Howell and his retinue, which were light horsemen, lying in the county of Tipperary.

“*Nota*, also, that part of the bands lay at Athlone, which was victualled of the Kellies, and part at Armagh, and part attending on Sir Edward Bellingan, and otherwise travailling at his appointment.”

Folio 292.—Departure of Sir Edward Bellingan, 16th Dec., 3 Edw. VI., and Sir Francis Brian chosen Lord Justice, 27th Dec., same year, who continued about a year; and then Sir Wm. Brabazon was Lord Justice, in March, 4 Edw. VI.

Folio 306.—8th July, 4 Edw. VI., a general hosting against the Cavenaughes.

Folio 312.—27th August 1551, Sir James Crofte, then being Deputy, an order for due accompt and notice to be given to the chief captains of the forts of Leix and Offayly, by the pur-

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vveyors and victuallers, what cesse they receive and what else is bought and provided by them.

Folio 307a.—Sir Anthony Sentlenger was then Lord Deputy, 6th November, 4 Edw. VI.

Folio 327.—23 May, 6 Edward VI., a general hosting for 30 days, to begin 20th of June, Sir James Croft then being Lord Deputy.

Folios 328 and 329.—From 28th June until 28th November, 6 Edw. VI., no entry in the Council Book of any thing concluded.

Folio 334.—8th Feb., 7 Edward VI., an order “for the revoking of Captain Boottes and his band from Armaughe for want of victuals and that he could not be relieved with cesse of the English parts, which was afore already so much charged with cesse.”\*

Folio 338.—17th August, 1 Mary, a general hosting for 21 days, to begin 4th September.

Folio 354.—27th April, 1 Mary, a general hosting for 30 days against O’Reelie.

*Note.*—All that was done in the time of Sir Thomas Cusaek, Lord Justice, during November, 1 Mary, is not entered in the Council Book, “nor of December nor January in that year for Sir Anthony Sentlenger’s doing[s].”

Folio 355.—3rd July, 1 Mary, for the victualling of the army, being thought fit to be placed upon the borders of the O’Conours, the Mores, the Dempseys, and the Towlls, a cesse concluded and imposed. On every two plowlands in the counties of Meath and Dublin, beefs —, muttuns 4, wheat one peck, malt one peck; on the county of Uriell, beefs 80, muttuns 200; on the county of Westmeath, beefs 160. Total: beefs 420; muttuns 920; wheat 192 pecks; malt 180 pecks.

Folio 358.—16th August, 2 Mary, “a general hosting being agreed on and proclaimed after three plowlands to a cart for 30 days, was also agreed on to be converted into money, and so to be levied for the furniture of the Lord Deputy and th’ army towards Limerick, to speak with the Earl of Desmond and to set a stay between the Earl of Thomonde and Sir Donyll O’Bryne, and therewhiles to travel in the borders for the pacifying of the Moores, the Conours, and Pheylyme Roo; which estimatively amounted, after 4*l.* Ir. upon every plowland cessable for carriage, and after 40*s.* Irish for every man’s service charged to rise out for the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, with 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in gross upon the county of Westmeath and the Polles, and 116*l.* upon the county of Uriell, unto 1,335*l.* Irish,” or 900*l.* sterling.

*Note in the margin, in a different hand:*—“This being in *anno* 7<sup>o</sup> *R. Edw. VI.*, no entry in the book of the Council of any cesse of victuals since that of the last of October, *anno tercio Regis predicti*, doth prove there were nevertheless many and great cesses in the mean time.”

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Folio 369.—27th January 1554, “it was concluded amongst others that the Earl of Kildare, being appointed with such power as he could assemble of horsemen, kerne, and galloglas to serve against Phelyme Roo, should cesse them to have meat and drink (except taking of money) upon the English borders there paying nothing.”

(II.) In the next Council Book of the governments of the Earl of Sussex and Sir Henry Sidney, knight, successively her Majesty's Deputies for this realm, and others, Lords Justices of the same realm, between the 26th of May 1556 and the 17th of February 1570[-71], among other matters are found registered.

Folio 3.—A general hosting for six weeks, after three plowlands to a cart, to begin 2nd July 1556.

Folio 7.—27th June 1556, “an order set down that every horseman cessed in the country should pay weekly for himself 2s. sterling, for his horseboy 7*d.* and for every horse having six sheafs double band, with hay and gray accustomed for a day and night, 1*d.* sterling; and that every footman should pay weekly for himself 2s. sterling.\* [And this proveth also, (notwithstanding the great proportions cessed for victualling of those bands which were at the forts and holds,) there were also soldiers which lay placed and divided at cesse in the English Pale, and for the most part never without some, except during roads and journeys, until in the last government of Sir William FitzWilliams, and since that time there remained but the Lord Deputies' horses.”] †

Folio 27.—8th November 1556, agreed on that the Lord Deputy shall, when occasion of war serves, retain kerne for the reformation of Leix and other countries. The same holding to be cessed within the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Uriell, Kildare, Catherloghe, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary. And so many of the said counties to be cessed in money, as he shall think expedient. “Upon the debating thereof, it was concluded finally there should be 200*l.* cessed upon the counties of Dublin and Meath, rateably upon the plowlands; which 200*l.*, and also the defaults of the kernes of the Pooles for that hosting were levied to hire kerne.”

Folios 27 and 28.—9th November 1556, cesse for the furniture of the forts in Leix and Offaley and other holds and garrisons in Leix and elsewhere. On Meath: wheat 1,500

\* *Notes in the margin* :—(1) “The soldier's pay was then sterling, and now but current money of Ireland, so as now to pay so for the soldier's diet were to pay his whole wages.”—(2) “Note, this money was sterling money of Ireland which even then, or shortly after, began to differ from the sterling money of England.”

† The lines included in brackets are in a different hand.



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pecks, beer malt, 500 pecks, oat malt 500 pecks, beefs 400. Westmeath: wheat 500 pecks, beer malt, 167 pecks, oat malt 333 pecks, beefs 200. Kildare: wheat 750 pecks, beer malt 250 pecks, oat malt 500 pecks, beefs 140. Dublin: wheat 750 pecks, beer malt 250 pecks, oat malt 500 pecks, beefs 120. Uriell: wheat 500 pecks, beer malt 167 pecks, oat malt 333 pecks, beefs 140.

The peck of wheat and beer malt at 3s. 4d. sterling, the peck of oat malt at 2s. 4d., and every beef at 12s. Carriage after the rate of 4d. the garran and 6d. the leader a day.\*

The counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary to be likewise cessed at the discretion of the Lord Deputy for the furniture of Leighlyn and other garrisons.

Folio 32.—29th January 1556, an order by the Lord Deputy, nobility, and Council “that of all the rent of port corn reserved or due in corn or in rent to their Majesties the 5th part, and of every centuple reserved in corn or in rent two pecks, during the leases, shall be by commissioners taken and levied of the farmers thereof or of their assigns having the corn or a clear gain thereof, for double the price reserved thereof to their Majesties by these leases.”†

Folio 40.—25th February 1556, “a cesse for assembling and levying of a general muster of laborers upon all the counties and countries, with victuals, bills, axes, spades, mattocks, and other tools meet, to be sent into Ophalley and the confines thereof, and to be employed as the Lord Deputy shall appoint for eight days for cutting of passes and mending of towers, whereby the army may the better pass and the traitors be the more easily pursued; the charges to be furnished by the counties and countries whence they rise, as [here]tofore in like cases hath been accustomed.”

Folio 42.—27th March 1557, “a cesse of a general muster of laborers to be taken for the fortifying of certain places and better defence of the inhabitants of Leix, Offaly, Irry, Glammalyrry, and Slemerge, and cutting of certain passes ‡ and mending of sundry towers.” Kildare 400 laborers, Kilkenny 400, Carlonghe 400, Dublin 200, Meath 500, Westmeath 400; with victuals and tools at the charges of the country for eight days.

Folio 47.—3rd July, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, a general hosting concluded for 40 days, after three plowlands a cart, to begin 2nd August.

Folio 58.—21st October 1557, a cesse of corn and beefs

\* *Note, in a different hand* :—“This was but for the soldiers at the forts and holds. And yet were there soldiers at cesse also in the English Pale; and so likewise to be understanden of all the cesses of grain and beefs until an. 1575 and thenceforth, what time the cesses are set down for the whole army withdrawn out of the English Pale.”

† “*Nota*.—If this order could have been put in execution, the cesses of grain might have been much the lesser.”

‡ “Places” in MS.

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for the furniture of the forts in Leix and Ophaley and other garrisons.

Folio 59.—29th November 1557, a cesse of 1,200 pecks of corn.

Folio 68.—18th March 1557, for the furniture of the fort in Leix, a cesse of corn, or money in lieu of corn, besides the carriage thereof, upon the counties of Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, and Kildare, 4s. sterling the peck for the wheat and beer malt, and 2s. 8d. the peck for the oat malt.

Folio 75.—27th May 1558, a general hosting after three plowlands to a cart.

Same folio 75.—23rd September 1558, cessed on the county of Meath the entertainment or holding of 100 kerne for six weeks, for the defence and safeguard of the borders of that county next to Ophaley.

Folio 76.—23rd September 1558, "concluded that of 100 kerne of the Polles with 31 days' victuals cessed and appointed under the leading of Thomas Flemynge to serve in such places in the North as the Lord Deputy did appoint, the entertainment of 20 of them should be to himself for his pains for leading of the rest; and their wages and of the rest; should be for that service 6d. sterling *per diem* the kerne, in consideration of the dearth of victuals and carriage thereof, the journey being painful; whereas afore the wages of such was but 4d. sterling, so that it should be no precedent hereafter to allow above 4d. sterling."

Folios 92 and 93.—12th November 1558, a general cesse, both on the Englishry and Irishry, of wheat, malt, beefs, swine, and other provision for the victualling of the forts in Leix and Ophalley and other garrisons.

Folio 98.—31st July 1559, 1 Eliz., a general hosting for 41 days, after three plowlands to a cart, to set forth 31st August.

Folio 101.—22nd August 1559, the assembly of the general hosting deferred till September ensuing, till the coming over of the Earl of Sussex.

Folio 102.—31st August 1559, a general cesse for the furniture of the forts in Leix and Ophaley and other holds.

Folio 128.—22nd or 21st July 1560, a general hosting for 30 days, to set forth 12th September, after three plowlands to a cart.

Folio 138.—1st August 1560, an order for the cessing of the county of Waterford.

Folio 143.—Also, 25th July 1560, an order for the same.

Folio 156.—21st August 1560, a general hosting for 30 days after three plowlands to a cart.

Folio 157.—11th September 1560, a general cesse for the furniture of the forts in Leix and Ophaley and other holds. The owners to carry the grain, and receive for the carriage of the grain from 6d. to 10d. the peck.

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Folio 159.—In the same general cesse, cessed for the household of the Lord Lieutenant upon every plowland, two pecks of wheat, one peck of beer malt, and two pecks of oat malt, which estimatively amounted on the counties of Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, and Uriell—wheat 1,440 pecks, beer malt 720 pecks, oat malt 1,440 pecks.

Folio 160.—27th September 1560, “an order set down by the Lord Lieutenant, nobility, and Council, for the ordering of soldiers in their cesse and placing and passage within the English counties for the reforming as well of their disorders as of the inconformities of the country towards them, expressing what placing, victualling, and usage the soldiers, their horses, and boys should have, without any extorting of more, or of money therefor.”

Folio 161.—27 September 1560, for “certain necessary fortifications to be builded in Leix and Ophalley there was cessed on the counties of—Meath, men, 400, garrons with cars, 100; Dublin, men, 200, garrons with cars, 50; Kildare, men, 200, garrons with cars, 50; Westmeath, men, 200, garrons with cars, 50; furnished of 14 days’ victuals, and every of them with an axe, pickaxe, spade, or shovel to be at Blackford.”

Folio 162.—29th October, 2 Eliz., proclamation “for the acceptance of the base moneys of England lately proclaimed down in England to be current, viz., the teston current there the first year of the Queen’s reign for 6*l.* to be current here for 8*l.*”

Folio 165.—23rd January 1560, “letters addressed from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, charging all officers to receive the said money in this realm at their values proclaimed in the first year of her Majesty’s reign, until they should by her Majesty’s will signified be cried down here notwithstanding their fall in England.”

“Notwithstanding this, and that the country were willed to receive their payments for the cesses and soldiers’ duties, and payment accordingly tendered unto them, they refused their payment upon suspicion of a sudden fall of the coins to ensue, and still enhanced and kept up their prices of their grain, victuals, and other things.”

Folio 166.—24th January 1560, an order against transporters to Ireland of the base coins proclaimed down in England.

Folios 167 and 168.—24th January 1560, an order against such as in selling their wares would indent in what moneys they would be paid.

Folio 171.—12th March 1560, cesse for certain necessary fortifications, trenches, and towers \* in Leix and Ophaley, viz., on each of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlough, Louth, Westmeath, and Wexford, 50 garrons with 50 cars

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\* “troughers” in MS.

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and wages for 200 laborers, after 8*d.* ster. the day each man; and Meath "the double of so much."

Folio 173.—24th March 1560, "the fall of the money proclaimed; viz., the teston of England 4½*d.* of current money of England to be 6*d.* current money of Ireland until the last of April ensuing, and thenceforth to be accounted for bullion to her Majesty's mint at that rate in England, or received at her Majesty's Treasury in Ireland for 6*d.* current money of Ireland, &c. And the base harp teston of Ireland, which before was 12*d.* ster. in Ireland, and at that time was current for 7½*d.* ster. in Ireland, should be valued for 6*d.* current money of Ireland."

Folio 176.—8th June 1561, a general hosting for six weeks after three plowlands to a cart, and to begin the first of the next July. Agreed on to be proclaimed by writ according to the ancient manner.

Folio 177.—30th October 1561, a general cesse of wheat, malt, beefs, swine, and other provision for the furniture of the forts in Leix and Ophaley and other holds.

Folios 179 and 180.—22nd October 1562, a general cesse concluded and set down for the furniture of the same forts and holds in Leix and Ophaley.

Folio 183.—19th May 1563, a general hosting concluded on for 40 days after three plowlands to a cart, to begin the 14th of June ensuing.

Folio 184.—11th April 1564, concluded on to put in victuals into the fort of Leix for such soldiers as should be put there presently for the pursuit of the rebels; and oats to be sent thither out of the county of Kildare for a month for Sir Henry Radlief's band. Also to be cessed for six weeks upon the county of Kildare 120 kerne, and on the county of Catherlough 120 kerne.

Folio 185.—"Item, by the same order, captain Gyerton's band of horsemen lying in Westmeath to be at the fort in Ophaley, and to be furnished with oats for a month; and that the charges of the garrisons in Leix and Ophalley since the beginning of the rebellion should be cessed upon the country. Item, the borders of Meath to be cessed with 200 kerne upon the whole county of Meath."

Same folio, 185.—"And 300 kerne cessed upon the county of Westmeath for the guard of Westmeath, at th' order and commandment of Sir George Standlie; and for victuals, cariages, horsemeat, and all other things ordered for this service, the sheriffs and certain principal persons in every county to be appointed."

Folios 188 and 189.—24th May 1564, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Justice.

Folio 196.—3rd August 1564, "an order that where for the prosecuting of the rebels, the soldiers of her Majesty's army in retinue are removed out of such places of the English Pale as they before were cessed in, unto the borders and other more

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fit places for her Majesty's said service," the baronies and such other places where before they were cessed and placed shall be cessed for the overplus of the price of their provisions.

Folio 197.—"Amongst others th' orders at the consultation 17<sup>o</sup> Septembr. 1564 is contained, that the cesse of the holding kerne on the counties of Westmeath, Dublin, Kildare and Wexford, and in McVadoke's country, McDannere's country, and McEdmond Duffe's country, to be continued in such form from time to time as the former warrants purport until the said service achieved."

Same folio.—18th September 1564, the renewing of the cesse of 600 kerne in the county of Fertullaghe in Westmeath.

Folio 198.—11th October 1564, cesse of 100 holding kerne and 50 boys for the defence of the county of Kildare, to be continued upon the county of Dublin for three weeks.

Folio 199.—28th October 1564, thought fit, for defence of the borders against the O'Connours, for six weeks, to begin the last of October.

"Westmeath.—Besides 120 galloglas to live of their bo-nacht for a quarter of a year, and besides Sir Nicholas Bagnall's band to be beyond Molingar, (all those under th' Earl of Kildare), the whole county to contribute to the victualling of the horsemen at the ordinary rate and th' accustomed holding kerne of Tirrell's country and Ferbill and the rest of Westmeath.

"Meath.—80 holding kerne and their 40 boys for guard of the borders of that county against the O'Connours at the said Earl's commandment besides captain Gyrtton's band of horsemen and the force of the county against the borders of O'Reiglye.

"Kildare.—80 holding kerne and their 40 boys cessed for the guard of the borders of that county, likewise under the said Earl. The Earl of Kildare himself: in money more over the entertainment of 200 kerne of his own choosing, to pursue the rebels of the O'Connours; the said entertainment to be divided, cessed, and levied upon the counties of Ophaley for 30 kerne; McVadoke's, McEdmond Duffe's and the county of Wexford and Fassaghbentry, 60 kerne; Westmeath, 30 kerne; Louth 40 kerne; Dublin, 40 kerne;—200 kerne, and their 100 boys. The entertainment of those and of the former holding in money to be levied and satisfied to his L. by the 11th of November."

Folio 200.—The same 28th October 1564, 'thought fit for the defence of the borders against the O'Mores, besides 130 footmen and 20 galloglas and 180 of the Queen's kerne, entertainment of 40 holding kerne for guard of the borders cessed on the counties of Catherlough and Cavenagh's for 6 weeks. Also victuals to be provided for furniture of the fort in Leix for every month:—beefs 60, wheat 100 pecks, beer malt 67 pecks, oat malt 133 pecks."

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Folio 201.—29th October 1564, cesse of beefs and porks upon the Irish countries and counties westward.

Folios 203 and 204.—21st November 1564, “the charge of the fort in the Queen’s County, and of the same county and the counties and captainries about the same, and the counties westward and their risings out committed to th’ Earl of Ormond, Lord Treasurer, for to defend the same and pursue the rebels; and besides the same and her Majesty’s English garrisons and galloglas and kerne there, the entertainment of 200 holding kerne granted unto his L. for so long as his L. should think fit, to be levied in money on the counties of Waterford and Limerick, upon each for 100 kerne; and moreover to take meat and drink for them and the rest serving with his L. where they should travel, and to take up grain, wine, beefs, porks, muttons, and all other victuals, and carriages for the same by land and by water, for ready money at reasonable prices, viz., for the first price it cost, and the reasonable charges therein bestowed.”

Folio 206.—15th December 1564, “a note entered of the soldiers to remain in retinue, viz. at the forts and other holds in garrison, entered particularly; in all, footmen, 292, horsemen 36. And rested then placed on cesse; viz., the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Westmeath, Wexford, and Fassagh of Beyntree,” footmen 208, horsemen 164.

Folio 214.—16th July 1566, a general hosting for six weeks after three plowlands to a cart, to begin 15th August.

Folio 219.—22nd May 1566, “250 soldiers, footmen of her Majesty’s retinue, parcel of those which afore amongst the rest lay placed within the Pale, dispersed at cesse upon their hosts’ houses within the English Pale, to th’ occasion of sundry complaints on either party, and not so apt or ready for her Majesty’s service when any sudden cause should require, should be thenceforth placed and cessed in towns near the borders by the Lord Deputy’s appointment, so to remain and continue from the 5th day of this said May until the last of September ensuing. For whose supply, for that their ordinary entertainments suffice not to find them victuals, apparel, weapon, and necessaries remaining so upon their own finding, there was cessed an overplus of 4*l.* *per diem* for the better maintenance or increase of entertainment of every of those 250 footmen during the said time so placed on the borders, viz., for 149 days, to be levied and contributed upon the counties of Wexford, Kildare, Dublin, Westmeath, Meath, as certain Commissioners there named should decide; exempting the counties of Catherloughe and Louth, because the same were otherwise charged with horsemen placed there.”

Folio 229.—4th November 1566, a general cesse for the furnishing of the forts and garrisons to be levied for that year ensuing, the army being at the same time cessed on the English Pale. “And for that it was doubtful whether the grain could

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be had in every of those counties, they at their election to deliver the grain, or for every peck of wheat 3s. ster., and for every peck of beer malt 3s. ster., and for every peck of oat malt 2s. ster., and for every peck of oats 12*d.* ster., to the hands of Thomas Might; and that every person delivering the grain should receive of Thomas Might for every peck wheat and beer malt 4s. Irish, and for every peck oat malt 2s. 8*d.* Irish, and for every peck of oats 16*d.*” Cesses of beefs and porks on the Irish countries.

Folio 233.—27th July 1566, money cessed for the general hosting aforesaid; viz., upon each of the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford, 60 kerne, for a quarter of a year, every kerne at 3*d.* a day, 277*l.* 10s.

Folio 338 (*sic*).—2nd August 1566, cessed upon the counties of Dublin, beefs 30; Meath, beefs 60; Kildare, beefs 30; Westmeath, beefs 34; for 450 soldiers of her Majesty’s army, for 22 days, being appointed to proceed to the general hosting on the borders.

Folios 241 and 242.—11th August 1566, “for the supply of such as then presently did guard the borders against Shane O’Neyle, a cesse of 400 bowmen and billmen and gunners, to be chosen out of the county of Dublin, and to make their repair to the town of Kells by the 17th of August, and there to remain during 10 days, &c.; amounts estimatively, 133*l.* 6s. 8*d.*”

Folio 206 (*sic*).—8th September 1566, “ordered that the Earl of Desmond, with the Lord Baron of Donboyne and the Lord Baron of Coraghmore, and Sir Warham Sentlenger, captain Heron, and others with their companies and forces attending on th’ Earl, to repair to Tryme in the county of Meath the 23rd of September, with the number of 100 furnished horsemen at the least, there to meet with her Majesty’s Privy Council and forces of the English Pale for the defence and safeguard of the English Pale and borders against O’Neyle and his forces; and the said Earl with those forces and company or more coming to him to serve her Majesty, and have victuals and horsemeat during their remain, abode, and return.”

Folio 300.—3rd June 1567, a general hosting proclaimed for six weeks, to begin 1st July, “with also the rising out of the country requisite to the same.”

Folio 307.—9th January 1567[–68], “for the prosecuting of certain of the More’s sons to Fereres McRosse, a cesse of an entertainment or holding of 10 horsemen, 150 kerne, and 50 boys, appointed to the leading of the Lord Baron of Delven, from the 21st of October last past; every kerne at 2*d.* Ir. *per diem*, and every horseman at 6*d.* Ir. *per diem*, to have continuance till the 1st of March next ensuing. Cessed upon the counties of Dublin, 39*l.* 10s. Ir.; Meath, 79*l.* Ir.; Westmeath, 39*l.* Ir.; Kildare, 39*l.* Ir.; Louth, 39*l.* Ir.; 237*l.* 10s. Ir.; after the rate of 6s. 8*d.* Ir. upon every plowland.”

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Folio 308.—1st March 1567, “a cesse of 200 garrons and 100 men to drive them furnished with their victuals for one month for the carriage, as well of the victuals and necessaries of 200 horsemen and 200 footmen of her Majesty’s army, drawn down for her Majesty’s service in the North, as also for the better supplying by land the want of victuals, which her Majesty’s garrisons then already residing there at that time had, &c., cessed upon the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Louth, which estimatively, after 6*d.* ster. *per diem* the leader, and 4*d.* *per diem* the garron, was in value 163*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.”

Folio 309.—20th May 1568, a general hosting proclaimed for six weeks, “with also the due rising out thereto belonging, against the Scots doubted to arrive, expressing that if the war of the North or coming of the Scots urge not, it shall not be converted into money to any other uses.”

Folio 312.—1st June 1569, a general hosting proclaimed for six weeks to assemble 15th July.

Folio 317.—30th June 1569, a cesse of beefs for the more speedy repression of the rebellion in Munster.

Folio 318.—11th October 1569, a general hosting for 21 days proclaimed, to assemble at the Newry the 22nd of that month, the day of which assembly was prorogued longer.

Folio 323.—18th November 1569, “the same general hosting, with an arrear of 10 days and a half to the 21 days, was concluded on to be converted into money for the hire and wages of great numbers of chosen kerne to be joined with the horsemen and footmen of her Majesty’s army, to pursue and follow upon the rebels and their maintainers, whereby not only to disperse them, but also thoroughly to extirp and banish them; which exploit was then chiefly bent against the Kevanaghes and their maintainers.”

Folio 328.—“The same, by humble suit of the inhabitants of the English Pale, was all remitted, 13<sup>o</sup> die Januarii 1569.”

Folio 324.—The same 18th November 1569, 12 Elizabeth, a cesse of oats for the provision of the garrisons in the North parts, for their horses, at 16*d.* Irish the peck.

Folio 237 (*sic*).—15th July 1570, a general hosting for six weeks, to begin 15th August.

Folio 339.—7th February 1570(-71), a cesse of oats to be delivered to Thomas Might for the garrison[s] in the north.

III. “In the third Council Book now yet used, beginning from the first day of April anno 1571, amongst other matters is registered as in effect briefly followeth:”—

Page 12.—10 April 1572, a general hosting for six weeks proclaimed, to begin 1st June.

Pages 30 and 31.—9th September 1572, “for the furniture of 100 bowmen, agreed on to be waged by the Lord Depnty, to be ordered by Nicholas White, seneschal of the liberties of



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Wexford, for the repressing of Bryen McCahir Kevenaghe's rebellion, for six weeks, to begin the 19th of that month. It was also ordered that their captains might rear upon that county of Wexford 60 beefs and 60 pecks of wheat, for 12s. Irish the beef, and 4s. Irish the peck of wheat."

Page 74.—11th June 1573, a general hosting for six weeks proclaimed, to begin 21st July.

Page 75.—21st July 1573, ordered for the repression of the rebellion of the O'Moores, that 500 men of the forces of the English Pale should, with other of her Majesty's retinue, travel with the Lord Deputy into Leix, with their victuals, viz., of the county of Dublin, 300 men, with 10 days' victuals; and of Meath, 200 men, with 15 days'. The residue of the force of the English Pale to repair with their victuals and lie on the borders of the Pale.

Page 102.—29th July 1574, "ordered, during the absence of the Lord Deputy being ready then to journey with such forces of her Majesty's army as then on his Lordship attended, the ordinary rising out of the forces of the English Pale due, for the setting forth of a general hosting already proclaimed, to rise forth of the baronies in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, and Louth, Dublin city, and Drogheda town, amounting in the whole to the number of 500 horsemen and footmen, should remain and be attendant on the Earl of Kildare, and to be at his direction, order, and distribution; and for the earriages to have the 348 garrons remanent of the garrons of the hosting left behind by the Lord Deputy."

Page 107.—26th March 1575, a general hosting for six weeks, after three plowlands to a cart, to begin 10th April.

This was prorogued and finally intermitted by reason of the plague which followed.

Pages 108 and 109.—25th September 1575, "for provision and furniture to victual the bands of her Majesty's retinue of soldiers, both footmen and horsemen, to remain forth of the English Pale, and not to be cessed nor placed, except in passage within the same, a general proportion was condescended and agreed on to be cessed and levied."

"The proportion of this cesse was after qualified to a less quantity and a greater price, 7<sup>o</sup> Novembr' 1575, p. 117, as doth there appear."

Pages 110, 111, and 112.—26th September 1575, "a warrant to Mr. Treasurer for the disbursing of ready money for the hire of 300 garrons and 150 drivers at 14*l.* sterling *per diem* for every two garrons, and one driver for 20 days, beginning the 4th of October next, to be taken up and set forth by the cessors of certain baronies out of such towns of the same as were not infected with the pestilence, unto whom particular warrants were addressed, to levy and set them forth for the earriages of the Lord Deputy and such of her Majesty's army as on him attended then into Ulster; and for the hire of them accordingly to receive ready money at the said Mr. Treas-

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surer's hands; and the same money after to be equally and indifferently cessed, contributed, and repaid unto the said Mr. Treasurer's hands upon all the cessable plowlands in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, King's County, Queen's County, Wexford, and Catherlough." Total, 175*l*.

Pages 113 and 114.—24th September 1575, letters addressed from the Lord Deputy to the sheriff and cessors in every county, for the provision of his household for the whole year.

Meath:—wheat, 260 pecks; beer malt, 180 pecks; oat malt, 306 pecks; beefs, 286; muttuns, 1,120; porks, 70; butter, at 10 lbs. the gallon, 740 gallons. Dublin, Westmeath, Louth, and Kildare,—the half proportion of the said sorts set on Meath; to be delivered for the prices of 3*s*. 4*d*. Irish the peck of wheat and beer malt, 21*d*. Irish the peck of oat malt; for every beef, 12*s*. Irish; for every mutton, 16*d*. Irish; for every pork, 4*s*. Irish; for every gallon of butter, 12*d*. Irish.

"This proportion was qualified afterwards, 17<sup>o</sup> Novembr' 1575, to receive but as Sir Wm. FitzWilliams had received the year afore."

"See the 159 leaf of the second Council Book, a larger cesse of grain for the household of the Lord Lieutenant in anno 1560, viz., upon every plowland, two pecks wheat, one peck beer malt, and two pecks oat malt, besides his beefs on the Irish and his muttuns, and the rest of his victuals taken up on the English Pale by his cators."

Pages 115 and 116.—22nd September 1575, "an holding of forces appointed to be cessed for the guard of the English Pale under the mountains, from the Windgates to Catherlough, upon the charge of the counties bordering on the same, at the discretion of Commissioners in that behalf authorized during the absence of the Lord Deputy, then departing with her Majesty's army into Ulster."

Pages 117 and 118.—17th November 1575, "the general cesse which afore was concluded on the 25th of September last afore, for the whole furniture of all her Majesty's army to be kept and placed out of the English Pale, and none to have cesse within the Pale but the horsemen of the Lord Deputy and the Treasurer, &c., now, upon humble suit of the people of the same, as not able to furnish so great a proportion, (howbeit that the same was indeed no more than requisite for such a number,) was nevertheless qualified that there should no more thereof be levied upon those six counties, but this proportion, viz., at the rates and prices of 2*s*. 8*d*. sterling for every peck of wheat and beer malt, 18*d*. sterling for every peck of oat malt, 12*d*. sterling for every peck of oats, and 9*s*. sterling for every beef:—beefs, 2,000; wheat, 3,000 pecks; beer malt, 2,000 pecks; oat malt, 2,000 pecks; oats, 13,000 pecks."

"And yet to be noted, that when so many soldiers lay at cesse within five of those shires, with their boys and horses, and with such extortion and disorder as the counties did

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complain of, they consumed a greater proportion than the said former cesse amounted."

Page 119.—18th May 1576, a general hosting for six weeks, to begin 10th July.

Page 125.—22nd August, 1576, "for the great ease and quiet which the English Pale have felt by withdrawing the soldiers from amongst them, as also that the better service hath been done to her Majesty by having them together in places of service amongst the disobedient and rebels. And that her Majesty, having for the most part the space of four years before the last year sustained the whole charge and losses in providing for all their victualling, except oats, contributed for their horses out of th' English Pale, which losses of victualling her Majesty will no longer be at. And that it is on all parts thought fit, nevertheless, by all possible means, to continue the soldiers as they are. Therefore, oftsones for the year to begin at the feast of St. Michael th' Archangel, next coming, the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Louth, and Wexford, every of them a single county, [and] Meath, as a double county, were cessed to contribute towards the victualling and furnishing of her Majesty's said retinue out of the Pale as aforesaid, at and for the prices and rates last afore specified, howbeit, as afore declared, not a sufficient proportion for the whole number of them:—beefs, 2,000; wheat, 3,000 pecks; beer malt, 2,000 pecks; oat malt, 2,000 pecks; oats, 13,000 pecks."

Page 157.— \* June 1577, a general hosting for three weeks, to begin 12th August.

"Collected and examined by me, John Chaloner."

Pp. 70. *In a contemporary hand.*

July 1.

## 62. THE PRISONERS IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

Vol. 628, p. 353.

"Certain examinations *primo Julii 1577.*"

"Th' effect of the letter was that our cause nor the manner of our message, as they thought, was disliked of, and their commitment requiring us to be careful that they should not want money competent, and that the Council there said they would have consideration of our cause and message, and no more was contained in the same letter.

"John Nettervyle, sworn and examined, to the first interrogatory saith that he had no conference with Thomas Talbot of Dondeson sithens his coming from England but Good morrow and Good day."

"To all the rest he can say nothing other than that he received one letter from his brother Thomas by thehands of John Jevan, as he remembreth the contents were that his brother Richard was committed to the Fleet, so as he would not speak with him, and would be glad if it pleased this examinat to travel into France for a year."

\* Blank in MSS.

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“Another letter he saw directed to the Lords and gentlemen of this country from the gentlemen in England, praying them to send more money, for all they had were spent; and more cannot say to th’ effect of th’ interrogatories or former examination; and that after having regard to his oath, did find a piece of a letter torn, which his man told him John Leman did bring to his chamber; which piece he showed to us, and hath written the rest which is broken out, so near as his remembrance serveth, which is written as followeth.”\*

*Signed:* Jo. Netterfyll.

“William Talbot of Malahyd, sworn and examined, to the first saith he had conference with Thomas Talbot sithens Thomas’s coming from England, the effect whereof was that the gentlemen were in prison in the Fleet, but he brought no message from them to this examinatio to his remembrance. To the third he saith that to his remembrance he asked Thomas Talbot whether they in England had made any submission, and Thomas Talbot answered he could not tell.

“To the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th can say ne remember anything. As to letters, saith that he received none other than a letter from Barnewall, his son-in-law, which we perused, and contained nothing as touching these articles other than the gentlemen were in close prison, and that no man might speak with them, with other private matters of his own for resolution of the law at Mr. Ploydon’s hand in England. Saith further that he heard from the gentlemen in England that they did hope they should do well.” He was not by when Thomas Talbot talked with Baron Nugent.

*Signed:* W. Talbott.

The Lord of Trymlettston saith he had no conference with Thomas Talbot. *Signed:* P. Trimleston.

Patrick Bermyngham saith that he had conference with Thomas Talbot, which was that the gentlemen were in prison in the Fleet. Talbot said he thought they should do well enough, and that a letter was sent from them to the Lords and gentlemen here to be careful of them and to provide money for them, and they were in good hope their cause should have good success. *Signed:* Patrick Bermingham.

Sir Christopher Chevers and Sir Oliver Plunket, knight, say that Talbot did never speak anything as touching the articles. *No signatures.*

The Baron of Delvyn saith he had no conference at all with Talbot. *Signed:* P. Delvyn.

James Nugent “saith he knoweth not Thomas Talbot, nor had no conference or speech of any matter with him sithens his coming to prison.” *No signature, but a mark.*

The Viscount of Baltinglas saith he did take Talbot by the hand, but had no conference with him of any the contents of the articles. *Signed:* Roland Baltynglas.

\* The copy of the letter in question does not appear.

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Edward Plunket and Lavallen Nugent had no conference of any things with him. *Signed.*

The Lord of Howth saith he had no conference with Talbot, although we told him that Talbot had confessed some speech between them. He utterly denied to have had any speeches with Talbot since his coming to the castle. *No signature.*

*Signed [by the Commissioners]:* Ed. Fyton, Richard Bellinges, solicitor.

*Endd. by Fyton:* The original examinations signed by the examiats and by us the Commissioners.

*Pp.* 5.

[July.]  
Vol. 628, p. 139.

63. NICHOLAS NUGENT and CHRISTOPHER FLEMYNGE, gentlemen, prisoners in Dublin Castle.

Petition to the Lord Deputy and Council.—We beseech your Honours to receive this our submission, who consented to the sending of the letters to the Queen by Barnaby Scurlocke and others, but since our being in prison we have heard more of the Queen's royal prerogative over all her subjects than before we understood. We acknowledge that, without parliament or grand council, she may, "by calling together the nobility of the realm, and having their assents, and in causes of necessity, charge her Highness' subjects in persons, lands, and goods, to travel according to her Majesty's direction, and to bear and pay according to her Highness' pleasure," as hath been used within this realm. It is to be left to her consideration "to discern and judge of the causes moving the necessity, and not to be argued or disputed by the subject." We beseech your Honours to discharge us of this our imprisonment, wherein we have remained these 13\* days, and to be means to her Highness not only for the enlargement of our agents there, but also for the qualifying of the heavy burthen of cesse.

*Signed:* Nicholas Nugent, Christopher Flemynge.

*Contemp. copy. Pp.* 2.

Ibid. p. 144.

2. Another copy of the same. *P.* 1¼.

[July.]  
Vol. 628, p. 138a.

64. THE DECLARATION of SIR CHRISTOPHER CHAVERS and GEORGE PLUNKETT.

"They say that they met with the gentlemen of the country once at Trim and after at Dublin, and there consulted for the ease of the country touching the burthen of cesse, which was so heavy as they were not able to bear, to send up to her Matie to have ease; but if the words in the letter were such as may touch, or doth touch, her Maties prerogative, they neither know nor understand the same, but subscribed the letter, being sent to them by Nettervill, and consented to bear

\* "14" in the other copy.

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towards their charges the said Sir Christopher 4*l.*, and the said George 40*s.*, which yet they have not paid; and they were sworn as others were, that they should not refuse if they were chosen to go up." Humbly submitting themselves, they beseech the Lord Deputy and Council to have favorable consideration for their enlargement. They consent to yield and pay in all things according to the Queen's pleasure.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

July 8.  
Vol. 619, p. 28.

65. SIR WILLIAM DRURY (President of Munster) to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

I have received your letter of 18th May last, giving me careful counsel and sound advice how to deal with this people. I understand you have sometimes taken occasion to show my letters to her Majesty; they are plain and true.

"The first day of this month I adjourned the sessions for this county of Limerick until a new warning, and caused one Murough O'Bryen, a second pillar of James FitzMorisch's late rebellion and a practiser of this new combination, a man of no less fame than James himself, being orderly indicted, arraigned, condemned, and judged for late offences within these four months, (because I would not seem to unrip old matters,) to be there executed. 300*l.* was offered for his life, and more would have been given, but 3,000 should not have saved him. Th' Earl of Desmond made great account of him, and so did all the discontented, for he was a fit instrument to execute any evil enterprise. He was amongst the people in great estimation; he was holden the best and forwardest horseman of Ireland; he was greatly of the good feared. His death was far better than his life, and he confessed he had deserved death.

"After the finishing thereof, I dealt with the gentlemen of Thowmond, and in the end, and by their own consent, have taken a castle or other pledges and assurance of every principal personage there for continuance of their duties and loyalty to her Majesty, and am to commit the keeping of the said castles to Englishmen and to such as are best to be trusted for the charge thereof without any burden to her Highness. As for their pledges, they remain within this city, and so I trust to bring them to know and follow their duties.

"Which course being perfected, and the Thowmoners discharged and licensed to depart, I caused a precept to be made to the sheriff of the liberty of Kyerry to warn all the freeholders of that shire to appear before me at Traly, within the said liberty, the 15th day of this month, to inquire of the four points exempt out of th' Earl's patents and of other misgovernments. I am sure th' Earl will mislike therewith."

I have done the like in the liberty of Tipperary. I mean this 11th to take my journey thitherward over the great mountain called Rowsshe mountain. From thence I mind

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to ride into Desmond, having seen Castle Mang, and to view all that country, their fastnesses, castles, havens, and landing places along the coast, and to return to Cork.

I have sent to your L. by this bearer a cast of falcons of the best cyrie in this province, and sorry, I am I cannot increase the number of them. This 8th of July 1577, from Limerick.

*Hol. Pp. 2. Addressed and endorsed.*

July 17. 66. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 275a.

By letters from you and the Council of 20 June we understand your proceedings against those that continue in their obstinacy, not yielding cesse otherwise to be levied than by consent of Parliament. We allow of your doings therein, but greatly mislike the great exaction which you have levied upon the country, the same being above 8*l.* every plowland, a far heavier burden than heretofore levied in like quiet time, — a matter not to have been used in these troublesome days, when our evil affected neighbours have been vehemently solicited by evil members to disturb that realm. Whereas we agreed to deliver you quarterly a certainty out of our coffers, besides the whole revenue of that realm, to the end the soldier might be well paid, and so our people there the less burdened by them for want of pay, the bruit is now that you have taken our whole realm to farm, and finding the same not to bear the ordinary charge of the garrison and other necessary payments you have raised this high cesse.

We are persuaded that, if the allowance so duly sent from hence, and the revenue there, werewell used, they would go much farther than they have done. You gave us hope to diminish our charges and increase our revenue, but we find the former continue still to be great and the latter not to exceed 4,000*l.*; and by the account lately sent over it seems that our revenue there is much decayed. We are informed that the exaction of cesse since your going over has grown to the value of 4,000*l.* the year, and look to hear from you how our charges have been eased by the same.

As Sir William Drury has need of a further supply of men in Munster to perform our service in hand there and to resist any attempt that may be made from other parts upon that country, you shall send him such forces as may be spared.

We have been informed that since your last going over thither, great spoils have been committed upon our subjects by the O'Conors and O'Mores, by wasting of divers towns and otherwise. We charge you to advertise us particularly what spoils and wastes have been since that time done by them or by other of the Irishry.

Greenwich, 17 July 1577, 19 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

1577.

July 17.

Vol. 628, p. 181a.

67. The QUEEN to SIR WILLIAM DRURY, Lord President of Munster.

Your painful proceeding in the charge committed to you we accept in good part. We understand both in what peril you live, considering as well the number of the evil disposed of that province, as the threatenings from foreign parts, and how unable you are to do that service you desire in reducing them to obedience, for lack of sufficient forces. We have therefore given order to our Deputy to see you strengthened with such forces as may be spared out of the rest of that realm.

Whereas you desire our letters of thanks to the Earl of Cleneare and the Countess of Desmond, to the one for his good and faithful service under you, and to the other in respect of her good offices towards her husband in persuading him to continue a dutiful subject; we have thought it meet that you should receive thanks from us rather by the letters of our Privy Council than by our own. You will receive their letters herewith.

Manor of Greenwich, 17 July 1577, 19 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 1½.*

July 18.

68. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 276a.

By your letter of 20th June we understand your proceedings with the undutiful impugners of the cesse, who continue in the maintenance of their error, especially [with] those noblemen and gentlemen that subscribed the letters of complaint, and others whom you found to be ringleaders. You state that they maintain that no cesse ought to be imposed upon them otherwise than by Parliament, which tends to the overthrow of her Majesty's prerogative.

We allow of your committing of them, hoping it will bring them to better conformity; yet, considering what is intended abroad towards that realm, some good means should be used to induce them to acknowledge their fault. They should be informed of the submission made here by Barnaby Seurlocke and his associates. If you find them inclined to make like submission, you may set them at liberty, using your discretion notwithstanding for the longer restraint of the Lord of Delvin, for that he has shewed himself to be the chiefest instrument in terrifying and dispersuading the rest of the associates from yielding their submission.

As you are desirous to receive our opinion how to proceed for the easing of the cesse, we send you such plots and ways as have been considered of by us. We refer them to your discretion.

From the Court at Greenwich, 18 July 1577.



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- II. "CERTAIN WAYS of VICTUALLING an army of 1,000 men, whereby the English Pale may be somewhat eased."

*The 1st way.*—The captains having a month's pay advanced aforehand after 4*d.* Irish the day for every soldier, being allowed 112 allowances to every band, may victual their bands without charge to the country, so they may have delivered to them for each band a sufficient proportion of beeves. The captains to pay for every beef 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish, and to deliver back the hide and tallow, or to allow in lieu thereof 5*s.* 8*d.* Irish.

*The 2nd way.*—The captains of footmen being allowed for every soldier 15*s.* ster. the month, and the captains of the horsemen 16*s.*, whereas they now receive but 14*s.*, may victual their soldiers without further charge to the Pale. This increase will amount in the year to 910*l.*, whereof the moiety being borne by her Majesty, she shall save of the last year's allowance 1*d.* ster. a day to the victualler for every soldier, and other wants and wastes in victuals. The sum of 1,911*l.* The other moiety being borne by the Pale, they shall be eased of that they were charged the last year of the sum of 1,933*l.* in the cesse of beeves and corn.

If either of these offers take place, "a victualler, notwithstanding, is to be appointed, that 1,000*l.* in prest may have always in readinesse 40 days' victual, whereof supply to be made at th' end of every journey; and so the victualler will be content to bear all losses."

The soldiers in their travel through the country not to pay above the accustomed price, which is but 2*d.* Irish a meal; provided always that they take but two meals in one day, and travel above 10 miles, and lie not in a poor town above one night.

- III. "A WAY how to EASE her MAJESTY of the CHARGE of the said moiety of the 455*l.*, as also to raise some further gain to her Majesty."

The fourth part of the corn that will come of the leases of the Queen's port corn now in Ireland will amount to 9,000 pecks; in wheat 2,250 pecks; in beer malt 2,250 pecks; in oat malt 4,500 pecks. The wheat being reserved out of the leases at 2*s.* the peck, which is more than any doth pay to the Queen by his lease, and uttered to the soldier at 4*s.* the peck, rises in gain to the Queen, 225*l.* The beer malt after like rate rises in gain, 225*l.* The oat malt, reserved at 16*d.* the peck, and uttered at 2*s.* 8*d.* rises in gain, 300*l.*

The farmers of the said port corn are to be treated with for the yielding of such a proportion according to the rate above specified in respect that it was ordered (as may appear in the Exchequer) that such a kind of reservation should be made. If they do not yield, the matter is to be helped by Parliament.

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IV. "A WAY to EASE the GRIEFS of the CESSÉ presently posed upon the English Pale for the maintenance of the Lord Deputy's house."

*Grief.*—The Lord Deputy takes yearly in the English Pale at 9s. ster. 1,000 beeves, by which the country loses 500*l.*

*Remedy.*—Heretofore beeves, as well for the Deputy's house as the army, have been cessed upon the Irish Pale; which order is thought meet to be continued.

*Grief.*—The Lord Deputy takes up in beer malt and wheat 1,500 pecks, at 2s. 6*d.* the peck, worth in the market 5s., whereby is lost 375*l.*

*Remedy.*—The ports now due (?)<sup>\*</sup> to the State and the ports reserved upon leases, amounting to 2,194 pecks, will near serve the Lord Deputy's house. The rest to be supplied by the Pale.

*Grief.*—The charge of 120 horses kept at hardmeat, and the horseboys tending on the said horses, amounts in loss to the country, besides the Deputy's allowance, to 663*l.* 16s.

*Remedy.*—The ease thereof is to be referred to the Deputy; yet if the liveries (?)<sup>†</sup> heretofore reserved upon Mounstereven, Catterloughe, Lawgheloy (Leighlin), amounting to 300 loads of hay and 600 pecks of oats, and now let out, were redeemed, the country would be somewhat relieved.

#### V. "The GRIEFS of the ENGLISH PALE."

That besides the greatness of the cesse, there is not payment made of such things as are taken up at base prices.—To be remedied, considering the ready payment made to the Lord Deputy.

That the soldiers exact, notwithstanding the great cesse, and commit divers other insolences.—Though it can hardly be but that some disorder will be committed by the soldier, yet considering how well they are paid, they may be the better kept in discipline.

That the cessor exacts over and above the proportion given him in commission.—To be reformed by the Deputy if he appoint them, otherwise to be reformed by the country being by them chosen.

The disorder of the horseboys not contenting themselves with the ordinary allowance.—The orders made for their reform to be executed.

The abuse of the eaters for the Deputy's house in taking up greater quantities of accates than necessary, and in not paying for the same.—The Deputy to see to it.

That a greater proportion of oats is levied in the Pale than is necessary, for that the most part of the horse bands lie in

\* "Ciueries" in MS.

† "inrideuc" in MS.

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Munster and Connaught, where they are cessed.—Munster and Connaught to bear the cesse of oats.

*Contemp. copies. Pp. 6½.*

Aug. 19. 69. O'NEILL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 628, p. 357.

My request for hostages was not preferred from any distrust of your Lordship, but because I had frequently presented my complaints to you, and you were too much occupied to attend to them. I now perceive it was not through negligence that justice was not ministered to me against those who have injured me. I therefore humbly beseech you to perform such things as you intend to do for me, according to a book of your decrees respecting the said complaints. Lest it should be said I have not come to you without hostages, I send [orders] to conduct them before you. I pray you to write your protection for Con O'Donnell, that he may come to you with the said hostages.

The Newrie, 19 August 1577.

*Headed:* O'Nele's letter to the Lord Deputy of his submission.

*Latin. P. 1. Endorsed.*

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Sept. 12. 70. The COUNCIL OF IRELAND to the QUEEN.

Vol. 601, p. 76.  
Collins' Sydney  
Papers, 214-221.

Your Deputy has signified to us your pleasure that we should once every year at the least advertise the state of this country, and set down our opinions of the means to reform disorders, and to diminish your great charge.

After the end of the Deputy's long journey into all the provinces, the first year after his arrival, the lords and chieftains of all the Irishry have submitted themselves, with offers to hold their lands of your Highness, and to yield rent and service.

If you had sent presidents and justices to be resident in the remote parts that he visited and a Chancellor and justices to serve within the Pale, we lived in hope in a few years to have tasted of the fruit of that your gracious intent, to the good of this realm. But in June last, upon the landing of your Chancellor and President, "a rebellion (conspired by the Earl of Clauricard the May before, to draw force of Scots into Connaught,) was by the said Earl himself then actually put in execution, as we have most apparently perceived, by sundry examinations already taken, whatsoever be said or informed of the father's severe dealing against his sons." The Deputy so daunted it in the very beginning that the forces and helps which the rebels expected were cut off, the fortifying of the castles and holds suddenly stayed, and their trenching and walling prevented; yet they held me, Sir Nicholas Malbie, your Majesty's colonel there, so occupied that until almost Easter last I had small

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time to see justice delivered, or to deal with the country for contribution towards your great charge.

The conspiracy stretched itself by sundry branches into Munster, "to hold your Deputy and Presidents in both the provinces so occupied in arms, as they should not greatly trouble courts with English justice, of those conspirators abhorred and hated; expecting (as may be gathered) some greater force from foreign parts, to have wrought this year the like that the last yielded; for this appeareth by the confession of Sir John of Desmond, that saith the Earl was committed,\* his sons and their force being not yet subdued, but remaining armed in the fields; mediation and intreaty was made for the conclusion of the marriage between Mary Burke, the Earl's daughter, and the said Sir John, although he have another wife living and she another husband. And further it appeared by examination that he received several letters from John Burke and Mary, and as it is by others affirmed (although colorably by him denied,) he secretly met and had conference with John Burghe, who showed him letters of advertisements of James FitzMaurice his invasion, as it were in vaunt of the likelihood of some foreign invasion and help, the rather to stir him to take his part."

Conner McCormucke O'Conner and Rorie Oge O'More, contrary to their oaths, (hoping for aid out of Connaught) began to gather their friends and confederates to the number of 100 swords or thereabouts, and so to revolt; who, upon a sudden at Christmas Eve last, burnt divers haggards and poor men's cottages of the King's County, to the value of 200*l*. Afterwards with greater force they came to the town of the Naas by night, and burnt about 140 thatched houses; and since that time they have burnt a great part of Leighlin, and done some other harms and spoils upon the borders of the Pale. Notwithstanding your forces have cut off the greatest number of those who first were assembled, "yet such is their maintenance in the countries adjoining to Leix, and their watch and spial so good, with the help of their fastness, bogs, and woods, as still they be out; unto whose danger Captain Harrington and Alexander Cosbie, overmuch crediting some subtle promises and oaths, have of late (through their own follies) cast themselves."

The North is in greater quiet than it has been of long time, for Tirloghe Lenoghe has come in to your Deputy without protection or hostage. If troubles should arise there by means of the Scots, Tirloghe is to be framed as an instrument and scourge for them.

"The benefit that hath risen by this last year's travail of your Highness' President in Munster and Colonel in Connaught, notwithstanding the actual rebellion in the one place,

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\* Sic.

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and the show of mislike in the other, is an argument to us what would have grown thereby to your Majesty, had not the rebellion in Connaught been, or, if the Earl of Desmond had in all points showed such willing disposition to obey, and live under the rule of justice, as he might have done." Resident authority is of great force.

"The people within the Pale are over much blemished with the spots of the Irishry," and the sundry good laws from age to age devised to wipe out those stains have not been executed. We beseech you to send justices to put those and other needful laws fit to pass this next parliament in due execution.

By the long journeys which your Chancellor (Gerrard) has taken, he has seen the exactions, extortions, and Irish impositions, which decay the poor and hinder justice; and by his search into the Parliament rolls and rolls of account, he has seen the government of this estate in times past. He is thus fit to confer with such as you shall appoint touching these new laws that are to pass this next Parliament. Therefore, upon consideration of such persons as we thought meetest to repair to your presence with advertisements, we have made special choice of him, and have taken order for the safe using and custody of the seal.

The country seems now to be more grieved than before with the cesse. They of the country should fall to some certain composition, that a certain sum might yearly be yielded out of every ploughland. The Deputy has used no other manner and order in the setting down of the cesse for the two years past than was before used. The Lord Chancellor can certify you fully of the manner of the setting down of the cesse this last year.

*Signed:* T. Armachan; Adam Dublin; W. Drury; H. Miden; Ed. Fyton; H. Bagenall; Lucas Dillon; Nich. Malbie; Francis Agard; J. Garvey; John Chaloner; Henry Colley.

*Copy. Pp. 9.*

Sept. 12.  
Vol. 628, p. 358.

71. THE GARRISON.

"The garrison presently in pay," 12 Sept 1577.

Numbers of the men attending on the Lord Deputy, Treasurer, Knight Marshal, &c.\*

*Garrison in Munster:* Sir William Drury, Lord President; his own fee, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 10*l.* a week for his diets; a petty captain, gwidon bearer, and trumpeter; 30 horse and 20 foot. The said Sir William, captain of horsemen, himself 6*s.* a day; his petty captain, 2*s.*; gwidon bearer, 18*d.*; a trumpeter and a surgeon, 12*d.* each; 100 horse. Nicholas Walshe, Chief Justice there, 100*l.* a year; John Meagh,

\* See p. 44.

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Second Justice, 100 marks; Thomas Burgate, clerk of the Council there, 20*l.*; Henry Davells, constable of Dungarvan, himself 4*s.* a day, 6 horsemen at 9*d.*, 3 footmen harquebussers at 8*d.*, and 3 archers at 6*d.* Total, 175.

*Garrison in Connaught*: Sir Nicholas Malby, colonel and chief commissioner, himself 26*s.* 8*d.* a day; a petty captain, 2*s.*; a gwidon bearer, trumpeter, and surgeon, at 12*d.* a day each; 60 horse and 20 foot. Thomas Vaghan, an assistant in Council to the said Sir Nicholas, 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Thomas Dillon, Justice there, 100*l.* a year. Edward White, clerk of the Council there, 20*l.* Captain George Acre's band of footmen; himself, 4*s.* a day; petty captain, 2*s.*; ensign bearer, serjeant, drummer, fifer, and surgeon, 12*d.* each; 100 foot. Captain Fisher's band of footmen, the same. Total, 302.

"Garrison appointed for the prosecution of the O'Mores and O'Connors, now rebels, in the King and Queen's Counties." Total, 337.

Garrison at Knockfergus, 127; and in sundry wards and castles, 93.

*Kerne*.—Francis Cosbye, General of her Majesty's kerne, 3*s.* 8*d.* a day; 32 kerne at 3*d.* each. Mr. Agard, 40 kerne. Robert Harpoll, 24 kerne of the sept of the Keatings.

*Ordnance*.—The Clerk of the Ordnance, 12*d.* a day; his man, 8*d.*; 7 gunners at 12*d.* and 4 at 8*d.*; 5 artificers at 12*d.* and 3 at 8*d.* The porter of Dublin Castle, 12*d.* a day. Names of the "pensioners, at sundry entertainments." 13 impotent soldiers, at 6*d.* a day each.

Total in pay, 1619.

*Pp.* 7. *Endorsed.*

Sept. 12.  
Vol. 628, p. 305a.

**72.** THE GARRISON.

Number of men in pay in Ireland, 12th September, 1577.  
Total, 1619.

*An abstract from the preceding. P.* ½.

Sept. 15.  
Vol. 628, p. 362.

**73.** LORD CHANCELLOR GERARD.

"Instructions given by the Lord Deputy and Council to William Gerard, Esquire, Lord Chancellor of this realm," dated at Dublin, 15 September 1577.

(1.) You shall repair to the court, and deliver our letters.

(2.) You shall impart to her Majesty or the Lords the state of this country, and particularly the state of every province.

(3.) You shall declare that for the reformation of this realm there is nothing so necessary as the planting of presidents and councils, or some like resident authority in the remoter parts; and show the frailties thereof, that her Majesty may perceive both the increase of obedience and augmentation of revenue in those remoter provinces.

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(4.) Put them in remembrance that the delivering of justice universally is the only means to reform this disjointed state and barbarous country, and how glad the common and poorer sort are to embrace it, and that none but the great ones under hand repine at it, and what sweetness her good subjects feel by the administration of her laws, whereby of late years they have been delivered from the oppressions of their lords.

(5.) Declare how wilfully many of the noblemen of the Pale, as namely the Viscount of Baltinglas, the Barons of Delvin, Trimleston, and Howth, oppose the State; how loth they were to make any submission; and how, within few days after, being called as in former times to yield their consents to lay down a cesse, they refused to put their hands to the Council book, alleging that the cause was before her Majesty, and that they expected resolutions from her. They thought that except the same were either expressly signified from her Highness or else agreed upon by Parliament, they ought not to bear. You shall move therefore that they be specially sent for.

(6.) Declare how many ways and devices we used to ease the people of their griefs and burthen of cesse, which in truth is heavy; and how many times we offered to join with the Lords in advice for redress of the matter, which they refused to do.

(7.) Declare that there are no new grievances or impositions, for that the cesse is not so great as in other governors' times; wherein you are to remember such notes and memorials as be collected out of the Council Book.\*

(8.) Make known the estate of the revenue and that the same has not been neglected as her Majesty is informed.

(9.) Remember to the Lords that the quarterage assigned for the service of this country, due 1st October next, may be delivered to the Treasurer or his agent, to be presently sent hither; and move that the treasure here already may remain as a dead mass, to answer the event of any foreign invasion.

(10.) Declare what hindrance to her Majesty's service the bruits do that are brought over; first, that I, the Deputy, shall be revoked. They say further that her Majesty will have no cesse, and that I have taken the land to farm, which is no new thing, for Deputies have been placed by patent to govern the land sometimes for 10 years, sometimes 6 years, more or less, and have had by composition all the revenues, besides other allowances; yet no such rumour has been raised as now.

(11.) As it is reported that I, the Deputy, pass all things without advertising her Majesty or the Lords, remind them of my long and large letters, in which I left nothing of importance untold.

(12.) Declare the great hope that is conceived of the

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\* See No. 61.

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reformation of Munster and Connaught, and what likelihood we see that those provinces will be in short time brought to bear their own charges, that her Majesty for a time may be persuaded to be still at some charge for the continuance of those two authorities.

(13.) The like reason may be yielded for Ulster, and declare the conformity we find in T. Lenaghe, as may in part appear by the late service he attempted against the Scots.

(14.) It is alleged that I, the Deputy, go about to impose a new kind of cesse upon the country, and "to bind them and their inheritors to a thing royal and of perpetuity." Declare that I had no intention of charging the country with any new kind of cesse, but to make a conversion of the cesse into money, and thereby to create her Majesty a rent, thus reducing the country's charge from 8*l.* to 5 marks upon a ploughland.

(15.) "For the matter of the cesse general and particular, and what hath been imposed upon the Earl of Kildare's lands, by reason of the dissolving of the new freedoms; and what proffer I, the Deputy, made [for] my stable, and what device I set down to disburden the country of the keeping of my horse and horseboys, which as they allege is a charge to them of 660*l.* at the least, and I offered to discharge them for less than half the money, and that from henceforth they shall not be troubled hereafter with horse or horseboy; which they refused to accept, the farmers alleging that they durst not enter into any composition at all, were the same never so reasonable, for fear to offend their landlords."

(16.) Declare that if her Majesty be resolved to take away cesse totally, and if it please her to give me the allowance that other Deputies have had who have not had cesse, viz., for me and my company sterling pay, where now I have but Irish pay, although prices are far dearer now than formerly, I will submit to that order.

(17.) The ancient laws which you have discovered in the records of the Rolls, we leave to your discretion, to be recommended, enlarged, or corrected as you think expedient; wherein you shall do well to have conference with some of her Majesty's learned counsel there, so that, having agreed upon a form, the same may be sent hither to be engrossed and passed under the Seal, to be sent thither as in such cases of acts of parliament is commonly used. We require you to use all diligence that they with the rest may pass at the next parliament.

(18.) Remember to procure to be sent thence the manner and order of the process that is used for the trial of noblemen; for here is no precedent of it to be found, if need should so require.



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*Signed at the beginning:* Henry Sidney; *at the end:* W. Drury, H. Miden., N. Bagenall, Lucas Dillon, Nich. Malbie, Francis Agard, John Chaloner. J. Garvey.

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed.*

Vol. 628, p. 345a.

2. Contemp. copy of the same.

*Pp.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

[Sept.]

## 74. CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MALBIE.

Vol. 628, p. 144.

“A note (by Captain Malbie\*) of the order agreed upon by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, with the consent of the noblemen, gentlemen, and commons of th’ English Pale, for the allowing of a proportion of oats yearly unto the horsemen of th’ army for the price of 12*d.* the peck of that country measure, to be paid them by her Majesty; which order was made in anno 1571; with condition that the soldiers of th’ army should be removed from the cesse of th’ English Pale, and placed to lie in garrisons upon the frontiers.”

*Contemp. copy. P.* 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

Oct.

## 75. THE QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 188a.

Our cousin Connoher, Earl of Thomond, has made suit here for our confirmation of all letters patents of Henry VIII., Edw. VI., or ourself, concerning “his father’s creation or state of his earldom, or himself and his succession, or for assurance of any lands.” He has also besought us that his son Donoughe, now Baron of Ibrechan, and brought up here in our Court, might be nominated by us in the remainder of his earldom, although the same be not needful if he be his lawful eldest son. We have not only consented that such a confirmation shall pass under our Great Seal, but also have descended into consideration of other petitions which he has exhibited to us and our Council, wherein albeit we do declare our opinion or disposition to you, we refer to your consideration the manner of our grants to pass under our seal there.

(1.) Our cousin has desired to have freedom from cesse in all his lands with[in] the country of Thomond, which he saith are comprised in eight baronies, beside the barony of Ibrechan, and desires the like in the rest, or at least in some of the other baronies. He has showed forth here an exemption or freedom of certain ploughlands granted from Sir William Drury, now President of Munster, in certain of his said baronies. We have thought good to agree that he shall have, during his life, the freedom of the ploughlands so set down by our President, and the freedom of the barony of Ibrechan.

(2.) “The said Earl pretendeth an ancient government by way of commandment over the freeholders within Thomond, especially in making of surnames, and after the decease of the chief of every name, to allow of the next captain or suc-

\* See his letter of 16 Sept. 1577, State Papers, Ireland, vol. lix., no. 17.

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cessor," which custom he prays may continue in him; "or else for his relief, if the lands be or shall be brought to an ordinary succession of inheritance, as were to be wished both there and in the rest of the Irishry, that the wardship of their heirs may be at his disposition, as he by his tenure ought to be ward to us."\* We could be contented, if you think it so good, foreseeing that certain choice persons of the best sort be exempted, because we find the discommodities in other parts of Munster, where principal men depend upon such capital men as he is. They might be induced to surrender their lands and have estates of inheritance again from us.

(3.) "He hath alleged that great sums of money are due to him and to th' inhabitants of Thomond by us for cesses reared there by the several warrants of yourself, our late Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, Sir Edward Fitton, and Sir William Drury, during the several governments of you and them; which sums the inhabitants have substituted him to receive, as he saith, and offereth to prove that great sums thereby are due to him and his country, by the lack whereof he allegeth them to be greatly impoverished." You shall cause due inquiry to be made concerning the said cesses,—how they have been levied, to whose hands they have come, and what defalcation has been made upon the wages of such as have received those beeves and other cesses, to th' end that the ordinary prices heretofore by prerogative answerable for the same may be satisfied to the said Earl and to the people in his country by such as ought to allow it upon their entertainments. In the meantime we have thought good to lend him 200/.

(4.) He desires that the custom of Clare and Clanrode may continue in him as in his ancestors. As they are but small privileges, (whereof the like are due to many castles in Ireland,) upon merchandises of wine and ale brought from our port towns to those castles, the same shall be granted to him.

(5.) He desires that the bonnought of galloglas that has been accustomedly paid out of his own lands may be reserved to himself now that the galloglas are discontinued. We conceive that the bonnought was a cesse of victuals reared universally upon the whole country of Thomond for the wages of the galloglas, according to the number of the spears, whereof part was reared upon the possessions in the Earl's hands, and part upon the lands of the freeholders. So much of that bonnought as has been leviable upon the Earl's own lands shall be remitted, whilst the service of our galloglas shall cease.

(6.) It appears that by the grant of King Henry VIII. he is possessed of the moiety of the abbey of Clare. He prays to have the other moiety also yet in our hands, with the friaries of Inrye and Cohenny, the chantries of Termen Shemin, Termen

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\* In Vol. 607, "as his heirs by this tenure ought to be wards to us."

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Toloughe, Termen Minoughe, and Termen Shenoway. On survey thereof by our Surveyor of our said realm, he shall have an estate of all the premises in tail male, reserving such rent as by the surveyor shall be allotted.

(7.) He desires the island of the Innescattes, upon pretence that he would convert it to a fish town. Because we suppose it to lie within the river of Shenin, and of some importance to the city of Limerick, we require to be informed from you touching the situation and importance of the place.

The rest of the articles we refer to you, to make grants and estates to him under our great seal, either during his life or during pleasure, or to him and his heirs males of his body. These shall be sufficient warrant to our Chancellor for sealing the same.

[Windsor Castle,] ———,\* October 1577, 19th year of our reign.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 6.*

Vol. 607, p. 44.

2. Another copy of the same letter.

*Pp. 6.*

Nov. 1.

**76.** The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628 p. 280.

Since the arrival of our Chancellor here we have caused due examination to be had by our Council of the griefs and complaints of our subjects of the Pale. Sufficient matter was produced by the Chancellor for justification of you and that Council, and all your doings in the continuance of the cesse; and we found that our said subjects have not been oppressed or in any way abused. It appears that we and our progenitors have been long invested therein; that the burthen is chiefly in the distribution; and that no men have had less cause of offence than the informers and their confederates.

As it seemed that the informers sent hither intended to bring our authority in contempt by impugning our prerogative and slandering you our Deputy, we have committed them to the Tower of London, and do judge it also expedient that Scurlocke should receive like punishment from you in Ireland.

We understand that certain of our nobility, at the assembly for the cesse last agreed upon, did publicly refuse to subscribe to the same, as accustomedly heretofore they have done. If this refusal proceeded of contempt, you shall extend such punishment upon them as by you and our Council there shall be thought convenient. You shall call before you as well the said refusers as the other principal persons that were by you before committed for impugning the cesse, and move them not only to subscribe to a submission and an acknowledgment of their fault, but also in writing to allow of our cesse. If they refuse, you shall punish them with all severity. If you find them conformable, you may make it

\* Plank in MS.

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public that though we cannot see how they may be eased of the cesse this year, yet we mean to give order for the easing thereof in time to come.

Windsor Castle, 1 November 1577, 19 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2¼.*

**77. DISORDERS in IRELAND.**

Vol. 628, p. 344.

Orders taken and agreed upon by Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., President of Wales and Lord Deputy of Ireland, and others of the Privy Council in that realm, "for remedying of such disorders and griefs as are complained of and presented to charge and annoy the universal state of the said country:"—respecting idle followers, felons, the Brehon laws, stolen cattle, county courts, ferries, rhymers, septs, and horseboys.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3¼.*

**78. WEXFORD.**

Ibid., p. 347a.

Proclamation, by the Lord Deputy and Council, for reformation of disorders in Wexford.

They have received perfect intelligence, as well by several supplications and complaints in writing, as by the presentment of 13 persons of the best calling, sworn to inquire on her Majesty's behalf, in the present sessions holden for this county of Wexford, of sundry abuses, extortions, and oppressions\* practised by divers persons. Therefore they have thought fit to remedy some part of these griefs, and for those which presently cannot be ordered have appointed commissioners to execute such order and device as they have considered of. They signify the same by the present proclamation to all the inhabitants of the country now assembled, commanding them to obey the orders which shall be taken by the Lord Deputy and Council or by the said commissioners.

*Signed by Sydney at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

**79. THE CESSÉ.**

Ibid., p. 147.

"Henry Burnell his device to ease the cesse upon the country for the victualling of the garrison in Ireland."—The country to be discharged of cesse, and pay a contribution towards the victualling.

II. "The answers of the Earl[s] of Kildare, Ormond, and the L. of Donsaney unto the device propone[d] by us to the right honorables the Ll. of her Majesty[s] most honorable Privy Council."

*Signed: R. Netterville, H. Burnell.*

III. Two paragraphs signed by Ormond and Dunsany, giving their consent to this contribution.

Ibid., p. 147a.

IV. The demands of the Privy Council.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

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\* The same as those mentioned in the preceding document.

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## 80. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 282.

As a good while since you heard of the committing to the Tower of Nettervill and Burnell, we inform you how they have behaved themselves, and how we have proceeded with them. They exhibited to us a petition containing a device how, without further charge to her Majesty than her ordinary pay, and [with] less burthen to the country, the soldier may be victualled. We have caused them to set down their said device in writing, subscribed with [their] names, which we send you, “with a note of such a proportion as they and certain victuallers, with the assent of Captain Acres, have set down for the victualling of the soldiers, whereunto both they having authority, as they pretend, from th’ inhabitants of that realm, and the lords of that country birth being at this time here, have also assented by subscription of their hands.” We have enlarged them from their imprisonment in the Tower, with charge that they give their attendance when required, and under recognizance we do enjoin them to make their\* repair to you.

We think it meet that after you and the Privy Council there have considered their device, you shall call before you the nobility of that land and such other of the chiefest knights and gentlemen within the counties as shall be contributory to this new charge; and then separating from them Seurlocke, Nettervill, and Burnell, you shall demand of them whether they have authorized Burnell and Nettervill to make in their behalf any composition touching cesse. If they say, yea, it is gravely to be considered how the soldiers may at all times needful stand assured of that which is agreed upon as well in garrison as in journey. They do not require to name any victuallers themselves, but such as you shall allow.

Notwithstanding this composition, they assent that her Majesty in all attempts of foreign invasion or great rebellion shall use her royal power to command their persons and livings, and to be contributory to further needful provision.

Among matters to be proposed in the next Parliament, there is a device for renewing the payment of the subsidy of 13s. 4*d.*, upon a plowland. As this grant rises to a far greater value than the other, her Majesty is pleased that the grant of the other shall be forborne.

Touching the allowance of the 9,000 pecks of oats, whereas her Majesty now pays 12*d.* for every peck, if you can procure the country (this composition notwithstanding) to receive of her Majesty but 8*d.*, we think it very reasonable and profitable.

“Where [among] the matters subscribed by these agents and the Lords presently here, it is required that all the countries, counties, and places therein named should contribute to this

\* “this” in MS.

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yearly charge, we take that motion very reasonable, and that it shall be well that your L. give order accordingly, in the proportion as they be manured at this present, and more to be raised in like proportion. Where they require beforehand out of the revenues of that realm the ancient allowance of the soldiers for victuals according to *4d.* Irish the day, to be provided the better cheap, we think it very meet for so necessary a purpose you should make them an assignment of some rents certainly leviable, and to be paid at times certain of the year, to be employed yearly to that end."

If you allow of this device, and agree with the said lords, knights, and gentlemen, you shall cause the same to be entered into the Council Book, subscribed with the hands of the noblemen, as an order to continue for ten years or under.

If you find these aguts had not such warrant and have abused us, you shall commit them to the Castle. And albeit that these agents were appointed and that you agree upon this composition, yet considering their manner of dealing, and what evil may ensue to that State by sufferance thereof unreprehended, a collection has been made of the particularities of their misdemeanors, as well there as here, in prosecuting this cause; and the same we do send you herewith. They are to be charged with the same in some public place. You shall make them understand that they deserve great fines to be put upon them, and to have been more hardly handled, by seeking "the touch of her Majesty's power and prerogative royal never denied to any of her progenitors;" and then you may dismiss them.

As to Tirloughe Lenaughe and his nobilitation; Sir Nicholas Bagnall's request for freedom of his town of Newry, to help the walling of the same; the order to be taken with Clanricard; the sending of more persons to be executioners of justice; the laws to be passed in the next Parliament; and the Treasurer's accompt for the last two years,—you shall receive full answer upon the return of the Lord Chancellor, who, after his long attendance, is licensed to repair into the country.

Hampton Court, ---- February 1577.

II. "A NOTE of the MATTERS QUESTIONED WITH US by the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, appointed thereunto by the Lords of Her Maties Privy Council."

"Being demanded what authority we had to offer composition for the matters of cesse, we say that the lords and gentlemen who sent us hither condescended and promised unto us that whatsoever order we should agree upon with the Lords of her Highness' most honorable Privy Council in England for contribution to be given in place of cesse, they would stand and perform the same; and being demanded what offer of contribution we would make for the same, do say that the

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country shall discharge her Matie of the charge to be sustained in victualling of 1,000 soldiers."

Whereas *Id.* a day more than the soldier's entertainment is given towards his victualling, the country shall yield that penny for those 1,000 soldiers, or else victual the same garrison.

The charge at this day being laid upon the ploughland, that order the country is to alter, and lay the charge upon the ploughs within the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Kildare, Caterlaughe, [Wexford,] Kilkenny, and Tipperary. The charge of a plough will not exceed 3s. 4*d.* The Queen to receive the money from the country, and take the victualling on herself. If she leave the country to victual then the said contribution to be levied and delivered for provision of victuals.

We require that the noblemen of our country which are here may be conferred withal upon this device; that the soldier's allowance of bread, beer, flesh, butter, cheese, and herrings by the day may be made certain by the Council here; and that victuallers may be questioned what quantity of wheat, malt, and other provision will furnish 1,000 soldiers by the year, to the end that the country may know what grain and other provision they shall be bound to deliver, if the Queen put over the victualling to the country.

III. "A COLLECTION of the CAUSES for the which it hath been thought necessary to commit Netterville and Burnell all to the Tower of London."

"First, because it appeared that without warrant of you the Lord Deputy they made divers assemblies upon pretence of a general grief, as hath bred a factious contempt in the nobility and countrymen against the Government there. *Item*, that without lawful authority and warrant they cessed the country to bear their expenses in this their travail. *Item*, they combined by oath to prosecute this cause. *Item*, they comforted by messengers those in prison, the nobility and the rest in the castle of Dublin, to stand in their wilfulness. *Item*, they uttered before us such speeches whereby we gathered they were still of the mind that her Majesty's royal power and authority prerogative extended not by law to impose cesse as had been used.

"*Item*, for that by letters they solicited and maintained manifest slanderous untruths, that the lords of the country had preferred to her Majesty and to us that against law you the Deputy and Council there had more heavily burthened them with cesse for the garrison of your household than ever heretofore had been laid [on] them, where by proof it plainly appeared that you, having 1,500 seldiers in pay, cessed them to victual with her Majesty's pay but 500, and that your L. followed such course in victualling those 500 as was taken by Belingham, which porticion we saw entered into the Council

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Book granted by themselves that with less the soldier cannot be victualled; and for the provision of your horses you followed the order taken by Sir William FitzWilliams, and manifested by your officers, and by the sight of certain notes of your house you followed the last proportion taken by Sir W. FitzWilliams in those four years of his government.

“*Item*, chiefly for that we gathered by their refusal of such reasonable offers as the Lord Chancellor and Council offered them in Ireland to compound for cesse, they took this their journey rather upon will to exclaim than to seek ease of any grief.”

IV. “AN ANSWER to the QUESTIONS demanded by Nettervill and Burnell by William Grene and Jo. Bland.”

*Wheat*.—There may be made out of a peck of good wheat of Dublin measure, containing 16 gallons, 120lb. weight of bread, meet for any soldier.

*Malt*.—Also there may be made out of every six pecks of dredge malt, half beer malt and half oat malt, one tun of beer, containing 240 gallons, the malt being merchantable.

*Beef*.—A beef that costs 20s. contains in weight 200lbs.

*Mutton, pork, and bacon*.—Allowance for a soldier a day instead of his allowance of beef, 2lb. mutton, or 2lb. pork, or 1½lb. bacon.

A sufficient proportion of victual for a soldier for a fish (flesh?) day:—bread, 2½ oz., 1d.; beer 2 quarts, 1d.; fresh beef 2½lb., or salt 2 lb., 1d.

A sufficient proportion of victual for a soldier for a fish day:—bread 2½ oz., 1d.; beer 2 quarts, 1d.; butter or cheese 1 lb., or 8 herrings, 1d.

V. “A PROPORTION of VICTUALS to furnish 100 men in garrison for one month at 28 days to the month, after the rate of 100 allowances.”

Wheat 35 pecks, Dublin measure; every peck yielding 40 loaves, at 3 lb. the loaf.

Dredge malt, 35 pecks, Dublin measure, and half beer malt, which will make 5 tuns 200 gallons of good beer, after the rate of 6 pecks of malt to the tun, and 240 gallons to every tun.

Beeves in quarters for 4 days in the week, 20, each containing 200 lb.; total 4,000 lb.

Butter, for 3 days in the week, at ½ lb. to a man per diem, 600 lb. weight; or cheese at 1 lb. to a man per diem, 1,200 lb. weight.

Oats, to each of 300 horseman for his horse and hackney, one Dublin peck a week, for 30 weeks in the year.

If the soldier do make any journey for 5 or 6 days, he may take his provision with him from the victualler at the storehouse. If there be any longer journeys, as for six weeks or two months, it must be transferred by sea, and that charge



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is either to be borne by the Queen, the victualler, or the country.

VI. "A JUST PROPORTION of all kind of VICTUALS to furnish 100 men in garrison for one whole year."

Wheat, 456 pecks. Dredge malt, 456 pecks. Beeves for 46 weeks, after the rate of 4 days in the week, 230 beeves. Butter for 3 days in the week, after the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. a man per diem, 7,800 lb. weight of butter, or cheese 15,600 lbs. Herrings, for 6 weeks for Lent season, after the rate of 8 herrings to a man per diem for 4 days in the week, 19,200.

VII. "A JUST PROPORTION of all kind of VICTUAL to furnish 1,000 men in garrison for one whole year."

Wheat, 4,562 $\frac{1}{2}$  pecks. Dredge malt, 4,562 $\frac{1}{2}$  pecks. Beeves, 2,300. Butter, 39,000 lb. weight. Herrings, 192,000.

*Signed* : William Gerard.

"If the victualling shall be put to the country, the soldier shall have after the rate of pounds of bread, beef, mutton, pork, bacon, butter, and cheese, and also such rates of beer and herrings, as in this proportion is expressed; and for the oats, the allowance is too great, whereof we beseech their Honours to have consideration."

*Signed* ; R. Nettervill, H. Burnell.

"Mem.—That Captain Aeres, having considered of these proportions, affirmeth that they have accustomedly been victualled after that rate, and saith the soldiers will be content therewith. He saith that the soldier can hardly without allowance of carriage carry the proportion of victuals for 6 days.

"Mem.—That Gregory Rigges, examined upon the proportion of oats for 300 horse, thinketh it small for horse and hackney, but not possible the horseman with his pay and that allowance to feed his horse except he hath hay."

*Signed* : William Gerard.

"Mem.—That they agree to victual after the rate aforesaid to every band a 100 and 7."

*Signed* : W. G.

*Contemp. copies.* Pp. 11.

Vol. 628, p. 118.

2. Another copy of No. II. *Signed* : Richard Nettervill, Henry Burnell.

*This copy is followed by the succeeding paragraphs* :—

"We yield our consents to these points."—Gerot Kildare, Thomas Ormond and Oss., P. Donsany.

"This is a true copy of the agreement in England, subscribed by the lords of Ireland there, and the gentlemen sent thither for the country cause, whereunto we whose names are hereafter following do assent and agree; and in witness whereof have subscribed our names.—Rowlande Baldynglas,

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Thomas Slane, Delvyne, Christopher Howth, James Kiddeyn,\* Christopher Chivers, P. Trimleston, Thomas Nugent,\* P. Nangle, William Sarfeild, Thomas Nugent,\* Oliver Plunket, Patrick Barnewall, William Talbote, Jo. Neterfill, George Plunket, Nicholas Nugent, Edward Plunket, Patrick Brimingham, James Nugent, Lavalen Nugent, Thomas Talbot, John Bellewe, Christopher Darcy, Robert Täaffer, James Berforde, James Eylmer, Nicholas Deveros, Richard Pentinye, Michael Dalahid, Robert Barnewall, John Cusake, Robert Plunket, Christopher Plunket, Edmund Cog, Matthew Fitz-Henry, Aristotle Scuf[r]loke, Patrick Tallon, Morishe Wellesley, Edmund Darcy, Thomas FitzGerald, Morice FitzJames, James Eustace, Patrick Belewe, Davy Sutton, John Eustace, John Alen,\* Nicholas Eustace, John Alen.\* John Ledwicke, Patrick White, James FitzGerald, Richard Sedgrave, Patrick Pheyp, Gerrot Wighly, William More, Dairy Owgan, John Stokes.

“ We whose names are subscribed, being chosen by th’ inhabitants of the country of Kilkenny by virtue of the Lord Deputy’s letters directed for that purpose, do give our consents to the composition offered and agreed upon by the Right Honorable th’ Earls of Kildare and Ormond and the rest of the noblemen and gent’ of the English shires.

“ Patrick Sherloke, Richard Shee, Walter Butler, of Powliston, John Suetman, Gerald Blancevile.”

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

### 81. SUBMISSION of the GENTLEMEN of the PALE to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 628, p. 128a.

Whereas we and others have given our consents to the exhibiting of complaint to the Queen, seeking to be relieved from the heavy burden of cesse, we protest our meaning was not to impugn her royal prerogative; but as she regards our proceedings with indignation and displeasure, we submit to the bearing of the same, and humbly acknowledge our offences “ so far forth every way as we have committed the same,” not doubting but that she and your Honours, in consideration of our miserable estate, will cause our said burdens to be lightened. We beseech you to impart this our submission to her Highness.

*Signed:* Thomas Delvin, Christopher Howthe, P. Trimleston, Patrick Nangle,† Thomas Nugent, Oliver Plunkett, Nicholas Nugent, George Plunkett, Wm. Talbott, James Nugent, Jo. Nettervill, Edward Plunkett, Richard Missett, Lavalen Nugent.

“ We allow that her Matie may take cesse in this manner, viz., necessary victuals for her Highness’ army at reasonable prices, agreeing with her Highness’ prerogative.”

*Contemp. copy. P 1.*

\* *Sic.*

† “ Mangle ” in MS.

1578.

Feb. 18.

**82.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 628, p. 147a.

I the Deputy have discoursed in my other letters of my journey against the rebels. These are to report our dealings with the impugners of the cesse, according to the Queen's letters of 31 October, received by Bryskett, clerk of the Council here, about 6 December, I being then in the Byrnes' country, and about to repair to Kilkenny.

I returned hither the 22nd of last month, and summoned the noblemen and gentlemen to appear in the Castle Chamber on the 31st. It was demanded of them, whether they were still of opinion that the imposing of cesse was contrary to the laws. The Baron of Delvin, who was the speaker, made no direct answer. The Queen's letter, declaring her displeasure was read to them. I required them to sign a submission. They requested four or five days' space to take advice, but I allowed them no longer time than the next morning. On the 1st inst. they offered their submission in writing, but it was insufficient. They had been advertised by their agents in England that a composition offered by them was not disliked by the Queen. They refused therefore to subscribe a more humble submission drawn up by the Attorney-General, Mr. Suagge. None would subscribe but Fleming, Missett, and Barnaby Scurlock. They were all committed to the Castle of Dublin, and the next Star Chamber day they were fined. Within these two days they have exhibited a petition for their enlargement, which we did not grant, because they would not enter into bonds for the payment of their fines.

Castle of Dublin, 18 February 1577.

*Signed*: II. Sydney, Adam Dublin, Edw. Fitton, Lucas Dillon.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Feb. 20.

**83.** SIR HENRY SYDNEY to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 601, p. 71.  
Collins' Sydney  
Papers.  
I. 240.

"After I had made my last dispatches and sent away the bills for parliament causes to her Majesty, (whereof I beseech your Lordships there may be speedy return,) and taken order for the better settling of the O'Birnes and Tohills, (my neighbours at home,) I made my repair presently to the borders of the King and Queen's Counties, to meet with the insolency of the rebels, the O'Mores and O'Connors, who were, since the taking of Captain Harrington, so increased both in strength and pride," as they were not any longer to be endured. I assembled part of the rising out appointed for the general hosting, which from the beginning of June last had been from time to time deferred, and not dissolved. I sent for Sir Nicholas Bagenall, the Marshal, "to take the charge of the service in my absence, for the prosecution of the rebel, making him my lieutenant of Leinster and Meath; appointing the Lord President of Munster with his charge to lie upon

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the confines of the province under his rule, next adjoining unto the rebel; and on the other side assigned Sir Nicholas Malbie to remain with the greatest part of his force upon the frontier of Connaught, where he might best annoy, and lie most aptly to stop the rebels' passage."

I spent some time in taking pledges of the O'Dempsies, and other doubtful neighbours upon that border. On Christmas eve I came to Kilkenny. Sir Lucas Dillon only accompanying me thither. I was informed that the speediest way to suppress the rebel was to plague his maintainers. I found some of the principal and best sort of the town had relieved the rebel with victuals and other necessaries. The country had received the rebels' goods, fostered their children, and maintained their wives. Few would come to me without protection. Those that had special rule and charge of principal houses and castles of the Earl of Ormond refused to come at me, as namely, Foulke Grace, constable of Roskrea, Owen McDonoghe, Oge O'Kenedie of Ballihaghe, and Ferdorroghe McEdmond Purcell of Potlerathe, one of the said Earl's manors, and captain of his kearne. Each of these three last fostered one of Rorie's children.

Having had this taste of the principal men, I caused every day some one or other to be apprehended. I appointed a sessions to be held. Plenty of accusations. Partiality of the juries. I willed the commissioners to take recognizance of the juries to appear here in the Castle Chamber, and likewise to cause the prisoners to be brought [hither].

During my being at Kilkenny, the Earl of Thomond came to me, and brought me letters from her Majesty and your Lordships, "but he was either so curious or negligent, or both, in carrying of them, as he delivered them unto me open and the seals broken up." I referred him for further order in his causes hither, where I will with some advice consider his demands.

A day or two before my coming from Kilkenny, the Earl of Desmond likewise came to me. I had heard that he had refused to come to the Lord President, and had gathered together a rabble of lewd and unruly followers. I thought good therefore to charge him with the matter. He alleged that he was driven to assemble this company for fear of the President, as it was reported that the President intended to slay\* him. I caused the President and him to come together, and reconciled them. The Earl promised to disperse his companies and to obey the President. When he went from me, I sent a man of special trust and credit with him, to report his proceedings, who accompanied him as far as Kerry, and told me at his return that during the time that the President and he were in company together, which was two

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\* "Stay" in MS.

1578.

days' journey, lodging and feeding both in one house, the Earl behaved himself orderly and reverently to the President, and after his coming home took order for the dispersing of most of his company. He gave out everywhere that he meant no harm to the State. "I hold him the least dangerous man of four or five of those that are next him in right and succession, (if he were gone,) and easiest to be dealt withal, so that be it for the doubt of the attempt of the rebel James FitzMorris, his kinsman, if he should come in and he join with him, or in respect of the harm otherwise which he could do, if he should grow ill disposed himself, I suppose there is least danger in him of any of the rest, and soonest may be met withal and cut off, being such an impotent and weak body, as neither can he get up on horseback, but that he is holpen and lift up, neither when he is on horseback can of himself alight down without help."

The country is in good quiet, "save that which lately hath happened betwixt Tirloughe O'Neale and O'Donnell, for killing of Tirloughe's son, whereupon there had been like for this matter some brawl to have fallen out betwixt them, but that I suppressed the same in due time." O'Neale would not seek his right but by order from me, and neither the one nor the other seeks to entertain Scots. Thus Ulster is a good neighbour to the Pale;—no complaint of boderagge or stealth made by them since my departure. Connaught and Munster are also quiet and obedient.

The only gull is the rebel of Leinster. I waste him, and kill of his men daily. Hasten hither the Lord Chancellor, whose absence may be ill spared long, for the dispatch of poor men's causes.

I beseech you to give order for my quarterage to be due the 1st of April next; for to repress the archtraitor James FitzMaurice and that rebel Rorie Oge I am inforced to employ no small extraordinary charge.

I gave order, upon receipt of your first letters touching Hiekes, the pirate, that he should be presently sent thither. My Lord President promised that he would do it, so that I hope ere this he is arrived.

It seems that I am greatly blamed that I advertise no oftener such occurrents as happen here. There is good store of others, whose diligence enriches you with reports, but they are malicious. I love not to write of every accident and slight matter, but I leave no matter of weight unadvertised.

Touching George Winter's untrue reports of me, I hope ere this you have discovered so much of the man, by his own contradictions and confessions, as I need not to say any more of him. I willed my Lord President to answer your last letters, and desired him for his own discharge to make a full declaration of what had passed between George Winter and him. For my own part, I neither saw him nor dealt with him, but referred the whole state of the cause to my Lord President

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and others. I appointed in commission the Escheator General, Henry Davells, Peter Sherlocke, and Pierce Aylward; "the two last, the one the Mayor of Waterford that was the last year, the other the Mayor this year." He (Winter) dealt so strangely with me, that he would not let me have 100 hides for my ready money, which I desired for the provision of my household and sent an express messenger for them; "nor yet so much as give me a parrot, which I heard say he had in the ship he took, although he were intreated by my man to bestow her upon me."

Castle of Dublin, 20 February 1577.

*Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 10.*

Feb. 28. 84. The QUEEN to the EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 628, p. 182a.

By letters from Sir William Drury, President of Munster, we understand that upon a rumour spread in Ireland that our said President had some special commission to apprehend you, standing in great fear, you assembled certain forces in a disordered sort, but afterwards, perceiving the said rumour to be most false, submitted yourself to the Deputy, and promised to keep only such a retinue as is fit for your estate. We signify to you our great good liking of your submission, and assure that no such commission was given to the President as you doubted.

Manor of Greenwich, the last of Feb. 1577, 20 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Feb. 28. 85. The QUEEN to the COUNTESS OF DESMOND.

Vol. 628, p. 183a.

We are advertised of the submission and late coming in of the Earl your husband to our Deputy, and of your good travail with your husband to remove him from his vain fear of apprehension and to leave off his great number of followers; for which we thank you.

Manor of Greenwich, the last of Feb. 1577, 20 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

March 20. 86. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 281.

We have given order to our Privy Council to dispatch such of the Pale as were here from our subjects of the same to desire a mitigation of the cesse. The principal matters are left to your advice. Finding our yearly charge to increase, "we have, upon conference had touching the lessening thereof, offered to us a plot whereby to maintain a sufficient force for defence of that land, to settle executioners from hence, and to diminish the greatest part of our charge." We think it necessary, before we conclude upon any resolution certain, to confer with you; and therefore our pleasure is that you put yourself in readiness to repair to our presence by the

1578.

10th of May next, leaving the sword and authority to Sir William Drury, as our Justice. You shall bring with you our Auditor of that realm\* with perfect reckoning of our revenues and debts. We have taken order that 5,000*l.* shall presently be sent to our Treasurer there,† by way of advancement, to defray all charges for this next quarter until Midsummer. Upon your departure you shall take order that therewith our garrison may be paid, and that they may until Michaelmas be victualled, "as they have been with the money which you have agreed to receive in lieu of cesse."

Manor of Greenwich, 20 March, 20 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

March 26. **87.** The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 287a.

By your letters of 25th November 1578 (*sic*), we understand the evil success of Thomas Chatterton's enterprise upon O'Haulon's country, granted him by us. You were advertised by our Council to deal with him for the revocation of that grant, which to do and to compound the matter with him you thought you had not sufficient warrant. The premises considered, and that you wrote you could not then get of the tenants there above 60*l.* of yearly rent, we accept his resignation of that grant. If you can make 100*l.* ster. yearly there, we are pleased to grant him so much. He shall enjoy the same as of our gift during his life.

Greenwich, 26 March 1578, 20 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

May 29. **88.** The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).

Vol. 628, p. 288.

We have received letters from yourself and our Council there, excusing your abode and stay longer than was prescribed in our last letters, and imputing the same to the matters of cesse and to the conference appointed by us between you and our Chancellor (Gerrard). It has been necessary to stay the Chancellor here till now; so we will allow of your stay till his arrival. We now again signify our pleasure that you make your immediate repair hither.

The bills for the Parliament sent hither by you have been considered. That for renewing the impost is very necessary; and it is also requisite that the composition for cesse be passed by Parliament. But many other inconveniences contained in those bills may be remedied by the Governor and Council.

We require you to give credit to our Chancellor, who has greatly satisfied us and our Council touching the general and particular state of that country, not without great show of good affection and love to you. We have dispatched him

\* Thomas Jenyson.

† Sir Edward Fyton.

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and given a licence for transporting yarn in the name of his son. He has resigned to us the *concordatum* of 40s. a day given by you for the sustentation of his charges in the time of his attendance here.

Greenwich, 29 May 1578, 20 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

May 29.

Vol. 628, p. 289.

**89. THE PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (SYDNEY).**

We have long since advertised you of the receipt of your letters brought by the Lord Chancellor of that realm. As to the cesse, the chief cause of his repair hither, we have sent you our opinions with the effect of all our dealings in that behalf. The Lord Chancellor is now licensed to repair to you.

Touching the Parliament, her Majesty has heard the several laws reported, and thinks the same unneedful; but she will have a Parliament for the continuance of the subsidy.

Touching the Earl of Clanricard, her Majesty stays resolution until you repair hither. For the nobilitation of Tir-loughe Lenoughe, his L. (Gerrard?) has the instruments.

You require some learned [men] to be sent over to serve as justices there. One at least shall be sent over shortly to serve as Justice of the Common Place.

By your letters of 30th April sent by Waterhouse, we perceive that the perfecting of the cesse is the principal cause of your stay. Upon the repair thither of the Lord Chancellor you are to enter into conference about that matter, to bring the same to some final and speedy end. Her Majesty has given order to the Earls of Kildare and Ormond to repair home. Your repair hither is to be with expedition.

We have considered the depositions of certain persons touching the disorders of the soldiers that followed you in your journey to Kilkenny. The faults were not so great as we were informed.

—————, 29 May 1578.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

May 29.

Vol. 611, p. 351.

**90 SIR WILLIAM DRURY, LORD JUSTICE.**

“Instructions given by the Queen’s Majesty, with the advice of her Highness’ Council, to Sir Wm. Drury, Knight, [whom] she hath appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, and Wm. Gerrard, Esq. Lord Chancellor of the same land.”

They shall assemble the rest of the Council there, and “enter into the estate of the four provinces, Ulster, Connaught, Munster, and Leinster, how and by whom every or any of these estates be perturbed, how and in what sort at this day the loyal and true subjects are defended from the enemies, and at what charge to her Majesty and at what charge to the country. After, to consider whether any part of the garrison now in pay [may] be diminished and the country sufficiently defended. Then, to consider of all our castles and forts, which



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at this day at our charge are guarded and kept, what maintenance daily belongeth or is otherwise challenged to belong to every or any of them the said castles or forts, either in lands or customs."

"Also to confer and consider how the confines of our countries bordering upon the rebels, specially Leixie and Oflally, be inhabited by the owners of the same lands, and whether by such persons or in such sort, with such armour and munition, as either by the laws of the land or in respect of their tenures they are bounden; wherein our will and pleasure is, that you effectually put those the laws of that land in execution, by which laws and through the deserts of owners of the lands we may lawfully demise the lands and appoint tenants."

Also to consider how the Irish rebels, next borderers upon the Pale, may best be dealt with to bring them to civil order, especially the Tooles, Byrnes, and Kavernaughts, "who have over long been suffered to live in the like rude and disordered sort as do the most savage of the Irish." Also to call our Clerk of the Check, and "to peruse his check roll of the whole number of the soldiers and others in our pay, who be their captains, where they live and how employed, and whether all those to whom we give pay as soldiers be continually employed in service." You shall cause the said Clerk of the Check to reduce his manner of entering those in pay into his check roll according to the ancient order.

Because we would be truly advertised of the debts we owe and of those due to us, you shall consider of the late notes laid down by our Auditor, and how all those to whom we remained in debt when Sir Henry Sydney last received the government, and who are not yet discharged, had and came by their warrants, whereby you may gather who are meetest speedily to be paid. We hope, with the revenue of the lands and the levying of the said debts, that those to whom we owe anything may be satisfied without suit to be made to us, and that "such as have patents of office there appertaining to our revenue, should have their yearly fees or the arrearages thereof paid by our Treasurer for the Wars, out of our treasure sent out of England; and therefore you shall charge our Treasurer with that default passed, and direct him not commit the like, what commandment soever any our governors there shall give to the contrary."

We perceive how greatly religion and justice "be decayed in most parts, the parish churches fallen down, and there no service said or very seldom." You shall take "such order as all those the several parish churches decayed may be re-edified, who in law are chargeable therewith, the parsons, vicars, or their farmers, compelled to keep curates." You shall cause convenient places to be made or repaired wherein aptly to receive the justices in all times of sessions; also sufficient gaols. The said justices shall put in execution the

1578.

laws against marriage and fostering with the Irish and using Irish laws and customs; and you shall appoint, in the towns where the sessions shall be kept, and in the good towns through which the passage of the justices lies, inns and places of lodging with convenient proportion of hay and corn, which they shall pay for.

You shall peruse the instructions taken in the time of King Henry VIII. (then put in print,) delivered to Sir William Skevington, Deputy there. So many of them as you think meet for this present age shall be put in execution.

We are wearied with the intolerable charges. Extraordinary expenses are the chief consumer of our treasure. As often as any allowance exceeding 10*l.* shall be demanded, you shall stay the granting or sending of a warrant by your *concordatum*, until you have called together all those of our Council being within eight miles, so as you ever have the number of four besides yourself to confer and consider of the demand.

Upon consideration of such sums as since the beginning of our reign have been answered to us "for subsidies, proffers of Mayors and Sheriffs, fines for liveries, the twentieth part for spiritual livings of the Crown, office [of] Clerk of the Hanaper, of the first fruits, fines for homage, forfeitures of merchandises, profits for wards, fines for leases, fines for alienations, fines in the Castle Chambers, forfeitures upon bonds and recognizances, [and] the fines of amercements cessed by the Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical," we find the same so small that we think we have not been answered of that which we ought to have received. The orders taken in the time of the Earl of Essex, set down in writing and subscribed by Gilbert Gerrard, Attorney-General, for the speedy and due payment of our revenue, are to be executed. Before they pass any warrant to demise any part of our lands, or any pardon or protection for any offender, you and the Council shall consider of the same. The profits accruing thereby have rather been employed upon others than turned to our use.

When any spiritual promotions fall void, they shall be bestowed upon apt and fit persons, eschewing corruption.

You, the Lord Justice, and Lord Chancellor, with our Council, shall enter into the consideration of all officers and offices in our Court of Exchequer established to determine causes touching the revenue, and consider what appertains to the duty of those several offices, what fees they have, and whether our said revenue may not be received by fewer officers and at lesser charge.

Be careful to see our people governed by justice, that they may defend themselves from all oppressions, exactions, spending, coynes, liveries, payments of black rent, or any other Irish tribute or payment.

Search and try out what beefs the Irishry yield and pay us, and what they ought to yield.

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Whereas upon the change of governors many good servitors in office have usually been displaced, and the friends and followers of the new governor admitted, although unfit, you shall have care that there be just matter inducing before you displace any.

Have special consideration of all such as hold any their lands of us, that we be not defrauded of any service.

At Michaelmas next, and so forth quarterly, send us a true account of the receipts and charges of the quarter, and a perfect certificate of your proceedings.

*Copy. Pp. 9.\**

June 28.

**91.** PETITION of the GENTLEMEN of the PALE to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 628, p. 137a.

We have remained prisoners since 6th February last until this 28th June for the matters of cesse. We had no intent to gainsay any part of the Queen's prerogative. We acknowledge that in times of necessity the Queen may lay charge upon her subjects here as fully as in England, and we submit us to the same; "the whole effect whereof we have by sundry other submissions, heretofore exhibited to your Honours, acknowledged in the plainest manner that we could devise." We beseech you, therefore, to take some good order for our discharges of fines and imprisonment, and also to reduce the charges of diet and fees of this Castle (which have been out of measure increased and enhanced since the time of the Earl of Sussex's government) to the old rates then used and accustomed.

*Signed:* Thomas Delvin, Christopher Howthe, James Kidlen, P. Trimleston, Christopher Chevers, Oliver Plunkett, Thomas Nugent, Wm. Talbott, Nicholas Nugent, Jo. Nettervill, Patrick Nangle,† Tho. Nugent, George Plunkett, Patrick Bermyngham, James Nugent, Edward Plunkett, Lavelen Nugent.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Vol. 623, p. 136a.

2. Another copy of the above. P. 1.

June 30.

**92.** The EXPENDITURE.

Vol. 628, p. 367.

"Ireland.—The Queen's Majesty's Charges there concerning the martial affairs, as well Ordinary as Extraordinary, for two whole years, beginning the 1st of October 1575, and ending *ultimo Septembris* 1577."

Diets, wages, and entertainments, 55,016*l.* 12*s.* 1½*d.*; extraordinaries, 17,218*l.* 7*s.* 11¾*d.* Total, 72,335*l.* 0*s.* 0½*d.*

\* Dated in the margin, by Carew, "Anno 1579." There is another copy of these instructions in the Record Office, dated 29 May 1578.

† "Mangle" in MS.

1578.

Money "received, defalked, and due to be received," 62,023*l.* 3*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; which will not satisfy the charges by 10,211*l.* 16*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

ii. Like Charges from 1st October 1577 to 30th June 1578.

Wages, &c., 21,681*l.* 16*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; extraordinary and necessary charges, 11,516*l.* 4*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Total, 33,198*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*

Received and already levied, 29,188*l.* 15*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Received in England, for money formerly paid for old debts, due in Sir William Fitz Williams' time, 2,217*l.* 11*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, Irish.

Excess of the charges over the receipts, 1,711*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, Irish.

iii. "Sum total of the Arrearages, due at the entry of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Sidney, knight, viz., at Mich.," 17 Eliz.

In the accounts of the revenues, 56,998*l.* 18*s.* 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ *d.*; in the accounts of the Treasurer at War, 34,616*l.* 12*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.* Total, 91,615*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* "The total of the like arrearages due for two whole years," from Mich. 17 to Mich. 19 Eliz., 5,609*l.* 13*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

iv. "Sum total of all and singular the clear Rem[ains] of the Debts due for divers years ending at Mich. 1575."

Under the late Lords Deputies, 36,201*l.* 9*s.* 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ *d.*; under the late Earl of Essex, General of Ulster, 1,490*l.* 16*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.*; Courts of Records, for fees and annuities, 1,644*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*

v. "Sum total of the Whole Charge, or money due for tBo years and three quarters, ending *ultimo Junii* 1578."

Wages and entertainments, 27,581*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; extraordinary charges, 2,550*l.* 7*s.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; fees, pensions, and annuities, 702*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* Total, 30,834*l.* 12*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; whereof paid by Sir Edward Fyton, knight, Treasurer at the Wars, 15,846*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

"And yet rem' clear due, viz., to her Majesty's subjects, which is stayed to their uses, 4,970*l.* 5*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; the particular persons in clear remain to themselves and other their creditors, 10,017*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*; [total] 14,988*l.* 0*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, Irish; *fac'* sterling, 11,241*l.* 0*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

*Pp.* 12. *Endd.*

June 30.  
Vol. 628, p. 305.

93. The EXPENDITURE.

"A note of expenses and receipts for Ireland, in the time of Sir Henry Sydney, viz., two years and three-quarters," ending 30 June 1578.

*P.* 1.

June 30.  
Vol. 628, p. 376.

94. The GARRISON.

"The Queen's debt to the soldiers," 30th June 1578; *sc.*, to the chief officers; the Lord President and Council in

1578.

Munster; the Colonel and Council in Connaught; horsemen; foot bands; warders in sundry forts and castles; Irishmen; Pensioners; Ministers of the Ordnance; and impotent soldiers.—Total, 10,320*l.* 15*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *l.* Irish.

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed.*

**95.** RECOGNIZANCES.

Vol. 628, p. 314 a.

“Forfeitures of recognizances and other amerçiements in the Queen’s time, till anno 20 of her reign, in her Court of Chief Bench, amounted unto 5,419*l.* 8*s.* Some remitted in respect of service; some, by *concordatum*, by the L. Deputy and Council; of some there is extracts remaining in the Court.”

4 *lines.*

July 18.

**96.** EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 600, p. 46.

“The Combination of Garrett, late Earl of Desmond, attainted of high treason.”

Whereas Garret, Earl of Desmond, has assembled us, his kinsmen, followers, friends, and servants, after his coming out of Dublin, and made us privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July 1578, to be performed, and to his answers to the same, which answers we find reasonable; and has declared to us that if he do not yield to the performance of the said articles and put in his pledges, the Lord Deputy will make war against him; we counsel the said Earl to defend himself from the violence of the Lord Deputy, and we will assist the Earl against him. 18 July 1578.

Garret Desmond; Thomas Lixnaw; John of Desmond; John FitzJames; Rorye Mac Sheaghe; Moroughe O’Brien; Moriertaghe McBrien, of Lonforth; Ja. K. E. F. D. K. B.; Theoball Burke; Donell O’Brien; Richard Burke; John Brown; Daniel McCanna, of Drombraine; James Russell; Richard FitzEdmond; Gerold Ulicke McThomas, of Billuncarrighe; Ulicke Burk; John FitzWilliam, of Karnedirrye; Teighe O’Heyne, of Chairreyleye.

“Copia vera, ext<sup>a</sup>, Matheue Dillon.”

*P.* 1.

Vol. 616, p. 155 a.

II. Another copy of the same, with pedigrees of the Earls of Desmond (p. 155) and McCartys (p. 156).

*Pp.* 3.

July 24.

**97.** THE CESSÉ.

Vol. 628, p. 152 a.

“The Conference between the Lord Deputy and Council, and the nobility, knights, and gent’ of the English Pale assembled at Dublin, the 24th of July 1578.”

They offer to discharge her Majesty of the victualling, and to take the burthen on themselves. They will provide sound victual for 1,000 soldiers, and yield 9,000 pecks of oats for

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300 horsemen. Storehouses to be provided by her Majesty. They require 3*d.* sterling a day from every soldier, and payment of the money beforehand. Before the 12th September the Lord Deputy will pay them 1,220*l.* 9*s.* 4½*d.* for one quarter. They require 12*d.* for every peck of oats, beforehand; the Deputy offered them 8*d.* They require that they may lay an equal rate on all the ploughs in the King's County and Queen's County; but from such Irish countries as have already compounded for bonaught, they require but 120*l.* The Lord Deputy will help them, as far as he may with justice, in levying the rate on all lands, as well ancient and new freedoms as others. They shall have allowance for losses by pirates, rebels, and shipwreck, and be discharged from all cesses, except for the Lord Deputy's house and for the carriage of munition.

Besides these there are numerous other agreements.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 4.

Ibid., p. 155.

II. "A breviat of a proportion for a 1,000 men serving in Ireland for one year."

*Contemp. copy* P. 1½.

**98. THE CESSE.**

Vol. 628, p. 124 a.

"Certain notes set down in articles and agreed upon to be formally drawn in indentures between the Lord Deputy and Council" and the representatives of the several counties.

*Similar to the preceding.*

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 4.

**99. COMPOSITION for the CESSE.**

Vol. 628, p. 129.

"The victualling being upon the Queen's Matie the last year, now almost expired." Loss to the Queen, 1,080*l.* ster.

"The victualling being now upon the country by their composition new offered." Saved to the Queen, 207*l.* ster.

II. "The proportion prescribed to and for the victualling of the garrisons in every kind of victuals, as well in the time of Sir Edward Bellingham, late Lord Deputy as also at other times sithence."

III. "A rate of the charges of the captains and officers of 200 horsemen and 500 footmen, by the year; all to have sterling pay for their Irish, and th' English horsemen to be increased 3¼*d.* per diem ster.; what their former pay is; and what will be the overplus to make up the ster. rates."

*Contemp. copies.* Pp. 7.

July 26. **100. ROSCOMMON and ATHLONE.**

Vol. 619, p. 58.

"A plot [by Sir Nicholas Malbie] for the saving charges for the Queen in the repairing of the towns Roscoman and Athlone dated the 26 July 1576."

Her Majesty is desirous to mitigate her charges within this realm; Roscoman and Athlone are chargeable to her in

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the yearly sum of 500*l.* sterling. If it may please her Majesty to bestow upon me and my heirs general, in fee farm, those houses with the two abbeys being now in my hands, I will build up the town of Athlone with a wall of lime and stone, and will build a walled town at Roscoman. I also petition for 50 horsemen during my life to be garrisoned at Roscoman.

*In Malbie's own hand.*

*P. 1. Endorsed: "Sir Nicholas Malbie's requests."*

August 24. **101.** SIR NICHOLAS BAGENALL to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 12.

As the traitor, Rorie Oge, received continual relief of victuals and assistance at Hugh McShane's hands, his father-in-law, I pursued him into his country. In my return homeward I lodged at the house of Viscount Baltinglas one night, when he was from home. I found great want there. The Viscount has since accused me of many and great outrages. The parties have been re-examined and six of them perjured manifestly, for the which one of them was publicly punished on a market day. His chief man has denied the spoils. I restored 73 cows which were proved to be none of the prey taken from Hugh McShane and Caraghe, that known rebel. I have desired the Lord Deputy and Council to make a certificate touching this matter to your Honours.

Dublin, 24 August 1578. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed and endorsed.*

August 25. **102.** SIR WILLIAM DRURY to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 26.

The bearer is repairing to the Court with certain petitions on behalf of the Earl of Desmond. I have found the Earl attentive to show his loyalty and service upon the bruted foreign invasion by Stucley pretended. He repaired to Lymerick, and brake with the mayor to be in readiness to resist those attempts, and he and his forces would also join with them. He apprehended certain malefactors of the McShies, and one Cormock Downe McCartye, by whose attainder her Majesty is advantaged, and took Granny ny Male prisoner. Lately he came to Dublin of his own accord, to show himself to the Lord Deputy (Sydney) before his departure. The bearer, his secretary, is a right dutiful subject.

Dublin, 25 August 1578. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed and endorsed.*

Sept. 30. **103.** The QUEEN'S REVENUE in IRELAND.

Vol. 628, p. 303.

Thirty-four abbeys and religious houses with very good lands belonging to them, never surveyed before 1569. 72 abbeys and priories concealed from her Majesty.

Sum of the moneys sent over in Sir William FitzWilliams' government, from 26 March 1571 to 22 September 1575, 168,173*l.* 5*s.* 4½*d.* Losses in victualling, from 1 October 1577 to 30 September 1578, 4,408*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

*Pp. 2.*

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[Sept.] **104.** QUEEN'S COUNTY.  
Vol. 628, p. 122a. "The causes why the gent' of the Queen's Com' do not consent to the new cesse, and what have been the chiefest occasion[s] of their impoverishment, exhibited by the agents of the same Com' to the L. Deputy and Council."  
II. "A brief declaration of part of the charges that the gent' of the Queen's County have been at, to serve upon their enemies the Moores."  
*Contemp. copies. Pp. 2.*
- Ibid. p. 135. III. "The particular of the lands as well inhabited as waste in the Queen's County."  
Inhabited, 3,066 acres; waste, 18,417 acres.  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*
- 105.** WEXFORD.  
Vol. 628, p. 123a. "Arguments proving the county of Wexford should be discharged of cesse;" with answers to the same.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*
- 106.** KING'S COUNTY.  
Vol. 628, p. 124. "A Note of all the Ploughs in the King's County."  
Sum total, 116 ploughs and 21 acres, amounting to 19*l.* 9*s.* ster.  
Paid to Captain Collyer, 19*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* ster.  
Unpaid—all the ploughs of Sir John Macoghlan's country, and the ploughs of her Majesty's Fort land.  
"Copia vera, per me Georgium Snowe, subvic." (under-sheriff).  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*
- [Oct.] **107.** VICTUALLING OF THE GARRISON.  
Vol. 628, p. 116. "A Note concerning the manner of our Proceedings with the Country, sythen the receipt of the letters from the Lords of the Privy Council."  
A copy of the said letters, touching the victualling of the soldier, was delivered to the agents of the country, to whom 1,220*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* was imprested, upon their assurance of sufficiently victualling the soldier, or repaying the imprest, if the composition should not hold. "Because the country could not provide to victual the soldier in this month of October, the captains agreed to take the 1*d.* per diem, and the imprest of 3*d.*, the half their wages, aforehand to victual the soldier for the same month. In the mean time the agents agreed that four or six out of every county should repair before the Justice and Council, and enter into recognizance," for the receipt of which we, the Lord Chancellor and others of the Privy Council of this realm, whose names are subscribed, in the absence of the Lord Justice, repaired to Drogheda, whither came the Lord of Delvin and others whose names are also subscribed.



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“The recognizance was drawn and delivered to them, the condition whereof was that from the first of November they should well and sufficiently victual the soldier with such proportion as in the articles was contained. After consultation they inserted unto the said condition this clause, so as at th’ end of this month they might have sufficient storehouses and other necessaries for victualling at her Maties charge prepared. The Lord Chancellor and Council told them the mislike of such a conditional recognizance.” Dispute respecting the storehouses, which were in decay, as appeared by a survey made by Michael Kettlewell, surveyor of the Queen’s works.

“The cause they said which moved them to make the offer in England to victual the soldier without charge to her Matie was the hope they had to receive the hid gain, which before that time was gotten as well to the great charge and deceit of her Matie as of the country, when officers under her Matie had the victualling; which gain they said would countervail all the loss the country should take by finding the horseman 9,000 pecks of oats; and for our better understanding of the truth thereof they delivered to us the note annexed, containing all the charges, with the whole charge of victualling on 1,000 soldiers, rating corn and beef at the highest price, and containing also what the imprest would amount unto, and the yieldings of the country, and so the gain manifest.”

“Their meaning was not to prepare the oats, except they might have storehouses and all other necessaries, with houses for brewing and baking prepared for them. At length we agreed to meet again at Trim on the 16th of the said month to receive their agreement in writing from their agents, who delivered to us the articles ensuing.

II. ARTICLES of AGREEMENT between the Lord Chancellor and others of the Council, and the “noblemen and gentlemen” whose names are subscribed.

(1.) For supplying the present necessity growing by the want of storehouses and other necessaries for victualling, notwithstanding they be not bound thereto by the composition moved in England, “the country shall give towards the buying of oats for 300 horses for 15 weeks, beginning the 15th of October 1578, over and besides the 1*l.* sterling for every soldier of 1,000 soldiers, the sum of 10*l.* sterling for every peck of 4,500 pecks, although the country should have saved in the victualling (being put to them) so much as would suffice to provide oats for the said horses.”

(2.) For the said penny of increase, they shall pay to the Treasurer at Wars 125*l.* sterling monthly for four months.

(3.) For provision of oats 187*l.* 10*s.* shall be paid to the said Treasurer.

(4.) The country to forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* for every pound behind and unpaid.

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(5.) This agreement not to be prejudicial to the composition moved in England.

*Signed*: Richard Netterfield, Henry Burnell.

*Present*: William Gerrarde, Chancellor, Thomas Armarchan., Adam Dublin., Henry Mideagh,\* —† Garvey, John Challoner.

“The offer in England was to give the *1d. per diem* to the number of 1,000 soldiers, and although it was told them that the 7 odd allowances to every 100 maketh up a perfect band of a 100, and so those like allowances ought to be yielded by them for the 1,000, yet they refused to yield the same, except they had the victualling put to them; and herein dissenting we received the *1d. per diem* for the 100 only, without the 7 odd allowances, until the Lords of her Highness’ said Privy Council had resolved how the same standeth with their officer in England.”

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4¼.*

### 108. VICTUALING of the ARMY.

Vol. 628, p. 143a.

“Orders to be put in execution by those to whom the oversight of[r] disposition of the victuals for her Ma<sup>ties</sup> army in Ireland is committed.”

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

### Nov. 20. 109. LORD JUSTICE DRURY and SIR EDWARD FYTON to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 628, p. 386.

We have returned out of the West. And first for the cause of our journey. Not only I, the Justice, but also the Lord Chancellor and the Deputy himself not long before his going hence, had received sundry complaints from the Archbishop of Cashel that he was injured and oppressed daily by Edward Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormond, and that he was as good as besieged within the walls of his castle; and no less grievous complaints were added to those of certain spoils committed by Sir James of Desmond, the Earl of Desmond’s brother, upon some of the Butlers and their followers.

Accordingly on 29 September I departed this city, taking with me of the Council none but Sir Edward Fyton, the Treasurer. Commissioners had been before appointed for that province. Barry, Roche, and other noblemen had spread a report that her Majesty would no longer be at the charge of any particular government within that province hereafter. That first day I went but to the Naas, 12 miles distant from this town. “The next day we came to Castle Dermott, unto which place came unto us Hugh McShane and his son Feaghe,

\* Qu., mistake for *Hugo Midens.*, i.e., Hugh Bradie, Bishop of Meath.

† Blank in MS.; but it is doubtless the signature of John Garvey, Dean of Christ Church.

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which Feaghe having about 10 days before openly submitted himself in Christ's Church in Dublin, at what time he was committed to the custody of Sir Henry Harington, knight, seneschal over the Byrnes, he now came thither with his father's effsones to submit himself and to acknowledge his offences, and to put in both their pledges."

"Thither came in like sort unto us Shane McRory, one of the O'Mores, and the most trusted man about Rory Oge whilst he was alive, and he that only escaped with him at the time of the recovering of Captain Harington, and Teig McGilpatrick O'Conor, who in like sort made their humble submissions unto us."

"The morrow after we came to Leighlin, whither Bryan McCalir (who since is dead) came unto us and put in his pledges, and with him one Morice McBryan O'Cullen, a Cave-naghe of loose life, and one that until now was upon no man's pledge; who there submitted himself and put in his pledge. There, because the presence of one of Rory Oge's sons, a boy of 6 or 7 years of age kept there with Mr. Carewe, whom I had gotten with a brother of his whilst Rory was yet alive, ministered to me, the Justice, occasion, and that I perceived some there that were likely and meet to report my speeches, I declared openly before all the audience there that, whereas I had in safe custody two of the said Rory's sons, I was resolved, whatsoever other pledges I had or should receive for the dutiful behaviour of the O'Mores, for the first harm committed by them or any of them in open hostility, to execute the one of them, with torment enough, to the example and terror of others, and upon the second fact or spoil to execute in like sort the other, as preparatives to the other provisions which I should intend for their better bridling and keeping in awe: which words so by me uttered and delivered at my request to some of them hath undoubtedly bred no small terror in their minds.

"To that place was brought unto me Granie my Maille, a woman of the province of Connaught, governing a country of the O'Flahartey's, famous for her stoutness of courage and person, and for sundry exploits done by her by sea. She was taken by the Earl of Desmond a year and a half ago, and has remained ever since partly with him and partly in her Majesty's gaol of Limerick, and was sent for now by me to come to Dublin, where she is yet remaining."

We came to Waterford on 3 October, and were received with great solemnity by the mayor and his brethren. A notable malefactor, John Brenaghe, a mean gentleman of the surname of the Welshes, of the Welsh mountain in the county of Kilkenny came in upon the assurance of Patrick Sherlock, sheriff of that county. He had greatly annoyed Waterford. I refused to accept his submission unless I saw him come with a rope about his neck, which the poor fellow was willing to do, and offered to put in sufficient persons to

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be bound for him in 500*l.*, whereupon he was committed to the custody of Mr. Davells, to remain with him until our coming to Kilkenny. Immediately after him, one Ferdoraghe Purcell, *alias* John McEdmond Purcell, a gentleman of Tipperary, presented himself before us with his submission.

“The Earl of Desmond repaired thither unto us with his brother Sir John, as to welcome us into the province; and so did likewise the Butlers, viz., Sir Theobald Butler, seneschal of the liberty of Tipperary under my Lord of Ormond, Edward and Piers Butlers, brethren to the said Earl, and Richard Shee of Kilkenny, who on their behalfs exhibited there by writing their griefs against the Earl of Desmond’s followers; but this Lord being come but to see us, and remaining with us but one night, there was appointed a further time for him to exhibit in the behalf of his followers his complaints against them, and the place we assigned Limerick for that purpose, thinking it fittest for both parties.”

We compounded with the Poer’s country for a yearly rent in lieu of cesse, and with part of the Desees. On 11 and 12 October we lay at Dongarven. The 13th day we came to Yoghull, where the Earl and Countess of Desmond entertained us. The next day we stayed at Clone, and on the 15th came to Cork. We remained there till the 19th. Viscounts Barry and Roche, the Lord Coursy, and Sir Cormock McTeig, with other principal men of that country, came thither to us. The great ones oppress their poor tenants. “One poor man, a freeholder under Roche, holding 8 plowlands of him, was kept by him in a handlock until such time as he had released 7 plowlands and a half, to have the other half plowland free and exempted from his accustomed exactions; which when he had done, the said Lord Roche, notwithstanding the said composition, yet ceased not to charge and impose the said half plowland as he did the rest of the country.”

“Likewise certain tenants of his and Barry’s, having controversy with them for title of land yet depending, and the possession remaining in the poor man’s hands, this harvest, because the said Lords saw the season to yield all kind of fruit abundantly, they without further process, as their own carvers, swept away clean all the corn growing upon the ground, and left the poor people clean destitute of any relief. We ordered as well the restitution of their corn to them, as freedom to the other poor man of his half plowland.”

Thither came to us again the Earl of Desmond, against whom the seneschal of Imokelly exhibited a much like complaint for taking from him his corn. Information was made against the late mayor of that city and the inhabitants for an outrage on seven soldiers of the Provost Marshal’s, who, upon the occasion of seizing of a roll from a woman’s head, were assaulted. We fined the corporation in 20*l.* sterling, and condemned four ringleaders of that tumult to stand four or five days upon the pillory, and the last day to lose their ears.

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“Understanding of a notable idol or image of St. Sunday or St. Dominick, wherunto great offerings were made by night every Sunday and holiday, because time served not for us to stay for the searching of it out, we left commission with the Bishop, the Mayor, and other discreet persons, to inquire and search for the same, who within two days after our departure laboured so diligently, though it were carefully shifted out of the way, as they found it, and burnt it at the High Cross openly, the Bishop himself putting fire thereunto, not without great lamenting of the people.”

We compounded there with Sir Cormock McTeig again for the year to come for his country, and caused six malefactors to be executed. On the 20th we came to Castletown, my Lord Roche's house, between whom and the Earl of Desmond were great strife and controversy. We rebuked Desmond for overcharging his country in preparation for our coming thither. Next day we came to Kilmallock, where a like complaint was exhibited by some soldiers against the town as at Cork, which, in respect of the poverty of the town, we punished by sharp admonishing.

On the 22nd we came to Limerick. There the Earl of Desmond met us again, with the Earls of Clancarre and Thomond and others; and likewise Sir Theobald Butler and Piers Butler in behalf of the Butlers. We arranged the disputes between the Geraldines and the Butlers respecting stolen goods. Sir James of Desmond sought privately to be admitted to the presence and speech of me the Justice, but I utterly refused it until he should publicly acknowledge his fault. A few days after he simply submitted himself, and, not being able to justify his doings, referred himself wholly to her Majesty's pleasure. We committed him to the safe keeping of William Apsly, sheriff of the county, and so brought him afterwards along with us to this town. We determined certain controversies between the Earls of Desmond and Clancarre, and that especially concerning the meers and bounds of the liberties of Kerry.

There we caused sessions to be held, and executed 22 persons. We won the Earl and Countess of Desmond to agree to and subscribe a composition for the alteration of their wonted manner of coyne and livery, and the converting thereof into a yearly rent of 2,000*l*. We ordered the restitution to the seneschal of his corn against them, and took from the Earl a castle whereinto he had made a forcible entry.

On Thursday 30 October we left that city and came to the Hospital, a house which the sheriff Apsley hath of her Majesty, whither the Earls of Desmond and Clancarre accompanied us, “between whom we prolonged the days of truce, (as we may term it,) which was taken between themselves but until All Hallow Day.”

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The next day we came to Cashel, where Edward Butler met us again. As the causes between him and the Archbishop and others were many and weighty, we appointed them to meet us at Kilkenny. From Cashel we went to Clonmell, and there stayed all Sunday the 2nd inst. We departed thence on the 3rd to Callan, and on the 4th came to Kilkenny. There, the jail being full, we caused sessions immediately to begin. Thirty-six persons were executed, "among which some good ones, two for treason, a blackmoor, and two witches by natural law, for that we found no law to try them by in this realm."

To that town came to us, simply to submit themselves and to crave pardon, first, Geoffrey FitzPatrick, brother to the Baron of Upper Ossory, a notable malefactor, that brake prison out of the Castle of Dublin; Walter Galdey, one of the Cavanaghes of the county of Wexford; Conell McGilpatrick O'More, "and with him Shane Grany, one of the principal men of Rory's in his last rebellion, and that received 12 wounds at the time of Rory's killing, whereof he bare seven yet unhealed;" and one Bryan McWilliam McFur of the county of Cathelloghe; who all gave their submissions in writing, and put in their pledges. We bound many suspected persons of Kilkenny and Tipperary in recognizances for their dutifulness; and the Lords Mountgarrett and Upper Ossory for the bringing to Dublin of such of their brethren as came not thither. The latter being indicted with certain of his men by the sheriff of that county for killing two of the sheriff's men, we bound him with four sureties in 2,500 marks and himself in 1,000*l.*, to appear with his men when called upon. John Brenagh, who was appointed to come to put in his sureties at Kilkenny, came to town, but brought not his sureties before us till Monday morning, when we were ready to depart. As his sureties stood upon certain points of the recognizance, I, the Justice, committed him to the sheriff, and commanded the Commissioners to proceed against him by order of law. Afterwards, upon very earnest suit, I was content that he should put in sureties for 1,200*l.*

Having had notice from the Bishop of Ossery "that not only the chiefest men of that town (as for the most part they are bent to Popery) refused obstinately to come to the church, and that they could by no means be brought to hear the divine service there with their wives and families (as by her Majesty's injunctions they are bound to do), but that also almost all the churches and chapels or chancels within that his diocese were utterly ruined and decayed, and that neither the parishioners nor others that are bound to repair them and set them up could by any means be won or induced so to do," — we therefore directed a commission to the Bishop and other principal gentlemen, authorizing them either to compel such as ought to do it

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to repair and build them, or else, in case they should refuse, to take their distresses so refusing, and with the money thereof growing to set the reparation in hand. We bound the chief men of the town in recognizance of 40*l.* ster. a piece, that they and their wives should duly every Sunday and holiday frequent the church and hear the divine service therein. Since our coming thence we hear from the Bishop of the good conformity of some of them.

We departed Kilkenny on the 10th inst., taking along with us Edward Butler, against whom many complaints had been exhibited. That night we came to Cathelogue, where all the principal of the Cavenaghes met us. Cahir Duff, who was lately with Feaghe McHughe in this last time of his disorder and at the burning of Fernes and other outrages, exhibited his submission, and all the chief men of his sept for him and his followers put in such pledges as we, by the advice of Peter Carew, Henry Davells, Thomas Masterson, and Robert Harpole, demanded. The Keatings promised likewise to put in their pledges. "They are now upon no man, nor have any entertainment, going as they do wandering." The next day we came to Castle Mastin, and so from thence to Dublin on the 12th, where we received advertisements that one James Brenaghe, a companion of the above named John Brenaghe, and a disturber of cos. Kilkenny and Waterford, was apprehended, and in his company one Edmond Walshe. They were apprehended by Colby, gnydon of my band of horsemen. He with four more have been executed at a private sessions at Waterford. "There are come unto us those which we appointed of the Lords Mountgarrett and Upper Ossory's brethren, of which one Callogh McGilpatrick, the Baron of Upper Ossory's brother, being a notable disturber of that country, we have thought fit to keep safe in the Castle of Dublin," as also a son of O'Carrol's, and two sons of the Viscount of Balinglas for some hurts lately done by them.

While we were in the west, the north was under the oversight of Sir Nicholas Bagnall, the Knight Marshal. Having regard to the great exclaiming of the country of the grievous burthen which they seemed to bear by the repair of the Governors heretofore into any place, we took with us only our household servants, and in every place we kept our horses and horseboys, without dispersing them or sending them to cesse, and paid ready money for them everywhere. Our company was but small, either to have attempted any force or resisted any violence, yet after we had met the band of me, the Justice, though it were but of 100 men, we stood in small doubt of any force.

In all this journey I utterly refused to grant the suit of any person for protection.

Dublin, 20 November 1578.

*Signed:* W. Drury, Edw. Fyton.

*Contemp. copy. Pp.* 13.

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Dec. 2. **110.** [FORM of LETTERS sent by] the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL  
[to various persons.]  
As the country, by composition with us, has agreed to yield  
3s. 4d. ster. upon every plough, you are to call before you all  
persons complained of by the collectors for refusing payment,  
and commit them to gaol.  
Dublin, 2 Dec. 1578.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*
- Dec. 11. **111.** [LORD CHANCELLOR GERRARD to the WIFE of TURLOGHE  
LYNAGHE O'NEIL.]  
The Knight Marshal (Bagnall) has made good report to me  
of your travail and good offices with your husband to  
remain the Queen's loyal subject, the good success of  
which I made known to her Highness at my late being in  
England. Her Majesty has sent you a token by me, which I  
will deliver to you at your husband's and your coming to the  
Newry. I have attended upon the Lord Justice thither.  
*Draft. P. 1½. Endorsed: Minute of the letters to Turlaghe  
and his wife, 11 Dec. 1578.*
- Vol. 628, p. 123 a. **112.** "The COMPOSITION for the CESSE."  
Dublin, 200; Meath, 400; Westmeath, 200; Louth, 200;  
Kildare, 200; Tipperary, 250; Kilkenny, 150; Katherlaghe,  
100; Wexford, 150; The King and Queen's County, 150.  
Total, 2,000 [beeves?].  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¼.*
- Vol. 628, p. 146. **113.** THE CESSE.  
I. "A note in what shires and places 2,000 beeves are  
to be cessed and levied for the furniture of 1,000 soldiers  
in Ireland."  
The Irish Pale, 840; the English Pale, 1,160.  
II. "The cesse of grain laid upon the English Pale with  
the consent of the nobility."  
Total, 7,800 pecks.  
III. "Where the beeves and swine are cessed upon the  
Irishry."  
Beeves, 1,340; swine, 620.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*
- Vol. 621, p. 43. **114.** The TOWN of KNOCKFERGUS.  
"A Note as well of the Great Losses as also of the Good  
Service that the poor Inhabitants of Knockfergus have  
had and done."  
They killed Brian Balloughe, Lord of Clandeboye, who  
continually annoyed the townsmen, with divers of his men.  
In revenge his son burned the town. They were glad to com-  
pound with him for 40*l.* yearly, which has been paid ever  
since.



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The Lord of Killholtoughe, a traitor, took away all the cattle belonging to the town. The mayor and 24 aldermen and freemen were slain, and 32 taken, who were glad to pay all their goods for their ransom.

“When the King’s Majesty (Henry VIII.) was at wars with France and Scotland, there went a great navy of ships out of Scotland, with the number of 10,000 men, to aid the French King, and their governors were the Earl of Arran, whose name was the Lord of Hamilton, and the Lord Flemmyng with him,” who landed at Knockfergus and attempted to win the town, but without success. The Lord Flemmyng’s brother was slain, with 40 of his men. Not passing twelve days after, the mayor with 200 men landed at Loughrean in Scotland, burned and spoiled much corn and many houses, and killed 60 men, besides a number of cattle.

At the same time the Lord of the Out Isles, Donell Mc Donell was agreed to serve the King for 600*l.*, and came to Knockfergus with 4,000 men in 60 galleys. The money being not ready, the mayor and others gave him 300 beefs, and went in pledge for the payment of the 600*l.*; after the paying whereof they were forced to pay 40*l.* ere they were released.

The lord of the country, Con O’Neale, took away 400 kine, and slew the mayor and the constable of the King’s Castle, with 24 of the townsmen.

There came also Rorey McQuylen, who brought with him McLane’s brother, with 600 Scots, meaning to sack the town, and they set fire in four parts of it. The townsmen killed one of the chiefest captains and 20 men.

By crafty means, William Wallis, the mayor, and Mr. Corbett were carried away by Con O’Nell, and were forced to pay 540*l.* for their ransoms. An alderman was also taken and most cruelly handled by him.

Hugh McBoye O’Nell, being after him lord of that country, compelled one of the aldermen to pay a ransom of 200*l.*

Hugh McNeale Oge, being a traitor, and lord of the country after him, came to Knockfergus with 1,000 Scots, and set fire in four parts of the town. Not long after, when Mr. Powell was discharged with his band from Knockfergus, and the abbey was given to the said Hugh, the latter challenged a wrong custom, and said, if he had it not, he would suffer neither man nor child to come out of their houses but he would kill them; so they agreed to give him five tuns of wine and 10*l.* yearly.

Con McNeale Oge took away 100 neat and other cattle. Not passing 20 days after he placed 200 men by night in the middle of the town to kill Sir Brian McFellomy and then to win the town. Perceiving they were hardly beset by him, they gave to Sorolaboye McDonell 20*l.* sterling in wine, silk, and saffron to assist them.

Brian Balloughe laid a strain in the corn, and took all their

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cattle, to the number of 600. They wrote to Sorolaboy for restitution, but he made excuse. Not long after the said Brian Balloughe took all their cattle, and they gave him certain silk, saffron, and wine to have their cattle again; "and the said traitor drunk the same wine, and received the said silk [and] saffron, and restored not one of the neat back again, but cruelly handled the poor men that went with the same unto him, and stripped them, and took all their clothes from them." Captain William Piers was then constable of the King's Castle.

Con McNeale Oge, in O'Nell's first wars, took all their cattle divers times.

Hugh McFellomy, lord of that country, demanded the 40*l.* beforetime paid to his ancestors. It was paid until Sir Henry Sydney, by force of the Queen's garrison, did cause the same to be stayed and withholden.

The town has been paved and environed with "stagnes" of water. Sydney gave them 20*l.* towards the repair of the church. The inhabitants have increased from 20 to 200. Above 40 fishermen daily frequent the seas, and there are above 60 ploughs belonging to the town. But if order be not taken for the thorough victualling of the Queen's soldiers there, so as the inhabitants be not burdened therewith, "the townsmen came not so fast thither, but will faster depart thence, as no few of them already be wearied and ready to depart."

II. "Money lent by the Mayor and Townsmen, not yet answered."

To Sir William Sellenger and Mr. Parker, 24*l.* sterling  
To Mr. Roger Brookes, 20*l.* To Walter Flody, constable of the King's Castle, 18*l.* Owing for the victuals of 100 men for a fortnight, 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Other costs and charges, 100*l.* ster.

*Copy. Pp. 11.*

### 115. CREATIONS OF KNIGHTS.

Vol. 621, p. 12.

"Knights made from anno 1566 to the year 1578, tempore H. Sydnej, Dep."

Sir Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde; Sir Owen MacCartemore, Earl of Clancarte; Sir James Barry, Lord Barry; Sir David Roche, Lord Roche.

Limerick, March — : Sir Thomas Gerald, Lord FitzMaurice, of Kerry.

Drogheda, 1566: Sir Christopher Nugent, Lord Baron of Delvyn.

Drogheda, 9 Feb. 1569: Sir Christopher St. Laurence, Lord of Howthe.

1566: Sir Robert Barnewell, Baron of Tremeleston.

1566: Sir Tho. Plunket, Lord of Lowthe.

Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick, Lord of Upper Ossery.

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Limerick, 3 March: Sir Gerald Courcy, Lord Courcy; Sir William O'Kerwill, Baron of Eleye; Sir Darby McCarty, Lord of Muskerey.

Sir Robert de Lion of the Newtowne; Sir Christopher Chivers of Maston; Sir Oliver Plunkett of Ramore; Sir John Bedlo, *alias* Bellew; Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal; Sir Edward Fitton; Sir Peter Carew; Sir James FitzGerald, brother to the Earl of Desmond, knighted in his.\*

2 Jan. 1559: Sir Edmond Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormonde; Sir Edward Stanley, brother to the Earl of Derby.

Drogheda, 1566: Sir Christopher Barnewell of Turbe.

Limerick, 1566: Sir Patrick Barwell of Erickston; Thomas FitzWilliam of Merioñ.

Nov. 1566: William Serchfeld of Lucan, being Mayor of Dublin.

Clonmell, 24 Feb. 1567: Theobald Butler of Caher.

Limerick, 3rd March: Deoussy McCarte Reo; John Desmond, brother to Gerald, Earl of Desmond.

2nd March, *post prandium*: William Bourke of Castle Emying.

Balliloughrei, 4 April, *ante prandium*: Hugh O'Donyll; Daniel O'Conor Slego.

Knockfergus, Sept. 1567: Brian McPhelim O'Neil.

Limerick, 2nd Sept. 1569: Thomas FitzGerald *alias* O'Desm[ond], brother to the Earl of Desmond.

Drogheda, 1 Jan. 1569: Humphrey Gylbard.

1572 (by Sir Willm. FitzWilliams): Cormough McFege of Munster.

26 April 1573 (by the same): James FitzGerald of the House of Dromaney.

Drogheda, 1576: Sir Lucas Delone *alias* De Lion.

Dublin, St. George's Day, 23 April 1576: Henry Couлке.

Athlone, 7 Oct. 1578: Sir Nicholas Malbey, Colonel of Connaught.

Dublin, 24 April, 20 Eliz.: Henry Harrington; Henry Bagnall.

Dublin, 19 May, during the time of Sydney's second deputation: Brian O'Rowrwerke.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

## 116. THE GARRISON.

Vol. 628, p. 304a.

"Ordinary Entertainments and Wages of the Garrison of Ireland."

Sir Wm. Drury, the Lord Justice, hath a fee of 200 marks sterling *per annum*. For his diets, 10*l.* sterling a week as President of Munster, and as Lord Justice 50*l.* a month; as captain of horsemen 6*s.* a day, his petty captain 3*s.*, a gnydon-bearer, 18*d.*, two officers at 12*d.* a piece, and 100

\* Sic.

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horse at 9*l.* The Treasurer, Marshal, and Master of the Ordnance have 6*s.* 8*d.* each a day, and the Treasurer 20 horsemen at 9*l.*, 20 footmen harquebuziers at 8*l.*, &c. (*See p.* 44.)  
List of ships' charges.

P. 1.

**117.** The REVENUE.

Vol. 628, p. 378.

"A brief collection of the increase of Her Majesty's revenue, arrearages and casualties, &c." in the year 1578, 20 Eliz.

Pp. 9.

Ibid., p. 385.

II. Amount of the "revenue, impost, customs, [and] casualties received" from 1573 to 1578.

P. 1.

**118.** SIR HENRY SYDNEY, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 616, p. 135.

"Matters thought fit to be enquired of by commission in Ireland," chiefly respecting the revenues.

II. "Questions to be resolved by the Deputy," chiefly respecting the cesse for the army and his own household.

III. "Faults found with the Deputy."

Concordatums granted to commissioners travailing with him for their wages and diet, whereof there has been no necessity. Concordatums granted to victuallers for losses. No controlment over the buildings now in hand. Rejection of men of long service for men of less experience. That some of his household servants are officers for the Queen, and that the principal officers in his house are corrupt.

Pp. 3. *Endorsed.*

IV. "Certain Points delivered by the Lords to be resolved of by the Lord Deputy," Sir Henry Sydney.

(1.) How the yearly charges have surmounted the proportion undertaken by the Lord Deputy; the first year, 1,558*l.*; the second year, 6,051*l.*; the three quarters, 1,343*l.*

(2.) Whether the building of certain towns, houses, and bridges, undertaken by the Lord Deputy, be performed.

(3.) What revenue possessed by usurpers or concealers has been recovered.

(4.) Whether her Majesty's known revenue heretofore duly levied in the provinces of Connaught and Munster be duly answered.

(5.) How it happened that her Majesty was answered the two first years in revenue but 4,000*l.* the year.

(6.) To set down the increase of the revenue.

(7.) Why the charges are grown so excessive in loss of victuals, rewards, and commissioners, especially during the last three quarters.

(8.) In what state the country was left at his departure from thence.

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v. "The ANSWER of the LORD DEPUTY to the points delivered unto him by the Lords to be resolved."

(1.) Upon his entry into the government he found the realm in divers places disquieted, the plague universal through the English Pale, and the numbers in pay far greater than he meant to have continued. Having settled the country, at his coming to Dublin in May 1576, he determined to reduce the garrison; but then the rebellion of the Earl of Clanricard's sons burst out. Moreover, the Lord President's pay before his arrival, and the continuance of the Earl of Essex's horseboys in that year, did exceed the sum noted in that first article.

In the second year the bruits of James FitzMorrice's invasion, confirmed out of France and other foreign parts, were the principal cause of continuing a greater number in pay than otherwise would have been, besides the want that year of 1,000*l.* of the assignation from hence.

The rebellion of the O'Mores and O'connors caused that year's charge in show to be greater than in the former year; and he thought, upon the likelihood of the foreign invasion, it were less ill for him to be noted of a surplus charge, than by diminishing the charges to put the State in hazard.

The cause of the exceeding of the three quarters grew upon the bruits of Stewklei's invasion, and the continuance of the rebellion of the O'Mores and O'connors, the rather maintained through those rumours and reports. Rorie Oge, the chief of them, and more than 700 others were slain and destroyed; by which service Leinster was thoroughly quieted. And further, in all the said time, there have been some pensioners in the army increased by several warrants from hence.

(2.) He caused certain fortifications to be begun at Knockfergus and elsewhere, but perceiving the excessive charges daily to increase, he thought fit to make stay of them.

(3.) Touching concealed lands, there have been recovered to her Majesty by his travail to the sum of 69*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*, and recovered from usurpers and revived, the sum of 290*l.*

(4.) The revenues in Munster and Connaught are better answered than heretofore.

(5.) Explains the cause why her Majesty was answered the two first years of his government in revenue but 4,000*l.*

(6.) He has increased the revenue as well in the time of his former as in his latter government.

(7.) Explains the cause why the charge for victualling seems to be so great.

(8.) He refers himself to the letters sent from the Council there to her Highness at his departure.

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed.*

### 119. LORD DEPUTY SYDNEY.

Vol. 621, p. 49.

"The particular notes of such lands, yearly rents, compositions, and casualties as have been received and advanced to

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her Majesty by Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy there, in the two several times of his government."

Sum total of "his whole increases already made, and so left at his departure," 10,566*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* Irish.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

## 120. SIR HENRY SYDNEY.

Vol. 607, p. 32.

"A brief memorial of Sir Henry Sidney's service in Ireland, during his deputation."

*Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

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## 121. THE CESS.

Vol. 628, p. 136a.

"Certain Articles delivered to John Nettervill and Henry Burnell, agents for the country, to be by them imparted to the noblemen, knights, and such other the gentlemen of the country."

(1.) "They are willed to consider of the last agreement taken before the Lord Chancellor and others of her Majesty's Council." The country was to make a monthly payment towards the victualling and oats. The four months being expired, it is demanded whether they will continue the like manner for three months longer. The victualling house will not be ready before that time.

(2.) They made default in December and January.

(3.) They are to set down the baronies which contribute.

(4.) To set down whether they have imposed a charge on the country towards the costs of the agents.

(5.) To consider a note annexed of the things necessary for the Governor's household, and the prices paid for the same.

(6.) To take order for competent provision at such towns in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, as are most apt for the Governor and soldier to pass through in journeys.

(7.) Accates to be brought to markets without forestalling.

(8.) To consider of a remedy for any disorder of the soldier.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Ibid., p. 134.

II. Account of the "cesse of the Lord Deputy's household from Michaelmas 1577 for a whole year to ensue," levied on Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, and Louth, and consisting of wheat, beer, malt, oat malt, beeves, muttons, porks, and butter, "over and above the port corn reserved upon leases to serve to his only use."

List of the prices of veals, geese, green geese, chickens, &c., for the same household.

Ibid., pp. 134a  
and 138.

III. "The qualifications of the cesse granted to Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, at Drogheda, 25 Sept. 1575, at an assembly at ———,\* 17<sup>o</sup> Nov. anno supradicto."

*Contemp. copies. Pp. 3.*

\* Blank in MS.

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[March.] 122. THE CESSÉ.

Vol. 628, p. 154a.

Final Order of the Privy Council.

The inhabitants of the Pale to be eased of the ancient subsidy on ploughlands and of the cesse, and to have imprests for the victualling. To pay *1d.* a day for every one of 1,070 soldiers. To victual as many of that number as the Lord Justice shall appoint. To yield 9,000 pecks of oats, &c.

*Signed:* W. Burghley, T. Sussex, A. Warwyk, R. Leicester, &c.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Ibid., p. 127a.

II. "A perfect note and agreement of the just proportion of victuals agreed upon by the gentlemen of the English Pale of Ireland, and Francis Lanny and William Grene, victuallers;" which will furnish 1,070 allowances for one year.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

March 13. 123. A DISCOURSE OF COYNE AND LIVERY [by SIR HENRY SYDNEY?].

Vol. 607, p. 136.

Coyne and Livery is an extortion and violent taking of meat, drink, and money by the warlike retainers of such as pretend to have captainry, rule, or charge of defence of countries as well upon their own as upon their neighbours. They who take it say that it cannot be taken away until a better mean may be found for defence of the countries under their rule.

Now, if this their argument be for the Irishry, then to weaken the enemies of the English race is good policy; if for the English race, some of them are degenerate into Irish, and others continue loyal and civil, and do not use coyne and livery. These, when no English army was in the realm, did beat McWilliam Owghter, grandfather to the Earl of Clanricard, at Knocktoe; and they always have been the stronger and more able to defend the Pale and to chastise their enemies. Others of the English race not degenerate, bordering on the Irishry, by using this extortion have wasted their own and their neighbours, and are not able to defend themselves, as the English Pale is; and both the meaner freeholders and their tenants and manurers of the ground have been in many countries banished, and the land left desolate and waste. The county of Waterferd in goodness of soil is not a third part so fruitful as Kilkenny, yet by leaving of coyne and livery it defends itself as well as Kilkenny, and yields thrice so much rent.

But it were a question needful what enemies they fear, for respect of whom they would continue this extortion. The Earls of Ormond, Desmond, and Kildare have no Irish

\* This document is written by the same hand as the "Memorial of Sir Henry Sydney's service" on p. 32, and his letter of 20 May 1577 on p. 48, in vol. 607.

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enemies which have not already submitted and given over this kind of extortion, and depend only upon the Queen's protection, to be defended by their own persons and her Majesty's forces.

The O'Moores, when they are rebels, do not harm the Earl of Ormond or his countries. The Lord of Upper Ossory is amenable to law; so are the Kevenaghues, O'Carroll, and McCoghlan. Neither have the Earls of Desmond and Kildare any Irish enemies that are not obedient to the governor.

"The notablest wastes and wars that have been made in Munster have been those which th' Earls of Ormond and Desmond have made upon each other or upon their inferior Lords of the English race for this wicked extortion; th' Earl of Thomond upon the good subjects of the residue of Thomond for the like; and likewise th' Earl of Clanricard upon the residue of Connaught, yea, and not content by the title given him by the Prince, usurpeth the title of Earl of Connaught.

"What the O'Conors have done in that disorder neither could nor can continue, but by suffering them to take this disordered relief; neither the Moores aforesaid. And for further example of their weakness that by coyne and livery boast themselves to have defended their countries and conquered on the Irishry, the city of Cork paid tribute to the Lord of Muskerie; the city of Limerick to the Bourkes of the county of Limerick; Galway and Athenrie to McWilliam Owghter. The county of Kilkenny paid tribute unto O'Carroll; the county of Dublin to Hugh McShane's ancestors. Th' Earl of Shrewsbury paid 40*l.* yearly out of his county palatine of Wexford unto McMorrough; yea, McMorrough had also 40*l. per annum* out of the King's Exchequer there, to be good to the subjects of Leinster, whereof now they be all freed."

Munster, Thomond, and Connaught have given over this extortion and fallen to a reformed order. Ulster is too far from any of those Earls for invasion to be feared; neither does the Breeny border upon them.

Therefore it appears that the use of coyne and livery has no colour to be any longer maintained; for besides that it is detestable, it is dangerous to the State. It is not safe for her Majesty to repose trust in a military force of such raviners and idle persons, but far more honorable to use her own forces.

*Pp.* 4. *Endorsed*: A discourse against the use of coyne and livery, 13<sup>o</sup> Martij, 1578.

March 31. 124. SIR NICHOLAS MALBY, PRESIDENT OF CONNAUGHT.

Vol. 614, p. 112.

Orders to be observed by him, dated by the Queen at Westminster, 31 March 1579, 21 Eliz.

(1.) We unite the country of Thomond, otherwise called the county of Clare, to your government of Connaught, as in the time of Sir Edward Fitton. The baronies of that county are to yield the same yearly sums of money, services of men,



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laborers in our works, and carriage horses, as the rest of Connaught.

(2.) You are "to prevent such hurts hereafter as have been done between those of Thomond and the inhabitants of Clauricard, severely punishing those on both sides the mountains that shall give any maintenance to the proclaimed rebels of the Burkes and others."

(3.) The north part of the city of Limerick from Newgate upward, where the castle standeth, might serve as the shire town for the county of Clare till some apt place in Thomond may be erected with a wall; wherein the laborers to be reserved to us in the compositions may be employed. The place may be at Quyne, Killaloe, or Innis, if Clare be not ours, but granted to the Earl of Thomond.

(4.) Every county of Connaught where there are no safe places for keeping the assizes and sessions is to be induced to circuit a convenient place apt for a town with a wall of lime and stone, which places we will incorporate.

(5.) Whereas O'Chonnor Sligo obtained from us the freedom of his lands in consideration of 100*l.* Irish *per annum*, but has not observed his covenants, you shall treat with him to yield to such composition as the rest of the captains have consented to, ratably, according to the quantity of his country.

(6.) Connaught to be restored to the ancient bounds. As Maguire challenges certain islands you shall make challenge of a rent by way of composition for such part thereof as is out of Ulster.

(7.) A bridge has been lately made at Ballenslowe over the river of Suck at our charges; so the castle there shall be continued in our hands, being the common passage into Galloway.

(8.) The Earl of Ormond claims certain lands in the O'Kellies' country. He shall acquaint our counsel learned with his title.

(9.) Sir Edward Fitton, late President, has in his custody certain books of the division of Connaught, and others containing orders taken in his time, and bonds of recognizances forfeited by divers persons to the sum of 10,000*l.* The Lord Justice is to demand them of him, and to cause a double to be made of them.

(10.) We take in good part your proceedings hitherto, because you have used the sword no further than to such as have been in open hostility and rebellion, and that to the rest you have extended our clemency.

(11.) We have appointed to you yearly the impost or custom of wines within the town of Galway.

(12.) Records to be duly kept of all manner of compositions, rents, profits, and casualties. The orders taken by you to be registered by the clerk of the Council in Connaught. Protections not to be granted but in cases of great necessity.

*Signed at the beginning by the Queen.*

*Copy. Pp 5. Endorsed.*

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[June ?]

## 125. VICTUALLING.

Vol. 628, p. 121a.

"It may like your Honour to understand that composition taken for victualling of the horsemen, which is advertised to be too short a proportion for 300 horse, and the same so appointed to be levied in desperate countries as not paid, is set down between her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and the country as followeth, and upon the considerations ensuing."

It was agreed that for four months, viz., Oct., Nov., Dec., and Jan., the country should yield 1*d.* by the day, and 10*d.* sterling towards the payment of every peck of oats. At the end of that time we grew to a like order to victual the soldier for three months more, and 3*s.* 4*d.* was rated on all ploughs; but as the payments were not made in time, the agents in England were committed. A new rate to be levied from September till June.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 21. 126.

## TURLOUGH LENAGH O'NEIL.

Vol. 628, p. 399.

"Memorandum, that we the Lord Chancellor, L. Bishop of Meath, L. of Slane, and L. of Delphin, meeting at the Navan, the 21st of August 1579, accompanied with the gentlemen of the counties of Meath and Dublin, whose names are subscribed, thought it convenient to use their advices of the best and aptest way to have the pretence of Turlonghe either to harm the Pale or the new-made county of Cavan met with."

His taking of black rents in the countries holden of the Queen agrees not with such loyalty as he professed upon the departure of the Lord Justice, and since by letters received from Justice Dowdall now in his company. His agreeing of the Irishry, under colour to have the North quiet, is only to strengthen him with the greater force; and he is of combination with the traitors.

"We concluded, therefore, sithence we hear he draweth still downward, that presently therising out be in areadiness with 12 days' victuals, and to be the 24th of this month at Ardye." The Lord of Delphin to be the general.

O'Reilly's country to be made a county, and hereafter to be ruled and governed by the English laws. If any of the Irishry in the absence of the Lord Justice shall invade his country, the Lord of Delphin is to aid him, the rather because he has granted all his power to be ready to aid the said general against all persons who shall seek to annoy the Pale.

*Signed:* W. Gerrarde, Canc., H. Midens., Tho. Slane, P. Delyyn, Patrick Barnwall, Oliver Plunket, Christopher Darcy, Patrick Nangle, bar[on],\* Nicholas Nugent, N. Cusak, Jo. Nettervyll, Richard Bellyng, Edward Cusak, Patrick Bermingham, Simon Barnewall.

*Pp. 2.*

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\* Baron of Navan.

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 Aug. 21. **127.** The ENGLISH PALE.  
 Vol. 628, p. 305a. "A proportion laid upon the Pale for the having of 1,800 men to be in areadiness upon one hour's warning at the Navan, the 21st of August 1579."  
*Copy. P. ½.*
- Aug. **128.** MUSTERS.  
 Vol. 628, p. 310a. "A note of the musters within the English Pale in Ireland," in August 1579.  
*Copy. P. 1¼.*
- Oct. 16. **129.** A CONCORDATUM by the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL.  
 Vol. 597, p. 80. Sir William Gerard, Lord Chanecllor of Ireland, being ready to take the seas with letters to her Majesty, was robbed by one of his servants of a chest and 500 marks; and the Lord of Houth stands bounden in recognizance for the appearance of a third person. Upon the supposal of the forfeiture thereof, it is agreed by us that it shall be lawful for the Lord Chancellor to compound with the Lord of Houth for the cancelling of the said recognizance.  
 Dublin, 16 October 1579.  
*Signed by Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, and the Council.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*
- Oct. 17. **130.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.\*  
 Vol. 597, p. 80a. Advertisements were sent from Waterford upon the death of the late Lord Justice (Sir William Drury) to the Privy Council. The charge is laid upon me. This gentleman, your Chancellor, was more sufficient than me to have supplied his place; and because in the little time that I have been employed here in Leinster I had seen him adventure his life in one or two actions for border causes, I had no sooner received the sword than I gave him that which the late Governor very few days before he died did bestow upon me; I mean knighthood. He will inform you what causes have moved me to repair westward, and what great forwardness I find as well in the Earl of Ormond to accompany me and to put his forces in readiness, as also in my Lord of Kildare to defend the border northward.  
 Dublin, 17 October 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*
- Oct. 17. **131.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL in IRELAND to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.  
 Vol. 597, p. 81a. By the letters sent to your Lordships, by Captain Deringe and Richard Blunte, you were informed both of the state of Munster and of the death of the late Lord Justice.

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\* This is the first of the long series of letters contained in Pelham's Letterbook.

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After the decease of the Governor at Waterford, we imparted the same by letters to the Lord Treasurer, who presently repaired to us thither, "and taking order for the conveying of the dead corpse in honorable sort unto this city, we repaired hither in company of the Lord Chancellor, as the place appointed by him for the election of another justice." The government was laid upon me, Sir William Pelham, as the Lord Chancellor excused himself by lack of health.

The maintenance of the war in Munster, and the insolency of the north parts, are both to be deeply considered; and as the great infirmity of the Lord Chancellor compels him to seek help in England for the recovery of his health, we lay upon him the report of the whole state and solicitation of all our wants.

Upon the report of the disloyalty of the Earl of Desmond, we, the Justice and the Lord Treasurer, do presently repair southward to the relief of Mr. Malbie and the English forces; and I, the Earl of Kildare, am employed for guard of the Pale.

We made offer of some allowance to the Lord Chancellor for defraying of his charges, but he refused it. He ably governed these parts in the absence of the late Lord Justice. The Baron of Delven acquitted himself in that service very stoutly.

Dublin, 17 October 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Ad. Dublin., Tho. Ormond, G. Kildare, Ni. Bagnall, Henry Wallopp, Hen. Coolie, Jo. Garvy, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Postscript.*—Because the ships employed in this service are ships of great charge and not meet to winter here without appearance of foreign invasion, they shall be discharged upon the coming of me, the Lord Justice, into Munster. Nevertheless, we wish that the victuals at Bristowe for the whole navy may be sent to Waterford. We have already discharged the soldiers in *The Handmaid* and her pinnace.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Oct. 24. 132. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 83.

I have been made acquainted by the Earl of Ormond with such letters as you wrote to him, finding yourself grieved with the dealings of Sir Nicholas Malbie. Having now sent for Malbie to repair to my camp betwixt this and Limerick, I wish you also to come hither.

Cashell, 24 October 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—If you come not this night, or to-morrow by noon, then I wish you to come to Limerick. If you will have any safe-conduct of my companies to bring you thither, they shall be sent to you. Use no delay, for I will not lie idle, and will be loth to annoy your people.

*Contemp. copy. P. 3/4.*

1579.  
 Oct. 27. **133.** A LETTER from the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to  
 Vol. 597, p. 83a. sundry Men in MUNSTER.  
 These are to require you to put yourself and your whole  
 forces in readiness to serve her Majesty upon one hour's  
 warning.  
 Given at our camp at Fanningstown, 27 October 1579.  
*Signed at the beginning:* W. Pelham; *at the end:* Tho.  
 Ormond, Ni. Malbie, Ed. Waterhouse.  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- Oct. 27. **134.** DR. SANDERS to ULICKE BURKE.  
 Vol. 597, p. 83a. "A letter from Dr. Sanders to Ulicke Burke, and by him  
 sent to my Lord, the 27 October 1579."  
 God permitting your father to be taken prisoner, meant to  
 warn you, his sons, to provide as well for his liberty as for  
 your own.  
 Nowadays the heretics, as your Worship knoweth, violently  
 oppress God's honour in this world, abandon His Vicar, and,  
 by false pretence of God's Word, cut off and wipe away whole  
 books of the Holy Scripture. We fight against them by the  
 authority of the Head of the Church. If it please you to join  
 with us in this holy quarrel, you shall be under the protection  
 of that prince whom God shall set up in place of this usurper,  
 and of God's Vicar, who will see every man rewarded for his  
 service to the Church; you shall also deserve well of your  
 country. When our aid is come, which daily we look for,  
 when the Scottish and English nobility are in arms, and when  
 strangers begin to invade England itself, it shall be small  
 thanks to be of our company.  
 Touching the controversy of inheritance betwixt your  
 brother and you, where may you hope to have that better  
 decided than in his Holiness's camp?  
 24 September 1579.  
*Signed:* Nicholas Sanders.  
*Contemp. copy.* Pp.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .
- Oct. 27. **135.** MUNSTER.  
 Vol. 597, p. 84. A note of the noblemen, chief gentlemen, and towns in  
 Munster, taken the 27 October 1579, at Fanningstown.  
*Contemp. copy.* Pp.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .
- Oct. 28. **136.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to SIR JAMES FITZGERALD.  
 Vol. 597, p. 86a. The Lord Treasurer (Ormond), your cousin, has made me ac-  
 quainted with your letter to him, expressing how you have been  
 countenanced by the former Governor. You shall not want my  
 favour and friendship, both for your own sake and for the  
 commendations which the Earl of Ormond has made of you.  
 I pray you to cause the letters herein sent to be delivered.  
 At the camp at Fanningstown, 28 October 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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Oct. 28. **137.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

Vol. 597, p. 86a.

We understand from Constaunce Ailward that you have not only stayed the beefs which he was bringing for the army, but also have taken from him our commission for taking them up. Captain Piers also complains that a certain laborer of that town has stolen certain furniture from him. We command you to restore the aforesaid commission, and to send hither into the camp the aforesaid furniture and the party likewise that took the same. The boats belonging to the city of Limerick will serve to sundry purposes for furtherance of her Majesty's service. As "you of that corporation are thought to be admirals of that whole haven," we commit to you the special trust to draw home to that city all the boats of that river without delay.

Camp at Fanningstown, 28 October 1579.

*Signed at the beginning:* W. Pelham; *at the end:* Tho. Ormond, Nic. Malby, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Oct. 28. **138.** The EARL OF DESMOND to LORD JUSTICE PELHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 87a.

Received 28 October 1579.

I have received your letter. As I cannot presently repair to your Honour, I have sent my wife to declare the causes of my present stay, and how my country has been burnt and spoiled, my castles taken, and myself misused by Sir Nicholas Malbie.

Asketten, 27 October 1579.

*Signed:* G. Desmond.

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Oct. 28. **139.** The ARMY.

Vol. 597, p. 87a.

"The number of her Majesty's army in the province of Munster at Famyngestown, the 28 October 1579."

Total, 1,861.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Oct. 28. **140.** The EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 88a.

Articles whereupon the Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Lord Treasurer, is to treat with the Earl of Desmond, dated at Fanningstown, 28 October 1579.

(1.) You are to require the delivery of Doctor Sanders and the strangers to me, the Lord Justice.

(2.) As divers suspicions are conceived of his disloyalty since the delivery of his son as pledge, you shall demand the possession of his houses of Asketten or Carigfoill.

(3.) He is to be required to submit and repair to me, the Lord Justice.

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(4.) He shall with all his forces join with you in the prosecution of his rebellious brethren.

(5.) If he refuse these conditions, declare that I will proclaim him a traitor and prosecute him with her Majesty's forces.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning and end.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Oct. 30. **141.** DESMOND to PELHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 89a.

Brought to Crome by Thomas Oge, 30 Oct. 1579.

Yesterday I had conference with the Earl of Ormond, and shewed him my commission to speak with the rebels, my griefs, my service since the arrival of the traitor James Fitz-Morris, my attendance upon the late Lord Justice, and how discourteously I have been rewarded by his Lordship in restraining me from liberty. Sir Nicholas Malbie has burned and spoiled certain of my manors and castles, assaulted my mansion house of Asketten, burned the abbey thereof, and defaced my ancestors' monuments therein. I have put in my only son as a token of my obedience. Upon the Earl's motion, I am contented, on restitution of my castles now wrongfully kept from me, and recompense for my losses, to put into his hands any manor except Asketten, that I shall to the uttermost of my power serve against my unnatural brethren, the traitor Doctor Sanders, and their adherents, in the company of the said Earl.

Croh, 30 October 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

Oct. 30. **142.** PELHAM to DESMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 90.

I have received your letter by Thomas Oge. You reject the offers made you by the Earl of Ormond either for your coming to me or for the delivery of Sanders and the strangers, as you answer me nothing directly. I am therefore compelled to publish a proclamation against you in the highest degree of treason. But I will forbear to do so till Monday next, in hope that you will in the mean season repair to me or deliver one of the houses demanded by Ormond, or else Sanders and the Spaniards, as promised by you to the late Lord Justice. "Part of the Spaniards long since were your prisoners in the house of the Island, and faithfully promised by you to be delivered, which neither you nor Morris Shean can deny."

From my camp at Crome, 30 October 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Oct. 31. **143.** SKIRMISH at RATHKELL.

Vol. 597, p. 90a.

List of "the names of such as were seen in skirmish at Rathkell against her Majesty's forces the last of October 1579."

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“Gibon Ree, servant to Edmond, the White Knight’s son, did see these persons.” Sir John of Desmond was there, and talked with some of the company.

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Oct. 31. 144. DESMOND to PELHAM.  
Vol. 597, p. 91.

Brought to Rathkell by Thomas Oge, 1 Nov. 1579.

I have received your letter by Thomas Oge. You think I have not directly answered to the motions made to me by Ormond. I made as reasonable answers as any subject may. The house demanded by Ormond, called Carigopoole, is none of mine, but on restitution of my castles I will put into his hands any manor or castle of mine which he shall choose. I humbly beseech you rather to have respect to my good service and my reasonable offers than, through the persuasion of Sir Nicholas Malbie, to proclaim me; and that my servant may go with my complaints to her Majesty and the Council, whose judgment I am contented to abide. I never promised to deliver Doctor Sanders and the Spaniards to the late Lord Justice, but to endeavour to take the said Spaniards. “As for the four Spaniards whom I had prisoners in the Island, when I was restrained of my liberty, the constable flying from thence, they made an escape.” I call God to witness that “I will remain as true hearted a subject to her Majesty as any one that seeketh to undo me.”

31 October 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 1. 145. PELHAM to DESMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 92.

Though you utterly refuse my offers, I add a further one. If you will repair to me, you shall have licence to go into England. If either the former offer or this be not performed by eight o’clock to-morrow morning, I shall publish the proclamation.

Camp at Rathkell, 1 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—Your man, Thomas Oge, far contrary to your letter, delivered from you a message, that if your offers were refused, you would do your best to trouble the whole realm, and that you would first burn the Earl of Ormond’s country. Her Majesty has ministers to withstand your malice.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 2. 146. PROCLAMATION against the EARL OF DESMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 92a.

Gerald, Earl of Desmond, has not only practised with foreign princes to bring in power of strangers to invade this land by his devilish instruments and agents James FitzMorris, Doctor Sanders, and others lurking beyond seas, “but also, upon the late landing of such strangers as were brought in by the traitor James FitzMorris, and which fortified at Smir-



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wicke," (albeit the said Earl pretended to dislike thereof,) permitted them to be entertained among the inhabitants of his county palatine of Kerry. He let slip his wicked brethren, John and James of Desmond, to commit that horrible murder done at Tralighe upon, Henry Davells, Arthur Carter, and others. He commanded the slaughter of Edmond Duff, an Englishman, that lay in the next bed to the said Henry Davells. Hearing that Lord Justice Drury was repaired to Limerick to surprise the fort wherein James FitzMorris and the strangers were settled at Smirwicke, he colorably besieged the same, and perceiving also that the Queen's vessels had taken away all their shipping, and thereby all hope spent for the traitors to escape by sea, he removed his siege, and opened the way for their escape by land, and gave part of them leave to fortify the place, "Nevertheless, repairing colorably to the Lord Justice, and finding him disposed to march forwards to the fort, he returned into Kerry, though he were commanded to the contrary, and so practised with the strangers (being, as it is to be proved, his own soldiers in pay), as they abandoned the place and repaired to the town of the Dingle and other places at his devotion, and were better entertained than any other of her Majesty's subjects. And after he, entering the fort, distributed the ordnance thereof to the rebels, as appeareth by a note found in a portmanteau of Doctor Allin's, one of the traitors, lately slain in the encounter executed by Sir Nicholas Malbie, Knight." He set at liberty such strangers as were apprehended and kept by him colorably as prisoners, and appointed them to guard his own houses and castles. He has joined himself openly with the proclaimed traitors his brethren, and with Dr. Sanders, that odious, unnatural, and pestiferous traitor against his native country. He has caused Richard Ewstace, Simon Brian, and others, the Queen's servitors, to be taken and hanged. Under the leading of sundry of his household servants and chief captains, the traitors' forces, with the Pope's standard traitorously displayed, assaulted Malbie, lieutenant under the late Lord Justice (upon his visitation of sickness) of all her Majesty's forces in Munster, and had the overthrow given them at Monaster Inenagh. The Earl's ward in his castle of Asketten slew two or three of her Majesty's soldiers.

These things considered, and forasmuch as he refuses to come in to us the Lord Justice, or to deliver the said Doctor Sanders and the Spaniards,—has of late caused sundry houses, castles, towns, and provisions to be burnt up, to desolate the succours meet to refresh her Majesty's forces,—is expecting further foreign aid,—has invited Turloughe Lenoughe and other chief men to join with him,—and lastly, on Saturday last, his chief men and followers, being with his brethren, offered skirmish against her Majesty's forces, in which one of

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his household men was slain, and his head brought to this town ; therefore the Lord Justice and Council proclaim him and all his adherents traitors against her Majesty. Provided that any of his adherents presenting their bodies simply before us the Lord Justice or the Earl of Ormond, General in our absence, shall be received and used as liege subjects.

Given at Rathkell, 2 November 1579.

*Signed at the beginning and end* : William Pelham ; *at the end* : Thomas Ormound, the Mayor of Waterford and Lismore, James Donboyne, Edmond Montgaret, Nicho. Malbie, Ed. Waterhouse, Edmond Butler, Tibald Butlere, Edward Butler, Piers Butler.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 6½.*

Nov. 3. 147. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER and COUNCIL  
Vol. 597, p. 95a. at DUBLIN.

At my coming to Cashell the Earl of Ormond presented to me a company of 200 horsemen, with which and my own band and the Berwick soldiers we marched to Limerick ; and there meeting with Sir Nicholas Malbie and his companies, we made a journey into Conneloughe, having first from Cashell written to Desmond desiring his repair to me. At length the Countess came with letters, accusing Malbie of divers hurts. Ormond met him beside Adare. As he would consent to none of our offers, he was yesterday proclaimed a traitor.

I have left Ormond as General of this war, and delivered to him 800 footmen (besides the 100 footmen under Sir William Morgan), 250 horsemen, and 200 kerne. I would have continued longer in this action, but for the want of victuals and carriage.

Through Malbie's long absence out of Connaught, some practice is made for stirs there. I will see that province in my repair towards Dublin. You, my Lord of Kildare, have had garrisons laid here upon your lands in Cosmaie, namely, at Crome and at Adare, but shall suffer no loss.

Camp at Poplebrian, 3 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Nov. 4. 148. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 96a.

I have sent this gentleman, Captain Fenton, with letters to the Privy Council containing all such matters as have happened since the departure of the Lord Chancellor. Desmond has been proclaimed a traitor. Ormond has already drawn blood and kindled fire in the midst of Desmond's country. I have left the prosecution of the war to him.

I now return through Connaught, accompanied with Sir Nicholas Malbie, Governor of that province. Secretary Waterhouse has spared no travail.

Limerick, 4 November 1579.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

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Vol. 597, p. 97a.

**149.** THE JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

We dispatch Captain Fenton to make declaration of all things that have passed since the departure of the Lord Chancellor.

Limerick, 4 November 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Thomas Ormound, Nich. Malbye, Ed. Waterhowse.

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Nov. 4.

**150.**

## INSTRUCTIONS to CAPTAIN EDWARD FENTON.

Vol. 597, p. 98a.

Dated at Limerick, 4 Nov. 1579.

Declare that the cause of our sudden repair into Munster was the distress which I the Lord Justice supposed Sir Nicholas Malbie to be in, and to establish the Earl of Ormond to be General of these wars, according to the commission granted him at Dublin. That we met Ormond at Kilkenny, and proceeded from thence to Cashell, where his 230 horsemen were. That, after negotiating with Desmond to no purpose, we proclaimed him traitor.

“That the cause why we did not besiege Asketten was, for that we had no victuals, tents, or other necessaries, and especially because the house is circunited with a deep water and well fortified; and we had no ordnance in those parts but one culverin, and that not mounted.” That the next day after the proclamation we received letters from the captains of the Queen’s ships and from Sir Warham Sentleger, wherein his practices were farther manifested. That he expects foreign aid to come to his relief, and that Saunders has solicited all persons of any countenance to join in this rebellion, and wrote to Ulicke Bourke, that they look for the bursting out of their faction in England, and call their camp the camp of his Holiness. That those letters were after a month’s detaining of them sent to Malbie by Ulicke Bourke, when the encounter between Malbie and the rebels was known in Connaught.

That we desire 300 choice trained soldiers to be sent over with the horsemen appointed to Mr. Norris and remaining yet at Lerpoole (Liverpool). The lack of money. That as foreign aid is to be sent, the ships should be stayed upon this coast, and sent about to the Shenon.

That Desmond sent letters into Spain by one that embarked in the town of Galway. Ask what shall be done with Desmond’s son.

Declare what continual hindrance grows for lack of carriages, and that every band of 100 should have 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to buy 20 garrons.

That the spoil made in the country of corn, as well by the rebels as by the army, must needs make a present dearth;

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and therefore we wish that some wheat might be sent "as well to this port as to Cork and Limerick."\*

Declare the stirrs growing in Connaught by the O'Mailes, and the quarrels made by the Baron of Dungannon upon O'Reighlie. That I cannot get one spy or guide for any hire. That since the Berwick soldiers arrived, and their wages are known to be 8*l.* ster. a day, our soldiers require to have the like. That the Lord Barrie has taken Sir Thomas of Desmond prisoner. Learn what shall be done with the two sons of Rowrie Oge in the Castle of Dublin.

"To be a solicitor that, in respect since the proclamation the Countess of Desmond hath left her husband, she may enjoy her jointure."

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning; and at the end by Ormond, Malbie, and Waterhouse.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5½.*

Nov. 4. **151.** The EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 101.

"The Earl of Ormond's demands answered by the Lord Justice and Council, the 4th November 1579, at Limerick," respecting horsemen, footmen, victuallers, garrisons, munition, money, &c.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 5. **152.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER† at Dublin.

Vol. 597, p. 102.

I heartily thank you for your letters discoursing the occurrences in the Pale and borders, and commend the course you have taken for the stay of the Baron of Dungannon from invading the Brenny. The dealings of Mr. Marshal and Sir Edward More shall add help therein. If any such attempt should be offered, the Earl of Kildare should assist O'Reliegh.

I send you the copy of the proclamation against Desmond, to be published in Dublin forthwith.

Limerick, 5 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Nov. 6. **153.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 102a.

I have deciphered your letters, and sent them to her Majesty. Deliver all the munition to Captain Piers, to be brought to Limerick.

Limerick, 6 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ⅓.*

Nov. 6. **154.** PROCLAMATION.

Vol. 597, p. 102a.

That all horsemen, both English and Irish, in this assembled army, in order that they may be known from others, not

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\* "Cork, Limerick, and Dublin," in the margin. This is very probably the meaning of the passage quoted in the text; but the document is dated at Limerick, not at Dublin.

† Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin.

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being of the same retinue, shall provide, before Wednesday morning,\* red crosses either of silk or cloth, the one to be fastened on the breast and the other on the back, as usual, and to contain in length 8 inches and in breadth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, upon pain of 20s.

Limerick, 6 November 1579.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Nov. 7. 155. WARRANT to ANTHONY FYTTON, Collector of the Impost on Wines at Galway.

Vol. 597, p. 103.

Whereas there are yearly due to Sir Nicholas Malbie, Governor of Connaught and Thomond, six tuns of wine for his house, free, without impost, we require you to deliver the same to Anthony Linche, of Galwaie, merchant.

Galway, 7 November 1579.

*Signed by Pelham.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Nov. 9. 156. GALWAY.

Vol. 597, p. 103a.

"The copy of certain Privileges granted [9 March 1577-8] by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, to the city of Galway, and renewed by Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice [at Galway], 9 November 1579."

Privilege respecting writs of subpcena and attachment. No new officer or office to be erected by the governor in the town. The mayor to grant protections. "That the merchants that bring wares on credit or penny bargains shall be bound to deal well with [merchant] strangers." None to speak opprobrious words to the mayor. To continue their ancient customs. The mayor to use the advice of the graver sort of aldermen. The mayor and bailiffs to take no fee of sentence, called in Irish *oleiyeth*, for any judgment or recovery. The dead to be buried without the walls.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 6.*

Nov. 9. 157. GALWAY.

Vol. 597, p. 106a.

"Articles to be observed by the Mayor and his brethren at Galwaie, dated the 9 November 1579."

That they be careful of all shipping brought in by strangers.

That neither principal merchants nor any other be suffered to view the strength of the town.

That a general muster be taken within the town.

That all suspicious persons, mere Irish, and the poor and aged be sent forth of the town.

That every householder make provision of victual for his

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\* Nov. 11.

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family for 10 months. The corporation also to prepare a mass of victual in storehouses.

That the Queen have a convenient house for a staple of victual.

That order be taken for the placing of 100 soldiers within the town, and another 100 at Athenry. The soldiers to pay for their diet.

*Signed at the beginning: William Pelham; at the end: N. Malbie; Ed. Waterhowse.*

The Berwick soldiers garrisoned in the province of Connaught:—Captain Case and his band of 100 footmen to remain at Galway; Captain Walker and his band at Athenry; Captain Pickman and his band at Athlone.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 10. 158. The BERWICK SOLDIERS.

Vol. 597, p. 107a.

“The Berwick soldiers garrisoned in the province of Connaught the 10 November 1579.”

Captain Case and his band of 100 footmen to remain at Galway; Captain Walker, with 100, at Athenry; Captain Pickman, with 100, at Athlone.

*P. 1/3.*

Nov. 12. 159. WARRANT to the TREASURER, SIR HENRY WALLOP.

Vol. 597, p. 107a.

To pay to Edward Waterhowse, Secretary, his fees and entertainment.

Athlone, 12 November 1579.

*Signed by Pelham.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1/2.*

Nov. 19. 160. COMMISSION to the CAPTAINS of her Majesty's GALLOWGLASE.

Vol. 597, p. 108.

By your indenture dated 7 May 1578, you have covenanted to serve with 90 spears of gallowglas. These are to charge you to put that number in readiness for war, to meet at Carrig by the 25th, and to serve under the Earl of Ormond against the proclaimed traitors, the Earl of Desmond, his brethren and others, for 42 days.

Castle of Dublin, 19 November 1579.

*Signed by the Deputy and Council.*

*Addressed: To Molmorrie McEdmond, Hugh Boie McYeallagh, and Tirrelagh Oge McAlexander, Captains of her Majesty's three Septs of Clandonells Gallowglas.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 20. 161. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to SIR PETER CAREWE.

Vol. 597, p. 108a.

Captain Mackeworth with his band repairs presently to the Earl of Ormond. For the guard of the fort we charge you to send 50 of your band thither.

Castle of Dublin, 20 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3/4.*

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Nov. 20. **162.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 108a.

We have considered your letter sent by Mr. Sheath and his petitions in your behalf, and ordered Captain Mackeworth and Captain Hollingworth to repair to the Carrige, and 90 spears of galloglas to serve for 42 days under their captains.

Touching the victualler, for provision of beeves you may give him commission to provide the same upon the countries. For other victuals, letters are written to several corporate towns to supply the same upon your bill. We look daily for the arrival of the treasure.

Castle of Dublin, 20 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—We have sent you 200*l.* “Turlonghe Lenoughe gathereth force, and Philip O’Reliegh is very ill disposed, and some outrages are already committed upon the Pale.”

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.

Nov. 20. **163.** PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 109a.

I have perused your four letters. You shall be assisted by myself. As the carriage of the cannon at Athlone is broken, and the ships are driven we know not whither, the great ordnance cannot be sent at present. I refer you to Mr. Sheath, your servant. Because our letters may be intercepted, I have sent you a cipher.

Castle of Dublin, 20 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Here follows the cipher alluded to by Pelham.\**

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.

Nov. 20. **164.** REMEMBRANCES sent by MR. SHEATH to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 110a.

“That his Lo. make inquiry of such traitors’ goods as are in the several countries of the Lo. Barrie, Lo. Roche, Sir Cormocke McTeige, Sir James FitzGerrald, Sir Tibott Butler, the Lo. Dumboine, or in any other place that have protected them, and to impose largely upon the said country for beeves, to be slaughtered by the victualler for the garrison this winter.

“That his Lo. have great respect whom he protecteth, and that he receive not the freeholders and leave their children and loose men to remain with the rebels. And also that whomsoever he shall protect he take good and sufficient pledges to be kept safely at some strong places, and upon any revolt of the party to execute the pledges.

“That his Lo. take often views of the bands and certify the numbers.” They are now in shew to the number of 1680.

*Contemp. copy.* P. ¾.

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\* Besides the eiphers equivalent to the letters of the alphabet, there are man others representing the names of persons, towns, countries, and things.

1579.  
Nov. 20. **165.** COMMISSION for the EARL OF ORMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 110a. The Earl of Ormond, Lord Treasurer of Ireland and Lord General of her Majesty's forces in Munster, is authorized to take musters as often as convenient.  
Castle of Dublin, 20 November 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*
- Nov. 20. **166.** WARRANT to sundry CITIES and TOWNS.  
Vol. 597, p. 111. To furnish the Earl of Ormond with victuals.  
Castle of Dublin, 20 November 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Addressed: To the Mayor of her Majesty's city of Waterford [and others].*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*
- Nov. 21. **167.** LETTER to sundry NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 111a. For especial causes of consultation these are to require your Lo. to be here on Tuesday next [24 Nov.]  
Castle of Dublin, 21 November 1579.  
*Signed by Pelham.*  
*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .*
- Nov. 22. **168.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to TURLOGHE LENOUGH.  
Vol. 597, p. 112. At our late being in Munster you assembled all your forces to commit some act contrary to your allegiance, which, notwithstanding, you have foreborne, and thereby have given us occasion to conceive better of you. We admonish you to forbear entering into any like action without our warrant. We signify to you "that you do advertise us by your letters what assurance we shall bind upon your intent and doings in her Majesty's behalf." We send you a copy of the proclamation against the Earl of Desmond, lest you might be abused by reports of such vagabonds as repair out of Munster into Tyrone with seditious messages and reports.  
Dublin, 22 November 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ .*
- Nov. 22. **169.** The BARON OF DUNGANNON to the LORD JUSTICE.  
Vol. 597, p. 112a. Received 22 November 1579.  
O'Neill is drawing great numbers of Scots into the North. His intent is evil. Much harm is committed in the borders of the English Pale. If you will bestow on me 100 footmen in pay, I will keep the Pale, unless O'Neill do war; and then 300 footmen and 50 horsemen should lie at the Blackwater at my direction. If my proffer may not stand you in stead, I shall desire licence to repair into England, hoping to have



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some maintenance of her Majesty, for now I live but a miserable life, having spent all that my poor followers had.

Kiltifadie, 19 November 1579.

*Signed:* Hugh Dungannon.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Nov. 22. 170. ULSTER.

Vol. 597, p. 113a.

“A note of men of war now maintained within the province of Ulster by the lords and principal gentlemen of the said province, and what their charge groweth unto at the least computation. Delivered 22 November 1579.”

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Nov. 22. 171. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 114.

Sent by Mr. Argall, the last day [of November].

In the return of me, the Lord Justice, from my late journey in Munster, I received letters from your Majesty of the 2nd, and from the Privy Council of the 1st. We have collected a note of the whole numbers, shewing how many were employed in Munster under the Earl of Ormond; what companies are assigned for defence of your forts and wards; how many are under the Governor of Connaught;\* “and, finally, what remaineth to the defence of the northern borders, where all be combined against your Majesty.” As your command to abate your charge is absolute, we have discharged the pensioners entered since June. Want of treasure causes the cashing to be deferred. We wish you were well informed of the qualities and able bodies of such young gentlemen (over and above the pensioners) as are come hither to accompany Mr. Norris.

Upon the death of Henry Davells, the custody of the castle of Dungarvon, being then in the disposition of the Lord Justice, Sir William Drurie, was bestowed by him upon his brother, Sir Drue Drurie, which since, we understand, is by your Highness confirmed to Sir William Morgan. I have assigned to him the possession of the place, so soon as he shall land. Mr. Drurie has served with great zeal.

Castle of Dublin, 22 November 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Ad. Dublin., G. Kildare, H. Midens., Nicholas Bagnall, Nicholas Malby, H. Wollope, Lu. Dillon, H. Coolly, Jo. Challoner, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Nov. 23. 172. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 115.

Sent by Argall.

The Earl of Desmond has burned the town of Youghall. The Earl of Clancare has joined with the traitors and used the like outrage to Kinsall.

Your expectation is answered for the discharge of pensioners entered since June.

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\* Sir Nicholas Malby.

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All obstinate Papists wish well to the rebels, in respect that the Pope's banner is displayed, and a government expected that shall settle them in their religion. "It is generally given in all parts that a wonderful navy is prepared in Italy, under the conduction of Romans, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, to come to the relief of the Papists here; and that the preparation of munition and furniture for the war is infinite, and likewise of victual, especially wine, corn, oil, rice, and such like, at the equal charges of the King of Spain and the Bishop of Rome." This opinion is published and preached by Doctor Sanders, who makes Desmond believe that Munster is his portion, and that Ulster is appointed to Turlough Lenoughe, for confirmation whereof one Lincius, an Italian legate, is expected to come from Rome.

"Turloughe hath practised a marriage between O'Donnell's daughter and his son, and they two and Surliboie sworn to assemble all their forces against the next moonlight, although since that oath the Marshal hath by good policy dealt with O'Donnell and deferred the matter. The Baron of Dungannon being also secretly sworn unto them and accepted into Tiron as Thanist or successor (and yet desirous to be accompted to depend upon your Majesty), hath practised to take his daughter from McMahouned and to give her to Philip O'Relieghe, who commandeth all the Brenny or county of Cavon (his father being old and impotent), and thereby Philip able to strengthen them with 1,000 men."

It may please you to call to remembrance what distress your estate here had been in if any number of strangers had landed with James FitzMorris, and consider whether it were not best ill to abide some present charge.

Castle of Dublin, 23 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

Nov. 24. 173. PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 117.

Sent by Argall.

In my return from Munster I repaired to Galway, and there left Captain Cace and his company. I have delivered the castle of Limerick to the custody of Captain Apsley, and have displaced the Bishop\* from his house and appointed it to the custody of Captain Furrs, because it had a postern whereby it might have annoyed the town, and his brother is in actual rebellion.

In my repair towards Galway the Earl of Thomond met me. John Burke met me in Clanricard. "The other two bands of Berwick soldiers I left, the one at Athenry, the other at Athlone."

While I was thus passing through Connaught, the parties that were entered into these new stirs laid down arms

\* William Casey.

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and offered submission to Sir Nicholas Malbie, and some of them were apprehended by McWilliam Euter. I then repaired to Balenoslonghe. Ulick Burke repaired to me at Athlone; he had given overmuch credit to Doctor Sanders.

Dublin, 24 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Nov. 24. **174.** The COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 118a.

Sent by Argall.

We have received your letters of 11 October and 1 November. "You touch the coming over of Mr. Norris' horsemen, the placing of Sir William Morgan in Dungarvon, the sending away of a proportion of treasure, your desires to be satisfied in the number of the army, the monthly charge of their pay, how the soldiers are employed and victualled, the casting of the pensioners and other unnecessary numbers, and finally the employing of Mr. Deringe in some charge, as a leader of footmen here."

*Full answers are given respecting each of these matters.*

An incursion was made into the Pale by the O'Relieghes in the absence of me the Lord Justice in Munster. When the Earl of Kildare meant to reform it, old O'Relieghe prayed a day of audience. Captain Hollingworth was committed to the Castle for taking revenge without commission. "We are not ignorant either of the evil disposition of Philip O'Reighlie or of the intelligence between him and Turloughe Lenoughe, and how the Baron of Dungannon purposeth to marry him to his daughter for the confirmation of the friendship between the Brenny and Tyron."

How Turloughe stands affected you may see by the letters of the Marshal's spies in Ulster. In the West the traitors have broken and burned Youghall, and with the assistance of the Earl of Clancare have done the like to Kinsall. The Earl of Ormond has written to us for more aid, and we have sent him three bands.

Dublin, 24 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 8.*

Nov. 25. **175.** PELHAM to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 122a.

By your letters I perceive Sheath is come to you. Captain Yorke's ship is to be furnished by the Mayor of Waterford. He is to take your directions for his going about to Limerick with munition. Captain Clinton's little boat has done good service. Captain Mackeworth did not receive my letter sent by Mr. Shethe, for his attendance upon you. Captain Hollingworth will be also with you. I am glad to hear of the good success of the Lord FitzMorris, and have sent John Easton, the engineer, to you, in company with Captain Maekeworth.

Dublin, 25 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

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Nov. 25. **176.** The COUNCIL to the MAYOR and CORPORATION of  
Vol. 597, p. 123a. WATERFORD.  
To deliver 100*l.* to Gilbert Yorke, Captain of *The Achates*.  
Castle of Dublin, 25 November 1579. *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.
- Nov. 25. **177.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the MAYOR OF  
Vol. 597, p. 123a. WATERFORD, JUSTICE WALSHIE, and CAPTAIN YORKE.  
To examine certain Spaniards lately arrived in the port of  
Waterford, in order to obtain intelligence of the Spanish  
preparations for invasion.  
Dublin, 25 November 1580.\* *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 2.
- Nov. 25. **178.** SHERIFFS.  
Vol. 597, p. 124. " Sheriffs pricked the 25 November by Sir William Pelliam,  
Lord Justice."—Robert Pifold, Dublin; Christopher Darcie  
de Platton, Meath; Thomas Lestrangle of Ballemor, West-  
meath; George Plunkett de Bewlie, Louth; John Eustace  
de Castle Marten, Kildare; Walter Sinnott de Farralles  
Town, Wexford; Sir Peter Carewe, Knight, Catherlough;  
Walter Walshe de Mountaine, Kilkenny; Anthony Poore  
de Passage, Waterford; Redmond English, Esq., Cross of  
Tipperary; Sir Cormoke McTeige, Cork; Edmond Fitz  
Gibbon, Limerick; Thomas Wolfe, Downe; Thomas Fitz  
Redmond de Clonloughe, the King's County; Robert Harte-  
poole de Blackforde, Queen's County; Robert Nugent de  
Rathaspicke, Longford.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.
- Nov. 26. **179.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to SIR HUGH  
Vol. 597, p. 125a. O'RELIEGHE.  
We have ordered that the Archbishop of Dublin and other  
Commissioners shall repair on 7 December to Drogheda,  
there to hear and examine your complaints against the  
inhabitants of the Pale, and theirs against you and your  
followers.  
Castle of Dublin, 26 November 1579. *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1¼.
- Nov. 26. **180.** The O'REIGHILIES.  
Vol. 597, p. 125a. Commission to the Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Keeper,  
the Bishop of Meath, the Barons of Slane and Delven, and  
Sir Lucas Dillon, dated 26 November; to which Sir Henry

\* *Sic*; but "1579" in the margin.

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Wallope, Treasurer, was added the 6th of December 1579 ; to examine the complaints above mentioned.

Castle of Dublin, 26 November 1579.

*Signed by the Deputy and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 26. **181.** PELHAM to MR. SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 126a.

Sent by Argall.

I wish you good health and ability to be at Court, to consider what is necessary for this place. I shall stand best satisfied with a quiet private life, and "be glad of that good choice which I hear of my Lord Graie."\* "Desmond doth already distribute her Majesty's lands in Munster, allotting Kenry unto his brother James (which Doctor Sanders as from the Pope confirmeth), but with some reservation to the See Apostolic, and farther duty to his lieutenants and legates that shall arrive here." Whether it be now a time to cash, I leave to your Honour to consider.

Dublin, 26 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ .*

Nov. 26. **182.** PELHAM to SIR HUGH MAGENIS.

Vol. 597, p. 127a.

I am very sorry for your losses. Mr. Marshal (Bagnall) is fully instructed in the matter by you required for your defence.

Dublin, 26 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Nov. 26. **183.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 628, p. 307.

"The number of horsemen, galloglas, and kerne retained by the lords in Munster to serve one upon another for the defence of their countries, with which they make roads and journeys, and leave their countries guarded in their absence."

II. "The forces of the Earl of Desmond and his confederates of his own countries of Kerry, Cantogh, Imokellye, and his adherents of the county of Limerick, besides strangers and hired persons :—horsemen, 100 ; galloglas, 500 ; kerne, 800."

III. "The forces of cities and towns in Munster."

Sum total :—In the country, 5,196 ; in the cities and towns, 2,610.

IV. "Sir Humphrey Gilbert's note of the bonagh burre and the bonagh beges, and every man's particular forces in Munster, which be the fittest places to garrison soldiers for to command every lord and captain."

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\* Lord Arthur Grey was not formally appointed Deputy till July 1580.

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## v. "A PLOT how to OVERTHROW the TRAITORS in MUNSTER" [by SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT].

At the beginning of the wars in Munster the traitors had 8,000 horse and foot, and were very rich in corn and cattle. "I hold it very necessary to alter those footmen into horsemen and kerne of the country, for that our English footmen are by no means able to annoy them for want of footmanship." Their policy is to weary the Queen with charge, and keep themselves from fighting. The country is so spoiled that soldiers are not able to live now so well with 12*d.* a day as they were wont for 6*d.* It is sufficient to have two garrisons, one upon the borders of Tipperary to have 100 horse at 18*d.* sterling a day, and the kerne of the country to the number of 500, which the country will willingly defray of themselves; and another at Malow with the like numbers. If it like her Majesty to be at any further charge, they may be placed at Kilmalock, in the midst of the traitors' country, having but 200 footmen and 25 horsemen, which is the garrison now maintained there, and which keep the town and scour Harlow and the great wood. This garison, I venture my life and credit, shall do more service in three months than we have done in two years. We who are captains must be well paid, to keep ourselves strong.

vi. "A note [by Gilbert] of the men of war now maintained within the province of Ulster," 26 November 1579.—Tirlough Lenagh, 1,500 footmen, 400 horsemen; &c.

Total, 5,800, for whom 46,400 beeves are yearly required. Instead of this number, they should be forced to maintain 1,000 men to the State.

There are as many more idle men maintained within the province.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7½.*

## Nov. 28. 184. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 128.

By letters from thence of the 2nd, it seems that you were not informed of Desmond's rebellion. He and his brother John have sacked Youghall. The like outrage is committed at Kinsall by the Earl of Clancare. The neighbours to the Pale, as O'Relieghe, the O'Mores, and some of the Cavenaughts, are spoiling upon the country by nightly stealths. Mr. Norris is placed upon the skirts of the Pale, and Captain Collier as lieutenant of the forts. I hear of her Majesty's purpose to place Lord Graie to be her Deputy here.

Dublin, 28 November 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

## Nov. 28. 185. MEMORIALS to the LORDS of the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 129.

Dated 28 November, and sent by Argall the last of the same.

Captain Piers and Captain Gilbert Yorke, departing from Cork towards Waterford, were parted by a storm. *The Achates*

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remains at Waterford. Captain Piers with *The Foresight* is not yet heard of. The countries of the English Pale shall be presently mustered.

The castles kept by Desmond, one near Lisfinnen, another called Carrigofole, and his house of Asketten cannot be attempted to be won without cannon. *The Handmaid*, at Dublin, has been much impaired in a storm. Staves, pikes, and saltpeter could be made here.

It is expected that O'Reiligh should bring his son Philip, and the rest of the malefactors that spoiled Louth, before the Lord Justice and Council. If he come not by his day assigned, some present service will be done upon him. The Baron of Dungannon has offered to defend the border northward. Of great ordnance in Ireland there are but 60 pieces.

*Signed*: William Pelham, Ad. Dublin, Ni. Malbye, Hen. Wallop, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 3.

Nov. 28. 186. PELHAM to SECRETARY WILSON.

Vol. 597, p. 130a.

Sent by Argall.

I knighted my Lord Chancellor because he right well deserved it;—and no other but Mr. Fitton. Always at the taking of the sword some have received that order.

Dublin, 28 November 1579. *Signed*.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

Nov. 29. 187. DESMOND and his BRETHREN to VARIOUS PERSONS.

Vol. 597, p. 131.

We desire you to take part with us, as you are bound by conscience and by nature. "We took this matter in hand with great authority both from the Pope's Holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need."

Newcastle, 29 November 1579.

*Signed*: G. Desmond, Jo. FitzGerald, Ja. FitzGerald.

To Feaghe McL. McShane, of Glandolr (?);\* to Teige McGilpatrick O'Connor and his brother Brian; to Rosse McMelaughline O'More; to Donnoughe Reoughe Cavenaught and Donell Spaniaghe; to Connohour McCormoke and Cahill O'Connohor, sons to O'Connohor.

Examined; a true copy.—T. Burgall, Clerk of the Council in Munster.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

Nov. 30. 188. PELHAM to the BARON OF DUNGANNON.

Vol. 597, p. 131a.

I have received your letter demanding something for your benefit. I require you to repair to me to Melifont whensoever you shall be advertised from Sir Edward More of my being in those parts.

Dublin, 30 November 1579. *Signed*.

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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\* Glendalagh ?

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Nov. 30. **189.** WILLIAM COLLIER.  
Vol. 597, p. 131a. Commission to be lieutenant of the forts of Philipstown and Maribourroge.  
Castle of Dublin, 30 November 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*
- Nov. 30. **190.** The LORD OF TRIMBLESTON.  
Vol. 597, p. 133. Licence to entertain soldiers for the defence of the island of Lecaill, lately spoiled by Con McNeill Oge.  
Castle of Dublin, 30 November 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*
- Dec. 1. **191.** PROCLAMATION by the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL.  
Vol. 597, p. 133a. "Against spreaders of infamous libels and passage of suspect persons."  
Castle of Dublin, 1 December 1579.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*
- Dec. 3. **192.** PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER and MR. TREASURER.  
Vol. 597, p. 134a. To set Hugh Dufe McDonnell, now pledge upon Pheaufe McHughe in the Castle of Dublin, at liberty, at the suit of Sir Henry Harrington, Seneschal of the Bierns, and to receive his wife instead.  
Trim, 3 December 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*
- Dec. 3. **193.** ORMOND to PELHAM.  
Vol. 597, p. 135. Received 3rd December, and sent into England.  
I have forborne to set forward, expecting the coming of Captain Mackworthe and Captain Hollingworthe. Only three bands are come to me, Captain Furrs, Captain Piers, and Captain Dowdall. In the place of Captain Furrs's soldiers at Limerick I appointed Captain Hinde.  
I send enclosed letters from Captain Bourcher and the sovereign of Kilmallocke. It seems strange that 100 men should not suffice to guard Kilmallocke, unless the townsmen should betray the town, as at Youghall they did most traitorously. Captain Whitt recovered the two sailors (?)\* from them, slew a horseman (one Robeston), a man of account amongst them, and killed five more of the traitors' men. I thank you for sending John Easton. I will not lose these moonshine nights.  
Kilkenny, 29 November 1579. *Signed.*  
*Postscript, relating to Captain White and Captain Yorke.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*
- Dec. 3. **194.** SIR GEORGE BOURCHER to the EARL OF ORMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 135a. Enclosed in the letter received 3 December 1579.  
I have received your order to repair to you. Our case is very hard. I never received but 250*l.* for four months' pay,

\* "Saters" in MS



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which amounts to 500*l*. The townsmen have utterly refused to stay within the town, and will leave the same if I go away. The Earl is looked for daily here. He has his brother here upon the borders to plague this town continually. I desire that whenever you call me away I may carry with me my whole company; so shall I avoid the slander of losing any place. I have not past 50 pounds of powder. You promised me my passport into England.

Kilmallocke, 23 November 1579. *Signed*.

*Postscript*.—I beseech you to send some other to guard the town, that I may meet you.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.

Dec. 3. 195. THE SOVEREIGN and INHABITANTS of KILMALLOCK to the  
EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 136a.

Enclosed in the letter received 3 December 1579.

You wrote to Bourcher to take with him half his company. If you were acquainted with the weakness of the town, you would have thought 200 soldiers little enough to defend it. Sir George was so earnest to go, as I was fain to keep the keys of the gates from him.

Kilmallocke, 23 November 1579.

*Signed by John Verdon, sovereign, and sundry of the inhabitants.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. ¾.

Dec. 3. 196. PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 136a.

The letters from Kilmallocke seem strange. If Sir George made no petition to go into England, I would impute his stay to the miserable disposition of the townsmen, but his request is unseasonable. I marvel much that Hollingworth and Mackeworth are not come to you. I dare not increase Captain White's entertainment.

Trim, 3 December. *Signed*.

*Postscript*.—"If the man whom you commend might bring that to pass, which I wish, it could want no reward. If the first device fail, he may then, apparently, shew himself an enemy to the traitors, and in both kinds shall deserve to be well rewarded."

I have appointed Captain Collier lieutenant of the forts. The freeholders complain of many stealths lately carried out of the Queen's County into Kilkenny. I pray you take order with the Viscount Mountgarrett, or some other, respecting such things as the freeholders of Lease shall prove to have been taken.

3 December 1579. *Signed*.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.

Dec. 5. 197. PELHAM to WALTER HOPE at Molingare

Vol. 597, p. 137a.

One Mr. Nugent having done some service upon the O'Chonours and taken a principal person of them, whom he

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has committed to your custody, you and Mr. Justice Dillon shall examine the prisoner upon the articles ensuing, and see whether he can procure the taking of Rowrie Oge O'Chonmore. You may use what torture you shall think meet.

Tryme, 5 December 1579. *Signed.*

II. The articles referred to above.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

Dec. 5. **198.** PELHAM to WALTER HOPE.  
Vol. 597, p. 138.

You shall also examine the prisoner respecting the persons hereunder named, who are vehemently suspected to be aiders of the O'Chonours.

Trim, 5 December 1579. *Signed.*

II. "The names whereof you are to examine the prisoner."

1. Walter Terrell, of the New Castle; 2. Piers Nangle, of Coroughboy; 3. Edmond Boie FitzGarret, of Clandeboy; 4. "Robert Barnell, of Iniscan, who is owner of a boilie that receiveth many stealths." Examine him touching the said boilye.

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .*

Dec. 6. **199.** BEEVES.  
Vol. 597, p. 138a.

"The number of Beefs which are due to the State for Cesse, for which letters were written the 6 December 1579 at Trim, viz. :—

"McMahound is to answer 100 beeves at 6s. *Sd.* le piece; Baron Dungannon, O'Hanlan, Tirloughe Braseilouge, and McDonell, to answer 100 at 6s. *Sd.* le piece.

"Phelime Rowe's sons are to answer 40; Magennis McKelwarran, 80; Mr. Carten, 20; Con McNeill Oge, 100; Hugh McPhelim and Captain fo Kilultagh, 140; The Dufferine, 20; O'Reighlie, 300;—700 at 6s. *Sd.* le piece.

"Beeves, 900; money, 300*l.*"

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Dec. 6. **200.** PELHAM to ORMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 139.

By your letter of the 2nd I perceive you have entered upon your journey without Captain Mackworth or Captain Hollingworth. I cannot but much marvel how so much time is detracted in their march. There is not in all Ireland so many cannon shot to maintain your necessary battery as you desire, or they should have been sent to you at once, with Easton, the engineer. These wants shall be shortly supplied out of England, at the arrival of my brother Spencer.\*

Trim, 6 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

\* James Spencer? See 9 and 14 July 1580. It has been supposed that this was Edmund Spenser, the poet.

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Dec. 6. **201.** WARRANT to the CLERK of the CHECK.

Vol. 597, p. 139a.

To enter Silvester Cowlic (or Collie) as a pensioner at 2s. Irish a day.

Trim, 6 December 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 6. **202.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to sundry NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN.

Vol. 597, p. 140.

To be assistant to William Collier, Esquire, lieutenant of the forts of Philipstown and Maribourroghe and over the King and Queen's County and subjects thereof, authorized to prosecute the O'Chonnors and O'Mores if they shall revolt from their duties and obediencie.

Trim, 6 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 7. **203.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 140a.

Sent by Argall.

The post-boat has been twice at sea and turned with my packets. I put you in mind of the miserable estate of the elergy of this land. There are few able ministers and little order for their maintenance. It is affirmed by the Bishop of Meath\* "that some one of her Majesty's farmers of parsonages inappropriate, near to this place, hath 16 benefices in his hands, and amongst those not one vicar or minister maintained that can read English, or understand Latin, or give a good instruction to his parishioners."

"Amongst those few that deserve good opinion, the Bishop of Waterford† is one, who hath been lately placed by her Majesty and hath since received many injuries, partly through the contemptuous and obstinate behaviour of the mayor and his brethren of that city, and partly by the elergy of that elureh, namely, the dean, one [David] Clere, who hath been heretofore commended into England to be Bishop of Fernes. But as his behaviour deserveth rather to be deprived of the dignity which he now hath, so a time may serve for the reforming of the townsmen there, who are the most arrogant Papists that live within this State.

"In the mean time, since Mr. [James] Proctor, of Salisbury, (who, as I have heard, was, by her Majesty's letters, directed to Fearnese,) doth not mean to accept it, I could wish that the Bishop of Waterford were appointed thither, the rather because the county of Wexford, being in the diocese of Fearnese, is inhabited with some Englishmen reasonably well affected, and the natives also of the country more docible and

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\* Hugh Bradie.

† Marmaduke Middleton. He was translated to St. David's in 1582.

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better disposed than where he now is. And besides the livings of the church of Waterford lieth in such places of danger as in this troublesome time doth yield nothing to his maintenance."

Trim, 7 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Dec. 10. **204.** SUBMISSION of SIR HUGHE O'RELEGHE.

Vol. 597, p. 141a.

Made at Droghda, 10 December 1579, before Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, keeper of the Great Seal; Hugh, Bishop of Meath; the Barons of Slane and Delven; Sir Henry Wallope, Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars; and Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

He has acknowledged the facts committed by his son, Philip O'Releigh, as deserving loss of life, lands, and goods, and will deliver eight such persons as were among others at the burning of Smernore and Louth, &c. He will also deliver eight pledges.

He prays that the Baron of Dungannon and Phelim Roo's sons may be restrained not to succour or maintain Shan O'Reliegh's sons against him.

*Signed by O'Reighlie and the Commissioners.*

II. Acceptation of the foregoing submission by the Lord Deputy. Sir Hugh shall presently enter into a recognizance of 4,000*l.* ster.

Mellifonte, 10 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

Dec. 10. **205.** COMMISSION to CAPTAIN GILBERT YORKE.

Vol. 597, p. 144.

To take up all manner of necessaries to furnish his ship, *The Achates.*

Mellifonte, 10 December 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Dec. 11. **206.** PELHAM to SIR HUGH O'RELEGHE.

Vol. 597, p. 144a.

I send you the names of divers out of which to choose the eight pledges.\* If you will follow advice, let Philip himself stay a while as a pledge.

Mellifont, 11 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .*

Dec. 13. **207.** PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 145.

"Such news as I received out of England by Mr. Fenton, you shall understand by the copy herein closed, wherein you may see what good respect the Lords have both to you and to the action you have in hand. And besides by her Majesty's

\* Ten names are mentioned.

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letters your Lo. may gather the hard hand borne over your poor friends, and what great matters grow out of small occasions." At your next return towards Kilkenny, I would be glad to spend a day or two in conference with you. Your victualler at Waterford vouchsafes not one line touching the state of the victuals.

Droghda, 13 December 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

Dec. 15. 208. PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 145a.

I have received your letters of 28 November, wherein your Majesty sheweth several causes of your disliking with me since I entered into this service. The proclamation against Desmond was a necessity. "Neither the Viscount Barrie, Roche, nor any of their quality in Munster would any way shew themselves enemies to this action, till they were sure by that public act that your Majesty would deal thoroughly for his extirpation." As to the pensioners, a few were entertained, until your pleasure might be known, to encourage them to serve; but now they are discharged. As to calling some to the degrees of honour without your knowledge, it is the custom at the taking of your sword.

I renew my former petition to be speedily discharged from this government.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Dec. 15. 209. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 147.

As the Queen absolutely commands the discharge of the new pensioners, and filling up of broken bands by cashing of some others, we have taken order both with the Clerk of the Check and Earl of Ormond for the same.

We have taken precise order for the continual view and mustering of the bands. Great detalcation by checks will be found upon the general pays, though the numbers are certified of 4,000.

Upon Ormond's request for a further supply to be sent him we dispatched Captains Mackeworth and Hollingworth, and allowed him one battel of her Majesty's gallowglas for 40 days. As you think we should bend all our offensive forces that way, and as there remain upon those northern borders but such competent companies as may serve only to defend, I, the Lord Justice, will repair to the forts, and from thence to the borders of Munster, so soon as I hear of the return of the Earl from his journey.

"We are now informed by some that came from the vintage, that not only great gatherings of soldiers are in Spain, and much preparation for their navy, but also restraint of such merchandises as fruits and wines, which were accustomedly traded hither."

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As touching the victuals sent to Waterford, albeit we cannot deliver you the victualler's reckoning, yet we conceive that the first proportion sent by Bland did revictual Sir John Perrott at his departure from Waterford. Part of the second, sent by Mr. Bashe, is delivered to Captain Yorke for *The Achates* and her pinnace, and the rest distributed by Ormond to the army. If a third proportion be sent, care shall be had of the employing of it.

Touching the offences done to O'Relieghe, Hollingworth was not so blameworthy as you conceived. "Mr. Brabson, lieutenant to Captain Mackeworth, was even then conducting the Earl of Desmond's son from the town of Kilkenny unto the castle of Dublin, and therefore no way to be touched." We remitted those causes to commissioners. O'Releighe has made his submission.

As to the allowance to be given to Desmond's son, we have ordered that the constable of the castle of Dublin shall provide for his diet and wants, "and that his nurse shall only attend him there."

Little above 5,000*l.* has now arrived, and will not serve for the full pay of the soldiers, much less to give the monthly imprest for the victualling beforehand.

Desmond has daily messengers with Turloughe Lenoughe. Turloughe is procuring Scots to go to Munster. Con McNeill Oge has preyed Lecaill. All the Irish save Magennis are at the devotion of Turloughe from Dundalke to Sleigo.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5½.*

Dec. 15. 210. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 150.

Turlough Lenought complains of the great injuries done him by the Earl of Essex, in taking away of his uriaughtes, and prays that the fort at Blackwater may be delivered to his hands. Con McNeill Oge is at Turlough's devotion, and has preyed Lecaill. 700 Scots are landed at the Banne, and young Henry O'Neil's mother is looked for with a greater company. The whole number will be distributed between the Earl of Desmond and Turloughe. The decays in the bands in Munster are not less than 300 or 400. You wish that the most of the forces should be bent towards Munster; but when these cashings are past and the forts in Leaxe and Offallie guarded, there will be few footmen or none to defend the northern borders.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

II. "A note how the numbers are employed."\*

*Postscript.*—We pray you to signify what shall be done with *The Achates*.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

\* Sir Peter Carewe is mentioned as captain of 100 men at Imokilly.

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**211.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 151a.

I have by Mr. Fenton received your letter in favour of Mr. Garvie, confirming a former order directed to Sir William Drurie for admitting him to be a Master of the Chancery, which is performed accordingly; and another concerning the difference between Sir Owen O'Sullivan and Sir Humfrey Gilbert, which grew by a small spoil committed by Gilbert upon a Portingall, "whom he suspected to bring over some of James FitzMorris' train, and then being in the haven, near Sir Owen's house, to whom O'Sullivan had given protection, and received (as he saith) faithful promise of Sir Humfrey not to meddle with him." He has been much suspected to be a dealer in the foreign practice, and never came to Sir William Drurie or me, albeit his father-in-law, the Lord Barrie, has much urged his coming. But as he has promised to do good service, I will expect the success thereof.

By the submission of O'Reighlie you may see what quiet course has been made with him. Tourloghe Lenought solicited O'Relieghe to fall from his duty. I imputed this conformity of O'Reighlie to Mr. Norris's band of horsemen upon the skirts of his country, which band is also a great occasion of the good conformity of the Brenny, McMahoune, and the Baron of Dungannon. This last came to Melifont, and there declared to me that 16 galleys of Scots were landed at the Banne, "with whom Turloughe was in parley suborning more numbers to come, as well for his own intended action, as for supplying of the Earl of Desmond." He made offer to fall from Turloughe, and serve against him. He desired me to apprehend himself, and then, before his enlargement, to article with him to put away Turloughe's daughter and receive again O'Donnell's, whom he left by compulsion of Turloughe.

Because every moonlight Turlough makes his continual gatherings, a general hosting has been proclaimed against 10 January.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

Dec. 15.

**212.**

## TURLUGHE LENOGHE O'NEILL to LORD JUSTICE PELHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 153a.

Received 15 December 1579, and that day sent to the Lords in England.

Thanks for your letters. I protest against the unjust sentence of the Earl [of Essex], and pray you write in my favour to her Majesty, that I may obtain the whole of my nation and all my wraghs, in consideration whereof I will pay an annual pension to her Highness. According to your request, I will send the young Dean to you, secretly, if you grant these my petitions.

Strothbane, 14 December 1579.

*Signed:* Terent[ins] O'Neill.

*Contemp. copy, Latin. P. 3/4.*

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Dec. 15. **213.** PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 154.

I am sorry to understand that you have been troubled with sickness.

"I have of late received letters from her Majesty which do deliver me great appearance of her Highness's disfavour, which albeit I have excused in plain and true terms and matter;" I entreat you to be my mean to her Majesty, that I may not be a noted man to the world to stand in her Highness's disgrace.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 15. **214.** PELHAM to the EARL OF SUSSEX.

Vol. 597, p. 155.

I thank you for your favorable letter.

Her Majesty takes offence at the proclamation against Desmonde. "I could better have liked that her Majesty should have converted her forces to the North, or to the reducing of Leixc and Offallie to the perfection wherein your Lo. left it, than to have made war upon any of the English nation. Nevertheless, the Earl had so far waded in the foreign practice of James FitzMorris and Doctor Sanders, as he thought it impossible to be reconciled to her Majesty's favours. Some report is come unto me that either he is dead or benumbed of his limbs by an extreme palsy, taken after the spoil of Youghall, which was betrayed by the townsmen unto him."

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Dec. 15. **215.** PELHAM to the EARL OF WARWICK.

Vol. 597, p. 155a.

I have received your letter of thanks for some of your followers, for whom I have rather to thank you. I must complain of the interpretation made of the proclaiming of Desmond. I pray you to support me with your favour.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Dec. 15. **216.** PELHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 597, p. 156a.

Mr. Fenton has declared to me how favorably you used him in such causes as he solicited at my request. I desire you to procure me a speedy dispatch from this place.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 15. **217.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 157.

I wish you both health and quietness. The cashings now ordered, with the discharge of the pensioners, will ease her Majesty of the pay of 400 footmen.

Droghda, 15 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*



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Dec. 18. **218.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to TURLOUGH LE-  
Vol. 597, p. 157. - NOUGH.

You seem to mislike of the Earl of Essex for the uriaughtes, and of injuries done by the constable of the castle at Blackwater. I do not mistrust but you shall receive a gracious answer from her Majesty. If you offered pledges, I might be easily led to be a petitioner to her Majesty for obtaining all reasonable suits. Send the young Dean instructed with your causes of mislike of the captain.

The Nurie, 18 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 25. **219.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the EARL OF  
Vol. 597, p. 158. ORMOND.

By your letters we perceive the good success of your service. Paquetts are arrived from her Majesty. We pray you to repair hither with all expedition.

We have also written to the Baron of Upper Ossory to repair presently hither.

Captain Yorke is appointed to carry a proportion of munition in his ship to Limerick.

Dublin, 25 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Dec. 25. **220.** PELHAM to CAPTAIN YORKE.  
Vol. 597, p. 158a.

To convoy munition to Limerick. "I have sent you an alphabet to write unto me hereafter in secret sort, for fear of interruption."

Dublin, 25 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Here follows the cipher above mentioned.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ⅔.*

Dec. 25. **221.** To JAQUES WINGFIELD, Master of the Ordnance.  
Vol. 597, p. 159.

Warrant to deliver certain munition to Captain Yorke.

Drogheda, 25 December 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice.*

II. A list of the munitions to be conveyed by Captain Yorke to Limerick.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Dec. 25. **222.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to sundry COUNSELLORS  
Vol. 597, p. 160. and NOBLEMEN.

To repair to the consultation at Dublin on 1 January.

Dublin, 25 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

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Dec. 26. 223.  
Vol. 597, p. 160.

The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the MAYORS and CORPORATIONS of WATERFORD and LIMERICK.

We charge you, upon your allegiance, to intend your watch and ward by night and day, which we hear you have neglected.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 26. 224.

Vol. 597, p. 160a.

PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Sent by Mr. Cotton.

Thanks for the advice in your letters of the 8th.

News is come of the death of that most worthy young gentleman, Mr. William Norris, who accompanied me to the Nurie.

I am utterly unable to bear her Majesty's indignation, and have stood condemned in the common opinion. All my friends cannot keep me from displeasure.

There are no more footmen than of necessity must be employed. The pensioners are discharged. Touching the fault reputed to me, for proclaiming of Desmond and the sacking of Youghall, I beseech you to acquaint yourself with my letters to her Majesty. The fault in the victualling cannot be excused, but I know neither Thickepenny nor Brinckelowe.

There is one Croke, of Hampton, that useth much the trade of Limerick and Galway. He and other merchants might be dealt with to deliver us victuals at Limerick.

"The choice of the surveyor of the victuals here is a matter of great moment, for few have been practisers here that are not either too cunning or too poor, or rather bankrupt." Mr. Waterhowse was named to that office, but is desirous to deal only with the casualties; besides, the office is more fit for an inferior man. He is a great stay to me in all weighty matters. I know he much depends on you.

I have to thank you for the good advice to make good choice of such as should aid me with their counsel. I think myself much beholden to all the councillors here for their concurrences and outward shews of friendship, a thing much noted because of factions in former times. In most matters I use the advice of the Lord Keeper and the Treasurer.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

Dec. 26. 225.

Vol. 597, p. 163.

PELHAM to the EARL OF SUSSEX.

Sent by Mr. Cotton.

Great misliking is conceived of me. I hope my answers are sufficient and will be so accepted. I mistrust not but that you will accompt Ormond a competent general against the

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Earl of Desmond. Nevertheless I will frame myself to repair thither with all expedition, and divide the forces.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 26. 226. PELHAM to the EARL OF WARWICK.

Vol. 597, p. 163a.

Having received confirmation of her Majesty's mislike, I beseech you to procure that I may leave this place.

Ormond has made an honorable journey, and taken oaths and pledges of the Irishry. On his return he licensed most of the captains to repair hither for money. The rebels kept themselves in Kerrie and Coneloughe, without doing any great hurt.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 26. 227. PELHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 597, p. 164a.

Your letter shows me the cause of her Majesty's displeasure towards me. I hope I have acquitted myself by a true and dutiful answer. "What English forces I left there, how planted either to offend or to defend, and how easily to be gathered together in an hour's warning, and to have marched over Desmond's back and his belly, though my Lo. of Ormond had been present or absent, your Lo. will judge, if, by view of the plot, you will consider of the places of their garrisons."

"I could have been contented to have attended the service, if the actions northward had not been such as required my presence upon that border. The stirs then being in Connaught craved also Sir Nicholas Malbie's return to his charge, which disorder I doubt not was the sooner appeased by my marching through that province. And it had been small help to Youghall to have had my Lord of Ormond stayed at Limerick; for though I could have wished that he had continued in the field if his preparation had so served, yet the distance is great between those places. And I am persuaded (since neither my predecessor nor I, with the aids of the Earls of Kildare and Ormond, could not get any espial for reward against the rebels) the traitors, if the Earl of Ormond and I both had been in camp, might have been at Youghall before I could have learned what was become of them; for Barrie, nor Roche, through whose countries he must needs and did pass, did not reveal it to any of the army; neither would they, I think, have done it to the Earl, if he had been there in person. And for the traitorous townsmen, they are not to be pitied, since they were the allurers of the Earl and the rebels thither, drew them over the walls with ropes, and neither made defence nor would be content to have any aid when it was formerly offered."

I think Ormond was well chosen for a general. In his own

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actions against Desmond he has been ever thought a hard match for him, without aid of her Majesty.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Dec. 26. **228.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WILSON.

Vol. 597, p. 165a.

Your letter of the 10th is full of good advice for a patient toleration of her Majesty's displeasure. I hope that by the good means of my friends her Majesty shall be made partaker of my just excuses, and I speedily discharged from this place. The letters now received from her Majesty, ordering my repair into Munster, do but confirm in me that which before I had determined. A way is devised for Nathaniel Dillon's satisfaction from my Lady of Thame, but till the arrival of Mr. Briskett, I cannot pleasure him in the office as I would.

Dublin, 26 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Dec. 27. **229.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS and GENTLEMEN in MUNSTER.

Vol. 597, p. 166a.

These are to charge you to hold your forces in readiness at one hour's warning.

Castle of Dublin, 27 December 1579.

*Signed at the beginning:* William Pelham; *at the end:* Ad. Dublin., Cust. Sig., Ger. Kildare, Henry Wallop, J. Garvy, Edward Waterhouse.

*Addressed to:* the Earl of Clancare, Viscounts Barrie and Roche, the Lords FitzMorris, Powre, and Coursie, Sir Cormocke McTeige, Sir Owen McCartie, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, Sir James FitzGarett, the Seneschal of Imokillie, McDonouge.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 28. **230.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 167.

Answering those brought by Sharpe to the Nurie.

After my last I repaired to the North, where your letters of the 9th came to my hands. I have united the Baron of Dunganon, Turlough Brasiloughe, McMahonnd, Maguinis, the O'Hanlons, and the O'Neills of the Fuse, to be a body of themselves to withstand Turlough Lenoughe, and to join with the Marshal, who has charge of that border.

The assembly of the nobility and Council to confer upon my departure into Munster, and leaving the Earl of Kildare and others to have charge of the Pale during my absence, is appointed for the last of this month. As the rebels have great scope to wander in between the east and the west sea of Munster, your forces should be divided into two parts.

Concerning the offence conceived against me, your Majesty will see by the plat of Ireland that your forces were planted

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at Limerick, Adare, Crome, Kilmallocke, Loughgere, and Any, to keep the rebels in Connellaughe. By going to Youghall the Earl of Desmond was so bayed in between the rivers of Youghall and Cork, as if but the sheriffs of the counties of Cork and Waterford had joined the power of those two countries, he must have been utterly overthrown.

I confess myself unhappily chosen for a place of such importance. It is commonly spoken here that you will receive Desmond into favour, which will discourage such as have newly forsaken him, by the travail of my Lord of Ormond. I am an humble petitioner to your Majesty not to continue me here in these terms, and to judge of Desmond as a traitor, "that guarded the Pope's ensign with all his own household servants, before the proclamation, in the encounter with Sir Nicholas Malbie, where some of them left their heads; and that in all his skirmishes and outrages since the proclamation crieth *Papa abo*, which is the Pope above, even above you and your Imperial crown."

Dublin, 28 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.* — The noble young gentleman, Mr. William Norris, is departed this life on Christmas Day, in the morning, at the Newrie.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

Dec. 28. 231. PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 170.

Answering those brought to the Nurie by Sharpe; and sent by Cotton.

I received your letter concerning the appointment of a surveyor of the victuals. Great losses in the beer and biscuit sent from Bristowe. The beef is too dear. These victuals should not be provided in England, but only wheat, meal, butter, cheese, and fish. Some help of corn, especially of beer malt and oat malt, shall be had out of Westmeath. The victuallers at Waterford and Cork are skilful enough, if their training up in the abuses of that office have not made them too expert in making their own profit. I hope to make such choice as her Majesty shall be served with less loss and discommodity. In the meantime I forbear to press it upon Mr. Waterhowse, because he supplieth the place of Secretary to the State. Instead of sending victuals to Cork and Waterford, I pray you send them to Limerick, for the substance of the war must be upon Kerrie and Coneloughe.

By my letters to her Majesty I have declared my late journey northward. The offence conceived against me is so generally known here as to make me unapt for the place which I hold.

I send you two letters, one from the Lord General (Ormond), the other from the Chief Justice of Munster, Justice Walshe, that was sent to examine the sacking of Youghall.

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“It is a common speech in the West, especially amongst the followers of the Viscounts Barrie and Roche and Sir Cormoocke McTeige, that they dare not use any violence unto the rebels, because they doubt that the Earl of Desmond shall have his pardon and protection, as in his former offences.” If these people hear of her Majesty’s misliking of the proceedings against him, they will be yet more cold. This may take from the Butlers and their faction, who also subscribed the proclamation, all appetite to serve against him.

Dublin, 28 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4¼.*

Dec. 28. **232.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 172.

Sent by Mr. Cotton.

Upon the breaking up of the camp in Munster after the return of the Earl of Ormond from his late journey, most of the captains were licensed to repair hither, as well for money as for the furniture of their bands with necessaries. This small proportion of treasure is far too short to pay them their due at the ordinary rate of Irish wages; “whereunto the old bands do crave their allowance of one penny ster. by the day for their victualling. And the new bands hope upon *Sd.* ster. by the day, by promise in England, as they report, and by example of the Berwick soldiers claiming the like, shewing a letter from our very good Lord the Lord Governor of Berwick. The horsemen also claim the accustomed rates of oats, or allowance for them from her Majesty, without which in truth they are no way able to live. And because the former orders taken in England appointing the penny by the day only to 1,070, and the allowance of oats from the country, limited for 300 horse, will not stretch to the satisfying of 200, and the composition of those 1,070 allowances are not answered by the English Pale, but a great part turned over to the desperate of the counties of Kilkenny, Tiporarie, Wextford, and the King’s and Queen’s Counties, we are desirous to know your Lordships’ pleasures how we shall satisfy the captains and soldiers of these their reasonable demands.” It is to be wished that all were made sterling pays, rather than Irish. We pray that money and victuals may be sent.

Dublin, 28 December 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Ad. Dublin., He. Wallope, J. Garvy, Ed. Watterhous.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Dec. 29. **233.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 173.

Sent by Mr. Cotton.

By your letters of the 12th I receive double comfort in the recovery of your health, and the mitigation of her Majesty’s displeasure towards me; yet, finding by her second letter a

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confirmation of her former disliking, I am hardly persuaded of any sudden alteration, or that my friends can prevail against my enemies. Upon the assembly of the Council and nobility here for consultation about my journey, you shall be advertised of our determinations. As for the victualling, provisions shall be made in Westmeath, to be carried upon the Lough and the Shennen to Limerick. The device of Sir Nicholas Malbie for boats to be maintained upon the Lough and that river may stand her Majesty in marvellous great stead for the purpose of victualling.

Mr. William Norris is departed this life. When he was opened, [it was found that] his heart was utterly consumed, his spleen corrupted, his brain mixed with great store of matter. I have bestowed the captainry of part of his charge upon his brother Thomas.

“Ormond hath received letters here even now, and others are come to me, that both he and I have been hardly dealt withal by the L. C. \* in discommending the course taken in Munster.” He furthered the Earl’s appointment more than any other man.

I cannot but marvel at the nomination of Mr. Waterhouse to have the charge of the victuals.

Dublin, 29 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 23.*

Dec. 29. **234.** PELHAM to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (SIR WILLIAM GERRARD).

Vol. 597, p. 174a.

I think you are not at Court, as I have not received any letters from you in this last paquet, and as I see myself in her Majesty’s letters utterly condemned, and have not at Court any friend to defend me. If the cause of my disgrace grow from this, that Ormond was unaptly chosen to be General, I hope you will avow that it was a course intended and promised by the Lord Justice that dead is (Drury), consented to by all the Council here, and subscribed by yourself, and the patent sealed and delivered before your departure. I am now commanded to enter into that action in Munster. If you have disposition to return at all, your presence will be most requisite before I depart westward.

Dublin, 29 December 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 31. **235.** PROCLAMATION by the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 175.

Against the transporting of soldiers, horses, and prohibited wares out of Ireland.

Dated 31 December 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

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\* Lord Chancellor Gerrard.

1580.  
 Jan. 2. **236.** LETTER sent to the TOWNS with the PROCLAMATION  
 aforesaid.  
 Vol. 597, p. 176. These are to command you to publish the proclamation  
 enclosed.  
 Dublin, 2 January 1579.  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- Jan. 4. **237.** WARRANT to the TREASURER, SIR HENRY WALLOP.  
 Vol. 597, p. 176. To imprest 1,000*l.* to certain captains.  
 Dublin, 4 January 1579.  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- Jan. 5. **238.** ORDER by the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL.  
 Vol. 597, p. 176a. At Dublin, 5 January 1580.\*—Whereas we the Lord Justice  
 and others of the Council are to repair shortly into Munster,  
 and others of the Council are to remain here in the English  
 Pale, it is agreed that whatsoever action or consultation be  
 concluded on or executed by either part of the Council shall  
 be as permanent as if the whole Council were or had been  
 altogether present.  
*Signed:* William Pelham, Ad. Dublin., Cust. Sig., Tho.  
 Ormound, G. Kildare, H. Miden., H. Wallopp, Ni. Bagnall, Jo.  
 Garvey, Jo. Challoner, Ed. Waterhows.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.
- Jan. 6. **239.** PELHAM to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND.  
 Vol. 597, p. 177. Sent by Mr. Cotton.  
 I received yesternight your letter of 15 November. I  
 note therein your care to answer for me in some things that  
 were directed against me. Desmond was not unadvisedly  
 proclaimed. In the defence of my choice of you to be knighted  
 I have declared your desert. 400 of our company are now  
 cashed. Our late assembly has concluded a journey into  
 Munster.  
 Dublin, 6 January 1579.  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.
- Jan. 6. **240.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.  
 Vol. 597, p. 177a. Sent by Mr. Cotton.  
 The 3rd of this month I received a letter from you, dated  
 the last of December. When you declared your opinion of my  
 continuance here and your own disgrace, I found it a double  
 grief. I pray you to work my discharge as soon as is possible,  
 and if her Majesty's displeasure be so deeply conceived  
 towards me, I wish myself in Germany with my boy. I  
 think Mr. Waterhowse happy, for he has wound himself out  
 of the affairs. "And neither he, neither the Treasurer (Wallop),  
 Sir Nicholas Malbie, [n]or myself would willingly be dealers,  
 when you may not have the defence of our honest services."  
 Dublin, 6 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

\* Sic.



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Jan. 6. **241.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WILSON.  
Vol. 597, p. 178.
- Sent by Mr. Cotton.  
You may perceive by the letters to her Majesty and the Lords what has been concluded here in this last assembly. I have caused a schedule to be added of the numbers now discharged. "My hope is that as much of those letters as concerneth the lack of treasure, munition, and victuals shall be so furthered by my Lord Treasurer (Lord Burleigh) and by you, as the service here shall receive no detriment."  
The Earl of Ormond is returned back to his charge, and will lose no advantage against the enemy. I cannot carry the rest of the forces into the field till I be supplied with money and victual, but I purpose to repair to Waterford, there to expect your resolutions, having the soldiers in readiness to march towards me. I desire to be removed speedily from the government.  
Dublin, 6 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Postscript.*—I should be left at liberty to reward men of credit and reputation [with knighthood].  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- Jan. 6. **242.** FORESTALLERS, &c.  
Vol. 597, p. 179.
- A proclamation against forestallers and regrators of markets, Gray merchants, and coursers of horses, 6 January 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.
- Jan. 6. **243.** The O'MORES.  
Vol. 597, p. 179a.
- "A licence to Callowgh O'More, at my Lord of Ormond's suit, to have conference with the O'Mores, and to levy 100 kerne."  
Dublin, 6 January 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.
- Jan. 7. **244.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD OF UPPER OSSORY.  
Vol. 597, p. 180.
- I have long expected your coming hither. My Lord of Ormond marvelled much that you came not so soon as he. His Lordship is now departed. About the 25th I purpose to be at Waterford, where you shall find Ormond; and there I will do my best to make a full conclusion of your causes.  
Dublin, 7 January 1579.  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- Jan. 8. **245.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the QUEEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 180a.
- Sent by Mr. Cotton.  
According to your direction for assembling your Council and nobility here, touching an hosting to be made in Munster and for the guard of your Pale during the prosecution of the

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war there, we have met here the day assigned. I, the Earl of Ormond, repaired hither in post. As you wish that I, the Earl of Kildare, should be appointed to the guard of the Pale, I desire to be joined with the Lord Keeper, and to have the assistance of your Marshal and others. We require money, victuals, horsemeat, munition, and men.

Dublin, 8 January 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Ad. Dublin., Cust. Sig., Tho. Ormonde, G. Kildare, H. Miden., H. Wallope, Ni. Bagnall, Ni. Malbie, Lucas Dillon, Jo. Garvie, Jo. Challoner.

*Postscript.*—"We cannot borrow anything of any town, notwithstanding that all your Majesty's debts which was borrowed of them is paid; saving at Corke, which we think is satisfied with munition from England."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

Jan. 10. **246.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 182a.

Sent by Mr. Cotton.

Assembly of the nobility and Council here, for the prosecution of the rebels in Munster with a double force, and for the guard of the Pale in the absence of me, the Lord Justice. As a good store of malt is provided at Bristol, we desire that 300 quarters thereof may be sent to Limerick with the rest of the provision. Corruption of the victuallers. Order taken to prevent wasting of victuals. We have spent the last penny of the treasure lately sent out of England. Petition of Mr. Waterhouse to be discharged of his place of Secretary.

As I, the Lord Justice, find the burthen of this service too heavy for me, I request to be discharged after my return from Munster.

Dublin, 10 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal, is left in the North, for the better stay of that border, and for none other cause. We have joined the Treasurer's clerk with John Thiepkennie.

H. List of the "bands of soldiers, pensioners, and wards cashed in December and January 1579; the copy hereof was sent to the Council by Mr. Cotton, the 10th of January 1579." Men, 410; money, 610*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

Jan. 10. **247.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 185.

Anthony Lowe, one of your pensioners, has served your Majesty for 16 years past, and is growing now in years. We beseech you to license him to live in England, and that his pension of 5*s.* by the day may be paid in the Exchequer in England, in such sort as you have dealt with old Captain Portas and others.

Dublin, 10 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

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- Jan. 10. **248.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Amongst such pensioners as were lately discharged here, George Coolie, the eldest son of Sir Henry Coolie, was one, who has been trained by his father in the army. His old father, having no entertainment of her Majesty, cannot maintain him. In respect of his match with [the daughter of] the Archbishop of Dublin we pray that some consideration may be had of him, the rather because by his living he is a borderer, and in continual action against the O'Chonnors and their loose followers.

Dublin, 10 January 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, He. Wallopp, Ni. Bagnall, Ni. Malbie, Jo. Challoner.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

- Jan. 11. **249.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 186.

I have appointed to be on the 25th at Waterford, where I hope we shall meet. Three bands are to be sent to Kilmallocke. I set forward on my journey on the 18th. We must prorogue the general hosting until we may be better provided.

Dublin, 11 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

- Jan. 11. **250.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the MAYOR and BISHOP of LIMERICK.

Vol. 597, p. 186a.

Some motion was made by me for taking up the Bishop's house to stow grain in. As the Queen is to have the present use of the said house, and also the abbey there, which the Earl held, we require you, the Mayor, to cause them to be cleaned and made ready, and to leave the charge thereof with Stephen White FitzDominicke.

Dublin, 11 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

- Jan. 11. **251.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 597, p. 187.

A patent for martial law granted to [Sir] Warham Sentleger, Provost Marshal of Munster, the 11th of January 1579.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

II. Instructions annexed to the patent for martial law aforesaid, respecting idle persons, vagabonds, rhymer, aiders of outlaws and rebels, suspected persons, bodrags, robberies, stealths, Gray merchants, coursers of horses, makers of *aqua vite*, &c. The premises to be published in every parish church.

At the end of every month you are to certify how many have been executed by this your commission of martial law.

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Such of the gentlemen and freeholders as make default in rising out with the sheriff upon warning given, shall forfeit the first time 20s. Ir., and the second time 40s., and suffer 12 days' imprisonment in the Castle of Dublin.

*Signed by Pellum in two places.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7.*

Jan. 11. 252. The MUSTERS.

Vol. 597, p. 192.

Names of the commissioners appointed for the musters in every county and barony within the Pale, 11 January 1579.

“Every parish, every barony, then the whole county, to certify the books from 16 years of age until 60, to the Lord Justice and Council.”

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 9.*

Jan. 12. 253. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 196a.

“We have received intelligence by two English barks lately arrived at Galway, and freighted from Spain, that a general stay is made of all our shipping there, and that one of the masters of these barks had warning by an English merchant to depart. The other saith he made an escape, and did see the sails taken from the rest of the fleet. They affirm that the King hath in St. Marie Port and certain havens adjoining 25,000 soldiers, mariners, and slaves, great quantity of munition and a large proportion of victuals, but to what end they know not. And whether this report be true, or given forth to raise the prices of wines out of those foreign parts, wherewith they are freighted, we leave it to your Ll.'s judgment, who have daily intelligence from those countries.”

Captain Clinton (who has a little bark in the river Shenen) and Oliver Stevenson, constable of the Glanes, have done good service upon the rebels. Sir John of Desmond has lately spoiled a'l Sir William Burke's country, as a revenge for the death of James FitzMorris. The constable of Crome, one Lacie, is revolted to the rebels. Ormond's letters to the Baron of Lixenawe were by the Baron shewed to Sir James of Desmond, and for the strengthening of the combination between him and the confederates, he has put away his wife, and married the wife of James FitzMorris.

“The Attorney writeth that one William McMorris, lately received into protection, and a man well trusted by the traitors, affirmeth that Ulicke Borke, son to the Earl of Clanricard, Turlough O'Brian, brother to the Earl of Thomond, and Mahonne McEnaspikie O'Bryne have made faithful promise to join with the rebels, and that Ulicke Bourke hath promised to procure unto them the aid of 1,000 Scots. Upon which intelligence, I, the Governor of Connaught,\* being sent for by

\* Sir Nicholas Malbie, Colonel of Connaught, whose signature is appended to this letter.

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me, the Lo. Justice, to this last consultation, is presently returned to his charge.\* The forenamed William McMorris affirmeth that the traitors make assured accompt of great forces from Spain and plenty of treasure; and saith that when the Earl of Desmond prayed Dr. Sanders to embark himself for Spain to haste hither the forces, he made answer that his letter was sufficient to bring that to pass without his own travel, offering that he would remain pledge to be massacred (for that was his manner of speech), unless those forces did arrive shortly."

In answer to letters from Turloughe Lenought we persuade him to send the young Dean to her Majesty with his petitions, which we do to win time, and to have assurance of quietness during the wars in Munster. Turlough is coming into the Baron of Dungannon's country to compel him to marry his daughter. The Baron has sent to Sir Edward More to know what course he should hold. We have desired the Baron to defer the marriage.

Dublin, 12 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3¼.*

Jan. 13. 254. WARRANT to OWEN MORE, Clerk of the Check.

Vol. 597, p. 198a.

We have appointed Captain George Thornton to repair to sea, to rig *The Handmaid* and a pinnace of his own, and to man them with 80 officers, gunners, sailors, and soldiers, with allowance of wages and victuals.

Dublin, 13 January 1579.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 13. 255. GEORGE THORNTON, Captain of *The Handmaid*.

Vol. 597, p. 199.

Instructions given him by the Lord Justice and Council at Dublin the 13th of January 1579.

Make sail along the west and north-west sea coasts, for the pursuit, apprehending, and plaguing of any traitors or malefactors adherent to the proclaimed traitors Gerald, Earl of Desmond, John and James his brethren, and all such as come to their aid or go from them with messages or letters.

Address yourself to meet with Gilbert Yorke, captain of *The Achates*, now on the west coasts.

Watch and keep the channels of the west harbours and coasts clear and free from annoyance of any foreign enemies, and apprehend all pirates.

Repair to the island of Ineskethie on the river of Shenem, that you may receive there intelligence from us, the Lord Justice, upon our repair to Limerick, how you shall be then directed.

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\* Sic.

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Search all ships in the said west or north-west parts of the realm; seize all prohibited wares; "search all passengers for letters, books, ciphers, or other kind of suspect matter, that may tend either to the defacing of religion or to the dishonour of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, or any practice against this realm and State;" and commit to safe guard and custody all suspected or culpable persons.

Make stay of any English, French, Spanish, Flemish, or Scottish ships, laden with any kind of victuals, and convoy them into the Shenen. We will take order, upon our coming to Limerick, for the discharge and payment of the same victuals. Any ships freighted or bargained for by any merchants of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, or any other corporate towns, shall be suffered to pass.

*Signed by the Deputy and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

Jan. 13. **256.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD PRESIDENT of WALES  
(SIR H. SIDNEY).

Vol. 597, p. 200a.

This gentleman, Captain Salisburie, upon the discharge of his band, doth now repair towards you. His discharge is caused by the letters from her Majesty to abate the numbers. I am sorry that any should be grieved with a discharge while I am Governor, and I am more sorry that it should light upon any of yours.

Dublin, 13 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 14. **257.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to SIR EDWARD MORE.

Vol. 597, p. 201.

I have seen the Baron of Dungannon's letter to you. He should temporize till a better opportunity. Touching the marriage, I wish it were deferred until my answer from her Majesty.

A good occasion is offered by letters now sent to me from Turlouge Lenought to know the Queen's express pleasure. I persuade in my answer that the young Dean be sent into England.

Dublin, 14 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

Jan. 17. **258.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the LORDS in  
ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 202.

Sent by the post-boat.

According to an order taken with O'Relieghe by the Commissioners at Drogheda, we have received from O'Relieghe seven of the eight pledges, whom we have committed to the Castle of Dublin. One escaped from O'Relieghe, but he has promised to send him again very shortly. He has also sent three malefactors hither to be executed, one of whom was the murderer of the Baron of Louth in Sir Henry Sidney's

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government. The loyalty of the old man is disliked amongst his followers.

“This day the Lady Mary Bourke came hither, sister to the Earl of Thomond, and late wife to Tibolt Burke (who slew James FitzMorris); did bring her eldest son unto us to this city, and exhibited a supplication, the substance whereof is, that her Majesty should take the care of the education of her said son, that she might have the benefit of the reward appointed by proclamation set forth by Sir William Drury to him that should slay the traitor James, and that we would appoint some relief unto herself, that had been lately spoiled by the rebels of her whole living; which relief, if it might not be during her life, yet she prayed it during the continuance of the war in Munster.” The creation of the old man, Sir William Burke, as Lord Bourke of Clan William or Castle Connell should not be deferred.

Among the bands lately cashed, some of the captains and other officers are voluntarily returned into England, and so discharged of all pay. Francis Stafford and Dennis Conwaie stay here.

Though the hosting be deferred till the 15th of the next month, in hope that some relief of victuals will arrive from England, yet I, the Lord Justice, do repair towards Munster to-morrow, the 18th, accompanied by the Chief Baron (Dillon) and Mr. Waterhouse, leaving the Treasurer (Wallop) here to receive the treasure which is to come out of England. I mean to spend some time about Waterford and the borders of the rebels' countries, till I may hear of some help sent from Westmeath to Limerick down the Shenens, or the arrival of the English victuals there.

Turlough Lenough means presently to come over the Blackwater, as well for the marriage of the Baron of Dunganon to his daughter, as to oppress Turloghe Brasiloughe. Captain Craiford is arrived in the Glinnes with 50 English Scots and Sorlie Boie, and means shortly, at the charges of the King of Scots, to fortify the Raghlins. “For confirmation between the King and Turlough of some articles and other of the Irish and Scottish nation,” the Lady Campbell, Turlough's wife, is going to Scotland. Upon request made to Surlieboie for the rent due to her Majesty he made the answer enclosed.

Owen McPhelim Roe, one of the brethren that be captains of the Fins, has been apprehended at Dundalk.

We pray you not to dislike of a proclamation against the passing over of horses, the scarcity is so extreme. The number daily transported to Scotland and France under pretence to be sent to England is very great.

Dublin, 17 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

Jan. 17. 259. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to TURLOUGH LENOUGH.

Vol. 597, p. 204a.

We are informed that upon a controversy between Turloghe Brasiloughe and you, you mind to come on this side

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of the Blackwater, and to use some violence towards him. We premonish you to depend on the Queen's resolution in all causes. We will assign commissioners for the ending of your controversies.

Dublin, 17 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Jan. 19. **260.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the MAYOR of WATERFORD.

Vol. 597, p. 204a.

"For release of the Spaniard."

I have received your letter. I am contented that the bearer's bark be released, and he suffered to make sail. For provision for my horses, I pray you to see that there be sufficient store for four or five days. The sheriffs of the shires shall supply me after that time. I will take such order for the [horse-] boys as the city shall not be over-burthened by them.

Newcastle, 19 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Jan. 19. **261.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to OWEN MCPHELM ROE.

Vol. 597, p. 205.

"Your letter that Captain Audlie hath made stay of you, and as you write by warrant of my commission—truly I gave him order to take your brother," but not yourself. Nevertheless, since many complaints are made against the Fius, I have given order that you shall be well intreated till my return.

Newcastle, 19 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Jan. 19. **262.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER and MR. TREASURER.

Vol. 597, p. 205a.

At my coming into the borders of the Bernes' country, Feaughe McHugh repaired to me with Sir Henry Harrington and the gentlemen of those parts. I have promised redelivery of his pledges and Hugh Duffe's.

Newcastle, 19 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript*, respecting the victualling of the Queen's ship.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 20. **263.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to SORLIE BOY.

Vol. 597, p. 206.

We have received your letter. You doubt of our authority, and of the time of our return into England. It is dishonest to break your promises made to the representative of her Majesty (Sir Henry Sydney). At the petition of the Barou of Dungannon we have given him licence to parley with you.

Newcastle, 20 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Latin. P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

II. "A copy of the foresaid letter in English."

*P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .*



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Jan. 20. **264.** The EARL OF ORMOND to PELHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 207.

Received at Arklow, 20 January.

At my departure from you, understanding from Mr. Gould, attorney in Munster, that the ward at Rathkell were in great distress, I repaired thither with all speed, and found the ward in very good case for victuals and munition.

That day I marched to Asketen, where my horsemen lighted upon some of the rebels, and slew a horseman of good account and eight footmen. We burned and spoiled some villages, and brought away the Earl's stud and other cattle. A company of horsemen and footmen escaped into a wood. I camped at Adare.

Kilmallock lately had a prey taken from them, but Geralt McThomas and a kinsman of his were wounded. John Lacie, Mr. Apslie's man, yielded the castle of Crome to the Earl of Desmond, and burned his own town. The service will never go well forward till we have victuals. I have had a letter from my Lady of Desmond. It is thought, I dare say, by those that wrote it to be cunningly penned and devised, but the intent is easy to understand. I have referred her to you. I have been extremely handled with the strangora.

Clonmell, 17 January 1579. *Signed.*

Remember 50 garrons to be brought hither, for the poor beasts die as I march by the way.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*Jan. 20. **265.** The COUNTESS OF DESMOND to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 208a.

Received 20 January 1579.

I have made petition to have my jointure, but the Lord Justice cannot resolve therein until the Queen's pleasure be signified. "Now that it hath pleased God to wrap my husband into these late troubles," I wish to repair to her Majesty's presence, and desire you to send me a passport. I mind to take shipping at Cork or Kinsall. I have appointed Thomas Oge and Owen mi Dwire to make sale of such kine as I sent to your country to bear my charges in England. For that both my husband and I have incurred certain debts in England, it is needful that you send me a protection to pass with my stuff and goods until I shall come to her Majesty without any molestation.

Taribert, 29 December 1579.

*Signed: E. Desmonde.**Contemp. copy. P. 1¾.*Jan. 21. **266.** PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 209.

I have received your letters here in your own house of Arckelowe, where Mr. Walshe has entertained me. The news was as rife at Dublin as with you that the constable and half the ward at Rathkell were slain, and the rest besieged. I have considered of my Lady of Desmond's letter. I pray you

1580.

stay your hand from these her vain petitions till our meeting, and answer her letter with silence.

Arckelowe, 21 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Jan. 21. **267.**  
Vol. 597, p. 210.

PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER (ARCHBISHOP LOFTUS).  
I purpose to be present at the hearing of Laurence Sutton's cause, for which I committed him to the Castle. He is not to be bailed or set at liberty.

Arcklowe, 21 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Jan. 22. **268.**  
Vol. 597, p. 210a.

PELHAM to the MAYOR of WATERFORD.  
"Touching his Spanish occurrents."

I thank you for your news, which are confirmed. I shall come to Waterford a day or two sooner than I determined, because the controversies in this country are referred to commissioners.

Fernes, 22 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Jan. 24. **269.**  
Vol. 597, p. 210a.

PROCLAMATION in WEXFORD.

"That such provision as hath been taken up more than for his (the Justice's) use should be restored."

Wexford, 24 January 1579.

*Signed at the beginning: William Pelham; at the end: Lucas Dillon, Ed. Waterhowse.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

Jan. 25. **270.**  
Vol. 597, p. 211a.

LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

In favour of Rice Ap Hughe, provost under Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal.

Tinterne, 25 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 25. **271.**  
Vol. 597, p. 212.

ANTHONY PEPPERD.

Licence to keep in all his houses or manor places any ordnance or guns for his better defence against the rebels.

Tinterne, 25 January 1579.

*Signed by Pelham.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 26. **272.**  
Vol. 597, p. 212a.

PELHAM to the COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

I arrived yesternight at Waterford, and have sent for the Earl of Ormond. I do the best I can to send about the Queen's ship to the Shennen with munition and ordnance. Time has been lost by default of Mr. Wingfeld's ministers. O'Reliegh desires that prisoners of his name apprehended by

1580.

Mr. Owen Moore may be executed at Kells, and that his pledges may be kept by gentlemen on the borders, but this is perilous, though the fees and diets of the prisoners are extreme.

“Desmond did of late put out a stall of cattle to betray the ward of Adare; and, when that took no place, he sent a fair young harlot as a present to the constable, by whose means he hoped to get the house; but the constable, learning from whence she came, threw her (as it is reported to me) with a stone about her neck into the river.”

Waterford, 26 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Jan. 26. **273.** SIR HUGH O'RELIEGH to PELHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 213.

Received 26 January 1579.

As we must pay the Earl of Kildare a great sum of money, and now to your Lordship the cesse, our pledges in the Castle of Dublin will be to our great charges. We desire you to put them into gentlemen's hands, in the country borderers of the English Pale, so that we may compound with their hosts. Moreover, I pray you send the two of my company, apprehended by Owen More, to Kells, to be executed.

From the Molloghe, 15 January 1579.

*Signed:* Hughe O'Reliegh.

*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

Jan. 26. **274.** PELHAM to MR. TREASURER (WALLOP).

Vol. 597, p. 213a.

Thanks for your friendly letters touching the release of Feaughe McHughe's pledges. I thought it expedient to satisfy his request. If he abuse me, I have dealt in such sort, by uniting Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Peter Carewe, Mastersonne, and Harepoole together, as he shall not wander far that way before he be met withal. The three Waterford men were enlarged at the suit of the Lady of Thame. I wish order were taken for an easy rate to be set down for such pledges as shall be committed to the Castle. Sir Hugh O'Relieghe makes petition to have his pledges delivered to gentlemen in the country. Her Majesty's ship is to be speedily sent from thence. God send Ratcliffe a good passage thither. We want money and victuals.

Waterford, 26 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Jan. 26. **275.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of LIMERICK.

Vol. 597, p. 215.

It seems to me that far more provision might be made. The Bishop has written that his house is chosen for malice. My repair will not be so soon as you expect. Make all the provision of salted beef and grain that you can. I am glad

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to hear that your citizens wax bold in dealing against the rebels.

Waterford, 26 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript*, relating to storehouses, offices for baking and brewing, brewing vessels, and ovens.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Jan. 26. **276.** PELHAM to the ATTORNEY of MUNSTER (JAMES GOLDE).

Vol. 597, p. 216.

I thank you for your letter, and for your care of her Majesty's service. The news of those few that took the prey from the rebels was very welcome. I would have you, the Recorder, and Stephen Whitt to encourage all men to provide store of victuals.

Waterford, 26 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript*.—"I thank you for the device which you made with the stranger now in the river; and because I perceive, by a letter received from Captain Clinton, that the city had bargained with the Wallowan for his whole lading, I do forbear to say any more of him."

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Jan. 26. **277.** PELHAM to [RICHARD] DOWNES,\* at Clonmell.

Vol. 597, p. 216a.

Fail not to repair presently to me with a note of the munition now at Clonmell.

Waterford, 26 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Jan. 27. **278.** PELHAM to [the TOWN of] KILMALOKE.

Vol. 597, p. 217.

"Touching their prey lost."

I have received letters from you of the 13th. I blame you that you would not seek to kill and powder the most part of your cattle for your own reliefs; but there is in you neither policy or prudence to prevent mischief, nor ability or courage to repulse it. A strong garrison shall be sent you with victuals, which from time to time shall be relieved, especially if you can provide us with carriage, or garrons, or women able to bear burthens.

Waterford, 27 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

Jan. 28. **279.** PELHAM to the MAYOR and CORPORATION of CORK.

Vol. 597, p. 217a.

We purpose to repair to that city with her Majesty's forces. Make preparation to victual us and the soldiers. We are sorry to hear that Sir Warham Sentleger, left there

\* Clerk to the Master of the Ordnance.

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for your aid, is not trusted upon his bills for necessary victuals.

Waterford, 27\* January 1579.

You must prepare lodging for me and for the Earl of Ormond, with wine and beer. You shall have plenty of provision from England.

*Signed at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 28. **280.** PELHAM to SIR CORMOK McTEIGE

Vol. 597, p. 218.

By the Earl of Ormond and Sir Warham Sentleger I have understood of your good devotion to the service of her Majesty. I have written letters to the Mayor of Cork, which I pray you to see conveyed.

Waterford, 28 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 28. **281.** PELHAM to SIR JAMES FITZGARRET.

Vol. 597, p. 218a.

I thank you for sending intelligence to Sir William Morgan. I have sent to the relief of you both 400 footmen and two bands of horsemen.

Waterford, 28 January 1579. *Signed.*

“Another [letter] to this very purpose was sent the same day unto Sir William Morgan.”

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Jan. 29. **282.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 219.

Sent by Hoper of Barstable.

I, the Earl of Ormond, found Adare in very good state; and, departing from thence to Rathkell, I found the constable and ward well. I brake far † into Conneloughe, towards the gates of Asketten. I returned with the companies to the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, where I planted them in the towns of Cashell, Clonmell, Fidderte, and this city, because they were in want of victuals, money, and apparel. I made another journey to Youghall, and, finding the late mayor to be the chief betrayer of that place, I caused him to be hanged at his own door.

I, the Lord Justice, began my journey towards this place on the 18th. In the Bernes' country and the county of Wexford the disorders were many and great. I have left the Chief Baron (Sir Lucas Dillon) at Wexford. Upon the 26th we both ‡ met here.

The rebels are divided into two companies, the one in Imokellie and the country between Youghall and Cork, and

\* “28” in the margin of MS. See the following letter.

† “Forrie” in MS., for “farre.”

‡ Pelham and Ormond.

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the other in the great wood and Arlowe. We have sent to Youghall 300 footmen and 100 horsemen; 500 footmen and one company of horsemen shall be residing in Kilmallocke under Sir George Bourchere. There is great scarcity of money and victuals; a month's victuals have been hardly shifted for. We are in hope that some relief of victuals shall come from your Lordships, especially to Limerick and Cork. The general hosting into Connelloughe and Kerrie is deferred until 10 March.

"Intelligence hath been brought us that Doctor Sanders would have made an escape from the Earl, whereby he hath a guard set upon him." The townsmen of Limerick have made a small prey upon the rebels. Two ships, laden with wine and munition, are landed at Dingle, whereby the rebels are greatly relieved.

Waterford, 29 January 1579.

*Signed*: William Pelham, Thomas Ormonde, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Postscript*.—We wish the petitions of the widow of Mr. Davells for leases of the parsonage of Dungarvon and the abbey of Gillit may be granted.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 7.

Jan. 29. **283.** PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 222 a.

Sent by Hoper.

At my coming to this city I found the soldiers under Ormond's rule divided into garrisons. For want of victuals about Limerick I have sent 400 footmen and 100 horsemen to Youghall and Lismore, to reedify Youghall and to animate the poor people to return to their dwellings; and 300 footmen and 50 horse to join with Sir George Bourcher's 200 at Kilmallock. I have victualled *The Achates* and another vessel to carry munition from this place and Cork to Limerick. This city must be licensed to make some provision of grain in England.

Of the proportion appointed to be sent from Bristol to Cork one month's victuals for 200 men should be assigned to the haven of Youghall. I purpose to spend some time in the county of Cork.

I find great assistance in Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Waterhouse. I wish you would send Lodowicke Briskett hither with speed, and that the books for the office of the ordnance may be viewed. Hasten the money and victuals.

Waterford, 29 January 1579. *Signed*.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 34.

Jan. 29. **284.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 224a.

Sent by Hoper.

It is against the opinions of most of my friends here that I should have come out of Dublin, till I had treasure and

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victuals. *The Achates* has spent in this river two months' victuals to small purpose or none. I have revictualled her and another vessel, and 1,100 soldiers, for one month, and directed some to Kilmallocke and some to Youghall. I hope that by this means Desmond shall be kept occupied in the county of Limerick till my coming, and the poor town of Youghall reedified. Money and victuals must be sent.

Ormond mistrusts the hollow hearts of divers of the best in Munster to be confederate in the treason, for none have assisted him since these stirs began; neither do the Lords leave their honest affected neighbours unspoiled. These matters are chiefly to be objected against the Lord Barrie.\*

Waterford, 29 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

Jan. 30. **285.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WILSON.  
Vol. 597, p. 225a.

Sent by Hooper.

Treasure and victuals must be sent out of England. Her Majesty should write to the Lords in Munster to stir them up with affection to serve her in this action, declaring her determination to root out all the sparks of this rebellion.

Waterford, 30 January 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 30. **286.** PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM MORGAN.  
Vol. 597, p. 226.

In my former letter I left to your direction the service to be attempted by the captains now sent to your relief.

"Wherein soever you shall think good by advice of Sir James FitzGarrett, and allowed by those gent' and captains to be attempted, you may proceed in it with my good allowance." Victuals will be sent to Youghall on Monday next. "I wish that the captains were doing somewhat, and kept occupied 10 or 12 days, that we be not burdenous to this country, and blamed for idleness, especially these light nights, which serve so well for any attempt to be made upon the enemy. And because you are advertised of the breaking of Strongallie, you may do well to view the place, as also Inesquie and Inshnegrangahe, and whether they be guarded with any ward of rebels."

Waterford, 30 January 1579. *Signed.*

Mr. Sinott, of Wexford, has a lease of the castle of Inesquie, and has his ward in it.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Jan. 30. **287.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of CORK.  
Vol. 597, p. 227.

I have received your letters touching munition to be delivered you instead of a debt appearing to be due in othe

\* *In the margin:* "The Lord Barrie a noted traitor."

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governors' times for the diets of soldiers cessed there; which tickets you allege to have been delivered into the hands of Sir William Drurie, and yet to remain with my Lady or some of her servants. I have written to my Lord Keeper to examine whether the said tickets may be possibly found. In the mean season I will furnish you with anything for your defence, "so as you enter into band, as this city hath done, not to utter it, but to remain as a store."

Waterford, 30 January 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 30. **288.** WARRANT to JAQUES WINGFIELD, MASTER of the ORD-  
NANCE, or to his clerk RICHARD DOWNES.

Vol. 597, p. 227a.

To deliver certain munition to Gilbert Yorke, captain of *The Achates*, and to William Lumbert.

Waterford, 30 January 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice at the beginning.*

II. List of the munitions to be delivered..

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 31. **289.** PELHAM to the QUEEN.  
Sent by Hoper of Barstable.

Vol. 597, p. 228.

"I have sent your Highness a cipher herein closed, because it may be doubted how letters will come to my hands, when I shall be encamped far from the port-towns. The causes are these. First, forasmuch as I have discovered many arguments that the rebels are weary of the war, and are doubtful of the forces coming against them, insomuch as the Earl and his brethren come not together but upon oath and a kind of protection, and have their followers apart, mistrusting also Saunders to have come with false persuasion from foreign princes,—I desire to be directed from your Majesty that if the Earl of Desmond shall secretly offer any such humble submission as may carry with it honour to your Majesty, with the delivery of his brothers, Sanders, and other of the principal rebels, whereby quietness may follow, whether with any such terms I may receive him to your Majesty's mercy.

"Secondly, whereas it is certain that some of the Lords, pretending to do your Majesty service, and yet as far in the confederacy as those in open action, do suffer the rebels to live in their countries, [and to] feed upon their tenants in so small numbers as they might withstand and overthrow at their pleasures,—whether I may not apprehend such, and either send them into England, there to know the greatness of their sovereign, or to Dublin, there to be tried upon their misbehaviours, and what manner of trial I shall allow to such; of which sort, to make it plain to your Majesty, the Earl of Clancare and the Lo. Barrie will be (as I am informed) manifestly detected.



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“ Thirdly, whether the noblemen’s sons in Munster, being now pledges in Cork and other places, and such other as I think good shortly to possess myself of for the assurance of their inconstant fathers, may not be sent prisoners into England to some place of strength, to work the more effectual dealings in their parents, who find such friendship in all cities of this realm, as they make no account of the restraint of their children in those places either for terror or any hard dealing.

“ Farther, whether if the Countess of Desmond sue to go over to your Majesty as she hath of late pretended, having as I hear furnished herself with the plate of Youghall to bear her charges either in Spain or England, whether I may license her so to do or not, for the ports are so laid, as she will hardly adventure to do it without license.

“ Lastly, I desire to know your Majesty’s resolution, what course of government shall be taken in this province of Munster, and who shall be left governor amongst them, when God shall give an end of these wars, which either in one kind or other I hope shall be in short time after the supply of all our wants.”

Waterford, the last of January 1579. *Signed.*

II. “ A Cipher sent to her Majesty.”\*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

Feb. 3. 290. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 230a.

Sent by Mr. Hoper of Barstable.

Sir William Stanley and Sir Peter Carew are returned to me from Youghall, where they left their companies. After their departure hence, in passing the ford at Lismore, the soldiers, being noway assisted with boats or troughs from Sir James FitzGarrett, did lose the most part of their match and powder. Strongallie Castle had in it a ward of Spaniards, who set it on fire and fled to their boats. The captains took a prey of cattle, and with it departed to Youghall, where they now remain. I have sent them victuals, powder, shoes, and netherstocks. This departure of the Spaniards has emboldened the soldiers.

Waterford, 3 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2¼.*

Feb. 4. 291. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 232a.

Sent by Hoper.

State of her Majesty’s houses. Athlone, Maryborough, Philipstown, Laughline, Dungarvon, and Kilmainam are very

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\* 13 of the ciphers “ signify nothing ;” 18 are equivalent to certain common words of one syllable ; and 43 represent the names of so many important persons and places. There are, moreover, two ciphers for each letter of the alphabet.

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much decayed. The Castle of Dublin must also have some little help. Knockfergus, the fort at Blackwater, and Catherlough should be amended. Artificers must be sent out of England.

Waterford, 4 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Feb. 4. **292.** PELHAM to the EARL OF KILDARE.

Vol. 597, p. 232.

Concerning the controversy between him and one Devereux, respecting lands, and the Berwick soldiers that were appointed to Athie, with an account of the taking of Strangallie Castle. Youghall is greatly wasted with fire. At Kilmallocke there is a ward of 500 footmen and 50 horse. The rebels begin to jar amongst themselves

Waterford, 4 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Feb. 4. **293.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER and MR. TREASURER.

Vol. 597, p. 233a.

Sent by Mr. Prindercase.

Your opinion of the Countess of Desmond's desire to depart beyond seas is sound. I like that Thorneton's victuals are so supplied. For Walter Hope, though I condemn the dishonest gain which he seeketh, yet necessity compelleth us to bear with him until the provision be finished. For Sackeford, I will commend his offers into England. The controversy between Bisse and Talbot. The Berwick soldiers were placed at Athie, on the petitions of the burgesses of Mariborough. The soldiers' journey to Youghall. The munition at Waterford. I can procure only 20*l.* from the Mayor and his brethren; nor can one penny be gotten by Mr. Watterhowse of the imposts. The shipwright is to go to Sir Nicholas Malbie, with direction that he attend me at Limerick.

The general hosting was by me prorogued to the 10th of March. I purpose upon the 12th to depart towards Youghall and Cork, and from thence to take my journey to the county of Limerick.

Waterford, 4 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Feb. 5. **294.** PELHAM to SIR JAMES FITZGARRETT.

Vol. 597, p. 235.

I am sorry for your sickness, and for any hindrance that may come to you by the soldiers. Touching the composition [for the cesse], it is to be wished that it may be kept; but the best is for every good subject to banish the cause, which is the traitors themselves. Her Majesty and the governors have ever conceived well of you and your house.

Waterford, 5 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

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Feb. 5. 295. PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 235a.

I have written to Captain Apsley to premonish him of his followers or tenants. Lord Power is to attend me with his rising out. The Sovereign of Clonmell writes that he had received intelligence from Sir Tibott Butler that the Earl of Desmond was come into Arlowe with a great force, whereof many were strangers. My letters formerly written signified that the Lord of Upper Ossory refused to come to Kilkenny for the cause between you and him to be heard. As I perceived that he bent his course another way, I thought it not convenient to send the Chief Baron or Mr. Waterhouse.

Waterford, 5 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Feb. 8. 296. PELHAM to the COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

Vol. 597, p. 236a.

Touching a riot at Kilkenny.  
Waterford, 8 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Feb. 9. 297. PELHAM to the COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

Vol. 597, p. 237.

Touching the attachment of the Baron of Burnchurch, late sheriff of the county of Kilkenny, for suffering a condemned person to escape, who however, at the last assize at Kilkenny, being there condemned for burglary, was appointed to be the executioner and hangman for such as were hanged, drawn and quartered for treason. Last year the Baron was the taker of the O'Mores that were executed at Kilkenny. His father died in the prosecution of rebels.

Waterford, 9 February 1579.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Feb. 9. 298. PELHAM to MR. TREASURER (SIR HENRY WALLOP).

Vol. 597, p. 238.

I wish Sir Nicholas Malbie good success in his journey with your band of footmen. "This night my Lord of Ormond is come hither, and hath stayed my departure towards Cork till Monday next upon this occasion, that the Earl of Desmond is come into Arlowe upon the skirts of his country, where, with such bands of footmen as are assigned to go to Kilmallocke, and with his own forces, he meaneth to visit the traitors between this and Monday, and to meet me in the way to Youghall."

A principal man of Desmond's, being his foster brother, is taken by Ormond. He confesses "that two Spanish frigates are arrived in Kerrie at Dingle, and sent from two several ports of Spain to discover; and by chance both arrived in that haven. The one hath brought letters from the King of Spain to the Earl and his brethren; the other came to know the certainty of James FitzMorris and Doctor Saunders. That frigate, meeting presently with the Doctor, stayed not above

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six hours, but departed with his letters of answer. The other came to the house called the Island, in Kerrie, to Sir James of Desmond, and there delivered his letters to him, who presently sent them to the Earl. He with all diligence sent back answer; and so that frigate is also departed. The substance of their coming was to learn the certainty of the state, because it was affirmed that the Earl and his brothers, Doctor Sanders and all the confederates were destroyed, saving the Earl's son, who was in the hands of her Majesty. But now finding it otherwise, they have promised aid before th' end of May. This, by a number of circumstances too long to write, seemeth undoubtedly true. The chief men in those frigates misliked much that the Dingle was broken,\* because they said it would have been a good receptacle for them at their landing.

"This is the substance, saving he affirmeth the confederacy with the Earl of Clancare, and that the power of the rebels are 600 gallowglas, 1,600 kearne, and 80 horsemen, besides 200 shot.†"

"This day here is a bark of Barstable arrived, who bringeth news that the Parliament was prorogued for eight days, and now holdeth and is already begun; that all the nobility and burgesses are repaired thither; that common speech goeth forth that Monsieur cometh in, if it please him; and that some men of reckoning are sent into France to attend him, where like execution hath been done by loss of limbs upon some that uttered loose speeches upon him, as was on them that wrote the book."

Waterford, 9 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2¼.*

Feb. 9. **299.** WARRANT to the SOVEREIGN of CLONMELL.

Vol. 597, p. 239a.

"For the cissing of soldiers at a price." We allow but one boy to every two soldiers, and they being so allowed, we assign you to receive 2*l.* ster. the meal for every soldier.

Waterford, 9 February 1579.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

"The like to the Portrife of Cashell and Sovereign of Fidert, this day."

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Feb. 9. **300.** PELHAM to the LIEUTENANT of the FORTS.

Vol. 597, p. 239a.

Touching the protection of Roce McMelaughline and his sept.

Waterford, 9 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

\* By Desmond. (See Pelham to the Council, 10 Feb.)

† Scots?

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Feb. 9. **301.** PELHAM to ROSS McMELAUGHLIN.  
Vol. 597, p. 240. Granting him protection.  
Waterford, 9 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*
- Feb. 9. **302.** PELHAM to SIR HENRY HARRINGTON.  
Vol. 597, p. 240a. Thanks for his good course with Teige Oge's sons.  
Waterford, 9 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*
- Feb. 9. **303.** PELHAM to the LORD OF UPPER OSSORY.  
Vol. 597, p. 241. Touching the controversy between the Earl of Ormond and himself respecting the imprisonment of Redmond Reaughe.  
Ormond will deliver six of those who have offended you, and I command you to do the same.  
Waterford, 9 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*
- Feb. 10.\* **304.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.  
Vol. 597, p. 242. Sent by Mr. May of Exeter.  
Ormond has been lately in the county of Tipperary. He is now gone against the rebels in the woods of Arlowe. He has apprehended Maurice O'Madden, a man of principal name and credit with Desmond, and who confesses that the Earl and his brethren are greatly comforted by letters and messages lately received out of Spain.  
He says also that after the coming of those Spanish vessels a solemn oath passed between Desmond and the Earl of Clancarre to join together with their forces; "which oath was ministered by the Doctor (Sanders), having a mass book under their feet and a cloth spread over their heads; and he thinketh that the Lo. FitzMorris will be true unto them."  
As Sir William Morgan has been advertised by spial in the county of Cork, that two shallops were arrived at Dingle with divers Spaniards, who viewed the havens and creeks, and were well used by the country people, this report is the more credible.  
I pray you to supply us with all things necessary, especially victuals and munition, as the powder wasteth apace; and that I may also receive your directions whether I shall strengthen the port towns with soldiers, as Cork, Kinsall, Waterford, and Limerick. As the army is appointed to march in two companies under the Earl of Ormond and me, there are no more than may attend us. Once again I pray you to hasten the victuals to Limerick. I mean upon Monday next to begin my journey through the county of Cork.  
Waterford, 10 February\* 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

\* "January" in MS.

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Feb. 10. 305. SIR PETER CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 52.

City of Exeter, in the Queen's Court.

Appearance, before John Peter, mayor, and the bailiffs, on 18 June, 18 Eliz., of George Harvie, senior, Edmund Tremayne, and John Vowell, *alias* Hoker, who exhibited an indenture by which Sir Peter Carewe, of Mohownescotrie, Devon, conveyed to them the barony of Odron, in co. Catherlough, to his own use during his life; and after his death to the use of his wife, Dame Margaret Talboys, and his heirs males; and after the death of himself and his wife, to the use of Peter Carew, the eldest son of his uncle, Sir George Carewe, clerk, and his heirs; or, in default, to the use of George Carewe, second son of the same; with further remainders to John Carewe of Bickleighe, Devon, Humphrey Carewe of Exeter, William Carew, brother to the said John and Humphrey, Thomas Carewe of Hacombe, the heirs male of Thomas Carewe of Anthonye, Cornw., deceased, and the heirs male of Sir Nicholas Carewe of Benington, Surrey, deceased.

We, Simon Knight, mayor, and the bailiffs of the said city, have caused the foregoing charter to be exemplied, at the request of John Vowell, *alias* Hooker, 10 February, 22 Eliz., 1579.

*Pp. 2, large paper. Latin and English. Endorsed.*

Feb. 11. 306. PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 243a.

Sent by Mr. Maie.

Ormond has sent me letters received from the Lord Roche. The news of the Spanish practice is confirmed. "The Earl came in person to his house in Kerrie, called the Island, to have conference with those messengers that were sent unto him, both French and Spanish." Every man in Munster is persuaded of foreign aid. Many gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Limerick are fled to the rebels. A general revolt is to be feared as soon as any foreign aid shall come. The towns are for the more part weak. Should the town of Dingle be fortified to withstand the landing of the Spaniards? As our soldiers are dispersed into many places, a strong fleet should be kept upon the seas to keep those channels free. Food is growing scarce in Munster. Instead of cattle and garrons, I am compelled to levy 300 churles, upon whose backs I carry all my provision to the field.

I hear that some treasure is arrived at Dublin. When I shall pass from this port towards Limerick, I shall hardly send letters but with hazard; the only sure way will be by water up the Shenon to Athlone, and so to Dublin. It may be doubted how the Pale itself will be affected, if they stand assured of foreign invasion. I have sent a cipher enclosed.

Waterford, 11 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

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Feb. 11. 307. LORD ROCHE to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 245a.

Sent to the Council, 11th February 1579.

"About the 28th day of the last month, there arrived in the river of the Dingle two barks, well manned and well appointed, whereof the one was a Spaniard, the other a Frenchman, who came in post-haste with letters to the Earl of Desmond and made earnest enquiry for Dr. Sanders, and made their present repair unto the Island, in Kerrie, where they met the Earl, who came in haste that night purposely to confer with them, and to have conference of their matters. At which time they told him that the King of Spain and the French King were advertised how that there was not one of the Geraldines on live. And Dr. Sanders all to\* railed and reviled them for not accomplishing their former promise. And the letters being perused before the party who sent this news, whose name I have sent you by this bearer, fearing this my letter to miscarry, the tenour whereof is that the King of Spain had appointed forth, and was ready coming, the number of 30,000 men, well appointed, with such governors meet for the same, and James FitzMorris' two sons in their company; and that there was none ready from the French King, until the return of the bark, at which time he will aid him with a number of men. And the Spaniard at his return informed the Earl that the power appointed on his side stayed only to hear whether there was any of them alive or not, and so presently upon his return made promise with that force to return back again within one month (wind and weather serving), and so departed incontinently. And no farther news I hear not, otherwise than the Earl of Clancare is joined with the Earl of Desmond upon condition that he would not demand his own person to go with him during one month after the conclusion; in the meantime that the rebels to have all his men at commandment, as appeareth by great preys taken by Sir John of Desmond accompanied with the said Earl of Clancare's men from Carberie.

"I have laid every night during the space of 8 or 9 nights for the Seneschal [of Imokilly], who stole away privily one Friday at night last past by means of some spy gone to him, whereby he took the way over the water about Lismore, and so over the mountain of Aharlowe, notwithstanding that my men made all the earnest pursuit that in them lay."

Castletown, 9 February 1579.

*Signed*: D. de Ruppe et Farmoy.*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 2.

Feb. 11. 308. A CIPHER.

Vol. 597, p. 246a.

Sent to the Council in England on the 11th of February 1579, by Mr. May.†

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.\* *Sic*; for *also*?

† Entirely different from the cipher sent to the Queen on 31st January 1580.

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Feb. 11. 309. PELHAM to the MAYOR and ATTORNEY at LIMERICK.

Vol. 597, p. 247a.

Mr. Dingle has been appointed keeper of all such provisions as shall arrive at Limerick, either from England or from the English Pale. As we purpose before many days pass to be with our companies in that city, we pray you, with the assistance of her Majesty's commissioners in that city, to make all the provision you can both for our horses and those of our train.

Waterford, 11 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

Feb. 12. 310. PELHAM to the CAPTAINS at YOUGHALL.

Vol. 597, p. 248.

I have secretly altered my determination for my intended journey to Cork, and resolve presently upon other service; and therefore I require that you, Sir William Stanlie, Sir Peter Carewe, and Captain George Carewe, do repair to me with your whole companies to Clonmell, leaving the charge of Youghall with you, Captain Piers.

Waterford, Friday, 12 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Feb. 12. 311. PELHAM to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 248.

My letters from England occasion me to alter my determination. I therefore pray you to meet me at Clonmell instead of Dungarvon, and that all things may be ready against Tuesday to depart thence, in company of the convoy, to Kilmallocke. Keep secret my coming to Clonmell.

Waterford, 12 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Feb. 16. 312. PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 248a.

Sent by Mr. Hungerford.

I did of late signify the practice of the King of Spain with the rebels of Munster. "The one part of the letter sent from the Pope's Nuncio to the Earl did declare that the death of James FitzMorris was the less grievous unto them, because they were not without some hope that he and his brothers were yet alive, and doubted not of his constancy in his promise made by James FitzMorris both to the Pope's Holiness and to the Catholic King; and that all things promised to him, either of aid, honour, or profit, should be undoubtedly performed; requiring that he keep his own person in safety till their landing."

Because this matter can abide no delays, I divert my journey from the county of Cork, to which place I was going to settle the better sort that was wavering there; and committing that business to Sir William Morgan, I march into Concloughe, to seek the traitor in his strength.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy Pp. 2¼*



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**313.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 250.

Sent from Clonmell by Mr. Hungerford.

On the 11th I received your letters of the 12th and 23rd of January, sent by Richard Colman and Argall. *The Handmaid* and *The Achates* were put to sea before the receipt of those letters, and appointed to ply to the western coasts. The victuallers at Bristoll may with this wind supply us with victuals from thence to Limerick.

“But where your Hs. forewarn us of two Spanish barks laden with munition, and do wish the knowledge thereof to be kept from the people, I dare assure your Hs. there is no corporation, nor almost any kerne in Munster, that doth not look expressly for a navy of Spaniards to arrive shortly; and therefore the bruit cannot be suppressed, but is already dispersed throughout the whole realm; and such captains of countries as have not already entered into the confederacy have their friars and runagate priests ready to solicit for them at their landing. And I have (by means of a false brother) gotten the names of some of those priests, and will deal with them and their masters accordingly, if they come in my reach.”

Thanks for the care you have had of my petitions for victuals and munition. “Touching the comparison between the soldier of Berwick and the soldiers of Ireland, alleging him of Berwick to serve in great toil, if I have any judgment, all the soldiers of Christendom must give place in that to the soldier of Ireland; and so much difference for ease, if Captain Cace, Pickeman, and Walker may be judges, as is between an alderman of London and a Berwick soldier. But these Irish soldiers lives under unhappy stars; and so I leave them, for the climate will yield no better.”

“I have left to visit the county of Cork, and am in my way to Limerick, and will, within three days (God willing), be encamped under Arlowe, where the forces of the county of Tipperary do assemble for defence of those parts, leaving that guard of my Lord of Ormond’s kinsmen, friends, and followers under the leading of Sir Tibott Butler to keep those woods of Arlowe and to front the rebel, if he look into Tipperary. At Cashell I leave one band of footmen, both for the defence of the town and to answer aid unto Sir Tibott Butler.

“I have also left Sir William Morgan to command all that be obedient in the county of Cork and Waterford; he hath 20 horsemen and 200 footmen at Youghall, as an apt place to answer to both counties of Waterford and Cork. There be also of holding kerne in the county of Waterford 200, at the commandment of Sir William Morgan, led by Patrick Sherlock and Anthony Powre. Sir Tibott Butler and Sir William Morgan be appointed their bounds, how one of them may answer another. The Lord Barrie, Lord Roache, and Sir Cormoke McTeige are appointed to answer the other partie of the county of Cork, if they may be trusted, but they three draw two ways, Roch and Sir Cormocke reasonably well affected, but Barrie

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extreme ill, and his son worse, if worse may be. I have left Youghall, Kinsall, and Kilmalloe guarded from any Irish force, and Youghall men are again gathered thither.

"The Earl of Ormond and I go together into Connelloughie, where I will divide our forces, and as we may get victuals from Limerick to meet us by sea, we propose to destroy all to Dingle. I have also appointed Sir Nicholas Malbie, if he appeased a stir lately begun in Connaught, to draw down into the lower part of Thomond with all the force he can, to th' end to pass the river by boats into Kerrie, which boats I will prepare for him from Limerick. This is my determination: and if God give us bread, we doubt not but to make as bare a country as ever Spaniard set his foot in, if he intend to make that his landing place. But if they come in multitudes, they may choose what place they list."

Sundry considerations to be had over this State. Letters will henceforward hardly be conveyed.

I renew my former suit to be released from this charge.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Feb. 16. 314. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 252.

I have received a long letter from you of 30 December, full of good advice as well for the dealings with the North as with the present cause of Munster. The Baron of Dungannon will not swerve in my absence. I have provided for the guard of the Pale. Some part, or all, of the great preparations in Spain is assigned to descend in these parts. If there land but 1,000 Spaniards, there is no doubt but the more part of the realm will revolt. The Earl of Ormond could not then trust his own followers in any service for her Majesty, though I suppose they will be careful of him for the guard of his own person.

I depart tomorrow towards the traitors. Better it were we ventured, serving in the woods, and by continual action to diminish their forces before their aid come, than by lingering thus for victuals to hazard all. I was persuaded, when at Dublin, that her Majesty had nothing in staple here, but I have found so much that with 100*l.* I have victualled *The Achates* for 10 weeks, &c. And all this has been here until the beer is sour, the biscuit almost mouldy, and the beef old enough to be spent. I hear there is at Cork a great proportion of musty bread made at Dublin, and sent thither in the time of Sir William Drury's government. The victuallers here had made no certificate. Victuals should be sent to Limerick (rather than Cork or Waterford), in good and defensible vessels, to join with the two small ships here against the fleet of foreigners that are expected. Beef excepted, here is little to be had. I see that freights and wastes are as much as the provisions. It were better that merchants were treated with

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to bring us victuals at their own adventure. Of this sort is Richard Maie of Excester, Morris of Gloucester, and certain others of Bristol, that have made this offer here.

Foreign aid must have a quiet place to land in, a staple for their victuals, and many other circumstances, which the Dingle shall hardly yield them. I account either to make it more inapt by destroying it, or else to fortify there, and to possess it; but it is better to destroy it. If any foreign aid come, the force here is nothing.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

Feb. 16. **315.** PELHAM to the EARL OF SUSSEX.

Vol. 597, p. 254.

I am beholden to you for repairing my credit with her Majesty. Account of the dealings with Desmond before his proclamation.

I pray you stand good lord to this gentleman, Mr. Hungerford, your servant.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Feb. 16. **316.** PELHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 597, p. 255a.

Your letter of the 26th of the last has satisfied me of the continuance of my credit with yourself. During my absence the soldiers in these parts were continually kept occupied either in jourmies into the county of Cork for pledges to be taken there of the Lords, or in sudden roads upon the enemy. Ormond was with them in continual action, but was driven to withdraw the garrisons to the corporate towns till victuals might be gotten. But now both he and I march into Conneloughe, and there will divide.

“ Since the advertisements of the foreign invasion every man here looketh about him, for howsoever the world may delight in change upon promise of golden mountains, I suppose it is now considered that what foreign prince soever come, he will not allow to any freeholder more acres than he hath already, nor more free manner of life than they have under our Sovereign. And farther I am told that some of the traitors themselves begin to consider that the invader will put no great trust in those that do betray their natural prince and country.” Strange letter from the Countess of Desmond. If she will show me a reason for her departure, I will talk more of the matter with her.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I thank your Lo. for the care you have of Sir William Stanlie. He has me ready to friend him.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

Feb. 16. **317.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 257a.

I have received your five letters. Those parts that concern your restitution into favour with her Majesty, and your

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report of the abatement of her Highness' displeasure towards me, are the matters that ought best to like me. If her Majesty's letters to Ormond were sent by Henry Shee, his servant, then are they not arrived. The Earl is in a journey. "Your Honour purgeth my Lo. Chancellor of Ireland of the information made to me of him, and his own letters saith also sufficiently amongst reasonable and honest men. But I assure you, Sir, it was written to me out of England that some of great calling, that both liked of the placing of the Earl of Ormond and the proclamation against Desmond, did, upon speech with him, suddenly alter their opinion into great misliking of both."

If the boats be procured for the Shenens, the footmen may pass above 100 miles upon that water. The Clerk of the Check has been warned, upon his life, to look severely to his office. As your desire that Mr. Waterhouse should tend the casualties for and be spared from this journey, the State may not forbear him. I am noway assisted here but by Sir Lucas Dillon and him, and Challoner is departed into England. I think Mr. Geoffrey Fenton would serve, where I am employed, as secretary to the State.

Mr. Dingle was long since commended to me to be keeper of the whole store and provisions which shall come to Limerick, where we make our staple for the victuals. Vincent Finche has been removed to victual the garrison at Kilmallocke.

The Countess of Desmond prays licence to repair into England. "Not long after her husband's falling into rebellion, I gave her protection to repair unto him and to return within certain days, to live in the Pale or with the Baron of Dunboine, her brother, and caused her to be secretly persuaded that grace would be showed unto her husband, if he would consent unto the delivery of Doctor Sanders and his brethren, whereof she seemed then well to like, yet have I never heard from her until now, and do also learn that there is not any amongst the conspirators that more encourageth the disloyalty of the Earl than she. And therefore I believe her message is but colorable, either to get the goods which be in the hands of the Earl of Ormond, or else to give intelligence of our purposes; whereunto is also to be added that her letters bear date before the late barks that came from Spain were arrived; so as it is like she is now confirmed upon the service of her new master."

I will do what I can for my cousin Johu Stafford.

The treasure now arrived comes in good season, but there is a defalcation of 3,000*l.* for victuals.

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5½.*

Feb. 16. 318. PELHAM to SECRETARY WILSON.

Vol. 597, p. 260a.

I have received your four letters. "For the burial of Sir William Drurie, which you prescribe to be done with the ordinary garrison, and without farther expense to be

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Majesty, if my Lady of Thame might have been so persuaded or that in her judgment it had been fit for his place to have had such funerals, they had been long since performed, but it may be she will alter her opinion. Nevertheless, your Honour's direction, coming now when we are drawn to the field with the soldiers, cannot possibly be performed until their return. In the mean time I have advised my Lady to cause the body to be as secretly buried as may be, and to leave a coffin for form sake, to be attended with three or four of her servants, and to give forth that her Majesty will bury him according to his place and office, and so she to depart, and leave to me to perform the obsequy.\*

Clonmell, 16 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ .*

Feb. 17. 319.  
Vol. 597, p. 262a.

PELHAM to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (GERRARD).

Sent by Mr. Hungerford.

I have received your three letters. I have written touching O'Relieghe and the northern borders. Not long after your departure a cause was followed at the Council Board against my Lord of Slaue by Molroe Hussie and his friends, concerning a recovery from my Lord Keeper. It was clear in all men's opinions, that the rent was to remain to Mr. Fleming and the land to Mr. Hussie. The Lord of Howthe has been clearly delivered from prison without fine, but only to save the honour of your word. His wife's complaints were of late as grievous as heretofore. The marshal's office with the serjeantship at arms has been bestowed upon one Bennitt.

"I thank your Lo. I have received certain collections to persuade the causes of the proclamation against the Earl of Desmond; they be good notes against that matter may come in question; and it hath not been remembered what the contrary wrought in displeasure unto Sir William Fitz-Williams." I have left the varlet that robbed you, and his companion, to the law.

I thank you most heartily for the report of the restitution of our friend to her Majesty's grace. I have not dealt with many concordatums since your departure, for I mortally hate them. The concordatum for the Archbishop [of Dublin] was one for which he showed many precedents.

As to your letter of 27 January concerning altogether the terms of unkindness betwixt us, I will fully resolve you when we meet, as I am informed you are now at Chester. Mr. Secretary's letter confirmed me in a sound opinion of your friendship.

I am on my way towards the rebels. Few here are sound subjects. Foreign aid is assuredly expected. I have with me neither tent nor carriages, but carry my victuals upon men's shoulders, and mind to be in camp within 3 days.

Clonmell, 17 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

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\* This letter also treats of other matters, but adds nothing of importance to the information contained in previous letters.

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Feb. 24. 320. PELHAM to the BARON of LIXNAWE.

Vol. 597, p. 265a.

I have often understood by the Earl of Ormond and others of the Council how dutifully and loyally you have depended upon the Queen, notwithstanding the tyrannies and wrongs done to you by the Earl of Desmond, and that in all troublesome times you never fell from your duty till now. I cannot but assure myself that you will become as one of us, and serve her Majesty as in times past. If your son Patrick, for love to his uncle, have done amiss, he shall have all favour for your sake. If any man have persuaded you that foreign aid shall come to the relief of the traitors, believe them not, for the Queen's navy is at sea. The King of Spain will not so lose the ancient amity of England, whatsoever that unnatural traitorous priest Saunders may have persuaded. Therefore I require you with your forces to come to me at my coming into Kerrie. If you could lay hands upon Sanders, that I might have him alive, I promise you the best reward.

Limerick, 24 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Feb. 28. 321. PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 266a.

Small proportion of victual. Extreme rain. Coming of the Treasurer (Wallop) within a day or two; "for whom I do stay, lest otherwise I be forced either to return or to spare the most of my forces for his safe conduct." The Glanns, where Oliver Stevenson is constable, is the aptest place for our staple of victuals.

Limerick, 28 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Feb. 28. 322. PELHAM to the COUNCIL [in ENGLAND].

Vol. 597, p. 267.

Sent to my Lord Keeper, at Dublin, by Thomas, my Lady of Thame's lacky, to be convoyed into England.

I have received no letters in answer to mine of January and February. On the 18th the Earl of Ormond and I assembled in the east end of Arlowe, in the county called Muskrie, where certain of the Burkes kept three castles to the relief of the traitors. I took those castles from them. We left in Cashell 100 footmen under Captain Dowdall, and committed all the forces of Tipperary and 50 of the Earl's horsemen to Sir Tibott Butler, with precise order how Sir Tibott and Sir William Morgan, the Lord Power and Sir James FitzGarrett, the sheriff of the county of Waterford, and Patrick Sherlocke (who have horsemen, galloglas, and kerne in holding upon the charge of the country) shall answer one another upon all occasions.

As we understood from Sir Warham Sentleger in what doubtful terms the lords of that county stood since the news of the coming of foreigners, Ormond repaired into those parts. He is to meet me in Coneloughe about the 6th of

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March. We there divided our forces, leaving to him four bands of footmen and 100 horse, with the 200 kerne which he and Sir Edmund Butler had in pay. I repaired towards these parts with four other bands and some horsemen. Coming in two days' march to Limerick, I found here no provision of victuals, saving a small proportion of wheat sent from the purveyor of Westmeath. I have "ordered that the citizens, according as the soldiers were cessed in their houses, every host should provide 10 days' bread for his guest." Part of this provision is to be carried with me, "and the rest to be put in boats to a castle in Cainrie, by the Shenen side, called the Glams." I am awaiting the coming here of Mr. Treasurer, who is in Connaught. He is attended but with his own band of footmen, the other (Captain Cace's band) being left with McWilliam Euter.

The castles of Asketen and Carrigofoil are guarded by the Earl of Desmond, and all the country wasted about them. I do not hear, as yet, of the kerne that I have hired for this journey, and which I left to the conduction of Mr. Cosbie. We have neither hay nor oats, nor any grass, but such as we bring by boats.

One vessel of wheat is arrived at Waterford, but the victualler will go no further. The victuals might almost as well be at Bristol as at Waterford.

So soon as it was bruted that I bent my course hither, those few frecholders that are not revolted began to take heart. Brian Duffe O'Brian, of Carrigogonnell, taking to his aid the constable of Adarre, went into Cainrie and took a prey of 200 cows. Desmond and his company pursued and engaged him, but could not recover the prey. The Earl lost one of his kinsmen, a son of the old John of Desmond, whose second brother, seeking to win a castle from one James Lewe the day before, was crushed with a log from the battlements. A third brother was slain previously. "And now the impotent old man,\* being thus spoiled of his children, sent his wife to me, unto this city, for protection, and would fain end his days in quiet." His wife is sister to Sir William Burke.

Sir Nicholas Malbie has put an end to the stirs in Connaught by Richard Burke Inerian, husband of Grany O'Maillie, and, in company of Mr. Treasurer, is ready to repair to me.

I publish to all men that her Majesty's ships are already at sea, to confound the Spanish navy.

"I did lately make a reconciliation between the Earl of Ormond and his brother Edward, who stood before a little wavering, and was to be doubted, the rather because of his match with the sister of Desmond. He repaired hither unto me, and did confirm the news of foreigners, declaring that a priest of his own was with Saunders at the coming of the

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\* Sir John of Desmond.

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Spanish messenger; and that Saunders tormented himself before the Earl and before that messenger, showing much dislike that he should be made an instrument for God's cause, and from so great princes, and to promise in their names to the people of God and to perfect Christians that which had not been performed; whereupon the messenger did persuade with him to be contented, and that the aid should undoubtedly be here about the end of March; but the Doctor urged much Saint Patrick's Day, which here they say is the 18th day of this month.\*

"Mr. Butler declareth farther that the reward appointed by the King to the messenger for the discovery of the state of the rebels was 1,000 ducats, which the messenger protested he had lost by the sudden sending away of a former bark by Doctor Saunders; but the Doctor assured him he should be also well rewarded.

"Mr. Butler's priest doth farther affirm that a letter of her Majesty's, which was written to the King of Spain, of the death of James FitzMorris and the overthrow of all the faction, and how her Majesty was possessed of the Earl's only son, was brought by the same Spaniard to the Earl of Desmond, whereby your Lls. (who are privy whether any such letter was sent or not) may gather how true the intelligence is that declareth these matters. He allegeth farther that a great part of the Spaniards shall land here, and other part shall pass to Scotland to conclude a marriage between the young King and the King of Spain's daughter, and thereby to work strange effects in England."

I have, of late, by my letters to the Baron of Lixenawe, which were accompanied with others from the Earl of Ormond, persuaded with him to leave the rebels.

Limerick, 28 February 1579. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—Shovels, spades, pickaxes, handbills (with hooks to hang at men's girdles), and felling axes (with like hooks made at the heads) are required. The town of Waterford will be willing to bestow some cost of themselves in the strengthening of that place.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 8½.*

Feb. 28. **323.** The ARMY.

Vol. 597, p. 271a.

"The number of bands and how they are employed under the Lord Justice and Earl of Ormond, the 28 February, 1579, and sent in the letter before written unto the Lls. of the Council in England."

Total, 2,828 men.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

\* Sic



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Feb. 28. 324. PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 273.

The Lady of Thame has left the body of Sir William Drury to be interred by me, when God shall send me with the soldiers to return into the Pale. She is now to depart into England. His debts. Wages due to him as Justice. Her fatherless children. She has been allowed for guides and spials, but not paid. I commit her and all her reasonable petitions to you.

Limerick, 28 February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Feb. 29. 325. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 274.

Ormond is employed in the county of Cork. I stand in readiness to march into Coneloughe. I expect the Treasurer within three days. We have not 100 quarters of grain in store, but every second day we have some help, by the river, out of Westmeath. Your old servant, Walter Hope, is purveyor of the grain in those parts. Mr. Waterhouse overlooks the victuallers, and supplies the place of secretary.

"Yesterday there arrived one Roch of this city, who was in Andalusia the 11 of this month. He declarcth that the King hath in readiness 150 galleys, and all the armathoes that are want to go for the Indies, and 70 Flenish hulks, which is the substance of his ships. It is death to ask whither they bend. He saith further that the King of Morochus hath made the King of Spain a present of divers of the noble men of Portingall and of Spain, taken at the battle in Barbary, which were received in Spain with great joy. The ships which were sent from Dublin and Waterford are not yet come about;\* neither any provision from London or Bristol."

Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Feb. 29. 326. PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 275.

Your advice to keep a journal is good. Touching Sir Owen O'Sulivante, he is not able to impedit any that should take land, unless it be when a few sailors come on shore in the haven where he dwells, to whom he often uses violence. He has married the daughter of Viscount Barrie. He would never come to Sir William Drurie or to me. Divers friars from Spain landed in Beare Haven. Only when the ships were in the haven he articed with Captain Piers and Captain Yorke, lest they should put any on shore to harm him, in which articles he utterly refused to swear against the Pope.

The Clerk of the Check has been commanded to muster, and Ormond to view the companies under him. The numbers

\* "Above" in MS.

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at Waterford were reasonably complete, saving that extreme travel and lack of their pay made them very bare and evil clothed, and many sick. Since complaint was made 600 have been cashed. "Many of the companies stand so upon their reputation as they do sometimes sue to be mustered, and will also declare their defaults, when they have any, to th' end to have them supplied."

The sending abroad of the Queen's ships proceeds from very sound advice. The release of the English merchants in Spain and the free recourse that the Irish merchants have had this year are but to rock us asleep. Divers strange vessels have been in all these western havens, and have sold their wines and departed. The town of Galway were not suffered to lade but in strangers' bottoms, which I take to be a device to make many able pilots for this coast.

Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

Feb. 29. **327.** PELHAM to SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.  
Vol. 597, p. 276a. Excusing long silence.  
Limerick, 28 \* February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

Feb. 29. **328.** PELHAM to SIR JAMES A-CROFTE.  
Vol. 597, p. 277. Excusing seldom writing.  
My brother Spencer has written to me of your furtherance of my causes.  
Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Feb. 29. **329.** PELHAM to OLIVER STE[v]ENSON.  
Vol. 597, p. 277a. I have received your letter concerning garrons staid by order of Sir Nicholas Malbie. I am persuaded that the sheriff did it of his own authority; but at the coming hither of Sir Nicholas you shall be so well dealt withal as shall content you. In the mean season I am desirous to speak with you, if you could leave your house in safety. For as many kerne as you can have to follow you, being able men, you shall have wages.  
Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

Feb. 29. **330.** PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER at Dublin.  
Vol. 597, p. 278. I yield to your request for an impotent soldier to be admitted as one of the company allowed by her Majesty. I

\* "The last of February" in the margin.

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pray you see the letters to the Lords sent away. Let not Thornton tarry in that harbour any longer, but compel him to go forth, and rather to ply to any coast than where he is. I leave all northern matters to the direction of my Lord of Kildare.

"I have not three days' victuals to carry to the field. No shipping cometh about; which Captain Thornton can never excuse, that might have plied to the coast of Wales, and from thence have taken the benefit of the last easterly wind. Walter Hope's provisions are naught."

Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Feb. 29. **331.** PELHAM to LADY THAME.

Vol. 597, p. 279.

According to your request I have written to the Lords for the advancement of your children and mine. For the vowed good will that was between my Lord and me I wish you success at Court. I have sent you a passport as liberally as I could grant it, but as I have denied the passing of horses to such as would have presented them to principal counsellors, I pray you "that my passport colour not any that is not verily yours."

Limerick, the last of February 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

March 1. **332.** PELHAM to MR. TREASURER (SIR HENRY WALLOP) and SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE.

Vol. 597, p. 279a.

"You cannot come so soon as you have been looked for, nor so soon as you shall be both heartily welcome. I mistrust not victuals to follow us to the camp if your provision there do not fail. The rebels cannot tell which way to turn them; the numbers be scattered; the Lords are fallen from the Earl. The sooner we begin the better. I stay for your companies and to guard the treasure, because no occasion shall make me return, God willing, after I march into Conneloughe. I have made my staple of victuals at Glanne, and am here so burdalous to the town, and shall be so injurious to the country for horsemeat, if you come not quickly, as all parts will be unable to bear us. I have in readiness 14 days' victuals of bread and drink to go before us, and as much shall follow before that be consumed."

Limerick, 1 March 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

March 3. **333.** PELHAM to DONOUGH O'BRIAN.

Vol. 597, p. 280.

By your letter I perceive that the unnatural contention between your father, your brother, and yourself still continue, whereof the Chief Baron and others have informed me. It may be that the unkindness between the Bishop and you aggravates your father's misliking, and therefore I will not judge before

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I hear what you can say for yourself. As I am willing to reconcile you to the duty of a subject without regard of the looseness of your former life, so am I content that you repair to me in safety.

Limerick, 3 March 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

March 6. **334.** PELHAM to the LORD OF UPPER OSSORY.

Vol. 597, p. 280a.

“As I do much mislike of the hurts done upon your tenants by the Viscount Mountgarret, so have I sent herein closed a commandment unto him to see the same restored, and farther to answer his doings therein.” You will give great advantage to the contrary party by any unlawful manner of revenge. Unless my direction be obeyed by the Viscount, I know not what course to take for your satisfaction till my return from this service, when I will look into those borders and the causes of disagreement between Kilkenny and Ossory. From my promise for the body of Redmond Raughe I hold myself discharged, if he were enlarged at your request, or by the mediation of the party grieved, called Carroll O’Dolany.

Limerick, 6 March 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

March 6. **335.** WRIT to the VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

Vol. 597, p. 281.

As the Baron of Upper Osserie complains that you have entered into his country in this our absence with force and violence, and spoiled there sundry towns under his rule: these are to charge you to make full restitution, and besides, upon our next repair to Dublin, to make your personal appearance before us and the Council.

Limerick, 6 March 1579.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice at the beginning.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

March 8. **336.** PELHAM, &c. to WALTER HOPE.

Vol. 597, p. 282.

To provide no more corn than 600*l.* worth, as it is extremely bad.

Limerick, 8 March 1579.

*Signed:* William Pelham, Henry Wallopp, Lucas Dillon, Ni. Malbie, Ed. Watterhouse.

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

March 8. **337.** PELHAM, &c. to MR. LAMBE.

Vol. 597, p. 282.

To refuse Walter Hope’s ill corn,

*Dated and signed as above.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ¼.*

March 9. **338.** PELHAM to MR. PIERS BUTLER.

Vol. 759, p. 282a.

I have received your letter declaring that all the Burkes of Clanwilliam are joined with the Burkes of Muscrie, and have

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burned your houses. As all those of Clanwilliam who are of any credit are with me in this town, I cannot but wonder that any spoil should be made upon you by a few rascals, unless you were all amazed that are left there for the guard of those borders. Larger commission than you and Sir Tibott have already I cannot grant, but I will allow anything you shall reasonably do. "The powder you write for, to be in the Queen's store at Clonmell, is already brought hither and distributed to the soldiers." I think it strange that corn cannot be had for so small a number. "Confer with your brother Sir Tibott, and let not my Lord your brother\* and me receive this disgrace, having left such forces there for your defence, that by the negligence of such as his Lo. trusteth these disorders should be committed upon his lands whilst he is in action."

Limerick, 9 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

March 10. **339.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of WATERFORD.†

Vol. 597, p. 283.

I have by this bearer, William Lumberd, taken order for your whole payment of all your demands. Goodwill of the corporation. "Commendations to yourself, Sir Patrick, and your brethren."

Limerick, 10 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

March 10. **340.** PELHAM to MR. TREASURER (WALLOP).

Vol. 597, p. 283a.

I send you the Chancellor of the Church here, lately condemned of treason, to be safely kept. If you cannot have sufficient sureties that he shall be prisoner in the mayor's house, commit him to the jail.

Limerick, 10 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ¼.*

March 10. **341.** PELHAM to SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE.

Vol. 597, p. 283a.

I send you, by my marshal, Turloughe O'Briain, brother to the Earl of Thomond, and late sheriff of the county of Clare, to be by you committed to the Provost Marshal of Connaught, or any other place or jail.

At my lodging at Limerick 10 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

March 14. **342.** PELHAM to SIR NICHOLAS BAGNALL, Knight Marshal.

Vol. 597, p. 284.

I like your dilatory answer to Turloughe Lenoughe touching the conference which he required of you, which could neither

\* The Earl of Ormond.

† Sir Patrick Doben.

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be honorable for her Majesty in so great inequality of the numbers, nor profitable or safe for you.

“I doubt nothing of th’ intercourse of messengers between him and our rebels here, neither of the practice that Desmond makes to stir up others in all places. But truly I think he is already weary of his own madness, finding so much frailty and diffidence in his people, as he knoweth not whom to trust.”

I cannot but marvel of the credit that Surlie has with the band at Knockfergus, to employ them in his private quarrels.

You hold your hands with grief against such your ill neighbours as deserve chastisement, but if I thought that either her Majesty’s restraint might be set at liberty, or you strong enough to make head against the disturbers, I promise you I would let you slip.

You may judge it hard measure that Mr. Treasurer does not pay you all that is due, but “consider of the portion, how ordered in England to be employed, and how disbursed here in very small portions, far under your proportion.”

At the camp at Glanns, 14 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

March 14. **343** PELHAM to the BARON OF DUNGANNON.

Vol. 597, p. 285.

I have received your letter. I do very well like the course you have taken. While this action is in hand, things cannot fall out as you desire there. Preserve all the quiet you can upon that border. When I may with safety condescend to your request, I will devise upon it with your friend and mine, Sir Edward More.

At my camp at Glanne, 14 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

March 14. **344.** PELHAM to SIR HUGH MAGUINES.

Vol. 597, p. 285a.

You have so carefully expressed your dutifulness by your advertisements in your letters of the 25 of the last, and sent by John Lurgan, my messenger, as I cannot but most thankfully accept the same, praying you to send me from time to time intelligence of such events as shall happen there. I have left full authority with the Earl of Kildare and the Marshal as well for the guard of the Pale, as also to take full order for all other matters in those parts. Acquaint them and the rest of the Council with your griefs.

At my camp at Glanne, 14 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

March 16. **345.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of CORK.

Vol. 597, p. 286.

Touching grain and munition for the town. Advertise what ships are arrived there in your haven that are appointed

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to Limerick, and deliver them pilots to come for the river of Shenen.

At my camp at Devan, 16 March 1579. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

March [17]. 346. SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 600, p. 40.

Instructions given by the Privy Council to Sir William Winter, appointed to have principal charge of certain of her Majesty's ships set forth at this time to the seas.

The Queen has been "advertised of certain preparation by seas in warlike manner made at the hither parts of Spain for the [transporting both of soldiers and munition, as it is thought, in favour and assistance of such rebels as are in her Highness' realm of Ireland; which thing is procured, as it is credibly informed, by the Pope, her Majesty's natural enemy." As the Queen is at present in good amity with the King of Spain, there is good occasion to think rather the said forces are meant to be employed some other ways; yet her Majesty has thought meet to set some of her ships to sea, whereof she has made you Admiral. You are to have the charge of three ships now appointed to go with you, and also of the two barks called *The Achates* and *The Handmaid*, now in Ireland. We have written to the Lord Justice of that realm to put them in readiness.

As we are informed that the ships appointed for this voyage are in readiness, you shall go thither with the rest of the captains and soldiers appointed to attend upon you, and make your repair into the south coast of Ireland, "westwards, towards the mouth of the river Shinion." You shall do well to send some pinnace to the coast of Biscay, under some colour, to discover what preparations are there made, and for what place. You yourself shall observe and inquire in your course thitherwards whether any ships of war have passed thither. If you find any such upon the coast come thither with evil intention, you shall do your best endeavour either to take or distress them, if you be able to do the same; or, if the men shall be landed, consume their ships with fire or by other means make them unserviceable, reserving some of the persons for discovery of further matters.

Upon your first falling with that coast of Ireland, you shall send some pinnace and messenger to such towns or other maritime countries or places as you shall find fit for that purpose, to signify your coming to the Lord Justice of that realm, and to require him to signify to [you] what he shall understand touching those matters, and to give you his advice; or if he be not in those parts, to the principal officers of the said place, to advertise you where the Lord Justice may be.

As it is most likely that such succours as may repair to the aid of the said rebels will land about the Dingle, as it happened last year, you shall not make any stay in the hither parts of that

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realm to attend any answer from the Lord Justice, but rather, having sent the pinnace, repair to the mouth and entrance of the river of Sinion, and there to ply up and down; for in that place you will be best able to impeach the descent of any succours, and also be near to the Lord Justice, whom as we suppose you shall find at your arrival [in] Kerry, or in those remote parts of that realm where the said rebel lieth.

In case, upon intelligence between you and the Lord Justice, you shall think it meet that any of the soldiers in the ships with you may be spared to be set on land, we can well allow thereof. You shall not be the leader of such soldiers, but commit the conduct of them to Captain Byngham.

“Whereas both at the last and sundry former settings forth of her Majesty’s ships unto the seas, it hath been found that commonly a great and unnecessary waste hath been made of her Majesty’s powder and munition, the charge thereof being only committed to the gunners, as by Sir John Perrot of late, &c.\* was alleged; forasmuch as it hath been heretofore always provided and used that the several captains of every ship should take the charge thereof himself,” we require you to give a special charge to the captains of the ships now serving under you that they take good care that no waste be made of the powder and munition; for the better prevention whereof the captains shall make delivery of such powder and munition as they shall receive of her Majesty’s store by bill indented to the said gunners and other officers who shall be thought meet to take that charge upon them, to the intent it may be known when and in what sort the same shall have been bestowed and employed.

Whereas, in respect of the weak disposition of your body, it may happen that you shall not be able to prosecute and accomplish this whole voyage, her Majesty is well contented that in any such case of infirmity, whereby you shall not be able to continue the said charge, it shall be in your choice to appoint some person now appointed to accompany you to supply your room.

If in your course westwards, or in plying about the said \* isles of Sylley or otherwise, you meet any pirate or searover, you shall, so as the same be no hindrance to your voyage, make after them, and do your best to stay them, of whatsoever nation they be, and send the same to the next port of England, Wales, or Ireland, and there put the ship and goods into the hands of the principal officers of the port and of the next justice of peace, by inventory tripartite,† the one to be sent hither to us from the said officers, and thereof also a true copy to be given to the principal persons that may take care that no part thereof be embezzled or wasted. The men are to be safely kept; and “for their relief in the mean time, until

\* Sic.

† “Drypertile” in MS.



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order may be given from hence, some part of the goods, as near as may be guessed to be belonging properly to the pirates, may be sold with their consents and knowledge, and the money to be delivered to the principal officers to bear the charges of the company.

“And to this intent the officers may know that this [is] her Majesty’s pleasure, you may send a land at every such place, (if it be to several places,) the effect of this article, that the officers pretend no ignorance herein; but in the sending of such a land, you shall have good regard that there be no unnecessary time spent by absence of the pinnace and men for hindering of the principal voyage and service for the which you are now sent.”

So long as you have commodity of the coast of England, you shall write hither of your proceedings.

You shall give special charge to all your company that they neither board nor assault any ships that go on[ly] to the trade of merchandises, or any fishermen following that craft, but in all things aid them from the hands of pirates and rovers.

At Westminster, the —\* of March 1579.

*Copy. Pp. 7.*

March 20. **347.** SIR PETER CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 54.

A note of certain writings delivered by John Hooker, of Exeter, gent., to Sir Peter Carew, the younger, of Leyghlin, in co. Catherlough, touching the barony of Odrone, 20 March 22 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1. Endorsèd.*

March 21. **348.** PELHAM to ANDREW MARTEN, Constable of Castle Mange.

Vol. 597, p. 286.

We are disappointed of our victuals by the sudden going of the ships from Dingle, but the Earl of Ormond will visit you this day to take order for your victualling.

Tralighe, 21 March 1579. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

March 29. **349.** PELHAM to the LORDS of the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 286a.

Sent by Mr. John Stafforde.

By letters from the Archbishop of Dublin, I am informed that my letters of the 28 of the last month, dated at Limerick and sent from thence to Dublin to be transported, were yet in his hands, by means of the winds having been continually contrary. I hope you will not impute this as a fault. I could not from those remote parts where I have been send any letters with safety until my return hither.

\* 17 March, in the original preserved in the Public Record Office.

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Upon intelligence from the Earl of Ormond of his intention to repair towards me from Cork, where he was treating with the lords and principal gentlemen of that province, I forbore to march out of Limerick until I understood of his departure from Cork. We met not far from the bridge of Rathkell, in Conneloughe, on the 10th; where being advertised that the Earl of Desmond had gathered the most of his strength, we determined to seek him the next day in two companies.

In respect of the passage at the bridge at Rathkell, the river not being passable in the winter time, a ward had been placed by Sir Nicholas Malbie, and after continued by the Earl and me, in a castle near to the bridge; but a week before Desmond had broken it in a dark night, and the ward was not able to annoy them. I took the ward from thence, setting fire on the castle, and repairing the bridge.

We entered Conneloughe in two companies, Ormond towards the Shennon side, and I upwards towards Newcastle, and marched all the day without offence of any enemy, wasting and spoiling the country to the foot of the mountain of Sleulougher. The people and cattle flying before us in the mountain were followed by some horsemen and light footmen.

We encamped in two places not far distant one from the other, near Desmond's first and most ancient house of Castle Shenet. Finding the country plentiful and the people but newly fled, we left our camps guarded the next day and searched some part of the mountain. There were slain that day by the fury of the soldiers above 400 people found in the woods; and wheresoever any house or corn was found, it was consumed by fire.

The next day we encamped before the castle of the Glanne, upon the river of Shenon, where I had appointed bread and drink to meet us from Limerick. Lord FitzMorris came to that place, and presented his service to her Majesty. Being informed by a bark of Limerick that *The Handmaid*, *The Achates*, and other ships with victuals and munition were at Dingle in Kerrie, we determined to pass the mountain towards Dingle, devising to give the ships knowledge of our coming. We heard that Desmond was fled before us over the mountain; but in truth his departure was upon a hope that our ships had been the Spanish fleet which he had so long expected.

On the 16th we entered Sleulougher, in which mountain (being in the narrowest place 16 miles broad and accopted 50 miles in length) we encamped one night in Dowan by the river of Viall, near a place of the Earl's called Fort Renard. From thence we marched the next day to Tralighe; and by the way Patrick FitzMorris came to me, declaring that his accompanying of Desmond was by constraint, being at his arrival here from Comt delivered to the Earl by Sir William Drurie to be safe conducted to his father.

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All the country between the Earl's house of the Island and Tralie was burnt by the rebels, and all the houses at Tralighe burnt and the castles razed, saving the abbey. Finding the abbey a very convenient place for a garrison, because it and Castle Mange were not above four miles distant, and a garrison there might cut off all Kerrie from the rebels, I determined to leave there one band of horsemen and 300 footmen under Sir William Stanlie. Ormond and I marched with the rest towards Dingle, to the foot of the second mountain, where I understood that all our ships were departed from Dingle into Shenem; and that night there fell a furious storm of rain, wind, and snow; so we were compelled to return to Tralighe. Hunger compelled me to withdraw from thence the garrison under Sir William Stanlie, and to take my course towards the ships, where I might best relieve the soldiers with victuals, and attend the taking of this house of Carrigfoill.

At Tralie I expected the coming of the Earl of Clancare according to his promise made to Ormond at Cork, for a concurrenecy between him and the Lord FitzMorris in the defence of Kerrie, and for the better relief of Castle Mange. But the Earl not coming in, it was resolved that Ormond should depart to put some relief into that castle, and to meet with the Earl; but Clancare excused his absence by the greatness of the waters.

The mountain of Slewlougher was by the wet weather become so soft and unpassable as both I and Ormond were forced to come down by the seaside, through the Lord FitzMorris's country, and so to pass at the mouth of the Viall. Some of our weakest horses were drowned and forcibly carried into the sea, besides three men and 16 horseboys.

On the 25th, having met here with all the shipping, I encamped before this place, where Ormond came to me two days after. As the house was circuted with the sea, it was not to be attempted but with the cannon; and because in the ships that brought the ordnance the victuals lay upon the pieces, I was forced to spend three or four days before I could unlade and plant the battery. The ward consisted of 16 Spaniards and 50 others under one Captain Julian, who reported himself to be an excellent engineer, and undertook the keeping of it at the request of the Countess of Desmond, as appears by a Spanish letter written in her name by Doctor Sanders. They railed against her Majesty, and declared that they kept the castle for the King of Spain. I planted the battery so as to make the fall of the house to fill the ditch of the barbican. We battered it on Tuesday for six hours, and this day from morning till two of the clock after noon, before the house fell, but in the fall, the ditch and flankers being choked, it became forthwith assaultable. Captain Mackeworth entered the outer banne, and was master of it presently. The Spaniards retired to a turret upon the wall of the barbican, and some into the vaults. Some of the Irish and one English-

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man, a rebel, attempting to escape by swimming, were slain. Upon a shot or two part of the Spaniards left the turret, and were executed. Only Captain Julian and six other Spaniards and certain women submitted themselves to Captain Mackeworth. All were presently hanged saving the captain, whom I keep for a day or two to learn what is intended, and how they have been succoured and relieved. Three soldiers were slain, and three persons hurt; among the latter, Sir William Stanlie. "Many gentlemen put themselves into the place that had little thanks of me, namely, Mr. Zouche; for every man had a desire to salute the Spaniards."

Ormond and I have been evil assisted with such as have been trusted for spial upon the rebels. The Chief Baron (Sir Lucas Dillon) has accompanied me all this journey. Sir Nicholas Malbie has drawn himself into these parts of Thomond, and lodges in the island of Ineskattie, to relieve the army with supplies out of his government. Mr. Treasurer (Sir Henry Wallop), forced by sickness to remain at Limerick, "so disposeth of the victuals that come from thence as doth much further these proceedings."

Carrigofoill, 29 March 1579 (*sic*). *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 11.*

March 29. **350.** By the LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 292.

Protection for Maurice Lee, Doctor of Physic (lately dwelling in Coneloughe under the Earl of Desmond), who since the said Earl's revolt has been dwelling in Clannorris under the Baron of Lixenawe, and fears, for that he belonged to the Geraldines heretofore, lest he, his wife, children, and tenants, and their goods and chattel[s] should be molested by her Majesty's garrison: provided that this our grant shall not be available to any of those persons that were at the committing of the murder upon Mr. Davells and Arthur Carter.

Carrigofoill, 29 March 1589 (*sic*). *Signed*.

*Here follow the names of the parties protected, being 29.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

March 29. **351.** PELHAM to the BARON OF UPPER OSSORY.

Vol. 597, p. 293.

I find by the Earl of Ormond that Viscount Mountgarrett has been much urged to revenge former injuries done by you and your brothers. The Earl complains that you have very lately taken from one of his manors 20 garrons of his own proper stud. Your controversies fall out every day from one extremity to another. I cannot digest the refusal of my last letter by Mountgarratt, and therefore I forbear to write as you require, but leave you to your choice either to defer these causes until my return from this service, or to follow them before the Lord Keeper and Council at Dublin. I have sent you such letters from England as are directed to you.

Camp at Carigofoill, 29 March 1579 (*sic*). *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

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April 1. **352.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Vol. 597, p. 94.

Sent by Mr. John Stafforde.

The Earl of Ormond and I, dividing your forces, have passed through the rebel's countries in two companies with fire and sword. I succeeded in winning this house of Carrigofoil, the plate of which I send your Majesty. If God send us the like good success at Asketten, then are all the Earl's houses taken from him. "Many of his poor people, meeting him of late, cursed him bitterly for entering into this war, to whom he made answer that if his aid from Spain and the Pope came not before Whitsunday, he would seek a strange country and leave them to make their compositions with the English as well as they could; which banishment or some more honorable end for your Majesty I would undoubtedly hope of."

A full pay and victuals are needed for the soldiers.

I have of late by my brother Spencer received two patents from your Majesty, the one for creation of Sir William Burke, the other a confirmation of me in the place which I hold, which I conceive as a warrant for anything that I have done or shall do. But the toil of this war is far unfit for my years, that an already touched with the disease of this country. The place requires an able body and an honorable personage.

"The confidence that these people have in the assured coming of foreign aid from sundry parts hath so bewitched them, as within these two days those few of the freeholders of the county of Limerick that held firm to your Majesty have revolted," whereby you are entitled to every part of Limerick and Kerry, which will largely recompense your charges. I mean to raze all castles.

Carrigofoil, 1 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

II. A coloured plan of Carrigofoil.

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April 1. **353.** PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 296a.

Sent by Mr. Stafford.

Respecting the musters of the army, the pay of the soldiers, and the victualling.

"All the cities and towns cry out against the victualling of our soldiers in garrisons; and rather than they would be beggared by keeping of them at the usual rates, they do forsake their towns and put up supplications to me to be rid of the garrisons." Wheresoever I place my bands, I will henceforth deliver victuals and place a victualler, or otherwise the poor inhabitants will be utterly undone.

"I am now ready to march towards Asketen, and may be doubtful how it may hold out, for the seat is strong upon a rock, in the midst of a deep river." The rebels could never hold up head if the army were garrisoned in three parts, in Kerry, Connelough, and the county of Cork.

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Since my coming to this camp I received letters from your Lordships by my brother Spencer, of the 3rd and — of the last month, the one concerning the disallowance of the entertainment given to the Lord Keeper for the custody of the Seal in the absence of the Lord Chancellor; the other letter concerning the creation of Sir William Burke,\* which shall be publicly performed in the next assembly of the nobility.

So many serviceable horses have been destroyed in these campaigns, as 1,000*l.* will hardly repair that loss only.

“While the Earl of Ormond and I were in Kerry, Sir John of Desmond visited Ormond, and used some extremity upon the people and burnt some of the Earl’s towns; in which mean time my brother Spencer without any guard came through those parts and hardly escaped the rebels, which I declare to your Lds., to th’ end you might know with what difficulty letters do pass.”

Camp at Carigfoill, 1 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5½.*

April 1. 354. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 299.

I have received your letters of the 6th and 9th of March. The first makes declaration of the last money sent by [Thomas] Fantleroy, Mr. Treasurer’s servant, to Dublin. The captains are far short of their due. A great part of the revenues due from Munster ceases, because the farmers and such as compounded for cesse are now in actual rebellion with the traitors.

The seasonable coming of the victuals in *The Elizabeth* and *The Bear* of London, and of the ordnance and munition, has already cut off the Earl of Desmond from one of his forts.

As to her Majesty’s second resolution for a preparation to the sea, upon an assurance that no great matter is intended here from Spain, God grant your Lo. be truly informed. I hear that some ships are now come into Beare Haven, whether her Majesty’s or Spaniards, I know not.

Victuals must be sent, for the soldiers almost tear the meat out of the citizens’ mouths.

Carigfoill, 1 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4.*

April 3. 355. PELHAM to the LORD OF LIXNAWE.

Vol. 597, p. 301.

“Requiring you not only to convoy with all speed and safety this inclosed letter to Andrew Marten to Castle Mange, but also that you do send unto him such relief of victuals as he shall require.”

Asketten, 3 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

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\* As Baron of Castleconnel.

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April 3. **356.** PELHAM to ANDREW MARTIN, Constable of Castle Mange.  
Vol. 597, p. 301a.

I have received a letter from you by my Lord of Ormond, whereby I see the necessity wherein you stand. I have appointed an increase of your ward to be shortly sent you, and a large proportion of munition and victuals to be sent by the next wind. In the mean season I have sent the enclosed letter to the Earl of Clancare, and have written to the Baron of Lixnawe not to see you want. I purpose to visit you at Castle Mange. We have taken Carrigofoill.

Asketten, 3 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

April 3. **357.** PELHAM to the EARL OF CLANCARE.  
Vol. 597, p. 302.

I am sorry you forbare to visit me, but I understand by Ormond that you have promised to have care of the ward of Castle Mange. I expect your coming to me either here or at Limerick, according to Ormond's letters.

Asketten, 3 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

April 5. **358.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 302a.

"This bearer, Mr. Stafford, being dispatched with my letters from Carrigofoill, could not well pass till I had assigned him conduct, whereby he was appointed to come with the camp unto this place, where, while I was preparing for the landing of your ordnance, the ward, fearing the example of the execution at Carrigofoill, abandoned this house secretly in the night, leaving a train of powder to set it on fire, which did indeed consume part of it, though the principal towers remain untouched. Their departure could not be holpen, being on that side the river where they escaped no ground to cast a trench for the safeguard of the warders, but all a plain rock that lay open to the castle.

"Yesterday certain bands, being sent abroad for forage, came before the Castle of Ballogellohan, which hath this year past been warded by the Earl, but upon view of the ensigns they also fired the house and escaped; so as now there is not any house or castle in Munster kept against your Majesty, but all wholly at your devotion. And therefore now I most humbly desire your Majesty to take the opportunity and follow this occasion, whereby your Majesty may be thoroughly recompensed of the charges sustained in this war.

"And like as your Majesty's instructions in your establishments hath assured the captains and soldiers that twice in the year they should receive their pay, in th' end of March and September, so is their extreme necessity such at this present as, without that be performed, I cannot possibly carry them into the field.

"The horsemen have received extreme loss by this journey, by death of their horses standing abroad and wanting food

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and swimming rivers at this unseasonable time of the year, whereby a thousand pounds cannot repair that loss only. Truly your Majesty's servant, John Souche, hath lost in his band of fifty horsemen, nineteen horses; the like hap have the rest had, and none escaped without great loss, whereby some time must be given them before they can again be employed in the field."

I mean presently to discharge 400 laborers and kearne, and all shipping save your own ships and the pinnaces to attend them; "hoping that your Highness hath so good intelligence from Spain as that you foresee the danger of foreigners."

Asketten, 5 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—"It may please your Majesty to conceive well of this young gentleman, my cousin, John Stafford, who hath painfully attended here this whole journey."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

II. A coloured plan [of Asketten?]  
P. 1.

April 5. 359. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 597, p. 304a.

General petition by the captains and soldiers for a full pay to the last of March. Notes enclosed, how the 7,000*l.* received in February was disbursed, and how the revenue has been employed.

Her Majesty, being moved for a further supply of money, makes stay thereof till it may be certified in some certainty what is due; but the Auditor\* and Sir Edward Fitton's clerk are absent in England. Nevertheless, we have ordered the Clerk of the Check † to make up all receipts of full pays till the last of March, and commanded the victuallers and Master of the Ordnance ‡ to send certificates what imprests have been made. We have employed Mr. Waterhouse to repair to Dublin, and there with the Deputy Auditor § and the principal clerk of the Treasurer at Wars to collect an estimate of the whole.

No great reckoning is to be made of the composition in Munster till this rebellion be ended; and whereas the Pale and certain shires adjoining compounded instead of cesse to pay 2,000*l.*, there is not of that victualling money come to the hands of me the Treasurer above 200*l.* Out of the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Caterloughe, Tipperary, and the King's and Queen's Counties, nothing at all can be gotten."

"The impost, which is the most certain revenue, although the Act be expired, is never answered here until Michaelmas, because that merchants look for long days of payment, or else

\* Thomas Jenyson.  
† Owen Moore.

‡ Jaques Wingfield.  
§ Charles Huot, or Hewett.



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would not continue their trade, for they must first vent their wines before they can pay their collector." In Munster the impost due from the towns will be converted in part payment of the soldiers' debts to the citizens.

Asketten, 5 April 1580.

*Signed*: William Pelham, He. Wallopp, Ni. Malbie, Lat. Dillon, Ed. Waterhous.

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 3½.

April 5. **360.** PELHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 30.

The terror of the taking of Carrigofoil has given us two other castles, namely, this of Asketten and Ballegellohan. I have placed four ensigns here in Asketten, and do send five others and certain horsemen to Kilmallocke, between which two garrisons I hope to chase Desmond beyond the mountain into Kerry.

Asketten, 5 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—Your servant and good friend, Sir William Stanlie, deserves all commendation.

P. 1. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Vol. 597, p. 306.

2. *Contemp. copy of the same.*

P. 1½.

April 5. **361.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 307.

If the intelligence from Spain be none otherwise than her Majesty conceives it, I hope she shall of this make both an honorable and a profitable peace. I pray you to further the captains' petitions.

"If your Honour did view the commodious havens and harbours, the beauty and commodity of this river of Shenen, which I have seen from the head of it beyond Athlone unto the ocean, you would say you have not in any region observed places of more pleasure, or a river of more commodity, if the land were blessed with good people; and yet these of Munster be the most docible and reformable of all other."

Asketten, 5 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1¼.

[April 5.] **362.** PETITION of the CAPTAINS.

Vol. 597, p. 307a.

Exhibited to Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, in their own behalf, and by his Lordship sent to Mr. Secretary Walsingham in the forewritten letter.

(1.) As Sir William Drurie signified her Majesty's pleasure that a full pay should be made to the army on the last of March and the last of September, they desire that you will take speedy order for their satisfaction.

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(2.) In their journeys of late they have not had 10 days' bread in 20 days' travel, and no certain garrison to remain in. If her Majesty will make the full pay till the last of March, and from henceforth allow the penny by day accustomedly given for victualling, every captain will take upon him the victualling of his whole company; 20 garrons to every 100 for carriage.

(3.) They desire licence to transport victuals out of England.

(4.) To have warning of the place of garrison.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

April 5. **363.** PELHAM to SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Vol. 597, p. 308a.

I have possessed her Majesty of all the holds that the Earl of Desmond kept. Desmond and the confederates made no show against Ormond or me, but the unseasonable time of the year has made war sufficiently against us, especially the horsemen. A number of the rebels will starve.

Asketten, 5 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

April 7. **364.** PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER at Dublin.

Vol. 597, p. 309a.

Mr. Waterhouse repairs thither. I have required him to deliver to you a letter which I have received from the Lords concerning your allowance of your fee for keeping of the seal. Make some friendship at court to prevent this disallowance.

Limerick, 7 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ¾.*

April 7. **365.** WARRANT for the WARDSHIP of MR. DAVELLS' SON.

Vol. 597, p. 309a.

"Whereas by the death of Henry Davilles, late of Dunganon, Esquire, his son and heir Henry Davells, is become ward to her Majesty; and that Captain Humfrey Mackeworth, who hath married the wife of the said Henry Davells, deceased, hath made humble suit unto us, to have the wardship of body and marriage of the said child;" it is by us agreed, by this our concordatum, that he shall have in way of *custodium* the said ward and his lands.

Limerick, under the Privy Signet, 7 April 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

April 8. **366.** SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE (Colonel of Connaught,) to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 44.

By your letter of 26 January I perceive that my late service in Munster would have been concealed from her Majesty had you not given her the knowledge thereof. "If I had not given the rebels that day's overthrow (which hath broken the ice of that rebellion), the archtraitor Earl had been this day the strongest rebel that hath been these hundred years."

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My service in Munster could not have been hid, if your Honour and Mr. Secretary Walsingham had not been in some displeasure, which now is repaired.

My Lord Justice calls me to these extraordinary services to my great charges. "I was in Thomonde upon the river side always opposite to him." His dispatch now sent will instruct you of Munster proceedings. There is hope that the taking away of the rebel's houses will make a short end of him.

My Lord of Ormonde repairs to Kilkenny to provide his necessaries, and about 6 May next a meeting is appointed to make a new onset upon the rebels. In the meantime the garrisons shall not be idle, but victualling I fear will fail them, and money the soldiers do look for.

"Your Honour's opinion that dalliance and fair means and temporising is no means to reform this insolent nation is the true touchstone." I would my course for Connaught might be followed, and yet I use as little cruelty as any that ever governed. Severity to a few has corrected many. No province is so generally quiet as Connaught.

"I delivered your Honour's good mind to Sir William Stanley, who is most thankful unto your L. for it. He is worthy to be well used. I have won my L. Justice to grant his goodwill to let him be with me in Connaught in lieu of Captain Fisher's band, which is taken from Connaught." He may be employed in that room whensoever it shall please her Majesty to revoke me from thence. He is now coming over; I beseech you let him be returned with all speed.

"I do send your Honour a discourse of my late journeys made against a new sprung up rebel in Connaught. I dare not write the suspicion I have how he was moved unto it, but have referred it to Sir William Stanley. But howsoever it was, I paid him well for it, and he is now very meek. I suppressed him when he was able to make a thousand men, and it cost her Majesty nothing at all."

Envy there annoys me here, and were it not for you I should be eaten up for my good services.

Limerick, 8 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript (in his own hand).*—I beseech you to excuse that this letter is not under mine own hand, for I was not able to sit it out by reason of a megrym which took me in the head.

*Pp. 3. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

April 11. 367. PELHAM to the CONSTABLE of CASTLE MANGE.

Vol. 597, p. 310.

I have caused a supply of men, victuals, and munition to be now brought you by the captain of *The Handmaid*.

Limerick, 11 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I send you the men's names that I appoint to remain under you there—John Riche, William Hampton, John Overton, Peter Ildred.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

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April 11. 368. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 311.

“Sent by Dunie to my Lord Keeper, to be sent.”

At Asketten I left 400 footmen, namely, Mr. Treasurer's and Sir Peter Carrewe's bands in the castle, and Captains George Carewe and Hollingeworth in the abbey, but no horsemen, on account of the bareness of the soil. Then I repaired to this town, to refresh the rest of the army. On the 8th I sent Sir George Bourcher and Captain Mackeworth to Kilmallocke with 200 footmen, “and Captains Sentleger and Apsleie with two gidons, containing both about 100 horsemen, besides 100 of Sir George's company that was remaining in that town.” On the 9th I sent Captains Furr, Derringe, and Walker with 300 footmen to reside at Adare.

Fresh horses will have to be provided. I have sent for 50 of Sir Henry Harrington's horses, and for Captain Thomas Norris to repair to me with his guidon, with whom the wants of Asketten and Adare shall be supplied.

“My purpose in placing those garrisons was, because that by the apt situation of the places the soldiers might at all times be gathered together within 12 hours, with three or four days' victuals, and be able to do such service upon the traitors as they shall be driven to forsake their fastness in the great woods upon the river of Maie, and compelled to abandon their chiefest fastness and succours in Kenry and Conneloughe, to fly as a last refuge into Kerry, where with more ease they would be dealt withal, if we were able to plant a garrison there.”

How the proportion sent in *The Elizabeth* and *Bear* has been employed shall appear by a schedule herewith closed. Mr. Treasurer only remains with me. He sent relief to the camp in my last journey, and his advice is most sound in all causes. Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Waterhouse have been at intolerable pains.

“I have appointed the 10th day of May next for all the noblemen and chief gentlemen of this province to assemble at Kilmallocke, whereby to see what they may be drawn to do against the rebels (who for the most part do yet seem cold in this action), and what relief of victuals we may have of them, and what contribution they will yield to ease some part of her Majesty's charge hereafter.”

Yesterday, by one Harvie, who arrived here in a pinnace called *The Marlian*, I understood that certain of her Majesty's ships were come to Cork or Kinsall with money. If the sum now brought be only 4,000*l.*, it will be a small relief to us. The monthly pay far exceeds it, besides extraordinaries. As Mr. Treasurer has received but 20,600*l.*, her Majesty is greatly indebted here. Sufficient money should be sent hither to imprest the soldiers monthly beforehand. Mr. Fitton is not come to his accompts.

Limerick, 11 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

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April 13. **369.** PELHAM to the CONSTABLE of ADARE.  
Vol. 597, p. 313a.

I have granted your request for the protection, which I send you. If any others upon promise to do service shall demand it, you may grant protection to them.

Limerick, 13 April 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

April 13. **370.** PELHAM to ORMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 313a.

Since your departure I have considered what great good may come if we forbear not to strike whilst the iron is hot, and therefore I have appointed that the day for our general assembly shall be at Kilmallocke, the 10th of next month. I pray you be with me two days before, to determine whether we shall ourselves go to Kilmallocke, or send for the company to this city.

There are three ships upon this coast, which have brought some money with them, and, as I hear, Sir William Winter is Admiral.

Limerick, 13 April 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

April 13. **371.** PELHAM to ORMOND.  
Vol. 597, p. 314.

I have received a letter from Sir William O'Carroll, complaining that great wrongs have been done to him by certain of your followers, wherein your brother Edward\* was a party.

Limerick, 13 April 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

April 15. **372.** PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.  
Vol. 597, p. 314a.

By the arrival of your servant Harvie, I had some intelligence of your being upon this coast; by whom I sent a letter, which I hope is come to your hands. Having this day received yours dated at Kinsall the 7th, with another from the Privy Council, I now stand assured of your being there.

The Dingle and the mouth of the Shenon are the aptest places for those ships to remain in; for as at the Dingle the landing of foreign aid is expected, so is the Shenon the only mean either for our meeting, or safe conveying of our letters. If with safety you may not come to this town (from whence my weakness will not yet suffer me to depart), send with all speed a copy of your instructions.

As for my knowledge of foreign advertisements, I have written such as I learned to her Majesty and the Lords; "and such as is brought me by one who was in Spain with Sidere † I suppose is neither hid from their Lls., nor yourself are

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\* Sir Edward Butler, Sheriff of Tipperary.

† Captain James Sidee. See also 21 April.

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ignorant of." Mr. Treasurer, by his own letter, has fully delivered his mind for the money by you brought.

I have made very hard shift to victual this bearer, Captain Yorke.

Limerick, 15 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—Because you may the better write in covert, I send you a cipher herewith closed.

*Here follows the cipher referred to.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3¼.*

April 16. **373.** PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 316a.

Sent by Dunie to my Lord Keeper, to be convoyed into England.

The garrison in Asketten marched seven miles into the country, chiefly led by Captain Hollingworth, gathered great store of sheep and some kine, and after they had slain about 25 of such as withstood them, returned back in safety.

"Sir George Bourcher, with 200 footmen, and Captain Sentleger, with his band of 50 horses, made a journey to beat the great woods adjoining the river of Maie; and having preyed the same, were set upon, in their return, with 20 shot, 200 footmen, and 20 horsemen of the rebels, which they repulsed, slew about 60 of them, and recovered Kilmallocke with the prey."

Captain Walker, going abroad with the ward of Adare, being 300, were in their return encountered within a mile of Adare in most brave manner by the Earl of Desmond with 80 horsemen and 500 footmen marvelously well appointed, who came to the very push of our pikes, but were forced to retire with the loss of about 60 of their company and five chief horses. Lieutenant Philpott was hurt in the head with a galliglas axe, one slain, and three soldiers hurt.

Captain Dowdall (who lay with his company at Cashell), accompanied with my Lord of Dunboine, has preyed Arlowe woods, brought from thence above 300 cows and garrons, slain such as resisted, and burned such habitations as they found.

Yesterday I received your letters sent by Sir William Winter, with one from himself. I returned answer, and sent Captain Yorke in *The Achates* to him. *The Handmaid* is gone down the river to victual Castle Mange.

I have received, even now, intelligence from my Lord of Ormoud, that Piers Grace, of the county of Kilkenny, an ancient traitor, is now joined with the Burkes of Muskrie into open rebellion, daily committing outrages in those parts. His Lordship will soon suppress those disordered persons.

Limerick, 16 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

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April 20. **374.** PELHAM to MAURICE ROCH, eldest son to the LORD ROCH.

Vol. 597, p. 318.

I have received your letter, and as I am most sorry that any of your kind and judgment should run headlong into such danger and mischief, you may repair to me in safety, when I will both do my best to assuage your father's displeasure against you.

Limerick, 20 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

April 21. **375.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 318.

Sent by Sir William Stanlie.

I have received your two letters of 25 March and — April. Mr. Treasurer (Wallop) will “stay in his hand the due of Mr. Norris' own pay.” For the victuals found defective at Cork, I will examine the depth of that loss, and cause due punishment to be ministered to the offenders.

Whereas in your second letter you write of my former determination to abstain from attempting of Asketten and Carrigfoill, for want of great ordnance, the cannons sent by you at our encamping at Carrigfoill did dispatch the battery there. After the approach was made to Asketten, that place was abandoned.

Intelligence being given me and the Treasurer where the Earl of Desmond was gathering together of some forces, we, for lack of horses, marched towards him on foot, but the Earl had knowledge of it. “We found of their aqua-vitæ, wine, and meat provided for their dinner, which we possessed, and slew sundry found in the woods, and burnt divers places where the rebels had their resort, and brought away a prey of 7 or 800 kine, young and old.” I purpose to repair to Asketten.

*The Green Dragon* is arrived here in safety with her lading of victuals. “Great leakage hath chanced to the beer, as the master of that vessel, one Plunkett, hath affirmed, whereby they have been fain to pump much of it out of ship board.”

This bearer, Sir William Stanlie, has been greatly urged by his father to come over to visit him. He has shewed himself a worthy and painful servitor. I have granted him a passport.

Limerick, 21 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3½.*

April 21. **376.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 320.

Thanks for your letter of the 1st, stating that my former plot for the division of the forces in this province was well allowed. As the fear of foreign assistance is abolished, a short end will be made of this war; but “the falling here daily to

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the rebels doth signify that some great purpose is intended and great matters expected."

I suppose the Lords are not ignorant what ill success the practice hath taken for distressing of the barques at Groine,\* by means of Sider's death. The good guard (by the arrival of her Majesty's ships) upon this coast will prevent them, if they bend their course hither.

These disorders of Desmond, being thoroughly prosecuted, will do great good to the whole realm. I have laid down "a small collection" how this province might be reduced to her Majesty's most commodity, and to keep the ill-disposed under.

The bearer is Sir William Stanlie.

Limerick, 21 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I have written for a supply of men. I pray you to grant your consent that they be sent over under the conduction of Sir William Stanlie.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

April 22. **377.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 321a.

As the broils here will shortly be determined, I pray to be directed from your Honour what is to be done with this province.

I have received a second letter from Ormond, confirming the news of the revolt of Piers Grace.

"From Cork I received intelligence that by a letter dated at Plymouth it was advertised that certain English merchants, arriving there from Roan (Rouen), have reported that as well our English as Irish merchants are generally stayed throughout all France, and that they very hardly escaped thence."

I am advertised from the Council at Dublin that Turloughe Lenoughe will stay quiet but till the end of May, at which time his cattle will be strong enough to drive. These fires thus breaking out in every place, when there is so great hope of a speedy end in these parts, cannot but signify that some greater purpose than as yet is discovered is expected.

I again recommend Mr. Geoffrey Fenton to enjoy the room of Secretary for the State, in reversion of Mr. Challoner; "and also to be sent hither to execute the same presently."

Limerick, 22 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

April 27. **378.** PELHAM to the LORDS of the COUNCIL.

Vol. 597, p. 323.

Sent by Mr. Holden.

Understanding by the commissioners at Cork that I remained in these parts, and willing to omit no time whereby the service might receive hindrance, Sir William Winter repaired to Smirwicke, a place not only commodious for the

\* Logroño in Spain (?)



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safe keeping of the ships, but also very apt to impeditate such foreign aid as might approach to the relief of our western rebels. He had no sooner seen my letters than he prepared to come to me, and arrived in his pinnace on Sunday last at Limerick with 4,000*l*. We consulted upon his instructions, in which a fit plot was laid down. It was concluded that he should return to his charge and make diligent search, either at the Dingle or in any of those parts, for the situation of such a place to be fortified as might annoy invasion. I shall myself make a journey to view the same, and in the meanwhile he is to begin the fortification with spade and shovel.

“By the demeanours of the traitors, great suspicion may be conceived that wonderful matters is by them expected, and that they are verily persuaded of foreign assistance to be sent them. And how difficult a thing it is to send a pinnace from hence for discovery (as your Lordships persuade), and how uncertain their report must needs be, that are not able with safety to make inquiry, nor with any possibility to see into every harbour, your Lordships shall therein by the Admiral’s letter be advertised.” Our extremity for victuals is so great, that when the provision which the ships now have is consumed, I shall not be able to supply them, but must send them away. *The Handmaid* will join the Admiral’s ships. I have returned *The Achates* into England.

Our soldiers must be relieved with money and victuals. A proportion of match should be speedily sent hither.

I have cashed such barks as were entertained to serve here, and do return *The White Bear* and *Elizabeth* of London.

Asketten, 27 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

April 28. **379.** PELHAM to MAURICE ROCH.

Vol. 597, p. 325.

As you dare not come to me without protection for you and your men, I send you the protection you demand. I require that you repair to the Assembly on the 10th of next month, where your father will also be. I will devise some way to employ you.

Asketten, 28 April 1580. *Signed.*

II. Protection for Maurice Roch.

Asketten, 28 April 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice.*

*Contemp. copies. P. 1½.*

April 29. **380.** PELHAM to DONNELL PIPO.

Vol. 597, p. 325a.

I have written to your uncle, Sir Owen,\* to be the 10th of next month at the Assembly. I wish your repair also, as I am purposed to employ you.

Asketten, 29 April 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ¼.*

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\* Sir Owen O’Sullivan Beare ?

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May 2. 381. PELHAM to DAVID BARRY.

Vol. 597, p. 326.

You desire protection for yourself, your followers and servants, and goods. As the day of our Assembly is drawing near, where with my Lord of Ormond, your father\* and others, I mind to have consultation for service to be done against the traitors, I refer you concerning your request until that time, praying you to repair to the said Assembly. I will use your service for your benefit, and promise that your repair and your return shall be in safety.

Asketten, 2 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

May 7. 382. PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.

Vol. 597, p. 326a.

Perceiving by your letters that the Earl of Desmond had so beset you as you durst not look out of your castles nor be at the Assembly, I prepared to come in person to assist you, and was ready to march. But as he is come on this side the mountain, I pray you to leave your son Patrick to guard your country, and to repair yourself to Limerick either by water or by land, where I will take order for the gallowglas and other requests mentioned in your letter.

Asketten, 7 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3/4.*

May 7. 383. PELHAM to the MAYOR and CORPORATION of LIMERICK.

Vol. 597, p. 327.

Your wants are extreme, and your corporation has been greatly burdened, but you perceive that the soldiers have been brought thither to defend you from the malice of your traitorous neighbours. You affirm that your store of victuals is clean wasted. Had you followed my advice, this might easily have been prevented, whilst there remained great plenty of grain to be had for reasonable prices. I will, however, take order for the soldiers to be victualled from her Majesty's store. I trust scarcity will be prevented by the abundance I expect from England.

You seem to fear the access of such great numbers as you suppose will come to that city; but the company will not be many, and will bring their victuals with them.

The Assembly cannot be removed to any other place.

Asketten, 7 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 1/2.*

May 10. 384. WARRANT to SIR HENRY MALBIE.

Vol. 597, p. 328.

We have received intelligence from Robert Hartepoole, constable of Caterloughe, that John Burke, son to the Earl of Clanricard, is fostering and maintaining one of the sons of

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\* Viscount Barry.

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the late archtraitor Rorie Oge O'More. As the kinsmen of the said Rorie Oge's son do now mind to send for him into that country and set him up as a chieftain to raise war against her Majesty, we charge you to call the said John Burke before you, and to demand the said Rorie Oge's son at his hands; and if he make any refusal, to stay his person.

Limerick, 10 May 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

May 10. 385. SIR HENRY MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
Vol. 619, p. 46.

I have signified to your Honour my proceedings with Rycard Inyren. McWilliam Eughter and O'Ruarck have been with me at Roscoman, with whom I have taken good order. O'Connor Slygo, being also warned to that assembly, did write to excuse him for 9 or 10 days, because he stood in doubt of O'Donnell's invasion, whereby he is driven to fly his cattle into the plains of Connaught.

The matter depending between O'Donnell and O'Connor Slygo is the only thing that now is to disquiet this province. The Lord Justice should call them both to Dublin. I have written to O'Donnell to break off his forces, and to seek his right "at the State." "It is told me by McWilliam that by his gathering of forces he hath a second intent to raise war, to withdraw the forces of Munster from thence, by a promise which he had made to Desmond; and O'Neill is joined with him in the same matter. Rycard Inyren did confirm the same unto me, with whom Desmond's messenger was to the same purpose; and McWilliam told me that both O'Donnell and T. Lenaghe have sent sundry messengers to him to join with them, which he hath refused."

O'Ruarck is to deliver in his son for a pledge on the 16th, which he was loth to do.

"There is not this day one man known of name to be out within this province, nor any that doth keep any companies of men to annoy his neighbour, but every one seeking to have remedy by justice. The wildest sort be now as familiar in repairing unto me as the civilest be in th' English Pale.

"O'Donnell and O'Neill have sent their wives into Scotland for Scots, and be daily looked for. This land will never be reformed until order be taken for keeping them out."

Direct me how I shall deal with John and Ulicke Bureke, who are in dissension for their legitimacy, and thereby spoil both their father's patrimony and the inhabitants adjoining. I do see what is necessary to be done, but if I should follow that course, I fear home envy there\* will find fault.

Touching the service of Munster, I still continue in opinion that the course must be altered. My Lord Justice is most willing to do well.

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\* In England.

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I beseech you to further my suits, which Mr. Secretary (Walsingham) I trust will move for me.

Athlone, 10 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

*Pp. 2.*

May 11. **386.** PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 329.

I thank you for employing this messenger hither, with the copies of your advertisements to the Lords. Your going homewards for lack of victuals amazes me. Your opinion by view of the Dingle and mine by hearsay of the place do concur. At my being in Kerrie, I learned that there were no inhabitants at all, and therefore made what practice I could with the Lord FitzMorris and his son Patrick to draw thither a few fishermen that before did dwell there. You should allure the inhabitants, especially fishers and merchants, to return to their houses.

Stretch out your victuals as long as you may. I hope some relief will be sent you out of England.

I see no likelihood of the repair to me of the Lords Barrie, Roche, and those others of the county of Cork, since they are not come with the Earl of Ormond. Commendations to yourself, Mr. Vice Admiral, and Mr. [Fulk] Grevell.

Limerick, 11 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

May 13. **387.** PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.

Vol. 597, p. 330.

"I am exceeding sorry that the ill season of the low waters, with the danger of the land, besides Patrick your son's misfortune, hath denied you to be at this Assembly at such a time when you could not but have been most heartily welcome to me, my Lord of Ormond, my Lord Barrie and Roche, and divers others, and where your Lo. presence was so much wished, both to have honoured the creation of the Baron Burke, of Castle Connell, and to have given your advice and counsel for the better furtherance of this service." But I well accept of your answer, and pray you that against my repair into those parts you stand prepared with your forces to be by me employed.

Limerick, 13 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

May 14. **388.** NICHOLAS WHITE, Master of the Rolls.

Vol. 597, p. 330a.

Concordatum granted to him for 1,000 marks, by warrant of the Council's letters in England, for executing the office of Lord Chancellor.

Limerick, 14 May 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Addressed:* To Sir Henry Wallop, Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars in Ireland.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

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May 14. **389.** PELHAM to the EARL OF KILDARE.

Vol. 597, p. 332.

I have received your letter against Sir Henry Harrington for great discourtesies showed to you since my coming from Dublin, "and, namely, in this last concerning Tibott O'Toole." I learn that the Lord Keeper has already entered into the cause. Upon the view of such notes as were delivered me from my Lord Keeper and your Lordship by Mr. Waterhouse, I perceive that many of the borderers have committed outrages in divers parts. Albeit I know you politicly forbear for the better preservation of the common quiet of the Pale, yet I wish that you could punish them either by force or some other sharp example.

Limerick, 14 May 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy.* P. 1½.May 17. **390.** PELHAM to the COMMISSIONERS at CORK.

Vol. 597, p. 332a.

"Having sent to Cork of purpose a sufficient convoy of horsemen, and appointed certain bands of footmen to remain near the Great Water, for the safe conduction hither of the Baron of Valentia or Balinche, son to the Earl of Clancartie, remaining there (as I suppose) in the custody of you, Mr. Meaughe, Second Justice of Munster; these be as well to require you, Sir Warham Sentleger, Knight, as you, the Justice Meaughe, and also the Mayor and officers of that city (if the case so require), to deliver the body of the said young Lord to the hands of Captain Warham Sentleger, Provost Marshal of Munster, to be by him presently brought and delivered to us."

Limerick, 17 May 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy.* P. ¾.May 19. **391.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL at Dublin.

Vol. 597, p. 333.

"I have received your letter concerning the manner of Thibott O'Toole's apprehension by Sir Henry Harrington, and the executing of him by his ministers, notwithstanding an express commandment signed by you, my Lord Keeper, and Mr. Waterhouse to the contrary, the same being delivered in such time as the party was unexecuted." I would have that matter thoroughly examined, and being proved, it must be prosecuted as a contempt either with fine or some other punishment. "In the mean season I cannot but greatly allow of the Earl in this point, that he hath ordered his enlargement to attend his office." Wesbie's imprisonment in the Castle is to be continued till the next term.

I am sorry that my Lord of Kildare should conceive this just cause of offence. When the Earl is satisfied in honour, labour to reconcile Sir Henry to him.

Limerick, 19 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript,* respecting a fiant received from the Bishop of Meath.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1¾.

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May 19. 392.

Vol. 597, p. 334.

PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER at Dublin.

In answer to a private letter from him and Mr. Challouner respecting the dispute between the Earl of Kildare and Sir Henry Harrington.

For your own private matter, you shall understand my determination by Mr. Waterhouse, who will bring you Mr. Treasurer's letter to perform your request.

Limerick, 19 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

May 20. 393.

Vol. 597, p. 335.

PELHAM to the QUEEN.

Sent by Mr. Corbette.

Upon intelligence how the lords of this province did either secretly favour or openly assist the rebels of the Geraldines, I summoned an assembly, as well of all the nobility as of the principal captains of the Irishry in these parts, to be with me here the 10th of this month. The Viscounts Barrie and Roche, the Lords of Donboine and Powre, Sir Cormoke McTeige, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Sir James FitzGarrett of the Deeces, and some few others resorted hither. The Lord FitzMorris excused himself; and the Earl of Clancartie neither appeared, nor made me any answer at all.

I took order for assurance of their service, and on Sunday last received your sword. By virtue of your Majesty's last commission I created Sir William Bourke a baron, and rewarded such as had faithfully served you. The old man, feeling an impression of overmuch joy, "had like to have resigned your pension within an hour after his creation, being in all our sights dead, and with great difficulty recovered."

The Earl of Clancartie has sent down 400 gallowglas to the relief of Desmond, as my espial doth now inform me.

"The rebels are at discord amongst themselves, which, albeit Doctor Sanders laboureth to appease, yet will it hardly be done." The escheats of the traitors' lands will yield you a large recompense, both in fines and revenue.

Limerick, 20 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

May 20. 394.

Vol. 597, p. 336a.

PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Sent by Mr. Corbett.

I appointed an assembly of the Lords and principal gentlemen of Munster on the 10th, to take order how the war might be prosecuted at all hands. The Earl of Ormond, accompanied with Mr. Whitt, Master of the Rolls, came hither at the day assigned; and with him the Lord of Donboine, the Lord Powre, and Sir James FitzGarrett. The next day there came out of the county of Cork the Lord Roche, Sir Thomas of Desmond, and Maurice Roche, son and heir to the Lord Roche, who, having lately, with the Viscount

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Barri's son, joined with the rebels, came to reconcile himself, alleging that the hard hand borne over him by his father was partly the cause of his revolt. The father in fury threatened the son to disinherit him, but as he held a great part of the county of Cork it was thought meet to receive him to grace, and reconcile him to his father.

On the 12th the Lord Barrie and Sir Cormecke McTeige arrived. "Neither the Earl of Clancartie, neither McCartie Reaugh, the O'Sulivans, McDonoughe, O'Kiefe, O'Callohan, McAullie, nor any of his country of Desmond would come unto us." The Lord FitzMorris excused his absence. Being out of hope of any more company, we proceeded to a general consultation. We bound the Viscounts Barrie and Roche by oath to lay apart all private quarrels, and ordered them to join their whole forces with Sir Cormecke McTeige, sheriff of Cork, and to come down to the skirts of the county of Limerick, not only to keep the rebels out of the county of Cork, but to offend them in their fastness, as they should be directed by the Earl of Ormond; but they stood not very well assured of their own people. The like order was taken with the Lord Powre, Sir James FitzGarrett, the sheriff of the county of Waterford, and Sir Thomas of Desmond to remain in camp by the Great Water, near the woods of Lesfinen, and not far from Arlowe, to withstand their coming that way into the county of Cork. It was also appointed that the Earl of Ormond shall encamp upon the great woods near Kilmalloe. I made choice of the counties of Connelloughe and Kerrie and the mountain of Sleulougher to be hunted by myself, to look into the doings of the Earl of Clancartie and the Lord FitzMorris.

The general encamping is appointed to begin the last day of this month. Ormond is retired to his house to prepare for his journey. I, the Justice, go presently into the field so soon as the soldiers return from Cork, whom I have sent thither as well to conduct the noblemen to their countries, as to bring to me the Earl of Clancartie's son, thereby the rather to terrify the father.

The cause why Ormond returned with such expedition was the suspicion he had that Piers Grace should gather power to annoy those parts. The Baron of Upper Ossory is charged to be a favorer of Piers Grace, "and that one of James FitzMorris' children should be fostered in his country;" but because the way thither from Ossory lay through Ormond's country, Ormond consented that the matter should be heard at Dublin.

John Burke, son of the Earl of Clanricard, has long fostered one of Rorie Oge's sons, and is preparing to send him thither to be the principal leader of the O'Mors. We have considered this fact to be a breach of his protection. Both he and his brother Ulicke do enter into some undutiful actions. The Earl of Clanricard has written many letters,

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desiring us to persuade his return.\* We think it not amiss that he so do, with this condition, that his two sons, John and Ulicke, may remain in England.

As to the sending for the Baron of Valentia from Cork, whose father has now sent to the Earl of Desmond 400 galloglas, we desire your opinions what shall be done with him, and with the sons of Desmond and the Knight of Kerrie. Pledges are no assurance at this day upon any of the Irish. Since the suppressing of the castles of Asketten and Carrigofoil, great suit is made for custodiams of lands.

For our hosting now agreed upon bread and drink are wanted. All the grain has been consumed. Only 50,000 pounds of biscuits are to come from Dublin. Money comes slackly.

While this assembly continued, I received the sword and created Sir William Burke Baron. The Baron's patent, being read, greatly encouraged the Lords and other of the Irish by some great exploit to deserve her Majesty's favour.

Mr. St. John arrived at Dublin, and repaired to me hither with 10 horsemen. I would not have persuaded his coming. I wish him to be employed in some place and calling that might for credit and reputation be agreeable for his degree.

Thanks for your great favours in the cause between me and my troublesome neighbour, Mr. Bellowe, in England. My ordinary expenses are far more than my entertainment will bear. I hope you will relieve me for the present, and provide for my removing.

Limerick, 20 May 1580.

*Signed:* William Pelham, H. Wallop, Lu. Dillon, Nic. Malbie, Edward Waterh[ouse].

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 8¼.*

May 20. 395. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL  
in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 340a.

The Earl of Thomond has often offered his service against the Geraldines, but he has not been able to support his state. He prays such allowance of horsemen as was appointed to the other earls, and to have entertainment for them and his footmen. Give us direction how he is to be dealt with.

Limerick, 20 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

May 20. 396. PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 341.

I have received your letters in favour of Mr. Pifo, Lucas, and Edgerton.

Those who were with me in this assembly are not disposed to serve her Majesty. There is such a settled hatred of English

\* From England.



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government that the best disposed of the Irish do make profit of the time to recover their accustomed captainries and extortions.

The Mayor of Cork is informed, by a Frenchman in that haven, "that James FitzMorris' men are in a port of Spain, having two great hulks laden with 24,000 men's furniture of arms, pikes, and shot, besides great ordnance and munition, all bent hither." I have sent to apprehend the party.

Should the Earl of Clancartie revolt, "his country is a place of such strength as will protract the war to more length; which treachery can be no way requited but with the execution of his son."

"After the departure of our Irish Lords I entered into consideration of your Honour's request, for the plot how the escheated lands should be employed, with Mr. Treasurer (Wallop), Sir Nicholas Malbie, and Mr. Waterhouse, whereupon we collected notes, and have delivered them to him,\* at his more leisure to digest into some form."

I pray you bring Bellowe to some conformity; I would perform any bargain.

Limerick, 20 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ .*

May 20. 397. PELHAM to the MAYOR of CORK.

Vol. 597, p. 342a.

From the Queen's agents in Spain and Portingall I gather that the rumour is maliciously raised to give fire to the flame of rebellion. Arrest the informer and the master of the ship from whence he had the intelligence, and examine them before Sir Warham Sentleger, the Justice (James Meagh), yourself and the Recorder.

Limerick, 20 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

May 20. 398. JAMES GOLDE, Attorney of Munster, to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 54.

The Earl of Desmond is now heartily sorry that he has deserved to be called a traitor upon the subtle means of Saunders and Sir John. But his grief grows because he sees no force come to his succour. Saunders daily affirms upon his life the coming of Spaniards, and yet a number of the traitors be out of hope thereof. Sir John and the Seneschalf seem to have assurance of a great supply of men and treasure. The charge of her Majesty is not much under 5,000*l.* a month. I will find out such things as may bear some part of the charge. Although the number of the manors and castles be great, yet the commodity of them is but small, neither is it easy to keep most of them. This bearer, Mr.

\* Secretary Waterhouse?

† Of Imokilly; John FitzEdmond FitzGerald.

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Fyssher, will declare such other things as I wish your Honour to know. "The McSwynes are joined with the traitors; their number is about 400 galloglasses. They were, and now are, the Earl of Clancare's galloglasses, and it is reported that he is also joined with them."

Limerick, 20 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed and endorsed.*

ii. "A Note of the Castles which are to be found for her Majesty by this rebellion now in Munster."

*Pp. 3.*

May 21. 399. PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 343.

So slack was the repairing of those whom I appointed to assemble, as I was urged to spend some longer time here than I purposed.

The Lords Barrie and Roche, with their forces, will be in camp on Friday next. My Lord of Ormond is returned to his country to bring his people to the field. I shall march from hence on Tuesday next; but as the traitors are on this side the mountain, I must defer my journey until Ormond be come to me.

I am informed that the ships with the munition in Spain were ready to set forward for this country 14 days since. Your watch must be the greater, to suppress them if they attempt to land. We are well provided to welcome them.

A bark is to bring beer and biscuit from Dublin to this place. Stay her with you until I come myself. Beef I will bring with me, and wine, I hope, shall not be wanting. Commendations to you, my cousin Grevell, and the Vice Admiral.

Limerick, 21 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

May 30. 400. PELHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 343a.

Your letter in cipher, and another jointly from you and Mr. Meaughe, came to one conclusion. But as in your own you specially touched the parties for whom my Lord Barrie is a suitor, I refer his request to yourself. "Whether I have or have not granted to discharge any of those mentioned in the bill, yet do I wish you to defer their enlargement until you hear from me."

As to the disorders in Carbery, take some order therein.

I left with Mr. Treasurer, when I departed from Limerick, all the letters and examinations which concern the Spaniards; they shall be sent you, that you may bring them to their trial.

Your own letter to Sir Thomas of Desmond will be sufficient to cause the merchant's apprehension.

Asketten, 30 May 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¾.*

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June 2. 401. PELHAM to the EARL OF CLANCARTIE.

Vol. 597, p. 344a.

I was informed that you had linked yourself to such as in duty you ought to abhor and detest, but your letter now sent has assured me of your good disposition. Perceiving that your fear to light in their hands has been the cause of your absence, I am purposed to come myself to fetch you, or else will send my Lord of Ormond, in whose company you shall safely repair to our presence.

Minding presently to be doing with the traitors, I pray you that against myself and Ormond shall repair towards the borders of your country you be prepared with all your forces, and to take order among your people and followers, that whenever the army shall draw near your country, they do not abandon their habitations, for they shall receive due payment for such necessaries as they bring to the soldiers.

Asketten, 2 June 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 23.*

May 31. 402. NICHOLAS WHITE, Master of the Rolls, to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 22.

I am thankful for your letters in your own hand to my Lord Justice on my behalf.

Upon my landing I repaired to my Lord Justice into Munster, whom I found at Limerick, the 10th of May, with the Earls of Ormond and Thomond, Sir Harry Wallope, Sir Nicholas Malby, and Mr. Waterhouse. He told me the Lords of Munster were not then come to him, being led to doubt of her Majesty's intention to prosecute the rebellion of Desmond. But when they came, heard his new patent read, and saw him take his oath, and the sword newly delivered to him by the Earl of Ormond, they agreed to advance with all their forces into the field on the 1st of June. We proceeded then to the creation of the new Baron Burke. We accorded all the private grudges and quarrels betwixt the Lords of Munster, and ended our solemnity with a volley of 300 or 400 shots.

The old traitor, Piers Grace, and certain of the Burkes of Muskry, had combined with the Earl of Desmond to invade Ormond's country in his absence. The Baron of Upper Ossory is charged by Ormond to be privy to this practice, and has been commanded to appear before the Council at Dublin.

“My Lord Ormond hopes to put these rebels upon some stay till his return, who are become proud of a bruit lately spread abroad here of 6,000 Italians to be in Asturia in Spain upon the Pope's charges, ready to be transported hither for the aid of the traitors, with whom they report Doctor Sanders to be as their paymaster, which in that point must be false, because one of the Burkes which came in to my Lord of Ormond, upon protection, did swear to me that he did see Sanders in Desmond's camp the 20th day of this month. The traitors doth

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labour as much as they can to get th' Earl of Clancarthy to join with them, not for the multitude of his people, but for the largeness and fastness of his country to retire unto with their cattle when they shall be driven. It is doubted whether he will yield to them or stand to his duty. Th' Earl of Ormond hath his son as pledge, and hopes that he will not forego his allegiance, which, if he do, th' Earl protests that he will graff his son on the highest tree that he can find in his country."

Without victuals the service will quail, and we shall be driven to great extremity. "Myself am brought forth without tent or victual, but to live upon devotion, and to lodge near my Lord Justice's tent in the Star Chamber, when I hoped for some rest at home after my long attendance in England."

"Her Highness hath many waste countries, wherein are many castles and piles forsaken of the people and left to her to be planted, in which she hath also plenty of hares\* for her money. Certain of the Kavanaghes under the rule of Masterson, who served, upon protection, under th' Earl of Ormond in Munster, were, upon their return home (protected likewise), all slain and hanged by the said Masterson, in revenge whereof their kinsmen keeps a foul stir in Leinster."

"The North is very quiet, and the Connors and Mores play but small game in filching and stealing. There is a great quarrel happened between th' Earl of Kildare and Sir Harry Harrington, for the hanging of a man whom th' Earl protected."

Muskry, in Munster, 31 May 1580. *Signed.*  
*Holograph* (?). Pp. 3. *Addressed and endorsed.*

June 5. 403. The BURKES.

Vol. 619, p. 33.

Articles to be observed by Ulick and John Burke, sons to the Earl of Clanricard.†

To keep her Majesty's peace towards all her subjects. To disperse their idle companies. To take meat, drink, coynew, and livery only of such as shall voluntarily call them to their houses or deliver it to them. Not to travel with more than four horsemen, six footmen, and eight boys to either of them. Not to take any cow, caple, garrone, horse, or other distress, except from their own tenants. To deliver into the hands of Nicholas Lynche FitzStephen, attorney for the Earl, their father, all such castles, lands, tenements, and tenants as belong to him. To give up all castles, lands, and lordships appertaining to others her Majesty's subjects to the right owners. They and their men to appear at assizes and sessions in the county of Galway. To answer any service when thereto called by the Governor or Council. When any of their men

\* Sic.

† Enclosed in Malby's letter of the 11th of June.

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commit any offence, and are sent for by warrant, they shall bring forth the offenders. Not to disobey any her Majesty's officers or ministers in the execution of their offices. Not to apprehend any of her Majesty's subjects except for criminal offences, and then to commit them to the common jail; nor to imprison or ransom them, but to seek their remedy by order of the laws before the Governor or Council. Not to harbour any evil-disposed persons. To deliver certain pledges (*named*), who shall be changed monthly.

If they come in to answer any matter which shall be objected against them, the pledges shall take no hurt nor be put to death.

Galway, 5 June 1580.

*Signed:* Nich. Malby; W. Tuamen.\*; O'Connor Sligo; [E. Athentry †]; Tho. Dillon; Martin French, mayor; Henry Guldeforde; J. Merbury.

We have agreed to observe and perform these articles before written.

*Signed:* John de Burgo, Ulick Burk.

"Ex., et est vera copia.—Rowland Argall."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Vol. 611, p. 228.

2. Another copy of the same.

*Pp. 2.*

June 11. 404. SIR HENRY MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 32.

Since my last letter by Mr. Brysket, I have been at Galway and held the sessions there, where 10 malefactors were executed. I sent for Ulick and John Bureke to come to me thither, who accordingly did so. I commanded them to put away their idle men and to give over their father's castles and lands into the hands of their father's agent. Ulick was more willing than John.

Having intelligence that John Burke did foster a son of Rory Og O'More's, I stayed John until he delivered me the boy, whom I have sent to Dublin to the Lord Keeper. I have written at large to Mr. Secretary (Walsingham) of all things done in this late journey.

Before releasing John Burke I called "for pledges for his good behaviour, and so like of Ulick; and thereupon did draw out certain conditions to be observed by them, for which their pledges should lie upon penalty of their lives, and yet would not accept of their pledges except they would voluntarily give themselves to the same conditions." The country people joy at this binding of them.

"At this sessions a great number of malefactors were indicted for a solemn mass which they were at, which was

\* William Lealy, Archbishop of Tuam.

† Edmund Bermingham, Baron of Athentry. This signature is omitted in the copy in vol. 619, and is supplied above from that in vol. 611.

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procured by them for the welcoming of William Burreke, the Earl's son, who came lately out of England. That young man is not well bent; he wanteth but ability, for he hath good will enough. Ulick Burreke is determined to come over, and doth mind to depend upon your Honour. I have a good liking to him, for he is no lover of thieves. He and John be at great dissension. I have given order to the sheriff of the county and to the provost marshal of the province to execute all such idle men as they shall find to be out of their master's book."

The whole of Connaught is as well as I can wish it to be, and yet is there great practice both from Munster and Ulster.

At Galway I was much abused by the townsmen.

O'Connor Slygo stands in doubt of O'Donnell's malice. I have licensed him to buy O'Donnell's goodwill. McWilliam is preparing to come into England.

I am become a great builder at Roscoman.

"Munster surveyor I can say nothing of yet; but when Mr. Guildford shall come over, who will shortly repair unto your Honour, I will open mine opinion both of that and of all other my knowledge."

Athlone, 11 June 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed and endorsed.*

June 15. 405. PELHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 346.

Thanks for your careful advertisements. "I doubt not but it will breed good blood, because my Lord of Ormond is made half angry thereby." We shall have private conference at my repair to Cork. I send you a cipher.

Glandoshaken, 15 June\* 1580. *Signed.*

ii. The cipher above mentioned.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

June 15. 406. PELHAM to ORMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 346a.

I have this day with great difficulty passed over the mountain of Sleulohere. Tomorrow I march to Castle Mange, and there will stay your coming. I have sent for my Lord of Clancartie; also for the Lord FitzMorris, whose messenger met me upon the midst of the mountain with a letter, whereby I perceive my coming this way, however secretly intended, is not hid from him.

At my camp near the Island, 15 June 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—"During the writing of this letter I have overtaken 2,000 of the traitors' cows, and some sheep and garrons, and very narrowly missed the Earl of Desmond and Sanders, who were in that bollie."

*Contemp. copy. P. 3/4.*

\* "May" in MS.

1580.

JUNE 25. 407. PELHAM to SIR HENRY WALLOP.

Vol. 597, p. 347.

At my return from the Dingle to this place I received your letter, signifying the receipt of divers paquets from the Council at Dublin, and sundry examinations concerning the Baron of Upper Osserie; and also mentioning Pheaughe McHugh's disposition to return to his old vomit.

If any news be come from England, send it with those paquets to Cork, towards which I am marching. As I pass through the Earl of Clancare's country, I will search for the traitors. The soldiers have no bread, drink, hose or shoes, nor money to buy them. I am not able, for want of victuals, to follow the enemy. Send a convenient proportion of victual to Kilmallocke, Asketten, and Adare; and to Castle Mange 25 tuns of Gascon wine and sack, and biscuit. "Send some trusty person to take charge, lest the accustomed spoils used by the insolency of mariners in the transporting of victuals do consume the same."

Castle Mange, 25<sup>\*</sup> June 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 14.*

July 4. 408. PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 347a.

Sent by William Persevall, Mr. Bland's man.

My Lord of Ormond and I, with the forces divided betwixt us, have continually been in journey. At my coming to Limerick I will advertise you what success this journey has had.

The three barks with corn, under Persevall's charge, directed for Limerick, did most haply arrive here. Through continual travel and want of bread the army was brought into exceeding great extremity. So great is the scarcity, both in this city and in the other corporate towns, as the people are like to starve.

I have drawn to me the noblemen and gentlemen whose names are enclosed, and who incline to the traitors. I take them all with me to Limerick.

Cork, 4 July 1580. *Signed.*

II. "The Names of such Noblemen and Gentlemen as appeared at Cork, the 4 July 1580."

The Earl of Clancartie; the Viscount Barrie; the Viscount Roche; Barrie Oge; Sir Cormoeke McTeige, sheriff; Sir Owen O'Sulivant; Sir Thomas of Desmond and his son; Sir Owen McCartie; Mauris Roehé, eldest son to the Lord Roehé; McDononge; O'Callohan; O'Kiefe; Donell McCartie Aimester of Carberie; Mauris FitzJames; Donoughe McCormoeke; John Roche; John FitzEdmonds of Clonne.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

\* "24" in the margin of the MS.

1580.

July 9.

409.

PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 349.

Sent by Mr. Spencer.

“The 30 of May last, by Mr. Holden, I received a letter from you, whereby I first understood of your Lls.’ determination to continue Sir William Winter upon this coast, and for the revictualling of his companies for three months.” The proportion of 21,000 pieces of beef, and of meal and cheese, sent from Mr. Bashe, came not till of late, when I encountered it at Dingle. The beef is very unseasonable, but I leave that to the report of Mr. Treasurer at Wars (Wallop) and Mr. Waterhouse, to you, my Lord Treasurer (Burleigh); they have straightly looked to the victuallers. The biscuit provided at Dublin by Sir William Druri’s order and sent to Cork, being made of musty corn, was wholly lost, “saving that little that was uttered to such ships as Sir Humfrey Gilbert had in entertainment, whom hunger compelled to feed upon it.”

A second letter of yours dated 12 May I received yesterday, signifying your care in sending 8,000*l.* in money and 2,000*l.* in victual, and that you had given order for furnishing of these western parts with grain. The greatest proportions should be directed to this place, as Waterford is too remote.

You have ordered handbills and some match to be sent hither, and refer me to a farther proportion of match to be made in the English Pale. I have sent order to the Master of the Ordnance to Dublin to make provision of match in those parts.

I have caused the Clerk of the Check to send you one other note of the monthly charge, because of the diminution of the book, by discharge of *The Handmaid* and other shipping, and the diminution of some bands of kerne and Claiton’s band of footmen. These bands of kerne must be revived upon the entry into any long journey, because without them we cannot drive the woods.

You desire to be satisfied of the sums issued for extraordinaries of the war as well as the ordinaries, but this is hard to do, without a collection to be made by the auditors.

“And whereas your Lls. refer me to supply the 300 soldiers which I desired from England to be taken up in the Pale, the captains do despair to find there such soldiers as they are willing to lead, and I more loth to train the natives of this land in any discipline of war, being informed that the outrages of the Cavenaghs and Mores lately committed hath been assisted with trained soldiers of this country birth, that have left their captains and consorted themselves with the rebels” in Munster, and with other of the evil disposed Irish northward.

I have made choice of the haven of the Ventrice for fortification.



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The numbers of the rebels still continue great, "for there be of the Barris (by the malice of the Viscount, as I think it will be proved) as many gentlemen in this action as be of the Geraldines. Nevertheless hunger and this continual prosecution of them, as well by journeys as by strong garrisons, who are every day upon them, shall, I hope, shortly make an end of the war, unless it take new life with foreign aid, and then I look their strength will be infinitely multiplied."

Limerick, 9 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

July 9. 410. PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 351a.

Sent by Mr. Spencer.

I dispatch my brother Spencer, who has accompanied me in this journey.

Finding that, without some relief out of England, it would be hard to feed such garrisons as I had established in all places, I determined to enter into some sudden journey to keep them from opinion of any extremity, "and accordingly set my course with the Earl of Ormond, that he with his companies and that part of the army appointed to him should meet me at Boutivaunt the 12th of this last."

I advanced from Asketten the 11th day, and he from Kilmallocke to the camping place. The soldiers were persuaded, with hope to revictual at Dingle, to set forward with only four days bread, and without any drink at all.

I took my journey through the borders of the county of Cork, to confirm the lords and gentlemen. New oaths and promises were exacted from them for defence of these borders in our absence: which done, we proceeded towards Kerrie, the Earl into the Earl of Clancartie's country, and I over the mountain of Sleulougher, appointing to meet again at Castle Mange. The weather was wet and stormy. I passed over the mountain the 15th of June, by a march of 21 miles. The scout discovered a great prey of cattle, which fled towards the Lord FitzMorris's country. I brake forth three or four miles towards the plains, where we cut off 1,500 cows, besides sheep and other small cattle.

"This service had fallen out most happily, if the Earl of Desmond (who was then not far behind in that boily, as they term it) had not discovered us in descending from the top of the hill; and being accompanied with the Countess, Doctor Sanders and others, and with little force or none, fled with the foremost, leaving behind them the Doctor's coat, some trifles belonging to the Countess, and their masking furniture, some of which was taken by the soldiers. It was reported that the Earl and his Lady were by gallowglas carried over a bog, and so took the mountain and fled all the night for his safety. In this service Mr. Souche and others showed themselves very forward and adventurous."

1580.

The next day we departed from thence to Castle Mange, a place of great importance. "It is a castle built upon a bridge over the river Mange, dividing the county of Kerrie from the Earl of Clancartie's country, and is portable with hoys or big pinnaces from the Bay of Dingle to the bridge, and for big boats above the bridge. In this I stayed partly for the coming of the Earl of Ormond, partly for conference with the Earl of Clancartie, who came in his company the next day; and there taking order for some reparations, to th' end a staple of victuals might hereafter be appointed there, where I also purpose to intrench a piece of ground for a small town, I caused thewhiles the plains about Trallie (being on the north side of the mountain) and all like places about Kerrie, near adjoining, to be searched by the army for spoils."

The Earl of Clancartie was willing to do any service, being tied thereto by the pledge of his eldest son, whom I had before seized and left in charge with the mayer of this city. He was appointed to bring his principal followers to me to Cork, and guide Ormond upon the traitors' goods fostered in his country. It was ordered that Ormond should pass into Desmond to those services, and I to the Dingle to confer with the Admiral, with whom I spent a day or two in conference. We found the haven of Ventríe the meekest place to be fortified, being almost an island, wherein much cattle might be kept from any attempt of the enemy; thinking nevertheless that a small ward should be settled in the Dingle.

"And because the fort of Smirwicke is much spoken of, as well by the opinion conceived amongst the Irish of the strength of the situation, as for the defending there of the traitor James FitzMorris, I took occasion to look upon that, and found it a vain toy, and of little importance, in which place no man could hide himself, but that in the hill adjoining he was subject to all shot, small or great. And the place doth argue unto me, that James was not of so little judgment to have kept it one hour, if he had not been sure of the Earl of Desmond to have been as far forth in the action as himself."

At my first meeting with the Admiral I found there the ship called *The James of London*, wherein Richard Peters' servant was, with provision to be delivered to me. Having resolved with Sir William Winter upon my own speedy return, or sending some force shortly into those parts, I dislodged from thence to Castle Mange, where Ormond, having taken a prey of 1,000 cows in Desmond, met me on the 24th.

"The next day we passed our whole companies over the bridge at Castle Mange, and so through Desmond towards Cork, and took our way by the woods of Glanliske and over another part of Sleulogher, searching in two companies every day the most likeliest places where any rebels might be found." On the last of June we arrived at Cork, where I remained encamped not far from the city four days. I assembled the lords and gentlemen of the county, who had

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suffered the enemy in our absence to fly his cattle by them, and to have relief within their countries. I dissembled my disliking, and by fair means allured them to this place under pretence that letters were here from her Majesty, and under colour of a consultation with others of the Council.

I departed from Cork on the 5th, and being stopped by the way by the rage of the Broad Water, I arrived here on the 7th, having in my company the Earl of Clancartie, the Viscount Barrie, and others.

“The rest I refer unto the report of my brother Spencer, to whom I do not only beseech your Lordships to give credit as a person well deserving here, and not unacquainted with this country causes (whom I have appointed to remain there to call upon the resolution of these affairs), but also that it will please your Lls. to be means to her Majesty to have compassion upon his years and long service, having many ways been employed without recompense, and, namely, in the North as Master of the Ordnance.\* If by your Lls’ good means he might taste of her Majesty’s bounty to relieve him some way in his age, I would accompt it as a singular favour and benefit from her Majesty and from all your Lls.”

Limerick, 9 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 7½.*

July 9. 411. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to DAVID BARRIE.

Vol. 597, p. 355a.

“Whereas, upon some accusation made against the Viscount your father for his undutifulness and negligence in the service of her Majesty, he is for a time restrained from returning into those parts, the rather because it is manifested unto us that he hath been not only the director of you in your late doings, but also hath since that time forbidden you to do such service in requital of your fault as we are informed you were willing to do; we have thought good therefore to confer with you about the ordering of your father’s country, so as we may stand assured of your loyalty and dutiful behaviour, for which we will expect pledges at your hands, and therefore will you presently to repair unto us, which you may do with safety, notwithstanding any offence past.”

Limerick, 9 July 1580.

*Signed at the beginning:* William Pelham; *at the end:* Tho. Ormound, H. Miden., H. Wallope, Lu. Dillon, War. St. Leger, Ni. White, Ed. Waterhouse.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

July 12. 412. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 356.

“The bearer, Mr. Spencer, is so sufficiently instructed to declare unto you the success of the late journey into Kerrie

\* James Spencer was appointed Master of the Ordnance in the north of England in November or December 1569, during the rebellion there.

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and Desmond made by us, the Lord Justice and the Earl of Ormond, accompanied with the army, as we refer unto him the report of the whole, who, by his note of each day's travel and his own observation of all other matters of importance, may excuse the writing of a long letter to your Lls."

We assembled the principal lords and gentlemen of Cork. We allured them hither for farther consultation with the rest of the Council, and have had them twice before us, and proceeded with them first in one course to make them yield their several submissions, and next to have won out of them a mitigation of her Majesty's charges by some contribution to the army. The Viscount Barrie was the most faulty and most obstinate in his behaviour. We send a copy of our first and second days' consultation. They were unwilling to burden their countries, but each of them yielded pledges, and some offered to serve with their own people at their own charges.

Limerick, 12 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3½.*

July 12. 413. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 36.

I have sent you certain notes by Mr. Guildford how all things stand here, and what is meetest to be done. I have besought Mr. Secretary to communicate them to the Council. I beseech you to favour my own suits. Mr. Guildford has served here without any pay. He is your kinsman and true follower.

As the matter of legitimacy between John and Ulyck Burke, I think, will be in question before the Lords as a matter most necessary to be known, Mr. Guildford doth bring over writings and commissions which have passed for that matter.

"The Irish are generally in a great jollity, expecting foreign forces."

"I have sent your Honour a goshawk, and because I know you love the sport at the Pye,\* I have sent your Honour a cast of tussell gentilles.† Many hawks have died with me."

Athlone, 12 July 1580. *Signed.*

Your old servant Mr. John Merbury is here.

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Sealed, addressed, and endorsed.*

July 12. 414. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE.

Vol. 619, p. 37.

"Instructions for the Earl of Leicester to be delivered by Mr. Henry Guildford the 12th of July 1580."

(1.) Declare the great disorder committed by the townsmen of Gallaway, "and the bravery used by them after the fury

\* "The Pye" was a brewhouse in Smithfield.

† Tereel gentles.

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appeared in marching up and down the streets with sound of drum, with spiteful speeches of their conquest against the English soldiers, terming them and all the rest no better than English churls." Such a fine should be laid upon them in the Star Chamber for this riot, as shall build a citadel to command the town, without which the governor and the English shall ever be in danger of those odious people upon every drunkard's quarrel. I would keep it with one captain and 20 soldiers.

(2.) By the passage now found out between Athlone and Limerick by boat, the ruined castle of Melyke is the midway place where the boats stop and receive relief, and all the passengers find great ease and commodity by it. It may please her Majesty to grant me the same place in free socage to me and my heirs, or else for 100 years, at the accustomed rent, I will build up the castle and keep residence there.

(3.) I am now entered into a great charge of building the castle and town of Rosecomen. As her Majesty's grant is to me and my heirs males, having but one son, by which the same is [like] to revert to the crown, and thereby the rest of my children shall be left destitute, by reason the said building is like to bring me into great want, I am an humble petitioner to her Majesty to grant me the same to me and my heirs general, or else that an allowance may be given to my children for the said building. She should appoint me Seneschal of the country of Rosecomen.

(4.) "Upon the late stay of John Burke at Gallowaye, where the most part of the gent' of Clanrycard then were present, the said gent' did exhibit a bill of petition, by which your Honour may perceive what good rule the Earl's sons did keep, until I had taken their pledges." The inward hatred between the two brothers for the legitimacy is very great. It were a good act to cause the Earl [of Clanricard] to confess the truth; "and for the knowledge thereof, there is trial by commission that Ulike is legitimate, which is now sent over by Mr. Guildford; and if that matter were decided, all would be well, and the gent' would leave taking of parts, which is the greatest impediment of the well-doing of Clanrycard." Remember my plat for Ireland; it will be found the best. I send you a copy of Nicholas Linche's bill, agent here for the Earl of Clanricarde, confessing the receipt of the Earl's castles and lands.

(5.) At my late being in England certain lands in the Kellies' country, which are claimed by the Earl of Ormond, were in question before their Lordships. The Queen's pleasure was that I should forbear to take up the rent allotted by the Kellies by the composition made with them, amounting to 40*l. per annum*, and that the Earl should bring forth his title. The year expired in March last, and nothing is done therein.

(6.) Divers principal gentlemen and freeholders of this province seek to surrender their castles and lands, which they

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hold by Irish tenure, desiring to hold the same of her Majesty by English tenure, and, besides the composition of the country, will yield a chief rent to her.

(7.) "The Scots be the only hope that any evil-disposed Irishry have to sustain them in their enterprises, which being cut off from them, it is no great work to govern the Irish, neither any hard matter to expulse the Scots."

(8.) "Sundry disorders are committed within this province by loose men, and [there is] a daily expectation that as opportunity shall serve the Irish will take their time." I am an humble suitor to her Majesty to allow me any extraordinary charges for suppressing such rebels out of such rents, revenues, and compositions as accrue within this province.

*Signed:* Nycho. Malbie.

*Pp. 4. Endorsed.*

July 13. 415. PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 357a.

Your letters of the 29th and 9th have been brought me by my cousin Grevell and Mr. Holden.

The Marshal's bad ministers have suffered that traitorous priest to escape me that you so carefully sent. Before Sir Owen O'Sullivan Beare departs from me, I will look for the redelivery of him, and for conformity of subjection within Beare and Bantrie. Thanks for the articles which concerned his (Sir Owen's) misdemeanours.

If the ship of victuals come from Dublin, pay yourself of the proportion of beer, and the remain I wish to be put into Castle Mange.

I have sent you herewith an authority, not only to execute by martial law such as be offenders, English or Irish, but also authority to protect. Though for terror I do not mention it in my authority, "the law martial doth not extend within the Queen's jurisdictions to execute any that is worth 10*l.* in goods, or hath 40*s.* a year of freehold." I do not wish any freeholders to be protected but the McSwines, because if her Majesty purpose to make benefit of escheated lands, then it were good that all freeholders were left simply to her mercy. To whomsoever you give protection, promise pardon, and bind him to sue it out within three months.

"Now how your news concurreth with the necessity of your departure for lack of victuals, and with the likelihood of Spanish preparations, which may be guessed by the coming of the vessel to Castle Haven, whereof you write, I leave to you to judge.

"It is testified by divers, as well of Kinsale as Waterford, that lately came out of Galicia, and now within these two days confirmed at Waterford, that 6,000 Romans are ready to embark there; that they have 80 ships, whereof many of great burden; that they have many victuallers laden with wheat, whereof 50,000 Spanish measures called

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*haveres* have been put aboard in one haven. They report that the Marquis of Sara had private talk with some of them, confessing himself to be the Queen's good ally (as I think he be by the house of Lancaster), and gave forth that great troubles would be this year in Ireland; and other taking upon him to know the general, a Spaniard named Don John de Alonno; and that he saw the Pope's Nuncio and him together about the preparations. These rumours are not unknown in England, for they have been often advertised, and the last informer is gone to the Court to declare his own intelligence."

A supply of victuals is coming from England to you, and some refreshing to us; and a speech is given forth, as though other vessels of smaller burden were on their way towards you with new directions. I cannot keep the field for lack of bread after the expense of one month. There are now come from Mr. Bashe 21,000 pieces of beef, which will never be uttered without mutiny or danger to the soldiers' health. Search the harbors between that and Cork, whether any relief be come to prolong your stay.

"I send my brother Spencer presently into England, to whom I commit so much of your advertisements as concerned the Spanish shallop and the forcible taking of Donnell Rowe McTeige, and to utter unto the Lords your care in searching those harbours upon the south-west coasts of this province."

Turlouge Lenouge has, as I hear from England, solicited the King of Scots for 4,000 Scots, his wife, a daughter of Argill,\* being agent in the Court of Scotland, but prevented by the diligence of Mr. Robert Bowes, her Majesty's ambassador.

Limerick, 13 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4¼.*

July 13. 416. LETTERS under the SIGNET for SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 359a.

Whereas the mariners, sailors, and others of the meaner sort of people attending the marine service under Sir William Winter, Admiral, do great injuries to such poor people as are received to her Majesty's protection within the county of Kerrie, and upon other parts of Desmond and the county of Cork; and whereas many other the inhabitants of those parts have submitted themselves to the said Admiral, seeking of him to be protected: we authorize him to punish, correct, and execute by law martial any such offender, English or Irish, that so shall rob and spoil her Majesty's reconciled subjects within the country of Desmond and the counties of Kerrie and Cork; and to grant protections in writing.

Limerick, 13 July 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1¾.*

\* The Earl of Argyle.

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July 14. 417. PELHAM to the PRIVY COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 360a.

Sent by Mr. Spencer.

Sir William Winter's victualling is so far expired, as he is no longer able to stay upon this coast. Weighing the advertisements of such merchants as lately are arrived at Waterford and Kinsale, "and the late plying to the coast of the Spanish galley that took away by force a young man only for intelligence," it cannot be but that the landing of foreigners will shortly take place. I desire to be directed what course I should take if the numbers expected should take land.

"I have, upon the first rumour (in the beginning of this year) of the Pope's preparation, written to your Lls. in my letters of the 11th of February, wherein I desired your opinions what part of the realm, or what city or port, you would direct me to make good for her Majesty, and of this I have received no answer."

"I have no answer what should be done with the Earl of Desmond's son and the Baron of Valentia; what course should be taken with the conspirators, meaning by Viscount Barrie," who is now close prisoner. What course shall be held in Munster if these troubles take good end?

Limerick, 14 July 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

July 14. 418. INSTRUCTIONS for MR. SPENCER.

Vol. 597, p. 362.

Delivered to him the 14th of July 1580.

Declare to the Privy Council that the taking of the Lord of Valentia has wrought a good effect in his father.

In what state the army is, for want of fresh men to supply the rooms of the lame and sick; and the state of the munition.

That the aptest way to establish this province in due obedience is to fortify the haven towns, and those to be kept perpetually by mere English.

The numbers now in pay, and the monthly charges. My own monthly charge and expenses, and my lack of furniture of all kinds to take so great a dignity. Procure my dispatch with favour. Declare that the suddenness of my coming over has procured a marvellous charge to me.

Learn their Lordships' pleasures, if the Spaniards should arrive in greater force, where I shall make head until further succours be sent.

Declare the deceits in the victuals and munition which we receive. Procure brewing vessels and hops to be sent, and that we may have three months' victuals beforehand in corn, butter, and cheese.

Desire them not to grant anything in this realm, unless the party that shall be a suitor for the same be first recommended from the Governor.

Declare what offer I made to the captains and soldiers respecting powder, match, and lead wastefully consumed.



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The whole proceedings of my journey, and my opinion concerning the fortifying of the Ventrice, the Dingle, and Castle Mange.

You shall make no man acquainted with the state of these things, save only such as the Lord Treasurer (Burleigh) and Mr. Secretary Walsingham shall appoint.

Understand what shall be done concerning custodians of the rebels' lands, because the harvest is now at hand; who shall be cashed upon the discharge of any of the garrisons; and what shall be done with the Viscount Barrie and the rest of the prisoners remaining in this town.

Desire that an engineer may be sent hither to perform the works when they are begun; and, because much turf must be employed, that skilful men be sent for that purpose.

Procure their favours in passing my accompt.

Take order with Bellove for the finishing of the controversy between us.

"To deal with all my friends, especially such as I have written unto, to borrow or lend me money, to make payment to the party afovenamed. And if it would please my Lord Treasurer to permit that one of the Tellers should lend me 1,000 pounds upon my bond, and other my friends', his Honour might thereby stand me greatly in stead.

"To deal with my wife for answering of Dixie's money, and to practise with Bowes for a relief from his son.

"To lay wait that Ealston pass not away his land to any better than himself, lest I might have a more cumbersome neighbour."

*Signed by Lord Justice Pelham at the beginning and end. Contemp. copy. Pp. 5.*

July 14. 419. PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH.)

Vol. 597, p. 364a.

I have received your long letter of 6 May, wherein you touched the dealings of F. and C. As in Fantler[oy]'s case my intention was but to declare the sincerity of Mr. Treasurer (Wallop), so am I sorry that loose dealings of inferior ministers should turn to your disquiet.

The Clerk of the Check has sent a certificate of the numbers as now they are. In his previous books the diets of the Earls of Ormond and Kildare (50s. each by the day) were not entered.

Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Waterhouse will inform you of the state of the victuals. Some were landed at Waterford, where they serve us to no use. Musty wheat has been twice sent from the Severn to Waterford. By my letters now sent to the Lords you may view the course of my journey and of my Lord of Ormond's into Kerrie and Desmond.

The Admiral is forced to depart.

There is great want of brewing vessels and coopers for the brewhouses. Two small boys should be sent hither to transport victuals.

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The treasure is daily expected from Dublin, "to repair the extreme wants of the soldiers, which have now neither clothes, nor ability to mend their furniture."

This bearer, my brother Spencer, can declare whatsoever I omit to write. I desire an account to be taken of my office in the Ordnance, to have some end of those reckonings. Countenance him with your good favour in his small petitions to her Majesty.

Limerick, 14 July 1580. *Signed*,  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3¼.*

July 14. **420.** PELHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 597, p. 366.

Sent by Mr. Spencer.

I have sent my Lord of Kildare a passport for your two horses. I will further the gentleman Hussie, his servant, whom you commend to have some good end of the controversy between him and the Baron of Slane, whose bad dealings as well with Hussie as with one Fleming, now in England, by a double sale of one piece of land to both, has greatly hindered Hussie and his father.

I trust you will license my brother Spencer to have recourse to you, to inform you as well of the suspicious manner of a strange ship that came lately hither, as of the state of the navy and army, and the force of the rebels. "Stand his good Lord in such suits as he hath to make in his own behalf, that hath long served without any consideration or recompense, and now, grown into years, would be glad to taste of her Majesty's bounty."

Limerick, 14 July 1580. *Signed*.  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

July 14. **421.** PELHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 367.

I have received from you many letters.

Touching the 300 English soldiers to be supplied in the Pale, I have no liking to train such dangerous people to be made soldiers.

I thank you for your care of Mr. Fenton to be placed here as her Majesty's Secretary. Mr. Challoner's years do make him unapt to travel, and Mr. Waterhouse is drawn to the execution of other services appertaining to his charge in the Exchequer.

I have required my brother Spencer to treat with Mr. Belowe, and to compound the matter. My brother Spencer is now growing in years, and has deserved some consideration from her Majesty.

You persuade that the war should not be drawn at length. I have caused the lords that have been the continuers of this war to bear of their own charge 1,200 gallowglas. I will send you a plot for this province.

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"At the coming of Mr. Waterhouse hither he brought me the copies of such instructions as Captain Piers had to deal in with Turlonghe Lenought, the Baron of Dungannon, and others, by which I see, and by the practice of his wife in the Court of Scotland, that he is apt to nourish troubles northward."\* Restitution of his wrongs should not be granted.

My cousin Foulke Grevell repaired to me yesterday from the Admiral. I have committed to him some credence concerning this service. For other matters I refer you to my brother Spencer's report.

Limerick, 14 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

July [15.] 422. LORD DEPUTY GREY.

Vol. 600, p. 236.

"Instructions for the Lord Gray in July 1580."

At the request of Lord Justice Pelham we disburden him of that government, and have made choice of you to take that charge upon you.

Observe such instructions as are contained in the late orders annexed to a certain establishment set down by us, as also such other instructions as have been given to such as lately had the government of that realm.

As our subjects of that country birth have conceived that we have a determination to root them out, and place there our subjects born in this realm, seek to remove that false the impression.

Have an especial care to see that by the oppression and insolencies of the soldiers our good subjects may not be alienated from us. Make this our care known by proclamation, and see the offenders severely punished without sparing captains or head officers.

Make your repair into the province of Munster, and there confer with the Justice and other councillors, in what sort the rebels may be most effectually prosecuted.

The Justice shall continue there until the present war shall be ended, and supply the place of a councillor.

Soldiers will be shortly sent over. As no great matter can be attempted in the winter, discharge such numbers as you think meet; the rest to be placed in garrison. The armours of those discharged should be retained for the use of the countries in which they were levied.

Grant neither pardon nor protection but upon some great cause of importance.

*Copy, partly in Sir George Carew's handwriting. Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

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\* See the two undated papers which have been placed at the end of the year 1574. They belong with greater probability to this period.

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July 16. 423. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to DAVID BARRYE.

Vol. 597, p. 369a.

On the 9th we signified your father's restraint, and willed your repair, but have not heard from you. Fail not to repair hither presently.

Limerick, 16 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

July 16. 424. PELHAM to the LORD KEEPER at Dublin.

Vol. 597, p. 369a.

I have received by Mr. Waterhouse a letter from you, and by the Chief Baron and him I learn how careful you have been in all matters of State. I will dispense with the Master of the Ordnance's absence,\* owing to his infirmity.

"When all the suit that I and all my friends could make to her Majesty for my discharge could not prevail to deliver me from this troublesome place, my enemies I hope have done it to such perfection as it will shortly come to pass." It is not the least comfort "to have companions in distress, of which sort I hope you are, or shortly shall be, one, free from the office that you hold, as well as I from mine." I thank his Lordship (Chancellor Gerrard?) for his courteous remembering of us both, and for his travails. I have sent you the *fiant* for the benefice in Wexford.

Limerick, 16 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ .

July 17. 425. PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.

Vol. 597, p. 570.

In the private cause between Oliver Stevenson and your people I will give order that he shall make restitution. "I am informed by some of Desmond's own company that he is most commonly at Traligh with such a handful of men, as your Lo., if you would, might swallow him up." As yet you have done no act worthy of commendations. Commend me to your son Patrick.

Limerick, 17 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

July 17. 426. PELHAM to CAPTAIN WILLIAM PIERS.

Vol. 597, p. 370a.

"I have received your letter, and am ashamed to hear that John of Desmond hath, with 200 swords only, lien so long in that country, and you attempted nothing against so small a company of rascals. But your lying still doth confirm the report made unto me, that you are not able to bring 40 men to the field; and yet did you promise me to make good both sides of the water."

Limerick, 17 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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\* Jaques Wingfield, Constable of Dublin Castle.

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July 19. 427. PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 371.

Because the way is somewhat dangerous to send any letters by land, I have opened such as were directed to you from England. Order is given for your farther stay upon this coast, and victuals are being sent you.

I shall speedily be released from this charge, and Lord Graie will take the government. He is preparing with all haste to repair hither with a supply of 800 footmen, whom I hope shall land within these 14 days. Her Majesty continues me here to follow the service.

Mr. Secretary Walsingham advertises me "that certain intelligence is brought unto them out of Spain, that the Pope hath an intention to land some numbers of men in this realm, which to prevent her Majesty hath given order for the present preparing of a further supply of men to be sent hither," besides the 800. I wish my Cousin Grevell recovery of his leg.

Limerick, 19 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

July 20. 428. PELHAM to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol 597, p. 372.

"I have received two letters from you. The one concerneth spoils committed upon your tenants and such others as do depend upon the Viscount Mountgarrett, who also by his own particular letter complaineth earnestly of the Baron of Upper Ossory's brethren." I will perform anything for the satisfaction of you both, so as it tend not to the withdrawing of the forces from the rebels of these parts.

"Your second letter, with the report of Owen O'Gormigan, concerning the Viscount Baltinglase and Feaughe McHughe, is very strange, that a nobleman of the Pale should be so forgetful of himself, and be so united to a man of base condition." The report is confirmed by Patrick Goughe. The Earl of Kildare, having the charge of the Pale, and being a near neighbour to the mountain, having also by this time four ensigns of footmen landed at Dublin, will easily prevent the danger of these beginnings. If any intelligences be between Turlough Lenought and these confederates, I pray you with your forces and the power of the Sheriffs of Kilkenny and Catherloughe to withstand the Viscount and his complices.

The bands here, being now divided into two garrisons of Kilmalloe and Asketten, are both this night entered into a long journey.

Four days since your departure Oliverus Burke came to me, desiring protection, which I have granted; but he flatly denied that he ever promised you to bring any man's head.

Six more of her Majesty's ships are put to the sea, and 1,000 men are to be landed in these parts, besides those mentioned in my first letter to land at Dublin and at Cork.

Limerick, 20 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

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- July 21. 429. NICHOLAS WHITE, MASTER OF THE ROLLS of Ireland,  
to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 64.

The bearer is Mr. Spenser. In this last journey in Munster I only of the Council attended on my Lord Justice. The traitors are dispersed into woods, mountains, and bogs. My Lord Justice, by his sudden coming into Kerry, had well near lighted on the traitorous Earl, the Countess, and Doctor Sanders. "We were at Castell Mayngne, at the fort of Smeryeke, the Dengill, and the haven of Ventry, where we went aboard her Majesty's ships, and were well refreshed by Sir William Winter, Mr. Bingham, and Mr. Fowke Grevile. We returned through the Earl of Clancartie's country by the end of Glanfeske.

My Lord Justice gat into his hands, by the Earl of Ormond's travail, all the Lords of Munster, and carried them with him to Limerick, where they remain under guard.

"This paper hereinclosed, containing vile and wicked stuff, was brought hither to Waterford by a Devonshire gentleman named William Jeowe, and published there\* by him; who, being by my Lord of Ormond and me first examined and afterwards committed, said that the same was commonly abroad in England, and that himself had given out 20 copies of it there. Being demanded where he had it, [he] said it was delivered to him by Mr. Harry Bowser, brother to th' Earl of Bath."

The Viscount of Baltinglas has joined himself with Feaghe McHugh.

Waterford, 21 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph (?) Pp. 2. Addressed and endorsed.*

II. News "from Rome the 23 of February 1580."†

*Pp. 2.*

- July 22. 430. PELHAM to the COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

Vol. 597, p. 373a.

Her Majesty directs the shipping under Sir William Winter to remain upon the coast, and three or four ships of war to be sent hither. The Admiral, for some service and discovery, desires to have *The Handmaid* sent to him, being of less burden than those that be with him. We require that Captain Thornetone be warned to repair to this coast with men and with victuals for three months.

Limerick, 22 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

- July 22. 431. The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to DAVID BARRY.

Vol. 597, p. 373a.

As you expect protection before you dare adventure to come to us, at your father's humble suit, we grant to you and your followers this our present protection, to continue 10 days.

Limerick, 22 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

\* In England?

† See "Eve's seditious Libel," 30 July.

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July 23. **432.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL at DUBLIN.  
Vol. 597, p. 374.

“Having this day received, by the passage boat of Athlone, the paquet sent from you, and dated the 18th of this month, concerning the Viscount of Baltinglas, I see therein that you, my Lord of Kildare, have determined to make head against him.”

I send you the letters from the Privy Council concerning the stay of the Admiral here, and the sending of more ships to the coasts, and of soldiers and victuals both to Dublin and Cork.

Limerick, 23 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

July 23. **433.** PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.  
Vol. 597, p. 374a.

I have received your letters of 26 May, appointing that the money by concordatum due to my Lady of Thame should be repaid out of the treasure now brought. When the proportion came to be divided to the army, I no way rested able to accomplish your expectation. The warrant is to be satisfied there, upon defalcation of the next treasure.

Limerick, 23 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

July 24. **434.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of GALWAY.  
Vol. 597, p. 375.

I wonder why you have not, according to my letters, sent to Castle Mange the 20 tuns of sack and five of claret wine.

I disallow of your sending continually wine and other relief, in your pinnaces and galleys, to these Munster traitors, who are thus greatly refreshed.

Limerick, 24 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

July 26. **435.** PELHAM to the MAYOR of WATERFORD.  
Vol. 597, p. 376.

I have received your letter with the seditious libel enclosed, brought over by Ewe, and confirmed by the man of Bridgewater, that is now in that harbour. Cause him to be sent to Clonmell, and the merchant of Bridgewater with him, and there, in irons, to be delivered to the Sovereign by indenture between the sheriff of Waterford and him, to which place I will send a convoy to bring them hither.

The Queen is sending hither the Lord Graie with great forces, both to Leinster and to Munster, and more ships.

Limerick, 26 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

July 27. **436.** PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.  
Vol. 597, p. 376.

I have received two letters from you of the 25th. I am glad of the revolt of your younger son from the rebels. As for your galley, Clinton shall come to those parts and bring her hither, where she shall be well repaired.

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Touching the disposition of Rorie McShee to forsake the faction, a great part of these troubles have proceeded from the encouragement of him and the rest of his surname; but I do not deny to receive him, though I have made a vow not without some special service to receive any. If he bring me alive the author and beginner of this sedition, Doctor Sanders, it shall be a full satisfaction for his offence. "Sanders himself might deserve his own life if he would declare how this practice hath grown beyond the seas before his landing here."

As I would know by your younger son the haunts of the Earl [of Desmond], send him to me to Asketten. Commendations to your son Patrick.

Limerick, 26 July 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2¼.*

July 27. 437. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 378.

Sent by Mr. Markehame.

I have received letters declaring your determination to send hither the Lord Graie of Wilton as Deputy, and supplies of soldiers and victuals. To be disburdened of this place is the greatest happiness that could light unto me.

The rebels have been relieved by the noblemen and chieftains of this province, and with wine and munition from the port towns. I have lately laid hold upon them all, and keep yet in hand the best of them. The most obstinate and malicious is the Viscount Barrie.

I have established garrisons, cessing upon these lords and their territories 1,200 men of this country birth. Lest any of the chieftains should fail in duty, I have assigned them, in the absence of my Lord of Ormond, to the direction of the sheriff of the county of Cork (as their general), associating with him Captain Apslie, who, with his band of 50 horsemen and one band of 100 footmen, shall accompany the sheriff and observe all their doings, and execute such service as either by himself or by the advice of Sir Warham Sentleger and the commissioners in Cork shall be thought convenient for that county.

The harvest being now come, I purpose to destroy their corn, the fear whereof has made many of them to seek protections and pardons, and bred contentions between the Earl and his followers. The townsmen give relief and intelligence to the rebels. Five of my espials were hanged in one day, which I requited with death to such as promised me the rebel's head and wrought not effectually for it. But nothing has more hindered the service than the lack of a full pay to the soldiers.

The practice is general to disturb your estate, every man expecting foreign aid, whereby O'Donnell and O'Rwarke do now invade Conoughte. Turloughe [Lenagh O'Neil] bends to the borders of the Pale, and the Pale itself is in open hostility under the Viscount Batinglas, who has associated himself with the O'Birnes, O'Tooles, Cavenaughts, and O'Mors. You



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should prepare for this war with force, money, and victuals, and take the advantage of all the lands of the revolvers, and plant your own nation.

Limerick, 27 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 5¼.*

July 28. **438.** PELHAM to the LORD TREASURER of ENGLAND (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 380a.

Sent by Mr. Markehame.

I have received a letter of your own hand concerning the coming of my Lord Graie.

The garrisons both at Kilmallocke and here are now in journey.

It is strange that the muster-rolls, proportions of victual demanded, and certificates of remains are not come to your hands. The last sent by my brother Spencer shall, I hope, have better carriage than the former.

“I hear not of any grain landed in Ireland by virtue of your licence, but only one bark landed by Fenner at Waterford, to which place Bland sendeth grain that is continually sold without order or warrant from me.” I pray that all the victuals may ply to Limerick, or at least two parts thither, and one to Cork.

Limerick, 28 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

July 28. **439.** PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 382.

Sent by Mr. Markehame.

There are come to my hands, since the departure of my brother Spencer, ten of your letters. My departure towards Asketten is so sudden that I cannot answer them particularly. The cause of your going to Barne Elms has impressed here a settled grief in your friends. I leave you and my Lady to the Lord's will.

I have ordered the setting at liberty of the King of Spain's subjects at Cork, who before this time are departed for Spain. I am ready to further the Bishop of Osserie. “I take him to be a noted person in the register of Baltinglas.”

As to the unity wished between the Lord Chancellor (Gerard) and the knot of your other friends, I have written to him, and I embrace willingly his friendship, and so do the rest.

As I am to be employed in this war, notwithstanding the coming of the Lord Graie, my service shall be at her Majesty's direction. Without foreign aid this starting out in the Pale will not keep Desmond long from extreme ruin.

By our secretary, Mr. Fenton, who is placed and sworn in the office, her Majesty will be well served.

As to a discourse which you beheld in the hands of my Lord Treasurer (Burleigh), concerning the advice to coop up

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the lords in this province, which you suppose to be Mr. White's, the author of it was Sir Warham Sentleger.

The plot collected for Munster I send by this bearer.

Thanks for your most friendly dealing with me in Bellowe's matter.

If the Pope's forces come not, they will greatly disappoint the natives here; and if they come, I know very few whose weapons will not be turned into our bosoms, "amongst whom there is none that, for love and faithful duty, exceedeth the Chief Baron, Sir Lucas Dillon."

Your letter of the 12th assures me of the coming of three ships to the Admiral, who is for lack of victuals departed. "And albeit you are informed of discharge of the Spanish navy, especially for galleys and argosies, yet were the news here never so rife of their coming with 80 sail of well-appointed ships ready to make sail 14 days since. I think it strange in such a time as this that no man of reputation is employed in Spain, but that all intelligences must depend upon the report of merchants and mariners. I am glad to hear of my Lord Graie's coming, and wish that he bring with him such furniture for the war as cannot be carried in post, as men, money, and victuals, without which he shall find here a most miserable being."

"Commend to her Majesty the perfection of a warrant of certain articles which I have set down for keeping of loose kerne and rebels from their ordinary passage upon the fords of Shenen to infect both Munster and Connaught, and from distressing of her Majesty's boats and victuals, and disturbing the trade of merchandise upon the river."

Limerick, 28 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 4½.*

[July 28.] 440.

Vol. 597, p. 385.

A PLOT for MUNSTER, by LORD JUSTICE PELHAM.

"A probable Discourse, how, upon the extinguishing of this rebellion, the province of Mounster may be kept from any revolt hereafter, how it may bear the charge of 1,200 men, yield revenue to her Majesty, and in short time repay the charge of the war."\*

No province of this realm of Ireland is comparable with the province of Munster.

All the spiritual livings should be resigned into her Majesty's hands, and commissioners appointed.

Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical should be chosen to compel the people to obey and reverence their pastors, and "to shake off their most damnable custom of taking and repudiating of their wives." The Bishop of Rome is both king and priest there.

\* This title occupies a whole page, and is beautifully ornamented and coloured.

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The Parliament should escheat all the lands of the late Earl of Desmond and all other rebels.

Her Majesty's imposts of wines and customs should be renewed by Parliament, "and some defects holpen that were in the act expired, concerning the great quantities of *agua vita*, bastards and Canary wines brought into this realm."

It is to be considered what governors, leaders, and soldiers were requisite to remain continually within the province. A martial man of English birth should be appointed principal governor, and have under him two colonels. For sea causes 100 men should be at the commandment of an admiral, who shall maintain five galleys that draw little water, to defeat the galleys of the O'Mailes and O'Flarties, that bring in Scots, and to inhibit and withstand fishing of strangers.

To prevent the frequent practice of foreigners for raising of rebellions, and superstitious priests and runagate friars from taking passage in strangers' bottoms and departing into foreign countries to practise with strange princes, fortifications should be made upon the principal havens and creeks, and wards put in the same. They would also prevent the commodities which the Irish make by entertaining pirates, and, also Portingalls and Spaniards, that yearly come to fish in those harbours, bringing with them powder, calivers, sculls, targets, swords, and other munition, whereby the idle men of this realm are most plentifully replenished. Straights and necessary passages upon rivers should be fortified with bridges in needful places.

All lords and principal gentlemen should be compelled to keep no idle men but such as they will maintain in their houses with meat, drink, and wages. All saving freeholders to be disweaponed and disarmed, to follow either the plough or some science or occupation. Citizens to be restrained from bringing in weapon or munition, or selling iron where it may be converted into weapon. To execute all saltpeter men and such as make powder among the Irishry. The Irish not to fortify but by licence. Lords not to place any Irish as their constables in castles or forts, but such as will give sufficient security for their good behaviour. All men to bring up their children where they may learn the English tongue. Officers for execution of law to be maintained.

The Earl of Ormond's liberty of Tipperary and his country of Ormond to be reduced to order and restrained from the entertaining of loose men. His neighbours of Ellie and Upper Osserie to be tied to the like conditions.

Bridges to be builded and fortified at Cassan and Mallowe. Description of those places. Fortifications to be made near the fords over the Shenon:—(1) at the bridge of Athlone; (2) beneath the town of Clomnoshe; (3) at Bannaugh; (4) at Melecke. Places to be fortified upon the sea coasts to master the harbours.

An estimate must be made how many horsemen, gallowglas, and kearne are maintained in Munster. Where two Irish

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horsemen are maintained, there the party to find one English horseman; for every two galioglas one English footman; and for every three kearne one footman. There will thus be found to your Majesty 135 horsemen and 1,384 footmen.

The towns have many times exclaimed of the extreme burden of their cesse by feeding the whole army longer than they were able; for ease whereof hereafter, and to dispense for ever with the rising out to hostings and journeys, there may be rated upon them 196 footmen.

The second way to ease your Majesty of the charge is to take the benefit of all the possessions of the Earl of Desmond and the traitors; in all, 10,000 plowlands, rating but 120 English acres to every plowland. "If every plowland be set for 40s. and a fine of 10*l.* ster., or what revenue may grow without fine, by letting the plowland at 4*l.* ster., besides the service of horsemen and footmen to every general hosting for 40 days once every year, will appear unto your Majesty by view of the calendar following." The imposts of wine rise to the sum of 1,000*l.* by the year; and 1,000 tuns of Spanish wines are brought yearly into the province.

Every man manuring land of his own and converting it into grain should be licensed to vent grain into foreign parts at 4*d.* a peck for custom. 10,000 quarters would be utterly yearly.

"When the fortifications should be builded upon haven[s] and creeks, where now the Spaniards have their chief fishing, the customs now taken by the Irish (and more also) would be converted to your Majesty's use, to be levied by the officers of those forts, whereby it were likely there might grow to your Majesty the sum of 1,000*l.* *per annum.*" The timber growing near the waterside and portable rivers might be converted to making of ships.

Every freeholder will yield, to be free from cesse and all other impositions, 20s. ster. upon every plowland of 100 acres.

A mean to ease the Earl of Ormond's country.

"Like as Connaught doth now bear his own charge, a thing past all hope till trial was made and justice settled," so will Munster yield all and more than is set down in this plat.

I. "The First Table concerning the governor, officers, captains, and soldiers to be maintained in the province of Munster."

II. "The Second Table mentioneth the places of fortifications, together with the numbers to be maintained in wards, and the charge of the fortifications."

III. "The Third Table declareth the numbers of gallowglas, horsemen, and kearne retained by the lords in Munster to serve one upon another for the defence of their countries, with which they make roads and journeys, and leave their countries guarded; wherein is also inserted what numbers of horsemen and footmen the country towns may bear unto her Majesty."

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"The whole forces of the country : horsemen, 272 ; footmen, 3,460. Aro to bear : horsemen, 135 ; footmen, 1,389."

"The Earl of Desmond's forces, as he was before he entered into this action, now decreased : " horsemen, 100 ; gallowglas, 500 ; kearne, 800.

" All those gentlemen of the county of Limerick that are not in rebellion, but poor, and therefore for a while to be dispensed withal : " horsemen, 4 ; gallowglas, 0 ; kearne, 60.

"The forces of cities and towns in the province of Munster. What numbers they have to defend (2,610) ; what footmen they may keep for your Majesty (196)."

Horsemen and footmen which the lords and the towns can now make, 6,342.

Horsemen and footmen, wherewith the countries and towns are to be charged, 1,614 ; the charges of whom at the rates of 12*l.* ster. the horseman, and 8*d.* the footman, *per diem*, amounteth *per annum* unto 21,674*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* ster. And so deducting the sum of 18,561*l.* 11*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, which is the whole charge of the province, there yearly resteth to be converted as a rent to your Majesty 3,113*l.* 5*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

iv. "The Fourth Table, concerning the profit that may rise by escheated lands."

They amount to the sum of 10,000 plowlands. Fine of 10*l.* for every plowland and yearly rent of 4*l.*

v. "The Fifth and last Table concerning the escheated lands."

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 38.*

July 30. 441. PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 403a.

Sent by Mr. Markeham.

The garrisons of Asketten and Kilmallocke have returned with preys and execution of traitors. The Earl's followers would gladly forsake him, if they might be received. I do not receive any but such as come in with bloody hands, or execution of some better person than themselves. One that this day brake from them has declared the miserable estate of the Earl's followers, and that very lately he saw the people ready to kill Doctor Sanders with stones, reviling him before the Earl as the ruin of them and all Munster ; and hardly could the Earl appease them from killing of him. They are somewhat encouraged by the breaking out of the Viscount Baltinglas, the news of the Spanish fleet, and the alteration of government ; and they expect a more universal rebellion.

I doubt not but the Council at Dublin and the Earl of Ormond, having the commodity of passage from Dublin and Waterford, have informed you of all the doings in the Pale ; but I send you copies of seditious occurrences from Rome, published at Waterford by one Eve, of Devonshire, with two

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copies of the Viscount Baltinglas's letters, both to Ormond and to a merchant of Waterford, one Walshe. The Council at Dublin, in their last letters to me, expected the success of a parley between the Earl of Kildare and him on Saturday last.

The state of the victualling appears by a certificate enclosed. We hear nothing of the ships, either of the Queen's navy or of the victuallers. The Admiral is departed. No soldiers have arrived at Dublin or Cork. The money sent when my Lady Wallop came over is disbursed. Have regard that my Lord Graie find not these wants with over-great extremity at his landing.

I have even now received your letter concerning the greatness of the allowance given to the Master of the Rolls. Greater diets were given him for his discharge of the Chancellor's office.

Asketten, 30 July 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

July 30. 442.  
Vol. 597, p. 405.

EVE'S SEDITIOUS LIBEL.

Published in Waterford, and by the Mayor sent to the Lord Justice, 25 July 1580, and by his Lordship sent on 30 July to the Council.

"From Rome, the 23rd of February 1580.

"On Thursday last the ambassadors of the King Catholic and the Duke of Florence were admitted to an audience together, and at the same time the league was concluded against the Q. of E. between his Holiness and the said King and the Duke of Florence in manner and form following, viz. :—

"That his Holiness will furnish 10,000 footmen and 1,000 horsemen; the King Catholic, 15,000 footmen and 1,500 horsemen; the Duke of Florence, 8,000 footmen and 100 horsemen; to which armies shall be joined the Almains, which are already passed into Spain; they to be paid ratably by the said princes.

"That if it shall please our Lord God to give a happy voyage and success to the army, that, before any other thing else, the people may be warned in his Holiness' name to return to the Catholic Roman Church, and to live in the obedience thereof, in such manner and form as their predecessors have done before this time.

"That his Holiness, as Sovereign Lord of the island, will grant to the noblemen Catholic of the country to make election of [a] Catholic Lord of the island, who with his authority of the See Apostolic shall be declared King; provided always that he shall be always obedient and faithful to the See Apostolic, as the Catholic Kings have done until the time of their last Henry.

"That the Queen Elizabeth shall be declared a wrongful detainer and unable to hold the kingdom, for being born of unlawful marriage, and also that she is an heretic.

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“That the goods of the churches shall be returned out of the hands of those which occupy the same; and that good and wise men of the country be created bishops, and abbots, and such like, who with the example of their life and with preaching may reduce the people to the religion.

“That the King of Spain shall not pretend anything otherwise than to make league and alliance, if he will, with the King so to be chosen, to th’ end that being joined together they may take order upon the matters of the island of Flanders.

“That the Q[ueen] of S[cots] shall be set at liberty, and helped again to her own kingdom, if she had need.

“That his Holiness will treat with the French King, to th’ end that neither he nor Monsieur his brother shall help the Queen nor Flemings against Spain.

“That the bull of excommunication which Pius Quintus, of happy memory, did give out against the same Queen, shall be published in every church and Christian court.

“That the Catholic Englishmen be received into the army, and convenient pay given them according to the qualities of the persons.

“These articles were brought by the Prince of Condy to to the Q. Majesty and her Council.

“PATRICKE DOBEN, Majore.”\*

*Contemp. copy.* Pp. 2½.

July 30. 443.

Vol. 597, p. 406.

VISCOUNT BALTINGLAS to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Received from the said Earl the 27th July, and sent the 30th day from my Lord Justice to the Council in England by Mr. Markham.

I have received your letter. Whereas you hear that I assemble great companies of men together, you know I am not of such power, but whatsoever I can make it shall be to maintain truth. Injuries though I have received, yet I forget them. The highest power on earth commands us to take the sword. “Questionless it is great want of knowledge, and more of grace, to think and believe, that a woman, uncapax of all holy orders, should be the supreme governor of Christ’s Church; a thing that Christ did not grant unto his own mother. If the Queen’s pleasure be, as you allege, to minister justice, it were time to begin; for in this 20 years past of her reign we have seen more damnable doctrine maintained, more oppressing of poor subjects, under pretence of justice, within this land, than ever we read or heard (since England first received the faith) done by Christian princes. You counsel me to remain quiet, and you will be occupied in persecuting the poor members of Christ. I would you should learn and consider by what means your predecessors came up

\* Sir Patrick Doben, Mayor of Waterford.

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to be Earl of Ormond. Truly you should find that if Thomas Beckett, Bishop of Canterbury, had never suffered death in the defence of the Church, Thomas Butler, *alias* Beckett, had never been Earl of Ormond."

*Undated. Signed: James Baltinglas. Addressed. Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

July 30. 444.

Vol. 597, p. 407a.

VISCOUNT BALTINGLAS to a MERCHANT of WATERFORD.

Received by the Mayor of that city, and sent from my Lord Justice to the Council by Mr. Marckehame the 30th of July.

"Praying you to send the 40 crowns which you have in your hands unto my brother Richard, which is at Paris, lest occasion should be so ministered that I could not farther him with any more exhibition in this great while."

"Requiring you also to find the means whereby you may provide for me the greatest store of wine and powder you may, and to send it by a very trusty, good, and Catholic messenger."

Baltinglas, 18 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I mean to take this holy enterprise in hand by the authority of the Supreme Head of the Church; praying you to assist us to your power from time to time.

*Addressed:* "To my very loving friend that did send unto me my brother Richard's letter and his own at Waterward, this give.

"Vera copia, Patrick Doben, Major."

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

July 30. 445.

Vol. 597, p. 408.

PELHAM to the MAYOR OF WATERFORD.

I have received your letter, and a copy of a letter from the traitorous Viscount to Robert Walshe. His foolish enterprise is like to fall out to his ruin, by the prosecutions of the Earls of Ormond and Kildare, and other forces. Touching the messenger whom you have imprisoned, I require you to cause him to be executed presently and hanged in chains. The man of Fiderte shall be brought to me hither, to be farther examined.

Asketten, 30 July 1580. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I pray you preserve carefully the original letter.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

July 30. 446.

Vol. 597, p. 409.

PELHAM to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (GERRARD.)

I have received your letters of the 21st and 28th, "and am glad to hear that you are well arrived, and more\* happily escaped

\* Sic.



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from the danger that you fell in at your landing; which accident, being compared with the rest of the Viscount of Balinglas' doings, doth argue that both he and his followers be the most foolish traitors that ever I heard of, for out of such pledges he might have made his own peace as he had listed."

I long to hear the success of the parley between my Lord of Kildare and the Viscount. My Lord cannot long want the assistance of English soldiers and the presence of my Lord Graic, now every day expected.

I have sent you your licence. I see your determination to return before winter. We shall either pass at one instant or meet there about one time. We are here daily spoiling, and diminishing the numbers of the rebels.

I will cause enquiry to be made for two of your servants that committed a robbery upon you. Hockenull will inform me under whom they serve.

The Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham persuade an union and consonancy between you and me. In Leinster there has not been one string out of tune. Commendations to the Archbishop of Dublin and my Lord of Kildare.

Asketten, 30 July 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

July 30. **447.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to DONOUGH O'BRIAN.

Vol. 597, p. 410a.

Having received your letter of the 27th with the present\* you sent me, I heartily thank you for it. We again require you to come to us forthwith.

Asketten, 30 July 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

July 30. **448.** PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.

Vol. 597, p. 411.

Will your son Patrick to repair hither, and send with him your younger son lately come from the traitors. I have sent this boat to conduct them. Send also the parties who were owners of the prey taken by the garrison of this place.

As I purpose presently to march into those parts, I require you within one hour's warning to be prepared for service, and to bring with you the 200 beefs I left with you.

Asketten, 30 July 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 1. **449.** A PROTECTION to DAVID OGE and his BROTHER.

Vol. 597, p. 411a.

"Upon certain conditions secretly agreed upon by David Oge FitzLoughe, we are contented under our word and hand to give assurance to the said David and his brother

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\* In the margin, "For the heads he sent."

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William Oge Horloughe, and their followers, so far forth as they do perform and do upon th' enemy the service which in our presence he, the said David, hath promised; and upon the finishing of the said service according to the meaning of the conditions, he to have, for him and his, farther protection, pardon, and maintenance of living, according to the quality and merit of his said service."

Asketten, 1 August 1580. *Signed by the Lord Justice.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Aug. 5. 450. PELHAM to SIR GEORGE BOURCHER and the rest of the  
Vol. 597, p. 411a. CAPTAINS at KILMALLOKE.

"Being informed of the service lately done upon the traitor John of Desmond and of his hard escape, and how you have apprehended Sanders his man and a friar, I do accept it in most thankful part."

You, Sir George Bourcher, are not to repair to this place, as the traitors intend to pass to Harlow.\* On Monday next, at night, meet me at Gortentobery with your companies. I shall take Clancune in my way, and will beat and search all the woods.

Send the friar and the other companion whom you have taken to Limerick, to the Council there.

Asketten, 5 August 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1¼.*

Aug. 11. 451. PELHAM to LORD FITZMORRIS.  
Vol. 597, p. 412a.

It agrees not with your promise to be so slow in doing service. You have had in your country the traitor Earl, his wife, his brother, and Sanders, whom you might have apprehended if you had listed. For sundry accusations and ill arguments brought against your two sons I detain them until I may see some service done by you in delivering up some of the principal conspirators above named, dead or on live. Apprehend forthwith David Oge FitzDavid Harbert and all his goods and chattel[s], and send him to me; and seize all goods and chattel[s] belonging to traitors. Send by this bearer the galley I have formerly written to you for.

Asketten, 11 August 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Aug. 12. 452. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the QUEEN.  
Vol. 597, p. 413.

Sent by Ferreie, the Pursuivant.

I have received your letters by Ferraie, your pursuivant, together with your direction in Mr. Secretary's letter in cipher.

"The traitor Sir James of Desmond is mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and the most part of his forces slain and over-

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\* "Arlowe woods" in the margin.

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thrown, the 4th of this month, by Sir Cormoke McTeige, sheriff of your county of Cork."

"Some other encounters have been since the arrival of your pursuivant, wherein the rebels have sustained loss by your garrison of Kilmallocke; in one of which Doctor Sanders and John of Desmond did make a strange escape, being in the night above an hour in their company preserved in the dark by speaking English, and crying upon the English to execute the Irish. Sanders' man (born in Chester) and an Irish friar, standard bearer (as he was termed) unto James FitzMorris, were apprehended, whereof the first slain by the fury of the soldiers, and the other reserved to farther examination.

"Touching my manner of prosecuting, it is thus: I give the rebels no breath to relieve themselves, but by one of your garrisons or other they be continually hunted. I keep them from their harvest, and have taken great preys of cattle from them, by which it seemeth the poor people that lived only upon labour, and fed by their milch cows, are so distressed, as they follow their goods and offer themselves with their wives and children rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine that now in extremity beginneth to pinch them. And the calamity of these things have made a division between the Earl and John of Desmond, John and Sanders seeking for relief to fall into the company and fellowship of the Viscount Baltinglas; and the Earl, without rest anywhere, flieth from place to place, and maketh mediation for peace by the Countess, who yesterday I licensed to have speech with me here, whose abundance of tears betrayed sufficiently the miserable estate both of herself, her husband, and their followers, whereof I write more in cipher to Mr. Secretary."

Asketten, 12 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

Aug. 12. 453. PELHAM to SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 597, p. 414a.

In cipher. Sent by Farraie, the Pursuivant.

I had anticipated her Majesty's pleasure concerning the nobility of Munster. "For the Earl of Clancartie, so far forth as I may have in my power his wife, the Earl of Desmond's sister, and his only son, I think may with safety return him into his country, where, being thus tied, he may do acceptable service."

From the detaining of these lords many good effects have ensued. The wars of Munster are reduced to a declining state; the traitors suffering privation of many succours which they before enjoyed.

"By this, Sir Cormoke McTeige, being enlarged upon pledges, and having promised to do service, hath haply imblooded his hands upon Sir James of Desmond, whom we have in hand, and the chiefest flowers of his followers slain. John, likewise, and Sanders are so terrified to tarry in Munster, as they have

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adventured to pass for their refuge to Baltinglas, yet were they encountered by ours, from whom they made a strange escape."

The Countess of Desmond came in yesterday, and sues to have her husband taken to submission.

Asketten, 12 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 14. **454.** PELHAM to my LORD TREASURER of ENGLAND (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 597, p. 416.

The service done by Sir Cormoeke McTeige upon the rebel Sir James of Desmond was this, that he slew 15 principal horsemen of his company, took himself prisoner, and put to the sword 120 kearne and serviceable people. In the conflicts between the garrison of Kilmallocke and the rebels Mr. Norris very valiantly behaved himself.

Foresee a winter's provision for very strong garrisons to remain here this winter, for whom I will provide beef and herrings. I perceive by Mr. Waterhouse you have sent a plentiful provision of wheat and meal for Limerick, and hops enough for the whole garrison all winter. Cork should be also stored, and the proportion last demanded sent part thither and part hither. Upon the conference between the Lord Graie and me, you shall understand the numbers that shall be employed here for this winter.

Asketten, 14 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 14. **455.** The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 597, p. 417a.

This gentleman, John Thomas, has delivered his charge of wheat at Limerick in good condition. He deserves further commendation for his good guiding of the rest of the ships appointed to come in consort with him. I recommend him as meet to be trusted in services of more importance.

Asketten, 14 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 15. **456.** PELHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 418.

Concerning the 100*l.* given to you, which the two Justices interpret to be prejudicial to them, the warrant declares that over and above the fee of 100*l.* due to the Chief Justice, this reward of 100*l.* extra is appointed to him that should be of English birth. I did not mean to abridge the allowance of the Justices, but I have made the warrant to Mr. Treasurer more plain. Advertise in cipher what rebels remain in those parts, and where their haunt is.

If you have a pledge upon Sir Owen McCartie, I allow of his departure home. Proceed to the arraignment of Sir

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James of Desmond, but forbear the execution until you hear more from me.

Asketten, 15 August 1580. *Signed.*

Concerning Sir John of Desmond's request to have conference with you, I authorize you thereto. If he will deliver his brother the Earl, Doctor Sanders, and the Seneschal [of Imokilly], you may grant him life. Have great regard lest this device be but a practice to make you a pledge to counterpoise Sir James. If Sir John, upon assurance of his life only, will not be drawn to deliver the foresaid parties, then may you grant him pardon of life, lands, and goods. As the Seneschal is in those parts, you may either draw towards Sir John with your forces to parley with him, or else bend your course into these parts.

"Let the Countess of Clancare be carefully looked unto, and demand of her for the young lady, the Earl of Desmond's daughter, which should have been brought thither with her."

15 August 1580.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Aug. 16. 457. PELHAM TO SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 419.

As the intelligence of foreign preparation continues, you must stay till you see the month fully expired, according to her Majesty's appointment. Upon this coast "there is commonly a Michaelmas summer seen every year." As for the revictualling of O'Sullivan's castle and the ordnance conveyed away by his wife, I will deal with Sir Owen.

My espials about the Earl of Desmond advertise me that, finding his followers daily revolt, he has practised to be transported by you into England. He is driven to that misery, as he would refuse no condition that might give him hope of life. His wife was here two days since. I should understand from you if any such matter were in speech.

As I am going shortly into Kerry, send me the names of those to whom you have granted protections. By your plying to the Vintrie we are like enough to visit one another before your departure.

Asketten, 15 August 1580.

This bearer, Mr. Merideth, has declared to me how far you had dealt in that matter of transporting the Earl of Desmond. Continue the same course that you have begun. I think it a very good service to receive him in any sort of simple submission. If he will humble himself to her Majesty, you may transport him and her and as many of their followers as they will carry with them. "You may seem to promise him all your best help and assistance, by yourself and your friends, that he shall have favourable hearing in England against any man in Ireland; wherein, if you think good, both I and Sir Nicholas Malbie may be by name comprehended. Only this I must let you know, that I cannot allow that any agents be sent from him unless he go himself, neither that his Lady pass

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but in his company, for thus (upon a motion made by me unto her Majesty) Mr. Secretary Walsingham writeth.\*

“Yesterday, in the presence of the most of his people, the Earl received a letter from the Viscount of Baltinglas, desiring him to join with him in the cause which he had begun for the Catholic Faith, but the most of his people came and cried out with one voice they were starved and undone, and therefore would forsake him in it, as not able to endure the war any longer.”

Asketten, 16 August 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

Aug. 16. 458. WARRANT for MORGAN COLMAN, Secretary to the Lord Justice.†

Vol. 597, p. 421.

To have the wardships of the sons of Nicholas Herbert, of the county of Kildare, and — Powre, of the county of Waterford, deceased, for his services since the beginning of these wars in Munster.

Asketten, 16 August 1580.  
*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 16. 459. PELHAM to the LORD FITZMORRIS.

Vol. 597, p. 421a.

You deny the charge of having had intercourse of the rebels in your country. I can avouch proofs and testimonies. The law makes it all one fault to be an abettor or reliever of traitors, and to be in actual rebellion. “Little doth it help you, your general excuse that between the Garraudins and your ancestors hath been a perpetual enmity and hatred;” for I know you have covered the Desmonds and their followers with many commodities; yet you confess you have received your rising and advancement from the Crown.

Your request to have returned home one of your two sons, the better to do service upon the enemy, might have been granted, if you had but offered to do some action upon the traitors worthy the redeeming of your son.

Where Sir James FitzGarrett of the Dessics lies prisoner not far from you, work his liberty either by practice or strong hand. The Earl, the Seneschal, and others of that combi-

\* A paragraph in one of Walsingham's letters is here quoted.

† Morgan Colman was the compiler of Pelham's letterbook. On its titlepage, which is elaborately ornamented in ink and colours, he has inscribed the following verses:—

“Within this book inserted is the travels of Belona's knight,  
Which, as compel'd by duty bound, I here produce in open sight.  
Let not, therefore, the staggering hand nor ragged pen, which wrote the same,  
Work his dislike that it compris'd, nor blemish worthy Pelham's fame.  
“*Morganus Colmanus.*”

The book contains 455 leaves, and is most beautifully and carefully written throughout. It came into Carew's possession in 1617.

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nation are now drawing to the parts of Kerrie and your frontiers. If you do not intercept them, you make open the way to pull upon yourself and yours a more heavy indignation than you will be able to bear. After I have used the service of your galley for a time, I will see her returned to you better repaired and appointed than when I received her.

Asketten, 16 August 1580.

*Signed at the beginning.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Aug. 17. 460. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 68.

I am sorry for your late sickness. I have made a journey against O'Donnell and O'Wroureke. O'Donnell dissolving his forces, I turned her Majesty's forces to Letrym, O'Wroureke's castle, which he had broken. I reedified and left a strong ward in it. O'Wroureke with his force and Scots came to the skirts of the camp, in a wood and strong fastness hard by it. Taking with me my horsemen, being about 140, and 50 loose shot and 500 kerne, I set upon them. Ulicke Burke, son to the Earl of Clanryeard, did slay 12 or 13 Scots, wounded 20 or 30, and put the rest to flight. I have heard no more of them since. There were 1,200 rebels, Scots and galloglasses. I had of all my force, English and Irish, 1,000 able men, whereof 200 English footmen and 60 horsemen. The Lord Chancellor and Council having commanded me to repair to them with the English bands, to make head against Balltinglasse and his confederates, I hastened to Dublin.

"Out of Munster I am sure your Honour hath heard of James of Desmond's apprehension, since which time he is dead of his wounds. About the same instant Mr. Thomas Norrys and Captain Mackworth had another encounter with the rebels, where Mr. Norrys most valiantly behaved himself, and with his own hands did kill one John Browne, a wise fellow, and the only director of Desmond. His death is more available to the service than James's. The rebels there do decline much; and truly, by the great travail of Sir William Pelham: he is a painful gentleman.

"For Ulster, Tyrlaghe Lenaghe hath great forces, and still standeth upon doubtful terms, and upon observing of opportunity, which he will not lose. He hath sent very proud requests to my L. Deputy, to which (considering the time) my L. Deputy and Council have devised plausible answer, and have well temporized with him, hoping to stop his fury for the time." The Lord Deputy is well liked.

Here is a great bruit of 2,000 Scots landed in Clondeboy.

"Tyrlaghe Lenaghe's marriage with the Scot is cause of all this, and if her Majesty do not provide against her devices, this Scottish woman will make a new Scotland of Ulster. She hath already planted a good foundation, for she in Tyrone, her daughter in Tyreconnell (being O'Donnell's wife),

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and Sorleboy in Clondeboy, do carry all the way in the North, and do seek to creep into Connaught, but I will stay them from that." Connaught is the best reformed province this day.

O'Wroucke was wrought by some of the English Pale to do as he doth. Your Honour shall shortly know the practisers. The expectation of foreign forces makes them all stand upon their tip-toes.

Dublin, 17 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 4. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Aug. 21. **461.** PELHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 423.

I received your letter of the 16th, desiring my advice concerning the apprehension of the Knight of Kerrie and others, which may be done aboard your ships. "Because I find that nothing but villainy is pretended both by the Earl and the Countess, and that all their followers seek plausibly to gather in their harvest for the next winter's food, whereby to detract the war, I heartily pray you to lay hands upon so many of them as you can."

"For the vessel arrived at Valentia with wine and salt from Andolosia, sundry reasons induce me to forbid her unloading in those parts; and therefore do pray that she with her lading and merchant may speedily ply to Limerick."

I dispatched your servant away on Monday last.

Asketten, 21 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 23. **462.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to LORD DEPUTY GREY.

Vol. 597, p. 423a.

Your letter assures me of your goodwill. Mr. Souche is a true friend to us both. You are my assured good lord and captain.

My purpose is presently to come thither and to deliver the sword. In the course that you intend for a joint commission for Munster, the competitors are very unequal. "In such an unequal draught I cannot willingly be yoked, but will rather serve as an inferior person." I am by her Majesty assigned another manner of proceeding under you.

Asketten, 23 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 23. **463.** The LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL in MUNSTER to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

Vol. 597, p. 424a.

We have received your letters. We shall presently repair thither. In the absence of me, the Lord Justice, absolute authority rests in the Earl of Ormond, as General, to prosecute the war, to whom we have written; but lest he might be otherwise impeded, we have authorized Sir George Bourcher to be Colonel in our absence.

Asketten, 23 August 1580.

*Signed:* William Pelham, H. Wallopp, Lu. Dillon, Ed. Waterhous, G. Fenton. *Contemp. copy. P. 1.*



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Aug. 23. 464.

PELIHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 425.

By your letters of the 17th "I find how far you were abused by prevention of the mayor and recorder of Cork touching the first advertisement of the accident of Sir James of Desmond—a manner of dealing which I cannot but reprehend in them." I am glad you are in such towardness to advance with your forces, which were appointed to be levied upon those parts, notwithstanding unwillingness in some of the better sort.

I pray you once again to possess yourselves of the traitor James,\* and to proceed to his arraignment and condemnation; which done, you shall have farther direction for his execution. I looked ere this to have had some success of your parley with John.†

I am now going towards Dublin to present the sword to the Lord Graie, who is arrived as Lord Deputy, and have substituted in my place Sir George Bourcher.

"I like well of the securities that the Countess of Clancartie hath put in for her true imprisonment; and do likewise pray you to be very jealous of her safe keeping, and to sound out by all the ways you can her drifts and practices, of which you seem by your letter to stand suspicious. I mean now to send her husband into his country, authorized and instructed to do service upon the O'Sullivan Mores and others."

Observe what intelligence Davie Barrie has with the traitors. His father‡ is like to answer to all faults before he finds liberty; against whom the depositions you have sent me now are very material. Cause the four field pieces with their carriages to be embarked there, and by indenture to be delivered at the Tower of London.

Asketten, 23 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 23. 465.

PELIHAM to SIR WILLIAM WINTER.

Vol. 597, p. 426a.

I have received letters from my Lord Graie and the Council there, with one from her Majesty appointing me to deliver up the sword to the said Lord Graie as Lord Deputy. By this occasion I am driven to alter my determination to visit the parts of Kerrie, or in other sort to draw near to the sea coasts. I have substituted in my place Sir George Bourcher, to remain at Asketten as Colonel of the army in Munster, with power (saving in the county of Cork) to prosecute the wars. In my last journey I took a prey of 700 or 800 cattle.

Asketten, 23 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1½.*

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\* Sir James of Desmond.

† Sir John of Desmond.

‡ Viscount Barry.

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Aug. 25. **466.** PELHAM to SIR CORMOKE McTEIGE.

Vol. 597, p. 427a.

I find by your letter of the 15th how you stand threatened with revenge for the good service you have done upon the rebels. You shall not want assistance against them. I have written to the Commissioners at Cork to appoint some other place for the cesse of Erryvine McSwin's gallowglas, and to inake Kenelea and Barratts' country contributoryes with yours to the charges of such gallowglas and other forces as you are driven to keep. I have not omitted to signify to her Majesty and the Council the true merit and importance of your service. Overthrow not the honour and recompense intended both to you and to your brother Donnell. Once again I pray you to deliver over to Sir Warham Sentleger the body of Sir James, whom you have in your custody.

Limerick, 25 August 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*Aug. 25. **467.** SIR JAMES OF DESMOND.

Vol. 597, p. 428a.

Concordatum agreed upon by the Lord Justice and Council for his trial and execution by the Commissioners at Cork.

Limerick, 25 August 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy. P. 1.*Aug. 26. **468.** PELHAM to the COMMISSIONERS at CORK.

Vol. 597, p. 429.

"We are perfectly persuaded that Sir Cormocke hath or will presently deliver the body of Sir James of Desmond, traitor." We require you, upon his delivery, to proceed to his examination, indictment, and execution.

Limerick, 26 August 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy. P. 1.*Aug. 26. **469.** LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to DAVIE BARRY.

Vol. 597, p. 429a.

We are glad to find, by your letters of the 24th, your readiness to reform the errors and faults of your youth.

Touching your service done upon the traitors whose heads were sent to Cork, we understand no less long since from Sir Warham Sentleger, for which we commend you.

As for your petition to have a renovation of your protection, for that we are now to repair to Dublin to the Lord Deputy, we have given warrant to Sir Warham Sentleger to deal with you and others in those parts.

Limerick, 26 August 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy P. 1¼.*Aug. 26. **470.** PELHAM to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

Vol. 597, p. 430a.

Davie Barrie sues to have his protection prolonged. I have sent him to you, and authorize you to enlarge his protection for a reasonable time.

Limerick, 26 August 1580. *Signed.**Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

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Aug. 26. 471. The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 597, p. 430a.

Notwithstanding any letter I have written at the request of Davie Barrie, lay hands upon him and his brother William, and keep them safe, unless good sureties may be had for them.

Limerick, 26 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. ½.*

Aug. 28. 472. SIR GEORGE BOURCHER.

Vol. 597, p. 431.

"A Direction delivered unto Sir George Bourcher, Knight, Colonel of the Forces in Munster, by the Lord Justice."

(1.) That himself and his companies in the town of Kilmallocke shall march upon Tuesday next towards Glanchune, and from thence over the mountain into Kerrie, towards the island. Before his forces be passed over Sleulougher, he shall cause his horsemen to break foray into the said island, where not finding the Earl, neither his forces nor Cerreatts,\* he shall from thence hold on the way to Castle Mange. Being arrived there, you shall "either enter into Desmond in the Earl of Clancar's company, there to fall upon the McSwins and O'Sullivan Mores; or else, delivering the said Earl into his country (who hath instructions what do do), you shall take your course back again, and shall follow and pursue the Earl of Desmond."

(2.) The garrison of Asketten, under Captain Cace, shall march the same day towards the Glanns; thence to pass over the mountain to Tralighe, and to break foray in like sort; and from Tralighe to draw to Castle Mange. The Baron of Lixenawe is also directed to be there with his forces.

(3.) If the Earl of Desmond with his forces shall return, before your march, into any the parts on this side the mountain, then shall you, the Colonel, prosecute him one way, and Captain Cace shall beat the woods another way; and write to the Lord FitzMorris to trap either the Earl or his cattle in their passing over the mountain.

Leave some forces in Kerrie, if necessary.

Limerick, 28 August 1580.

*Signed by Pelham both at the beginning and the end.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2½.*

Aug. 28. 473. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 597, p. 432a.

As I have found upon all occasions a constant and joint readiness in the mayor, brethren, and commonalty of this city, I recommend their suits for the body of the corporation.

Limerick, 28 August 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

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\* Sic.

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Aug. 28. 474.

MUNSTER.

Vol. 597, p. 433.

“The Estate wherein the Province of Munster was left by Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, at his departure from thence to surrender the sword at Dublin the 28 August, M.D.LXXX.”\*

It was by the Lord Justice considered that there was no way to take aid and help from the rebels, but only to lay hands upon the Lords, and to restrain them of their liberty till the rebellion were suppressed. The Earl of Ormond's consent being obtained, they were commanded to attend the Governor to Limerick, and there charged with their faults and restrained of their liberties, according to the Act thereof made, hereto annexed. 1,200 galloglas were cessed and rated upon them, and captains appointed; which captains were chosen of the chiefs of the McSwines.

And whereas Sir Cormoke McTeige, sheriff of the county of Cork, had made humble submission, confessing his negligence, he was dismissed upon his oath, and authority given him for commanding the forces of that county, with the assistance of Captain Apsley with 50 horses and Captain Dering with 100 footmen; wherewith being dispatched, the service immediately ensued of the taking of Sir James of Desmond, now lately indicted, arraigned, and condemned at Cork.

As the Lord Barrie stood obstinately in his undutiful arrogance, and was nevertheless accused of a number of misdemeanours, a collection of his offences was made, and he was committed by the Lord Justice to the castle of Dublin, before the delivery of the sword to the Lord Graie, Lord Deputy.

The inhabitants of Munster which did adhere to the rebels made means diversely to be received to grace. It was thought meet they should be received (upon pledges) into protection, wherein was concluded that they should pay fines, and take their lands of her Majesty at such rates as should seem good to her Majesty. By these means the Earl was left without aid, and driven to very hard adventure by journeys made upon him; “seeking some whiles to Sir William Winter, sometimes determining to submit himself in England, till the news of the alteration of government made him in hope to be received by the Lord Deputy, as appeareth by his dealing with Mr. Traunt, of Dingle, employed by Sir William Winter in that behalf; in which extremity he was by his whole followers forsaken, saving by the Seneschal of Imokellie and 80 swords with him, and 80 galloglas hired of the McSwines of Carberie, which vowed also to forsake him as soon as their time of bonnaught was expired.”

For that the Earl of Clancartie showed forth a protection from the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Justice procured by per-

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\* This title occupies a whole page. It is coloured and ornamented.

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suasion a voluntary stay in the said Earl, and that he should put the Countess his wife pledge in the city of Cork into the hands of the Commissioners, and also that the Baron of Valentia, his only son, should be sent to Dublin. Order was taken with Sir George Bourcher, as well for the restoring of the said Earl to his country, as also for the procuring of obedience to him from O'Sullivan More, then at the devotion of Desmond; and the Earl with instructions hereto annexed was dispatched from Limerick to his country.

Whereas the Lord FitzMorris, Baron of Lixenawe, had often received and coloured the goods of the traitors, and his younger son [Edmond] had remained almost a year with the traitors, the said Edmond and his brother Patrick were surprised. Patrick was committed to the Mayor of Limerick; the other to James Brinckelowe, constable of the castle.

Sir Owen O'Sullivan delivered the castle of Beare Haven, where the strangers did determine to descend, to Sir William Winter. It remains yet in the hands of Mr. James Fenton. But because he was a dangerous man, and had a priest who was a principal conspirator, he was left prisoner in the castle of Limerick.

As the evil order of Sir Owen McCartie's country proceeded rather from Donnell Pipo, his kinsman, than from him, Sir Owen was delivered to Sir Warham Sentleger, and enlarged on sending pledges to Cork. It was ordered that the said Donnell, his tanist in Carberrie, should remain prisoner in the castle of Limerick, for that certain Spaniards, landing besides Beare Haven in July last, and taking away forcibly some inhabitants of the country to give them intelligence, did inquire specially for him; and he is half brother to the Countess of Desmond.

McDonnoughe (who married a sister of the Countess of Desmond) refused to deliver the Earl's daughter, and had maintained one of the most notable followers of the Earl's. He declared himself unable to put in the pledges demanded of him. He had also coloured the traitors' goods at a great prey made by the Provost Marshal. It was ordered that he should remain prisoner in the castle of Limerick.

The Lords being thus ordered, Sir Warham Sentleger was returned to the city of Cork for the ordering of the new erected bands of gallowglas. His instructions are hereto annexed.

"In the meantime John of Desmond, having encountered with the garrison of Kilmallocke in the night, where both Saunders and he very hardly escaped, and being grown hateful unto his brother's followers, in respect that he was compted author of their misery (his brother James being also prisoner), and finding himself so prosecuted, and so utterly without ability to defend himself, as not able longer to live in Munster, and followed now but only with four horsemen and a few kerne, conferred with the old conspirator Piers Grace to fly into Leinster, there to unite himself to the new sprung rebels

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in the mountains ; which Piers undertook to guide him. And so they departed from Arlowe through Tiporarie, Monely, and Osserie (as is supposed) into Lexe ; and there joining themselves with the O'Mores, fell soon after in consort with Balinglas and the O'Birnes, accompanied with Piers Grace, four horsemen, Doctor Sanders, one shot, and 24 kerne."

A strong garrison was intended to have been sent to the house of Lixnawe, to take from the fugitive Earl all relief in Kerrie, but the Lord Justice, being four days' march upon that journey, was advertised of the arrival of the Lord Graie, and repaired to Dublin, appointing a colonel or governor in Munster. Letters were written to the Earl of Ormond, the tenor of which ensue. Sir George Bouber was appointed Colonel, and his instructions do appear hereafter.

"As th' examination of Friar James O'Hay, a friar of Youghall, and one that came out of Spain, standard bearer to James FitzMorris, and lately taken in the skirmish near Kihnalloke, is very material, it is thought good to be hereunder added, because thereby may sufficiently appear the traitorous intent of the Earl of Desmond from the beginning, as well for sending for James FitzMorris into Spain by a friar of Asketten, as also by his intelligence with James from time to time, and accepting at his hands a basin and ewer of silver and a chain of gold, the first night that the Earl came before Smirwicke at James his arrival ; which, amongst other things, argueth how worthily the Earl was afterward proclaimed."

*Here follows a list of* "The forces of the Lords [in Munster] imposed upon every of their several countries and territories;" *and of the* "Garrisons and wards in Munster."

The whole number of the forces left by the Lord Justice in Munster is 3,215 men.

The Lord Justice "did not omit to provide for the other parts of the realm ; especially for Ulster and Connaught: Ulster—by entertaining the Baron of Dungannon not only to keep the Pale from violence, but to prevent such hurts as might be offered either by Turloughe, by McMahon, or by the O'Neills of the Fins, wherein Sir Edward More was a very good instrument ; Conaught—by causing John and Ulicke Burke to be put upon sureties and pledges when they were ready to revolt, which apprehension of them was executed by Sir Nicholas Malbie without touch of his word or protection ; and secondly, by sending to Sir Nicholas two bands of footmen to give him aid against O'Rworke, that had newly revolted in those parts."

Till the arrival of the Lord Deputy, Leinster was committed to the Earl of Kildare. The Lord Justice and Council leave their services to the good acceptation of her Majesty.

Limerick, 28 August 1580.

*Signed at the beginning:* William Pelham ; *at the end:* H. Wallopp, Lu. Dillon, Ed. Waterhous, G. Fenton.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 15.*

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II. "An Act agreed upon by the Lord Justice and Council assembled at Limerick, concerning such noblemen as appeared before them the 8th of July 1580."

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Pp. 3.*

III. "The Form of the Protection appointed by the Lord Justice to be generally observed."

*Pp. 2.*

IV. SIR WILLIAM WINTER [to PELHAM].

Dated 24 August 1580.

"It was informed me by James Traunt, of the Dingle, that there was seeret speeches in the Earl of Desmond's camp, that he meant to come to me to submit himself, and to require me to bear him to England to the Queen." I showed Traunte the danger the Earl was in, and that his best course should be to submit himself to the Queen. He craved my licence to go to the Earl, who was then at Tralie, which I granted, forbidding him that in no way he should say his going or dealing was by any order from me. Yesterday he returned, and said the Earl declared that he thought he should have better dealing with Lord Graie than with you; as though he knew that the Lord Graie had some special order from the Queento deal favorably with him; and that he intended to submit himself to his Lordship. He remembered the hard keeping he had in England at his last being there, and doubted that it would be worse. His forces are only 120 gallowglas, who did marvelously urge him for their pay due unto them for one quarter of a year. The rest that follow the Earl are poor wretches, that having been spoiled with the war, do follow the camp to get relief. The Seneschal is with the Earl, who gave out that he might have his protection when he listed.

*Signed. P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .*

V. INSTRUCTIONS for the EARL OF CLANCARE.

Dated at Limerick, 27th August 1580.

That on his return into his country he shall put in readiness the forces he is appointed to levy.

That chiefly he lay to do service upon the Earl of Desmond, John [of Desmond], Sanders, the Seneschal, or any of the principal of that combinacion. He is to proceed by the direction of Sir George Boucher.

That if those of the McSwins who now follow the traitors do not come in, then the said Earl is to prosecute them together with the O'Sullivan Mores. That he fail not to apprehend the lady, daughter to the Earl of Desmond.

That he be careful to revictual Castle Mange, the Castle of Beare Haven, or any other ward, and defend them with his fores.

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That it shall be lawful for him to protect any of his own country, according to a form now delivered to him;\* provided that he certify both the names of the protects, and the pledges and sureties put in for the same.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning and end.*  
*Pp. 2.*

VI. EDMOND FITZMORRIS and JAMES OGE FITZPIERS to the LORD JUSTICE.

“Where Edmond FitzMorris, son to McMorris, is with the Earl of Desmond since the beginning of this motion and rebellion, have entered into the same with his father and elder brother, Patrick FitzMorris, and, as he tells and complains, is ever sithens kept in the said rebellion by the procurement of his father, McMorris;” now, lest the same should grow to farther mischief, he doth crave and beseech her Majesty’s protection, that he may enter into your Honour’s service and take some office in hand. Farther, James Oge FitzPiers doth crave protection, that he may enter into the like service with the said Edmond, of which you shall not mislike. They also beseech your letters “to save and keep what living soever they had, and maintain it in their hands against all power. There are principally of their company for whom they will have protection whose names shall be hereunder subscribed; for their servants they will make a book.”

From Slyffeknagrake, 9 June 1580.

*Signed:* Edmond FitzMorris, James Oge FitzPiers. — Edmond FitzPiers FitzJames, Ric. FitzJames FitzPiers, Garrot FitzJames of the same, James FitzThomas of the same.

*P. 1.*

VII. COMMISSION to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

We give you full power and authority to execute the following instructions, and to do all other things within the county of Cork for the furtherance of her Majesty’s service.

Asketten, 1 August 1580.

*P. 1.*

VIII. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR WARHAM SENTLEGER.

To protect all traitors for 40 days (excepting the Earl and all others that were at the murdering of Davells and Carter), and practise with them for doing of service against the rebels. To execute the martial law against any offenders, except such as be freeholders or worth in goods 10*l.* To apprehend offenders. To promise pardon of life and living to any such as will do any great service. To use torture. To cut down and gather in corn and grain upon the traitors’ lands, or to burn and destroy the same.

\* See No. III.

† Sic. Mistake for *having*?



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If any freeholder of the county of Cork refuse such service as the Commissioners at Cork assign them to do, or shall not contribute to such charges as have been set down, the said Commissioners shall direct her Majesty's forces to do service upon them, and to distrain their goods and apprehend their bodies.

*Signed by Pelham at the beginning and end.*

*Pp. 2.*

IX. THE LORD JUSTICE and COUNCIL to the EARL OF ORMOND.

We have received letters from the Lord Deputy and Council at Dublin to have sent thither the Queen's sword by me, the Treasurer (Wallop), but we think it necessary that I, the Lord Justice, should repair thither in person, and leave the prosecution of the war principally to you, according to your commission. By these two last journeys the rebels are so weakened, as the most of them have already submitted themselves, and the rest made earnest suit to be received upon sufficient pledges,—the Seneschal, of all the freeholders, only excepted. We have authorized Sir George Bourcher to be Colonel of the forces.

The Earl of Clancare returns to his country. I have written to the Commissioners at Cork to take into their hands the body of Sir James of Desmond.

Limerick, 25 August 1580.

*Signed :* William Pelham, H. Wallopp, Lu. Dillon, Ed. Waterhous, Ge. Fenton.

*P. 1½.*

X. COMMISSION for SIR GEORGE BOURCHER.

To be Colonel and Governor under the Earl of Ormond of all her Majesty's forces in Munster.

Under the Privy Signet at Limerick, 27 August 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*P. 1¾.*

XI. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR GEORGE BOURCHER.

Repair into Kerrie, and prey, burn, spoil, and destroy all that you may of the traitors' goods, cattle, and corn.

Advertise the Lord General of the state of the province.

You may parley with the traitors, and protect such of them as you think good for 40 days, except the Earl, Sir John, Doctor Sanders, and the Seneschal.

“As you shall be driven to maintain a table for your own diet and for such as shall resort unto you, you shall have allowance of the sum of 20s. ster. *per diem* to bear the charge thereof.”

*Various other directions.*

Limerick, 27 August 1580.

*Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.*

*Pp. 3.*

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## XII. The EXAMINATION of JAMES O'HAIE, Friar.

Taken before Sir Lucas Dillon and Edward Waterhowse,  
17 August 1580.

(1.) The cause of his flying over to Spain was his habit.

(2.) "Touching the working of James FitzMorris in France or at Rome, he knoweth nothing, but that he departed out of this land into France, and thence to Rome, and from Rome he thinketh he came into Spain, and from thence went again into France to visit his wife. And in the time of his being in France, Stuckelie, with 700 Italian soldiers, came to Lisbõa, and thence went with the King of Portugal into Barbary." Stuckelie's intent was to come into Ireland, but he changed that pretence because the King of Portugal had promised him aid. "And there came one John Fleminge in company with Stuckelie from Rome, who left Stuckelie and afterwards went into France to James FitzMorris, and thence returned to Bilboa in company of the said James, his wife, his son, and his two daughters; and after their landing at Bilboa, James FitzMorris, John Fleminge, and Doctor Allen went together to the Court (then at Madrill), where he remained 14 or 15 weeks, and returned without speaking with the King. He left his wife at Vidonia (the sole city in Bisquay), five leagues from Bilboa; and she was lodged in the house of Juan Sarnosa, being so bare that she had not money to pay for her necessary provisions till such time as her husband sent her 1,000 ducats from the Court. The said James returned from the Court; Doctor Sanders came in company with him. And coming thither they understood of the death of the King of Portugal. At Lisbõa, Doctor Sanders (unknown to the King), with such money as he had of the Pope's, bought a ship and hired certain soldiers, which the King understanding, was therewith displeased; and commanding that he should not tarry in his dominions, he departed into Galizia to visit James FitzMorris. And coming to Rabbio, in Galizia, James FitzMorris asked Doctor Sanders—'How doth your ship and soldiers?' And then Sanders said that the King would not suffer him to bring away neither ship nor soldiers. And James answered—'I care for no soldiers at all; you and I are enough; therefore let us go, for I know the minds of the noblemen in Ireland.'"

(3.) As to what was concluded between him and Stuckelie, "he answereth nothing is by him known, for he never saw Stuckelie; but they were together at Rome, and James FitzMorris was the chiefest of both with the Pope. And he heard the soldiers say that James and Stuckelie would divide the land of Ireland between them. Being asked what they meant touching O'Desmond's lands, seeing they would divide the land between them, he answered that nothing was meant touching his lands, for that they were assured to have help from him."

(4.) Doctor Sanders and James FitzMorris met at the Court at Madrill, where Doctor Sanders was with the Pope's legate or commissioner.

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(5.) As to what favour and countenance James and the rest of the confederates had from the King of Spain and from other princes, "he knoweth nothing; for what was done by the King was covert, but that he gave James letters to receive the charity or alms of Bisquay; and also gave him his letters to Don Juan Alonzo, Governor of Bisquay, to favour him; and thereupon FitzMorris required ships and men of Don Juan; and he showed him 300 men or more unfurnished, and willed him to pay their wages. But FitzMorris asked him what they were, and said that he would carry no such soldiers into Ireland."

(6.) He knoweth of no letters that the King of Spain sent in behalf of James, or to the Earl of Desmond, but "about Christmas last two captains with two ships came to the Dingle to understand whether James were alive or not; which captains brought with them certain letters that were received by Doctor Sanders, and answer returned by him and by Morris Shean: at which time the said captains reported that 24,000 men should come out of Spain to their aid."

(7.) As to the message brought by Shan O'Farrall, the friar of Asketten, to James FitzMorris, from the Earl of Desmond, he saith "that the friar at his landing made haste to the Court, and returning thence with James to Bilboa, where this friar lay sick, the other came to visit him. And this friar, O'Haie, asking him what news from Ireland, he said both good and bad. And he asked him how the Earl of Desmond did. He answered that he was well, if he had FitzMorris home, and that the Earl had sent him to see and visit him, and willed that if James had found any favour or succour there, that he should bring them over into Ireland; and if he found no favour, that then he should come himself; and said that the Earl could not live without FitzMorris."

(8.) James FitzMorris gave a great basin and ewer of silver, parcel gilt, and a chain of gold to Desmond and the Countess, and the same was delivered within few days after Mr. Davells' death.

(9.) As to how many nights after his coming to Smirwicke it was ere John of Desmond came to James FitzMorris, "he saith that after James FitzMorris came from the Dingle they came to an island, and after they had been there two days, the third they saw a company of people, having with them a banner, and they shook their staves, whereupon James and his people began (as it were) to set himself in readiness; but after they perceived they were people of the country they ceased. And one of the Queen's ships in the river did take two of McMorishe his ships. And that night being as afore, and as the friar remembereth the third night, John of Desmond came to the island to visit James, and brought with him another captain of the Earl's. And John O'Desmond said that the Earl was sore afraid of James, lest he might take any harm. John of Desmond and the captain which came with

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him had long conference with Doctor Sanders, James Fitz-Morris, and a Spanish friar, in the fort at Smirwicke."

(10.) As to what is determined between the rebels of the Pale and the rebels of those parts, "he saith that a messenger with a green hat, whose name was Robert Morris, came from James Eustace (son unto Erlan Eustace). He brought no letters, but signs, which signs were known to the Earl. The message was that now he should make good war, and that John of Desmond should come and bring with him 24 shot or harquebuziers, 100 swords and targets, 60 galloglas, and 8 horsemen, and that he should bring Doctor Sanders also. The answer he knoweth not, but John prepared himself for that journey. He made more accompt of Doctor Sanders than of 20 men; yea! he said that John of Desmond made more accompt of him than of his own life."

(11.) As to what confederacy there is between those of Thomonde and Clanricarde, or any other part, with the traitors, he can say nothing, but that the messenger that came from Eustace said that McWilliam Newter had 400 Scots with long swords, and that he would help the Earl.

(12.) As to the spoil of Youghall, he saith they came all with the said goods into the Lord Barri's country, where much of it was sold, and that divers of the Lord Barri's country were at the said spoil.

*Signed:* Lu. Dillon; Ed. Waterhous.

*Pp.* 5.

Aug. 28. **475.** VICTUALS.

Vol. 597, p. 453a.

The remain of victuals at the city of Limerick and at Asketten, 28 August 1580.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

Aug. 31. **476.** SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 60.

Your Honour shall be well instructed of this late service by my Lord Deputy. The new disease is come upon me, which forces me to use my man's pen.

In your letter you seem to have great hope of the well-doing of this land by the coming of the Lord Deputy. He has given good proof, in this little journey lately done, of his great courage, wisdom, and resolute virtues. I send you enclosed certain notes.

Dublin, the last of August 1580. *Signed.*

II. NOTES by SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE.

(1.) This late rebellion, sprung up so near the English Pale, is very perilous.

(2.) The answering by her Highness of sufficient bodics for this service will much advantage her.

(3.) This realm was never so dismembered, owing to the quarrel upon religion.

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(4.) Heretofore much dissension has risen upon private quarrels, but now they having converted all their private quarrels to a general matter of religion.

(5.) This rebellion is so general that the best cannot be made to do anything against the rebellious Papists.

(6.) A base son to Sir Edmond Butler, with 100 swords, is now gone to the traitor Baltinglasse; so also one Garrett Jones, entertained for the defence of the Pale and to serve her Majesty with 50 shot, is gone to the said traitor.

(7.) "Edward Butler, brother to my Lord of Ormond, whom he hath banished for his dissolute life, is come into Claurycarde with 100 swords, and there keepeth the mountains, with whom John Burke hath had some conference."

(8.) "The sending over of these new soldiers (being men nothing trained to serve) in these liveries of red coats and blue coats is a thing most dangerous, being, indeed, marks whereby they are picked out from the old soldiers; and experience thereof hath daily taught us the harm that cometh by it. For avoiding whereof, under your Honour's correction, I think it most necessary that their livery money were put into the hands of sufficient persons to clothe them here with frieze and mantles, both to bed them in the night and for warmth."

(9.) "The Earl of Kildare fell dangerously sick in the camp, by which my Lord Deputy was forced to shorten his time of the journey, and so to repair hither to advise upon the following and prosecuting of this service in hand."

(10.) Garrett Jones was entertained to serve against the rebels, and by warrant from my Lord of Kildare was furnished with calyvers and furniture out of her Majesty's store. He and his company did most annoy us the day of the encounter. The most part of the Fowlers in the English Pale, being men trained amongst us, are now with the rebels.

"At my Lord Deputy's return he found 500 new soldiers landed with their leaders, young and unskilful to train them, or lead them in these services, who challenged their continuance by order from your Ll."

*Pp. 4. Addressed and endorsed.*

Sept. 1. 477. LORD JUSTICE PELHAM to LORD DEPUTY GREY.

Vol. 597, p. 454.

I am come down with the Council to Athlone, and from hence intend to speed me to Dublin. By the ill ways and foul weather, the companies with me are so overweared that I am driven to stay a day or two at Athlone. Let me know what time you will return to Dublin, or where else I may meet with you for the presenting of the sword.

Athlone, 1 September 1580. *Signed.*

*Contemp. copy. P. 3.*

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Sept. 3. 478. The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 597, p. 454.

I did not know until this morning of your return from your journey. I have just received your letters, assigning my being at Dublin this night, which is impossible; but knowing now of your preparation and assembly of the nobility, I will be at Dublin on Tuesday night or Wednesday.

Ballemore, 3 September 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 5. 479. The SAME to the SAME.

Vol. 597, p. 454a.

Thanks for your letter of your own hand, which I received with one other that pleased me not so well, by the pursuivant. I will not fail to be tomorrow at Dublin. For mine own expedition I have shaken off the footmen to follow at leisure.

"Two letters which I received of late, subscribed by you, were not so considerately written by your secretary as I find by your own letters your Lop. meant, and as in troth is due to the place of Justice (which unworthily I hold), for the honour whereof it might have pleased him to have made me a Lord one day, since I am to be unlorded the next day. And it is no new thing to him and many others there to see a Lord Deputy in full authority and a Lord Justice both at once in Ireland."

Moymoth, 5 September 1580. *Signed.*  
*Contemp. copy. P. 2.*

Sept. 7. 480. A DIARY of PELHAM'S PROCEEDINGS.\*

Vol. 597, p. 20.

"A Breviate of the Proceedings of the Right Honorable Sir William Pelham, Knight, Lord Justice of her Majesty's realm of Ireland, during the time of his government there, which began the 11th of October 1579, and ended the 7th of September 1580.

"On Sunday, being the 11th of October 1579, his Lordship received her Majesty's sword Christ's Church within the city of Dublin, being there present the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the Bishop of Waterford, the Earls of Ormond and Kildare, the Viscount of Gormorstone, the Baron of Delven, the Baron of Slane, Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal of Ireland (who by office bare the sword that day), Sir Henry Wallope, Knight, Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars, Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Chief Baron of th' Exchequer, Sir Henry Collie, Knight, Mr. Challoner, and Mr. Edward Waterhowse; besides a number of

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\* On the page preceding this diary (p. 19) there is a coloured coat of arms (Pelham's?). Pp. 8-16 are occupied by an index to the letterbook, in Morgan Colman's hand.

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knights and gentlemen there assembled. The ceremony finished, all the company attended his Lo. to the Castle, where he was received with all the great artillery.

"October 11.—The same day before dinner, in the Presence Chamber at Dublin Castle, his Lo. made two knights, viz., the Lo. Chancellor of Ireland, by the name of Sir William Gerard, and Mr. Fytton, son and heir unto the late Treasurer, Sir Edward Fytton, by the name of Sir Edward.—A letter to Phew McHughe, commanding him to keep in his loose people, and to make satisfaction for the hurts they had done. A letter to Sir Hugh O'Reliegh and other of the Irish borderers, to persuade the continuance of their loyalties, assuring that, though Sir William Drurie were dead, yet should they be sure of justice and favour at my Lord's hands. A letter to Sir Hugh Maguines, desiring to be advertised what number of Scots are landed in his country, and by whose draught. A letter to Turloughe Lenought, signifying my Lo. election, and persuading the continuance of his loyalty.

"[October] 12.—A letter to the Mayor of Waterford, commanding him to send [Richard] Downes, guarded with shot, and all the munition to Clonmell, and to permit no soldiers to pass into England which were fled either from Sir Nicholas Malbie or any other captain. A letter to the Sovereign of Clonmell, commanding him to prepare a convenient place within that town for the munition brought thither by Downes from Waterford. Sundry warrants signed to the Master of the Ordnance to deliver match and powder to the captains. A passport for Sir Edward Fytton to return into England with his company, 20 men, 15 horses, and all his plate and other stuff. Warrants signed for sending the captains to receive imprest money of the Treasurer at Wars.

"13.—A warrant signed by the Lo. Justice and Council, by virtue of letters from her Majesty, for 20*l.* pension in arrear to Callowghe O'More. A letter unto my Lo. of Upper Ossory, willing him on Monday next to repair to Kilkenny.

"15.—A letter written in my Lo. own hand, requiring the Mayor of Waterford to provide good store of victuals. Warrants signed for sundry the captains and other gentlemen in her Majesty's pay, to receive of the Treasurer at Wars imprest money. A warrant signed for my Lo. of Ormond to be Lo. General of the forces in Munster; the patent was brought to the Board by my Lo. Chancellor. I have no copy, because it came not to my hands.

"16.—A concordatum signed by my Lo. Justice and Council for the Lo. Chancellor," &c.\*

"The 7th day [of September 1580] his Lo. delivered the sword to the Lo. Graie of Wilton, by virtue of her Majesty's

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\* See 16 October 1579, p. 157. After that date, almost all the events registered in this diary are recorded in Pelham's foregoing correspondence.

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letters, as to the Lo. Deputy of Ireland, in presence of the Council, noblemen, and gentlemen, in Saint Patrick's Church in the city of Dublin: with the delivery whereof surceased all his authority."

*In the handwriting of Pelham's secretary. Pp. 108.*

Sept. 7. 481. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 48.

Tirlaghe Lenaghe is drawing down near Dundalk with 6,000 men, of which 800 are horsemen, 2,600 Scots, and the rest his own followers. By his arrogant demands my Lord Deputy is driven to alter his determination of prosecuting Balltinglasse, and to make head against Tirlaghe. Religion is now the quarrel. O'Wroureke has committed some spoil in Connaught. I must home to my charge there.

Some do think there I do use the sword too much. If her Majesty do not use her sword more sharply, she will lose both sword and realm. The expectation of foreign forces is not out of their heads.

I have but one band of footmen in Connaught, and more cannot be spared from hence. All the realm is in a general uproar.

Dublin, 7 September 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 18. 482. CAPTAIN RICHARD BINGHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 18.

On Friday, the 14th day, at night, we held through the Race of Portland to the westwards. The Admiral with all his fleet met with a great wind and "growne sea." We lost one another in the night. Not finding the Admiral at Falmouth, we went on our course for the Land's End. I entered the Sound of the Ventry on Sunday. Not knowing whether the enemy were in the Ventry, I bare in with the harbour of Valentia. There I met with Mr. Clyntton, by whom I understood that the enemy was fortified at Smeryek in the old fortress, which James Fewe Morrys first prepared. I hastened thither with all speed on Monday. On Tuesday the 17th I entered the harbour, within falcon-shot of their fortress, from forth of which they welcomed us with such bullets as they had. "I returned them an exchange better than theirs twenty in the hundred." They had two ships and a galley.

I learn that the enemy "departed from the hither Spain with five sail of ships, of which the greatest was a Baskeyne of 400 ton; two more, the one of six score and the other of four score, the other two of three score or 50 ton the piece, and a small galley of ten oars of a side. They had shipped into these ships aforesaid a thousand poor simple Bysswynes, very ragged, and a great part of them boys. In this great Baskayne was shipped their Colonel, an Italian, the Pope's



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Nuncio, an Italian also, the Irish Bishop, two preachers, Jesuits, Italians also, and three or four friars, with a 400 of their company, and much of their store of their munition, and, as they gave it forth, 12,000 ducats in ready money. In their way coming over, being taken with storm, they lost their ship of six score, and one of the other of three score, which are not yet come to them. Whether they be gone back into Spain,\* but it is said amongst them that they are taken by the Rochellers and carried into Rochelle. In the ship of six score there was an Earl and an Earl's son, with divers young gentlemen, who had aboard the same ship an eight fair Spanish horses. Further, in their passage they boarded a ship of 150 ton, of Newhaven, which had been at the bank towards the New Land a-fishing, and had in her 56,000 of fish, which they have here, both ship and fish. They had 28 men in her, of which they slew three, and their captain, whose name was Granno, of the same town. Of these an eight or ten stole away from them, which Mr. Clyntton lighted on; from which Frenchmen and Mr. Clyntton I have learned this which I now write.

“About the 3th\* of this present of October the great Baskeyne and their ship of four score departed for Spain, and of the 800 men which they brought hither, there went away with them again, as the Frenchmen doth assure me, more than 200 which were sick and malcontent with the country and their evil and hard entertainment. Very many of the rest that are here do die daily, so that there should not be here of them all left above 500 at the highest.

“Since they landed here they have spent their time in this sort. Their lieutenant-colonel, with 300 of his, joined with the Earl traitor, went to the siege of two castles of Mack Morrys; the one is called Feonede Castle, and the other Addartt Castle. Their greatest artillery to batter these was a falcon, which seems they were but young soldiers; they were well defended of Irishmen. They departed from both with loss of divers of their men and one of their chiefest captains. There are now of these in the fortress, a 300, who, with the help of the Irishmen, do daily strengthen their fortification; the rest are with John of Desmond, who this Wednesday the 18th is come to the Dyngle, and looked for here at the fortress.

“There are two notable places which they give forth they will fortify that do lie in the Bay of Tralye; the one is called Bongonder, and the other is Kilballyth, which places are naturally very strong, as I learn.

“They do daily aspect the coming of four or five sail more with a supply of men and all sorts of munition, as they give it forth. It is also given forth that the Earl traitor received four little barrellets of Spanish ryalls for a present.

\* Sic.

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“The Thursday before my arriving, the Earl of Ormond was here with divers English captains, and being in skirmish with the enemy about the fortress, had only one slain with a calyver bullet, which was Andrew Martyne, the Constable of Castle Mayne.”

Harbour of Smerryck, 18 October 1580. *Signed.*  
*Holograph. Pp. 4. Addressed. Endorsed.*

[Dec.23.]\* 483.

The EARL OF KILDARE.

Vol. 607, p. 76.

“The Principal Matters which Charge th’ Earl [of Kildare].”†

“A month before the Viscount [Baltinglas] broke out, it was bruited amongst the common sort that the Viscount would rebel. The Knight Marshal had an espial in Tyrloghe Lennaghe his camp; who seeing one Sir Manus, a chaplain of the Viscount, sent in message to Tyrloghe by secret devices, attained the understanding of the message, which was to have Tyrloghe and his force to join with him, Feaghe,‡ and the Munster rebels, who should have all the O’Conors and the O’Mores to join with them and O’Rwyrke and others in Connaught, appointing a time of their meeting in the county of Meath; which messenger returned with contented answer.

“Th’ Earl was appointed by commission, joined with the Archbishop, then Keeper of the Seal, to be General in the absence of Sir William Pelham, then Lord Justice, for preservation of the Pale. The Earl and the Lord Archbishop appointed at the Hill of Tarraghe upon Monday, the 4th of July, a general muster to view the forces. The Knight Marshal sent to the Lord Archbishop the examination of his espial, and the news of the breaking out of the Viscount, and the consent of Tirlaghe to join.

“The Archbishop and Earl met at Tarraghe the same day according to appointment. Upon their meeting, before they entered to view the forces, the Earl took the B. apart, and, as the Bishop affirmeth, used this or the like speeches unto him.” (*They are given at length.*)

The Earl delayed the apprehension of the Viscount, and was unwilling to proceed against him. The Council agreed the Earl should parle with him, and provided that 500 footmen and 200 horsemen should meet with him. If the Viscount refused his offers, then the Earl was to prosecute the rebels; but after the Viscount’s refusal of the offers the Earl returned to Dublin. By his return the rebels had free passage to enter the Byrnes’ country, and there preyed and burned the New Castle, a town of Sir Henry Harrington’s. This greatly

\* Carew has dated this document “1581” in the margin. It appears to have been drawn up by Chancellor Gerrard. See the letter from Lord Deputy Grey and the Council to the Queen of 23 December 1580, in the Public Record Office.

† The words in brackets are in Carew’s hand.

‡ Feagh McHugh McShane O’Byrne.

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increased the suspicion that the Earl would not willingly have the rebels harmed, and made the Lord Chancellor and Lord Archbishop ever after to be doubtful of some mischief the Earl would work them.

Upon the landing of the Lord Deputy a messenger came from the rebels to the Earl without any protection. The Lord Deputy and Council agreed to hang the messenger, whereat the Earl fell into a great storm and passion.

“ Before the Lo. Deputy journeyed into Munster, the Earl put in trust to prosecute openly said and at sundry times, ‘ Let me have such a number of soldiers, (which was agreed unto,) and I will undertake to make a short end of this war.’ ” When his plat was considered, the suspicion we had that he would never harm the enemy increased.

“ All the O’Conors and O’Mores who were known before to be joined with the rebels by oath he entertained as kerne for the service. Amongst which company it is to be noted that he entertained Conor McCormocke, one who, not long before, was at the murdering of Rosse McGoghgan, the chief doubted knave of the O’Conors, the great rebel, who with all the O’Conors still kept with the late rebel. He had old Mac Goghgan, who procured the murdering of his own son Rosse. He entertained Brian McGoghgan, who in person murdered his said brother Rosse. Within the month before he entertained Tee McGilpatrick, the notorious spoiler of the Pale.

“ The Earl lying at Kilbery, these kerne preyed in the Pale and the borders to the value of four or five thousand pounds, and drove their spoils to Ossorie and other countries without resistance. When complaint was made to the Earl of these spoils and the parties present, he refused to call them to answer, saying he would not hinder his service.” The show the Earl made to journey one day and a night into the rebels country, and there taking 200 cows, rather increased our suspicion.

“ He wrote to the Council that he had found by experience that he must take another course to lay the garrisons nearer the rebels to prosecute them. This increased suspicion, for he knew before he had laid them where they would never harm the enemy. The manner of the running away of Captain Garret; the suit the Earl made to bail McGoghgan; the suits he secretly made for some belonging to him and known rebels; the often letters he wrote to have the Council meet him at the Nasse; the slender or rather no occasion at all to move him thereunto; his refusal to come to Dublin of six weeks, whither ever before he was accustomed to travel for consultation; his passionate speeches when the Council refused to come to him; sometimes braying out with oaths, and saying this were enough to make a man to break out; his sudden alteration of mind—where, at the first before all the Council, he refused the service of the country people, saying he durst not trust them, yea, and the service of his own horsemen, saying

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some of them were run to the rebels—now he disdained the service of the English soldier, calling them English beggars, and openly commended the service of the kerne, as those he would for his life trust unto; brought us to doubt that he would break out, and to devise means to have him to Dublin upon and under some pretence of consultation to have restrained him.”

Oliver Ewstace, a civilian, one sworn to the rebels, confessed he had been entertained by one Woogan of Rathcoffye towards the Lawe, who, being examined, confessed that he saw the Viscount the day the muster was at Tarraghe, viz., 4 July, as he rode thither. The Earl and Viscount rode together in company towards the muster in familiar talk until they came to Killene, two miles from the Hill. After they were returned from the Hill, the Viscount and the Earl rode in company till it was towards evening. The Viscount supped with Woogan, and the Earl rode to Menouthe. After supper the Earl and the Viscount met again, and that night rode together until far in the night. But the Earl never told the [Arch]bishop of Dublin how they had been together that day, and refused to execute the Bishop's warrant for the Viscount's apprehension, which he could have easily effected, on being informed by the Viscount's wife when he would be at Monketon, four miles from Dublin. That Lady and the Lady of Upper Ossory, the Viscount's sister, posted to and fro by the Earl's direction rather to hasten the Viscount away for fear of apprehension than to persuade him to come in. The Viscount's wife, on examination, saith the Viscount did not tell her that he would break away, but that a boy came to Dublin and told her.

The examinations of the Viscount's wife, Pipho, and the Earl differ the one from the other. But on hearing them, we were fully resolved that the Earl himself thrust out the Viscount, who otherwise had come in. The Viscount's demand for protection for six weeks was made by the Earl's direction. He did not execute the warrant of the Chancellor and Archbishop for apprehending Compton, one who kept at the Earl's house at Rahanghan, and was a traitor. Until the day the Earl was committed, Compton continually lay in the Earl's house, and taught his boy.

The Chancellor also requested him to apprehend Sir Nicholas Ewstace, priest, who also kept at Rahanghan, was sworn to the rebels, and had given the like oath to many in the country. He answered that he knew not where to look for him.

Woogan told the Earl what he had confessed. The Earl grew angry and grieved, and came to the Chancellor to remove his suspicions.

“A pamphlet was found and delivered to the Chancellor. Among other things contained in the pamphlet this was one, that the Earl the same night sent a cousin of his, named

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—————, son to a bastard Geraldine, and the Earl's horseman, to Feaghe McHughe, with a message willing Feaghe that he would not prey and spoil th' Earl's country in respect of the journey he had made into Feaghe's, for he must make some show of service in the absence of the Deputy, but bade him tell Feaghe the promise he had made he would observe." We sent to have the same ————— apprehended and brought before us, but as soon as he and his father heard of the Earl's commitment, they both fled to the rebels.

The Earl's confessions imply the truth of the [Arch]-bishop's allegations.

"Then is the Earl a traitor by his own confession. And so I leave him."

*Pp. 18. Endorsed.*

#### 484. THE CESSÉ.

Vol. 635, p. 112.

"Notes touching the Cesse and Victualling, and how it grew to be burdensous."

Cesse is a prerogative royal of the Queen. Of late years it grew to be so heavy that it was like to have bred some troubles, had it not been timely prevented. The number of new freedoms caused the cesse to rise to 10*l.* the ploughland. The redress thereof was taken in hand by Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy. "The points wherewith the country found themselves aggrieved," *are stated.*

II. "The Proportion of every sort of Victual cessed for the Deputy's Household and the Garrison; what prices they be taken at; and what they be worth in the market."

III. "Principal Heads of the Agents' Offers unto the Lords in behalf of the Country."

IV. "The Final Agreements in the matters of Cesse set down by the Lords."

V. "The Priece of Fresh Acates for the Deputy's House agreed upon by Grand Council in A<sup>o</sup> 1580, under the Government of the Lord Graye."

VI. "A Conjecture what the several Counties may rise unto, according to the Plows;" *i.e.*, what money they might be made to yield.

VII. "A Note of the Agreement passed between the Gentlemen of the Pale with Lanye and Gren for victualling, whereby it may appear what gain they should have received thereby."

VIII. "A Note in what Places 2,000 Beeves and 1,000 Swine are to be cessed; as also where the Grain taken for the Garrison or Deputy's Household is to be charged."

1580.

ix. "The Cesse laid upon the country during the during the Earl of Sussex."\*

x. "Orders prescribed by the Earl of Sussex, then Lord Deputy, and the Council, for cessing the Soldiers anno 1560.  
*Copies. Pp. 7.*

**485.** THE CESSE, &c.

Vol. 635, p. 78a.

"A Note of the Port Corn due to the State in Ireland," from farmers of the demesne lands, tithes, and spiritualities formerly belonging to certain hospitals, monasteries, parsonages, &c. in cos. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Cork.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

Ibid., p. 82.

2. "An Estimate what Benefit the Cesse of the Country, being answered by Prerogative, in provision of the several natures ensuing, did yield to the Governor of former times."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Ibid., p. 82a.

3. "A Note, taken out of the ancient Records in Dublin, of the number of all the Ploughlands in every province in Ireland."

*In Sir G. Carew's hand. P. 1.*

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Jan. 29.

**486.** SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol 619, p. 42.

I received your letter by Garland. This land is generally infected. The principal practisers are discovered, who should be duly used in their deserts, "and that with severity without sparing."

Tyrlaghe Lenaghe every month assembles his forces, threatening to invade the Pale, according to his promise to Desmond, in order that the Governor shall not attend the prosecuting of Desmond. He is the only pillar to all the rebels of the land. My Lord Deputy, hearing of his late assembling of forces, contrary to his former promise, wrote to him to break his forces, without which he would impute him as a breaker of her Majesty's peace; "upon which he so did, and stood in awe."

The revolt of the Earl of Clanrycard's sons has disquieted Connaught; "but they and the rest have felt the smart of their follies, for many of their people have been slain, and the rest that took part with them do leave them. They dare not look abroad, but like wild wolves keep the woods and the mountains. It is written hither to me that Ulicke Burcke is dead *de morbo Gallico*, which I trust will consume them all.

"O'Wroureke, coming into the county of Roscoman, was set upon with 25 horsemen of mine and Captain Brabazon's, he

\* See p. 60.

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having 80 horsemen in his company, and was put to flight, lost 18 horsemen slain of his best men, and 20 horses taken and himself unhorsed, and saved by the help of a bog and a wood. He had also 500 Scots, which were set upon by 70 of Mr. Treasurer's band of footmen, who slew the captain of the Scots and 30 more of his company and put them to flight, and of th' English footmen but 6 slain and 5 or 6 wounded. O'Wroureke never looked behind him until he came to his own country, and now seeketh for peace; and so do all the rest, finding themselves not able to hold out any longer.

"Th' Earl's sons have written to me for protection, which I have denied unto them without sufficient pledges, which they cannot give, because I did execute a pledge of theirs, who was for them before their revolt. They have broken all their father's castles.

"Mr. Thomas Norryes, whom I left in Conaught in my absence as chief over the rest, hath slain divers of the rebels, and very narrowly missed William Bureke, th' Earl's youngest son, which came lately out of England, and is the worst of the three; and a sister of his also escaped very hardly. Since which time also a man of mine hath slain 7 or 8 principal traitors."

Dublin, 29 January 1580. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

March 23. 487. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
Vol. 607, p. 58.

My Lord Deputy, in a general letter to the Council, has signified the whole estate of this realm. I have delivered him a large discourse of my proceedings, which he now sends to you.

The Earl of Clanrycard's most wicked sons wrought the whole province to combine and confederate with them. I made head against them and brought them to good terms. I hold them now for nobody.

"Had the soldiers been such as I could wish, I had ended all those matters before I would have left the field, but our new come country men can endure no travail." Besides, the numbers are so shortened by sickness, as for 800 which should have been I could not have to the field above 460, and had to deal with above 3,000 rebels. Order should be given to send over no vagabonds or lewd persons.

"Of Ulster, we look for nothing but all ill at Tyrlaghe Lenaghe's hands. Touching Munster, your Honour may perceive how it goeth by a letter of my L. of Ormond's." For Leinster men, "they stand upon the same stay they did."

Dublin, 23 March 1580. *Signed.*

The sheriff of the county of Slygo signifies to me that he saw a letter from Tyrlaghe Lenaghe to O'Connor Slygo, in the Irish language, with these words only: "Commendations

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from O'Neill to O'Connor; and as long as you live, live or stand fast, and be stout and live."

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

April 28. **488.** LORD DEPUTY GREY to GEORGE CAREWE, Esquire.

Vol. 605, p. 66.

Commission to have conference with the Cavenaghes under his rule in the county of Catherloughe, and to receive, upon good assurances by pledge, as many of them as you shall think good for furtherance of her Majesty's service. Also, to promise life to any that are now out in rebellion, if by service they shall first deserve their pardon.

Dublin, 28 April 1581.

*Signed at the beginning.*

*P. 1. Endorsed.*

June 7. **489.** The BARON OF UPPER OSSORY to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 20.

I have been in prison six months, through the malice and hate of my great enemy the Earl of Ormond. "By his means I was indicted within the county of Kilkenny; which is, that I should receive into my house of Coukill th' Earl of Desmond and Pyers Grace, when the said Earl made escape from Dublin. The second, that now in the time of this rebellion I should keep with me a son of Sir John of Desmond's. The third, that I should require my said enemy to forsake his duty towards her Majesty, and hold with the said Earl in his rebellion." My enemy has surprised and kept my manor houses and castles of the Beallaghe More and castle of the Bridge, wasted my country with preyings, burnings, and spoilings, and killed divers of my tenants and followers, besides the taking away of all my own proper goods and chattels. Though divers and sundry complaints have been exhibited to the Lord Deputy and Council of the hurts as they were committed from time to time, no manner redress hath been had in them as yet.

I beseech you to deal so for me as I be not in perpetual prison, but that with expedition I may come to my trial, either here or there, for I understand there is no trial of Lords here, for want of number. I will prove myself an honest and a clean man, as I hope the opinions of my Governors may partly testify. "Also I dare undertake unto your Honour, if my said enemy himself might be so narrowly searched and put to trial as I am, there should be apparent and true matter proved against him, and of more weight than any wherewith I am charged, which is not utterly unknown to the Governor and Council here."

Dublin, 7 June 1581.

*Signed: B. Upper Oss'.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*



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July 18.

Vol. 619, p. 40.

## 490. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

A great conflict is happened between O'Neill and O'Donnell, for Tyrlaghe Lenughe entered O'Donnell's country with all his forces. O'Donnell encountered him, but had the worst part, for he lost about 600 men, and O'Doherty and McSwyne O'Duyn, the chief captains of his galloglasses, were taken prisoners. O'Donnell has sent to my Lord Deputy for aid. My Lord has appointed me to repair to O'Donnell with such forces as I have in Connaught. My Lord himself will draw down to the Blackwater, and from thence proceed to the Lyffer.

Munster is in as ill terms as it was. Our mountain men in these parts are declining fast, and are daily killed and spoiled by Captain Russell, Sir William Stanley, and Captain Mays-terson.

The bearer is Robert Jhonson, an old follower of your Honour's. He will excuse himself touching the loss of the house of Loughreagh.

I thank you for extending your favour to Justice Dillon.

I live in the great disgrace of her Majesty, but have deserved nothing but well. I beseech you to work her Majesty's good liking of me.

Dublin, 18 July 1581. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed and endorsed.*

Sept. 21.

Vol. 619, p. 52.

## 491. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Shane Og O'Neill and Con O'Neill, sons to the late Shane O'Neill, came with 120 horsemen and 200 footmen into O'Reilly's country, called the Brenye, and took away 300 kine and other spoils. Shane O'Reilly and Philip O'Reilly, sons to O'Reilly, rose out with 40 horsemen and 30 footmen only, and killed Shane Og O'Neill, who was Shane O'Neill's eldest son, and took Con O'Neill prisoner. This is a very good service, for they were the best next to Tyr. Lenaghe. One of Henry McShane's sons was slain, and one of Tyr. Lenaghe's sons; which four be of the very best of Tyrone. Con is a very good pledge for that country.

The Lord Chancellor and the Council here have written to O'Reilly and his sons to send the prisoners hither. Tyr. Lenaghe is assembling all his forces to invade O'Reilly's country. O'Reilly has hereof written to the Council, who will give him all the assistance they can.

"My Lord of Ormond's agents in Connaught, whom he hath sent to make collection of my doings, do apply it very well; and, as I am secretly informed, he hath suborned Robert Fowle, one of mine own advancement." I doubt not but your Honour will lay a *Caveat* that nothing shall pass there for Connaught that shall not come recommended by me. I mind tomorrow to return towards my charge; and if Tyr. Lenaghe do come into O'Reilly's country, I will draw towards those

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parts. If I might have allowance to come to her Highness's presence, I should do good for the service of Ireland.

"I had intelligence, by a letter sent to me by a gentleman of th' English Pale, that I shall be set upon as I return into Connaught, in th' English Pale itself." This bearer, Mr. Parker, will deliver the letter to you. I have sent for my horsemen to meet me by the way. I trust Tyr. Lenaghe shall repent his coming. The rebels of Ireland do more covet my life than any man's. Ormond would fain have me hanged. Sir William Russell doth repair over.

Dublin, 21 September 1581. *Signed.*

"I have given in charge to Mr. Parker to declare unto your Honour that which I am loth to commit to the pen."

*Holograph. Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Sept. 30. 492. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER

Vol. 619, p. 50.

You shall receive in a joint letter from Mr. Fenton and me to the Council all occurrents in these parts.

"At our arrival here, we met one William McShane Og Bureke, a gentleman of Clanrycard, and one of the greatest patrimony there next to the Earl, and his very near kinsman, who, of his own voluntary will, and unlooked for, did reveal unto me in the hearing of Mr. Fenton that my L. of Ormond is the only man that caused th' Earl's sons to rebel; and after their revolt, when they had given order for the guarding and victualling of the house of Loughbreaghe, after they had surprised it from her Majesty, a letter came unto them from my L. of Ormond willing them in anywise to break and raze the house and the rest of the castles in that country; admonishing them that they were not able to keep the castles against her Majesty's forces, which being won from them th' Englishmen would dwell in them, and so by that means would banish them clean."

"Ulicke Bureke th' Earl's son's wife is this gentleman's sister; and because he hath forsaken that lewd life, the Earl's sons have taken all his living from him, and with strong hand withhold it from him, which is a general course held by the Irishry against all such as do adhere unto her Majesty."

This young gentleman, William McShane, is gone from hence about some business. At his return I will take his confession under his hand.

I and Mr. Fenton received letters this day from the Lord Chancellor and Council at Dublin. They have received intelligence from my Lord Deputy that my Lord of Ormond is minded to repair shortly into England. "I do wish also to be there to answer all th' objections he can any way lay against me; and for the rest which I have to produce against him, to stand in so far as the testimony thereof may lead me."

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O'Wroureke, the only man now in action, is craving for peace. O'Donnell "hath intrated me to license him to deal with O'Ruareke and submit himself to my order, which, if he shall refuse to do, he hath vowed to me to expulse him out of his country." O'Donnell and O'Connor were the two principal animators of O'Wroureke to the last rebellion, which now they are sorry for. My late going to O'Donnell to assist him against Tyr. Lenaghe has greatly established him in her Majesty's obedience.

"The repair over of James FitzChristopher Nugent is to be looked unto; his stealing away carried no good intent. These parts of Westmeath stand upon weak joints. The Pope cannot yet be put out of their heads."

Athlone, last of September 1581. *Signed.*

I have sent your Honour a horse of Garlan's choice.

*Holograph. Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.*

493. BARONY of IDRONE.

Vol. 605, p. 64.

"A Note of Remembrances concerning the Barony of Idrone, in the county of Catherloghe."

It was recovered from the Cavanaghes by Sir Peter Carewe the elder, after whom Sir Peter Carewe the younger, his cousin and heir, enjoyed the same, whose brother and heir, Sir George Carewe, succeeded to it, and sold it to Dudley Bagnall, whose son and heir is the Queen's ward, and is in France. The Cavanaghes covertly intend to make suit for it.

*Dated by Sir George Carew, "1581."*

*P. 1. Endorsed.*

1582.

[March.]

494. The EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 607, p. 71.

"Observations of the Earl of Ormond's government during his being L. General in the province of Munster, and the success of the same."

(1.) The Earl of Desmond being proclaimed traitor, the government of Munster was committed to Ormond as Lord General; and Sir William Pelham, then Lord Justice, having present occasion to repair into Connaught for settling troubles there, the Lord General retired to his own house, where he remained one month or six weeks without prosecuting the rebels.

(2.) Desmond in his absence grew so strong and bold that he presumed to send to the town of Cork very seditious letters, and Ormond let the messenger go without punishment.

(3.) When Desmond sacked the town of Youghill his Lordship was at his house of the Carick, not above sixteen miles distant, with the Queen's forces.

(4.) Notwithstanding letters from the commissioners at Cork, and from the Mayor of Youghill, the Lord General did not relieve the town with men or munition, "saving only by

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sending one Nick White with 20 or 30 men by sea to discover their doings after they had sacked the town, who there with the most part of his little company were foully slain."

(5.) Whereas the only way to distress the rebels was to settle garrisons near them, he spent the most part of his time at Cork and his own house, suffering a great number of soldiers to lie idle in Cork, and retiring to that idle place sundry garrisons that were very aptly placed for annoyance of the enemy by Sir William Pelham.

(6.) "Also his Lp., with his whole family in Cork, spending upon the Queen's store, and nevertheless cesse upon the county of Cork for all his train, being a burthen very intolerable to the poor country, besides the waste of her Majesty's store."

(7.) "His Lp. being allowed by her Majesty an 100 horsemen and one 100 kerne in pay, by report of the English captains had not at any service after his first coming to Cork 20 horsemen in the field of that his own band to serve, and very few of those his kerne."

(8.) "The only attempts his Lp. made of service was done by running\* camps, utterly without conference with English captains, his own man, Sheath, being his chief director, an ignorant person in any martial doings, and thereafter succeeded his enterprises, wherein he always spoiled a number of English soldiers by excessive travail and frivolous journeys, with very small annoyance of the enemy."

(9.) He suffered Davy Barry, by dallying with him, to spoil and waste all his own castles, which might have been kept for her Majesty's service.

(10.) He discharged Edmund McCruddery, son and heir to the White Knight, being by Theobald Roch, the Lord Roche's second son, accused of sundry treasons in the presence of the Lord General.

(11.) "A serviceable spy being committed to the L. General, of trust to do service, was by Davic Barry taken and hanged for certain words privately spoken by this said spy to the Lord General."

(12.) He set at liberty a chief messenger of the traitor seneschal of Imokilly, taken by Theobald Roch.

(13.) He discharged sundry persons accused of treason by John FitzEdmownd.

(14.) He also discharged McCawnley, a chieftain, imprisoned for treason, without trial, and took of him for his discharge 120 kine, as Sir Thomas of Desmond offereth to prove.

(15.) "The Lady Roche, wife to the Viscount Roche, being accused of treason, and the treason proved on her, was by his Lp. travail to the Lord Deputy delivered upon sureties for her forthcoming, and for the same I think it will be proved the Lord General took 200*l*."

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\* Removing?

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(16.) "Where two choice persons were entertained for the killing of the traitor Seneschal, and had undertaken the same, the matter not being revealed to any by the persons that entertained them, saving only to the Earl of Ormond, these executioners were no sooner arrived at the camp but they were apprehended by the Seneschal and charged with the practice, and for the same executed, to the great grief of the persons that entertained them."

(17.) "Let Captain Bartley and Captain Rauley\* be examined of words privately uttered by the Lord General touching the prosecution of the traitors."

Persons to prove these Articles:—Sir George Bowcer, Sir William Morgan, Captain Bartley, Captain Rawley, Captain Apsley, Justice Meugh, the Mayor and Aldermen of Cork, the Commissioners of Munster, the Aldermen of Yowgholl, the Captains with his Lp., Sir Warham Senthiger, the Cessors at Cork, Tibald Roch, &c.

*Pp.* 3.

May 28. 495. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
Vol. 607, p. 88.

After I had delivered my packet to my Lord Deputy, he found fault with me that I had brought none from your Honour.

I send herewithal a brief discourse how this State standeth.

Sir Henry Sydney is the only man that is wished for here by the country people.

Dublin, 28 May 1582. *Signed.*

Sir Nicholas Bagnall is able to instruct you fully in all things.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

#### II. PAPER ENCLOSED.

I brought instructions from her Majesty to reduce the soldiers' pay, viz., the footman to 8*d.* Ir., and the horseman to 9*d.* Ir. *per diem.* The Lord Deputy and Council find that except her Majesty shall give 8*d.* ster. *per diem* to the footman, and 12*d.* ster. *per diem* to the horseman, neither shall the soldier be able to live without cesse of the country, nor the country have any hope to be kept from spoil. With this allowance the soldier will be able to victual himself. The country will give a large contribution towards the same.

Her Majesty's instruction for grant of pardon to be given to such as shall seek for it, especially in the Pale, was a thing most welcome. Divers stood doubtful of their safeties, because every man was subject to the accusation of bad witnesses.

"Where her Majesty doth mind to make profit of the attainted lands, there is such doubt grown generally of con-

\* Sir Walter Raleigh.

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veyances made before the attainder, as no man dare deal for that land, except it be established to her Majesty by a parliament."

Captain Mackworth was betrayed and murdered by the O'Conors, who "are very many, and likely to do great hurt if they be not well followed, which the L. Deputy now taketh in hand. The Earl of Desmond is very strong. The Lord FitzMorice, of Kerye, hath broken all his castles, and hath joined with him. A bruit also is spread that the White Knight is revolted, but not certainly known. His son is in Spain, which breedeth suspicion that if he be out the rebels expect foreign aid, for so they give it out still."

"Tirloghe Lenoughe standeth upon good terms, and expecteth Captain Piers his return with his business. It is advertised he practiseth with Scotland.

"Connaught is well, saving lately that McWilliam sending his officers with some of my horsemen to Riehard McOlyverus, brother to the last McWilliam, deceased, and to the sons of the said McWilliam to receive her Majesty's rents in arrear, which was delivered unto them by the country for her Majesty, the said Richard McOlyverus and his said nephews quarreled with the officers and slew some of them, and three of my horsemen. Whereupon McWilliam, taking the matter in grief, entered their country and slew a son of Richard McOlyverus, and a son of Edmond Burke of Castle Barr, and 20 more; certifying Captain Brabazon, that if he thought not that revenge enough, he would prosecute them more; upon which revenge Richard McOlyverus and his nephews put themselves in arms against her Majesty. McWilliam sent to Captain Brabazon to draw down towards him with his forces, who, calling the chief gent' of the province to him, was also advised by them to make head against the others in time; and so most willingly of themselves, with their forces, accompanied him."

Captain Brabazon hath but 100 English footmen and 60 horsemen, and about 800 others, "all gentlemen of the country and their rising out." It is given out that the evil dealing with the country people is the cause of their revolt; but I have used this Richard McOlyverus and his nephews in better sort than any. It is written to me that they are very well chastised already. At my coming thither all things shall be well compounded with them.

"The Earl of Clanricard stayed at Chester to take passage there, and is not yet come over. I went to Holyhead to take shipping there, half against the wind, to recover this place. The Earl's sons keep the peace indifferently well; at the coming of their father into these parts I trust they shall do better. Feaughe McHugh and Phelim O'Toole keep the peace very well."

*Pp. 3.*

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June 22. 496. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 56.

"The Countess Dowager of Thomond hath declared unto me that th' Earl, her late husband, in his death-bed, vowing all loving affection unto your Honour, did, as a testimony of confirmation thereof, bequeath unto your L. his son Tieg O'Brien, bearer hereof, whom my Lady, his mother, hath accordingly sent over unto you, and hath prayed me to accompany him with my letter, the better to let your Honour know that my Lady, his mother, hath likewise made choice of your Honour, to bestow her young son in your service. Her La. also hath required me to signify unto your L. of the ill behaviour of her son, th' Earl that now is, your L. servant, both towards herself, being his natural mother, and to the rest of her children, being his own brethren and sisters. Her hope is your L. will, by your letters to the young Earl, rebuke him, and let him know his duty to God, his Prince, and parents; for I assure myself he will hearken much to your admonishments."

Dublin, 22 June 1582. *Signed and sealed.**Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

July 20. 497. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 54.

O'Neill has sent Con O'Donnell into this province (Connaught) to spoil it, with 120 horsemen, 1,200 Scots, and 800 other rascals. I had a loose band of footmen at Slygo at that time, which slew one of the best captains and about 40 Scots with him. I sent them aid. The rising out of the province is but a feeble stake for me to trust to. The Scots, understanding I was drawing towards them, fled in that haste as 10 or 12 of them were drowned passing over the river of Erne. McWilliam and O'Connor Slygo are now here with me, and assure me that the Scots will return with all the force they be able to bring out of Ulster, to which they shall have O'Neill's best help. I have but 100 footmen and 70 horsemen that I may trust to make head against them. My Lord Deputy can spare me no help. It is thought at Court that O'Neill, if he be let alone, will be a sound subject. Connaught has given him no offence, "but only that he seeth it generally quiet, and therefore in his Irish disposition will disturb it. His pride must be lessened."

Athlone, 20 July 1582. *Signed and sealed.*

The Scots carried away 2,000 cows from O'Connor Slygo.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Aug. 27. 498. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 86.

I perceive by your letter that White continues still his lewdness against me. It is strange that a person of his base condition can be so well supported in untraths. It proceeds not of envy against myself; for there is not one in the Court

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that ever I have offended. "At my being at Court I saw those which did then countenance that fellow were such as he thought to be your Honour's ill willers. Your Honour hath more cause to look to it than I have, for if by devices they may cut off your branches, your body will be the weaker and the easier to be cut down. I do now hear that only Sir James Crofts doth hold up White against me."

Garland has been with me.

My Lord Deputy will inform you of our occurrents.

"The Earl of Clanricard hath taken his leave of this world, and his sons after his death came to me upon their knees craving the benefit of her Majesty's pardon by proclamation. They do strive for the title of the earldom, and do mind to try it by the course of the law. They are daily looked for here, for they have promised to follow me hither with all speed; so as your Honour and the world may see (that have any will to see) that the life of the Earl was the nourisher of his sons' war and rebellion; and if he had been cut off when the law had advantage of him, so much the sooner had the war ended. Yet some would maintain that it was hard dealing with the Earl's sons that caused them to revolt, which White also affirmed against me. But what will not envy untruly affirm without blushing? And to make better proof hereof, when John Burcke was upon his knees before me, and the rest of the Council then with me, I asked him why he did not seek sooner to come in to acknowledge his duty to her Majesty, or what cause had I given him to estrange himself so from the State. His answer was, in public, that his own guilty conscience was the cause, and that his faults were so great as he durst not come in the presence of justice lest advantage might be taken of him, and that also he never found me but a good friend, with other more speeches to my advantage. If this will not suffice to satisfy th' envious, I must and will, as I have done, and will do ever, refer all my doings to God's good judging, and so content myself.

"I was lately in Thomond, where I heard much complaint against the young Earl, your L. servant, whom I found there, and lessoned him the best I could, and do much doubt he will fall to the vomit of the country. He is accompanied with the worst disposed men of the country, whom he hath promised me he will put from him, which if he do, I will then have some hope of him. I did learn there that Desmond was never so strong as now he is, and doth what him list everywhere. Tyrlaghe Lenaghe holdeth his forces still together, and doth only watch opportunity. It is now reported that many Scots be come over to the North. Connaught is the only quiet province, for generally they be all subjects, and not one man out; and for the good state thereof otherwise, it is inferior to no part of the land that is best; and her Majesty's charges in keeping of it in these good terms is least of any part of the realm. I will not make exception to th' English Pale.



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“The O’Connors have absented themselves all this summer time, and now that the nights grow long do begin to draw in companies towards their country, and will do the worst they can.

“Now the Lord Deputy (Grey) is revoked, if it so be his L. shall not return, which truly I wish he might, then, if the most voices might take place, Sir Henry Sydney is the only man that is generally liked of here, and as generally wished for; your L. shall do well to further his coming.”

Dublin, 27 August 1582. *Signed.*

I beseech that Mr. Maysterson, the bearer hereof, may be favoured by your good help and countenance.

*Holograph. Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Nov. 17. 499. The BURKES.

Vol. 611, p. 192.

Whereas there was “a commission of orders” taken by the Lords Justices\* and the Privy Council of Ireland, dated 7 September 1582; the tenour whereof en-sueth:—

Upon the submission of Ulick Burke and John Burke, sons to Richard late Earl of Clanricard, both of them exhibited petitions to us the Lords Justices and Council, wherein each of them claimed to be Earl in succession from their father; and they confessed a recognizance of 10,000*l.* each to other to abide our order. We therefore ratify the order ensuing.

It is ordered and decreed that Ulick Burke shall have the title of Earl of Clanricard and Baron of Dunkellyn, and that the whole lands belonging to the said earldom shall be equally divided between them, as if the lands had descended in coparcenary, saving that the first choice of Logh Reoughe and the lordship of Dunkellyn is allotted to the Earl in this division. John Burke shall have the castle and barony of Leitrim in Clanricard free from the impositions of his brother; and we will be humble petitioners to the Queen to create him Baron of Leitrim in tail male. The rest of the lands shall be referred to the division of Sir Nicholas Malby, Governor of Connaught and Thomond, Justice Thomas Dillon, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Clonfert, Edmond Lord Bre-mingham, Thomas Chester, elect of Elphin, Anthony Brabazon, John Norton, John Merbury, Nathaniel Smith, Teige Mc William O’Kelly, and Hubbert Boy McDavie. Each of the said parties shall take their lands so divided of the Queen to them and the heirs males of their bodies; and for want of such heirs the earldom to be in remainder to John; and the entail to be from John of his barony and lands to the Earl; and her Majesty to be in remainder of both. Whosoever of them shall first revolve from his duty to her Majesty, and

\* Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Wallop.

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shall be publicly proclaimed a traitor, the other continuing in duty shall presently enter upon the lands, titles, livings, and inheritance of the said party so proclaimed. They shall not claim or exact any coyne, livery, or other Irish customs other than are lawful and allowable. Richard Burke, of Derimalaughnye, and the barony of Clare wherein he and his kinsmen dwell, are to be exempt for ever from all rule and authority of either of the said brethren. "If the castle excepted shall be proved to have been justly in the possession of the Earl of Clairicard, deceased, in his own right, that then such castles and lands shall fall in division as the rest of the lands, not excepted, the castles of Owran, Corrofyn, Bellanenyen, Bellashema, Letaffynne." \*

And whereas also there was another special commission † granted by the said Lords Justices to Sir Nicholas Malby, Thomas Dillon, Justice of Connaught, and the rest of the Commissioners, dated at Dublin 3 October 1582, reciting amongst other things the said order entered in the black Council Book, folio 51, and authorizing the Commissioners to take view of the said lands, make the division, and deliver possession.

We the Commissioners whose names are subscribed, having assembled at Galway, do award and publish that Ulick, Earl of Clanricard, shall have the house of Lough Reaughe, the lordship of Dunkellyn, the castles of Portumna in Sylauchie, Clare, Kilcolgan, and Moyen; also all the seignories, duties, &c. belonging to the earldom; excepted and always reserved to John Burke, Esquire, brother to the said Earl, and his heirs males, the seignories, duties, chiefries, rents, &c., within the barony of Leitrim. In consideration that the same shall be for ever secluded from the said earldom by this our order, we award that the Earl shall have and enjoy three quarters of land of Stradballie, and the monastery of Ogor-mocame, otherwise called Via Nova, in the diocese of Clonfert, with its lands, as by letters patents of 1 July, 35 Henry VIII., granted to William Burke, otherwise McWilliam, more plainly doth appear. As the said Earl shall be secluded from any demands in the town of Leitrim in right of the said monastery, we award that he shall have the castle of Ballinehvoile.

Ulick shall have and enjoy the quarter of land called Collyaghe and a half quarter of land of Dough Castle. The six plowlands and a half, parcel of the possessions of the late Earl lying in Thuoran, co. Limerick, and three quarters of land in Collyn, shall be equally divided between them.

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\* This "commission of orders" is signed at the beginning by "Ad. Dublin., H. Wallopp;" and at the end by "L. Dillon, N. Malby, Jo. Garvey, Edw. Waterhouse, Geoffrey Fenton."

† It is quoted at length.

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The chief rent of *5l. per annum*, purchased by the mother of John Burke in Clevile, Caregyen, Librien, and Ballyloyen, issuing and going out of the sept of Tibbott Burke, shall be equally divided. Carnetubery, with the castles, manors, lands, and rights, shall be also divided.

The said Earl shall have all the farms, leases, and assurances which his father had in the monasteries, parsonages, &c. belonging to the houses and churches of Killenemanagh, Aughrim (excepted the castle, town, and fields of Killeglan), St. John's in Tuam, Ballyclare, Rosrelly,\* Lough Reaughe, Kilbought, and Annaghdowne.

Whereas Redmond Burke of Clantusker, Esquire, holds by lease from her Majesty the priory of Clantuskert, we award that during the lease the Earl of Clanricard shall have two quarters of land of the Ballan in Clanricard, parcel of the nunnery of Kilcrenate, with the tithes; and afterwards the four quarters of land in Ballan.

John Burke, Esquire, shall have the castle and barony of Leitrim in Galway, with eight quarters of land; the several scites, circuits, and castles of Cloncastellan, Clandagawne, Ballydowgan, Kilmacare, Ballyturen, Towloban, Lackafyn, Rathgorgan, and Beath; a parcel of land called Tyrone; land in Marye, being of the gift of Teige O'Donell; the feefarms, leases, and assurances which the late Earl, his father, had of the monastery of Clantuskert in Omany, and also the monastery or nunnery of Kilcrenau, parcel of the said feefarms, and exempted from the said Earl (Ulick) in this division, being in Connaught, with the appurtenances, excepted the four quarters of land in the town and fields of Ballan, parcel of the said nunnery," &c.

He shall have, during the term yet unexpired for which Redmond Burke holds the priory of Clantuskert by grant of her Majesty, two quarters of land in the towns and fields of Ballan; and afterwards the same to revert to the Earl. He shall have the castle and all the lands in Killeglan, in Omany, belonging to the priory of Aughrim. The scite, circuit, castle, &c. of Coroffyn shall be equally divided between them by agreement. "As the castle of Oran, with the lands, &c., is challenged by John Burke to appertain solely to himself, and that we have seen a writing made unto his late father to th' use of the said John, which title maketh the division thereof doubtful to us," we have therefore respited the same until such time as it shall be decided by the Lords Justices and Council whether the same castle of Oran, by the words of their order, be dividable.

The said Earl and John are to have peaceable possession delivered to them of all that we have allotted to either of them.

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\* Or "Roswellye."

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Lastly, we do award, order, and set down that there shall be and remain a mutual amity and society between the said Earl and his brother, and their tenants and followers.

In witness whereof we have set our hands under the signet of the province to this our instrument at Galway, 17 November, 25 Eliz., 1582:—N. Malby, W. Tuamen., Ste. Clonferten, Ed. Athenry, Tho. Dillon, Jo. Norton, Jo. Marbury, Natha. Smithe.

The said Earl of Clanricard and the said John Burke have given their consents to this order.

*Signed* : U. Clanricard, Jo. de Burgo.

“*Ex* per me, Rowlandum Argall, clericum Consilii.”

*Copy.* Pp. 13.

500. The QUEEN to the LORD JUSTICES of IRELAND (LOFTUS and WALLOP).

Vol. 607, p. 74.

As the castle of Limerick is seated in a remote place far from any relief, and the constable of the same, John Bleeke, hath no allowance of any victuals from our store; and as by order from hence the ward of the said castle is abridged from 20 men to 14, and the wages of the constable are reduced to 2s. by day; we authorize you to grant him a lease, without any fine, of so much of our lands, woods, tenements, and hereditaments, as well spiritual as temporal, lying near to our city of Limerick, as you think convenient. The yearly rent shall be defalked upon his entertainment. Further, according to our general order taken for all patentees, pass a grant to him of his said office of constable, with the fee and allowances of men now appointed, *quam diu se bene gesserit*.

*Contemp. copy.* P. 1.

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March 1. 501. SIR HENRY SYDNEY to SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 601, p. 89.

(A summary relation of all his services in Ireland.)

Coldness is thought in me in proceeding in the matter of marriage between my son and your daughter. In truth, it is not so. “Compremitting the consideration of the articles to the Earls named by you, and to the Earl of Huntingdon, I most willingly agree, and protest I joy in the alliance.”

By your letters of 3 January I find there is no hope of relief of her Majesty for my decayed estate in her service. By sale of part of that which is left, I ransom me out of the servitude I live in for my debts. “I am not so un lusty but that I may be so employed, as I may have occasion to sell land to redeem myself out of prison; nor yet am I so old nor my wife so healthy but that she may die and I marry again, and get children or think I get some.”

But since her Majesty will not reward me, give me leave somewhat to write to you of my two high offices, and of my service in them.

“Three times her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great

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and a violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and (with honorable peace) left the country in quiet. I returned from each of those three deputations three thousand pounds worse than I went."

The first\* was against Shane O'Neale, who had usurped the whole of Tyrone, being O'Neale's country, and subdued all the potentates and landlords in Ulster. The Scots of the Glynnnes he held in pay. The Queen had nothing but the miserable town of Carregfiargus. The county of Lowthe paid him tribute, called black rent. He exiled O'Donell, Lord of Tircconnell, and drave him into England.

I made war with him. He had of Scots and Irish 7,000 men. I had but 1,700, with 300 Berwick soldiers. I advanced into the rebel's country the 22nd of September 1566, and wasted Tyrone. The old Magwyre died in my camp, but I possessed his brother in his country. I then entered Tircconnell, where I found Colonel E. Randle, with a regiment of 700 soldiers. There of an old church I made a new fort. I left not one castle in the possession of the rebel, nor unreturned to the right owner. I repossessed the old exiled Callagh O'Donnell of the castle of Dunyngall and his country. In the second time of my deputation I sent to the now O'Donell, called Hugh, for the rent and the arrearages, to gather which he desired me to send my serjeant with some force.

I then marched into Carberie, O'Connor Sligo's country. O'Wyrk and others submitted. O'Conor made me great cheer. O'Ghare vowed to go into England, which he performed. I took the great abbey of Aboyle in Connaught. MacDermode submitted. The strong castle of Roscoman had been in the possession of disloyal Irishmen 160 years, "for so long was it before that it was betrayed, and the English constable and ward murdered, as I found in the Irish chronicles." There I planted a small garrison. O'Connor Dun, O'Connor Ro, O'Byrn, O'Flynn, and O'Flanygan did their homage.

From thence I went to Alone. The O'Kellyes desired to hold their lands of the Queen, "and it was done." The two principal captains of the Annally, called O'Farroll Boy and O'Farroll Bane, desired that Connaghe might be shired and rented, which was done, by the name of the county of Longford. I built the bridge of Alone.

The traitor, in my absence, invaded the English Pale, and made roads to the very walls of Dreydath, but was driven home by Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Nicholas Heron. He approached the fort of the Derry. Colonel Randle repulsed him, but was slain. The rebel thus escaping invaded O'Donnelly's country, where he was met with and defeated by

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\* "Note.—In my first passage I lost by shipwreck the most of my household stuff and utensils, my wife's whole apparel and all her jewels, many horses and stable stuff, &c."

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Sir Hugh O'Donnell. Between the end of November and the beginning of Lent following, I made many incursions into his country. Sometimes my vauntcurrens "felt his couch warm where he lay that night."

"In the Christmas holydays I visited him in the heart of his country, where he had made as great an assembly as he could, and had provided as great and good cheer as was to be had in the country. And when word was brought him that I was so near him, 'That is not possible (q<sup>d</sup> he), for the day before yesterday I know he dined and sat under his cloth of estate in the hall of Kilmainham.' 'By O'Neyle's hand (q<sup>d</sup> the messenger), he is in thy country and not far off, for I saw the red bractok with the knotty club, and that is carried before none but himself;' meaning my pensell with the ragged staff. With that he ran away, and so I shortened his Christmas, and made an end of mine own with abundance of his good provision." He resolved to submit, but feared the fury of the watch.

"How pleasant a life it is that time of the year, with hunger and after sore travail, to harbour long and cold nights in cabbanes made of boughs and covered with grass, I leave to your indifferent judgment."

But now the Earl of Ormond applied the Queen with such complaints against me and Sir Warham Sentleger, whom I placed with others in commission in Munster, and her Majesty wrote so often and so earnestly to me touching hurts done to him and his by the Earl of Desmond, that I was forced to address me southward against Desmond. So I advanced towards Munster in January and came not home till April. "The Earl of Desmond met me at Carryke (a house of Ormond), whom I carried with me to Waterford, Dungarvon, Yoghill, and Cork, all the way hearing and ordering the complaints between the two Earls. When the Earl found I dealt justly with Ormond, and that I rather showed favour than severity (as indeed I did to all his), after sundry and several speeches of very hard digestion, expressing his malicious intention, he would have been gone from me, which I denied him, and unwitting to him appointed a guard to attend him day and night. I ordered against him a great sum in recompense of damages done to Ormond, and so took him with me to Kilmallocke. Then I was informed by his own brother John and by Lacie, then Bishop of Limerick, that he intended by force to rescue himself from me, and to that end had a great number of men in areadiness.

"Hereupon, calling such noblemen and potentates of Munster as I had with me, namely, the Viscounts Barry and Roche, Macarty Reoghe, Sir Dermod MacTeague of Muserye, the Barons Coursey and Lexnaue, with Condon and a few other principal gentlemen of that province, I declared unto them what intelligence I had of Desmond's intention, and asked them whether they would give me their faithful promise and oath to

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take my part, and do as I would; 'for Desmond (said I) will I take, and as a prisoner lead away with me.' They forthwith answered me as it were with one voice, that they would to the uttermost adventure of their lives do whatsoever I would have them. Hereupon I took such security of them as I thought convenient, and was indeed sufficient, and immediately sent for the Earl of Desmond, whom in the presence of the forenamed personages and the Sovereign of Kilmallock, with the best of his brethren of the same town, [I] did arrest, and committed him to the custody of my Marshal; which arrest and commitment humbly on his knees he yielded unto."

The lords and others above written persuaded me that it was no policy nor safe for me to lead him out of that town till I had greater force. I had but 50 English spears, 50 English shot, and 50 galloglass. But I, seeing the town to be great and weak, sent to the Mayor of Limerick, willing him to make ready for me as many men as he could, which he accomplished. 300 well-appointed fighting men met me between Kilmallock and Limerick. Out of Kilmallock I took 150 men. With these forces I issued out of the town.

"But still came threatenings to me that I should be fought with by the way, and the prisoner taken from me, but I rested resolute that I would to Limerick, and lead Desmond prisoner with me, and protested to him in the hearing of a multitude that if the least violence that might be were offered to the basest churl or horseboy of my train, he should die of my hand; and so mounting him on a worse horse than I rid on, marched away with him to Limerick, where after very few days I condemned him in the forfeiture of his band to the Queen's Majesty's use for breach of the peace against the Earl of Ormond of 20,000*l.* and had him indicted according to form and order of law for levying unlawfully men in warlike manner against me, her Majesty's Deputy, which is treason.

"Here I constituted John of Desmond, his brother, to be senechal and captain of all the Earl's lands and seigniories, with charge and oath for his loyalty, and that he should, with all the speed he might, restore or recompense all her Majesty's subjects who[m] Desmond had (I now remember not in how many years before) spoiled or injured. And so making him knight, I departed that city, leaving him behind and still leading his brother prisoner with me. Sir John did so effectually in that his charge as (within three months after) I received letters of good credit that he had caused restitution to be made to the Queen's good subjects oppressed by his brother's tyranny of above 5,000*l.* These my acts (good Mr. Secretary) are both registered and enrolled.

"Then I went into and through the great countries of Tomond, and quieted all controversies in the same. I made the people apt to have and to obey a President and Council,

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like as I had planted in Munster. I took pledges of all such as I thought necessary to take pledges of. And so (having the Earl of Tomond with me) I passed through O'Shaghness' country and came to Salowe in Connaught, where I quieted and appeased sundry griefs and controversies between the Earl of Clanricard and other landlords of that province of Connaught. From thence I went through the same province to Alone, where I found everything in good quiet, in sort as I had left it, in my former long journey.

"But all this my doing for the Earl of Ormond and his could nothing satisfy him, but still he exclaimed in England that he could have no justice of me, nor of the Commissioners established in Munster, who were Sir Warham Sentleger, the second Baron of th' Exchequer, called Cusake, and Nicholas White, now Master of the Rolls in Ireland. Sir Warham Sentleger I knew, and do know him, for a worshipful, honest gent', and one that would not blemish his credit for either of both the Earls. Cusake I deemed to be more affected to Desmond than Ormond. White I knew, and all others that knew him thought [him] to be affectuously devoted to Ormond as one born his follower; and yet both honest.

"This composition of a Council I thought convenient for the primitive reformation of so old a cankered faction as was and yet is between the two Earls, who albeit they would inveigh each against other, yet if any sentence passed for the advancement of the Queen's prerogative, or suppression of either of their tyrannies, straightways it was cried out of, and complained of to the Queen, specially by the Earl of Ormond, as injustice and oppression; and thereupon received I many a bitter letter, which indeed tired me, and so perplexed my most dearest wife, as she fell most grievously sick upon the same, and in that sickness remained once in trance 52 hours, upon whose recovery I sent her into England."

I then addressed myself northward against Shane O'Neil, and wasted his country. He practised with Alister Oge MacDonnell, an Irish Scot, but upon the battle fought at the fort of Derry the most of his mercenary Scots left him. Captain Piers, seneschal of Clondeboy, did deal so as the traitor's practice was prevented. "And whereas he (O'Neil) looked for service at their (the Scots') hands against me, for service of me, they killed him the 22th day of June. And I began my wars with him the 22th of September before; so the wars endured eight months, whereof three I spent in Munster about the Earl of Ormond's causes, as is above rehearsed. And [they] sent me his head pickled in a pipkin and craved their reward, and (as I think they be not lately satisfied) they do still, as I know not many years since in your presence at the Council board the forenamed Alister Oge did by his letters and Captain Piers's."

I then went down into Ulster as far as the Blackwater, where I had yielded to me all holds or fast-places that Shane



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O'Neill kept anything of price in, more specially the pledges or prisoners, amongst whom was Thomas Vaughan; which pledges through hard keeping and famine were in most pitiful and miserable case. Amongst those places that were delivered me was an island standing in Lough Eogh, by the countrymen called Island Sydney, which piece Shane thought to be of most strength of any that he had, and where he kept his plate, jewels, and apparel.

"To my camp there came Turlo Lenogh, who had been in Shane's life Fanist of Tyrone, and yet by me made in those wars his enemy. He was by the people of that country chosen O'Neill, which title in truth he accepted, being given him with the brutish ceremonies incident to the same. There came with him the principalest of all his surname, and I had with me the young Baron of Dunganan, Shane's eldest brother's son, whom I had bred in my house from a little boy, then very poor of goods and full feebly friended. I then, in the presence and hearing of all that were in my camp, as well of them who came with me as those that came with him, and all other the potentates and landlords of Ulster, rebuked him sharply for taking upon him the title of O'Neill afore her Majesty's pleasure were known, affirming unto him that I would not confirm the same, but would write to her Highness to nobilitate him with title of higher honour and dignity, which he seemed reverently to accept, and willingly to expect her Majesty's resolution. I then set down in form of articles certain covenants:—"that he should not take upon him the name of O'Neill till her Majesty's pleasure were known; that he should disclaim any superiority, rent, or service taken before by Shane from his uriaighs; that he should cease to exact other rent or service, or "buying," in certain countries (*named*); that he should not entertain any Scots, either born in the Glynnes or in Scotland, without special licence of the governor for the time being.

"Then descended I with him into the consideration of his own country of Tyrone, meaning indeed the dissipation of the same, and appointed unto him all the lands beneath or by north the Great or Black Water, with the service of O'Chane MacKann, O'Donnell, O'Quyn and two other landlords," and to bear the title of principal of his surname.

"I appointed unto Turlo Brasylogh the lands called Clan-brassyll; this Turlo was the son of the eldest son of Chou, first Earl of Tyrone. Then allotted I to Hugh, Baron of Dunganon, and of right ought to be Earl of Tyrone, all the lands called the O'Nele lands, the very first and most ancient possession of the O'Nells, lying about and by south the Great Water. I exempted him from taking any exaction upon any of the lands of the church of Armagh or any member of the same; to all which covenants he agreed, to the great rejoicing and contentment of all the proprietaries of that province, saving some particular and

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peculiar followers of his own, who much repined that the great and regal estate of the O'Neill (as they deemed it) should be so broken and dismembered.

"Then dealt I with O'Donnell and with Chon, who both were in my camp, which Chon was eldest son to Callogh, eldest brother unto Hugh, then and now O'Donnell, at that time lately dead, and nephew to Turlo Lenogh. This Chon looked to be captain of the country, but the bishops and other landlords of the same elected Sir Hugh to be O'Donnell, whereupon there was great likelihood of great wars, which I quieted, establishing Hugh in the place of O'Donnell, and gave unto Chon the castles of Lyppar and Fynn, and the lands belonging to the same, being a good third part of all Tironell.

"I planted three garrisons in Clandeboy and the Glynnnes, namely, the good old Captain Willm. Piers with a company of footmen in the castle and town of Carre[g]fergus, the renowned soldier Captain Malbye with a company of horsemen in Belfast, and the lusty young Captain Willm. Horsey in Glanarme in the Glynnnes, and a ward in Island Sydney under James Vaughan.

"Lastly, I made Alister Oge and all his Scots who killed Shane, and all other Scots not born in Ireland, to depart the realm; and the rest born in Ireland and inhabiting the Glynnnes offered to hold that country of her Majesty by rent and service."

Ever since, each landlord has enjoyed that possession I left him in, saving McGwier, whom the Earl of Essex, when he was General of Ulster, gave to O'Neill to hold of him by rent and service, as Shane before had challenged in the time of the deputation of Sir William FitzWilliams, which was not well done.

I returned to Dublin, and caused the old ruinous castle of Dublin to be reedified. But Ormond ceased not to persecute me, alleging that his people were still oppressed by Sir John of Desmond and the Desmonians. Hearing also that it was resolved that, for saving of charges, I should abate my forces, and should not proceed in building of bridges, towns, and forts, I then procured my revocation. I passed the seas attended on by OeKoner Sligo, captain of his country called Carbrye, OeKaroll, captain of his country called Elye OeKaroll, the Baron of Dungannon, Patrick FitzMores, eldest son of the Baron of Lexnaue, John O'Reley, eldest son to O'Reley, a great man, and of the province of Conaghe anciently, but adjoining to the English Pale, captain of [the] country called Breni O'Reley, and Ros Magoehigan, eldest son to Magoghigan, captain of his country called Kymaliagh. All these and many others went with me to surrender to her Highness all their lands, and to receive the same again of her, yielding far greater rent and service.

"But when I came to the Court it was told me it was no

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war that I had made, nor worthy to be called a war, for that Shane O'Neill was but a beggar, an outlaw, and one of no force, and that the Scots stumbled on him by chance. But such a beggar he was that after a former war made in the government of the Earl of Sussex, a peace was made with him not the most honorablest; and as he and his would say, he was entreated to come into England, and there rewarded of her Majesty with favour and good apparel, and 2,500*l.* lent him, but as he termed given him to buy his peace. Sure I am the money he had, the apparel and other gifts, and nothing had ever the Queen for it again, saving his head. This may argue he was no beggar.

“And within the few days after, I was charged for not redressing the damages done to Ormond and his followers by Sir John of Desmond, whom I left seneschal and captain of his brother's countries, as before is mentioned; his brother still remaining with me in captivity. And there it was openly spoken that the Butlers could have no justice against Sir John of Desmond neither by Sydney nor Sellenger, whom I had left chief in commission to minister justice in Munster. And unwitting to me the Earl of Desmond and Sir John his brother were sent for, which Sir John (being come to Dublin for conference with the Ll. Justices) was (together with his brother the Earl) sent as prisoners and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained (I think) seven years after. And truly (Mr. Secretary) this hard dealing with Sir John of Desmond was the origin of James FitzMores' rebellion, and consequently of all the evil and mischief of Munster, which since (I can prove) hath cost the crown of England and that country 100,000*l.*

“When they were come, I was eftsons charged with partiality between the Earls, and in especial for that I did not apprehend them sooner than I did. For the younger brother I had no warrant, nor (in truth) saw no cause, but much to the contrary; and for the other I was driven to prove that I had apprehended him and committed him prisoner in Kilmallock (as before is mentioned) 48 days before the letter was written at St. James' for to apprehend him.” *Foris triumpho, at domi ploro.*

Turlo Lenogh, seeing no plantation to follow, after so great a destruction of the people of Tyrone, nor garrisons maintained, but diminished or totally withdrawn, grew proud and insolent, and demanded and arrogated his ancient truage and service of his uriaghs.” I was sent for to the Court again and again. As the people of that country were desirous to have me, so were there some of this country unwilling that I should go; but before a full year was run out, I was sent again Deputy into Ireland. I landed at Caregfergus the 6th of September 1568. Turlo Lenogh, hearing of my landing there, came to the Bane side. He was contented to cease from challenging any more the uriaghs, and promised

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me, when his wife returned out of Scotland, to come to me to some more convenient place, which he performed.

Thereupon, some order being taken with the MacGwillins and the native Scots of the Rowte and Glymnes, I returned to Carregfargus, where I found the garrisons that I there left in very good order, the people furnishing them with victuals at a very easy price, as a fat cow at 6s. 8d. and 24 eggs for a penny, and rising out when commanded. "Surely, Sir, so it might have been kept, if the violent and intemperate proceeding of the Earl of Essex and his followers had not been, for undoubtedly the treasure, horses, victuals, and other furniture, as well for the war as for husbandry, which was spent and spoiled in that his enterprise, whereof came no good but the destruction of that town with the church and utter ruin of all the country about, had been well employed, and seasons of the year observed, and leisure taken in dealing with the people, had been sufficient to have reduced all the last forenamed countries to as good obedience as the English Pale." In Carregfargus twice a week a good market was kept, where out of the English Pale, the Isle of Man, and Scotland came much merchandise, victuals, and other commodities, and out of France; and in one summer three barks of 40 tons apiece discharged their loading of excellent good Gascoigne wine, the which they sold for 9 cowskins the hogshhead.

I surveyed and viewed Clancboy and Ardes, and shired the same by the name of the county of Carregfargus. "The Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Meath, with divers noblemen and gentlemen as well of England and the English Pale, lawyers, merchants, and others, came from Dublin to Carregfargus, only for visitation' sake, the Bishops riding in their rochets, and the rest unarmed."

Then I journeyed towards Dublin. By the way there met me all the horsemen and freeholders of the Ardes, McGennys, the captain of Kilwiltogh, and the captain of Kilwarlyn.

"James FitzMores, son to Mores of Desmond, nicknamed Attolane, brother to James Earl of Desmond, father to the now Earl, traitor and rebel, understanding that I was arrived [at Dublin] and had not brought with me neither the Earl nor Sir John his brother, which he thought I might and would have done, assembling as many of the Earl of Desmond's people as he could, declared unto them that I could not obtain the enlargement either of the Earl or of his brother John, and that there was no hope or expectation of either of them, but to be put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison. And therefore (saying that that country could not be without an earl or a captain) willed them to make choice of one to be their earl or captain, as their ancestors had done, after the murther (as he termed it) of the good Earl Thomas FitzJames, his ancestor, put to death by the tyrant the Earl of Worcester (as he called him), then Deputy of Ireland. And according to this his speech, he wrote unto me, they forthwith, and as it had been

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with one voice, cried him to be their captain." I wrote to him to desist from that unlawful usurpation, and used threats. He persisted in assembling of men of war. This was the origin of the rebellion in Munster; "and to use plain terms, 'twas the withdrawing of Sir John of Desmond from the governing of that country, where he governed well, and the long imprisonment of him, which was the Earl of Ormond's counsel, and lastly the enlargement of them both; for if the one had been kept, though the other enlarged, each had been a sufficient hostage upon the other.

"James grew into more and more insolencies and great outrages upon divers whom he loved nor liked not; whereupon I was driven to proclaim him traitor and rebel. And looking for the service of Sir Edmond Butler, then captain and senechal of all the Earl of Ormond's countries, (for so the Earl his brother had made him, and politiciely kept himself in England, as well for duty's sake to the Queen, as ancient and innate malice to the Earl of Desmond and all Desmonians,) I was quite disappointed, being answered as well by scornful letters as frivolous and foolish speeches, that he was able to do none, alleging that I had made him to ride up and down the country like a priest, inferring thereby the suppressing of the most filthy and intolerable exaction of coyne and livery, used most harmfully by him, the country being quiet and no wars, nor likely to be. I urging him still to serve, he fell into rebellious actions; for he wasted and destroyed almost all the Queen's County, killing very many of the inhabitants of the same, but most especially all the Englishmen; and for more despite to the nation he would cause English dead men's bodies to be stripped out of their English garments, and their hose and dubletts (being stuffed and trussed) he would set up as marks for his kernes to throw their darts at. He wasted much of the county of Carlow and of the Kavenoghes, as many as would not be of his rebellious faction; he did much hurt in the bounds of the counties of Dublin and Kildare; he utterly spoiled a great fair held at Inys Cortie, a house and town of the Queen's in the county of Washford (Wexford). I am sure that fair is far the greatest of any in Ireland, and held yearly, and usually at a day certain; the horrible rapes and shameful murders, with the total rapine of all the goods that could be carried away, were too loathsome to be written or read. There were assembled (beside a multitude of country people) the most of the merchants of the good town of Washford, either in their own persons, their wives or their servants, who were ravished, killed, or spoiled; all looking for no such ever unheard-of harm there, whither peaceably they came by water.

"Then increased he his strength by stirring the Earl of Thomond to rebellion, and to resist Sir Edward Fitton, then Lord President in Connaught and Thomond, and had with him both his brethren Edward and Piers, and by far the most part

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of all the fighting men of both the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; for although some householders and principal gentlemen, more wary than the rest, went not, yet their sons, servants, and followers (as they term them there) went to him. And finally, all Ormonists, of what surname soever they were, except Sir Theobald Butler, Lord of the Kaer (Cahir), and the Lord Baron of Dunboyne's people (who then was in England and under age), rebelled with him. James Fitz-Mores, for his part, had gotten to him the Earl of Klankar, McDonagh, McAwley, Ockueefe, O'Swillivan Moore, and I think O'Swillivan Bere joined with him; and though the rest of the potentates of Munster remained (as they seemed) sound, yet their young and loose people went to him. And for that so virtuous an action as this rebellion was might be of more strength, both Butler and Garadyne (Geraldine), notwithstanding all former and most ancient enmity, joined together and spoiled those that would not go with them at their pleasures.

"I sent the good knight Sir Peter Carew and the valiant Malby to keep the frontiers of Carlo and Cavenoghe's country, and the hardy and politic Captain Collier into the good town of Kilkenny, the people whereof I did not very soundly trust. Sir Peter Carew and Captain Malby gave Sir Edmond Butler a shrewd blow, after a bloody bickering and slaughter of his men, and chased them, and wan his house at Kloghgrynan, and hanged the ward, Sir Edmond returning to James Fitz-Mores. And both they with their forces encamped and besieged the town of Kilkenny, where the Earl his brother hath a strong castle, and the town is well closed and defended with gates, walls, and river; but had not the soldiers been, the town had been sacked and many of the people ransomed, as I after in truth found. But Captain Collyer so vigilantly attended his charge, as well in guarding the gates and walls against the rebels, as in preventing the practice of the townsmen, as the rebels were forced to go away with shame, against whom I advanced with as much diligence as I could, leading only with me the garrison men, which were but 600, leaving all the men of the country to guard the Pale northward, and Sir Barnaby FizPatrick to guard the Pale southward, who was the most sufficient man in counsel and action for the war that ever I found of that country birth; great pity it was of his death.

"I came to Kilkenny, where, after I had allowed of some with thanks, and checked others with rebukes, I marched into the county of Tipperary, where the rebels went afore me, burning their own houses and villages. Some of their castles I won, but so many as I would, I could not tarry to win, for that I daily was advertised of the great distress the city of Corke was in, where at that time lay a full noble and virtuous lady, the wife of Sir Warham Sentleger, whom the citizens were sometimes in consultation and consideration to deliver

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to James FitzMores, which he earnestly and with great threats required; for whose rescue I sent forth a ship furnished with mine own menial servants and others, who, by reason of contrary wind, could not come thither in due time; but there arrived in very good season (so directed by me) 400 footmen, sent with great diligence out of England, led by Captain Sute and Captain Ward, two very sufficient men, whose coming not only comforted the poor desolate lady, but the whole city, before sore afraid.

“So marching through the county of Tipperary, I encamped by Clonmell (Clonmell), a walled town, standing upon the river of Sure, the people good and loyal. During mine encamping there, the rebels being dispersed all over the country, there was libels or chartels thrown into my camp, signifying that I should not so soon dislodge, but that I should be fought withal; yea, and peradventure in my camp itself. I sent to the mayor and his brethren of Waterford to send me some relief of men furnished for the war; they flatly answered me they would send none. Albeit some particular men, namely, Piers Ayellward, who had been mayor of Waterford, John Wise, and Antony Poore, and some others very well appointed, of their own good wills came to me.” There came also to me certain seamen, led by Marshall, servant to my Lord of Warwick. The city of Waterford alleged they might so do by their charter; but at my coming home I made their corporation pay for it, as Mr. Tremayne, then my secretary, can testify.

“I sent forth proclamations of pardon to all such as would desist from rebellion (certain exempted), but it prevailed not. I sent also Commissioners to parle with the principal gent’ of the county of Tipperary, to dissuade them from that furious, unnatural, and traitorous actions they were in, but nothing took place, the gent’ answering thus, as followeth:—‘We are of this county more ancient inhabitors and freeholders than any Butlers is, and were the first conquerors of this soil from the Irishry; and in our ancestors’ days it was made of a country called Earthmound (as much to say as East Munster); but since that time (though a good many years past) England gave us away (I use their own phrase) to a Butler, and created him Earl of Ormond, [and] made him, by letters patents, Lord of the Liberty of the county of Tipperary, where, as a county palatine, he keepeth courts regally by himself or his officers, to which courts we do, and our ancestors did ever since that grant from the Kings of England, yield suit and service; and where all actions for goods, lands, or life are tried, very few except, and those being but four capital offences, seldom or never committed there. Thus have we and our ancestors acknowledged him as our Lord and Captain, and indeed know no other Sovereign but him, whose lieutenant Sir Edmond Butler, his brother and heir apparent, is. Him we follow, and him we will follow, and do as he commandeth us.’”

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“This was all I could get of them. And Sir Edmond Butler being demanded (for so was I directed out of England that he should be) what the cause was that he rebelled, he said it was my hard dealing with him. ‘Wherein?’ said he that examined him. ‘Marry,’ quod Sir Edmond, openly in the Star Chamber, ‘he said that he would sit on my skirts, and that hereafter came not yet, and that he would make my heart-strings ache;’ where, in truth (Sir) I used no such words.” . . . .

“To his complices in rebellion he would say that the cause of his stir was that the Earl of Leicester, enemy to his brother and house, should marry the Queen, and be King of England, and that I should be King of Ireland, their mortal foe, and brother to the Earl of Leicester, of whom I should hold Ireland (as might appear) by bearing the ragged staff continually in my pensill before me, which indeed I did. This did the Earl of Klancar and others tell me that he said unto them.

“And lastly, that blessed babe, Edward Butler, a page of my own bringing up, talking with some servants of mine, his old and familiar fellows, whom of purpose I sent with the Commissioners to understand of him what they could, for they were well acquainted with the young man’s humour, and he, pretending great goodwill and love to me for the sundry benefits and favours he had received of me, wished them, and prayed them even with tears, that they would persuade me to return back, affirming that if I went forwards I was but undone, for overthrown I should be.” . . . . He said also “that he nor they did anything without the privity and direction of the Earl of Ormond, then in England.”

When my Commissioners were returned and brought no submission from the rebels, the Council and captains persuaded me to return, affirming they found great faintness in the soldiers. But Sir Thomas Cusake and Sir Lucas Dillon animated me to go forwards. Sir Lucas is a faithful and loyal servant to the Queen.

“I went into the market-place of my camp, and with trumpet and drum sounded to the standard. The soldiers and all the rest of the camp readily came, in hope I would forthwith have returned. I showed my resolution to the contrary, and some words I spake, and somewhat it prevailed, for they with the drinking of a tun of wine, which, during the consultation, was provided and laid in the market-place; and after my speech ended, very diligently applied both by drawing and drinking, all my men’s cowardish coldness was turned into martial heat, and then nothing but ‘Upon them! upon them! Lead you, and we will follow to the laud’s end, or die by the way; and let us go by and by!’ ‘Nay, last,\* sirs,’ quod I, ‘it is Sunday, and it is afternoon; we will go hear evening prayer, sup and rest; and you shall be called, I war-

\* “Soft” in the copy in Vol. 628.



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rant you, betimes in the morning ; and so, in the name of God, we will advance forwards.' That evening and all the night there was nothing but singing, casting of bullets, drying of powder, filing of pikes' heads, sharpening of swords, and every man thinking himself good enough for five rebels."

As soon as it was day I dislodged, marching through sundry straits into the White Knight's country, the owner of which was in actual rebellion with James FitzMores, and not long after in his service slain. Here I left the Butlers' dominions, and entered into the Garradynes', at the entry of which met me the Viscount Barrie, the Viscount Roch, MacKarte Reogh, and divers other gentlemen of the province of Munster, all pretending loyalty to the Queen and enmity to the house of Desmond.

"I went to the principal castle of the White Knight's country, called the Old or the New Castle, I know not whether, and summoned the ward by sound of trumpet, who answered they held that castle of none but of God, James FitzMores, and the White Knight, and unless one of them would come (or send St. Peter or St. Paul) they would never render it." Finally, after an obstinate resistance I won the castle, and delivered it to James Roch, son of the Viscount Roch, and sundry other castles and lands to Sir Theobald Butler, withheld from him by the White Knight.

I then dislodged towards Cork, wasting and spoiling the country. There I found the above-written captains and soldiers, revived the poor afflicted lady, and comforted the citizens. I there heard of the arrival of the Earl of Ormond, whom I addressed to meet me at Limerick.

"I departed from thence, and encamped in a country of the Earl of Desmond's called Kerrywherie, and destroyed the same, winning the principal castle thereof, called Carreg Hlyn, and left in it a ward. From thence I marched into Mack Donoghe's country, which confineth with Desmond, the Earl of Clanekare's country, and there I wan and pulled down castles, burned and spoiled the villages and fields ; which while I was in doing the Lord of the country, OcKueefe, McAulic, the eldest son of O'Swillivan Moore, the father for age and corpulency not being able to travel, and O'Swillivan Bere, without protection, came to me and submitted themselves, lives and lands, and there taking of them oath and hostage for their fidelity without pardon, I dismissed them to expect the Queen's mercy.

"I then turned into a great territory of land of the Viscount Barrie's, the name of the country I have forgotten, but the principal castle thereof beareth a French name called Bowte de Vawne [Boutez en avant—Buttevant], which I took, and depossessed the right owner in it ; so did divers landlords and freeholders whose lands and castles had been taken and withheld from them, some of long time by the Earl of Desmond, and some of late time by James FitzMores.

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“Then and there I heard that the rebel James (with his associates) went afore me, wasting and destroying the Queen’s good subjects, as well of the county of Cork as the county of Limerick, and therefore was constrained to alter my former intention of going into Desmond, and turned towards the county of Limerick, but I could not get so far as Kilmallock but that the rebel had by scale surprised the same town, not without vehement suspicion of falsehood in many of the townsmen, for some he saved, many he sacked, some he ransomed, and many houses of base building he burned, which afterwards were reedified, the walls heightened, and the town made better than ever it was.”

Here I received answer from the Earl of Ormond that he could not come to me without convoy of good force to conduct him. I sent him the Viscount Desyces and the Lord Poore; who brought the Earl to me safe, lying in camp hard by Limerick. The Earl delivered me the Queen’s letters containing confident opinion in his loyal devotion to her. He besought me that he might work the retreat of his brethren from their vile actions, and brought me his brother Edward, my late page, who submitted himself. The Earl said he would do his best to bring in his other two brethren, but I saw them not all that journey. He made most earnest suit to me that he might have his brother Edward in custody, affirming that he was more able to work with his other two brethren than he himself. I granted his request, but since that time I could never set eye of my old servant Edward.

“During my abode in Limerick there came to me divers principal personages of the same county of Kerry and of Conelogh, as the Lord FitzMores, William Burgh, captain or owner of Clan William, a man of great lands, whose eldest son after (being my man) with his own hand killed James FitzMores and James him at one only encounter, Lacy, Pursell, and Suppell, with many moe whose names I have forgotten, being all descended of English race; all sware allegiance to her Majesty and faithful service in that action against James. There came to me also Rorie MacShee, captain general of the Earl of Desmond’s galloglas, surnamed Chlansbee; he likewise submitted, sware allegiance, and delivered pledges as before. This man was counted one of much might among them; he procured to come to me a great many more of the Irishry.”

I constituted Captain Gilbert Commander and Colonel of all Munster. He brought James FitzMores to a very base estate. “So, enjoying great victory of the suppressed rebel, he came to me with great joy to Tredath, bringing with him sundry personages of good account.” I made him knight. After Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s departure to England the rebel got force again until Sir John Parott was sent to be Lord President of Munster, who (though not in my time) brought him to make a very lowly submission, with very vile conditions; “under

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which the rebel lived a small time there, and ran away with wife and children first into Brittany, then into Portugall, lastly to Rome, and got to him the association of that good man Thomas Stukelic."

Then departed I from Limerick to Dublin, and was advertised of the Earl of Tomond's revolt and adherence to James FitzMores, alleging the cause of his rebellion to be the hard dealing of Sir Edward Fitton, Lord President in Conagh and Tomond. I practised by all peaceable means to appease him, and went to the Queen's house of Laghlyn Bridge, where I sent for the Earl of Ormond, and commissioned him and Mr. Rauf Rugby, then Chief Justice in Conagh, to parlewitth Tomond. He affirmed that he had done nothing but by Ormond's counsel. I was forced to send forces against Tomond, who was defeated by Sir Edward Fitton at a place called the Shrowre in the confines of Clanrickard and McWilliam Eughter's country, whither came to the aid of Tomond a great many Scots. Teg Mack Morogh O'Breene and Teg Mack Conoghor O'Breene forced the lubber to leave the land and creep into a French bark that lay in the river of Shenen; and so he went into France.

"I, thus lying in Dublin, long looked for the coming of the Butlers, who at last came, Sir Edmond and Piers, but my pretty and foregrown page would never come at me, notwithstanding the Earl his brother's band. I had the two brothers indicted of high treason, which they humbly and publicly confessed at the bar. Then weighing the great mercy of the Queen's Majesty before mentioned, and her Highness' direction expressed by letters, I stayed any further proceeding with them by ordinary course of law, but detained them in prison. Shortly after this the Earl of Ormond, according to her Majesty's large licence that he might return into England without further leave or passport obtained of me, went thither, pretending his going was to obtain pardon for his brothers.

"Then I summoned, according to the laws of that realm and authority granted by letters patents, a Parliament, and before the first day of the session of the same I went northward to Armagh, and there had meeting with Turlo Lenogh, who then brought his wife with him, before mentioned to be in Scotland at the time of my arrival. And truly, Sir, I found her a good counsellor to him, a well willer to peace, and a reverent speaker of the Queen's Majesty. She would still persuade him to content himself to be a subject, and to contain him in all his actions like a loyal subject, alleging many examples of her own country of Scotland, where there was many as great potentates as he was, and her own brother or nephew the Earl of Argyle (I wott not whether, but daughter she was to an Earl of Argyle), who challenged as much *jura regalia* and other sovereignties as he could, and yet contented themselves to submit their causes to the laws

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of the realm, and themselves to the King's pleasure. In truth, Sir, she was a grave, wise, and well-spoken lady both in Scotch, English, and French, and very well mannered. To be short, with him I concluded even as I desired." I then, returning to Dublin, went southward, peaceably keeping sessions in the counties of Kildare, King's County and Queen's County. I went into Upper Ossory and stayed at Kilkenny, where above 60 persons were executed, and many of them of the stoutest of the Butlers' gallowglas. I came to Laghlyn Bridge, where I had before me the principal gentlemen of the county of Washford. Kaer Mackedo O'Moore and Lyssagh Mackedo O'Moore were hanged.

Sir Edmond Butler made his escape from the castle of Dublin, and by the help of Hugh Mack Shane's children he was conducted into the county of Kilkenny. Before his escape I had enlarged Piers. He said it was told him that undoubtedly I would kill him.

"Now approached the Parliament, in which what acts were made may appear and be extant in the printed book of statutes, of which printing I was the first author, I am sure to the benefit of the subjects of that land."

"I caused to plant and inhabit there above forty families of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion' sake, in one ruinous town called Surds (Swords). And truly (Sir) it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they reedified the quiet spoiled old castle of the same town and repaired almost all the same, and how godly and cleanly they, their wives, and children lived. They made diaper and ticks for beds, and other good stuff for man's use, and excellent good leather of deer skins, goat and sheep fells, as is made in Southwark." But Sir William Gerrard obtained a licence of her Majesty to transport a number of packs of yarn unwrought, though I had by an Act restrained myself and successors for ever to grant any like licence.

I might have had 2,000*l.* in ready gold, to have opposed the act respecting the custom for wines.

During this session the Earl of Klanckar came to me and confessed his rebellion, alleging that Sir Edmond Butler was the cause thereof, in that he reported to him those foolish and frivolous speeches of the Earl of Leicester and me. He submitted himself, goods, lands, and life to her Majesty. "Towards the end of this Parliament came the Ox, I should say Earl of Tomond; having found that he could find nothing in France, but according to his worth suffered to live there without relief, he made such mean to the then Lord Ambassador in France as he obtained of her Majesty over-great grace." He made his submission. I kept him in prison, and his castles warded by my men.

"The Earl of Ormond (my professed foe) sometime with clamour, but oftener with whispering, did bitterly backbite

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me, saying that brethren were driven by my cruelty to rebel, and that he nor his could have any justice of me." I once again procured my revocation and came to the Court, where, after more acceptance than I hoped for, it was said "that the Butlers' war was made by my malice borne to them, and that else there was nothing done."

A third time I took upon me that thankless charge, and departed from the Queen at Dudley Castle, passed the seas, and arrived the 14th of September 1575 as near the city of Dublin as I could safely, for at that time the city was grievously infected, and so was the English Pale, with the pestilence. I went to Tredath and received the sword of the then Deputy.\* Taking some order for the government of the English Pale, after conference had with the Earl of Essex for the best possession that I could put him in of his country of Farney, parcel of the attainted lands given to him by her Majesty, I journeyed to Carregfargus, from whence I went through Clandboy, the Glynnes, and into the Rowte. I there had interparlaunce by commissioners with the Scot Sorley Boy, who had defeated a company of the Earl of Essex's regiment, led by Captain John Norreys. His men were commanded by a lieutenant of his, a certain Italian. He was desirous of peace, offering to hold the Glynnes and Rowte of the Queen by rent and service. As I was not well assured of Turlo Lenogh, I made peace with him. He humbly desired to have again the island of Raghlyns, which his ancestors had occupied 140 or 160 years before, wherein the Earl of Essex had planted a garrison.

I left Carregfargus in very good quiet, intending to go to Dublin, but by that time I came to the Newry, Sir Nicholas Bagnall's house, Turlo Lenogh sent a trusty agent to desire me that I would come to Armagh, where he and the lady his wife would meet me. Albeit I heard the Earl of Desmond was grown somewhat insolent, I went to Armagh, where the former peace was ratified. Turlo desired to be nobilitated by the title of an Earl, and to hold his land of the Queen by rent and service. The Scots craved to enjoy their lands, and to yield rent and service; "the lady, Turlo's wife, as earnestly suing that she might have the same lands assured to her children, which she had by James MacKonnell, † Sorley's eldest brother, and would give more for it than he would." I settled the MackGwillims of the Rowte in their country. Within one month after Turlo killed a great number of Sorley's men and his eldest son.

I then journeyed towards Dublin, doing justice in the counties of Louth and Meath. From Dublin I wrote of my proceedings. Turlo was thought too base to receive such

\* Sir William FitzWilliams.

† "McDonnell" in the margin.

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nobilitation; and it was deemed too dangerous to grant the Scots plantation in Ireland.

Albeit it was in the deep of winter I travelled towards Cork, keeping sessions in the counties of Kildare, Carlo, King's County and Queen's County. From thence I went to Waterford. In that county I had constituted an Englishman to be sheriff. I went to Dungarvon, where then ruled Harry Davells, and took order for the fortifying of the town. From thence I went to Lessmore and Lessfynen, where at that time dwelt Sir John of Desmond, then in all appearance a good and loyal subject. At Cork I lay from Christmas till Candlemas. I was well entertained at the Viscount Barrie's house, called Barrie's Court. The people of the city said there was never such a Christmas kept in the same; for there were with me the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Klankar, the Viscount Barrie, the Viscount Roch, and many others. They were willing to live under English law, and to bear soldiers.

The Seneschal of Imokelly, a Garraudyne, boasted that he would keep his strong castle of Ballymarter against me, which I besieged and took. The cannonier, old Thomas Eliott, (now a suitor at the Court) was stricked through the thigh. There I left a ward, which continued long after, and went back again to Cork. From thence I went to the Viscount Roche's, and from thence to Kilmallock. The best and principallest gentlemen of those parts submitted to my taxation for bearing of soldiers. Thither came "3 or 4 bishops of the provinces of Cashell and Thewme (Tuam), which bishops (albeit they were Papists) submitted themselves unto the Queen's Majesty and unto me, her Deputy, acknowledging that they held all their temporal patrimony of the Queen's Majesty, and desired humbly that they might (by her Highness) be inducted into their ecclesiastical prelaey. Here was some hold between the bishops and me, too long here to be recited, for they stood still upon *Salvo suo ordine*, &c., and I of the Queen's absolute authority." This done I went into Tomond, where the Earl met me. "I there subdued a rebellious race of the surname of the Earl, the O'Breens. Their captains were called the Bishop's sons\*; and indeed the bastards they were [of] the Bishop of Kilalowe,† which Bishop was son to an O'Brien, captain of Tomond. Of these wicked generation, some I killed, some I hanged by order of law, but all I subdued." O'Shaghme's country was all in garboil and violent wars, the captain whereof I settled in bis due room.

I then went to Gallowey, in the way to which met me the Earl of Clanricard. All the potentates of Connaught came to me with most humble submission. The Earl of Clanricard caused his two most bad and rebellious sons, Ulick and John,

\* "Mac Anaspig" in the margin.

† Maurice O'Brien.

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to come to me with humble submission. "I committed them, and in the chief church of the town had a sermon preached of them and of their wickedness by a countryman of their own, called Linch, sometimes a friar at Greenwich, but a reformed man, a good divine and preacher in the three tongues, Irish, English, and Latin. The young men publicly in the church I rebuked very sharply, and they as humbly submitted, and again to prison I committed them." I then departed from Galway.

I was convited by the Earl of Clanricard to his house of Balie Logh Reogh, still leading with me his two sons as prisoners in my marshal's ward. I offered to make him Governor of Connaght if he would suppress the extortion of coyne and livery, but he would not accept it. I returned to Dublin, and licensed his sons to dwell with their friends, provided that they should never pass the Shenen or come into Connaght.

I had not been long at Dublin, but I heard of some disorders by the Cavenaghcs, and some of the good county of Washford. Having gone one day's journey southward, I was credibly advertised of the revolt of the two young Clanricardines. "Albeit they were mortal enemies (though brethren), yet *in odium tertie, nempe*, the Queen, and English government, they conjured and joined in actual rebellion, shaking off and cutting in pieces their English garments upon the river of Shenen, saying that those should be their pledge for the remaining by East Shenen." They went to Balieaurhic, where was the sepulture of their fathers, and the natural mother of the same John buried; the chief church of which town they most violently burned. I had there some workmen whom they killed; and, indeed, I had begun some fortification there.

Thus advertised, I directed my course from the south into the west, and was there before they looked for me. I went to the Earl of Clanricard's chief house, and took it and him. I proclaimed the sons traitors and rebels, detained the father, and planted there Thomas Le Strainge and Captain Collier with 250 men. I sent for the Earl's followers to come to me to Gallowey.

"There came to me also a most famous feminine sea captain called Grany Imallye, and offered her service unto me where-soever I would command her, with three galleys and 200 fighting men either in Ireland or Scotland; she brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than Mrs. Mate with him; he was of the nether Burkes, and now as I hear Mack William Euter, and called by nickname Richard in Iron. This was a notorious woman in all the coast of Ireland. This woman did Sir Philip Sydney see and speak withal; he can more at large inform you of her.

"Here heard we first of th' extreme and hopeless sickness of the Earl of Essex, by whom Sir Philip being often most

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lovingly and earnestly wished and written for, he with all the speed he could make went to him, but found him dead before his coming in the castle of Dublin."

From thence I marched in prosecution of the rebels, and wan divers castles. I delivered Castle Barry to Mack William Euter. And so I departed, leading the Earl with me, and leaving Balye Logh Reogh well stuffed with men and munition. The two gentlemen before named did sundry notable exploits against the rebels. I caused a bridge to be begun over the Sowke, hard by the castle of Balislough, which since was perfected by Colonel Sir Nicholas Malby. After I had settled him in that province, I had no cause to have care of it. If he had continued longer in the charge of Munster, the crown of England had not spent so much. He so well governed the good subjects of Connaught as they were contented to yield him service, victual, and wages.

Leaving Dublin, I journeyed through the counties of Kildare, Carlogh, Kilkenny, and Wasshford, holding sessions. I came home by the seaside through Base Leinster, the countries of the Kavenoghes (ruled by Captain Thomas Masterson), the O'Moroghes (governed by Richard Synod), the Kynchilaghes (where Thomas Masterson was Captain), the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles (governed by Captain Francis Agarde), and so home to Dublin. All these Irish people lived as loyally as any people in the shire ground. There was "no waste land, but, as they termed it there, it bare corn or horn."

Some of the barons and principal gentlemen of the English Pale grudged greatly at the bearing of the soldiers, and made divers grievous complaints in the name of the Commons. But they looked to exact all that of the poor Commons which they yielded to the finding of the soldiers. They impugned the Queen's prerogative, saying the Queen had no right to impose any charge upon her subjects without consent of Parliament. There were few in the English Pale thoroughly sound for the Queen's prerogative and profit, saving Sir Lucas Dillon and his whole lineage, far the best of that country brood.

The chief opposers of them against the Queen were the Baron of Delvin, the Lord of Howth, the Lord Trymbleston, the Lord of Killelyne, and divers knights, principal gent' and lawyers, among whom Nicholas Nugent, then Second Baron of the Exchequer, and since executed for treason, was one. All the principal landlords of the English Pale confederated against me and the prerogative. The only noblemen on the Queen's part were the Lords of Slane and Upper Ossory. Agents were sent to the Queen, exclaiming upon me for my cruel and unlawful exactions. "Then was I driven to search old records, and so did I many; the which records, many years before, I myself, being Treasurer there, had laid up and dressed a house for the conservation of them and others." It appeared that cesse had been used from the time



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of King Edward III. In this search the Chancellor, then William Gerrard, did well assist me, but afterwards joined with the country.

I offered to discharge them for *3l. 6s. 8d.* the ploughland, but still they repined at my charge; while many townships, cantreds, and baronies thanked me for it, accepted the same, and readily made payment thereof to the hands of Robert Woodford. The same came to *2,400l.* "But still and almost weekly I received [letters], to my hearty grief, that I was a costly servant, and alienated from her Highness her good subjects' hearts." I gave over all cesse for my household, and paid ready money for everything, to my undoing.

"To return to the commonwealth men (for so they called themselves), I mean the messengers of the repining malcontents of the English Pale, who then were at the Court." I sent over the Lord Chancellor with matter of ancient record. Two of the three learned legates, Burnell and Newterfield, were committed to the Tower, and the third, the oldest and craftiest of the three, named Barnaby Shurlogh, submitted himself in Dublin. But the Chancellor brought me nothing back again but speech delivered (*sic*) that it was a thing intolerable and dangerous, and might breed universal rebellion. In my absence he enlarged the repinants, whom I held prisoners in the castle of Dublin. As soon as I was gone he made Nicholas Nugent (displaced by me from the Second Baronship of the Exchequer and committed to the castle of Dublin for his arrogant obstinacy against the Queen) Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

I would have left the sword and gone over without leave, had not an obscure and base varlet called Rorye Oge O'Moore stirred, and claimed authority over the whole country of Lesh. Daniel, the Earl of Ormond's secretary, confessed to me that Ormond had counselled him never to submit himself to me, prognosticating my disgrace with the Queen, and the revolt against me of the English Pale. I went into his fastest places, but never would he fight with me, but always fled and was secured in the county of Kilkenny, and under and with the Butlers. I retired myself and the army, leaving in Maryborough Sir Harry Harrington, my sister's son, and lieutenant of the King's County, in old time Ofaley. When he had brought the rebel Rorye to a low ebb, he came to a parley with him indiscreetly, for there was he taken and carried away. I sought his enlargement, "but nothing prevailed without such conditions as I would not have enlarged Philip my son." Then made I war upon the rebel, and my men prevailed, but still he kept my nephew. But through Robert Harpoole I beset his cabanish dwelling.

"The rebel had within it 26 of his best and most assured men, his wife, and his marshal's wife, and Cormagh O'Koner, an ancient and rank rebel, of long maintained in Scotland, and at last (but too soon) reclaimed from thence by the

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Queen our mistress, and with stipend as a pensioner sent into Ireland, who, returning to the vomit of his innate rebellious stomach, went to Rorye Oge and took part with him in his rebellion, and in that place and time was by a man of mine called John Parker killed. There were also killed his wife and all his men; only there escaped himself and his marshal, called Shane Mack Rorye Reogh, in truth miraculously, for they crope between the legs of the soldiers into the fastness of the plashes of trees. Rorye Oge confessed, and so did the wife of his marshal, whom the soldiers saved, that the skirts of his shirt was with an English sword cut from his bare body; but in this assault and conflict, being done in the dark night, the villainous rebel fell upon my most dear nephew, being tied in chains, and him most shamefully hacked and hewed with my nephew's own sword, to the effusion of such a quantity of blood as were incredible to be told. He brake his arm with that blunt sword and cut off the little finger of one of his hands, and in sundry parts of his head so wounded him, as I myself in his dressing did see his brains moving. Yet my good soldiers brought him away, and a great way upon their halberts and pikes, to a good place in that country, where he was relieved, and afterwards (I thank God) recovered.

“During his service, and before his unhappy apprehension, I went to the Newrye, and thither came to me Turlo Lenogh (the lady his wife not being able to come through a hurt she had), but well had she counselled him, as it appeared, for most frankly and familiarly used he me, coming to me against the will of all his counsellors and followers, protesting he so much trusted and loved me as he would not so much as once ask hostage or protection. He brought above 400*l.* sterling to the town, and spent it all in three days. He celebrated Bacchus' feast most bravely, and as he thought much to his glory, but as many hours as I could get him sober I would have him into the castle, where he would as reverently (as his little good manner did instruct him) speak of the Queen, craving still, and that most humbly, that he might be nobilitated by the Queen, and to hold his lands and seigniories of her Majesty by rent and service, and there ratified all former peace made between me and him, and the Earl of Essex and him.”

I returned to Dublin, where “I understood that the Earl of Desmond, still repining at the government of Sir William Drurye, and upon a short message sent him by Sir William, fell into a frantic resolution, and whereas he purposed to have kept his Christmas at Yoghill, he suddenly brake off that determination and went into Kerry, and straightway assembled forces; and had I not taken the ball at the first bound, he had undoubtedly used violence against Sir William Drurye and his people, who were not many. I straightways addressed me to Kilkenny, and thither I sent for Sir William Drurye, the Earl and the Countess his wife. They came all to

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me. The Earl was hot, wilful, and stubborn; the Countess at that time a good counsellor; Sir William Drucery confessed some fault; but finally (though with much ado) I made them friends, and a sound pacification of all quarrels between them, and sound it continued as long as I continued governor there. But not long after (as you know), upon like occasion as before is noted, he and his two brothers Sir John and Sir James fell into actual rebellion, in which the good knight Sir William Drucery, then Lord Justice, died, and he as a malicious and unnatural rebel still persisteth and liveth.

“The Christmas ended, wherein I entertained the Earl and the Countess as well as I could, and presented them both with silks and jewels, not a little to my costs, I fell then into holding of sessions by commission of Oyer and Terminer, but in person I would never be on the Bench, for that the Ormonists should not say that I was there by speech or countenance to engrave any matter against them. And though I were as much thwarted by some of them as might be, yet had I a great number of that county orderly indicted, according to the laws, arraigned, judged to die, and executed for abetting, favoring, and aiding Rorie Oge. This matter remains of record.

“Divers of the principal gentlemen would in the night, and as it were disguised, come to me, protesting they durst not in the daytime be seen to do so for fear of the Earl of Ormond. They did give me good information of matters of weight, and I them the best instruction I could. The Earl in England still exclaimed that I lay there to no other end but to make myself rich by the spoil of his country, saying that I paid for nothing that I took, which was utterly untruly; for not only my household officers, but all others that followed me, paid ready money for everything they took in any town where I came. And when the Earl of Ormond was so said to by Mr. Edward Waterhowse, sometime my secretary, he answered that his officers had written so to him.”

After the taking of my nephew Harrington from the rebel (Rorie Oge), I placed a garrison to persecute the rebel under Sir Nicholas Malbye, Captain Collyer, Captain Fures, Captain Mackworth, and others; lastly, and most effectually, under the Baron of Upper Ossory, my particular sworn brother. “The vile Rorye was killed by a household servant of the Baron’s, his marshal the forenamed escaped, and the rebel’s body, though dead, so well attended and carried away, as it was the cause of the death of a good many of men on both sides, yet carried away he was; but not long after his head was sent to me, and set upon the Castle of Dublin, for which I had proclaimed 1,000 marks to be given to him that would bring it me, and 1,000*l.* to him that would bring him me alive.” The Baron of Upper Ossory (who was nurtured under Edward VI.) would take but 100*l.* to give among his men.

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I loathed to tarry any longer in Ireland, and yet before I went I invaded MacMahon's country, and totally destroyed the same, in revenge of a shameful murder committed by him in killing the Lord of Louth, and the son and heir to Sir Hugh MackGennys. Within short time after my departure he came to the Newrye to Sir William Drury with a wyth about his neck, and obtained his pardon.

The Queen made so little accompt of my killing that rebel (Rorie Oge), and was persuaded that there was no more difficulty to kill such a rogue than to kill Mad George, the sweeper of the Queen's Court. He had burned all the good towns in the counties of Carloghe and Kildare, as the town of Carlogh and the Naas,\* &c. It grieved me not a little that her Majesty rejected those bills which I sent to be allowed to be made laws. I was weary any longer to live among the gentlemen of the English Pale. It irked me not a little to see the ambitious dealings of Chancellor Gerrard, who would not let to say "that he had brought over such warrant for himself and restraint for me, as I could do nothing without him," and that when I were gone, and the new Justice (Drury) ruling by his direction, Ireland should be governed with a white rod.

I passed the seas and came into England, carrying with me the old archrebel the Earl of Clamrickard and a son of his called William, who since for treason and rebellion was as a traitor executed. At the Court I was not entertained so well as I had deserved. The archrebel whom I brought, you know by whom he was countenanced. He was enlarged and sent home, to my small credit. I was accompted *servus inutilis*, for that I had exceeded a supposed composition. A conference indeed there was that 20,000*l.* should defray all the charges of Ireland. I had spent nothing but profitably for the Queen. I too far exceeded in spoiling my own patrimony. Since, being curious to know what the charges were in the time of my government, by Sir Edward Fitton's accompts it appears that I am within the bounds of 20,000*l.* a year. This accompt was sent to my Lord Treasurer (Burleigh) and to me by Thomas Jennyson, auditor. Write to him to signify the charges in my time; and use his information to my advantage.

In my great and high office of [President of] Wales I have served full 23 years. A better people to govern Europe holdeth not. I have been twice into France, once into Scotland, and twice into Kent to the seaside, to receive the Dukes John Casimir and Adolph, Duke of Holstein. I was sent to Portsmouth to superintend the victualling of Newhaven. Oftentimes I was sent for to Court for Irish causes, to my great charges.

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\* "Mash" in MS.

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*Further details respecting his Presidentship of Wales, the illness of his wife,\* his burdensome expenses, &c.*

The Queen has made me one of her Privy Council. I have been a Companion of the Order of the Garter now full 19 years.

“When I was but 10 years of age, and a while had been henchman to King Henry the 8th, I was by that most famous King put to his sweet son Prince Edward, my most dear master, prince, and sovereign, the first boy that ever he had; my near kinswoman being his only nurse, my father being his chamberlain, my mother his governess, my aunt by my mother’s side in such place as among meaner personages is called a dry nurse, for from the time he left sucking she continually lay in bed with him, so long as he remained in woman’s government. As that sweet Prince grew in years and discretion, so grew I in favour and liking of him, in such sort as by that time I was 22 years old he made me one of the four principal gentlemen of his bedchamber.” Sundry times he bountifully rewarded me. He sent me into France and Scotland. Lastly, he died in my arms. “After I had spent some months in Spain,† neither liking nor liked as I had been, I fancied to live in Ireland, and to serve as Treasurer, and had the leading both of horsemen and footmen, and served as ordinarily with them as any other private captain did there under my brother-in-law, the Earl of Sussex, where I served during the reign of Queen Mary and one year after; in which time I had four sundry times, as by letters patents yet appeareth, the government of that country, by the name of Lord Justice, thrice by commission out of England, and once by choice of that country; such was the great favour of that Queen to me and good liking of the people of me.”

In the first journey that the Earl of Sussex made I killed James Mack O’Neill, a mighty captain of Scots.

“The second journey the Earl of Sussex made into those quarters of Ulster, he sent me and others into the Island of Raghlyns, where before in the time of Sir James Croft’s deputation, Sir Raulf Bagnall, Captain Cuff, and others sent by him landed little to their advantage, for there were they hurt and taken, and the most of their men that landed either killed or taken, but we landed more politicly and safely, and encamped in the isle until we had spoiled the same, all mankind, corn, and cattle in it.”

During my government I had sundry skirmishes with the rebels, always with victory. At the very time that Calais

\* “As foul a lady as the small-pox could make her, which she did take by continual attendance of her Majesty’s most precious person, sick of the same disease.”

† “*Note.*—My going to Spain for the liberty of the Earl of Warwick and his brethren.”

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was lost, I invaded Firkaol, otherwise called O'Meloy's country.

*Other particulars respecting his family, debts, and decline in wealth.\**

Commend me to my good lady, cousin, and sister, your wife; bless and buss our sweet daughter; and bestow a blessing upon the young knight, Sir Philip.

Ludlow Castle, 1 March 1582. *Signed.*

*Here follow several memoranda, for insertion in different places in the preceding discourse. Among them are the following:—*

“The coming to me thither (Carrickfergus) of Sir Arthur Champernounc, Mr. Henry Champernounc, his eldest brother's son and heir, Mr. Philip Butside, and divers other gentlemen, yeomen, and seamen of the west of England, desirous to take lands and to inhabit in the north parts of Ireland.

“The taking of lands by Sir Thomas Smith, then secretary, the possession whereof is held to this day.”

*Copy. Pp. 65.*

Vol. 628, p. 318.

2. Contemp. copy of the same letter, with omissions at the beginning and at the end.

*Pp. 53.*

March 11. **502.** The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES, the LORD CHANCELLOR (LOFTUS) and SIR HENRY WALLOPP.

Vol. 605, p. 68.

Commanding that Natlaniel Dillon, clerk of the Council in Ireland, Thomas Masterson, constable of the castle of Fernes, Thomas Plwnkett, searcher and comptroller of Dublin and Tredaghe, Richard Colman, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer there, Thomas Brown, keeper of the gaol in the castle of Trim, and all other inferior officers within that realm shall have letters patent of their offices *quam diu se bene gesserit*; and that no such patentee shall be removed upon the change or alteration of governors, as formerly has been the case, to the abuse of these offices.

Richmond, 11 March 1582, 25 Eliz.

*Contemp. copy. P. 1.*

*Endorsed, “Touching the Patentees.”*

Vol. 613, p. 63.

2. Another copy of the same.

Vol. 618, p. 3 a.

3. A third copy.

\* He states that he is 54 years of age and 5,000*l.* in debt.

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[April?]

**503.** EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 616, p. 157.

“Th’ Earl of Desmond’s instructions to Morish Shighan, wherein he is to crave the aid and advice of the Right Honorable the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Deputy.”

The said Earl hath sent, to be showed to your Lordships, the exemplification of his tail,\* and Queen Mary’s letter touching Downgarwan, wherein he prays to have your advice.

Order was taken about 12 years past by the Lord Deputy, that sequestration should be made of the prize wines of Youghill and Kynsale, which have been always in the quiet possession of the said Earl and his ancestors; “at which time he was apprehended.” Since then the Earl of Ormond has taken up the profits of the said prize wines, for the recovery whereof he (Desmond) prays your Lordship’s aid and advice.

He prays also your aid and advice for the recovery of the baronies of Kylliekyll, and Kylsiclanc, the rents of Poble O’Nele, Onoeane, and the chief rent of Clonemell, which are his ancient inheritance, from the said Earl of Ormond.

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.*

Sept. 13.

**504.**

GEOFFREY FENTON to the EARLS OF WARWICK and LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 92.

Since my last, two of the O’Connors were convented before the Council last week to debate such challenges as they had one against the other. The one was called Teige Mc Gill Patrick and the other Connor McCormok. Connor charged Teige that he had slain certain of his followers. Teige denied not the killing of some of Connor’s men, but justified the act to be lawfully done, for that he knew them since the granting of their protection to be confederates with Caell O’Connor, the principal rebel of the Pale. Connor sharply reproved Teige, who demanded the combat, which Connor accepted, and the Lords Justices and Council agreed to it.

“Af[ter] the election of the weapons was given to the defendant, and by him agreed unto, [the] time of the combat was published to be the morrow following by 9 of [the] clock in the inner court of the castle of Dublin. And against that time we assigned patrons to them both to bring them into the lists, and all other officers of the field to grace the action so well as might be in this place, where I think the like hath not been seen at any time before. They both appeared in the place the next morning at the hour appointed; Teige first, being appelland, and Connor after, being defendant.

“And being set upon two stools at either end of the court, after they were searched by myself, being thereunto appointed, and their weapons delivered to them (being sword

\* See No. 283 in the preceding Volume; also Nos. 299 and 300. This paper may belong to the same date.

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and target), and after proclamation made for good order, the trumpet was commanded to sound a charge, and [they] commanded at the last sound of the trumpet to put themselves to the fight, which they did assuredly with great valour and resolution. Teige gave to Connor two wounds in the leg, which as they weakened him much by the blood which he lost, so Connor pressing the more in upon Teige, for that he felt his own febleness, Teige thrust him into the eye, by which Connor finding himself to be sped, bore into the close, thinking likewise to dispatch Teige, but Teige having the advantage of strength so received him into the close, as he first wrung from him his sword and overthrew him. And then pommelling him about the head with the hilts of his sword to astonish him, Connor's murriion, that was fast buckled under his chin, was loosed with that business. So as Teige, presently taking Connor's sword, gave him sundry wounds in the body, and with his own sword cut off his head, and presented it to those that were principal assistants.

"I have sent to your L., my L. of Leicester, the same sword, which I could not have got from Teige, but with promise that I would give it to your L., and recommend his service and duty to you, as one that, now professing to be a civil man, desireth to depend upon you. I would her Majesty had the same end of all the O'Connors in Ireland; then might it be hoped for, that no such disturbance would rise again in Leinster as hath done through their quarrels."

Dublin, 13 September 1583. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Sept. 15. 505. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 100.

Mr. Barnaby Gooche, the bearer, is repairing to Court. Connaught is very quiet. If any Englishman shall travel there, and be touched or robbed, I will pay for every penny 2*d*. The chief lords truly are very fearful to offend the law.

If any principal lord or chief of a country be ill dealt withal by his own freeholders and such as dwell under him, where the said lords were wont for suppressing such to entertain Scots and kerne and galloglas, they call to me for her Majesty's forces. At such times they give the soldiers their victuals gratis.

At every sessions there is a great appearance of the people. There was a late practice to disturb the province. Tirlaghe Lenaghe procured O'Wroureke to break out, who most disdains English government. I had intelligence of all their doings, but dissembled my knowledge. Three or four times I wrote to O'Wroureke for the continuing of peace. His answers were, that he meant and would keep the peace *usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum*. His meaning thereby was to get in his harvest, and then to break out.

As I did assure myself O'Connor Dun's son, who married O'Wroureke's daughter, would begin this matter, I required



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him to repair to me to answer complaints exhibited against him by his neighbours. He refused to come, and set fire on his father's castle, who is blind and 100 years old. Captain Brabazon made haste thither with 30 horsemen, and, had it not been for the favour of a bog, had dispatched the rebels. I caused the house to be repaired, and put a ward in it. This young fellow went away by night into O'Wroureke's country. Thereupon I proclaimed Hugh O'Connor, and wrote to O'Wroureke to apprehend him and send him to me. He returned me answer that Hugh O'Connor was his son-in-law, yet would he not keep him; notwithstanding he prayed me to receive him to peace upon certain conditions, or otherwise he had sent for Scots, and would do much hurt. I advertised the Lords Justices of these proceedings, and entertained 500 strangers out of the province. I sent out precepts to the lords and gentlemen to be ready with their rising out on the 15th of this month, with six weeks' victuals.

O'Wroureke, understanding of my disposition to invade his country, sent to me for a perfect peace. The Earl of Thomond and the Baron of Leitrim being then by hap with me, I appointed them jointly with Captain Brabazon to repair to the borders to have parlanee with him; "at which parlanee upon such a sudden there were about 5 or 6 hundred tall men, the sight of whom pleased O'Wroureke nothing, and forced him to stoop to any reasonable conditions; and craving two years' peace, hath put in his pledge for performance of the same, and sent his son-in-law Hugh O'Connor unto me." Hugh made his submission, and delivered me his pledge.

I should have had 2,000 men together, whereof 1,800 should not have cost her Majesty one penny. I send you the note of them. Mr. Goodge was an actor in this business. O'Wroureke had entertained 600 Scots. The noblemen and gentlemen of the province were most willing to the suppressing of this rebellion.

For all this great number which should have been with me, her Majesty should not have been at any charges for victuals or carriages. This my doing breedeth me much envy of others.

"Of Munster it is said that all the rebels be in obedience and the province very quiet, but of Desmond nothing can be heard what is become of him.

"In Ulster is some disquietness by the dissension of O'Neill and O'Donnell and the Baron of Dungannon. There be some of the Council now appointed to repair to the Knight Marshal,\* who together with them are to do their best to compound that controversy. O'Donnell on th' other side craveth aid of her Majesty to be defended from Tyrlaghe Lenaghe."

Dublin, 15 September 1583. *Signed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 7. Addressed. Endorsed.*

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\* Sir Nicholas Bagnall.

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II. "The Note or Abstract of the Services set down for the following of O'Ruorke, who hath received and maintained Hugh O'Connor and the rest of the proclaimed rebels, the 25th of August 1583;" showing the numbers of "waged men upon the countries' charges."

III. "The General Hosting appointed to be at Castle Reaughe in O'Connor Dunne's country, 15th September 1583;" showing the numbers of men to be furnished by the lords and gentlemen. Total: horsemen, 248; footmen with targets, 512; shot, 512; Sir Nicholas Malbye's English horsemen, 60; Captain Anthony Brabazon's, 100.

*Pp.* 2.

Sept. 16. 506. JAMES GOLDE to the BARON OF CAHIR.\*

Vol. 607, p. 97.

"By the way this day I had some conference with the Marshal touching the possession of your lands in Clanwilliam, and I understand by him that (after our departure from my Lord General) there was some speech betwixt my L. and him for that matter, and my L. told him that Richard Burck did procure the Lords Justices' letter to stay th' execution of their own direction, and that Onory ny Mwhrean did show it unto him. Whereof I thought good to let your L. understand, that you may deal as you think good for your own cause. Commendations to y[our] Lady and the gentlewomen.

"From Kilmallock, the 16th of September 1583."

"The news of the Earl of Desmond's coming to Aherlo was verified unto me this day as I rode along. And further here was a rife report that many Spaniards were landed in the North, which bruit did bring the Earl to these borders, hoping upon their report to get more force (?)† of the loose protectees. I followed the matter, and in th' end found the chief author of the report, whom I examined, and thereupon he confessed it. His name is John Day, a horseman that came lately out of th' English Pale. I committed him to prison, and wrote of his villainy to the L. General, whose order I think will be to hang him, for his report hath greatly moved the persons protected, and hath given occasion of much disorder."

*Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed.*

Sept. 19. 507. SIR HENRY WALLOP to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 607, p. 94.

In answer of our letter to the Lord General (the Earl of Ormond), the copy whereof I sent you, we have received a letter from his Lo. of the Sth. He dislikes the course which we would have advised him to follow, if he had at first

\* This letter was enclosed in that of the Lords Justices of 23 September.

† Or *far*.

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imparted his purpose to us. He alleges that he followed such instructions as he received from her Majesty. He accompts it greatly for his credit "that so many (which the last year refused pardons when by proclamations they were offered) had now sought for protections at his hands, and that the Countess of Desmond and other also of meaner state have simply submitted themselves unto him, so as hold may be taken of them without any breach either of word or promise. But as for the Countess, she offered herself unto us in that sort a year past; but forasmuch as we thought it better to have her remain with her husband as a clog, we advertised our opinion to the Ll., and had direction to turn her out again, which we did. And for the Seneschal, who is the shrewdest fellow amongst them, we had likewise great suit made unto us (a good while before the Lord General's coming over) to have protected or pardoned him, which we refused." A little before the coming over of James FitzMorrice he was pardoned and exceedingly well used by Sir William Drurye, but as soon as James arrived he brake out again.

"John Laeye came in again to the Lord General about 3 weeks past, and was protected for 10 days, and since is gone out again, with what conditions as yet I cannot learn, being advertised thereof from others, not from the Lord General. Yet it may be his Lo. will write into England (as he hath unto us) that he hath from time to time advertised us of his proceedings. But in truth he never imparted to us anything of his purposes in that service, to desire our opinions therein; only of some things past and done he hath sometimes occur-sorily advertised, but no more nor otherwise than every one that was in that service could report.

"We understand for certain that Desmond is still in Munster with some small company with him, and that Morrice FitzJohn, who pretendeth to be next heir to Desmond (saving his son), is also still in Munster with 40 or 50 swords.

"The Lord General (as I understand) sometime useth speech of a title he hath to all Desmond's lands, and seemeth to think he hath well deserved the same, though he had no title thereunto. But whether it be necessary to make over great persons in this beggarly realm, I leave to your Lo. good consideration." It were good that all the lands escheated were turned towards the charges of the wars. If the Justices and Attorney there have done their duties, it will be a great quantity of lands; and as soon as people may be gotten to inhabit the same again, they will be beneficial.

His Lordship liketh not the exceptions [of certain persons] which are in the letters sent to us lately for the pardoning such of that province as he shall think good to recommend to us.

Dublin, 19 September 1583. *Signed.*

P.S., *in Wallop's own hand.*—"To your L. I frankly write my simple opinion, which I hope you will so use as it turn

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not to my hindrance. The L. General hath in Court many friends, and is from thence advertised of most advertisements that come thither."

*Pp. 2. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

Sept. 23. **508.** The ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN (LOFTUS) and SIR HENRY WALLOP, LORDS JUSTICES, to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

By former letters we signified our opinion touching the present course taken by the Lord General for the pacification of Munster. "We since understand that there hath some question grown there upon that part of our advertisements, and that some displeasure is thereupon conceived by some great ones." We thought it requisite to give warning of the event which we saw like to ensue. Our opinion is daily confirmed, as lately by the postscript of a letter written from James Golde, Attorney of Limerick, to the Baron of Calir, which we send you. You may gather "how small a flood is like to set Desmond afloat again, and both what himself dreameth upon while he lieth thus asleep, and what the expectation and hope is of the greater part of those late protectees." Mr. Waterhowse, who has been employed northwards, reports that he finds there is a general expectation of some foreign aid very shortly to come. We fear a general revolt, and beseech you to undertake some secret care of this wretched government. So order the matter as neither we nor the nobleman to whom the enclosed letter was written may reap any displeasure.

Dublin, 23 September 1583. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 23. **509.** ULSTER.  
Vol. 600, p. 79. "The Articles laid down by us, her Majesty's Commissioners for Ulster, ordered by th' assent and consent of th' agents for Tyrloughe Lenoughe and O'Donnell, as also by the Lord Baron of Dungannon, himself being here in person." Newry, 22 October 1583.

(1.) We order that the truce now made betwixt the said parties shall continue till 17 March next.

(2.) As O'Donnell has sent his son as pledge, and the Baron has offered his, while Tyrloughe's agents came without his pledge, we order that on 2 December next they shall again appear at Dondalke, bringing with them sufficient hostages, to be delivered to the Lords Justices or to their commissioners.

(3.) All injuries shall be amended, according as due proof shall be made thereof before the Lords Justices or commissioners at Dondalke. Whoever violates the peace shall be punished, and the injured assisted, by her Majesty's forces.

(4.) As the particulars of their several injuries and spoils appear not unto us, in the meantime they shall choose in-

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different men to examine all needful witnesses and proofs, so as the said arbitrators may compound as much as they can; the rest to be remitted to the Lords Justices.

*Signed:* H. Dungannon, N. Bagnall, James Dowdall, Lucas Dillon.

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

Nov. 4. 510. MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS.

Vol. 611, p. 221.

Commission from Queen Elizabeth to Adam [Loftus], Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of Ireland, and one of the Lords Justices; James Dowdall, Chief Justice of the Chief Bench there; Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls; Thomas Jenison, auditor; and Lancelot Aleforde, surveyor.

For that the account of Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, cannot orderly proceed and be taken as is requisite before such time as the accounts of the Vice Treasurer and General Receiver, the Master of our Ordnance, and the Ministers of our Victuals and of our Works there be first taken and determined, we therefore authorize you to hear and determine their accounts, which shall be engrossed in two parts, and by you signed and avouched, the one part to remain in our Court of Exchequer there, and the other part to be delivered to the parties accomptable. We further authorize you to call before you the said Sir Henry Wallop, with all his books, warrants, certificates, and bills, from his first entry into that office, being the 10th of August in our 21st year, until 30th September in our 25th year, and the same to examine; and also thereof to make a view or declaration of his account, which is to be perused by such commissioners as we shall appoint here in England.

Manor of St. James, 4 November 1583, 25 Eliz.

*Copy. Pp. 2. Addressed.*

511. A DISCOURSE for the REFORMATION of IRELAND.

Vol. 621, p. 97.

"The charge your Majesty committed unto me for the setting down of my opinion how your realm of Ireland might with the least charge be reclaimed from barbarism to a godly government is somewhat difficult." I have set down what were the causes of its disorders whilst I had some piece of government in it.

Notwithstanding all your care and charges, the state of that country has grown from worse to worse. The smoothing up of rebellions by pardons and protections has been the nursery of most of this mischief. There is a want of religion and law; St. Patrick is of better credit than Christ Jesus; and they fly from the laws as from a yoke of bondage. God's

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will and word must first be duly planted, and idolatry extirped; next, law must be established, and licentious customs abrogated.

The mean to effect both is now most fitly offered by the rebellion now afoot. No pardon or protection should be given to any man. Your subjects have been burned, ravished, spoiled, and robbed by the traitors. There will escheat to your Majesty, by due course of justice, the better half of that land, whereof great revenue will grow. But it is far from me to desire any extirpation; for England, populous as it is, would not be able to replenish the wastes.

To repress this rebellion and reform the realm the Deputy would require seven years. None of his actions should be crossed, to work him your disgrace, which the Irish will soon espy; and he must have sufficient men, money, munition, and victual; *sc.*, 800 English horsemen, 3,000 English footmen, and 100 galloglasses, kerne, and shot, Irish. In lieu of cesse the pay should be according to certain rates (*specified*), as in all other your services. Total of the pay, 67,619*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; or, with the pay of the Deputy and other officers, and extraordinary charges, 100,000*l.* a year. All former arrearages to be discharged. It were money well bestowed. One year you spent as much as this.

“It shall be good that your Majesty, after the example of France, Spain, and Flanders (where most of the small money consisteth of base coins), you do also cause to be coined the first four years 100,000*l.* in pieces of 8*d.*, 4*d.*, 2*d.*, and 1*d.*; these to contain but a fourth part of fine silver, letting all coins that are current there that are of gold and silver to run as they do now. So your Majesty’s charges, besides all charges of coining, will amount to no more but 25,000*l.* yearly, which in four years would come to 100,000*l.*” If the coinage be in Ireland, it is necessary to call in all the base money current. Rosse in Wexford is a most apt place for the mint, by reason of the great abundance of wood which grows along the river. The embasing of coin can do no harm in Ireland, which is all out of order. Prices may be doubled, but the reformation will recompense the loss treble. (*Other considerations are mentioned.*)

Victuals and provisions are now to be provided for.

The standing seat of the Deputy and the law should be translated from Dublin to Athlone, the centre of Ireland. The Deputy to have two Presidents: one in Munster, at Kylmallocke; the other in Ulster, at Lyeller.\* Two marshals to be at the direction of the Deputy and Presidents. The Presidents to serve for not less than five years; the marshals for life. Advice respecting the choice of the Lord Chancellor, the clerk of the cheque, and other officers.

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\* Sic. Qy. Lifford?

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The Scots in Ulster, the Burkes in Connaught, Desmond in Munster, and Baltinglasse in Leinster, should all be fronted; the last first. The Deputy "to make passes through their woods and fastnesses, and fortifications, upon every their strength and strengths, after the example of your Majesty's most noble progenitors in subduing of Wales."\* A navy to be kept upon the coast to answer foreign attempts.

The rebellion being suppressed, it will be necessary to call a parliament to enact new statutes for establishing the articles ensuing:—

(1.) Two universities to be erected at Limerick and Armagh.

(2.) A collection to be made of all the statutes already in force.

(3.) The Earl of Ormond to be compounded with for his liberties of Tipperary; yet he is to have his escheats, as the lords marchers of Wales have theirs. For the Lord of Desmond's liberties of count palatine in Kenne (sic) there needs no composition, he being in rebellion.

(4.) All Ireland to be reduced into manors.

(5.) Cesse, cuttings, and all Irish exactions to be abolished; and in lieu thereof an annual rent to be rated upon every ploughland

(6.) No lord or gentleman to put upon his lordship or seignory any gallowlasse, kerne, or shotte, &c.

(7.) All brehons, carraghcs, bards, rhymers, friars, monks, Jesuits, pardoners, nuns, and such like to be executed by martial law.

(8.) Your Majesty to grant a yearly pension to the Earl of Argyle, to restrain the Irish Scots from coming over into Ireland.

(9.) The English horsemen and footmen, the galloglasses, kerne, and Irish shotte to be allotted some of the escheated lands at a reasonable price; "and yearly as the commodities of the land increaseth, the wages to abate, and so at length clean extinguish."

(10.) New privileges to be granted to the ports.

(11.) Merchants not to sell powder and munition to the Irish.

(12.) Honest and skilful men to be taken out of every court of record here, and placed there.

(13.) Irish habits for men and women to be abolished, and the English tongue to be extended.

(14.) "That the factions of Bntler and Geraldine, with the titles of *Ihmabo* and *Craglenobo*, be taken away."

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\* Was this scheme the production of Sir Henry Sydney, President of Wales?

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(15.) A survey to be taken of the lands of all the lords of the country; a third part to be seized into your hands, and improved lands in England to be given them in exchange.

I will now show the commodities which are like to grow. "But first I thought it good to underwrite the copy of an old note or pamphlet, which I found in Ireland, containing a short survey of the whole land." (*This "survey" is very brief. It shows the extent of Ireland, its divisions, the number of its cities, ploughlands, &c., and the revenue derivable from it.*)

The want in England of timber for the navy may be abundantly supplied in Ireland. There is great plenty of iron in some places. Cork, Yowghull, Wexford, and Belfast are fit places for shipbuilding. The mines to be searched, &c.

"Here now, lastly, doth the common objection oppose itself, requiring an answer, whether it be safety or danger, good or evil, for England to have Ireland reformed, lest, growing to civility, government, and strength, it should cast off the yoke, and be more noisome and dangerous neighbours to England." This objection is of no force. "The Kings of Spain have now of long time governed other countries, being civil and lying further off."

*Copy. Pp. 18.*

## 512. HISTORICAL NOTES, &c.

Vol. 614, p. 170.

"Notes out of Chronicles concerning Ireland," *sc.* from "Cowper's Chronicle," "Galfridus Monobaius," "Adam Muri-mowth," and the "Brute," from A.D. 552 to 1541.

II. "Th' Advantage and Profits that the Queen's Majesty may make of her lands in Ireland;"—showing the extent and divisions of Ireland. *This is probably the pamphlet alluded to in the preceding (see article 15).*

*Pp. 4. Endorsed.*

## 513. VISCOUNT BALTINGLAS.

Vol. 607, p. 123.

"Lands which appertained to the Viscount Baltinglas, attainted."

The lordship and late monastery of Baltinglas; the lordship and manor of Killeullen; the lordship and manor of Harryston; the manors of Tobber, Rathernan, near Dublin, and Cahill.

Divers villages, towns, lands, and woods in the counties of Dublin, and in the Marches there, in the county of Kildare and in the county of Catherloghe, as also in the barony of Fort O'Nolan, Imayle, and Clonogar; besides lands given by Rowland Viscount Baltinglas to his sons Edmond and William FitzEustace, to the rate of 40*l.* *per annum.*

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**514.** SIR JOHN PERROT, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 632, p. 57a.

“A Memorial for Sir John Parrott, Knight, appointed by her Majesty to be Lord Deputy of Ireland,” delivered to him by the Privy Council, — January 1583.

Confer with the Council there how the charges of victualling the army may be eased; especially that there may be no transportation of provisions out of this realm.

Consideration is to be had how St. Patrick's in Dublin may be converted into a college for youths.

For the accomplishing of such things as are to be done in the Parliament intended, it is requisite that some new barons should be created. Certify hither the names of fit persons. An act is to be drawn for the reviving of the impost [on wines], which expired two years past.

In levying the debts and arrearages due to the Queen (for which a commission is directed to you and others), follow “those ways and means prescribed and thought meet in the orders annexed to the establishment, and in certain answers and opinions set down by Sir Walter Mildmay and other special commissioners unto certain articles which were in March and April 1578 sent to Sir William Drury, with his instructions.”

The number of the Pensioners is to be abridged. Those who are discharged may be rewarded with some of the attainted lands in Munster. The captains and soldiers of the old bands should be continued and preferred before others of less experience.

By reason of these great troubles there has been an increase of wards. Some were unnecessarily placed, as, namely, at Fernes and Innescorth. Discharge such as shall be found unnecessary.

A survey to be taken of the two forts of Leix and Offaly, which are greatly decayed. The charge of repairing them to be set down. All carriages and such kinds of labour to be borne by the inhabitants. Also, a view to be made of the said two countries; and “compare the present state with the former, as it was after the Act of Parliament made in the Earl of Sussex' time, when estates were made in tail to Englishmen, and to advertise hither the differences, with the cause of the decays.”

As the grant to Edward Waterhouse and his heirs for the maintenance of certain boats upon the Shenon contains certain hard conditions towards her Majesty, and as continual taxations have been laid upon the borderers for the said boats, he is to surrender the patent, and a new patent is to be made to him with reasonable clauses.\*

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\* There is a copy of the conditions of this grant in Vol. 617, p. 52, in a collection of miscellaneous extracts.

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Such as have been parties in the late rebellion shall not be suffered, without special licence, to keep within their houses any armour or weapon other than ordinary daggers and swords. Send your opinion how Munster may be repeopled, and what should be done with the lands forfeited by the Earl of Desmond and a great number of others, of whom many are dead. Surveys to be made of such lands. Having the Earl of Ormond with you, consult how to keep the people that are there in obedience, and to comfort them to proceed in their tillage and increasing of their cattle.

*Signed*: Tho. Bromley, Canc.; W. Burghley; E. Lincoln; A. Warwick; Fra. Bedford; R. Leicester; Ch. Howard; H. Hunsdon; Chr. Hatton; Fra. Walsingham; Wa. Mildmay.  
*Copy.* Pp. 7.

Vol. 600, p. 90.

2. Another copy.  
Pp. 5. *Endorsed.*

**515.** SIR JOHN PERROT, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 607, p. 106.

"An estimate of all charges that Sir John Perrott hath been and must be at in providing himself and all things necessary for the Deputyship of Ireland;" showing that he will have to pay 800*l.* or 1,000*l.* out of his own purse, and therefore be compelled to sell 100*l.* yearly of his own lands, unless the prerogative of *cesse* be continued.

Former governors, as Sir Anthony St. Leiger, and some since, have had her Majesty's demesnes of Kilmainham and the houses of Laughlin, Catherlagh, and Mounstereven, which are all now demised.

*Endorsed*: "An Estimate of the Governor's charges in providing for the place. Also of his charges in the place, with a reckoning of the benefit of the prerogative of *cesse*."

Pp. 6.

[Jan.] **516.** CONNAUGHT.

Vol. 632, p. 61.

"A new Establishment for the Government of the Province of Connaught," set down by the Queen's Privy Council.

To the Chief Commissioner, 221*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year; a justice, 100*l.*; the provost-marshal, 40*l.*; serjeant-at-arms, 20*l.*; for their diets at 10*s.* a day, 182*l.* 10*s.*; 100 foot and 50 horse, —; a clerk of the Council, 20*l.*

The fee of the Chief Commissioner, in a plate lately delivered to her Majesty, was only 100*l.* As that sum is not sufficient, it has been "increased by a noble (6*s.* 8*d.*) *per diem* more, amounting the whole year unto 121*l.*\* 13*s.* 4*d.*" This increase is to be paid out of the fines upon offenders, and not out of the revenue or the composition made by that country to be discharged of *cesse*.

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\* Sic; see the commencement of the preceding paragraph.

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An excessive number of kerne and other loose people, under pretence of following and assisting the sheriffs, are cessed upon the countries there, which, to be eased of that burden, would contribute to the maintenance of 30 horsemen, parcel of the 50 above mentioned.

The Chief Commissioner to have under his own leading 25 of the horsemen's band and 50 of the footband. All martial men serving in that province to be under his government. He is to follow the Deputy's directions, and to assist the Justice in all sessions with his advice and aid.

All entertainments to be paid out of the revenue, impost, custom, and composition money of that province.

*Copy. Pp. 2½.*

Jan. 17. **517.** DEBTS to the CROWN.

Vol. 632, p. 62.

Commission to Sir John Perrott, Deputy of Ireland; the Archbishop of Dublin (Adam Loftus); Sir Henry Wallopp, Treasurer at Wars; Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Nicholas White, Esq., Master of the Rolls; Edward Waterhowse, Esq.,\* one of the Privy Council; and Lancelot Allford, Esq., Surveyor-General there, to levy all debts and arrearages owing either to the present Queen or to King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary. Recusants to be imprisoned or fined.

Westminster, 17 January, 26 Eliz.

*Copy. Pp. 13½.*

Jan. **518.** SURVEY of the REBELS' LANDS.

Vol. 608, p. 97.

Commission to Sir Henry Wallopp, Sir Valentine Browne, Thomas Jenison, Lancelot Alforde, and Christopher Payton to make inquisition by jury respecting all lands and possessions which ought to come to the Queen's hands by the rebellion of Gerald Garret, late Earl of Desmond, James Eustace, late Viscount of Baltinglasse, John of Desmond and James of Desmond, brothers of the said Earl, or others; to survey all the ancient possessions of the Crown; and to perform the commands of the Privy Council respecting the revenue. Additional commissioners to be appointed by the Lord Deputy if necessary.

*Dated in the margin, "January 1583."*

*Copy. Latin. Pp. 3.*

March 3. **519.** HUGH MCGUILLYE.

Vol. 613, p. 65a.

Indenture, 3 March, 26 Eliz., between Hugh McGuillye or Magnisse and the Queen, whereby the former engages to pay yearly 120 fat cows of three years old; to serve in proper

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\* Altered by Carcw to "Knight."

1584.

person with 12 horsemen armed and 24 footmen; and to find good cows or beeves for the sustenance of her Majesty's army for one night whensoever the same shall be there remaining, receiving for the same 12s. Irish each: in consideration of the fee-farm of the entire territory of Iveaghe, *alias* the country of Magnisses, leading to the province of Ulster.

*At the end is the following memorandum*:—"To note that Cor Me McDermott of the county of Cork and the heirs of Sir Cor Me McTeig are to pay yearly for their lands which they hold of his (*sic*) Majesty a cast of hawks, and to the Lord Deputy for the time being."

*Abstract. P. ½.*

March 14. **520.** GEOFFREY FENTON to the EARL OF LEICESTER

Vol. 619, p. 3.

Since the death of Sir Nicholas Malbye the Justices have committed to me, by way of custodium, the young Baron of Leitrim, son to the late created Baron, murdered, it is supposed, by his brother the Earl of Clanricard. They have now written to your L. and Mr. Secretary Walsingham to be a mean to her Majesty to bestow upon me his wardship and marriage. His father's living is dangerously entangled, and subject to great traverse and contention in law. If his father's inheritance be recovered, it may bring to my small living some help during the minority. I beseech you to be a mean for her Majesty's letters.

Dublin, 14 March 1583. *Signed.*

The Lords Justices have not power to dispose of the wards of noblemen.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

April 4. **521.** "BRIEFS of LETTERS and GRANTS made by QUEEN ELIZABETH."

Vol. 632, p. 57.

1583, 5 June.—"A letter from her Majesty unto the Lords Justices of Ireland to pass by letters patents unto Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, the seneschalship of Kilkenny West, in the county of West Meath, otherways called the Dillons' country, unto him and his heirs males; and a lease in reversion or possession of 70*l.* of yearly value for the term of 60 years."

1583, 7 August.—Lease to Henry Bronkard, for five years, of the customs, subsidies, [and] "imposts for wines" throughout Ireland, at the usual rent.

1583,\* 4 April.—Warrant to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer, to pay to Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, 100*l.* monthly, for his diet (1,300*l.* a year), and the wages of his retinue of 50 horsemen and 50 footmen.

*P. 1¼.*

\* Mistake for 1584.

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 May 3. **522.** The QUEEN to ADAM LOFTUS, ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN,  
 and SIR HENRY WALLOPPE, LORDS JUSTICES.  
 Warrant to pass to Henry Broncard, Esq., a lease of the  
 customs and subsidies of wines brought from foreign parts  
 into Ireland, for three years, at a yearly rent of 2,000*l.* ster.;  
 with this proviso, that if there should be any breach of the  
 intercourse between England and Ireland and the countries  
 of the King of Spain and the French King, he shall be  
 accountable only upon his oath. 3 May 1584.  
*Copy. P. 1½.*
- May 7. **523.** GEOFFREY FENTON to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
 Vol. 619, p. 1. “Yesterday I was advertised out of Connaught that in the  
 west parts of that province are arrived of late, in a Spanish  
 bottom, two Romish priests of this country birth, who deliver  
 to the people seditious rumours of a preparation in Spain for  
 force of men and shipping to be sent into Ireland under the  
 conduct of the Viscount Baltinglass, William Nugent, and  
 James FitzMorice’ son, and the same to be ready to take the  
 seas within 30 days.” O’Reworke has entertained 500 Scots  
 to revenge his private wrongs upon some of his neighbours.  
 The Lords Justices are advertised that divers septs begin to  
 be insolent, denying her Majesty’s rent and other duties, which  
 in the time of Sir Nich. Malbye they paid with good will.  
 The said Spanish ship has given them hope of some present  
 alteration. Speed hither the Lord Deputy [Sir John Perrot].  
 For my part I cannot fear any peril by foreign confederacy so  
 long as there is no notable faction at home, nor any principal  
 noblemen to countenance it. The Earl of Kildare and the  
 Baron of Delvyn, now remaining there, should not as yet be  
 returned hither. Keep this to yourself, for that private  
 opinions in public causes “are oftentimes made hurtful to the  
 parties.”  
 Dublin, 7 May 1584. *Signed.*  
*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*
- [June 18.] **524.** SURVEY of the REBELS’ LANDS.  
 Vol. 600, p. 83. Instructions to Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Valentine Brown,  
 and the rest of the commissioners appointed to survey the  
 lands of such as have rebelled within these four years in  
 Ireland.\*  
*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed.*
- July. **525.** The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.  
 Vol. 605, p. 73. Before your departure hence we gave you in commandment  
 not to suffer any not resident in that our realm to keep any

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\* Dated “1583” by Carew. The original, in the Public Record Office, is dated 18 June 1584.

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castle or fort there by deputy; yet minding to use the service here of our well-beloved servant George Carewe, one of our gentlemen pensioners in ordinary, upon his petition we dispense with our said commandment for the keeping of the castle of Laghlin Bridge, willing you to deliver the custody thereof to Henry Sheffield, his deputy. This licence shall continue until we signify our pleasure to the contrary.

Oatlands, — July 1584.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Vol. 618, p. 4a.

2. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 19. **526.** The QUEEN to the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, LORD CHANCELLOR, and others.

Vol. 611, p. 223.

Whereas by our commission dated at St. James's, 4 November 1583, 25 Eliz., we authorized you and [James Dowdall] the Chief Justice of our Bench, now deceased, to hear and determine the accompts of our Vice Treasurer and General Receiver, the Master of the Ordnance, and the ministers of our victuals and works, no further than Michaelmas last, we now by these our letters prolong our former commission till 30 September next.

Oatlands, 19 August, 26 Eliz.

*Addressed to the Lord Chancellor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, Auditor, and Surveyor.*

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 24. **527.** SIR NICHOLAS BAGNALL to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 14.

"I have purposed to acquaint your Lo. with some particularities of our present estate here, and of the preparation for the service against the number of 3,000 Scots landed here within these 16 days, not much above. McCallen, the chief leader of them, hath uttered his pretence to be for the enlargement of Shane's sons, Henry and his brother, captivated with Tur. Lenoughe; and to advance them, they will war with Tur[lough]. They have already preyed in Tیرهconnell, and in Tyrone somewhat, and won one hold, and so stay as yet feeding upon their booty. Tur., refusing to yield to them, is reverted to these borders; the Baron of Dungannon having rashly and most dangerously made breach with him, slain of his men, taken many of his keriaughtes and followers before he came up, the way to have forced him to join with the Scots." I advertised this to the Lord Deputy, who is now returned from the other provinces. In the mean, with two bands of footmen, 50 horsemen, and a very few of the risings out, I have been at the Blackwater, where I concluded peace betwixt them. Tur. and all his kinsmen dined with me in the Queen's fort there, without word or protection, as the Baron himself cannot deny. He wrote to

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her Majesty he would deliver his son, and now I have received him at his hands. He made a goodly exhortation to his son (*his words are quoted*), and promised to wait upon the Lord Deputy at his repair hither within these 12 days, when our journey to his assistance and banishment of the Scots is purposed. The Baron of Dungannon behaved himself lewdly in this action. Besides the breach with Tur., he refused to yield any obedience to my commission in presence of the Lord of Louth, Sir Hugh Magneisse, and others, wishing me to put my commission in my pocket, and that he would not be commanded by any but by her Majesty and her Deputy.

Leycester Castle in the Newry, 14 August 1584. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

August. **528.** INSTRUCTIONS of LORD DEPUTY PERROT and the COUNCIL to MR. EDWARD NORRIS.

Vol. 632, p. 69a.

“Memorials for Mr. Edward Norris touching the present state of Ireland,” to be delivered to the Privy Council, — August 1584.

“Within few days after the arrival of me, the Lord Deputy, in Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel wrote to Sir Lucas Dillon to impart with me the contents of certain letters written to him from Tyrough Lenoughe, in effect this — that he challenged him, the Bishop, to be his follower born, and therefore to be\*; and that he should find Ulster his refuge when all other parts failed; and finally that he should credit the messenger.” The Archbishop came to me to Dublin, and declared that the messenger was appointed to practise with all the lords and Irish captains of Munster and Connaught, to enter into rebellion when strangers should arrive. The messenger in his journey was apprehended at Athlone, where I and the Council took his examination.

He confessed he was of great accompt with O'Neill, and that he was sent to deal with the Earl of Clancarr, the Lord FitzMorrice, and others, requiring them to join with his master, and assuring them that the King of Spain and the Scots would enter the realm [of England] with great force. He said that he spake with none but FitzMorris, whose answer was that this province would do nothing so long as the new Lord Deputy and the Earl of Ormond did tarry in the land.

“He said that his master was promised to be made King of Ireland, and that he accepted of it, and said he would be King, if he died within an hour after. Being demanded of the cause why his master would rebel, considering he had all he required, he said that the realm was carelessly left without force, and no man of war to govern it.”

\* Sic.

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Being demanded whether O'Doneill and the Baron of Dunganon were joined with his master, he said no. He remains in close prison, and Tirloughe Lenough knows not where he is.

"In my journey through Connaught I dealt with O'Kelley,\* O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, O'Connor Sligo, McWilliam Eughter, Moroghe ne Doe O'Flartie, the O'Mayles, the Burkes of Euter Connaught, the Earl of Clanricard, the Lord Brymyghin, McDavie, Mahon McEnaspikie, the Earl of Thomond, both the McNemares, the two McMahones, and every other of Connaught and Thomond; all which I pacified and quieted for wrongs past, took their pledges for assurance of their loyalties and for performance of their compositions. And, finally, in Thomond I executed the most notable traitor Donoghe Begge O'Brien, and six of his followers."

I united all the gentlemen of account to the chief commissioners,† and appointed how the soldiers should be fed in this travail. The captains of the country and the Earl of Clanricard grew to a certainty with all their followers and tenants.

"Lastly, the suspected Bishop Malachias Amalone, and a friar (brother to McWilliam Eughter) did openly renounce the Pope, sware to the Supremacy, and the friar gave over his habit presently, and both made public profession of their faith and recantation. I increased the schoolmaster's fee at Galway without her Majesty's charge, and entered into some reformation of matters of religion, which by Parliament shall be better provided for hereafter.

"At my coming to Limerick I met there with the Lord President and the Earl of Ormond, before whose coming there repaired unto me into Connaught the Earl of Clancarre, McMorris, O'Swilivan More, the Knight of Kerrie, and certain septs of the galloglas, and after at Limerick the rest of the province, saving such as attended Sir William Stanley, sheriff of the county of Cork, with whom was the Lord Barrie, Lord Roch, and Sir Owen McCartie, thinking to meet me in every (*sic*) of that county. But because at my being there at Limerick the news of the arrival of Scots and the shipping upon this coast was brought unto me, and daily confirmed, especially by my agent in the North, I was forced to depart, having first taken order that all the protectees and suspected men of the province should attend me to this northern journey, and to follow the Lord President‡ and the Earl of Ormond, who both are appointed to accompany me; having also ordered the county of Cork to be governed by the Justices Walshe and Meath,§ by the sheriff, and by Barrie and Roche; the county

\* "O'Kellers" in MS.

† Mistake for *Chief Commissioner*, i.e. Sir Richard Bingham.

‡ Captain (afterwards Sir) John Norris, President of Munster.

§ "Miaghe" in the margin of the MS.



1584.

of Limerick by the Provost Marshal; the county of Kerry by the sheriff and FitzMorris, and others, whose pledges I have; the county of Desmond by the Earl of Clancarre, Sir Owen O'Swillvean, O'Swilvian Moore, and [the] sheriff; Tipperary by the Earl's officers; and the whole province generally under the Justices and certain other Commissioners.

"Before my coming from thence I took pledges of Feagh MeHuc, who came to me, and delivered me his uncle and his son for pledges. The O'Bernes submitted, and delivered their pledges to Sir Henry Harrington. The O'Connors (both brothers) submitted themselves, and put away their idle men, reducing themselves to a very small number. The O'Mores, after the death of their principal, James Moore *alias* Meagh, are divided into two or three septs, and pledges taken of them. The Cavenaghcs, having not at my coming away delivered their pledges, were referred to Sir Nicholas White and certain Commissioners to receive them; whom also [1] associated with Sir Henry Wallopp for the survey and view of the forts of Marriborough and Phillipston. Finally, I divided the lieutenancy of the forts Phillipston and King's County to Sir George Bourcher, and Mariborough and the Queen's County to Warham Sentleger. The O'Relcies, as well Sir John as Edmond and Philip, repaired unto me to Dublin, and submitted themselves to mine order concerning their controversies."

*Signed:* Jo. Perrott, Jo. Norris, Lucas Dillon, Ed. Waterhouse, Geoff. Fenton.

*Copy. Pp.* 4½.

Sept. 15. 529. LORD DEPUTY PERROT to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 72.

Being on the sea coasts at Colrane, I received your letters of ——. I was comforted to see "my poor credit in making such a provision of men, money, munition, and victuals to encounter the Scots' late attempt in these parts." The greatest part of the danger is past. The Scots, hearing of my preparation to set forwards against them the 15th of the last month, "and of my determination both to stop up them and their galleys in Loughfoyle with certain shipping," and understanding how well affected all the subjects of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught were, fled for the most part over into Scotland, before I could come into Nuryc. I impute their escape to some negligence in the shipping. Howsoever Mr. Davison was abused by his intelligence, they were in number little fewer than I wrote.

"Tyrlagh O'Neile, having neither protection nor pardon, met me half a mile out of the ——, and there I received his only son in pledge. He yielded himself in all things as dutiful and conformable as I required him. And now, the better subject he becometh, the weaker he waxeth, and the less regarded of his followers; so as I am driven to assist him against them."

1534.

Sir Hugh Magnisse, McMahon, O'Haulan, Tyrlogh Brasilagh, and the captains of the Fues, Ferny, Cartie, Kilwarlin, Kilultagh, and all those of Clandeboy's side came to me at the Nurie without protection.

As Surleboy had entertained a number of Scots, joined to him O'Chain\* and Brian Caragh, and gotten by the sword the Rowte, part of the Glinnes, and McGwillin's and others' lands, I entered into action against him on both sides of the Ban, accompanied with the Earls of Ormond and Thomond, the Baron of Dungannon, and others. O'Chain is come in, and Brian Carahes maketh means to be received to mercy. Because Sorley shuns my side of the Ban (Clandeboy), I have sent over to the Lord President of Munster (Norris), on the Tirone side, some of my horsemen, footmen, and kerne.

I am encamped before Dunluse, the strongest piece of this realm. It has a strong ward. The captain, a natural Scot, has refused to yield, saying they keep it for the King of Scots. I have planted a battery of a culverin and two sacres before it.

I have gone through all the five provinces within a quarter of a year, avoiding all needless charges, as is there expected. "I have thought of some means to raise such a profit as I hope shall not only quit the cost, but also banish the Scots." On my return to Dublin I will write more certainly; praying you that 500 footmen, with money, victuals, and munition, may be presently sent over "to answer my device."

Camp at Dunluse, 15 September 1584. *Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Sept. 17. 530. LORD DEPUTY PERROT to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 73a.

The ward of this castle of Dunluse, being 40 men, most part Scots, have surrendered. My Lord President (Norris) has lighted upon Surley's people and creaghs, killed certain of them, and taken a great prey. I have taken Dunferte, the ward being fled; likewise another pile by Portrushe. The Raughlin is now all the refuge left him; it has been the Scots' accustomed landing-place. Having shipping at hand, I have appointed 200 or 300 footmen to go thither tomorrow for the taking thereof. O'Donell and Sir Owen O'Toyle are come to me. I will take order between O'Nele and him (*sic.*)

William Nugent lurketh under Magweire and O'Rwirke. He assures the Irish that the Spanish and Scottish Kings will confirm anything that he shall conclude with them. He has shaven his head and otherwise disguised himself like a friar, but he has laboured in vain. The whole realm is quiet. I hope to obtain his head.

You may expect unprecedented success.

Camp at Dunluse, 17 September 1584. *Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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\* "O'Caghan" in the margin.

1584.

Sept. 18.

531.

DONNELL GORME McDONNELL.

Vol. 611, p. 225.

Articles of agreement between Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, and the Council (viz., Thomas Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Lord Treasurer of Ireland; John Norris, Lord President of Munster; Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Waterhouse and Geoffrey Fenton, Principal Secretary), of the one part, and Donnell Gorme McDonnell of the Glynnes in Ulster of the other part.

Dated at the camp near Donluce in Ulster, 18 September, 26 Eliz.

Humble suit has been made to us, the Lord Deputy and Council, as well by the Lady Agnes Cambell, wife to Turlogh Lennoghe O'Nele, mother to the above-named Donnell Gorme, as also by the said Donnell himself, that in respect of his humble submission to her Majesty we would grant him her pardon, "and a patent to enable him a free denizen in this her realm," and so much of the Glynnes in Ulster as were the lands of Mysett, otherwise Bissett, for such yearly rents and services as we think requisite. Considering the letters from her Majesty of 14 March 1583, declaring her favour towards the said Lady, we grant the aforesaid petitions. The castle of Olderflete shall be at her Majesty's disposition.

The said Donnell or his heirs shall not serve any foreign prince or potentate. He shall keep no Scots but such as be native of Ireland, and shall book all men in his country, and deliver the book to the Knight Marshal (Sir Nicholas Bagnall) or to Sir Henry Bagnall, his son. He shall serve her Majesty with a rising out of 80 footmen at his own charges. He shall not unlawfully intermeddle with any borderers of Ulster. To pay a yearly rent of 60 beeves, to be delivered at the Newry. To serve against Sauerlic Bwoye and any other foreign Scot. Not to convey any part of the Glynnes.

"He shall preserve to the Governor of the realm for the time being all the hawks which shall be bred in the Glynnes aforesaid, or in any part thereof, of what nature soever they be, and the same yearly to be sent in safety to the said Governor." He shall not draw to him any of the followers of Clandeboy, the Rowte or the Ardes.

To the one part of these articles indented remaining with the said Donnell the Lord Deputy and Council have set their hands and seals, and to the other part remaining with the Lord Deputy and Council the said Donnell hath likewise put his hand and seal.—Donell Gorme McConell.

"Copia vera concordans cum originali. Ex' per Nath. Dillon."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

1584.

Sept. 20.

532.

O'NEAL and O'DONNELL.

Vol. 611, p. 144.

Indenture between Tyrloghe Lynceaghe O'Neale and Hugh O'Donnell, before Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, and the Privy Council, 20 September, 26 Eliz., 1584.

Tyrloghe O'Neale and Hugh O'Donnell and their followers to keep the Queen's peace and live in mutual amity. To withstand any foreign invasion of French, Spanish, or Scottish, and assist her Majesty's garrisons. Neither of them to harbour each other's malefactors, or to revenge his wrongs by force, but seek for remedy from the Lord Deputy. If any stealth be taken out of either of their countries, the parties damnified shall freely follow the same into each other's country. "And wheresoever the track is left, the party upon whose lands the same is left shall either produce the thieves that they may be punished, or pay the value of the goods and cattle stolen." Murderers and felons flying for refuge into their countries are to be apprehended. Neither of them shall aid any proclaimed traitors or rebels, but endeavour to apprehend them and send them to her Majesty's Marshal.

"These indentures were tripartite. Two of them were subscribed by O'Neale and O'Donnell, whereunto they put their seals. The third was signed and sealed by Sir John Perrot, Knight, Lord Deputy; the Earl of Ormond and Ossorie; Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Waterhouse, Knight; Geoffrey Fenton, her Majesty's Principal Secretary."

*Copy. P. 14.*

Oct. 7.

533.

The LORDS of ULSTER.

Vol. 611, p. 145.

"Articles indented and agreed upon between Sir John Perrot, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Council of the one party, and the Lords of Ulster on the other party."

18 Sept. 1584, 26 Eliz. — Tyrloghe Lynceaghe O'Neale shall stand to an agreement formerly made between him and Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, concerning the limits and bounds of his country. O'Neale especially covenanted to withstand the incursion of the Scots, and to maintain 300 English footmen at 20s. each the quarter, either in money or in cattle. To give to every soldier one "medder" of butter for every five days, or to answer ready money for the same, and two "medders" of oaten meal for every five days. To give to every captain of 100 eight allowances, every lieutenant four allowances, and every ensign, serjeant, drummer, and surgeon two allowances. To give to every band of 100 footmen 50 fat beeves yearly. To send to her Majesty yearly one good chief horse and one cast of hawks.

1584.

20 Sept. 1584.—O'Donnell covenanted to find and maintain in Tyreconnell 200 footmen, with the same wages and allowances as O'Neale.

20 Sept. 1584.—Theobald McGuilly, the chief of his name, covenanted to maintain 100 footmen in garrison at Colrane, and 25 horsemen, with the allowances aforementioned. Every horseman for his victual to have the same allowances as the footmen had, and for their horses he was to provide them oats sufficient.

6 October 1584.—Con McNeale Oge covenanted that upon the Upper Clanhughboy he would maintain the number of 80 horsemen. Shane McBrien McPhelim covenanted to maintain in his part of the Lower Clanhuboy 60 footmen. Hugh Oge McHugh McPhelim upon his part of the Lower Clanhuboy covenanted to maintain 60 footmen.

7 October 1584.—Cormucke McNeale McBrien, Captain of Kilultaghe, covenanted to maintain 13 footmen. Ever McRoory McBrien, Captain of Kilwarlin, 10 footmen. Oghye McCartan, chief of his name, 10 footmen. Sir Hugh McGennis, upon his country called Ivaghe, 40 footmen.

All these indentures were signed and sealed as well by these above-named lords and gent<sup>s</sup> of Ulster, as by Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, Thomas Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Sir Lucas Dillon, Geoffrey Fenton, and Sir Henry Bagenall.

*Abstracts. Pp. 3.*

Oct. 534. LORD DEPUTY PERROT to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 74a.

The Lord President (Norris), the Baron of Dungannon Mr. Thomas Norris, and Edward Barkley did good service against Sorley Boy, the Scots, and the Irish in Glancomkine. After this small blow on that side the Ban, and the taking of his forts and followers on this side, his forces were scattered, and he "doth keep his fastness." Where before he was lord over 50,000 cows, and ruled over that end of the realm by the aid of the Scots, his countrymen, he has now scarce 1,500 cows to give him milk. Should he get no favour at my hands, it is said, he means to go to Scotland, if he can. I have placed garrisons at Colrane and Knockfergus, almost all of the old pay.

The natural subjects of that province, desiring to be freed from the Scots, came to me without protection or pardon. I dismissed them to meet me at the Nurie. O'Donnell and Sir Owen O'Toole came to the camp at Dunluse, and there having T[urlough] O'Neale with me, I ordered the controversies between them. I won them to a conditional composition to find her Majesty's garrison in bread and drink. A like composition I made there with Magwillie.

I could not go over to the Rawlins "to dispose Sorleboy and the Scots of that refuge also," because the waters might have risen and stopped my return for want of bridges, and

1584.

we had great want of victuals ; but I trust ere it be long it will be taken.

Donell Gorme, the Lady Cambell O'Neel's wife's son, made his submission and renounced the obedience of the King of Scots.

Having established the garrison at Colrane under Captain Carelile, and that at Knockfergus under Sir Henry Bagnall, whom I made Colonel of the forces there, I took the way through the woods of Kilultaghe and Kilwarlen, and so returned to the Nury the 28th of September. Thither T. O'Nele brought me Harrie O'Neale, Shane's son, who escaped from Sir Henry Sidney. All the rest of Ulster came to me, swore fealty to her Majesty, delivered pledges, and made composition for finding 1,100 of our soldiers. The Baron of Dungannon maketh his whole dependence of the State. I mean shortly to send him over thither (to England).

There were some heart-burnings and questions for governments amongst them, especially between T. O'Nele, the Baron, and the Marshal (Bagnall). I divided the greater governments into smaller. Con McNeale Oge aspired to the whole government of Clandhuboy by the old custom of tanist. I concluded that he should have the Upper Clandhuboy, and Shane McBryan and Hugh Oge the Nether.

I have divided all Ulster, except O'Donell's country, into three lieutenancies, to extinguish O'Neile's claim to the triaghbes. One is assigned to T. Lenagh, and the residue is divided between the Baron and the Marshal.

Instead of 500 men, I pray you send over 600, to be levied 25 in a shire in the hardiest countries of England and Wales, and to be sorted in weapons like other bands ; except 150, to be good bowmen. They will be employed in this garrison of 1,100, at small charge, to defend Ulster from the Scots of the Out Isles. The people desire to have their countries divided into shire grounds.

The Queen's charges have been 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a year. If she let me have 50,000*l.* yearly for three years, besides the revenue, I trust afterwards (expecting only that there be no descent of Spaniards,) to leave her a trained garrison of 2,000 footmen and 400 horsemen, "and both they and the whole government to be discharged with a small charge out of England;" and besides to leave her seven towns walled, seven bridges, and seven castles (*named*).

Shane O'Neale's sons, that came lately out with the Scots, make suit to be received to grace. They have lately taken one Lamberte, a gentleman. I have left order with Mr. Marshal and the Dean of Armagh how they shall be dealt withal.

Castle of Dublin, — October 1584. *Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 10.*

1584.

Nov. 4.

**535.**

GERALD FITZGERALD, late EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 627, p. 93.

Presentment of a Grand Jury\* at Cork, 4 November 1584.—Fulk Mounstowe,† John Chappell, Thomas Flemynge, Henry Robarts, Robert Copinger, Edmond Wall, Donogho McTeig McCormock, Teig McOwen McEdiggany, Fynmyu McCarty (withdrawn), James Lumbar, James Water, John Ronaine, James Kearne[y], John Goghe, Jasper Collins.

We find that on 2 November, 21 Eliz. (1579), and before and after, Gerald late Earl of Desmond entered into rebellion against her Majesty, and was attainted on 25 September, 24 Eliz. (1582); and that he was seized, as of fee tail, of the lands following within Cork and other counties.

Here follows a list of Desmond's lands in the cantred of Kerrycurryhy and Barry Oge's country, showing the numbers of acres and plowlands, &c.‡

*Signed by the Grand Jury, 4 November 1584.*

*Pp. 32.*

Nov. 4.

**536.**

REBELS' LANDS in co. CORK.

Vol. 627, p. 116.

"The names of them that were attainted and executed within the county of Cork for treason and rebellion in these late wars of th' Earl of Desmond, James FitzMorrys, and other their coherentes, with their additions, and the names of the castles, lands, towns, and other hereditaments they were seized of," which ought to escheat to her Majesty.

*37 names.*

*Signed by Fulk Mounstowe and the rest of the jury.*

*Dated by Curew in the margin, "4 Nov. 1584."*

*Pp. 9.*

Nov. 4.

**537.**

REBELS' LANDS in co. CORK.

Vol. 627, p. 126.

"The names of them that were slain in this last rebellion of th' Earl of Desmond, Sir John of Desmond, James Fitz-Morris, and other their coherentes," and of their lands.

*20 names.*

An account is given of the lands of Sir John of Desmond.

James FitzMorris of Desmond had an interest in Kerry-whirry, but the Earl of Desmond took it from him and enjoyed it, and therefore he rebelled.

*Signed by Mounstowe and the rest of the jury.*

*Pp. 8.*

\* This jury was called "the Country Jury." The other jury, whose presentments are all dated 7 November, was called "the Town Jury."

† Or Mounslowe?

‡ Cf. No. 232 in the preceding Volume.

1584.  
Nov. 4. **538.** REBELS' LANDS.  
Vol. 627, p. 134. Com. Cork, 4 Nov. 1584.
- I. Names of those who were concerned in the last rebellion, besides those that were attainted and slain, and of their lands.
  - II. Gentlemen of Lord Barry's country that were in rebellion.
  - III. Freeholders of Imokelly and Cosebredy that were in rebellion.  
*Signed by Mounstowe and the rest of the jury.*  
*This document is similar to that on p. 1, dated 7 November 1584; q. v.*  
*Pp. 45.*
- Nov. 4. **539.** RELIGIOUS HOUSES.  
Vol. 627, p. 163. Account of religious houses and lands, woods, quarries, patronages of churches, eyries of hawks, and mines, in co. Cork, which ought to be the Queen's.  
*Signed by Mounstowe and the rest of the jury.*  
*Dated by Carew in the margin, "4 Nov. 1584."*  
*Similar to the document on p. 51, dated 7 November; q. v.*  
*Pp. 8.*
- Nov. 4. **540.** CONCEALED LANDS.  
Vol. 627, p. 173. Com. Cork, 4 Nov. 1584.—Verdict of the Grand Jury at Cork respecting concealed lands, &c.  
*Signed by the Country Jury.*  
*Similar to the document on p. 61, dated 7 November; q. v.*  
*Pp. 8.*
- Nov. 4. **541.** TENANTS in CAPITE.  
Vol. 627, p. 181.
- I. Names of tenants *in capite*, &c.
  - II. Names of such as have made alienations, &c.  
Dated 4 November 1584.  
*Signed by the Country Jury.*  
*Similar to the documents on pp. 69 and 75a, dated 7 November; q. v.*  
*Pp. 15.*
- [Nov. 4.] **542.** EVIL-DISPOSED PERSONS.  
Vol. 627, p. 196.
- I. Names of 15 evil-disposed persons.
  - II. Inquiries respecting the Queen's interest in the town of Maghane, and respecting the death of James Barrett. (*See 7 Nov.*)  
*Signed by the Country Jury*  
*Pp. 3.*



1584.

- Nov. 4. **543.** The COUNTRY JURY.  
 Vol. 627, p. 198. "Com. Cork, 4 Nov. 1584.—Remembrances to be informed in the Presentment of the Country Jury, and other things to be added;" with the presentment of the jury.  
*Signed by the jury.*  
*Pp. 3.*

- [Nov. 4.] **544.** DESMOND'S LANDS.  
 Vol. 627, p. 200. Names of the manors and lands which were entailed by Maurice Earl of Desmond upon his son Gerald (ancestor to the last Earl), 16 January, 16 Edw. III.  
*P. 1.*

- Nov. 4. **545.** RENTS of DESMOND'S LANDS.  
 Vol. 627, p. 201. Verdict of the Grand Jury respecting the rents and beeves, &c. (*See 7 November.*)  
 Cork, 4th November 1584. *Not signed.*  
*Pp. 2.*

- [Nov. 4.] **546.** KERRYWHERRY.  
 Vol. 627, p. 204a. "A declaration how the chargeable lands of Kerrywherry was used by the Earl of Desmond and his constables of Carrigolyne."  
*P. 1.*

- Nov. 7. **547.** PRESENTMENTS of the TOWN JURY.  
 Vol. 627, p. 1. "Com. Cork.—The names of such as were in action of this last rebellion of the late Earl of Desmond, Sir John of Desmond, James FitzMorris, and other their coherent; besides those that were attainted and slain in the rebellion; together with their additions, and the names of the castles, lands, towns, and hereditaments they were seized of in the said county of Cork at their entry into the same rebellion."  
*Two names are given.*

II. "The names of divers gent' of the Lord Barry's country that were in action of rebellion, and were seized at their entry into the same of divers lands ensuing."  
*Ten names.*

III. "The names of the freeholders of Imokellye and Cosebryde as were in action of rebellion, with the names of the lands they were seized of at their entry into the same."

*Above 100 names, among which are the two following:—*

"We find that David Barry, now Lord Barry Moore, being in rebellion, hath hanged the foresaid James FitzJohn Meale," &c.

Thomas Oge McThomas McReary "was first a rebel, and came in to the Governor upon killing of James FitzJohn

1584.

FitzGarrett's sons, for which he was protected, [and] the Prince's pay of 2s. *per diem* given; and after that he nevertheless entered into rebellion again, and did many great rages.

*Opposite to many other names the word "Ignoramus" is written.*

iv. "Divers other names of gent' and freeholders that were as well in action of rebellion with James FitzMorris as with the late Earl of Desmond."

28 names.

"These twenty and nine leaves before written in this book we present as our verdict at Cork, the 7th day of November 1584, and hereunto have subscribed our names."

*Signed by the Grand Jury: Thomas Sarsfelde, Edmond Tyrrye, Wm. Lawalyne, Barnaby Dale, James Creaghe, Patrick Galwey, Piers Gowll, John Barrothe, Harry Gool, Adam Gool, Philip Martell, John Skiddy, John Gallwey, John Verdon, John FitzJames, John Skyddy FitzClements, James Lombard, James Tirry.*

*Pp. 56.*

Nov. 7. 548. · DESMOND'S REBELLION;

Vol. 627, p. 37.

"The names of them that were attainted and executed within the county of Cork for treason and rebellion in these last wars of the Earl of Desmond, Sir John of Desmond, James FitzMorris, and other their coherent; with their additions, and the names of the castles, lands, towns, and other hereditaments they were seized of at the time of their entry into the same rebellion, and at their attainder, which ought to escheat to her Majesty."

38 names. *Opposite to some of them the word "Ignoramus" is written.*

"This book, containing six leaves, we, th' eighteen persons whose names are subscribed, present as our verdict this 7th of November 1584, at Cork."

*Signed: Thomas Sarsfelde, &c. (as in the preceding).*

*Pp. 12.*

2. "The names of them that were slain in this last rebellion," &c., and of their lands.

16 names, including that of Sir John of Desmond.

Cork, 7 November 1584. *Signed as above.*

*Pp. 8.*

Nov. 7. 549. · RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

Vol. 627, p. 51.

Com. Cork.—"These abbeyes, friaries, corbes, termons or sanctuary houses, and other religious houses and lands within this county ensuing, ought to be the Queen's Majesty's as annexed to the Crown by Act of Parliament."

II. Names of the woods belonging to her Majesty.

As to stone quarries, "*ignoramus*."

1584.

III. Patronages of churches in her Majesty's gift.

IV. Names of places where there are eyrics of hawks.

As to mines, "*ignoramus*."

Cork, 7 November 1584.

*Signed by Thomas Sarsfelde and the rest of the Town Jury.*  
Pp. 7

Nov. 7. 550. CONCEALED LANDS.

Vol. 627, p. 61.

Verdict of the Grand Jury at Cork respecting such lands and goods as are concealed from her Majesty in Cork co., and ought to come to her hands by escheat, attainder, suppression of abbeys, &amp;c.

It is stated that Matthew Sheyne, Bishop of Cork, died 13 June 1582.

Cork, 7 November 1584. *Signed.*

Pp. 7.

Nov. 7. 551. TENANTS in CAPITE.

Vol. 627, p. 69.

"The names of such persons who [held] lands of her Majesty by knights' service *in capite*, and died seized of the same lands, leaving their heirs within age, together with the day of their death," &c.II. "The names of such persons who held lands of her Majesty by knights' service *in capite*, whose fathers or kinsfolks to whom they be heirs died leaving them of full age, and have nevertheless entered into the same lands without suing their livery or utterlevayne," &c.*Opposite most of the names the word "Ignoramus" is written.*

Cork, 7 November 1584.

*Signed by the Town Jury.*

Pp. 12.

[Nov. 7.] 552. ALIENATIONS.

Vol. 627, p. 75a.

"The names of such as have made alienations without licence, whereof some are of the city of Cork, and others of the Lord Barry's Great Island, and of other parts of his Lo. country, Barretts' country, Kerrywhirry, Kynnaly, and Cursei's country."

*"Ignoramus." (No names are given.)*

P. 1.

Nov. 7. 553. DESMOND'S LANDS, &amp;c.

Vol. 627, p. 79.

The verdict of the Grand Jury respecting the rents and beeves of the Earl of Desmond; the names of poets, chroniclers, or rhymers; and the names of kerne and idle men, and their maintainers.

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The Earl's rents were levied in "halfpence" moneys and sterling moneys, at Easter and Michaelmas.

Cork, 7 November 1584. *Signed.*

*Pp.* 6.

Nov. 7. 554. LANDS of REBELS.

Vol. 627, p. 83.

Names of seven persons slain in the rebellion and attainted for treason. Respecting their lands, "*ignoramus.*"

Cork, 7 November 1584.

*Signed by the Grand Jury.*

*Pp.* 3.

Nov. 7. 555. The EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 627, p. 86.

Release and quitclaim by Gerrott Earl of Desmond to Barnaby Dale, and his heirs male, from cony, livery, and all other Irish exactions due to the Earl out of the plowland of Ballinpillicke and Knockecapell in Kerycurihye, Cork co.; saving that Dale shall make suit to the court of Bever *alias* Karrigilyn, and pay the yearly rent of 3s. ster.—Traly, 16 November 1578.

"We, the jury whose names are underwritten, have seen the original of the above writing in parchment," &c.

Cork, 7 November 1584.

*Signed*: Thomas Sarsfelde, Edmond Tyrrye, &c.

*P.* 1.

[Nov. 7.] 556. JAMES BARRETT.

Vol. 627, p. 86.

I. Names of the Town Jury of Cork.

II. Writ from Nicholas Walshe, John Myeghe, and James Golde, the Queen's Commissioners, to Thomas Sarsfelde and the rest of the jury to inquire into the circumstances of the death of James Barrett, last Barrett of Barretts' country, and who ought to be his heir.

Cork, 6 November 1584.

III. The Presentment of the Jury. (*Not signed.*)

*Pp.* 2.

Nov. 7. 557. EVIL-DISPOSED PERSONS.

Vol. 627, p. 90.

"The names of certain persons [of Cork co.] ye are to inquire of, and are thought to be very evilly disposed to work mischief, if time might serve them."

*Six names. Opposite each is written, "Billa vera."*

"This leaf we present for our verdict." Cork, 7 November 1584. *Signed by the Grand Jury.*

*Pp.* 2.

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Nov. 4 & 7. **558.** DESMOND'S LANDS.

Vol. 617, p. 55.

Copies of the foregoing presentments, dated 4 & 7 November 1584. At the end there is a pedigree of the Barretts.

*Pp.* 32.

Nov. 28. **559.** SIR JOHN O'RELY.

Vol. 617, p. 159.

Indenture, 28 November, 27 Eliz., between Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy General of Ireland, and the Council, and Sir John O'Rely of the Cavan in co. Cavan, commonly called O'Rely's country.

O'Rely covenants to surrender in the Court of Chancery all the said country and the towghe called Clamahon, now the barony of Rathkuavyn; the towghe of Castellrayne, now the barony of Castellrayne; the towghe of Loghety, called the barony of Cavan; the towghe of Tullaghegarvy, called the barony of Tollevyn; the towghe of both the Clankyes, called the barony of Ineskeyne; the towghe of the two towghes, called the barony of Clonballykernan; and the towghe of Tallaghaa, called the barony of Lissenovir, in the county aforesaid, when he shall be thereto required by the Governor.

The Lord Deputy and Council agree that O'Rely shall have in fee simple the said baronies of Cavan and Tollevin, with the seigniories, rents, &c. of the baronies of Clonballekyran and Lisnovir. All the freeholders and inheritors in the same shall hold their lands of him by knight service. He shall receive the moiety or halfeindle of the lands and goods of felons, the moiety of the forfeiture of recognizances, the whole goods and chattels of persons outlawed, and goods wayed and strayed. These articles shall be established by Parliament.

O'Rely shall suffer his brethren to enjoy all their lands in co. Cavan; and they to yield and pay all duties and charges to him and his heirs. He shall permit all persons who shall have by grant or agreement from her Majesty any portion of the rest of co. Cavan, otherwise called the Brengorely, to enjoy the portions granted to them. He will yield yearly one chief horse and 90 fat beeves, and serve at all roads, hostings, &c. with 20 horsemen and 40 footmen, either shot, kerne, or galloglasse, for 40 days.

Nothing herein shall prejudice any lands belonging to the Queen, or to any lord spiritual or temporal, in the said county.

"Copia vera, coneordans cum originali, ex' per Nath: Dillon."

*Copy.* *Pp.* 2½.

Nov. 28. **560.** The O'REYLYES.

Vol. 613, p. 64a.

Indenture, 28 November, 27 Eliz., between her Majesty and Hugh Reogh O'Reyly of Loghony, Cahir Garte O'Reyly of Carick, Mulmourry O'Reyly, *alias* the Prior's son, of Down-davane, and his brethren, in the county of Cavan, who are

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bound to pay her yearly one sound goshawk and 47 beoves, and to serve in all hostings, &c. with 10 horsemen and 20 footmen for 40 days.

*Abstract. P. ½.*

Nov. 28. **561.** PHILIP O'REYLY.

Vol. 613, p. 64a.

Indenture, 28 November, 27 Eliz., to the same effect as the preceding.

*Abstract. P. ½.*

Nov. 28. **562.** EDMOND O'REYLY.

Vol. 613, p. 65.

Indenture, 28 November, 27 Eliz., to the same effect as above.

*Abstract. P. ½.*

[Dec. 18.] **563.** JUSTICES of the PEACE.

Vol. 600, p. 87.

"Orders to be observed by the Justices of Peace within their several limits throughout the Realm."\*

(1.) That they or three of them shall hold quarter sessions four times in the year.

(2.) Respecting the charge to be given to the grand juries.

(3.) The inhabitants of the shires between the ages of 16 and 70, as well men as women, to be booked, and sworn to their loyalty.

(4.) A general muster to be taken twice a year.

(5.) Butts to be made in every parish for archery; and common pounds.

(6, 7.) Two high constables to be chosen and sworn within every barony, and two petty constables in every parish.

(8.) Two overseers and searchers to be chosen and sworn in every parish, to search any suspected persons' houses for beef, mutton, pork, or swine killed. Any person, not being a gentleman of good accompt, who shall kill any beast or cattle without showing them the mark beforehand, is to be imprisoned and fined.

(9.) All cattle, stud mares, sheep, and lambs to be marked with an iron mark or ear mark on pain of forfeiture.

"These articles to be left with the *Custos Rotulorum*.—Jo. Perrot."

*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

**564.** The EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 635, p. 64.

"A true Note of certain Territories subtracted and concealed by the Earl of Ormond from her Majesty, pretending the said

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\* Dated by Carew, "1584 *vel* 1586." These orders were enclosed in letters from Lord Deputy Perrot to the justices of the peace in every county, 18 December 1584.

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lands to be within his county palatine of Tipperary;”\* showing the ancient divisions of Munster and their Irish names.

*At the end*: “This above written was alleged by Sir Charles O’Carrol against the Earl of Ormond that now liveth in anno 1598.”

*Copy. P. ½.*

## 565. MUNSTER.

Vol. 635, p. 75.

“A Certificate of Able Men for defence in the Cities and Towns of Munster; certified in anno 1584;” *sc.*, in Waterford, Cork, Limerick, &c.

Total: 740 shot; 1,840 billmen.

II. “The Note of the particular Lords and their ordinary Forces in Munster, which was maintained by their tenants at all times; collected when Sir John Perrot was Lord President there.”

III. “A Note of the Bonogh-beges that belonged to the Earl of Desmond.”

IV. “A Note how Galloglasse have been cessed, as well within the county of Cork as Limerick, accustomedly heretofore.”

*Copies.† Pp. 2.*

## Dec. 23. 566. O’CONNOR SLIGO.

Vol. 611, p. 217.

Indenture, 23 December, 27 Eliz., between Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy General, and the Council, and Sir Donnell O’Connor, of Sligo, otherwise Sligaghe, in Connaught.

As Sir Donnell surrendered to the Queen the captainship and government of the baronies of Carbrie, Tereraghe-Moye, Tererell Laine, Coryn, and Calavin, and all his castles and lands within the county of Sligo; and as her Highness was pleased that, upon survey and inquisition taken of what castles, &c. he had, the same should be granted back again to him with certain reservations, conditions, and covenants: inquisition and survey have been duly made, and a new grant made back to the said Sir Donnell and the heirs males of the body of his father of all the premises, excepting only one town and castle called Ballemote, as by letters patents, dated at Westminster, 20 January, 10 Eliz., and by an inquisition taken at Sligo before Thomas Dillon, Chief Justice of Connaught, and other commissioners, whose commission is dated 12 May, 20 Eliz., and by other letters patents under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated the 22nd of this month, may more particularly appear.

\* See Mr. Hamilton’s Calendar of Irish State Papers, 1574–1585, p. 541.

† Nos. ii., iii., and iv. have been calendared at length in the preceding Volume (pp. 392–395), from MS. 614, under the date furnished by Carew. No. iv. ends with the words “McBryan Arra, 60 axes or spears.”

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Towards her Highness's charge for the defence of the said country, and to the intent that neither his lands nor the lands of his gentlemen freeholders or farmers shall be charged with any cess, outrising, or other ordinary imposition, but as followeth, it is now covenanted by him that he and the heirs of his father, and other the gentlemen freeholders within the said baronies, shall, besides the 100*l.* Irish rent, yield and pay as rent the payments ensuing; that is to say, every year one fair and good horse, and during the space of three years next ensuing 100 good, fat, and large beeves yearly, and after these three years 130 good, fat, and large beeves yearly, to be delivered at the castle of Athlone; and also shall serve at all general hostings and risings-out with 20 horsemen and 60 footmen, either shot, kerne, or galliglas, for forty days at their own costs and charges. Also to pay the yearly rent of 25*l.* of lawful money of England. The same rent, beeves, &c. to stand in lieu of all cess.

The said Sir Donell and the heirs of his father shall have the moiety and half deal of all the goods, chattels, lands, tenements, &c. of persons attainted of felony, and the whole goods and chattels of persons outlawed, goods wayved or strayed, and penalties of bloodshed, within the said baronies.

All the freeholders and inheritors in the said baronies shall hold of the said Sir Donell, &c. by knight service.

All these agreements shall be established by Act of Parliament.

Sir Donell shall permit all persons that shall have any grant from her Majesty of any manors, &c. in the said country, being in her Majesty's gift, quietly to hold the same without disturbance.

In the time of any foreign invasion, or upon any great necessity, Sir Donell and the inhabitants of the said baronies shall serve and contribute at the commandment and discretion of the Lord Deputy.

"Copia vera, concordans cum originali. Ex' per Nath. Dillon."

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

Vol. 613, p. 64.

2. Abstract from the preceding.

P. 1.

### 567. ESCHEATED LANDS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 617, p. 5.

Extent of the lands and possessions of the Earl of Desmond and other traitors in Munster, made by virtue of the Queen's commission, dated 19 June, 26 Eliz., 1584.

Value of the Earl's lands in cos. Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, Tipperary, and Dublin, 7,039*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lands of traitors attainted\* in co. Limerick, 1,128*l.* 2*s.* 5½*d.*;

\* Their names are given; and it is also stated whether they were slain in rebellion or executed.



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in Kerry, 344*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; Cork, 816*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*; Waterford, 255*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Tipperary, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Kilkenny, 4*l.*

Lands concealed in Munster, belonging to religious houses, 61*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Lands concealed, parcel of the ancient inheritance of the Crown, 74*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Lands of attainted persons (surveyed by Launcelot Allford and others) not charged before the Auditor, 599*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*

Total yearly charge of the lands aforesaid, 10,410*l.* 17*s.*

*Copy. Latin. Pp.* 7.

**568.** The EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 635, pp. 129  
and 129b.\*

“The names of such castles as the Earl of Desmond had either raised or fortified in the province of Munster since the beginning of his rebellion.

“The names of the persons in rebellion with the aforesaid Earl.

“The names of such lords and gentlemen in Munster as stood neuter in the said rebellion.”

**569.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 607, p. 110.

“Short notes to be considered upon for the reducing and settling of Munster.”

The late Earl of Desmond is cut off. Parliament should be called to invest in her Majesty the lands of him and all his confederates in Munster. A governor to be established in that province, as in Connaught. Her Majesty is to consider whether she will in mercy wrap up the offences of the better sort, or commit them to trial; and to distinguish how many offended by will, and how many by compulsion. If she grant them pardon, it were good she did it upon a ground of their voluntary submission.

A survey to be taken of the country, which is to be holden by English tenures. The regality of Kerrie, being a county palatine, to be either absolutely dissolved, or to continue resumed into her Majesty's hands. Such of the Irishry as have their lands in bogs and woods, or have strong piles and castles, to be removed to the upland country. All lands “to be brought within compass of shire ground.” All the escheated lands and castles along the sea coasts of Munster to be replenished with habitation of English servitors of English birth.

This new inhabitancy, for a certain space, to be free from rent and cesse. Their wards, &c. shall remain to the prince.

Their estates to be passed by such grant as the English and Irish have had in the conquered lands of Leix and Offalye.

The government is to be like that of Wales, viz., certain assistants of counsel to the governors and justices, a learned attorney, &c.

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\* This leaf is now wanting. The description of it is taken from the Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS.

1584.

“The inhabitants possessing the wood countries to be tied to draw under their manurances artificers out of England skilful to make coal, tile, brick, earthen pots, and such other devices, to be put in sale for the common utility of the country; yea! and other artificers of timber work, in regard of the great plenty of woods.”

The lords not to hold their castles with force of great artillery or wards without licence. This will work the dissolution of their idle horsemen, galloglasse, kearne, and stokers (*sic*). The lords and principal men to have the quantity of their armour assigned to them according to their callings. Idle horsemen, galloglasse, kearne, and stokers (*sic*) not to wear armour or weapon. None to hold warriors but the prince.

Limerick being a large shire, and in divers parts remote beset with malefactors, is to be divided into two counties.

That two markets at the least be erected in every county within Munster, and continued weekly in meet places. Herefore “the merchants dwelling in corporate towns, and having lands in the country, tied their tenants to furnish to them alone all their wares and victuals, and so engrossed into themselves all the trades in the country.”

Large commissions o martial law to be addressed to one special man of trust and service in every barony, to weed out malefactors.

The statute for English habit and language is to be put severely in execution.

Order to be taken for repairing the decayed churches and planting ministers of meet literature and doctrine.\*

*Dated by Carew “1584.”*

*Pp. 4. Endorsed.*

#### 570. MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 47.

“A probable discourse how, upon the extinguishing of this rebellion, the province of Mounstre may be kept from any revolt hereafter, how it may bear the charge of 1,200 men, yielding revenue to your Majesty, and repay the charges of the war.”

*On the fly-leaf, in Carew's hand, “A discourse of Sir Valentine Browne's† for the settling of Munster.”*

*Dated by Carew, “1584.”*

*In the hand of Morgan Colman, secretary to Sir William Pelham.*

*Pp. 32. Endorsed.*

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\* This document seems to be in the hand of Morgan Colman, secretary to Sir William Pelham, who was Lord Justice in 1579 and 1580.

† An error. This document was drawn up by Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, in July 1580 (see No. 440), and is probably the original from which the copy in Pelham's letterbook was derived.

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**571.** PROPOSED REFORMATION OF IRELAND.

Vol. 614, p. 165.

"Ireland [1574].—A Plate conceived [by Sir Nicholas White]\* how that realm may be governed with contentation of the inhabitants and surety of the estate."

It lays down these five principles as necessary to be considered:—(1.) How the Queen's charges may be mitigated. (2.) How the revenue may be increased. (3.) How the nobility there may be satisfied. (4.) How the common subjects may be eased of cesse, and kept in contentation. (5.) How the soldiers may be victualled without loss to her Majesty, and kept under discipline from disorders.

A Lord Justice to be appointed, and have 1,300*l.* a year, &c. Sum total of the wages of the chief officers, 6,508*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* The charges of the army to be 13,939*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* The whole expenses, 21,553*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.*

The revenue certain in Ireland, 9,994*l.* 12*s.* To be supplied out of England, 11,559*l.* 16½*d.*

100 footmen to be disposed in certain places (*named*).

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed*: Mr. Nicholas White's device.

Vol. 614, p. 251.

2. "The Cause why Ireland hath continued so long in disorder, and a mean to reform the same."

These four points are specially to be noted:—(1.) A plot is set down, the principal points whereof may not be altered. (2.) Good and apt ministers to be chosen. (3.) Good store of money to be provided. (4.) Apt laws to be made.

This discourse then treats "of the honour and commodities which will grow unto her Majesty by reducing this people unto perfect obedience."

*Dated by Carew, "1584."*

*In the same hand as the "Plate" on p. 165.*

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed*.

**572.** REFORMATION OF IRELAND.

Vol. 614, p. 260.

"A brief note to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Deputy for the reformation of the realm of Ireland, 1584."

(1.) That you make proclamation that mayors and other officers in all corporations shall buy up all powder and brimstone for the city or town store; and that it shall be treason to traffic in the same, except for their own defence and their shipping.

(2.) Cause to be put in execution a statute made at Dublin, 33 Hen. VI., that every man shall answer for his sons and his men; and the statute of 28 Hen. VI., that all who keep men shall book them.

(3.) Also, the statute of 25 Hen. VI., that the sons of labourers, &c., shall use the same labours as their parents,

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\* The words in brackets are in Carew's hand.

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“unless their said parents be able to keep them to the schools, or put them to some honest occupation or craft, and not to become horseboys, and then kerne, and so thieves.”

(4.) “Give commandment that every parish within the English Pale, if the parish be great, shall have four pair of stocks, and if it be small, two, or at least one, at every church.”

(5.) Every harper, rimer, carow, or valiant beggar, passing through the said parishes, to be put in the stocks, and punished (pwnnissid).

(6.) Sessions to be kept in every county at least twice a year; and “the judges shall not be of the birth of any of the said counties, nor of the next county to it.”

(7.) No man to wear weapons within the English Pale, either by day or by night, unless he be of the Pale, and in English habit, or else it shall be lawful for any of the army to kill him.

(8.) None of the Pale to wear “glibes,” nor the women any great kerchiefs after the gipsy manner.

(9.) “That the statute for the making of *aqua vite* be put in execution, which sets the Irishry a madinge, and breeds many mischiefs.”

(10.) The statute of 23 Hen. VIII., against marriage and fostering with Irishmen, to be put in execution.

(11.) Take order that none within the English Pale shall sell ale nor wine out of the corporate towns but such as shall be licensed by your Honour, or such as you shall authorize to license the same; they putting in good sureties for their honesty and good behaviour.”

(12.) No prisoners to be kept in private houses, but sent to gaol; and no agreement made for their release but as law will allow.

Put all these in execution, and Ireland will be well governed. “And further, if it please your Honour to command me at your return to go execute mine office amongst them, if I do not good service punish (pwnnisse) me.”

*Pp. 2. Endorsed by Sir John Perrot.*

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Jan. 21. 573.

ROBERT LEGGE'S BOOK.

Vol. 607, p. 115.

A Book of Information delivered by Robert Legge to Sir John Perrotte, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, for the reformation of the civil government of that realm, 21 January 1584.

Since my coming hither I have perceived much unorderly dealing, and very far different from our courts and course of offices in England. I have therefore herein noted certain causes or articles unto your Honour, and crave your favour for reformation thereof, and that you will be means to procure over more English officers hither.

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(1.) Shreeves' offices are nothing at all foreseen unto. The shreeves to be called to account for all arrearages, issues, profits, fines, amercements, and such like, as also for all rebels' and felons' goods and chattels. Then would there be more profit and commodity coming into her Highness's coffers than heretofore. Some officers direct their letters to the shreeves, commanding them to surcease the execution of such writs as touch their kinsfolks or friends. Other officers know not what belongeth to shreeves, which doth animate the latter to turn all to his private gain. This causes them to sue here to be made shreeves.

(2.) Escheators and other officers to make their several accounts yearly, whereby her Highness's profits and commodities might be more respected, and not used as heretofore.

(3.) "When any *custodiam* is granted here, and that they have gotten their warrant signed, they presently depart and never come into th' Exchequer to have a patent made thereof, and to enrol it orderly in any office, or be bound for answering her Majesty the mean profits," to the loss of above 10,000*l.* in few years.

(4.) No officers, neither customer nor any other, yield any account as they do in England, or keep any books of entry of any merchandises; but the book of orders which I delivered to your Lordship, being once confirmed, would be a good direction both among officers and merchants. The merchants do what they list. Customhouses to be erected at every port.

(5.) Her Majesty loses, by letting out certain offices here, as her customs and impost of wines, a great matter yearly.

(6.) "The merchants of Dublin of late have restrained all foreign merchants from traffic hither, whereby they hinder the Queen greatly, and hurt themselves and the whole country; for whereas all commodities were afore brought unto them by strangers, now nothing cometh in but of their own bringing; so that all things by that means waxeth so dear as passeth, and the merchants of Dublin bind all men to buy all commodities of them; whereas if the common course of traffic were used still, as it hath been, we should have plenty of all things, and everything good cheap."

(7.) "The courts of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Place are weak, and want good officers, which may look into the benefit and commodity of the Queen more than now is used. The officers that now are, being Irish, are so greatly affected to their own countrymen, that doing one for another they little regard the Queen's profit."

(8.) "The Barons and other officers are all ill-spoken of, for that men can have no justice, as it is said, although it be in the Queen's case. Again, her Majesty's revenue is decayed above 3,000*l.* a year, which was certain." The Barons of the Exchequer should be Englishmen, and one Englishmen in every bench.

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(9.) "Whereas these Irish officers use no order at all, neither in sitting in the court nor otherwise, but rather walk out of the court at their pleasure to talk with their friends, or with such as have any matter to be moved, although it be against the Queen, they will be so instructed against they come to their places again as they will rather speak for the party than with the Queen, or else they will be silent altogether. Again, they sit in such unseemly order that there is no accompt made of a court here, but as a petty hundred court in the country, nor no reverence at all used to them." When any more English officers shall come over, which I wish to be very shortly, they should sit in such robes as our justices and barons do in England; for these men sit like any common persons.

(10.) All patents for pensions, annuities, or other payments to be enrolled here within six months. Every court to hold that which belongs to it, and not to meddle with another.

(11.) At Gallowaye the customer and officers have never been called to accompt.

(12.) The statutes to be put in print. Certain of them (*specified*) to be put in force.

(13.) "Memorandum.—It were very necessary at the Parliament some good act, order, or provision were instituted and made here for enclosing of grounds within this land with hedges and ditches, planting such trees to make hedgerows as the people may conveniently get to plant, or else with some kind of thorns or fruit trees, as in Somersetshire and Devonshire they do."

(14.) Justices and officers to be appointed to ride circuit here, as in England, twice a year, and to view and see the state of the country, whereby disorders and many things amiss, as bridges and highways decayed, may be reformed. The auditor and receiver to ride circuit and keep audit.

(15.) Money not to be carried out of this realm contrary to the statutes. "The merchants of Dublin have a vent to London, to take up all their wares upon credit to very great sums, the money to be paid here at Dublin. The nobility, knights, captains, gentlemen, and soldiers, and others of this realm, they again take up of the merchants of Dublin such commodities as they want upon their credit, and for time paying out of all reason for the same. At length, when the treasure cometh over from England, when these men have their pay, the money cometh presently to the merchants of Dublin. Then come the merchants, factors, and agents of London, and they receive a great part thereof for their masters' use, never employing any part thereof in or about any commodity here, but they, viz., the merchants, by one means or other, and likewise divers gentlemen convey the same privily out of this realm in this trunk or that trunk, which must not be searched (they say); for this gentleman allegeth it is his provision of apparel, and this merchant saith that he hath licence

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to carry his money; and so between both, what with the gentleman with his device, and what with the merchant having licence, as he will allege, for 100*l.*, when by colour thereof shall be carried a thousand or more of sundry men's money, defrauding her Majesty and abusing her Highness' officers, we have scarce of any money here." The statute for restraint of money, viz., that none shall carry it over out of this realm but he shall pay 3*s.* 4*d.* of the pound for custom to the Queen, is not put in use here.

"If statutes of restraint will not serve to keep the money within this land, then if such money as cometh from England might be raised, as every sterling shilling to 14*l.*, every harp of 9*d.* to continue as it doth, and all gold to be raised likewise, according to the rate of 10*l.* in the hundred," they would carry none over again without loss of 10*l.* *in centum*.

(16.) The Act of the 12 Edw. IV., that every merchant bringing in wares to this realm to the value of 100*l.* shall bring in bows with him to the value of 5*l.*, to be altered from bows to calivers and other munition. "The shreeves of Dublin call every merchant to account that cometh in with goods bringing no bows with him, and they will set fine upon him as they list, and never respect the Queen's part. Whatsoever they have, it goeth into their box, but her Majesty hath nothing; but when time shall serve there is a writ of *certiorari* to call the mayor and shreeves to accompt for the Queen's part of all such fines."

"If a man bring 5*l.* worth of bows, he cannot get any money for them of any merchant here, because they are not used here, nor had in estimation."

(17.) "It were good some order were had for idle persons to force them to some kind of labour or work, and for relief of the poor, which here daily do abound.

(18.) "Likewise for destruction of ravening and devouring wolves some order might be had, as when any lease is granted to put in some clause, that the tenant endeavour himself to spoil and kill wolves with traps, snares, or such devices as he may devise."

(19.) "The place where her Majesty's courts are now holden [is] not convenient for the same for causes following.

"First. The place being the Castle, her Majesty's chief hold and seat within this realm, all people, both good and bad, have common access thereto about their affairs, as well false and rebellious fellows, as other her Majesty's good subjects, under colour of civility and honesty about their business, and cannot be denied to come thither; but it is not convenient they should come within that place.

"*Item*. The keeping of her Majesty's storehouse so nigh unto her Highness' courts, or keeping the courts so near the storehouse, where all men may view and overlook her Majesty's munition, provision, and store of all sorts for defence of this her Highness' realm, is not convenient; for in the term

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time the greatest rebels within this land may boldly come thither in some civil order, and, by their villainous devices, treasons, and conspiracies, in short time destroy all her Majesty's officers and loving subjects as they sit in her Highness' affairs.

"*Item.* This being brought to pass (which God forbid!), the Castle were theirs, with all ordnance and other munition and provision whatsoever; and then, by some privy token and signs, other great company of their confederates may come in, to take the city and spoil all her Majesty's people (which God forbid!); but yet of late days such a matter was attempted, and had like taken effect, had not the Lord revealed it in time; for they have a prophecy, as it is said, that a boat of two tons shall one day carry away all Englishmen from Ireland."

*Signed*: "Your Honour's at commandment, Robt. Legge."

*Pp.* 9. *Endorsed.*

Jan. 29. 574. WARRANT by LORD DEPUTY FERROT to all MAYORS and SHERIFFS.

Vol. 605, p. 71.

To aid and assist John Painter, governor of the fort of Mariburghe, in the transport of munition and furnishing the said fort and garrison there.

Dublin Castle, 29 January 1584.

*Signed by the Deputy.*

*P.* 1.

April 4. 575. SIR JOHN O'RELY.

Vol. 614, p. 162.

"Sir John O'Rely, Knight, his note unto your Honours concerning the ancient rights, duties, customs, and other inheritances which belong and appertain unto his several baronies in the Breny."

*In the margin, opposite to one of the articles, is the following paragraph*:—"We have ordered that the freeholders [of Dowelit Donell] shall come to inhabit that land, paying to Sir John O'Rely his lawful customs and duties. . . . By the Commissioners at Cavan, the 4th of April 1585. Jo. Armachan, Tho. Midensis, Robert Dillon, J. Garvey."

II. An order given by the Commissioners at Cavan, 1 April 1585, to Sir John O'Reily, to set down the limits of his territories, his rents, duties, and customs, and his complaints against his neighbours.

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed*: To be delivered to my Lord of Meath.

May 23. 576. AN ACT OF OBLIVION.

Vol. 619, p. 177.

Order by the Lord Deputy and Council.

Whereas the multitude of suits and complaints both for very old challenges, and for new injuries done by spoils and stealths in the late rebellion, do breed many inconveniences,



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and the spoils cannot be recovered, we order that all such suits for preys before the 1st of May 1583 shall surcease, except the demands appear by specialties and bonds, or have been otherwise ordered by the governors of this realm, or by commissioners.

Castle of Dublin, 23 May 1585. *Signed.*

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

June.

577.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the COUNCIL in ENGLAND.

Vol. 632, p. 79a.

By letters of 3 March we informed you of the service in the north. The Scots little looked that our service would endure through the winter season. Agnus McDonnell made no long abode there after his landing. "The last and chief material remain of them were with McDonnell Ballagh, a man of accompt amongst them, and specially noted for that he was a chief actor at the killing of Captain Baker and Chatterton and their bands. He and his men were getting away too, and a couple of galleys were come to fetch them over, but Shan McBrian, having good spial upon them, did, by direction of Sir Harry Bagnall and Sir William Stanley, draw Captain Woodhouse with his and Sir George Bourcher's bands, besides his own company, upon him on a sudden, and killed him and all his best men, to the number of 52, whereof some were gent', and presently surprised the two galleys, and burnt [them]."

Sorley Boy and his son Alexander, Donell Gorme, and his brother Alexander Garraghe are fled over into Scotland. No Scot of mark is now left in the Rowte or Glynn. We do not hear of anything intended out of Scotland. Lady Cambell and Agnus McDonnell "are humble suitors to her Majesty, by mediation of their King (James VI.), for the Glinnes. I the Deputy sent unto your Lpps., with my letters from Rosse, the 2nd of April last, a copy of such conditions as I thought good to impose upon him for those lands. He maketh now some stay at the hardness of them. Nevertheless, if there be as sound meaning in Scotland as is professed towards her Majesty, it is like enough he will be glad to accept them."

*No date or signatures.*

*Headed:* From the L. Dep. and Council of Ireland to the Lls. of the Council in England: dated the — of June 1585.

*Copy. Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ .*

[June or July?] 578. A BILL for REPEALING POYNING'S ACT.

Vol. 632, p. 80a.

Where in a Parliament holden at Dublin, 11 Eliz., an Act [was passed] "that no bill shall be certified into England for the repealing or suspending of the statute passed in Poyning's time (11 Hen. VII.) before the same bill be first agreed upon in a session of Parliament holden in this realm," which statute

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provided that no Parliament should be holden in this realm until the Acts be certified into England; by means of which two Acts we, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, are shut up and forbidden to make any law or statute unless the same be first certified into England: Therefore, considering the great zeal and love we find in Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, and for that he has granted us the favour to be admitted to conference for any bills that shall be treated of, we conclude that a bill be sent into England for the repeal of the said Act of Sir Edward Poynings; and that all Acts passed shall be good and available, as if the said two statutes had not been made.

“Examined by me, Ni. Walshe, Speaker of ye Parliament for the Commons.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

June. **579.** RENTS and SERVICES.

Vol. 613, p. 53.

“Certain reservations to her Majesty’s use upon receipt of surrenders, and upon other compositions and agreements, between the Lord Deputy of the one party, and certain lords and gentlemen on the other party, made from the 10th day of June 1584 until this present month of June 1585, and to continue as followeth, besides a tenure of knight service upon all the lands thereupon reserved to her Majesty;” *sc.*, rent *per annum*, 545*l.* 1*s.*; chief horses, 4; hawks, 11; beeves, 427; English horsemen, 25; English footmen, 1,089; Irish horsemen at every hosting, 210; Irish footmen at ditto, 455.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

Aug. 8. **580.** JAMES VI., KING OF SCOTS, to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 632, p. 81a.

We have by this bearer, Captain Dawtrie, received your answer of our letter, announcing your immediate order taken with our merchants’ goods restrained by your command at sundry parts upon the coast. We promise that Copran, of Dublin, and the other two merchants of Carigefergus pretending to have been spoiled by Broadstones and Agnus McDonnell, shall have like justice. Agnus and his brother, Sorley Boy’s brother and sons, and their followers shall be prohibited from making incursions into Ireland, under the pain of treason. If they attempt the contrary, we shall use them as our rebels, and give commission to McAllane and the country thereabout to rise and prosecute them. On the other part, we crave of you that they may be kindly used in all things which may be justly claimed by them.

St. Andrew’s, 8 August 1585, the 19th year of our reign.

*Signed:* James R.

*Copy. P. 1.*

1585.

Oct. 3.

**581.** COMPOSITION for CESSE in CONNAUGHT.

Vol. 614, p. 15.

Commission from the Queen to Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner in Connaught and Thomond; the Archbishop of Tome (Tuam); the Earls of Ormond and Clanricard; the Bishop[s] of Clonfert and Elphine; the Lord Brinigham, Baron of Athenry; Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls; Sir Edward Waterhouse, one of the Privy Council; Sir Thomas Lestrange, one of the same; Thomas Dillon, Chief Justice of the said province; Charles Calthorp, Attorney-General; Gerald Quemerford, Attorney in the said province; Sir Tirrelagh O'Brien; Sir Donell O'Connor Sligo; Sir Brien O'Rorek; Sir Richard Bourck; Sir Morogh ne Dowe O'Flaerty; Francis Barkley, Provost-Marshal in the said province; Nicholas Fitz Symons, of Dublin, alderman; John Marbury; Robert Fowle; and John Browne.

Whereas the said province is torn by the dissensions of the lords and chieftains, who challenge authorities, cuttings, and cessings, under pretext of defending the people under their rules; and we understand that these our subjects are inclined, through the ministry of Sir John Perrott, our Deputy General, to embrace all good ways and means to conserve them in obedience, whereby our prerogative may be known, and their rights and titles made certain: We authorize you to call before you all the nobility, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftains and lords of the countries, and thereupon, in lieu of the uncertain cesse borne to us and of the cutting[s] and spendings of the lords, to compound for a rent certain to us upon every quarter or quantity of land within that province. The baronies to be divided into manors.

Witness our said Lord Deputy General, at Dublin, 15 July, 27 Eliz.

## II. The RETURN of the COMMISSIONERS.

By our own view, and by the presentments of good and lawful men, we have found what number of quarters of land are contained within the counties of Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, and the confines thereof, within Connaught and Thomond, accompting O'Rorek's country to be of the same, as in the several presentments taken thereof is at large inserted, which we return, together with the several indentures passed and agreed upon for the composition rent granted in the same to the Queen by the lords, freeholders, &c.

Dated 3 October, 27 Eliz.

The barony of Clancoistolla is not as yet presented, nor comprised within this composition.

*Signed by Sir Richard Bingham and others.*

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## III. CONNAUGHT and THOMOND.

(1.) "A brief abstract of the composition there lately taken, as well for the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as also between the lords and their freeholders."

Irish callings, customary rents, and spendings to be extinguished.

Sum of the quarters of land, 7,872; whereof 6,712 are chargeable by composition, and the rest remain in freedom.

(2.) "The names of the new erected manors for the Queen's Majesty in the province of Connaught and Thomond aforesaid, with the rents and services to them knit and annexed.

Total of the yearly profits arising to her Majesty by the composition:—Rents, 3,365*l.*; tenures, royalties, suits, and services, 475*l.*; 340 quarters concealed, and found since this composition (at 10*s.* each), 160*l.* (*sic*).

Also reserved to her Majesty, 312 horsemen and 1,386 footmen.

## IV. MAC'S and O'S.

"Names of all the Mackes and Ooes within the province of Connaught and Thomond," whose lands are to be confirmed to them by letters patents in English succession, with small yearly rents.

41 Mac's and 26 O's.

## V. The LORDS and CHIEFTAINS of CONNAUGHT and THOMOND to the LORD DEPUTY.

Where it hath pleased you to send hither Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, joined in commission with Sir Richard Bingham, our chief officer, &c., the composition is now certainly and indifferently set down.

From the province of Connaught, 27 September 1585.

*Signed*: W. Tuamen,\* Ulick Clanricard, D. Thomond, Sir Donnell O'Connor, Mack William, E. Athenry, Eugenius Achad,† Eugenius electus Aladen,‡ Thirlaugh O'Brien, Sir Brien O'Rorck, Sir Morough ne Doo, Knight, Margett Cusake, in the name of the young Baron of Inchequin, her son.

*Contemp. copies. Pp. 22.*

Nov. 582. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR JOHN PERROT, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 600, p. 115.

Heads of Instructions for Secretary Fenton, to be communicated to the Deputy, for peopling Munster.

Immediately on his return to Ireland, he is to communicate the design for the peopling of Munster to the Lord Deputy, who shall certify his own and the Council's opinion on the

\* William Lealy, Archbishop of Tuam.

† Owen O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry.

‡ Owen O'Connor, Bishop of Killala.

1585.

subject. Commissioners are to be appointed by him to repair to Munster, and take the evidence of those freeholders and copyholders whose lands, without any taint of disloyalty, are intermixed with the lands escheated to her Majesty. Mr. Smithes and Mr. Meaghe, Justice and Second Justice in Munster, are fit for this service. Such freeholders and copyholders as have good titles are to be reasonably compounded with, that no quarrel may ensue between them and the new settlers. A survey is also to be taken of freeholds and copyholds which have escheated to her Majesty for default of heirs, not yet taken by Sir Valentine Browne.

The Commissioners are also to have power to inspect her Majesty's leases, and arrange for a composition. Special care is to be taken that no offence be given to the freeholders and lessees. No person to enjoy the custodiam of escheated lands, unless he accept the same with the conditions arranged in England. A survey is to be made of the escheated lands; and for this, besides her Majesty's Surveyor in Ireland, Mr. [Christopher] Payton, [Roger] Mannaringe, Thomas Wiseman, and Robins are fit to be employed. Orders are to be given to the Vice-President of Munster to appoint certain of the garrison there to attend on the said Commissioners for their security, so that before the end of this next summer places may be appointed for planting parishes according to the plott, and for demesne lands and house for the President of Munster, not exceeding 500 acres.

The Deputy is also to consider what lands may be allotted to Patrick Condon, seneschal, and other principal persons of that province, who have been pardoned, without creating dissensions.

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew, "November 1585."*

[Nov. or Dec?] 583.

The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 632, p. 82.

We understand by your letters of 30 June that the Baron of Dungannon presented in Parliament a supplication for his place of Earl of Tyrone, and a petition for the lands of his grandfather in Ulster; and that you did yield him the place of the earldom by virtue of letters patents, but referred him to us respecting his lands and superiority in Ulster, by reason of the Act whereby Shane O'Neale was attainted, and the whole territories of Ulster were invested in us. He has since offered new articles for keeping a peace between him and his kinsmen.

Cause inquisition to be made of the said lands, and thereupon devise (1) what parts of them should for their strength be kept in our possession, (2) what portions are meet for him to have, and (3) what portions may be by us limited "in some special state tail for the sons of Tirlough Lenough, and the sons of Shane O'Neale and of Henry McShane, and such others as have any colour of competitorship to the signority of the title of O'Neale;" the whole to be held of us *in capite*.

1585.

He is to bear 200 soldiers. As he has had two wives, and children by them both, if the limitation be made to exclude his first children, as he desires, some controversy may hereafter grow.

The articles by him offered for renouncing the usurped title of O'Neile, and the uriaights, shall be comprised in a writing indented betwixt us and him. He offers to make consideration of such as be expectants in Tyrone of the title of O'Neile. We think it better for him to have that authority by grant from us.

We understand divers ways of the good disposition of the said Earl to serve us.

*Undated.*

*Copy. Pp. 4½.*

Dec. 7. 584. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY (PERROT).

Vol. 608, p. 98a.

Commission to take the surrender of O'Molloye, chief of his nation, and sundry other loyal subjects of Ireland, granting their lands, liberties, &c. on English tenures. "Given under our sign manual."

*Dated in the margin, "November 1585;" but in Morrin's Patent and Close Rolls, "December 7, 28 Eliz."*

*Copy. Pp. 7.*

Dec. 13. 585. The QUEEN to the LORD CHANCELLOR and OTHERS.

Vol. 611, p. 273.

Where by our commission dated 4 November 1583 we authorized you to hear and determine the accompts of the Vice-Treasurer, &c., and to call Sir Henry Wallop before you; and whereas by another later commission, dated 19 August in our 26th year, we enlarged the time of the said accompts; we now prolong our said commissions till 30 September last, in our 27th year.

Manor of Richmond, 13 December 1585, 28 Eliz.

*Addressed to the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor, the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, Auditor, and Surveyor.*

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 613, p. 55.

2. Another copy.

586. The QUEEN to the LORD CHANCELLOR and OTHERS.

Vol. 611, p. 275.

Whereas in our former commissions of 4 Nov., 25 Eliz., 19 August, 26 Eliz., and 13 December, 28 Eliz., the Clerk of our Hanaper, the Clerk of our Twentieth Parts and First Fruits, the Clerk of our Castle Chamber, the Clerk to our High Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical, the Clerk of our Fines under our presidents or governors of our provinces, the Clerk or Collectors of Casualties, and such like are not comprised and specified; we now authorize you to call before you all the said accomptants, and to hear and determine their accompts.

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The Vice-Treasurer requires a double of his accompts, according to the strict words of our commissions; but as they occupy several great volumes, you shall deliver him a brief declaration of the whole.

*No date or address.*

*Headed: The new draught.*

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Dec. 587. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR JOHN PERROT, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 600, p. 94.

Instructions sent to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland by Geoffrey Fenton, Esquire, her Majesty's Secretary in that realm.

(1.) As Ireland is in good terms, and there is no appearance of present alteration, the army there, consisting of 1,900 men besides the bands found by composition in Ulster, should be diminished of some hundreds.

(2.) Considering the expense and inconvenience of sending over victuals, the Council there are to consider how this may holpen, whether by additional pay to the soldiers to allow them to victual themselves, or by reducing the pay to the old Irish pay, and continuing the victualling as at present. As this formed an article of the Deputy's instructions, an answer was expected long ago. If the soldiers are to receive increased pay, fixed rates of provisions must be set up, to avoid exaction.

(3.) The composition of 2,100*l.* in lieu of cesse is to be revived in such counties as shall agree to it, as well for the army as all other duties heretofore imposed. The countries of Leix and Offally are not to be dispensed with. If they refuse, soldiers are to be laid upon them by the Deputy *pro rata*.

(4.) Captain Thomas Norrys, brother of John Norrys, President of Munster, is to take his place as Vice-President during his brother's service in the Low Countries, taking his brother's pay, 20*s. per diem*, with the exception of a yearly fee of 200 marks sterling. All directions and instructions sent from hence are to be publicly read at the council table once a quarter at least by the Secretary, except in special cases.

(5.) All officers are to reside upon their places without favour or dispensation, except in the case of sickness or the like.

(6.) The courts and houses of law, now in the Castle of Dublin, and subject to many dangers by the powder house, and the prison called the Grate, occasioning much resort, are to be removed to some meet place in the city.

(7.) The Secretary of State to have in his keeping the Privy Signet, with all fees thereto belonging; to make bills and warrants requiring the signature of the Deputy, "and so to pass to the Great Seal, with all fees and duties appertaining,

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and he to keep a register book of the same, to remain of record, as our principal Secretary of England doth in like case," and to be shown from time to time to the Deputy.

(8.) As soon as the Parliament is finished, "which we wish to be done with convenient expedition," the north parts of the realm are to be settled in some quietness, and the Deputy is to repair into Munster for the better strengthening of the whole province, especially of the maritime towns and ports, as a precaution against the Spaniards and Portuguese. Suspicious persons in Munster, like to assist a foreign invasion, are to be restrained of their liberty. None of the inhabitants of port towns to have armour or weapons, except such as shall be thought faithful. None of the common people that did rebel to have any weapon on pain of death, and they are to continue in their dwellings quietly. On the news of any certainty of the Spaniards, "the bestialls of the country and other victual" to be removed, where such landing is likely. To prevent the Spanish navy, the Queen has resolved to keep a strong fleet on the seas,

*Copy. Pp. 6. Endorsed by Carew, "1585, in December."*

Dec. 588. INSTRUCTIONS for LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 600, p. 110.

Articles to be by Secretary Fenton delivered in her Majesty's name to the Lord Deputy of Ireland for his consideration.

Seeing that in consequence of the continuance of former disorders, "and in some part, as it seemeth, of more deceits and corruptions in some ministers," her Majesty's revenues there are diminished for lack of execution of her orders in 1579, she requires the Deputy's due consideration and answers to every article hereafter following. He is to state by whose fault and how these evils have grown, and how they are to be redressed. The Chancellor and the Treasurer to be joined with him in this matter.

(1.) Whether the profits of fines, forfeitures, wards, &c. have not been given away, and to what value, from 1579, by whose authority, and to whom. (2.) What leases have been made of crown lands, and how much yearly rent has been diminished by such grants. (3.) What leases have been granted without fines, and the yearly rent of such lands. (4.) What debts were due to her Majesty at Michaelmas 1579, what since, and by whose default and why not levied; how much of the said debts is sperable, and how much desperate; the fees of the officers by whom such default has arisen to be sequestered. (5.) To certify what persons have had allowances for waste land, and how much has been lost by remission of rents on the said surmised wastes. (6.) Defaults in sheriffs' and ministers' accounts; what sums have been by warrants called *mandamus* divided among the Barons of the Exchequer and others.



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(7.) How much has been lost to her Majesty by the claims of corporate towns by virtue of their charters; what is the force of their charters against the claims of the Crown, which cannot pass away without express words in their grants. (8.) Increase of new officers' fees and allowances, by whom granted, and by whose warrant; the same to cease. (9.) What allowances for diets to commissioners; for her Majesty is informed that some of her own Council there have been appointed commissioners with large allowances. (10.) What lands belonging to the Crown held by Irishmen have, on the surrender and regranting of their own lands, been passed away in the new grants; and what reservation has been made of her Majesty's rights. (11.) What loss her Majesty has sustained of the 1,000*l. per annum* which it was pretended she should receive on the discharging of certain galloglas paid by bonnaughts out of certain Irish countries; and whether there is not still paid to their captains 200*l.* or 300*l. per annum* for no service. (12.) What seneschalships, &c. have been granted without reservation of services and duties as hitherto performed. (13.) Whether extraordinary soldiers were not put into fortresses during the last rebellion of Desmond; and by what warrant the same were continued. (14.) Why and how many persons received their pay in English money, and her Majesty's revenues in Irish money, and what loss the Crown sustains.

(15.) Lands and goods escheated by the rebellions in Munster and elsewhere not to be demised by the Lord Deputy; and it is to be certified whether any of the said escheated lands have been demised, and by what authority. (16.) What sums are granted, and to whom, for keeping boats upon the Shannon. (17.) Particular answers to be sent to every part of these inquiries without delay; the Deputy and Council to be charged by the Secretary to give her Majesty full satisfaction.

*Copy. Pp. 7. Endorsed by Carew, "December 1585."*

Dec. 589. The PLANTING of MUNSTER.

Vol. 600, p. 99.

"A Note of the Benefit that may grow in short time to the younger houses of gentlemen [in England] by this course in perpetuity, taking the greatest portion in the plot," *i.e.*, for the planting of Munster.

(1.) The gentleman undertaker to be chief lord of a great seignory. "To have the manrode of so many families, and the disposing of so many good holdings, as the greatest portion set down in the plot doth offer, as a thing fit for a gentleman of good behaviour and credit, and not for any man of inferior calling." To have the royalties of courts within the whole, and 100*l. per annum* of clear revenue, to be paid yearly as the Queen's rent is paid, besides the profit he may make of his own demesne, which after a little management will prove worth 500*l. per annum*.

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(2.) To his followers.—The freeholder to have 300 acres for his holding, supporting 20 kine, 6 oxen, 12 mares, 10 head of young cattle, to breed yearly 4 geldings, 2 colts, and 200 sheep, and the tillage of 40 or 50 acres yearly, from which he may sell yearly 30 or 40 quarters of wheat or rye, and more of other grain, besides provision for a dozen or fifteen persons at the least.

(3.) “And here it may be remembered that provision is to be made in England for men and maid-servants, and for bread and drink corn, for the first year; and as for cattle of all sorts, there are sufficient to be had and provided in Ireland at very small prices,” viz., for co. Kerry, out of Desmond and Thomond; for Limerick, out of Carberie and Thomond, &c. There is much cattle in Cork and Waterford and in the north parts.

(4.) Every gentleman to provide farmers, freeholders, and some of his copyholders, a gardener for hop-yards, gardening, &c., a wheelwright, smith, mason, carpenter, thatcher or tiler, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, and a victualer. A list of such persons and their capabilities is to be prepared and sent in to her Majesty.

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew, “December 1585. The benefit that may grow to gentlemen by taking land in Munster.”*

Dec. 590. PEOPLING of MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 68a.

“The Plot of her Majesty’s Offer touching the Peopling of Munster in Ireland.”

The seignories to consist of 12,000, 10,000, 8,000, 6,000, and 4,000 acres.

Of the first class, the gentleman undertaker is to have in demesne 1,600 acres; one chief farmer with 400 acres; two of 300 each; two of 200 each; 14 freeholders each with 300 acres; and 40 copyholders of 100 acres each, with 26 cottagers; making 86 families.

Second class, 1,400 in demesne; one chief farmer, 400 acres; three others, 300 acres each; 12 freeholders, 300 each; and 30 copyholders, 100 each, with 25 cottagers; in all, 72 families.

Third class, 1,200 in demesne; one chief farmer, 400, two others, 300 each; 8 freeholders, 300 each; and 28 copyholders, 100 each, with 24 cottagers; in all, 64 families.

Fourth class, 2,000 (*sic*, for 1,000) in demesne; 2 farmers and 6 freeholders, 300 each; and 21 copyholders, with 24 cottagers; in all, 53 families.

Fifth Class, 800 in demesne; 2 farmers, 4 freeholders, and 10 copyholders, with 22 cottagers; 39 families.

*Signed: Fra. Walsingham.*

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 616, p. 171.

2. Another contemp. copy.

Vol. 600, p. 102.

3. A third copy of the same.

*Endorsed by Carew, “December 1585.”*

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**591.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 600, p. 107.

Estimate of the necessary charges incident to such as shall be disposed to inhabit in Ireland for the first year.

*The Gentleman's charge.*—6 hinds, at 53s. 4d. each; 4 women, at 33s. 4d. each; 2 boys, ditto; 12 quarters of wheat or rye, at 26s. 8d.; 12 qrs. barley, at 13s. 4d.; weekly victuals, besides butter and cheese of their own making, 6s. 8d. Stock: 25 kine, at 11. 6s. 8d. each; 100 yearlings, at 12s. each; 8 oxen, at 50s. each; 4 garrons, at 25s. each; 300 ewes, at 4s. each. For sowing: 10 qrs. wheat and rye, 11 qrs. barley, 5 qrs. beans, at 13s. 4d. each; 20 qrs. oats, at 9s. Sum total, 278l.; whereof there will be spent this year 67l. 6s. 8d.; and the remainder in stock to increase.

*The Farmer's charge.*—2 hinds, at 53s. 4d.; one boy and a maid-servant, at 26s. 8d.; 5 qrs. wheat or rye for bread; 6 qrs. oats for drink; weekly victuals, besides butter and cheese of their own making, 3s. 4d. Stock: 4 oxen, a garron, 10 kine, 10 heifers' yearlings, two others, 30 ewes. For sowing: of wheat and rye, 2 qrs.; of barley, 2; beans, 1; oats, 4. Total, 70l. 7s.; whereof to be spent this year 26l. 0s. 8d.; the rest to remain in stock.

*Copyholders.*—One hind, 40s.; one maid-servant, 26s. 8d.; 4 qrs. wheat and rye for diet, 4 qrs. of oats for drink; weekly victuals, 20d.; 5 kine; 2 yearling steers, 25s. the two; 10 ewes, at 3s. 4d. each. For sowing: 2 qrs. wheat and rye, 1 qr. barley, beans, and oats. Total, 28l. 16s. 8d.; whereof to be spent this year 14l. 16s.; the remainder in stock.

*Cottagers.*—2 qrs. wheat or rye; 2 qrs. oats for drink; 2 kine. Total, 6l. 4s. 8d.; whereof to be spent this year 71s. 4d.; the rest in stock.

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew:* "December 1585. An estimate of the charges of plantation in Munster to those that will plant there."

**592.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 635, p. 110a.

"A Collection of her Majesty's Titles to the Lands in Munster, by Sir Valentine Browne;" in opposition to the claims of Sir Owen McCartie Reogh upon the whole of Carbery.

*Copy. P. 1.*

**593.** THOMAS [BUTLER] EARL OF ORMOND.

Vol. 614, p. 222.

"A Short Note of some parts of Thomas Earl of Ormond's Services and Employments at several times these 33 years past."

He was Lieutenant of the Horse upon the rebellion of Wyatt. Was with the Earl of Sussex at all his journeys into

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the north of Ireland, having 200 horsemen and 500 footmen at his own charges; and was on foot in every fight against the Scots there. Upon a letter from Queen Mary willing him to aid the Earl of Thomond, Ormond relieved the castle called Downeimolmihill, then besieged by the old Earl of Desmond and Sir Donell O'Briene. Upon a journey intended by Sussex into Thomond, Ormond marched before him, and took Clare and other castles. Being employed against the O'Mores of Lex, he took Lisaghe MacKeadaghe, Neale McLisaghe, Melaghlin O'More, and others of the O'Mores.

When the last Earl of Desmond invaded Thomond, gave an overthrow to the Earls of Thomond and Clanricard, and burned the Queen's lands about Dungarvan and the Viscount Desies' country, Ormond took him prisoner with many of his gentlemen, and slew 500 of his men, and then delivered him to Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Justice, to be sent into England.

"Upon James FitzMorishe's first rebellion, the said Earl of Ormond was by Sir Henry Sidney appointed L. General of her Majesty's forces into Munster, and afterward was suddenly removed, and Sir Humfrey Gilbert placed there; and when the enemy began to grow strong, the government thereof was again committed to the Earl by the said Sir Henry." He did good service there in 1570. The same year he marched to O'Sowlevane More's country, and won his castle of Donlo. He went as General into Thomond, took all the castles, and pledges of every man, and delivered them to Sir Edward Fitton, President of Connaught; and then drove the Earl of Thomond to forsake his country and fly into France, and rescued from him Captain Apsley and others whom he had prisoners.

In 1571 he put to the sword Geoffrey Carraghe Purcell, who had murdered Mr. Cantwell, sheriff of co. Kilkenny, with 20 of his men, and sent their heads to the Deputy (Sidney).

In 1571 he accompanied Sir William FitzWilliams, Lord Deputy, at the siege of the castle of Dirrelare, kept by the Earl of Desmond, then in rebellion; and after the taking of the castle, he brought Desmond to the camp to make his submission.

Having then the government of Munster, in 1572 he was appointed by her Majesty to place Sir John Perrot as President of Munster, which he did, and spoiled the MacSwynes. He prosecuted Piers Grace, Rory Oig O'More, and other traitors, and brought Rory Oig to Rosse to make his submission to FitzWilliams.

Sir William Drury appointed Sir Nicholas Malbye to prosecute the Earl of Desmond when he was suspected to combine with his brother Sir John [of Desmond] after killing Mr. Henry Davels. On Drury's death, Ormond accompanied Sir William Pelhame, Lord Justice, to the field, and was again made Lord General of Munster, where he executed and put

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to the sword 46 captains and leaders\* under Desmond, with 800 notorious traitors and malefactors, and above 4,000 of their men. This was in 1580.

Some of his men, after he was discharged from Munster, executed and put to the sword four captains and 33 of their men.

In this last time of his government in Munster (when the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir Henry Wallop were Lords Justices), the Earl of Desmond was put to the sword by Ormond's direction, with 38 captains (*named*) and 747 notorious traitors and malefactors; besides great numbers who were famished and forced to fly the country.

Since his last discharge from Munster, and after the landing of Sir John Perrot as Deputy, he executed six leaders (*named*) and 63 other traitors.

Dated by Carew, "1585."

*Pp. 4. Endorsed.*

#### 594. PERROT'S PROJECT.

Vol. 614, p. 254.

"Certain Notes for the Right Honorable the Lord Treasurer [of Ireland and touching Ireland]† to consider of," (by Sir John Perrot).

(1.) To send no man over to Ireland but such as are of known credit, and have good livings in England. No offices to be given to Irishmen. Nothing has hindered this government more than placing therein young and needy persons, who enter into any disorders for gain's sake, "even to the very counterfeiting of the Irishry themselves."

(2.) One thorough charge to be bestowed in every place at one time. The lords and captains not to exact upon their tenants. The lords and freeholders, living in poor estate, care not what adventure they take in hand, as they have nothing to lose.

(3.) 1,800 English soldiers (400 horse and 1,400 footmen) "to be placed in all parts of Ireland." The Deputy to lie most at Aloane. Only two presidents, in Ulster and Munster.

(4.) To have money to perform this, "there might be coined pence, 2*d.*, and 3*d.* of base money, which should stand her Majesty in small value, and the good silver now current (being the sterling groat, the 6*d.*, 9*d.*, the 12*d.*), and all kind of Spanish silver and other gold, to run current, as it doth."

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\* Their names are given. The list begins with Sir James of Desmond, the Earl's brother.

† The words in brackets are in Sir John Perrot's handwriting. He has defaced the rest of the heading, which runs as follows:—"Whereof part concerneth the province of Munster, and the residue for the reformation of Ireland." This passage, and the manner in which "the Deputy" is spoken of, seem to prove that these notes were written while Perrot was President of Munster, though Carew has assigned them to the year "1585." Perrot has also made several other corrections and alterations.

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(5.) "By proclamation to call in all the halfface money, being the old pence, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, and groats, and to give them of the pence, 2*d.* and threepence which shall be new made of base coin, the rate as they go; whereby her Majesty shall be a great gainer, for she shall have good silver instead of such base coin."

(6.) The great woods in Munster (*named*) should be cut down, and passes made therein, to deprive the rebels of their places of succour. Some Englishmen are willing to undertake this, if her Majesty will lend 5,000*l.* for three years.

(7.) Great store of timber may be had from the wood of Drumffynnen, of which ships may be built at Youghull, where the two abbeys will serve for storehouses. Beefs may be had there for 10*s.* apiece, and corn from Brystowe (Bristol) and Gloucester good cheap. Good store of iron will probably be found in Munster, or else may be had out of Spain. Poledavic for sails, out of Brittany. Cables, masts, pitch, tar, and oekan (oakum), from Daske (Les Basques).

*In Morgan Colman's hand (?) Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

## 595. The EARL OF DESMOND.

Vol. 614, p. 258.

Notes showing the unlawfulness of the exactions and extortions levied by the late Earl of Desmond upon the "chargeable lands," and that the freeholders were not tenants-at-will to him.

It is stated that "at Cork one Moragha Gaughach was attainted of felony for taking of buonria begg for the said late Earl of Desmond in Imokilly; and one Cuchelayn was attainted and executed at Cork of taking sraeh and the like for the said Earl in Kierrye-Curihy; and the seneschal of Imokilly forbidden by Sir William Drewrye, then Lord President of Munster, to take any allowance of kernety or the like in Imokilly."

*Dated by Carew, "1585," and headed by him:* "The extortions which the Irish lords do use upon their tenants and freeholders."

*Pp. 3. Endorsed:* "That the extortions of lords and captains upon freeholders within the usurped rule and power of the said lords giveth them no right in the freeholders' lands, &c."

## 596. PARLIAMENT.

Vol. 614, p. 262.

"A Note of certain matters to be passed in the next Parliament in Ireland, which shall not only be very profitable to the Queen's Majesty, but also commodious for the Commons of the Realm."

- (1.) A bill for equalizing the plowlands. (2.) Composition to be made with the country for the discharge of the Lord Deputy's cesse, &c, and to take of each plowland 20*s.* ster. (3.) The statute for the lading of sheepskins, wool, flocks

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(flax?), and earthen and other wares, to be revoked. (4.) A bill to resume into the Queen's hands all the tithes belonging to the late monasteries in the five English shires. (5.) The Queen to keep 1,000 soldiers in ordinary pay, and 1,000 stipendiary soldiers, who may be paid out of the revenues, if my former notes take effect.

*The writer's reasons are stated in the margin.*

II. A more complete sketch of the proposed bill for the resumption of tithes.

The bill will be worth 20,000 marks yearly to her Majesty, and no great hindrance to the holders of the tithes, "considering that the rents which ought to be paid yearly to her Majesty shall yearly during their interests be paid and given unto them and their assigns free and frank."

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Sir John Perrot.*

Vol. 614, p. 183.

2. "Considerations to be thought of concerning the Parliament to be held by the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot."

This document is substantially the same as the preceding, and in the same hand. It contains these additional propositions:—that all abbeys, &c., with their temporalities, should send men to every general hosting, as in former times; that every archbishop, bishop, earl, baron, knight, &c. should furnish a certain number of men once a year; and that the statute of 12 Edw. IV. respecting bows should be put in execution, as bows are growing dear and scarce.

*Pp. 4. Endorsed by Perrot.*

### 597. The REVENUE.

Vol. 607, p. 121.

"Ireland.—A brief estimate of the Queen's Majesty's revenues and casualties there yearly."

(1.) *Revenues.*—The ancient inheritance, 756*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.* Attainted lands, 893*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Abbeys and spiritual lands, 6,608*l.* 12*s.* 11¼*d.* Tribute money of the Irish, 27*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* "For and in consideration of the bonnought money upon composition made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., with divers of the captains and governors of the Irish borders," 601*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Escheated lands, 4*l.* 19*s.* Proxies, 60*l.* 7*s.* Total, 8,952*l.* 9*s.* 0½*d.*

"Whereof doubtful and uncertain to be received, viz., of th' ancient inheritance, 30*l.*; the attainted lands, 60*l.*; th' abbey lands, 400*l.*; tribute money, 27*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; bonnought money, 100*l.*; escheat lands, 100*s.*; proxies, 60*s.*" Total, 671*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

Remainder, 8,280*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.*

(2.) *Payments.*—Fees to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and other chief officers and ministers of her Majesty's courts, 2,322*l.* 8*s.* 7¼*d.* Constables and keepers of her Majesty's houses (castles), 279*l.* 15*s.* 9½*d.* Life annuities, 493*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Annuities and pensions out of religious houses, 42*l.*

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Stipend or pension granted to Christ Church, with 100s. for the stipend of the curate of Balliboughill, 65*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* Paper, parchment, ink, and green cloths for her Majesty's courts, 280*l.* Total, 3,482*l.* 17*s.* 11¼*d.*

Remaining answerable to her Majesty, 4,797*l.* 13*s.* 9¼*d.* "To the which there is to be added for divers casualties by estimation, viz., for wards' lands, 200*l.*; subsidies, 200*l.* (500*l.*);\* twentieth parts, 300*l.*; forfeitures of merchandise, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (200*l.*); th' issues of the Hanaper, 80*l.* (300*l.*); fines of homage, 4*l.* (7*l.*); green wax money, 200*l.*; † fines and profits yearly answered by the sheriffs, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; fines of marriage of wards, 10*l.*; fines of liveries, 50*l.* (100 marks); fines of alienations, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (200*l.*); forfeitures of recognizances, 20*l.* (200*l.*); first fruits, 100*l.*; th' issues of the Clerk of the Crown's office, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; fines of leases granted for term of years, 20*l.*; ‡ th' issues of the Star Chamber, 20*l.* (100*l.*); the custom of the impost of wines, 800*l.* (2,000*l.*)." Total, 2,044*l.*

Total of the clear yearly revenue and the casualties, 6,841*l.* 13*s.* 9¼*d.*

"The late composition[s] with certain Irishmen in Ulster and Connaught are not herein expressed for want of certain knowledge what the same been."

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed*: Estimate of the Queen's revenue in Ireland in anno 1585.

Vol. 635, p. 87.

2. Copy of the preceding.

**598.** IRISH MEASUREMENTS.

Vol. 607, p. 125.

"The comparison and difference of th' English and Irish acre set down according to the rates found in Munster 1585."

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed*.

II. The quantities of a "quarter or plowland" and of a "cartron."

*In Carew's hand.* P. 1.

*On the dorse Carew has traced the pedigrees and indicated the localities of several Irish chieftains.*

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Jan. 20. **599.** THE QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 618, p. 11.

Whereas Sir George Carew, the bearer, one of our gentlemen pensioners, has obtained our leave to repair into that realm, and be absent three or four months for arranging certain accounts with our Auditor there, we let you understand our desire for his speedy despatch, praying and requiring you to have him and his causes in special recommendation.

Greenwich, 20 January 1585, 28 Eliz.

*Copy.* P. 1.

\* The sums placed within parentheses in the text are written on the margin of the document by a different hand.

† In the margin; "Thus much clear, over and besides all rewards."

‡ In the margin; "Much more."



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Jan.

**600.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 632, p. 84.

Henry Ovendon, servant to the Earl of Tyrone, has brought us a letter from you and the Council there of 30 June, with a petition of the said Earl's touching his place and title. Her Majesty liketh well of your action to have restored him to the name and dignity granted by King Henry VIII. to his grandfather, trusting he will still remain a loyal subject. As to the articles, her Majesty is well inclined to satisfy his demands; but, as you will perceive by her own letter sent by Mr. Fenton, she requires your advice concerning the lands to be granted him, and the manner of entail, wherein some question may be moved hereafter by his kinsmen and competitors. Meanwhile, assure him of her Majesty's favourable inclination.

From the Court at Greenwich, — January 1585.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Feb. 14.

**601.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to certain SOMERSETSHIRE GENTLEMEN.

Vol. 614, p. 66.

Her Majesty has entered into consideration of some plot for the re-peopling of such parts of Muuster in Ireland as are now in her possession. The plot offers many advantages to the younger children, brethren, and kinsfolk of gentlemen of good families, and to those of inferior callings and degrees. We therefore have made choice of you to treat with such of that county of Somerset as you find able and willing to accept of and undertake the same; and have given order to John Popham, Esq., Attorney-General [of England], to confer with you therein.

Greenwich, 14 February 1585. *Signed.*

*Addressed:* To Sir John Stowell, Sir John Horner, Sir Henry Portman, Sir George Sydenham, Sir John Clifton, Knights; and John Coles, Esquire.

*Copy. P. 1.*

[Feb.]

**602.** MUNSTER.

Vol. 614, p. 67.

“Articles concerning her Majesty's offers for the disposing of her lands in Munster, in Ireland.”

(1.) Her Majesty grants an estate in fee-farm to them and their heirs. (2.) Those lands to be rented according to the goodness of the soil, and not to exceed 3*d.* the acre one with the other, in cos. Kerry, Connillaugh, and Tipperary, or 2*d.* in cos. Cork and Waterford. (3.) The heirs females to those lands not to marry with any but with some person born of English parents, or of such as shall descend from the first patentees. (4.) The patentees and English people now newly to be planted there, not to set their estates to any Irish; and the principal demesnes to be always kept in divided hands, and not impaired by union.

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(5.) The inhabitants and heads of families to be of the birth of England; and in no family are any mere Irish to be maintained. (6.) The gentlemen farmers and freeholders, after four years, to have in readiness for every 300 acres one gelding; and for every 100 acres besides, furniture for a footman; and the copyholders having 200 acres, furniture for a footman. (7.) Lest such as do undertake the same be discouraged, it is not to be permitted to any to deal in this action contrary to the direction herein comprised. (8.) They are to stand rent free till Michaelmas 1590; then pay half a year's rent for three years; and from 1593 pay the whole rent. (9.) To hold their lands in free socage, yielding upon every death or alienation after the said seven years \* a heriot and relief. (10.) For ten years to transport any commodities whatever to foreign parts, without paying custom.

(11.) They are not to be drawn about any service by the Deputies out of Munster until 1590. (12.) Their lands to be free from cesse; but after seven years to be subject to the general subsidies. (13.) The gentlemen and families may carry over with them to Ireland all kinds of commodities without paying custom. (14.) Commissioners to be appointed to determine all titles and controversies amongst them, or between them and the Irish. (15.) Garrisons to be maintained at her Highness's charge upon the frontiers of the colonies. (16.) No patentees to have entertainment of wages as soldiers.

*Signed:* Fra. Walsingham.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 616, p. 167.

2. Another contemp. copy.

Jan.—April. **603.** BRIEFS OF LETTERS.

Vol. 632, p. 85a.

1585, Jan.—Letter from her Majesty to Lord Deputy Perrot, to grant to Henry Commerford the rent of Ballymackan, which fell to the Crown by the attainder of his father, and then in lease with Francis Lovell. After Lovell's lease, the said land to be granted him in fee-farm.

1585.—Letter from the same to the same, to incorporate the town of Dinglocushe, co. Kerrie, with like franchises as Drogheda, and the superiority of the harbours of Ventre and Smerricke; and to give them 300*l.* towards the building of a wall about their town.

1585, 19 Feb.—Same to same. To make Sir Robert Gardiner Chief Justice of her Chief Bench.

1585, Feb.—Same to same. To make Roger Wilbraham her Solicitor.

1585 (1586?), 15 April.—Letter from the Lord Deputy to her Council in England, "signifying of a defeat given by

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\* This proves the date of this document to be 1586. It is dated "1585" by Carew, *i.e.* 1585-6. See the preceding article.

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Captain Meriman in Ulster to the Scots, wherein above 100 Scots were slain, amongst whom Alexander McDonell, son to Sorleboy McDonell, and McDonell Ballaghe were two.

*P. 1.*

April 26. **604.** THE ESCHEATED LANDS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 617, p. 169.

Warrant to Robert Gardner, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland; Sir Henry Walloppe, Treasurer at Wars; Sir Valentine Browne; Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Luke Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and Joshua Smithes, Chief Justice of Munster; to give order to the Serjeant-at-Law, Attorney, and Solicitor-General of Ireland, to engross into parchment several books for the disposing of the lands in Munster, comprised in letters patents dated 27 June, 28 Eliz., to the several undertakers thereof, according to the plot for the repeopleing of that province. The Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland to pass all such books under the Great Seal.

Greenwich, 26 April, 28\* Eliz.

"Convenit eum recordo, ex' per me, Tho. Ravenscrofte."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

**605.** ESCHEATED LANDS.

Vol. 617, p. 171.

Extent of the lands of James Eustace, late Viscount of Balinglas, attainted of high treason, in cos. Dublin and Kildare. Acres, 2,667.

ii. Extent of the lands of Mauriee Eustace, of Castlemarten, attainted.

iii. Extent of the lands of Thomas Eustace, attainted, in cos. Dublin and Kildare.

iv. Extent of the lands of Maurice FitzJames, attainted.

v. Extent of the lands of David Sutton, of Castleton Kildroth, co. Kildare, deceased, attainted, in cos. Dublin and Kildare.

Total number of acres, 7,800.

*Copy. Pp. 5.*

**606.** ESCHEATED LANDS.

Vol. 617, p. 176.

"Instructions to be annexed to the eommission for the inquisition of the state of the tenants and occupiers of the lands and territories escheated to her Majesty by attainder of the late Earl of Desmond and others, for their treason in Munster."

(1.) The Commissioners to make inquisition of all the occupiers, and how many have sued opt letters patent, and how

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\* Or 29? "xxviiiij" in MS. Carw dates this document "28 Eliz.," but according to Morrin's Calendar of the Irish Patent and Close Rolls the date is 29 Eliz.

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the patentees have observed their covenants for the inhabiting of the lands with English people, and what profits they have received; and to charge them to be ready to pay the rents, which are to be paid this year after Michaelmas.

(2.) The Lord President, Vice-President, and chief officers of Munster to collect the said rents, except such as are payable into the Exchequer.

(3.) To inquire again into all titles and claims against the patentees and their officers, and by jury or otherwise to establish a final order therein, whereby the possession of the undertakers, grantees, and patentees may be settled.

(4, 5.) To inquire in what sort the escheated lands were chargeable to the Earl of Desmond and to others, whether attainted or not.

(6, 7.) To determine all contentions touching boundaries, divisions, tithes, spiritual rights, &c.

(8.) The Commissioners who are not of the Council of the province to consider of all informations made touching the cesse and other exactions taken by the President, sheriffs, or other officers contrary to the tenour of the establishment; and to set down order for the reformation thereof.

(9.) To deal with the lords and freeholders for a composition in lieu of cesse, such as is in Connaught, and to draw into that composition as well the undertakers as the residue of the country.

*Signed by the Privy Council in England*: Chr. Hatton, canc.; W. Burghley; Ch. Hauward; [H.] Hunsdon; F. Knowles; Thom. Heneage; Ro. Cecil; J. Wolley; J. Fortescue.

## II. "Additions to the former Articles."

(1.) The Commissioners to inquire of all leases and mortgages supposed to have been made by the rebels before they entered into action, and which are thought to be fraudulent. The claimants to make good proof.

(2.) To decide all controversies between the undertakers for passing the self-same lands in divers patents.

(3.) "To inquire how the sheriffs do keep their law days and county days within every county, for it is openly reported that the sheriffs are accustomed to devour the people in every barony or cantred with kerne and horsemen, or else to compound with the lord, and so leave the lords to their wonted parliaments, exacting from the freeholder[s] and poor men what they please."

(4.) Controversies to be decided between the lords and the freeholders, so that the latter may depend wholly on her Majesty.

(5.) "That the charters of the cities be perused, who, claiming all forfeitures to themselves, care not what they commit, compounding beforehand for all recognizances and bands, and thereby transport out of the realm not only all kind of pro-

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hibited wares, to the utter impoverishment of the commonwealth, but maintain priests and Jesuits, and hear mass publicly."

(6.) "That they inquire of the two cantreds or baronies of Coursy and Kinally, whether Sir Barri Oge, called Sir Robert Barrey, and the Lord Coursey, having but estate in tail, the land be not in remainder to her Majesty, neither of them having issue; and to inquire whether Sir Robert be seneschal or inheritor of the barony of Kinaley."

(7.) Whether the customs of fishing at Beare Haven, Bantry, [and] Ballatimore be not belonging to the Queen.

III. "Articles which are to be inquired of by the Commissioners, not being of the Council of Munster."

(1.) To inquire of all beefs, corn, &c. taken up by the Governor[s] and cessors at the Queen's price; how much the Queen is thereby indebted to the country, and the Governors to her Majesty, &c.

(2.) How her Majesty is answered of all her fines and forfeitures of bands.

*Signed:* Chr. Hatton, cancell.; W. Burghley; [H.] Hunsdon; Tho. Buckhurst; F. Knollys; R. Cecil; J. Wolley; J. Forrescue.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

April 27. **607.** LORD DEPUTY PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 76.

I send you certain notes "not altogether digested," but to which I am willing to adhere in general. I have no other intention "but to prove with my hand all things as against any villainous reports that hath or dare say anything against me." 27 April 1586.

*Memorandum by Sir George Carew:* "The notes or instructions touched in this letter are placed post at folio 84."

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.*

Vol. 618, p. 1.

2. Copy of the preceding letter (in Carew's own hand), and of the following instructions.

*Pp. 2.*

April 27. **608.** INSTRUCTIONS given to SIR GEORGE CAREW by LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 605, p. 84.

(1.) You are to tell her Majesty that I went to Ireland unwillingly, and only out of regard to her wishes. (2.) Whenever she discredits her Governors, she injures herself. (3.) She promised not to listen to any reports against me. (4.) That I should have had more friends had I been preferred by others; and therefore, as being her Majesty's choice, she ought to support me. (5.) That having vowed to serve "but one God and one Queen," I encounter great opposition.

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(6.) My course has been too violent in her service for me to thrive. (7.) Whoever serves her only will make many enemies. (8.) I am ready to justify whatever I have done. (9.) I have spent more in her service in Ireland than the Queen has done "since my last coming extraordinarily;" and no one can truly inform her of the charges, as the accounts are not made out. (10.) Though I am her Deputy, I am brought into greater contempt than Sir John Perrot ever was.

(11.) I have never exceeded my predecessors in my diet, housekeeping, &c. (12.) I fear she uses some that would not have her so well served as I would; and hard speeches are made against me. (13.) I suffer from weakness in the stomach, from the stone, and from the swelling of my legs. (14.) I have much to tell her that cannot be delivered but by word of mouth. (15.) If I cannot disprove the malicious fables circulated against me, I will be content to lose the Queen's favour.

*Pp. 2. Headed by Carew: 27 April 1586.*

May 15. 609. The COMPOSITION for the CESSE.

Vol. 632, p. 86.

Whereas the Queen, to ease the burden of cesse, has entered into consideration of the composition of 2,100*l.* ster. heretofore assented to, and has signified her pleasure by the following special instruction, dated at Greenwich 26 February 1585, to be imparted by Jeffrey Fenton, Secretary in Ireland, to the Lord Deputy and Council there:—

Whereas the composition of 2,100*l.* has not been levied for divers years,\* we, understanding by letters from some of the lords of the Pale that it is agreeable to the country, have thought meet it should be continued and revived until we shall give direction to the contrary. Therefore the Lord Deputy shall cause to be assembled the nobility and Grand Council, and move them to renew and accept the said composition, in lieu of cesse for the army and the Deputy's house in such countries as shall stand and yield to that contribution. Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, Carlaghe, Leiex, and Offallie to be contributory. Waste and impoverished countries to be favoured.

Upon this instruction the nobility and Grand Council were assembled. They freely assented to the composition with one voice.

And further, whereas the Lord Deputy has signified to us, the nobility and Council, that her Highness's pleasure was that we of the Pale and others should make payment of that which has not been levied since the soldiers have not been cessed upon the country (*i.e.*, for three years); and did show

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\* "Well near the space of seven years," in another passage.

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us a part of a letter to his Lordship from her Majesty (*which is quoted*), dated 26 February 1585, 28 Eliz.; we are well contented that the said composition of 2,100*l.* shall be taken as well for the time past as for the time to come.

“And it is further agreed that the two former articles of Grand Council entered in this book,\* folio 288 and folio 290, the one bearing date the 29th of June 1585, the other the 24th of September 1585, provided by the Lord Deputy and Grand Council for a composition in lieu and satisfaction of the cesso and victualling of the garrison from Michaelmas 1584 hitherto, shall be utterly void.”

Given at the Castle of Dublin., 15th May 1586.

*Signed*: John Perrott, Adam Dublin., canc., John Arma-  
chan., Thomas Midensis, [C.] Gormanston, Thomas Slane,  
Jo. Kilmorensis, Ch. Delvin, Henry Walloppe.

*Copy. Pp.* 4½.

Vol. 600, p. 119.

2. Another copy.

#### 610. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

Vol. 632, p. 88.

“A Note of the Acts handled in the last Session of Parlia-  
ment, 1586.”

(1.) *The Acts that passed*.—Attainder of the late Earl of Desmond and others. Attainder of John Browne of Knockmeuhy and others. Concerning the fraudulent conveyances made by the late rebel[s]. For imposts and customs of wines. Against forging of evidences. Concerning wilful perjury. Against counterfeiting foreign coin. Against witchcraft and sorcery. For the restitution of blood of Taffe’s wife.

(2.) *The Acts dashed in the said session*.—To provide that the lands of persons attainted of treason may be in her Majesty without office. Subsidy of 13*s.* 4*d.* upon a ploughland. To punish all such as shall rebelliously take or detain from the Queen any of her castles. (The preceding were dashed in the Nether House; the two following in the Upper House.) Against fraudulent feoffments. Against impleading and jeofailes. “An Act concerning leases to be good for 21 years against the issue of tenants in tail” was “stayed at the royal assent.”

*Copy. P.* 1¼.

#### May 16. 611. GRANT of the GLYNNES to AGNUS McDONNELL.

Vol. 632, p. 89.

“A letter from her Majesty to the Lord Deputy, to grant letters patents of the Glynnes in Ulster unto Agnus McDonnell, according to such conditions as are entered into the Council Book, dated the 16th of May 1586.”

*The letter is not copied.*

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\* The Council Book, apparently, whence this copy was derived.

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II. Indenture made between the Lord Deputy and Council and Agnus McDonnell, of Downivage. In respect of the suit made to the Queen by the Lady Agnus (*sic*) Cambell, wife to T[urlough] O'Neale, and of the submission made by the said Agnus, the Lord Deputy and Council grant that the said Agnus shall have to him and his heirs males of his body, by letters patents, all the castles, lands, &c. called Missett *alias* Bisset lands within the Glennes. If it be found that the castle of Olderfleete is parcel of the premises, then the Queen shall have the same. He is to hold of her Majesty by the services of homage, fealty, and two knights' fees; and on condition of performing the articles following:—

(1.) Neither he nor his followers to serve any foreign prince or any other person within Ireland against her Majesty.

(2.) No Scots under him, whom he may command, to disquiet the peace of this realm, or serve against her Majesty in this realm, except when there is war between England and Scotland.

(3.) Not to retain any Scots above 30 other than be natives of Ireland, and to deliver a book of their names to the Marshal of the Queen's garrisons in Ireland.

(4.) To serve her Majesty with a rising-out of 80 footmen in Ulster, at his and their own charges.

(5.) He and his tenants are not to intermeddle with their borderers in Ulster.

(6.) To pay a yearly rent of 60 good and fat beeves at Carrigfergus, between Lamma and Hallowtide.

(7.) To serve [against all] that shall invade this realm, except against the Scots when war is proclaimed between England and Scotland.

(8.) Not to alien or convey away his lands.

(9.) To yearly preserve and give to her Majesty one eyrie of the best hawks, either goshawks or falcons.

(10.) He shall behave dutifully to her Majesty for the said lands, except in time of war between England and Scotland.

To this one part of this indenture remaining with the said Agnus the Lord Deputy and Council have put their hands and seals, this 16 May 1586, 28 Eliz.

*Signed* : Ad. Dublin., Tho. Midensis, Jo. Kilmoren., Hen. Wallopp, Ro. Dillon, Lu. Dillon, Ro. Gardner, R. Bingham, N. White, Tho. Le Strange, E. Waterhouse, Geff. Fenton.

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

May 27. 612. FEAGH MCHUGH to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

Vol. 632, p. 92.

Thanks for the great goodness that you have done me at my last being with you. On Thursday last I chanced upon a company of Walter Reaghe's men and of Brian McCahier's sons. I killed six of them, and hurt as many more. (*Their names are given.*) I beseech you "to send commissioners to



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Newcastle to have my pardon pleaded, for in truth my country is not able to bear out my charges to go to Dublin."

Ballencor, 27 May 1586. *Signed.* (With a P.S.)  
*Copy. P. 1.*

May 28. **613.** LORD DEPUTY PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 78.

You have had time enough to deliver the true report to the Queen of the state of things in Ireland, and to let me know "how things do or are like to frame with me there." I have received a letter from her Majesty sharply reprehending me for my last journey. You can tell her how necessary it was. "O'Neill came unto me upon the first sending, and impleaded the Earl of Tyrone." He has returned thoroughly satisfied. The Lady Campbell, his wife, is fully contented. Sorley Boy [McDonnell], glad to be admitted to any condition, will be here in two days. Sir Owen O'Toile [O'Gallogher] has been with me to allow O'Donnell access. O'Rourke and others have been and are still with me. Feagh McHue [O'Birne] came in English apparel, and has sent in this morning six notorious knaves, companions of Water Reagh. Teag ne Brossenids' and others' heads have been sent lately. Had I been countenanced, I do not doubt but I should have obtained greater honour and done more. Let me hear from you. I will not leave your friendship unrequited. There is no greater pleasure in the world I desire.

Dublin, 28 May 1586. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Perrot's hand.*—Salute the ladies on my behalf. Tell the Baron De le Fagge that I have Captain Marres forthcoming. If he has any stones fit to break the stone, let him send me one.\*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 5.

Copy of the preceding.

June 18. **614.** SORLEY BOY McDONNELL.

Vol. 632, p. 92a.

Indenture between Sir John Perrott, Lord General of Ireland, and the Council there, and Sorley McDonnell.

The latter acknowledges his bearing of arms and stirring of rebellion against the Queen, and his forcible and wrongful possession of her castles and territories in the Rowte. Prostrate at the feet of the Lord Deputy, he renounces all his pretended rights to the castle of Dunluce and all other the said castles and territories, and prays for pardon, and to be made a free denizen, as also for some portion of the Rowte.

The Lord Deputy and Council grant him free pardon and protection, and letters patents of denization. He shall have by letters patent, in tail male, the toughe or territory ex-

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\* Perrot's writing is extremely difficult to read.

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tending from the Boyes to the Bande, and the three toughes of Donseverige, Loghgill, and Toghe Ballamonyn, with all the lands of McQuillies, and the constableness or key-keeping of the castle of Dunluce by the delivery of Mr. Stafford. To hold of the Queen by the services of homage, fealty, and two knights' fees, and on condition of keeping certain articles (*similar to those in the indenture with Agnus McDonnell on 16 May 1586; but in these no clauses are included respecting war between England and Scotland*).

Dated 18 June, 28 Eliz.

*Signed*: John Perrot.

*Copy*. Pp. 6½.

Vol. 611, p. 258.

2. Another copy.

*Signed by the Lord Deputy and Council*.

Vol. 613, p. 65.

3. Abstract of the same.

June 24. **615.** MARGARET DOYNE.

Vol. 613, p. 70.

A brief note, extracted out of the sentence of divorce between Margaret Doyne and Tirloghe Ballagh O'Connor brought before Richard Doyne, vicar-general to Daniel Neylen, Bishop of Kildare. The marriage was declared void on the ground that the plaintiff had been forced into it against her will.

Dated at Philipppo, 24 June 1586.

*Witnesses*: John Dyren, rector of Ballicombre, Constantine McEgan, curate of Greshill, and others, whose names are given.

*Signed*: Richard Doyne.

After this divorce the said Margaret was married to Molrony O'Carrell, and had a son John after his father's death, found by office to be his (*sic*) Majesty's ward, and since then a bastard.

*Copy*. P. 1. *Headed by Carew*.

June 26. **616.** LORD DEPUTY PERROT to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 632, p. 92a.

1586, 26 June.—“A branch of a letter from the Lord Deputy, &c. to the Lords of the Council in England,” signifying that Sorleboye McDonnell, Shane McBrian O'Neale, and Neale Oge O'Neale had made their submission.

*Extract*. P. ½.

June. **617.** NEIL OGE'S SUBMISSION.

Vol. 600, p. 67.

He regrets that he has not followed in the steps of his late father, and so he and his brother shown themselves worthy of the favour vouchsafed them at Clandhuboy. He now submits to her Majesty. *Signed*.

*Witnesses*: Francis Stafford, William Warren.

*Copy*. P. 1. *Endorsed by Carew*: “1586, in June.”

1586.  
June. **618.** SHANE MCBRIAN O'NEAL'S SUBMISSION.  
Vol. 600, p. 75. To the same tenour as the previous. I regret the killing by my men of Hugh Og, who had been casually met "by my followers, whose men and kinsmen he had killed before, I coming with as much speed as might be to appease the matter."  
*Signed:* Shane O'Neal.  
*Copy.* Pp. 2. *Endorsed by Carew:* "1586, in June."
- July 10. **619.** SIR HUGH O'DONELL.  
Vol. 613, p. 64a. Indenture, 10 July, 28 Eliz., between Sir Hugh O'Donell and the Queen, whereby the former binds himself to deliver for the year past, at Sligo, 700 beeves *per annum*, in respect that the full number of soldiers were not placed on his country.  
*Abstract.* P.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- Aug. 31. **620.** The EARL OF LEICESTER to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 605, p. 80. Thanks for your letter, which I would have acknowledged before, had I not been too much occupied. "Touching the party you write of to your uncle Harvey, there is one here who names himself to be a Portugale, but of the very same name you write of, and just such a man as you describe. Your uncle did find him out; and he hath been here in and about my house ever since the young Prince of Portugal came over to me, and pretends to be a very great Protestant." I do not like him, and wish to hear more of him from you. I mistrust him the more, because he stays behind the Prince.  
"In haste from the camp before Dursbourg, this last of August.  
"Your old friend, R. LEYCESTER."  
*Holograph.* P. 1. *Addressed.*  
*Endorsed by Carew:* The Earl of Liecester, 1586, the last of August.
- Vol. 618, p. 10. 2. Copy of the preceding.
- [Sept.] **621.** SIR RICHARD BINGHAM, Governor of Connaught.  
Vol. 632, p. 12. "A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend, of certain services done by Sir Richard Bingham upon the Rebels and Scots in Connaught."\*  
"My good and right dear Friend,"—This discourse of the late services of Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, against the Burkes in the county of Mayo, and the Scots of the Out Islands, I send you confirmed under the hands of divers captains employed in the said services.

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\* This heading is in Carew's hand. The letter has neither signature nor address. It is dated "Anno 1585" by Carew, but was evidently written either in 1586 or later.

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In September 1585, at the sessions holden at Doonnemoine, co. Mayo, by Bingham, chief commissioner (Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, then being present, and employed with him for perfecting the last composition made within the said province), the whole country stood on peaceable terms. But when by this composition the gentlemen and freeholders perceived that the names, titles, and superiorities of their chief lords, and specially of McWilliam [Burke], should cease, it did not a little grieve them, although they had expostulated the like reformation. Thomas Roe Burke, a chief of that sept, kept himself within a strong castle in an island on Lough Maske, even within sight of the Governor and the other Commissioners, and refused to come at them. Sir Richard, upon his return out of that country to Roscomon, dealt with the sheriff of co. Mayo for the apprehension of the said Thomas Roe, who, resisting the sub-sheriff, was slain.

His death, and the hanging of two others, Moyler Oge Burke and Thebott Reogh, who had devised for the drawing of Scots into the province, would have prevented the stirrs that after ensued, had not some men [in Dublin] who depended on the State, through envy to Sir Richard, persuaded the Burkes not to come to any officer till their pardon should be procured from the Lord Deputy (Perrot). They assembled together, and made the Clandonnells, the Joyes, and most of the country believe that Sir Richard would also take away *their* ancient customs and liberties. They drew many to them, and persuaded themselves that, by the friendship of their foresaid counsellors in Dublin, their assemblies should there be thought as a thing done by them for their defence and safety. Sir Richard was restrained from following them without directions from Dublin.

The sons of Edmund Burke, of Castle Barrye (an old man, and one of the competitors of the McWilliam-ship), and others, with many idle persons, entered into Castle Necalley, in Lough Maske, and manned the same, together with Thomas Roe's castle, now in the possession of his brother Richard Burke, called the Palle of Ireland; which castles they kept in rebellious manner. About this time Sir R. Bingham took the castle of Clanowen, in Thomond, and slew Mahowne O'Brian, a chief champion of the Pope's, and a great practiser with foreign powers. He then besieged Castle ne Calley, but was forced to leave the attempt by contrary weather. Before he could return, the traitors escaped into the woods, and were chased by Captain Mordant. Bingham razed the said two castles, and one strong pile of Ferroghe McDonnell's.

Richard Burke, *alias* the Pall of Ireland, under colour of dutiful subjection, intended to have betrayed Sir Richard and all his company, and was executed. He was the most dangerous member in all Mayo.

Bingham then followed the Burkes to the woods and mountains, and hunted them from bush to bush and hill to

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bill; and the gentlemen of the country offered to pursue them at their own charges; but a commandment came from the Lord Deputy (Perrot) to protect them. Sir Richard granted them protections under his own hand and the seal of the province; but they "had intelligence that the Lord Deputy had protected them, and commanded the Governor to perform it."

Sir Richard then repaired to his dwelling-house, and thence to Dublin, where he had not long stayed, when the Burkes revolted again, joining to them the Clangibbons, the Clاندonnells, and the Joyes. These last murdered certain officers of Yerconnoght. "About this time order came from the Lord Deputy for the levying of men within this province for the service of (*sic*) in the Low Countries; the bruit whereof and the repair hither of Francis Barckley, sent by the Lord Deputy for the levying of the said men, caused many idle men (who had no zeal to serve beyond the seas) to join themselves with the said Burkes."

These Burkes said they would have a McWilliam, or else they would go into Spain for one; and that they would have no sheriff, nor answer at any assize or sessions. They articleed these terms. Bingham sent Commissioners to them, viz., the Archbishop of Tuam, the Lord Breningham, Baron of Athenry, Tho. Dillon, Chief Justice of the province, Gerald Comerford, Attorney of the same, and others, to whom they delivered the said articles. Peace was granted them for eight days, that in the meantime the Lord Deputy's pleasure might be signified to the Governor.

The Commissioners were no sooner departed, than the rebels began to break down castles and burn towns. They made most odious speeches against her Majesty, saying, "What have we do with that *caliughe*? How unwise are we, being so mighty a nation, to have been so long subject to a woman! The Pope and the King of Spain shall have the rule of us, and none other." Sir Richard forbore to serve upon them, according to the Lord Deputy's many cautions. The rebels were now increased to 700 or 800 men, and had sent Edmund Kerraghe Burke and Jo. Iteleane, brother to Walter Kittagh Burke, to practise with the Scots.

At length the Lord Deputy willed Sir Richard to prosecute them. He marched towards the county of Mayo on 12 July 1586 with 100 footmen and 50 horsemen, and came to Ballinroba on the 14th. Here he parled with the Burkes, and gathered his whole forces. The Earl of Clanricard came to him with 30 horsemen and 100 kerne; also the Lord Breningham, Lord Baron of Athenry, Sir Hubbert McDaune, Teig O'Kelley, and others; also 100 footmen of Captain Mordant's, 100 under Captain Merryman, and 100 footmen under Captain Mostean, besides 600 or 700 kearne.

He employed the Earl of Clanricard, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Breningham, Thomas Dillon, Justice of the province, and others in parling with the

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Burkes. As no persuasions might win them to peace, he executed certain of their pledges. It appeared to him that the sparing of rebels' pledges heretofore had done no small hurt, as they trusted to the accustomed mercy showed to the like pledges. Then he marched to the abbey of Ballentubber, 22 July, and sent his footmen and kerne, under Captain John Bingham, into the mountains and woods to seek the rebels, who submitted within six or seven weeks. Himself and Clanricard kept the champagne country.

About this time there came an espial out of Munster (being sent, as he said, from those parts to Francis Barekley, Provost-Marshal of Connaught), and gave it forth that the Earl of Leicester was slain in the Low Countries and the English forces overthrown there,—that there were two great armies of Spaniards landed in England,—that there was a great navy of Spanish ships in Ballymore,—that the King of Scots was in arms against her Majesty,—and that her Highness was sick and in great danger of death. Sir Richard caused him to be executed.

The Burkes were hunted from place to place. 4,000 or 5,000 head of cattle were taken, all which, except 1,000, he bestowed on the captains and their companies, or else on the kerne, as a consideration of their entertainments. 100 or 120 rebels were slain; the rest dispersed, and sent in messengers for pardon. Ewster McDonnell, chief of the galloglasses, Edmund Burke McRichard Enerrine, son to the last McWilliam save one, William Bourke, *alias* the Blind Abbot, (the chief of that surname, Edmond Burke, of Castle Barry, being dead, who claimed to be McWilliam,) Moyler Oge Burke, the Joies, and Riccard Burke, *alias* the Devil's Hook's son, submitted themselves, and gave pledges. They were so ghaisted with fear, by reason they were so roundly followed, that they looked rather like ghosts than men.

Edmund Burke's sons, of Castle Barry, persisted in the action. Their father, a notable traitor, was executed by course of the common law, in order that her Majesty might have his lands by escheat. After this his sons offered to submit, so as they might have their father's lands; but herein the Governor referred them to the Lord Deputy. They were in number six or seven.

News came that 2,000 Scots were come over the river of Earne, towards Sligo, with Edmund Kerraghe Burke and John Iteleane, who had been sent by the Burkes to draw in those Scots. Sir Richard despatched the Earl of Clanricard against them, who joined with George Bingham, brother to Sir Richard, sheriff of co. Sligo. After Sir Richard had ordered things in Mayo, he set fowards towards Sligo, when he had news that the Scots had been brought through O'Rowrk's country into the Mawgherrie or plains by Roscommon, whither he repaired; and hearing that the Scots were between Sligo and Bundroies, he rode to Sligo. His highway was to pass

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by the abbey of Boyle, where he found Sir Thomas Lestrange and others the risings-out of the country.

He came to Sligo on 28 August. The Scots lay still at the Earnie. Sir Arthur O'Neale and Hugh McGwyer had aided them. Their forces were now about 2,000 able men, besides many women, boys, and churls, with great store of carriages. Sir Richard wrote to the Lord Deputy for two more bands, as he could not trust the Irish horsemen. The Scots drew on by little and little through O'Rowrk's country towards the Curlewes, to pass into Mayo, always encamping in fastnesses. In a tempestuous and dark night (Sir Richard having been assured by O'Connor Sligoe that the Scots had encamped for that night) they stole towards the bridge of Kilnowney, near to which was a castle, where he had placed his footmen and 50 Irish horsemen, of whom the former won the bridge, while the latter did no service. Sir Richard lay at another straight or passage. The Scots found an unknown ford. Dangerous service in the dark. Sir Richard killed and drowned 40 or 50 Scots.

He then removed his forces into Tyreraghe, to save the prey of that country. He encamped the second night at Ardglass. The enemy lay on the other side of the mountains, not far from an abbey called Banneda. He took with him good guide-ship over them, and encamped at Ocouran, a town of Bishop O'Harte's. He gave it forth in policy that the enemy was marching up through Gallen towards inner and civil countries, as the Lord Bretingham's country and the county of Roscommon. He hastened to a castle called Moygarie. On the news of his returning back they grew somewhat careless, and supposed he had returned to Roscommon.

Lying at Moygarie on Monday, and at Castle More in the barony of Costelloe on Tuesday and Wednesday, he received reinforcements and victuals. On Wednesday he marched to the abbey of Banned, where the guide, Edmond McCostelloe, found out a priest who had been prisoner with the Scots, and who informed the Governor that they were all encamped at Arduary, and had proclaimed themselves lords of the country. The priest undertook to be his guide, if he might have a couple of horsemen of the O'Haries. About three in the morning Sir Richard marched to Belclea towards the enemy, and thence over the mountain in great silence, and came in sight of the castle. He then gave direction for the fight, and slew or drowned them all, saving 80, who swam over the Moyne into Tyrawlie, and the hundred and odd who had gone the day before into Tyrawlie for a prey with some of the Burkes. But most of these were afterwards slain in flying homewards by their old friends. The number slain was 1,400 or 1,500, besides as many more horse and footboys, women, churls, and children. Only two Englishmen were slain, and those through being too forwards for the spoil; but many men

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and horses were hurt and galled. James McDonnell's\* son[s], viz., Donnell Gorum and Alexander Carroghe, were slain, with all the rest of their leaders, and the chiefest Burke which drew them into the province.

*The names of the captains and the numbers of the English forces employed in this service are specified.*

With the rebels' goods, and 300*l.* or 400*l.* of his own money, Sir Richard defrayed the extraordinary expenses of these services. Now, it is said, there are not 40 Scots to bear up head in all Ireland, "to the eternal commendations of this worthy gent' Sir Richard Bingham for ever."

*Copy. Pp. 19.*

Oct. 20. **622.** LORD DEPUTY PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 82.

I received your letter of the last of August, by which it appears "that God hath revealed to her Majesty the wicked treasons practised against her royal person, for which be He blessed." Her Majesty in time will know who are to be trusted. I am glad to hear that, notwithstanding all her troubles, she "carieth an invincible mind that showeth from whom she came." You say that all her Majesty's speeches of me are to my comfort, but she will not hear of my revocation. I shall never be weary of serving her in any other place, while health and ability will permit. "But by God! Mr. Carewe, I daily grow weaker and weaker of body through the great pain I have of the stone, growing more and more upon me in this slimy country. Th' experience whereof I lately had at my being in Connaught, where in my travel, through the grating of the stone in my kidneys, if I travelled one day, I was fain to rest another; and in th' end the Irish ague took me, that I was 7 days like to die in Gallowaye, and am not yet thoroughly recovered thereof, nor shall not (I believe) pass this next year, except her Majesty, of her great grace, give me licence to go to the Spa the next spring; a suit that I made to her Highness 9 years agone. It were better her Majesty preserved me to serve her in some other place, than I to be wilfully cast away here."

I lose time and grow into contempt by mistakings there, and wind whispered in corners. If my enemies have anything to say against me, let it be put upon paper, and I will disprove it. I only took this office to serve God and the Queen. "But I am here amongst devils, who, coming up of nothing, care not what fables they make of any man that will not serve their turns." He has need of many favourers that has to manage a broken kingdom. If I can once come into the Queen's presence

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\* So in the margin. "McConnell's" in the text, here and elsewhere.



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I will make such revelations as will save her many charges, and procure her more obedience in Ireland.

You wrote too late for Moyle.

Dublin, 20 October 1586. *Signed.*

*Pp.* 2. *Addressed.*

Vol. 618, p. 4.

2. Copy of the same.

*Pp.* 2.

## 623. ULSTER.

Vol. 611, p. 278.

“The Description and present State of Ulster in 1586.”

Its boundaries are described. It contains nine counties, that is to say, three of ancient making, and six made, or rather to be made, new: old—Lowth, Downe, Antrim; new—Manachan, Farnamagh, Tirone, Dungale, Colrane, Armagh.

Lowth is exposed to the often incursions of many lewd and disordered people. Names of its corporations, inhabitants, and principal surnames. Manacan contains these countries, Iriell, Dartrey, Lowghtie, and Irow. The chief captain there is Sir Rory McMahon, who has been some time contributory to Tur[lough] O’Neil, and now is left to the government of the Earl of Tyrone. He is able to make 100 horsemen and 400 footmen. Buildings in his country are none, save certain old defaced monasteries.

The county of Farnmanagh contains all Farnmanagh, Tyrmingrah, and Tirmin O’Mingan. Its captain is Sir Conohour McGwyre, under the rule of Tur. O’Neyle, but desirous to depend on the Queen. He is able to make 80 horsemen, 260 shot, and 300 kerne.

In the county of Tyrone the chief captain is Tir. O’Neyle. Of late the half thereof and more by a composition is let to the Earl of Tyrone. Turlough desires from her Majesty to his son the portion of Tyrone wherein he dwelleth. The O’Neales are all horsemen, and the Clandonelles all galloglas. The O’Doonells are much affected to Shan O’Neyle’s sons. The whole force of this country is 300 horsemen and 1,500 footmen. Turlough most commonly dwelleth in the castle of Steaban. “The new castle upon the Earl’s part is Dunganon, a defaced castle built by Shan O’Neyle upon the Blackwater, called Benburbe.”

The county of Dunegall contains all Terconell and O’Dohertie’s country. O’Donell is captain and governor of Tironell, the chief strength of whom standeth most upon the O’Gallochells and McSwynes. He is able to make 200 horsemen and 1,300 footmen. Between him and O’Neill hath been continual wars for the castle of Liffa and the lands thereabouts. O’Doghertie’s country is a promontory almost environed with the sea, namely, with Lough Swyly on the south, and Lough Foyle on the north. O’Doghertie is forced to contribute both to O’Neyle and O’Doonelle. “His country, lying upon the sea and open to the isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, is almost

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yearly invaded by the Scots, who take the spoil of it at their pleasures, whereby O'Doghertie is forced always to be at their devotions." He is able to make 60 horsemen and 300 footmen. "Buildings in his countries are the Dery [and] Green-castle, which are wardable."

The county of Coleran contains all O'Cahan's country. Its captain is Rory O'Cahan, always left to the government of Turrough only. His nation is able to make 140 horsemen and 400 footmen; yet because he bordereth so near the Scots, he is much affected to them. His castles are Anagh and Lyben-aiye. Near the salmon fishing are the castle of Collran and Castle Rooe, where Turlogh O'Neale keeps a constable and a ward to preserve (?) his part of the fishing.

The county of Ardmache contains Oriragh, which is O'Hanlon's country, Clanbrasell, Clancan, Clanawll, Mucknee, Tiriacgh, Fues, and O'Nelán, of late made all contributories to the Earl of Tyrone. O'Hanlon's country is able to make 40 horsemen and 200 footmen. Clanbrasell has no horsemen, but 80 kearne. Clancan has no horsemen, but 100 kearne, who live upon stealth and robberies. Clanawlle appertains to the Archbishop of Armagh and his freeholders, containing the bridge and fort of Blackwater; and Tur. Brasolach holds his portion of land from the Earl of Tyrone. The said Tur. with his sons is able to make 30 horsemen and 80 footmen. Muckne and Tireawgh are now possessed by the Earl of Tyrone, who has placed there certain of his own waged followers. Fewes is peopled with certain of the Neyles, accustomed to live much upon spoil of the Pale. They are able to make 30 horsemen and 100 footmen. O'Neylan is claimed by the Earl of Tyrone. "He hath placed there some of the Quins and Flagans who fostered him, and sometimes he dwelleth himself amongst them there in a little island, Loch Coe." The fort at Blackwater should be repaired and better fortified. At Ardmach, a small village, the charge (church?) and friaries are broken and defaced.\*

The county of Downe contains the lordship of the Newry and the lordship of Mowrne, Evagh, otherwise called Maginis country, Kilulto, Kilwarlin, Kinalewrty, Clanbrasell McGoolechan, Lechahull, Diffinge, Little Ardes, Great Ardes, and South Claudeboy. Newry and Mowrne are the inheritance of Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, "who, at his coming thither, found them altogether waste, and Shane O'Neyle dwelling within a mile to the Newry at a place called Fedom, suffering no subject to travel from Dundalk northward; but since the fortifications and buildings made there by the said Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, all the passages are made free, and much of the countries next adjacent reduced to reasonable civility." Evagh is governed by Sir Hugh MacEnys, the civilest of all

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\* The extent, situation, &c. of these countries are defined.

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the Irishry in those parts. He was brought by Sir N. B. from the bonaghe of the O'Neyles to contribute to the Queen. In this place only amongst the Irish of Ulster is the rude custom of tanistship put away. Maginis is able to make 60 horsemen and 80 footmen. Every festival day he wears English garments. The captain of Kilultoe is Cormack McNeyl, who likewise was brought by Sir N. B. from the bondage of the O'Neyles. "This country afore the Barons' wars in England was possessed and inhabited by Englishmen, and there doth yet remain there an old defaced castle, which still beareth the name of one Sir Miles Tracy." The captain of Kilwarlin is a McGenys, called Ever McRorye, and sometimes did contribute and yield to Clandeboy, but now depends only upon the Queen. In Kinalewrty, or McCartan's country, some interest was given to Sir Nicholas Malbey, but never by him quietly enjoyed. Its captain is Acolie McCartan. Clambrasell McGoolceham is inhabited by the Kelleys, a very savage and barbarous people, well affected to the Scots, whom they often draw into their country for the spoiling of the subjects. They do contribute, but at their own pleasures, to the captain of South Clandeboy. Lecahul is the inheritance of the Earl of Kildare, given to his father and his mother by Queen Mary. "In it is the bishop's see called Downe, fast built, and inhabited by one Sir John Cowrsy, who brought thither with him sundry English gentlemen, and planted them in this country, where some of them yet remain, though somewhat degenerate and in poor estate, yet they hold still their freeholds. Their names are Savadges, Russells, Fitzimons, Awdleys, Jordans, and Bensons." Diffin, sometime the inheritance of the Mandevills, and now appertaining to one White, who is not of power sufficient to defend and manure the same; therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most part by a bastard sort of Scots, who yield to the said White some small rent at their pleasure. Little Ardes is the inheritance of the Lord Savage, who has farmed the same to Captain Peerce. Here are certain ancient freeholders of the Savages and Smithes, who are often harrowed and spoiled by them of Clandeboy. Great Ardes was undertaken by Mr. Smith, and is now possessed by Sir Con MacNeyle Oge, who hath planted there Neyle McBrian Ferto; but the ancient dwellers there are the O'Gilmars [or O'Gilivars?], a rich and strong sept, always followers of the Neyles of Clandeboy. Of South Clandeboy the captain is Sir Con McNeile Oge, "who, in the time that th' Earl of Essex attempted this country, was prisoner in the castle of Dublin, together with his nephew Hugh McPhelim, captain of North Clandeboy, by mean whereof Sir Brian McPhelim, younger brother to the said Hugh, did then possess both the countries."

Antrim contains North Clandeboy, Island Magy, Brian Caragh's country, Glines, and the Rowte. North Clandeboy is given by letters patents to Sir Brian McPhelim's sons, the

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Queen's pensioners ; notwithstanding, by a new division lately made by the now Lord Deputy, the one moiety thereof is allotted to the rule of Hugh McPhelim's sons, whereby great dissension doth depend between them, and great slaughters on both parties are often committed. The principal followers in this country are the McGyes, McO'Nulles, O'Machalons, Durmans, and Turtures. Island McGye is almost all waste, and contains the McGyes, who contribute to the Lord of Clandeboy, but of right belong to the Queen's castle of Knockfergus. "Brian Caragh's country was a portion of North Clandeboy, won from it by a bastard kind of Scots of the sept of the Clandonels, who entered the same and do yet hold it." Brian Caragh contributes to O'Neyle, and to them of Clandeboy. By reason of the fastness and strength of his country it is very hard to harm him, which maketh him so obstinate and careless, as he never yet would appear before my [Lord] Deputy, but yields relief to the Scots. The Glins, so called because it is full of rocky and woody dales, "is backed with a very steep and boggy mountain, and on the other part with the sea, on which side there are very small creeks between rocks and thickets, where the Scottish galley[s] do commonly land." It lies opposite to Cantier in Scotland. Names of its seven baronies. "These were sometimes the inheritance of the Baron Missett, from whom it descended to a daughter who was married to one of the Clandonells in Scotland, by whom the Scots now make their claim to the whole, and did quietly possess the same many years, till now of late, being spoiled of their goods, they were totally banished into Scotland ; but again the country, by instructions from her Majesty, is given to be held from her Highness to Agnus McConnill, Lo. of Cantier in Scotland, and to his uncle Sorleboy. The force of this country is uncertain, for they are supplied as need requireth from Scotland with what numbers they list to call, by making of fires upon certain steep rocks hanging over the sea." The ancient followers of the country are the Missetts, the McY Gills, the McAwnles, the McCarm[a]cks, and the Clanalsters. The Rowte "was sometimes inhabited with English, for there remaineth [in] it certain defaced castles and monasteries of their buildings. The now captain that maketh claim thereto is called McGwillyn, but the Scot[s] hath well near expelled him from the whole, and driven him to a small corner near the Bann, which he defendeth rather by maintenance of Turloch O'Neile than his own forces ; and the said Scots did inhabit the rest, which is the best part, till likewise they were by her Majesty's forces banished as aforesaid, but now come back, and possess all in usurped manner as before. The chief ancient followers of this country are the O'Haries and the O'Quins."

It may be easily perceived by this description of Ulster what are the reasons why this province has been more chargeable than any other ; as, namely, the want of good towns and

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fortified places, the sufferance of the O'Neyles to usurp the government of the several captains and freeholders, the confining so near to the isles of Scotland, and the want of religion, justice, and civil instructions.

The following remedies are proposed:—

(1.) Such revenues as this province may be made to yield to be employed upon fortifications in places most needful for certain years.

(2.) "To apportionate both to Tur. Lenoghe and the Earl of Tyrone, being both of one surname, lands on the north side of Black Water to them and their heirs males indifferently, bounded by some well acquainted with those countries, where-with they should only deal, and meddle no further, but leave the government of the rest for her Majesty to the Chief Commissioner or other her Highness' officers in that province."

(3.) "The people which most annoy Ulster from Scotland are the Clandonells, who are ever in continual wars with another sept of the people of the Isles, named McAlanes; and if on McAlan her Majesty would bestow some convenient pension, he will (I think) undertake to keep the Clandonellis so continually occupied as they shall be able to send none of their people to disturb her Highness' subjects in Ulster."

(4.) These counties to be as well brought to the nature as well as to the names of shires; that is, the shires to be perfectly bounded, and the sheriffs of English education. There should be some preachers and free schools; and for the whole province a council to be established.

"Since the writing of the premises, I do perceive, by letters lately received out of Ireland, that the Earl of Tyrone hath taken upon him the rule of Sir Hugh Mc[Genis?] and Sir Con McNeyle Oge, the captain of Kilwarlin and sundry others, who at my coming thence depended only upon the Queen."

*Copy. Pp. 9.*

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**624.** The COUNCIL in ENGLAND to the LORD DEPUTY (PERROT).

Vol. 632, p. 96.

We understand from the Commissioners for surveying and measuring the lands attainted in Munster, and from such of the Undertakers as have been in Ireland and are lately returned, that the survey cannot be performed this winter time in such an exact sort of working by the line as by the Commissioners has been begun, so as they have surceased until the next spring, saving that they have appointed Thomas Wiseman, gent., and Arthur Robins to go forward in that service as the short days and weather will permit. Her Majesty doubts that this delay will not only stay the Undertakers in transporting their people and other necessaries, whereby the next summer will be lost as the last was, but utterly disable them.

We find this the readiest way for expedition of the said

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service—that the Queen should commission the persons already appointed to be surveyors to prosecute the survey in a more speedy and superficial sort by the eye or by the instrument, by persons skilful therein, to be sent from hence; and that in the meantime Wiseman and Robins should proceed in the service. The Undertakers have already agreed what special seignories or smaller parcels shall be allotted to each of them; and they are content to pay more or less than is limited according to the quantity of their lands.

The Chancellor to pass letters patents to the Undertakers for all lands allotted by mutual consent. The Vice-President and Council of Munster to put them in possession, and to remove any occupiers of the same. The Vice-President to resign all parcels of the escheated lands, except such as are meet to be annexed to the presidentship.

As the late seneschal of Imokelly and Patrick Condon may have some pretended interest in part of the lands that are to be delivered to the Undertakers, you shall consider how they may be agreed with.

“Appoint some commissioners in the said province to treat as well with the present incumbents of such benefices as were collected (coliated?) by any of the traitors whose lands are accrued to her Majesty by the late attainder, and also which are owners and possessors of parsonages impropriate mixed with attainted lands, for that it is to be supposed that the said benefices are for the most part occupied by persons either not sufficient, or not conformable in matters of religion, to draw them to some reasonable composition by moving the said incumbents (if they be not meet to enjoy the same) to resign their interest to the Undertakers, to be by them bestowed upon other persons of their own choice, reserving to the now incumbents a competent portion of the profits of the said benefices, by way of impropriations; [or they?] may be drawn to yield out of the tithes or other rents of their parsonages some reasonable yearly stipends, to be given to persons to be chosen by the Undertakers to celebrate divine service and execute other ecclesiastical functions among them; or else depart with their interests in the said parsonages impropriate, upon such reasonable offers as shall be made by the Undertakers to their contentment.”

The Undertakers to make their provision of cattle within any part of that realm. For the terrifying of malefactors, no pardon or protection is to be given for any offence in Munster, unless to prevent some public mischief. Instead of the footmen granted them, 120 horsemen shall be levied, and divided equally to four of the principal Undertakers. The President's soldiers not to be chargeable upon them; nor any provision or carriage.

As a year has been lost, one year more shall be added for their recompense. Corn and other victual not to be transported out of Munster until Michaelmas twelvemonth. None to sow

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corn there except the Undertakers. All of them who are knights shall be in commission with the President.

The President to pay the ancient rents of such lands as shall be annexed to that office.

“From the Court at Greenwich, &c.”

*Heading in Carew's hand:* A Minute of a letter from the Lords of the Council in England to the Lord Deputy and Council\* of Ireland, concerning the Undertakers, dated the — of February 1586.

*Copy. Pp. 8.*

March 26. **625.** ADAM [LOFTUS], ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN and CHANCELLOR of IRELAND, to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I am sorry to have to state that on Tuesday last Dudley Bagnoll was slain by Walter Reaugh, to the great grief of his father and friends. “The cause that I write unto you is chiefly concerning the state of the bargain betwixt Dudley and you. I have seen covenants of yours, for performance whereof you are bound in great sums of money, especially that he and his assigns should enjoy the constablership of Laughlin during your interest.” I recommend Mr. Marshal, † who is willing to undertake the payment of the money. “I am forced by divers causes to be the more earnest, chiefly that there grow no unkindnesses betwixt Mr. Marshal and you, so as he may draw back from performance of his covenants again, that you add not to his grief any new matter, which no doubt would greatly disquiet him.” It has proved a hard bargain to this poor gentleman and his children.

Rafarnan, 26 March 1587. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed:* To Sir George Carew, Knight, at the Court. *Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 11b.

2. Copy of the preceding.

March 27. **626.** LORD DEPUTY PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 93.

Six days past certain of the Cavaners took 30 kine at Idrone, “which Dudley Bagnall bought of you.” The said Dudley, being a very unadvised man, as I told you, went forth with 18 or 19 bad fellows, almost all Irishmen, and came up with the robbers at Shelela, where they were attacked by Walter Rewghe, and Dudley was slain. This arises from his not keeping the proper number of English, and hiring poor Irishmen in Lawghlen at 40s. and 3*l.* a year, putting the rest of the entertainment in his purse.

Dublin, 27 March 1587. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

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\* The letter is evidently addressed to the Lord Deputy only.  
 † Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Knight Marshal.

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April 18. 627. LORD DEPUTY PERROT to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 68.

I find by my son's letters the continuance of your good favours. If ever gentleman was misused in any place of government, it is I. "There is nothing that can be delivered, how untrue soever it be, against me, but is believed presently there before proof." No man's service can go forward well when he is discountenanced there. I will disprove all the accusations laid against me. I desire to come away by all means possible. "Ye there hold me here, writing some days fair words to me, and other days ye reprehend me beyond measure, and I never had comfort for any one thing that ever I did."

I thank your Lordship that you have so honourably dealt with one of late that received letters from Sir Richard Bingham of many untruths. Is Sir Richard Bingham's credit and mine one now? He will not be contented to be governed by any; witness Sir William Wynter and Mr. Candishe. He is arrogant and hated, and "shall have 500*l.* given him by the country where he governeth towards his passage into England, so they may be rid of him." "He desireth to be rid; let him go in the name of God to Flanders."

"He hath written that I have challenged the combat of him, and sent one with a truncheon in his hand to do the same. My Lord, the truth is, it was reported unto me by my Lord of Delvyn that Sir Richard Bingham had told Lieutenant Jaques that if I were out of office he would have the combat of me, which speeches were uttered abroad; and he told my cousin Barkeley also that I was the most ungrateful man living, and that he had made me Deputy; whereupon I sent Stephen Segar, the constable of the castle here (being my servant) unto him (because he remained six weeks in the town, and never came to me but at Council time), to ask him whether he had spoken these words of me, yea or no. Wherein I willed the said Stephen to deliver, that if he had said that he would have combat with me when I was out of office, he should not need to require it at my hands, for I would therefore then begin with him."

The Earl of Ormond has procured some sharp letters to be written to me by my Lords. I will disprove them, under the testimony of all the Council's hands. "He is the fountain of all these fables, and crieth hiss to every discontented person. . . . I will tell her Majesty such tales of his Lordship as perhaps will wring him as much as he hath done me."

I have in this castle the White Knight, the Seneschal, Patrick Condon, and Donell McCormock, and have caused to be apprehended McAwley and Thomas Oge of the Island. I have sent for Patrick FitzMorice. "I caused to be hanged Conell McLysaghe O'More, Lisaghe McWilliam O'More, three notable men of the Kellies, and I have Conell McKedaghe O'More's head upon the top of the castle, so as there resteth



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not one principal of the O'Mores, but Shane McRosse, who was within these four days sore hurt, and like to be killed; and so was Walter Roghe also; whose heads I am promised very shortly. I have also taken the young fry of all the Mores, saving one whom I am promised to have. So as I do not know one dangerous man of that sept left."

Dublin, 18 April 1587. *Signed.*

*Postscript in Perrot's own hand.*—Beware, my good Lord, how you enter again to troublesome places. Help your poor friend out of his hell (?), and I may hap one day to stand your L. in stead, as you use me."

*Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.*

May 16. 628. SIR NICHOLAS BAGENALL to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 16.

My advancement grew by your father,\* and upon your brother † and yourself hath been ever since my whole dependency. Your prosperities, next to her Majesty's, hath been my chiefest earthly joy. Permit me to unfold to you the most barbarous injury that ever was offered to any man of my sort. Being occasioned through some hard dealing of the Lord Deputy towards my son, Sir Henry Bagenall, to exhibit yesterday to his L. a petition drawn in dutiful terms (for the contents whereof I refer you to my letter to the Council), "his Lo., entering into most outrageous fury, and forgetting both his own place and my old years, not contented to have used me with unworthy and barbarous terms, laid violent hands upon me: he arose from the place where he sat, struck me with his hand, and beat me down to the ground; and had not Mr. Justice Gardener and Mr. Secretary Fenton been there present, God knoweth how it had further fared with me. Oh! that I live to endure this wrong, and that his place doth free him from my revenge!" Though I am nearly four score years of age, "yet I protest in the presence of the living God, and as I look for salvation by the shedding of the blood of Christ Jesus, that neither loss of goods, lands, or life, but only and solely the regard of her Highness' honour, which I hold more dear than life itself, doth contain me, but that I would take due revenge in his blood for this villainy, though it were to my own overthrow, and the utter ruin and destruction of my whole posterity." I therefore crave at her Majesty's gracious hands, and your Honours' of her Council, that my poor credit may not thus be defaced without due and convenient revenge.

Dublin, 16 May 1587. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 19. 629. CONOHOUR O'MAHOWNYE.

Vol. 617, p. 3.

Extract from an inquisition at Cork, 4 November, 26 Eliz., before Nicholas Welche, Chief Justice of Munster, John Myagh,

\* John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was attainted in 1553.

† Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

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Secondary Justice of Munster, Thomas Wyseman, James Gold, Robert Rosier, [and] Arthur Robins, Commissioners (the jury consisting of Fulk Mownstowe and 13 others), whereby it was found that Conohor O'Mahownye, late of Castle Mahowne, entered into rebellion with Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, and was slain therein; and that he was seized of Castle Mahowne, and of the barony or cantred of Kencallineaky.

Examined, 19 June 1587, by Thomas Wyseman.

H. Similar extract, relating to the said O'Mahownye, from an inquisition taken at Youghill, 6 October, 28 Eliz., before Thomas Norris, Vice-President of Munster, Sir Henry Wallopp, Charles Calthropp, Roger Wilbraham, Launcelot Allford, Thomas Wiseman, and Arthur Robins, Commissioners.

Examined, *ut supra*.

*Latin. Pp. 2.*

June. 630. HENRY [PERCY] EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 605, p. 95.

I have known of late your good conceit of me, which I desire no longer than you shall find me grateful, or give cause of continuance. The matter we last spoke of touches me so nearly that upon weighing the effects, and with a view to satisfy my present discontent, no way is so convenient as the first resolution. You need not fear that my mind will alter. My resolutions, once determined, are not so quickly revoked.

At my lodging, this evening.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: The Earl of Northumberland in June 1587.*

July 28. 631. SIR HUGH O'DONNELL.  
Vol. 611, p. 261.

Indenture, 10 July, 28 Eliz., between Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy General, and the Council, and Sir Hugh O'Donell, chief of his name.

Whereas the said Sir Hugh, by his indenture dated at the camp near Dunluce, in Ulster, the 20th of September 1584, 26 Eliz., did covenant to find and maintain in Tyreonell at his own charges 200 footmen; and whereas the said Sir Hugh seemeth to be grieved with the disorder of such soldiers as were laid upon him, and has repaired hither and made humble suit to the Lord Deputy and Council to accept of a yearly composition to be yielded by him and his country of Tیرهonell, and to forbear the laying of soldiers upon him: the Lord Deputy and Council are contented to accept and receive of him, for the year past, 700 good, fat, and large beeves, in respect that the full number of soldiers were not placed upon his country that year, to be delivered at Sligo; and yearly hereafter the same number to be delivered at Kells in co. Meath. Sir Hugh also covenants to send and deliver to her Majesty's castle of Dublin Rowry O'Donell, son to O'Donell, McSwyne Fanadaghe's eldest

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son, and McSwine ne Dwaghe's eldest son as pledges; and to satisfy all such ——— and restitutions as the commissioners that are to be sent from the State here shall take and set down between him and Captain William Bowen, and for all other controversies between the said Sir Hugh and one Hugh O'Donell, otherwise McEdegan, and Sir John O'Dougherty, or any others. In consideration of this, the said Sir Hugh and his country shall be yearly discharged of all other rents and charges, his rising-out to general hostings only excepted.

*Signed:* John Perrot, Ad. Dublin, Canc., N. Bagnall, Henry Wallop, Robert Dillon, R. Gardener, Geoffrey Fenton.

“Copia vera, ex' per Nath. Dillon.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July 15. **632.** The CHAPTER of EXETER to the LORD TREASURER  
Vol. 618, p. 10a. (BURLEIGH).

Sir George Carew delivered a letter from your Honour in his favour for release of some lands belonging to our church. At the receipt of it, the Dean and others were absent. We advertised him of this matter, and expect his voice. If he be willing, we shall accede to your request, and we hope Mr. Dean will so answer Sir [George] as he shall not have any just cause to mislike thereof.

Exeter, 15 July 1587. *Signed:* William Marston, Degory Nycolls, John Kennall, Nicholas Marston, Tho. Barre, Jobe Leache.

A paragraph is added by Laurence Bodley, stating that he willingly assents to his Lordship's request, “not any relying myself upon Mr. Dean.”

*Note in the hand of Sir George Carew:* Delib' per G. C.

*Copy. P. 1.*

July 31. **633.** SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to SIR HENRY WALLOP.  
Vol. 605, p. 103.

Recommending to his favour Sir George Carew, in whose behalf the Lords of the Privy Council have written to the Lord Deputy, “requiring not only him, but also you, to show the best favour you can” to Sir George, for the remittal of an arrearage of 125*l.* he is in to her Majesty for the lands at Laughlin, and cancelling such bouds “as he and some other stand bound in for this matter. I am induced to take this course because the life and course of Carew in the service of her Majesty have been very commendable, and worthy of extraordinary favour in a far greater matter than this.

From the Court, the last of July 1587. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Ib. p. 98.

2. Copy of the preceding.

*P. 1. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 2.

3. Another copy.

Ib. p. 6.

4. A third copy.

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July 31. **634.** SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to SIR JOHN PERROT.

Vol. 605, p. 101.

Recommending Sir George Carew "to be pardoned and released of a small arrearage; and chargeably he serveth her Majesty here in Court." Respect Carew as "one that I love well, and one that I know will most thankfully accept any good favour you show him."

From the Court, the last of July 1587. *Signed.*

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 2a.

2. Another copy.

Aug. 9. **635.** SIR JOHN PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 105.

It is long since I heard from you, or I wrote unto you; wherefore amend your fault, and I will sharpen my pen. I need not write of the news, as your other friends will advertise you, and some I doubt not will write of that which is not. The kingdom was never more quiet, but I will not assure the continuance of it, if foreign invasion happen; and many are looking for novelty. Besides, we receive so little comfort from England. I remain here in the greatest prison in the world, tied from doing good, or helping others. I doubt not but you are sitting upon me, and censuring all my doings, according to the old manner, before you know the truth. You and they equally forget me, and do not procure my revocation. I am content to remain till Michaelmas, when it is rumoured I am to return; though we have neither victual nor sixpence in store to answer foreign attempts. I hear of great preparations beyond sea. If you will not suffer me to come hence shortly, I think verily I shall not see Christmas, for my stone is grievous unto me, my stomach is very weak, and my legs do well so greatly. By God! I do not dissemble. If any care were had of me, or credit given unto me, you there would not wilfully lose me. My second son is here gone before me. There is no more of our race left but myself and my other son, who is now here, whom I pray God send well hence. Remember my only suit to her Majesty, which is to see her once before I die. For my own part death is the least thing that I care for.

Dublin, 9 August 1587. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 6a.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Feb. to Sept. **636.** ALLOTMENTS by the UNDERTAKERS in MUNSTER.

Vol. 631.

Province of Munster, 21 February 1586.

Certificate of all such castles, lands, and territories within the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, within the said province, being parcel of the lands lately found to be escheated and concealed from the Queen, as are by mutual agreement and consent of us the Undertakers for the peopling

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and inhabiting of all those lands within the said province, whose names are hereunder subscribed, assigned and allotted for the parts and portions of Sir Edward Fytton and his associates, and whereof we do in like manner agree that he and his assigns shall be presently put into possession, according to her Highness' pleasure signified from the Lords and others of her Privy Council by their letters to the Lord Deputy and Council, dated at Greenwich, 10 February 1586. That is to say: the manor of Awnye, the castle of Carrykettell, the castle and lands of Gromewell, the broken castle called Collenoughwonagh, all late the said Earl of Desmond's; the castle and lands of Ballneightie otherwise Whyte's Town, late Kennedye McBrien's; the tenement or house in the tenure of William Thewe, late the said Earl's, in the city of Waterford; the manor and castle of Kyllmannahyn in the country of Cosheshorye, late Sir John of Desmond's.

If the lands above mentioned do not amount to the full quantity or proportion of two seignories appointed for the said Sir Edward and his associates, then we do agree that he and his said associates shall have of other lands within the said counties, as near to the premises as may be, so much as shall make up the full number of two seignories.

*Signed*: Chr. Hatton, William Herbert, Valentine Browne, E. Phyton, Walter Leveson. J. Popham, George Beston, Hen. Slyngisbe, Lancelot Bostock.

"Mem., that notwithstanding this particular, Sir Edward Phyton is contented that upon the coming into Ireland of the rest of the Undertakers, all the lands herein contained, except Kilmannahin, which was appointed to him by all, shall be apportioned in what sort shall be best for the furtherance of the service and of contentment of all."

(2.) Similar certificate, indented, 18 May 1587, of the lands in the county of Kerry assigned and allotted to Thomas Herford, Ambrose Lacy, and George Stone, and their associates; *sc.*, "the village and butt-end of a castle, late Bally McDaniell;" the castle and lands of Ballyacartan, late Nicholas Funs'; the villages and lands late McEdmond's; the villages and towns of Dounekyne and Ballyneighe, with their lands, besides Smerwick (?); the town and lands of Menarde, "late Shane McEdmond's McUlick;" the villages, towns, and lands of Farryn Edyllhe, near Loscahe; the two Clonduffs, Glangorta....., and Ballynecourtye, late Morice McShane Hussey's; one close called the Park, with a watermill, &c., in Dyingleyeushc, together with Bally....., and all other lands and villages within the "trokohed" of Corkonyne escheated. These lands are part and parcel of the lands allotted to Sir Valentine Browne, and exceed not one whole seignory of 8,000 acres.

*Signed*: Chr. Hatton, canc., W. Raleigh, W. Courteney,

1587. :

Valentine Browne, Ed. Phyton (1587), J. Popham, Henry Ughtrede, Henry Billingsley.

*Endorsed* : " Men., that the twelfth of July a<sup>o</sup> 1587 possession and seizin by cutting out of a clod of earth in the lands . . . . ., and delivering unto Ambrose Lacy within named the same clod," &c. William Herbert.

(3.) Certificate indented, 25 July 1587, of the lands in the counties of Kerry and Desmond allotted to Mr. Jenkyn Conway and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and town of Kyllorglan, and the castle and lands of Castelldrome, late the Earl of Desmond's.

*Signed* : Chr. Hatton, canc., Fra. Walsingham, W. Rawgley.

These lands were parcel of the proportion of Sir Valentine Browne, and by him assigned to Conwaye.

(4.) Certificate, 26 June 1587, of the lands in the country of Connello allotted to Mr. Anthony Hungerforde and his associates; *sc.*, the towns and lands of Killydie and Glanceoyne, with the lands of Killabouchier, late Thomas Cams', in the county of Limerick; the castle and lands of Portrenarde, late the Earl of Desmond's; the site of the late cell called Nephelaugh, belonging to the late monastery of Nenaughe. If these lands do not amount to 8,000 acres, as appointed to them, they shall have other lands near the premises.

*Signed* : Chr. Hatton, Fra. Walsingham, Valentine Browne, John Popham, Ed. Barkley.

(5.) A [Parti]cular (*date lost by mutilation*) of the lands in the county of Limerick, by us the Undertakers subscribed, allotted to Richard Phitton and Alexander Phitton and their associates; *sc.*, Balligibbyn, Ballenskaly, Coss, Ballenehuishy, Ballenecury, Elan Bwyne, Bwolly, Ballenstephen, Grangpaden, Raas, Ardingillinagh, Bullenlondery, Ballermystialynedowe, Glanehagylshy, Ardpatricke, Ballederout, and all the rest of Gerrott McThomas's lands; *i.e.*, 4,000 acres apiece.

*Signed* : Ed. Phyton, William Herbert, Thomas Fletewude, George Beston, Marmaduke Redmayn, Hen. Slyngeisbe, Lancelot Bostock, Edmund Mainwayring.

*Endorsed* : Possession delivered 19 August 1587. R. Wingfelde, vic' (sheriff).

(6.) Certificate, 18 May 1587, of the lands in the county of Connollo allotted to Henry Ughtrede and his associates; *sc.*, the castle, manor, and lands called Meane, late the Earl of Desmond's; the castle and lands called the Pallice, late Richard McThomas's otherwise McThomas of the Pallice; the castle and lands called Mohannogh, late McGybbyn's; the castle and lands of Ballynoa, in the parish of Clonelty, late Owyn McEdmund Oge McShehi's and Owen McBryen's; the castle called Gorttuctubberde, late Thomas Cams', of the Clenlish; the castle and lands of Cranshaugh, late the Earl of Desmond's; the castle, town, and lands of Kilbolane, late

1587.

David Gybbyn's, otherwise Davidencorigg, lord of the Great Wood; in all 12,000 acres.

*Signed:* Valentine Browne, J. Popham, Henry Ughtrede, Henry Billingsley, William Trenchard, Tho. Hanam, John Strode.

(7.) Certificate, 6 (?) September 1587, of the lands in the county of Limerick and Coshmay allotted to George Thorton; *sc.*, Uregare, Ballenvolen, Carrowreogh, Ballenstonebeg, Ballenstoneymore, Ardekellymartye, Downemand, Ballecoory, making in all 572 acres, viz., 3 ploughlands, 12 acres Irish.

*Signed:* Ed. Phyton, Henry Slyngisbe, Thomas Fletewoode, Richard Phiton, Marmaduke Redmayn.

(8.) Certificate, 18 May 1587, of the lands in the country of Connollo allotted to Mr. John Strowde and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and lands called Cloughtredboye, late the White Knight's, and parcel of the croughe or toughe in the county of Limerick; the castle and lands of Kippaughe, late the Knight of the Valley's; the castle, town, and lands of Beawghe, otherwise Enbeoughe Yearosseye; the castle and lands of called Balleloghan, late the said Knight of the Valley's; 8,000 acres.

*Signed:* Valentine Browne, J. Popham, W. Courteney, Henry Ughtrede, Henry Billingsley, Tho. Hanam, William Trenchard, John Strode.

(9.) Certificate, 29 August 1587, of the lands in the county of Waterford allotted to Thomas Fleetewod, son and heir apparent to John Fletewod of Caldwell, co. Stafford, and his associates; *sc.*, Ballenhow, otherwise Ballenderawyne; Barne-ne-Fowle, otherwise Barnefallough; Glanshekyn; Kyl-eloughy, otherwise Kilelough; Ballegast, otherwise Ballene-glasse and Glanegurtine; Garrengold, otherwise Clarencowle, Shaghnacharat, and Kylcoran; Kylbeg; Bally McHonyek and Kylwatermoy; Kylneocarighy; Ballymeauchony, Ballenlowre, and Curryghnemought; Croshe and More Collop.

*Signed:* Ed. Phyton, Henry Slyngisbe, Richard Phyton, Marmaduke Redmayn, Edmund Mainwayring, A. Fyton.

(10.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands in the county of Cork allotted to Andrew Reade of Faecombe, Hants, and his associates; *sc.*, the manor and castle of Killeollman and the toghe or canthred there called Grossoghe, otherwise Rossaghe, and the warren of conies there, and all the lands, &c. to the premises belonging.

If there be above 6,000 acres, the overplus shall be reserved for others of the said society.

*Signed:* Chr. Hatton, Fra. Walsingham, Valentine Browne, E. Phyton, W. Ralegh, J. Couper, J. Popham.

(11.) Certificate, 10 February 1586, of the lands within the cantreds or baronies of Kerywhirry, Cullene, and Kinalee allotted to Mr. George Robinson and his associates; *sc.*, the manor and castle of Ballinvihigh with the castle of

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Linsinglery, and the lands and territories of Covleene; the lands of Glenne and Balyrobert otherwise Robertstown; the castle and lands of —; \* 6,000 acres.

*Signed:* Hugh Worthe, Edward Rogers, Hu. [or Henry?] Cuffe, Ro. Warre, Arthur Hyde, Pha. Becher, Michael Sydenham.

(12.) Certificate, 21 February, 1586, of the lands in the county of Tipperary allotted to Mr. Harry Slynsgsbye and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and lands of Ballyhendrohyde, lying upon the river of Shewer in the country called Muskery Whyreck, and the towns and lands of Kyllardrye and Cowlynoughe, all late the Earl of Desmond's; 8,000 acres.

*Signed:* Chr. Hatton, Valentine Browne, [John Popham?]

(13.) A Particular, 1st August 1587, of the lands in the county of Limerick, being parcel of the Knight of the Valley and Thomas his son's lands, attained, in Kenry, long waste and unpeopled, as are by us the Undertakers, whose names are subscribed, assigned and allotted for the parts and portions of George Beston and Lancelot Bostocke; *sc.*, the manor, castle, and lands called Castletown; the manor of Cloveagh, otherwise Beaugh Castle; the castle of Court Rothery, near by Kilmallock; the lands called Ballinaghtie, otherwise Ballahaugh; the lands called Garroghloyne, and all the land called the Great Wood; to make up two seignories of 12,000 acres apiece.

*Signed:* Ed. Phyton, William Herbert, Henry Slynsgisbe, Thomas Fletewoode, Richard Phiton, Alex. Fyton, Marmaduke Redmayn, Edmund Mainwayring.

(14.) Certificate, 18 May 1587, of the lands in the country of Connollo allotted to Mr. Henry Byllingsley, alderman of London, and his associates; *sc.*, the castle, town, and lands of Killmackow, late John Suppell's; the castle, town, and lands of Killfynne, late Gerald FitzThomas's; the town of Rathekealye upon the river of Dyle there; certain plowlands in Ballingare Lysvote, late parcel of the canthreds there, with the lands called the Knight's Street in Ballyngare; the old castles called Dromarde and Matryscourte, late the Earl of Desmond's; 12,000 acres.

*Signed:* Valentine Browne, W. Courteney, Henry Ugh-trede, J. Popham, William Trenchard, John Strode, Tho. Hanam.†

(15.) Certificate, 21 May 1587, of the lands within the county of Kerry allotted to Sir Francis Walsingham and Edward Denny and their associates; *sc.*, the two castles with the priory and town of Traylye, late the Earl of Desmond's,

\* Here the name of Carigenedye has been crossed out with a pen.

† Some of these signatures are almost hidden from view by the encroachment of the binding on the documents. It is possible, therefore, that other signatures are now entirely invisible, not only in this, but in other certificates.



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within the said county of Kerry; the castle ruinate called Tallauht, late the Earl's, near Knockennaught; an hospital, sometime parcel of St. John's, Jerusalem, with some small closes near Traylye; a parcel of land, late the Earl's, called Derrimoore, in the parish of Annaugh; the castle of Lestroane, late the Earl's; the town of Ardath, with the friary there; the castle and lands called Clonemoore, late John McAndrewes' (?), with a garden; the burgage house, with the lands there, called Crashamyragh, and Barford's lands there, late John McRedmond's; Turmy'n's burgage there, called Court-nesheye, late John McCollin's; a burgage there, called Marbelyerne (?), late John FitzWilliam FitzPatrick's; a burgage there, with a garden and four parcels of land in the fields of Ardath, late Morice McShane's; the castle and lands of Liskahane, near Ardath, late John Ogue Morrice's; a parcel of [land] called Killilltoun, and Bungunder, wherein is wood, late Morrice McOwin's; Ballicharta; the abbey of Odorne; the abbey of Ratooth; Barrowe, Killfener, Glan-nigett, Rainvoyeke, Ballamyn, Killinglraugh, the park and half the mill in Dingle; and certain broken islands, containing by estimation within 20 acres; 12,000 acres.

*Signed:* William Herbert, E. Denny, Hu. (?) Cuffe, J. Couper, Arthur Robyns, George Robynson, Henry Billingsley.

(16.) Certificate, 21 February 1586, of the lands in the county of the Desses in co. Waterford allotted to Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen's Household, and one of her Privy Council, and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and lands of Knockmoan, late Richard FitzJohn FitzMorrice's; the castle, township, and lands of Clonye, late John Oge McThomas's; the castle and lands called Kyll McThomas, late Richard McThomas's; the town and lands of Shradballye, otherwise Stradballye, late Richard FitzThomas's, of the Palace, in the Desses; the messuage and tenements of Tyneclay, otherwise the Woodhouse, late John FitzMorrice's there; the townships of Taylorstown, Larighe, and Kannett, late Morrice FitzJohn FitzThomas's; the castle, town, and lands of Ballynecourtye, otherwise Courtstown, late the Earl of Desmond's; the barony of Aughmeane, Cappaughlynrose, Kippaugh Coyne, with 14 or 15 other parcels and townships within the said country of the Desses, late the said Earl's; the barony called Coñyroughe, with 37 villages, with some small castles, late Brian McDonnoghó McTirrelaughe P'Breen's, lying in the parish of Killrossontye; amounting to two seignories.

*Signed:* Chr. Hatton, Valentine Broune, E. Phyton (1586), J. Popham.

(17.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands allotted to Hugh Worthe, of Somerton in co. Somerset, and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and lands of Inishonan; 12,000 acres.

*Signed:* Valentine Browne, J. Popham, E. Phyton (1587), Ro. Warre, Edward Rogers, Tho. Hanam.

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(18.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands in the county of Cork allotted to Philip Cuffe, of Woolstone, co. Derby, and his tenants; *sc.*, the castle, town, and lands of Athcrosse and Dyrrywyllane; 6,000 acres.

*Signed*: Valentine Browne, E. Phyton, J. Popham, Hu. (?) Cuffe, Arthur Hyde, George Robynson.

(19.) Certificate, 14 March 1587, of the lands within the counties of Waterford and Cork allotted to Sir Walter Rawley and his associates; *sc.*, the castle and lands of Inchaquyne; the South Friars, otherwise the Grey Friars, near the town of Yoghall; the castle and lands of Ballynetrae, with Kyllnatora; the castle and lands of Shroncallye; certain lands of David McShane Roche and others, lying along the river called Bryde from the lands of Shroncalley to the lands of Lesfynne, on the south and south-west of the river of Bryde; half a plowland lying on the north side of the river of Bryde, called Killnecarrigrie; the castle and lands of Lesfenyn, with the decayed town of Tollow; the castle and lands of Mogilla, and the Sheane, and the castle and lands of Kyllmackowe.

"Further it is agreed, if the lands above mentioned do not amount to the full quantity or portion of three seignories of 12,000 acres apiece, and one seignory of 6,000 acres, by estimation appointed for the said Sir Walter Rawlyghe, his associates and tenants, that then they shall have of those lands hereunder specified so much as shall make up the said full number of acres for the said seignories, that is to say, the castle and lands of Mockolopp and Temple Myghell, the lands of Patrick Coondon, next adjoining unto the Sheane, four messuages or tosts in the town of Yoghall, with the patronage or gift of the wardenship of our Lady's college of the same, Whight's Island, *alias* Ahavonnan, and other the lands thereunto next adjoining in Imokillye."

*Signed*: Christo. Hatton, Canc., Valentine Browne, Edward Fitton, John Popham, Richard (?) Phitton, Henry Slingsbye, Arthur Hyde, Thomas Hanam.\*

*Endorsed*: "Mem., that the Friar's house, *alias* the South Friars of Yoghall, and the four messuages or tosts, with their appurtenances aforesaid, are not to be accounted as parcel of any seignory. Nevertheless the same lying nigh to the seignories appointed for the said Sir Walter Rawleye are agreed by the Undertakers to be granted unto him, and are surveyed at the yearly value of 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

(20.) A Particular, 1 August 1587, of the lands in the county of Limerick, parcel of the Knight of the Valley and Thomas his son's lands, attainted, lying in Kenry, long waste and unpeopled, allotted to Gilbert Gerrard; *sc.*, the manor,

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\* This document is only a copy; which fact will account for the apparent difference in the signatures.

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castle, and lands called Cappagh, otherwise Capigh, containing seven plowlands ; a seignory of 12,000 acres.

*Signed* : Ed. Phyton, William Herbert, Henry Slyngisbe, Richard Phiton, Alex. Fyton, Thomas Fletewoode, Edmund Mainwayr[ing].

(21.) Certificate, 1 August 1587, that all the lands, &c. in the county of Waterford which are in any sort to the Queen escheated or from her wrongfully detained or concealed (except those already allotted to the Lord Chancellor of England or to Sir Walter Rawley by her Majesty's letters patents, or to Sir Edward Phyton), are by us the Undertakers assigned and granted to Sir Richard Molinex, Thomas Fletewoode, Roger Dalton, Marmaduke Redman, Christopher Carns, and John Culvert, and their assigns. Such of them as be here present in Ireland shall be put into possession of so much thereof as already hath been found for the Queen ; and of all other lands which shall fall out hereafter by office or other matter of record to appertain to her.

*Signed* : William Herbert, Ed. Phyton, Lanciot Bostock, Hen. Slyngisbe, Alex. Fyton.

(22.) Certificate (*without date*\*) of the lands in the counties of Kerry and Desmond allotted to Sir William Herberte and his associates ; *sc.*, the Castle of the Island with its lands, late the Earl of Desmond's ; the castle called Coggerykirrye, late said Earl's, with the castle of Bally McAdam, and their lands ; the township called the Desarte, late [Pron]vells ; the castle called Ardnegraughe, late Thomas FitzDavid Gerolde's ; the castle and lands of Lymarkeahill, late the said Earl's, with the castle of Kilcosteneye ; the townships of Ballymarryshall, Nohovall, and Gortnecly, late the said Earl's, with recompense to be made to Nicholas Browne, gent., for his charges bestowed upon the same ; the castle of Terbert ; the abbey of Leslachty ; the lands of St. Senant ; the castle and lands of Ballia McDaniell.

*Signed* : W. Ralegh, William Herbert, E. Phyton, Valentine Browne, J. Popham, John Chudleygh, Edward Umpton, Henry Billingsley, E. Denny, Arthur Hyde.

(23.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands in the county of Cork allotted to John Popham, of Wellington, Somerset, her Majesty's Attorney-General, and his tenants ; *sc.*, the castle, town, and lands of Mallo, and all the cantred of Moallo ; and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Ballinferrykerry, otherwise the Old Town ; Ballingerald, otherwise Geraldstown ; Ballihogh, otherwise Loaghneston ; the Old Town within the Earl's Wood ; Farrenkorohenesondry, otherwise the Shoemakers' town ; the Short Castle, otherwise Castle Agar ; Dornignere, otherwise "the Shepes Butter ;"

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\* The date appears to have been cut off.

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the land of Corrobagg and Cloghlacas with the fishing in the river called Awmore ; 12,000 acres.

*Signed* : Christopher Hatton, Valentine Browne, E. Phyton, John Couper, Ro. Warre, Edward Rogers, Hu. Cuffe, Arthur Hyde, Hugh Worthe.

(24.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands in the county of Cork allotted to Phane Becher, of Hartlewaspaile, Hants, Hugh Worthe, of Somerton, co. Somerset, and Michael Sydnam, of Chellworthe, Somerset, and their tenants ; *sc.*, the county of Kinnalineaky in Carbrye, amounting to two entire seignories of 12,000 acres apiece, and one seignory of 6,000 acres.

*Signed* : Chr. Hatton, Valentine Browne.

(25.) Certificate, 14 March 1586, of the lands in the county of Cork allotted to Arthur Hyede, of Hardwell, Berks, and his tenants ; *sc.*, the castles and demesne lands of Ahcrasse, Derriwellane, Cargrinea, Manninge, Carginnede, and Cargeverycke ; 12,000 acres.

*Signed* : William Herbert, E. Denny, William Trenchard, J. Couper, Henry Billingsley, Edward Rogers, Ro. Warre, Hu. Cuffe, George Robynson.

(26.) Certificate, 5 August 1587, of the lands in the counties of Kerry and Desmond allotted to Sir William Herbert and his associates, Walter Herbert and Miles Herbert ; *sc.*, the Castle of the Island with its lands, late the Earl of Desmond's ; the castle called Coggerykerry, late the said Earl's, with the castles of Bally McAddam ; the township called the Desarte, late Pronvells ; the castle called Ardnegraughe, late Thomas FitzDavid Gerold's, with the castle of Kilcosteney, and certain woods and lands of the aforesaid Thomas over against Monasfaly (?) ; the township[s] of Ballymarrysall, Nohovall, and Gortneely, late the said Earl's ; the castle and lands of Bally McRodderly and Bally McDaniell ; the manor and castle of Terbert, late the Earl's ; the townships and villages of Kilhawghtoune, lez Carrones, Glantalabowghe, Meolgham, and Glannelowghsowghe, late the said Earl's, adjoining upon the manor and parcel of the same ; the late friary or abbey of Lyslawghtye, with its lands ; the parcel of land called the Downearde, within the parish of Killawghton, near to Terbert, late the said Earl's ; the lands of Dyrremoyre, Garentouna, and Kilwyrrelye, late the said Earl's, with certain lands called the Termonde, otherwise sanctuary land, adjoining to the land called Kyluyrreley, sometime belonging to the Corbo of Eaneskye ; and all the lands of St. Senant ; also certain parcels of land in Corkowwhyny, called Ballymoore, Downkyne, Ballyneach, Smerwick, with half Ferryter's land and island, with their appurtenances, Kae-clemminge, Karnelfa, Stradbaley, Ballegalley, and Balleduffre, late the lands of Gerald FitzRichard ; amounting to 18,000 acres.

*Signed* : William Herbert, Ed. Phyton, E. Denny, Edward Rogers, [Hu. Cuffe ?] Ro. Warre.

1587.

(27.) Certificate, 31 May 1587, of the lands in the counties of Kerry and Desmond allotted to Charles Herbert, of Hadnock, in co. Monmouth, and his tenants, being one of the associates of Sir William Herbert, and who is to have 6,000 acres out of the 24,000 granted to Sir William and his associates; *sc.*, the castle of the Currins, with the demesnes, advowson, and fishing there; the castle of Lemarkhael, with the demesnes thereof, within the parish of Ballimakheligoed, and the advowson of the church there; one parcel of land called Balleneniotin in the said parish; all the Knight's lands of Maglas escheated to the Queen, saving two ploughlands in Ballemarshall; the four quarters of the Cross, late MakShane's lands; another parcel called Ferrennanwicke and the lands called Knoppock, late in controversy between the said MakShane and the Earl of Desmond; the town and lands of Ballinelemesig and Killvalelach, escheated to the Queen, and part of it late the lands of Shane Oge MakShane MakThomas.

*Signed*: William Herbert, William Trenchard, E. Denny, Edward Rogers, Ro. Warre, Ed. Phyton, Hu. Cuffe, Pha. Becher.\*

Sept. 13. **637.** SIR JOHN PERROT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 107.

I have received their Lordships' letters in your behalf of the 21st of July last, touching the arrears of 12*5*l. for the land held of her Majesty. I would have had the contents presently performed had I not been prevented, being now at Trydath, with all the chief gentlemen of the law. As soon as I return to Dublin I will accomplish your pleasure.

Trydath, 13 September 1587. *Signed*.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 618, p. 9.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Sept. 30. **638.** The ORDNANCE.

Vol. 605, p. 110.

Warrant by Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, to Robert Gardyner, Chief Justice of her Majesty's Bench, Geoffrey Fenton, principal Secretary of State, and Captain Francis Barkley, provost-marshal of Connaught, to survey and inventory her Majesty's ordnance in the storehouse in the castle of Dublin or elsewhere, lately in the charge of Jaques Wyngfeild, deceased, or Henry Fysher his clerk; summoning before them Henry Nolan, late servant to the said Fysher.

Dublin, the last of September 1587.

*Signed at the beginning.*

P. 1. *Endorsed.*

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\* All these certificates are on parchment, indented. Nos. 3, 4, and 19 are copies. Nos. 10, 17, 18, 23, and 24 are in the handwriting of Sir Valentine Browne.

1587.

Oct. 10. **639.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the QUEEN.

Vol. 618, p. 7a.

Although he can scarce'y presume to trouble her Majesty, as none of his services can justly challenge reward, yet since it has pleased her to bestow an office upon him, he should hold his poor reputation utterly dejected, and his fortune undone, unless he may enjoy that of which she thought him worthy. "I beseech your Highness to consider the equity of my cause; first, how that I was encouraged by the Lord Deputy to deal with my uncle; then my composition thoroughly concluded with him; lastly, the time of your Majesty's gift, which was long before his death was known in Ireland; moreover, my mean estate, not any way possessing one foot of land, together with the continual service of the poor family whereof I am descended, who have at no time spared to spend both lives and patrimony as a due debt in your Majesty's service." "Contrarywise he [Sir Thomas Perrot], fortunate, not tasked with my poverty, without regard of your word passed, which becomes us all most reverently to obey, pleadeth advantages. How plentifully after his father's death he shall taste of your gracious bounty, may be justly proved to the value of 1,200*l.* by the year."

I beg your Majesty to continue in your gracious intention, for the better support of his family, "who holds his life only dear in hope to lose it in doing your Majesty some acceptable service. This 10th of October 1587. Your Majesty's most humble servant, to die at your feet. G. C."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Oct. 25. **640.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the QUEEN.

Vol. 618, p. 7a.

Though I have no cause to mistrust your Majesty's favour, yet being so hardly mated with an adversary so mightily friended, I hope you will pardon my bold attempt. The supposed right, namely, your Majesty's former grant, on which he stands, is, I suppose, well known to be void in law. But I, neither respecting the equity of my cause, nor the inability of his patent, do rely myself upon your Majesty's grace, trusting more to your word than any other assurance. Notwithstanding, if it shall so seem good to your princely will, and some consideration be used that you may rest satisfied, I am content to submit myself to your pleasure, whose incomparable virtues, accompanied with nature's rarest perfections, have been evermore by all men most worthily esteemed the world's glory and our age's wonder.

*Dated by Carew's clerk, "To the Queen, 25 October 1587."*

*Copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 21. **641.** The ORDNANCE.

Vol. 605, p. 114.

Warrant from Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, to Sir George Bowrchier, Knight, Sir Henry Harington, Knight, Sir Thomas

1587.

Williams, Knight, Lancelot Alford, and Mighell Kettlewell, to survey the ordnance and munition belonging to her Majesty in the castle of Dublin, which have been very ill preserved, and a great part thereof wasted, decayed, and made unserviceable through the negligence of the officers there.

Dublin, 21 November 1587. *Signed.*

*Annotated by Carew.*

P. 1.

Nov. 30. **642.** GARRISON at ENNESCORTHIE.

Vol. 605, p. 115.

Warrant from Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, to Henry Parkiens, clerk of the Ordnance, and Robert Neweomen, deputy to the Victualler, authorizing them to prest a bark of Carlingford, now in the harbour of Dublin, to be sent to Ennescorthie with victuals and munition for furnishing the garrison there. Allowance to be made according to the usual rates.

Dublin, 30 November 1587. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Endorsed*: A commission to take up a bark to Wexford, which was done and agreed for 53s. 4d. ster.

Déc. **643.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 618, p. 13a.

I have diligently attended, ever since your repair into England, to speak to your Lordship. The continual favour which you have ever showed to my brother and me from the time when we were servants to you and your brother, emboldens me to ask the continuance of your kindness. A question has arisen between Sir Thomas Perrot, whom you have great reason to favour, and myself about my uncle Wingfield's office in Ireland, granted unto us both. Perrot's patent, granted by his father, is, in the opinion of the Queen's counsel, of no validity. Mine is derived from the Queen; and I have to ask that, with your good will and favour, I may enjoy the same. I acknowledge him to be a gentleman of great worth, and one that honours your Lordship greatly; but in this I will not yield to him or any one else.

*Dated*, December 1587.

*Copy.* P. 1.

**644.** DANIEL [KAVANAGH], BISHOP of LEIGHLIN, to SIR JOHN PERROT, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 614, p. 245.

According to your letters of the last of February, I have made diligent inquiry throughout my diocese of all churches and chapels ruined and waste, the names of which I have sent you, beseeching you to take redress therein.

*Undated.* *Signed.*

1587.

II. Names of Churches and Chapels either ruined or waste in the diocese of Leighlin.

This list contains above 100 names.

*Note.*—"As for free schools, there is not any in my diocese."

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed.*

Vol. 635, p. 87.

2. Copy of the preceding.

**645.** SIR JOHN PERROT.

Vol. 635, p. 88a.

"The names of the principal men in Connaught that combined together in this last rebellion in Sir John Perrot's government;" commencing with "Sir Morroghe ne Doe and his sons, with all the rest of the Flarties and Joyes."

*Copy.* P. 1.

**646.** ESCHEATED LANDS.

Vol. 611, p. 317.

"A Draft of Instructions for Sir Valentine Browne [concerning the escheated lands in Munster, anno 1587]."\*

Upon your arrival in Ireland, acquaint the Lord Deputy with your instructions, and with the memorials set down by the Attorney-General here.

Some controversies have arisen between the lords, freeholders, and others of Munster, and certain of the Undertakers, about the title of such lands as are escheated by the attainder of the late Earl of Desmond. For deciding these her Majesty has purposed to send commissioners into that realm about the end of this next summer, to hear and determine all pretended claims; and for their better instructions she has caused search to be made in the records here, as well in the Tower as elsewhere, upon certain points set down by the Attorney-General, tending to the strengthening of her title. Charge the Lord Deputy to give order to meet persons to make like search in the records at Dublin; and if any such be found, to take order that the said records may be conveyed into Munster for the use of the commissioners.

As the commissioners cannot take their journey until August next, her Majesty sends you thither beforehand to prepare some things that are needful for the expedition of the service. Require the Lord Deputy to grant out a commission to the President and Vice-President of Munster, the Treasurer of the Wars of that nation, yourself, Sir Edward Waterhouse, the Chief Justice of Munster, her Majesty's Solicitor, and James Golde, late Attorney in the said province, authorizing you to call before you such as pretend title to any of the attainted lands, and examine their claims. It is supposed that such proofs as the lords and freeholders will produce "will consist chiefly upon the deposition of witnesses."

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\* These words in brackets are in Carew's hand.



1587.

The Lord Deputy is to appoint some person to collect the rents due by certain freeholders to the late Earl of Desmond and others. Part of the said rents have been received by some of the Undertakers, who are to account for the same. Certain other rents answered to the said Earl upon certain lands called the chargeable lands, and now in arrear, are to be collected.

Determine the controversies between the Undertakers about the bounding of their seignories and other matters.

And whereas there are certain rebels' lands that are not yet found by office to be escheated, for that the said rebels were not attainted by Act of Parliament, you and the rest of the commissioners shall give order that such persons shall be called before you, and examined what pardons they have received from the late Governors in that realm. And in case you shall find that they are only pardoned for their lives, then shall you cause inquiry to be made by office what lands they were possessed of at the time they entered into rebellion, and shall cause the same to be surveyed and distributed among the Undertakers.

Whereas her Majesty, about a year past, gave order to the Lord Deputy and the Council to consider how the Seneschal [of Imokilly] and Patrick Condon may be agreed with, whereby there might not arise any disturbance from them to the Undertakers, her Majesty has never yet received any answer from the Deputy. Require Sir William FitzWilliams, now appointed Deputy, to consider with the Council what portion of land were convenient to be reserved for them, to the end the residue thereof, which now lieth waste, may be distributed among the Undertakers. "The parties themselves remaining now under guard in the Castle of Dublin may be dealt withal, and let understand [that notwithstanding] their great offence committed, her Majesty can be content, in hope that hereafter they will carry themselves dutifully towards her, to bestow some portion of the land that heretofore appertained unto them (whereof the whole was forfeited) upon them, towards their relief and maintenance."

As to the controversies between the ecclesiastical persons and farmers of tithes, which are like to increase to great value by the peopling of the country and manuring of the grounds that heretofore have been waste, you and the rest of the commissioners shall consider of some good course to be taken with the said spiritual persons and farmers, how there may be allotted out of the said increase of tithes some good portion of the same towards the maintenance of learned preachers and ministers. And whereas certain of the Irish countries within that province have heretofore been chargeable with certain galloglasses for her Majesty's service, or else in lieu thereof to pay the sum of 1,000*l.*, whereof she hath of late years received no benefit, you and the rest of the Commissioners shall make inquiry which of the said Irish countries were chargeable with the said galloglasses, and deal with the lords and freeholders

1587.

for the payment of the said composition money of 1,000*l.*, and of the arrearages. Take order that such as are appointed to survey the said attainted lands may proceed to the finishing thereof, and deliver you perfect books of the survey.

“Examine what numbers of persons the said Undertakers have brought over into that realm of English birth, how many of them are freeholders, how many copyholders, how many labourers and artificers, and whether the number of freeholders and copyholders be such as is required by her Majesty’s grant, according to the proportion of their seignories; and lastly, whether, contrary to a clause of her Majesty’s grants, they have not planted upon their lands some tenants of Irish birth, and how many of the said Irish birth there be by them planted.”

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

1588.

Jan. 4.

**647.** SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to SIR JOHN PERROT.

Vol. 618, p. 2a.

The Lords of the Council wrote this last summer to you and others for remitting certain arrears from lands held in Laghlin by Sir George Carew, in respect that his tenants and servants, by reason of the late rebellion, did not reap the profits of these lands, notwithstanding processes have issued out of the Exchequer to levy the same. You are to take such an order that they be not put into effect against Carew, Sir Edward Waterhouse, or any other his sureties, until you receive from England further instructions, favour having been shown to other persons, not of like desert and service.

Greenwich, 4 January 1587.

*Copy, in the hand of Carew. P. 1¼.*

Feb. 1.

**648.** The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and CHANCELLOR of IRELAND.

Vol. 605, p. 87.

Commanding them to cancel the appointment of the Mastership of the Ordnance, granted by him on the treason of Sir William Stanley to the Deputy’s son, Sir Thomas Perrot, and to commit the charge of that office to Sir George Carew, in as ample a manner as it was held by his predecessor.

Greenwich, 1 February 1587, 30 Eliz.

Memorandum, signed by James Ryan, that this document is enrolled on the Patent Rolls of Ireland. (*See Morrin’s Calendar, Vol. I., p. 155, No. 43.*)

*Copy, annotated by Sir George Carew. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 605, p. 111.

2. Another copy in a hand of the 17th century, with a note to this effect:—“This agreeth with the original, signed by the Queen’s Majesty.—Windebank.”

*P. 1.*

Vol. 605, p. 129.

3. A third copy, with this note:—“This is a true copy.—W. FytzWylliam.”

*Pp. 2.*

1588.  
Feb. 5. **649.** SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to SIR HENRY WALLOP.  
Vol. 618, p. 9a. Sir George Carew is occupied here in matters concerning the ordnance of Ireland, intending to repair there shortly. No fees are to be paid to any person except Sir George in respect of that office, since the death of Wingfield.  
Greenwich, 5 February 1588.  
*Headed at the top, "1587."*  
*Copy. P. 1.*
- Feb. 24. **650.** The EARL OF TYRONE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
Vol. 619, p. 10. "I have written unto your Lp. before your last return from Flanders, declaring unto you that O'Donill's son, called Hugh O'Donill, who hath married my daughter, is kept as prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and desired your Honour to be a mean not only for th' enlargement of him upon such security as my letters sent then unto the Council there did specify, but also that I might enjoy such governments and other maintenance as I had before my going thither." As I hear nothing of the success of my petitions, I again crave your especial favour. If anything be reported of me there otherwise than well, be a mean to suspend judgment of me until I come thither myself, or send my agent. Ever since I brought over your letters to the now Lord Deputy on my behalf, I have not been favoured, but rather crossly dealt withal.  
Dublin, 24 February 1587. *Signed.*  
"I beseech your Lp. lest that this letter might breed me any prejudice (if it were openly known), that your Honour break the same presently when you have read the same."  
*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*
- Feb. **651.** SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to SIR HENRY WALLOP.  
Vol. 618, p. 6. Sir George Carew informs me that the Deputy has caused the band of horsemen belonging to the office of the Ordnance to be mustered in the name of his son, Sir Thomas Perrot, as Master of the same, and has issued warrants for their pay. You are to pay no money to Sir Thomas, as her Majesty has granted the same, with all its appurtenances, from the death of Jaques Wingfield, to Sir George Carew.  
*Dated by Carew's clerk, "February 1587."*  
*Copy. P. 1.*
- March 31. **652.** WAGES of the ARMY.  
Vol. 625, p. 1. I. "The copy of her Majesty's letters concerning sterling pay for the army."  
Whereas by our late instructions to Sir Nicholas Malbye we willed that all the soldiers serving us in that our realm should be restored to their former ordinary pay, that is, the footmen to *Sd.* Irish and the horsemen to *9d.* Irish by the day; considering that the country has been so greatly wasted

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that the people cannot endure the burthen of any great cesse, and that the soldier cannot receive such relief as heretofore, we grant an increase of allowance to certain horsemen and footmen, that is to say, to the footman 2*d.* ster. a day, and to the horseman 5¼*d.* ster., more than [the] ordinary pay, amounting to 8*d.* ster. the footman, and 12*d.* ster. the horseman. This increase is to be allowed by way of a reward, and as parcel of the daily wages, "and to such only as serve in the bands of horsemen and footmen in that our realm," and to the wards in Munster.

Under the Signet, at Windsor Castle, 12 November, 24 Eliz., 1582.

"Memorandum, that all the several warrants of augmentation in this book hereafter mentioned are grounded upon her Majesty's said letters."

- II. "A Particular Book of the Wages grown due to the Lord Deputy, chief officers, and others of her Majesty's army" in Ireland, for one half year, beginning 1 October 1587, and ending 31 March 1588.

*Chief Officers.*—Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy General, with his bands of 50 horse and 50 foot, 2,003*l.* 19*s.* 10¾*d.* (his own fee being 871*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.*) The augmentation of their wages commenced on 15 May 1586, by Perrot's warrant (when the composition for cesse was taken from him), and continued until 30 June 1588, which day he gave up the sword. Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars (6*s.* 8*d.* a day), and his 20 horse and 20 foot, 488*l.* Sir Nicholas Bagnall, Marshal (6*s.* 8*d.* a day), and his 30 horse and their officers, 459*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* Sir Thomas Perrot, Master of the Ordnance (6*s.* 8*d.* a day), with 30 horse, 483*l.* 18*s.*, from the death of Jaques Wingfield, by warrant of Sir William FitzWilliam, now Lord Deputy, dated 8 July 1588, and "entered by my predecessor *ut supra*;" now Sir George Carewe. Sir Thomas Williams, muster-master and clerk of the Check (4*s.* a day), and 10 horse, 170*l.* 16*s.*—Total, 3,606*l.* 4*s.* 6¾*d.*

*Munster.*—Sir John Norris, Lord President, 88*l.* 17*s.* 9¼*d.* Thomas Norris, Vice-President (in the absence of his brother the Lord President), 30 horse and 20 foot (his own wages being 10*l.* a week), 938*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* [J]esse Smithe, Chief Justice there (at 100*l.* ster. *per annum*), 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (by warrant dated 3 April 1585, on the discharge of Nicholas Welshe). John Meaghe, Second Justice (at 100 marks ster. *per annum*), 44*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* Richard Beacon, Attorney there, 8*l.* 17*s.* 9¼*d.* (*vice* Robert Rosyer, by warrant 17 December 1586). Lodovicke Briskett, clerk of the Council (at 20*l.* ster. *per annum*), 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ("this is exercised by one Spenser, as deputy to the said Briskett," to whom it was granted by patent, 6 November, 25 Eliz., "grounded upon her Majesty's letter of Patentees"). George Thornton, provost-marshal there (2*s.* a day), and 25 horse, 329*l.* 8*s.*—Total, 1,489*l.* 17*s.* 0¼*d.*

1588.

*Connaught*.—George Bingham, chief commissioner there in the absence and to the use of his brother Sir Richard Bingham, for himself, the Council there, 25 horsemen, 100 footmen, and their officers, 1,644*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* (*vice* Anthony Brabazon). Thomas Dillon, Chief Justice there; Edward White, clerk of the Council; John Henrye, serjeant-at-arms; and Robert Fowle, provost-marshal (4*s.* 6*d.* a day, *vice* Francis Barekly).—Total, 2,098*l.*

*Leinster*.—Sir George Bouchier, Lieutenant of the King's County, 13*s.* 4*d.* a day. Warham Sentleger, Lieutenant of the Queen's County, 6*s.* 8*d.* Charles Calthroppe, Attorney-General, 78*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Rice Ap Hughe, provost-marshal, 2*s.* 8*d.* a day, and 4 horsemen.—Total, 404*l.*

*Ulster*.—Francis Stafford, governor there, 10*s.* a day; "discharged, and in his place is entered Captain Christopher Carrell."

*Ministers of the Ordnance* attending the Master of the Ordnance, 193*l.* 2*s.* 0<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*; placed in sundry forts and wards, 36*l.* 12*s.* Edward Bell, chief engineer, 16*d.* a day. Jasper Seath, clerk of the Ordnance at Waterford and Clomell, 18*d.* a day. John Fagan, clerk of the munition at Coreke, at like rate.—Total, 278*l.* 10*s.* 0<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*

*Bands of Horsemen*.—The Earl of Tyrone for 50 horsemen: himself as captain, 4*s.* a day; a petty captain, 2*s.*; a guyddon-bearer, trumpeter, and surgeon, 12*d.* each; 50 horsemen, 9*d.* each; total, 425*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* Sir Henry Harrington, a like company, 719*l.* 16*s.* Captain William Warren, 719*l.* 16*s.* The Baron of Dunsany, 20 horsemen, 137*l.* 5*s.* Sir Edmond Butler, 10 horsemen, 68*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Captain Thomas Ley, 25 horsemen, 374*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* Edward Harberte, 12 horsemen, 82*l.* 7*s.*—Total, 2,527*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

"*Certain companies of horsemen, to the number of 120, allowed to th' Undertakers in Munster.*"—Sir Valentine Browne, 8 horsemen at 16*d.* a day, 97*l.* 12*s.* "Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, for 20 horsemen at the like rate of 16*d.* *le piece per diem*, 244*l.*; by the said Sir John Perrott's warrant, dated 22 August 1587." Sir Edward Denny, 8 horsemen; Sir Edward Fitton, 25; Sir William Harbert, 9; Sir Edward Barkly, 10; John Popham, 10; Edward Rogers, 20; John Cooper, 10.—Total, 1,464*l.*

*Bands of Footmen*.—Sir Henry Wallop, 100 and their officers, 947*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* Sir Edward Denny, 100. Sir George Bouchier, 100. Sir Henry Bagnall, 100. Captain Thomas Norris, 100. Captain Warham Steleger, 100. Captain Thomas Henshee, 50.—Total, 6,165*l.* 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*

*Kearne*.—Henry Duke, General of her Majesty's kerne, himself at 2*s.* 8*d.*, and 30 kerne at 4*d.* *le piece per diem*, 115*l.* 18*s.* Mortogh O'Coge O'Connor, himself at 12*d.*, and 12 kerne, 45*l.* 15*s.* Redmond Keatinge, of Ballemolyn, 16*d.*, and 16 kerne, 61*l.* Total, 222*l.* 13*s.*

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*Warders in Leinster.*—Sir Edward Moore, constable of Phillipston, 12 foot; Thomas Ferman, porter [there]. George Harvye, constable of the fort of Maryborough, 16 (entered by warrant from Sir Henry Sydney, dated 7 July 1578); George Pleasington, porter. "Sir George Carew, Knight, constable of Laghlin Castle, himself at 4s., and 20 footmen *8d. le piece per diem*, 158*l.* 12s.; entered by warrant from the Lord Graye, dated 8<sup>o</sup> Septembris 1580, and hath a patent thereof dated 30<sup>o</sup> Maij anno 25<sup>o</sup> Elizabeth' Reginæ, granted to him upon her Majesty's letters concerning Patentees, dated 11<sup>o</sup> Martij, anno regni dictæ Dominæ Reginæ 24<sup>o</sup>. It is now in the keeping of Raphe Bagnoll, gent', assignee from the said Sir G. Carew." Robert Harepoole, constable of Carloghe, 10 foot. Thomas Masterson, constable of Fernes, 10. Stephen Seagar, constable of Dublin Castle, 10.—Total, 596*l.* 15s. 8*d.*

*Warders in Ulster.*—Charles Edgerton, constable of the castle of Knockfergus, 20 foot. Edward Keys, constable of the fort of Blackwater, 24. Christopher Carlell, seneschal of Clandeboye, 20.—Total, 589*l.* 13s. 4*d.*

*Warders in Munster.*—Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England, constable of Dungarvan Castle, 3 archers and 15 foot; "entered upon composition between his Lo. and Captain Hungerford, by warrant from Sir John Perrott, dated primo Octobris 1587." Thomas Springe, constable of Castlemaine, 4 horse, 13 foot. John Bleeke, constable of Limerick Castle, himself and a porter. Edward Barcklie, constable of Askeatinge, 14 foot.—Total, 607*l.* 19s. 4*d.*

*Warders in Connaught.*—Sir Henry Wallopp, constable of the castle of Athlone, 20 foot; succeeded by Sir Richard Bingham, 1 February 1587–8.—Total, 129*l.* 18s. 6½*d.*

*Sea Charges.*—Captain George Thornton, for *The Handmaid* (three shipkeepers at 6s. 8*d.* a month each, one shipwright at 11s. 8*d.* a month, 13*l.* 5s. 11½*d.*; their victualling, 24*l.* 8s.), "by establishment under the hand of Sir William Druerye."

*Pensioners.*—Sir William Collier, 13s. 4*d.* a day. Captain George Thornton, 8s. Francis Lovell, 6s. 8*d.* Hugh O'Donnell (deceased), 6s. 8*d.* Francis Barcklie, 6s. 8*d.* Henry Sheffilde, 5s. 4*d.* Gerrott FitzGarrett, 5s. 4*d.* Edmond Birne, 5s. 4*d.* John Barrington, 5s. 4*d.* Joshua Mynce, 5s. 4*d.* Bryan FitzWilliams, 5s. Giles Cornewall, 4s. Francis Stafford, 4s. John Cusacke, 4s. Hugh Bangor, 4s. Teig McGillpatrickke, 4s. Randoll Brewerton, 4s. Mathias O'Cane, 3s. 4*d.* Charles Mountegue, 3s. 4*d.* Shane O'Neale, 3s. 4*d.*; by her Majesty's letters of 26 May 1580, the said Shane O'Neale and three more, his brethren, had 2s. 6*d.* each a day. Con O'Neale, 3s. 4*d.* Neale O'Neale, 3s. 4*d.* Captain John Parker, first at 3s. 4*d.*, afterwards at 4s. Henry O'Doogan, 100 marks a year. William Piers, junior, 40*l.* a year. John Pryce, 2s. 8*d.* a day. Robert Nangle, 2s. 8*d.*; "discharged, and in his place entered Barnaby Ritche. John Benyon, 2s. 8*d.* Roger Godriche, 2s. 8*d.* James Foster, 2s. 4*d.* Mat-

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thew Benyon, 20*d.* George Harvye, 2*s.* Dermode O'Doolye, 2*s.* Sylvester Coolye, 2*s.* Edward Drinckell, 2*s.* William Sands, deputy clerk of the Cheque, 2*s.* Lewis Laurence, 16*d.* Thomas Denham, 16*d.* Walter Newton, 16*d.* Christopher Barnewell, 16*d.* Walter Laurence, 12*d.* Thomas Tayler, 12*d.* Nicholas Pearne, 12*d.* John Griffen, 8*d.* Teig Neccarigie, 8*d.* John Griffen, late one of the warders of Athlone, 8*d.* George Woolverston, 9*d.* Richard Ap Brother, at 100*s.* ster. a year, till 14 February, when he was entered as an almsman.—Total, 1,455*l.* 19*s.* 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.*

*Almsmen*, at 6*d.* a day.—Walter Pott, John Meaghe, Richard Everett, William Lyttle, Andrew Arnestronge, William Sewell, Hugh Williams, John Moore, Raphe Adale, Dennyce Keatinge, William Dynton, Connor Coffie, William Drenice, Richard Ap Brother.—Total, 59*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Grand total, 21,855*l.* 14*s.* 4<sup>2</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*d.* [Irish], = 16,391*l.* 15*s.* 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>*d.* sterling.

“Ex’ per William Sands, deputy for the Clerk of the Cheque.”

“Horsemen, 633 ; footmen, 924 ; warders, 225 ; kearne, 61 : shipwrights, 4 ; pensioners, 45 ; in all, 1,892.”

*Pp.* 32.

May 11. 653. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to SIR HENRY WALLOP.

Vol. 618, p. 7.

It is her Majesty's pleasure that the wages and entertainments set down in the last accounts as due to Sir Thomas Perrot for the office of the Ordnance shall be held over for the use of Sir George Carew, dating from the death of Jaques Wingfield. You are to assist Carew in this matter, that her Majesty may not be doubly charged, nor he wronged.

At the Court, 11 May 1588.

*Copy.* P. 1.

May 11. 654. The SAME to SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 618, p. 7.

You are to take order that the fees allowed by the late Deputy to Sir Thomas his son, and passed by him in the accounts lately made up, be forborne, by order of her Majesty, as due to Sir George Carew ; and if any imprests be delivered touching that office, order is to be taken that she be not double charged, nor Carew injured.

At the Court, 11 May 1588.

*Note in Carew's own hand:* “Delib’ per G. C.”

*Copy.* P. 1.

May 21. 655. SIR RICHARD BINGHAM to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Vol. 619, p. 5.

By your letters we gather such troubles as are imminent. I will attend on you, if my leave may come from thence. If these troubles do hold, I intend to send my wife and some small things that I have to Killingworth (Kenilworth?) Castle.

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The Commission sent down into Sligo for the inquiry of Sir Donnell O'Connor Sligo, after his death, proceeded in favour of Donnaghe McCale Oge against the title of her Majesty in those lands. The heir is base born and illegitimate, and the land, especially Sligo itself, by descent and lawful inheritance, is now thrown into the lap of her Majesty. As the haven and castle are of so great importance, lying in the only strait through which the Scots accustom to annoy the province, I hope your Lordship[s] there w'll not suffer it to be conveyed from her Highness. It may be some will inform thither, I mean such as have received reward that the taking of this from Donnoghe O'Connor may breed stirs among the Irishry. But the people of this province are dejected and made subject to the sword. Yet I wish the young man should have part or all of his uncle's lands, the castle and town of Sligo only excepted, and hold the same as a free gift in respect of his uncle's loyalty. Stand my good Lord, when mine adversaries here shall repair thither.

I enclose a note of certain lands escheated since my time, and how the same are bestowed by the Lord Deputy. No servitor of this province has been remembered with any part thereof.

Sir Thomas Lestraung has sent over to your Honours (the Council) to obtain order for the fees which I ought to have allowed here to me during my service in the Low Countries. For so long as he then supplied my room I am willing to deliver him a reasonable portion of my fee.

Athlone, 21 May 1588. *Signed.*

*P. S., in his own hand.*—I thank you for admonishing me to be a good husband. I should not be worthy to live if I should not be a good one to so good a wife. I have for your Lordship a fair brace of dogs. "We hear great bruits of the coming of Spaniards, by French shipping that is come to Galway, who reports that they are put off their own coasts onwards of their way." O'Donel's wife hath caused Hewe MacAcaulye to be murdered. All in reasonable good quiet.

*Pp. 2. Addressed.*

May 31. 656. The EARL OF TYRONE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.  
Vol. 619, p. 7

I have been urged many ways to complain of the miseries and wrongs I and my tenants have sustained by the several incursions and spoils committed by Sir Arthur O'Neile and Cormock O'Neile, furthered by the old man Teirlogh Leynogh, their father, and their adherents, wherewith I have not acquainted you. They maintain divers bad men to disquiet these northern parts, yet have they and other my adversaries by my silence taken occasion to bring my name, my duty, and loyalty in question, suggesting that the disquiet hath grown by my means. They are like to do so again upon a late acci-



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dent happened betwixt the said Tierlogh, Sir Arthur, and me. I beseech that some of the Council here may be appointed to examine the grounds of our controversies.

Dublin, the last of May 1588. *Signed:* Hughe Tirone.

P.S.—I send you the copy of my letter to her Majesty.

P. 1. *Sealed. Addressed.*

May 31. **657.** The EARL OF TYRONE to the QUEEN.

Vol. 619, p. 8.

Mine endeavours to serve your Highness faithfully shall continue, to the falsifying of the late reports bruited by mine adversaries at Court. Try out the ground of those reports by examination before some of the Council here, and in the meantime let the defences used of my part with necessary forces against my bordering neighbours and their adherents, who daily seek my life (as in a late accident betwixt Tirlaghe Lynnaghe, Sir Arthur, his son, and me, I found), be considered as necessarily used for my safeguard, and not to the end I may become great among the Irishry. I omit any larger discourse of my griefs in particular.

Dublin, the last of May 1588.

*Copy, enclosed in the preceding. P. 1.*

June 8. **658.** SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 123.

As I have understood by this Italian gentleman, Aureillio Sappa, of the desire you have that he should repair to you, for his good company and your better attainment of the Italian tongue, I could do no less than accompany him with this recommendation. I value him for his civility and honesty, and because he maketh profession of the religion.

From the Court at Greenwich, 8 June 1588. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 13. **659.** THOMAS EARL OF ORMOND to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 125.

I moved you, on St. Patrick's Day last, to confer the clerkship of the Ordnance at Waterford on Richard Grant, to which you agreed, and now pray you to fulfil your promise.

From the Court at Greenwich, 13 June 1588. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed: To Sir George Carew, in Ireland, &c. Endorsed.*

June 15. **660.** THOMAS EARL OF ORMOND to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 127.

In commendation of the bearer, Aurelio Sapa, going to Ireland.

From the Court at Greenwich, 15 June 1588. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

July 8. **661.** SIR GEORGE CAREW, MASTER of the ORDNANCE.

Vol. 605, p. 131.

Warrant by Sir William FitzWilliam, Lord Deputy, to the Clerk of the Check, commanding him to cancel the patents,

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together with the enrolments, for the Mastership of the Ordnance, granted to Sir Thomas Perrot, now bestowed on Sir George Carew, in as ample a manner and at the same wages as enjoyed by his predecessors. Dublin, 8 July 1588.

Examined by William Sandes, deputy to the Clerk of the Check.

Memorandum, that the other warrants remain in the hands of Sir Thomas Perrot. Fail not to cancel them.

*P. 1. Headed and endorsed by Carew.*

July 18. **662.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).  
Vol. 618, p. 12.

I have thought it my duty to advertise you of the condition in which I found the office of the Ordnance, although it be not as yet thoroughly surveyed. I propose to send you a book of serviceable and unserviceable munitions, hoping the abuses will be redressed by your means. The munitions in store are so cankered with rust and so rotten, as to be of little or no use. The smaller portion of it may be repaired. I wish it were returned by sea to the Tower [of London], for here it will never be issued, but consume to nothing. That which is serviceable will soon be in the same state as the rest, as there is no allowance made for keeping it. I think it very desirable, to save cost, that the garrison here should be compelled to furnish themselves out of the storehouse. This is now seldom done, because the rates are so high that, powder, lead, and match excepted, there is little issued, and the remainder is kept till it is worth nothing. The gunners and armourers are ignorant and inefficient. I beg to have a warrant to impress four gunners and two armourers to serve here in Ireland, displacing six inefficient men.

Dublin, 18 July 1588. "Per Woodward," in *Carew's own hand*.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July [18.] **663.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. SECRETARY [WALSINGHAM].  
Vol. 618, p. 14.

On the state of the ammunition in Ireland. *To the same effect as his letter to the Lord Treasurer. Then he continues:—* I received your letters by Aurelio Sappa, who has informed you that I was desirous of his company in Ireland. I never spake to him by my knowledge but once in my life, and then only as a stranger, and I do not remember that Ireland was ever mentioned. But he knows the interest you have in me, and if any reasonable entertainment can be had either in my house or abroad, he shall not want it.

This [18] July 1588.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July 18. **664.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR THOMAS HENEAGE

Vol. 618, p. 8.

Being in a place where I cannot express by service the unfeigned goodwill I bear to you, I pray you to accept from time

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to time a few lines, imparting unto you the state of this commonwealth, which I find reduced at present to a superficial kind of peace, and may so continue till foreign powers or the brood of rebels be grown in strength sufficient to infringe it. It is embraced by this people more from policy than allegiance. The principal and special point which ties men to do obedience, *sc.*, the knowledge of God, and the preaching of his Word, is by the pastors neglected, and by the people rejected. Concerning politic government, every governor for his time maketh fair weather, like a bad physician qualifying, not curing, the disease. If diligence were used to reform with sharpness and cherish with reward, this people would be brought to know God and obey her Majesty. No care has been used to foster arts, liberal or mechanical; and all kinds of traffic, as marts, fairs, and the like, which enrich a commonwealth by making men industrious, are little followed; errors which, whilst the memory of the late evils is fresh, might be easily redressed.

The Deputy, to whom the Queen has committed the sword, is wise, temperate, valiant, and of best experience in this country of any of his predecessors; and—that which is chiefly to be expected—he knoweth God rightly. Since his coming no man is in rebellion, or like to be, except Pheaghe McHughe.

Dublin, 18 July 1588.

*Addressed at the top, in Carew's hand:* To Sir Tho. Heneadge, 18 of July 1588, per Woodward.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 2. 665. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).

Vol. 618, p. 12a.

I send a book of the munitions in the castle of Dublin, according to my last; and as there is so small a portion in store, I hope it may be supplied. I will survey the munitions at Cork, Limerick, and elsewhere; very little of which is serviceable. I understand from the Lord Deputy that the augmentation of pay granted by the Queen to the garrison is to be taken away from the horse in the wages of the Treasurer, of myself, and of others. I beg that the bearer, my uncle Harvy, may show you Sir William Stanley's patent, and that the 30 horse in my charge may have the same wages as the rest of the garrison. A broken company they cannot be called: it is not the number, but the officers and guydon that make a band. Some of the men have served twenty or thirty years under my uncle. It is impossible, if the augmentation be taken away, for a soldier to maintain himself, two horses, and a boy, at 6½*d.* *per diem.*

Dublin, 2 August 1588.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 4. 666. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.

Vol. 618, p. 15.

Report on the state of the Ordnance in Ireland. "As concerning my particular, I most humbly pray your Honour to

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aid me with your best furtherance to restore a company of poor men to life again, who by instructions out of England are undone, if the augmentation of wages be taken from them." What the Treasurer and others can say for themselves, I am ignorant. I beg of you to ask the bearer to show you Stanley's patent, &c. (*To the same effect as the preceding.*)

Dublin, 4 August 1588.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 4. **667.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

Vol. 618, p. 16.

I am sure you are much occupied, as the time requires, but beg your acceptance of these lines. The approach of the Spanish fleet, which I beseech God to confound upon the English coast, doth work wonderful uncertain yet calm humours in the people of this country, who stand agaze until the game be played, not daring to discover their real intentions. They are so possessed of fear, that I have never seen a greater appearance of quiet. The reports that go here of your daily accidents in England are most strange, for no good news can be brought over but some detract from it; and the authors of such malice, who are Papists and in number infinite here, cannot be found. I thank you for the services you did me in my suit for the Ordinance; yet never in my life have I endured more grief than to be tied to this place at this time, when my duty commands me to offer my body to be sacrificed at her Majesty's feet.

Dublin, 4 August 1588.

*Copy. Pp. 2. The address is in Carew's hand.*

Aug. 21. **668.** GILBERT LORD TALBOT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 133.

Thomas Wynkefeld, the bearer, now going into Ireland, hopes for the continuance of your favour, which I do most earnestly second. I have written to the Lord Chancellor there in his behalf. Our realm has been exercised in martial affairs since you went over, both by sea and land. The Duke of Parma has made a solemn vow to observe his master the King of Spain's directions to invade this land, and give the Queen battle. Whenever he attempts it, I hope he will find himself far deceived in his reckoning, as the Spanish navy (notwithstanding their hugeness, above all our expectation) has already done, whereof you have heard before this. Most of the ships which are left are at the Murray Frith in Scotland. Their future destination I know not. We are preparing ourselves for the worst. This bearer can tell you of her Majesty's being in the camp in Essex.

Rufford in Nottinghamshire, 21 August 1588.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed.*

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Sept. 18. **669.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.  
Vol. 618, p. 17.

I have sent you a note of the munitions in Munster, by which you will see our needs. If it be the pleasure of the Lords of the Council to send munitions here this winter, my uncle George Harvey, who dwelleth at St. Giles'-in-the-Field, will be ready to attend that service to see it safely conducted. The arrival of the distressed Spanish fleet in this realm is not unknown to you, by information from the Lord Deputy. The miseries they sustain upon these coasts are to be pitied in any but in Spaniards, for there have been wrecked between Lough Foylle in Ulster, and the Dingle in Kerry, 16 sails, many of them great ships. Of those that came to the land by swimming, or were enforced thereto by famine, very near 3,000 were slain; so that it is supposed that there have perished of them in this land by sword and sea about 5,000 or 6,000. They are now departed for Spain, where, if they arrive not soon, they will die of famine. Her Majesty has great cause to praise God, that hath so miraculously delivered her most malicious enemies into her hands without loss of her subjects, and broken the bond between them and this people, so that their hope from Spain is now gone.

Before the defeat of the Spanish fleet, the English nations as well as the Irishry stood agaze how the game would be played. They did not certify their musters, as they were commanded by the Lord Deputy, until after the news had arrived, when they not only put to the sword them that arrived, but the gentlemen are now ready to attend. There is no rebellion in the whole realm, so much terror prevails.

Dublin, 18 September 1588.

*Headed by Carew, "Per Dellves."*

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 18. **670.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BURLEIGH).  
Vol. 618, p. 17a.

I send you a report of the munitions in Munster, that you may judge of our wants, and leave the proposal enclosed to your consideration.

*Substantially the same as the preceding.*

Dublin, 18 September 1588.

*Headed by Carew, "Per G. Dellves."*

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 19. **671.** SIR THOMAS HENEAGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 605, p. 135.

I have so little leisure, in consequence of the public service of the realm, and the examination of most foul disorders in the town, that I cannot largely answer your letters. I have received two letters from you out of Ireland, which I have shown the Queen, but she has had no time to peruse them. I shall do my best to hold you in her good opinion. Your

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uncle Harvye came to me touching the allowance of men in pay incident to your office. I have not seen him since. And to speak of anything which should burden the Queen's purse, now so much overcharged, would be unreasonable. I leave the report of all things here to Sir Walter Rauleygh.

At the Court, 19 September 1588.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Two seals.*

*At the foot of the direction: "Delivered to me by Sir Walter Rawlee."*

- Sept. 24. **672.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.  
Vol. 618, p. 16a.
- The bearer, Aurelio Sappa, desires to return into England. If the occasion of his departure hence was my fault, I should be very sorry, partly in respect of himself, whose conversation I like, and partly for your sake. I leave him to explain his own motives.
- 24 September 1588.  
*Carew has added, "Per Sappa."*  
*Copy. P. 1.*

- Sept. **673.** The SPANISH ARMADA.  
Vol. 611, p. 149.
- "Spanish Ships and Men sunk, drowned, and taken prisoners upon the coast of Ireland in September 1588."
- "At Loghfoile: ships, 1; men, 1,100. Sligo: ships, 3; men, 1,500. In Tirahie: ships, 1; men, 400. Cleere Island: ships, 1; men, 300. At Finglas in O'Mayle's country: ships, 1; men, 400. In O'Flartie's country: ships, 1; men, 200. In Iris: ships, 2; the men saved in other vessels. In Galway haven one ship escaped, and lost prisoners 70. In the river of Shenan, ships 1 burnt; the men saved in other ships." Total of ships, 17; men, 5,394.
- Signed: Geoffrey Fenton.*

II. "A Note of such Ships of the Spanish Fleet as perished in September 1588 upon the coast of Ireland, as are not in this former certificate."

One ship of 500 tons sunk in the Sound of Blaskie, near Dingle-Coushe; the men saved by Don Joan de Ricaldo, Admiral of the Biskayne fleet. A ship called the Barque of Hambroughe, of 600 tons, sunk by reason of a leak; 200 of her men saved by other ships. A Venetian ship, called La Valencera, wrecked in O'Doghertie's country. One ship wrecked in McSwynye ne Doe's country, near Loghsuyly; her men saved. A great ship wrecked in O'Boyle's country; the men saved. One ship wrecked near Dunluse, wherein about 300 men perished.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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Oct.

**674.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM).

Vol. 618, p. 18.

Being at Kilkenny on my journey, 27 September last, I understood that Mr. Vice-President was at Cork. I sent him a messenger with letters, advertising him of your Lordship's commission, requesting to know when he would appoint Sir George Boucher and me to meet him; I riding to Sir George at Loughgher, lest his departure out of the country might hinder our purpose. I have stayed my messenger's return since Saturday the 28th till now, and received answer from Mr. Norris, then at Youghall on his way to Dublin. Sir George Boucher has returned to Affaylie. Touching such wrecks as had been already recovered by the country, your Lordship will learn more by the Vice-President. In my journey which I intend towards the Dingle, I intend to arrange with Sir Ed. Denny and the rest to send you a certificate of particulars. If in searching for these wrecks I find it necessary to go forward, I beg you will request Mr. Vice-President to give me all the assistance in his power.

Dated at Killmadocke (*sic*).

Headed: "October 1588."

Copy. Pp. 2.

Nov. 2. **675.** THE SPANISH INVASION.

Vol. 635, p. 83.

"A Note of the Risings-out to general Hostings by the Lords and Gentlemen, &c. within the English Pale in Ireland;" showing the number of men furnished by each.

II. "A Note as well of Horsemen as Footmen, with the names of their leaders, which served in Ireland when the Earl of Sussex was Deputy there; besides such as were in garrisons." Total: horse, 670; foot, 1,250.

III. "A Note what every Barony of every county of the five English counties is charged to bear in garrons and drivers this hosting journey northwards against the Spaniards, beginning the 2nd of November 1588." Total: carts, 237½ (*sic*); garrons, 1,189½; drivers, 475.

Copies. Pp. 8.

**676.** SURRENDERS of LANDS.

Vol. 617, p. 15.

"A Brief Certificate of the Surrenders made by sundry persons in the time of Sir John Perrot's government, as the same were set down by James Ryane, with the Auditor's certificate of the rents now answered her Majesty for the same;" *sc.*, by Coconagh Magwyre, Oghny O'Hanlon, Con McNeile Oge, Rosse McMahowne, Sir John O'Dogherty, Sir Moroghe ne Doe O'Flaerty, Conyll O'Mulloy, William O'Ferrall, Gillernewe McFaghny, Faghny O'Ferrall, William Boureke of Loghmarke in Connaught, Hubbert Boureke

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*alias* McDavy of Connaught, Shane McCostiloe, Hugh O'Connour of Ballintobber in Roscoman, Brien Duffe O'Brien McDonogh of co. Limerick, Ever McRory of Kilwarlyn in Ulster, Hubbert Boy of Castleton in Galway, Walter Wale of the Droughtyn in Galway, Richard McMorice of the Baroes in Mayo, and Donnell O'Madden of Longford.

Many of the rents have never been paid, or are in arrear.

*The latest date mentioned is 30 Eliz.*

Examined by N. Kenney, deputy auditor.

*Copy. Pp. 7.*

**677.** The LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 635, p. 78.

“A Note of the Lerd Deputy's Entertainment;” *sc.*, 100*l* ster. a month; 1,000*l.* a year in lieu of cesse; &c.

*Copy. P. 1.*

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## A P P E N D I X.

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1575.

June 2.

Vol. 628, p. 267a.

1. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY (FITZ-WILLIAMS).

The Queen has made perfect the bargain with Henry Sackeford, Esquire, for the victualling of Ireland. A copy of the indenture is sent herewith. Impart the same to the Earl of Essex. He and you are to see the agreements performed. The victualler is to have of certainty the cesse of 1,513 (?) beeves or kine out of the Irish Pale for the victualling of the Earl of Essex, at 9s. the piece. For those numbers that shall be victualled of your L. charge, there must likewise be a cesse made of them from time to time, at reasonable rates, as heretofore. Cause yearly a cesse of the country within the English Pale for 1,000 quarters of wheat and 1,000 quarters of malt, to be delivered yearly betwixt Michaelmas and Easter to the victualler, he paying ready money for the same at the second price of the market.

All the houses of store for provisions to be made perfect and put in good order, and delivered to the victualler, who is to continue them in good order and reparation. Call upon the Auditor to finish the account with Thomas Sackeford, and send it over to me the Lord Treasurer (Burleigh). No corn to be transported out of that realm so long as the same exceedeth the price limited by statute. Certain orders have been delivered to the victualler to be observed.

2 June 1575.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 12.

Vol. 619, p. 60.

2. SIR NICHOLAS MALBIE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

“After my Lord of Essex and my Lord Deputy had knit in assured friendship, and both they had agreed upon the demands which were sent over by Captain Barkley, my L. of Essex offered to attend upon my L. Deputy in his journey to Knockfergus; but my L. Deputy, finding it more necessary (for some reasons which he alleged) to forbear the Earl’s company, was rather content to leave him for that time. Whereupon the Earl, seeking to repose himself until my L. Deputy’s return in some assured place of th’ English Pale where he might pass his time, could find none void of the great infection that is generally run over all the country, and so was driven to seek the west parts, taking Waterford for a refuge, where when he considered that he had nothing to do, and that his house

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of Lanfey, in Pembrokeshire, was at hand; besides, weighing that the vacant time gave him that good opportunity, and that the desire he had to come to her Majesty's presence could not be answered in better time of the year than at this present, did send unto my L. Deputy to have his allowance to the same (without which he minded not to have done it); who, considering very honourably all his just causes that led him unto it, did give his Lordship his consent; and thereupon [he] took shipping, and arrived here very much weather-beaten, where he is driven to stay to recover himself, and to attend his servants' arrival, who were by the same tempest dispersed from his company, of whom yet his Lordship hath heard nothing. I think he hath written unto her Majesty hereof, which I thought good to signify unto your Honour; and for that I was myself a cashed soldier among others, I found I could have no better time than now to make my repair unto my Sovereign, at whose hands, by your L. good help, I must be forced to seek relief."

Lanfey, 12 November 1575. *Signed and sealed.*  
*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

1576.

Nov.

Vol. 616, p. 112.

3. WILLIAM GERARD, CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

"Th' Estate of your Majesty's country within the Pale," by William Gerard.

Upon my first arrival, the travel which the Deputy took the year before, circuiting in manner the whole realm, had wrought universal quiet. But the rebellion of the Earl of Clanricarde's sons has greatly altered the disposition of many, and sundry spoils have been certified to me in the absence of your Deputy.

The countries within the Pale maintain three sorts of people.

The barons, knights, chief of names, and gentlemen are few in number.

The second sort, idle followers, are thieves, robbers, and murderers. These swarm in number, and depend upon some chief person as their master, but he giveth them neither food nor clothe. "They lie upon the simple ones in the country, and devour them; and where they cannot have entertainment or bonaghe and coyne (a forbidden exaction), there they spoil and waste. These are the instruments ever ready to revenge any quarrel offered to those whom they follow. Their common manner to revenge is to prey upon the poor tenants of the adversary, who truly live and give not the offence, burn their houses, strip them out of all their clothing, how mean soever it be, leaving those poor ones to famine or starving. These idle followers have in this sort wasted a great part of divers the counties within your Majesty's Pale. These be the persons who so terrify common passengers in many parts within the Pale, as without danger of life (except by good guard and conduct) they may not pass. These force the poor people to keep their cattle nightly in fastness.

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“The third sort, and the best, are the manurers of the soil (churls, as they be termed), poor wretched creatures in person, and as miserable by want of substance to yield them meat and clothe. These poor creatures cry out upon their misery and beggary, and say that these idle thieves, unmerciful landlords, and hard impositions work the same.

“If it might be brought to pass that the soil now lying waste within the Pale were well manured and peopled, as may be gathered it was in the time of your noble progenitor, King Edward III., and until the Butlers and Garrantines, partaking with the contentions between the Houses of Lancaster and York, first wasted the same, they would be able to defend themselves without great number of soldiers in garrison, and so save your Majesty’s treasure, which have been and is at this day spent in the maintenance of the garrison.”

The way to root up this evil of idle followers is duly to put in execution those good laws which were enacted by Parliament in the time of King Henry VI. Besides sitting terms at Dublin, there must be itinerant circuiting sessions throughout the Pale twice every year, to administer justice with severity. By that means your people in Wales were brought to civility.

That course maketh present show in Munster of good reform, which is to be wished in Ulster and Connaught. The justices to be of the English nation, for the learned of this land are not revered as magistrates. I desire presently one person to be a justice, another your attorney; how to have two such entertained without further charge I have in my notes to Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] declared.

The Courts of King’s Bench and Common Pleas “do not greatly benefit the subjects in th’ administration of justice, for in those courts the trial is by jury, who more regard whether any of the parties are of kin or allied to the justice or of the sept of the justice, or counsellor, than to the matter, and that way commonly passeth the verdict; of such force is flesh and blood amongst them. Your Majesty’s Court of Chancery, therefore, must take the hearing of the most of causes.”

“Your Majesty’s Exchequer hath many officers and good allowances, but the evil answering of your Majesty’s revenue in time hath turned your Highness to great loss, because great sums are grown desperate, which argueth defect in every or most of them. I have conceived a way, by alteration of three courts into one, how your Majesty may better be answered of your revenue, lessen the charge of divers great fees upon unnecessary officers bestowed, and have justice in far better sort delivered to the poor.”

II. “The subsequent Notes are not contained in the Articles to her Majesty, yet I thought good to impart them to your Honour.”

“The cause that moved me to speak of the cesse is the great exclaim of the country, and whereat some of the best

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calling take hold rather to impeach the Deputy than for any burthen they bear; for I know her Majesty hath discharged them and all their tenants with a freedom."

My Lord Deputy and Council called before them the best of the country, and showed them the necessity of this cesse, and the number of the soldiers. It was agreed by all that 2*d*. more must be allowed to every soldier, else could he not be victualled than by cesse. Not many years past, the price of victuals was so good cheap, that the churl coveted the soldier to be with him; but at this day victual is at that dearth, and the soldier hath so evil handled them, as they utterly refuse to diet them.

"This cesse is the more grievous in respect of certain freedoms granted by divers the L. Deputies, whereby the one-half of the ploughs upon whom entirely the cesse hath usually been laid are discharged. I have searched into the warrant authorizing those grants, and have made the judges to confess that the grants of those freedoms were void; whereupon proclamation is made to discharge all those, which will be some beneficial ease; but yet, if other help be not provided, the cesse, as it is, will be exclaim'd upon.

"The chief poison of this estate is suffering of idle followers, —they do all the mischief. It is come at this day to this point that the best of calling keep the most, yea, the very English seneschals who execute martial law, I find have numbers of them following them. They say for excuse, they are forced thereunto to defend the adversary; but, truly, some of them have used their followers to prey, and that I have found in hearing of some causes wherewith they have been charged. Some of these heads let not to say, 'I will not put away my thieves, for then such a one's thieves would rob me; let him put away his, and I will put away mine.'

"I trust, ere summer end, to stint amongst them this strife, minding to begin to hang the master first, and the thieves for company after."

"At home I lived a mean and poor contented life. There is not towards the law of my continuance of less revenue and more sickly in body; and having 22 years served, [I] might better have made suit to have stayed, but I knew me a subject, and therefore dutifully came hither. If suits to excuse may be heard and preferred, I look for no help, and then shall I never do her Majesty the service I covet. This I beseech you say to her Highness, which I forgot in my notes, such obedience I have found, as having in this time sent out two or three hundred process and private letters for appearance against such as have been complained upon, and amongst them some in the very Irish, yet had I not five contempts, but either by appearance answered or sufficiently excused; which obedience argueth great towardness to embrace justice."

*Pp.* 4. *Endorsed:* November 1576. Discourse of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Mr. Gerrard, touching the state of that country.

1577.

May 20.

Vol. 607, p. 48.  
Collins' Sydney  
Papers, I. 180.

## 4. SIR HENRY SYDNEY, LORD DEPUTY, to the QUEEN.

I beseech your Majesty to pardon that I have so seldom written. "So bad a delivery of my mind I have by pen, and so illegible it is," that I wrote to the Council. But now, hearing that I am complained of, in defence of myself I write thus rudely to you. The complaint is that they are charged with cesse, and annoyed with disorder of the soldiers. Explanation of what cesse is. According to the long-continued order, I for this year proceeded at the wonted time, and used like summons as in such cases had been done, and a great assembly was at the same. They affirmed that the charge of each plowland cometh above 10*l*.; yea, some said 12*l*.; and indeed, as the prices of all things presently are, I found them to be very near 8*l*.; for ease of which I dissolved all freedoms that had not had their continuance time out of memory of man; yet hereat did divers grievously repine. It was the base tenant that bare the burden, who for the most part lived most wretchedly under his covetous and greedy landlord having freedom. I offered to acquit them for five marks upon the plowland. As there are at least 700 plowlands, that rate would amount to 2,540*l*., besides your accustomed subsidy, which is 13*s*. 4*d*. of each. They alleged it was contrary to law to impose any charge upon them without Parliament or Grand Council. It was proved before them that in all ages charges have been imposed by the name of cesse and cessor, sometimes by other names, and not always by Parliament, but oftener by the Governor and Council, and such of the nobility as, being sent for, did come, which made the Grand Council they spake of. Finally they said they would seek remedy at your Majesty's hands. I would not write in their favour, but did not forbid them to go over.

The other complaint they make is, that I bear too much with the insolency of the soldiers. I punish severely when I find any matter proved against a soldier, which seldom or never I do. "But when the soldier is appointed, through the wilfulness of the people (thereunto animated by the landlord), to assist the sheriff or other officer to levy that which is appointed for the soldiers, it must be confessed that soldiers are no angels, nor yet amongst men the harmlest creatures."

I know they will inculke into your ears the grief of your subjects' poverty, but if I were their faithful advocate, knowing them as I do, I could not tell how to make demonstration thereof and speak truly. "Their land was never more universally tilled nor fuller of cattle than presently; their cities and towns more populous than ever in memory of man; their houses so far exceeding their ancestors', that they may be thought rather to be another and new people than descendants of the old. In bestowing of their children, a gentleman I have known of this age gave more than three

1577.

barons in times past. In plate and all other furniture of their houses, in apparel of themselves, wives, and children, there is as great odds between the present age's people and their predecessors, as in England is between a yeoman and a good squire; besides the number trebled of their sons, kinsfolk, and friends now by them kept in the universities, and at the study of the law of the realm, to that which their elders kept; and each one standeth them in treble the charge that one stood the others in before. And there be some principal gentlemen that have their sons in Lovain, Doole, Rome, and other places where your Majesty is rather hated than honoured in, and (it is to be supposed) not without their charges. And, as dear as all things are, they fare more delicately and chargeously than ever they did."

They are not able, they say, to give your Majesty either stuff or money for finding your soldiers, but to furnish that triumvirate now sent to suppress your Majesty's prerogative they can make above 1,000*l*. Seurlocke has purchased more and builded more than ever his father, grandfather, or all his surname ever did. Being Attorney to your sister and yourself, for his negligence and wilfulness in the time of my Lord of Sussex' government he was displaced. "Netervill is the younger son of a mean and second justice of one of the Benches, born to nothing, and yet only by your Majesty's bounty liveth in better countenance than ever his father did, or his elder brother doth," but is a seditious varlet. "Burnell his father is alive and an old man, but neither in youth nor age lived or was able to live in half that appearance that this man doth. He thirsteth earnestly to see the English government withdrawn from hence, but, for aught I know, he is the least unhoneest of the three."

"If their practice and standing in this matter had not been, all Munster (the liberties of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond only except) had consented to yield an annual rent out of their lands for their defence, as the Viscount Barry and McCarty Reoghe already have done, the first 150*l*., the other 250*l*. sterling by the year. These two make not the sixth part of Munster. So the two liberties of Tipp[er]arie and Kerry submitting to the same contribution, as I know no reason why they should not, Munster will be worth in new increased rent, besides the old, and the impost, 3,000*l*. yearly. And as Munster had done, there is no doubt all the rest of the remote or unreclaimed parts of the realm would have done. And as confidently as I can conceive of anything which sensibly by sight or feeling I have not, so probably am I persuaded that if Netervill had not been, I had before this time assured your Majesty of above 10,000 marks of increase of revenue yearly more than I found you possess of, for I held a straighter hand in the matter of cesse rather to bring them to a certain rent. Netervill giveth it forth that he was animated to do

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that he hath done by some of the greatest of this country birth."

You must without interval keep an army here. If you do not, it will be given from you and your Crown for ever. Ireland may and shall in short time yield revenue enough to wage a sufficient garrison. Divers things for your advantage must be done—in especial a mint.

"But in these mine offers making I am not a little terrified by a speech which your Highness' Chancellor [Gerrard] told me he heard your Majesty say, which was that I promised at the three years' end you should not need be at any more charges for Ireland than Ireland would yield."

While writing "I received advertisements from sundry places in confirmation of such as before I did as well out of England as out of France, and from thence not only from special spial there maintained to attend upon James FitzMoris, but from sundry honest merchants, your Majesty's faithful and loving subjects, and likewise by report of some very vehemently suspected to be sent into this land from him, whereof some are apprehended, and I have sent out search for others, that James is in readiness with force to invade this your realm. It is said he bringeth with him 4,000 shot and divers principal gentlemen of France. It is certain that he is returned from Rome, where he was princelike entertained; he returned not without a good mass of treasure. He liveth now in France chargeously. All my advertisements I have imparted to this bringer, Mr. Waterhowse."

"I have great cause to mistrust the fidelity of the greatest number of the people of this country birth of all degrees; they be Papists, as I may well term them, body and soul, for not only in matter of religion they be Romish, but for government they wish change, and to be under a prince of their own superstition. Since your Highness' reign the Papists never showed such boldness as now they do."

I desire 2,000 footmen furnished, whereof the most part shot, a large mass of powder, lead, match, and pieces, with pikes and short weapon, and 20,000*l*. If the invasion happen, consider whether it be not requisite to man forth some part of your navy. He cometh with 14 sails. There are many great charges for spial and messengers, fortification, and other extraordinaries. Pardon me that I remember you how, in your sister's time, Calais, the jewel and honour of England, was lost for lack of force in readiness.

I had once written these lines with mine own hand, but when I beheld them, they seemed to me so ill favoured, as I thought them not worthy to come into your sight, but made them be written out again.

Dated from the Queen's House at Kilmainham, 20 May 1579.\* *Signed*.

*Contemp. copy. Pp. 9. Addressed. Endorsed.*

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\* Evidently a mistake for 1577, to which date Carew has correctly assigned this letter.

1577.

June 1.

Vol. 613, p. 61.

## 5. SIR DONNOGH McCARTY.

Inquisition taken in the Guildhall of the city of Cork, 1 June, 19 Eliz., upon the death of Sir Donatus otherwise Donnogh McCarty, before Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, and one of the Privy Council of Ireland, and his associates, commissioners of the Queen through the said entire province, pursuant to letters patent, dated 9 April in the same year: whereby it was found that the said Sir Donatus, late of Kilbirtane, in the county of Cork, was seized in his demesne as of fee of certain carucates of land in Knocknegaple and Rathharowe; of others called Ballenureny, Currynivir, Langestowne, Kildare, Cloghane, Rathdroughtie, and Killinstie; and of others in Ballerviellan, Killinvarra, Knockbrowne, Barraliagh, Martlesknocke, Gortinenige, Garan Rieugh, Ardgehan, Ballenagornagh, Castle Iwir, and Curry I Crwolley; all in the said county of Cork. That all these lands were held of the Queen, but the jury were entirely ignorant by what services. That the said Donatus was seized of the premises on 24 January, 19 Eliz., and died so seized; and that all the premises are worth 5*l.* by the year. And that Florence otherwise Fynen McCarty is the son and heir of the said Donatus, and is under age; that is, of the age of 15 years.

In testimony whereof both the said commissioners and the jurors affixed their seals.

Ex' per Wm. Marwood, dept. R.

Copy. Latin. Pp. 2.

1578.

Aug. 1.

Vol. 613, p. 71.

## 6. SIR WILLIAM O'KARROLL.

Grant from Queen Elizabeth to Sir William O'Karroll upon his surrender of all his lands, castles, villages, &c. in the country called Ely O'Karroll and elsewhere, belonging to the said William, as by his charter enrolled in the Chancery of Ireland, dated 28 July, 20 Eliz., may more fully appear, in consideration of his services, and for the better government of the Queen's subjects residing in Ely O'Karroll, and in consideration of the service and rent to be paid by the said William, and by the assent of her faithful counsellor, Sir Henry Sydney, Deputy General, of all the said territories; to hold to himself, his heirs, and assigns, *in capite*, by the service of one knight's fee, when scutage runs in Ireland, and to pay annually 100*l.* of lawful money of Ireland. If the said rent should be in arrear for the space of four months, the Deputy may enter the said country and distrain. The said William and his heirs to be discharged from all exactions, impositions, cesses, bonaght, and other demands, and to answer to all hostings, roads, journeys, and risings-out with 12 horsemen and 20 footmen, whenever they shall be called upon.

Dublin, 1 August, 20 Eliz.

Signed: E. FitzSymon.

Ex' per Da. Ryan.

Copy. Latin. Pp. 3.



[1578.]

Vol. 613, p. 73.

## 7. SIR EDWARD COOKE.

Extracts from the 7th part of Sir Edward Cooke's reports in Calvin's case, showing that Ireland is a dominion separated from England.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

1579.

Sept. 26.

Vol. 614, p. 265.

## 8. SIR NICHOLAS MALBY'S PLAT.

"An opinion touching the government of Ireland, foreign invasion only excepted. 26 September 1579."

2,000 soldiers will keep the whole land in due obedience. At the end of one year every several province shall bear the charge of the governments. 800 of the said number to be placed in Ulster; that is to say, 300 footmen and 100 horsemen at the fort of the Black Water; and 300 footmen and 100 horsemen at Colrane, where a bridge is to be made to overawe certain countries (*named*). 300 footmen and 100 horsemen to be placed in Connaught to co-operate with those in Ulster. 300 footmen and 100 horsemen in Munster; upon any further need, to call for the 400 in Connaught.

180 are to answer all the wards now settled within the whole realm by the last establishment.

200 are to attend upon the Governor in the English Pale, whereof 100 horsemen and 100 footmen.

The odd 20 will serve for wards in fit places upon the Bane side, as the castle of Foane at the end of Lough Eaugh, and so upon three or four fords between that and Colrane.

The forces of Ulster and Connaught will keep O'Donnell in obedience.

"Your Honour shall by perusing the carte of Ireland out [see] the probabilities of this plat. If the Governor shall need any more force, which may be presumed he shall by Leix and Ofalley, he may send for some band out of Ulster or Connaught or Munster, for it cannot be thought but that some one of those provinces will hold firm to her Majesty, or at least be obedient *formidine pœnæ*. Take example by Connaught."

*Pp. 2. Endorsed: Sir Nicholas Malbye's plat for government. Also endorsed in Sir John Perrot's hand: Concerning the reformation of Ireland.*

Oct. 2.

Vol. 628, p. 394.

## 9. The CLERK of the CHECK'S BOOK.

"In this book is contained the numbers of her Majesty's garrisons in pay in the said realm, as well of the old garrisons set down in the establishments the 1st of June 1579, as also all such as have been entered by the late Justice [Drury] and Council, together with those sent by her Majesty out of England sithence the said 1st of June till the 2nd of this October 1579."

First, the old garrison, beginning with the Lord Justice and chief officers of the army. Himself at 100*l.* per month;

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25 horsemen at *9d.* a day the piece ; 25 footmen at *8d.* a day the piece ; and 20 other horsemen at his Lordship's appointment ; total, 71. The Lord Justice (Drury) died 3 October 1579. Mr. Treasurer (Wallop) : himself at *6s. 8d.* a day—1 ; horsemen at *9d.* a day, 20 ; footmen at *8d.* a day, 20 ;—41. Mr. Marshal (Bagnall) : himself at *6s. 8d.* ; a trumpeter at *12d.* ; 30 horsemen. The Master of the Ordnance (Wingfield) : himself, *6s. 8d.* ; a petty captain, *2s.* ; a guidon-bearer, *12d.* ; 30 horsemen. The Clerk of the Check, *4s.* ; 10 horsemen.—Total, 188.

*Horsemen.*—The Earl of Ormond : himself at *4s.* a day ; a petty captain, *2s.* ; 2 officers, *12d.* a piece ; 50 horsemen at *9d.* The Earl of Kildare, Sir Henry Hairington, and Captain Francis Stafford, the like number and pay.—Total, 216.

*Footmen.*—Sir Henry Bagnall : himself, *4s.* ; a petty captain ; 5 officers ; 100 footmen. Captain Firres, the like ; Captain Mackworth, the like ; Captain Fisher, the like.—Total, 427.

*The garrisons in Munster.*—Nicholas Walshe, Chief Justice there, *100l. per annum* ; John Meagh, Second Justice, 100 marks ; Thomas Burgatt, clerk of the Council, *20l.* ; Warham St. Leger, Provost-Marshal, *2s. 8d.* a day, with 25 horsemen at *9d.* ; James Gold, Attorney, *13l. 6s. 8d. per annum* ; Don-garvan, the constable, at *4s.* a day, 6 horsemen, 3 footmen, and 3 archers (*6d.* a day) ; Andrew Marten, for Castle Magne, himself, *2s.*, with 6 footmen.—Total, 50.

*The garrison in Connaught*, which is to be paid and borne of the revenue of that province.—Sir Nicholas Mallie, Governor of Connaught, for his fee, *20s.* a day, and for the diets of him and the Council there, *10s. ster.* a day ; also for extraordinaries to be distributed at his discretion, *100l. per annum* ; a petty captain, *2s.* ; a guidon-bearer, *16d.* ; a trumpeter, *12d.* ; 60 horsemen ; Thomas Dillon, Justice there, *100l. per annum* ; Robert Danport, Provost-Marshal, *40l.* a year ; Edward White, clerk of the Council, *20l.* ; John Henry, serjeant-at-arms, *20l.* The ward at Athlone :—the constable at *24l. 6s. 8d. per annum* ; 20 warders at *8d.* a day a piece. The ward at Roskoman, the like. The ward at Balistowe :—the constable at *2s.* a day ; 3 soldiers at *8d.* The ward at Ballilough Reye :—the constable, *2s.* ; a porter, *12d.* ; 20 soldiers.—Total, 136.

*Wards.*—Phillipstown :—Sir Edward Moore, constable, *2s.* a day ; 12 soldiers, *8d.* ; David Floode, porter, *12d.* Maryborough :—George Harvie, *2s.* ; 8 soldiers ; James Foster, porter, *12d.* Sir Peter Carewe for Loughlin :—himself, *2s.* ; 5 horsemen, *9d.* ; 10 footmen, *8d.* Robert Harpoll for Catherloghe :—9 footmen. John Cornewall for the fort at Black Water :—himself, *2s. 8d.* ; a porter ; and 14 footmen. Charles Egerton, constable of Knockfergus Castle and the Abbey there :—himself, *3s. 4d.* ; 20 footmen for the castle ; and 6 footmen for the abbey there.—Total, 92.

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*Kerne*.—Francis Cosbie, General over her Majesty's kerne :—himself, 4s. 8d. ; and 32 kerne at 4d. a day. Richard Souch, 6s. 8d. ; Brian FitzWilliams and Anthony Lowe, 5s. ; Giles Cornewall, George Thorneton, Anthony Dering, and Thomas Sackford, 4s. ; Captain William Portas, 3s. ; Henry Sheffield, 3s. 4d. ; George Hunt, 2s. 8d. ; George Harvie, Edmund Birne, Peter Carewe, John Gishin, Matthias O'Kayn, and Dermot O'Dowley, 2s. ; Richard Woodde, 18d. ; William Chadderton, 16d. ; Nicholas Perne and Nicholas While, 12d. ; William Burne, 9d. Captain Collier : himself, 10s. ster. (13s. 4d. Irish) ; 6 horsemen at 9d. William Jenkins, 2s. 8d., saving 8d. ster. thereof to George Eden. William Mott and Rise Johns, 12d.

*Ministers of the Ordnance*.—Clerk : himself, 12d. ; his man, 8d. Gunners, during pleasure—7 at 12d. a day, 4 at 8d., and 1 at 6d. ; during life—the master-gunner, 12d. ; his man, 8d. Artificers, during pleasure—a bowyer, 16d. ; 4 artificers at 12d. and 9d. a day, 3 at 8d., and 1 at 6d. ; the porter of Dublin Castle, 12d. ; during life—a smith, 12d. ster. ; his man, 8d.—Total, 28. 13 impotent soldiers, 6d. a piece.

*Pp.* 6. *Endorsed* : The Clerk of the Check his book.

1580.

Feb. 17.

Vol. 613, p. 69.

10. SIR WILLIAM O'CARROLL, of Leynivana in Elye.

Feoffment made by him to John Aley, of Clonaghe, co. Kildare, and to Arthur Aley, of the same, of all his lands and possessions in Ireland, and to their heirs for ever, 17 February 1579, 22 Eliz.

The meaning of this feoffment is, that the feoffees shall be seized of the said lands to the use of Sir William, and after his decease to the use of his eldest son, John O'Carroll, during his life ; further, to the use of Caloughe O'Carroll, son of the said Sir William by Morny Dulcante, and his heirs males, &c.

*Copy. Latin and English. Pp.* 2.

Sept. 22.

Vol. 616, p. 106.

11. WILLIAM GERRARDE, CHANCELLOR of IRELAND, and ADAM [LOFTUS], ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

This day the Earl of Kildare sent Lalor to us. We have dealt with him at large, as may appear by his examinations herewith sent. "We can gather nothing by him which may induce us to think that the common bruit was true that the Lord Garret was combined in these actions. Nevertheless, we find a foul practice of Stanyhurst to convey into Spain the Lord Garratt ; and how far this offence may stretch to practice the making of a viceroy in Ireland we know not, but have committed Lalor to the castle of Dublin, there to remain until we shall hear from your Honour what shall fall out by Stanyhurst's examination upon these matters. We marvel this hath been kept so long secret from the estate. This we assure your Honour, Stanyhurst, as he is a great enemy

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to religion, so will he be found an ill member in a common-weal. He can never well answer the supportation he hath, to bear out his expenses."

Dublin, 22 September 1580. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed.*

Sept. 22.  
Vol. 616, p. 103.

**12.** ROBERT LALOR'S DEPOSITION.

"The examination of Robert Lallor, taken before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Gerrard) 22 September 1580, 22 Eliz.

"Being examined when he last saw Captain Garratt, who with his company ran to the rebels, saith that he is not of any familiar acquaintance with the said Captain Garratt, yet, for declaration of the truth, saith that upon the Thursday when the Lord Chancellor took the muster at the Naasse, the very day, as he hath sithen heard, that Captain Garratt revolted to the rebels, he and the said captain were in company once or twice. At one time they and one Williams went to breakfast into the town, and there with other company talked and made merry; and the most of the talk which the captain used was finding fault with the Earl of Kildare, his master, who he said was fallen out with him, and said that if he fall out thus with his servants and give them not their pay, they will serve him but ill. He denieth that he spake with the Viscount Baltinglas any time these two years, or that he carried any message from him, or sent to him, or was privy or consenting to his breaking out, or knew thereof.

"Examined when he last was in England, the cause of his travel thither, the time of his abode there, the business he had there, and the time of his return. Saith that the Lo. Garratt was his master, and that he was seneschal under him, and that abouts the beginning of June he went into England to his master with a 100*l.* of his rents, and carried with him letters from the Earl and the Countess. The money he delivered to one Maloone, of Dublin, to be paid in England, and had his bill to one in Manchester, whither he first went after his coming into England, and there was stayed by him who should have paid his money until he had gotten bills, wherewith he directed him to receive his payment of one Robert Cutt in London. This protract of payment caused his so long stay at Manchester, as when he came to St. Alban's he found the Lo. Garratt, his master, the same day carried to burial. Then he saith he went to London, and lay there in Holborn at the sign of The Crown, and tarried there abouts three weeks, until he had gotten the money, which money he delivered to William Garratt and John Talbott, to be disposed to the Lo. Garratt's use; and then he returned into Ireland, and came with the same passage that the Lord Deputy came over.

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“Examined whether he have at any time heretofore been beyond the seas; if he have, willed to declare upon what occasion, when travelled he, how long made he his abode, and in what places was he, and when and upon what occasion returned. Saith that abouts six years past his father died and left him some money, and he was desirous to see other countries and there to spend a time, and so departed into England, and from thence went beyond the seas to Antwerp, where and at Lovan and Doway he remained three quarters of a year; and hearing that the Earl of Kildare was sent for and in some trouble, he returned into England and waited upon the Countess.

“Examined whether he and others were not confederate to have taken away the Lo. Garratt into Spain, and if they were, willed to declare the time, the cause, who were they that were so confederate, and how it stayed. Saith that about eight or nine years past the same Richard Stanyhurst, whose father was Recorder of Dublin, having been at study in Oxford and beyond the seas, was put to be schoolmaster to the Lo. Garratt, and within a small time after he had the charge to teach him, he practised with one Flemynge to have the said Lo. Garratt conveyed into Spain; and minding to have some more privy, as Flemynge after told this examine, Flemynge named to Stanyhurst this examine, and Stanyhurst utterly dissented, and said that this examine would tell the Earl. Flemynge said he would undertake he should not, for they would have him sworn. And so he saith at a time Stanyhurst and Flemynge came to this examine, and told him that they had a matter to break with him, but he must be sworn to keep their counsel, and this examine assented to keep counsel, but took no oath. And then they brake with him that it was to carry over into Spain the Lo. Garratt. This examine asked them to what end; they said to have him to be married to the King of Spain his base daughter, where great sums of money should be given for him, and he should be made Vice Roy of Ireland. This examine said, ‘How dare we for my Lo.?’ ‘Well enough,’ said they. And saith that this examine made one Parson Conton privy to the practice, and saith that this marvellously troubled this examine in mind, that he should be so untrue to the Earl, and within a month after this conspiracy was uttered unto him, he perceived that Conton had told Hussey of it according to this examine’s desire, and that Hussey had told the Earl; and then the Earl sent for this examine, and when he came the Earl asked him of the matter; to whom he uttered the whole truth. The Earl was greatly offended with them, and called Stanyhurst and this examine and the rest before him, and reasoned the matter and the manner of their meanings. And when Stanyhurst found that this examine had disclosed the matter, he railed upon him before the Earl and

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quarrelled with him, and sithen they have not been any great friends.

“Examined how often he was with Richard Stanyhurst at his being in England. Saith at his first lighting he went thither and found the same Stanyhurst, Talbott, and others at dinner, and dined with them. He was with him also another time at dinner. He went twice to his house for a trunk of the Lo. Garratt's, and other two times he went to him for a pistol, and denieth utterly that Stanyhurst did at any time tell this examine that Stanyhurst had been beyond the seas, or talked with him of any matter touching the Lo. Garratt's going down.

“Examined how they minded to have conveyed the Lo. Garratt away and from what port. Saith that Stanyhurst undertook to provide shipping in the city of Dublin, and for that intent Stanyhurst at the same time went to Dublin to provide shipping, and in the mean time of his return back the matter was disclosed. He saith none were privy, nor should have gone with the Lo. Garratt into Spain, saving Stanyhurst, Flemyng, Conton, this examine, and one Danyell, Stanyhurst his servant. He denieth that ever he heard that the Lo. Garratt should be confederate with these rebels; and nevertheless he saith that a year and a half past, this examine, being in London and falling in talk with Danyell, Stanyhurst's man, about the Lo. Garratt's going into Ireland, said he wished not his going, ‘for,’ said he, ‘his youth and disorder is such as he will fall to be of consort with the rebels and those that be naught[y].’

“Examined what money he had in his purse when he went beyond the seas. Saith abouts 10*l.* or 12*l.*

“Examined what money he spent in the three quarters of a year he remained there. Saith abouts 8*l.*, for he brought with him into England 3*l.* or 4*l.* He saith that before this last time of his going into England he never brought any money to the Lo. Garratt, nor was willed, and the cause why he now went with the money was the Lo. Garratt's request by letters to Wesley, who was receiver of his rents here.

“Examined whether he had any letters or message to hasten the Lo. Garratt's repair over. Saith he had not.

“Examined whether he was not promised by Stanyhurst, upon their consultation to bring the Lo. Garratt into Spain, that every of them should have some preferment, and what was the preferment. Saith that Stanyhurst said he would have the chiefest office in Ireland, and every of them such an office as they should live well by, and assured them they should be well dealt with.

“Examined whether that Stanyhurst made this examine privy of the vessel that should carry them over, and the owner, and of the merchant that he did put in trust. Saith

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that he told him that he was assured of shipping, but told not him of any merchant or owner."

*Signed*: Robert Lalor.

*Countersigned*: W. Gerrarde, Canc., Ad. Dublin.

*Endorsed*: 22nd September 1580.

*Pp.* 5.

1586.

**13.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to JOHN STANHOPE.

Vol. 618, p. 26a.

"Good Cousin,—Assist me with your best friendship, to the finishing of my first and last suit that I intend to trouble her Majesty withal. Her Highness hath many times been sufficiently informed of the equity of my cause, but I only depend upon her most gracious favour, not challenging her princely word farther than it shall please her to give me leave, wholly subjecting myself unto her will; yet lest by persuasions she may be abused, that, in confirming her grant unto me, she should infringe her laws, and wrong Sir Tho. Perrot, I beseech you from me to let her Majesty understand, for that Sir William Stanley is not convinced of treason, that his patent is of no validity, and in law merely void." Hereof I have informed my Lord of Essex, who promised to dissuade his brother. Get me the favour that I may deliver this much by speech [with the Queen].

*Headed*: To my cousin John Stanhope, 1586.

*Copy.* P. 1.

1588.

June 10.

**14.** WARRANT by LORD DEPUTY PERROT [to the LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND?].

Vol. 618, p. 80a.

Whereas we, the Lord Deputy, have received letters from the Privy Council in England, stating that Sir George Carewe, being in arrear for rent due out of lands in Laghlin to her Highness, for which himself with Sir Edward Waterhouse stand bound in recognizances, hath been a long suitor there for remission of the said arrearages by reason the said lands were wasted by the late rebellion; wherein we and the Treasurer here were required, finding the allegation true, to pardon them and to cancel the said recognizances: we have commissioned George Harvie, Esq., constable of the fort of Mariboroughe, Robert Harpole, Esq., sheriff of co. Catherlagh, and Henry Sheffelde, Gent., to examine the matter; whereupon Harvie and Harpole have returned to us their proceedings in the words following, viz. :—

"By virtue of a commission from your Honour directed to us, to enquire what profit and commodity was received by Sir Peter Carew the younger, knight, deceased, and Sir George Carew his brother, late farmers and occupiers, during the time of rebellion, of these parcels of land following, viz., the Black Castle, Friars Carmelites, Laghline Bridge, and certain lands in Balliknockan, in the county of Catherlagh;" we have called

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before us divers persons of the said county and made diligent enquiry, and find that the said lands were so wasted by the rebels, that the said farmers received little or no commodity at all, until 1583, sithence which time the premises have been inhabited and manured. Dated the 1st of June 1588.

We, the Lord Deputy, do hereby order that Sir George Carewe shall be discharged of the sum of 77*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Irish in arrear. These shall be therefore to require you to enrol these presents, and to cancel the said recognizances.

10 June 1588.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

- July 11. **15.** WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY, SIR WILLIAM FITZ-  
Vol. 618, p. 82a. WILLIAM, to SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS, Clerk of the  
Cheque.

Whereas the five persons undernamed, horsemen under Sir George Carewe, are by him left in England to oversee the transportation of certain munition appointed to be sent over hither: we require you to allow of them from the death of Mr. Jaques Wingfeeld.

Castle of Dublin, 11 July 1588.

James Woodward, John Hollawaye, Edmond Reylie, George Coxe, William Allcockes.

*Copy. P. 1.*

- July 29. **16.** WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREWE,  
Vol. 618, p. 84a. Master of the Ordnance.

To deliver to Captain Henry Ovington a cwt. of corn powder, with match and lead accordingly.

29 July 1588.

*Copy. P. 1.*

- Aug. 26. **17.** WARRANT by the LORD DEPUTY to ——.  
Vol. 618, p. 85a.

To make an inventory of the munition and artillery remaining in store in Corcke, Lymerick, and elsewhere in Munster, whether serviceable or unserviceable, upon the entrance of Sir George Carewe into the office of the Ordnance.

26 August 1588.

*Copy. P. 1.*

- Sept. 22. **18.** COMMISSION from LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to SIR  
Vol. 618, p. 83. THOMAS NORRIS, SIR GEORGE BOUCHER, and SIR  
GEORGE CAREW.

“Whereas the distressed fleet of the Spaniards, by tempest and contrary winds, through the providence of God, have been driven upon this coast, and many of them wrecked in several places in the province of Munster, where is to be thought hath not only been much treasure cast away, now subject to the spoil of the country people, but also great store of ordnance, munitions, armours, and other goods of several kinds, which



1588.

ought to be preserved for and to the use of her Majesty ; and to the end there may be due inquiry had as well of the premisses as also of the shipping which are or by any means may be recovered :” we authorize you to make inquiry by all good means, both by oaths and otherwise ; to take all hulls of ships, stores, treasure, &c. into your hands ; and to apprehend and execute all Spaniards found there, of what quality soever. Torture may be used in prosecuting this inquiry.

Castle of Dublin, 22 September 1588.

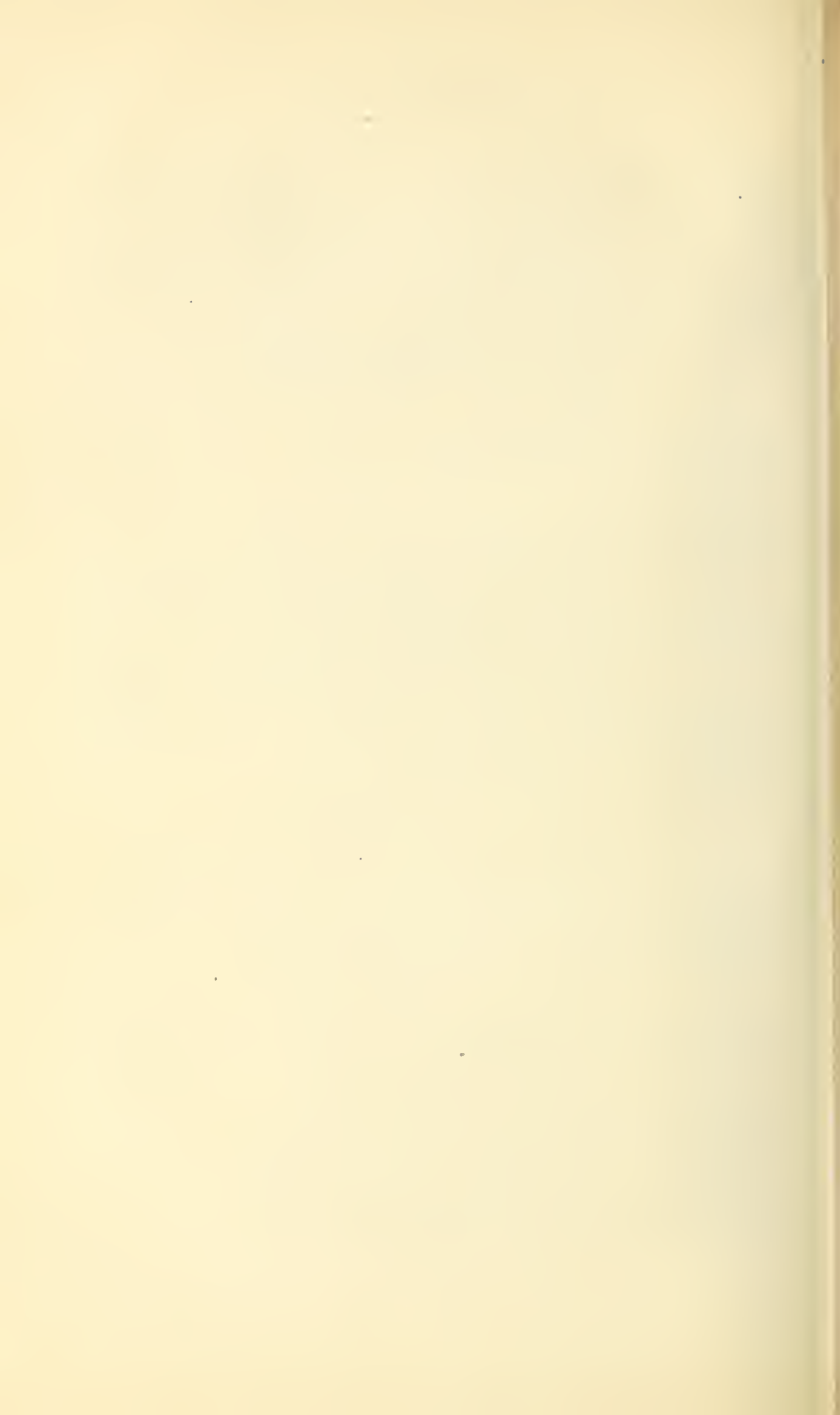
*Signed at the beginning :* W. FytzWilliam. *At the end :* Ad. Dublin., canc., N. Bagenall, Geff. Fenton, Ed. Waterhowse.  
*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 618, p. 85.

2. Another copy. P. 1.

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\* \* *In MS. 628, f. 374, there is another document of the same date as No. 111 in this volume. It is the draft of a very brief letter from Chancellor Gerrard to Turlough Lynagh O’Neil, requesting him to meet the writer at the Newry. This draft is in the Chancellor’s own hand, and is written so badly as to be almost illegible ; but it seems to be of a similar purport to No. 111. It was overlooked because it bears an incorrect date, sc. “11 Sept. 1598,” instead of “11 December 1578.”*



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## ERRATA, &c.

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- Page 73, *for* his Majesty *read* her Majesty.  
„ 108, transpose the foot notes.  
„ 157, No. 127. Another copy in Vol. 628, p. 398.  
„ 207, No. 282, line 6, *for* far *read* foray.  
„ 214, *dele* foot note “ † Scots.”  
Pages 252, 253, 263, *for* Sir Henry Malbie *read* Sir Nicholas Malbie.  
Page 320, line 1, *for* during the during *read* during the government of.  
„ 322, No. 488. A copy in Vol. 618, p. 84.  
„ 467, No. 661. A copy in Vol. 618, p. 82.

### *In the preceding Volume :—*

- Page 56, line 3, “ virent (*sic*) ;”—“ brent ” in the copy in the Record Office.  
„ 98, line 33, *for* sent *read* sent for.  
„ 125, No. 102. The original letter is in Vol. 607, p. 22.  
„ 161, *for* George [Cromer] *read* George [Brown].  
„ 226, No. 193. A copy in Vol. 611, p. 341.  
„ 238, line 4, *after* two *insert* [hundred].  
Pages 340, 416, *dele* the foot notes.  
Page 385, No. 259. Another copy in Vol. 617, p. 86.  
„ 392, *for* Sir Thos. Perrot *read* Sir John Perrot.  
„ 395, *for* Carby *read* Carbry.  
„ 413, *for* Scots *read* shot.  
„ 471, line 3, *for* 1517 *read* 1574.



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