



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT LOS ANGELES













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 .



CALENDAR

OF THE

CAREW MANUSCRIPTS,

PRESERVED IN THE

ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT LAMBETH.

1601—1603.

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C O N T E N T S.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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I CONCLUDED my last Preface with the close of the administration of Sir Henry Sydney. I propose in this volume to give a brief sketch of the events which followed until the appointment of Sir Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, so far as they can be gathered exclusively from the papers of Carew. But before passing to the acts of Sir Henry's successors, I cannot resist the temptation of placing before my readers an extract from a memorial, drawn up by this able and neglected statesman, entitled "A summary relation of all his services in Ireland." A copious abstract of this document, containing the most minute and authentic information of the state of Ireland during his period of office, will be found in the second volume of this Calendar.\* But as those who are curious in English history might possibly overlook it, and not expect to find in a memorial expressly devoted to the history of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, personal notices of Edward VI. and the English court, I shall make no apology for introducing a verbal reprint of one portion of it here.

"And thus an end of my Irish discourse; and now to my great and high office of Wales, which I yet and long have happily and quietly held, having served in it full three and twenty years. A happy place of government it is, for a better people to govern, or better subjects to their sovereign, Europe holdeth not. But yet hath not my life been so domestically spent in Wales and the sweet Marches of the same, but that I have been employed in other foreign actions; for, besides the three before-mentioned deputa-

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\* Page 334; Carew MS., 601, f. 117 b., *et seq.*

tions in Ireland, I was twice sent into France, once into Scotland, twice to the seaside to receive the Dukes John Cassimere and Adolph Duke of Houlst. These two last journeys, though they were but Kentish, yet were they costly. It may be it was more of a Kentish courage than of deep discretion; well I remember allowance I had none, nor yet thanks. I was sent and did remain a good while at Portsmouth, in superintendency for the victualling of Newhaven. Oftentimes I was sent for and commanded to attend about the court for Irish causes, to my great charges. Truly, Sir, by all these I neither wan nor saved.

“ But now, by your patience, once again to my great and high office; for great it is, in that, in some sort, I govern the third part of this realm under her most excellent Majesty. High it is, for by that I have precedence of great personages and far my betters. Happy it is, for the goodness of the people whom I govern, as before is written; and most happy, for the commodity that I have, by the authority of that place, to do good every day, if I have grace, to one or other; wherein I confess I feel no small felicity, but for any profit I gather by it, God and the people (seeing my manner of life) knoweth it is not possible how I should gather any. For alas! Sir, how can I, not having one groat of pension belonging to the office? I have not so much ground as will feed a mutton. I sell no justice. I trust you do not hear of any order taken by me ever reversed, nor my name or doing in any court (as courts there be whereto by appeal I might be called,) ever brought in question. And if my mind were so base and corruptible as I would take money of the people whom I command for my labour, commanded by the Queen, taken among them, yet could they give me none or very little; for the causes that come before me are causes of people mean, base, and many very beggars.

“ Only 20*l.* a week to keep an honourable house, and one hundred marks a year to bear foreign charges, I have. What house I keep I dare stand to the report of any indifferent man, and kept it is as well in mine absence as when I am present; and the councillors fare as well as I can be content to do; but true books of account shall be, when you will, showed unto you, that I spend above 30*l.* a week. Here some may object that I upon the same keep my wife and her followers. True it is she is now with me, and hath been this half year, and before not in many years, and if both she and I had our food and house room free, as we have not in conscience, we deserved it. For my part I am not idle, but every day

I work in my function ; and she, for her old service and marks (yet remaining in her face) taken in the same, meriteth her meat. When I went to Newhaven I left her a full fair lady, in mine eye, at least, the fairest ; and when I returned I found her 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), the scars of which (to her resolute discomfort) ever since hath done and doth remain in her face, so as she liveth solitarily, *sicut nicticorax in domicilio suo*, more to my charge than if we had boarded together, as we did before that evil accident happened.

“ It is now almost one hundred years since this house was erected, and I am well assured that neither the Queen's most honourable household, nor any downward to the poorest ploughman's house, can be kept as they were 40 years ago, yet have I no more allowed me than was allowed 40 years ago. I confess I am the meanest and poorest man that ever occupied this my place, and yet I will and may compare. I have continued in better and longer house-keeping than any of my predecessors. I have builded more and repaired more her Majesty's castles and houses, without issuing of any money out of her Highness' coffers, than all the Presidents that have been these hundred years ; and this will the view of the castle of Ludlowe, the castles of Wigmore and Montgomery, and the house of Tikenhill by Beawdeley justify.

“ And thus I end any further treating of my other great office of Wales ; confessing both the one and the other to have been too high and too honourable for so mean a knight as I am ; yet how I have managed these offices I will take no exception to the report of public fame. With all humbleness and thankfulness I confess to have received the same of her Majesty's mere goodness, and more too, for she hath made me one of her Privy Council, and, that which was to my greatest comfort, she hath allowed me to be one of that most noble Order of the Garter, whereof I have been a companion, and I am sure the poorest companion that ever was, now full 19 years.

“ In these four dignities I have received some indignities which I would I could as well forget as I can refrain to write of. And thus an end of my public estate ; and now a little (dear Sir) for my private. Let me, with your patience, a little trouble you, not for any cause that I find or you shall see that I have to brag, but rather to show my barrenness. The sooner I do it, for that I hope, ere it be long, of friends and old acquaintance we shall be made

more than friends and most loving brothers in all tender love and loving alliance.

“When I was but 10 years of age, and awhile had been henchman to King Henry VIII., 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. While I was present with him he would always be cheerful and pleasant with me, and in my absence give me such words of praise as far exceeded my desert. Sundry times he bountifully rewarded me. Finally, he always made too much of me. Once he sent me into France, and once into Scotland. Lastly, not only to my own still-felt grief, but also to the universal woe of England, he died in my arms: within a while after whose death, and 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 patent 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, which was a long, a great, and an honourable one, against James Mack O’Neill, a mighty captain of Scots, whom the Earl of Sussex, after a good fight made with him, defeated, and chased him with slaughter of a great number of his best men, I there fought and killed him with my own hand, who thought to have overmatched me. Some more blood I drew, though I cannot brag that I lost any.

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\* “NOTE.—My going to Spain was for the liberty of the Earl of Warwick and his brethren.”

“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 Crofts’ 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.

“Sundry times during my foresaid governments I had sundry skirmishes with the rebels, always with victory, namely one, and that a great one, which was at the very time that Calais was lost. I (the same time being Christmas holidays, upon the sudden,) invaded Firkaol, otherwise called O’Meloyes’ country, the very receptacle of all the rebels, burned and wasted the same, and in my return homewards was fought withal by the rebels the O’Conors, O’Mores, and O’Meloyes, and the people of Mack Gochigan; albeit he in person was with me in that skirmish, I received in a frieze jerkin (though armed under it) four or five Irish arrows. Some blood I drew with my own hands, but my men beat the rebels well, and truly I went through their paces (passes), straights, and woods lustily, and killed as many of them as saved not their lives by running away; among whom the chief captain, called Callogh O’Meloy, was one, and his head brought me by an English gentleman and a good soldier, called Robert Cowley. I tarried and encamped in that country till I had cut down and enlarged divers long and straight paces (passes), whereby the country ever since hath been more obedient and corrigible. Somewhat more I did; and so I did, as the country well spake of it, and well judged of it; and I received from the Queen comfortable and thankful letters, signed with her own hand, which I have yet to show; and when I was sent to her (as I was once or twice) most graciously she would accept me and my service, and honourably speak of the same, yea, and reward me.

“The rest of my life is, with an over-long precedent discourse, in part manifested to you, which I humbly and heartily desire you to accept in good part. Some things written may haply be misplaced or mistimed, for help had I none, either of any other man, or note of mine, but only such help as my old mother memory afforded me out of her store. But this, to your little comfort, I cannot omit, that whereas my father had but one son, and he of no great proof,

being 24 years of age at his death, and I having three sons, one of excellent good proof, the second of great good hope, and the third not to be despaired of, but very well to be liked, if I die to-morrow next I should leave them worse than my father left me by twenty thousand pounds, and I am now 54 years of age, toothless, and trembling, being five thousand pounds in debt, yea, and thirty thousand pounds worse than I was at the death of my most dear king and master, King Edward the VI. I have not of the Crown of England of my own getting so much ground as I can cover with my foot. All my fees amount not to one hundred marks a year. I never had since the Queen's reign any extraordinary aid by licence, forfeit, or otherwise; and yet for all that was done, and somewhat more than here is written, I cannot obtain to have in fee farm one hundred pounds a year, already in my own possession, paying the rent. *Dura est conditio servorum.*

“And now, dear Sir and brother, an end of this tedious tragical treatise—tedious for you to read, but more tedious it would have been if it had come written with my own hand, as first it was. Tragical I may well term it, for that it began with the joyful love and great liking, with likelihood of matrimonial match between our dear and most sweet children, whom God bless, and endeth with declaration of my unfortunate and bad estate. Our Lord bless you with long life and healthful happiness. I pray you, Sir, commend me most heartily to my good lady, cousin, and sister, your wife, and bless and buss our sweet daughter; and, if you will vouchsafe, bestow a blessing upon the young knight, Sir Philip. From Ludlowe Castle, with more pain than haste, the first of March 1582.

“Your most assured fast friend

“and loving brother,

“HENRY SYDNEY.”

Sir Henry Sydney was succeeded in the deputyship by Sir William Drury, President of Munster, who entered on his office 14th September 1578. The Carew Papers furnish very little information of his proceedings. The rebellion of Desmond is passed over with the slightest and scantiest notice. But the account furnished by the Deputy and Sir Edward Pyton of their visit to Munster and the west of Ireland in the autumn of the same year is not without



interest.\* The chief difficulty with which the new Deputy had to contend was to be found in the disputes and disaffection of the Desmonds, now anxiously expecting, more than ever, encouragement from Spain, and watching a favourable opportunity for throwing off the authority of England. Irritated by the assistance rendered to the United Provinces by Elizabeth, Philip II. had resolved to retaliate by lending aid to the rebellious Irish. Gregory XIII. was not unwilling to help a confederacy which had for its object the recovery to the Church of its lost dominions, and the temporal punishment of those who utterly despised his spiritual censures. As might be expected, the war in Ireland assumed a religious aspect. The government of Ireland had to contend not only against those who hated the dominion of the stranger, but against those also who cloaked their disaffection under the more specious pretext of religious toleration. Chiefs like Desmond and Turlough Lynagh, who had never before shown any great zeal for the Church or for the restoration of the ancient faith, now learned to treat the Papal emissaries, of whom Dr. Saunders was the most conspicuous, with more than usual reverence. The cause of Irish independence became inextricably interwoven with the Papal supremacy and the restoration of the old religion; and English rulers incurred the odium of despising the rights of conscience, even when they sought to insist upon nothing more than obedience to the law, and to mete out even-handed justice to the oppressed. Though the tenant farmers and all the industrious classes in Ireland had for years groaned under a system which laid them open to every kind of exaction and oppression on the part of their native chiefs and captains, they could not understand that their truest interests were identical with those of their con-

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\* Vol. II, p. 140.

querors. Confining their views only to the present, they failed to appreciate the fact—naturally enough—that for them all progress and all improvement were only compatible with obedience to that rule which, if it brought the people, brought their chiefs also, under submission to the same equal and inflexible laws. So they preferred to hoist the Pope's banner and welcome the dictation of Spain, in the hopes of delivering themselves from the rule of Elizabeth, improvident of the future and careless of the consequences.

As the English rulers could not entirely disengage their cause from its religious aspect, they were exposed to the temptation of confounding rebellion with an adherence to Popery. Many of the Deputies shared with their contemporaries across the Channel an abhorrence of the Roman Catholic faith as the main cause of disloyalty—as the active incentive to all the political troubles of the times. They thought that if submission to Papal domination and the promoters of it were weakened and disabled, the cause of law and order must necessarily prevail; and in this view they were supported by the Protestant bishops and clergy, the more influential of whom were Englishmen like themselves, and possessed by the same ideas. Thus their greatest efforts were devoted to the suppression of Popery in its most public and objectionable forms. A compulsory respect to Protestantism was to be exacted from those who utterly hated it. In Sir William Drury's journey to Munster, among numerous instances of vigour, prudence, and moderation in dealing with the disaffected and in suppressing disorders displayed by him in common with many other Irish Deputies, the following incidents are recorded, apparently not without satisfaction:—

“Understanding of a notable idol or image of St. Sunday or St. Dominick, whereunto 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.”\*

And again †:—

“Having had notice from our very good lord the Bishop of Ossory 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 forth commission to our said very good lord the Bishop and others, principal gentlemen, such as he thought meet to nominate and appoint, authorizing them either to compel such as ought to do it to repair and build them in such sort as God’s glory and divine service be, according to her Majesty’s injunctions, duly celebrate and exercised; or else, in case they should refuse or obstinately deny the performing of their duties in that behalf, that then they should take their distresses so refusing, and with the money thereof growing, after orderly and due warning and praising (appraising) thereof, to set in hand themselves the reparation and building of such churches or chancels as they whose distresses they shall have taken are bound to repair. And before our departure out of the town, we bound before us in recognisance[s] of 40*l.* ster. a-piece the chief men of the town, such as his lordship nominate unto us, that they and their wives should duly every Sunday and holiday frequent the church, and hear divine service therein.”

Readers well acquainted with the superstition of the times, a vice from which none were entirely free, will be less

\* Vol. II. p. 143.

† Ibid., p. 144; Carew MS. 628, p. 390.

astonished at the Deputy's notions of natural justice as exhibited in the following quotation\* :—

“The jail being full, we caused sessions immediately to begin, and continued them not only all the time of our abode there (which was till the Monday next), but also some while after our departure thence by commissioners remaining behind there, during which were executed in all to the number of 36 persons, 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.”

At the death of Sir William Drury on the 3rd of October, at Waterford, 1579, Sir William Pelham was appointed Lord Justice, and took the oaths in Christ Church, Dublin, October the 13th. He had formerly been lieutenant of her Majesty's ordnance, and was sent over to Ireland in August 1579, with orders to take charge of the English bands appointed to guard the English Pale. His speedy promotion to the highest post in Ireland is a proof how rapidly he had ingratiated himself with the Council in Ireland. One of his first letters after his appointment will be found in this Calendar, Vol. II. p. 157. Happily the preservation of his letter book† among the Carew MSS. enables us to trace his proceedings in his new career with great minuteness and accuracy.

One of the first acts of the new Lord Justice was to appoint the Earl of Ormond Governor of Munster. The choice might appear to be justified by the unsettled condition of that province and the great influence of Ormond; but in this choice Pelham departed from the policy of Sydney. Too powerful for subjects, too unpopular among the English as well as the native Irish nobility to be rulers,

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\* Vol. II. p. 144; Carew MS. 628, f. 389 b.

† It is bound in crimson velvet, with gilt edges.

the Butlers were always a thorn and a perplexity to the English Deputy. They could not be neglected or thwarted with impunity. A real or supposed affront raised up for them a host of irritated complainants in the English court, and the unhappy Deputy found his motives maligned and his conduct misrepresented by the partisans of the Ormonds, who poured into willing ears, behind his back, every sort of calumny, and impregnated the very atmosphere with suspicion. Nor could he, on the other hand, make a friend of the Ormonds, or advance them to dignity and employment, without failing to discover that instead of gaining a friend he had found a master; without strengthening his authority, he had weakened it, as Pelham did in this instance, by jealousies and suspicions. The Desmonds, ripe for rebellion, wanted no further pretext for sedition than their constitutional and hereditary hatred of the Butlers; whilst the latter, not a whit behind the former in antipathy for their ancient rivals, were not slow in making the best of their present opportunity, or over anxious to be too conciliatory. After a short and impatient parley, both chiefs threw away the scabbard. On the 4th of November, just a month after his appointment, Pelham wrote to the Queen: "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."\*

It is not my purpose to enter into the details of this rebellion or to pursue it step by step. The part played in it by the celebrated Dr. Saunders, is the most interesting and in many respects the most instructive.

"All obstinate Papists," wrote Pelham to the Queen,† within seven weeks after Ormond's appointment, "wish well to the rebels,

\* Vol. II. p. 164.

† Nov. 23. (Ibid. p. 172; Carew MS. 597, f. 115 b.)

in respect that the Pope's banner is displayed, and a government expected that shall settle them in their religion. So is it generally given out 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. And albeit the bruit be likely to be vain, both for the extreme charge of bringing an army from such remote parts, and that your Majesty doth not advertise of any such intention, yet are your subjects here much led with this opinion, because it is published and preached by Doctour Sanders, who setteth out the abundance of treasure that is coming, and the reward appointed for such as shall join in this holy action (for so he termeth it), and that he threateneth ruin unto the rest, and maketh Desmond believe that Munster is his portion, and Ulster appointed unto Turlough Lenouge; for confirmation whereof one Lincius, an Italian legate, is expected to come from Rome, as is discovered by such followers of Tyrone as are at the devotion of your Knight Marshal."

That this description of the rebel camp was not exaggerated is clear from the terms of Dr. Saunders' manifesto addressed to an Irish chief, Ulick Burke, son of the Earl of Clanricard\* :—

"The more unacquainted I am the more I am to be borne withall, for so much as I write not for any private commodity of mine own, but rather for the common wealth's, and for yours. God, permitting your father (for whose preservation I heartily pray) to be taken prisoner, meant to warn you, his sons, to provide as well for his liberty as for your own. Look, then, which is the safest way for both, and that are you bound to take. Protections for (from?) men are neither at all times liberally granted, nor faithfully afterwards kept, nor available when the granter dieth, and least of all to be trusted when they are granted for fear. The protection of God is that which never can fail. Now there is no way sooner under Heaven to obtain God's protection than for a man to do his best for the defence of God's honour; for if you will take most

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\* Vol. II. p. 159; Carew MS. 597, f. 83 b.

careful protection of him that hazardeth his life and goods for your sake, what will God do, or rather what will he not do, for him that fighteth and warfareth for his glory? Not that God needeth our help or defence, but that amongst the infinite benefits that he daily bestoweth upon us, this is one of the greatest—to suffer some wicked men to strive and spurn against his honour, to the end other faithful servants of God, standing in defence thereof, may gain an everlasting crown of glory.”

Then, after a long denunciation against the heretics who “so violently oppress God’s honour in this world,” and “against this usurper,” Queen Elizabeth, he proceeds:—

“The time yet is such that you may deserve thanks and reward; but when our aid is come, which daily we look for,—when the Scottish and English nobility are in arms, as we doubt not they will be shortly,—and when strangers begin to invade England itself, as divers of the self English nobility labour and procure,—afterward (I say) it shall be small thanks before God and man to be of our company, seeing that the very heretics will then hold with us, at the least for fear of us. Certainly God meaneth better to your Worship, if you know the time of his merciful calling and precious visitation.”

The old cries of *Butlerabo*, *Craghnabo*, once sufficient to set Irishmen by the ears, were now exchanged for *Papa abo*\* (up with the Pope), and every hot-blooded native and naturalized Englishman prepared to take his part in the contest. Connaught could only be restrained from joining the rebels by the rapid return of its governor, Sir Nicholas Malby. Turlough Lynagh, the O’Neil of Ulster, at once

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\* Pelham writes to the Queen on 28th Dec. 1579: “Judge of the Earl of Desmond (as he is) 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 lost 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.” (Vol. II. p. 191; Carew MS. 597, f. 169.)

At a later period, Burghley, writing to Ormond, alludes to this practice: “So as now merely I must say *Butlaraboo* against all that cry, as I hear, in a new language, *Papeaboo*.” Hamilton’s Calendar, II. 206.

hastened to assert his rights and give active assistance to the Desmonds. The Scots and the Spaniards, actuated by the desire of plunder and revenge, hurried or promised to hurry to the scene of action. They distracted the attention of the Deputy, and divided those forces which, united, might easily have crushed a rebellion powerless in all respects but fanaticism and in promises never destined to be realized. Perhaps the worst feature in these insurrectionary troubles was the desertion of the trained soldiers belonging to the English Pale. Ill paid and ill fed, drawn into the service from the lowest classes, actuated only by mercenary motives, it is not surprising that many of them eagerly hailed any opportunity of mending their broken fortunes. "Whereas your lordships (writes Pelham to the Council in England)\* "refer me to supply the 300 soldiers "which I desired from England to be taken up (*i.e.* and "take them up) in the Pale, the captains do despair to "find there such soldiers as they are willing to lead, and "I [am] 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, have been "assisted with trained soldiers of this country-birth, that "have left their captains and consorted themselves with "the rebels; of which nature I know there be many in "entertainment both with the rebels in Munster and "with other of the evil-disposed Irish north-ward."

But the good fortune and abilities of the Deputy, or rather the regular and sustained efforts which the English forces, comparatively well armed, disciplined, and supplied with munitions of war, were enabled to carry on against an army of rebels comparatively in want of all these advantages, extricated Pelham from his difficulties. The rebellion

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\* Vol. II. p. 266; Carew MS. 597, f. 351.



of Desmond met with the usual end of rebellions in Ireland. The confederates could never be brought to act in concert. Turlough Lynagh was amused or kept in [check by promises and negotiations, still more by the secret jealousies of his own friends and supporters. The Scots never got beyond Ulster. Dr. Saunders redoubled his assurances of aid from Spain. Spanish friars swarmed at Bear-Haven ;\* but Spanish soldiers, though always coming, never came.† Driven to extremities, attended only by a handful of followers, closely hunted by the Lord Justice, and more than once within his clutches, Desmond would have certainly fallen by the sword of Pelham, had not Elizabeth revoked her officer, not wholly satisfied with the peremptory sternness of a man who had rendered all accommodation with the Earl of Desmond impossible.‡

\* Vol. II, p. 227 and p. 219.

† Pelham writes on 30th July : “ I have employed the forces here from the garrisons of Asketten and Kilmalloe, and both have returned with preys and execution of traitors. And daily great means is made unto me to receive part of the Earl’s followers, who would gladly forsake him, if they might be received ; but because it may be a policy to make a show in forsaking of the confederates, to the end to reap their harvest, and that the poor people which live by their labour, and now in manner starved in the woods, might live in safety, and follow their manurance, I do not therefore receive any but such as come in with bloody hands, or execution of some better person than themselves ; of which I have received some few ; and one amongst the rest, that this day brake from them, hath 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.”—(Vol. II, p. 287 ; Carew MS. 597, f. 403 b.)

‡ Of Pelham’s severity we have evidence by himself. He says, in a letter to the Queen at the close of his administration : “ Touching my manner of prosecuting (proceeding) 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

Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed Deputy in the summer of 1580. His instructions, dated in July, may be seen in the second volume of this Calendar, p. 277. They are noticeable as showing the inflexible resolution of Elizabeth to have her authority respected. But whilst insisting that rebellion should not be encouraged by false hopes, or by making a return to grace and favour too easy, the Queen was not unmindful of mercy. Among other injunctions, it is set down by her Majesty that, as her subjects of "that country-birth" had conceived that she entertained a determination to cast them out, and plant English subjects in their place, the Deputy should use his best endeavours to remove "that false impression." He is enjoined to have "an especial care," as she proceeds to say, "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.—Grant neither pardon nor  
 " protection but upon some great cause of importance." Nor, whatever might be the opinions of her ministers, or the prevalent notion of the Queen's government of Ireland, can there be any doubt of the sincerity of her wishes to adopt pacificatory measures. More than one instance may

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" 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 has 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 eipher  
 " to Mr. Secretary " [Walsingham].—(Vol. II. p. 293.)

be produced of the impatience felt by her officers, both at home and in Ireland, at what they considered her unbecoming and dangerous indulgence to her contumacious subjects. It has been seen already how Pelham incurred her displeasure by proclaiming Desmond a traitor, though of his guilt there could be little question. Shortly after we find Sir Nicholas Malby writing to Burghley : \*  
“ Some do think there (*i.e.* the Queen in England) that I  
“ do use the sword too much. If her Majesty do not use  
“ her sword more sharply, she will lose both sword and  
“ realm.”

It may be thought that, as Lord Gray had the reputation of being more than usually strict and severe, he would have been more inclined to follow out those parts of his instructions which coincided with his own inclinations and have overlooked those which inculcated moderation and forbearance. In the Carew Papers there is no indication of the tyranny or barbarity sometimes charged on the memory of this nobleman ; nor does the accusation appear to have arisen from any unnecessary harshness displayed by him towards the native Irish. It is rather to be attributed to the firmness and impartiality with which he carried out his instructions in not allowing offenders of high place or authority to escape unpunished.

Of the state of Ireland at his arrival, a brief account may be seen in the notes of Sir Nicholas Malby.† Although Pelham had done much towards suppressing the rebellion in Munster, and could boast that in Leinster “ there had not been one string out of tune,” yet formidable difficulties awaited the landing of the new Deputy. All the realm, in the expressive words of Sir Nicholas

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\* Vol. II. 314.

† *Ibid.* 310.

Malby, was "in a general uproar."\* Turlough Lynagh, in the north, stood upon "doubtful terms," watching his opportunity. His pride and importance had been greatly increased of late by his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Argyle. The Pale had broken out into rebellion. But this was not the only or the greatest evil. Whilst it was comparatively easy to put down rebellion, to scatter and disunite its leaders, success appeared to have no effect in diminishing the source out of which rebellion sprung. As the Irish chiefs declined in number and power, as they ceased to exercise authority over their followers, religion supplied the disaffected with a firmer unity and a strength more compact. The priest prevailed where the chief was powerless. "This realm," says the same energetic and clear-headed officer,† "was " never so dismembered, owing to the quarrel upon " religion. Heretofore much dissension has arisen upon " private quarrels, but now they have converted all their " private quarrels to a general matter of religion. This " rebellion is so general that the best cannot be made to " do anything against the rebellious Papists."‡

The letters and libels scattered about Ireland at the time are an index of the state of feeling then rife among

\* Vol. II, 310.

† 7 Sept. 1580.

‡ Sir N. Malby, II, 310.

§ Sir Nicholas in the same paper refers to the red coats of the soldiers as a new and dangerous fashion. The passage is curious: "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."—(Vol. II, p. 311.)

the people. In a pamphlet published at Waterford by a Devonshire man of the name of Eve\* it was boldly stated that, in a conference between the three powers, the Pope had agreed to furnish 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, the King of Spain 15,000 foot and 1,500 horse, the Duke of Florence 8,000 foot and 100 horse, for the conquest of Ireland. It went on to say:—

“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. That the goods of the churches shall be returned out of the hands of these 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 the 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 the 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 the Queen’s Majesty and her Council.”

It may be said that these were no more than wild and idle rumours devoid of all foundation—the inventions of

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\* Vol. II. 288.

political enemies devised for the purpose of inflaming the hatred of this country against the Spaniard. That they fell in with the general temper of the times, and found ready credence in Ireland, is clear from various authorities, and not the least from the correspondence of Viscount Balinglas. In a letter to Ormond of the 27th July 1580, he writes \*:—

“The highest power on earth doth command us to take the sword, and (seeing it cannot better be) to fight and defend ourselves against traitors and rebels, which do seek only the murdering of souls, he is no Christian man that will not obey. 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 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* Becket, had never been Earl of Ormond.”

So, in addition to the various political complications in which Gray found himself involved, there were those of a religious crusade which bid fair to enlist on its side the wildest sympathies of the native Irish, and bury for a time those divisions which had hitherto prevented them from presenting a united front to their English conquerors. These dangers were increased by dissensions among the English themselves. The Baron of Upper Ossory (Fitz-Patrick) had been thrown into prison, mainly at Ormond’s

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\* Vol. II. p. 289; Carew MS. 597, f. 406 b.

suggestion. Ormond hated Malby, and Malby Ormond. In Connaught Loftus and Malby were violently opposed; whilst in the English Pale itself suspicions were rife of a dangerous conspiracy in which no less a person than the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas was supposed to be implicated, and accordingly lost his life.

Not more successful than his predecessors in his attempt to rule Ireland, Gray sued to be recalled. The choice of England was always distracted between rulers of too much severity and too much laxity. It was hard to find the happy medium. Men of the latter stamp succeeded better with the Irish, but were more suspected and hampered at home. Men like Gray, of sterner mould, though they might satisfy Elizabeth and her Council for a time, fell by the intrigues of the enemies they had raised up by their own severity. And such was the fate of Gray.

The Carew Papers do not furnish much information as to Gray's administration. He is more favourably known to history for his patronage of the poet Spenser, whose name, with those of his friends Lodowick Briskett and Sir Walter Raleigh, occurs more than once in the course of these pages, chiefly in connexion with Munster. The poet's grant of 3,028 acres of the forfeited property of the Desmonds in the county of Cork is well known.\* It is

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\* At a rent of 17*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per annum, or rather, of 8*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for the first three years, and the larger sum after 1594 (III. 61). The poet must not be confounded with another Spenser, who was an old man, and is frequently mentioned in Pelham's letters. (See Vol. II. 276.)

It will be seen that the manor and castle of Kilcolman, generally supposed to have been allotted to the poet, were granted in the first place to Andrew Reade, of Facecombe, in Hampshire, on the 14th March 1586, *i. e.* 1587 *n. s.* How they came into the poet's possession does not appear. See the curious paper in Vol. II. p. 449. The certificate, like many others, is signed by Sir Walter Raleigh, as one of the commissioners, and it is quite as probable that Spenser owed his grant to Raleigh's influence as to Lord Gray's.

not so well known that he was deputy to Briskett, the Clerk of the Council, who had a salary of 20*l.* sterling per annum,\* and in 1585 was appointed registrar in the Chancery of Ireland.

A curious instance of trial by combat during Gray's administration is minutely described in Vol. II. of this Calendar, p. 361.

Between the departure of Lord Gray and the arrival of Sir John Perrot as his successor in the beginning of 1584, the Earl of Desmond, reduced to the greatest extremities, was slain in a plundering expedition, and Lord Baltinglas, dismayed at his fate, retired to Spain, and died there.

Sir John Perrot had distinguished himself some years before in the government of Munster. The thoughts of the Queen and her Council were now directed to that province.† The death of Desmond left at the Queen's disposal 574,628 acres. Sir John's knowledge of the province seemed to point him out as the fittest person for carrying out that scheme of colonization which the English government now entertained. The rare tranquillity of Ireland, nowhere disturbed, except by an occasional outbreak in Ulster, appeared to favour the design.

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\* Vol. II. 462. The entry occurs in an account book of the Irish establishment for the half-year between 1st October 1587 and 31st March 1588, under the head of "Munster." These are the exact words: "Lodovicke Briskett, Clerk of the Council [*i. e.*, of Munster], at 20*l.* sterling per annum, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This is exercised by one Spenser as deputy to the said Briskett. Entered by my [the Treasurer's ?] predecessor, and no warrant extant at my entrance into the office. It was granted him (as appeareth by certificate out of the Chancery, under the hand of James Rian), by patent dated 6<sup>o</sup> Novembris, anno Elizabeth. Reginae 25<sup>o</sup>, grounded upon her Majesty's letter of patentees." Why Briskett received more than a half-year's pay does not appear; but it may be supposed that some arrears were due to him. The Queen's letter referred to is probably that of 11th March 1583, addressed to the Lords Justice Loftins and Wallop. (See Vol. II. p. 360.)

† Perrot's instructions may be seen in Vol. II. 371, and in the Appendix to the present Volume.



The papers connected with it are numerous and important.\* For the first time since its conquest a great opportunity presented itself for establishing in Ireland the same feudal tenure of land as prevailed in England. The whole territory was to be divided into great seignories, ranging from 12,000 to 4,000 acres, with courts and royalties, such as might be seen in the counties of Chester and Durham.† These “gentlemen undertakers,” as they were then called, were to provide all that was requisite for the peopling and cultivation of their new domains: they were to procure farmers, freeholders, hop planters, gardeners, wheelwrights, smiths, masons, carpenters, thatchers, tilers, tailors, shoemakers, butchers; in short, all that was necessary for the occupation of the new settlement, as if they were planting a new colony in an unknown and distant country beyond the Atlantic. The freeholders, and tenants under them, bound themselves to keep 15 persons in their employment. Their farms, chiefly devoted to grazing, consisted of 300 acres, of which not more than 40 or 50 were to be laid down in rye or wheat. Of the chief lords and gentlemen undertakers the most conspicuous were Sir Christopher Hatton, who had a grant of 10,910 acres, at a rent of 60*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* per annum; Sir Walter Raleigh held 12,000 acres; Sir William Herbert, secretary to Elizabeth, 13,276; Arthur Hyde obtained 11,766; Sir William Courtenay, 10,500. The largest portions were taken by men who up to that period had had no connexion with Ireland, and apparently no acquaintance with it.

Besides the classes of gentlemen undertakers already mentioned, there were four others. As those of the first

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\* See Vol. II. p. 385 *sq.*

† *Ibid.*, 411.

class were to hold in demesne 1,600 acres, with one chief farmer of 400 acres, and various other tenants, making in all eighty-six families, so the fifth class was obliged to hold in demesne 800 acres, with two farmers, four freeholders, and others, making in all thirty-nine families. The estimate of the charges for all these new colonists in meat and drink, butter and cheese, servants' wages, and other items may be seen at p. 413.

It was the main concern of the government at home to replenish the sea coast of Munster as far as possible "with habitation of English servitors, of English birth,"\* as a precaution against the Spaniard. Such of the Irish as held lands in bogs or woods, or had strong piles and castles, it was proposed to remove to the upland country. The woods were to be cut down or cleared, and every inducement was to be held out to English manufacturers of tiles, bricks, earthen pots, workers in wood, and charcoal burners to settle in these spots, which appeared to offer such unusual opportunities for carrying on their several occupations. The spiritual wants of the new settlers were not neglected. Orders were "to be taken for repairing of the decayed churches and planting of sufficient ministers in the same of meet literature and doctrine."† But this part of the project seems to have commanded little attention.

If we may assume one instance as an example of others, letters were addressed to the most likely gentlemen in different counties to come forward and take part in this new device of colonization.‡ It was pointed out to them that "the plot" offered many advantages "to the younger

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\* See Vol. II. 395.

† Page 396 ; Carew MS. 607, f. 111 b.

‡ See p. 419.

“ children, brethren, and kinsfolk of gentlemen of good families and to those of inferior callings and degrees.” Probably there was no body of men to whom such opportunities could be addressed who would be more ready to embrace them than the smaller gentry of the English counties, who found no occupation for their energies in the old country, and no hopes of bettering their condition, in the reign of Elizabeth.

There were two blots in this scheme, to say the least, either of which could not fail endangering its ultimate success. Not only was all due provision for the native Irish overlooked, but every precaution was taken to separate their interests from those of the new settlers, and alienate the two classes as widely as possible. The newcomers were forbidden to let any portion of their lands to the Irish. Heirs female were on no account to intermarry except with persons born of English parentage. In no family were “mere Irish” to be retained. In short, the entire settlement was to take up the position of a hostile element among a hostile population. By what method such regulations could be carried out it is not easy to understand. Even if “the gentlemen undertakers” could bring over from England the required number of farmers, freeholders, and servants, of skilled or unskilled workmen, it is clear that these new settlers would not undertake drudgery they had traversed so many miles from home to escape. What inducement could they have for abandoning their native country if their new condition was to be as laborious and servile as before? Moreover it is certain that in many instances the undertakers obtained large portions of forfeited lands without ever distinctly intending to fulfil the conditions annexed to their grants in some cases, without a possibility of doing so in others. Farmers, tenants, and skilled

labourers were not to be procured, or soon grew sick of their employment and returned. Competition among the undertakers, as they were called, exhausted the labour-market. The promises of protection on the part of the government were scantily fulfilled or altogether neglected. Men could not farm and be soldiers at the same time; whilst the hatred felt by the native population for the new-comers, and the encroachments of the latter on the lands of the protected and loyal Irish, gave birth to innumerable disputes. Therefore, whilst the Irish of Munster grew “infinitely discontented,” to use the phrase of Sir George Carew,\* “since the traitors’ lands were divided amongst the undertakers,” the undertakers grew weary and discouraged, neglected their estates, or made grants, contrary to their engagements, to the Irish.†

As such grants were irregular, they seem to have lent strength to a practice which is at this moment attracting general attention, and is of far more ancient date than is generally supposed,—I mean the practice of yearly tenancies. Leases for a term of years are a late importation into Ireland, and are due to its English rulers, I believe, exclusively. Originally the tenant, exposed to the capricious and indefinite exactions of his lord (as I have explained before),‡ secured his freedom by a precarious occupation, which he might abandon at the year’s end if

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\* Vol. III. 129.

† Vol. III. 268. Among other dangers to which these English colonists were at that time exposed was a conspiracy of the Robin Hoods, as they were called, similar to the White Boys of a later period. It was the practice of these marauders to lie in wait for such of the undertakers as dwelled “scattered in thatched houses and remote places near woods and fastnesses.”—(See Vol. III. 273, and specially 208.)

‡ Vol. Pref. pp. xxxiv. and following.

his lord was too exacting and too tyrannical. This was his sole precaution against oppression.

“The churl and Irish peasant,” says Justice Saxey in a memorial addressed to Sir Thomas Egerton, Keeper of the Great Seal, in 1597,\* “by whom the lord and chief gentleman doth live, is apt to follow his lord in all rebellion and mischief; and the reason is, that the Irish tenants have their estates but from year to year, or at most for three years, in regard of which short and weak states, they have not any care to make any strong or defensible buildings or houses; to plant, or to enclose; in want whereof they lie open to spoil, and themselves more apt to rebellion, when they possess nothing which they may not with ease carry or drive away, or convert into money; and hereof it cometh that one rascal rebel will in one night burn all the towns in a country. And therefore it were most necessary that the Irish lords of lands and tenements should be ordered to make no less states than for 21 years or three lives, in which all rents and services agreed upon should be reserved and mentioned, and thereby all other unreasonable exactions now imposed upon them should be cut off; and then the tenants would be encouraged to build strongly, to plant, and to enclose; and, in regard of a good state in a living whereon he hath bestowed cost, would give his lord leave to purchase the gallows, and betake himself to his husbandry.”

And then he proceeds † :—

“Where divers Englishmen have been lately murdered and spoiled, by reason they have so singled their dwellings that they lie open to the malefactor, without ability of defence or mutual succour to be ministered by the one to the other; it were necessary that all English inhabitants should be drawn into a near neighbourhood of 20 households at the least, in such place and places as certain persons thereto authorized should think meet; and none not inhabiting in a castle to be suffered to dwell out of such neighbourhood; and that the same neighbourhood so inhabiting together shall, within a certain time to them prefixed, enclose all their dwellings with a great deep trench and quickset, if may be, only leaving two places of ingress and egress, where shall be strong gates, to be shut every night, whereby themselves and their cattle shall be in better safety from thief and wolf.”

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\* Vol. III. 208; Carew MS. 614, f. 287.

† F. 287 b.

These discouragements were increased by the irregular administration of the laws. The men of the long robe were deemed pragmatical by the governors and vice-presidents of the provinces, who, as martial men, thought they had a more direct and effectual method of determining disputes than by the tedious process of the courts. We have an instance in Justice Saxey himself. In more than one case when he had committed a prisoner the sentence was set aside by the Vice-President of Munster. On another occasion, at a general session of gaol delivery in the city of Cork, when, in consequence of some dispute with the Vice-President, Saxey proposed to leave the court, he was greeted with the abrupt observation, "Go and be hanged! who sent for you?"\* In Munster generally the sessions were held so irregularly that the complainants, according to the same authority,† "were enforced to travel to Dublin for justice."

Nor did justice in Dublin wear much of a more dignified aspect or put on a more staid demeanour than in Munster, if we are to believe the reports of the times. In a memorial addressed by Robert Legge to Sir John Perrot, the Deputy, the "inorderly dealings" of the law officers and courts of Ireland, very different from what he had witnessed in England, are thus gravely insisted on. "The  
 " Courts of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common  
 " Pleas are weak, and want good officers."—"The Barons  
 " and other officers are ill-spoken of, for that men can  
 " have no justice, as it is said, although it be in the  
 " Queen's case."‡—"Whereas these Irish officers use no  
 " order at all, neither sitting in the court nor otherwise,  
 " but rather walk out of the court at their pleasure to

\* Vol. III. 209.

† Ibid. 206.

‡ Vol. II. 399. 400; Carew MS. 607, f. 115, *sq.*

“ 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. It were therefore good, for the honour of her  
 “ Majesty and all her Highness’ courts, that when any  
 “ more English officers shall come over, which I wish to  
 “ be very shortly, that they may sit in such robes as our  
 “ justices and barons do in England, which is a very  
 “ decent, comely, seemly, and honourable order for these  
 “ her Majesty’s courts, and will be the cause that the people  
 “ shall stand more in fear and awe of them than of these  
 “ officers now they do, for these men sit like any common  
 “ persons.”

To return to the Lord Deputy. Perrot met with no better success than Gray in averting the calumnies of evil tongues and avoiding the Queen’s displeasure. A Welshman by birth, he was more than ordinarily fiery and choleric, even for a Welshman ; and this defect of temper, fatal in a governor, above all in an Irish Deputy, was aggravated not only by vexation and disappointment, but by physical sufferings. He was affected by weakness in the stomach, and swellings in the leg ; worst of all, by the stone. He had consented much against his will to accept the government of Ireland, out of compliance with the Queen’s wishes, and with a distinct promise on her part that she should turn a deaf ear to all sinister reports against him. He suspected, justly or otherwise, that he

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\* Vol. II. 423, 434, and 446.

was not well used.\* His letters are full of complaints wrung out of him by the mental or bodily anguish of the hour; and, if report may be trusted, his complaints though in the most forcible, were not always expressed in the most courtly language. It was easy for his enemies to exaggerate what he uttered; the irascible character of the man lent an air of probability to their calumnies. It was easier for them to accuse than for him to apologize satisfactorily. Besides, in his grief and his impatience, Sir John forgot the Deputy in the Welshman. On one occasion he sent a challenge to Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, for some real or imaginary affront;\* at another he knocked down the Marshal, Sir Nicholas Bagenall, in a fit of anger, as he sat at the council table.

It is possible that the Queen, knowing the man and his worth, might have overlooked his offences, notwithstanding these blemishes, had not his enemies, of whom Sir Richard Bingham seems to have been one of the foremost, concocted an absurd accusation of his failing to punish a foolish Irishman of the name of O'Rourke. This madman had made a wooden image of the Queen, which he tied to a horse's tail and dragged through the dirt, to the great amusement of the ragged kerne and idle horseboys.† Perrot returned to die in the Tower, and was succeeded by Sir William FitzWilliam in June 1588.

FitzWilliam's administration was contemporaneous with the coming of the Spanish armada. The interest with which that event was regarded by the Irish, who "stood agaze how the game would be played,"‡ and her Majesty's

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\* Ibid. 442. The able services rendered by Bingham as Governor of Connaught are not to be overlooked. An account of them will be found in Vol. II. 429.

† Vol. III. 76.

‡ Vol. II. 471.



behaviour in the camp at Essex, are told in the letters calendared at pp. 470 and 471 of the second volume.

The cruelties inflicted on the unhappy Spaniards, who were tortured and put to death without mercy, alike by their natural enemies the English, and by their disappointed confederates among the Irish, filled all hearts with dismay. "There is no rebellion in all this realm;" wrote Sir George Carew to Sir Francis Walsingham, "so much terror prevails."\* The formidable energy of Spain was exhausted in this one effort, and though men could not for a time realize the fact, though occasional demonstrations of preparations filled their minds with alarm, as if the formidable carcass would revive and terrify the earth as before, the disquiet was only momentary. The reports of the coming of the Spaniards grew less and less, until they ceased to inspire dread in the conquerors or hopes in the conquered Irish.

Most of the Carew papers are henceforth occupied with the correspondence of Sir George Carew as Master of the Ordnance or Governor of Munster. His correspondence with the Deputy was often merely formal, and affords little insight into that officer's proceedings, or into the history of Ireland during Sir George's administration. But his letters have an interest and value of a different kind. His communications with the ministers and others of the English court are frequent; among the rest with Sir Walter Raleigh,† who now stood high in the Queen's favour, and was on intimate terms of friendship with Carew. Nor did he cease to remember his old friend Sir John Perrot, now fallen into disgrace through the insinuations of his enemies and the lying slanders of an Irish

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\* Vol. II. 471; cf. 490.

† Vol. III. 14, 15; see also 36.

priest named Denis O'Roughan. Papers connected with the examination of this charge, which was never thoroughly sifted, and never probably could be in Ireland, will be found at p. 25, *seq.*, of the third volume.\*

The chief event during FitzWilliam's tenure of office was a mutiny among the soldiers in the castle at Dublin, or which was construed as such by FitzWilliam, who displayed very little wisdom or self control in allaying it.† It is clear from the conversation held by Carew and the Queen, as detailed in his letter of 18th July 1591,‡ that the Deputy was in no great favour with Elizabeth. She thought him harmless and forbearing, but these are not the highest virtues in the ruler of a kingdom ever fruitful in rebellion and a great drain on her resources. FitzWilliam was recalled, and Sir William Russell, whose instructions, dated 3rd May 1594, may be read in Vol. III.,§ landed at Dublin in July.

The tranquillity into which Ireland had now been brought is reflected in Russell's instructions. Stealing of cows and horses, broken heads and fences, were as common as before; but there was no "capital disturber" in any of the provinces. "We hear not," says the Queen, "of any public disturbance in any other part of the realm than Ulster, which is to be taken in hand without delay." Two points in these instructions are worthy of note. In one, the new Deputy is commanded "to have special care, by conferring with such of our Council as are well affected, to see the retaining of our good subjects in their

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\* Perhaps I ought not to pass over without some notice the extraordinary charges made against Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by William Nugent (see Vol. III. pp. 62, 75, *sq.*). It reads to me like romancing,—amusing but perilous.

† Vol. III. 31.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Page 90.

“ duty towards God, according to the religion established  
 “ there by law, and to restrain others from defection, and  
 “ especially from adhering to the Pope.”\* In the other  
 he is informed that the Queen has “supplied certain  
 “ principal places of administration of justice with divers  
 “ men out of England, of good learning and integrity ;  
 “ which places were occupied before by men native of that  
 “ country, and thereby subject to partiality ; which places  
 “ are the two Chief Justices of the Benches, the Master of  
 “ the Rolls, and the Chief Baron.” As they may be  
 maligned by the natives, the Deputy is ordered to support  
 them with his authority.

Compared with the troubled rule of his predecessors, the lot had fallen to Russell in a pleasant place. There was no danger to be apprehended from the Spaniard. The power of the Pope had been as much crippled as that of Philip II. in the disasters of the Armada. With the exception of Tyrone, there was no chief at that time in Ireland who commanded the general sympathy and support of the Irish.† After a few unimportant successes Russell was enabled to turn his undivided attention to the condition of Ulster and its formidable chief, whose submission Elizabeth had greatly at heart. But with the cunning, or, as his admirers would have termed it, the prudence of his race, Tyrone thought better to dissemble. Presenting himself to the Deputy and Council at Dublin, on the 17th August, 1594, he professed, on his knees, contrition for all his past offences, attributed his misconduct and “other unhappy accidents in the North,” to the ill opinion conceived of him by the late Deputy,—

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\* Vol. III. p. 90 ; Carew MS. 632, f. 114b.

† A more particular state of the country may be found in the report furnished by the Council to the Deputy on his arrival.—(See Vol. III. p. 92.)

professed that her Majesty's displeasure had been the greatest grief of his life, and that to her alone he was indebted for his advancement. "How can it be then," he exclaimed, "that I should be so void of reason as to work my own ruin? I confess I am not clear of offence, but I have done what I have done to save my life; nevertheless I am sorry for my fault. And whereas I durst not trust my life in the hands of Sir William Fitz-William, understanding here of the arrival of your Lordship, the now Lord Deputy, I have made my repair to you, assuring myself to have my causes considered of with indifferency."\* When was Irish ingenuity ever at a loss for flattery so delicate, for exculpation so agreeable? The Council, if not the new Deputy, must have heard such apologies repeatedly; but such apologies never palled upon repetition. They were only men; what is more, they were Englishmen; and the most rooted conviction they might have entertained of the real worthlessness of such professions was no proof against their seductiveness. Tyrone was received into favour; his promises were accepted as payments.

The Queen was not so easily satisfied. When the news arrived in England of Tyrone's acquittal and triumphant return to his own country, she addressed a most stormy letter first to the Deputy and Council and then to the Deputy apart. She rated them soundly for their weak and remiss proceedings :†

"It is most gross," she said, "in the judgment of all that have observed the government in these latter times, to find that such a man, so laid open to you all, and made so suspicious by his own actions, hath been suffered to grow to this head which he is brought to, only by sufferance of him when he first began to be impatient of govern-

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\* Vol. III. p. 96.

† Ibid. 100; Carew MS. 632, f. 124.

ment, and by receiving excuses and subterfuges, whereby he might escape all acknowledgment or reformation of his offences. For when he came into Dublin to the late Deputy, and was substantially charged, yet was he dismissed, contrary to all expectation. After he came to Dundalk to you, the Chancellor and the Chief Justice, where many things were apparently proved; and yet was he discharged, with triumph to his own partakers, and with a general discouragement to all those that (for our service) had opposed themselves against him; a thing to our no small dishonour. For amends whereof, when voluntarily he came to you the Deputy, we found it was overruled by you of the Council to dismiss him, when so dangerous accusations were offered to be justified against him; a matter so inexcusable (all \* circumstances considered) as we must needs let you know that it was as foul an oversight as ever was committed in that kingdom."

And to Russell †:—

"Although we have by our general letters to you and our Council precisely insisted upon the errors committed by them in the government of late times, before your arrival, and since in the course of their counsel given you, upon the coming of the Earl of Tyrone to Dublin, and so accidentally touched their faults committed, than used any direct imputation to yourself; yet may we not (in regard of our own future service) forbear in this, plainly and privately, to let you know that, even in true reckoning, none hath more forgotten or mistaken our directions than you have done; whom we did directly enjoin that for no consideration or colour you should dismiss the Earl, if he once came to you, till our pleasure were known. Which direction of ours, although we imparted ‡ not so particularly to the generality of our Council, yet did we little expect that any persuasion of theirs would have altered that which from us you had received."

An opportunity could not long be wanting for invading Tyrone, if even he had been more sincere in his desire of living in peace and acting like a good subject than he appears to have been. Some brawl among his sub-

\* "as" in MS.

† Vol. III. 101; Carew MS. 632, f. 126 b.

‡ "impute" in MS.

ordinates, an insult real or supposed from a neighbouring chief, were sure to lead to a general onslaught, and give the Deputy an opportunity of carrying the Queen's wishes into effect. Her anger against Tyrone was not quickened simply by fear of his power or a sense of his ingratitude, nor yet wholly by the desire of seizing the present favourable opportunity for completing the conquest of Ireland. She entertained a well-grounded suspicion that he was in close confederacy with the Spaniard. Himself "a bastard son of Con O'Neale," as she proclaimed him, and indebted entirely to her grace and bounty for his advancement, he had audaciously stigmatized her parentage and joined the Jesuits and the Spaniards in challenging her right to the throne. He was proclaimed a traitor 28th June 1595,\* in the most opprobrious terms, and the Deputy was commanded to make war upon his country.

The expedition which followed, though nominally commanded by Russell, was in reality entrusted to that able soldier Sir John Norris, the President of Munster. A very lively account of it is given in the journal, of which a summary will be found in Vol. III. p. 113.

Tyrone had again recourse to submission, but only to prolong the time in expectation of aid from Spain. His correspondence with Philip II., Don Carlos, and Aquila will be seen at p. 122 of the same volume.† But Spain was a broken reed. The expected succours never came. His sole hope was submission. Elizabeth, at first inclined to impose very harsh terms, relented, and consented to receive the rebel to mercy on more favourable conditions

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\* Vol. III. 111.

† Philip's answer is at p. 141.

than he could have expected.\* But either from the delusive hope of aid from Spain, of which no Irish chief could ever be disabused, though always disappointed, or from a suspicion that the more favourable terms offered by Elizabeth were tantamount to a confession of weakness, Tyrone wasted the time in idle parleys. Some pretext started on one side or the other effectually prevented all arrangement.† Weeks passed, the Queen grew impatient, and, in no complaisant humour, she wrote to the Deputy a letter, of which the following extract will afford a tolerable indication of the general tone and temper ‡:—

“We have understood by your letters of the 9th of the last month, directed to our Council, many matters, though nothing therein to our contentation; by which you have signified that upon the return of the commissioners that were sent to meet with Tyrone and O'Donell, you did enter into consideration of the present state of that realm, and of the several distractions thereof, to the intent to certify the same unto us. Whereupon it appeareth that you do find, both by the commissioners and otherwise, the traitorous intent of the traitors to continue in their rebellion, and in their barbarous demands; though, as yourselves confess, they did in the beginning stand simply upon our mercy without condition, and made offers to give largely for the redemption of their faults; which if you had at the beginning accepted, and not passed over the time so many months in fond device by learned counsel to form their pardons, this that hath followed, so contrary to their submission, had not now happened. And to the intent we should understand the likelihood of these your opinions of their traitorous intent, you have sent Sir Robert Gardner, one of the commissioners, to inform us particularly of all the proceedings with the said rebels, whom, though you have appointed to report unto us, both by his own doings and his knowledge of the dangerous state of that our realm, yet you have at length in writing described the particular disorders almost in every part of the realm—an adver-

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\* Ibid. pp. 123, 131.

† See the proceedings of the commissioners, Vol. III. p. 132.

‡ P. 166; MS. 612, p. 67.

tisement very uncomfortable from you, who hath had the authority otherwise to govern the realm than, for lack of regard in times convenient, now to present unto us so broken an estate of so great a part of our realm as to have all Ulster wholly, saving two or three places, and all Connaught, saving as few places, wholly possessed with rebels; and likewise some of the counties next our English Pale in like danger. The remedies whereof, being by you propounded, rest altogether upon great preparations of forces and treasure, without offering any help thereto by reformation of the government there, without amendment whereof all the helps by you demanded will prove to come but to a smoke, as all our late former charges have done. And for the inconveniences likely to appear by the simple and gross treaty of the commissioners with the rebels, we have so considered of the manner thereof by the report of Gardner, as we have, upon good consideration of the faults therein committed, caused answers to be made to the presumptuous demands of the rebels, such as shall be fit for rebels to receive; and otherwise also we have yielded to such answers as are meet for offenders to receive, acknowledging their offences, and suing for pardon."

Besides the spirit of independence assumed by Tyrone, from whom nothing but submission was expected, the particular demands to which she specially took exception were these: First, he required free liberty of conscience for all the inhabitants of Tyrone. To this she objected, as there had been "no proceeding against any of them to move so  
 "unreasonable and disloyal a request as to have liberty to  
 "break laws, which her Majesty will never grant to any  
 "subject of any degree."\* Next he claimed that mercy should be extended to certain persons who had incurred her displeasure. To this demand consent was refused, as interfering with her prerogative. Thirdly, he equivocated with the commissioners in their demand that the Bishop and Dean of Armagh should be left unmolested. As the Queen remained firm and peremptory, Tyrone gave way

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\* Page 167.



in the end.\* But on one point, to his honour be it said, he remained unshaken. It was required of him that he should not receive into his country any disloyal persons, but, upon notice being given send them to the Governor. To that “ he agreeth, save only that he will not apprehend any “ spiritual man that cometh into the country for his “ conscience sake.”

The Queen’s exertions were not confined exclusively to the reduction of Ulster or to the humiliation of Tyrone. To keep her own soldiers and officers in obedience and maintain discipline among them was a harder task even than subjugating rebels. The license of the soldiers, generally drafted from the most worthless classes, never easily repressed, became intolerable in the time of war, when their excesses were necessarily regarded with greater indulgence. Ill habits thus acquired were not easily laid aside in time of peace. The following order, issued by Sir William Russell,† suggests a picture of the hardships to which the unhappy people of that realm were exposed :—

“ The soldiers shall not at their will (as heretofore they have done) be their own carvers in killing of the subjects’ lambs, hens, geese, and such like, or in demanding of wine and aqua-vitæ to their meat, but shall take such competent meat and drink as the country is able to afford, without beating or abusing the poor people, or committing of other disorders in taking money or distresses for the same. Item, that neither the soldiers nor their captains shall take up the subjects’ garrons for their carriage, or for the carriages of their wives or laundresses, without special warrant from us the Lord Deputy ; and in such cases to pay for hire of the garrons, according her Majesty’s usual rates, upon the pain and peril aforesaid [*i.e.*, death].

“ It is ordered that no soldier, be he horseman or footman, shall range up and down the country, or depart from their garrison,

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\* See p. 172.

† 18 April 1596; Vol. III. 175; Carew MS. 612, f. 63 b.

without the special licence of his captain, or chief officer in the absence of the said captain. And such as shall depart his garrison by licence shall pay for anything he shall take in the country, to the owner's contentment. And every offence herein committed shall be pain of death, as aforesaid; and pain of imprisonment to such as shall not complain presently, and effectually prosecute the same, to the sheriff, justices, or other officers, as aforesaid.

“It is also ordered that the soldiers, in their marching through the country, shall be placed by the mayor, sheriff, portreeve, sovereign, bailiff, collector, high constable, or the gent[leman] next adjoining who may best do the same, according to the ability of the poor people, the inhabitants of the countries or towns; and not the captains and soldiers to place themselves, as heretofore they were accustomed, whereby many poor people were utterly undone, and driven to forsake their dwellings, leaving the same waste. And every one refusing to be placed and dealt withall according to the true meaning of this article shall incur the pain of death, to be executed as aforesaid [*i.e.*, by martial law]. And the like pain also for the ravishing and carnal knowledge of any woman against her will, and for the taking of any goods moveable whatsoever by way of distress, or otherwise, upon pretence of claim or demand [of] any fee, reward, or gift, touching the having or not having of any meat, drink, or lodging.”

Nor were these enormities confined to the common soldier. The governors of provinces were too often tempted to abuse their authority, and even excite the disorders they were sent to repress. At the very time when the Council in Ireland was adopting severe measures for restraining the licentiousness of the common soldiers, the Queen was sending instructions to search out the enormities of her ministers:—\*

“We must tell you that although the defection of these people from their natural prince (being a work of the Devil) in such traitorous manner hath justly deserved punishment according to their crimes, yet such are the monstrous accusations brought against our ministers that have lived amongst them, and have

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\* P. 176; Carew MS. 612, f. 74.

oppressed so many of those poor people, as it were against the rule of justice, on the other side, to turn our face from their complaints, and, finding them to be just, not to see them redressed. And therefore, considering that you sufficiently know that we do determine a course of pacification (the main points of honour and safety being duly respected), we shall hold it a weakness in you (to whom the government of our kingdom, with the advice of our Council, is committed,) if we shall be driven daily from hence to direct you in all particulars, seeing only we must understand particulars by your relations, and thereof to be informed of your opinions;—a matter surely, which if it shall appear by your proceedings in this, as it doth daily by your bare and barren advices, we shall impute the lacks in our affairs to the wants of your counsels and distributions (discretions?). And therefore, to begin with the matter of Connaught, we must needs let you know how much it doth trouble us to find such an exceeding slackness in the course of trial of these great enormities complained of in Bingham's government; which things have been so loosely ordered, so slightly examined, and so little show to the people of any purpose to right them, as either they must needs think our heart alienated from doing them justice, or you our Governors ill chosen, that have not better dealt in it; from whom if we might have been thoroughly informed, we might long ere this have directed our proceedings according to the rule of honour and justice. We do therefore now command you to consider of fit commissioners to be sent to Connaught, such as have both understanding and will to work reformation."

The assembling of a large army in Spain and a fleet at Cadiz again filled the English with alarm, and inspired the disaffected Irish with new hopes. The gallant attack of Essex on the harbour of Cadiz,\* which ended in the capture or destruction of fifty-seven of the largest Spanish vessels, extinguished for a time all apprehension from that quarter; but the minds of men were still disquieted in Ireland. The native chiefs and their followers had taken a lesson from their conquerors. They had become not only much more expert in the use of arms, as might have

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\* June 1596.

been expected, but had learned to act in concert for their mutual interests. Tyrone, from his greater strength and importance, acknowledged by all as the active head of this confederacy, kept up a correspondence with the disaffected, not in Ulster only, but in all parts of the kingdom. By the terms of their convention they bound themselves never to conclude peace or war with the English without all other members of the new league were included. No chief was to imperil the cause by standing out when the rest had submitted, or needlessly expose himself to danger by presuming, out "of his own pride and presumption," to "spend himself in his own quarrel."\*

Here was a new phase of Irish disaffection. It was, in fact, more dangerous, more difficult to overcome than the Pope or the Spaniard. It could be carried on without any overt act of disobedience to the English government. Severity defeated its own object; impunity was encouragement. "There is no part of Ireland freed from the poison of this great rebellion,"† is the report of the Irish Council in 1597, "and no country or chieftain of a country, being Irish, whom the capital traitor Tyrone hath not corrupted and drawn into combination with him, so as from sea to sea beyond Dundalk, from Carrickfergus to Ballyshannon, there is no part that standeth for her Majesty," except Carrickfergus and some other forts held with strong and chargeable garrisons.

Meanwhile Russell had been recalled, and the sword delegated to Thomas Lord Burgh, Governor of Brill in Holland, who arrived in Dublin on the 15th of May 1597. His instructions, printed in Vol. III., p. 213, show that

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\* Cf. III. 179, 186.

† Ibid. p. 271.

the Queen's first concern, notwithstanding these great and apparent perils, was still the cause of religion\* :—

“Discreetly and quietly inquire of the state of religion, how it is there observed; whereof we are informed there hath been notorious negligence, in that the orders of religion are in few parts of our realm there observed; and that, which is to be lamented, even in our very English Pale multitudes of parishes [are] destitute of incumbents and teachers, and in the very great towns of assembly numbers not only known to forbear to come to the church or divine service, but even willingly winked at to use all manner of Popish ceremonies. For this cause, although we know it is hard, specially at this time, to have things so well observed as in time of quietness, when it was also much abused by negligent looking into, you shall earnestly require the bishops which be of our Council there to show you some cause of this general defection, especially in our towns. And likewise you shall inform yourself whether there be not a Commission Ecclesiastical, and of such as be in commission you shall require to understand upon what occasions the said commissioners have not discharged their duties to withstand these pitiful disorders. And of their answers you shall make good observation, which we would have to be delivered by them to you in writing, and thereof to advertise us, with some opinion, by advice of the better sort of our Council there, how this general defection might be reformed in some convenient sort, and not thus carelessly suffered, as though we had granted a toleration of Popery; that being one of the chiefest points at which, in all demands, the rebels have so greedily aimed.”

The report of the Council is filled with the gloomiest forebodings.† Ulster had revolted; no part of it was free from hostility to her Majesty. Adherence to the capital traitors of Tyrone and Connaught was all but universal. Not one of the six shires was free from rebellion. Munster was plagued by a loose rabble, who had committed several murders on the English settlers. Leinster was exposed to the excesses of the Butlers and M'Hughes. Sundry

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\* Vol. III, p. 213.

† Ibid., p. 216.

persons in this province had not openly declared themselves, but are set down as “suspicious and doubtful.” The shires of the English Pale were backward in the service of the Queen; some of the meaner sort were in open rebellion; others were suspected of holding correspondence with traitors, and were thought to act as guides to the rebels in the invasion of the Pale.

These reports were confirmed by a subsequent document.\* The condition of Munster, it is stated, was like to grow worse by the efforts of two great lords of Kintyre in Scotland, who were bringing two or three thousand Scots into Ulster; whilst in the English Pale and in Munster it was scarcely concealed that the Irish intended to root out the English, shake off the English government, and “reduce the realm to the old Irish laws and tyrannical customs of tanistry.”†

These disorders were increased by others, which are ably set forth in a paper printed in the third volume,‡ describing the oppressions to which the poor and industrious inhabitants of the Pale itself were exposed by the extortions of the soldiers:—

“Although these continual spoils, robberies, and burnings done by the rebels were enough of itself to waste any country, yet the soldiers entertained and appointed by your Majesty for the country’s safeguard and defence, have, contrary to your Majesty’s good pleasure, not much [less] consumed, impoverished, and annoyed most part of the Pale than the traitors. For, first, the horse companies, in their passing through the same, every man most commonly hath double horses, some officers treble, each of them one boy, and some two, travelling not past four miles in the day—and that not directly, but crossing the country to and fro—wasting, with their lingering journeys, the inhabitants’ corn excessively with their horses, and

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\* P. 271.

† P. 273.

‡ P. 260; Carew MS. 632, f. 163.

their goods with their extortion. The foot companies likewise observing the same course in travelling most commonly not above two or three miles in the day, though their appointed garrisons be not past ten miles off, yet do they go 30 miles about, being followed and accompanied as they go through the Pale, each soldier with his boy at least, and for a great part with their women, and many horses, as well of their own as of the country, violently taken from the owners, to carry them, their children, and women; placing themselves at their pleasures, exacting meat and drink far more than competent, and commonly money from them; their boys, women, and followers much exceeding the people's ability; taking money from (for?) their officers after a double rate, whereof amongst every seven or eight soldiers they affirm commonly to have one. And if there be any wanting of a full company—as commonly in these journeys and all other cases, tending to the country's charge, there are rather more than under, though at all other times far fewer than due—then are the numbers which they report to be absent said to be employed in necessary causes, and they which are present do oftentimes take up money for the diet of them pretended to be absent. And if they be not satisfied with meat and money according to their outrageous demands, then do they beat their poor horses and their people, ransacking their houses, taking away cattle and goods of all sorts, not leaving so much as the tools and instruments that craftsmen do exercise their occupations withall, nor the garments to their backs, nor clothes to their beds; so as at their next meeting-places there are to be found many times such plentiful store of household stuff, or what else they could carry or drive away with them, as at ordinary markets; which if the owners did not redeem at the will of the takers, then are they sold and dispersed, in such sort as they that ought (owned) them shall never come by them again. And if any do withstand or gainsay such their inordinate wills, then they do not only exercise all the cruelty they can against them, but do also procure other companies to set afresh upon them in far worse sort than before, in nature of a revenge; so as whosoever resisteth their wills shall be sure to have nothing left him, if he can escape with his life.

“This course of ranging and extorting of her silly\* people is become so common and gainful as that many other† soldiers (as is

\* So in MS. Qu. a mistake for “her Majesty's.”

† Qu. mistake for “of her.”

said) have no other entertainment from their captains; and many others that are not soldiers, pretending to be of some company or other, have, in like outrageous sort, ranged up and down the country, spoiling and robbing the subjects as if they were rebels. And most certain it is that the rebels themselves, pretending to be soldiers, and knowing how gainful the course is, have often played the like parts unbeknown to the poor people, who live in such awe of the soldiers as they dare not resist any that take upon them that profession. So as, of all sides, the poor subjects go so miserably to wreck as no tongue nor pen can at full express.

“If these passings and repassings through the country happened but seldom and with few companies, the grief were not so intolerable; but since these broils it was ordinary that every two months or thereabouts there should be drawn through the Pale two or three thousand men from the parts of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught to Dondalke, to conclude a cessation of wars, with how small advantage to your Majesty’s service, and with how great hurt to your subjects, is now so well known, and then so much felt, as it needeth no new rehearsal.

“Also when the forces are placed in garrisons, large proportions of beeves, muttons, and grain are imposed as well by the State as by principal commanders for finding of men and horses, to be levied weekly of the poor inhabitants, without consent of the nobility and gentlemen chiefly interested therein. And although they must for a ticket of 20s. give a beef for which themselves paid sometimes 40 and sometimes more, yet if some small part of the said proportions happen to be in arrear and unpaid at the times appointed, the soldiers straight run into the country with their horses, boys, and women, upon pretence to take up the arrear of their allowance, exacting the inhabitants during their being so abroad, without yielding the country amends for the same or forgiving any part of the proportions assigned to find them in garrison: whereas in respect of the largeness of their allowance, and of the continual wants of [*i. e.*, deficiencies in] the numbers that their proportions are plotted for, they might without want continue in their garrisons until their full allowance were brought in.

“And although at other times their proportions of beeves and the rest be fully sent in, yet do they vex and oppress the inhabitants next adjoining to their garrisons most extremely, consuming wastefully and needless such provisions as [the] people



make for relief of themselves and their families, and in misusing of their persons, in such wise as the poor creatures, being thereby deprived of food and rest, together with the spoils of the rebels, are forced to forsake their houses, which out of hand are plucked down, and the timber thereof burned in the garrisons; which waste is made the more grievous that the inheritors or inhabitants of those waste places are forced to carry the timber of their houses to be burned; the soldiers leaving no trees, fruitful or otherways, unspoiled; the planters and preservers, with heavy hearts, looking on their long labours and expectations thus defaced and brought to so uncomfortable an event."

Here was discouragement enough after such incredible exertions, after so much expenditure of blood and treasure. It was the labour of Sisyphus; no sooner had the stone reached the top of the hill than it thundered down to the bottom. No wonder that Elizabeth was growing weary and somewhat exasperated.

Elizabeth's great minister and adviser, overwhelmed with the cares of State and natural infirmities, was unable to serve her any longer, except with his prayers. She herself, no longer in the flower of her age, might justly have abandoned the thankless task of governing a people who rewarded her efforts with ingratitude and rebellion. Careless of purchasing peace at the cost of their eventual suffering, she might have left to her successor the task of pacifying or abandoning Ireland. But these were not a Tudor's notions of duty, nor had God sent her to rule in this fashion. Not bating a jot of her high spirit, she wrote to Ormond, who had been appointed Lieutenant on the death of De Burgh, in the following royal strain\* :—

"We are not so alienated from hearkening to such submission as may tend to the sparing of effusion of Christian blood, but that we can be content, in imitation of God Almighty (whose minister we are here on earth, and who forgiveth all sins), to receive the penitent

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\* Dec. 1597. Vol. III. 277; Carew MS. 601, f. 147.

and humble submission of those traitors that pretend to crave it ; wherein we doubt not but you, that are of noble blood and birth, will so carry all things in the manner of your proceedings as our [honour] may be specially regarded and preserved in all your actions, seeing you do know that you now represent our own person, and have to do with inferior people and base rebels, to whose submission if we in substance shall be content to condescend, we will look to have the same implored in such reverent form as becometh our vassals and such heinous offenders to use, with bended knees and hearts humbled ; not as if one prince did treat with another upon even terms of honour or advantage, in using words of peace or war, but of rebellion in them and merey in us ; for rather than ever it shall appear to the world that in any such sort we will give way to any of their pride, we will cast off either sense or feeling of pity or compassion, and upon what price soever prosecute them to the last hour."

Her energy was not confined to words. Undaunted by tidings of ill-success and mismanagement which reached her ears, especially the inglorious and disastrous defeat of her Marshal, Sir Henry Bagnall, at Blackwater,\* she levied new troops, she sent over additional supplies of provisions and ammunition, and raised her establishment in Ireland to a permanent force of 1,300 horse and 16,000 foot. The utmost that Tyrone could bring into the field, with all his supporters and followers in Ulster, amounted to no more than 1,013 horse and 3,540 foot ; † and the Queen might well express her astonishment that, with her available force of eight or nine thousand, the arch rebel should still be able to set her authority at defiance, and dictate his own terms of submission. This brings us to the most popular epoch of Elizabeth's wars in Ireland—the appointment of Robert Earl of Essex as Lieutenant and Governor General. ‡

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\* Aug. 14, 1598. Vol. III. 280.

† See *ibid.* 287.

‡ March 12, 1599. Vol. III. 290. There is one fact connected with the lieutenancy of Essex in Ireland overlooked by those who have written

The arrangements for his expedition were made on a scale of more than ordinary liberality, and contrasted strongly with the Queen's parsimonious doles on other occasions. She expressly states, in her instructions to Sir George Cary, Treasurer at War, that, in consequence of the greatness of the rebellion causing her to send into Ireland a larger force than was ever sent there before, she had divided his charge from the ordinary expenditure, and "caused an establishment to be made thereof" for the Lieutenant-General (Essex).\* His forces consisted of 1,300 horse and 16,000 foot, afterwards nominally increased to 20,000;† with provisions and munitions in proportion. If Essex, then, had been lured by his enemies to undertake this service in the hope that it might lead him to destruction, they certainly took no steps for securing the object of their wishes. But Irish history is a series of enigmas; the ends never follow in proportion to the means, nor do effects follow from the most probable causes. Victories not unfrequently prove more disastrous than defeats in this land of moral and political eccentricity. The ordinary calculations of reason are at fault here; the logic of prudence and forethought are completely baffled. The most thoughtful skill, the staidest judgment of English statesmen and soldiers, directly they touch Irish soil, are lost in mystery. To form a correct judgment of motives and actions is scarcely possible—least of all for English intellects. These remarks apply to the adminis-

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on the subject, and of great importance towards forming a just estimate of his conduct. At the time of his appointment he received a sign-manual from the Queen, at his own request, licensing him "to return to her Majesty's presence at such times as he shall find cause."—Carew Papers III. 295.

\* P. 291.

† P. 295.

tration of Essex; they are not less applicable to every phase and every page of Irish history.

Large as the forces of Essex were, they were no more than adequate for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, if we may trust the reports of the Council there.\* Disaffection had risen up like a giant and made gigantic strides within the last few months. Not a province but bristled with disorderly and fugitive soldiers—not a city of any note but openly supplied the disaffected with arms and stores. In the county of Dublin itself the mountaineers, with other Irish septs, were in open rebellion. In Leinster the rebel forces amounted to 1,618 foot and 332 horse; in Meath to 460 foot and 20 horse; in Ulster to 6,080 foot and 1,412 horse; in Munster to 5,030 foot and 242 horse; in Connaught to 2,790 foot and 260 horse. Of course the rebels could not speedily unite their forces, but they kept up so good an intelligence with each other that, whenever the English general made head against one of them, the others took advantage of his absence.

It is abundantly clear that at no time since the accession of the House of Tudor had Ireland presented a more formidable appearance. Tyrone had shown not only a genius and capacity for intrigue far above his contemporaries, but a skill in political combinations not often found in the ruler of a half-civilised people like the inhabitants of Ulster. For the first time in their history the Irish appeared to be acting in concert, to acknowledge community of interest, to admit the necessity of union, to postpone private animosities to the public good. These new influences were fostered and sanctioned by the strongest of all influences among them—that of religion. In all his conferences with the English authorities, in his corre-

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\* See especially p. 298.

spondence with his countrymen, liberty of conscience and regard for the Catholic faith were put foremost by Tyrone. In a letter to Sir William Warren, who had been accredited to him as the Queen's representative for the time, whilst complaining of the violation of the terms by the Irish Council, Tyrone remarks: "The cessation is greatly  
 " violated by the apprehending of Father Henry Fitz-  
 " Simons, a man to whom, as before God I protest, I am  
 " no more beholden than to an Irish Catholic that is re-  
 " strained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake gene-  
 " rally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland.  
 " According my often protestations, I must undertake, be  
 " it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics; and do feel  
 " myself more grieved that any should be for his religion  
 " restrained in time of cessation than if there were 1,000  
 " preys taken from me. Wherefore, as ever you think  
 " that I shall enter to conclude peace or cessation with  
 " the State, let him be presently enlarged."\*

So again to the King of Spain, on asking him to furnish funds for the College of Douay, which even at that time reckoned 100 students living on the charity of others, the Earl says, in a language hardly to be expected from him: "Nothing can be more beneficial to a Christian state than  
 " to have men pre-eminent for learning and virtue to  
 " disseminate God's word, instruct the people, and eradi-  
 " cate error from men's minds. Of such men this king-  
 " dom is lamentably deficient, owing to continual war and  
 " the exertions of heresy."† And though it was impos-  
 sible at that time to disjoin from the establishment of the Catholic faith opposition to the English government, and Tyrone's invitation to Irish nobles to unite with him in

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\* Vol. III. 349.

† Ibid.

his crusade for liberty of conscience was sometimes coupled with a threat of disagreeable consequences if they refused, what else could have been anticipated in those times? It was not to be expected that the Irish chief should entertain clearer views of religious toleration, or patriotism less alloyed by inferior motives, than were to be found in the most civilised and enlightened courts of Europe. Unquestionably a man of great mark and ability had sprung up in Ireland, and was impressing the force of his genius on a movement the most disastrous to English supremacy. That movement was not to be put down by ordinary means, and so Elizabeth felt.

Yet she betrayed no fear, nor did her resolution falter. Her instructions to Essex are marked with a quiet dignity and composure which, forgotten sometimes in the relaxation of business, seemed ever to come spontaneously to her aid in times of the greatest danger or perplexity. Her outward composure increased in proportion to the violence of her unseen and internal emotions;—a tranquillity though forced, yet apparently so natural that not even those who knew her thoroughly could penetrate the mask or discover her real sentiments.

She writes thus\* :—

“ Having entered into deep consideration of Ireland, we find it of necessity (both in regard of our honour and safety of that realm) to end that rebellion by a powerful force. For accomplishment whereof we are resolved to spare no earthly thing of ours which may be necessary for defence of that kingdom and people, over whom Almighty God hath constituted us the immediate and only governor. Of this resolution we need speak little, because our actions themselves are sufficient demonstrations. Only this we must remember, that seeing we are pleased to declare by all circumstances how highly we value the same, even so far as to be contented to exhaust such numbers of men, such portions of trea-

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\* Vol. III. 292; Carew MS. 601, f. 166.

sure, and of all things else, even out of this realm of England, which we hold as precious as our life; and seeing in all such important affairs of this nature and consequence nothing is so essential as the choice of him who shall guide and manage the same, (he being the person who must give light for other[']s] direction, and order to all for timely execution, which is the light of all resolutions,) whosoever we shall choose thereunto, if he rightly descend into true consideration of our election, cannot but have a great sense and feeling which so great an honour and trust deserveth, and both resolve to undergo the charge with comfort, and study by all efforts\* of diligence, faith, and wisdom, to yield us and our Estate timely fruits of his endeavours in this action of so general consequence.

“These being the causes of this great action, and these being the motives of all princes’ choices who know what belongs to govern well, and mean to be well served, having cast our eyes upon all our servants, and in our princely judgment compared the qualities and fitness of all such as may be actors with the greatness and importance of this action, we have resolved on you [Essex], before any other, out of former experience of your faith, valour, wisdom, and extraordinary merit, on whom to confer this great honour and trust.”

Essex landed in Dublin 15th April 1599. He was not inactive by any means. He marched into Munster the May following. On the 20th he was at Kilkenny. His proceedings from that day to the 22nd of June following are minutely described in the Journal of Occurrences, of which a notice will be found in Vol. III. p. 301. Another Journal, p. 308, takes us on from the 22nd of June to the 1st of July, when Essex returned to Dublin, “indisposed and distempered” in body, partly to recruit his troops and partly to make the necessary arrangements for an attack upon Ulster.

Whether his activity was misapplied, whether instead of turning his forces towards the west he should rather

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\* “effects” in MS.

have reserved them for an attack upon Ulster, cannot be decided without a very minute acquaintance with the state of Ireland, and the condition of the rebels when Essex arrived. Though the Queen was exasperated at what she considered a poor return for the sacrifices she had made, it is to be observed that she does not condemn the Earl for postponing the Ulster expedition, but for his apparent delay in setting out\* :—

“ We have perceived by your letters to our Council, brought by Henry Carye, that you are arrived at Dublin after your journey into Munster, where though it seemeth by the words of your letter that you had spent divers days in taking an account of all things that have passed since you left that place [Dublin], yet have you in this despatch given us small light either when, or [in] what order, you intend particularly to proceed to the northern action.”

She taunts him in language rather calculated to sting the pride of the Earl than really expressing her calm convictions. The capture of Cahir Castle she describes as an “ Irish hold ” taken “ from a rabble of rogues.” And again :—

“ There is little public benefit made to us of any things happened in this action which the President (Norris), with any convenient addition to his numbers by you, might not have effected, either now or hereafter in a time more seasonable, when it should less have hindered the other enterprise, on which depends our greatest expectation. Wherunto we will add this one thing, that doth more displease us than any charge or expense that happens, which is, that it must be the Queen of England’s fortune (who hath held down the greatest enemy she had) to make a base bush kerne to be accounted so famous a rebel as to be [the] person against whom so many thousands of foot and horse, besides the force of all the nobility of that kingdom, must be thought little to be employed. For we must now remember unto you that our cousin of Ormonde, by his own relation, when you arrived, assured us that he had delivered you a charge of a kingdom without either town maritime or island or hold possessed by the traitors.

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\* Vol. III. 315; Carew MS. 601. f. 179 b.



“But we did ever think that Tyrone would please himself to see such a portion of our fair army, and led by the person of our General, to be harassed\* out and adventured in encountering those base rogues, who were no way strengthened by foreign armies, but only by such of his offal as he was content to spare and let slip from himself, whilst he hath lived at his pleasure, hath spoiled all where our army should come, and preserved for himself what he thought necessary. Little do you know how he hath blazed in foreign parts the defeats of regiments, the death of captains, and loss of men of quality in every corner; and how little he seemeth to value their power who use it so as it is likely to spend itself. It is therefore apparent that all places require not one and the self-same knowledge, and that draughts and surprises would have found better successes than public and notorious marches; though, where the rebels attend you with greater forces, it is necessary to carry our army in the form you use.

“But it doth sound hardly in the ears of the world, that in a time when there is a question to save a kingdom, and in a country where experience giveth so great advantage to all enterprises, regiments should be committed to young gentlemen that rather desire to do well than know how to perform it; a matter wherein we must note, that you have made both us and our Council so great strangers as to this day (but by reports) we know not who they be that spend our treasure and carry places of note in our army; wherein you know we did by our instructions direct you, as soon as you should be arrived, seeing you used reasons why it could not be done so conveniently beforehand.

“These we would pass over, but that we see your pen flatters you with phrases that here you are defeated, that you are disgraced from hence in your friends' fortune, that poor Ireland suffers in you; still exclaiming against the effects of your own causes. For if it be not enough that you have all and more than that which was agreed on before you went, concerning [the] public service, but that you must, by your voluntary actions there in particular things (which you know full well are contrary and disagreeing to our will and liking), raise an opinion that there is any person that dare displease us, either by experience of our former tolerations, or with a conceit to avoid blame by distinctions, then must we not hide from you (how much soever we do esteem you for those good things which are in

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\* Sic; qu. “harnessed.”

you), but that our honour hath dwelt too long with us to leave that point now uncleared, that whosoever it be that you do clad with any honours or places wherein the world may read the least suspicion of neglect or contempt of our\* commandments, we will never make dainty to set on such shadows as shall quickly eclipse any of those lustres."

This is the injustice, this is the blindness, of resentment; but from what causes that resentment sprung it is not easy to determine. Elizabeth must have known that the rebels were scarcely less formidable in Munster than in Ulster; that her troops, though more numerous than usual, were but raw levies, inferior to the rebels in number, strength, and even in the use of their arms.† Acts of cowardice among the officers, where it was least expected, had demoralized their men. On the part of the Earl it was at the worst an error of judgment, and, if an error, it had been sanctioned, not only by the advice of the Irish Council, but by all the most experienced

\* "your" in MS.

† This will appear almost incredible, but in a very temperate letter sent by the Earl to the Queen the June before it is stated: "These rebels " are more in number than your Majesty's army, and have (though I do " unwillingly confess it) *better bodies* and perfecter use of their arms than " those men which your Majesty sends over." And, strange as it may appear, Elizabeth has herself intimated the cause of this inferiority in her own instructions to the Earl, which in the accession of her anger she seems to have forgotten. Thus she says (III. 293): "False certificates " have usually been sent over of the numbers serving in our pay, as you " know; and our bands have been continually filled up with Irishry *in* " *such sort as commonly the third person in any one band hath not been* " *English, and the Irish have run away with their arms to the traitor.* " The rebels have thus been enabled to withstand our forces." Those forces too, it must be remembered, were raw recruits levied in English counties, unaccustomed to war and the hardships of an Irish climate, against the dampness of which their clothing was no efficient protection. The victuals were unwholesome owing to the frauds of merchants and shippers, and not unfrequently in a state of putrefaction. (See Instructions, *ibid.* p. 294.)

officers who were most fitted to give an opinion on the subject. But from the outset the Queen betrayed an irritation and impatience wholly inadequate to the supposed offence. Had she trusted Essex with too much power and authority, of which she repented? Was she afraid of his presumption and ambition? That she was jealous of his popularity, still more jealous of the aspiring young men of wealth and nobility who attended him to Ireland, appears to me unquestionable; and that jealousy, as in the case of the Earl of Southampton, Essex did not take either the most ready or most prudent means to allay.

But it is no part of my duty to enter upon a minute discussion of this mysterious subject. The reader is referred to the volume itself\* for the correspondence between the Earl and the Queen, so unsatisfactory on both sides. It ended in the return of Essex to England before he had done any service of moment for repressing the rebellion in Ireland, or adequate, in the Queen's estimation, to the great powers with which he had been entrusted. Of his last parley with Tyrone, a very interesting account will be found in Vol. III. p. 321.

The Queen's letter to the Earl, when she received his account of this parley, is filled with the most bitter reproaches. She told him, among other things† :—

“No actions can more resemble others that have been before condemned than these proceedings of yours at this time with the rebels. For you must consider that as we sent you into Ireland an extraordinary person, with an army exceeding any that ever was paid there by any prince for so long time out of this realm, and that you ever supposed that we were forced to all this by the weak proceedings [of former Deputies] even in this point of the treaties and pacifications; so, if this parley shall not produce such a conclusion

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\* See Vol. III. 313, *sq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 326.

as this intolerable charge may receive present and large abatement, then hath the managing of our forces not only proved dishonourable and wasteful, but that which followeth is like to prove perilous and contemptible."

No man with any self-respect could retain office under such repeated insults; and Essex did what every man, much less hasty and impetuous than he was by nature, would have done—he threw up his command and returned to England, sick in body, ill at ease in mind. His own account of the matter will be found in Vol. III. p. 335 *sq.* Yet, though the Queen had expressed the greatest degree of resentment at the conduct of Essex in negotiating with Tyrone, she could not deny either the policy or justice of his proceedings. So far from urging upon the Lords Justices appointed by Essex in his absence to depart from his policy, she insisted that it should be carried out to the letter \*:—

"We cannot hide that we are displeas'd that our kingdom hath been so ill order'd as that we must accept of such proceedings before the rebel had tasted somewhat of our power; neither could we like his [Essex's] judgment in coming over so suddenly to us in person, knowing well that upon this abrupt departure every ill spirit would fashion sinister conjectures; some that the State was desperate, others that himself (upon whose judgment it was likely that we would rely) would imagine it fit to have his offer taken in all points, or else that he would rather have written than come. In which consideration, to the intent that no man hereafter should leave such a charge so suddenly without making any end one way or other, we could do no less than sequester him from our presence for some time into the house of one of our Privy Council, as an argument of our dislike thereof. For although it be known to us that the treaty set on foot between the King of Spain and us taketh away any doubt that he will now give any succours to those rebels, yet was it more than he knew but that the remain of the forces at the Groyne, being frustrated of other attempts, might have

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\* Vol. III. 339.

been sent thither; which, if it should have happened during his absence, could not but have wrought confusion in that State.

“Of this much we think fit that you be informed, lest it might be conceived that we misliked to hear of any submission, or that the traitor might think we meant to reject him. And therefore we would have him understand from you, our cousin of Ormond, that although we dislike divers particulars in his offers, yet do we both allow of his desire to be forgiven, and are resolved (if the fault be not in himself) to restore him to our grace and favour. But forasmuch as his petitions consist of many considerable circumstances, wherein we must have regard to our honour above all things, we will defer our final answer for some few days, and then return to him our pleasure under our hand by some so confident personage, as when he looketh down into the centre of his faults, and up to the height of our mercy, he shall find and feel that he is the creature of a gracious sovereign, that taketh more contentment to save than to destroy the work of our own hands.

“If you shall think good to choose our secretary Fenton, with some assistant, to deliver them this much, and thereby to see how he stand affected, we shall well allow that election, or of any other that you shall think fit for our service, if sickness or any other sufficient cause do hinder his employment.”

Her letter to Secretary Fenton is in the same strain\* :—

“We do find by the manner of Essex his report that he (Tyrone) seemeth to have been much carried on to this course of submission in respect of the opinion he had of him, and the confidence he had by his mediation to procure all his desires; Tyrone professing, as it seemed by Essex his words, that such was his affection to himself, for his father's sake, as he would not draw his sword against him, but he would do that for him which he would not do for any other. Herein we have thought good to require you to let him plainly understand that, although we do no more dislike that he should address himself to us by Essex than by any other that should hold his place (it being always proper for men in his degree to make their suits known by those to whom the prince committeth the trust of her kingdom), yet we would have him consider and remember that as he is our subject born, and raised to honour by us only, and not born to depend upon any second

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\* Vol. III. 343.

power (as long as he shall carry himself like a good subject), so if, after his offences known to the world so publicly, this submission [of] his shall not as well appear to the world by all clear circumstances to proceed simply out of his inward grief and sorrow for his offences against us, and from his earnest desire only to satisfy us his sovereign, but that it must be bruted abroad that for any other man's respect whosoever he takes the way, either sooner or later, to become a good subject, or that it shall be conceived that Tyrone would forbear to draw his sword against our Lieutenant rather than against us, we shall take ourself thereby much dishonoured, and neither could value anything that shall proceed from him on such conditions, nor dispose our mind to be so gracious to him hereafter as otherwise we might have been induced."

It is well known that, notwithstanding all these manifestations of anger and resentment at his proceedings, and still more at his abrupt departure from Ireland, the Queen received this unfortunate nobleman with marks of favour. She uttered not a single reproach; on the other hand, she manifested the greatest pleasure at his return. This seems to me to be the real explanation of the mystery; not, as some have imagined, that she resented his absence from her person, or had fallen into that ridiculous dotage so ingeniously attributed to her by some historians, but that she was glad to get rid of suspicions fostered by her increasing years, and perhaps by the suggestions of the Earl's enemies. She had dreaded—a common dread to which all Deputies in Ireland had been exposed—lest Essex should make himself independent in Ireland; and that dread was encouraged by the self-will and popularity of the Earl. Ireland offered the easiest means for a clandestine correspondence with Scotland; and whether the Queen had knowledge of the fact, or only suspected it, so long as Essex remained in Ireland—the back door of England to Scotland, as it was often called—he was, in fact, master of the succession. Not that he was so mad as to seek the sceptre for himself, but in whose-

soever favour he declared himself—and that would be James VI.—not only would he succeed as monarch, but Essex would have the greatest claim upon his gratitude, the greatest stroke in disposing of his authority. That prospect pleased neither the Queen nor her ministers. As in the case of Tyrone, so also in that of James VI. and of all others, her dignity would suffer none to dictate. No suitor for favour, as she considered it, should “depend upon any second power;” and she naturally grew more jealous and more suspicious as she found it difficult to retain exclusive power, and observance towards herself undiminished. A little more caution, a little more diplomatic cunning, might have secured for Essex the place of Sir Robert Cecil; a little more openness and impetuosity might have exposed Cecil to the fate of Essex. The after conduct of the Earl is that of a reckless gambler who has lost his last chance, and attempts to retrieve his position by a bold stroke, in which prudence and sober calculation have no part. The papers relating to the last acts of his life are full of interest, and will be found in the third volume of the Calendar, pp. 436, 517, 519.

Charles Lord Mountjoy was appointed Deputy, and arrived in Ireland on the 24th February 1600. Sir George Carew was at the same time nominated Governor of Munster. Apparently the inferior in command, Carew was in fact the superior. He enjoyed the confidence of the Queen; and, what was more important, he had the undeviating support and ardent friendship of Sir Robert Cecil, who never omitted any opportunity of recommending Carew to his sovereign, magnifying his services and furthering his wishes, let the sacrifice cost what it might. Sir Robert has been set down by the historians of the period and in popular estimation as the very antithesis to Essex. He is represented as cold, subtle, and intriguing, as devoid of

generosity and of natural affection: and the eulogists of Lord Bacon have not failed to exalt their favourite at the expense of his less brilliant relative. But under a reserve which was necessary in a great minister—still more in one surrounded by watchful and intriguing rivals—Cecil concealed a heart susceptible of the warmest attachments. His large, liquid, lustrous eyes—absorbing as it were the whole of his countenance and fascinating the spectator—were a sure and unmerring index of the ardent and romantic affections which long training and strong self-possession had alone enabled him to control. The delicate susceptibilities of the man and his exquisite tenderness are manifest in the correspondence between himself and his father. The letters of the old Lord Burghley to his son during his last sickness are not only full of that fatherly affection, which is sometimes rare in statesmen, and in his case not generally suspected, but they breathe a grave and gracious spirit, showing how much the love of both was mingled with mutual respect. The confidential letters preserved by Carew, and written by Sir Robert without disguise, present him in a new character. They are in many respects the most valuable, as they certainly are the most delightful portions of this correspondence. What the treasures at Hatfield may contain I know not; but certainly no letters of Cecil hitherto published present him in so engaging a light as these, and in none, whilst throwing off the statesman, is the man himself so clearly presented to the reader. The envy and evil designs he is supposed to have harboured towards his contemporaries are here clearly shown to rest on no foundation. The truth appears to be that he won and held the highest post in the kingdom, and enjoyed the entire confidence of his sovereign, not only because he was far superior to all his rivals in real administrative genius and aptitude



for business, but because that genius was attended with certain moral qualities of a high order. He had few friends, but those few entertained for him the warmest affection, and reposed in him the most unshaken confidence.

To return to Mountjoy. Notwithstanding the difficulties in which Elizabeth was now placed by the spreading of the rebellion, and still more by its effects on the susceptible minds of the Irish as the cause of the Pope, the first care of the Queen was the defence of the Protestant religion: "We do recommend unto your special care to  
" preserve the true exercise of religion amongst our loving  
" subjects; and though the time doth not permit that you  
" should now intermeddle by any severity or violence in  
" matters of religion until we have better established our  
" power there to countenance your actions in that kind,  
" yet we require you, both in your own house and in your  
" armies, you foresee that no neglect be used in that  
" behalf." \*

How Mountjoy carried out his instructions will be seen in the orders issued by him to the army when he assumed the command. A braver man, or one more chivalrous, was not then to be found. He was one of the few survivors of that noble band which, under Elizabeth, had raised this nation to an unprecedented height; one of those in whom the more sterling qualities of the English character were sublimated and refined by that tinge of idealism which redeemed it from the coarser materialism into which it was too apt to degenerate. The old spiritual element inherited from a past age had not yet wholly died out. The very first charge of Mountjoy to his officers is "to see  
" that Almighty God be duly served; that sermons and

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\* Vol. III. 356.

“ morning and evening prayer be diligently frequented ;  
 “ and that those that often and wilfully absent them-  
 “ selves be duly punished.” No man is to speak im-  
 piously and maliciously “ against the Holy and Blessed  
 Trinity,” or contravene the known articles of the  
 Christian faith, *on pain of death*. Impiety, blasphemy,  
 unlawful oaths, any irreligious act “ to the derogation  
 of God’s honour,” is to be punished by fine or imprison-  
 ment, or whatever other penalty a court-martial shall  
 think fit to award, as unbecoming the profession of a  
 Christian and a soldier.\* The stronger and healthier  
 faith of those times did not flinch from avowing that  
 honour to God was no less the concern of a true subject  
 than obedience to the sovereign ; nor would a court-martial  
 have thought itself obliged to punish drunkenness and  
 desertion, and leave profaneness and infidelity uncensured.

It is easy to guess from this one specimen the  
 general character of the rest. They are as strict as the  
 greatest soldier in this age or any other age could desire.  
 After denouncing the penalty of death against those who  
 drew their swords in private quarrels—one of the com-  
 monest acts of insubordination in Ireland—banishment or  
 imprisonment for acts of incontinence in officers or men—  
 Mountjoy proceeds to enumerate under the same head a  
 variety of crimes and misdemeanors ; *e. g.*, death to any man  
 stealing her Majesty’s stores, or for delivering a fort to  
 the rebels, or making an ignominious compact with them,  
 or abandoning his ensign, or sleeping on his post, or  
 falling out of the ranks, or exceeding his furlough,  
 “ except he can prove he was stayed by the hand of God.”  
 Every soldier or officer found drunk is to be committed to  
 prison for the first offence ; for the second he shall forfeit

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\* Vol. III. 502.

two months' pay if a common soldier, and if an officer he shall lose his place. "Every private soldier, upon pain  
" of imprisonment, shall keep silence when the army is to  
" take lodging, or when it is marching or imbatling, so as  
" the officers may be heard."

The best comment on these orders will be found in a description of the state of the army a few months before, sent by Sir John Dowdall to Secretary Cecil.\* The whole paper is remarkable for the clear insight it affords into the disorders of Ireland and their causes, but I am only now concerned with that portion of it which relates to the state of the soldiery. The writer puts the question, "Why are the forces so weak and poor?" and his answer is, that one of the main causes is to be attributed to the electing of captains rather by favour than desert; for many are inclined to dicing, wenching, and the like, and do not regard the wants of their soldiers.

Another cause, he adds, is that the soldiers do rather "meditate," that is, follow the fashions of the disarmed companies that came out of Brittany and Picardy, "desiring a scald rapier before a good sword, a pike without carettes or burgenmett, a hagbutteer without a morion." Then follows the dilatory and inefficient supply of provisions and clothes. The victuals he asserts are many times corrupted; the suit of clothes valued at 4*l*s. is not worth half. Most part of the army seem "beggary ghosts," fitter for their graves than to fight a prince's battle; the report of which so works in men's minds "that they had as lief go to the gallows as to the Irish wars." He recommends that the old heavy musket should be replaced by "calivers" of a musket length and of less weight. The

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\* Vol. III, p. 353.

musket, with its necessary complement of powder and lead, "doth clog and weary the bearer."

Then, turning to the Irish and their successful resistance of the Queen's authority, he examines the reasons why they are "so strong, so well armed, apparelled, victualled, and moneyed." The Irish soldier endures no wants; he makes his booty in all parts of the kingdom. He sells and resells the same plunder four times in half a year. The army pays for what it takes; the Irish rebel does not; and so long as there is a plough going, or cattle to be stolen, he will be able to maintain himself, and keep the war afoot.

Finally he explains what must seem a riddle to most men, how the Irish, without much trade, and with less commerce, were able to provide themselves with arms and ammunition. This evil arose, like the rest, from the inefficient pay and provision of the regular soldier. Some "Gray merchant" or townsman was always at hand to buy his weapons. The sword, which he was ready to sell for 10*s.* or 12*s.*, fetched among the rebels 3*l.* or 4*l.* A graven morion brought the same sum. The powder at 12*d.* a pound was resold for 3*s.* So the war fed itself, and England taught the Irish to fight, and supplied them with the means.

Carew adds to these another and a stronger reason,—old as the nation itself,—inwoven with the fibres of its growth, inexplicable to him as it is to most English minds. "The priests," he says, "have in their devilish doctrine so much prevailed amongst the people as for fear of excommunication very few dare serve against the rebels." And again, "If the Spaniards do come hither, I know no part of the kingdom that will hold for the Queen." "For it is incredible to see how our nation and religion

“ is maligned, and the awful obedience that all the whole  
 “ kingdom stands in unto the Romish priests, whose ex-  
 “ communications are of greater terror unto them than  
 “ any earthly horror whatsoever.” They were the real  
 governors of Ireland. It rested with them whether it  
 should be rebellious or obedient. The temporal sword was  
 a weapon of straw against the spiritual; the visible has no  
 terror compared with the invisible. Whatever else it may  
 have taught men, that is the lesson Ireland has taught.  
 So Mountjoy felt; so felt all his contemporaries.

But I must bring these remarks to a close. It was well  
 for Elizabeth that two men placed in such a critical posi-  
 tion as Mountjoy and Carew could respect and appreciate  
 each other. Carew, though nominally inferior in rank and  
 authority, was in fact the superior, by the favour of Cecil,  
 and the suspicions of Elizabeth. And of this Mountjoy  
 was well aware. At times there was danger of a collision  
 between them, the excessive fondness of Cecil for Carew  
 leading him on more than one occasion to show a regard  
 to the wishes and designs of his favourite which was  
 denied to Mountjoy. The power of the Secretary over  
 both was great; the greater as his influence over his aged  
 mistress increased every day. Mountjoy, soon weary of his  
 post, like most of his predecessors, was anxious to return,  
 but this did not suit the purposes or predilections of Cecil.  
 This volume contains numerous letters of the intrigues  
 set on foot by him to ensure the return of Carew, without  
 awakening the jealousy of Mountjoy. Nay more, to make  
 it appear, if possible, to the Queen, that Mountjoy himself  
 desired it.\* How he succeeded, how Elizabeth, worn  
 with years, grew weary of the Irish war,—how at the very  
 last she was willing to make terms with Tyrone (p. 417),—

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\* See especially IV., 124, 143, 151 *sq.*, and 359, 385.

how the rebels fed themselves with fond hopes of her decease, and help from Spain, must be told on a future occasion.

But I must not take leave of this volume without pointing out to my readers some of the miscellaneous subjects touched upon among its varied contents. These relate to the siege of Kinsale (p. 179); the introduction of a new coinage for Ireland (p. 67, 418), and the prejudices with which it was regarded (p. 71); the employment of Irish companies among the English troops (p. 91); their desire of foreign service (p. 50); the manners of Elizabeth's court (p. 13, 20); the discontents among her courtiers (p. 221); the use of tobacco (p. 16); proceedings against a band of false coiners in London (p. 146); the execution of Biron in France (p. 321); and the valorous death of Owen M'Egan, the Papal nuncio, who rushed upon his enemies with a drawn sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other (p. 406).

In the above remarks I have endeavoured to adhere as strictly as possible to the order put forth by the Master of the Rolls. If these remarks appear somewhat disconnected and desultory, my readers will know how difficult it is to avoid such a fault when my observations are necessarily confined to a set of papers which are only subsidiary, and occasional at best.\*

1870.

J. S. BREWER.

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\* As Dr. Maziere Brady has preferred a formal complaint against me for going out of my way to attack certain works of his in my last preface, I think it due to myself as well as to Dr. Brady to say that I am wholly innocent of the charge. I have not, to my knowledge, seen, much less read, anything he has written.

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# C A R E W M S S .

## E L I Z A B E T H .

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1601.

Jan. 1.

Vol. 615, p. 31.

### I. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

“ I do not write unto you as often (I confess) as either my affection or perchance some occasions require, yet I perceive that what I write unto you doth often miscarry, and at this time I desire to give you a full account of the estate and success of the affairs of our parts, but that I came hither unprovided of such memorials as I have of our proceedings past, and have at this time little leisure to make you large relation of the present. But upon my arrival at Monastereven, which, God willing, shall be shortly, I will send you a full declaration of all things. . . I never fought but I have beaten these rebels, and as I think given a deep blow into this rebellion; . . but my task in these parts is the harder because, Sir, they were the sink of the rebellion, and it is fit for me rather utterly to break them than to go about to bow them, which course will be more long though more sure.

“ I hope this good reformation, which began with you, will go on till it end in Ulster; and I think after nothing more than to leave these parts in some good terms, that I may freely bend myself to beat that false traitor out of his country. I do verily believe that it is impossible for him to send many men out of Ulster, for, . . . after our great fights in the Moyry, although his occasion were never greater, yet I could not discern him to be able to draw many men together.

“ If he send any, I may well both spare you such forces as you send me and more; if he do not, I desire to be as strong as I may here in Leinster till I have made an end of this work, which I hope shall not be long. Your men shall still remain upon your list, and if there be occasion I will spare you more from hence.

“ The sending of a thousand hither will be an occasion to keep them in your list the longer; for, as I hear, my Lords, hearing of the quiet of Munster, were resolved to have cast

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one thousand there, but that Sir Oliver St. Johns urged the use we might have of them here. I writ unto your Lordship to send unto Athlone Sir John Barkley's company, which I desire may be presently performed, and if you can that way, some other company with it. Not that I mean to leave them idle in Connaught, but to draw myself to a head that way to hunt the rogue Tirrell out of the country, and to lie between any forces that shall come that way out of the North.

"But because I resolve to leave strong garrisons utterly to ruin, as I have well begun, the Birnes and such of the Tooles as shall not show themselves good subjects, and to draw myself towards Offaly for a prosecution there, I desire your Lordship presently to cause the 1,000 men you can spare me to draw to some place or places near the borders, from whence they may speedily come when I shall send for them, which I think shall be very shortly.

"I think it fittest that of them you send such companies as have their captains here. But one thing I must desire of you, how unpleasing it will be unto you I fear me, that you will spare for a time Captain Greames, and, if it be possible, his company of horse; for I find him so necessary an instrument for the war of Leinster which we have now on foot, that I may by no means spare him. I am absolutely denied my leave to return for England, though with some better encouragement than they were wont to give me.

"While I am here I will labour to despatch the business, that I may be despatched from the country; from whence God send us an honorable and a happy deliverance, and to meet merrily in England. For the casting of 50 of your company, I dealt therein no otherwise with you than with myself, and therefore I presumed you would not mislike it. For the manner, I will reform it according to your desire.

"I have already written to Tibbott ne Longe (Burke) to answer the murder of Dermont, and I have stayed his entertainment and do think to cast him. He did write to me as requiring some great reward for the service. . .

"I protest I am as glad of your good success as of my own. . . I have played the Lord of Misrule in these parts this Christmas, and if the water had not besieged me, I had utterly ruined them. But I hope to leave them little better. . .

"From the camp amongst the rocks, and the woods in these devils' country, this 1st of January 1600."

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 35.

2. Copy.

Jan. 3.

Vol. 604, p. 127.

2. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

My Lords write to you concerning this gentleman, Mr. Coursey, "to whom though her Majesty hath not yet granted the benefit of the Intrusion, yet I am persuaded that upon the



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next advertisement that comes from you in answer of my Lords' letter, she will not deny it him." As he supposes my private letter may stand him in some stead, I have afforded it him.

From the Court at Whitehall, 3 January 1600. *Signed.*

*P. I. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Jan. 13.

## 3. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

I again beseech you to procure the general pardon for the provincials of Munster, "being a special means for the settling of this disturbed province, infected throughout with a settled hatred both unto her Majesty herself, her government, and our nation, which well appears by the underhand relieving of James McThomas, who is harboured amongst the men of best quality that are in Munster, insomuch as I find it impossible to have any draught to be drawn upon him without foreknowledge whereby he may make an escape. . . His relievers are not hidden from me, for of all their doings I have intelligence, but yet because the error is universal, and especially amongst these of greatest quality which were never in personal action, I dare not . . . take or arrest any of these great men offenders, lest the staying of one should breed fear in the rest, and what may ensue thereupon I am doubtful; and to take them all at an instant is exceeding difficult and not without great danger of the sequel, for . . . in this last general revolt . . . I do not know of any one man of quality in Munster, who was not bound by his oath upon the sacrament to assist the rebellion. . . Those which were not personally out, yet their dependants and followers were in action and themselves gave underhand aid." But after a general pardon, when the fault is not universal, there will be no danger in punishing a particular offence.

"The rumours of aids out of Ulster and Connaught doth hold the province more unsettled than otherwise it would be, but . . . I still remain confident . . . to hold this province with the force which I have from any general revolt; being assured that no Irish aid will be able to move a general defection. Neither yet have I any trust in their helps to give resistance. The best I can expect is neutrality, for against the Catholic cause they are neither willing nor yet dare (for fear of excommunication) be actors. . .

"I have made proffer to the Lord Deputy to lend him 1,000 foot towards the prosecution of the wars in Leinster, humbly beseeching him, for countenance' sake, that they may remain upon my list, to be returned unto me as occasion may be ministered. His answer I have received, who doth expect the same at my hands, and the which (God willing) I will perform.

"The late rumour of Spaniards landed in Ireland hath bred a great distraction in this unsettled people, who desire nothing more than their coming, being persuaded very confidently in

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the same by a multitude of priests and friars which came in the last ships of munition that came to Tyrone, which is confirmed by other intelligences out of Spain lately received by merchants from thence; whereof your Lordships shall receive with these the copy of a letter sent unto me from the Sovereign of Kynsale."

Albeit my list is somewhat abated and part of the forces will be withdrawn by the Lord Deputy, yet because the coming of Ulster and Connaught men or Spaniards, or both, may chauce to be true, I pray that the victualling until Michaelmas next may be continued for 3,000 foot and 250 horse as heretofore, "to prevent to want if the forces shall be of necessity continued;" likewise that those men employed by the Lord Deputy "may receive their payment here, to assure the provincials that my list still continueth and are revocable at all times to suppress them." To this, as far as I perceive, my Lord Deputy is willing to yield.

I pray you send between this and Easter five lasts of powder with lead and match proportionable, 200 shovels and spades, 500 pickaxes, and 150 crows of iron. Those ordinarily provided at low rates are very defective. Command the officers of the Tower to provide others more substantial.

In November last I moved Mr. Secretary Cecyll (in respect there is no safe place in this province where the pledges may be kept which I now have) that the better sort of them might be removed. I pray you write to the Lord Deputy to require me to send them to the Castle of Dublin, where they may be kept without charge, every man being compelled to defray the charges of his own pledge. "Unto this commandment my desire is to be enforced; for it will be very displeasing to the great lords here, and cast much malice upon me if it were known."

"As I was writing this . . . I understood that one of my servants called Edward Clyfton (whom I sent from hence the 22nd of December) is wrecked upon this coast, whereby my packet is miscarried; but my greatest fear is that it should be cast on the shore, and thereby much will lie open which were meet to be covered. . . I have with these sent unto you the copies of those letters."

Moallo, 13 January 1600.

P.S.—"The paymaster tells me the money is long since disbursed. . . By want thereof the companies are enforced to lodge in walled towns where the provant victuals is stored; so as, if any occasion were offered (for more than five days) I am not able to carry them into the field; for more than five days' victuals a soldier cannot conveniently carry with him. And now when the Lord Deputy shall send for the 1,000 men, which I have promised unto him, I know not how to send them for want of lendings. Wherefore I . . . beseech your

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Lordships to procure a privy seal for Munster, and to hasten the treasure hither."

"Sent by Edward Clyfton."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Jan. 13.

## 4. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 24.

"When I desired that Sir John Barkeley's company might be sent to him, I looked he should have answered me in a piece of service at my drawing down into Ophaly, that I think would have been very well worth the following, and I know your Lordship would be right glad of. And therefore I cannot but continue still desirous that he might have his company very speedily, in hope that we may yet take hold thereof.

"I have besides such use of Captain Greames that I cannot by any means miss him, having no other so skillful in these parts, where in truth his service is of most use, which makes me hold him, though against his will, and would fain have his company here with him, though I send you some other in their place.

"And yet I may tell you thus much truly; that by reason of our journeys and ill weather our forces are weaker than you would think, insomuch as conveniently we cannot spare any, but rather stand in need of more. Otherwise I affect not to keep them here, or to draw any of yours from you, but will most willingly help you with some of these when I come near that province, if you have use of them.

"I know your absence even for a little time would breed much alteration amongst your provincials, and I love both yourself and the service too well to make you more work than you must needs have. You shall therefore hear from me again before the time of meeting be resolved on, and the place shall be as near you as I can possibly; and if the business were not of very great importance about which I am desirous to speak with you, I would not trouble you at all.

"The proviso devised by Mr. Attorney I assure myself hath been put in no pardon for Munster men, for I have only respected your desires for matters of that province, and according thereunto have framed my course, being resolute that you best knew what was fittest; and that course I meant still to observe in pardoning of such as were under your command. Yet now I find myself better strengthened by a letter from her Majesty, whereby I am commanded to pardon those whom you think fit, as by the copy which I send will appear more fully;\* the benefit whereof I shall be very ready to give you.

"I have granted your request for Captain Taaffe for the

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\* This enclosure has been calendared under its proper date, 21 December 1600.

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25 horse that Captain Gifford had, and have made warrant for his entry the next day after Gifford's death, as you desired."

From the camp at Ballemurgheroe, 13 January 1600.  
*Signed.*

*P.S. in Mountjoy's own hand.*—"Your Lordship shall very shortly hear from me again. In the mean time I hope we shall keep the Northern forces from you, and Mr. Tirrell, if I be not deceived, shall have little leisure to assist others. If your Lordship do not assure yourself that it will be much to the prejudice of the service in Munster, I pray let some of your troop be in readiness for these parts, for, God willing, I intend a present and thorough prosecution in Leinster."

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 38.

2. Copy.

Jan. 19.  
Vol. 620, p. 49.

5. SIR G. CAREW and the COUNCIL OF MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"In November last I the President was at Lymerick, at which time a soldier was imprisoned by Geoffrey Gallwaye, mayor of Lymerick, for some supposed petty larceny of a hatchet. Whereupon I sent unto the mayor to enlarge the said soldier, and send him unto me, and afterward by two several warrants from me and the Council. All which the said mayor (the rather by confederacy and council of his brethren) utterly rejected, saying the authority given them by their charter did sufficiently excuse him from the jurisdiction and commandment of the State of this province; and yet presently upon my departure from Lymerick . . . enlarged him. Which indignity, so arrogantly offered, I had at that time no leisure to reform or repel; for that . . . the rebel with . . . some 2,000 or more were said by the said mayor's intelligence to be entered into the confines of the province; whither I repaired to go and meet them. . . .

"About the 13th of this present month the said Geoffrey Gallwaye was convented before us to answer to the said contempt, . . . who appeared personally, and to an information for her Majesty exhibited against him first answered by a pretended justification, and afterward . . . put himself upon the grace of the court. And thereupon, . . . his offence being committed . . . amongst a people apt to embrace such a precedent, . . . and at such a time when the enemy with a great strength was reported to have entered the territories of this province, we fined him at 400*l.* sterling, which we thought with the least, for that the citizens, being partakers of this disobedience, are like to bear the charge of the said fine; and we purpose the same fine shall be employed in the repairing and fortifying of her Majesty's castle of that city. . . . Where, in the knowledge of me the Chief Justice, the mayor and aldermen and divers others the citizens of Lymerick

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did . . come to the church . . until within these three years, upon the return of the said Geoffrey Gallwaye out of England, where he had been a student of the common laws . . not one of the whole city (especially of the wealthier sort) do at any time of divine service repair to the church, but most obstinately refuse the same.

“And where about a year agoe, or thereabouts, an affray happened within the said city between some of the soldiers and some of the townsmen, the said Geoffrey Gallwaye came to the then mayor, and advised him to disarm all the soldiers, and told him that the lives of all the soldiers were in the mayor's hands and at his mercy ; whereby the mayor had been easily led to have performed some barbarous massacre of her Majesty's forces, if the inconveniency thereof had not been avoided and contradicted by the advice of me Sir Francis Barkeley and the Second Justice. . . All which may be testified by Captain Henry Clare. . .

“About February last . . Tyrone returned out of the county of Cork towards Ulster ; whereof . . the Earl of Ormond having intelligence purposed to fight with him before he should be out of the province, and . . wrote to me the Earl of Tomond, requiring me to meet his Lordship in the confines of this province with all her Majesty's forces then being at Lymerick, and to bring with me convenient victual and munition. . . Whereupon I . . requested one William Strytche, then mayor of Lymerick, to furnish me with a few horses. . . The said mayor utterly refused ; the want of which carriages was the only stay of the forces, . . whereby they could not go forward and unite themselves with the Earl of Ormond, and enforced the Earl of Ormond to repair to Lymerick for supplies, and in the interim the traitor escaped. . .

“I the President at my last being at Dublin . . was with the . . Lord Deputy and the rest of the Council in the Council Chamber when . . my Lord of Ormond . . did lay the whole defect of this notable service . . upon the undutiful willfulness of the said mayor. . . Hereof the said Strytch hath been lately convented before us, . . and therein we mean . . to proceed by due course of justice as we have done against the other. . .

“The truth of the premisses . . we know they (by their agent there, father to the said Gallwaye) will labour by all means to extenuate or impugn, and by their counterfeit humility abuse your honorable favours and lenity, whereby they stand in hope of release of such fines as are or hereafter may be justly imposed upon them, which will not any way rectify their hollow hearts, but rather increase their insolencies.”

Moallowe, 19 January 1600.

“Signed by the L. President, the Earl of Tomond, Mr. Justice Saxey, Sir Francis Barkeley, and Mr. Comerforde.”

“Sent by Mr. Cuffe.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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Vol. 615, p. 223.

## 6. SECRETARY HERBERT to SIR G. CAREW.

I would have written long since, but that the Lords and Mr. Secretary Cecill make you at all times partaker of every thing important. Besides our long acquaintance, the worth and valour you have showed in reducing those rude and rebellious subjects to submit themselves, and the care you have to abridge her Majesty's excessive charges, greatly to her content, have settled such an opinion in me of your valour and desert as I must love and honour you.

"We take here the peace between Savoy and France to be concluded upon conditions much prejudicial to England and the United States. The French King is to renounce all his interest in Saluzes, and in lieu thereof to have all the Bresse on this side the Dyne, and 600,000 [crowns?] towards the defraying of his charges in that war; the which money is to come from the Pope in part, for that the Duke of Savoy marieth the Pope's niece, and the rest from the King of Spain, in respect the French shall permit a free passage for any aid to be sent to the Archduke and the Infanta. So as, though the forces which were to come by sea be miscarried or dispersed, yet the 4,000 that came with Fuentes into Milan are likely speedily to be employed that way.

"Virginio Ursinj, Duke of Bracchano, coming to France with the Queen his cousin, came over to the outward show only to visit the court of England, allured thereto by the report of the singular gifts wherewith her Majesty was endowed. The entertainment her Majesty gave him was rare and princely; his carriage answerable to his birth and place. It seemeth he parted marvellously well content and satisfied to his expectation, yet here are that conjecture his coming to tend to some other purpose."

20 January 1600.

*Holograph. P. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Jan. 25.

Vol. 620, p. 51.

## 7. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Your letters of the 13th December I received the 19th inst. I thank you that you "imbrother my labours to her Majesty beyond their merits." The comforts I receive by her Majesty's good acceptance of my labours "are such as I shall with a more alacrity proceed in them."

500 of the list of Munster being already abated, and 1,000 more for the service of Leinster, one half of the charge of Munster is eased. I understand my letters of 21st December have not miscarried.

I think the commissaries of musters rather guilty of ignorance than corruption. "That they have favoured it is likely, by the appearance of their small cheeqes imposed; and yet your Lordships may not expect equality of cheeqes in Munster with the like numbers in other places, for . . . the loss of men . . . hath been much less in this province than in other parts,

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and the last supply did fully reinforce them. . . The garrison of Munster is the strongest by the poll, and (as I suppose) the ablest of bodies, of any companies in this kingdom. . .

“Whereas your Lordships have been informed that the captains do hire townsmen upon muster days, so gross an error cannot escape the commissary’s knowledge, and therefore he must participate with the captain in that fault. That such fraud hath been used I do not deny, for at my first coming into the province I did publicly punish the same; since which time, by any enquiry that I could make, I have not known the like error committed. . . In the army of Munster there are many Irish continued in pay, but . . . that three parts should be Irish, who serve at less pay than the other, both the one and the other is . . . untruly informed; for . . . no man that marcheth under colours will serve at less entertainment than the Queen allows.

“If your Lordships will . . . look upon the list of the companies of Munster, you shall find that some of them are all Irish and other some commanded by Irish captains, who can hardly be withheld from entertaining their countrymen. But if the English captains have not their companies less clogged with Irish than any companies in this realm, let me lose my credit with your Lordships for ever. . . Nevertheless I will be more vigilant . . . to give your Lordships due satisfaction; but herein I do humbly beseech you in part to excuse me, . . . being almost a work impossible for me to discharge, to undertake a precise reformation of these abuses, by reason of remote and dispersed lodging of the garrisons abroad . . . as those at Loughfoyle. . .

“Touching . . . protected men retained in pay, I do not know any more than one captain, who is of special good desert, having often bled in her Majesty’s service (whose name . . . give me leave to suppress) that erred therein. But . . . I never saw his company of 100 come less than 120, 140, or 160 by the poll into the field, and those such as under his leading do as often break their necks in her Majesty’s service as any soldiers she hath. . . Nevertheless, if it be your Lordships’ pleasure that this be reformed, I will accordingly see your commandment effected, but therein I think I shall deal somewhat hurtfully to the service.”

Touching the general pardon, I have now received your Lordships’ pleasures signified to the Lord Deputy, yet notwithstanding I pray you to peruse the draft sent in my last two packets. “To assure the gentlemen of Munster in their future loyalties, a better course than I have already taken I cannot comprehend . . .; for there is not a man of quality in this province but I have either his child or of his next kindred pledges, and for the meaner sort good assurance by recognizance; which course so thoroughly taken hath not in former times by any president or governor here been seen. Yet . . . I make no question but these bonds, or as many more

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as may be imposed upon them, are all too weak to continue them in their duties if Spaniards should invade us. But for either home rebellion within this province, or desire to reinforce themselves with buonaghes, I am in hope that these late examples hath made them too wise to enter again into these follies. And yet, so long as the other parts of the kingdom shall be in flame, (except the sword in some measure be held over them) it is not to be expected that they will be generally reformed; and especially in this time, when there is so many of the remnants of this late rebellion yet remaining, which in time must either be consumed by the sword or gallows.

“But lest the Undertakers, upon this small occasion of these scattered vagabonds, shall excuse themselves from coming over to repair their houses and manure their lands, . . . I do not know in all the province where six of these remain in one company; and amongst them no one either of estimation in blood or land; neither yet any spoil committed by day these two months and more. And, to give examples to others to be bold, all the cattle of Moallo hath lain abroad in the fields without any keeping for the time aforesaid. Wherefore either disabilities or want of will withholds them hence. And in every part of the province, over the desert mountains, two or three in a company do ordinarily travel. . . . What disturbance may come out of the North, daily threatened and expected by the return of McMorys, Piers Lacy, and John FitzThomas (who are there negotiating for aids), I know not; nevertheless do hope that they there are so well employed as they will not be at leisure to lend forces into Munster, . . . because the Lord Deputy hath assured me no less.

“Florence McCartie is now with me, and . . . doth promise me immediately to sue out his pardon, and, according his promise, to send me forthwith his eldest son, upon the receipt of whom I must return unto him the pledges which now I have. But such was his fears, accompanied with known guiltiness of his breach of protection since he was received into her Majesty's grace, as he plainly confessed by his letters unto me the same was broken, and therefore did humbly pray the renewing of it. . . . Albeit I was far unwilling, yet lest the denial thereof should have made diversion in the hearts of others inclined to peace (who then with him were repairing unto me) . . . , as namely O'Sulyvan Moore, McFynin, and the two O'Donnoughers, I thought it meet . . . to remit the errors past, and to begin a new account; with whom in generally I have now taken sufficient order.”

The victuals and money you write of have arrived at Cork. I pray you still continue to send equal portions to Cork and Limerick; and further to send in every ship victuals equally proportioned; “whereas now some are all biscuit, others are all butter or cheese.” “The garrison of Kerry . . . being at this present destitute of victuals, and barques now arrived at Cork which might . . . have been sent thither . . .



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had they been proportionably loaden, I was enforced to disburden these at Cork, and to victual the garrison of Kerry forth of her Majesty's store at Lymerick." I pray you send 400 quarters of oats forthwith to Cork, for horsemeat every day grows scant.

"Because some, more curious than others, (as I understand) do give out that this peace of Munster is but coloured and not intended, in respect the provincials do but stand upon protections, . . . for your Lordships' satisfactions therein (whom only I am careful to satisfy) may it please you to receive for truth, that every day I am pressed . . . to write unto the Lord Deputy for pardons, unto whom already (I speak it within my compass) I have recommended above 3,000 persons by name, and many of whose pardons are now extant in this province. But herein I do not commend the willingness of the parties, who no doubt had rather live protected than pardoned; but having resumed into my hands all powers from others to protect, and protesting myself never to renew protections hereafter, doth enforce them to sue out their pardons, or to run anew into rebellion, the latter whereof they are unable, and thereby unwilling to relapse."

In my late despatch by Patrick Crosbye I gave an account of the state of this province.

Moalloe, 25 January 1600.

*Note in Carew's hand:* "Sent by Mead, brother to the mayor of Corke."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Jan. 25.

Vol. 604, p. 232.

## 8. SIR ROBERT CECIL to the EARL OF DESMOND.

"I am right glad to find by your letter that some one of your followers hath made it appear that your name and person are like to prove of use to her Majesty's service. I mean Thomas Oge, in the rendition of Castlemaine into your hands. Of which beginning I hope some others will take example, whereby her Majesty shall be daily more and more in love with her own work in raising of you, whose fidelity and zeal to her service it is not possible for any man to give greater testimony than she receiveth by the President's letters from time to time. . . .

"This last plain dealing in you concerning O'Donnell's practice in you to have married your sister hath given her Majesty extraordinary satisfaction; wherein, because I am fallen into the subject of marriage, and that I see you take hold of some words of mine concerning a disposition of matching you in England, in which point you desire to be satisfied who shall be the person, I have thought good to make you this answer. First, that it proceeded from a disposition which I did note in yourself when you were in England to bestow yourself to her Majesty's liking with some

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English person; which was the reason that I have both gone about to prepare her Majesty's mind to such a course for you, as also to consider with myself in particular where to find such a match for you as should in all circumstances answer the public respects of her Majesty's service, and above all things, the satisfaction of your own mind and your desires.

"But, my Lord, I must entreat you to consider that, in matter of marriage, she is of small value whose friends will be contented to have her name used before there be likelihood of an affection of your part. . . I can only for your satisfaction make this addition, that she is a maid of a noble family, between 18 or 19 years of age, no courtier, nor yet ever saw you or you her; with which I pray you remain satisfied till you shall find occasion hereafter, for further considerations, to repair into England. . . For the present I do only represent you an idea, presuming you are now in the meditation of arms rather than greedy of matrimony.

"I am heartily sorry for the manner of Dermott O'Connor's murder, although it seemeth by his late actions, that he had not a constant affection to her Majesty's service. But, sir, assure yourself the Queen is very sensible of it, and hath given order to the Lord Deputy (if it may any way appear that he did plead his safeconduct) that Tybbot ne Longe [Burke] shall answer it with his head, where otherwise some circumstances alleged by him, who had no demonstrative knowledge how he stood affected, may peradventure make somewhat for his apology.

"Lastly, where I perceive that you do feel some want, for lack of having men in pay, although, if you look back to yourself and observe the proceedings both of her Majesty with you and of other princes in like cases, you will think it early days to have any such present commandment, yet, because I perceive it is only the zeal you have to do her Majesty service which hasteneth this motion, I both have and will be a mover to her Majesty to fall into consideration how you may be further enabled; and I doubt not but you will always be content in these things to stay her Majesty's leisure, and like that best which is her pleasure, seeing you do perceive that she, both before you went and now, doth not deal sparingly with you, all circumstances considered of her charge to yourself and those that do depend upon you. And for the possessions of those persons whom you named, I doubt not but I may assure you that her Majesty will establish you by such means, upon some further deliberation, as shall both content you and enable you.

"I marvel much that I cannot hear from the Bishop of Cashell, of whom there is great scandal bruided,—that he doth very irreligiously suffer his church to lie like an hog-sty; where, although it cannot be denied but the wars have much

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consumed him, yet it shall be proved that he hath not suffered such extreme penury as should so deprive him of all means to live on. In this point I have forgotten to write to the Lord President, and therefore pray your Lordship, when you see my Lord, to let him know that this is informed; wherein though he be very affectionate to him, yet I pray you move him to expostulate with him, even for the honour of her Majesty and God's Church, wherein he hath so supreme a calling.

"And so for the present I end, recommending you to God's protection, from whose service if you be not diverted, you need not doubt but He in whose hands remain *corda principum* will bless your endeavours, and make you a noble instrument to your prince and country. . .

"Your Lordship's very loving and affectionate friend,  
R. C."

*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed: 1600, January 25. Copy of my master's letter to the Earl of Desmond.*

Jan. 26.

Vol. 615, p. 219.

## 9. SIR JOHN STANHOPE TO SIR G. CAREW.

"I had answered your letter presently after the receipt thereof, save that this bearer, my nephew, prayed himself might be the messenger, who now at last hath found the way back, . . . I thank God for your good success, wherein you have . . . increased her Majesty's grace and favour to you; whose goodness I assure myself will express itself ere long in some good measure to your best comfort. . .

"I am half ashamed I was ketched with too confident an opinion of his loyalty, who hath tainted both his judgment and honesty in his own confused course, neither valuing himself nor respecting his friends, either according the opinion conceived of him or their merit towards him. I mean Florence (McCarty), whose absurd faults, though you have in part shadowed with your temperate and favorable proceeding, yet hath the folly of them left a scar in his forehead that will manifest his shame; and so hereafter I shall conceive of him, though I mean not much to think of him.

"For my nephew Kowte I thank you greatly; by whom I find how honorably you deal with him. . . I had some speech with Mr. Secretary (Cecil) in his behalf. . . He is your poor kinsman as he is mine, and if his beginnings may be . . . graeced with your fortune and favour, he may live to acknowledge it, and you not to grudge it. . . He hath been much beholden to his Colonel Sir Charles Wyggmott. . .

"Of the perseeution [which] is like to befall the poor maid's chamber in Court, and of Fytton's afflictions, and lastly her commitment to my Lady Hawkyns, of the discouragement thereby of the rest, though it be now out of your element to think of, yet I doubt not but that some friend doth more particularly

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advertise you. I send you now no Tabacca, because Mr. Secretary, Sir Walter, and your other friends, as they say, have stored you of late; neither have I any proportion of it [that] is good, but only am rich in Aldermans\* Watses promises of plenty, wherewith you shall be acquainted, God willing. Other occurants here your other friends can better inform; no great alteration; if any, for the worse in generality. The peace again only a-foot, but not yet able to stand alone, and it is rather feared it will die abortive than be well brought forth. I . . . pray to be excused if I be slow in writing, for my eyes be worn with reading, and though I have been this half year spared, yet now Do. James is dead I am a little called on again. . .

“Though I desire your company more than any man’s in that kingdom, yet I swear I fear we shall not converse together again till you have had the sword carried afore you in that land as Deputy.”

This 26th of January.

*Holograph Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

Jan. 27. 10. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 14.

“I find a very great want of forces to go through with the prosecution which I have begun in these parts, and would now be very loth to leave it, finding so great hope as I do to proceed with good success. I do therefore pray your Lordship very earnestly to send the companies I did write for with all the expedition that may be to the Naas; and that Sir Garrett Harvey’s company, Sir John Barkeley’s and Sir Richard Greame’s horse may be part of them, and most especially Sir Garrett Harvey’s, if himself be not returned; for the which you shall have as good a company from me whensoever you desire it.

“I mean presently to lie near the place where the rebels are to pass out of the North into Munster, and will, God willing, undertake to stop their course from that time I shall be there. If in the meantime they do pass, those companies being in their way may very fitly set upon them, and I, between them and the North, shall follow them with as good advantage as we can well wish. This makes me think there can be no inconvenience in sending those companies speedily to the Naas, and the more certainly to trust unto it, and to frame my course accordingly.”

From the camp at Monastereven, 27 January 1600. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy’s own hand*).—“God willing, before these companies can be out of Munster, I will be between the sup-

\* Sic.

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plies of the North and Munster. If any should come before I draw thither, these companies, being in their way, may by your direction be stayed and employed to as great purpose as if they had been farther off. Sir Oliver St. Johns told me that if I did not cast a thousand more in these parts, the Lords were determined to cast a thousand in Munster. To avoid the which, because I hear your companies are strong, I resolve to cast 1,000 more of the weakest in these parts; and the troops you send shall still continue of your list, and upon all occasions I will be ready to send them back unto you. I have at this instant so many despatches to make, to Loughfoyle, Knockfergus, and England, that I beseech your Lordship to pardon me that I write not unto you more at large."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 39.

2. Copy. The postscript omitted.

Jan. 28.

11. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 135.

We have seen your letters of the 15th, 16th, and 20th of December, whereby we perceive that you can spare those 500 men which are cashed, and also send to the Lord Deputy, whensoever he shall demand them, 1,000 more, to be returned to your list again. "We do like very well to see so substantial a demonstration of the alteration of that province, and do very well allow of your reasons . . . that the provincials may still be kept in awe by the expectation of those forces to return, who otherwise, if those numbers were utterly cashed, might grow more secure to commit new insolencies. . . . It doth please her Majesty very much that it appeareth by the course you have taken of holding assizes and sessions, that you have given a new life to the course of civil justice, from which the people's minds have been so long alienated."

Respecting "the accident of the slaughter of Dermott O'Connor," we have written to the Lord Deputy to take order for his punishment; "only we suspect, when it comes to examination, that Thibbot ne Long (Burke) will excuse the matter by ignorance of any such safeconduct; all which is left to the Lord Deputy's discretion."

Respecting your judgment "of the condition of those five principal rebels, viz., the titular Earl of Desmond and his brother, the late Baron of Lixnawe his son, the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy; all which five persons, notwithstanding they are expelled and driven to misery, are yet not unlike to save their heads a great while, in respect of the manner of their life and disposition of the country. And herein we do concur with you in opinion how easy a matter it is for them to kindle new flames where they have such a subject to work upon as the inconstancy of an ill-affected people."

Her Majesty, therefore, is "willing enough to leave both

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the late \* son of the Lord Morris of Lixnawe, the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy to be dealt withal as you write in your letter of the 15th of December; which shall be to receive them upon no conditions but upon the pardon of lives only; and yet to indent with them also aforehand (if it may be) to do some service before they be received. Always provided that the titularly Earl and his brother, who have entirely given over themselves to her Majesty's enemies, be still preserved to proseription and extirpation."

"Although we nothing doubt of your care, yet we must plainly tell you we do understand by late letters from Dublin that there are so small cheeqes raised from the commissaries of the musters in that province . . . as are merely ridiculous; for, by the books sent hither, we find some cheeqes made of a whole company for the half year to amount unto 2s. 3d., others to 1s. 4d., and another to 10d.; and two of Norcott's certificates without cheeqe, and no certificate at all returned of one captain. This cannot but proceed but of a very great corruption or negligence; and, comparing this half year with the former, we note so great a difference both in the cheeqe of the lendings and of the apparel as doth manifestly detect their lewd dealing." Therefore, in any case, remove Norcott, and place in his room this bearer, James Spencer.

Where you did certify unto us that you have appointed William Jones to oversee the other commissaries, we think it meet "that he shall have by concordatum 3s. 4d. by the day, but, as being commissary of the musters, he is only to have the allowance which the others have, which is 3s. 4d. the day. And now the country is reduced to so good estate, we think three commissaries, or rather two, will suffice to take the musters there."

Whitehall, 28 January 1600.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buehurst, Notingham, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham, J. Herbert.

*Pp.* 2. *Addressed.* *Endorsed by Carew:* Received the last of Febr. 1600.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 42.

2. Copy.

Jan. 28.

12. THE PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 217.

Being importuned heretofore by Mr. Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, we allowed him 200*l.* He has since made suit for 100*l.* yearly for the place of Second Justice in Dublin, the which is not compatible with his place in that province. Let him be paid 50*l.* more by concordatum, "for his relief, and not in the right of the said office." For that his own passions may not give him leave to make that acknowledgment of it,

\* *Sic*, for "son of the late."

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we acquaint you with the satisfaction he has received, that if he shall further open his griefs to you, you may be provided how to answer him.

Whitehall, 28 January 1600. *Signed as above.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the last of Febr. 1600.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 43.

2. Copy.

Jan. 28.

13. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 1.

"I had forgotten, in the point of sending back the Undertakers, to let you know what here I find. First, they are all so poor and beggarly as they pretend to be undone, and seem on the other side so much to exclaim of the peril wherein they should be if they should adventure to go thither, as I have much ado to keep up the reputation of the alteration which is made in that province, because their outeries and suppositions contest against the same. I pray you, therefore, in your next letters, write unto me in some particular manner what I may say in that point, and make me some description which of the Undertakers may reside with most security in respect of their neighbourhood, or the condition of that part of the province wherein their possessions are quartered. For where it is supposed that by some deficiency on their part the Queen is again invested in their portions, you know very well that all of them can allege that the Queen failed in divers conditions which were obligatory in common; as, the liberty they should have for transporting of grain, with some other conditions, to have horse in pay, and such like, which they will plead as matter of right; besides the voice of their common calamity, which may seem to deserve dispensation, though in strict construction, they lie open to her Majesty's will. Thus do you see that I sail between the rocks, wherein I must desire your pilotage, which is the principal motive of this letter, having tired myself with many other despatches."

Whitehall, 28 January 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the last of February 1600.*

Feb. 2.

14. SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 15.

"I am so infinitely distracted between the earnest desire that I have to satisfy your Lordship's commandments, and the present danger which I see hangs over this province if I should observe them, as that I stand amazed what course to take, being in myself wholly addicted to obedience, and by necessity in a manner enforced to pause upon the same until I may receive your Lordship's answer to this, and then without further protraction I will be ready accordingly to observe your commandments, wherein I humbly pray your Lordship

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deliberately to advise, being (as I take it) especially material for the furtherance of her Majesty's service.

"The next day after I received your Lordship's letter of the 27th of January, being the 30th of the same, for the better expediting of your directions I addressed several warrants unto the captains residing here nearest unto me, commanding every of them to meet at the towns of Clonemell and Fetherd, by the 6th of this month, there to receive such further directions as the Lord Audelay (whom I have appointed to command them) should direct. The list consists of 1,050 foot, and Sir Richard Greame's horse. Sir Gerrat Harvie's lies so far remote in Kerry as I could not conveniently in a short time draw them to the rest; wherefore for that particular I humbly pray to be excused. And for Sir John Barkeley's company, . . . I had directed them by warrant, before the receipt of your Lordship's last letter, to repair into Connaught, but have now countermanded them, and do hope they are not yet past.

"Thus your Lordship may see my willingness to obey your directions, which I did as gladly and affectionately as your Lordship can desire. But since, having this day received these enclosed letters from the Earl of Thomond and Mr. Comerford, I do make humbly bold to present the consideration of them unto your Lordship's wisdom, before I do thoroughly accomplish your commandments; wherein my hope is that your Lordship will both give me thanks and hold me excused, because the public service doth violently urge me unto it.

"In my judgment I am persuaded that this intelligence is true, drawn thereunto by many and sundry the like advertisements from all parts and persons lately received, whereof I could send your Lordship bundles of papers of divers men's relations; and now confirmed in the same by these enclosed letters, which, as your Lordship sees, threaten the present disturbance of this province, not yet well settled.

"Yet nevertheless, that it may appear unto your Lordship that I am not backward to accomplish anything which your Lordship shall require, I do yet continue (though not without some hazard to this province, if these Northern forces should presently invade us) to send the companies aforesaid to the rendezvous before mentioned, with direction to remain there until your Lordship shall return me your pleasure in answer of these; and then what you shall prescribe unto me I will dutifully and carefully effect, assuring myself that your Lordship will have such a special regard to the state of this province as that you will not withdraw them but upon certain knowledge of the untruth of this intelligence. But (as a councillor to speak my opinion) if your Lordship can otherwise follow the prosecution in Leinster without calling forces from hence, it were very expedient to forbear the same until this cloud be overpast, which cannot long hold in suspense, for that all the danger is between this and the end of the next month; after which



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time, until the cattle be strong and give milk, there is little doubt."

Moyallo, 2 February 1600.

P.S.—“From whom the Earl of Thomond had the intelligence I know not, but to confirm the same to be true, I have a letter sent from Tybbot ne Long (Burke) to his Lordship, dated the 21st of January, which did report of the assembling of these forces for Thomond and Munster. I doubt not but your Lordship knows there whether this intelligence be true or no, better than we here; but if the oaths and protestations of their familiars that lately came from them may be believed, they will assuredly come as is threatened.”

*Draft, corrected by Carew. Pp. 6. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 40.

2. Copy.

Feb. 3.

15. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 29.

Mrs. O'Bryen has been a suitor for the enlargement of her husband, Mr. Teige O'Bryen, a brother of the Lord of Thomond's, who has a long time lain prisoner at Lymerrick. Your Lordship once wrote to me, “that he was not charged with any offence, but committed only by my Lord his brother to prevent what might happen in a time of danger.” She offers sureties, in my opinion, very sufficient. Therefore I wish and authorize your Lordship to take bauds of those sureties whose names are hereunder written, and to set him at liberty and send him hither to me. But if you find it inconvenient for the service, or the sureties be not sufficient, you are free to use your own discretion.

Trym, 3 February 1600. *Signed.*

Names of the sureties:—The Lord Bishop of Killalowe, the Lord Burke of Castleconell, Turlagh Roe McMahound of Clonderralagh, Lord Thomond's brother-in-law.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* Received the 21 Febr. 1600.

Vol. 624, p. 43.

2. Copy.

Feb. 5.

16. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 3.

“Having found no disposition in this bearer to take any exception to any of your proceedings, I have . . . procured him a letter from my Lords, whereby you are commanded to place him as a commissary. . . . Those letters were sent by your man Clyfton, of whose safe arrival I perceive you are jealous; but . . . [your letters] were safely delivered to me, and so have those also [been] which Patrick Crosby brought, to the which you shall receive particular answer very shortly. Only this I say, that I do wish you to take hold of any disposition which 1076 [Desmond] hath come into England, for he may both better prevail in his suits, and may be returned back to you

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again before the summer be greatly advanced. Secondly, for the opinion I have of 4004, I need not say any more to you than that I have seen as much as you have written in your letter to (*sic*) Patrick Crosbye concerning him; only I do exceedingly wish that by all means possible you should find the means to seize upon him when you may without any breach of your word."

Court, 5 February 1600 *Signed.*

P.S.—“We have no news but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistress Fitton, for she is proved with child, and the Earl of Penbrooke, being examined, confesseth a fact, but utterly renounceth all marriage. I fear they will both dwell in the Tower awhile, for the Queen hath vowed to send them thither.

“When you think fit you may send over 1076 [Desmond], but retain his patent with yourself. You shall not need to send to know her Majesty's further pleasure. In any ways let not Cashell come over. The more expectation which 1076 [Desmond] leaveth behind him of return, the better construction will be made of his departure.”

*P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Rec. 3 of Mar. 1600.*

Feb. 7. 17. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 27.

“Since you are so confident that the intelligence my Lord of Thumond sendeth you is true, I will not so much weaken you nor burthen myself with the success as to call any of your companies from you, . . . although I should have had great use of them in making the war of Leinster.

“But where you are advertised by the letters of my Lord of Thumont that in two several parties there are 4,500 coming out of the North, you may judge how unlikely that is, when, after the fight in the Moyry, Tyrone was never able in his own country to draw 1,200 men together to affront me; and out of my experience I dare affirm thus much, that when you shall ever hereafter find 4,000 fighting men of rebels together, I will be content to yield myself their prisoner, and when you know that above 500 men be sent out of the North into Munster, to acknowledge myself in a great error.

“The poor rogues Redman Burk and some of the Conners are run into the North to seek aid for themselves and Tyrrell; and I do think that if Tyrone were able, he would send the uttermost he could spare to assist the rebels of these parts, and to trouble Munster. But if he send with them any, I am confident they will be very few, and they shall hardly find passage out of the North this way.

“I do think the drawing of your companies so far as you have already done can be no way prejudicial to the service; yet I hold it good, if you take the danger to be so great from Conough, to make head at Limbrick. When the storm is

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overpast, it may be I shall be as glad to receive them that way towards Aloni (Athlone) as anywhere else.

“For Sir Garret Harvey’s company, I must continue to desire your Lordship to send it hither with the first you send, and if you can spare none, that you will send that company to some near place, that I may send you another in exchange of it.”

Trym, 7 February 1600. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

Vol. 615, p. 20.

2. Copy. *Endorsed:* “A copy of my letter, 7th of Feb., to the Lord President of Munster, in answer of his Lp’s. dated the 2nd of Feb., and sent by the same messenger returning. (*Signed*) Mountjoye.”

Vol. 624, p. 44.

3. Another copy.

Feb. 10.

**18. SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.**

Vol. 624, p. 45.

“In answer of your letter . . . for the 1,000 foot and 50 horse, I did dispatch my own messenger unto your L. the 2nd of this month, whose return ere this time expect. But because mischances unlooked for may fall out, I . . . despatch this second messenger unto you with the copies of the letters formerly written, and . . . of other letters sent unto me from the Earl of Thomond, Mr. Cantwell, and the White Knight, all of them agreeing . . . that Tyrone will send forces into this province, which I do daily expect. . .

“The troops do lie now at Clonmell, to be disposed of as in your wisdom shall be thought meet; for, albeit I do not much fear the invasion of Ulster men, yet I will not be singular in my opinion, but submit the same to your better judgment . . .

“At Clonmell there is no staple of victuals, and the companies live upon their lendings, which long they cannot do, for the treasure in Munster cannot long bear the charge of 1,050 foot and 50 horse.”

Moallo, 10 February 1600.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Vol. 624, p. 265.

2. Another copy.

Feb. 10.

**19. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.**

Vol. 604, p. 5.

“Because I am not ignorant that greatest accidents are most subject to be misreported by such as are either in passion or ignorance, I have thought it very fit with all convenient speed to acquaint you with a most dangerous attempt which hath happened on Sunday last, wherein both her Majesty’s own person and the usurpation of this kingdom was openly shot at. By this proclamation the proceedings of the Earl of Essex will appear, and therefore I shall only need say this unto you,

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that I think, by that time my letters shall come unto you, both he and the Earl of Southampton, with some other of the principals, shall have lost their heads. I send you the note of most of them that were in open action with them.

“If the Queen had not put herself in strength that very morning, and barricaded Charing Cross and other places of the back parts of Westminster, their resolution was to have been at Court by noon; whereof when they understood, they put themselves into London, and from thence (hoping to have been followed by the city) they resolved to come back. But being repulsed at Ludgate by a stand of pikes, and the city holding fast for the Queen, they and some 50 of their complices ran to the water and put themselves into Essex House, which the Earl had furnished with all manner of warlike provisions, and there defended themselves till towards six o’clock in the evening, at which time the Lord Admiral (Nottingham) sent unto them, if they would not yield, that he would blow up the house, which he might have done sooner but that the Lady of Essex and the Lady Rich were within it. Whereupon (notwithstanding their great braveries) they all yielded to her Majesty’s mercy. Thus have you a true relation of this dangerous accident, unto which I will only add this, that even when a false alarm was brought to the Queen, that the city was revolted with them, she never was more amazed than she would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet Street.”

From the Court at Whitehall, 10 February 1600. *Signed.*

P.S.—“The commanders of our little army were the Lord Admiral (Nottingham), Lord General; Earl of Cumberland, Lord Lieutenant; Lord Thomas (Howard), Marshal; Lord Gray, General of the Horse; Lord Burghley, Colonel General of the foot, who with some 10 horse went into London, and proclaimed the Earl of Essex a traitor with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King of Arms, notwithstanding that my Lord of Essex with all his complices were in the city.”

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the last of Feb. 1600.*

Feb. 20. 20. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 22.

“Finding by your last letter of the 10th, which I received yesterday, that you make some doubt of the safe return of your messenger that brought your former of the 2nd, I have taken the like course as you do now, to send you a double of mine answer to that letter. . . . It will thereby appear how careful I have been to keep that province quiet, according to your advice, to prevent the worst that might happen, though, as then I was very confident, so now I find it certain there can no such numbers be sent from the North as you were persuaded there would be. Only those Munster men that went down to Tyrone in hope to be supplied from him have essayed to return with some few others, who assuredly do not exceed

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100 or 150, whatsoever is given out ; and I have so carefully stopped them upon all the passages hereabouts, as I think they neither have nor can escape me, unless in so small a number, and that by stealth, as will not be found worth the speaking of."

From Donowre, in Mageochagan's country, 20 February 1600. *Signed.*

P.S., *in Mountjoy's own hand.*—"It may be that Redmonde Bourke will, as I hear, draw into Clanricarde to live with such forces as he can gather in that place. If some of your Lordship's forces with the Earl of Thomond's be ready to give assistance to the Earl of Clanricarde, I do believe they may do great service there, and assuredly keep them from looking after Munster, whither I am confident there will be few fighting men sent. But if your Lordship think those parts to stand so unassured that the rumour of some few supplies will make them brawl, it will be well to prepare to give resistance to their first arrival, which may be easily done."

P. 1. *Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 46.

2. Copy.

Feb.

**21.** The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 221.

Having so convenient a messenger as this bearer, I write "to manifest my love unto you." Excuse my not writing with my own hand. "I am troubled with some imperfections in my head" since my late great sickness. I will shortly write more at large. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* 1600; from the Lord Admiral; received ultimo Februarij.

March 2.

**22.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 121.

"I have sent to Don John to dine with me tomorrow, but whether he do or no, I pray take the pains to be here as early as conveniently you may, that we may despatch our business we have in hand with the greatest speed we can devise."

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Lord Deputy, the 2nd of March 1600 written, and received 1601.

March 6.

**23.** SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 605, p. 193.

The 3rd inst. I received your two letters of 28th January, acknowledging mine of 15th, 16th, and 20th December. I pray "to understand your further pleasure for the Lady Joane, sister unto the Earl of Desmond, who as yet lives in restraint. . . Since her first commitment I have not heard of any further cause to enforce her restriction, and although I am daily sued unto for her enlargement, yet dare I not deal in a cause of so great weight as this may prove to be without your Lordships' direction."

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Your commands to displace Northcott, commissary of the musters for Kerry, and confer the same upon James Spenser, shall be forthwith obeyed. "Yet the gentleman hath not been altogether so faulty as by the certificates of his books delivered unto you doth appear, for after, upon the view of the certificates of cheques, I had reprov'd him for the smallness thereof imposed, . . . he protested unto me that he was greatly wronged, and that the party that did deliver his certificates for him had not only for reward corruptly counterfeited his hand in returning false certificates, but also did withhold others, leaving them uncertified. To prove this assertion true, I caused him immediately to certify unto Sir Rafe Lane the truth of his cheques, which did amount unto 260 and odd pounds, that the same might be charged upon the captains that were deficient. Hereof Sir Rafe Lane takes notice, writing unto me that Northcott is wronged, for that his cheques far exceed all others. If it may be my good hap to meet with the man, whose name is Tomlinson, that hath wrought this villany, . . . he shall not escape punishment."

"The state of Munster being as now it is, in the which private men may at their wills in all places have free passage," I think three commissaries will be sufficient. I pray you appoint by your next who shall be the standing commissaries. For the province two will serve; the third to attend the 1,000 foot that I hope to send the Lord Deputy for the service of Connaught or Leinster.

Whereas you task me of some negligence for the commissaries' defaults, although I might justly clear myself from blame, yet, leaving all contestations, I humbly submit to your censures.

I again pray you send by Wood at least 400 quarters of oats, "but the more the better." I pray you also, "for the provision of her Majesty's table for me and the Council, . . . to grant and send me your Lordships' commission for myself or my assignee, from time to time as my wants shall require, to buy for ready money in England such kinds of grain as I shall be occasioned to use, and to transport the same custom free."

"Since my last . . . there hath been no alteration but . . . is rather from good to better. . . . If Tyrone send aids . . . (which is threatened and daily expected), I am so well and readily provided for them that within two days' warning her Majesty's army shall be in the field. . . . If they come, with two enemies they shall not fail to be welcomed; which is sword and famine. The rebels . . . have sent into Spain unto the King for aids, and do by their priests and others assure the vulgar that before May next they shall be relieved. This I do rather report . . . to let you know their hopes than that I do believe it to be true."

"James FitzThomas, the titular Earl, is said to be gone out of the province, which I do the rather believe, because of late I cannot hear of him. He leads a miserable fearful life,

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trusting no one man long, and not sleeping in one place a whole night. I have been promised of many to have him brought living or dead unto me, but nothing is performed, which hath caused me to proclaim head-money out of him and the other four capital exempted traitors and their dependants."

I know not "any lord of country or gentleman of quality that either hath not his pardon come unto him or is not now by his agent now at Dublin ready to pass the Seal, and in the same all their swordmen are comprised. But for the poorer sort, as churls and their families, neither having wealth nor other means to sue out their pardons," again I pray you "to move her Majesty for a general pardon."

In my letters of 13th January I omitted to ask for "300 weight of gyn rope and of draught rope 1,000 weight; for if we should be occasioned to use the cannon, nearer than Dublin there is no means to supply the same." I pray you also command the master of the ordnance "to mount 3 demi-cannons that lie at Limerick, whose carriages (12 years past made by myself) by negligent officers are merely unserviceable. Out of them all with much ado I could make one carriage to perform the service at the Glan, which hereafter may not be trusted unto."

Moyallo, 6 March 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 3. Addressed:* For her Majesty's especial affairs. To the . . . Privy [Council]. George Carewe.

*Endorsed:* Received at Whitehall the 27th.—Letters from my Lord Carew when he was Lord President of Munster, from 6 March 1600 till the 25 April 1603; in number 137 letters.

Vol. 620, p. 54.

2. Copy. "Sent by the Earl of Thomond."

March 8.

24. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 131.

It has been thought meet that John Wood, provider of the victuals for Munster, shall from henceforth undertake the issuing of the same. He is therefore to name a deputy or deputies to supply the place of the commissaries of the victuals; and your Lordship is to give direction that the remain of the victuals that are serviceable be delivered over to his deputy. We have given instructions also to his deputy, wherewith your Lordship shall be made acquainted, and we recommend him to your Lordship to see he may be assisted for the safe keeping of the victuals, and that no captain or other person do offer violence to him.

Command the commissaries of the musters from time to time to give a true note to the commissary of the victuals of the strength of the several bands, which the clerk of every band is to deliver to them. The captains are to appoint some known officer to receive the victuals, whose receipts shall be a sufficient discharge both to the commissaries and the said provider.

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Cause the commissary to have notice of the cashing of any companies. The commissary is enjoined weekly or from time to time to give certificate to the Treasurer (Sir George Cary), or his deputy, of the quantity of victuals delivered to the several companies; who shall see defalcation made accordingly, and once every month, or at least every two months, shall receive their accounts.

It is found by the accounts of the former commissaries that there are great sums demanded of her Majesty for hire of storehouses, transport of victuals and other extraordinaries. We therefore think it requisite generally that the victuals shall be issued at the magazines. If there be occasion of journeys, or to send some part to garrisons or companies dispersed abroad, order the same to be sent for with sufficient convoy, and do not force the commissaries to send the same.

The victuals are to be issued only to those in the list of the establishment, for otherwise no defalcation can be made. Cause an imprest of 100*l.* to be delivered to Wood's commissary, and from time to time such further imprests as you or the Council of the province shall think meet.

Give order "that such storehouses, bakehouses, ovens, brew-houses, and other necessary provisions as have been made" for preserving the victuals be delivered to the commissary, who shall have such entertainment as was allowed to the former commissary for himself and his servants.

You shall receive a copy of the contract and of the instructions. See that all observe what is enjoined, and that the offenders be punished. "The not execution of which, we must be plain with your Lordship, will not only bring infinite loss to her Majesty, but also a very great prejudice to the service, both which we know your Lordship doth wish and endeavour to avoid as much as we can desire."

Whitehall, 8 March 1600.

*Signed*: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, G. Hunsdon, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham, W. Waad.

*Pp.* 3. *Addressed.* *Endorsed*: Received at Lymericke, the 16th of April 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2., p. 46.

2. Copy.

March 8.

Vol. 620, p. 56.

25. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"This province being now reduced to a reasonable condition of peace, wherein all men may freely pass from place to place within the same without interruption, I have begun to set on foot the collection of her Majesty's rents, as well for the arrearages due since the beginning of this rebellion, as to proceed forward in the accustomed sort. But in respect her Majesty's greatest revenue groweth from the Undertakers by their grants, which amounteth yearly to a far greater sum



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than all the rest, and that by reason of their poverties, which they pretend, they are no way able to satisfy her Majesty for the time past, or to inhabit their seignories for her future profit, their lands in my knowledge lying now merely wasted, . . . be pleased to let me understand your pleasures, what course I shall hold with them, and whether . . . your Lordships will tolerate with them for the arrearages past, and give them some time to reinhabit their seignories, or that I shall out of hand deal with them as I have directed already for her other revenues; till when I will defer the same."

Cork, 8 March 1600.

"Sent by the Earl of Thomond."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Vol. 620, p. 128.

2. Another copy, dated 6 March.

March 9.

26. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. 605, p. 195.

"Even as my Lord of Tomond was ready to depart, one Daniel Cavanaghe, servant to the Lord of Upper Osserye, discovered to me, Sir Nicholas Wellshe and Mr. Comerford this relation enclosed, . . . which upon his oath he did aver to be true."

Cork, 9 March 1600.

P.S.—"The Earl of Tomond and Mr. Justice Saxey were likewise at this examinat's deposition."

*Holograph. P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.*

March 9.

27. The EXAMINATION of DONELL KEVANAGH.

Vol. 605, p. 196.

"In November last, as I was in Upper Ossorie in a town called Garran McCouley, I met with a priest called Farrell Magoghegan, who was inquisitist for news out of England, and I no less desirous to hear from the North.

"He told me that he was five days before with Tyrone in an island near Donganyn, where Tyrone shewed to a multitude of his own men a handful of letters which he said came lately to him from his friends in England, and that one of them was from the Earl of Essex, and read to the priest and to some few more that spake English, wishing him to be of good comfort and to persist in his wars, and that he should shortly have relief and assistance to his content.

"The priest did not tell the names of any of the rest that saw those letters, neither did he name those of Tyrone's men to whom he manifested this much, and I durst not then ask anything more particularly, lest I should be suspected to be an intelligencer for the Queen's Majesty.

"Not long after, having met with Patrick Crosby at the Cowkill in Ossory, I declared to him that the priest told me of late letters sent out of England to encourage him to his action, and Crosby fell out in hard speeches with the priest, but not for this cause.

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“And now I do relate it unto you in discharge of my duty, and will be ready to witness it in England or wheresoever else I shall be required. The priest I trust to hit upon, and, as I take it, he will be found in Kilkenny, Callan, or Waterford; for, though he be not as yet acquainted with any in those towns, saving at Kilkenny, I suppose he will be a resorter to those towns this Lent, when such men will be better entertained than at other times.”

*Signed*: Danyell Kevanaghe.

“This examinatt did deliver this report testified under his hand, unto the which he was deposed, unto us whose names are hereunder written the 9th day of March 1600.”

*Signed*: George Carewe, Thomond, Nich. Walshe, William Saxey, Ger. Comerford.

*P. 1. Enclosed in the preceding. Endorsed.*

March 9.

## 28. DERMOND MCCARTIE to FLORENCE MCCARTIE.

Vol. 605, p. 200.

I was greatly rejoiced by the good news of your Lordship when they told me that you had disembarked at Cork on 15th December last, after having undergone so many hardships during the eleven years of your captivity in England, out of which three years were spent in the Tower of London, where you were unable to stand upright, no acquaintance being permitted to visit you, because you had married the daughter of the Earl of Belensen (Donald McCarty, Baron of Valentia and Earl of Clancare), without the Queen's licence. Although they declared this to be the cause, I know the contrary; and I obtained my knowledge in the following manner.

A caravel of the King Catholic being on this coast encountered a pinnace *de aviso*, which was going from Ireland to England, having in it more than thirty Spaniards and Italians, who were about to be tried. The caravel captured the Englishman, and brought it to this kingdom. In it I saw the letters of advice which the Viceroy had sent, and especially a letter from the Treasurer of Ireland (Cary) to the Queen, relating solely to your Lordship. He stated that as you had so many powerful lords for your vassals, and were so well connected by marriage (and here he gave the names of every one of them), and as your lands were in that part of Ireland which is nearest to Spain, from which country your ancestors had come, and towards which nation you were so affectionate, having acquired its language without leaving your own country, the Queen could not hold Ireland in security so long as you were at liberty, because you would make war against her, and enable the Spaniards to subdue it; and to avoid the many injuries which might result to the kingdom, it would be well that you should be conveyed as a prisoner to England. This is the true reason why you have been kept prisoner these eleven years, and not, as they allege, because you had married without the Queen's licence. The reason why they now liberate you is

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because they see that your brother, kinsmen, and vassals are assisting the Catholics in making war, and the Queen sees that her affairs in Ireland are not so prosperous as she wishes. She therefore shows her clemency in liberating you, and in giving you possession of your estates, in order that you may serve her. Taking warning from the hardships which you have suffered during eleven years' imprisonment in England, it will be very necessary to be watchful, and not to trust any Englishman. If they get you into their hands a second time, they will never release you. As you are now at liberty in your own country, among your vassals and kinsmen, I counsel you to act [in a manner worthy] of yourself, and of the hope which has always [been placed] in you, by co-operating in this war of the Catholics, as you can do so with the utmost safety. I am sure I need only impress this upon your Lordship, that you should take care of your own. You should therefore acquaint the King Catholic with your desire, with the service that can be done by the towns and places which you can deliver up to him, and with the number of the men-at-arms under your command. I know very well that if your Lordship would [promise] to take the city of Cork, and give ample information to his Majesty, you would obtain assistance. You can send your letters through the Señor Don Diego Brochero, admiral royal of his Majesty's navy, a personage who is well disposed to our nation, and has great influence with the King. If your letters and messages reach his hands, they will come [to the King] through a good channel, and be more attended to. You can write to me also by the same means, in order that I may negotiate your affairs, and within three days an answer shall be sent you, for communication without further delay to the Lords O'Neil and O'Donel,\* inhabiting the north part of that kingdom. I think that, for greater security, your Lordship should send your letters to the Lord O'Neyl, directed as I say to the Admiral Royal, who will forward them to this kingdom. If you do not choose to write, and prefer that I should go to Ireland, give Don Diego information of this, and he will send me thither, as I am well acquainted with the coast of your lands.

Corunna, 9 March 1600.

I send my compliments to my Lady the Countess.

*Signal:* Don Dermicio Cary.

P.S.—Our kinsman Don Carlos Macary has been captain of a company of Irishmen, who committed a certain delinquency (*disgracia*), which would take too long to describe, and for which they (the Spaniards?) deprived him of the company. He has been at the Court, and I know not what will become of him. The Lord Admiral wrote in his favour, and he has no greater friend here, except Don Juan de Ydiaques;† but

\* "yo do nel" in MS.

† "de y diaquel" in MS.

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at present he (Don Juan?) has not the same authority as formerly. I am confident that he (Charles) will clear himself, though indeed he was not accountable for what was done by the soldiers, who were as dissolute and as badly disposed as it was possible for them to be; and the captain connived at their doings to a great extent without punishing them, contrary to my wish. Consequently they returned so insubordinate as to bring discredit on the [Irish] nation. He has also married against my desire, and not as he ought.

I serve in the company of Captain Diego Costella. As it is possible I may not be here when your letters arrive, address me in this manner: "*A Don Dornicio Cary, Yrlandes, en la compania del Capitan Diego Costella,*" &c. The reason why I do not procure [leave] to go to Ulster is, that I expect his Majesty will send an armada this summer to Ireland, which will go to Munster, where I shall be able to render some service to your Lordship and the rest of my kinsmen. Should the armada not be sent, I will procure licence to go thither. I do not wish to remain any longer in these kingdoms. Commend me to my lady mother, and [inform her] that no blame is due to me because I am not like the rest of my brothers. I am here in the service of the King Catholic, from whom I expect a great reward; so that, although they are well off (*bien*), I am confident I shall receive more advantage from his royal bounty.

*Spanish. Pp. 2.*

*Endorsed by Carew:* "A letter from Dermond McCartie out of Spain to Florence, 9th of March 1600, *novo stilo.*"\*  
*Also by another hand:* "Sent into England by Sir Anthony Cooke, 14 August 1601."

March 11. 29. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 117.

"We have hitherto sufficiently freed you from all doubt of the coming of any Northern rebels, . . . for besides that we have stopped them, we have beaten Tirrell and all his rabble out of all the chief places of his fastness near to the Enny water where best he might have given furtherance to their passage, made him quit his island and castle that he had very strongly fortified, bragging that he would keep it against all men, and have driven him into the edge of Leishe, where he is fain to remain in another island, which we cannot come near till the waters be fallen and the year further up.

"We have further laid so good watch upon the fords of the Enny, by which of necessity they must pass, and disposed companies so fitly to answer each place upon a sudden, as I assure myself they will not venture this way, being long since broken and out of hope; nor can they go any other way but

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\* If this be correct, the letter ought to have been inserted in the previous year.

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by Connaught (unless haply some few stragglers), and then are they to pass along through Thomond.

“To prevent that I think it to good purpose you would send all those companies to Lymerick that I wrote for by my former letters, especially since there they may be victualled out of the old store remaining in that place, or out of the store remaining now at Gallway, which will soon be at Lymerick upon your letter, if it be not there already by my direction. . .

“I cannot therefore but recommend unto your Lordship the serious consideration of this course, and wish that it be put in execution unless you find good cause to the contrary. And because I perceive that Sir John Barkeley, who for the time hath the charge of Connaught, is desirous to do somewhat upon those rebels, and finds a great want of his own company, the other being Irish and such as in reason he may not well trust, I cannot omit to renew . . . my former request that they be speedily sent unto him, as they may conveniently through Thomond; and, as I promised, you shall have as many others, unless you can spare them and some of the rest, as, if you could, you might greatly further us, . . . our companies being grown exceedingly weak, insomuch as I am constrained to cash many of them to supply the rest. Whereas if your companies had come down unto us, that we might roundlier have gone to work, I assure myself we should all have had cause to be glad thereof. And yet if you would spare that force now, and send them through Thomond to Connaught, where Mostian and some other rebels lie, . . . they would stand us in very great stead. . .

“Your advice for the reforming of the commissions, and for mending the clauses in the pardons for those of that province, are in my opinion most reasonable and very meet; and therefore I have written unto the Council at Dublin to take order accordingly, having myself passed their pardons in that sort still as you desired. And for that I promised you I would pardon none in your government but only such as you should recommend, and yet have suffered some names to be added to one of the schedules lately by you signed, I think fit herewith to send the enclosed note, which will inform you sufficiently who they are, and that I did it to satisfy John Power, recommended by your Lordship and my Lord of Desmond, who affirmeth on his credit that they were but forgotten in the list, and offereth to answer it with his life if your Lordship do not like thereof.”

Trym, 11 March 1600. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 48.

2. Copy.

Vol. 615, p. 118.

3. A list of 24 names, chiefly yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers.

P. 1. *Endorsed*: “Names of persons put into John O’Connor’s warrant at the earnest suit of John Power, recommended by

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the Lord President and the Earl of Desmond his lord and master," &c.

- March 12. 30. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 115. (*This letter is the same as the preceding down to the end of the fourth paragraph.*)

"This former part is but a double of a parcel of my letter which I wrote and sent yesterday by John Power, and doubting that it might miscarry . . . I . . . send this another way. And the rather, for that I heard last night that Mostian and the Connaught rebels are drawn to a head, with purpose certainly to pass for Munster through Thomond, or at least to spoil Clanrickard and all those parts. For which cause I cannot but think it most fit that the force I wrote for may be sent against them speedily, and that they enter so far into Connaught as they may prosecute those rebels there assembled, with good care that they pass not by them into Munster; and I do think they can lie in no part of Munster to greater purpose, even for the service of that province; for they may there interrupt their passage, and, if they pass, easily follow them."

Trym, 12 March 1600. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

- March 13. 31. The PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.  
Vol. 615, p. 295. "Whereas, Sir George Thornton, knight, provost marshal of . . . Munster, hath no entertainment but of the 12 horse that are allowed to his place, being a gentleman that hath followed of long time the service of the wars in that realm, and was by the late Earl of Essex appointed one of the Commissioners for that province, wherein he discharged the trust reposed in him with great care and endeavour to her Majesty's good liking," her Majesty is pleased that he shall have the next company of foot in Munster. Write to the President of Munster (Carew) accordingly.

Whitehall, 13 March 1600.

*Signed:* Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buckhurst, Nottingham, Ro. Cecyll, Jo. Harbert.

"This is a true copy. Mountjoye."

*P. 1. Endorsed:* Received 24 April.\*

- March 13. 32. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 137. "We have received your letters of the 25th of January brought by Patrick Crosby, whereby we perceive the terms to which you have reduced Mounster, whereof there can be no greater testimony given than that you are able to spare half

\* This copy is enclosed in Mountjoy's letter of 6 May 1601.

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the forces appointed for the province." Seeing the forces are drawn from 3,000 to 1,500 in list, and that of those 1,500 "many heads will be wanting by dead pays and other defalcations," we wish you to "take such order as her Majesty's forces may not be mangled in guarding of wards and castles where half the numbers so appointed are never kept." Because many men by private suits have gotten letters to you of recommendation from hence to have numbers allotted to them, we now order that no places be guarded by her forces but such as stand upon places of advantage, and that in those places no more than necessary be bestowed.

We have perceived by your letters of how great use Sir George Thornton, the provost marshal, is. As he has so mean an entertainment, while many of less continuance have been preferred, we send you a letter for him to the Lord Deputy.

"Upon conference with the Treasurer it appeareth unto us that upon arrival of the last sum, which came into the harbour after your letters were written, your wants are supplied, especially considering that we hold on still our course of victualling that army."

From the Court at White Hall, 13 March 1600. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 45.

2. Copy.

March 22. 33. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. 605, p. 203.

"This bearer, my Lord of Desmond, desirous to see her Majesty and to acknowledge many services due unto you, together with a loathing which he hath of the manner and traitorly disposition of the most of these people, doth now make his repair into England, where by your honorable means he hopes to advance his fortunes, to enable him to do her Majesty such service as may give her contentment, and to think the favours which she cast upon him to be well bestowed.

"He is the work of your hands, and so he doth acknowledge. . . I know him to be entirely your own. I cannot sufficiently commend unto you his noble carriage in this country, which gets him little love, for those which are good are here most despised, and by so much the more in my opinion by us to be embraced.

"The Queen hath now land to bestow. She cannot in my judgment better improve it than to confer it upon him; but if his desires might be satisfied, a small portion in England would better content him than the best man's living in Ireland. So far is his humour and religion different from the Irish as that he thinks all time lost which is spent among them.

"In his Lordship's behalf I am an humble suitor unto you that the clothes and officer's wages which are now detained

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rom him may be added to the portion of entertainment which now he hath, being too little a stipend to maintain him in the degree of an earl. I know this manner of suits are displeasing, neither would I hazard to write upon such a subject were it not that I write for my Lord of Desmond, who, upon my credit, doth merit exceeding extraordinarily well of the Queen and the State.

"I beseech your Honour to procure me their Lordships' (the Privy Council) pleasure what I shall do with my Lady Joane, who is yet a prisoner with the mayor of Corke. He grudges to give her meat, and never leaves to importune me to dispose of her to some other place. Since her committing I have discovered no more than at the first, and, to say my opinion, I do think my Lord her brother hath clean diverted her from any such marriage if ever she did intend it; but I do believe she never purposed to be O'Donnell's wife, although both [by] the Countess and her husband O'Connor Sligo it hath been moved sundry times unto her. Yet, because in a matter of so great consequence I do not hold it wisdom to be over much confident, I . . . pray their Lordships' directions.

"My Lord of Desmond hath in his company attending upon him some of his followers. The graces which your Honour shall do unto them are favours done unto his Lordship, and will advance his reputation here; wherefore I . . . pray your Honour to be favorable unto them."

Cork, 22 March 1600. *Signed and sealed.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: "R. 27 Mar."*

March 26. 34. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 272.

"When by my former letters I signified unto your Lordship what her Majesty had been pleased to direct touching my Lord Burke for his placing there with a company, . . . I had no other end than now I have, but that he might have that which was intended him with most contentment to himself and least offence to any other, which none could so well judge of as your Lordship, who see daily what every man's deserts are. . . The companies I expect to be sent into Connaught, where many of the Northern rebels are said to be now drawn together."

Tredagh, 26 March 1600 (*sic*). *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: 26 Martii 1601.*

Vol. 624, p. 49.

2. Copy.

March 27. 35. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 428.

Her Majesty having appointed the Bishop of Limerick to reside at York for the furtherance of her service there, he has sent over one Mr. Page, some time his chancellor there, to be his official and vicar general, and to take charge of his



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diocese, whom I pray you countenance and further in all his just causes. "And I shall be ready to deserve your favour in anything which may concern your Lordship or your friends here."

Court at Whitehall, 27 March 1600 (*sic*). *Signed*.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed*: 27 Martii 1601.

March 29. 36. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 268.

We enclose a petition in behalf of the wife and children of Edmond Spencer, late clerk of the Council for that province. "In regard he was a servitor of that realm," we pray you, upon due information of the wrongs pretended to be done in prejudice of his wife and children, afford them that assistance which justice shall require "for the recovery and holding those things which by right ought to appertain unto them."

Whitehall, 29 March 1601.

*Signed*: Jo. Cant.; Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; W. Knollys; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu; J. Herbert.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed*: Received in July 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 61.

2. Copy.

March. 37. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 604, p. 69.

"I hope it shall not seem to you any neglect that you have heard no more from me these 25 days and more, considering how great and important causes have held not only her Majesty, but all her Council and public ministers, from all other business of any other place but here at home, where no small blow was like to be given at the centre (as you may have heard by my former despatch) if God had not in his providence hindered their designs. . .

"The 19th of February the Earl [of Essex] was arraigned (together with Southampton) in Westminster Hall before 25 peers, the Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst] sitting as Lord Steward. At the bar the Earl laboured to extenuate his fault, by denying that ever he meant any harm to her Majesty's person, and by pretending that he took arms principally to save himself from my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, who (he gave out) should have murdered him in his house on Saturday night. He pretended also an intention he had to have removed me with some others from the Queen, as one who would sell the kingdom of England to the Infant of Spain, with such other hyperbolical inventions. But before he went out of the Hall, when he saw himself condemned, and found that Sir John Davys, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Charles Davers, and Sir Christopher Blunt had confessed all the conferences that were held at Drury House, by his directions, for the surprising of the Queen and the Tower, which argued a premeditated treason (which he laboured to have had it prove only a sudden putting himself into strength, and flying into the city for fear

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of being committed over night when the Lords sent for him, which upon my faith to you, to whom I will not lie, was only to have reproved him for his unlawful assemblies, and to have wished him to leave the city and retire into the country), he then break out to divers gentlemen in these words, that his confederates who now had accused him had been principal inciters of him, and not he of them, even ever since August last, to work his access to the Queen with force.

“After he had been in the Tower one night, he sent to the Lord Thomas Howard, being constable of the Tower, by Mr. Warburton, to entreat him to move her Majesty to send unto him the Lord Keeper (Egerton), Lord Treasurer (Buckhurst), Lord Admiral (Nottingham), and me the secretary by name, that he might now discharge his conscience, and confess his great obstinacy in denying those things at his arraignment wherewith he had been charged, as also to reconcile himself to his enemies, and specially to me, whom he had wronged as a councillor, when he pretended at the bar that the cause of his taking arms was the rather to save the kingdom of England from the Spaniard, to whom it was bought and sold, particularly urging it upon me, who had been a dealer in the peace; adding also that he had heard that I delivered to a councillor that the Infant had the best title: to the which when I replied, and pressed that the party that told it him might be brought forth, Mr. Controller (Sir Edward Wotton?) was named by the poor Earl of Southampton, who, being sent for into the seat of judgment, very like a gentleman and a Christian cleared me that I did never speak of that in other sort than as reporting what a strange book was come forth of one Doleman dedicated to the Earl of Essex, which did maintain that title to be the best.

“Thus do you see, Sir, who (I think) would easily free me from such a barbarous imputation, how great an injury he did me, for which God forgive him. But now to resort to the place I left; when it pleased her Majesty the next day to send us four unto him, being Saturday, he did with very great penitency (as ever I saw) confess how sorry he was that he had made so obstinate denials at the bar, desiring that he might have liberty to set down in writing his whole project of coming to the Court in that sort, which he hath done in four sheets of paper, and even indeed concurring with Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davys, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Littleton's confessions; declaring, first, that he sent divers articles to be considered of for that matter, as namely, whether it were not good, at the same time of coming to Court, to possess the Tower, to give reputation to the action, if the city should mislike it; next, that Sir Christopher Blunt should take the Court gate, Sir John Davys should, with some company, command the Hall, and go up into the great chamber, where some unsuspected persons were appointed to have gotten into the room aforehand, and to have seized on

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the halberts of the guard, which commonly, you know, stand piled up against the wall; and Sir Charles Davers should have been in the presence, with some other gentleman, to have made good that place; whereby my Lord of Essex, with the Earls of Southampton, Rutland, and some other noblemen, should have gone in to the Queen, and then, having her in their possessions, to have used the shadow of her authority for changing of the government, and so to have called a Parliament, and have condemned all those that should have been scandalized to have misgoverned the State.

“This is the substance of his confession, which he first delivered verbally to us, and then proceeded on in his speeches, asking particularly forgiveness of the Lord Keeper, and desired him to report it to the rest whom he caused to be imprisoned in his house, sorrowing in his heart that they had been put in fear of their lives. Then he did most passionately desire, in Christian charity, forgiveness at the hands of those persons whom he had particularly called his enemies, protesting that when he first resolved of this rebellious act, he saw not what better pretext he could have than a particular quarrel, and to none so fit to pretend quarrel as to those whom he had at the bar named his greatest adversaries.

“Then, being earnestly urged still to say what he knew or could reveal, especially of that injurious imputation to me, he vowed and protested that in his own conscience he did freely acquit me from any such matter, and was ashamed to have spoken it, having no better ground; and professed withal to bear no malice to those others, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he had named his enemies, and by whom (but as they had been ill-willers to him) he knew no other than that they were true servants to the Queen and the State.

“After that he made a very humble suit to the Queen, that he might have the favour to die privately in the Tower, which her Majesty granted, and for which he gave most humble thanks. The 25th of February he suffered in the Tower with very great patience and humility, only, notwithstanding his resolution that he must die, the conflict betwixt the flesh and the soul did appear only thus far, that in his prayers he was fain to be helped, it proceeding out of the weakness of the flesh at the instant, for otherwise no man living could die more Christianly than he did.

“This death of his was the more hastened by that bloody practice of Thom Lea, who, not four days after the Earl's apprehension, dealt with Sir Henry Nevill, son-in-law to the Lord Treasurer, and with Sir Robert Crosse, assuring them that he would deal also with some four other gentlemen of resolution, who, at supper time, when the Queen should have been in the privy chamber, should have taken her, locked the doors, and, as he sillily pretended, only have pinned her up there till he had forced her to sign a warrant for the Earl's

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delivery out of the Tower. Which vile purpose being discovered by those two gentlemen and avowed to his face, he being that very night watching at the privy chamber door to discover how he might the next day have had access, he was seized on, and being examined, confessed thus much, only vowing that he would not have hurt her royal person, whom God bless, except others would have forced in upon her to hinder that course which he pretended for their delivery; but within four days he received the due reward of a traitor at Tyburne.

“The 5th of March, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davys, Sir Gelly Merick, and Henry Cuff were all arraigned at Westminster and condemned, they confessing the plot as is afore set down, with many other circumstances to it, absolutely submitting themselves to her Majesty’s mercy, which is like to appear in some of them. But Merick and Cuff, the one a principal actor, the other a chief plotter and inducer of the Earl, were yesterday executed at Tyburne.

“It remaineth now that I let you know what is like to become of the poor young Earl of Southampton, who, merely for the love of the Earl, hath been drawn into this action; who, in respect that most of the conspiracies were at Drury House, where he was always chief, and where Sir Charles Davers lay, those that would deal for him (of which number I protest to God I am one, as far as I dare) are much disadvantaged of arguments to save him. And yet, when I consider how penitent he is, and how merciful the Queen is, and that never in thought or deed, but in this conspiracy, he offended, as I cannot write in despair, so I dare not flatter myself with hope.

“For the rest of the noblemen that are in the Tower, as Rutland, Sandes, Cromwell, Monteagle, excepting Sandes and Cromwell, I presume the other two shall have mercy; but Sandes and Cromwell are appointed to be tried tomorrow by the peers at Westminster Hall.

“For Sir Charles Davers, nothing hath more alienated the hearts of men to deal for him than this, that, above all others, till he saw all their own hands, he was most obstinate in impudent denials. Sir Henry Nevill, that was ambassador in France, is likewise in displeasure for having been acquainted with all the circumstances of this plot by Cuff and Davers, and not revealed it, which in a gentleman of his wisdom hath been no small crime, nor to me no small grief, having married mine own cousin germain.

“Three or four days since here arrived the Earl of Marr with the Lord of Kynloss, ambassadors from the King of Scotland. Their errands are generally holden to be, to deal plainly and sincerely with the Queen about the foreign employments, wherewith the King hath been scandalized abroad; likewise about Sir William Evers and other prisoners here.

1601.

He hath not yet had audience, because his carriages are not yet arrived."

*Not dated. Signed.*

*Pp. 5. Endorsed: 11 (?) Martii 1600, from Mr. Secretary. Received by Patrick Crosbie at Lymerick, 16 Aprilis 1601.*

April 1.

38. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 274.

"I now perceive by your late letter, as I did partly before by one from my Lord of Thomond, that Mr. Teig O'Brian his brother, now and of long time prisoner in Lymericke, is not restrained of his liberty for any offence by him committed, or that any man chargeth him withal, but is there kept only by the Earl, his brother, for his discharge, lest he might offend hereafter. In so doing no doubt my Lord hath dealt both safely and wisely for himself and very providently for the State, if he had left there and gone no further. But that his Lordship now refuseth to join with you in setting him at liberty upon my letter, being by you required thereunto, since the assurance he offereth to put in is in your Lordship's opinion as good as may be required, it argueth in my conceipt a desire in his Lordship to carry a more hard hand towards his brother than the State may in course of justice suffer. To prevent which I do hereby authorize your Lordship to give order for the enlargement of the said Teig O'Brien so soon as you shall have taken bands of the Bishop of Killalowe, the Lord of Dunboine, the Lord Bourke, and Tirlagh Roe MacMahoun, for his loyalty and appearance before the State from time to time when he shall be sent for, in such sum as I mentioned in my former letter. . . . His son shall remain a pledge in her Majesty's hands, for which purpose I have written to the Council at Dublin to send for him to Mr. Talbott of Templeoge, where, as you write, I hear for certain he now remaineth. . . . Give Mr. Teig O'Brien great charge soon after his enlargement to come unto me."

Tredagh, 1 April 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: "Received at Limerick, 8 Aprilis 1601."*

Vol. 624, p. 50.

2. Copy.

April 4.

39. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 276.

"Though I never made doubt of your readiness to do anything that might give furtherance to the service, yet am I very glad that in this particular for the sending of 1,000 men into Connaught you used that speed and expedition which you write of; for by that means I am in great good hope that they are very luckily fallen in to the cutting off, or at the least dispersing, of that rabble of rogues that were there assembled to spoil Clanrickard and all those parts, and afterwards to have disturbed you in Mounster.

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“I am confident in my former opinion that those 1,000 men . . . will there lie as fitly both to stop and do service upon those rebels as in any place . . . in Munster if they can get good spial, and be painful and diligent as they may be. But if the rebels should happen to escape them they may soon pursue them with good advantage, and in that case . . . you shall neither want that force nor any other force either in Connaught or Leinster . . . In the meantime Sir John Barkely shall be directed to draw them no further from you than the necessity of the service requireth.

“I have been the slower in answering your late letter, partly in hope that ere this time I should have been able to have sent you some good news of the service those companies had performed, which yet I have not heard of, but chiefly that I have been busy in despatching letters for England, and both my secretaries sick.

“The accidents of England, as your Lordship hopeth, are long since fallen into a quiet proceeding; for the same day that it broke out, by ten o'clock at night the principals were taken, and within a day after most of the actors and confederates committed to prison, where for aught I hear they yet continue: the Earl of Essex only executed. And this is the substance of all that I hear more than that we need not doubt any further disturbance or alteration can thereupon arise either there or here.

“In Leinster I have taken such a course as our forces have not been idle, and, God be thanked, their endeavours have been blessed with good success, for there is now no force left in all Leinster against her Majesty but a few scattered thieves of the Moores and Connors, whom I have refused to take to mercy; for Tyrrell, being so hunted in his several places of fastness as he could find no rest in any place, is in the end driven to leave all and fled into the North, where as I hear he hath but easy welcome, because he did neither better nor longer defend the country which himself had undertaken. He hath promised to return, but I see not how he can, for we have spoiled all the country, and left no means for him to live.

“We have had a bout likewise with the rebels upon the Northern borders, who thereupon are earnest suitors to submit themselves and to be received to mercy, abjuring their old master with the greatest oaths we can impose upon them. I think the ruin they have received will be a sufficient warning to make them advise themselves how they break with us again; though if they do, and mean falsely, they shall make no great profit of their pardons, we have punished them so much already; and yet if they stand fast to us, being thus separated from the archtraitor, he will be left open to a more easy and speedy prosecution against himself and some of his principal adherents, which I do so busily think upon, and so earnestly apply myself unto, as I make account he shall be able to spare none this way to annoy you, whatsoever Tirrell

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or any other may brag of or give out of their intents for that purpose.

“Phelim Mac Feagh, having heard that others sped no better than he, and yet are desirous to come in, their countries being spoiled, seeing no hope to recover himself, hath made his submission to the Council at Dublin, and put in his pledge; so as he, Donnell Spaynagh, Phelim O’Toole of the Fartrie, and all thereabouts being now quiet, we shall the more freely apply ourselves to services of greater importance.”

Tredagh, 4 April 1601. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 11 ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 51.

2. Copy.

April 6.

40. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 278.

“Sir John Barkeley doth very earnestly desire that his company might stay in Connaught, and I confess he hath very great reason for it, both in regard of his own private and the advancement of the service there, which he is by a double band tied to study.” I pray you yield thereto. If you cannot conveniently spare that number, I promise to send you as many more for them.

Tredaghe, 6 April 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 54.

2. Copy.

April 10.

41. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 282.

“I will write to you none of our news, since by Sir Rurke Burke I do send it you at large and in maximo volumine, who hath been present either at the blowing up or suppressing down of all the rebels of Leinster. Only the ward of Castle Jordan doth hold out against him, he being not able to carry up the cannon against it by reason of the weakness that the Spaniards would come. that thereby we might have so good occasion to meet, but I fear me they are too wise to come into this country, whom God amend or confound, and send us a quiet return and a happy meeting in the land of good meat and clean linen, lest by our long continuing here we turn knaves with this generation of vipers, and slovens with eating draff with these swine.”

Tredaugh, 10 April. *Signed.*

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* 10 April 1601

April 13.

42. SIR JOHN FORTESCUE to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 426.

In behalf of the bearer, a gentleman touching whose cause the Privy Council have written to you.

From the Wardrobe, 13 April 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

1601.

April 17.

## 43. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 280.

"Since I find you of opinion that it were dangerous to enlarge Mr. Teige O'Bryen at this time, though the security he offereth be very good, I do very well allow of your course in keeping him till the return of my Lord of Thomond his brother, or longer if you think it longer fit, for I do no further affect to pleasure him than to give him that right that he may truly challenge in course of justice. And yet I could have wished that I had known this ill disposition of his sooner, for then should I less have troubled both your Lordship and myself about him.

"I must needs approve your course as well in the speedy sending of the 1,000 men into Connaught when the state of that country did so necessarily require them, as in your drawing to Limerick with the residue of your forces to be ready upon the first occasion for anything you might find fittest; and I am in good hope your being there will prove to so good purpose, as you will think your time well spent, and be glad that you embraced that occasion.

"I can easily believe that Sir John Barkeley is juggled withal as you note, and though himself haply doth not know so much, yet I find that he doth very much suspect it. Your Lordship shall do very well to hold on your course to acquaint him therewith as soon as well you may, whereby you shall greatly pleasure him, and no doubt give furtherance to the service. Tybbott ne Long is, as I think, no better than you term him, but I make account very shortly now to know the truth more certainly." Since my letter of the 4th instant, "we have ransacked the Breny, and left there Sir Oliver Lambert planting of a garrison, which I make no doubt but he will despatch within a few days, and be with me here at Dublin, whither I am returned but yesterday."

Dublin, 17 April 1601. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 22 ejusdem at Limerick.

Vol. 624, p. 53.

2. Copy.

April 25.

## 44. THE QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 604, p. 256.

"An intention we had to alter the standard of our moneys in that realm . . . we did think convenient to be imparted unto you before we did put it in execution, because we would understand from you whether, in your judgment and experience of the state and condition of our affairs and people there, as well natural born of the country as serving us in our army, any notorious inconvenience were like to arise by such an abasing of our coin, which might bring hindrance to our service, or notable incommodity to the welfare of our people. Whereunto having received from you such answer as doth testify your dutiful disposition to further anything that is by us



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conceived to be meet for our service, and no objection by you made of any difficulties of great moment, that may stay us . . . but rather some good arguments to declare your own judgment concurring in approbation and allowance of the same, we have thereupon resolved to put it in speedy execution, and have caused a great proportion of such moneys to be coined here, which shall, with all convenient speed, be sent thither to be uttered. . . . For the furtherance of which our intent . . . we have thought meet to send from hence this bearer, George Carye, Knight, our Treasurer at wars there, although that both his accounts and his other business required his longer abode here, and we could have been well pleased to have permitted his longer stay out of our favour and acceptance of his services both here and there; . . . to whom we have delivered a proclamation signed with our hand. . . . We do no other thing in this alteration of our coin than both our progenitors have done, and is merely appertaining to our prerogatives." We have established an Exchange.

Our pleasure is that the space left in our proclamation, for limitation of a time from which all other moneys shall be decried, be filled up before the publishing thereof; which we leave to your discretions, because it cannot be so conveniently limited here. You our Deputy and Council shall, by all your skill and endeavour, further the establishing of this our purpose, and give all aid and assistance to our said Treasurer and to his deputies and under officers. All captains having charge in our army there, from the time this money shall be current, shall receive the whole allowance of their dead pays in money after the rate of 8*l.* per diem. All defalcations heretofore used to be made upon the companies for arms shall be hereafter deducted upon the apparel, and not upon the weekly lendings. "And for the ease of our subjects serving us there, we have been pleased also to abate an imposition lately raised upon all sea coals passing out of our realm, for so much as shall be transported into Ireland, to the end that the same kind of fuel may be the better cheap had by them."

*Copy. Pp. 5. Endorsed:* "1601, 25 April. M. to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, touching the new standard of moneys. For the P. of Munster."

April 26.  
Vol. 615, p. 284.

45. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

This bearer Edward Nangle has complained to me that divers persons in that province are indebted to him. I pray you call them before you, and, finding his allegation true, "give him justice with all convenient expedition, the rather for that he hath here some employment in her Majesty's service, from which any long time he may not well be spared."

Dublin, 26 April 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 55.

2. *Copy.*

1601.  
April 26. 46. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 286.
- “This poor gentlewoman, Susan Kevan, wife to the late Bishop of Ardagh, hath desired me to recommend her estate unto your Lordship, unto the which I have the more willingly yielded in regard of the extremity that I partly think she now endureth.”  
Dublin, 26 April 1601. *Signed.*  
P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*  
2. Copy.
- Vol. 624, p. 55.
- April 27. 47. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 424.
- “I was glad when I received your last letter, being aforeafeard that my cousin Cowte had been lost by some misadventure: but now he is safe, God be thanked, for life, the question is how he may live, for whom I thank you that you will have any care at all, and for whom I would readily employ my best endeavours to settle him in some course of any indifferent reputation, though with part of my own charge and hazard of breaking his own neck. Mr. Secretary, I assure myself, will grace him with his recommendation, though his humour be not encroaching in preferring of martial men, whose services in their kind he is readier to further to any recompence than undertaking to advance such of whom he hath no assurance. But I will follow your counsel to join with Michael Stanhope to my Lord Deputy for his preferment, and if it succeed we will leave him to God’s goodness. Here we do all the week long make officers and councillors, and on the Sunday some thwart or other leaves them still *in statu quo prius*. My Lord Chamberlain’s (Hunsdon) disease increasing, he is much feared and not likely to last. Sir John Carey hopes to succeed him both in profit and preferment; at least to share with others for some of his offices. For foreign news or other intelligence, I know you have them from a better hand than mine can afford you; and though you have sufficient proof of Mr. Secretary’s love, yet I cannot but commend him to you for his honorable constancy, and give you that comfort thereby, that you may justly take in the love of one of his worth, of whom I need say no more. I pray you continue to do as you have begun, which is so well as you have praise both of your prince and generally of all others; so shall your friends be the prouder in you, and God will bless you; and, though my love be little worth, yet are you fully seized thereof.  
“Your constant loving friend and cousin, J. Stanhope.  
27 April.”  
*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: 27 April 1601.*
- April 28. 48. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 266.
- “Although we have before this time acquainted you with her Majesty’s gracious acceptation of your service . . . , yet

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now we will forbear to touch it at this time, because her Majesty gives you notice of it with her own hand, and for the present only let you know what care we have taken to satisfy all your demands. . . We have . . sent . . munitions according to your request; we have likewise given order for victuals in good proportion, although it seemeth to us by the certificate of the victualler that you were better stored at your writing than you knew for. We have also given order for cats to be presently sent you; and, because you have so good use of a ship for transportation of victuals to and fro, besides the service she may do in mastering those barques and boats which offend the coast, we have sent Captain Harvy with a good ship for that purpose.

“And now, that you may know what letters we have intercepted out of Spain concerning those bruits which we perceive are spread of Spanish succours, you shall receive the copies of three letters, whereof we have the original, which were committed to the charge of one Peter Stronge of Waterford, whose ships and goods were taken in Falmouth, where they were put in by storm. One of them comes from the governor of the Groine, another from a friar that resideth with him, the third from one Senuock, who, as it seemeth, being unwilling to have Tyrone deceived, sheweth him truly how little reason they have to trust to any of the Spanish succours, as they expect. Of these you may make such use as you think good.

“As concerning . . the Lady Joan of Desmond, we think you should do well to set her at liberty again as she was before, referring the care of her well doing to some of her sisters that may have an eye over her.

“We do also require you still to foresee that her Majesty’s forces, being now so much diminished, may not be spent in maintaining private men’s castles and houses, but where those places are of use for her Majesty’s service.

“Lastly, concerning the fine imposed on the mayor of Limerick, for which we find you had so just occasion, we wish you in no wise to remit it, but rather to bestow it upon the repair of her Majesty’s castle there, which, as it seemeth, will serve to so good purpose for her Majesty’s service.”

Whitehall, 28 April 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert.

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 56.

2. Copy.

April 28. 49. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 264.

The merchants that provide the apparel have direction to send a proportion to Cork for the soldiers in that province. Though the companies are dispersed in sundry places the providers are not to convey the same with hazard from place

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to place, but it is to be distributed by your Lordship's direction.

Whitehall, 28 April 1601.

*Signed* : Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 57.

2. Copy.

April 28.

50. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 290.

"I perceive by a letter of the 23rd from your Lordship and the Council of that province. that the traitors in Clanricard were dispersed by her Majesty's forces and put to flight, and in passing over the Sucke were above 200 of them drowned, and most of their munition and baggage lost.

"I hear also from Sir John Barkeley, very lately, that the whole forces of all those rebels are so dispersed and scattered as, if they cannot procure some new forces to join with them, it is thought your Munster rebels will go for Spain, so as I hope you need no longer doubt their return into that province.

"I am sorry to hear that Teige O'Bryen is escaped, and wish now that his sureties had been taken, though I cannot make that judgment that your Lordship doth, that if now he repair not unto me as he pretended, he was in his heart disloyal from the beginning; though I am apt enough to think that he might be so, or, if he were not, that imprisonment without a cause (for so you may remember he alleged his was) must needs work in him a hatred towards the State, especially when he had offered good security for his loyalty, and yet saw that it would not be accepted. . . Consider in such a case how far it would have moved you or me, in which respect I confess I wished his enlargement upon so good bands; yet since that cannot now be holpen, I have taken order to be sure of his son."

Dublin, 28 April 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S.*—"I have, according to your request, given order to the muster master that your and other companies reduced to 150 from 200 the piece shall stand to the 24th of December as you desire, and your reckonings to be made up accordingly."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 56.

2. Copy.

April 30.

51. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 73.

"I know not what is left unanswered of the public in her Majesty's letter, and the letters of the Council, and yet methinks no despatches can pass from hence wherein some occasion may not be taken for us to discourse each to other the continuance of our

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affections. . . I have greatly desired to make my Lord of Thomond know how well you have used him, and accordingly her Majesty . . . hath used him with very great grace, and hath made him see how much she values you. But for the gentleman, I must speak freely to you, no man can tell what he would have; for, . . . when I would say unto him, 'What is there wherein your Lordship would have my friendship?' he will still reply, 'Nay, Sir, even in what please you I am yours to dispose,' with such like words. Another time he would come unto me and desire me to let him know what he should do. I did still answer him that you would fain have him back, and that you did tell me what great use the Queen should have of him in Munster; to which then he would straight reply that he hath nothing to do there, but he would desire to be directed by me; and so would still hide himself in such sort as, before God, it did much trouble me.

"This morning only he came unto me, and gave me an information of the state of Connaght and the planting of Ballishannon, which he said he would do if he might have 4,000 foot, and I know not what. As soon as I heard this, I knew the consequence was to be governor; wherein, because you can well guess how unlikely a thing it is that the Queen would yield thereunto, in respect that other noblemen in Ireland would affect the like, though for his faith and valour I know no subject in that realm to go before him, I need not use many words concerning the same. Only this I will add, that we do here only leave the projects of the war to the Lord Deputy (Mountjoy), who seemeth to conceive that Ballishannon shall be planted either by himself or else by Sir Henry Dockwra, who now pretendeth that if his numbers be made up to their old list of 3,000 from the which they are lately decayed, he will plant Ballishannon by land from the Liffey, and send such shipping as attends Loughfoyle about with their victuals.

"Consider you therefore now whether we shall here change all this course and take hold of my Lord of Thomond's promise, with which the Deputy and State is no way acquainted, who, if he mislike it, will cast it away with the dash of a pen, and if he do yield to it and it succeed not, will leave the interpretation to the success. To conclude, Sir, I never found it yet but the Deputies would either follow their own projects or mislike other; and, for aught that I can see, we are all the children of Adam.

"In this matter of Lymericke, though their Lordships have written unto you as they do, and though in no sort they mean to detract from your authority, yet they have here a better orator than my Lord of Thomond is. Nevertheless we have no way seemed to yield, but we do wish that because the fine is great, that if they will submit themselves to pay what you shall moderate, that of your own free accord you deliver the mayor upon bonds, and dispense with some part of the fine, as you know is done here both in Star Chamber and otherwise.

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"I am very glad that the Earl of Desmond is here. He is well used, and shall have the same sum which grows by the lendings, but not by the apparel; at the least he shall not know so much, because he is every day longing for more than this allowance. Other news here are none but that the Queen is well and going to Greenwich."

From the Court at Whitehall, 30 April 1601. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 14th of May.*

April 30. 52.  
Vol. 615, p. 288.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

"This bearer, Mr. Barlowe, my chaplain, hath taken some lands in Munster, which he now findeth encumbered contrary to his expectation, and for clearing the same is now occasioned to come thither. . . . Yield him for my sake your lawful favour in the speedy despatching thereof."

Dublin, last of April 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 57.

2. Copy.

May 1. 53.  
Vol. 604, p. 260.

The LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Having long expected the coming over of Mr. Treasurer (Sir George Cary), upon whose relation of your pleasures in all things we might the better ground our resolutions here, I have hitherto deferred the account of the present estate of this kingdom, . . . because the chiefest overture unto our determinations should have been the knowledge of what, and in what sort, your Lordships had most desired to have been effected. But the year and our occasions drawing on so fast, and the means to perform our designs to be expected out of England, the Council here thought it fit to send over Mr. Newcomen with our humble desires to your Lordships to proportion and to distribute such quantity of victuals, and to such places, as may best answer our intended endeavours; by whom because in our general letter we mentioned a project to be sent by me, the which I have delivered to this bearer, I do think it a duty, which your Lordships will expect from me, to give you some light of the reasons and likelihood that moved me to conceive it; the chief whereof being grounded on the present state of our affairs, I must first presume to trouble your Lordships with a short and therefore imperfect relation thereof.

"Munster is not only long since reduced, and made new men by their pardons, but, as I hear, begins to taste the sweetness of peace, and to show good arguments of their desire to continue it. And the like I may say of all Leinster, except the Moores and Connors, whom I have refused to receive to mercy, yet banished the one clean out of Ophaly, and left of the others not above forty living, scattered in the fastness[es] of Leash.

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“For Ulster, we have as much assured the Northern borders as we can so uncertain a people; O’Hanlon’s country, the Fewes, Clancarvell, the Ferny, most of the galliglasses, many of the McMahounds and some of the O’Releys being reduced, and a garrison planted in the Breny to bridle the rest, to infest Monaghan, and to enable McGuyre to look up as high as Ballishannon and sometimes as far as Loughfoyle. Sir Henry Dockwray and Sir Arthur Chichester have made their neighbours, if not sure to the State, yet so unsure and almost so unprofitable to the traitor, and both (as I think I may boldly affirm) have done her Majesty excellent service.

“Only Connaught is of all others the most out of order, and yet the most easy to be reduced, insomuch that the only going through it with an army, to make the war in Ulster by Ballishannon, . . . will absolutely reclaim and assure it; which is my reason to plant Ballishannon through Connaught and with an army. . . . That plantation . . . will presently straiten and very shortly banish the two vipers of the kingdom, Tyrone and O’Donnell, and consequently make a final end of this war. Neither is it the least motive to my desire to make the war in those parts, and to have magazines accordingly there, seeing, from thence, if Spain should attempt anything here, I might so conveniently join with the President of Munster, and apprehend the first occasions to resist them. To take away the chief dangers of this journey, I might to great purpose send from Gallway by sea, or perchance by land, one thousand men to Sligo, somewhat before my rising from Atheloane, which would assure our passage without any appearance of danger, and after join with us in our journey.

“To effect this work . . . I have designed 1,500 foot and 50 horse to be taken from Munster, of the which I desire 1,000 may be still employed against Ulster, and the other 500 foot and 50 horse but borrowed for a time, which in likelihood may be done without danger to that province; of the which, if it shall please your Lordships to confer with theirs what numbers I do allot for Leinster, you may perceive that I have taken no less care to preserve it than those parts, in the reducing whereof I have a more particular interest, presuming that, we carrying the war before us into Ulster, the forces left behind us will be sufficient, except the succours from Spain arrive.” If there be likelihood thereof, “we must expect to be perfectly seconded from you, for we may fear a defection even of such as hitherto have never declared themselves. . . . Tyrone doth negotiate some aid of men from the Scottish islands, which if your Lordships . . . might prevent, we should proceed with less difficulty in the war. But I hope their uttermost succours shall give us no mean impediment.

“I do not write unto your Lordships for more supplies of men because we have no need of them, but considering the intolerable charge her Majesty and the country is at for their levy and transportation, and the little use we have of them

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when they come hither, such as commonly they are sent, and being in hope that the decreasing of the rebels' power will shortly give us leave to lessen her Majesty's list, and by such companies as fall to fill up the rest that do stand; which course . . . I have hitherto held, without preferring such as even my own eyes have witnessed to earn their advancement dearly with their bloods, or by satisfying again some worthy commanders from whom I have taken part of their entertainments, or pleasuring such as with me do venture their lives in her Majesty's service, with hope by me to be righted by her employments. But if her Majesty, as of late I have received divers letters to that effect, command me to give companies as they fall to others, I shall not be able to diminish her army, nor to do those that serve her here that justice which they may so boldly challenge of me, in giving places of preferment to such as, being absent, have perchance served in this country at the losing of the kingdom, before those that have been present at all the labours and dangers in regaining of it.

"Neither do I insist upon the interest it hath pleased her Majesty to give unto all commanders, for the disposition of these places under them, to acquire unto myself any private dependency, which I have ever reckoned a vanity and burden, but to strengthen myself only with such power as may best uphold my ability to do her Majesty service, while it shall please her to employ me. For to take away the reputation of her commander were to take away the vigour of her instrument, and nowhere more likely than here to endanger her work. . .

"Most of the chief lords that submitted themselves . . . were here at Dublin at St. George's feast; whom then I thought fit to use with all kindness and assurance of justice hereafter, to leave nothing undone to win and assure them, by being a bitter scourge unto them when they were in rebellion, and by pretending to be a friend and a mediator for them as long as they continue loyal. . .

"Our hopes draw on so fast to end this war as I am loth to trouble your Lordships for supplies out of England; of whom as is likely we should have no use till the chief brunt of the service be past, it may please your Lordships to give me leave to wage some of these Irish by agreement and for a certain time, as they use amongst themselves; whereby by them I should consume many of the rebels, and by the rebels consume many of them, and both for the good of the service.

"For . . . there rests little now to settle this kingdom, but some way to be devised to rid the remnant of the idle swordmen of both sides, and that the English owners would, or were able to, inhabit their lands. For the first, I find the Irishry at this time much to affect some journey into the Low Countries or to the Indies, or to be led to any other place of service; unto the which if it be objected that they will return more able soldiers, and more dangerously affected, I can assure your



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Lordships there is no experience can better the knowledge they have already attained unto, both for the use of their weapons and taking the advantage of such ground wherein the[y] fight. And it hath been ever seen that more than three parts of the four of these countrymen do never return, being once engaged in any such voyage.

“For the inhabiting of such land of the English as lieth waste, I know not how it can be done in their possession that now have interest therein, the owners being so poor and the quantity so great, . . . there being both in Leash and Ophaly many gentlemen, and every one of them alone is possessed of so much land as, well inhabited, would maintain more men than all the rebels in both the countries at this time are. Yet, these lands not being inhabited, the Queen must keep continual garrisons, or have these countries as receptacles for such as at any time can gather together and make any head. . .

“I have propounded the best project I could conceive for the present prosecution of the war,” yet am “as ready to put in execution whatsoever course you shall otherwise determine as this.”

Castle of Dublin, 1 May 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 7. Endorsed.*

May 1. 54. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 292.

I have received letters, as you likewise have, from the Lords of the Council, in behalf of Henry Pyne, Esq., “wherein the continuance of 50 warders for the keeping of his house of Mogelly, or the ceasing of their allowance, is absolutely referred unto you, and your Lordship allegeth good reasons that they would be at this time unprofitable for the service, and that it were requisite he should have a company of one hundred in lieu of them. I think the gentleman very worthy to receive favour, and therefore do in like manner refer his suit unto your consideration.”

Dublin, 1 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 57.

2. Copy.

May 1. 55. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 57.

The 18th inst. I received at Limerick by Patrick Crosbye your Lordships' two letters of the 8th and 13th March. I will accordingly deliver the “remain” of the victuals to the deputy or deputies to be nominated by John Woode; but I take knowledge, by the copy of your instructions dated 17 Dec., sent to me, that Allen Apsley is nominated deputy to John Woode, which office he disclaims, and solicits to commit the victuals to some of John Woode's servants remaining here. “But I, not being so authorized, refused to yield unto his request, commanding him to continue his former care until he shall by order from your Lordships or the chief victualler

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be discharged from the same; wherein I wish his continuance, for that his care and circumspection deserveth commendation."

If the victuals are to be issued at the magazines, the places should be named. The list to be paid and victualled here in Munster, together with the Earl of Thomond's company, being 2,500 foot and 250 horse, "it shall be most convenient to have four staples of victuals, viz., at Cork for 600 foot and 50 horse, at Youghall [for] 300 foot and 50 horse, at Limerick for 1,200 foot and 100 horse, and at Tralye for 400 foot and 50 horse."

As in my letter of 25 Jan., so again I pray that a due proportion of biscuit, cheese, and butter be sent in each barque; from neglect of which hitherto, there is now in the store at Cork, for 1,000 men, bread for 80 days and other victuals but for 18 days; at Limerick, butter, cheese, &c. for 172 days, and bread but for 90 days; and at Traly 38 days' bread and of other victuals but 22 days.

Charge the provider to send no other victuals but biscuit, cheese, and butter, "which doth best content the soldier, is more profitable for service, and will much ease him in the carriage of pots and pans that the dressing of other victuals will require; and that hereafter we may not be troubled with oatmeal, peas, herrings, pork, poor-john, etc., the most whereof are subject to corruption and very displeasing to the soldier."

There are sufficient victuals for our present list for three months, if they were equally proportioned; but in no one magazine for half the time without assistance of other places.

In the contract with Mr. Woode there is too great a liberty given to the deputy-commissary in the power to utter and sell to the poor such victuals as are decayable and unfit to be issued, for under colour thereof they may sell the best conditioned as well as the corrupt. Let them "be limited to sell such victuals as upon due examination and survey shall be found defective."

Your commands not to diminish any of the forces into wards, and to bestow the next company that falleth upon Sir George Thornton, shall be observed.

"By the last passage here arrived a supply of treasure." I am ready at any time to assist the Deputy with 1,000 foot, as of late I have done, but I pray that, as you have already granted, they may remain on my list, "which no doubt will continue these provincials in good terms (of whose obedience I have daily appearance of good expectation), and make others more fearful to disturb the same; which is specially endeavoured by Tyrone, who leaves no way either by invasion from other parts, or by persuasion to the better sort inhabitants thereof, to infest it."

I pray you send the proportion of munitions I wrote for on 13th January and 6th March, one moiety to Cork and the other to Limerick, or, if not, rather all to Limerick than to Cork, "as lying most proper to answer the service as well of Connaught as Munster, in which is but little store, and the same had been wholly exhausted if I had not of late carried a supply

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by land from Cork." Direct the Master of the Ordnance to mount the two demi-cannons now at Limerick.

Cork, 1 May 1601.

"Sent by Patricke Crosbye."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

May 2.

56. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 60.

There is every day less appearance of any disturbance by the provincials, "but nothing more laboured by the fugitive exempted rebels than the drawing in of Ulster and Connaught traitors, whereunto Tyrone and O'Donnell in their councils hold it most expedient to be ready to yield all help; as may well appear by the late attempt made by Teige O'Rourke and Redmond Bourke, who to that end were directed with forces from them; Teige O'Rourke with 800 men, in whose company were John FitzThomas, Donnogh McCormocke alias McDonnagh, Piers Lacy, and others of Munster; and Redmond Bourke with 600, having in his company Hugh Mostian and others. Likewise by sea McMorrays and Teige Keaugh McMahoune were in providing 18 galleys out of Tyreconnell. The O'Malyes and O'Flaharties purposed with 600 men which they had gathered to invade Kerry, and from Thomond side to have transported the forces above said thither.

"As soon as I had perfect intelligence of their intentions, and knowing what small resistance they should receive in Connaught, I despatched Captain Flower, serjeant-major of this province, with 1,000 foot, to the aid of Sir John Barkeley, and to forbid the enemy's passage into Munster, who before his coming unto him was enforced to give way to their greater force; yet by good hap Donnogh McCormocke (who was a principal gentleman of Munster, and prisoner with Tyrone ever since his being here until now, enlarged only to the end to breed new disturbance) in O'Shaughan's country, at a castle of his, was the 27th of March slain.

"The 29th Captain Flower marched forth of Lymericke, and lodged that night at Quyn; the same day the enemy advancing themselves into Thomond to spoil that country, in the which but three days before Teige O'Bryen, son and heir to Sir Tyrlaghe O'Bryen, entered into rebellion, joining with them, and in a skirmish near Quyn received his death's wound, and soon after died; whereby the troubles in Thomond were extinguished. And with him were slain Walter Bourke, son to the Blind Abbot, who was McWilliam, and gent[lemen] more of his name, with many others. The Earl of Thomond's company deserves the best commendation for that day's fight; after which the enemy, finding his purpose frustrated for passing from Thomond into Kerry, by reason of the Munster regiment that did so nearly and unexpected attend them, and also by the prevention which I used in manning over of a tall

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merchant and other small boats well manned, to give impediment to their transportation, retired themselves to a great fastness in Toughkynalehyn, in the edge of Clanrycard fast upon Thomond, our forces lodging as near them as possibly they might. I then, doubting that they would seek to pass the Shennan above Lymericke, hastened after Captain Flower with the rest of the force of this province (those of Kerry excepted), and was at Lymericke by the 6th of April, formerly taking care, as well as I might, with all the lords and gentlemen on either side the river between Athlone and Lymericke, to guard their fords and to drown or burn their cots and boats, so as they might have no use of them. The enemy (as I suspected) finding their first hope void, having lain in the fastness aforesaid from the 30th of March until the 13th of the last, in all which time expecting aid from O'Donnell, which came not, and understanding that myself with the rest of the forces was advancing towards them to encounter O'Donnell (which sooner I would have done if the care of Thomond and guarding of this side the river had not withheld me, together with the advice of Sir John Barkeley and the Earl of Clanrycard), in the night stole out of their fastness and drew into O'Maddens' country, being all that night skirmished with (as at many times before), wherein many of their men were lost, with purpose, by help of the O'Maddens' boats and cots, to have passed the Shennan. After three days' tarrying in that fast country (where our forces could not annoy them), and being for want of meat almost starved, the 17th in the afternoon in great haste stole away; whom our army pursued so close as they slew many and put them to rout, forcing them over the river of the Sucke, in the which there was drowned about 200, most part of their munition and baggage lost, and their forces so frightened as they are wholly scattered. In this last day's service was slain and hurt of our men 21, and of men of note only Sir Jerrot Harvy's lieutenant. Teige O'Rourke with 300 with John FitzThomas and Piers Lacy are returned to Tyrone in hope to receive new aids. Redmond Bourke with 100 is with O'Donnell soliciting the like. Hugh Mostion with a part of his company of 100 remains in O'Connor Roe's country. The rest of their forces, weary of the enterprise, are retired, dispersed in many parts to their dwellings. After this service was performed the Munster regiment, for want of victuals (saving Sir John Barkelye's company, which, by my Lord Deputy's direction, I left with him), were by Sir John Barkeley returned unto me the 21st of the same; and then, leaving at Lymericke and near unto it for the defence of those borders 1,200 foot and 50 horse, to answer all new occasions, I repaired towards Corke, and came thither the 26th of this last.

"I may not omit to recommend to your Lordships the ready disposition in all external appearance of the gentlemen of the county of Corke to withstand this invasion. For upon

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very short warning, of the places next adjoining the Lord Barry had under his command by my appointment in camp, first in Aherlough and after in Killequigge, where they were directed to abide, 1,300 foot and 120 horse by poll. The forces of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary were placed along the river-side for defence of the same. My hope is their actions would have been answerable to their countenance, but until a trial be made I dare not be too confident.

“McMorrys and Teige Keaugh O’Mahoune, having had intelligence of the prevention which I used by sending of the shipping aforesaid to impeach their galleys, and likewise having knowledge of their associates’ defeat, lost the credit they had either to raise the force or galleys expected, and are now wholly unfurnished to give us the annoyance they intended. So as for a while (until by Tyrone and O’Donnell they can reenforce themselves) I neither doubt their incursion by land or sea; and without their assistance I am confidently persuaded that I shall be able to hold the province in good obedience.

“James FitzThomas, after his old manner lives exceeding obscurely, and (as I am informed) is now in the habit of a priest, not knowing whom to trust; but professes rather to die than to depart the province, retaining still his traitorly hopes to be relieved either out of Ulster or out of Spain; and of the latter the rebels throughout the kingdom are very confident, upon a solemn oath publicly taken by the Spanish bishop (called by them the Archbishop of Dublin) unto Tyrone, O’Donnell, and the rest, that before Lammas next he would work the King his master to send them sufficient aids both of men, money, victual, and munition. Upon which promise James FitzThomas relying himself hazards his abode here, hoping then to be as potent a traitor as heretofore. But my hope is (ere that time) to make a present of him unto your Lordships either living or dead. And let your Lordships be assured, although his estate be now miserable, yet no less beloved than before, and so long as he shall breathe this province will be subject to alteration. . .

“A general pardon might be granted unto husbandmen and their families, being such as never bare weapon; whose poverty is not able to procure the same by ordinary course. . . The want which I find of this general pardon doth give great impediment to the settling of the province; for whereas already there is near 10,000 weaponed men of Munster that have sued and are in suing out their pardons, and that by reason the poor people are in law reputed no less culpable of treason than themselves, they do much fear their estates, lest that in after times their lives might be called in question by being conversant with them, which they cannot avoid, for that by their labours they live, . . I think it were meet . . a general pardon were granted unto them.

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"The day that I left Lymericke, being the 22nd of April, Mr. Teige O'Bryen, brother to the Earl of Thomond, and then prisoner in that city, by corruption of his keeper (who with others for the same are imprisoned) as is supposed, loosed his bolts and made an escape; since which time he hath written a letter unto me, promising to continue loyal to her Majesty, and to make his present repair and remain with me, without specifying in any letter protection or any other safety. But in another letter unto the clerk of the Council of this province he prays a protection; which, in regard of the Earl's absence, to continue him from doing harm in Thomond during the same, I have granted, and daily expect his coming unto me, not doubting but so to temper him as he shall neither be willing or able to do any great harm if he did endeavour it; and when the Earl returns there can be no fear of him."

James Gallwaye, father to the mayor of Lymerick, is without my knowledge stolen hence into England to be a suitor for the release of the fine imposed by me and the Council here upon the said mayor. "In the behalf of myself and the rest of my associates the Council here, I . . . beseech your Lordships that his suitors may receive no favour, not so much in regard of us as in respect of her Majesty's service; for if this fine be not made exemplary to them, the insolencies of the cities will be intolerable; whereas now, ever since the punishing of the mayor, Lymerick, for matter of temporal duty, is as well reformed as may be wished, and the other towns become far in all more obedient than accustomed."

Cork, 2 May 1601.

"Sent by Patrick Crosbye."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

May 3.

Vol. 620, p. 114.

**57. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.**

"This bearer, Patrick Crosbye, entreated my testimony and recommendation to your Lordships, having been employed in her Majesty's service well near these 20 years, hath ever discharged the part of an honest and faithful subject . . . He hath lost all his goods and profits of his livings by this late rebellion; and though he be beloved of the better sort, yet he is greatly hated of all the evil affected, both for his religion and for that they know him to be a continual worker of means for their overthrow . . . I know no man of his coat in this kingdom that is better able and more unfeignedly willing to do her Majesty service than he is, not only in this province but also in all other parts of the realm." Favour his suits.

Cork, 3 May 1601.

"Sent by Patrick Crosby."

*Copy. P. 1.*

2. Another copy, dated 2 May.

3. A third copy, dated May.

Vol. 620, p. 128.

Vol. 604, p. 159a.

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Vol. 604, p. 159.

**58.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

“Though I be very willing and have just cause to be a suitor unto you to do P[atrick] C[rosby] some good, yet because I see your Honour willing enough of himself I will forbear to be so exact with you therein as otherwise I would. Notwithstanding, I must say that . . . I know him to be sound in religion, faithful to her Majesty, to the State, and yourself, and in particular to be wholly mine. . . . I have written in his behalf to the Lords because you might have something to work upon. . . . I could find nothing here that might do him any good, unless I had given him a *eustodiam* of some parcels of these attainted lands, which would stand him in little stead. Yet, when her Majesty shall be pleased to dispose of those lands, I humbly beseech your Honour that he may be remembered, for he will desire no great matter. He hath a suit to her Majesty concerning the brewers about London, which he will acquaint your Honour with, and as you shall be pleased so will he proceed, and not otherwise.”

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed: 3 May 1601.*

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Vol. 620, p. 129.

**59.** SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

“Sir Richard Greames (after he had spent some time with good profit to the services in Leinster for the quieting thereof) was licensed by the Lord Deputy (as hath been advertised me) to repair into England” for two monthes. I recommend him to your favour; and inasmuch as you have directed me to bestow upon him 100*l.* ster., which (by reason of his employment in Leinster ever since) could not be paid unto him, I pray you, upon his being there, to assign him payment.

Cork, 3 May 1601.

*Copy. P. 1.*

May 6.

Vol. 615, p. 294.

**60.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

I send enclosed a copy of a letter from the Lords of the Council concerning Sir George Thornton.\* Reserve the next company for him. “I assure myself the gentleman hath deserved well, and that you pity and affect him both for his own sake and the good of the service.”

Dublin, 6 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 58.

2. *Copy.*

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\* See 13 March 1601.

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May 11.

Vol. 604, p. 161.

61. SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

“The 6th of this instant I despatched Patriek Crosbye with a packet, . . . since whose departure I have had here with me one called James Walshe, who was used by the traitor James McThomas as his secretary in all this time of rebellion, and now pretends to deserve the favour of a pardon by his future service. He was unto his master most inward of his counsels, and knows the hearts of all the provincials. He tells me that the infamous letter which James did write unto the King of Spain was indited by Archer the Jesuit, and that all his letters, whereof he had a great many, were by him left in the custody of Thomas Oge in Castlemayne, and that he hath them.

“Your Honour may do well to desire the Earl of Desmond, with whom Thomas Oge now is, to command him to deliver me the letters, which will lay open all the principal traitors of Munster and their practices. . . . The letters I mean were written to James McThomas by the lords and gentlemen of Munster, and left by Welshe, as aforesaid, when James McThomas in August last did leave Kerry, since which time he hath lived obscurely.

“His humble desire is, wherein I join with him, that he may not be discovered for revealing where these letters be, for assuredly it would be his death, and my hope is to make good use of his service. He tells me for certain that since Christmas last 100 was in 401 [*ciphers*], and, as he thinks, was with 400, and says for truth that he returned with assurance to have the aid of 4,000 from thence, whereof 2,000, as he is certified, are already landed.

“He saith farther that the rebels do confidently trust to have this summer 10,000 Spaniards to assist them, and they to bring with them money, munition, and victuals, which if they come, all Munster will revolt, protesting upon his knowledge that then he knows not that man that will be a true subject. 100 told him that there was nothing done in England but that his friends did send him word of it. He copied that letter out of 100 book, whereof the copy long since I did send unto you. The letter I mean was that which was written by 2021 [the Queen] unto 2026 [Mountjoy] in reproving him for not going into the North. He assures me that the powder, lead, match, and arms which the King of Spain did this last winter send to Tyrone was a far larger proportion than the White Knight's man in his examination did report, which in my last packet I did send unto you, but the treasure was but 16,000*l*.

“He likewise speaketh upon his knowledge that Redmond Bourke and Teige O'Rourke are in a new preparation for Munster, and have new supplies of men and munition from Tyrone. But his opinion is that first they will infest Clanrickard and Thomond, and towards harvest will come for



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Munster. Yet, nevertheless, lest their purpose should alter, he wisheth me to be in a readiness for a resistance.

“His opinion is that Redmond Bourke, in his own disposition, would be a subject; but, being out of hope to be righted by the State against his uncle, is resolved to infest Clanrickard and keep Connaught in rebellion as long as he may; and likewise thinks that, if Redmond were a subject, all Connaught would be reduced.

“The Spaniards which are sent for, and to be here as they expect, are by instructions assigned to come for Limericke, Tyrone wishing rather to have them come for Munster than for any other part of Ireland. The treasure and munition which was last sent to Tyrone out of Spain was at the King's cost, but the munitions which was formerly sent he saith was at the charge of the clergy; and from henceforth, now that Tyrone hath delivered his son for a pledge, the King undertakes to support him. Archer the Jesuit was sent to negotiate the sending of supplies out of Spain.

“The Spanish Bishop, by the rebels called the Archbishop of Dublin, was greatly discontented that the King had not sent forces at Michaelmas last, as was promised, and spared not to rail upon the King and clergy, and to assure Tyrone that he will return again and bring aids with him. He hath left his principal servants behind him. All his plate and stuff, which in his judgment, as he tells me, is to be valued at 2,000*l.* at the least.

“He tells me that the rebels do wonderfully rejoice that her Majesty intends to send copper money into Ireland, making it an argument that her coffers are empty; and thereupon do unite themselves in faster bands of persevering in rebellion than before. For my particular, I protest unto your Honour, when I heard that copper money should be coined I was glad of it, both in regard of her Majesty's benefit, as the assurance I had that the companies thereby should evermore be fully paid, and no loss to any man, since within Ireland it would be current. But when I consider the time as it is, under your better reformation, I think it will overthrow all hopes of reducing this realm to subjection.

“In former times it could have done no harm; but now, when the rebels make payment in silver and her Majesty in brass, it will strengthen the enemy, and draw from us not only those Irish which now serve with us, but carry many of our natural English unto them. And therefore I wish that it were for a time forborne, if it were possible, being exceeding fearful of the event. But I will neither wish nor think, and much less speak of it, but to your Honour, and therefore beseech you that my opinion may die in your bosom.

“I beseech your Honour to send my Lord of Thomond away. He is a great stay to those parts, and Thomond will be in danger of ruin when the rebels return (although I be never so careful of it). For it may so fall out that Teige

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O'Rourke and Redmond Bourke may come so well assisted and find such hope in Munster as that they may be bold to divide; which if they do, then I must attend my province, and Thomond in the meantime, for want of help, will be spoiled; whereas, if my Lord were here, the forces of Thomond (which will not move but when himself is in person) will be sufficient to defend themselves against any party that can be brought against them.

“James Walshe also told me that McMorryce hath gotten of late the credit to get 12 galleys to serve him to invade Kerry; who, as I have formerly written, is assisted by Tyrone and O'Donnell. He likewise saith that Thybott ny Longe [Burke] did send unto Tyrone for his part of the treasure and money, but was denied. And he also sent unto William Burke, Redmond Burke's bastard brother, to come to his aid to assist Ricard Bourke, the Devil's Hook's son, whom he hath made McWilliam against the other McWilliam, who is in rebellion; so as every way he serves his own turn, and receives the Queen's pay, and doth no service for it. His opinion is that the chief lords and gentlemen of Munster will not start into rebellion if the province be invaded but by the Irish; but the loose men, he thinks, will join with him, whether their Lordships will or no, for greediness of pay and spoil.

“Florence McCartie he supposes to be the worst man in Munster, and assures me that when James McThomas was the last September in Kerry, that he persuaded James to remain there, promising all the aid that he could give him; and, when James was gone, he sent Thomas Oge (that is now in England with the Earl of Desmond) after him to pray him to return, and that he would bring him to the killing of Sir Charles Willnot and the garrison that was with him at Tralee. And when he saw that James McThomas would not follow his counsel, but would needs go to take Atherloc mountains for his refuge (in doing whereof, as you have heard, he was defeated by Captain Gryme and the garrison of Killmallocke), after he had taken his first protection before his son was pledge, he wrote a letter in Irish (which this James Walshe did read) unto one in Ormond called Cahir McShane Glasse O'Mullrean, desiring him to levy for him in those parts 600 foot; which if he could not, then to procure Redmond Burke to get so many for him, and, if he failed, then to deal with Captain Tyrrell, and he would pay them upon Desmond.

“I asked him what friendship there was between James McThomas and 1089. He told me that sure in former times there was great love betwixt them, and that during the wars 1089 was spared, otherwise he could not have lived as he did, but, with the rest, must have been ruined. Many messages did often pass between them, and, as he thinks, letters, but he never saw them, and some were returned again unto 1089. But in this particular James McThomas was very secret.

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“I have in former letters certified your Honour of a priest which was sent to Rome by 1025 and was slain near unto that city. This Walshe confirms the same, that his errand was to procure an absolution for him and a disposition for the marriage intended. And this present day I received a letter from one Patrick Strange of Waterforde, whom I employed to take a priest called Sir James O’Karny, the Pope’s warden of Youghall, who writes that the said priest is now at 257, and is forthwith to be employed for 1025 in the message aforesaid.

“In some of my letters I have named unto you one called Sir Owen O’Keghan, *Vicarius Apostolicus* for the Pope in these parts, and that he was sent into Spain this last summer to negotiate for aid. The Lord Barry tells me he hath of late written unto Doctor Craghe, the Pope’s Bishop of Corke or Rosse, assuring him that shortly he will return and bring with him the best wines that ever came into Munster; which wines signifies the greatest force of Spaniards that ever came into Ireland. To confirm this to be true, one Richard Weston, son to Richard Weston of Dondalke, whom I have examined upon his arrival here, told me that in Spain a gentleman of the Geradlines, now serving under the Adelantado, called Morrishe FitzJohn Oge, did assure him that or a few months were spent he hoped to see him in Ireland well accompanied with 6,000 Spaniards at the least. It may be that all their hopes will be fruitless (which God grant), but in the mean time those hopes make the rebel proud and firm in his treasons, and stagger the subject that is best settled.

“From my Lord of Upper Ossery I have received a letter of the intentions of Teige O’Rourke and Redmond Bourke to draw again into Munster, which by others out of Connaught is confirmed; whereby you may see what a mote the quiet of Munster is in the rebels’ eyes, and how industriously Tyrone endeavours to put new flames into it. But of those forces I make no great account, hoping to make them pay well for their coming. Because your Honour may see in what a good way I am for the settling of this province, I have sent you with these a list of the pardons which are passed and the numbers contained in them, which no doubt I would be able to keep evermore in obedience, if the other provinces did not send aid to infest the same. Besides these provincials pardoned, I have banished above 5,000 Connaught men that bare arms, and a greater number of poor people. So as, by this computation, there was of weaponed men of all sorts above 15,000 in rebellion when I came into Munster, besides 2,000 and upwards which have been killed and hanged within that time. I do credibly believe that Ulster had not so many rebels in it as this province had, nor yet Leinster and Connaught, if they were joined together, can come near that number. And there is good reason for it, in that Munster is by much the greatest province, and was far the wealthiest.

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“Two Englishmen which lately came out of Spain, where they had been prisoners, the 10th of this month, told me that one John Upton of Plymouth, who is pilot in the Admiral ship of that fleet which Pedro Suriyago commands, now set forth to keep the Straits to meet with our Turkey fleet, being in their company at St. Mary Port, told them that Sir William Stanley was sent for by the King, and that he came to the Court in post, where he is in great estimation; but to what end he was sent for they know not.

“They said farther that at St. Lucar they saw 12 new shallops lately built and others in building, every of them being able to land 100 men; and, as they understood, it was for a voyage, but whither they could not learn. By one Roche of Corke, who is lately arrived, I understand that the late great embarque of all nations in South Spain is released, but most part or a great part of their goods confiscated. The Irish only are detained, and their goods in the King’s possession, and their ships are stayed; yet, nevertheless, many are come home that had hired French and Scottish ships, and, under the colour of those nations, have stolen their goods away. But all the rest of this nation that had their merchandise in their own ships stand yet confiscated. The cause of this rigorous dealing of the Spaniards they know not, except it proceed by Tyrone’s agents, who do pretend that the Queen’s impost upon Spanish wines is a great means to enrich her to maintain the wars in Ireland.

“The wind not favouring, Crosbye with the packet—and I thinking he had been in England when I began this letter—was put back, since which time, the wind continuing all easterly, as new matter came to my hearing I have herein inserted.”

Corke, 11 May 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 5. Endorsed by Carew.*

May 11.

62. EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord Admiral, to CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 422.

“Having since your coming into those parts seen your kindness unto me many ways manifested, as well by your letters as otherwise, I cannot choose but in lieu thereof to offer unto you the continuance of my love, which shall be ever as firm unto you as the best of your surest friends, amongst which number none have been more gladder of your good success than myself. . .

“I have at length sent this gentleman your kinsman Captain Harvie unto you with the convenientest vessel he could here make choice of for that service. And albeit in my conceipt I do hold her to be either too great or too little to answer your expectation in that service—too great, I mean, to give chase and do any good upon the galleys, and too little to encounter with such Spanish vessels as may happen to come upon that coast—yet . . . if here had been any one more likely

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to do service, she should have been chosen and sent unto you. . .

“After his arrival at Cork I have left him unto your directions, . . which I have commanded him to follow; wherein I hope you shall find him diligent and careful.”

Court, 11 May 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

May 13.

**63.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 262.

Whereas the commissaries have very much neglected to send the muster books and certificates of the captains' companies under their charge to the muster master general and comptroller of the musters, we pray you to direct William Jones to make up the books, and the several commissaries to send their muster books, certificates, and other notes and observations for the half year from 1 October to 21 March last. If they hereafter withhold their books, they shall be removed from their places and otherwise punished.

Greenwich, 13 May 1601.

*Signed:* Jo. Cant., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, W. Kuollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert, W. Waad.

Pp. 2. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 57.

2. Copy.

May 13.

**64.** The QUEEN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 620, p. 272.

“Although we have forborne [longer] than we intended to have made known unto you by some express testimony from ourself our acceptation of your services, yet we have given particular charge to our Council that they should in our name make you perceive our liking of your proceedings. . . But now that cause is ministered unto us to give charge unto you of other matters specially concerning our service, we thought it convenient to encourage you to that which followeth by thanksgiving for that which is past, and by assuring you by our own letters that as you have not deceived our expectation of your sufficiency or our trust reposed in your faith, so will not we be wanting on our part to manifest how acceptable these things are unto us, whensoever we find them in any on whom we have conferred trust in employment. . .

“Having found by long experience that the using of sterling moneys in the payment of our army there and for our other services doth bring marvellous inconveniences both to that realm and to this, and that the wisdom of all our progenitors for the most part did maintain a difference between the coins of both realms (that in Ireland being ever inferior in goodness to that of this realm), howsoever by error of late crept in it hath been otherwise tolerated, to the infinite loss of this kingdom, our moneys being out of that realm transported into foreign countries for lack of merchan-

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disc: we have thought it reason to revive the ancient course of our progenitors in that matter of moneys, and have caused a coin proper for . . . Ireland to be stamped here of such a standard as we find to have been in use for the same; and do now send a great quantity thereof thither by our Treasurer-at-Wars . . . for the payment of our army and for other uses, and the same do authorise by our proclamation, and decry all other moneys.

“In the establishing of which course . . . because the province whereof you have charge is a place of most traffic of any other of that kingdom, and therefore in it it is most likely that merchants at the first show of such an innovation will for private respects be most opposite, we . . . give you particular notice of this our purpose. . . Use all your authority and your judgment likewise towards our people there, as well of the towns as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them, upon such reasons as are contained in our proclamation, publishing the same, and as you may gather touching the same out of such other matters as have passed from us to our Deputy and Council there, or between us and our Treasurer of Ireland (Sir G. Cary), concerning this matter; whereof we have given order that herewith copies shall be sent unto you, by which you will be sufficiently instructed of apparent reasons to lead us to do it, although it be a matter which we need not make gracious with any reason at all, being merely dependant of our prerogative to alter the standard of our moneys at our pleasure.

“Wherefore, though we nothing doubt of your forwardness to farther whatsoever we find reason to command, yet we require you in this thing, as a matter which we would have well founded in the first establishing, to give all attention to it as well by your own actions as by assisting our Treasurer and his deputies in the uttering of this new money and bringing in all others, according to the course of our Exchange, which by our proclamation you may perceive that we have instituted to make the matter better accepted of our people.”

Greenwich, 16 May 1601.

*Signed at the beginning:* “Your loving sovereign,  
Elizabeth R.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

May 16. 65. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 63.

Since my last despatch of the 3rd by Patrick Crosby, who for want of wind hitherto has been detained in this port, I have received yours of 28th April, “by the which I receive no small comfort to hear that my poor endeavours in this province (in themselves unworthy of so great favour) hath such good acceptance in the censures of her Majesty and your Lordships. But whereas . . . you mention . . . one from her

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Majesty to be sent with your Lordships' (as I suppose), I have not received any such, whereof I am exceeding sorry, in being deprived of the sight of her royal hand, than the which (but her sacred person) nothing of more comfort can be presented to my eyes. . . Thanks for the . . . munition and victuals, which by your letters are shortly to arrive; as also for the sending of shipping upon this coast, which will assure us from invasion by sea. . .

"It was here bruited by the priests that in England there were certain letters counterfeited as sent unto Tyrone out of Spain, and given out to be taken in the ship of Peter Stronge of Waterford, whereas (as they report) there was no such matter, but a device in England to distract weak spirits from persevering in the Catholic cause. Wherefore (in my weak opinion) your Lordships (to beat down untruths) have with great judgment sent hither the copy of the said letters under the testimony of your own hands, which no doubt, being well handled, will produce good fruit to alien many from this wicked rebellion; for, as far as I can judge, . . . were it not for the hopes of aid from Spain . . . the rebellion would instantly die. But if they receive either succours of men, money and munition, or of money and munitions only, the war will be drawn to a great length; and (contrary to the vulgar opinion) I think that the aid of money and munition, of the two evils, will prove the worst. . . They will be deceived of both, if the relations out of Spain of the King's weakness in each of them be true."

In this province the appearance of continuance in obedience is better confirmed, "although Tyrone and the Popish clergy do endeavour by all possible means to put new flames into Munster." "But to warrant every part of it (having more idle swordmen in it than in any other province in the realm) I dare not adventure; for the return of Teige O'Rourke and Redmond Bourke by land and McMorrys by sea is daily expected, whose coming cannot chose but make disturbance. . . But as in my former letters . . . the list and state of Munster standing as now it doth, I do not esteem of all the malice and practices of the rebels."

Cork, 16 May 1601.

Sent by Patrick Crosbye.

*Copy. P. 1.*

May 18.  
Vol. 604, p. 254.

**66.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

"We have informed her Majesty of all the particulars of your despatch by Newcomen, wherein her Majesty observeth three especial things. First, the effects of your services since you commanded in that kingdom. Secondly, the care and providence you have to conduct her Majesty's army now into such places as may both serve to perform those things which are most necessary to be perfected, and be ready to answer

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any other extraordinary attempt from foreign parts. Thirdly, it containeth your demands for such proportions as are necessary for all these services.

“To the first her Majesty saith she can make no other answer than this: that she hath cause more and more to approve your good endcavours, and that she is very glad that the world also may take notice that the errors of others have been cause of the former peril wherein you found that kingdom, and not either lack of her good directions from hence or that they were enjoined to things impossible, seeing, with less means, and in a time when things were at the worst, your Lordship, by your noble and wise courses, have made so true an application of all the grounds which her Majesty laid before you.

“For the second point, wherein your Lordship very providently forecasteth what may be from foreign parts attempted, the only difficulty we find is this: that in respect of your so late advertising your purposes hither, we find that none of the provant merchants dare undertake it (as the year falleth out, and as the places assigned stand removed from this kingdom) to provide such a quantity of victuals as may be likely to arrive in the time you expect. . . We . . . let you know with all expedition what we have done before your letters came, what we can do now upon them, and then . . . leave all to the judgment of your Lordship and that Council how to apply the same, if not to do all you would, yet to perform the best you can for reducing of that kingdom to such terms as her Majesty’s charges may be abated; wherein we think it very necessary to revive unto your consideration that offer of Sir Henry Docwrae’s lately made us by Captain Vaughan, whereof we have informed you, Mr. Treasurer (Cary), who we doubt not is arrived by this time. . .

“We are of opinion, if you observe how well the last possessing of McSwine Fannaughe’s country doth serve to draw the garrisons near to Ballishannon, you will find it no great difficulty to be planted that way, seeing they have means to carry victuals by sea, and may, with very short marches, take some time when the traitors shall have no forces ready to encounter them, your Lordship better knowing than we how seldom the rebels are able to keep great numbers together, though they do expect any such enterprise. . . We do not expect that either this is to be done without your directing Sir Henry Docwra in the enterprise, or without . . . that there be another army upon the frontier in some sort to assail Tirone, thereby to keep the rebels’ forces asunder.”

P.S.—Although the King of Spain may “upon a small preparation serve himself of stranger’s ships to transport 2 or 3,000 men into that kingdom, yet we are of opinion, by comparing such intelligences as are brought to the particular ministers that most properly manage the same, that it is not likely that any great numbers shall be sent thither out of



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Spain, nor that, if any other assistance be sent but of some money or arms into some part of the North, that they are like to arrive in any other place saving in some part of Munster or Galloway. But of these things you may be as well able to discern likelihood as we, considering the continual traffic from those parts with the Spaniard."

*Copy examined by W. Waad. Pp. 2. Endorsed: 1601, May 18.*  
Copy of a letter from the Lords to the Lord Deputy and Council.

May 20.

## 67. PROCLAMATION of the NEW COINAGE.

Vol. 617, p. 204\*.

The Queen, finding that in the times of divers her progenitors, Kings of England and Ireland, there has been a difference between the standards of moneys current in each realm, and knowing by many laws of England, and namely by one of the 3rd and another of the 19th of Henry VII., that the transportation of standard money of England into Ireland is severely forbidden, under great penalties;—perceiving also, especially since the late rebellions (which have caused her to send great sums into that realm), “that a great part of such moneys into this realm sent do either come into the hands of her rebels, by divers sleights and cunningings of theirs, who by the use and means thereof, trafficking in foreign countries, do relieve themselves with such warlike provisions as they need, . . . and with wines, cloth, and other necessaries,” or else, being better than the moneys of other countries, as also for want of merchandise, which this country, especially since the rebellion, doth not yield, is transported by merchants into foreign countries, “to the inestimable loss and impoverishment as well of . . . Ireland, as also chiefly of . . . England;”—hath, with the advice of her Council, found “that the readiest way to prevent the same is to reduce the state of her moneys and coins to the ancient course of her progenitors, that is, to a difference in fineness between the moneys of the realm of England and her realm of Ireland; and for that purpose hath caused great quantities of moneys according to that ancient standard, which was in use for this realm in the days of her Majesty’s Father, Brother, and Sister, to be coined here into several pieces of shillings, six pence and pieces of three pence, stamped with her Highness’ arms crowned, and inscription of her usual style on the one side, and on the other with an Harp crowned, being the arms of this her kingdom of Ireland, with the inscription, ‘*Posui Deum adiutorem meum;*’ and also certain pieces of small moneys of mere copper, of pence, halfpence and farthings, for the use of the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other; and the same . . . hath sent into . . . Ireland, here to be established as the lawful and current moneys of this realm, and so to be uttered and issued as well to her army and officers in payments to them as also to all other her subjects of this realm, and others here abiding or hither resorting; . . . which

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said coins, as well of silver of this new standard as also of mere copper for small moneys, her Majesty doth hereby publish . . . to be . . . her coin of moneys established and authorised . . . and proper to this kingdome."

She commands that after the day of the publishing hereof no one shall refuse to receive the same, whether of mixed silver or pure copper, in payment of wages, fees, stipend or of debts, or for any other matter of trade, at such values and rates as they are coined for. All such as refuse the same "shall for that their contempt receive such punishment as by her Majesty's prerogative royal may be inflicted upon persons contemning public orders."

After the 10th July next, all other moneys heretofore established "shall be decried, annulled and called down," and no other moneys, whether of England or of any foreign realm, shall be any longer current here; but all such shall be "held and esteemed for bullion, only meet to be molten down and brought into her Majesty's mint or exchange here."

"Her Highness, being a prince that . . . doth ever affect to make all her actions clear and allowable in their own nature rather than in the power of supreme authority, intending in this cause to give to all persons such satisfaction as is reasonable, and in the days of her progenitors when such moneys were in use was not offered, doth likewise hereby make known that she hath established an Exchange to be had and maintained in convenient places in . . . England and Ireland, as . . . Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carigfergus, and . . . at London, Bristol, and Chester, at which places shall be from henceforth continually resident officers of her appointment, and in other places also of both the realms where it shall be found convenient, . . . by which officers all . . . may exchange and commute as well moneys current of England into moneys of this new standard of Ireland, as also moneys of this new standard of Ireland into moneys of the standard of England, at their pleasure, in manner as is hereafter expressed."

First, all persons bringing to any place of exchange in Ireland any English or foreign coin, or any plate or bullion, of the standard of England or better, shall receive a bill directed to that place in England where he shall desire to have payment in English money, not only value for value, but also an overplus of sixpence in every 20s.

*Item*, any person bringing moneys of this new coin to a place of exchange in Ireland may obtain a bill on any place of exchange in England for the like sum of moneys of England by tale, wanting only 12*d.* in the 1*l.*

*Item*, any person in Ireland having English money shall for every 20s. thereof receive 21s. of the coin of Ireland.

*Item*, any person bringing English money to a place of exchange in England may obtain a bill on any place of exchange in Ireland to have 21s. Irish for every 20s. English moneys.

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"And whereas there are at this present divers old coins of base alloy within . . . Ireland used and passing in payments between men, . . . now decried, annulled, and called down;" any person who shall bring in any quantity of such base coin shall receive for the same value for value of the new moneys.

"And forasmuch as this notorious inconvenience aforesaid cannot be prevented without there be a due observation of such laws of . . . England as heretofore have been made, restraining the transporting of the moneys current in England into . . . Ireland in specie, wherein great disorder hath been of late years committed, . . . her Majesty doth straightly charge and command all magistrates and officers to whom it shall appertain, to see secure execution of such laws," especially the statute of 19 Henry VII.; her purpose being "to admonish her loving subjects of both her realms and all others trading in . . . Ireland, that they shall from henceforth forbear all transportation of moneys of England into Ireland; for . . . the penalties thereof shall fall heavily upon the offenders . . . without any hope of remission."

Given at the Castle of Dublin, 20 May, 43 Eliz.

"Dublin: Printed by John Francke at the Bridge-foot, 1601."

*Original impression.*

Vol. 620, p. 274.

2. MS. copy of the proclamation made in England, undated.  
*Pp. 4.*

May 22.

Vol. 615, p. 293.

68. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

"I have received your letter in favour of Mr. Comerford, Second Justice of that province. . . I conceived as others of the Council here did, that Mr. Comerford could not discharge both those places, and therefore that it was fit some other should be preferred thereunto; . . . yet upon Mr. Comerford's complaint that he was prejudiced by the new patent, I referred it to the judges, who affirm they may not determine the right but by course of law, in which he shall no whit offend me in maintaining his title. . . I will have regard of your motion touching the attainted lands in Munster, but I do not yet see how I may avoid passing books to such as have warrant out of England, as well of lands in that province as in other parts of the realm, till from thence I am restrained."

Dublin, 22 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 58.

2. Copy

May 22.

Vol. 615, p. 300.

69. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

The enclosed petitions were preferred to us by Thomas Nelson, late of Cork. "Afford him all the favour and

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furtherance you may in regard he hath depended and followed the State here for many years, and that also he is an Englishman, and one that for his good carriage deserveth favour.”  
Dublin, 22 May 1601.

*Signed*: Mountjoye, Ad. Dublin, Tho. Midensis, R. Wingfelde, F. Stafforde.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 59.

2. Copy.

May 23.

Vol. 615, p. 302.

**70.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

“That Sir Francis Barkeley hath deserved well, and yet lost much by this rebellion, yourself have testified, so as I need not allege it. That I should favour him there is just cause, seeing besides both these, he is my kinsman.” When any company falleth, add 50 to your own foot and another 50 to his, to make them 200 again.

Tredagh, 23 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 60.

2. Copy.

May 24.

Vol. 615, p. 260.

**71.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

“There hath been an humble suit made unto us in the behalf of the Mayor of Lymericke, on whom you have imposed a fine of 400*l.* and committed him to prison. Wherein although we doubt not but that you have proceeded with that due consideration as his offence did give justification to censure him in that sort, and that we have no meaning any way to call in question your proceeding in the course of your government, having had so good proof of your discreet and upright carriage; nevertheless we have thought good to move you thus far in his behalf, that if he shall make his humble submission unto you, and shall yield to make payment of such fine as you shall think reasonable, that then you will be contented to deliver him out of prison upon such assurance as you shall cause to be taken for the payment of the said fine, and at such days as you shall appoint.”

Greenwich, 24 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew*: Received the 8th of July 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 58.

2. Copy.

May 28.

Vol. 620, p. 64.

**72.** SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since my last, the letter from her Majesty is come to me, “which hath so much multiplied my comforts as that I

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rather pass over the expressing of them than by endeavouring in words to be short in that which my heart conceives; the contents whereof, according to her Majesty's pleasure therein signified, my cares shall not be wanting to see performed to my uttermost." You shall receive with this my letters of the 1st, 2nd, and 16th inst., detained by easterly winds.

"This province remaineth . . . without any alteration, rather yielding hopes of more assurance in conformity than to the contrary. How narrowly I have many times missed the taking of James FitzThomas . . . I will not trouble your Lordships with . . . ; but my hope is, ere it be long, to make you a better account of him."

I send a certificate under Allen Apsley's hand of the remain of victuals in every magazine, whereby it appears that albeit there is sufficient for three months, "yet the unequal sending of it . . . doth so disable the service as . . . the want we feel is great, being enforced to remove companies from one garrison to another as the victuals falls out, and not able to hold any body of men together." I pray you "command the provider henceforth to be more careful that the victuals may be sent equally divided."

"The last supply of treasure, which arrived in April, . . . is already disbursed; so as to answer any sudden occasion (more than out of my own credit I shall be able to supply) I know not what shift to make. . . ."

"Together with her Majesty's letters I received the copy of the proclamation intended to be published for the calling down of the moneys now current in this kingdom, and for the establishing of the new coin to be sent; wherein your Lordships (to my understanding) have proceeded with so great judgment as no good subject can dislike thereof, and those which are worst affected cannot justly find cause to grudge at it; for the provisions in the same are so gravely digested as no man can receive damage, and doth apparently manifest the great benefit that unto either kingdom will ensue by it. So as, although at the first unto some which for want of understanding, and to others which are not well affected, it will seem heavy, yet I doubt not but to give so full satisfaction to every one as that the new coin shall have good acceptance.

"The men that will most repine at this good establishment are the merchants, who, not regarding the public good (in respect of private gain which hitherto they have made by embezzling the sterling coin, sent out of England, into foreign kingdoms, for which no other return was made but such commodities as is best vendable to the rebels), will do what they may to discredit the same. But, the country being satisfied, their repining harms not; for as they are in their own natures backward evermore in their duty, so are they in quality weak and unable to disturb the State.

"About the 18th of this month there arrived in this port the provant clothes, whereof . . . our want was great. What

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hath prospered well in Munster must be wholly attributed unto your Lordships' provident charge."

Cork, 28 May 1601.

"Sent by Patrick Crosbye."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

May 28.

**73** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 624, p. 60.

"Now that the Lord Deputy hath been pleased to spare the risings-out of that province from the intended journey of general hosting northwards, we pray . . . that . . . 600 beeves may be levied upon the several counties of the said province and . . . sent to Dondalke on the 27th of June next, and to be delivered to the provost marshal of the army, who will deliver tickets for them after the rate of 20s. sterling the beef; whereof . . . take an especial care."

Dublin, 28 May 1601.

*Signed:* Ad. Dublyn., Ro. Gardener, Geo. Carey, Geff. Fenton.

*Copy. P. 1.*

May 31.

**74.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 304.

"Mr. Newcomen is now in England, by which means I cannot call to mind what moved me to write to the commissary at Limerick rather than unto your Lordship for . . . victuals to be sent unto Athlone. . . I only remember thus much, that their want at Athlone being very great, and found that they might fittest be supplied from that place, I signed such a letter for that purpose as Nucomen presented, not knowing whether the victual to be sent from thence were parcel of the contract for your province, or some part of that which was once at Galway and appointed to be carried thither by sea, that from thence it might be conveyed by the Shenan. I am of opinion with your Lordship that if there were a proportion laid in there for Connaught, besides the store for your province, it would be to very good purpose, and to that end I will write as you advise. And in the meantime I . . . commend your care of the public, . . . to spare the quantity desired for Connaught, having yourself so much need thereof. I will write to Sir John Macoghlan, as you wish, to make trenches and strengths upon the passages of his country, and to my Lord of Ormond to cause the like to be done in Ormond. I hear by a late letter from Sir Geoffrey Fenton that the Council there, since my coming from Dublin, have written to your L. for 600 beeves against the time of the general hosting. I know your readiness to give furtherance to all services of that kind, and therefore doubt not but you will perform it to your uttermost."

Dundalke, last of May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

*2. Copy.*

Vol. 624, p. 61.

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[May.]

Vol. 607, p. 226.

**75. THE COINAGE.**

“The order of proceeding for the settling and utterance of a new Coin intended to be sent into Ireland as the proper coin of the said realm, and there to be issued for her Majesty’s service.

1. “Inprimis, that there be 100,000*l.* or 200,000*l.* of new moneys coined for Ireland of three ounces fine, whereby there may be sufficient both for the army and the country.”

2. No other money to be used “to commerce with” ten days after the new money is appointed to be issued.

3. The statute of Henry VII. forbidding the transportation of treasure out of England into Ireland to be put in execution.

4. London, Westchester and Bristol to be places of exchange, and 25,000*l.* to be put in them in bank, to maintain the exchange of every 100,000*l.* of new money.

5. Dublin, Cork, Gallway, and Knockfergus to be places of exchange in Ireland; “in the which there ought to be placed very discreet, skilful, and honest persons.”

6. A proclamation to be drawn up “expressing the causes wherefore her Majesty doth put forth these new moneys.”

7—11. Rates for the exchange of sterling for new moneys, and *vice versâ*.

12. “And so it is apparent that her Majesty’s army and all other her good subjects shall receive no loss in the utterance of these new moneys. It shall impoverish the rebels,” etc.

13. “Besides this her Majesty’s army shall be always well paid, and all others having old debts due unto them the sooner satisfied.”

*Pp.* 2. *Endl.*: “1601. The project touching the new moneys for Ireland.”

[May.]

**76. THE EXCHANGE.**

Vol. 607, p. 234.

“Copy of certain Articles contained in the Indentures between her Majesty and Sir George Carey, Treasurer of Ireland, touching the Exchange established upon the alteration of the moneys, 1601.”

Sir George Carey covenants to maintain three officers of exchange at least in London, Bristol and Westchester, or other convenient places in England, and also at Dublin, Corke, Gallwaye and Carigfergus, or such of them as shall be found requisite, and at other places in Ireland if cause shall require. To entertain all such officers at his own charge, in consideration of a sum of 2,000*l.* per annum new standard money; her Majesty covenanting that he shall have the appointment of them.

Her Majesty covenants that he may exchange moneys at the several rates mentioned in her proclamation. To allow him for transportation of the new coin from the Tower of

1601.

London 20*l.* on every 1,000*l.* Upon all such money after the first uttering brought back to the exchange to be converted into sterling, or otherwise, and again reissued, to allow him 10*l.* in every 1,000*l.* Upon all sums of money from time to time delivered out of her Exchequer for the furnishing and maintenance of this exchange, to allow him [ ] in every 1,000*l.*, he taking upon him the charge of conveyance of the same. All danger in transportation by wreck or violence of enemies to be at the peril of her Majesty.

Her Majesty covenants to deliver to him such sums of money as shall be requisite for converting the new coin into standard money of England, after the rate of one fourth at least of the quantity of Irish money that shall be coined, or after a greater rate if a greater portion than a fourth of the same shall be returned to the exchange.

If at any time her Majesty shall cease the exchange, and there shall remain in Sir George Carew's hands any Irish moneys, she will allow him for all such sums at such rate as the same were delivered to him.

Her Majesty covenants to allow him 2,000*l.*, new standard, a year, to be stayed in his own hands out of the profits arising on the exchange. The same to begin from the 1st of May next, and to continue as long as the exchange shall be upheld.

*Copy.* Pp. 7.

Vol. 620, p. 278.

2. Another copy.

June 2. **77.** The COUNCIL of IRELAND to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 306.

We doubt not you have heard out of England of the alteration of the coin, and hope you have received the portion for that province. The Lords of the Council agreed upon a proclamation, which was sent hither; and before the Lord Deputy's departure we caused good store of them to be printed here, whereof we send you 60. So soon as you are ready to issue the money, cause them to be published in the cities and towns of that province and at Galway, whither a proportion of the coin is to be sent.

Dublin, 2 June 1601.

*Signed:* Ad. Dublin., George Cary, Ro. Gardener Geff. Fenton.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 62.

2. Copy.

June 3. **78.** SIR G. CAREW to the QUEEN.

Vol. 620, p. 282.

"Sacred and dread Sovereign,—

"To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majesty's letters signed with your royal hand, and blessed with an extraordinary addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeal in your Majesty's service which from my cradle (I thank God for it) was ingrafted in my heart,



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yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poor merits shall appear to be short of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majesty's eternal prosperity shall never fail to the last day of life.

"But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my unfortunate destiny to be deprived from the sight of your royal\* person, which my heart with all loyal affection (inferior to none) evermore attends, I live like one lost to himself, and wither out my days in torment of mind until it shall please your sacred Majesty to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sins, upon the knees of my heart I do humbly beseech your Majesty to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may be.

"And especially my torment was increased (in being absent as I was) at that time when the truth of men's faiths and your Majesty's safety was in question; wherein as God of his infinite goodness, together with your Majesty's own prudent foresight, did miraculously in so few hours dissipate and suppress that dangerous rebellion and imminent peril to your sacred person, which to all honest men both before and since appears evident; so doth all men of judgment not a little admire your magnanimous and undaunted Majesty, that did not then apprehend the least fear when strongest spirits trembled. The which confirms the world's admiration of your divine excellencies, and elevates my heart with inexpressible comforts to hear and remember it.

"As I cannot well express the joys I received when I heard the success of those actions, so I must confess in beholding the same it appears unto me to be a prosperous effect of an ill cause, considering to what an estate your Majesty (out of your own goodness) had brought him† unto, which he could never see nor confess until he had made himself a sinner against all possibility of pardon, either by the rule of justice, regal dignity, or humane policy, the lives of his sovereign and his own being incompatible. Moreover his life was the fuel of the war of Ireland, and the rebels do now commonly report that in him their greatest hope consisted, and by him they daily expected to be employed.

"Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdom (for better than a banishment I cannot esteem any fortune that deprives me from beholding your Majesty's person‡), although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle (I thank God for it) I have now at length (by the means of the White Knight) gotten into my hands the body of James Fitz-

\* These two words "*your royal*" have been substituted by Carew himself for "*that divine*," probably the original version.

† The Earl of Essex.

‡ This passage originally ran thus—"from beholding your Majesty and angelic person;" but it is altered by Carew as in the text.

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Thomas, that archtraitor and usurping Earl, whom for a present, with the best conveniency and safety I may find, I will by some trusty gentleman send unto your Majesty; whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection.

“And now that my task is ended, I do in all humility beseech that in your princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me than I can well\* endure; for as my faith is undivided, and only professed (as by divine and humane laws the same is bound) in vassalage to your Majesty, so doth my heart court nothing so much as to be evermore attendant on your sacred person, accounting it a happiness unto me to die at your feet, not doubting but that your Majesty, out of your princely and royal bounty, will enable me by some means or other to sustain the rest of my days in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not an importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to move your Majesty thereunto than this, *Assai dimanda qui ben serve e tuce*. So most humbly beseeching your Majesty's pardon in troubling you with these lines unworthy your divine eyes, do kiss the shadows of your royal feet.

“From your Majesty's city of Corke, this third of June† 1601.

“Your sacred Majesty's most loyal vassal and servant, G. C.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

June 3. 79. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 66.

“The 29th of May . . . the White Knight (by me employed and earnestly spurred on to repair his former errors) did his best endeavours, which (I thank God) had the successes desired, for . . . having notice by his espials where James McThomas, the usurping Earl of Desmond, lay hidden within his country in the mountain of Slewgor, in an obscure cave many fathoms under the ground; upon intelligenee hereof, with such company as then were in his house with him, not being of weaponed men above eight in number, repaired to the place discovered, and there took him and one horseman more who attended him, and brought them to one of his own castles; from whom Sir George Thornton, with a good guard, attended them safe to my house, where in irons he remaineth; out of the which I dare not else trust him to be kept, being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sorts, as well in this town as in the country, that in my life I have known. I cannot sufficiently commend unto your Lordships this dutiful act of the White Knight, who performed the same more in respect of his

\* This word “well” is inserted in Carew's hand.

† Originally “May,” but corrected by Carew.

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duty to her Majesty than for the benefit of the 400*l.* head money proclaimed presently to be paid; and for the doing whereof he was not ignorant to purchase himself the general malice of the province; . . . and (but by himself) I . . . do not know any man in Munster by whom I might have gotten him. . . . I may not leave unrecommended . . . the diligent and painful endeavours of Sir George Thornton, who, next unto the Knight himself, hath best deserved. . . . I . . . beseech you that in her Majesty's name you would take particular notice of it, and by your letters to give them the thanks they deserve. For this traitor's hope (notwithstanding all the miseries which in this time of his distress he hath sustained) was nothing abated, every day expecting either Irish or Spanish aid, (which aid from Spain, as he tells me, he was confident to receive before harvest) to be no less able to maintain the wars than in former times. . . . He was the most potent Geraldine that ever was of any the Earls of Desmond his ancestors, as may well appear by the number of provincials pardoned and cut short since my coming hither, as also by the number of the Bonyes by me from hence banished. The manner of his apprehension . . . is expressed in a letter of the White Knight's unto me, which herewith I send your Lordships.

"I once purposed to have sent this archtraitor by this passage into England, but upon better consideration . . . I do stay him for a time . . . ; for, if he should die before he come to his trial, as the judges here inform me, the Queen (but by Act of Parliament) cannot be interested in his lands, and also his brother John (by the same reason) is not by the law debarred from the title which this pretender holds to be good to the earldom of Desmond. For these reasons, by their opinions, I have resolved to have him arraigned and adjudged here, and then do think him meet to be sent into England, and left as your Lordships shall please to dispose of him. And because it is likewise by the lawyers told me that a man condemned in this realm cannot by the ordinary course of law upon the same judgment be executed in England, I purpose to send with him two or three indictments ready drawn with sufficient matter, by the which he may be there at all times arraigned. The reasons which induceth me to send him living into England are grounded upon an apparent doubt conceived, that as soon as this archtraitor shall be executed, his brother John will immediately assume the title he did, and perchance thereby prove no less powerful than this traitor hath been. Whereas (whilst he lives) he cannot make any pretence to move the actual followers and dependants of the house of Desmond to assist him. Likewise I hold it . . . very dangerous to continue him any long time prisoner in Ireland, being . . . so exceedingly beloved as he is, not daring to commit him into any hands out of my own. . . .

"The greatest defect that now remains . . . is the want of a general pardon, which in all my letters of late I have solicited ;

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. . . my desire stretching no farther than to the poor people with their wives and children who never bare arms; the want whereof is no small impediment to the ending of this work, which it hath pleased God . . . so to bless."

Cork, 3 June 1601.

"Sent by Patrick Crosbye."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

June 3.

80.

JAMES FITZTHOMAS FITZGERALD.

Vol. 617, p. 314.

"The confession which James FitzThomas Gerrald made unto Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, the third day of June 1601.

"He allegeth that the causes that moved the dislike of the Munster men against the English government were religion, Undertakers encroaching upon gentlemen's lands, the fear of English juries, which passed upon the trial of Irishmen's lives, the receipt of slight evidence upon such arraignments, the general fear conceived of the safety of their lives by the examples of the execution of Redmonde FitzGerald and Connogh McCraghe, and the great charge which was yearly exacted . . . called the composition rent.

"The first movers and practisers of this rebellion in Munster were his brother John O'Thomas O'Gerald and Peerce Lacye, who plotted the same with Owney McRorie and Terrell, and they dealt with Tyrone, who till that time did never look for any assistance in Munster.

"The principal men of the confederacy of this province that did combine themselves with John O'Thomas and Pearce Lacye before Owney McRory came hither were William O'Gerrald Knight of Kerry, Edmond O'Gibbon the White Knight, Dermot McOwen McChartie, Donnell McChartie, John O'Connor, Thomas Oge Gerald, Connor O'Mulrian, the Clambreenes of Aherloe, and the Bowrekes of Muskrye.

"He saith that himself, the Lord Roche, the Lord of Cahir, the White Knight, the Knight of Kerry, Dermott McOwen McChartie, John O'Thomas, Peerce Lacye, John Barry, Morrice O'Thomas called the Lord of Clenlishe, James Geralde (?) Butler, the Clambreenes in Arloe, and the Bowrekes in Muskrye were all together, a little after the rebellion had taken beginning, sworn upon the holy cross to uphold this rebellion and never to leave James in this action. Of the clergy that were then present the principal men were Doctor Craghe, their\* Bishop, Father Archer, James O'Kearney, priest for the Lord Barry. Likewise all those that were in rebellion then and after were likewise sworn; the effect of which oath was that none of them should at any time give over the action or return to be

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\* "there" in MS.

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subjects, but persevere in the defence of the Catholic cause, except James O'Thomas and the clergy should license him thereunto.

"The Lord Barry by his priest Sir James O'Kearney was sworn, at James FitzThomas his great meeting at Cahir with his confederates, to assist him in this rebellion with his brother John Barry and his strength of men, and was by consent exempted from his personal being in action.

"He saith immediately after Florence McChartie came out of England he came to the Drishane in Muskry unto him and Bishop Chraghe, and then combined himself with them in the action; and that thereupon he gave him help, whereby Florence obtained Desmond and did beat Donnell McChartie out of the country.

"He saith in February 1599, when Tyrone was in Munster, he the said Tyrone and himself, together with Florence McChartie and the Bishop Chraghe, did employ Sir Owen McKegan over the seas with their letters to the Pope, to obtain excommunication general against all such as would not enter and join with them in the action.

"He saith that the letter which he wrote to the King of Spain, dated the 14th day of March 1599, was indicted by Archer, written by James Walshe; and the Knight of Keyrry, Thomas Oge Gerrald, and all the gentlemen of the best sort in Keyrry were then with him, and did see and hear the same read, and consent and allow to the sending thereof.

"He never wrote other letters to the Pope or the King of Spain but those above mentioned; but when Tyrone writes unto them he always useth both their names, as Tyrone told him.

"After the Earl of Essex his departure he desired Henry Pyne to meet him [at] Mocolpe, where they met; and their speech was, that he would be content to lay down arms, so her Majesty would confirm unto him his earldom and lands.

"He saith he loved Henry Pyne exceeding well and wished his good, and gave commandment to all his men not to harm him.

"He spake with Pyne at Castle Lyons, who was desirous to speak with him; which conference between them continued a quarter of an hour, wherein Pyne advised him to give over the action, and that Tirlagh McTeage of Mogely had his corn in keeping.

"The Spanish bishop at his departure promised that before August next at the farthest there should arrive ten thousand Spaniards at the least in Munster, and that they should bring provisions of money, munitions and victuals with them, but in what special place in the province they intend to land at he saith he knoweth not.

"He saith that if the Spaniards should have failed them at the time so prefixed, their purpose was to submit themselves and to compound with the Queen as well as they might.

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But if they might not be received, then to try the fortune of a war so long as possibly they could hold it out.

“Lastly, he is well assured that as soon as any new forces shall invade Munster either out of Spain or Ulster, that a great number will revolt again.”

*Signed*: G. Carew.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

June 5.  
Vol. 615, p. 308.

**81.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

“The ship called *The Archangell*, of St. Malowe’s, whereof your Lordship wrote lately unto me, being now arrived at Carlingford and there ready to discharge their wines and other lading, Richard Weston the elder hath made suit unto me for the present release of his son, and the Frenchman kept with him by your Lordship, alleging their absence to be very prejudicial to the owners, who cannot unload the ship till they come to make their reckonings. . . I think this his suit reasonable.”

Dundalk, 5 June 1601. *Signed*.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 63.

2. *Copy.*

June 6.  
Vol. 615, p. 312.

**82.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

“I will very shortly and by some safe messenger send an account of our estate in these parts, a project of our purposes, and how far forth therein we desire the assistance of any of your forces. In the meantime I must congratulate your good fortune with the Earl of the Suggan (James FitzThomas), upon whom I wish no other jury should go but the maids, although they be not his peers. God send us as good luck with our Earl in these parts, who I hope in God you shall shortly hear that he is become little better than a wood kerne. I do continue an exceeding desire to speak with you, but I do not know how it can be. God send us a happy meeting under some more fortunate zenith, and to be delivered of this to the good of our mistress and our own honours.”

Dundalke, 6 June 1601. *Signed*.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 66.

2. *Copy.*

June 6.  
Vol. 615, p. 310.

**83.** The COUNCIL OF IRELAND to SIR G. CAREW.

Thomas Smyth, commissary of the victuals for Connaught, complains “that having sent one Captain Francis Gode to Bordeaux to bring from thence to Galway . . . a barque loaden with Bordeaux wines, and the same being accordingly provided, the said Gode . . . contrary to the charter part[l]y discharged the said wines at Denglicushe; and having received 92l.

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sterling in money for part of the same, one Champion, supposed Vice-Admiral of those parts, with force, being accompanied with one Tyckyns and others, took away the said money from him, together with 20*l.* 10*s.* from one John Butler, a merchant of Galway, alleging the same to be forfeited as money bound for foreign countries.

“Forasmuch as the contrary appeareth unto us by certain depositions taken before the Mayor of Galway, and that the said Smythe is an honest gentleman whom we much respect,” we pray you see that Campion and the rest be compelled to restore the money to Smythe and Butler.

Dublin, 6 June 1601.

*Signed*: Ad. Dublin., George Cary, Ro. Gardener, Geff. Fenton.

P.S.—If you find cause, send Captain Gode hither in safe manner to answer his misdemeanours.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 67.

2. Copy.

June 7. 84. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 258.

The bearer hereof, Captain Robert Morgan, is chosen to be the officer of the exchange for Munster, to abide at Cork as deputy to Sir George Carey, Master of the Exchange. Give him all assistance possible during his abode there.

Greenwich, 7 June 1601.

*Signed*: Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew*: Received the 20 eadem.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 59.

2. Copy.

June 13. 85. The LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 314.

This bearer Thomas Spincks, one of Sir Henry Davers's troop, “had his horse killed under him in service; and, being not able to mount himself again, I licensed him to depart.” Having some land in Munster he desires to repair thither. I pray you give him your assistance as one that deserveth well.

Camp at Fagher, 13 June 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 68.

2. Copy.

June 14. 86. FLORENCE McCARTY.

Vol. 619, p. 165.

An Act of the Council of Munster for committing Florence McCarty to prison, 14th June 1601.

Forasmuch as since the protection granted to Florence McCarty we are credibly given to understand of the continual conspiracies and combinations by him plotted with Spain and

1601.

Tyrone and others in Munster, and "for that he hath these two months and upwards purposely deferred to take the benefit of her Majesty's . . . pardon . . . for that he would avoid putting in sureties for his future loyalty, and was now departing into Desmond, from whence in all appearance he could not conveniently return before the expiration of the time in the said charter of pardon prefixed, . . . we have . . . resolved and decreed to restrain the said Florence McCartie, and to commit him to the custody of the gentleman porter's deputy."

*Signed*: George Carewe, David Buttevant, William Saxey, Cha. Wilmott.

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew.*

June 16.

**87.** THE COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 624, p. 68.

"By letters from your Lordship and the rest of the Council of that province (Munster) we find the country is poor and unable to answer the proportion of beeves appointed by our former letters to Dondalke;" but we cannot by any device spare them, and therefore we pray you to see the 600 beeves presently sent thither.

Dublin, 16 June 1601.

P.S.—"Touching the matter of Gallweye, there is one to come out of England directly to go thither with treasure, so as your Lordship shall not need to trouble yourself therewith."

*Copy. P. 1.*

June 18.

**88.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 256.

"Whereas Mr. Anthony Randall hath heretofore been possessed of Carknavill Castle and two ploughlands within your government, and in the time of war there was forced for the safeguard of his wife and children to resign it with all his goods and household stuff to one John McHuillick, a rebel, upon promise before witness and by oath that he would but continue the keeping of it for them, and restore it again whensoever the country should be reduced to quietness. Sithence the said Randall having, with good proof and testimony of his service, lost his life in pursuit of the rebels there, and his wife, a poor gentlewoman, and (as she saith) your near kinswomau . . . presenting her humble suit to her Majesty for some relief, her Majesty . . . hath commanded us to consider how she might be relieved, and accordingly to provide for her, or to signify her princely pleasure to such as might best do it. Wherein we conceived it the fittest, both in regard of the forcible and traitorous means of attaining the possession aforesaid by the said McHuillick, as also of the former capitulation and agreement between them, to direct our letters unto you to consider how she might be restored to those lands and goods. And therefore we do hereby require you, according as you and



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that Council shall find her complaints to be justly grounded, to do your best to repossess her and her son Thomas Randall of the said lands and goods; and withal, because of her widowhood and weak estate, that you will take some caution for her security of the said John McHuilliek, Thomas Oge, Caer McBryan, and such other as she shall find most likely to work her damage, accordingly as was used by former governors in her husband's lifetime."

Greenwich, 18 June 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert, Th. Smith.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 60.

June 20.

**89.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 205.

Whereas you have received direction to bestow 100*l.* upon Sir Richard Greames, which you afterwards advertised us could not be paid to him by reason of his absence in Leinster, and referred him to us to receive the same here: Forasmuch as the treasure for that kingdom was already sent away, and that it could not conveniently be disbursed here; I desire you, at his request, to take order that at his return to Munster he may receive 100*l.* there.

Court at Greenwich, 20 June 1601. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 21.

**90.** SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 420.

The Lords of the Council have recommended the suit of this poor gentlewoman, the bearer, to your ordering.\* "She hath further entreated me in particular to make known her desire unto you, namely, that if upon examination you shall find it convenient you will . . . procure her freedom and exemption from common tax and soldiery, which she is desirous no longer to continue than you in your judgment shall find it reasonable and fit."

Court at Greenwich, 21 June 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 22.

**91.** SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 624, p. 69.

"I have lately proceeded to the trial of the archtraitor James FitzThomas by the ordinary course of law, who now remaineth a prisoner condemned and ready from me to answer her Majesty's direction as she shall be pleased further to determine of him. But since the same, upon such good causes as shall appear sufficiently warrantable, I have also here committed to prison Florence McCartie, against whom I am well able to

\* See 18 June.

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prove, as well by many examinations of reduced traitors as by letters sent unto him from Tyrone and O'Donnell and the Spanish bishop that was in Ulster (all with myself), and by other particular good circumstances approving these former, that since his coming in upon protection, he desisted not from conspiring again rebellions with Spain, Ulster traitors, and to raise new motions of garboils in the hearts of these provincials. Yet hath his cunning carriage been such in the managing thereof as I find him secured in his life, her Majesty's pardon assuring the same unto him without touch. But in respect of the danger his liberty would work to this province, knowing him, besides these courses, to be the only evil instrument now within the same, I do purpose to keep him restrained, and to look no less carefully and narrowly to him than unto James FitzThomas, having resolved to reserve them both in the condition they be until I receive her Majesty's pleasure, to whom and their Lordships I have already particularly related my proceedings with them. And now that I have these two potent earls (of their own making) both in her Majesty's hands, although John FitzThomas should take upon him the title his brother did, and thereupon endeavour to get new aids to invest Munster, I doubt the less of any accident to work alteration, and besides him do not know any one man of the province that is now able with power to raise had against her Majesty.

"Here arrived yesternight late . . . a proportion of new money. . . . And because part of the same is assigned for Gallweye, which will require some time to be sent thither, by reason of the uncertainty of the wind, . . . I would be glad to understand your Lordships' pleasures . . . what time you will appoint for the publishing of this proclamation, and whether here or not before the money be at Gallweye."

Cork, 22 June 1601.

P.S.—"With the new money of this province is come a banker, one Captain Morgane, who hath brought 40,000*l.*, and with him one Captain Hayes with 10,000*l.* more for Gallweye, but himself come without any instructions how to convey the same from hence, or without any manner of signification out of England unto me for the same. So as until he may receive some direction from your Lordship and the rest whether to convey it by sea or land, he cannot remove from hence, as he informeth me. . . . I hold it not meet . . . that the exchanges in other parts should be kept shut until that be at Gallweye."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

June 22. 92. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 316.

"I have sent you the copy of a letter which we did write lately from these parts to my Lords in England, the which I desire you to reserve unto yourself, because there be some

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points therein unfit to be known to these country people. If the force of Spain do not aid them, I doubt not but God hath determined to overthrow this rebellion. If Spain do, I hope here in Ireland to make an end of the war of England both with Spain and Ireland. Whether they come or not the chief thing that, as I think, imports you is to assure Cork and Limerick till more force can come unto you. That you may do with the force we leave you, and more you cannot with all the rest of your list. Somewhat that may appear inconvenient we must hazard, or else only with the expectation of the Spaniard lose the Queen another year; for I persuade myself, if this project go forward, to end the war in effect before the next summer; if it do not, it may well cost us another year; and our companies are so weak, and our business in these parts so great, that without the assistance of some of your force we cannot go through with our work. This morning, with but a pretty army, I am rising, with the help of God, to Armaugh, to leave some men there to preserve the grass about it; for in those parts I intend to spend most of this summer."

Camp by Carickbane, 22 June.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:*  
Received the 29th eadem mens.

Vol. 624, p. 71.

2. Copy.

June 22. 93. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 368.

"Having entered into a very serious consideration how we might fittest make the war this summer to the greatest annoyance of the Northern rebels, and in the end agreeing upon a project which we have resolved speedily to put in execution, wo . . . acquaint your Lordship therewithal by this enclosed . . .

"The 1,000 foot and the 50 horse which we are to draw from you out of Munster . . . you may very well spare . . . The numbers there remaining being 1,600 foot in list and 200 horse, will be very sufficient, . . . especially seeing we have so well provided to stop the Ulster men from passing either through Leinster or Connaught towards you, as we are very confident you cannot be disquieted that way, but may rather . . . assist the Earl of Ormond's horse and foot lying next you on the borders of Kilkenny . . . His Lordship is directed both with them and the forces commanded by Sir Henry Power to give your Lordship all good furtherance if the Moores should step into your government, when they shall be so chased and pursued as they cannot longer continue in Leashe and thereabout, as we hope in short time they will be.

"Wherefore we do very earnestly pray and require . . . that the foot may be at the town of Gallway by the 7th of the next month at the furthest, where we have given commission to the Earl of Clanrickard (if he be able) to take the charge of them and to march to the abbey of Boile, there to lie in

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garrison according to our project, until we see cause otherwise to direct them.

“The horse, which we earnestly pray may be Sir Richard Greanes his troop, to come hither speedily to the camp, for that we have very great need of good horse, ours being much worn out with the winter service; and we hear that troop is fair and good, and fittest for our present purpose; in whose stead we will send 50 others into Connaught for them, which we can do conveniently out of Leinster.”

In case of Spanish invasion “you may see by our last despatch into England, the copy whereof we send you herewithal, that in that point we have not been unmindful to provide for you the best we may, by desiring to have you supplied speedily from thence if any such thing should happen, as it is like enough there will not; but, howsoever, we do not think it fit to lose the year in expectation of their coming, as we must by not using our forces this present summer, and use them we cannot to any purpose without we have these horse and foot from you, which indeed hath moved us to resolve upon the project which you see, hoping by stirring to do great good upon the rebels, as we find for the small time we have been abroad we have done, for we have already made [the] fort guardable at the Moyrie, to assure the passage in that place] where Tyrone the last year stopped us so long. We have been in Lecale and planted a garrison, taken in all their castles, and all the inhabitants have submitted themselves. We have put more companies by land to Sir Arthur Chichester to Carrickfergus, and enabled him on that side to annoy them, insomuch as Maguenis, for all his nearness to Tyrone, hath made very great means likewise to be accepted to merey; and this day we are ready to march toward Ardmagh, where we mean, God pleased, to encamp this night; and doubt not but before our return to leave that place also fortified very fitly.

“And if Sir Henry Dockwra be able to plant at Ballishannon, as he giveth great hope he will, so as we can keep Tyrone busied on this side, and the garrison at the Boile do their part, we shall soon pen the rebels up so straight as Spaniards coming (unless speedily) will not help them. And yet if their coming should be so speedy, your companies being no further off than Gallway, they lie as well as you can wish to fall back to any place where you would have them; though we are of opinion, if that should happen, you can with the whole number do no more than keep Lymerick and Coreke till greater forces come to you out of England, and that you may do without these 1,000 foot and 50 horse.”

Camp at Carrickbane, 22 June 1601.

*Signed:* Mountjoye, R. Wingfelde, G. Bowrchier, F. Stafforde.

*Pp.* 3. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* Received the 29th eadem.

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[June 22.]

## 94. PROJECT by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 615, p. 369.

“Perceiving by their Lordships’ letters of the 18th of May that the victuals we expected to answer our purpose of planting Balishanan by Connaught could not arrive in such quantity nor time as might enable us to proceed in that journey, and receiving some arguments of their Lordships’ inclination to Sir H. Docwray’s offer to plant that garrison from Lough-foile, we grew into a new consultation in what sort to make the wars this summer.

“First, it was propounded with the army to march by Lecale and those parts into Colraine, the end whereof should have been to have brought in subjection all the woodmen, and utterly taken from Tyrone all that part of Ulster between Colrane and Lough-Sydney to the Blackwater. The passages being not very dangerous, and the commodity of the sea to supply us, we should have made the war that way to great purpose and with good conveniency, and perchance might have fallen over the Band into Tirone, all other ways being of extreme danger to enter into that country, except that and by Lough-foile.

“The chief difficulty that did arise against this project was the danger wherein we should leave all things behind us if the Spaniard should land, carrying the chief force of the kingdom into the uttermost corner thereof; and next, not being able to leave any great guard for the Pale, we should have left it naked to any attempt of Tyrone, and the new reclaimed rebels\* to the courtesy of him, or the Pale to the courtesy of them both.

“But in the end we grew to this resolution. In the interim between this and the appointment of the general hosting, (by the which we should be supplied with carriages, and about which time we expect victuals and munition out of England,—of the first whereof we are more sparingly provided than to engage ourselves into any great matter,—of the second so utterly unfurnished that we have scant powder to maintain one good day’s fight, nor tools or other provisions to fortify, which must be our chief work as we carry the rebel before us to dwell by them,) we determined to assure the passages of the Moiry, to plant a garrison at Lecale, and to convey some more men to Sir Arthur Chichester, who with that garrison and those supplies helped, with the advantage that others striving in all other parts will give him, will go near to work little less effect than we and the whole army should have done.

“When our victuals and munition shall be arrived, which we hope will be about the time we have appointed, the general

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\* *Note in the margin* :—“O’Hanlon, the Fuse, Clinclarwell, Ferny, many of the Mahounes, O’Relyes, Galliglasses, and others.”

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hosting being the ————\*, we do purpose, God willing, as near as we can, to employ her Majesty's forces in this manner. First, to draw out of Munster into Connaught 1,000 foot and 50 horse; in which province there are already in list 1,150 foot and 74 horse, besides Tibbott ne Long [Burke], the whole entertainment of whose company hath been long stayed from him: and yet we think it very convenient to hold him at this time in as good terms as we may, and resolve to threaten O'Connor Sligo, who hath oft shewed himself desirous to submit himself, upon any appearance of his defence, that if he do not presently declare himself against O'Donill before the plantation of Ballishannon, he shall despair for ever to be received to mercy.

“And the better to assure him or infest him, and to keep O'Rworke from joining with O'Donill, we will lay about 1,300 foot and the greatest part of the horse of Connaught about the abbey of Boyle, or where they may most divert the rebels of those parts, and the rest of the forces of that province, besides some to guard Gallway and Athlone, in some convenient place of the Annally, where they shall not only lie upon O'Rourke, but between any forces that may come out of the North into Leinster, and follow them if they should chance to escape by them; it, being likely that about harvest time or before, to divert us, if Tirrell and the O'Connors by any means can gather any strength, they will return again to gather the corn which they sowed this last year. Somewhat lower, in Westmeath, we have two companies more of Leinster, because that way there are some places by the which some troops may steal out of the North into Ophaly.

“At Kelis we have one company of foot and 50 horse, from which place up to the Boyle in Connaught we give direction to all the forces to correspond together, and the forces in the Annally to correspond with Ophally and Leaxe; and all do not only lie to divert some forces of the rebel, but as a pale to keep them out of Leinster.

“The Earl of Ormond's company of 150 foot and 50 horse, and Sir Henry Power with 400 foot and 32 horse, shall be diverted for Lease; the Earl of Kildare with 150 foot in list (although many of them be in wards) and 37 horse to lie in Ophaly; and these forces of Lease and Ophally to correspond together, and with them the subjects of the Irishry, as my Lord of Upper Ossory, Hugh Boy, Sir Tirence O'Dempsie, O'Dun, O'Molloy, O'Carroll, and Sir John Macoughlan.

“In Ulster, leaving Dundalke, the Roche and a fort to be built in the Moyry guarded, we intend to plant a garrison in Lecale of 500 foot and 50 horse, and to send two companies more to Sir Arthur Chichester, who, in respect of the use he

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\* Blank in MS. ; but there is a note in the margin that the hosting was to take place on the last day of June.

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may have at all times of the forces in Lecale, will be as much strengthened by them, or rather more, than if he [we?] had sent them all to Knockfargus.

“With the army, which will consist of about 2,800 foot and 300 horse in list, besides some 300 foot and 50 horse which are to be left at the Newry and Mount Norris to guard those places, we purpose to draw to Armagh to fortify there, and it may be at Blackwater, where if we lie upon him most part of this summer we shall not only give Sir Henry Dockwra good facility to plant Ballishannon, but it may be fall ourselves into Tyrone. But, howsoever, with making him keep his forces together all this summer, and leaving these garrisons well provided for horse to live that [there?] in the winter, we shall, without all likelihood to the contrary, utterly ruin the traitor, and clear and assure all the parts from Tyrone to the Pale.

“With the particularities of Sir Henry Dockwra’s project by Captain Vaghan to their Lordships we are not acquainted; only told of such a proposition in general by Mr. Treasurer (Cary); but we doubt not but withal he hath propounded to their Lordships for such means to accomplish his work as must be supplied from thence; for from us he can receive little other assistance than this fashion of employing the whole forces within every part is done as much for his advantage as can be. Neither, which is worst, can we easily hold any intelligence with him, or often hear from one another; but if we perceive that he find any impossibility to plant Ballishannon, we think to advise him with the whole gross of his strength to fall into Tyrone about such time as we shall be at Blackwater, whereby it may fall out that we shall, with the help of God, meet at Dungannon, and utterly waste all the country of Tyrone. Unto which course if we be driven, we must resolve to make the war this winter (leaving the Northern border in good strength) in Connaught, which we hope will reduce that country and ruin O’Donill; for if he [we?] keep him out of Connaught he cannot long subsist, and there, for the continual assurance of that country, plant with facility the next year at Ballishannon.

“But if the planting of so many garrisons do threaten by the continuance of great numbers to draw on too long her Majesty’s charge, we do first think that to recover this kingdom and to preserve it from being hereafter chargeable it will be necessary that Ballishannon, Loughfoyle, some garrison on the Bande, Lecall, Mount-Norris, Armagh, Blackwater and some other places be continually kept; all which places may be ever victualled by sea, or, lying near together, without dangerous passage between them by land from the sea, without any further force than their own. And if there be in every fort some little keep built of stone, as the wars draweth or occasion shall serve, the places may be guarded with a few, and so continue bridles in the meantime, and convenient

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places to put in men to great purpose where the rebellion at any time shall again break out. Neither need these little castles be works of any great charge, for they be easily made such as these people will hardly force them.

“To proceed in this project, the victuals already contracted for must arrive in due time, and their Lordships supply us with good quantity hereafter, for our only way to ruin them must be as much as may be to waste all the means\* which if we do, and be not supplied out of England, we shall as well starve ourselves as them; but especially where we must make the war, which is far from the relief of any friend, and nothing to be gotten from the enemy but by chance, for what is in their countries lightly they will either hide or spoil, or convey into inaccessible fastness[es].

“And because the greatest service here is to be done by long and sudden journeys, which cannot be done without victual, and no victual well carried by the soldier without carriages but cheese, we . . . desire their Lordships to send us some great quantity thereof; in the provision whereof whatsoever inconveniency their Lordships shall find we dare assure them will be ten times countervailed in the service.

“Lastly, because the army is already weak of English, and this journey, without the extraordinary favour of God, must needs diminish it much both by the sword and sickness, we . . . earnestly desire their Lordships to send as soon as may be conveniently 1,000 shot for supplies unto the Newry [and ?] Carlingford, that at our return we may both strengthen these English companies we mean to leave behind us, and such as we carry with us. The time will be exceeding fit for their arrival, for besides the succour we may receive from them, if we grow very weak at our return, they will come over well clothed against the winter, and may have time to rest and to be seasoned till Christmas,—till when in these wars it is the most unactive part of the year,—and be employed from Christmas till the end of May, which is the only time to plague these country rebels. And when the summer is past, wherein these rogues revive and live like flies, our gar-risons well planted and the army strengthened with English, we may then begin to cast the Irish companies out of our companies, since they must continue good subjects, or starve if they go out, and yet have the sword hang over them wheresoever they go. In the meantime we think them necessarily maintained, for we take so many men from the rebels, and give unto ourselves by them facility to plant the foundation of their own ruin, and both with us and against us waste them by themselves. For if we should not entertain them they would lie upon some country of the subject, that without the defence of as many as themselves they would waste and live

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\* Blank in MS.



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upon it, so that in effect the very numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particular instance of the benefit that ensueth by entertaining these Irish, we think we can give your Lordships an account of above 500 that have this year been killed, and most with the bullet of our side of such as were rebels sometimes, and questionless would have been so again when they had been put out of entertainment if they had lived.

“And thus having . . . concluded unto ourselves the best remedy that could appear unto our judgments, and resolving to execute it with all endeavour and security, we humbly desire your\* Lordships to make a favorable construction both of the counsel and success, since these grounds whereupon we do now so justly build our resolutions may, by their alteration, give us as just cause to alter our course, and the want of such means either in matter or time as we expect utterly hinder it; but especially if any foreign succours do arrive the whole frame of this our project is broken, and out of England we must be presently relieved, or we with this kingdom suffer much hazard.

“And because your Lordships in your last letters gave us some light that it might be, and leave to inform you what likelihood we should here receive that it would be, we have first the intelligence which we send you with many other reports; next, a constant and of late an extraordinary conceived confidence thereof in this people; and last, to judge what a powerful and wise enemy will do by that which is best and easy for him to do, we have many reasons to think that Spain will send this year, and few to think otherwise, but that he hath so oft deceived that expectation. For if the malice of Spain continue to England, they have an easy and dangerous step thereto by Ireland, and if they do not embrace the occasion of this year, there is no doubt but the next will for ever lose it unto them. . .

“The power of this kingdom consisteth of her Majesty's English army, of such Irish as are therein in companies by themselves, or in English companies to serve as mercenaries, the nobility, towns, and inbred people of this nation, which live as subjects, and lastly of such mere Irish lords and their people as were lately reclaimed or still remain in rebellion. The mere English are few and far dispersed; the Irish that serve with us exceeding mercenary, and therefore likely to follow their golden hopes of Spain; the nobility, towns, and people of so obstinate a contrariety in religion, that without question they are grown malicious to the government, and affect under the protection of the power of Spain to declare themselves; the Irish lords with us have the same motives,

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\* *Sic.* The latter portion of this document is in a different hand from the commencement.

1601.

and they against us, their last necessity, to join with Spain; and all these, especially the towns, stirred on by this new coin, which though if the aid of Spain do not arrive may securely be established, yet if they do it will breed many dangerous inconveniences.

“It may please her Majesty to have in areadiness 6,000 of the trained bands of such counties\* serving best for transporting into Ireland, to be sent over into Munster upon the first notice of any foreign power to be arrived here; and some part of her navy in areadiness, with a greater part of munition and artillery for us than otherwise this war would require.

“We do hope to give her Majesty a very good account of her kingdom and of ourselves until we shall have cause to sue for more relief, or return her the fruits of that. And if it must needs fall out that Spain will have war with England, we shall be glad that the war of England may be made in Ireland, and that we her poor servants shall have the happiness to strike the first blows for both her royal kingdoms, the which the eternal God preserve long unto her, and her unto them and us.”

*Mem. by Lord Mountjoy:* “I sent by sea a copy of this letter to Sir Henry Doekwray, thus apostyled to him.”†

*Pp. 9. Endorsed:* June. To the Council in England. For my Lord President. (*And by Carew:*) Received the 29th of June 1601.

[June 22.] 95. THE ARMY.

Vol. 615, p. 375.

“The Disposal of the Queen’s Forces for this Summer’s service.”

Out of Munster may well be spared (and yet 1,600 foot and 200 horse remain) 1,000 foot, 50 horse. There are in Connaught, besides Tibbott ne Long, 1,150 foot, 74 horse. Total, 2,150 foot, 124 horse; to be placed as follows:—

To keep Gallway and Athloane, 350 horse.

At the Abbey of Boile, to be commanded by the Earl of Clanriccard, 1,000 foot, 62 horse. These will very much further the plantation at Ballishanon.

At the Annaly on Leinster side the Shannon, to be commanded by Sir John Barkeley, 800 foot, 62 horse. These lie fitly to join with the forces of Leinster either northward or southward.

The forces southward lie thus, and may aptly join with those of the Annally if the Ulster rebels should pass by into Leinster.

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\*“Countries” in MS.

† This is in allusion to numerous notes in the margin, intended as instructions for Dockwray.

1601.

In Ophaly: horse—Earl of Kildare 25, Sir Edward Harbert 12; foot—Earl of Kildare 150, Sir George Bourcher 100, Sir Edward Harbert 100, Captain Carroll 100, Sir H. Warren 100.

In Leashe: horse—Mr. Marshal 20, [Captain] Pigott 12; foot—Sir H. Power 150, Sir Francis Rush, 150, Sir Thomas Loftus 100.

In Kilkenny: Earl of Ormond, 50 horse, 150 foot.

All these may co-operate.

The forces northward lie thus, and may aptly join with those of the Annaly to stop the Ulster rebels from coming into Leinster.

In Westmeath: foot—Lord of Delvin 150, Sir Francis Shane 100.

Kells: horse—Earl of Kildare 25, Sir H. Harrington 25; foot—Captain Roper 150.

Liscanon in the Breny: horse—Lord of Dunsany 150; foot—Lord of Dunsany 150, Captain Easmond 150, Sir William Warren 100, Sir H. Harrington 100.

Dundalk: Captain Freckleton 100 foot.

Moyry: Captain Hansard 100 foot.

All these may co-operate.

The Lord Deputy's force to keep the field withal—

Horse: Lord Deputy 100, Sir Henry Davers 100, Sir Oliver Lambert 25, Sir Gar. Moore 25, Sir Chr. St. Lawrence 25, Captain Darcy 25; total, 300. Foot: Lord Deputy 200, Mr. Marshal 150, Sir Oliver Lambert 150, Sir Chr. St. Lawrence 150, Sir Francis Stafford 200, Sir Oliver St. John 200, Captain Williams 150, Sir Henry Folliett 150, Sir James Fitz Piers 150, Sir William Fortescue 100, Sir Gar. Moore 100, Captain Reilly 100, Captain Blany 150, Captain Bodley 150, Sir Henry Davers 150, Captain Ghest 150, Captain Roe 100, Captain Masterson 100, Captain Rotheram 150; total, 2,750.

“With these he meaneth to plant a garrison at Lecale of 500 foot and 50 horse, to put two companies to Sir Arthur Chichester,\* to plant at Armaght and the Blackwater, to make a little loopeskonce between them both, to see great store of hay to be made in time for horses at Armaght and Mount-Norreys against winter, to lie all this summer close to Tyrone, and perchance to carry the army into his country.”

Carickfergus: horse—Sir Arthur Chichester 25, Captain Jepson 100; foot—Sir Arthur Chichester 200, Sir Fulke Conway 150, Captain Egerton 100, Captain Norton 100, Captain Billings 100, Captain Phillips 100.

Lecale: horse—Sir Samuel Bagnall 50; foot—Sir Richard Morrison 150, Captain Cawfield 150, Captain Tever (?) 100, Captain Ra. Constable 100.

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\* There is a note in the margin, with regard to these two projects, that they had been “done already.”

1601.

Newry and Mount-Norris: horse—Sir Francis Stafford 50; foot—Sir Samuel Bagnall 150, Captain Aderton 150.

“All this being well performed, and the plantation made at Ballishannon by Sir Henry Dockwra, who hath under his command 3,000 foot and 100 horse of English in list, besides 500 Irish foot and 100 Irish horse, with the help of Neale Garve, Cormick O’Neale and the now O’Dogherty, Tyrone can in likelihood neither be able to break out of his country with any great force, nor long hold up any head there.”

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 29th June 1601.*

Vol. 604, p. 84.

2. Copy.

June 22.

96.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CARY,  
Treasurer.

Vol. 604, p. 82.

“That he hath been in Lecale, which he hath taken in, and hath spoken with Sir Arthur Chycheester, with whom he hath settled a course for the prosecution of the wars there, and by him with Sir Henry Dockwra.

“That he hath appointed the garrison there to join with Sir Arthur Chycheester in all business, and if he have need of it to use it also in the army.

“That there may be better order taken for preserving the Pale in his absence this year than was the last.

“That he expecteth from the President of Munster such forces as were written for by them to be ready in Connaught about the plantation of Ballishannon, which he thinketh will be about the tenth of the next month.

“That the mixed coin goeth very current in the army.

“When the Deputy hath planted Blackwater, then will he on front, Dockwrey on the back, and Chichester on the side invade Tyrone.”

*P. 1. The last paragraph in Cecil's hand.*

*Endorsed: 1601, June 22. Abstract of the Lord Deputy's letter to the Treasurer at Wars in Ireland.*

June 24.

97.

The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 378.

“We understand by letters from the Lord Deputy that he hath written to your Lordship for a 1,000 men to be sent for the service of the Boyle. And for that there is no store of victuals in Connaught at this present to furnish them, we therefore pray your Lordship to give present order to the victualler there to send a good proportion of victuals for them by water to Athlone.

Dublin, 24 June 1601.

*Signed: George Cary, Ro Gardener, Geff. Fenton.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 29th.*

Vol. 624, p. 72.

2. Copy.

1601.

June 26.

Vol. 604, p. 75.

**98.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"I am informed that Sir Charles Mannors—having married the widow of Captain Francis Wenman, deceased, who in his lifetime purchased in the province of Munster a castle and certain lands of good value . . . of one Shynan, an Irishman, and was at great charges in furnishing and stocking the same, of all which he was since spoiled by the rebels there—is determined to be a suitor for the recovery of the said lands and goods." I recommend him to you, "as well for my wife's sake (who is gone), to whom he was a kinsman, and so to you, and a friend, as for my own."

From the Court at Greenwich, 26 June 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 26.

Vol. 620, p. 130.

**99.** SIR G. CAREW and the COUNCIL OF MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"This present day we received some advertisements from the mayor of Waterford, grounded upon the examinations of certain mariners of that city which lately arrived there out [of] Spain, the substance whereof the depositions we received under the mayor's hand, which . . . we send you a true copy of, will manifest. . . James FitzThomas hath since his restraint affirmed and yet continueth that opinion that some aid of men out of Spain will arrive in these western parts of Ireland."

Shandon, 26 June 1601.

*Signed:* George Carewe, Sam. Buttevante, Willm. Saxey, G. Fenton, Cha. Willmott, Ger. Comerford.

*Copy. P. 1.*

June 27.

Vol. 615, p. 380.

**100.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR G. CAREW.

"Your letters of the 21st of this instant we have received, whereby we understand of the manner of your proceedings with James FitzThomas and of the commitment of Florence McCarty, both which we see not cause to dislike. . . . We further understand . . . that the new moneys . . . for that province did lately arrive together with that assigned for Galway. . . Cause the proclamations lately sent thither to be without delay published. . . For the 10,000*l.* appointed for Galway . . . see the same conducted thither by the 1,000 men that we lately wrote to your Lordship for, to be sent for the service of Boyle or by some other safe mean . . . the same being already proclaimed currant in Connaught by order sent from hence to the governor there."

Dublin, 27 June 1601.

*Signed:* George Cary, Ro. Gardener, Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 78.

2. Copy, dated 28 June.

1601.

[June 29.] 101.

Vol. 604, p. 77.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"The despatch which Patrick Crosby brought hath not a little raised your reputation, for I know not how by force or counsel more could have been performed, which are her Majesty's own words. Where you have determined to send him over alive, her Majesty alloweth very well of your judgment, but especially in that you engaged the province in his condemnation before. Since, I have received a letter from you of your apprehending of Florence, in whose case I pray you spare not the sending over of any proofs you can; for, although her Majesty is not like to proceed rigorously, yet she accounts it an excellent pledge to have him safely sent hither.

"For the other points which James McThomas offereth, I need write no circumstances, but this shortly: that her Majesty will not yet give you warrant to assure him life whom you have in your keeping, though I have acquainted her with the conditions. But I am not desperate (with a little time) to induce her Majesty to the same, especially upon so sperable conditions, and therefore keep it on foot as well as you can. For the matter of the pardon, it shall be sent unto you; and for the treasure, I doubt not but by this time you have received it. For the victual I need say nothing, for I doubt not but by this time Woodd is with you.

"I have sent you herewithal a letter to the White Knight from my Lords, and her Majesty hath taken notice of his son that is here with my Lord of Thomond, and hath let him kiss her hands, with very gracious usage. For the 400*l.* which you have paid to the White Knight, . . . there shall be so much sent over for you.

"I would to God 1026 [Thomond] were once from hence, for no man that lives can tell what he would have, but his whole drift was to be Governor of Connaught, which is in vain to think of, seeing the Deputy (Mountjoy) must have enabled the Governor, and seconded him. So, as you know, if for any private respect to the Earl of Clanrickard that now is, he should not have favoured the disposing of him thither, it had been the greatest vanity in the world to have expected aught but his depression, and a scorn to us that had given the counsel. Wherein you know it is one of my old maxims, considering how all counsels are judged by success, never to seek to win any such thing at her Majesty's hands, but rather to leave always the actions of that kingdom and counsels to the spirit of them that command it.

"And for the matter of Redmond Burck I find the same doubt; for here is now no other sound but that, so you put him in, you drive Dunkellyn out. Now, Sir, for my part, although in my own opinion he were well gained, and that the matter might be in a form of justice accommodated, and that I am confident if he did come in upon some good blood that his demands would be agreed, yet because I see how easy

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a matter it is to enforce a negative, and because I would in no sort have your word tainted, I dare not assume upon me to advise you for to conclude with him.

“Concerning the reports of Spain, I cannot deny but there is a preparation at Lysbone, and of such a body of an army as may well proportion such an action, for they are some 5,000 men, with some 30 or 40 sail of small ships, merely to serve to transport. All which considerations being added to the circumstances we receive from all parts of Ireland, I cannot deny but make great presumptions that you shall have them in Ireland. To which I must still add this opinion, that Munster will be the place, and no other; for, besides the commodity which that province giveth (being full of good towns) for an army to live in, it doth wholly draw her Majesty’s forces from the North parts and from the rest of the body of the kingdom, for no man doubts but all must repair towards them. Where contrariwise, if they should land in the North, in my understanding it could prove nothing but a conclusion of the war, though it would make a new model of things in that kingdom.

“You shall now therefore understand that I am credibly advertised that Jaques contiually holdeth correspondency with Captain Bostocke, who (as my informer tells me) resideth still in Youghall. The carrier between them is a Frenchman, who they say doth ordinarily pass up and down. Because you do best understand the quality of the man, and can compare the circumstances of his actions with this information, I must refer much to your judgment herein, being for my own opinion thus persuaded, that if you could suddenly cause his papers to be seized and searched, and then his person to be seized and well examined, there will something be found in his papers, or something picked out by your examination, which may lay open the matter. All which, if it might be done upon some other ground, it were the better, though, rather than not to be done, let it be *quacunq;ue via*.

“I pray you call your judgment to you, and see whether you could possibly find some sufficient person in that province that would remain in Spain, either at Lysbone or the Groyne for an intelligencer. The nation you know is wise, less suspected there than any, and may have many pretences. Besides, you know he may more often write into Ireland than into England. He must be able to judge when a fleet is gathering, to what action it tendeth; wherein it is very easy for all men almost of common sense not to be deceived. And, in my own opinion, I think a man may conclude that, whensoever there is any rendezvous at Lysbone or to the Northward, it cannot be but for some action of hostility; only for the trade of the East Indies some few carracks and wafters must every year be provided.

“To conclude: I do much desire you to use your best means therein for the choice of some person able and willing, and I

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do principally wish that he fashion his abode in the Northern parts, because, if I do but know *res gestas* there, I shall easily make use of the same. I will give him three or four score crowns beforehand for an *ajudo de costa*, and I will allow him 300 or 400 crowns a year, as you shall direct it,\* if you find parts in him answerable.

“Since the writing of this letter I have spoken with Wood, whose purpose to go into Munster is deferred. I have told him of your good respect towards him in writing to me of his victual only, and not to others. He still insisteth that either none is bad, or, if it be, that it is never uttered. He desires to have a note of the several natures, and yet pretends that it may be Apsley’s malice.

“I send you once again a draft of the Queen’s letter, by which an authority is given the Lord Deputy to pass pardons. I protest to you I cannot conceive what it is that otherwise should be done, except you would have a pardon here passed which should not come by the Lord Deputy, and then you know he would take it an infinite disgrace. Let me see by the next how you or that Council will have it carried; but in the meantime the Lord Deputy hath this warrant, and it seems to me that some few persons, deputed for all the rest of the poor, may repair to him.

“Her Majesty did read your letter to her Council, which they did commend as much as she.

“Because you may see how the Lord Deputy disposeth himself, I send you an abstract of a letter written to Mr. Treasurer (Sir G. Cary) from the Camp.†

“Lastly, Sir, if I did not know that you do measure me by your own heart towards me, which is likewise the rule of mine towards all others, it might be a doubtfulness in me that the mutinies of those whom I do love and will (howsoever they do me) might create in you some belief that I were ingrateful towards them. But, Sir, for the better man, the second wholly sways him, and to what passions he is subject who is subject to his lady I leave to your judgment and experience. Only this I pray you—retain faith and confidence for me, and when you and I speak, you shall see my studies have been and are to make you the companion of my life in honour and comfort. I mean, by God’s grace, in the winter to procure your return, but as if it were for a month to acquaint her Majesty with secrets, and indeed to deliver your opinion how we should replant all those things; for so is it necessary. It cannot be done before, and may not be talked of until the instant neither here nor there; but then will we settle your estate I doubt not, for things done for absent men come not so easily.”

*Signed.*

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\* From this point to the end the letter is in Cecil’s own hand.

† See 22 June 1601.



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P.S.—“This day hath inflamed their minds, for now Shrewsbury and Worcester are sworn Councillors and Sir John Stanhop Vice-Chamberlain, but the Presidentship will fall upon Souch.

“The Parliament will begin at Alholantide, and till then I think there will be no new creations. Credit me he shall never have my consent to be a Councillor without he surrender to you the Captainship of the Guard, to which we will easily add some matter of profit, that we may once live together some merry days. From Court, this St. Peter's Day.”

*Pp. 6. Addressed in Cecil's hand: Sr. G. C. Endorsed by Carew: From Mr. Secretary, about June 1601.*

July 5. 102. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 75.

“The 29th of the last, I received a letter from your Lordship and the Council now with you, and . . . the copy of a letter from your Lordship and the rest unto the Lords in England, of your intentions touching the prosecution this summer, and . . . a letter of your Lordship's own hand . . . that I should be careful forthwith to send 1,000 foot into Connaught and 50 horse unto your Lordship. . . I have chosen to obey your directions, although I fear that occasions will presently offer themselves rather to require far greater aids than any diminution; which is the assured coming of Spaniards daily expected in these parts, . . .

“The towns fit to be named for defence to prevent any sudden attempt, and meet with force to be held in obedience (of every of them I am doubtful in regard of their affections to the Spaniards and their religion), are more than the whole list which is for Munster can conveniently supply; for there must no less care be had of Waterforde, Yoghall, Kinsale, and the inland town of Kyllmallocke (which by these home rebels is much sought at) than of Corke and Lymericke, and how with 1,350 foot (. . . the remainder of my list, . . . for the Earl of Thomond's company, though paid in Munster, is evermore residing in Thomond) I shall be able to guard them all against that enemy your Lordship may easily judge. But since . . . it appears unto me that your Lordship's opinion is that Corke and Lymericke are specially to be strengthened, although I will not be negligent of the rest, yet I will precisely observe as your Lordship hath directed.

“The day after the receipt of your Lordship's letters I directed my warrants unto the several captains that are employed into Connaught presently to make their rendezvous at Lymericke, and am in good hope that by the day assigned . . . they shall be at Gallwey. . . The commandment of these troops I have committed to . . . Sir Francis Barkeley, whose long service in Ireland, and particularly in Connaught, enables him the better in this employment. . . I have precisely required him, that at such time as I shall send unto him, that

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he with the forces do immediately return hither, except your Lordship do expressly command him the contrary. This liberty . . . I purpose not to use but either upon some unexpected accident of revolt within the province or upon the arrival of Spaniards." I have also sent Sir Richard Greames's troop.

I purpose to detain Florence McCarty until out of England I shall be otherwise directed, "whose apprehension together with James McThomas (if the report thereof do come in any good time into Spain) I do hope will work a diversion of their intentions; for unto one of them or both I am sure they be directed."

Cork, 5 July 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

July 6.

103.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 68.

"Albeit I doubt not but by the way of Dublin you have been lately advertised of . . . intelligences . . . from Spain of the preparation intended there for the invasion of this kingdom, yet I may not . . . but in like manner . . . advertise. The third of this month, one Patrick Roche of Cork, merchant, arrived in this port, bringing with him from Bordeaux a letter from Richard Golborne of Dublin, merchant, directed to the Lord Chancellor of this realm, the copy whereof being sent by the said Golborne to Harold Kynesman, the paymaster here, I do send you herewith, humbly beseeching . . . present relief, if we be invaded, for I have not . . . more than 1,300 foot and 200 horse in list; the rest (being 1,000 foot and 50 horse) are by the Lord Deputy's express commandment sent into Connaught to divert the rebels of that province from giving of aid to O'Donnell against Sir Henry Dockwray in his attempt upon Balyshanon, which (as his Lordship writes unto me) is already made known unto your Lordships.

"The places which the Lord Deputy doth most suspect to be attempted are the cities of Cork and Lymericke, in which opinion I do likewise concur, and therefore have drawn (the particular wards in castles excepted, which may not be left unguarded) all the force now remaining into these two towns, meaning with God's assistance to make good those two places until I be relieved either by the Lord Deputy or out of England. In the mean time I look for . . . a general revolt throughout the province. Wherefore the country must for the present run at large, of whose future obedience I had good hope, and thereof do yet make no doubt (except upon the invasion aforesaid), which in all my letters to your Lordships I have cautioned.

"By Golborne's letter it appears that Cork is the first place they mean to attempt, the which is very probable, because Lymericke is so far within the land, as they have no reason to engage their shipping so high in the river, and Cork (by reason of the hills, which within a butt length on

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either side doth overlook it) is in nature exceeding weak, and the people thereof no less affectioned to the Spaniards than the rest of the cities in this kingdom. Notwithstanding . . . I purpose, . . . if the province do wholly revolt, to put myself into it, and to yield your Lordships a good account of the same; otherwise I shall be more able to do service abroad by giving relief and helps to [the] commander thereof, for which I have made choice of Sir Charles Willmot, whose valour, discretion, faith, and sufficiency doth equal (if not exceed) any other colonel in Munster; nevertheless humbly beseeching you (as the Lord Deputy hath formerly written) . . . to send into the province, as soon as you shall hear the enemy is arrived, the 6,000 foot he wrote for, . . . and with them, or speedily after them, some supplies of munition and victuals, for in this town the store will be answerable but for the garrisons as now they are, there being of munition not above three lasts of powder with lead and match; The five lasts of powder which were sent by Captain Gawen Harvy is before this late intelligence gone to Lymerick, in which there was no munition remaining, and where for the service as well of Connaught as Munster it is most fitly placed; whereof, if in the town we be besieged, we expect no supply neither by sea or land."

Cork, 6 July 1601.

*P.S.*—"It were very expedient . . . that part of her Majesty's fleet were sent to the coast as well to distress the enemy's fleet as to keep their army on land from relief and succour."

"Sent by Walter Willson."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July 6. 104. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 624, p. 79.

"Before the coming of your late letter unto me I had sent abroad the proclamations for the new money, and caused them to be published in the several cities, towns, and many villages of this province, and besides gave of them unto the noblemen and many of the chief gentlemen. . . . I have not heard that it is now refused of any, though yet I find not that any seek after it to the exchange, but I doubt not when the time is expired in the proclamation (the interim thereof having inured them with use) it will have a very current passage amongst them." The 10,000*l.* directed to Gallwaye I have sent by land to Lymericke, "guarded and conveyed with 250 foot and 75 horse, which I make no question will free it thither from any danger." From thence Sir Francis Barkley shall convey it with the 1,000 foot to Gallway.

"These companies are gone victualled for four days to carry them from Lymericke to Gallwaye, besides . . . a fortnight's lendings; . . . so as, though not able suddenly to send from hence the proportion of victual you required to Athlone, by

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reason as well of the want of boats as that the store of Munster will not bear it, they are provided for until further order may be taken for them. But I do beseech you to consider that lately, by the Lord Deputy's warrant, was taken thence to Athlone one month's provision for 1,000 men, and that in regard the proportion cometh forth of England . . . only to serve for the list of Munster, I did hold it to be very much to spare, though . . . I would not contest against it. Or were the proportions sent forth of England to these several magazines so equally sorted as that victual of one kind would extend to answer expense of another I could more conveniently satisfy your Lordships' pleasures; . . . for where at Lymericke there should remain the greatest store, . . . I am enforced to send some kinds of victuals thither forth of other places to expend the bread withal." Besides, if any invasion happen from Spain, Lymericke "must most specially be strengthened both with men and victuals." Yet "that my obedience to observe your directions may appear I will see your demand from thence satisfied, if you will . . . direct Sir John Barkely to send boats from Athlone to Kyllalowe for it, . . . because at Lymericke no boats are to be had."

I have taken order for collecting the beeves, "but, by reason of the poverty of this country, as formerly I have made known unto you, the officers find some difficulty to perform it. Notwithstanding they shall be sent away with the best expedition;" I cannot yet assure you the day. "According to Mr. Treasurer's direction to have some of these new moneys sent to Waterford to maintain the exchange there, I have already taken order for the sending and conveying safe under the charge of Richard Archdeacon, paymaster of Leinster, . . . 5,000*l.*, which goeth hence tomorrow morning."

Cork, 6 July 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

*In the margin at the foot:* "Another letter of this same was sent to the Lord Deputy, die supradicto."

July 6. 105. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 81.

"In this I thought good to discover unto you the discontented estate of the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, which begins to break out into new rebellions. For of late one called Keddagh O'Magher, in my Lord of Ormond's liberty of Tipperary, hath gathered 300 rogues together and doth many outrages. In Osserie, the Baron of Upper Osserie's nephews are entered into rebellion. In the county of Kilkenny the third son of the Viscount Mountgarret and some of the Graces ransack that country and do join with Keddaghe O'Magher; and lastly 200 men which were under the leading of Thomas Butler, a bastard son to Sir Edmond Butler, are also drawing into Tipperary to assist Keddagh O'Magher. The suppression of whom being timely taken is easily effected; for the doing whereof (because this upstart rebel is within my Lord of

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Ormond's liberty, who by his goodwill did never like to have her Majesty's forces to intermeddle within his liberty) I have written to his Lordship either to undertake the service (towards the which I will afford him all the helps I may), or else to leave it unto me, and I will undertake it, not doubting but to clear that place. I daily expect his Lordship's answer, upon the receipt whereof no time shall be lost.

"The poison of rebellion rests nowhere in Munster but in my Lord of Ormond's country. And, to deal plainly with your Lordship, as long as he liveth I look for no good establishment in those borders; for they take the advantage of his disability, and do factiously combine in expectation that long he cannot live; upon whose departure all those parts will break into actual rebellion, and in the mean time no thorough quietness is to be hoped for. From those which are there residing and affect the English government I receive daily complaints and exceeding fears of great troubles shortly to ensue, which I know not how to remedy; for, albeit his Lordship may have a good meaning, and whereof I make no doubt, yet his council about him (which are not the best affected to the government) will evermore abuse him, and, under his authority, will give impediments to all good proceedings. . .

"The expectation of Spaniards doth somewhat lift up the spirits of the Irishry; but having . . . James McThomas and Florence McCartie doth almost assure me that no great defection will follow, although I am confident that few or none will serve against them. I . . . thank your Lordship for your timely sending into England for supplies to be sent hither if any such occasion should happen, as also for the large relations you made me for this summer service, in which I do wish you . . . success; . . . and if this war be not ended by your travails, wherein you have been more industrious than any of your predecessors in government, I do not look to see the same determined in haste.

"The undertaking of Sir Henry Docwra is worthy of commendation, and I pray to God it may prevail, but, to my understanding, if your Lordship's plot through Connaught had been put in execution, it had been the more probable way. But if it be done by him, so as it be done, I have my desire. For I long to see this service of Ireland at an end, that, as I came into this cursed kingdom with you, I may attend you at your return, for the living God is my witness, I hate my destiny that holds me here."

Cork, 6 July, 1601.

P.S.—"My Lord Chancellor hath received advertisement out of France, from a brother of Harold Kynesman's, of the present coming of Spaniards into Ireland. I am afraid that your Lordship will wish the Connaught forces again in Munster, and do verily believe that you will be suddenly called from the north to the south. I stayed your messenger until the business of Connaught was despatched."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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106. SECRETARY HERBERT to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 418.

“When I was but a private man . . . as then I loved Sir George, and inwardly affected him, as then I received many courtesies at his hands, and as then I respected him and thought him a worthy patron for noble minds to imitate and follow; now that her Majesty . . . hath called me to this place I now enjoy, and by means thereof have by daily experience further trial of his wise and politic projects, . . . to the infinite contentment of her Majesty, . . . if I did not love, honour, and affect him, I should wrong the gentleman who hath ever well deserved of me. . . . That respect generally is held of your propositions in the affairs of Munster, as they are received as principles not to be argued against, and as oracles not to be doubted of the good success of them. . . . And for your better assurance that her Majesty meaneth with princely respect to countenance her actions at home and abroad, in her secret wisdom, when many least expected it, she hath called the Earls of Shrewsbury and Worcester to be members of her Council, and Sir John Stanhope to be Vice-Chamberlain and Councillor; and I doubt not but at the end of the wars of Ireland other[s] may be graced with the like favour.

“The ordinary occurrences out of Germany I have sent you here inclosed. Out of Swethen they write they expect a bloody war between Duke Charles and the King of Poland, both for the recovery of the kingdom of Swetheland and of the country of Lyvony. Such is the fatal destiny of this age of ours. Count Morice besiegeth Berghes upon the Rhyne, where upon sallies made there have been sundry hot skirmishes, yet at length Count Morice hath possessed the island, and hopeth very speedily to obtain the town. The Archduke, to divert him thence, hath environed Ostend, and at this instant is reported to have made so nigh approaches as he battereth the town. Sir F. Vere is affirmed to be in the town with 3,000 soldiers, but that force of many is not thought sufficient without either we send present forces, or that the Count come speedily with his whole army to raise the siege.”

6 July 1601.

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received the last of July.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 61.

2. Copy.

July 7.

107. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 83.

Yesterday I sent a messenger with three letters to you. Although “this hot rumour of the coming of Spaniards out of hand” might with good reason have induced me to have kept the 1,000 foot, yet have I sent them to Gallwaye, “but do humbly beseech you to consider that the Boyle is a place from hence very remote, where our forces being can give us no ready assistance to the necessity of Munster,” and there-

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fore "Gallwaye were a fit place for them to remain at until we see . . . the event of these rumours."

"If Munster be invaded by the Spaniards with the numbers that is reported (if the intelligence be true) it is not the assistance of those 1,000 men joined with the rest now here that will sufficiently enable me against them, but that I must . . . expect from your Lordship a further supply of aid; and to that end do humbly beseech you to take present order with the Earl of Ormond that he be ready prepared with such force as your Lordship hath left in Leinster or near unto him to come unto our succour, when he shall receive advertisement from me of their arrival; as also the like order . . . to be sent into Connaught; . . . for in this case I hold it meet, and her Majesty's honour more maintained, that a good resistance be made against the attempts of the Spaniards than that these home countries be so wholly looked unto, as the forces should be directed only to the service thereof."

Cork, 7 July 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July 9. **108.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW, President, and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER.

Vol. 615, p. 254.

"We have been moved by a petition of Harbert Pelham, esquire, . . . to write unto you in his behalf for certain leases that he pretendeth to be due unto him upon bargain betwixt him and Florence McCartie heretofore, when the said Florence was here in England, for the which leases the said Harbert Pelham affirmeth that he paid great sums of money at the time of the bargain; namely, a lease of the castle called Barracarbere, with other appurtenances, and with twelve ploughlands, and one other lease of Castlelough, with nine ploughlands and other appurtenances." Take order that the question be duly examined, and "howsoever the question standeth betwixt them, that her Majesty's right may be preserved without any other demise or disposing of the land to her prejudice therein."

Greenwich, 9 July 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; Gilb. Shrewsbury; E. Worcester; W. Knollys; Ro. Cecyll; J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 63.

2. Copy.

July 11. **109.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 250.

Your recommendation of this gentleman Daniel O'Bryen, brother to the Earl of Thomonde, has procured him so much favour at her Majesty's hands that she has granted him the lands of one Teige Geughe McMahan, a notorious rebel. Let

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him have some charge and employment in her Majesty's service.

Greenwich, 11 July 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Notingham; Gilb. Shrewsbury; E. Worcester; G. Hunsdon; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cceyll; J. Fortescu; J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 3 Augusti 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 64.

2. Copy.

July 11. **110.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 388.

Yours of the 6th we have received. We are right glad that you have not heard of any that refused to accept of the new moneys. "Take order that it may so continue, and that no other money may be suffered to pass there now that the 10th of July is past." You write "that you have sent away the 1,000 men appointed for the service of Boyle, and that on the sudden you could not send to Athlone for them the proportion of victuals appointed by our former letters, aswell by reason of the want of boats as that the store in Munster would not bear it." We are contented that you only send victuals to serve them for a fortnight; for the transporting of which to Athlone we have appointed Sir John Barkelye to send boats to Killaloe. We have signified to the Lord Deputy that you gave order for sending away of the 600 beoves according to our former letters; and therefore we pray that they may be sent to Dondalke with all speed; "for without them the army cannot choose but be very much hindered, such is the smallness of the store of beoves they have to furnish them."

Dublin, 11 July 1601.

*Signed:* Ad. Dublin., C.; George Cary; Ro. Gardener; Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

July 12. **111.** An INDULGENCE granted by POPE CLEMENT VIII.

Vol. 621, p. 77.

To all the faithful in Christ of both sexes, who, having truly repented and confessed and partaken of the Holy Communion, shall devoutly resort to the parish church of St. Gobeneta, at Ballyvourney (in Muserye), in the diocese of Cloyne, on that saint's day [11th February] from sunrise to sunset, and there offer pious prayers to God for the concord of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresies, and the exaltation of holy mother Church, we remit, in the usual formulary of the Church, ten years and as many forties of the penances imposed on or in any other way whatsoever incurred by them. These presents to be in force for ten years only. But if besides we have granted to the faithful in Christ resorting to the said church any other indulgence in perpetuity or for a fixed time not yet



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expired, these presents are to be void. Given at Rome, at St. Mark's, under the seal of the Fisherman, 12 July 1601, in the 10th year of our pontificate.

“M. Verticus Barbianus.”

*Copy. Latin. P. 1. Note in Carew's hand:* “The original is in the custody of the Lord Carew.”

July 14. 112. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 248.

Upon a view of the accounts of Sir Henry Wallop, deceased, late Treasurer at Wars, there appeared “a strange charge imposed upon her Majesty . . . by two concordatums signed by Sir William FitzWilliams and Sir William Russell . . . and the Council . . . for utensils and furniture of house, viz., tapestry, linen, pewter, bedding, and sundry other things, allowed to Sir John Norreys, kt., late Lord President of Munster, and Sir Thomas Norreys, Vice-President in his absence. . . . We cannot but greatly mislike that her Majesty should be so charged.” Examine what is become of them, and if the same be still remaining within that province, cause inventories thereof to be made and sent to us. If they be taken away, learn by whom, and what parcels have been taken, and where the same be remaining, to the end the best course may be taken for “preserving and bringing them to her Majesty's possession, to whom of right they do belong.”

Greenwich, 14 July 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 67.

July 14. 113. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 322.

“The 12th hereof I received three of yours, the one being of the 5th of July, the other two of the 6th, and the 13th I received your last of the 7th. By them all I do perceive you have sent away the 1,000 foot I required for the service in Connaught and Sir Richard Greames' troop of horse to the army with me here; in both which you have answered the expectation I had of your readiness to advance the public, though with some prejudice to your particular charge, as you might reasonably gather by the advertisements you have of the Spaniards' purpose to come for those parts. But in this I pray your Lordship be assured, if any such thing do happen, as I confess you have cause to doubt, and be provided for the worst as well as you may, you shall find not only the forces near my Lord of Ormond, but myself and all the forces I can make will be ready to assist and strengthen you to the uttermost of our abilities, and that as readily as you can wish; so thankfully do I take your careful despatch of this business, besides the band I acknowledge myself tied by to provide indifferently for each part as occasion serveth.

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“And thus much let me further tell your Lordship, if I had not found an apparent necessity to lay those Munster forces at the Boyle or thereabout, to divert O'Donnell and O'Royrk from joining with Tyrone against us, who I know shall be taxed very deeply, if we do not make the war here this summer, but should lose a year more in expectation of the Spaniards, to the intolerable continuance of the Queen's charge, which you know well how exceeding weary of her Majesty is already, I would by no means have drawn them away from you, till of yourself you would have spared them. And therefore, all things duly considered, I hold it absolutely the best course to be doing as we may upon the rebels without losing more time, seeing the rest of the forces left you will be sufficient I think to keep the towns, and more we will not expect from you till a much greater force be drawn up to you.

“I am glad to find by your letters that the new money hath so current passage, and that the country is not therewithal discontented. In all the parts where I have been since the publishing of the proclamation it is received as willingly as the sterling was, and to the martial men I perceive it is indifferent. You did well to send victuals with the companies to Gallway, and lendings to provide them other necessaries; and seeing you can send more victuals from Limerick into Connaught, I will write to Sir John Barkeley to cause boats to go thither for it. The beoves I see you are careful to send us speedily, and the need we shall have will make them welcome whensoever they come, though the sooner the better.

“I understand the distemper of Tipperary and Kilkenny both by your and my Lord of Ormond's letters, and I find my Lord of Ormond is resolved in person to quiet those two countries and prosecute the rebels thereabout, for so much he hath undertaken to me lately, though I can willingly enough subscribe to your opinion touching the matter. If the lying of your Munster forces at Gallway, which by your last letter you desire, would serve our turn as well as at the Boyle, I would most readily yield thereto; but being fallen with the army, as before I purposed, to this place called the Blackwater,—where this night we have won our passage and beaten the rebels out of their trenches and strengths, which they had made all along the river upon every ford, so guardable as we could not have believed unless we had seen the same ourselves,—it now behoveth that we plant here and enter into Tyrone to spoil that country, as I hope we shall do very speedily, and meet Sir Henry Dockwra about Dungannon, if that garrison appointed at the Boyle do their part to divert O'Donnell and O'Royrk; and therefore your Lordship may see by what necessity I am occasion[ed] to hold on the former plot.”

Camp at Blackwater, 14 July 1601. *Signed.*

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*Postscript, in Mountjoy's own hand* :—" Pardon me that I do not . . . write . . . with my own hand, being withdrawn with infinite occasions, and especially with a despatch which I must needs make from hence into England. . . Rest most assured of my truest affection, and of an exceeding desire I have to speak with you myself, which I will labour to compass as soon as our [employments?] will give us leave.—Mountjoye."

*Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed.*

July 18. 114. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 235.

"Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by our loving friend Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, Robert Bathurst, and Veronio Martens, merchant stranger, that they the said Sir Walter Raleigh, Veronio Martens, and Edward Dodge, esquire, deceased, (who made the aforesaid Robert Bathurst his executor,) having for ten years entered into copartnership with Henry Pine, gentleman, now resident at Mogelie Castle in the province of Mounster, for the working and making of pipestaves and other cask-boards in divers woods in the realm of Ireland, and for the merchandising and transporting of the same to the common benefit of all the said partners. And likewise that they having been heretofore possessed of the said castle of Mogelie and of divers lands, tenements, and woods thereunto adjoining, whereunto (as they allege) they have lawful interest for many years yet to come.

"The said Henry Pine, contrary to the covenants of copartnership agreed upon between them, having not only raised great sums of money of the said works and lands, and gotten into his hands other sums of great value taken up by the said partners and by Mr. Dodge in his lifetime for the use of those works, amounting to the sum of 4,000*l.* or more, but also holding the possession of the castle aforesaid, with the appurtenances, doth convert the benefit of all the said works and lands to his own particular use, and doth utterly neglect and refuse to account with his copartners for any of the profits or sums of money made or received as aforesaid; whereby the said partners do sustain such prejudice as that Sir Walter Raleigh is like to be without recompence for his woods felled and consumed, Robert Bathurst, without remedy for the sum of 1,100*l.* and upwards, which he hath disbursed for satisfaction of moneys taken up upon Mr. Dodge his bonds, and employed about the same works, and Veronio Martens is (by this occasion) brought to such distress as he is in some sort restrained of his liberty.

"We . . . therefore . . . require your Lordship to give present order and direction that stay may be made of all the said works and transportations of the said pipestaves by Henry Pine or his assigns, and that he may be prohibited to proceed any farther therein. And in case he hath shipped any pipestaves in the rivers of Youghale, Shilligh, or any other ports or creeks of that realm, that they may be unladen

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again, and sequestered into the hands of some meet persons, until the right of the said partners may be farther considered; and also that the said Pyne may be forthwith sent over unto us, to the end he may account with the said partners and . . . further order may be taken with him."

Court at Greenwich, 18 July 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; E. Worcester; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cceyll; J. Fortescu; J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received the 6th of Sept.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 68.

July 20. **115.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 246.

Although we mean to write at large to you by another despatch, we advertise you by this of the receipt of your two by Wilson and by Hammon, "because you may receive some light and comfort of her Majesty's purposes. First, concerning the advertisements of a Spanish army to come from Lisbone for the succour of Ireland, we will not contradict the same, because they are not only by the intelligences brought to the Lord Deputy delivered, but even by particular advertisements brought to some of us so confirmed as that it may well be that some five or six thousand men are in readiness there to be embarked whensoever the King shall please for Ireland.

"Wherein for our parts, because we do conceive that such an attempt will greatly disorder the precedent course, which hath brought things so near to the period of good success, we have moved her Majesty . . . to put in readiness six thousand men to be transported so soon as she shall be advertised of the enemy's descent. Of which number she is pleased that two thousand shall presently be sent to Brystoll, Chester, and Barstable, from thence to pass over with the first wind, thereby to enable you the better to contain the provincials, who will be apt enough to swerve from her Majesty's party if they find it weak, as also to make such head to the enemy as you shall . . . hold to be most convenient for the good of the kingdom.

"Wherein, although we have no meaning to direct you otherwise than according to such circumstances as the occasions there shall lead you, yet, because we perceive in one of your letters that (in the sense of your own reputation) you make account to put the best of her Majesty's forces into such towns as he shall first besiege,—although by your own description, especially of Corcke itself, where you pretend to expect them, you conclude, and so do all men of war, that a force of Spaniards of any reasonable proportion cannot be kept from gaining that place,—yet we have thought fit to say this to you in this general rule, that in case you shall see any such forces arrive as (applying themselves to places of weak defence) must needs in your judgment carry them, that nothing can be

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more pernicious to her Majesty's cause than if you should in any place venture those small forces you have where they with her Majesty's provisions are sure to be lost, howsoever you may peradventure think to dis[si]pate it for some few days.

"For in this action we do consider what may be the enemy's counsel. Wherein for our own parts, except upon the arrival it shall appear otherwise to you, we cannot persuade ourselves that he will arrive there with any so great numbers as shall enable him after his landing to march presently into the country, although we doubt not but they are sufficiently assured to make good their first descent, either by their own forces or by others' help, whereof we do assure ourselves they are sufficiently assured by some practice aforehand.

"As concerning your desire to have some men left for those captains that are in Munster without entertainment, we resolved (according to your request) to leave six hundred without captains, to the intent that you may bestow them there as you shall see cause, although we presume that you think her Majesty is not disposed (if the Spaniards come not) to be at this charge.

"We have also appointed the victualler with all speed to transport a proportion of victuals, wherein, because you give us some hope to be able, with lendings, to provide yourself, we do the rather hazard the sending of these men, although, for all we can do, the soonest that they can be at the port will be the 9th of August. We mean to direct them to Corcke, except we shall hear from you between this and then; wherein we doubt not (seeing it is uncertain to us whether any foreign army may be arrived before their coming) but you will take such care as, upon any such descent, those troops which shall be directed thither may be directed to some other place of descent."

Greenwich, 20 July 1601.

*Signed:* Nottingham; E. Worcester; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cecyll; J. Herbert.

*Pp.* 2. *Addressed.* *Endorsed:* Received at Shandon, 2 Augusti 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 65.

2. Copy.

July 20. 116. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 86.

"What you have heard of the matter whereof the Lord Thomas [Buckhurst?] wrote is most true, and yet my patience is so invincible as it is not to be broken, for, though I hear, yet I do not take notice; but we are all as sociable as ever. Only this I tell you, truly, that I am resolved what they would be, if they were that they would be. But satisfy yourself that no flesh nor blood shall bear more than I will do, rather than to make ourselves *fabula vulgi*.

"Our general despatch answers for the present as much as we can write, and, though I know you can teach them lessons

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that would teach you, yet even your nearest, that was my dearest, much condemned your resolution to fortify Cork, seeing it must be lost; rather expecting that you would spoil all means\* which you cannot keep, and rather raze fortifications when you must leave them; amongst the which Shendon Castle and such like are spoken of. Methinks it were very good the fort of Doncannon had a good ward and were well looked unto, for in my opinion Waterford will be the place, lying upon the confines of Leinster, having two such rivers and a town so affected. I do wish you certainly to make sure of Darby McOwens and Cormock McDermod and Florence his brother. Those being had, certainly few others are to be doubted, especially seeing Florence and McThomas are taken when we expect.

"To conclude, Sir; if Spaniards come, we will do our best to assist you; if not, these 2,000 will enable you further: and therein this is all I say, that many here can be content to say that you have, with infinite wisdom and industry, appeased things, but that if you had with the sword followed it, all those that now live with minds hollow had been starved and died, and so the province secured. I protest, if I were as you, when my 2,000 were come, I would speak big, and make things so sure as at winter I may be confident to plead for your return, though with a purpose not to abandon the charge, for we will hold that till we see you satisfied; and then, George, know that my heart knows no man living dearer than is Sir G. Caro to

"Your affectionate and ass. fr.,—Ro. Cecyll.

"We have no more Councillors made but Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Stanhop.

"Think whether we be not active, that send 3,000 to Ostend and 2,000 to you. The Archd[uke] will be fain to rise with scorn, for Beare is in Ostend with 5,000 English [and] 300 Dutch.

"I burn all your particular letters."

*Holograph. Pp. 3.*

*Endorsed:* "July 1601; from Sir Robert Cecyll; received the 3rd of August."

*Also endorsed by Carew:* "The packet in the which this letter came was dated the 20th July 1601."

July 25. 117. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 329.

"I would not willingly deny you anything in my power to bestow, if I knew it were for yourself or any that is dear unto you; but when you move for others to whom I cannot conceive you to be tied in such a nearness, as now for the wardship of Barrett's daughter to one John Green, a man to

\* This word has been substituted for "*victual*."

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me merely unknown, I assure myself you will not think it strange that I should rather bestow the same upon some of mine own servants, or such as follow me here."

Camp at Blackwater, 25 July 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 84.

2. Copy.

July 27. **118.** The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

In behalf of Captain Panton.

Greenwich, 27 July 1601. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed* : Received 2 October 1601.

Vol. 615, p. 416.

July 28. **119.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"I hope we shall not be much troubled from Spain this year, and I think not at all. If they should come, I did ever determine not to be long from you with the uttermost power I could make; and if you had all your force, we could look for no more but to defend yourself till we come, which I hope you shall be now able to do; which made me, out of my desire to have all the Queen's forces active, draw so many from you. If all the parties I have divided the army into do but follow my directions, or for their proportions bestir themselves as well as, God willing, I mean to do, we shall make the war this summer to great purpose; but, howsoever they fail, believe me, my Lord, if we had not come into these parts and spoiled the infinite store of corn we find here, Tyrone would have gone near to have been as strong as ever he was; for he might have maintained more men than ever I knew him keep. But I hope we shall take order for his bread, and his cows live all this summer in the woods, and then you may guess what will become of them in the winter. They are already driven to feed upon the corn they have in their fastness with their cattle.

"Sir Henry Dockwray doth a little fail me, by a mischance, as he pretends, having no match left; but if God bless me, as I hope he will, I will strike home on my side. I do continue an exceeding desire to speak with you, though our occasions have still kept us asunder. I hope we shall find some opportunity about Michaelmas. No man can be more beholding to any man than I am to the Secretary. I am glad of it, I protest, more for the root which I reckon his love than the fruits which it may bear to my fortune. The farewell that my old friends gave me must needs make his love more welcome unto me, and yet is it no small satisfaction to my own conscience that I was so truly obstinate in my old friendship to the last, for now their unworthiness and my error will not suffer me to call it constant. Believe me, my Lord, I am and ever will be honest."

Camp near Blacwater, 28 July 1601.

*Holograph.* P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

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July 28. **120.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 384.
- “Upon the general complaint of the country to the Lord Deputy and Council . . . touching the excessive fees taken in all courts and offices, as likewise for the great allowances taken for pardons, for pleading of them, and taking of sureties, it pleased his Lordship to make a commission to me the Lord Chancellor and us of the Council for moderating of the said fees; wherein we have proceeded saving for that province, which we . . . leave to your Lordship. . . . The bearer, Mr. Apsley, doth find himself grieved in that the justices there do intrude upon his office in taking of recognizances and receiving of other fees properly belonging to his office.” We pray you “to right him therein, and to take order that he may have such reasonable fees and despatches as . . . his predecessors heretofore received either for pleading of pardons or the taking of recognizances, for we hold them to be properly belonging to his place. . . . Here sometimes the justices, when any man of ability do plead to the indictment depending before them, have some small fee, which they seldom take, and that doth no way lessen or diminish the clerk of the Crown’s fee. And touching the taking of recognizances at sessions or in sessions’ time or otherwise, we hold them to belong properly to the clerk of the Crown, and so it hath been always used here. . . . Touching the excessive fees and great allowances for pardons, . . . taken contrary to ancient custom, . . . moderate the same, . . . in sort as the subject shall not have just cause of complaint, as we have done here.”

Dublin, 28 July 1601.

*Signed:* Ad. Dublin., C. ; George Cary ; Geff. Fenton.

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 1st Sept.

Vol. 624, p. 94.

2. Copy.

- July 30. **121.** SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 414.
- “Noble President. Excuse me that I have been so long silent, for my business hath been extraordinary, and now is so burdensome as I have scarce time to turn me on either side without some troublesome matter belonging to her Majesty’s service in these matters of the Chamber, wherein I am placed a novice for experience, though old enough for years and continuance in Court. And now my Lord Chamberlain’s absence through weakness leaves that burden on me that I am fain to sink under. Yet is not that all, for envy hath so revelled as all the wit it had to shadow itself withal could not go so masked as not to discover itself in very base and gross manner. But let that go, and all the rest, if it please God you be not endangered with the landing of Spaniards in Ireland, but may safely arrive here this winter, and have the good hap to find her Majesty in good health, as, thanks be to God, there is no likelihood of the contrary. And if worthy Mr. Secretary be protected by God’s goodness and her Majesty’s favorable hand in the wise course he holds for her Majesty’s service, I



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doubt not then but we shall pass over this winter with some good contentment. For, believe me, Sir George, I assure myself you shall be the best welcome gentleman that could come from any part to your best friends; and, for myself, cousin, I pray you believe that what interest you had afore in me is redoubled both with the honorable carriage of yourself in your government, and with the constant course you have held with your friends in these times of most danger."

Greenwich, 30 July.

P.S.—“Let Mr. Secretary’s letters and this gentleman, who is honest, as I think, or can guess of so small acquaintance, inform you of the news such as be current here, I pray you, for I have no good means to trouble you with them.”

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: 30 July 1601. Received 6 Sept.*

July 31. 122. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 241.

Because the Lord President of Munster and the Earl of Thomonde “are persons of extraordinary condition, and of so good service as deserveth especial favour, her Majesty is well pleased that their companies shall be . . . advanced again to the former number of 200 each of them . . . ; and forasmuch as at this time her Majesty hath been pleased to send over . . . 2,000 men into . . . Munster, whereof 1,400 are distributed and assigned unto several captains,” we pray you to give order that 50 men may be added to each, to be chosen by the Lord President and the Earl out of the remaining 600.

Greenwich, the last of July 1601.

“Signed by the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Cecyll, Sir John Fortescu, Mr. Secretary Herbert.”

“Ex. per Th. Smith.”

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.*

July 31. 123. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 244.

The bearer, “Morice Hurley, a man well recommended unto us by your Lordship, hath preferred a petition unto us declaring that, being seized of certain lands (named in the petition herein enclosed) which were time out of mind ancient free-lands, and so always reputed and taken until of late years by means of some of the freeholders of the country, in ease of themselves and their tenants,” some part of them were “unjustly charged by divers exactions and country impositions;” and praying for “confirmation of the said freedom by her Majesty’s letters patents.” Also that “he may have direction from us to the Lord Deputy of Ireland that a market once a week and a fair twice a year may be erected and granted to be holden at Knocklongy, parcel of the lands aforesaid.” And lastly, “in respect your Lordship knoweth (as he saith) what envious and most hateful

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desire both the Irish and all the traitors and rebels of Munster do bear him for his good affection and dutiful disposition towards her Majesty's service in the said province; and considering that . . . he hath been at such great charge in warding of the said castle of Knocklongy during the last rebellion in Munster as his small ability cannot longer maintain and bear, that he may therefore have our direction unto your Lordship . . . to allow him . . . some reasonable number in pay for the better warding and securing thereof."

We pray you "examine if the aforesaid lands were of ancient freedom, . . . and whether also you think the granting of the said market and fair convenient and for the good of the country, or prejudicial to other markets, if any be thereunto adjoining, and . . . certify the Lord Deputy that he may take order accordingly." The consideration of the allowance of men for warding his castle we refer to your Lordship.

Greenwich, the last of July 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 71.

2. Copy.

July 31. 124. LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 412.

This gentleman, Captain Hart, is now to repair into Munster. He has done good service, having been divers times of late sent over by Sir Henry Dockwray to the Privy Council. The kindness you shall shew him I will not be unmindful of.

Sackvile House, last of July 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 4th of Sept.*

July. 125. MUNSTER.

Vol. 615, p. 239.

"List of the 2,000 [men to be sent into Munster] with the captains and conductors of them."

Devon, 100, Capt. Yorke. Hants, 100, Capt. Northe. To embark at Barnstaple, 6th August.

Glouc., 100, Capt. Ousely. Northt., 100, Capt. Harte. Somerset, 100, Capt. Fisher. Warw. and Salop, 50 each Capt. Morris. Leicester and Carmarthen, 50 each, Capt. Lisle. Worcester and Hereford, 50 each, Capt. Skipwith. Wilts, 100, Capt. Kemishe. To embark at Bristoll, 9th August.

Denbigh, 30, Flint, 20, and out of the 300 of York, 50, Capt. Ravenscroft. Cheshire and out of York, 50 each, Capt. Yelverton. Notts and Derby, 50 each, Capt. Hansard. Out of York, 100, Capt. Greame. Lancashire, 100, Capt. Panton. To embark at Chester, 9th August. Total, 1,400.

The other 600 to be carried over by conductors. Dorset, 50, Cornwall, 25, Patrick Arthur. To embark at Barnstaple, 6th August.

Cardigan, 25, Pembroke, 40, Glamorgan, 50, Brecknock, 25, Radnor, 25, Monmouth, 30, Nicholas Browne. At Bristoll, 9th August.

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Stafford, 50, Huntingdon, 50, Rutland, 25, Carnarvon, 40, Henry Holcrofte. Out of York, 100, Montgomery, 40, Merioneth, 25, Richard Harman. At Chester, 9th August.

*P. 1. Endorsed: July 1601.*

Aug. 2. **126.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 242.

We send a list of the numbers of men and of the captains assigned to several companies. Out of the 600 undisposed her Majesty is pleased that your and the Earl of Thomonde's companies shall be first served with 50 each, as you may see by the copy of our letters to the Lord Deputy here inclosed. "Whereas the Earl of Thomonde doth desire to have his 50 out of the men of Cornwall and Dorsetshire, . . . we do not dislike it if it be to your liking; but this we do wholly refer unto your own judgment, and doubt not but you and he will well enough agree upon it. . . Her Majesty is likewise pleased that 100 more of that remainder shall be appointed for a charge and company to Captain Nuse. . . The 400 that will remain you may commit to such four captains in that province as you shall think best worthy of charge."

Greenwich, 2 August 1601.

*Signed: Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; Gilb. Shrewsbury; E. Worcester; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu; J. Herbert.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 4th of Sept.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 69.

2. Copy.

Aug. 2. **127.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 88.

"This gentleman, Mr. Skipwith, having long served in the wars, wherein his carriage hath been such as hath given good proof of his valour and experience, as is not unknown to yourself, . . . hath a disposition to adventure his fortunes under your command. I . . . recommend him unto you as well for his father's sake as his own."

From Court, at Greenwich, 2 August 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 6th of Sept.*

Aug. 2. **128.** The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 410.

I recommend "this bearer, Captain George Grymes, who hath been a long servitor in her Majesty's wars, and therein spent a good part of his blood, . . . that when occasion of cashiering of companies shall happen, he may still hold his, which will be some help to the poor gentleman's decayed estate."

From the Court at Greenwich, 2 August 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

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Aug. 6. **129.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 382.
- We have lately received letters from the Lords of the Council signifying the Queen's pleasure that nothing be taken of the subject by the soldier but only for ready money, as more at large by the enclosed proclamation may appear. Cause it to be published within that province and also duly performed.  
Dublin, 6 August 1601.  
*Signed:* George Cary; Ro. Gardener; Geff. Fenton.  
*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*
- Vol. 624, p. 86. **2.** Copy.
- Aug. 6. **130.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 620, p. 70.
- "Your letters of the 20th of July I have received, and do most humbly thank you . . . that you have been pleased to move her Majesty to send forthwith 2,000 foot for our present supply, whose coming I doubt not will work good effects as well in staying the giddy humours of this unsettled people, as give us means to defend any place worth the holding which the enemy shall attempt until further relief out of England or from the Lord Deputy shall enable us to keep the field.
- "The liberty which I receive by your Lordships' former allowance in delivering of my opinion . . . emboldens me . . . to lay before you what places, in my judgment, are . . . most necessary . . . (both in policy and honour) to be defended. To withstand their descent in any place where they pretend to land your Lordships in your wisdoms have already conceived to be impossible, and therefore all places are subject to it; but it is to be supposed that they will not attempt any place but such a one as may be most honorable for them and of greatest prejudice to her Majesty. Wherefore . . . I cannot conceive that they will resolve of any other descent than . . . Lymerick, Waterforde, or Corke, for the other towns are neither worth their labour to gain, nor her Majesty's charges to defend.
- "Lymerick is so far seated within the land as I hold them too wise to engage their fleet in that river, out of the which without an easterly wind (which at this time of the year in this country is very rare) they cannot return, and therefore unlikely that they will attempt it. Waterforde, though the seat of it may be commodious for them, by reason that so many inland shires are served from thence upon the navigable rivers that in that port do join and fall into the sea, which, being in their hands, will be a great bridle to the shires aforesaid, and in like manner the seat of that city in nature weak, and without many hands not to be defended, yet being so near neighbour unto England as it is, and so near unto relief from the State here, although I am not confident, yet do think that they will make choice of some other place that may be no less honorable unto them in gaining, and with more safety to

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themselves, and therefore do suppose . . . that this city of Corke . . . is the place most like they will attempt; and the rather because those of this province who are the greatest dealers to draw the Spaniards into Munster are nearer neighbours unto Corke than Waterford, and, as I am informed, Florence McCartye did advise their coming to Corke, as the meetest place unto which all the provincial rebels might best assemble. . . .

“The defence of this town, for the reasons aforesaid, I do most specially regard, and the rather because in the same her Majesty’s magazines of victuals, munition, and treasure is residing, the which, being in so great quantities as they are, cannot in so short a time be removed, as the coming of the Spaniards is expected, and afterwards impossible to be thought of, neither . . . meet, if it were possible, that they should be removed, . . . as being an apparent testimony of fear conceived of their coming, which would not only amaze the best affected subjects throughout the province, but give occasion unto the rest generally to revolt and make the other cities to stagger, and haply cause them to render before an enemy were near them; whereunto both out of affection to that nation and their own fears they will be easily induced. And therefore (albeit the town is weak, and cannot in any wise man’s judgment endure a long siege), yet, with the favour of God, I hope to defend it against an enemy of 6,000 until either out of England or by the Lord Deputy I be relieved; whereof I make the less doubt if the supplies of 2,000 do arrive before the Spaniards land, for weak places (in which many hands are placed) may for a time hold out a strong enemy, and . . . nothing can be more pernicious to her Majesty’s cause than the quitting of any one of her cities. . . . I call the living God to my witness that my heart is free from preferring my particular reputation before the good of the service, foreseeing sufficiently what a bitter task must be undergone to defend old walls (from a powerful enemy) for a corrupt subject, but that necessity, for the reasons before recited, specially enforceeth it.

“Florence McCartie and James FitzThomas being her Majesty’s prisoners, if it do not divert their descent into Munster, yet the want of two such chieftains (unto whom it is to be supposed they were addressed) will make them to deliberate after their landing before their march into the country; for, although the repair unto them is likely to be great, yet strangers will hold it unsafe to trust unknown men, which will give us advantage of them for our better defence. . . .

“I . . . pray . . . (because in Waterforde there are no companies remaining) of the 2,000 supplies . . . (if they be not before the coming of this at sea) that those which come from Chester may land there, and the rest at Corke; by which means all the three cities may be competently guarded until I may from the other cities send them relief. . . . The muni-

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tions and victuals . . . may be wholly directed to Waterforde, but not to unlade until they receive further direction from me, for as yet of them there is no magazines in that town. In the mean time (so as the same be not overlong protracted) I will undertake to victual these 2,000 supplies for their lendings.

"In my last unto Mr. Secretary Cecyll I did humbly entreat that your Lordships would . . . leave of the supplies coming some void rooms, that captains here, now out of entertainment, might be employed. . . . Your Lordships have favorably granted my suit. . . . I . . . beseech your Lordships . . . to expedite the despatch of the Earl of Thomond, . . . and also all others that are in her Majesty's pay and entertainment in this province to be directed forthwith to attend their charge.

"For the better assurance of the Munster gent[lemen] I have put their pledges in the best safety I may. Of the English race my hope is that no gentleman of quality will revolt, and of the Irish (who are more to be suspected) I have of late restrained three principal men, namely, Dermod McOwen Cartie, the pretended lord of Dowalla, Teige McDermod Carty, after the Irish custom of tanyst of Muskerry, and Moelmo O'Mahowne, the pretended lord of the country of Kymalneke, all of them to my knowledge dangerous persons and discontented with the State, in that they cannot possess those seignories which they aim at. More than these I think unmeet to be dealt withal, because their dispositions are better, and the restraining of them would breed a general discontentment. Dermod Moyle Carty, brother to Florence (whom likewise I would have restrained), finding his own guilt upon the detection of his brother, is fled this province, and (as I understand) is gone into Ulster, where he can do little harm; and when he returns I doubt not but to make him repent his relapse.

"The cause of my detaining thence this long of Florence McCartie and James FitzThomas is in respect that the ship employed hence under . . . Captain Gawen Harvy hath been this month at Lymericke unloading the munitions aboard her there, and since their disburdening windbound in the river; whom I purposed to employ for the wafting of them over. I do now hourly expect his return hither, and so soon as he cometh I will without protraction send them to your Lordships."

Cork, 6 August 1601.

"Sent by Christofer Birkhead to the Mayor of Bristoll, to go by the running post."

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

Aug. 9. 131. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 131.

"Though I am unwillingly moved (and have hitherto too much restrained myself) to become a suitor to your Lordships

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in the favour of any hence, yet for many good reasons which justly occasion me to give Edmond FitzGibbon, called the White Knight, my best furtherance to his content, I most humbly crave pardon to express to your Lordships his merits. For, as he was the first of any gentlemen of quality that after my coming to this province submitted himself to her Majesty's grace and mercy, and ever since hath demeaned and approved himself as a loyal and dutiful subject, and by his example many more were the rather induced to embrace the benefit thereof, so hath he from time to time furthered the service both by intelligences and other ways." For "his late service in apprehending of James FitzThomas . . . I cannot sufficiently declare his commendation, but in that point leave him to be censured by your Lordships. The gentleman hath much importuned me for licence to have repaired himself to your Lordships, but because I find great use of his personal attendance here, chiefly in this time when we . . . daily expect the . . . Spaniards, I have deferred him until I see further what will be the event of this bruit; and, being confident that he will continue in the loyal course he hath entertained, I . . . beseech your Lordships . . . to vouchsafe such favour and good allowances to his reasonable causes, as he may perceive his endeavours are regarded."

Cork, 9 August 1601.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 10. 132. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.  
Vol. 624, p. 87.

"The Lords of the Council . . . (seeming confident of the Spaniards' descent . . .) have written that by the next wind shall be sent hither . . . 2,000 men embarked at Brystoll, Barnestable, and Chester, and 4,000 more already appointed to be in a readiness at two ports, to be sent so soon as notice shall be received by them of the Spaniards' landing. . . . I have lately restrained three principal men, namely, Mc Donnoghe, Teige McCartie, Cormock McDermod's brother, and O'Mahoun, the pretending lord of the country of Kynnelmeke, all of them to my knowledge dangerous and discontented persons. Also Dermod Moyle McCartye, brother to Florence, I purposed to restrain, but he . . . fled . . . into Ulster, where he can do little harm, and at his return breed no great disturbance here. . . . Of late out of the Exchequer certain green wax books and other writs, to levy the Queen's debts and rents long since in arrearage, were brought into this province by a pursuivant, and delivered to the several sheriffs, the execution whereof . . . I do hold for this present to be very inconvenient, and contrary to all rule of policy to give disturbance to this people, yet scarcely settled, and exceeding poor, at this time when the Spaniards are expected. . . . In reviewing the writs which are sent, finding

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the arrear to be much upon sundry persons who are both dangerous to be dealt with and unable to satisfy it, I have given caution to the sheriffs to forbear these particular men until your further pleasures were signified."

Cork, 10 August 1601.

"Sent by my own messenger."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 12. **133.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 90.

"On Wednesday last certain pinnaces of her Majesty's met with a fleet of Spaniards to the number of 50 sail, whereof 17 are men of war, the rest are transporting ships, as by this note enclosed doth appear, which my intelligencer sent me at their going out. These ships cannot be but for Ireland, from which coast the storm kept them, unless it should be said that the King will land them in the Low Countries, which I will never believe he durst adventure, knowing how long we have expected them, and have 14 good ships out, which if you compare with the note enclosed of his, you shall find that we might be blamed to suffer his fleet to land so quietly, and our fleet in the tail of them. But (which is more certain) to confirm my opinion ever for Ireland, this proportion is fit for Ireland; there it may work mischief. And besides that, they which met them saw them set their course from the mouth of the Sleeve (where they were on Wednesday) just for Ireland; and, as I verily think, they will fall for Lymrick, for in Spain it was advertised me that their rendezvous was for the Blaskys, which you know is on that coast about the Dingle or the Ventrey. Lastly, if they had meant to have come hither, they would have been here ere this time, being on Wednesday at Sylley, and the wind having been south-west since fair. If therefore they be not in Ireland, they are certainly put roomer with Spain again; but that I dare not hope.

"Now, Sir, what my Lord Deputy and you should do there is not our part to tell you; only we desire you to propound unto us possible things, and then shall you have them. 2,000 we have sent already into Munster; at least, the want of wind only hinders them in the embarking ports. If we know once where they are landed, then must you also tell us where you will have us second you. For, if you look for our supplies to come to you in the West side of Munster or South parts, then can we put them by sea more properly a-land nearer the parts of action than to send them to Dublin or to Cork; but all this to you must be referred."

Court at Windsor, 12 August. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2 Addressed. Endorsed by Carew: 12th of Aug. 1601. Received the 4th of Sept. following.*



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## II. [NEWS] from LISBON, 1601, 25 July.

“Here at Lisbon there are stayed about 200 sail of ships, out of which number 45 only are selected for transportation of soldiers.

“The number of soldiers are 6,000, whereof 3,000 are here kept aboard the ships, lest they should run away. The other 3,000 are a-coming from Andalusia and those parts in a fleet of ships and galleys, under the conduct of the Adelantado’s son, unto Lisbonne.

“The ships which carry the soldiers are of the burthen of 100, 150, and not above 200 tons. The Spaniards do refuse greater ships of the East countries which are stayed at Lisbonn, and make choice of the smallest vessels for their purpose.

“Of these 45 sail of ships, 17 sail only are fitted for men-of-war, whereof 11 are but small ships, the other six are galleons, the St. Paul, the St. Peter, the St. Andrew, and three smaller galleons of the King’s whose names I have not.

“For the manning of these ships 1,500 sailors were sent hither out of Biscaye.

“The Marquis of Sta. Croce goeth admiral in the St. Paul; Sibiero, *alias* Seriago, vice-admiral in the St. Peter. They make account to be ready by the last of July, and ride with their yards across.

“The two ships of Dunkerke which have remained long at Lisbonn do make ready to come away with the fleet.

## III. [NEWS from the LOW COUNTRIES.]

“Though Count Maurice have taken Berck, yet he makes no haste to Flanders, nor doth anything else. Wherefore the Italian supplies that came to the Archduke wait upon him (being 8,000) at an inch. And the Archduke still besiegeth Ostende, where the English only are active; and had not Sir Francis Vere been in it, assure yourself it had been lost, where now I hope it will be held out, for the haven he cannot get, and we are 4,000 English, and Sir Francis doth still keep outworks without the town, which will cost the Archduke blows.

“This last day Sir Francis was hurt in the town with a cannon that brake by him, but he is well recovered. Thus do you see we have little quiet, and therefore we had need to pray for fair weather, and make much of our labourers, being too few in our harvest.”

*Pp.* 2.

Aug. 12. 134. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 94.

“My dear George,—Now will I omit all the petty particulars of many things, because the great storm which I presume is fallen upon Monster drowns all my petty cares, and wounds my soul for care of you, of whom I know not what to expect,

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but as of a lost child; for though I know you are not so mad as to run to the enemy's mouths with a dozen persons in comparison, yet I am desperately afraid that the provincials should betray you, even those I mean that must or will seem to be principally about you. We wonder we have not heard of Desmond and Florence. My letter enclosed contains the news. This doth only let you know that, if they be not landed, they will not this year. If they be, then do I hope God will bless you. For the rest, I live, and am well in health, but left to seek new friends, which is as much as to seek new fortunes. Only you I hoped for; of which now for a long time I despair."

P.S.—“I could wish, if the Lord Deputy once come to dwell in Monster, as I think he will do, and that he do but seek to lodge by them, as I think he must do, for any great haste they will make presently into the heart of the kingdom, that you could, without touch to your reputation, be sent over, but not at the first, to inform or advise with us by his direction of such things as are considerable, that we might once confer in this new world, though back I know you must go.”

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.*

*Endorsed:* In a packet dated 12 August 1601. Received 4 Sept.

Aug. 13. 135. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 604, p. 96.

“I wrote unto you in my last, dated yesterday, of a wish I had that 2049 [Carew] might, without touch to his reputation, be sent over by 2047 [Mountjoy]; for otherwise I would not have it dreamt on. Only this I think, when my Lord Deputy shall be there, and with an army, after once the month of October come, the enemy will lie quiet from any great marching; so as, although 2049 [you] I know would not come over till some time have been spent after the Sp[aniards'] descent, yet afterward, seeing a more principal commander is there in that province, it may stand very well that a principal councillor in that kingdom be employed to the Q[ueen.]

“Now, Sir, if you can think this suitable with the humour of 2049 [Carew], I can so contrive it as that 2047 [Mountjoy] shall do it of himself. For, to tell you true, I think he hath more confidence in 2030 [me] now than any living, concerning his particular fortune; and how far his unworthy friends have wounded him here, and what impression it hath taken, what is like to be his domestic fortune (for he hath *animum revertendi*), and in these things as he hath already desired to be clearly and nobly dealt with by 2030 [me] so will he [I] send him word, that of his trusts no minister can or shall be so confident an instrument as 2049 [you], who have ever laboured their [our] unity, to which I do confess 2030 [I] was ever inclined, and I believe, when you see him, you shall

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find how he will acknowledge his [my] true kindness, which he shall by you (and so he [I] will write to him) know even *usque ad atomum*.

“ Besides, the speech here of 2049 [yourself], and the trust the Q[ueen] hath in him [you], will be a satisfaction of his own proceedings, and may draw us on to do things most for the good of that kingdom, in which his honour is included. So as, to conclude, I know when 2030 [Cecil] hath written to him, he will be the gladdest man both for public respect and for his own private satisfaction in things which he shall know by 2049 [you] only from 2030 [me], to shape out such an employment for 2049 [you] as his [your] heart shall wish, so far as it shall be in his power. To whom 2030 [Cecil] hath laid down this position, that, where a great many idle fellows in Ireland, with whom he might hold correspondency, do value themselves as if he did study their good, that absolutely 2030 [Cecil] frees himself from all men in Ireland, but for being 2049 [Carew] his noble and worthy friend.

“ Now, Sir, if you will know for what 2030 [Cecil] desires 2049 [Carew] here for: first, he would see him; next, he would take opportunity to get him somewhat; lastly, he would communicate, confer, and advise how to regulate all affections and courses as may be best for her Majesty's service, and not altogether with neglect to themselves.”

From Court, at Windsor, 13 August, Thursday.

*Holograph. Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew: 13 August 1601. Received 4th September.*

Aug. 14. 136. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 74.

Since my last of the 6th, “ the Queen's ship (who had been at Lymeric . . . ) arrived in this port, whose long stay . . . hath been the occasion that . . . James FitzThomas and Florence were not sent unto your Lordships, for without a ship of consequence to waft them (the coast being haunted with pirates), in these small barques which do ordinarily trade between Bristol and this port, I durst not adventure to send them, but now do send them . . . by this bearer, Sir Anthony Cooke, of whose care, trust, and circumspection . . . I am well assured. . . His worth is . . . well known to your Lordships.” In my former I prayed that the next supply of victuals and munition be directed to Waterford. “ In the mean time, for the better defence of that place (wherein I know there will be great difficulty this harvest time for want of garrons for carriage), I have given direction for one last of powder, with lead and match proportionable, to be sent over land thither from Lymericke, where the magazine is strongest.”

“ Sir Francis Barkley (whom, by the Lord Deputy's direction, I have employed into Connaught with a regiment of 1,000 foot and 50 horse), from the abbey of Elphyn (where

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her Majesty's forces in that province do now remain), hath advertised me that about the second of this month there arrived at Killalla . . . two Spanish ships loaden [with] munition and treasure, which in my opinion is very unlikely, except the Spanish army at Lisbon for Ireland be dissolved. And also (which is more unlikely), he writeth that there are 14,000 embarked at Lisbon for Ireland, part whereof are to land in this province, and the rest in Connaught. This I relate unto your Lordship, as I received it, but find no reason to lead me to believe it. . . . A merchant of this town that came from Nantes in Britanny . . . affirms, out of the mouth of certain Frenchmen that came from Lisbon, that there is an army of 7,000 ready to be embarked for this province, which, being agreeable to all the former intelligences, I am more apt to believe than that which Sir Francis Barkeley sent, who had the same, as he says, from Tybbot ne Longe.

"To strengthen this town of Corke, I have been of late casting up certain earth-works; but, that your Lordships may know that I have a care of her Majesty's purse, the charge thereof is defrayed (though unwillingly yielded unto) by the town and country, each of them affording me 200 labourers, . . . the Queen being at no other charge than the use of her shovels, spades, etc.

"The coming of the 2,000 supplies I do hourly expect and wish, which will not only assure any place to be attempted by the Spaniards until further succours do second me, but give terror to the ill-disposed, and greatly comfort the well-affected: wherefore, if they be not at sea before this, I humbly pray they may be expedited."

Cork, 14 August 1601.

"Sent by Sir Anthony Cooke."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 14. **137.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 620, p. 76.

"Since the writing of my former sent with this, I received a letter from Sir Francis Barkeley, who with the Earl of Clanrickard and the Munster regiment under his charge is now in camp at Elphin in the co. of Roscommon, who advertiseth me that O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Redmond Bourke, and Captain Tyrrell, with the whole force of those parts, having with them the fugitive gent[lemen] of this province, being strong in foot at the least 1,600 and 300 horse, are lodged in view close unto them. The force we have is 13 companies of foot and 60 horse, who cannot hold that place long for want of victuals, but must be enforced to fight upon their retreat. Every day the enemy skirmishes with them, and urgeth what he may to provoke them to fight, but as yet hath nothing passed other than light skirmishes, and little harm done on either part. And further the words of his letter are, viz. :—  
'When we come off, I think it will be with as great a fight

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as any was these wars in Ireland; but in the end we must make our way with our swords . . . ' He also writeth . . . 'I did write to your Lordship in my last letter . . . of the landing of the Spaniards. Now the truth is, there landed one Spanish ship in Sligo, driven thither by a ship of her Majesty's. She landed 70 men, and there begin to fortify. The captain is gone to O'Neyle, and is contented to lose his head if there be not 20 ships out of Spain within 15 days. . . Upon their landing O'Donnell and his confederates . . . begin to promise great things to themselves.'

"By this it appears that undoubtedly the Spaniards will come, but for what part is uncertain. In my opinion I can hardly think that they are instructed to land in the North, but rather for this province, and cannot imagine this small ship now arrived at Sligo to be any other than an intelligencer to assure the coming of the army promised.

"Moreover, Sir Francis Barkeley writes unto me that the Lord Deputy (as it should appear upon some special causes best known to himself) of the 1,000 foot which are under his leading in Connaught hath commanded 650 immediately to be sent unto himself into Ulster. . . . I have sent him express commandment to obey his Lordship's pleasure.

"From my Lord of Ormond I have likewise received advertisements that Tyrrell forth of the North is likewise directed with the Munster fugitives to repair into this province to breed new disturbance in the same. Wherefore, in regard of the small force which is now here remaining, being but 1,350 foot in list, whereof many of them are in wards necessarily employed, and the coming of Spaniards daily expected, which enforceth me to hold the companies I have in the cities of Corke and Lym-ericke, . . . I do humbly pray your Lordships to hasten hither the 2,000 foot now at the water-side, which will be but sufficient to keep Munster in quiet if the Spaniard do make his descent in any other part of the kingdom; for it is to be imagined that the hearts of these provincials are no less corrupt than ever, and that nothing but the sword can contain them.

"Upon the arrival of the Spanish army . . . the loose sort will immediately grow to a head and commit outrages, and the best affected will but temporise in neutrality until a judgment may be made whether side will prevail. The last rebellion in Munster had never happened if Sir Thomas Norreys, then Lord President, had had a competent force to suppress the beginning. My fears by that mischief are increased, and, although I have in my power the heads of the rebellion and the best pledges of the province, yet the little account which they make of pledges, their aptness to rebellion, and the relief at hand to be brought hither by Tyrrell and the banished traitors, together with the assurance which they apprehend of Spanish aid, doth sufficiently give me understanding to see the peril at hand, and moves me to be the more earnest to solicit your Lordships for the prevention of

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the same. If the Spaniards do come into this kingdom, and not hither, . . . these 2,000 . . . with the forces I have . . . will be but competent to hold this province in obedience, but if the kingdom be not invaded a diminution in some proportion will suffice. But while the rest of the kingdom is in flame, longer than the sword is held over them it is impossible to establish a firm peace in Munster."

I again beseech you to return the Earl of Thomond, "for that his being here would be of good use for the service."

Cork, 14 August 1601.

"Sent by Sir Anthony Cooke to go by the running post."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 15. 138. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 89.

Sir Francis Barkeley writes from Connaught "that your Lordship of the Munster regiment hath commanded by your warrant 650 to be presently sent unto you into the North." This province is as like as any other part of the kingdom to use men, and "the force I now have will not admit me to look out of the towns into any part of the country when the occasion daily expected shall happen;" yet I have sent to him expressly to obey your pleasure. "But I may not omit to give your Lordship notice of the sundry advertisements sent me, as well forth of Connaught lately as from other parts, that Tyrrell with the Munster fugitives are preparing and do purpose out of hand, strengthened with aid from the North and Connaught, to repair into this province to infest and breed new disturbances within the same. . . I shall not be able to give them any resistance in the field at their first entry, . . . lest in the mean time the Spaniards should land, whereby the towns which by your Lordship's directions I am carefully to look unto might be destroyed."

"Send your present direction into Connaught that . . . I may receive from thence the other 350 of the 1,000 remaining, which will be some help for the defence of Lymericke and the parts adjoining. . . For the present they can do little good in Connaught, where the enemy is strong."

Cork, 15 August 1601.

"Sent to Sir Geffry Fenton by Richard Ryse, to be sent to the Lord Deputy."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 15. 139. The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord Admiral, to SIR GEORGE CAREW and others.

Vol. 615, p. 408.

"Whereas complaint is made in the High Court of the Admiralty that a certain ship called *The Rose*, being laden with Neweland fish, salt, and other goods appertaining to John Weseawe of Croysick in . . . France, mariner, and to Olivere Weseawe, his brother, owner of the said ship, was

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in her intended voyage to Nantx taken at the seas . . by one John Ward, captain of a certain French ship, and his accomplices, and piratically carried away and disposed of either in . . this realm or . . Ireland . . ; And for that commission is granted out of the said High Court of Admiralty as well for the apprehending of the said captain and all his associates and confederates, as for seizing on the said ship, tackle, furniture, and all the goods laden in her . . ; These shall be to will and require you . . to be aiding unto the said John Weseawe or his brother . . in the full and due execution of the said commissions."

Court at Windsor, 15 August 1601. *Signed.*

P.S.—“I understand that commissions are granted out of that realm of Ireland for the setting forth of ships upon reprisal. I marvel by what authority the same is done ; wherein, I do desire to be satisfied from the officers there, seeing the whole authority for those causes resteth in myself, both for this and that realm, to be granted and allowed by the High Court of Admiralty here.

“And as touching the cause of the poor Frenchmen ; if speedy courses be not afforded unto them for the enjoying of their ship and goods taken from them, I shall also hold you officers not worthy your places there in that realm of Ireland.”

P. 1. Addressed to Sir George Carew, President of Munster ; the Mayor of the city of Cork ; Christopher Harris, Vice-Admiral of Devon ; Charles Trevanion, Vice-Admiral of Cornwall ; Edmund Terrye, Alderman of the city of Cork ; and to all other Vice-Admirals, &c. *Sealed.*

*Endorsed* : Received the 7th of Sept.

Aug. 18. 140. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 324.

“I have received your letter of the 4th of August, whereby I perceive your provident care of making head against the Spaniards upon their expected arrival. And for the fort of Duncannon (according to your remembrance) I will provide in due time that it may be furnished as the occasion of the service shall require, when I shall better discover the same.”

Camp at Carickbane, 18 August 1601. *Signed.*

P.S.—“If your Lordship put any of the new companies into Waterford, as I think it fit, you may please, upon any occasion offered, to put one of them into the fort.”

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed* : Received 30<sup>o</sup> ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 96.

2. Copy.

Aug. 21. 141. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 91.

“The 14th of this month I received letters from Sir Francis Barkeley, which immediately I answered, and for fear of interruption by sundry ways did send him three doubles of

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the same," to send the 650 foot by Captain Cosby. "But this day understanding by a letter of his dated the 14th of this month that Captain Cosby had not the patience to abide the return of my answer (which within two days after his departure I suppose at the furthest was received), fearing that by his reports your Lordship might conceive disobedience in me, I do purposely send this bearer with these, in hope thereby to give your Lordship full satisfaction that your directions by me are every way observed, not having any purpose to dispute them in the least. . . . As soon as I had intelligence of your Lordship's pleasure, signified to my Lord of Clanryeard, within two hours after . . . I despatched a post unto Sir Francis." Explanation of the direction given to Sir Francis Barkeley not upon any occasion or commandment whatsoever to separate the Munster regiment. I feared "lest the governor of Connaught *ex officio* would have broken and disposed them at his pleasure." "I am as ready to obey your directions as the meanest captain in this kingdom, and in my love as much ready to serve you as any that hath oftener vowed the same."

I believe we shall see the Spaniards here. "I do likewise expect the coming of Tyrrell into Munster, in that Piers Lacy, John FitzThomas, and other the Munster fugitives are in his company, being well assured that they would not leave the North to serve under him in Leinster without assurance to draw them into this province, so as . . . I hope your Lordship will not be offended with my purpose to send for Sir Francis Barkeley and the three companies with him hither."

Cork, 21 August 1601.

P.S.—"Of your Lordship's honorable disposition towards me I stand secure, but how others out of malice may make construction I am uncertain."

"Sent by John Bane."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 22. 142. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 326.

"As I have hitherto borne you as much affection and as truly as ever I did profess it unto you, and I protest rejoiced in all your good successes as mine own, so must you give me leave, since I presume I have so just cause, to challenge you of unkindness and wrong in writing into England, that in preferring your followers Sir Henry Docwray hath had more power than yourself, and consequently to solicit the Queen to have the nomination of some captains in this kingdom.

"For the first, I could have wished you would have been better advised, because upon my honour it is not so; for he never, without my special warrant, did appoint but one, whom I after displaced; and I do not remember that ever since our coming over I have denied anything which you have recommended unto me, with the mark of your own desire to obtain



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it; and in your province I have not given any place, as I think, but at your instance.

“For the other, I think it is the first example that ever any under another general desired or obtained the like suit; and although I will not speak enviously of your deserts nor immodestly of my own, yet this disgrace cannot make me believe that I have deserved worse than any that have been generals before me. But since it is the Queen’s pleasure I must endure it, and you chose a fit time to obtain that or anything else against me. But I will concur with you in anything, I protest sincerely, that shall concern the service, as long as it shall please her Majesty to employ us here; but hereafter I doubt not but to give you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong.

“The Council and myself, upon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the companies of Munster out of Connaught, when we heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of England, but we received from them a flat denial to come, and the copy of your letter to warrant them therein. If you have any authority from the Queen to countermand mine you may very well justify it, but it is more than you have vowed to me to have when I, before my coming over, protested unto you that, if you had, I would rather serve the Queen in prison than here.

“My Lord, these are great disgraces unto me, and so conceived, and I think justly, by all that knoweth it, which is and will be very shortly all Ireland. My allegiance and own honour are now engaged, with all my burthens, to go on in this work; otherwise no fear should make me suffer thus much, and what I do it is only love doth move me unto it; for I know you are dear to one [Cecil] whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection, and so, my Lord, I will wish you well, and omit nothing, while I am in this kingdom, to give you the best contentment I can; and continue as your assured friend.”

22 August.

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:*  
22 August 1601; received the last of August.

Vol. 624, p. 99.

2. Copy.

Aug. 22. 143. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 330.

“By your letter of the 10th, which the 19th was delivered me, I understand that 2,000 are coming to you out of England, and 4,000 more in readiness to come so soon after as notice shall be given of the Spaniards’ landing, with a provision of victuals and munition to answer their abode. Of the 2,000 I had some notice from Mr. Secretary, but not of the other 4,000, yet I must acknowledge they are as necessary as the other, and had need of a good wind to bring them over when there is occasion to send for them. You have done well, in

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mine opinion, to restrain those principal men named in your letter, having good ground for the same, as I make no doubt but you have. You have also done well in giving direction to the sheriffs to forbear serving their process[es] upon some particular men whose arrears are greater than they can pay, and are besides dangerous to be dealt withal; for those courses are to be moderated by the discretion of a governor, especially in such a time as this is, seeing the Exchequer Court cannot so well judge what is meet in such a case, but, according to an order among themselves, make out writs for all they find in charge, which is as much as the officers and ministers there are tied unto, and that they dare not leave undone without special commandment from the Council table, lest their offices thereby should be forfeited, which is more to them than any public inconvenience that can happen. If any exceptions should be taken, as I think there will not, to this course of yours, I will be ready to warrant it the best I may, as a matter in my conceiving very fit.

“Touching the cheque imposed by Mr. Byrehensha, I have written to him very earnestly to remove it, for I hold it a wrong unto us both, and I make no doubt but he will see it forthwith reformed. And touching Greene’s suit for a wardship, as it was the first motion of yours that to my remembrance I denied, because I thought it was for some one whom you cared not for, so, now that you have sent me your mark for me to know when earnestly you recommend aught to be effected, you shall see that it will sway me very far, and as much as I would wish mine should do with you when you see my mark, which you shall do shortly. What other points of your letter of the 11th written with your own hand are here unanswered, you shall be fully satisfied of in another herewith sent, written with my hand.”

Newry, 22 August 1601. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received the last of August.

Vol. 624, p. 97.

2. Copy.

Aug. 22. 144. LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 406.

“This gentleman, Mr. Richard Butler, at his coming into England being specially recommended unto my favour and patronage by his good uncle, Mr. Richard Ailwarde, whom I always loved, and having now spent and bestowed here in the Inner Temple seven years in the study of the common law and now returning home into his country, whereof you are Lord President, and where he purposeth to make use of his profession, hath desired my letters.” I pray you “to countenance and favour him in his intended practice, and to prefer him to the next fit and convenient place that you shall

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think him worthy of." The kindness you shall show him I will be ready to requite.

Sackville House, 22 August 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 12<sup>o</sup> Martii 1601.

Aug. 25. 145. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW, President,  
Vol. 615, p. 237. and the COUNCIL OF MUNSTER.

We write on behalf of Patrick Crosbie concerning two matters, which both seem to us agreeable to reason. The first is for a debt of 400*l.* due to him from the late Richard Lord Burghe, deceased, and so still due from his heir Theobald, called the now Lord Burghe. Though the proofs of his demand are evident by bonds and letters, he is continually put off and remains unsatisfied of his debt. Pray examine the cause, and take unto you for assistance the Earl of Thomond, who is well acquainted with the cause, and, though he be the near kinsman of the Lord Burghe, yet Crosbie himself (to show the rightfulness of his demand) is willing to make his Lordship one of his judges therein. The second matter concerns the parsonage of Nuregare in co. Limerick, which Crosbie holds by letters patents, and pays a yearly rent for the same; notwithstanding, he complains that in his absence on her Majesty's service his tenant has been and is molested by one Foxe, who is said to have been of late in rebellion.

From the Court at Windsor, 25 August 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S.; Nottingham; Gilb. Shrewsbury; E. Worcester; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cecyll; J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endd.:* Received 20 Octobris 1601.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 70.

Aug. 25. 146. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 328.

"Finding Sir Edward Wingfield exceeding desirous to see you, it was the least courtesy I could yield him to give way to his desire, though I confess I was very loth to lose his company, or let him leave me before I could show him better testimony of my love than it hath been yet my hap to have the means to do. I shall be very glad to hear that your favour in Munster might afford him better contentment than he can find here, where, ever since his coming, we have been toiled out in following a company of rogues so busily as we can take no comfort in our lives for continual tumbling up and down, and see not when we may hope for any rest. I know your affection towards him."

Nurie, 25 August 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Mountjoy's own hand.*—"Your Lordship best knows how dear this gentleman hath ever been unto me," &c.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 23 September.

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Aug. 25. 147.

The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 334.

Your letters of the 10th "we have a good while since received, but by reason of the messengers going to the North with other letters to the Lord Deputy, who returned not with answer before this last night, we did till now forbear to answer that of yours." The restraining of those three principal men we well allow of, being right sorry that the fourth escaped, but we hope he also will be had at one time or other. "Touching the greenwax books and other writs lately issued out of the Exchequer for the Queen's rents and other debts, long since due in that province, although the officers have done but their duty . . . , we do not mislike that you have made stay of execution of them in this troublesome and dangerous time."

Dublin, 25 August 1601.

*Signed*: Ad. Dublin., C.; George Cary; Geff. Fenton.

P.S.—"After the signing of this letter, we received another from you of the 15th, which containing no other matter than the new moneys, it requires no answer."

P. 1. *Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received the last of Aug.

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 106.

Aug. 27. 148.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 332.

"Your letter of the 21st I received the 25th at Dundalke, whither that day I was newly come with purpose to meet the Council at Trym to consider and resolve what was next to be done, since by the not coming of the Munster companies out of Connaught I could no longer continue in the Northern parts to perfect the work we had in hand there. The inconvenience befalling the service thereby gave me great cause to be both disquieted and grieved; and the precedent being never heard nor seen that a Deputy's warrant was so returned and refused, I was much the more sensible of the disgrace thereof, the rather that it was commonly known, and could not be concealed, that your instructions were the grounds of the refusal, you having given straight charge to that regiment not to separate upon any occasion or commandment whatsoever, which in all intendment was done of purpose to free them from my command, and that construction every man made of it. But since your Lordship assures me the contrary, and that it was only an omission to leave it so general, I am not only willing but glad to take any satisfaction from one whom I have so worthily esteemed, being in very deed as desirous to think the best as you can wish, now that you have acquainted me with your meaning.

"I hope I shall provide to give Tyrrell his hands full, that he shall not trouble you in Munster; and for Piers Lacy you are out of doubt already, for in a skirmish of late we slew him, and thereof your Lordship may be assured. To Sir Francis Barkeley I have given direction to remain in Gallway

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with the other three Munster companies, for I hold his stay there of some necessity, in regard I hear from Mr. Secretary out of England that the Spaniards at that place mean to make their descent, and I have not other companies to send thither for them if they should be drawn thence, and I conceive you may much the better spare them now, having 2,000 coming out of England, and myself meaning to stay nearer you either in Leinster or Connaught, where I shall soon be ready upon occasion to draw to you with all the forces I can by any means get together. When I have conferred with the rest of the Council, who are appointed to meet us at Trym upon Saturday next, you shall hear again from me, and then shall I be able to let you know more certainly whether Leinster or Connaught will be the place next to be undertaken."

Millefont, 27 August 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Mounjoy's own hand.*—"I do hear for the most certain that Tirrell came down with much under two hundred, and is not many more now, of such scattered rogues as we have ever refused to take in. I do not yet hear of any that became subjects that do join with him. All the Northern lords do yet stand for me, and come to me at all times when I send for them. I have left at the Blackwallter, Armaugh, Mountnorreys, and the Newry, 2,300 foot and 225 horse in list; at Lecale, 300 foot, 25 horse; at Knockfergus, 800 foot and 125 horse. If supplies come to make them strong, for now they are weak, I hope these will keep the North in work, whether the Spaniards come or no."

*Pp. 2. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 1st Sept.*

Vol. 624, p. 107.

2. Copy.

Aug. 27. 149. The EARL OF SHREWSBURY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 404.

By your letter of the 5th "I understand it hath been no want of goodwill that hath caused this long silence, but your opinion that I had remained in the country: so as now I am fully satisfied, and shall desire you, for the time to come, to esteem me in the number of your best affected friends, which you shall ever find me." Of news from hence I doubt not you are advertised by others of your friends. "This being the first that hath passed betwixt us may be the shorter, and hereafter (as occasion serveth) I intend to enlarge myself; . . wishing the continuance (with all increase) of your most happy success in Mounster, and, if the Spaniards land there, that you may shortly see the cutting of all their throats."

Court at Readyng, 27 August 1601.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Aug. 28. 150. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 98.

"Although this gentleman, Sir Jerret Hervey, . . be already so well known to you, . . yet because there is an opinion

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conceived that such as come thither accompanied with my letters do fare nothing the worse, I could not deny them to him, being a gentleman whom I esteem very well."

"From my lodging near the Savoy," 28 August 1601.  
*Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

[Aug.]

151. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 104.

"Although her Majesty is now pleased to grant to Mr. Nich. Browne new letters patents of his lands, and to that end hath written her letters to the Lord Deputy; yet by reason of the Deputy's absence in Ulster, and other the employment of Browne, having the conduction of some men to your Lordship, his business cannot be so speedily effected at Dublin as need would require, whereby he is like to incur some prejudice if he should lose the fruits of this harvest, and her Majesty's service receive great hindrance if his castles were possessed by any others. And for that it is known . . . what detriment the poor gentleman hath already sustained through the defect of his former patent, and the purpose meant for Florens (which now by his manifest misdemeanours is altogether disappointed), . . . take order that he be presently repossessed of all such lands as he was possessed of before this last rebellion, notwithstanding any course taken by Florens (McCarthy) against him."

*Signed.*

*P.S., in Cecil's own hand:* "This seemeth reasonable to me, but if you know any cause to the contrary, you may use it at your discretion."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 7 Sept. 1601.

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152. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 101.

Yesterday I received your two letters of 22 August. "The one gives me cause of comfort, . . . that your Lordship is well pleased with my proceedings here; but the other, written by yourself, doth infinitely perplex me, insomuch as I cannot rest satisfied until I have given your Lordship as much satisfaction as the truth will permit, for I do protest my soul is grieved to think that you are hardly conceited of me, from the desert whereof he that made me and saved me shall bear me witness." . . . Lest my letter of 15 August miscarry, I again deliver the reasons of my direction to Sir Francis Barkeley. (*He here repeats the substance of that part of his letter.*)

"I protest unto your Lordship upon my salvation I did never in England, nor since my coming, seek or desire any indirect authority, nor have any but what your Lordship passed unto me under the Great Seal."

"The other point of your letter, which it seems your Lordship takes in the like ill part, is concerning the disposing of

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certain companies now to be sent out of England at my discretion ; in excuse whereof when your Lordship hath heard my answer I doubt not but you will be satisfied. Understanding by the Lords that 2,000 men were presently to be sent hither, and knowing the custom of courtiers for the advancing of their servants and particular friends to companies, whereof many times no regard is had to the sufficiency of the party, and likewise there being now in Munster divers of good desert out of entertainment, I did humbly entreat Mr. Secretary to be a means that 600 of the 2,000 might come hither without captains, that these which have served here might be advanced. But, my Lord, I am not ignorant that, without your Lordship's warrant, no man can be entered into pay, and my desire never was but by your admission to place those gentlemen which I think worthy of companies. And that there might be, without grievance to any man, a power in you to satisfy my humble requests, I did by way of prevention obtain the 600 aforesaid to be sent by conductors only, which otherwise there is no doubt but would have been disposed of in England. If this manner of proceeding be offensive unto you I am exceedingly sorry for it, for your Lordship may well think that I would not lose your affections for the preferring of a few men from whom I can expect nothing but thanks. If ever I did write into England complainingly or comparatively of the power which your Lordship had given Sir Henry Docwray beyond me, I renounce my allegiance to her Majesty if I can accuse myself of it ; for I do and must confess that your Lordship hath dealt nobly with me." It is like enough the companies will land tomorrow. I will hold the 600 aforesaid without nominating captains to them until your pleasure be known. My meaning was to have bestowed upon Sir George Thorneaton a company of 150, and to my own company I would have added 50. The other 400 I would have divided between Sir Charles Manners, Captain Collome, an old captain in this realm, Captain Francis Hobby, and Charles Coote, a nephew to Sir John Stanhope. "Banish the jealousies you have conceived, for . . . what power soever is given me, rather than your Lordship should conceive offence, I do render it unto you. . . I hope my abode in this country will not be long, and I do not ambitiously covet to hold what I have, much less to add anything unto it. I am in love neither with the people nor climate. If God once deliver me out of it I hope never to see it again ; and since I purpose not to eat much of my bread here, your Lordship may be easily persuaded that in discretion I would not lose the favour and affection you bear me for any favours that Ireland can afford me."

Cork, 1 September 1601.

"Sent by my messenger."

*Copy. Pp. 5.*

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Sept. 1.  
Vol. 615, p. 338.

**153.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Your letters directed to us of the Council was imparted to me, the Deputy, here at Tryme, whereby we perceive how effectuall[y] your Lordship hath dealt both in performance of our former letters touching William Dongan, as also in moderating the excessive fees taken by the officers within that province, as well for pardons as otherwise; for the which we heartily thank your Lordship. But for the fee of 16s. 10*d.* heretofore accustomed to be taken of every person upon the pleading of his pardon, and divided between the Justices, the Queen's Attorney, Clerk of the Crown, and Crier, and now reduced by your Lordship to 8s. 6*d.*, we have considered of it, . . . and do not see any reason why the Attorney should have anything but when the pleading of pardons is to indictments, nor the Clerk of the Crown, who hath his allowance for making, reading, and discharging of the same upon plea. Neither do we see any cause why the Crier should have anything but upon pleading of the pardons to indictments. And as for the Clerk of the Council, we cannot allow that he should have anything for keeping of a book of entry of those pardoned and their sureties, because all indictments and recognizances are to remain with the Clerk of the Crown until they be returned to the Bench, and there to remain of record. And therefore . . . we pray your Lordship that the charges may only be 5s., . . . viz., to the Justices 3s. 4*d.* and clerks only 20*d.*, except upon persons indicted and pardoned; they to pay the accustomed fees.

"We have also in your Lordship's said letters received certain articles set down for the reforming of divers abuses against the last proclamation made for the establishing of the coins of the new standard, whereupon you desire our resolution. We have . . . apostyled the most part of them, the copy whereof we have herein closed sent."

Tryme, 1 September 1601.

*Signed:* Mountjoye; Ad. Dublin, C.; Tho. Midensis; George Cary; Ro. Gardener; Geff. Fenton. *Sealed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received the 23rd.

Vol. 624, p. 109.

2. Copy.

Sept. 3. **154.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 336.

"There hath been a petition exhibited unto me by Aleson Preston, of Abboy, signifying that her husband, Richard Guylach, of the same town, returning from his travel out of the Low Countries, and driven by ill weather into the harbour at Corke, is there apprehended for a priest; which appearing to be a false accusation by a testimony signed of many of the inhabitants of Abboy, she made humble suit for my warrant to the officers of Corke for his enlargement and the release of his goods, and that he might answer before me and the Council



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here to anything else that should be objected against him. Wherewith I thought good to acquaint your Lordship, that in case no other thing but the suspicion of being a priest be laid against him, he may be released with his goods by your Lordship's warrant, or otherwise be brought to his answer, that, if he can clear himself, he may return to his wife and children in these parts."

Trym, 3 September 1601. *Signed.*

*Postscript, in Mountjoy's own hand.*—"If your Lordship see any cause to detain him, notwithstanding this letter, I leave it to your discretion."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 9th September.

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 110.

Sept. 5. 155. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 100.

"I know not what to write which some of my packets that have lyen at the sea side (and I hope by this time are with you) do not contain; only now I must touch what hath happened since my last of our news of Spain, and the examination of Desmond and Florence.

"For Desmond, I find him more discreet than I have heard of him, and for Florence, the same which I have ever expected, which is, a malicious vain fool. When he came to be examined, he principally and absolutely denied that he had done anything in the beginning but that which he had warrant to do from the Commissioners in Munster till he had recovered his country, and that for the combination with Spaniards it should never be proved, especially that particular concerning his writing to the Pope when Tyrone was in Munster, or at any time. In which point James McThomas, being confronted with him, did not directly maintain it that he had seen his hand, but that he was privy to their consultations; and that O'Kegan, when he came for his hand, told him Florence should join too; maintaining it there resolutely, that whether he writ or no, he was present at all the counsels, and gave his full consent.

"He likewise contesteth against the report of any message he should send by the White Knight's daughter, and for dissuading of Thomas Oge, pretendeth that you were not discontented with it, because you could have been content it should have been his act.

"To be short, he makes it very meritorious to have delivered Tyrone's packets to you, and, I perceive, will draw in all his crimes so far within the reach of his pardon as we must only make him a prisoner by discretion, and praise you for your discretion to put it within our power, and so hath the Queen willed me to write unto you.

"Of the Spaniards' purposes I interrogated them. Desmond affirmeth that they meant to come for Lymricke; but Florence would needs have it that they intended rather for Gallaway,

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wherein I assure you I join with him, being a place nearer to receive correspondency from the rebels than to come into Munster, where their party was broken, and where the Northern traitors are so far removed from them.

“And now, Sir, to speak of my own opinion, what is become of the Spanish preparations, I protest to you I was never more to seek; for there is no doubt but a navy and an army he hath prepared for Ireland (for so much from the place itself I know), besides all those advertisements which you have continually sent over. Only this is my doubt, that the fleet which was met at sea so many days since was mistaken, and yet I am sure there hath not so few as a dozen sail of ships which have come from Sivill, from Averro, and from St. Tovall, which have affirmed constantly that they came out in company with 50 sail of ships for Ireland.

“Now, whether any storm might meet them upon the coast, and so put them into the Groyne or the Bay of Alcaster, and so the fleet unable to set forth again being once dispersed, I know not; only this I am sure, in England, France, nor Ireland they are not. But, Sir, I doubt not but you may be able to get better information from Spain, if you would take it to heart as well as I would pay for it. By this time I hope our new soldiers are arrived, by which I believe this one thing will follow, that you will give law to that province, notwithstanding those bruits; and if they should prove true, I presume you would dispute any reasonable place with them until more force come to you.

“I have despatched divers suitors whom you have recommended, as both the Greymes, Thomas Oge, Captain Fleminge, Hurly, and Crosbye, who I protest unto you encourageth many suitors to importune me. And for my Lady Norreys, he is both a solicitor and a great adviser, as by this letter it may appear. This I write not as misliking the man, but to let you know that he is greedy as well as witty, and yet I would not have you discourage him, for I do know you may make great use of him.

“The Lady [Norreys] is a suitor for a standing ward at Moyallowe, repining and remembering her husband's death in her Majesty's service, and she no way relieved, urging still that all her grounds and houses are spoiled, and that you never leave above seven or eight men in her ward. I pray therefore, as well as you may, rid us of her importunity.

“Her Majesty liketh well of the course you have taken with James McThomas in the Northern employment, and especially because you have limited a time, for else, she saith, she should be laughed to scorn. Let me hear, therefore, I pray you, by the next, what you understand of that business.

“Now, Sir, to come to the estate of our affairs. We have now for our object to speak only of the powerful siege of Ostend, where there are now 7,000 fighting men, and in the

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camp 22,000. Sir Francis Vere, as I conceive, is by this day in the town, and although his wounds are as yet nothing well cured, yet his honour carries him thither. Of late, when they were ready to make an assault at the west end of the town, the governor cut a dyke of some four pike[s'] length distant from a half-moon made without the counterscarp of the rampyer, where they had lodged that night if the sea had not been let in, which hath made him to remove 17 pieces that were ready to play on the west side from the sand hills, which was the principal place doubted by the town. And yet, to speak truly, we are greatly afraid lest by the opening of that dyke there grow a danger to the town, which it shrewdly threatens.

“The French King hath been these ten days at Calais, having never seen his frontier. Hereupon there were many foolish alarms, that he would join with the Queen and the States rather than the town should be lost. But all that hath vanished into smoke; only he hath indeed honoured the Queen far, for he hath sent the Marshal of Byron, with whom comes the Count of Avergne, Marshal D’Aumont’s son, and many others, to the number of 60 or 80 gentlemen. Her Majesty is in progress, and receives them at Basinge, where there will be a great court. . .

“From the Court at Aldermerston, Sir Humfrey Foster’s house, in Berkshire,” 5 Sept. 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Cecil’s own hand.*—“Because I desire nothing more than to see you here, and yet you can consider that the Queen will be exceeding curious how the province shall be secured, first, I wish you in no sort to give out there that you have any such purpose; next, that you bethink you who may be fittest to hold your place in your absence; thirdly, you may make account that till October be half spent we shall not be secure of Spaniards. By the 24th our Parliament begins. I will keep a room for you, and I wish you to write that you have many things for the settling of the province and for the matter of the Undertakers, to renew her profit, *et cet.* to do, and that you will return again within a short time. Certainly Tomond’s fashion pleaseth not me. I have now gotten his country newly annexed to Monster, if he will, and him made a principal commissioner next you and the chief justice there in the county of Clare, as he is already chief by martial law, and yet he is not pleased. I do not think that he will be fit to succeed you in your absence, but some commissioners will do well. I write this because you may beforehand prepare all things.

“I keep all things quiet amongst our troop; but if you remember what Meg Ratlyff prophesied, she said the pack would break; but I bear all and find nothing.”

*Pp. 3. Endd. by Carew: Received the 13th following.*

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Vol. 615, p. 340.

**156. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.**

“Upon the opinion conceived of the Spaniards coming for Ireland, and some other occasions, I am drawn down into the Pale with the army, leaving the garrisons in the North supplied; and since my coming have despatched Mr. Marshal with some forces to prosecute Tyrrell, with directions upon the Spaniards' first arrival to draw towards them, myself meaning to follow with the rest of the forces immediately after I receive intelligence of their coming. The like order to wait upon them have I given to Sir Oliver Lambert, whom I send with forces into Connaught. My desire is that your Lordship will let me understand of the first coming of your supplies out of England, and that your Lordship will, after this bruit of foreign enemies is blown over, dispose of a good part of these supplies to lie upon the borders of Leinster, for I am desirous to turn back, and make the war in the North, which I shall do (this being performed) with greater confidence, these parts being thereby secured.”

Trym, 5 September 1601. *Signed.*

P.S.—“I send . . . the Countess of Warwick's letter on the behalf of Mr. Gray to be sheriff of Corke; and because I will do nothing in that province without your knowledge . . . I have not promised it, nor will do till I may hear from you.”

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 10th.*

Vol. 624, p. 111.

2. Copy.

Sept. 5.

Vol. 615, p. 312.

**157. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.**

“Yesterday in the afternoon arrived in this harbour of Corke, from the ports of Bristol and Barnstaple, the number of 1170 in list, whereof with captains 900, and to be disposed here 270. The residue of the 2,000, being 830, are by their Lordships directed from Chester to land at Waterford for the defence of that place, whereof five companies have commanders, and 330 to be also disposed of . . ., as by this enclosed copy of the list will appear to your Lordship; but whether they be yet there arrived I have received no notice. And at the same time came unto me a letter from their Lordships . . . that the Earl of Thomond hath become a suitor to their Lordships for the increasing of my company as his own to 200 forth of the 600 now sent over. But in regard it is a motion (as I conceive it) proponed in my name to make the like more easy for himself, and that I may protest upon my soul it is a thing hitherto never intended or any way spoken of by myself (because it was needless, your Lordship always favorably offering the same unto me), I do hold it meet to clear myself thus far from an imputation which otherwise I should confess to have deserved, and do hope your Lordship will rather think it a work in the Earl than a desire in me so to compass them.

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“For the other part of their Lordships’ said letter, as in my former unto your Lordship of the 1st, . . . I forbear to deal in until I may hear from your Lordship. . . . Only the company that Captain Nuse now should have had I do not see him desirous of them, seeing he is already otherwise placed, and may be disposed of as your Lordship pleaseth, for if all the power in the world were left unto me, yet I know my duty to my general and your directions shall be obeyed.”

Cork, 5 September 1601.

P.S.—“By the sending of these companies it appears that the Lords of the Council are yet persuaded of the coming of Spaniards, and for Mounster. By Mr. Secretary I perceive of the assured league between you. Believe me, my Lord, I am glad of it, and will be a labourer to confirm it, for that I honour and love you both.”

*Draft, with additions and corrections in Carew's own hand. Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 112.

2. Copy.

Sept. 5.

158.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 344.

“If my letter did express some more than ordinary passion I will now desire you, if you have any opinion of my judgment or honesty, to believe me, that at that time I had so much reason to be so moved, as I presume when I next speak with you I shall induce you to confess that my expostulation did neither proceed from undervaluing you or overvaluing myself, private respect to my own ends, vanity in desire of pre-eminence, nor lightness or evil nature in quitting slightly so worthy a friend. And if I can farther persuade you by the effect it took with me, I protest the miserable tragedy of those I had held my dearest friends, the unkindness I took by their shewing themselves my most mortal enemies, the danger that I heard they brought my fortune into, nor anything (which hath been much) that hath happened to me since my coming into this kingdom, did ever so much move as this and the circumstances that did accompany it. The which being unfit to be trusted, either to paper or at the least to this passage, I will reserve for my own defence till I speak with you, or may send a more safe and assured messenger unto you, and so leave my case *sub judice*, but in the mean time absolve you from any wrong or unkindness you have done me, with this assurance, that the desire you shew to give me satisfaction hath and shall increase that affection I have borne you, and in the world you shall not find for ever hereafter a more just and sure friend.

“And this much for your own sake. But for his [Cecil’s] unto whom I know you are so dear, I am so much in my heart a servant to the worthiness that he hath shewed in his kindness to me, that if he should desire me to trail a pike under a far

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meaner friend unto him than you, by God! I would do it willingly, because my fortune doth otherwise so little enable me to shew my thankfulness unto him. And this I do not write upon any base observance of his fortune, but, upon my Christianity, I do acknowledge him to have deserved more of me than all the world besides; and I do truly think him to be the most honorable man that over in this unworthy world my fortune was to have anything to do withal. And therefore, noble Lord, of all these things I will write, as I have read in my dunces of logic, *sustine pro nunc*; only I beseech you dispose of the companies and all things else to your liking, which shall be, I assure you, to mine. But to the great work we have in hand I must confess I was never more puzzled in my counsels for many just respects, but especially by an intelligence I have received this day; and if I would, like Diogenes, take a candle in my hand to seek a wise man in this kingdome unto whose judgment I would trust to assist mine in the case in question, I know not where I should find any, except it be you. And therefore, if it be possible, send me word whether I may speak with you presently, though I come as far or farther than Killkenny; for I would fain resolve with you of all, and jointly with you make a present despatch into England. I pray despatch a speedy messenger, though it be a horseman, and I will leave all things so as I will be prepared to go on a sudden."

5 September 1601.

*Hol. Pp. 2. Add. Sealed. Endd. by Carew: Received the 9th.*

Vol. 624, p. 113.

2. Copy.

Sept. 9. **159.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 102.

"This gentleman . . . was desirous to carry a letter of mine, though it contained no other matter but a testimony of my being in health." No news since my last of the 5th.

From the Court at Basing, 9 September 1601. *Signed.*

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

Sept. 12. **160.** SIR GEORGE CAREW TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 78.

"Your letters of the 2nd of August I received the 4th of this present, and with them the soldiers which came from Bristoll and Barnstable arrived in this port, the next day disembarked and came to this town, where now they remain. Only part . . . under . . . Nicholas Browne and himself (. . . being not able to hold company with the fleet, and the wind scaunting) were put in at Waterforde, where they arrived.

"At Waterford the 5th of this instant, as before, the company which came from Chester arrived and disembarked, for the defence of which place I think it need they should remain until the design of the Spaniards be known. From hence I

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have embarked 800 arms for them, which with the next westerly wind shall depart this port, and likewise I have despatched Jones thither to take the musters of them; whose relation for them your Lordships shall receive from Mr. Woode as for the others.

“There is likewise . . . arms for the whole 2,000 arrived, which I do assure your Lordships (not favouring the office of the Ordnance, of the which I am a member) in my life I never saw better provision of munition, whereof I . . . give your Lordships notice, to encourage the providers to do like hereafter.

“The 7th of this month Jones, the chief commissary in this province, took an exact muster of the companies aforesaid, who unto Mr. Woode hath sent a relation in what sort he found them, unto the which I . . . refer you.

“I humbly thank your Lordships for the honorable favour you have done to the Earl of Thomond and myself in giving increase to our companies to such strength as formerly we had them, and also in that you . . . leave unto my nomination the companies that came under conductors. . . I was ready to have conferred one of them upon Captain Nuse, and thereof did acquaint him with your pleasures; but he, by the favour of the Lord Deputy (at my suit), being formerly satisfied with one of the old companies of the list of Munster, fearing the Lord Deputy would not admit him both those he hath and another company, and that these late supplies would be sooner cashiered than the former, . . . refused the receipt of them, whom now I have bestowed upon an ancient captain in this realm and a good servitor called Robert Collam.

“At the same passage I received another letter from your Lordships, dated the 14th of July, concerning . . . utensils and household stuff allowed . . . to Sir John Norreys, . . . which I conceive your Lordships do think meet to be continued to his successors. . . Immediately upon my coming to Dublin I procured a commission from the Lord Deputy and Council there to search and seize upon the same to her Majesty's use,” but was not “able to find where any of the same remained; which error grows by default of an inventory in the beginning, for want whereof I was not able to make any demand of particulars, neither yet do know how the executors of Sir John Norreys should be charged to account for them, but by oath to declare what parcels thereof did come to their hands.”

The contents of your letter of the 18th July concerning Mr. Pyne “I have . . . performed, and himself will very shortly appear before your Lordships.

“Of the state of this province (I thank God) I can write of no alteration, neither yet do fear of relapse in any of quality, unless the arrival of the Spaniards do breed disturbance. We here can make no other judgment than formerly hath been received; which is a continual expectation and desire that the Irish have of assistance, which is confirmed by an intelligence

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I received out of the North by one whom I employed thither, that the Spanish ship which long since came to Sligo, more than a fortnight past is returned for Spain, assuring Tyrone and O'Donnell that before Michaelmas day the Spanish army, which did but attend his return, would come to Ireland; his errand, as he said, being . . . to understand the state of the country, which he finding to be so well bent to persevere in the Catholic war, . . . they should immediately receive aid; and . . . that though the ship be returned, yet some of the men are still remaining at Sligo, which if the intelligence be true, their coming is very probable."

Cork, 12 September 1601.

"Sent by ——— Byrche."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 12. **161.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vo. 620, p. 132.

Immediately after the new coin was made current here "one John Nott and Robert Priektre did fall a counterfeiting the like, and did put away and utter some five or six pounds thereof; which being found out by good watch and espial, I caused them to be . . . apprehended, and . . . being found guilty by verdict, they were both . . . adjudged to die. And the said Nott after judgment prayed that he might be heard to speak for her Highness' avail; whereupon I gave direction to the Second Justice and Attorney of this province to examine him, and hear what he could inform; who hath made such relation as under their hand I send . . . enclosed. Upon notice whereof I made stay of his execution until I might understand your Lordships' pleasure, whether . . . to have him sent thither to make good and confirm his accusation, or to esteem as speeches of small validity, uttered by a condemned man after his judgment pronounced."

Shandon Castle, 12 September 1601. *Signed.*

P.S.—"Another coiner, called William Kirekham, being one of the horsemen of Sir Anthony Cook's troop, was upon the signing of these my letters discovered, . . . whose stamps and instruments I got; but he himself made a narrow escape and is gotten over into England; whose prosecution there I doubt not but your Lordships will think upon, seeing by Sir Anthony's means he may be found out, or his place of residence or birth learned."

II. "The Examination of John Nott, taken before us the 6th of September 1601."

"He saith that at the Bull at St. Alban's the goodwife's son, named William Guttridge, was the first he saw counterfeit her Majesty's coin of England, and this was about four years past. He coined commonly in London at a tailor's house near Bridewell, named William Lycen. He saith that the tailor and coiner were of one resolution for the coining.



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He knew him coin 4*l.* or 5*l.* at a time. He saith that one Captain Nethlam brought him into the acquaintance of . . . and did fasten him in friendship with the said coiner, and . . . was in the privy of their said coining. He saith that by report he heard that the said captain being lieutenant to Sir Arthur Savadg and was slain at the Newry. . . Their stamp was commonly of chalk, but one stamp they had made of iron, wherewith they coined dollars in France, as they said to this examinant. . . Guttridge did make French crowns commonly, which he and . . . Captain Nethlam did utter at their pleasures. . . . One Simon White was brought before Sir Richard Marten for coining, and had such a tool of chalk for coining. . . . The cause why he changed his name of Nott to White was for that he having formerly married with the Lady Ann Bourcher of Hertfordshire's daughter (named Katharine), who was dead when he came for Ireland, he was afraid of the displeasure of Sir George Bourcheir, who never after the said marriage could love his said kinswoman or this examinee, and to prevent the courses his greatness in this kingdom could work against him, he denied his name about Dublin and affirmed the same to be White.

"He saith the said Lady Ann Bourchier was first married to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, and they were divorced upon the birth of Katharine, for it was thought by the Marquis that one Hankyne was rather father to Katharine than the Marquis."

*Signed* : Ger. Comerforde, Dom. Sarsfelde.

### III. "The Description of the Coiners.

"William Lycen, his complexion black, his beard thiek and black, his face slender, by his trade a tailor, his age about forty years, himself of a middle stature. His wife teacheth children to play on the virginals. His dwelling is right against St. Bride's church wall in London.

"Guttridge, his complexion brownish, his beard small, thin, and brownish, his age about thirty. He kept with his mother at the sign of the Bull in St. Albon's. He haunted William Lycen's house in London.

"He saith that by mixture of copper, tin, and a black kind of metal called tinglass, Guttridge and the forenamed Captain did make the counterfeiture very fair and in the appearance of good silver; and to his knowledge he saw no silver at all put to that composition. And as for the gold . . . [they] never let him see their working thereof."

*Signed* : Ger. Comerforde, Dom. Sarsfelde.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 13. **162.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 348.

"I purpose . . . to be on Monday night [the 14th] at Killkennye, and dispatch your messenger the sooner to see if he

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can hasten your journey a day sooner, for I long to see you, and long to return. I presume, by your own appointment, that you will be at Killkenny on Wednesday night. If it may be on Tuesday we have gotten a day."

13 September.

*Holograph. P. 1. Add. Endd.:* Received 18 ejusdem.

Sept. 14 **163.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 620, p. 79.

Since the 12th<sup>th</sup> there arrived at Crookehaven . . . one Captain Love, who, in a small pinnace, recovered this coast, and from thence overland came unto me. The intelligence he brought by the examination enclosed will appear, . . . and before this can come unto your hands it is very probable that the Spaniards will make their descent in Ireland, but in what place I can make no judgment; for, if his relation be true (which upon his allegiance . . . he avers), he saw the fleet (full of land men and ensigns) stand to the northward, and by Spaniards and Portingalls, which he hath prisoners, and others, they are bound for this realm. . . . He reports that most of the Irish that are in Spain are in the fleet. . . . My humble suit is that upon the first notice either of their passing by the West of England (if they be there discovered, for then it may be concluded they come for this realm), or upon knowledge of their landing here, that you will . . . hasten those forces that already you have designed for our aid, and in the mean time (by the favour of God) I hope to render you an account of my charge as far forth as may be expected at my hands. As touching the report of galleys now bound to the northwards, it cannot (in my opinion) seem probable, and therefore the Portingall either abused Captain Love, or else his understanding very little."

Cork, 14 September 1601.

Sent by ——— Byrche.

*Copy. P. 1*

Sept. 15. **164.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 346.

"I was come thus far to have had some conference with your Lordship, that we might have settled a course for the advancement of the service, and have understood one another thoroughly, to provide for all accidents that might happen; but since I find by your last, which I received yesterday, that you are confident the Spaniards will presently make their descent, I will forbear . . . drawing you from your charge, and mean to fall back unto Catherlagh, whither I will draw as great a force as well I can, under pretence of Tyrrell's prosecution, that I may be ready to give you all the help you can desire if the Spaniards do arrive within that province, and yet be so near unto the Pale as to survey their doings, and keep them from attempting what otherwise haply they would upon the

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bruit of this alarm. My earnest desire is that we may join sincerely in this service (though I make no doubt thereof), and hear often from one another, assuring your Lordship that I will not be wanting in anything that may further your purposes, when I may understand from you what it is that you affect and think fit that I should do.

“I find by my last letters out of England that, besides the 2,000 foot sent you, there are other 2,000 coming to Chester, to be landed at such places in Leinster as I shall name. I have now written they may land at Carlingford and at Dublin, for we have there exceeding great need of them to fill up the companies grown very weak by this summer’s service, inso-much as if 1,000 of them be not sent to Carlingford to strengthen the garrisons left northward about Armaght, what need soever we should have of them, they will not be able to bring themselves off; and the other 1,000 will not be sufficient to make full the companies within Leinster, besides the Irish, whereof we have many in every company, and had need to take heed how we trust unto, if this bruit of the Spaniards’ landing should fall out to be true, as there is now so great likelihood it will be speedily.

“I write this . . . that you, being made acquainted with the ground of my desire to have these 2,000 sent away presently, may concur with me both in opinion and in writing, that I may not fail of them, lest by the want of them I be enforced to fail you to yield that assistance that I affect and shall be able to afford you if they come, where otherwise I shall be able to do nothing that may satisfy you or content myself.

“From Carlagh, when you find a fit time for it, I may meet you, to confer about our business, either here or elsewhere, when you will; but if you hold it not necessary, and that we may once be out of doubt of the Spaniards’ coming, . . . I shall apply myself northwards again very earnestly, for that is the work that I must by all means labour to perfect.”

Kilkenny, 15 September 1601, “being Tuesday.” *Signed.*

*P.S., in Mountjoy’s own hand:—*“Pardon me for not writing with my own hand, for I have all this morning been making a despatch into England. Besides all these numbers already determined on, I have written for 2,000 foot more and 200 horse, to be in a readiness upon our signification of the Spaniards’ landing. I pray let me hear from you often, and so shall you do from me.”

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: Received the 17th.*

Vol. 624, p. 115.

2. Copy.

Sept. 26. 165. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 105.

“This young gentleman, Mr. Hyde (the son of . . . the late undertaker in Munster), doth now, by seeking to establish himself there, give . . . good example to others. . . . Some of

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his friends (whom I do favour) have moved me to write to you in his behalf."

From the Court, 26 September 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received ult. Feb. 1601.*

Sept. 28. **166.** SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 619, p. 163.

"A warrant bearing date the 28 September 1601, upon the humble suit of Robert Meaghe, recorder of Kinsayle, licensing the inhabitants of Kinsayle until the 8 of October to repair to the town of Kinsayle, to withdraw themselves, their wives, children, and goods, without any imputation of treason."—Mountjoy: Carewe; Gardiner; Welshe.

"A warrant . . . to the Lord Barrye, Viscount Buttevant, to levy all the risings out of the country, and to be at Galbilye by the 4 of October, to withstand the joining of the Irish forces . . . with the Spaniards." *Same date, signed as above.*

"A warrant to Captain Taffe (?), high-sheriff of the county of Cork, to rise with his troop of horse and Captain Dillon's company of foot, to lie in some places near Kinsayle, to hinder the Spaniards from relief in the country, and to dispose of the risings out of Carlbarye Mackerye, to be commanded by the Lord Coursey, McCartye Reaghe, and Cormack Mac-Dermonde."

*Same date, signed as above.*

*P. 1. Endorsed by Carew: Brief notes out of the Council Book in Munster.*

Oct. 4. **167.** THE QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 614, p. 109.

We think it fit that the Earl of Thomond do return into that our realm. "Being well informed that through his good government and valorous parts, and by reason of our martial authority committed unto him in our county of Clare, he hath contained our subjects in that county in better obedience and civility than any other parts of the province of Connaught," we will and require that his commission be renewed, and so continue during our pleasure, and that he be joined in all commissions "for oyer and terminer, gaol delivery, and determining of all civil causes next unto our President and Chief Justice." And forasmuch as co. Clare was of ancient time in Munster until of late annexed to Connaught, "which we understand was upon some untrue surmise made by our Commissioners for Connaught, to the grievance and dislike of our subjects of that county," our pleasure is that if you and our Council "find it not evidently an hindrance to our service," you speedily, by revocation of our former commissions and letters patents, and granting new commissions of like authority and effect, and by other ways requisite in law, cause our said co. to be annexed to Munster, "which we are persuaded will be for the advance-

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ment of our service and the good liking of our subjects in those parts."

We recommend the Earl unto you "to be countenanced and graced in any place or employment which you shall think fit to call him unto, and that he may have his company of 200 continued at the number it is, notwithstanding any general order for alteration." Further, that upon the renewing of his commission he be allowed the former entertainment of 10s. a day for the same.

Given at our Manor of Richmond, 4 October, 43rd year of our reign.

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endd.: 4 Octr. 1602 (sic).*

Oct. 6. **168.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 108.

"I have written to you by Crosby at large, and of the public need say no more than what I write in the joint despatch. Only know this, I will devise to send you particularly 20 horse, to reinforce your own troop, and so shall the Deputy have 20, besides the other 100 of the 200 to bestow where he will; for one 100 Thomond hath gotten of the Queen. Say nothing of this to the Lord Deputy, for my Lord Admiral and I will make you two a present of an odd 40 horse over and above 200 which shall come into Munster. Logh Foyle shall have 60 besides, and all because you shall have the less to come from the North to trouble you.

"I did make the best use I could to the Queen of your husbandry of the victual, which indeed I was afraid would have much hindered the Lord Deputy's first drawing head in Munster. It hath pleased her to give infinite testimony of her favour and grace towards you, and she hath written this enclosed to you with her own hand. Show it, or conceal it, as you think it will do you good or evil with my Lord Deputy, who haply may be touched with emulation, though not with any other unworthy humour. He may deceive me, but I protest it shall grieve me, for my heart dearly loves him, and so much the rather because I know I have deserved it, and I believe I shall in his carriage to you find it, by which I told him I would judge a very great part of it. Sir, I pray you give him this enclosed, and see it burned, and tell him I so desired you should.

"For Sir Ed. Wingfield, I will be most glad, I protest, to do him any pleasure. Commend me to Sir H. Danvers. And for conclusion, think you shall be all cared for so as you shall say we be no drones. Ostend will hold out in spite of the Archduke; and if God bless my Lord Deputy there, the new Sp[anish] King will have no cause to boast this year for victories.

"Of the odd horse which my Lord Deputy and you shall have by a device of my Lord Admiral (the Earl of Notting-

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ham) and mine, speak nothing yet. All our friends are well, and long for you." *Signed.*

P.S.—“Sir, I pray you let me entreat you to deliver this letter where your eyes may be witness that it is burned; and certify me so much.

“Sir, my Lord Admiral and I have written to my Lord, that if he think he could by any way find the traitorous capital rebel (if now he find not likelihood of success by the Spanish succours) so disposed as that he would be made an instrument now to gain by some infallible proof his pardon, I must tell you true that, so her Majesty nor hers might not seem to woo a traitor to her dishonour, she is so weary of this Irish war, and so is all England, as we could be content to be rid of it, and so would the Queen: and so is she content to open herself to you and the Lord Deputy, and none else in that kingdom. You may take notice of it, and confer; but in anywise let such messengers be interposed as may not discover weakness or facility in the State; but if they do propound for favour, let my Lord Deputy not fear to hearken to them, for the Queen is contented to have his Lordship manage it, in whose judgment she will repose it, and all else.

“We direct our supplies and all to Waterford, though some say Yoghall were better, especially for victual. Let my Lord Deputy send us word what we will do.”

*Holograph. Pp. 3.*

*Endorsed by Carew:* From Mr. Secretary Cecil, dated, as by the packet appeared, the 6th of October 1601. Received the last of October.

Oct. 12. 169. SIEGE OF KINSALE.

Vol. 619, p. 175.

“A Note of certain Officers in the Army when Kinsale was besieged, 12 October 1601.

“The 12th of October 1601, and ending the 9 of January following, was entered Sir Jarrard Harvie, Quarter-Master General of the Army, at 10s. per diem; Captain Bodlye, trench master, at 10s. per diem;” Sir Francis Bareklye, Captains Blaynye, Sawfild, Roper, Roe, Rotheram, Gueste, Constable, Clare, Bostock, Hansarde, Harvie, Skipwithe, all Lieutenant-Colonels of regiments, at 8s. each per diem for the same time.

“Sir Henry Davers, Lieutenant of the Horse, entered the 10 of December at 20s. per diem, ending the same time. Captains Taylor and Gosnold, corporals of the field, entered the 24 of October at 8s. per diem, ending as before.”

*P. 1. Endorsed by Carew.*

Oct. 13. 170. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 110.

“My beloved George,—I have written to your worthy Deputy that he will confer upon Sir Richard Percy the place of a colonel, which he may now do without breach of instructions,

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because his army riseth in the list. You know how much I love and honour the noble Earl, who, notwithstanding his obligation in former times to those who esteemed us as Jews, did ever love us for the truth's sake; whereof, because I am well acquainted with the interest he hath in your affection, I think it superfluous to say more of his request than this, that it is very reasonable in all men's opinions, the merit of the gentleman considered, and that you must use your best assistance in the motion, and in all such occasions as run within your circle make our noble friend perceive that we are willing to advance his good desires."

"From my lodging at the Savoye," 13 Oct. 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 14. 171. SIR JOHN FORTESCUE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 402.

"This bearer, my cousin, Henry Fortescue, being appointed to have the charge of 100 men . . . in this service in Munster," I pray you for my sake favour him, "and if any of the bands be increased unto 150, . . . augment his company unto that number, for the which I will hold a thankful remembrance, and be ready to deserve the same towards any friend of yours, as it may lie in my power."

"At the Wardrobe, this 14th of October 1601." *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 19. 172. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 112.

"Because you may know what I write, if haply you should not be present with my Lord Deputy, I send you the copy of my letter now, hoping you have received my other despatches from Bristow and Barstable. The other letter you may show."

*Holograph. P. 1. Sealed and addressed. Endorsed:*  
19 October 1601; received 1st November.

173. SIR ROBERT CECIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 604, p. 114.

I have not much to write, having sent you two packets by Bristol and by Barstable. "We have received upon Friday last your packet by Captain Arundell, for which we attended with great devotion, because we had not heard from you since those letters arrived which Belman brought." Her Majesty approves of your counsels, and whatsoever you demanded above the proportion formerly directed is now increased for the most part, especially the artillery.

I send the copy of a letter from Lough Foyle from Sir Henry Dockwra, "whereby (as God Almighty knoweth) her Majesty is infinitely distasted, for whether it be difficulty, destiny, or dullness, nothing comes from thence according to expectation, so as it is true that your Lordship conceiveth, that nothing will be ever done in those parts of Ulster by particular governors, except there be one made governor of

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the province, whereto I find her Majesty sufficiently inclinable, and especially in liking with Sir Arthur Chichester. . . Explain yourself how you would have that carried, for I am of opinion Dockwra will hardly be commanded by Chichester, and to revoke him (though . . . he hath won small reputation there) were worthy consideration. Besides, I see not how he that dwelleth in Tyreconnell and he that dwelleth at Knoockfergus (all O'Cane's country being absolutely unpossessed) can hold correspondency together. . .

"The King of Scots, since the arrival of the Spaniards, hath made an offer that her Majesty shall employ such a portion of his islanders as she shall please, thereby to infest Tyrone at his own home. Her Majesty hath accepted hereof in the general, and meaneth to go on if . . . so good choice may be made of those that shall be waged as they may perform the duties for which they are hired, for your Lordship knoweth well that there had need be great consideration used in their choice, or else the best of them are a kind of savage, and most of them are interlaced with those Irish into whose countries they should be transported." We would have your opinion what numbers you would wish, whether divided or in one body, "or whether any of them should be used in Lough Foyle, which have most to do with O'Donnell, whose mother is a Scot, or . . . should rather be sent to Sir Arthur Chichester, whose opinion I would I had upon this matter; for although I confess there cannot be a better way for the Queen than to accept his offer, as well to engage the King in the quarrel as to terrify Tyrone and O'Donnell, who now take their pleasure in Louth, about Dredagh, and have won back Tyrlogh McHenry and Ever McColey, finding little or no resistance, yet I would be very glad to hear from your Lordship again before I carry on the matter to a resolution. Yet have I written to the Council of Ireland, who continually advertise the incursions of Tyrone, that they may know it for their comfort and that it may go abroad in as many mouths as may be.

"For the news . . . from Spain, . . . immediately after the departure of the fleet there was divers captains that had commissions to levy to the number of 4,000 more to be transported with all expedition; though the best I think they can do will be to keep their Christmas in their own country. With those supplies Brittendona is the commander. You shall likewise receive herewith a private letter, which was sent me to be conveyed unto you, whereunto I pray you let me receive the answer.

"Your Lordship touched, in a letter of the 20th (?) of October, that you had a desire to use the service of some of that country, wherein I find her Majesty very well to allow it, at the least to my seeming she doth; so as I doubt not but to procure you warrant as well for that which is past as for the future, only . . . remember the White Knight with some contentment, because he hath so well deserved.



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“Our soldiers are embarked at Rochester, and ready to set sail with the first wind, being to the number of 2,000. 2,000 other being transported from Bristol and Barstable I hope will not be long from you, for they are appointed to embark by the 20th of this month, besides the other 1,000 that go for Loughfoyle and Knockfergus; and so for the horses, which are appointed to be at Barstable by the 28th.

“Thus do your Lordship perceive that her Majesty is not unmindful of you, nor that her ministers lack care to give you all the help they may. This bearer, Paul Joye, an old devoted servant of yours, hasteneth to you with wings of affection to do you service. He can acquaint you what provisions are laden for you; and him her Majesty sendeth to be employed as you shall please.

“Since the beginning of this letter here are arrived great outcries from the frontiers of the Pale and the Pale itself, wherein many particular men write over that the traitor Tyrone doth triumph, that he hath been between Dublyn and Dredagh, that Tyrrough McHarry and Ever McColey and almost every one of your submitties do revolt, in so much as the state itself cry out for 2,000 men to be sent over, or else all which do hold any party for the Queen must absolutely revolt.

“Now, my Lord, in these cases it is true that I have put on a resolution absolutely to make you in all my counsels to the Queen the person from whom she must fetch all her oracles for the managing of that war; and yet because I presume your Lordship apprehended at the first those forces of the Spaniards to be greater than they are, and so maintained a true position that all things else were in vain if that plantation were not extinguished, yet now that by necessity you drew all your forces to head into that province, not being sure of these supplies which are coming, your Lordship will, when they are arrived, think of some course to strengthen those parts that seem to be in such want.

“Herein, my Lord, out of my desire that all things might have happy success, the more to improve your merit, I take upon me freely to impart unto you all things which from all corners I can gather, leaving then the application of them unto you, beseeching you only, as a worthy patriot, even a little to examine the expenses of that kingdom, as now the army will stand at this height. First, because . . . if this medicine of the mixed coin had not served to stop the present rage of that expense which that kingdom forceth, England could not have endured six months' supply without being driven to search those desperate means to raise moneys here which would have brought upon us little better than a rebellion in this kingdom.

“Next, my Lord, I beseech you think, though we have a Prince more perfect than ever any, and a Council of great gravity and judgment, yet it falleth more properly within the circumference of some man's industry more than others to

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solicit these things of charge and care, which make not a man always acceptable to the Prince whom they persuade to things of that nature. And yet, my Lord, mistake me not as if I thought you were not careful, or that I meant to faint, though I groan, under the burden, but only to impart unto you that I know this mixed coin will have his brick wall upon us by means of the exchange, which when it doth happen, then will that prove heavy to us in the end which now in the issue makes us less sensible of any charge of expense. . .

“ If you do but observe what hath been the fruit of entertainment of the Irish in companies either with Sir Henry Dockwra or Sir Arthur Chichester, you will think they have been much overseen to do it in the nature that they have done it, for I will give you an example where they have not stuck to give petty lords of countries entertainment for themselves and their followers, which hath cost the Queen more and been more worth unto them in a year than they should have seen of their own in 20 years; where in like cases the truer way were only to entertain the chiefs with some good pensions, and leave them to maintain the rascals as well as they can.

“ What mischief Sir Henry Dockwra hath feld (*sic*) I will not repeat, it is too apparent: and Sir Arthur Chichester likewise hath been overtaken not sticking to take in one Con O’Neale, that was but son to a father living in the Ardes, and yet Sir Arthur stooke not to give him 20s. a day sterling, for which favour he so well requited him as he betrayed all the trust that was committed to him; and now that Sir Arthur hath recovered him again, he makes dainty to hang him before he hath your Lordship’s warrant.”

*Copy. Pp. 6. Endorsed:* “ Copy of my master’s letter to the Lord Deputy.”

Oct. 19. 174. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 117.

“ I have written to you by the way of Bristol since Crosby went, and then did the Queen write to the Lord Deputy a most kind and gracious letter, whereof I send him (*sic*) the copy, and so did the Queen write to you another, both these of her own hand. If you think the showing of it will breed emulation (though in my conscience now the Lord Deputy will entirely love us both), then may you use it as you list. We embark 2,000 at Rochester in the fleet that shall keep the seas. Those have captains; the other have none, which shall be left to the Lord Deputy. They embark half at Bristol, half at Barnstaple, as the ships they are drawn from lie most fitly. A 1,000 are sent to Logh Foyle to enable them to infest the Northern traitors. You see we scant you not. God of heaven send us rid of this continual vexation; for I have here a purgatory, and am sequestered in you (the Lord is my witness) from one of the dearest friends I have

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amongst the sons of men. I had kept a room for you in the Parliament, though now I despair of it."

P.S.—"I pray you tell my Lord Deputy that it is against my soul that we appoint one captain, but it is my Lord Admiral (Nottingham) who now doth affect that. For myself, what a coxcomb I were to trouble myself with that business which you know naturall[y] I like not, and do know that whensoever I should have but a desire to run into the vanity of that company's affection, he that wins ten bath nobody, and he that loses one gets all that a railing tongue can give him. I wish therefore that my Lord do write unto my Lord and me, no way seeming particularly to suspect my Lord, for he will upon a kind letter turn to his desire; and let him therein desire us to have some care of him in that particular. Recommend my service to my Lord, and wish him from me as much as I would wish myself."

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Endorsed:* From Mr. Secretary, dated, as by the packet appeared, 19th October 1601. Received 1 Nov.

Oct. 19. 175. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 119.

My heart conceiveth infinite contentment "in the sincere affection which the worthy Deputy bears you." I hope, 'when our great supplies arrive, you will think how to spare some relief for the rere-guard of that kingdom, or rather the heart, lest it should be conceived that for an army of 3 or 4,000, that are not in case to bid battle, all other parts be forlorn; the clamour whereof doth lessen the reputation of that glory which I hope those rascal Moors will give to her Majesty's Deputy, if God send thither our supplies by land and sea before the Spanish support come to them, which will be before January; and therefore no time is to be forslowed when with safety any attempt can be made."

P.S.—"I have answered Ned Wingfield's letter, and do protest to you I am so far from wishing him ill, as I will be glad of any good should befall him; but you know he can look for no privacy with me, for his disposition and mine are no for society."

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.*

*Endorsed:* Dated 19 Oct. 1601. Received 1 Nov.

Oct. 19. 176. The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, 400.

I thank you for your letters, "and am very glad that the proud and insolent enemy chanced to land his forces so near unto you, whereby I make no doubt but the honour in their overthrow, which by so worthy a leader is like to be gained as my Lord Deputy is, part thereof will be given unto you, which I shall much desire and wish. I have written unto my Lord Deputy . . . what forces we have sent unto you, as well

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for the seas as the land, to work their speedy overthrow, which I doubt not will be performed to the honour of you all, and to the utter ignominy and shame of the enemy.

"I have sent unto you the gunner of *The Beare*, whom you so much desired to have, and some other such gunners and cannoniers as we hope will be able to do good service.

"There was never such a fleet of the Queen's ships so suddenly set out by any Admiral before, and if I knew any way better than other to work your strengths, you should find my willingness."

Court, 19 October 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 1 Nov.

Oct. 31. 177. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 121.

"This bearer . . . I have resolved to use . . . in Spain for the Queen's service, and he must get his credit in Ireland; for any other circumstances whereof I refer him to you wherein he may need your help. . . .

"I wonder that my Lord Deputy on the 24th had not received the Queen's letter with her own hand.

"From the Court, this last of October 1601.

"Burn this, and think it concerns his life."

*Holograph. P. 1. Sealed. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* Received at Mallow 24 Nov. 1601.

Nov. 4. 178. NOTTINGHAM and CECIL to MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 604, p. 123.

"We have taken all the courses that becometh public ministers to procure such support for that kingdom as the necessity of the State requireth; wherein, although we expect no thanks because we are tied unto it by straight obligations, yet to the intent we might make some kind of demonstration of our particular good wills unto you (whom we hold so dear)," finding all companies in that kingdom, especially the horse, hardly half in number, we send you so many horse "as might make up all such companies as your Lordship shall best like without creating new companies, which (being weak) are merely inutile."

"For those which are to go from Barstable we did direct . . . levy to be made upon such as would be most likely to bring the best and ablest horses; because we do wish that you would take all those for the reinforcement of your own company, being 70, saving 25, which, for old acquaintance sake, we desire may be presented to Sir George Carew, as a token of our care of his horseflesh."

*Note in Cecil's hand:* "There are besides those 200 to go from Bristol, and 60 from Chester, if all persons do their duties."

*Copy, corrected by Cecil. P. 1. Endd. by Carew:* "The copy of the Lord Admiral and the Secretary's letter to the Lord Deputy, 4 Nov. 1601."

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Nov. 4. **179.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 125.

I have not been forgetful of my promise for reinforcing of your horse company. I send you a letter from my Lord Admiral and myself to my Lord Deputy.

Court at Whitehall, 4 November 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Add.:* Sir George Carew, &c. at Cork. *Endd.*

Nov. 11. **180.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 350.

“Yesterday, immediately after dinner, the Spaniards offered us a skirmish, sending some hundred shot over the bottom between the Gallows Hill and our camp, who poured a volley of shot into the quarter next that place. Behind them they had laid divers strong seconds of 6 or 700 in the whole, and had lined their trenches from the gallows to the Rath upon the hill, where was a great gross. They supposed, as it should seem, that our men would have directly run upon them, and charged them to their trenches, as they were wont to do, where they should have had a very hot entertainment; but in that they found themselves deceived, for at the first we dealt with them but slightly, turning out but a few to maintain skirmish with them, and while they changed a few bullets, a party of ours was put up to the eastward toward Ryncurran, that beat into their trench in flank so thick as when ours gave more hotly upon those that began the skirmish, who fell back of purpose to that trench thinking there to find their fellows, they were before run away, not being able to endure the fury of the shot that we had so laid toward Ryncurran. By this means we had the killing and hurting of divers of them as we think, for we might see about half a score fall and carried off, and we brought away the body of an officer of theirs that by his clothes and fashion of fighting did seem to be an Alferé. Of our side we lost three, and had nine hurt; but truly we beat them very well. Anon after, I had letters from Waterford certifying the arrival of 300 of our foot from Barstable, and that the other 700 foot and 100 horse were coming after, being all shipped at the same time with them, so as they made account they would be there the next morning at the furthest. In the evening came a letter from the Earl of Thomond, dated at Castlehaven, where his L. arrived upon Monday with his 100 horse and above 1,000 foot from Bristoll. So as now all are come but the Queen’s ships, and those 2,000 men and provisions that were appointed to come in them, which I am in good hope we shall hear of shortly, the wind having continued good for them so long.”

“From the camp,” 11 November 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Mountjoy’s own hand.*—“I do hear that the rest of Berstable men and the hundred horse are arrived at Corke. One told me so that said he saw some of the horsemen with great feathers. Now God send us the Queen’s ships with our

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artillery and we will go roundly to work. God send your Lordship . . . a safe return"

*P. 2. Addressed:* Lord President of Munster—haste! haste! haste!

*Endorsed:* "The L. Deputy from Kinsale."

Vol. 624, p. 117.

2. Copy.

Nov. 12, 181.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 353.

"Though I assure myself the forces coming from the North (whether Tyrone be with them or no) cannot possibly be anything near that number that you (as it seemeth) are advertised, I have written to Sir Chris. St. Laurence, as you wish, to hasten to you with the companies under his command, and I doubt not but he will be with you very speedily; and besides you shall have my Lord of Thomond's horse so soon as possibly they can come to you, or anything else that you think may give you furtherance in that service. But since, besides the 2,000 foot and 240 horse which we expected from Bristoll and from Barstable, the Queen's ships for certain are discovered, and have direction to make into the haven of Kinsale, where I hope they will all be by tomorrow, I wish your Lordship to consider whether in your opinion it were not a fit course to send my Lord of Thomond to command that force appointed to stop those Northern rebels, who assuredly cannot be above 3,000 at the most, whatsoever any do give out, and your Lordship to return hither, that we may go roundly now about this business. I do much rely upon your counsel, and therefore desire speedily to hear from you, liking well that you have laid two posts for the readier conveyance of our letters to and fro."

Camp before Kinsale, 12 November 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 119.

2. Copy.

Nov. 14, 182.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 352.

"It may appear by this enclosed note what speeches are affirmed to have been spoken by one Stackbold; and for that both he and the informer are now at Lymericke and your Lordship near those parts, I pray your Lordship to send for them, and take such course with them as you know fittest to be taken in such a cause."

From the camp, 14 November 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed:* "For her Majesty's service.—To . . . the Lord President of Munster, at Kilmallock, or elsewhere, Haste, post, haste! At the camp before Kinsale, the 14th of November, at 2 in the afternoon. Mountjoye."

*Endorsed:* Received at Cork, 16 Nov., at 3 afternoon; at Mallow, 17th, at 3 aft.; at Kilmallocke, 17th, at 8 at night.

Vol. 624, p. 120.

2. Copy.

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183.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 356.

“By your letter of the 13th, which I received but even now, I find that Sir Anthony Cooke and Patrick Arthur, the conductor of the horse landed at Waterford, have written unto you to take some order for their relief, neither of them having means to sustain their charges. I had the like letters from them both upon their first arrival, whereupon I gave warrant to Archdeacon, who I heard remained there paymaster, and had money in his hands for the purpose, to furnish them presently with their means, that they might not be burdensome either to that city or to the country in their passing through it; and I did likewise write unto the Mayor that if the worst fell that Archdeacon should fail them, yet they might be fitly provided for, and he should be satisfied to his contentment; which I assure myself hath served their turns, or else I should have heard from them again before this time; so as your Lordship needs not take further care for them.

“I am very glad to find by this your letter that Sir Chris. St. Laurence, with his regiment from the Pale, the Earl of Clauricard out of Connaught, and the Lord Barry and Lord Bourke, with the forces of the country, are so near joining with you, since the rebels’ forces are come into those parts. But in good faith, my Lord, I have had two advertisements that, what reports soever are given out, they are not yet above 1,300 fighting men, and, if all they have and can look for do keep promise, as it may be they will not, now they hear of the arrival of our forces and the Queen’s ships, I am confident their whole number will not exceed 3,000 horse and foot; and with them I make account they will not adventure to force their passage, no, though their strength were much greater, as is reported, but will rather essay to steal by you, which you will be much more troubled to prevent, if you have not very good spial that you may trust to, which I doubt you will very hardly find, though of your care and best endeavour I stand most assured.

“The Queen’s ships came yesternight into this harbour, and this day the companies are a landing, so as now we shall go roundly to our business so soon as our pieces for battery and our other necessaries are unshipped. My Lord of Thomond, I think, will be here this night, and I was in good hope those from Waterford would have come to us sooner than the 20th. If the worst fall that the rebels should slip by you, so as you can be here as soon as they, we shall be able, I doubt not, to beat them all, and yet go through with this work too. Your Lordship shall want nothing that I may know you hold needful.”

Camp before Kinsale, 15 November 1601. *Signed.*

*P.S., in Mountjoy’s own hand.*—“There is some good sufficient Spaniards run to us of late, that inform us of many particulars in a better sort than we have heard of hitherto.

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In the last skirmish Captain Soto was slain, for whom they say there is great moan made. Don John convicted the serjeant-major that commanded that day in chief, and threatens to cut off his head. He doth upbraid them with the valour of our men, and with their own cowardice; and hath set up hands upon the gates of death to any soldier that cometh from the skirmish till he be fett (fetched) off by his officer."

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 121.

2. Copy. (P.S. omitted.)

Nov. 16. **184.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 624, p. 123.

"Noble Lord,—these men questionless are in great misery, for so we hear from them daily, and are likely to put up desperately their rest, for their case requires it. But we mean, God willing, to go presently to work with them, and to look to their attempts in the best manner we can. I pray send Sir Richard Pereye to me presently, for I intend that he shall have a regiment of those men that are now come over, and there must be immediate care taken of them, for they are very raw. I cannot send you much news, but when we have any worth the writing you shall hear from me."

16 November 1601. *Signed.*

*Copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 18. **185.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 125.

Sunday last, the 15th, I sent you a despatch, and "a letter sent unto me by one whom long since I employed to O'Donnell," the copy whereof I again send, lest the former be miscarried. You will see "what a congregation of rebels out of Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster are assembled together to aid the Spaniards and to infest this province." My Lord of Clanrycard is not yet come to me, nor my Lord of Thomond, whose troop of horse would do good service in these parts, and where you are there is little use of horse.

Since my last, I dislodged from Grennan and encamped at the abbey of Athasshell, upon the river of the Shrewer (Suir), two miles from Cashell. "This day I rose from thence, and do now encamp at the castle of Ardmayle, four miles from Athasshell, likewise upon the river of Shrewer, and nearer the enemy. As I was upon my march I received this enclosed letter from the Lord of Donboyne, whereby your Lordship may perceeve that Tyrone is still expected with a great force. And also I had advertisement even now from the Baron of Loughmaye, that upon Monday night O'Donnell, fearing that I had a purpose to give upon his camp, stood all that night in arms, and had manned all the places between us, and so continued in arms until ten of the clock the next morning; and then, seeing his intelligence to fail him and afraid to remain any longer in that ground, yesterday night (in the



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evening about sun setting) burnt his quarter, and (as the Baron doth advertise me) is gone towards Roscrea, which borders upon Ossery, but thereof I am not yet certain; but that he is dislodged from Templemore . . . is most assured. If he draw westward, as soon as I shall be advertised I will cause the country to meet him, but I rather think he will spend some days in these parts to expect the coming of Tyrone; and, when their force is joined, then I do assure myself that they will enter the province. But until Tyrone do come unto him, I suppose he dares not leave those borders and will not lodge near me, but remove according such advertisements as he shall receive of my proceedings.

“By the Lord of Donboyne’s letter your Lordship may see the Munster fugitives, with 500 foot and 100 horse, are gone from O’Donnell; the like by other means I have received, but cannot learn whither they are bound. The judgment which I make of their departure is to slip into the west of Munster by the abbey of Owghny, which they may conveniently do, except I should leave the borders I now am in and perrait O’Donnell to enter into the province. If this part of O’Donnell’s army do draw into Connoloughe, and from thence into Kerry and Desmond, their coming thither (where no force is before them) will put all that country into rebellion, and from thence, with their preys, they may pass into Carbry, and upon the farther side of the water relieve Kinsale at their pleasure.

“If . . . these fugitives do take this course . . . let me understand your pleasure what I shall do. My staying here may perchance forbid O’Donnell to go into the province; but when Tyrone comes their force will be so great as more than to wait upon them, and to fight with them upon advantages to give them impediment, is all that with this army (compounded of so many false hearts) I may in reason hazard. On the other side, if I should . . . repair to your Lordship, their passage will be without contradiction. And in tarrying here, your Lordship not being able to spare any men from your camp, all the west of Munster will instantly be in rebellion: which by a force presently sent thither under a good colonel would continue them from revolt. And also if the forces which I have were now with your Lordship (if Tyrone do not make the more haste), now that the Queen’s ships be come unto you, I do think Kinsale would be carried. But if your Lordship be of opinion that the best counsel is to confront Tyrone, and to leave all other counsels and to follow that is most important, then . . . the best way for you to keep all things in good temper is to block up the town with a competent part of your army, which may lodge strongly entrenched, and your Lordship in person may rise with the rest, and to join the force I have unto you; whereby your strength will be sufficient to fight with the rebels’ army, and, with the favour of God, in one day to make an end of this war.”

Camp at Ardmayle. 18 November 1601.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

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Nov. 18. 186. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 358.

"My motion of your return was grounded on the intelligence I had of the weakness of the rebel's forces, but with a purpose then, and as I do now, leave it to your better advice. But as things stand now, if any inform you that Tyrone is able to draw above 2,000 foot and 200 horse, and O'Donell with O'Rourke above 1,500 foot and 200 horse, do not believe them. All the Leinster forces that will join with them may perchance be 700 or 800; and yet I do not write this as believing they will be so many, but presuming, upon as great reasons as may be, that they can be no more. But I do assuredly believe that, if Tyrone and O'Donell join together, you shall not find them much above 3,000 foot and 300 horse, but, if Tyrone come not, much less. And yet I know your presence is of extraordinary consequence, for the Irish do beat one another with lies, and I think they of our side do believe all, for they do ever look upon their enemies with a pair of spectacles; and therefore, although for many great respects for the service and out of my affection I desire your presence, I fear I shall not so soon enjoy it as I covet.

"Our men out of the Queen's ships are landed. I think there be not ten of them that can shoot in a gun; and so extreme hath been the weather since their coming that I was fain to send 1,000 of them to Corke to relieve them for a while, or else I fear most of them would have died before they could have made cabins. None of the supplies are come to the camp. As soon as I can land my artillery I will begin somewhat, and shall advertise you when I have anything worth the relating."

18 November.

*Hol. P. 1. Sealed. Addressed. Endorsed:* 18 Nov. 1601. The Lord Deputy from the camp.

Vol. 624, p. 124.

2. Copy.

Nov. 22. 187. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 360.

"Besides the horse, which you may expect with my Lord of Thomond, I have sent you a band of 150 foot for Sir Jarrett Harvy, and for the supplying of other companies now in camp with you 360 more; so as your addition will be above 500 men by poll. If I have allotted over few either to your Lordship or any other, it is because I did not know that you stand in need of more, and yet I will amend it when I cast some of these new companies, when you shall have what yourself desire, if I may be acquainted with it."

Camp before Kinsale, 22 November 1601. *Signed.*

P.S.—"Cause Sir Richard Percy to come hither to take charge of the regiment whereof I have made him colonel."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 128.

2. Copy.

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Nov. 22. 188. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 129.

Since my last of the 18th, "our camps being not above eight miles asunder, and some of our horse quarters not four mile from them, upon the 21st, . . . I having that day for divers important respects removed into Cashell, they early that morning rose, whereof I had not intelligence, although Cashell were not above a mile and a half from Ardmayle, until our foot were lodged and our horse quartered upon the country. Notwithstanding, in hope to encounter, I commanded the carriage to draw with a good guard six mile that evening to a place where before I camped, called Grenan, and after midnight I rose with the foot and gave directions to the horse to follow me. And before day, the date of this letter, I had marched three miles, and before one of the clock was drawn far enough to have encountered the traitors if they had not made an unreasonable march, for that day they rose before night they marched over the mountains Slephelym, and were not far off the abbey of Owny, which was the passage they had into the county of Lymerieke, and from thence without stay they marched all night unto a manor house of the Earl of Kildare's, called Crom, which is distant from the place where they encamped in O'Maghon's country above 27 Irish miles.

"This long march is incredible, but, upon my reputation, I do assure your Lordship it is true. When I went from your Lordship, the mountain which they passed was not passable by reason of the great rain; and so did all the noblemen and gentlemen of these parts tell me; and, for that impediment, O'Donnell determined to march with all his forces by Cashell, which made me to draw thither and thereabouts. But the traitors, finding their purpose prevented by our drawing thither, and seeing an opportunity offered by this great frost, marched over that unpassable mountain, and by their infinite long march got the start of us, which otherwise had been impossible for them. And if upon this frost we had risen before them to have prevented their passage through Owny, then would they have passed at our back, as first they intended; so as I must lose the benefit of the time, [which] serving them as it did, it was not possible for one army to have forbidden their passage.

"This day, as I understand, they are dislodged from Crom, and are going into McAwlye's country, which is their shortest way to Kynsale. I will hasten unto your Lordship as speedily as I may, hoping to be with you upon Wednesday next, before which time they cannot, as I think, be at Kynsale. Tyrone is not yet come up, but daily expected, yet some are of opinion he will not come. O'Donnell, O'Rorke, and all the rest of the great men of Tyreconnell and Connaught, and three of the principal fugitives of Munster, namely, the Baron of Lixnawe, the Knight of the Valley, and Dermod Moyle McCarty

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(Florence his brother), are in this army, which, as far as I can learn, is little less than 4,000 foot and 300 or 400 horse.

“If your Lordship do not speedily put some forces at the castle of Enishannan, which is upon the [ ] of Kynsale, and not above four miles from your Lordship’s camp, I am afraid that they will put some prey of cows into the town to relieve the enemy. But lest my opinion might err, and that some fitter place may be thought of, I humbly pray you to advise of the matter, and endeavour what you may to prevent the worst. My Lord of Clanryekard will be, as I think, tomorrow in this town, for so I have assigned him. He is now at Lymerick. I missed of the Earl of Thomond’s horse troop, for they went through the White Knight’s country, far distant from the way I took.”

22 November 1601.

*Copp. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 23. 189. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 362.

“I have sent you my cousin, George Blounte, to be employed in the matter recommended unto us as far as you shall see occasion; the which you shall much better apprehend than myself, being nearer to the present estate of things. Yet whatsoever you shall do in that business I will avow as my own counsel, so much I do, and ever will, rely on your judgment. I protest I do believe that man to be faithfully affected unto the State, and right honest in his own disposition. I have only told him the matter he is chosen to be used in to be of great trust, secrecy, and merit to himself, and referred him to understand the particulars thereof from you, when and as far as you shall think best. Only, to make him deal confidently and sincerely with you, I have assured him that between us two there is an inward and a most inseparable bond of friendship.

“Touching the service we have both in hand. First, for your Lordship’s proposition by your letters of the 18th of November, I think it fittest, and the Council here do therein concur with me, that you continue your opposition to the Northern forces drawing unto this place, until you shall find that they either break or be so strong that you find no reason to front them. To strengthen you I have given order for about 150 horse by the poll and 500 foot, full, to march with all expedition to you. Of the enemy’s force the chief judgment I make is out of my own experience of their strength, whereof I do still remain confident. The intelligence I have is from Macoghlin Occarroll O’Moloy and two several men, that make me believe they have been amongst them.

“What Tyrone will be able to do I hear from Sir Arthur Chichester and from some of the garrisons in the North; but when they talk of those numbers that Wellche writeth of, do no more believe them than that the Turk is joined with them; no, if you did see them with your own eyes; for they

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will fill up their musters with boys, churls, and women, and garrons for horsemen. For what Tyrone is able to bring out of his country I know, and will venture my life on it, and what relief he can have in Leinster; but if the force of Munster do join with him I can make no great judgment of that.

“For our affairs here. We have now landed all our artillery, taken in Castell ne Parke, left a company there and at Rincorin. This day the ships do land four culverins in the island to beat the town. We have already six pieces upon the raft, and this next night, God willing, we begin our approaches to the nearest place designed for the battery. In the meantime from the raft we do great harm in the town. We have shot through Don John’s house, and made him remove his lodging; and one shot yesterday killed two men and shot off a captain’s leg. We do every day take or kill some of their sentinels, who, with all our intelligence, concur of the distress of the town. I am assured by one Grace, that upon my protection is come out of the town to me, that they are bethinking themselves of a composition, if they receive not present relief.

“Good my Lord, in your next letter let me hear your opinion how far it is fit and safe for me to entertain that matter; for it may please God to bring it to pass sooner than we think of. I beseech the eternal God prosper us both in this service of our mistress, and send us peace after all our labours. 23 November.”

P.S.—“I have written a letter to Sir Edward Winkfeeld; if he do not shew it you, I pray desire to see it.

“I hope by our several batteries we shall so annoy them that by that time they are ready to be forced the rebels will break, and we shall have your company.”

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed.*

*Endorsed:* “23 November 1601. The Lord Deputy from the camp, with copies of letters intercepted from Father Archer and Rich. Owen to O’Neale and O’Donel, and a copy of a letter from Macoghlin to the Deputy.”

Vol. 624, p. 131.

2. Copy.

Dec. 13. 190. The EARL OF SHREWSBURY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 398.

“I am earnestly entreated by this bearer, Mr. Francis Lasselles, son to a very honest gentleman, a good neighbour and friend of mine, to recommend him unto your Lordship’s good favour.” He “hath long served her Majesty and lost of his blood in that kingdom, and is still very desirous to follow the wars.”

“From my Lord of Bedford’s house in the Strand, this 13th of December 1601.” *Signed:* Gilb. Shrewsbury.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

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## 191. "A DISCOURSE of IRELAND."

Vol. 600, p. 190.

"Sent to Sir Robert Cecil, her Majesty's principal secretary, from S. G. C." (Sir George Carew).

"Among the great affairs of estate, this realm of Ireland is not of least account, being the second kingdom over the which her Majesty weareth a crown, and therefore as the second jewel to be preserved, and, as near as may be, to be made a help unto England. But since (as the State now standeth) so good an expectation is not to be looked for, yet in wisdom is to be endeavoured to make it as little chargeable to the Crown of England as may be.

"The common opinion received, and by the rebels published, to be principal motives of their late and former rebellions since her Majesty's reign, is supposed to be religion; but therein let no man be deceived, for ambition only is the true and undoubted cause that moves the lords and others of this realm to take arms. In the which the English race and the Irish have different ends. The English to recover again the supreme government in bearing her Majesty's sword by one of themselves, as for many years and ages they have done, and generally striving to have the captainries of their countries like palatines in their own hands, not admitting of sheriffs or other officers of justice to restrain their barbarous extortion or to overlook them. Thus far only the ambition of the English reacheth; for to be subjects to any other prince than to her Majesty or her successors, no man can think them so sottish as to desire it; and to be in any other quality (than in the state of a subject) they cannot be so foolish as to propound any hope. The Irish lords aim at a higher mark, still retaining in memory that their ancestors have been monarchs and provincial kings of this land; and therefore, to recover their former greatness, they kick at the government and enter into rebellion, losing no times of advantage or refusing the least foreign aid that may (by troubling the State) advance their desires; hoping in time (by strong hand) to regain the Crown of Ireland to themselves.

"These several ambitions swelling in the hearts of the English and Irish lords (which in the end, if their desires were gained, would prove the ruin of the English, which yet they foresee not) are the true grounds of their continual rebellions. And to draw multitudes of the meaner sort of this kingdom unto them, they mask their ambitions with religion, making the same their stalking-horse to allure the vulgar to run their fortunes. And now, having these latter years (not without great loss unto themselves) tried the uttermost of their forces, and find it to be a work impossible by their own swords to compass their several ends, yet out of two hopes conceived they remain in their former obstinacy; either of which succeeding (as they expect) this kingdom will be more out of frame than hitherto it hath been. The one is the

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coming of Spaniards to their aid; the other (whose days the Lord multiply *ad infinitum*) is her Majesty's decease. Either of these will make all this that is past but a shadow or nothing in respect of the troubles that will follow. But as for the latter (being a thing by good subjects not dreamed of) is purposely omitted, intending only to speak of the first, which is very worthy of consideration.

“By all intelligences that can be learned they do persuade themselves that this summer the King of Spain will send them succours; which if he do, no part of the kingdom—no, not the cities—will be free from rebellion, as well in regard of the affection they have to that nation and to their religion, as the inveterate malice they have to our religion and us. There is no question but the Queen will be able to expel the stranger and suppress them; but the doing of so great a work will cost England a greater price than Ireland is worth, and bring the same into such a consumption as many years will not restore it to its former wealth.

“To avoid this present mischief, one of two ways must be taken, either a peace with Spain or a pacification with the rebels here, and both of them, in wise men's opinions, easy to be wrought if they were attempted. The first upon indifferent terms, he being so great a monarch, and heretofore desired by himself, is far from dishonour, and the other may be handled as it may be no less honorable.

“The rebels are yet wavering, fearing their own ruin if Spain fail them, and therefore the time now fits to take the occasion to appease them. Upon Tyrone only depends all the mischief; and some do report that he would be glad of her Majesty's mercy, and so he may be wrought (if his estate be so weak as is reported) as that he should seek the same. Whereby the Queen's honour (which is most religiously to be regarded) is not only preserved, but increased by the abundance of her mercy to so infamous an offender. If he were reduced, the charges (which the coming of Spaniards will put the Queen unto) were eased, for then the cause of their coming into Ireland is lost. But if they come, then the question is whether he may be entreated to be a subject, aiming as he doth to wear a crown, and living in so great hope of the same by the Spanish aid.

“Further, it is most certain, if the King of Spain send no men, and do but supply them from time to time (as of late he did) with money and munitions, that the Irish, being greedy of wealth, as long as money may get men (which in this poor nation of Ireland they cannot want) will remain in rebellion to wear out the time until that fearful day before mentioned. Wherefore, to prevent the danger threatened, either a peace with Spain or a pacification here were fit to be taken, whereof the first is most expedient, most honorable, and easiest. But if the latter shall be better allowed of, then the surest way to

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effect it is a sharp prosecution before his aid can come, which will enforce him unto it.

“The scope and end which all men conceive is aimed at in England (both by her Majesty and her Council) is chiefly respective to the present, for the determination of the excessive charge which Ireland now costeth, and not to continue the exhausting of treasure and loss of men to ease future times, but to let that time provide for itself. For we may be assured that all the cost which shall be now bestowed upon this realm will be then merely lost. Busy heads, maligners of the present, and those especially which can least judge of matters of estate, or those of English birth that have inheritance in Ireland, and such as live by the wars, will repine at any pacification but by the sword; the one because they malice the State; the other two desirous to make it exemplary;—the one of them hoping by the same to live more quiet in after times, and the other to have crowns to maintain them for the present;—but none of them all respecting the loss of men and money that must be consumed in finishing the work. Kings and bodies politic are to do that which is most requisite for the benefit of their estates, and not to guide their counsels according to men’s particular fancies. The King of France is a good pattern to be followed. In him it was accounted wisdom, and among wise men not thought dishonorable, to buy in his rebels with offices and assignations, grounding evermore for a maxim, *Qui a le profit a l’honneur*. How can it then be reputed dishonorable in the Queen to give mercy only?”

“But if her Majesty’s indignation against that archtraitor Tyrone be so deeply rooted in her royal breast as that it cannot sort with her princely greatness to leave so wicked an offender unpunished, yet to renew amity with a King is both honorable and christianlike, the doing whereof will in a short time enforce these beggarly traitors to run desperate fortunes to their present ruin. Whereas, to the contrary, so long as Spain shall relieve them with men and money, or with money only, there is no hope to see an end of this rebellion, but every day will relapse from ill to worse. How you are persuaded in England of the coming of Spaniards into Ireland is not known to us; but we here (besides the daily rumours spread amongst the Irish) have intelligence by merchants of this country that their coming is reported in Spain.

“And in reason there is greater cause to believe it now that the King will send them succours than before, because Tyrone’s son is as a pledge in Spain, before which time the little munition which came thence was sent by the clergy, but the last, which was a great proportion, and with it money, was sent from the King, and with it particular presents of chains and jewels to Tyrone and O’Donnell, and letters of assurance that he would never fail them with assistance to their contentment. And for the speedy accomplishing of that



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promise the Spanish bishop, called the Archbishop of Dublin, is purposely gone to negotiate and effect the same, taking solemn oaths upon the sacrament publicly to return with forces before Lammas next. And for the better assuring of the Irish that he meaneth to deal faithfully with them, he hath left in Ulster his servants of most trust behind him, all his household stuff, which is said to be very rich, and his plate, valued by them that saw it at £2,000.

“These circumstances duly considered, there is little doubt but the rebels shall have aid, which will breed a long and chargeable war if it be not timely prevented by one of the two ways before mentioned.”

*Pp. 3. Corrected by Carew, and dated by him, “1601.” Endorsed.*

## 192. THOMOND.

“Probable Reasons why Thomond ought to be under the Government of Mounster.”

Vol. 614, p. 122.

First, by the original name of Munster, Thomond was comprehended as part thereof, “as the Irish word ‘*Twoghwene*,’ viz., North Mounster, purported, and so continued these 1,300 years . . . without contradiction.”

“Secondly, Thomond sithence the conquest was, and now is, inhabited by Mounster men, as by their language, alliance, and habitation of both sides the Shanen, viz., divers of the McBriens inhabiting in the county of Lymericke and Dowgharrae, may appear.”

“Thirdly, Thomond . . . answered to sises and sessions by the name of the county of Lymericke, and received their trial for offences committed in Thomond at Lymericke before the Commissioners of Mounster, till of late years it was . . . made a county absolutely of itself by the name of . . . Clare, . . . by reason that Thomond and . . . Lymericke that now is was too great and troublesome for the people to assemble together in one place, and Inish and Quyn appointed for the delivery of the gaol of Thomond, and the Commissioners of Mounster . . . sithens that division did minister justice in Thomond, . . . until . . . in Sir Edward Fitton’s government in Connaught, for that . . . Leitrim, Sligoe, and Maio, and a great part of . . . Roscoman, upon his first coming to the government, were not amenable to law, for his better furtherance. Clare was for the first time by special words left to his government, which alteration provoked great dislike and disturbance in . . . Clare, till . . . in Sir William Drury his time and in the beginning of Sir Nicholas Malby his government successively, the same was re-established under the government of Mounster, and so held till Sir Nicholas Malby, upon earnest and importunable suit obtained by special commission to have jurisdiction there; and so remained . . . until it pleased the Queen’s Majesty of late years to grant over the martial government thereof to the

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Earl of Thomond, and to appoint that his forces and soldiers should be of the list of Mounster."

Fifthly, for prevention of any enemy landing along the coast of the Shanen it will be expedient that the governor of Mounster shall command the inhabitants of both sides, "as upon a late accident there was sufficient proof."

"Sixthly, for that some part of Thomonde is within the franchises and liberties of Lymericke offences committed there . . . is dispunishable, for that the same is not within the jurisdiction of Mounster where Lymericke is, neither can the mayor punish it by reason that the city and their franchises be of several counties. So as wrong done to that principal city near their gates is upon the matter dispunishable but by a secondary suit to the governor of Connaught, which breedeth cause of dislike betwixt the city and country."

"Seventhly, the city was first erected, and great liberties thereunto granted, to be as it were a fort or place upon all occasions to suppress and withstand the force and tumults of Thomond. Sithence which time the citizens purchased great territories in Thomond, which, by reason of the severance of Thomond from Mounster, they cannot so conveniently possess as otherwise they would have done, if they were of one province, and upon all occasions give their best help and furtherance to suppress any violence or injury done by any of the inhabitants of Thomond."

Eighthly, touching the doubt made for punishing of stealths &c., interchangeably betwixt Thomond and Clanricard, by the law they may be punished in either county, "so as if a man of Thomond steal from . . . Galwey and convey it into Thomond he may receive his trial either in . . . Clare or . . . Galwey." But a local offence must be tried in the county where it was committed, and "by statute law the commissioners of each shire or county be authorized to remand prisoners from one shire to another, to receive trial . . . in the county where the offence was committed: which we doubt not will be duly observed by the commissioners that shall have the managing of these causes."

"Ninthly, touching the allegation made that the return of the commission for limitation and division of shire ground should make a union of Connaught and Thomond together, it appeareth that, long before any such commission was granted, Thomond was made a shire ground distinct from . . . Connaught and under . . . the governor of Mounster; so as, if any such return was, it was superfluous and not warranted by statute."

"Tenthly, where it is alleged that, by the composition of Connaught, Thomond was . . . reputed as a member thereof, the composition now extant and returned into the Chancery manifestly witnesseth the contrary; for Thomond for itself compounded, having no relation to Connaught but as a distinct county of itself. So as, by her Majesty's prerogative

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royal, her Highness may dispose of the rising-out thereof and appoint a special collector for collecting the composition, and receive no prejudice thereby.

“Lastly, at the last Parliament there was a motion made in the lower House by Sir Nicholas Walsh, then Speaker of the Parliament, that Thomond should be united to Mounster, as a matter of great consequence given him in charge by the Lord Deputy and Council to prefer; which his Lordship and Council would not direct to be moved in that most honorable and public place if they had not thought fit that the same should be, as it was in times past, under the jurisdiction of Mounster. And for that by Poyng’s Act matters to be debated in Parliament must be first agreed upon and\* sent into England and her Majesty’s consent obtained, and the bill remanded again to the Parliament House to proceed to voices in the higher and lower House, before the Parliament house can of their own motion establish a law, this great circuit gave impediment that Thomond by Act of Parliament was not annexed to Mounster. And in the lower House debated and resolved, that the Queen’s Majesty by her commission only might annex it, . . . which was greatly laboured and sought by Mounster men, and not controlled by many of Thomond to be effected.”

*Pp. 5. Dated by Carew, “1601,” and endorsed by him.*

### 139. THOMOND.

Vol. 614, p. 125.

“Probable Reasons why Thomond ought to be under the Government of Munster than of Connaught, and no hindrance to her Majesty’s service, but rather a furtherance.”

The river of Shennan was never thought by the State to be a cause of separation, and there are at least 20 fords where horse and foot may pass. Thomond hath been since the conquest called the North part of Munster. Sir Nicholas Malby, when there was no governor of Munster, by favour procured it to be annexed to Connaught. By taking it from the shire town and gaol, which was Lymericke, many inconveniences have happened, and many prisoners of account made escape; and the Commissioners have been driven to keep their assizes in an open abbey.

The same governor should command both sides the Shennan, as “there was sufficient proof made thereof in this Lord President’s time in the taking of the Glynn, Carrickfoyle, and other castles, and the transporting of his army from Thomond into Kerry.”

Touching stealths, &c., *as above.*

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\* The rest is in Carew’s hand.

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“The Bishop of Cashell, chief metropolitan of Munster, hath his jurisdiction extending to Thomond, and the Bishop of Kyllalow, suffragan to the Bishop of Cashell, hath also his jurisdiction in Thomond.”

“Connaught being ever a rebellious province of itself, the less counties the governor hath to govern (though he have five shires besides Fermannogh, which was always adjoining to it), the better.”

“For the rent and composition of Thomond, which hath been more truly paid than in any county in Ireland (as the Treasurer can witness), [it] is to be paid to the Treasurer of the kingdom, and not to any governor, so as her Majesty can lose nothing, but rather benefit; though Thomond be like for the most part to be waste, as it is, if it should be joined to Connaught.”

*Pp. 2. Dated by Carew, “1601.”*

*Endorsed:* The copy of the reasons sent by the Council of England to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland why Thomond ought to be joined to Munster.

## 194. THOMOND.

Vol. 614, p. 127.

“Some Reasons to induce the not altering of the County of Clare, called Thomond, from the Province of Connaught to Munster: with the inconveniences that may arise if that county should be translated to Munster.”

The river Shennan is a natural bound, “and nature hath not cast the like in no province within the whole kingdom.”

Munster is already larger than Connaught, “and hath in it many cities and walled towns: where Connaught hath only the town of Gallwaye and the waste town of Athenry.”

Thomond would “be made a den or sink to receive all stealths . . . out of Connaught, and cover all malefactors and thieves that would resort thither; for that it would be overchargeable and tedious to the poor distressed subjects to follow the stealths into a foreign province.”

“Connaught, besides . . . McWilliam and sundry other provincial rebels, hath many strong enemies of Ulster to live upon it, as O'Donnell, O'Rorke, Magwyre, and others, who make daily incursions upon them, and of late have harassed the whole province even to the gates of Gallwey; against whom they were never strong enough to make resistance, but they will be now far more weak if Thomond be taken from them; which is . . . more potent in . . . men meet for defence than most of the other parts.

“In all times heretofore there have been civil broils and dissensions between the families of the O'Bryens, being lords of Thomond, and the city and county of Lymericke, in so much as great effusion of blood hath passed amongst them, being

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then but borderers one upon another, where now if they should be reduced under one government it would increase their jars and make them stomach one the other the more, and so . . . . out of their private disagreement would never be wanting occasions to feed public disturbance in both provinces."

The alteration would carry from Connaught the composition and rents of Clare, which "were formerly assigned towards the defraying of the province of Connaught."

*Pp. 2. Dated by Carew, "1601." Endorsed.*

**195. THOMOND.**

Vol. 614, p. 129.

"An Answer to the Reasons exhibited for the continuance of Thomond under the Government of Connaght."

1. "Thomond was parcel of Mounster sithence the uttermost limit of time to which man's memory may reach, and to search a further antiquity is but nugatory and idle to the matter now considerable.

2. "The etymology of the word (Thomond) proves it to be parcel of Mounster *ab initio*; for Mounster, by the Irish denomination thereof, contains in itself the four meares or limits of a petite orbe or world, viz., Desmond for the South, Thomond the North, Ormond the East, and Earemond the West, which now is Clan Morris and Kyerry. The Irish chronicles do witness this limitation." The Shannon cannot sunder their union. "The inconveniences alleged of the several hangings of earls' sons for offences in the several baronies of Thomond and Clanrickard is rather detractive or a taxation of the several governors of that time, for following their particular affections under the shelter of public justice."

3. "The earldom of March and Ulster and the lordships of Connaght and Trym were annexed to the Crown of England, as is recited by a statute made in this kingdom 10 H. VII. cap. 15., wherein no mention is made of Thomond, but is left as before to make up Mounster."

4. "Her Majesty . . . without Act of Parliament or writ of perambulation under the broad seal, cannot appropriate Thomond to Connaghte."

5. With respect to convenience only "these reasons following do sufficiently interest Munster to Thomond."

6. "The provincial rebels, when they are weak or distressed by persecution, do draw their aid commonly from Connaght to Mounster, making Thomond their . . . passage, and by such supplies they put new life to their revolt, and this begets a difficulty in their overmastering; the prevention whereof cannot so conveniently be observed when Thomond is divided from the command of Mounster as otherwise. The experience whereof was lately seen after the heat of the last action was abated,—all the foreign rebels forced to abandon this province, and the domesticated traitors quitted of their power to effect

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their action; yet McMorris and the rest of the banished rebels bringing new aids with them to Thomond to be transported over the river of Shanen to Clanmorris, where they hoped to revive their insurrection, the Lord President (Carew), to prevent them, was forced to venture the army listed for Mounster into Thomond, and in the confines thereof lay encamped out of his own command till the said rebels were constrained to make their retreat into Ulster;" but he had little help or succour out of Thomond.

7. "The Western rebels of Mounster (and especially McMorris for his alliance and marriage) in the decay of their action do commonly make Thomond a retiring place," where they draw new helps, or are sheltered secretly "till they recover some possibility of return." The President of Mounster cannot punish them, because they are out of his command, nor the governor of Connaght, because their treason is local in Mounster.

8. The language of Thomond is the same as that of Mounster, and far different from that of Connaght; "the Irish habit there and the people's inclination in every point answering Mounster." If it be tied to Connaght their difference may casually procure great dissensions, and by their partakings and factions in seeking particular revenge may grow to a general revolt: as we see in other governments, some, for injuries received of subjects aiming at a power to requite that wrong, do run into action against their sovereign.

9. Amongst other her Majesty's instructions for Munster there is one article that the Lord President, upon their failing to do right, may re-seize the franchises of any of the corporate towns thereof. "Now the franchises and liberties of Lymbrick in the North side thereof are in Thomond, where if the mayor, and bailiffs . . . commit any misprision, the Lord President cannot execute the content of that instruction upon them, because their crime was out of his command, neither can the governor of Connaght reform that fault, because their franchise is but one body with the city, which is the principal, wherein he cannot intermeddle. . . The agent of that corporation did lately labour to extort the execution of the fine imposed upon the mayor, . . . alleging that the prisoner sought at their hands was restrained by them for an offence in their North franchises, whereof the Lord President had no power nor command; but his suit was rejected, for that the mayor was not only censured for that cause but for other inexcusable contempts confessed in the mayor's submission.

10 "The Earl of Thomond's foot and horse company are in the list of Mounster, and in the time of cessation are appointed to garrison in Thomond."

*Pp. 4. Dated by Carew, "1601."*

*Endorsed* : Reasons to approve that Thomond ought to be within the Province of Mounster. "1602" is added in another hand.

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Vol. 614, p. 97.

**196.** MUSKRY.

“A Note of all the Lands in Muskry.”

“First Old Muskry—the Lord’s part thereof is 90 plowlands, which lands are his own demesne lands, to be set at what rent he list,” &c.

“The judges of Muskry called the Hegans.”

*Similar to No. 518 in the preceding volume.*

*P. 1. Dated by Carew, “1601.”*

*On the dorse Carew has written the names of “Cormock’s arbitrators,” and of “Sir Cormocke McTeg’s sons’ arbitrators;” also, “The Lord President and Council to be umpires.”*

**197.** ABUSES in the CITIES and TOWNS.\*

Vol. 601, p. 203a.

“The Inconveniences that grow unto her Majesty’s Service by granting the ample and large Charters unto the Corporations of the several Cities and Towns of Ireland.

“That the cities may be made counties and have two sheriffs. Hereby they will prevent the executing of her Majesty’s writs; whereas now oftentimes a ‘*non omittas propter aliquam libertatem*’ is directed to the sheriff of the county, who thereby entereth into their liberties, etc. The fear of fines or ameracements (as may be objected) cannot urge the mayors and bailiffs to perform their duties therein; for that the corporations, by her Majesty’s grant, have such fines and ameracements. Hereby they shall not be subject to the sheriff’s *mandamus* for returning of juries. Hereby they would be enabled to inquire of riots, which cannot be done by the statute without the assistance of the sheriff, so to promise Protestants, though free Papists escape.

“The mayor and sheriffs may hear and determine treasons, whereby Papists that maintain Jesuits, seminary priests and proclaimed traitors, and such as buy and sell with the rebels, by the partiality of such judges may be emboldened in their offences and escape due punishment; whereby all occasion of finding out treacherous practices may be taken away from governors and upright judges, that they may with more security contemn law, justice, and the governors of provinces. That if an Englishman or Protestant should commit manslaughter or kill (*se defendendo*) a town’s Papist, that a jury of papistical Judases (who hold it high zeal to betray Protestants and violate their oaths with them) might convict such an offender of wilful murder, being here treason, and that the mayor, a like judge, might give like judgment.

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\* This document is inserted among those relating to the siege of Kinsale without any apparent reason; but it is retained here because its exact date is unknown.

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“That the corporations might have of her Majesty feefarms of attainted lands. Hereby they would be better enabled to resist her Majesty’s laws and injunctions, to oppress with their common charge in suits of law any that will withstand wrong offered him by any private citizen. That the laws to them may be but as spider webs. That they may boldly despise all higher powers, and use all knights and captains at their own pleasures. They sue for payment of cess for soldiers, where in these cities many have died for want of food and lodging. In brief, they sue only for two things: for authority, but not to do justice; for riches, but not to pay subsidy or give tribute.

“The consequences of granting the premisses may be judged by these matters precedent hereunder written.

“The mayors are here escheators, whereby goods and lands that ought to be escheated are concealed and detained from her Highness; for did any mayor find any concealments by office?

“The mayors are here coroners. Murder is manslaughter, manslaughter killing in defence, and the violent death of an English or Irish man (the townsmen only excepted), unless they find him *filonem de se*, not to be found at all, and sometimes not inquired of.

“Their mayors are searchers, but never seize prohibited wares, neither inform against transporters of such, nor any way exercise that office, unless it be to get some fees of Englishmen and others of the country and strangers that do traffic with them.

“The mayors are admirals from their quays to the main sea. What pirate have they taken, or what booties of rebels, or what other service they have done, is unknown. We see none, hear, nor read of any.

“The mayors are justices of peace, but they never apprehend or commit any traitors, though many in their times have been committed by others; but their service consisteth in bailing, in enlarging, and rescuing prisoners. They have now the Queen’s writ *de excommunicatis capiendis* for many persons, but apprehend none, although specially willed by the Lord Chancellor’s letters. For example, the Bishop of Limerick was rescued of a Jesuit, the whole town for the most part rising and taking the prisoner perforce as he was going to jail.

“They will imprison a Protestant for breach of a private covenant, and suffer traitors breaking the bond of their allegiance to live in their cities unpunished; and divers citizens and townsmen themselves are in actual rebellion, being the most dangerous men in all the kingdom.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*



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**198.** SIEGE OF KINSALE.

Vol. 601, p.198.

“Collections, by way of Journal, of the difficulties and impediments in our proceedings since the discovery of the Spanish fleet and forces before their entry into Kinsale, to the very great hindrance of the service.”\*

1601, 21st September, Monday.—The Lord Deputy (Mountjoy) met the Lord President (Carew) this day at Laughlin, where he found the Lord President not well, and went that night to Kilkenny, where they sat in Council with the Earl of Ormond and the Council the next day.

22nd.—“News from the mayor of Cork, by post, that a Spanish fleet was discovered near to the Old Head of Kinsale.”

23rd.—“Another post from Sir Charles Willmott and from the mayor of Cork, advertising the Spanish fleet to be come into the harbour of Kinsale; whereupon Captain Roberts was despatched into England with letters to [the] Lords, and agreed that the Lord Deputy . . . should draw to Clonmell.”

24th.—Mr. Marshal was despatched into the Pale and to the Council at Dublin for companies and necessaries. Sir Henry Davers was sent for the companies about Armagh, and Sir John Barkely for those about Navan. The Lord Deputy went to Kiltenan, a castle and dwelling house of the Lord of Dunboine's, being a great day's journey. Letters from the mayor of Cork, that the Spaniards had landed and entered into Kinsale.

25th.—His Lordship left Kilkenny and went to Clonmell, where Sir Nicholas Walshe came to him. Resolved that his Lordship should go on to Coreke.

26th.—From Clonmell to Glonowrie, Lord Roche's castle.

27th, Sunday.—From Glonowre to Coreke, with the Lord President, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Nicholas Walshe.

29th.—“His Lordship and those councillors with some horse went to Kinsale to view the town and harbour: found the Spaniards to be possessed of the town, and that the greatest part of the shipping was out at sea returning into Spain.”

October 3rd.—Sir William Fortescue and Sir Benjamin Berry came to Coreke with the Lord Deputy's and other companies.

8th.—Mr. Marshal (Wingfield), Sir George Boucher, and Sir John Barkely came with companies.

10th.—Sir Henry Davers, Sir Henry Folliett, Captain Blany, and others came to Coreke. Mr. Marshal and Sir John Barkely, serjeant-major, went to Kinsale to view a fit place to encamp in.

13th.—“It was resolved to take the field, but nothing yet come to enable us thereunto.” The weather extremely wet.

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\* *Note by Carew*:—“Copied out of the original sent into England.”

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16th.—“The Lord Deputy left Corecke, and encamped with the army at a place called Owny Buoy, five miles from Kinsale, rather choosing to take the field in that sort unprovided than the country should discover those wants, and fall away to the Spaniards.”

17th.—“The army rose and marched within half a mile of Kinsale, where they encamped under a hill called Knock Robin, having not means to entrench. Captain Morgan came this day out of England, and Jolly, the master-gunner, from Waterford.”

22nd.—“Captain Button, who had the wafting of the munition and victuals from Dublin, with the Queen’s pinnace *The Moore*, arrived at Corecke and came to the Lord Deputy at camp, signifying that the rest of the shipping was coming.”

23rd.—The shipping reached the harbour of Cork, and were ordered to the Oister Haven to unlade the artillery and munitions.

26th.—The provisions coming, we encamped on a high hill on the north side before Kinsale called the Spittle, and there entrenched.

27th.—At night Sir John Barkelye, Sir William Godolphin, and Captain Bodly were sent down to view the most commodious place to plant the artillery to batter the castle of Ryncorren, commanding the harbour.

28th.—“Two culverins were landed and all means used to mount them, but it could not be done till the next day, so ill was everything fitted by reason there had been no use of them of a long time.”

November 1st, Sunday.—After a long battery we took the castle, upon promise of their lives only to the Spaniards. The enemy still had 4,000 men within the town, we being hardly so many.

5th.—Four barks with munition and victuals from Dublin arrived this day in the harbour of Kinsale. Intelligence that Tyrone was coming with a great army to join with the Spaniards. Resolved that the camp should be entrenched on the north side, and that the Lord President, with 2,100 foot and 325 horse, should draw down to the border of the province to stop, or at least hinder, his passage; the Lord Barry and the Lord Bourke with the forces of the country to join with him.

10th.—The Spaniards, having notice that a great part of our army was gone with the Lord President, attempted to do somewhat upon us. They were “very well repelled, and that readily, with a good killing upon Captain Soto and divers others.” News of the Earl of Thomond’s landing at Castle Haven with 100 horse and 1,000 foot; and that Sir Anthony Cooke and Patriek Arthur had arrived at Waterford with the other horse and foot that embarked at Barstable.

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12th.—Sir Richard Leveson arrived at Corke harbour with the ships and 2,000 land soldiers, and had direction to come to Kinsale.

14th.—“The wind still contrary, yet with much ado they warped in; and Sir Richard Leveson [Admiral] and Sir Amyas Preston [Vice-Admiral] came to the Lord Deputy at the camp.”

15th.—The 2,000 soldiers landed. The Earl of Thomonde came to the Lord Deputy.

16th to 18th.—We were fain to send Thomond's horse and 1,000 of the foot to Corke to be refreshed for a week, “the weather being at that time so extreme, and they coming so newly from sea, as they began to die in good numbers that night.”

18th.—The Lord Deputy called a council. Resolved, that the soundest course would be to invest the town at once, and to plant our artillery.

20th.—A castle called Ny Parke, “on the other side in the island,” taken.

22nd, Sunday.—“Resolved, that three culverins should be placed in that island, for that the Lord Deputy had advertisement, by one that came to him out of the town, that Don John most feared annoyance from that place, though to us it seemed far off.”

24th.—“This night it was resolved to begin their nearer approaches; and although the night was very light, and the ground extreme hard with frost, and the enemy continued all night upon such as digged with great volleys of shot, yet we brought the work to very good perfection, with very little hurt done us. This evening the Lord Deputy understood from the Lord President that O'Donnell with his forces were stolen by him.”

25th.—The 1,000 foot returned from Cork. The Lord President returned to the camp. “At his departure O'Donnell was in O'Carroll's country, towards whom the Lord President made all possible haste, and by that time he was come near to the Holy Cross in Tipperary the enemy was in O'Magher's country, lodged in a strong fastness not above six miles from him, but not daring (according his promise) to make his passage by Cashell, as he pretended, fearing the Lord President's forces, which in the way [were] increased with a regiment of foot and some horse which Sir Christopher St. Lawrence brought out of Leinster;” the way over the mountain of Slew Phelim being impassable by reason of the late rain; and from thence into Limerick there is no other passage but by the Abbey of Ownhie, a narrow strait, distant 20 Irish miles. But there suddenly happened a great frost, which enabled the enemy to march over the mountain in the night. The Lord President pursued the enemy as far as the said abbey, where O'Donnell made no stay, and never rested until he came to a manor house of the Countess of Kildare's called Crome, adjoining to the fastness of Conno-

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loghe. To overtake the enemy the Lord President next day marched 25 miles, but lost his labour. The morning after O'Donnell lodged in the straits of Connolough; and the Lord President hastened to the camp, bringing with him the Earl of Clanricard, with his Connaught regiment, and the Earl of Thomonde, who had been sent after him with his 100 horse.

27th.—“Our endeavours from this time, and the several services done then and before, are of purpose here omitted, for that they are set down elsewhere; and this collected chiefly to make it appear that by the slow coming in of our victuals, munition, and other necessary provisions we have been forced to a more slow proceeding in this business.” Owing to the coming up of O'Donnell, Tyrone, and the forces of the North, besides 1,000 other Spaniards landed at Castlehaven with great store of victuals, munition, and artillery, they in the town are resolved to hold out. “We saw that by venturing anything precipitately we should not only have hazarded this army and our own lives, but absolutely and apparently the whole estate of the kingdom, which would not [have] happened by a mere defeat only, but by every little disaster; so easily are the dispositions of this people weighed down to a general defection.”

*Signed:* Mountjoye; George Carew; R. Wingfelde; Ro. Gardener.

*Copp. Pp. 11.*

### 199. SIEGE OF KINSALE

Vol. 601, p. 204a.

“Journal into Munster upon intelligence that the army of Spaniards were landed at Kinsale.”

1601, September 27th.—“The Lord Deputy (Mountjoy) came this night to Coreke accompanied with the Lord President (Carew), Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Nicholas Walshe, counsellors.

29th.—The Lord Deputy and the counsellors went to view Kinsale.\*

October 11th, Sunday.—Some horse and foot sent forth to keep the Spaniards from victuals.

12th.—“Two Frenchmen were voluntarily taken that ran away from the Spaniards; who confessed their numbers to be 3,500, besides those that were not yet come in.”

18th.—The enemy attempted to disturb the camp at night, but were soon repelled.

19th.—Some slight skirmishes in viewing the town. Sir John Barkely this night gave an alarm to the town.

20th.—“This night 1,000 of the Spaniards (or, as some that came from them say, 1,500) were come to the top of the hill

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\* The particulars given in the previous journal, and repeated in this, are here omitted.

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near the camp, to cut off some of the scouts or guards, or to attempt somewhat upon that quarter; but being discovered by a party of ours not much exceeding 200, that were of purpose sent out to lie between the town and our camp, commanded by Sir John Barkely, who had with him Captain Morris, they set upon them, killed four dead in the place, divers hurt, took some arms and other good spoil, and beat them back to the town, without loss of any one of our men, and not above three hurt.

21st.—Cormock McDermonde, chief lord of a country called Muskry, coming with his country “rising out” to show them to the Lord Deputy, was in his return directed to march hard by the Spaniards’ trenches, which they had made upon the hill without the town for their guards, that the Spaniards might see the Irish serve on our side. “The Irish at first went on well and beat the Spainards from their ground to the townward, but, according to their eustom, soon fell off, by which means a horseman called Coursye\* of the Lord President’s, who had charged one or two Spaniards upon some advantage, was engaged and unhorsed before he espied himself in danger;” but he was rescued by Sir William Godolphin and Captain Henry Barkely.

22nd.—Captain Button arrived. He was sent away to bring his ship into the harbour of Kinsale, and with Captain Ward’s ship (which had been guarding the victual and munition in Oyster Haven) to annoy the castle of Rincurrane.

24th.—“That day was spent in despatching into England and making all things fit for to remove. This night Captain Blany and Captain Flower were sent out with 500 foot, upon discovery that the Spaniards were drawn out of the town; and so lay ready for them if they had come towards our quarter. But they came not on.”

25th, Sunday.—“Four natural Spaniards came this day from the enemy, choosing rather to put themselves upon the mercy of the State than to live under the tyranny of their own commanders; who the next day were sent to Corcke. This night Sir John Barkely went out with some 300 foot, having with him Captain Flower, Captain Morris, and Captain Bostocke. Out of these were chosen 60 pikes and targets to be the better undiscovered, who fell into their trenches, beat them to the town, and fell into the gate with them. They killed and hurt above 20 of the Spaniards between the inner and the outer gate, and returned having but three hurt.”

26th.—“The army dislodged early and encamped on a hill on the north side before Kinsale called the Spittle, somewhat more than musket shot from the town, and there entrenched strongly.” The Spaniards had gotten a prey of 200 or 300 cows and many sheep, but Captain Taffe by hot skirmish re-

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\* This name is inserted in Carew’s hand.

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covered the prey, "save only some 200 cows that the Spaniards had killed," although they were under the guard of a castle called Castle-ny-Parke.

29th.—All things put in readiness to batter the castle of Rincurran. The Spaniards essayed to relieve the castle by boats, and were valiantly repelled by Captain Button's ship.

30th.—The two culverins began to play, but soon became unserviceable. "The same day they (the enemy) gave an alarm to our camp, drawing artillery out of the town, and with it played into our camp, killed two near the Lord Deputy's tent with a demi-cannon shot, and, through the next tent to it, brake two hogsheads of the Lord Deputy's beer, and every shot that was made fell still in the Lord Deputy's quarter near his own tent. Don John de l'Aguija, perceiving the castle would be distressed, attempted to relieve it by boats, but Sir Richard Pierce beat them back, who had the command of the Lord President's regiment, that this night was appointed to guard."

31st.—One of the culverins and the demi-culverin were mounted, and a cannon planted: they played without intermission. 500 of their principal men drew out of Kinsale, with show to go to relieve Rincurran by land. Sir Oliver St. John sent Captain Roe, his lieutenant-colonel, and Sir Arthur Savage's lieutenant with 100 men, and took 30 shot of his own company. He found Captain Roe and Carbrie, lieutenant to Captain Thomas Butler, skirmishing. The Lord Audley also came up. The enemy were forced to retreat. "Notwithstanding, they played upon them with their small shot out of every house in that quarter of the town, being full of towers and castles." Sir Oliver, Lord Audley, and Sir Garrett Harvie were wounded. Captain Butler's lieutenant was slain with four others, and 30 wounded. "The enemy left 10 or 11 dead: . . . and, as one reporteth (that came the next day from Kinsale, and had been in the guest house amongst them), 70 were brought thither hurt, whereof eight died that night. In this skirmish was taken prisoner Juan Hortensio de Contreras, that had been serjeant-major of the forces in Brittany, and divers very good arms and rapiers gotten from the Spaniards. All this while the three pieces played upon the castle until six of the clock at night, at which time they in the castle sounded the drum, and prayed admission of parley; which the Lord President (whom the Lord Deputy had left there, himself returning to take care of the camp) accepted. There came with their drum an Irishman born in Coreke, who prayed, in the name of the rest, that they might be licensed to depart to Kinsale with their arms, bag and baggage. This being denied by the Lord President, who would not conclude with any but the commander of the place, he returned the messenger, willing him to tell the commander that no other but himself should be heard, and that he had no commission to grant them any other composition than to yield

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unto her Majesty's mercy. Then immediately they sent the drum again, and with him a serjeant, whom the Lord President refused to speak withal; upon whose return, the commander himself, called Bartholomew de Clarijo, an Alfeero, came unto the Lord President. But not agreeing upon the conditions, for he still insisted to depart with their arms to Kinsale, (being put safe into the castle,) the battery began afresh, and the defendants bestowed thicker volleys of shot than at any time before. At length, about 2 of the clock, when they found the weak estate the castle was grown into by fury of the battery, they sounded again their drum for another parley, which not being accepted of, many of them endeavoured to escape under the rock close to the water-side; which being spied by us, our men ran presently close to the castle walls, and, if the Lord President had not forbidden them, (although the breach was not sufficiently assaultable,) they would have entered the house. Of those which attempted to escape there were 23 Spaniards taken, and of this country birth a great multitude of churles, women, and children. There was likewise slain of the Spaniards towards 30. All this while the enemy shot not a shot, but, as men amazed, lay still. Of the Irish there was not a man taken that bare weapon. All of them, being good guides, escaped; only one Dermod McCarty (by them called Don Dermuchio) was taken, who was then\* a pensioner to the King of Spain, and heretofore a servant to Flerence McCartie.

"Towards the morning the Lord President went to the Lord Deputy to make relation of that night's proceeding; and upon deliberation it was thought convenient, if the Spaniards would quit their arms and render the place, with promise of life only to be sent into Spain, that they should be received to mercy. The consideration whereof grew upon these reasons: the one, because, in forcing a breach, it was likely many good men should be lost; and also to entice others that are in Kinsale to leave the place (wherein they felt misery) by the example of this merciful dealing with those of Rineurran; but especially because expedition in the taking of this castle had many important consequences."

November 1st.—"About one hour after day the commander sent word to the Lord President that he would render the place and quit all their arms, so as they might be sent to Kinsale; which being refused, he entreated only that himself might hold his arms and be sent to Kinsale; which also being denied, he then resolutely determined to bury himself in the castle, and not to yield. His company, seeing his obstinacy, did threaten him to cast him out of the breach, so as they might be received to mercy. In the end it was concluded that all his people should be disarmed in the house, which was

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\* These words "*was then*" are substituted by Carew for "*is now.*"

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done by Captain Roger Harvie, captain of the guards that night, and himself to wear his sword until he came to the Lord President, and then render it unto him; which being performed upon his knee,\* they were brought prisoners into the camp, and from thence immediately sent unto Coreke."

*Copy. Pp. 9.*

**200.** SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 601, p. 209.

"A Note of Services done since the last despatch into England."

The former journal was sent with our letters of 7th November, on which day the President left this camp to make head against the Northern rebels.

10th.—Account of an unsuccessful sally by the Spaniards. "We heard by divers that Don John committed the serjeant-major who commanded them in chief presently after the fight, and threatened to take off his head, commended highly the valour of our men, and cried shame upon the cowardice of his own, who, he said, had been the terror of all nations, but now had lost that reputation. And he gave straight commandment upon pain of death, which he caused to be set up on the town gates, that from thenceforth no man should come off from any service until he should be fetched off by his officer, though his powder were spent or his piece broken, but make good his place with his sword. Captain Soto, one of their best commanders, was that day slain, for whom they made very great moan, and some 20 more." Mr. Hopton, a gentleman of the Lord Deputy's band, was sore hurt, and has since died.

16th.—Some of the Queen's ships began to play upon Castle-ny-Parke, and brake off some part of the top. That day and the two next were so stormy that the ordnance could not be landed.

"The 17th being the most happy day of her Majesty's coronation, which we meant to have solemnized with some extraordinary adventure, if the weather would have suffered us to look abroad, we sent at night, when the storm was somewhat appeased, the Serjeant-Major and Captain Bodly with some 400 foot to discover the ground of Castle-ny-Parke, and to see whether it might be carried with the pike; which was accordingly attempted, but the engine we had gotten to defend our men while they were to work being not so strong as it should have been, they within the castle, having store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them down so fast as broke it; so as they returned with the loss of two men, and proceeded no further in that course."

19th.—A demi-cannon, being unshipped, played upon the castle. In the night they of the town attempted to relieve

\* These words "*upon his knee*" are inserted by Carew.



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the castle by boat, but were repelled by Captain Tolkern and Captain Warde, who lay with their pinnaces between the island and the town.

20th.—The demi-cannon, and a cannon with some ordnance out of the ships, played on the castle. Captain Yorke and Captain Smith were sent to view if the breach were assaultable. The Spaniards hung out a sign for parley, and surrendered, being in number 17. The Spaniards in the town made divers shot at Captain Tolkerne's pinnace with a piece of ordnance which they mounted a day or two before, close to the gate of the town. A platform was made upon a ground of advantage, and a demi-cannon mounted upon it, with which some shot was made at the town. "A sentinel, taken anon after, affirmed that the first piece shot off went through the house that Don John was in."

21st.—Another cannon planted by the demi-cannon. The Lord Deputy went over into the island to view how from thence the town might be best annoyed and invested.

22nd, Sunday.—Four other pieces planted. One shot killed four men in the market-place, and struck off a captain's leg, called Don John de St. John, who is since dead.

23rd.—The six pieces did great hurt to the town. While the Lord Deputy, the Marshal, and the Serjeant-Major were viewing the ground where the approaches were intended, a private soldier of Sir Francis Barkelie's attempted "to steal (as he had divers times before) a Spanish sentinel, who was seconded with four that he saw not," and fought with them all five, whereof one was the serjeant-major, whom he wounded. The Lord Deputy this night began to make his approaches nearer to the town, and for that purpose caused some 1,000 foot to be drawn out by Sir John Barkeley, Sir Benjamin Berry, and Captain Bodly. His Lordship sent direction to Sir Richard Leveson to land three culverins and to plant them in the island about Castle-ny-Parke. Sir Richard drew in the Admiral and Vice-Admiral between the town and the island, from whence he did great hurt in the town the next day.

25th.—"All the artillery still played, but, because the shot from the ships did little hurt (save only upon the base town), the Lord Deputy gave direction to make very few shot, except it were at the high town." The Lord President, the Earls of Thomonde and Clanricarde, Sir Thomas Bourke, and others returned to the camp. This night direction was given to have a platform made for the artillery upon the trench. Somewhat after midnight the Spaniards made a sudden sally to force that trench, but were repelled by Sir Francis Barkely.

26th.—The companies that went with the Lord President returned, and with them two other regiments of the Earl of Clanricard's and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence's. They were quartered upon the west side of Kinsale, to keep the Spaniards and O'Donnell from joining. The Spaniards played with a

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demi-cannon upon the Admiral and the Vice-Admiral; "and, shot being made from those ships, they dismounted the Spaniards' piece within, and hurt their chief gunner, so as it played no more."

27th.—Three pieces, planted on the point of the hill near the water, played upon the town, doing great hurt.

28th.—"In the morning a trumpet was sent to summon Kinsale, who was not suffered to enter into the town but received his answer at the gate, viz., that they held the town first for Christ, and next for the King of Spain, and so would defend it *contra tutti inimici*. Upon his return with this answer, the Lord Deputy gave direction to begin the battery with all the artillery: who continued in shooting upon the gate till towards night, and brake a great part thereof. During the time the ordnance played, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence drew out from the other camp some [ ] foot, and gave upon the Spaniards' trenches."

29th, Sunday.—Most part of the gate broken down.

30th.—The Marshal (Wingfield) went to the wall of the town to view which was the best place to make a breach, and found the wall close to the gate on the right hand to be the fittest. The artillery beat upon that place, and brake down a very great part of the wall, which the enemy attempted to make up in the night, but were beaten from it by our guards. A Spaniard who ran away reported that our artillery had killed divers captains.

December 1st.—2,000 foot under Sir John Barkeley and Captain Blany drew near the walls of the town, and skirmished with the Spaniards in a trench close to the breach. They found the breach was not assaultable. Captain Guest's horse killed under him. "This night the Marshal, Sir John Barkely, Captain Blany, and Captain Bodlye (the Lord Deputy, *leaving the President in the camp,\** being almost all night present) drew out 25 of every company, and entrenched themselves on a hill on the west side of the town," and cast up a small fort. The Spaniards about midnight began to play upon our men from the walls, and from a trench close to the west gate.

2nd.—Our men continued still in that work, though the Spaniards from their high castles sought to annoy them. A serjeant of Captain Blany's, with seven or eight shot, killed nine or ten Spaniards in a trench. "The enemy sallied about eight of the clock in the night (being extreme dark and rainy) with about 2,000 men, and first gave slightly towards the new trenches upon the west side, and presently after, with a great gross, upon the trench of the cannon, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them tools of divers sorts to pull down the gabions and trenches, and spikes to cloy the artillery." Succours were

\* The words in italics are interlined in Carew's hand.

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sent from the camp, and repulsed the enemy, who at one time obtained possession of the trenches. They left behind them above six score dead bodies, besides such as were killed near the town; and we took nine prisoners. We have since heard that they lost above 200 of their best men, two captains, two alferoes, the serjeant-major (second commander to Don John), and Don Carloes Carty (McCarty); and above 200 hurt. "Of our part were hurt, Captain Flower, Captain Skipwith (slightly in the face), the Earl of Clanricard's lieutenant, Captain Dillon killed, Captain Spencer, Captain Flower's lieutenant, and some 25 private soldiers."\*

3rd.—Intelligence that six Spanish ships were put into Castle Haven, and that six more were sent with them from the Groine. In these were said to be 200 Spaniards, with great store of ordnance and munition, and that 20,000 more were coming presently after.

4th.—A confirmation of the Spaniards being at Castle Haven, and that they were landed. "A drum was sent to Don John to offer him to bury his dead bodies, which he took thankfully."

5th.—Sir Richard Leveson went with part of the fleet to seek the Spanish fleet at Castle Haven.

6th, Sunday.—"A Scottishman that had some 80 of those Spaniards aboard put into Kinsale harbour in the morning, and, getting a boat, acquainted Sir Amyas Preston, the Vice-Admiral, therewith, and put them into his hands; whereupon the said Scottishman and four of the chief Spaniards (being officers) were brought to the Lord Deputy, and examined before his Lordship and the Lord President and divers other of the Council. Their examinations were sent into England. The ships were heard to be in fight that day. This day our ordnance was drawn from the old platforms into our camp, the better to intend the service of the field, and to place them more commodiously towards the west side of the town if we should see cause. News came this evening that O'Donnell was joined with the Spaniards landed at Castlehaven, and that Tyrone with his force was very near us."

7th.—"The other camp strengthened their trenches; and a resolution to make two small forts beyond the camp westward wholly to invest the town."

8th.—"The artillery was planted in the several places of the camp for the best defence thereof, and a fort almost made near the town. A slight skirmish towards night, wherein Sir Francis Barkely's ancient and some other were hurt. In

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\* The following captains, besides those above, are mentioned in connexion with this affair:—James Blunt, Sir Thomas Bourk, Sir Benjamin Berry, Rotheram, Hobby, Nuse, Roger Harvy, Sir Arthur Savage, Sir Johu Dowdall, Masterson, Sir William Warren, the Earl of Thomond, Sir John Barkely, Sir William Fortesene, Sir Francis Rushe, Roe, Sir Oliver St. John, the Marshal, Sir William Godolphin, Clare, Boise, and Thomas Bourke.

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the evening the rebels' horse were descried about two miles off, and after supper all the army drawn into arms, upon notice (given us by the scout) that the rebels were discovered."

9th.—"This night, late, Sir Richard Leveson returned into the harbour of Kinsale, and the next day came to the Lord Deputy; unto whom he imparted that the 6th day, with *The Warspite, The Defiance, The Swiftsure, The Marllyn*, one merchant, and a carvill, he arrived at Castlehaven about 10 . . . in the forenoon. Before 4 . . . the same day one ship of the enemy was sunk; the Spanish Admiral, with nine foot water in hold, drove to the shore upon the rocks; the Vice-Admiral with two others drove likewise aground; most of the Spaniards quitting their ships."

"Since, we are informed by the Lord Coursie that they are all sunk but one ship, and great harm done both to their provisions and men."

*Signed:* Mountjoye; George Carew; R. Wingfielde; Ro. Gardener.

*Copy, corrected by Carew. Pp. 12.*

## 201. SIEGE OF KINSALE.

Vol 601, p. 215.

"Journal of such Services as were done since the 13th of December, when Sir Oliver St. John left the camp."

"From the 13th until the 20th the weather fell out so extreme foul and stormy, and our intelligence concurring so fully of Tyrone's drawing near with all his forces, as we neither could nor thought it fit to attempt anything to any great purpose more than the removing of some pieces of artillery to a new platform we had made on the west side close to the town, which played upon the castles on that side." Only some slight sallies were made by them within.

20th, Sunday.—The ordnance brake down a good part of the wall. Another great trench was made beneath the platform, "though the night fell out stormy with great abundance of thunder and lightning." Intelligence that Tyrone would be the next night within a mile and half of us.

21st.—"Towards night Tyrone showed himself with the most part of his horse and foot on a hill between our camp and Corke, about a mile from us, and on the other side of the hill encamped that night, where he had a fastness of wood and water. Two regiments of our foot and some horse, being drawn out of our camp, made towards them, and when they saw our men resolved to go forwards they fell back towards the place where they encamped. This night the Spaniards sallied again."

22nd.—"Tyrone's horse and foot kept still in sight in the place where they showed themselves the day before, and many intelligences affirmed unto us that they had a purpose to force our camps. That night some of their horse and 500 of

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their foot were discovered searching out a good way to the town, which was not made known unto us until the next day. The Spaniards sallied this night hotly."

23rd.—Our artillery still played upon the town, but we had no meaning to make a breach until we might discover what Tyrone meant to do. We intercepted letters of Don John's, advising Tyrone to set upon our camps.

24th.—"Tyrone, accompanied with O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, MacMahound, Randoll McSourlie, Redmund Bourke, O'Connor Sligoe brothers, and Tirrell, with the choise force, and, in effect, all the rebels of Ireland being drawn into Munster and joined with Spaniards that landed at Castlehaven, who brought to Tyrone's camp six ensigns of Spaniards, and the greatest part of the Irishry of Munster, who, being revolted, were joined with them and entertained into the King's pay in several companies and under their own lords, resolved to relieve the town of Kinsale, and to that purpose sat down the 21st of December a mile and a half from the town, between the English camp and Corke, and on that side of the army kept from them all passages and means for forage, the other side over the river of Ownybuoy being wholly at their disposition by reason of the general revolt of those parts. It seemed they were drawn so far by the importunity of Don John de Aquila, as we perceived by some of his letters intercepted, wherein he did intimate his own necessity, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the enterprise, our army being weak in numbers and tired, as he termed us; with assurance from himself that whensoever he should advance to our quarter he would give the blow soundly from the town. During the abode of the rebels in that place we had continual intelligence of their purpose to give alarms from their party and sallies from the town, but to little other effect than to weary our men by keeping them continually in arms, the weather being extreme tempestuous, cold, and wet.

"On the 23rd of December, late in the night, Captain Taffe informed the Lord Deputy that one of the rebels, that had been sometimes belonging unto him, sent him word (and confirmed it by a solemn oath to the bearer) that the resolution of the rebels was, either that night or between that and the next, to enterprise their uttermost for the relief of the town, with some particulars in what sort they intended to give upon our camp. Whereupon the Lord Deputy gave order to strengthen the ordinary guards, to put the rest of the army in a readiness, but not into arms; that, about the falling of the moon, the regiment volant (commanded by Sir Henry Power, and appointed only to answer the first occasion, without doing any other duties) should draw out beyond the west part of the camp, and there to stand in arms not far from the main guard of horse.

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“A little before the break of day, Sir Richard Greame, who had the guard of horse that night, sent word to the Lord Deputy that the scouts had discovered the rebels’ matches in great numbers. Whereupon the Lord Deputy caused the army to draw presently into arms, sent a corporal of the field to cause the like to be done in the Earl of Thomond’s quarter, and that from thence they should draw out 300 choice men between that quarter and the fort built upon the west hill, near a barracado made [a]cross a highway, to stop the enemy’s sudden passage in the night; and himself, accompanied with the *President and the*\* Marshal, advanced forwards towards the scouts, and having given direction to Sir Henry Davers, who commanded the horse under the Marshal, for the ordering of those troops, sent the Marshal to take view of the enemy; who brought him word that horse and foot of theirs were advanced. Whereupon the Lord Deputy with Sir Oliver Lambert ridd to view a piece of ground between that and the town, which had on the back of it a trench drawn from the Earl of Thomond’s quarter to the west fort, on the front a boggyish glynn, and passable with horse only at one ford, which before he had entrenched.

“The ground whereupon the enemy must have drawn in gross to force that passage was flanked from the Earl’s quarter by the cannon, and that which should have made good (*sic*) of great advantage for horse and foot both to be embattled and to fight. Upon view whereof the Lord Deputy sent the Marshal word that on that place he was resolved to give the enemy battle, and sent the Serjeant-Major, Sir John Barkely, to draw out Sir Henry Foliott’s and Sir Oliver St. John’s regiments to that place.

“O Campo, that commanded all the Spaniards that came last out of Spain, desired Tyrone that he might embattle his men and presently give on to join that way with Don John, for their purpose was at that time by that means to have put into the town all the Spaniards with Tirrell and 800 of their chief men, and the next night from the town and their army to have forced both our quarters; of the success whereof they were so confident that they reckoned us already theirs, and were in contention whose prisoner the Deputy should be and whose the President, and so of the rest.

“But Tyrone, discovering the Marshal and Sir Henry Davers to be advanced with all the horse, and Sir Henry Power’s squadron of foot, retired beyond a ford at the foot of that hill, with purpose (as he feigned) till his whole army were drawn more close. Instantly the Marshal sent the Lord Deputy word by Sir Francis Rushe that the enemy retired in some disorder. Whereupon the Lord Deputy came up unto him, and gave order that all the foot should follow.

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\* The words in italics are inserted by Carew.

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“When we were advanced to the ford, but our foot not wholly come to us, the enemy drew off in three great bodies of foot, and all their horse in the rear. The Lord Deputy asked of some that understood the country whether beyond that ford there were near any ground of strength for the enemy to make advantage of; but being answered that there was none, but a fair champion, he drew after the enemy, and then desired the Lord President to return from thence and secure the camp, and attend the sallies of Don John; which he did; with whom the Lord Deputy sent the Earl of Thomond's horse, Sir Anthony Cook's, and Sir Oliver Lambert's, and only took with him between 300 or 400 horse and under 1,200 foot. But being drawn out some mile further we might perceive the enemy to stand firm upon a ground of very good advantage for them, having a bog between us and a deep ford to pass, and in all appearance with a resolution to fight.

“The Marshal, being advanced with the horse near unto the ford, sent unto the Lord Deputy that he perceived the enemy in some disorder, and that, if he would give him leave to charge, he hoped to give a very good account of it. The Lord Deputy left it to his discretion to do as he should find present occasion out of the disposition of the enemy; whereupon the Earl of Clanricarde, that was with the Marshal, importuned him exceedingly to fight, and the Lord Deputy sent to draw up the foot (with all expedition) close together, who marched as fast as it was possible for them to keep their orders. The Marshal, as soon as a wing of the foot of the vanguard was come up unto him, and Sir Henry Power with his regiment drawn over the ford, advanced with some 100 horse, accompanied with the Earl of Clanricard, and gave occasion of skirmish upon the bog side with some 100 harquebusiers. The enemy thereupon put out some of their loose shot from their battle and entertained the fight, their three battalions standing firm on the other side of the bog.

“At the first our shot were put close to the horse, but with a second they beat the enemy's loose shot into their battle; and withal the Marshal with the Earl of Clanricard and Sir Richard Creame offered a charge on a battle of 1,000 foot, and, finding them to stand firm, wheeled a little about. By this time Sir William Godolphin with the Lord Deputy's horse and Captain Mynshall with the Lord President's horse (who were appointed to keep still in gross to answer all accidents) was come up, and Sir John Burkley with two of our three bodies of foot. Whereupon the Marshal with the Earl of Clanricard united themselves with Sir Henry Davers, Captain Taffe, and Captain Fleminge, charged again the horse and the rear of the same battle, who presently thereupon, both horse and foot, fell into disorder and brake.

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“All this while the vanguard of the enemies, in which was Tirrell and all the Spaniards, stood firm upon a bog on the right hand, unto whom within caliver's shot the Lord Deputy had drawn up our rear upon a little hill, and willed them to stand firm till they received direction from him ; but perceiving that gross drawing between our men that were following the execution and the other bodies of foot, he drew up that squadron (commanded by Captain Roe) to charge them in flank, whereupon they presently drew off in a great gross, marched to the top of the next hill, and there for a little time made a stand.

“The rear of the enemy being in the retreat, the van went off with few slain, but with the loss of many of their arms. Their battle, being the greatest body, was put all to the sword, and not above some 60 escaped. The vanguard, who went last off, were broken on the top of the hill. The Irish for the most part quit the Spaniards, who, making a stand, were broken by the Lord Deputy's troop and most of them killed ; O Campo, the chief commander, taken prisoner by the cornet: two captains, seven allferoes, and 40 soldiers taken prisoners by such as followed the execution, which continued a mile and a half, and left there only tired with killing.

“There were of the Irish rebels 1,200 dead bodies left in the place, and, as we hear from themselves, about 800 hurt, whereof many of them died that night. They left about 2,000 arms, their powder, drums, and nine ensigns, which was more than ever they had together before. On our side only Sir Richard Greame's cornet was killed, Sir Henry Davers hurt with a sword slightly, Sir William Godolphin a little rast (*sic*) on the thigh with a holberd, Captain Crofts, the scout-master, with a shot in the back, and not above five or six common soldiers hurt ; many of our horses killed, and more hurt.

“The Earl of Clanricard had many fair escapes, being shot through his garments, and no man did bloody his sword more than his Lordship that day, and would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish prisoners, but bid them kill the rebels. After the retreat was sounded the Lord Deputy did give the order of knighthood to the Earl of Clanricard in the field in the midst of the dead bodies, and returning back to the camp, drew out the whole army, and gave God thanks for this victory with their prayers.

“The enemy's army, as Alonso O Campo doth assure us, was 6,000 foot and 500 horse. There were some of the Irishry taken prisoners that offered great ransoms, but presently upon their bringing to the camp they were hanged.”

*Signed*: Mountjoye.

*Copy, corrected by Carew. Pp. 8.*



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## 202. "A short RELATION of the SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 601, p. 219.

"The Lord Deputy and Lord President, with other of the Council, meeting at Kilkenny, and there receiving certain intelligence of the Spaniards' landing at Kinsale, thought it their best course, with such forces as they could gather, to draw with all expedition towards the town."

*Here follows an account or review of the siege, adding nothing of importance to the previous narratives until the defeat of Tyrone.\**

After the notable overthrow given to Tyrone, "the next day, by the Lord Deputy's commandment, the fort and platforms were again undertaken, and near approaches were cast out towards the town. But after five or six days' labour Don John offered a parley, sending the drum-major out of the town with a sealed letter to the Lord Deputy by an Alferes, by which he required (as by the copy thereof, conveyed in the despatch by Sir Richard Morrison into England, may appear) that some gentleman of special trust and sufficiency might be sent into the town for his Lordship to confer with him, whom he would acquaint with such conditions as he then stood upon; which being granted by his Lordship, Sir William Godolphin was employed in that negotiation. . . .

"His first conference with Sir William Godolphin tendeth to this—that having found the Lord Deputy (whom he termeth the Viceroy), although a sharp and powerful opposite, yet an honorable enemy, and the Irish not only weak and barbarous, but (as he feared) perfidious friends, he was so far in his affection reconciled to the one and distasted with the other as did invite him to make an overture of such a composition as might be safe and profitable for the State of England, with least prejudice to the crown of Spain, by delivering into the Viceroy's power the town of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland held by the Spanish, so as they might depart on honorable terms, fitting such men of war as are not by necessity enforced to receive conditions, but willingly induced for just respects to disengage themselves, and to relinquish a people by whom their King and master had been so notoriously abused, if not betrayed.

"That if the Viceroy liked to entertain further parley touching this point, he would first be pleased to understand them rightly, and to make his propositions such as might be suitable to men thoroughly resolved rather to bury themselves alive and to endure a thousand deaths than to give way to one article of accord that should taste of baseness or dishonour, being so confident of their present strength and the royal second of Spain, that they should make no doubt of

\* The following passage, however, deserves notice:—"In shorter time than is almost credible our new men were wholly wasted, and either by death, sickness, [or] running away those companies and supplies grown altogether unserviceable; so that our number were very little increased of that they were at our first sitting down."

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yielding good account of themselves and their interest in this kingdom, but that a just disdain and spleen conceived against the nation dissuaded them from being further engaged for it than of force they must.

“Sir William Godolphin, being commanded by the Lord Deputy only to receive Don John’s propositions and demands, having made his Lordship and [the] Council this relation, was by them returned with the answer following.

“That, howbeit the Lord Deputy, having lately defeated their succours, did so well understand his own strength and their weakness as made him nothing doubt of forcing them within a very short time, whom he did know to be pressed with irresistible difficulties, how much soever they laboured to cover and conceal the same; yet, knowing that her sacred Majesty, out of her gracious and merciful disposition, would esteem the glory of her victory to be blemished by a voluntary effusion and an obstinate expense of Christian blood, was content to entertain this offer of agreement so as it might be concluded under such honorable articles of her Highness as the advantage she had against them gave reason to demand, being the same which are sent with this despatch, signed by Don John,—the leaving of his treasure, munition, artillery, and the Queen’s natural subjects to her disposition only excepted; all which points he did peremptorily refuse with constant asseveration that both he and all his would rather endure the last of misery than be found guilty of so foul a treason against the honour of his prince and the reputation of his profession, though he should find himself unable to subsist; much more now, when he might not only hope to sustain the burthen of the war for a time, but with patience and constancy in the end to overcome it. That he took it so ill to be understood in having articles of that nature propounded unto him, as, were they but once again remembered in the capitulation, the Viceroy should from henceforth use the advantage of his sword, and not the benefit of his former offers; adding that the Viceroy might rather think to have made a good and profitable purchase for the crown of England if with expense of 200,000 ducats he had procured Don John to quit his interest and footing but in Baltymore, to say nothing of Kinsale, Castlehaven, and Beerhaven.

“For (said he) ‘suppose that all we with the rest of our places here had perished, yet would that peninsula (being strong in it[s] own nature), bettered by our art and industry, provided as it is of victuals, munition, and good [store?] of artillery, preserve unto the King of Spain a safe and commodious port for the arrival of his fleet, and be able to maintain itself against a land army of 10,000 until Spain (being so deeply engaged) did in honour relieve them; which would draw on a more powerful invasion than the first, being undertaken upon false grounds at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who, in discovering their weakness and want of power, have

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armed the King, my master, to rely upon his own strength, being tied in honour to relieve his people that are engaged, and to cancel the memory of our former disaster.

“ ‘But this was spoken’ (said he) ‘in case the Viceroy were able to force this town, as I assure myself he cannot, having, upon mine honour, within these walls at this instant above 2,000 fighting men that are strong and able, besides those which, having been sick and hurt, recover daily; the greatest part of these composed of old soldiers, which fall not but by the sword; and those that were new, being now both trained to their arms and grown acquainted with the climate, are more able to endure than at the first; our means as good as it hath been any time these two months, such as the Spaniards can well away withal, and thereof to suffice us for three months more. We lodge in good warm houses, have store of munition, and (which is best of all) stand well assured that our succours will be shortly here.

“ ‘To be plain, we preserve our men and reserve our strength the best we may, hoping to front you in a breach; which, if our hearts fail us not, we have hands and breasts enough to stop against treble your forces. Though I will give the Viceroy this right, that his men are passing good, but spent and tired out with the misery of a winter siege, which he hath obstinately maintained beyond my expectation, but with such caution and upon so good guard, as, having nicely watched all advantages, I could never fasten a sally yet upon him but with loss to myself; wherein I must acknowledge my hopes deceived that, grounding on some error in his approaches, promised myself the defeat of at least 1,000 men at one blow. But when we meet on the breach, I am confident upon reason to lay 500 of your best men on the earth, and rest hopeful that the loss of those will make a great hole in an army that hath already suffered so much extremity.

“ ‘But to conclude our business. The King, my master, sent me to assist the Condees O’Neale and O’Donnell, presuming on their promise that I should have joined with them within few days of the arrival of his forces. I expected long in vain, sustained the Viceroy’s army, saw them drawn to the greatest head they could possibly make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, reinforced with certain companies of Spaniards, every hour promising to relieve us, and being joined together to force your camps, saw them at last broken with a handful of men, blown asunder into divers parts of the world,—O’Donnell into Spain, O’Neale to the furthest of the North; so as now I find no such Condees *in rerum natura*’ (for those were the very words he used) ‘as I came to join withal, and therefore have moved this accord the rather to disengage the King, my master, from assisting a people so unable in themselves that the whole burthen of the war must lie upon him, and so perfidious as perhaps might be induced in requital of his favour at last to betray him.’

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“Upon relation made by Sir William Godolphin to the Lord Deputy and Council of these offers of Don John, which at several conferences had been brought to such heads as by the articles between them is more particularly specified, it was thought good for divers important reasons to proceed roundly to the agreement. For whereas in the propositions by him made there was not anything that admitted exceptions on our part but only that he required to carry with him his ordnance, munition, and treasure, that being no way prejudicial to the main scope or drift of our treaty, which chiefly respected the common good and safety of the kingdom, deserved not almost to be thought upon. Besides that the treasure, being at first but 100,000 ducats, with four months’ payment of so many men and other necessary deductions, could not be but very near wasted, and that little remainder more fit for a prey to the poor soldier after his tedious travail than for a clause in the composition.

“Furthermore, how needful it was to embrace this accord may clearly be seen by whosoever considereth the state of our army, almost utterly tired,—how full of danger and difficulty it was to attempt a breach defended by so many hands,—how long time it might have cost us if we had lodged in the breach before we could have carried the town, that being full of strong castles,—how her Majesty’s ships and others lying in the harbour should have been forced speedily to forsake us for want of victuals,—how ourselves were not provided for above six days at the time of this parley,—that we had neither munition nor artillery, but for one battery in one place at once, five of our pieces being before crazed,—and finally, that if we had missed of our purpose, the whole country had been hazarded.

“Furthermore, that which seemed of greatest consequence to induce his Lordship to this agreement was, that the Spaniards in Baltemore, Castellhaven, and Beerehaven, by virtue of this contract, were likewise to surrender those places and depart the country; which, how hard a matter it would have proved, and how long and dangerous a war it would have drawn on to root them out, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with victuals, munition, and artillery, may easily be conjectured: for that of necessity the army for some space must have rested, and in the end have been constrained after a new supply of necessaries, to her Majesty’s intolerable charge, to transport themselves thither by sea, the way by land being unpassable; in which time their succours out of Spain in all likelihood would have been come unto them, the King being so far engaged in his honour to second his enterprise, and we barred of that prosecution of the rebels, which now by this agreement we may wholly intend.”

*Signed:* Mountjoye, George Carew, R. Wingfelde, Ro. Gardener, George Bourcher.

*Copy. Pp. 11.*

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**203.** SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 601, p. 225.

"A letter from a soldier of good place in Ireland to his friend in London, touching the notable victory of her Majesty's forces there against the Spaniards and Irish rebels, and of the yielding up of Kinsale and other places there, held by the Spaniards.—London, imprinted for Symon Waterson, 1602."

This letter, which is addressed "to the right worshipful, my especial friend, Sir. W. D., knight," gives an account of the siege of Kinsale, from 19th December till its close. It commences thus:—"Sir,—In my last of the 19th of December, I wrote to you at large of the arrival of the new supply of Spaniards at Castell-haven, Baltemore, and Beerehaven, and of their intents and beginnings to fortify in all those three important places."

The writer, for his narrative of the defeat of Tyrone and the capitulation of the Spaniards, has evidently made use of the preceding document.

*Copy. Pp. 14.*

Jan. 2. **204.** SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 601, p. 231a.  
Pacata Hibernia,  
p. 438.

"The Articles of Composition between the Lord Deputy and Council and Don Juan de Aquila."\*

"In the town of Kinsale in the kingdom of Ireland, 2 Jan. 1601, between the noble Lords, the Lord Mountjoye, Lord Deputy and General in . . . Ireland, and Don John de l'Aquila, captain and camp-master general and governor of the army of his Majesty the King of Spain; the said Lord Deputy being encamped and besieging the said town, and the said Don John within it; for just respects and to avoid shedding of blood, these conditions following were made."

(1.) Don John "shall quit the places which he holds in this kingdom . . . to the said Lord Deputy, or to whom he shall appoint, giving him safe transportation and sufficient . . . of ships and victuals with the which" he and those under his command "may go for Spain, if he can at one time, if not in two shippings."

(2.) They shall not bear arms against the Queen "wheresoever supplies shall come from Spain," till they "be unshipped in some of the ports of Spain, being despatched as soon as may be by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth upon his faith and honour."

(3.) "The Lord Deputy offereth to give free passport to the said Don John and his army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatsoever that are under his command, and that he may depart, with all the things he hath, arms, munitions, money, ensigns displayed, artillery," etc.

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\* This document appears to have been printed at the close of the preceding letter.

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(4.) "They shall have ships and victuals sufficient for their money, . . . at the prices which here they use to give."

(5.) If by contrary winds or any other occasions any of them arrive at any port of Ireland or England they shall "be entreated as friends, and may ride safely in the harbour, and be victualled for their money, and have moreover things which they shall need to furnish them to their voyage."

(6.) During their stay for shipping, victuals shall be given to them at just and reasonable rates.

(7.) Cessation of arms on both parts.

(8.) That the ships in which they shall go may pass safely by any ships of the Queen, and any ships of the Queen or her subjects may pass safely by them; "and the said ships, being arrived in Spain, shall return without any impediment; . . . and for security of this, they shall give into the Lord Deputy's hands three captains, such as he shall choose."

(9.) "Don John . . . will confirm and swear to accomplish this agreement, and likewise some of the captains of his charge . . . in a several writing."

(10.) "He in person shall abide in this kingdom where the Lord Deputy shall appoint till the last shipping upon his Lordship's word," and if his people be shipped all at once, he shall go in the same fleet without any impediment, but rather the Lord Deputy shall give him a good ship.

(11.) The Lord Deputy shall swear and confirm in behalf of the Queen and himself to keep this agreement, "and jointly the Lord President, the Lord Marshal of the Camp, and the other of the Council of State, and the Earls of Thomond and Clanricard . . . in a several writing."

*Signed at the beginning:* Mountjoye; *at the end:* George Carew, Thomond, Clanricard, R. Wingfield, Ro. Gardener, George Bourcher, Rich. Liveson.

"I do promise and swear to accomplish and keep these articles of agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalf of his Majesty Catholic, the King my master. (*Signed*) Don John de l'Aquila."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

## 205. EMIGRANTS TO SPAIN.

Vol. 601, p. 235.  
Pacata Hibernia,  
p. 424.

"Anno 1601. A List of the Names of so many of the Irish as have shipped themselves for Spain forth of Munster, since December 1601, besides divers depending upon these, and many others whose names I know not."

From Castlehaven in December 1601 with the Adelantado, O'Donnel, Redmond Bourke, Hugh Mostian, and their train, the number whereof I know not.

O'Sulyvan Beare's son, and with him one Traunt of the Dingle from Beare-haven, in February 1601[-2].

Donnel, son to Sir Fynnen O'Driscioyle, from Castlehaven with the Vedor Pedro Lopes de Soto.

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From Kinsale with Don John in March 1601:—Teige MacDonnell ne Countey, a cousin-germain to Cormack Mae Dermonde, Lord of Muskrie; William McShane, the Senechal's son of Imokelly; Dermot McConougher O'Driscoyle, of Castlehaven, with his brother and son; Thomas O'M[o]rhine, *alias* Thomas Keagh McEdmond, of Muskerry, a horseman (his father is with O'Callaughan); Richard Myagh, son and heir to James Myagh, of Kinsale; Domynicke White, of Kinsale, a carpenter's son; Melaughlin More, of Kinsale, born in Connought; Conoughor O'Menone, of Kinsale, born there; Edmond McThomas, of Kinsale; Dermot McShane, of Kinsale; Donough Deasagh, of Kinsale; Andrew Butler, born at Galway, a kearne; William Butler, brother to Andrew, a kearne; Mahowne McDonnough O'Lyne, dwelling under Barry Oge; Dermot McOwen, a shot; David Fitz Garrat Barry, his wife and children, dwelling at Rincorran in Barry Oge's country; Garrot, Nicholas, John, and David Oge Barry, sons to David FitzGerrat Barry abovesaid; William Hartluge, of Rincorran; John Hartluge, son to William; Dermot Oge O'Sulyvane, of Rincorran; Dermot O'Griffen, of Rincorran; John McDonnell Keady, of Rincorran; Dermot McDonnell Keady, brother to John; Morris Roche Fitz John, of Ellenfinchtowne in Kynallea; John FitzJohn Roche, a brother to Morrice; Conougher McDonnough, of Rathmore in Kynallea; Donnell Gowe, a Connoughtman, dwelling at Rathmore; Hugh O'Healy, a Connoughtman; Donnoug Moel McEnestlis, Dermot Moel McCartie's man; Owen McDonnough McFynnen Cartie, of Currowrane, Donnel Oge McDonnell McFynnen McCarty, brother to Don Carlos Carty, slain at Kinsale; Fynnen Oge Cartye, brother also to Don Carlos; Conougher O'Cullenane, of Rathmore in Kynallea; Donnell O'Griffen, of the same; William McCormock, Dermot McShane, Edmond O'Lavien, William McRichard, and Cormocke O'Lanehie, all Connoughtmen; Dermot Deasagh, of Carbry; Dermot O'Longie, of Muskry; Richard Gogaine FitzPhilip, of Barnehelly in Kyrrywhirry; Fynnen McDonnough Cartie, a cousin to Don Carlos; Dermott McFynnen Carty, of Skeath in Carbry, and Donnell McFynnen Carty, of the same, brothers; Donnell McTeige Carty, of the same; David Skennehane, of Rincorran; John McDermott McShane, a Connoughtman; Dermot MacShane, a Connoughtman; Cormocke, the Lord President's footman, of the Birnes in Leinster; William McShane, of Rathmore in the county of Lymericke; Donnell McShane O'Cullenane, of Rathmore in Kynallea; John Oge O'Lensy, a Connoughtman; Teige Walsh, *alias* Teige Brennagh; Cormocke McDonnough ne Mroen O'Riordane, Dermot McDonnough ne Mroen O'Riordane, and Owen McDonnough ne Mroen O'Riordane, all of Muskerry, brothers; Donnell McShane O'Riordane, of Muskerry; John Feild FitzMorrice, of Tracton Abbey; John Roe McWilliam, of the county of Lymericke; Donnell O'Sisnane, of Kinsale; Teig O'Sisnane, son to Donnell;—Hugh

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Lassye, Walter Lea, of Kilkenny, Richard Stacboll, and one FitzJames, a pensioner, who came with Don Juan to Kinsale, and returned thence again with him.

From Ardea, in the Patache, the 7th of June 1602:—Donnough, bastard brother to Florence McCarty; Donough McMahon O'Bryan McEnaspicke, of Tomond; Bryan O'Kelly, a captain of Bowines, and a Connoughtman.

With Connor O'Driscoyle and James Archer, the 6th of July 1602:—Connor O'Driscoyle, eldest son to Sir Fynnen O'Driscoyle; James Archer, Jesuit; Colly McSwyny McEdmond, of the McSwynes, of Carbry (his son Owen was hanged at Donboye, in June 1602); Cormock McDonnough, Vic Donnell Rabbing, one of the Carties; Donoug McConnor Vic Vic Donnough, of Glanbarathaine, (in English called Castellhaven, and owner of it; he is of the O'Driscalls); Donnell McConnor Vic Dermodi O'Driscoyle; McCou McEffe O'Driscoyle, Teige McEffe O'Driscoyle, and Morier-taugh McEffe O'Driscoyle, brothers; Dermod McConnor Vic Dounes, of Kilkoe, one of the Carties, and Conor Oge, of the same, brothers; Shane McDermody Iholoughane, of Bantry; Shane McGyllycuddy Iholoughane, of Beare; Teige Oge, ne Mocklaughe, one of the Carties, and Owen McTeige ne Mocklaughe, brothers; Fynnen McBrowne, one of the O'Driscoyles; Connor O'Mahowny, of Lenicon, one of the O'Mahons of Ivaghe, one of the sons of Gulleduffe of Cleare, one of the O'Driscoyles; Dermott Oge McDermody O'Driscoyle; Connor McFynnen Roe, of Bonnane in Bantry; Terlaugh, son to Teige Keagh McMahowny, of Thomond (he slew his father when Donboy was besieged; his lands her Majesty hath given to the Earl of Thomond's brother); Shane O'Kahan, of Thomonde; Dowaltaugh McMorrough I Corromaine, a foster-brother to O'Donnell, and an Ulsterman; Ellyue ny Donnough, late wife to Dermot Moel McCartie, brother to Florence McCartie in the Tower; Fynnen Kearigh, of the Fyall, one of the Carties; Dermot McShanaughane, a Rymer; Gulleduffe, a Thomondeman; two soldiers of Thomonde, whose names not known, but serving under Connor O'Driscoyle; David McShane, servant to James Archer, the Jesuit (son to John Rice, of the Dingle); Shane McDermody Vic Donnough Oge I Cullaine, Archer's boy; Connor Oge O'Driscoyle, son and heir to Connor, son to Fitz Fynnen (nine years of age); Thomas, son and heir to the Knight of the Valley (14 years old); Donnell O'Mahowny, a mariner that came in company with Owen McEigan; five Frenchmen that were taken by Teige Keagh McMahowny, when he took the ship and merchant of Galway.

*Signed:* George Carew.

*At the end in Carew's hand:*—This note was sent into England to the Lords of the Council by Sir George Carew, knight, Lord President of Mounster.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*



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## 206. SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 607, p. 160.

“The Relation of one of the Spanish prisoners taken at the siege of Kinsale.\*”

“There were with Tyrone 6 ensigns of the Spaniards, and with them 5 captains of foot, of the which Ocampo was chief. There were with him 180 Spaniards. Their food was only beef without bread. They brought with them 16 barrels of powder, 8 barrels of bullets, 2 quintadells of match.

“There came 8 captains out of Spain in this second; of the which there were with Tyrone, Ocampo their chief (taken in this day's service), Francisco Ruix de Valesco, Juan Baptista Castellano, Sabastian Granera, Captain Peryda.

“In Castle-Haven there are 200 Spaniards, and with them only one colour or ensign. Their captain is Captain Beragan. They have eight brazen pieces of brass, very good, and 2 demi-cannons with them, great store of biscuit, 400 pipes of wheat, some meal, store of powder, match, and bullets.

“There came from the Groine 9 ships, 3 of which he thinks are lost, which had match, munition, and habiliments of war in them, amongst the which there were many horsenails and horseshoes, saddles, lances, etc; of the which there is much in Castle-Haven, there being somewhat of each sort in every ship.

“In the 9 ships that were embarked 1,000 foot of Spain. By the want of the 3 ships there came only to Castle-Haven 750, which are dispersed into 4 parts,—with Tyrone 180, in Castle-Haven 200, in 2 other havens (one being 3 leagues from Castle-Haven, which he takes to be Baltamore) 200, one captain in each. In Baltamore 11 pieces of artillery, with store of victuals in the other. Captain Savedro with the rest, and with him 8 pieces of artillery.

“Six ships were driven into Castle-Haven, which should have come for Kinsale. One of them was sunk, laden with biscuit and wheat. . . One was sent to Spain. Of the 4 that remains, 2 belong to the King, the other are merchants' ships.

“Don Anthonio de Soniga, Maestro del Campo, General of the kingdom of Portingall, was to have been sent hither. He refused it except he might have had 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse; whereupon Don Juan de Aquila, being in prison to answer some actions of his in Brytanny, was sent along, and enterprised the service with 4,000 foot.

“Tyrone and O'Donnell (which they term by the title *de los Condes*) agreed with Don Juan to set upon our forces on all parts. By the messenger from Don Juan they had word, if they would not attempt it, he willed to return home, and he would make his own composition. For their money and their means more than was brought, they should have had it from Kinsale.

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\* This heading is derived from the copy in vol. 601.

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“Don Juan brought with him 200,000 ducats.

“There are 40 ships ready with a new second.

“There were not in Tyrone his camp 4,000 fighting men and 500 horse.

“Don Diego Brochero, General Admiral of the King's fleet, came hither with Don Juan de Aquila. Pedro de Subiaure, General of a squadron, came in the same fleet, and was put back into Spain with 4 ships; which Subiaure is now at Castle-Haven.

“That there may 40 gallions come. There were now in Biscay this year built 36, and the men ready to be embarked. There wanted only provision, which in 6 weeks is expected to be ready.”

*Dated by Carew, “1601.”*

*Pp. 2.*

Vol. 601, p. 259.

2. Copy.

## 207. INTERCEPTED LETTERS from SPAIN.

Vol. 607, p. 162.

“1601. An abstract of Spanish letters, which Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of Munster, got into his hands.”\*

“A letter from the King to Çubiaur, of the 27th of November 1601, that Don Juan del Aquila shall dispose of the shipping at his pleasure. Signed, *Yo el Rey*. Subsigned, *Estevan de Ybarra*.

“A letter from the King, signed and dated as before, to Don Juan del Aquila, to command Çubiaur and all his shipping to stay with him, or as many as he shall think meet, and to dispose of all or part of them at his pleasure.

“A letter from the Conde de Caraçena, in recommendation of Captain Salvedra, to Don Juan del Aquila, and that the King gave him commandment to send unto Don Juan some small ship of good sail, to go and come with news. From the Groine, the 4th of December 1601.

“... Çubiaur to Don Juan . . . 18th of December 1601. He sendeth him word of their fight. That we could not greatly brag of victory; that our Admiral was shot through. That he had there 6 smallships, 2 Scottish, 2 French, each of them having but 12 pieces of artillery, one flyboat, and his own ship. He seemeth to be grieved that he had not men and ships to follow ours.

“... The Conde de Caraçena to Don J. del A., from the Groine, the 6th of December 1601, in recommendation of Captain Juan de Albornot.

“... The Marquess de Villa Real to the Conde Adelantado, Mayor of Castilla, of the 7th of April 1600, praying the Adelantado to restore Francisco de Valasco to his company.

\* This heading is in Carew's own hand.

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“ . . The Conde de Caraçena to Don Fray Mattheo de Oviedo, Archb[ishop] of Dublin, of the 5th of December 1601, from the Groine, showing how glad the Conde was the second and the habiliments of war was to be despatched from the Groine and sent away by him, and that he hopeth to send more for the quieting of all.

“ . . To Captain Bernardino de Soto (slain now at Castellhaven), of the 19th of December, from Pedro de Soto, importing nothing but compliment.

“ . . The Marquis to Cristoval Montero, Comendador of the order of Jhesus Christ, of the 9th of April 1600, from Ceuta, desiring him to put to his help for the punishment of Francisco de Valasco.

“ . . A friar, Francisco Domingo, to the Archb[ishop] of Dublin, from the Groine the 4th of November 1601, signifying the death of the Viceroy of Naples, and that his son, Don Francisco, as yet holdeth the place. That they talk of nothing in Spain but of matters of Ireland. That they expect daily news and bulls from Rome. The rest of the letter is only matter of compliment.

“To Juan Lopez de Soto, Deputy unto the Commissary of Musters and the Paymaster, in which is set down how many Spanish officers and soldiers, with their names, went with the Spaniards to Tyrone.” Here follows a tabular statement of the captains and the numbers of officers and soldiers that went with each. Of the Spaniards there went 20 officers and 108 soldiers, with Captains Valasco, Pereyra, Granero, OCampo, SAVEDRO, Castellano, Borrigan, and Arve. Of the Irish, with O'Solevant, 200; Donogh McCarty, 100; Florence, his brother, 120; Daniel O'Donevan, 100; Felim McCarty, 100. Total, 768 soldiers. These were to be paid according to their musters.

“OCampo to Don Juan, of the 19th of December 1601, sent by Francisco Ruyz de Valasco, by the which it appeareth they were to enter Kinsale, OCampo referring whatsoever he hath not touched in his letter to the relation of Valasco. He declareth the manner of the skirmish they had with our ships on Sunday (of whose coming Don Juan gave them advertisement beforehand). They lost one ship; the other were run aground, which they hope with the next spring [tide] will float. The munition was recovered, most of it being upon the sand. He complaineth of the situation of the place, and that, they being eight old captains of Flanders, they could not amongst them all give order to defend themselves in the place three days if it should be assailed, and therefore desireth Don Juan his counsel what is fittest to be done. That 5,000 men cannot defend it, neither can they raise any fort defensible; for any may take it, and as soon lose it. The cause he sent no more to O'Donnell was to guard the munition, they having 4 of their ships that came out of Spain scattered from them the first day, and brought with them 500 naked *bisoños*

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and 150 sick. By the endeavour of Pedro Lopez (commissary and treasurer) the castle and haven of Baltimore was delivered them by the owner thereof, and Captain Andrew Arve sent thither with a company. The like number was sent to Beerhaven, being likewise delivered them by the owner thereof.

“It seemeth there came commandment to Ocampo afterwards for his going to Tyrone, for he expected Don Juan his resolution what he should do.

“. . . The K[ing] his secretary Estevan de Ybarra to Don Juan, the 27th of November 1601, from Valladolid, that there are 150 lances, light horse, ready to come before Christmas, under the leading of Duerte Nuñez, all good horses and good soldiers. That there is shipping ready to come after, which bring with them 8,000 barrels of wheat, rye, and oats for the horses, 4,000 jars of oil, 2,000 barrels of beans, 350 pipes of wine, 150 of vinegar, with a good quantity of salt. There are men levying to be sent speedily this spring before February, of the which there are 1,000 Portingalls levied. The regiment of Centeno is to be sent, and Captain Le Goretta. Doctor Crespo, auditor general. Of the ships, Don Juan may keep 7 to scour the coast, and to aid him with necessaries touching the artillery.

“. . . The Commissary Pedro Lopez de Soto to Don Juan. . . . He signifieth the loss of 300 quintales of biscuit, 400 barrels of wheat in the ship that was lost. That Captain Arve was sent to Baltimore with 70 soldiers, 1 piece of artillery and some munition that Captain Cornelius carried thither; who yielded them the place, and promised them boats to send thither 7 pieces more, and victuals for 3 months, and 50 Irish soldiers. Captain Savedra with 60 Spaniards is to go to Beere Haven, which O'Solevant yielded them, and left with them an uncle of his to bring them pinnaces to carry 10 pieces of artillery, bread, and munition for 3 months; in which pinnaces there shall go 40 soldiers more to make up 100. So that there will remain in Castell-Haven only 250. Cornelius hath promised 150 Irish to guard the ports, and to go and come with taings necessary. O'Sulevant is to bring 400, and the Lord of the castle 200, to join with Tyrone and O'Donnell. A small boat was sent into Spain in haste, fearing our ships would stop their passage; and another made ready to go with Don Juan his dispatch. He signifieth the weakness of Castle-haven. That it were better to draw them to Baltimore and Beerehaven, it being not defensible. That they have sent to all the coasts that no boats nor shipping shall enter the haven of Kinsale.

“. . . Nicholas de la Torre to Jeronymo de la Torre his brother, secretary to Don Juan. He desireth particularly to know the state of Ireland, and to be advised what things he may bring to make money of; willeth him to send him some greyhounds and horses. He desireth him to cause a letter to be delivered in England to Mighell de Arena at one John

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Burley's house in a town he calleth 'Paterne'; the effect whereof is:—that if Burley will send Mighell de Arena into Spain, they will release a kinsman of his that remaineth prisoner at Lisbone. And so he sent word by Captain Cooper."

*Pp.* 4.

Vol. 601, p. 237.

2. Copy.

Jan. 8. 208. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 394.

"I have forborne the longer to trouble you with my letters, for that I knew you were otherwise set a work, and scarce guess how you could be at leisure for to think any thought that a Spaniard was not at one end thereof; to whom you were beholding beyond all the governors in Ireland that they would do you the honour to visit Munster, and there to purchase their graves at so high a rate. For whom I doubt not but you provide as well as the time of the year and the soil will afford; assuring you (however any defect hath happened) there hath been as great care taken to furnish your army with all provisions necessary, by the full consent of all my Lords of her Majesty's Council, as if their own persons had been in your places.

"The news Sir H. Davers brought was very acceptable here. And though there be rumours still of the brave sullies of the enclosed Spaniards, and some scattering speeches of fresh supplies out of Spain, though in a small proportion, yet the sufficiency of the general with the rest of the governors and commanders makes us hope to hear of some full rout of all these besieged Spaniards ere long, with the which news I could wish you here amongst us, whereof, so you were to your own best honour and comfort, I should be as glad as any friend you have."

8 January.

P.S.—"I think myself much beholding to you for my nephew Kowte, who I doubt not but will do you all the service he can."

*Holograph. P. 1. Add. Endd.* "8 January 1600,\* from Sir John Stanhope. Received 8 Martii."

Jan. 12. 209. The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 396.

"I thank you for your often remembrance with your kind letters. . . Because I am assured you have all that is worthy the writing from . . . Mr. Secretary, I will forbear and leave you to that and our general letter to my Lord Deputy, and do live in hope shortly to hear of your good success against the

\* Evidently a mistake. The letter is thus described in the table of contents to the volume—"From Sir John Stanhope to the L. President about the siege of Kinsale, dat. 8 January 1601."

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town of Kinsale and the proud Spaniard in it. . . Let me be heartily commended to the Marshal. Sir H. Davers hath given him his right; and also very heartily to good Sir Ed. Wynkfyld. I will by the next write to him, and do thank him for his often writing to me."

12 January.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:*  
Received 18 February 1601.

Jan. 19. 210. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the QUEEN.

Vol. 620, p. 281.  
*Pacata Hibernia,*  
p. 453.

"Sacred Majesty, — Now that it hath pleased the omnipotent director of all things to bless you with a happy victory over the malicious traitors and foreign enemies which endeavoured with all their forces to draw from your imperial crown this realm of Ireland, in the which, by your Majesty's express commandment, I have been (though far unworthy) employed in a charge wherein my weakness doth too much appear. Yet since out of your princely favour your Majesty hath been pleased to accept of those poor services which by your forces I have formerly performed, and which your royal hand to my unexpressible comfort unto myself have witnessed the same, I am emboldened, under the assurance of your gracious pardon, to present before your divine eyes these unworthy lines, — unworthy of your view, as well in regard of him that writes them as the form wherein they are written. Since the victory aforesaid the face of this kingdom is strangely altered; the rebel, formerly proud, is now become a dismayed fugitive; the neutral subject, which stood at a gaze, better confirmed; and the Spaniard (which promised unto himself no less than a conquest) is glad to entreat composition to depart. This wonderful work of God (for unto Him it is wholly to be ascribed) hath brought this realm (so far out of order) in a fairer way of reduction than ever I knew it. When your Majesty employed me in this service I then feared it was, as now I understand it to be, a secret punishment from God for my sins; for unto myself I had propounded that happiness (which others have) never to be far distant from the comfort of your *royal*\* eyes, which adds fullness of joy with admiration to the beholders. Wherefore, gracious Sovereign, commiserate my exile, and let me your poor servant (rich in faith and loyalty unto you) be partaker of others' happiness, that the remainder of my life therein may be blessed. But if I be not capable of such abundant grace in so great measure (which my soul desires) yet . . . give me leave for a few months to behold that Majesty which is envied but not equalled by any earthly Prince."

\* Substituted by Carew for 'angelic.'

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*Dated in Carew's hand:* "From your Majesty's city of Corke, the 19th of January 1601;" and *signed by him,* "Your sacred Majesty's vassal and creature, G. C."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Jan. 20. 211. CARDINAL ST. GEORGE to the EARL OF TYRONE.  
Vol. 600, p. 2.

Most illustrious and excellent Prince. Your excellency may understand, from the Apostolic Brief which accompanies these letters, how distinguished a report of your piety and bravery has reached us. I reckon your glory greater than all report; for if a contest undertaken for one's country is usually extolled with the highest praises, with how much greater rewards shall that worth and magnanimity be fitly calculated which is wholly occupied in advancing and defending the true religion, on which foundation alone every solid dignity and the public and private weal depend. I congratulate your excellency on having deserved by your illustrious exploits such honourable judgments of men, but much more on the remarkable proofs of the divine patronage and assistance, in that you have repeatedly routed and put to flight the impious ranks of the raging heretics. To these so fortunate beginnings, with the will of Heaven, a still happier issue will succeed. In this certain hope you and those brave men who, joined in a sacred confederation and following your victorious standard, now fight gloriously in the same camp, ought to sustain your labours, Christ himself, who will never fail his own cause, never desert the sincere defenders of the true faith, being your leader and patron. Would that I might be a partner in your glory and desert! How gladly would I spend blood—yea, life itself—in so holy and just a cause! But since that is denied me, I would have you confidently use my service wherever you think it may be useful to you or yours. And be assured that your commands will always be my greatest care, and that I will promote with all study and diligence any matter you may intercede for to the Pope. We would gladly hear frequently from you of your prosperity. I earnestly pray you not to neglect this as often as an opportunity offers. I pray God to direct your counsels and actions to the desired issue, and long to preserve your excellency for the good of the Catholic religion.—Rome, 20 January 1601.

*Copy. Latin. P. 1. Addressed:* To the most illustrious and excellent Lord Hugh Prince Neal, leader and captain general of the Catholic army in Ireland.

*Endorsed:* "The copy of the Cardinal St. George his letter to Tyrone dated 20 January 1601."\* *Also endorsed by Carew:* "The original sent into England unto the Lords of the Council by Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of Munster, and intercepted by him between Kinsale and Cork."

\* As nothing is said about "new style," in the endorsement, this letter probably belongs to 1602.

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Jan. 31.

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## THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 233.

"Whereas we are informed by the Lady Norreis, wife to Sir Thomas Norreis, deceased, late President of Munster, that she can take no course for the settling of her tenants on the lands which she holdeth from her Majesty in that province, for that her tenants do apprehend to have their goods distrained and seized by the sheriffs, as well for certain sums of money received by her said husband in the time of his government, wherewith he is charged by account unto her Majesty, as also . . . for the proper arrearages of the rents of the said lands, which remain unanswered from the . . . beginning of last rebellion." She offers "to clear the said account of her husband's," and for the arrearages to "submit herself to the like order as shall be taken with others which are also in arrearage for the same occasion of having their lands wasted and abandoned by the wars." Take order, until her husband's account be finished and some general course resolved on concerning the arrearages, that no "extent to distrain" be granted forth against any of her tenants or lands. She "doth also pretend to have been spoiled by certain rebels of much goods, which do yet remain in their hands, they having since submitted themselves;" and that "the greatest part thereof was taken by Derby MacOwen, that is now prisoner in Corecke." We think it reason that, before he be enlarged, he be ordered to make her some reasonable satisfaction."

Court at Whitehall, last of January 1601.

*Signed:* Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Nottingham, E. Worcester, W. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll, J. Forteseue, J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew:* Received 14 March 1601.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 72.

2. Copy.

Feb. 2.

213.

## O'NEIL AND HIS BUONAGHS.

Vol. 614, p. 185.

"The order and manner how O'Neale doth cesse his Bownies, February 1601.

"In the name of God. This is the order and manner of O'Neyle his entertaining of bwonaghs. First, he alloweth to the company of soldiers for their entertainment quarterly 100*l.* st., and 20*l.* every half year by name of a reward, termed in Irish *vuasly*, and the same reward to be paid to the bwonagh the first quarter. And if it chance the bwonagh not to remain and serve out his full quarter, then he is to make restitution of the reward. But if the lord should refuse to continue the bwonagh in his service during the full quarter, then the bwonagh to enjoy the reward without restitution. The entertainment is thus paid. Where money wanteth, there the milch or encalfc cow to be received for payment, according the price it bears betwixt the tenants and husband[men] of the country. The armour and clothes to run at such rates as the



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marshal shall set down. The victuals quarterly to be 1,400 meadars of butter of Linster gallon measure, and ( ) score meadars of meal. The country bound to pay the one half of the victuals in victuals itself, and for the other half to deliver the bwonagh certain allowance of pay. In lieu of every meadar that shall be wanting of half the victuals, the bwonagh to receive four shillings, with the meal. And for the other half, where no victuals is to be had, the allowance of payment for the same to be according as the marshal and bownagh will consentingly agree upon. The bwonagh to have a fortnight's respite from the day of his entry to levy and collect his victuals. That fortnight to be accounted of the quarter. And if he should spend longer time in staying abroad, then for every day of his absence he to be answerable in a fine of half crown per diem to his lord. If within that fortnight's space the tenants or husband[men] on whom the victuals are allotted do not pay the same to the bwonagh, that then from thenceforth he to bring the same at his own cost and charge unto him, wheresoever he lies in camp. The captain of a hundred is to have by the poll for the hundred four score and four, and is allowed 16 dead pays, whereof he himself is to have ten, the marshal of the country five, and the lord's galloglasse one. The lord, upon his conscience and honour, not to withhold anything of his due from the bwonagh, but according his degree and quality to do the best he can for his good. The first day the bwonagh is entertained, he is, for that day and night, to live at his own charges. And if the tenant or husband[man], on whom the victuals are allotted, through their default, keep the bwonagh from receiving his victuals the first day of sesse, then the bwonagh during the time he is so stayed to be at the tenant's own charges, and upon his departure to receive the full allowance set down for him at first, except the first day and night's victuals.

“After the bwonagh hath received notice where he is to receive his victuals, and is by delays driven to complain for not having it, a fine of a gallon of butter by the night to be imposed upon every five that by reason of delay gives the bwonagh cause of complaint.

“The bwonagh, in consideration hereof, upon his conscience and soul, is to be faithful, trusty, loving, humble, and obedient to his lord, and to be answerable and at his command at all times he doth require him, and to go with him by day and night into all places whereunto he will require him.

“O'Neale would not that the bwonagh should give attempt or go to any town without his lord's direction, but lie still in camp so long as his lord directs him so to do, except for the fortnight that he is to collect his victuals.

“If the lord would twice every week take view or muster of the bwonagh, he is to give him the same. And for every day they are mustered, the bwonagh is to forfeit to the lord,

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for every soldier deficient, or that shall not be present at the muster, half a crown in name of a fine.

“The bwonagh not to distrain in his lord’s country or camp without the marshal, and if he should his challenge to be void. And also no distress to be taken of the bwonagh except the marshal be present to do it.

“If the bwonagh would rescue or resist the lord’s marshal, then he to be fined according the lord’s discretion. And the bwonagh to do no hurt or damage anywhere without special direction of his lord.

“What preys shall be taken by the lord and the bwonagh, the third part thereof to the bwonagh, the rest to the lord.

“Every good horse or shirt of mail that shall be taken to be to the lord.

“Every prisoner by whom either peace may be had, or other prisoner delivered in exchange, to be the lord’s. And the lord to give the bwonagh a competent reward in consideration thereof, according his discretion.

“Every prisoner taken by the bwonagh of whom ransom may be had, the third part of the ransom to the bwonagh, the rest to the lord, to be given upon pain of a fine.

“O’Neyle to command Teig O’Ruorck and other the bwonaghs that go into Munster to continue within the limits of these foresaid directions, and to use themselves in the same to the lords and gentlemen of Munster, upon pain of O’Neyle and O’Donell’s ill-will and displeasure, and that they never do them one day’s good; but that they be, for the contrary, proclaimed from O’Neyle and O’Donell, as Dermod O’Conoghaur was, until their heads may be had to be stroken off.

“At Dungannon, 2nd February 1601.

(Signed) “O’NEYLE.”

*Irish, with a translation into English. Pp. 4.*

*The heading and endorsement of the translation are in Carew’s hand.*

Feb. 4. 214. NEGOTIATIONS WITH TYRONE.

Vol. 600, p. 55.

“The particulars wherein Captain George Blount, as from himself, is to deal with Tirone after the battle at Kinsale in anno 1601.

“When you speak with Tirone, you shall tell him that you have understood that Richard Owen came from him to the Lord Deputy, with commission from him to tell his Lordship that he would be glad to be received into the Queen’s mercy, if his life might be secured.

“Whereupon you, finding such conformity in him, out of your ancient love which in former times you bare him, was glad of the alteration you found; and therefore, as his friend, did now undertake this long journey to persuade him to those

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courses which might best answer his duty to his Prince, and to repair his estate, which in your opinion is desperate.

“If you find him desirous to be received to mercy, you shall give him hope of it, and promise your endeavour in effecting of it upon these conditions.”

1. “That he shall . . . write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputy, humbly craving . . . her Majesty’s mercy, with promise to redeem his errors past by his future services.”

2. “He shall write a public submission to her Majesty.”

3. “That he shall only undertake for himself; and his pledges to lie for no more than for himself and the natural followers and tenants of Tirone that depend upon him.”

4. No rebels shall be harboured in Tirone, and if any be discovered “by himself or by any other officer of her Majesty’s,” he shall “prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they might be tried by the laws of the realm, or kill them, if otherwise they may not be had.”

5. “That the country of Tirone may be limited to be no more by him possessed than is contained in his letters patents.”

6. “That the country of Tirone may have his shire or sheriff’s jail, as himself hath formerly often desired.”

7. “That he disclaim the name of O’Neale, and all rule over the Irish captains that be not of Tirone, as Tirloghe Braceloghe’s son, McMahon, O’Cahane, McGuire, McGennis, the Clandeboyes, and all other of the east side of the Banne, or on this side the Blackwater in the county of Armagh, or otherwise lying in any other county.”

8. “That he put at liberty the sons of Shane O’Neale and other prisoners, English or Irish.”

9. He shall permit her Majesty’s officers of justice, as sheriffs and others, freely to execute their offices throughout Tirone.

10. He shall henceforward pay all rents and duties, and “also pay the arrears that for many years hath been by him detained.”

11. “That he shall, in respect of the great charges he hath put her Majesty unto, (although it be not the thousand part of her disbursements through his occasions,) *in nomine pœna*, . . . towards the victualling of her Majesty’s garrisons he shall pay 20,000 cows within six months.”

12. “That he shall at his charges (meaning the labour of workmen) build two such forts in his country and in such places as the Lord Deputy shall assign.”

13. “That he shall put into her Majesty’s hands his eldest son and four principal gentlemen of his blood, as he formerly promised, for the assurance of these covenants and his future loyalty.

“These things you shall now only propound as from yourself . . . and to draw as large an overture from him . . . as you may.

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"You may persuade him that the greater assurance he doth put into the Estate of his loyalty, the greater shall be his safety."

*Signed*: Mountjoye, George Carew.

*Copy in Carew's hand. Pp. 3. Endorsed*: Instructions delivered to, &c., by the Lord Deputy and the Lord President of Munster, 4 February 1601.

*Also endorsed*: "Notes.—A rent to be reserved unto her Majesty upon the lands of Tirone, and new letters patents to be granted unto him, with provisoes that if either himself or his heirs shall at any time enter into rebellion, then the same to be forfeited."

Feb. 6. 215. LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 390.

"I must begin with my hearty thanks for your sundry letters unto me. And though I have not sent you so often answers as I desired, yet doth my love unto you rest yours as much as your own heart can wish; and therefore lack of some leisure, not lack of good will, hath been the cause.

"The first foundation of this noble work in sending away the Spaniards out of Munster must be confessed to have been laid by yourself; by whose provident and prudent proceedings there, the whole province was found fast to the Queen, and those two dangerous rebels Desmond and Florence removed thence and sent into England. The next worthy service hath been the Lord Deputy's, assisted I doubt not by yourself, to whom I can never give honour and commendation too much. Only we pray to God that you may proceed to accomplish that to the perfection which hath had so good a beginning in action; I mean, to send them quite away. I have written heretofore to Mr. Treasurer (Cary), and now to my Lord and you, touching the purveyance of victuals to be made by your ministers there, and not by ours here. And for such part thereof as you must provide in England your bills of exchange shall be paid without delay. For it shall be sufficient gain that so much victual as your kingdom will yield there may by yourselves be provided there, and that which cannot, to be supplied from hence. I leave this to your graver consideration there."

6 February 1601.

*Hol. Pp. 2. Add. Endd.*: Received 8 March.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 73.

2. Copy.

Feb. 8. 216. SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 392.

"This bearer being reported to me to have been an ancient servant of the late Earl of Desmond (whom I ever held my very good Lord and friend)", I recommend him to your favour.

Court at Whitehall, 8 February 1601. *Signed*.

P. 1. *Addressed. Endd.*

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Feb. 22. **217.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 364. To swear Sir Richard Percie one of the Council of Munster.  
Bushopscourt, 22 February 1601. *Signed.*  
*P. 1. Add. Endd.:* "This warrant is entered in the Council Book of this province, and the said Sir Richard Percy was sworn a councillor accordingly the 6th of April 1602. (*Signed*) R. Boyle."
- Vol. 624, p. 133. 2. Copy.
- Feb. 27. **218.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to CAPTAINS HARVIE and  
Vol. 615, p. 366. TAAFE.  
"I understand that Sir Fynine O'Driskoll hath apprehended such as committed the murder upon some of the inhabitants of Corke between this town and Kinsale. And thereupon I have written to him to deliver them unto one of you. . . Use the best means you can devise for sending them hither safely, because I purpose to have them made here the examples of justice, for keeping others from committing the like hereafter."  
Cork, 27 February 1601. *Signed.*  
*P. 1. Add. Endd.:* Received 7 March.
- Feb. **219.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 604, p. 131. Of our occurrents here, this gentleman's relations will best content you. "I know you wish to hear of my well doing, which is all I can send you. For your return, I have dealt with the Q[ueen]. But, good Mr. George, great discourers are here (I tell you) not sears (seekers) in a day. For although the Deputy hath made us a promise that the Sp[aniards] shall void, yet we believe not in the faith which is given him so far, but that if another force should arrive before they return, that Don John's being an hostage would not contain the rest. So as, when we answer objections against the composition, then there is arguments made that the caution for the composition is too weak. Thus have you now as much as here passeth in discourse; but the Q[ueen] (as she hath cause) hath returned the Lord Deputy a most gracious and princely acceptation, and now attendeth with devotion to hear of the departure of those Don Diegos. Wherein I do assure you, even seriously, that Spain is by this time ready to set sail with 4 or 5,000 men, according to the project at the first beginning. So as, if the news do not stay them, I make full account they are by this time at sea.  
"Though I know you could do no more than is done, I am so jealous therefore, if they should arrive in that place or elsewhere, as, if I were the Deputy, I would not trust to the courtesy merely of their faith which are now in Kinsale, but find the means to possess their arms or break their body, so

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as they should not again stand upon terms. For who doth know that they may not be commanded to abandon Don John, as an unfortunate servant to his master, and set up a new rest? But I am now too long. For I presume that, howsoever you have been content to yield them (in other greater respects) such forms as may help to excuse Don John's head, yet that you have an eye to secure yourselves of the rest so suddenly (though with breach of some formal article) as no new descent shall make these spiders dare to crawl.

"Our Court is after the old fashion. For myself, be assured you shall find me, if you return, as free, as poor, as faithful, and as honest as you left me. But of your coming, or the worthy Deputy's, dream not yet till we be better secured; for we hold you the life of that State, the Deputy in the general, and you in your province. Thus see you that your fortunes are conjoined; which seeing I find by you to be so suitable with your minds, I assure myself you will digest it. I was glad I had so wise and resolute reasons in a letter from you in consultation of those which here were apt to deprave your composition. For it much strengthened me with the Queen when I assumed the justification of the action, which I think for England's quiet a meritorious issue. Your recommendation of H. Danvers I did not neglect, because I love you; but I will have no thanks for anything of it but from the Deputy."

*Hol. Pp. 3. Not dated. Endd.:* Received 8 March 1601.

Feb. 220. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 133.

I only write "being importuned for a packet to warrant this gentleman's passage."

*Hol. P. 1. Not dated. Add. Endd.:* Received 8 March 1601.

March 18. 221. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 270.

"Upon examination of matters concerning the traitor James of Desmond, . . . we have received some information touching Henry Pyne in his allegiance toward her Majesty and the State. . . Take order that he may be speedily sent over hither unto us, causing good and sufficient bonds to be taken of him for his appearance here before us."

Court at Richmond, 18 March 1601.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, W. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew:* Received 3 April 1602.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 74.

March 25. 222. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 600.

"We perceive by your letters of the 15th and 27th of February, in what estate (at that time) her Majesty's affairs did stand, wherein we were as sorry as you to find that the

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adversity of the winds had hindered the transporting of the Spaniards from Kinsale, for we did thereby foresee even that which is advertised from divers parts in Ireland, of the great opportunities which are lost by your being detained in that province (so much against your will), and by the weakness of those garrisons upon the Northern frontiers, which might have done many good services upon the first return of the rebels from their flight if you could have conveniently spared your Lordship's judgment serveth you to discern in what plight the arch-traitor must be of necessity when he returned so broken, we are advertised from divers places, and especially out of Scotland, what infinite means he useth now to get some powder and lead, being utterly unprovided of any store of those kinds at this present. Whereof we thought it fit to give you notice, and so much the rather because there are now returned thither some of those ships which transported 1,600 Spaniards to the Groine, where they landed a good while since, and the ships and men well used which did transport them. . . . At their arrival, Sebure and O'Donnell were in the port, both which had been at the Court, and there this circumstance was noted (which agreeth well with such intelligence as I, the principal Secretary, have formerly received) that there grew a change of counsel upon the advertisement of Don John's composition, for some few ships that lay in the port ready to have come for Ireland were straight unfurnished upon the Spaniards' coming in. In which consideration, as well as by that judgment which we make upon other advertisements from Spain, we do conceive that her Majesty's fleet, which is bound for that coast, will make some suspension, if not an absolute diversion, from any present sending of forces into Ireland. And therefore, as we do well allow of your purpose to leave some good forces in the West, so we think it very expedient that you neglect not those present courses which may weaken the rebels before they get new heart or receive new assistance from Spain. Wherein, when we look back to the former courses which have been taken, especially by receiving submissions from time to time, and granting pardons and protections, small benefit hath risen thereof to her Majesty either in profit or security, for we have found it by your own letters, that there are few that had been in rebellion in Ireland and pardoned since, who continued loyal out of duty, but out of discretion only, temporising still when they felt the sword hang over their heads; amongst which, it is written from Waterford, that none showed greater insolency upon the arrival of the Spaniards than Donnell Spaynagh, in the parts there adjacent. And therefore her Majesty is pleased we should still recommend it unto you (seeing now they have had experience of their foreign support), howsoever you enlarge unto them any further conditions, that you impose upon them whom you find desirous to submit (which none do but for fear) this one con-

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dition above any other, to disarm them, which will be of more use to her Majesty and more honour than the best pledges they can give.

“ We are also glad to hear what quantity of victual and munition is there arrived, whereof (for munition especially) there is so much exhausted out of the store here as your Lordship shall do well to foresee that the other provinces may receive some supply out of that magazine. For the matter of citadels in the towns, and fortifications in other places, her Majesty doth allow of the proposition in general, leaving you to make choice both where and in what kind they shall be done, as also that we may be advertised what will be the charge, and how the same may be borne by other means, without her Majesty’s charge, as much as may be.

“ We have had speech with the victualler concerning the issuing of one pound and a half of beef to a soldier per diem, to which his answer is that it hath ever been so, which were not now convenient to be changed. For the oats, we have likewise found fault with the price of 15s., whereunto he hath answered that at the season of the year when he bought them they cost him 10s. before they were shipped, besides the charge which ensued; but we have taken order now that they shall be cheaper issued when the next shall arrive.

“ We have perused the Spanish letters, whereof her Majesty had the reading, and alloweth very well of the discreet course of intercepting them. By those it appeareth with what earnestness the King resolved to follow that enterprise before he heard of the composition; by which accident, so contrary to his hope, we are persuaded, if the Queen’s fleet may once get forth, that the King will be advised before he send suddenly into Ireland, but rather defer it till the end of the summer, if all things else do sort to his desire. For prevention whereof, as her Majesty meaneth not to abandon the assistance of the Low Countries, so doth she also resolve to keep her own fleet, with some of the Low Countries, all this year upon his coast.

“ As for Loughfoile, or those things that have passed about Ballishannon and in other parts of Ulster, we have heard nothing, only it is written that some attempt hath been made at the Blackwater by the traitor, and that those frontier garrisons are weak. But for any supplies that her Majesty can send for those parts, we see the time so unfit as we must needs move your Lordship to help them from the rest of your army, for the levies are so grievous to the people, and the transportation so chargeable to her Majesty, as we seek all means possible to avoid it. Now that Neale Garve is so wholly possessed of Tیرهonnell, we doubt not but your Lordship and that Council, upon perusal of former grants and present consideration of things, will foresee that he be not made so absolute to be out of awe of the State, nor yet that under colour of being her Majesty subject he preserve all O’Donnell’s creaghts, as there is some shrewd suspicion; and



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that in your grants her Majesty be no way barred of any forfeiture of the whole upon treason committed by the patentees. . .

“ We perceive that there are six whole companies of mere Irish in Connaught, and those Connaught men ; a matter wherein your Lordship must needs take some course of reformation, to prevent those inconveniences which grow to the State by entertaining so many, and especially whilst they are employed in their own countries and at their own doors. Further we pray your Lordship, as near as you can, that the mere Irish companies may expect no money for apparel, for they are known never to use them ; besides, there is no reason that their pays should be equal to the English. . .

“ Even as we had given order for the writing of this letter we received yours of the 12th of March from Corke, whereby we perceive how you haste from Munster. And we have also heard from Sir Amyas Preston of the Spaniards' departure.”

Court at Richmond, 25 March 1602. Received 3 April.

“ This is a true copy. Ex. per Cooke.”

*Copy. Pp. 4. Endorsed by Carew:* “ The Lord Deputy, the 19th of April 1602. Received the 12th of May 1602.”

March 25. 223. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 496.

“ Because we have heard nothing from thence of long time, either from your Lordship or from the commissary of the victuals for that province, of the quantity of victuals that have been received or are remaining there in the storehouse that was provided for the use of the soldiers serving in that province ; and yet we have both caused, by two late contracts, a good quantity to be sent thither by the victuallers, and there hath good sums of money been disbursed here also by me the Lord Treasurer, by exchange for other victuals that have been transported thither by such as have been permitted to adventure the same ; we have thought good, not only to send you a note of the victuals furnished by late contracts, but to put you in remembrance that as licence was granted here to any that would carry victuals thither, to the end her Majesty's army, being at that time to the number of 10,000, might be sufficiently provided for, so, now the numbers are lessened, we doubt not but you will have care that the victuals brought thither by that means in great abundance may be converted either to serve the soldier or for the necessary use of the towns or people that are in due obedience, and that special care be taken that no part thereof may be converted to the relief of the enemy.

“ We further require you that we may have a true and speedy certificate from the commissary how the great mass of victuals sent by former contracts and brought thither by other merchants were issued, and that such quantity as was

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distributed to the use of the Spaniards may be answered in such money as they paid for the same, and that we may have a perfect account of that quantity which remaineth in store, for how many men the same will serve and for how long time, and what further supply you shall think necessary and convenient hereafter to be provided by the undertakers, and whether you shall be of opinion it shall be convenient that leave and permission shall be continued to such as shall be willing to carry victuals thither upon their own adventure. Of all which particularities we pray you upon due consideration to advertise and give us full satisfaction with that convenient speed you may."

Court at Greenwich, 25 March\* 1602.

*Signed by 10 of the Council.*

*Pp. 2. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 2 Sept. 1602.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 75.

2. Copy.

March 25. 224.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 153.

"I hope you are so sufficiently assured how grievous a thing it is to me to want you, as I shall not need to use many arguments in the point of your being denied to repair hither; for . . . after I had earnestly laboured for the Deputy I was also denied it for you. I will now, therefore, return to those things which are in question, wherein I would be infinite glad to hear of your good success. You know my mind at large, how great a piece of service I hold it, that the kingdom is rid of foreign power, wherewith I am persuaded you shall not be troubled this summer, if at all, in respect that her Majesty's fleet being now upon the coast of Spain, doth give rather occasion to them to stand upon defence; besides that I am certainly advertised that upon the landing of the Spaniards at the Groine there grew great variety of counsels, and a plain resolution taken to do nothing till Don Juan were heard. What peradventure may be done in the end of harvest, as was last time, when they shall see the scope of our sea-action (for more it is not), is hard to be conjectured; but sure I am, till September be done, her Majesty will keep a constant fleet upon their coast. My hope is, therefore, that my Lord Deputy will in the meantime prosecute the rebels, and none more than those false revolvers, whosoever they be; and so must I say to you in Munster, that her Majesty in no case can think of pardoning those men of note, who, having once been received to mercy, yet now revolted when foreign power arrived. You must consider that her Majesty hath great cause to be infinitely enraged with O'Sullyvan, that wrote that letter whereof I thought fit to give you notice, lest you should in

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\* "March" is inserted in a different hand.

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any sort deal easily with him, or give him any conditions, if you can choose. Besides, Sir, her Majesty is so desirous to have the pieces, as you may in no sort compound for them with him, which I do advise you to labour for, if you can. For upon my word, though it be but matter of form, yet if it may be your luck to take that castle, and not to compound for them, I shall be very proud of it in your behalf; for if it should happen otherwise, though the substance of the service be performed, yet they that diminish the honour of the last composition will do the like for this. Because you may see how her Majesty directeth the Deputy, I send you the abstract of our last dispatch."

Court at Richmond, 25 March 1602. *Signed.*

P.S., *in his own hand.*—"If in my particuler you desire to know how I do, I say thus shortly to you, that of all our number (God knoweth it), excepting 3002 and 2050 [Buckhurst and Nottingham ?], I have none but vipers, and those who are so discontented do suspect two things in you; one, that you love 2047 [Mountjoy]; another, that you are the darling of 2030 [Cecil], and that your reputation now gotten will make the means of 2030 easy, as well as his desires are greedy, to advance you. 3000 [Secretary Herbert] doth you good offices; neglect him not. I make all men that love 2047 confident that you are his friend. I write thus much to this end, that in your letters to those two, 3006 and 2048 [Raleigh and Cobham ?], you do not extol 2047, nor yet write anything to humour them which might infest the other, for they shew all men's letters to every man.

"If in any other folly you hear that I am misguided or like to be enchanted, I mean for love or marriage, know this, upon my soul, that I know no soul on earth that I am married unto, or would be if I might. No; I seek safety, wish I had you, and rest *al solito*,—Yours, R.C.

"At the ending of summer we shall see what may be done for your return."

*Hol. P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 3 April 1602.*

Vol. 604, p. 154.

II. Abstract of the Privy Council's letter to the Lord Deputy of 25 March.

March 30. 225. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 494.

"In regard of the great scarcity of victual which was advertised to have been of late in . . . Ireland, and especially in . . . Mounster, we took order, upon good advice and deliberation, that free liberty might be given to any such persons as would carry victual thither for the use of her Majesty's good subjects, giving caution and bond at the ports for their transporting of the same according to their licence, and not abusing the same by supplying the rebels or any other her Majesty's enemies. But, as we have had a great care to the relief and

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help of that realm, so we must likewise have a diligent eye both to the sufficient store of this realm, and that the said licences be not abused, which doth consist very much in your power to help, if you will take good order to be certified of all the victuals that are brought into any ports of that province, and how the same are issued, and give straight charge to the officers of those ports to return certificates into England according to the tenure of the licences. And, moreover, forasmuch as this large liberty of transportation is not fit to be continued longer than the necessity of that realm shall require such extraordinary help, we do desire to be certified from you both now and hereafter (as it shall be needful) how long and how far forth this help of such licence shall be requisite."

Court at Richmond, 30 March 1602.

*Signed:* Jo. Cant.; Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; Gilb. Shrewsbury; W. Knollys; J. Stanhope; Ro. Cecyll; J. Fortescu; J. Herbert.

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew:* Received 4 April.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 76.

2. Copy.

226. MUNSTER.

Vol. 621, p. 87.

"The Soundings of the Havens in the West of Munster."\*

Se., of Kynsale, Tymoleg, Arundel-haven, Rosse-haven, Glandore, Castle-haven, Marie-haven, Baltymore, Yniscircane, Cape Cleare, Scoole-haven, Crooke-haven, Donmaynes, the Great Island, Beare-haven, Loghan, the Sound of Dursey, Kennawre, Balinskelig, Valence, the Dyngel, Ventre, and the Sound of Blaskey.

The number of fathoms at low water, and the supplies of wood and fresh water at each place, are specified. Kennawre is described thus:—"24 fathom at low water, store of pearls, barren ground on both sides, store of good water, and plenty of iron mine[s]."†

*P. 1.*

April 8. 227. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 136.

"The distemper I had when I parted from your L. growing to a burning fever enforced me to make such easy journeys as I was not able to reach this place before the 3rd . . . The same day the Earl of Thomond, returning hither from the West, acquainted me that he had possessed Captain Flower of the island of Whoddy, and hath left with him 500 foot.

\* This heading is in Carew's handwriting.

† There is no clue to the exact date of this document, but it is probable that these soundings were taken during the expectation of a Spanish invasion at this time.

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But perceiving by other circumstances that my own repair to Donboye must be expedited for the prevention of such inconveniences as detraction may draw to the service, I have already assigned the army of Munster to be assembled, and to rise from Corke the 21st of this month." I must go to this service "by haphazard, for that my Lord of Thomond (by reason of some oppositions) could not view the place. . . Touching the fort now in hand at Kynsale, Paul Ive, by a letter lately sent unto me, did entreat that in regard the day of payment to the labourers thereof was at hand, and that no money was remaining in his hand to answer that charge, I would . . . send some unto him." But, because I forgot at your Lordship's departure to understand your pleasure for the allowance, "whether forth of the extraordinaries allowed for Munster, to whom it shall be delivered, and what account is to be made thereof, I did forbear it for the present, in hope to receive from your L. present direction therein."

"The captains being now left to themselves for the apprelling of their companies, have required from the paymaster the soldiers' full allowance for the same," but he "pretends he hath no warrant yet to enlarge his former restraint; upon which they have entreated me to work some remedy therein for them; . . . wherein albeit . . . I am interested, yet the motive that urgeth me is the respect I ought to have of the public service under my charge." I beseech your present order herein, "that the captains may have some means to provide for the wants of the soldiers before they run too far into the same."

P.S.—I send "copies of certain intelligences from the mayors of Waterforde and Lymerick, by the which it appears that we are like once again to be troubled with Spaniards; and, if they have a disposition to second the enterprise, I think they may do it, although the Queen's fleet be upon that coast, unless the same do lie perpetually thwart of the haven of the Groyne, which is very improbable and almost impossible. Wherefore it behoves your Lordship to be careful of it, and evermore to have an eye westward. I have written into England for 1,000 men to supply the companies of Munster, and to come the beginning of the summer, that before winter they may be seasoned. Weaker companies I never saw, and the sickness rather increaseth than diminisheth amongst them. I beseech your Lordship to second my suit for the 1,000 supplies. If the Spaniards come your Lordship will be glad of it; if they come not you shall have the stronger companies, from hence, when my task is ended, wherein I will use the best expedition I possibly may." In sending letters of warrant for the charge of the fortifications at Kynsale, "remember that the allowance of the extraordinaries for Munster is but 1,000*l.* per annum, and therefore out of that it cannot be borne, but must be a special direction to the Treasurer. . . Because your Lordship may lay part of the burden upon others, it were

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meet that the Council did join with you in the warrant. Because the 100*l.* which your Lordship gave Paul Ive is expended, and without a present imprest the work would cease, I have adventured to command the paymaster to deliver him another 100*l.*, whereunto I shall be sufficiently warranted, so as your *L.* warrant (which I . . . beseech) do bear date before the 4th of April. . . Paul Ive esteems the whole charge of the fortifications will amount to 600*l.* or little more.

“ Henry Pyne, by letters unto me from the Lords of the Council, is to be sent prisoner into England. His old friend, James McThomas, hath confessed somewhat, but I know not the particulars; but I think the matter not great, because I am commanded to take sureties for his appearance, which is a very favourable course.”

Ork, 8 April 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

April 11. 228. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 80.

“ At the Lord Deputy’s departure out of Munster, I directed the Earl of Thomond, with a competent foree, to march into Beare, and there to settle a garrison, which he hath done, in the island of Whoydye, leaving Captain George Flower to command the same, and is returned. Myself attended the Lord Deputy . . . as far as Kylkenny, the Earl of Ormond’s house, from whence his Lordship and the Council advertised your Lordships of the departure of Don John.

“ The 23rd of the last his Lordship (though troubled with sickness) departed towards Dublin, and I for Munster, at which present I sickened, distempered with a burning fever, but yet, by easy journeys, by the 3rd of this instant recovered my house and likewise my health, though yet weak; and the same day the Earl of Thomond returned. . . . The day following I advised (with the assistance of the Council here) to prepare for a journey westward, for the besieging of the castle of Downeboyc, O’Sulevan Beare’s chief house, and a place that commands that harbour, which (as unto some of your Lordships I have advertised) is furnished, as I am informed, with 12 pieces of Spanish artillery, 60 barrels of powder, of other munitions great store, and victuals that came for the Spaniards’ use, besides the country provision, which came in a great abundance.

“ The seat of the place (as is reported unto me) is upon a rock, which commands the landing places near unto it; the country so mountainous, and the ways so steep and narrow, as no horse or carriages can pass them, and upon those straits a few defendants may impeach an army; insomuch as I must be enforced to send all our munition, victuals, and baggage by sea, for what we bring not with us cannot be there supplied; which incommodities will draw a great charge to her Majesty, not to be avoided by reason of the hire of ships and boats. . .

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“It is likewise reported unto me that the Spaniards at their being there, to strengthen the castle, did begin to raise some fortifications of earth, which since that time O’Sulevan hath finished, but what form it beareth, or to what particular use they were intended, I have received no description; and also, that the grounds adjoining to the castle are rocky mountains, in the which to intrench will be very difficult, and must be enforced to fetch gabion stuff and earth to fill them far of, which will be no small toil to the army.

“Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the service importing so much as it doth, I think it fit to lose no time to attempt the winning of it, that the Spaniards (if they return) may not have it to friend, and doubt not (with the favour of God) but to carry it.

“The 21st of this month is the day assigned for the army to rise from Cork, the which, though it be strong in colours, yet in persons able to march exceeding weak; and now, to my exceeding grief, the sickness falls upon the old men; so as I fear, when my greatest force is gathered together, of English, Irish, and all, I shall not be able to carry 1,600 men into the field.

“I have given straight commandment to the commissary of the musters to see the Queen may not be abused. . . I pray that a 1,000 supplies may be sent into this province, which in deficiencies these companies will well receive; and by coming in summer their bodies will be well seasoned to endure the hardness of the winter ensuing, whereas, to the contrary, those that come in winter do presently perish, as the last year’s example doth manifest.

“My Lord Deputy, to ease her Majesty’s charge, at my departure from him, gave order for the cashiering of five companies, and their men to be turned over to other captains, which, although it diminisheth her Majesty’s charge, yet, they in themselves being so weak, it little advanceth the strength of other companies.

“From the mayors of Waterforde and Lymericke I have received these intelligences\* enclosed. . . . And albeit the reasons are many which do move that no credit should be given unto them, yet, the youth of the King [of Spain] considered, and the violent affections that possess young princes, the importunity of the Irish and their agent O’Donnell (whose estimation, by all intelligences, is great in Spain), together with the dislike held of Don John, as is reported, are motives sufficient of suspect that the King may run headstrong courses into the worst counsel. . . .

“It pleased the Lord Deputy and the Council in some of their former letters to your Lordships to deliver their opinions that it were needful for the State that some fortifications were

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\* Note in margin :—“Intelligences . . . . touching preparations in Spain.”

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raised . . at Beerehaven, Baltymore, Castlehaven, Kynsale, and Corke; and though I do concur with them, . . considering the great charges . . in erecting and . . defending them, I forbear to urge the same, but yet . . crave pardon if I overboldly press you specially for the raising of some works for the defences of Kynsale and Corke. The first of them, by the direction of the Lord Deputy, is begun by Paul Ive, but what it hath already cost, or what the charge will be to finish the same, in respect his Lordship was personally here and gave order for the work, I am not yet acquainted withall, but by the next your Lordships shall be advertised.

“For the defence of the river of Corke, and to assure that harbour, the Lord Deputy in person twice took an exact view, and finds it meet that at the entry of the harbour on the west side the work begun in King Edward’s time, and now ruined, should be perfected; and likewise, in an island called Halebolinge (six miles from Corke, and a league within the old work aforesaid), a fort should be raised; which places, being made defensible, will assure the harbour from any enemy’s fleet. And likewise to bridle the town (which, like other towns, is apt to take the strongest party), his Lordship thought it meet that a citadel in the same should be raised. But to what charge all these things will grow there hath been no estimate made, neither now have I any time to apply myself thereunto, by reason of the journey I speedily intend. . . Paul Ive (of whose judgments your Lordships have good opinion) is so busied at Kynsale as . . he cannot be spared, so as, until my return, in this particular I can give your Lordships no further satisfaction. In the meantime, that somewhat may go forward, I have delivered part of the money paid by her Majesty for the mayor’s fine of Lymericke into Sir Francis Barkelye’s hands, to make the castle of that city defensible, and to make storehouses for victuals and munition in it; all which I hope with that fine will be defrayed.

“The reasons that move me to urge your Lordships more particularly for Corke than for any other place is, as well in regard of the comodity of the harbour, now no less known to the Spaniards than ourselves, who, as I am informed, have secretly taken exact view of it, as the seat of the place, being in the heart of the province, and fit for any enterprize against England, as also that in the same her Majesty’s stores (for conveniency and service sake) of munitions, victuals, and money are there placed; the respect whereof, together with the danger that might ensue if such a harbour and spoil should fall into an enemy’s hands, would not only give great encouragement to the enemy, but hazard the revolt of other towns, and stir up a general defection through the kingdom, to the hazarding of the same.”

Cork, 11 April 1602.

“Sent by Patrick Crosby.”

*Copy. Pp. 4.*



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April 11. 229. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 84.

"I have received very lately three letters from your Lordships, the first concerning the Lady Norreys of the last of January, the second touching Mr. Pyne of the 18th of March, and the third importing licences given unto merchants to transport victuals into this realm, bearing date the 30th of March aforesaid. According your Lordships' pleasures, when any extent shall be issued forth of the Exchequer of this realm for the collection of the arrearage of rents due unto her Majesty by the Lady Norreys for the time of the wars, as soon as I shall have notice I will cause the sheriffs to forbear execution. But . . . that Dermod McOwen should make satisfaction unto her before he be released . . . I am willingly ready, without any commandment from your Lordships, for her own sake, to do her all the friendly offices that I may towards the reobtaining of her goods. Yet, lest further inconvenience may ensue, . . . give me leave to relate unto your Lordships in what sort Dermod McOwen is a prisoner, and what interruption (if for her goods he be detained) may ensue against the public proceedings of the province. . .

"After . . . Dermod McOwen submitted himself, . . . and put in assurance for his future loyalty, I found no undutiful behaviour in him, nor never heard him taxed of new offences; notwithstanding, when I had a vehement suspicion that the Spaniards would invade this kingdom, knowing him to have a stirring body, a great spirit, and discontented, by reason that the country of Dowhallo (unto the which he pretendeth right) was by an order long since at Dublin (except a small portion) ordered against him, . . . I restrained him of liberty, with promise that if the Spaniards did not come at all, or after their coming were expelled, that he should be released. This promise I made him, not for any affection I bear him, (for unto me he is but the son of Adam,) but to make him to undergo it with better patience, and to give satisfaction to the country, who otherwise would think our government tyrannical to imprison men without cause. . . His detention for a private action would be prejudicial to the Queen's service. Better it were your Lordships' letters had come for his arrest before his retention, or hereafter, when he shall be set at liberty, than now to take the advantage of his restraint, which hereafter at all times he is subject unto.

"It is not unknown to your Lordships that rebels do commit so many and so great insolencies as it is an impossibility for them to answer the twentieth part of the harms they do, and the spoil that is committed falls into divers hands, whereof the least part comes unto the commander; the considerations whereof moved me, upon the quieting of the province, (multitudes of the like complaints, both against him and others, by the good subjects coming unto me,) to take this general order: that all such as had lost any goods in the time of the rebellion, upon due proof of their losses, had commission granted unto them

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to seize their goods, (being proved to be their own, and producing in whose hands they remain,) by which course much was recovered, and the good subject contented, knowing how impossible a thing it was to gain all that he lost.

"I doubt not but some of the Lady Norreys' goods is yet remaining in the hands of Dermod McOwen and his followers. Mr. Packington, her husband, seemeth to be satisfied with this reasonable answer, not enforcing his restraint; and toward the getting of so much of her goods as may be found, in whose hands soever, he shall have all the assistance I can give. Wherewith, in like manner, I hope your Lordships will be satisfied.

". . . Touching Henry Pyne, I have already sent for him, . . . and as soon as he cometh your Lordships' commandment shall be observed. . . Touching the licensing of victuals and other provisions to be sent into this province, I will carefully obey what your Lordships have directed. . . Thanks . . . for the especial care you have of our relief, of the which this province never stood in more need."

Cork, 11 April 1602.

"Sent by Patrick Crosbye."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

April 11. 230. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 620, p. 86.

"Since my return from the Lord Deputy I have received many complaints of merchants, gentlemen, and other subjects who were here to deliver in money of the new standard into the bank, but the receipt thereof refused; whereupon I sent for Captain Robert Morgan, the minister of the Exchange here, whom I find an honest, careful, discreet man, and, being by me demanded why he generally refused to receive money into the bank, answered that he had already this last month of March received in of new money into the bank 8,800*l.*, and also for the months past had so far charged the banks of England, that he understood there was many of his bills yet unpaid, and also that there was a misliking had of him for the same in England by your Lordships. Wherefore, to give a better allowance to what he had done, he purposed hereafter to pass no bills for new moneys till he should understand that those which he had already granted were paid, but would rather choose to suffer your Lordships to be troubled with complaints against him for not receiving their moneys here than with petitions there for payment of bills; which course he is resolved to hold unless (out of my authority) I do absolutely command him the contrary. . .

"The further I wade in it the more difficulties I find, for in this dilemma either I must give offence to your Lordships, understanding the bank to be weak, and pester you with petitions for payment, or else suffer the subject to murmur as he doth, of which mutiny may ensue. And therefore . . . I

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thought it my duty first to understand your Lordships' pleasures, and in the meantime with good language to satisfy the suitors as well as I may. But herein I do not conceive what ease the banks of exchange in England shall receive hereby, for, although for a small time the same shall not be too much overcharged, yet, when the minister of the Exchange here shall receive all their moneys (which by the proclamation he ought not to refuse), there will such a flood of bills press the same, as then it will receive the burden which now is sought to be avoided.

"Upon the refusing of new money by exchange, the people here grow into fear that there is a purpose to decrie the new standard, and that the exchange is forborne to leave the new moneys in the subjects' hands for her Majesty's advantage; and therefore they have enhanced the rates of all such things to such a height as that they will be no losers by the money of the new standard, though a shilling fall to 4*d*.

"In my opinion . . . it is not fit to stop the exchange so long as it shall please her Majesty to continue this new coin, for thereby all those that receive entertainment from her Majesty shall be unable to live by the same, and be enforced to leave their places, to the great prejudice of her Majesty's service, and the course of these new moneys (wherein her Majesty's profit grows) utterly dissolved. For, if the townsman cannot have a good exchange of his moneys, and be well paid upon his bills, . . . he will not fail, as now he doth, to overvalue his wares. . . . And if the merchant adventurer (who bringeth hither corn, wine, salt, and other provisions) shall find a stop in his exchange, and thereby forced to attend here with his ship and company to his great charge, he will be wearied and worn out of his stock, and forced from his trade, whereby the realm will be wholly destitute of traffick. And also, if the captain find not a ready exchange, now that he is to provide apparel for the soldier (which must be furnished out of England, for this country by long war [is] grown bare of all things), [he] will never be able to clothe his company, whereby the decay of the army doth consequently follow."

This new standard, as I conceive, was established "to two ends. The one, that the Queen thereby with more ease and less charge might maintain the wars here; the other, to draw into her coffers the old silver coin, now decayed. By the first her Majesty may receive the benefit expected; but to draw the old coin out of this realm into England will be, as I suppose, very difficult, for the more of the new standard that is brought hither the less of the old coin will be returned to the Exchange Master. For every one, as occasion serveth, will bring the new moneys to the Exchange, and reserve the old, so as the next year and the years following, when the new standard shall come abundantly, the less of the old will come to the Exchange, every merchant reserving the same to trade

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withal beyond the seas; which, notwithstanding all statutes and inhibitions, is and will be transported, and others of the richer sort will here use the new, and keep the old to lie by them. Whereby it appeareth (although in process of time by trade of merchandise this old money may be conveyed out of the kingdom), yet into England the least return is to be expected.

“Moreover, I observe another great impediment (as in my late letter unto your Lordship the Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst] I signified,) . . . which is the great abundance of old money brought by particular men, as merchants, passengers, and others, out of England into this realm, who, knowing that for the old money they shall buy all kinds of wares at far easier rates than for the new standard, and can exchange the same with 8s. advantage in every 20s., although they dare not publicly use this trade, yet underhand it is frequently used, and the merchant who trades beyond the seas engrosses what he may steal out of England to continue his traffic in foreign realms.

“The reformation of this particular abuse must grow from thence, that diligent care may be had to prevent the secret stealing of money hither, for until the same be abolished, and the old silver coin clean worn out of the kingdom, this realm will remain in a perpetual dearth of all things, and the new standard not reputed of.

“As I am thus far bold . . . to enter into the labyrinth of the enormities that hinder the current passage of the new standard, to the prejudice of the subject, so am I to leave unto your Lordships’ graver censures the consideration of the means, and the time of reformation, the kingdom being (as it is) unsettled, and the Spaniard daily expected, well understanding that your Lordships’ wisdoms remember that the alteration of religion and coin are the greatest motives of distempered humours in kingdoms.”

Cork, 11 April 1602.

“Sent by Patrick Crosby.”

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Vol. 620, p. 135.

2. Another copy.

April 19. 231. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 599.

“More than this letter I have not heard of late out of England. The wind doth even now serve from thence; if it bring us any material news you shall have it. I do adventure to send you the copy, although many points therein be not to be known to this people. My prosecution in the North will hardly be thoroughly performed until you can spare us some men; wherefore I pray God you may soon end your greatest business. For the coming of the Spaniards, I know not what to say; for if out of the expectation of them we omit the service against the rebel, which is very shortly to be performed, we do absolutely lose another year; and therefore I think we

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must venture to go on with our prosecution. Munition they in England look we should in all parts of this kingdom purvey ourselves of from the store sent into Munster. If the Spaniards come they must send us more. In the meantime we must, according to the necessity of the service, expend this. I have sent this bearer, to return to me by water with such munition as you send, and the more safely to convey unto me what else I send for unto your Lordship, as some letters which I have named in the end of this; but especially I desire your Lordship, in some trunk or chest sealed up by yourself, to send me by this bearer, my servant Pavye my share in the Spanish spoils, and, if conveniently you may, both a formal and a true account from Mr. Apsley of all that business of the victualling and shipping; wherewith I desire not that this bearer should be made acquainted, but that you will send all by him sealed up by you in some chest. All Dublin was full here that I had brought the thousand pounds of Spanish money from Kinsale, and that it was cast away at Wexforde, for the grief whereof I fell sick, but I thank God I am now well recovered. . . I pray let us hear often from you, and the Queen shall pay your messengers; but send horsemen, for foot messengers are slow and unsure. Let us hear as soon as possible you can, how soon you can spare the men above your list."

Dublin, 19 April.

"The copy of the letter from the King to Don John, to him from the Duke of Lerma and the secretary, and if you think any other of importance; from the captain of Beerhaven, such letters as he sent about the taking of that place by the Irish; notes about the peace between England and Spain; the true number of all Spaniards shipped from Kinsale and the other havens, &c.

"I have cast Cormock McDermond's company and Cap. Jo. Barrye's. I pray let them know I could keep them no longer standing than the last day of this month."

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Add. Endd. by Carew (at f. 602):*  
Received 12 May 1602.

Vol. 624, p. 139.

2. Copy.

April 19. **232.** The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 438.

"By your letters of the 8th of this month, we perceive you have determined, with the forces of that province, to rise from Corke the 21st of the same, and . . . proceed in your journey."

Concerning "the fort now in hand at Kinsale, we have given a general warrant to Mr. Treasurer (Cary), who hath now written to the paymaster there to deliver upon your Lordship's warrant to whom you shall appoint to be the Clerk of the Works' deputy, to be accountable how the same is expended, such sums of money as you shall think meet both for

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that work and the building of the two forts upon the haven of Corke, according to such conference as I the Deputy had with your Lordship at our being together there, for which we have lately received directions out of England. And if they may not be both conveniently effected at this time, then . . . put the greater, which is to be built upon the Island, presently in hand, which, in regard it must contain houses to store up a good quantity of victual and munition, would be made so much the larger. And for the allowance to be yielded to the workmen, or any other particulars touching those works, we leave to your Lordship to do therein as you shall think meetest.

“As for the apparelling of the companies, the army here is in the same case with yours there; for the Lords have only signified that all contracts are dissolved with the provant-masters, and that the pay of the *Sd.* a day shall begin about May, but yet there is no warrant come to make allowance or to give any imprest to the captains to apparel their companies. And we are even now making ready our despatch to their Lordships touching that and other things, wherein we hope very shortly to be resolved. At what time your Lordship may be well assured, the forces with you shall be equally provided for.”

Touching the allowance of beef, their Lordships “do write that they will not now make any innovation, conceiving by some information (belike of the victualler) that the lesser proportion is that which always has been allowed the soldier; where it is altogether contrary, as now we signify to their Lordships, and herewith send you a double of that part only of their said letters which concern that point only of victuals, because they contain other matters which we think not meet to commit to the uncertainty of the way.

“And forasmuch as it is now resolved that there shall be a thorough prosecution of the archtraitor (Tyrene), as well by the way of Connaught as from Carrickfergus, from whence Sir Arthur Chichester shall not be able to stir, if the companies with him be not reinforced, which here we cannot do, by reason it will be needful that I the Deputy should go reasonably strong into the field;” we therefore pray your Lordship speedily to signify “how soon you may spare us those companies there with you that are above the list of Munster.” If possible, we would be glad to have them as soon as your letters.

“Where the Lords by their late letters signified that we must trust to such munition and victuals as are arrived there, and for that a great part of the war must be made here, and that we stand in some want of munition, we pray your Lordship as speedily as you may to send unto us the proportion of munition specified in this enclosed note, together with Jolly, the master-gunner, and a cannonier. And if you may preserve any of the victuals to be sent to Ballishannen, which is now taken in, we shall be very glad of it; because the Lords (as it

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should seem) do expect that that place should be relieved from the magazine of Mounster."

Dublin, 19 April 1602.

P.S.—“ Because I the Lord Deputy do now send a man of mine own, I do by him send the copy of the whole letter that last came from England.”

*Signed*: Mountjoye, Ad. Dublin., C. R. Wingfelde, Ro. Gardener, George Cary, Tho. Midensis, Anth. Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.

*Pp. 3. Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received 12 May.

Vol. 624, p. 134.

2. Copy.

April 20. 233. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 595.

“ After I had sealed up my other letter, wherein I did write unto you that I would not acquaint this bearer with what he was to bring unto me from you, I bethought myself that by his ignorance therein he might handle the conveyance thereof the worse; at the least to hide it there and here from the common sort, who are already divining at such a matter, and withal that the matter in itself is honest and justifiable, and for no other respect to be concealed, but that little helps are reckoned by some great matters, and they which do owe us for our service will think themselves the less indebted if we begin to pay ourselves; and therefore I have plainly told this bearer, being my old servant, that I send him to you for what and how arising. . . God send . . . us a happy meeting.”

20 April.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed by Carew*: Received the 12 of May 1602.

May 3. 234. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 594.

“ I find I shall have very great use of an engineer for my present journey Northward, having here only one Dutchman, whom I have suffered to go for Connaught, for the necessity of the service in those parts, and by that means shall be altogether unprovided. Wherefore, remembering that there is one Parker with your Lordship, who I know to be very sufficient and industrious, and fit to do anything wherein we shall have occasion to use him, I . . . pray your Lordship to send him hither so soon as possibly you can spare him from Berehaven, where I think he is now employed; and the rather because I am confident you shall there have no great need of him, the Spaniards (as I hear by a Dutchman that came last thence) having changed their purpose from troubling us this year.”

Dublin Castle, 3 May 1602. *Signed*.

P.S.—“ Though we promised the Spaniards the ordnance in Berehaven, yet upon the taking of that place I pray your

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Lordship stay that ordnance until you hear further from me."

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew (at f. 597):* Received 29 May.

Vol. 624, p. 145.

2. Copy.

May 9.

235.

The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 500.

We enclose a petition exhibited to us by Anthony Dillon, gentleman, who has taken a lease of Castle Parke and lands adjoining in co. Cork, which have been taken in and enclosed for erecting a fortification. He desires the command of it for himself or for Robert Pollard. These gentlemen are of English birth, and recommended for their good services. If you shall dispose otherwise of it, consideration should be had of him for the house and grounds.

Court at Greenwich, 9 May 1602.

*Signed:* Tho. Egerton, C.S., T. Buchurst, Gilb. Shrewsbury, E. Worcester, W. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll, J. Herbert;—W. Waad.

*Pp. 2. Add. Endd. by Carew:* Received 10 Sept.

#### II. PETITION of ANTHONY DILLON to the LORDS of the COUNCIL.

"Sheweth, that whereas he had a lease of 30 years in the castle and lands of Castle Parke in the county of Corke . . . which . . . did cost him a great sum of money until he could obtain the same; of which said castle and lands as yet he had never profit thereof, as well by reason of the last revolt in Mounster as also for that the Spaniard arrived there, adjoining nigh unto Kynsall, who was possessed thereof.

"And also sheweth that her Majesty this present is a fortifying there; within which fortification the petitioner his castle together with a great part of his lands are enclosed, being the only house and living he hath to relieve himself, having sustained by a long space great hindrances and losses by reason of these wars in Mounster, to the great impoverishing of him in this his aged years."

Prayeth that he might either have the command of the said fortification or appoint in his stead one Mr. Robert Pollarde, a man of great resolution, &c. He is greatly charged with a wife and many small children, and has for 10 or 12 years been resident in Ireland, and employed in her Highness's service there.

*Abstract. P. 1.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 81.

2. Copy of the Council's letter.

May 10.

236.

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 478.

"This bearer, Mr. Dillon, hath been an humble suitor unto the Lords . . . for the placing a meet and sufficient captain



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in a fort lately erected near unto Kinsale . . . upon a ground whereof this bearer, as he informeth, is owner ; and very desirous that one Robert Pollarde, a gentleman who, as I am informed, hath served in Ireland, and well commended, to be preferred to the same service. I therefore pray you to have consideration of him, who is partly allied unto me, his mother being a Fortescue ; and what you shall do for him I will take to be done for my sake."

Wardrobe, 10 May 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* From Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10 May 1602. Received 10 September.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 83.

2. Copy.

May 13. 237. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 141.

"Your letters by your servant Pavye, bearing date the 19th and 20th of April, I received the 12th of this instant ; being sorry in my heart that I was gone from Corke before his coming, that I might have more fully answered every point of them . . . and more precisely have obeyed your Lordship's directions. . . Upon the messenger I can lay no blame, for he departed Dublin the 20th, and I rose from Corke the 23rd of April, whereby it was impossible for him to overtake me ; and to follow me by land he could not, and by sea, before the wind served, he could not budge out of Kynsale. . .

"The general letter from your Lordship and the Council I have answered at large. . . By reason of the want of my papers and the officers of the munitions and victuals ( . . one in Corke and the other in England) I am ignorant of the magazines of either of them, but . . have taken such a course as I hope will be pleasing to you, and, if your Lordship shall not so think it, I will at my return from Donboye accomplish your commandments to the uttermost I may. . .

"For the fortifications in the river of Corke . . I cannot give any directions in them until my return ; and in the meantime Paul Ive will be sufficiently employed at Kynsale."

I thank you for imparting the Lords' letters to me, and do hope they "will redress the error in victualling, and give order for our payments in money since the contract for clothes is broken, . . for the soldier in the meantime both in back and belly is pinched."

"Of the coming of Spaniards I am no less distracted in my judgments than your Lordship is, for all passengers or merchants that come out of France or Spain do still assure their coming, and that very shortly. The rebels stand assured of their coming before this month is expired, and the hope thereof keeps Tyrrell and William Bourke my neighbours, who otherwise would quit this province ; for they are heartily afraid of treason in the provincials, and wish themselves gone. . . They lie in such incredible strengths of huge mountains and ugly glynns of bog and wood, as I think no place of the

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world yields the like, and the ways of such advantage unto them as an 100 men may forbid an army of 5,000 to march from Bantry to Donboye, which is but 24 miles; and if there were no enemy to resist us, nor any baggage in our army, the ways in themselves are so difficult as in less time than eight days I cannot come thither, for three miles a day is the most we can march; and for horse or garrons to carry victuals and munitions no possibility of passage. Wherefore I have resolved by boats and shipping to cross the Bay of Bantry, and to land within seven miles of the castle, which is a reasonable way (though mountainous), yet indifferent as well for us as the enemy. I would not have believed any man's report if my own eyes had not seen the mountains and glynns which here I find. . .

"If the Queen's fleet were not upon the coast of Spain, I do confidently believe that we should within a few days see another Spanish army in Munster. But my hope is that the fleet will enforce their stay; which moved me to make the greater haste to Beerehaven to win the castle of Donboye before their coming; the which (as I understand) is, by the advice of the Spaniards that were there, strongly re-enforced with high earthy-works able to withstand a great battery. But howsoever I hope in God to carry it, but am much afraid that I shall be enforced to send unto Corke for a supply of munitions, which is the cause I have directed the clerk of the munition to reserve five last of powder, if extremity did enforce me, and also that these parts might not altogether be left bare to answer foreign occasions.

"But I hope the store is such as that the ten last written for may be sent unto you, and five last remaining. If not, to supply your army in Connaght which goes to Ballysheman there is five lasts of powder with lead and match at Lymericke, which by water with a guard to Athlone may be carried safely from thence. But if Corke cannot yield your Lordship the ten lasts demanded, what lacks of the same (if your Lordship do send for it) I will presently send it unto Dublyn, not meaning to dispute but to obey all your Lordship's commandments. . . The strength of the magazine. . . is better known to the master of the ordnance there, who before his departure from hence did sundry ways dispose the same; and my particular notes are in Shandon. . . Of all the other things in that note comprised, if they be in the store at Corke, they shall be presently sent unto your Lordship, though I am sorry to depart with pioneers' tools, having so great occasion to use them in the work intended.

"If the munition at Lymericke might come safely unto me by sea, I would not care how bare the store. . . at Corke were left; but this summer time there is not so little as twenty galleys swarming upon this coast, and within these ten days they have taken two merchants, one of Gallwaye and an Englishman, both of them loaden with corn and wines, which goods

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is now in possession of the rebels, which is a great relief to the Buonies, who before lived only upon beef and water, and wanted bread, for want whereof they grew into such discontent as they were ready to break.

"According your Lordship's commandment, Cormocke and John Barry shall be discharged, but [I] do humbly pray your Lordship (not for any love I bear them, but for the service's sake,) that they may be continued in pay until I return; . . . for . . . they being now with their companies in the camp with me, it is an inconvenient time to cast them, lest at my back they may work some disturbance, and at Cormocke's hands I expect no better, which they dare not do when I am returned. Besides the better part of my army is Irish; whom for the present I dare not discontent. . . . But then no man [is] more glad of cashiering Irish companies than myself.

"The copies of letters and other notes your Lordship writes for are in my cabinet at Shandon, but as soon as I return I will send them unto you. I have written unto my wife to deliver unto your servant Pavye 400*l.* in Spanish silver, which I am sure he shall receive. In your Lordship's next . . . signify . . . the receipt of it. 200*l.* Apsley had; the rest your Lordship may easily judge where it remains; a particular note I will send you at my return, for now I cannot do it.

"I will write often unto you, and . . . pray your Lordship to do the like, being unto me a good light how to direct my ways in Munster, besides the comfort I receive in your Lordship's good successes, which I beseech the Almighty to bless you in, that your works were ended, and both of us in England, to have the society of our friends, and to enjoy part of their ease."

Camp near the Abbey of Bantry, 13th May 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

May 17. 238. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 592.

Take order that "one John Dixon, a soldier serving under the leading of Captain Harvy," be sent hither; "upon whose coming he shall understand the cause of his sending for."

Dublin, 17 May 1602.

*Signed:* Mountjoye, George Cary, Ro. Gardener, Auth. Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Add. Endd.:* Received at the siege of Donboy, 13 Junii 1602.

Vol. 624, p. 146.

2. Copy.

May 23. 239. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 590.

"I have of late forborne to write unto you, expecting daily to hear from you some good news of your success, which would be most welcome to me. I am now resolved (by the

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grace of God) to undertake my Northern journey, and Thursday in Whitsun week . . . to set forth from this place. I perceive the companies appointed to attend me are for the most part exceeding weak, so as the whole force that I can draw down, being but a little above 3,000 foot in list, your Lordship can easily judge I shall not be able to keep the field unless I be supplied or strengthened, and that speedily; which must be only from you in Munster, for from any other place I cannot hope for any one company more than I carry with me. My earnest desire therefore is, that you will presently send unto me all the companies within your province that are above your ordinary standing list, leaving it to your own choice who they shall be . . . I hope you may very fitly spare them by that time this my letter come unto you, but, if otherwise, I make account I shall not want them, considering the great need I shall have of them.

"I send herewith some letters out of Spain, which one Synnott of Rosse did bring unto me, with one directed to myself, supposing that I had been in England. In that respect I opened these of yours, and the rather for that Sir Oliver St. John was going then for England, whom I thought fit to acquaint with the contents thereof, if there had been aught concerning the public meet for his relation there. With these letters there came some wine, oranges, and lymmons, which Synnott affirmed to be sent unto me, whereupon I gave direction they should be brought me; but by your letter I perceive he did mistake, yet I have no meaning to make restitution, for that I find I have a title to a part at least, if not by law, yet by a kind of equity, in that I am not in England as it was supposed; for upon that ground no doubt I was left out. But howsoever (having gotten the possession), I mean to keep it till the title be decided, if you please, by Sir Robert Gardener, who is yesterday gone for England, with purpose to return no more if he can leave us. And thus you are but indifferently provided for, though willing enough (I hope) to have indifferency. But to fall again from this, let me conclude, as I began, seriously, that I have a great work in hand and but a few workmen, and therefore pray you not to fail, but send speedily those now desired."

Dublin Castle, 23 May 1602. *Signed.*

P.S.—"I pray your Lordship despatch away the Spanish captains left for pledges, for I understand for certain our ships are all returned from Spain, and that our men were there well used. \*If you have any news out of England or from Spain, I pray let me have it, for I have not heard from thence a great while, and when I hear any you shall receive the like from me. I have not heard at all from you since Pavye went. Our forces everywhere in the North have taken great preys

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\* The rest is in Mountjoy's own hand.

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and done very good service, and even now I hear that Sir John Barkley hath taken 5,000 cows, and planted a garrison at Monahan. God send your Lordship all prosperity, and us both a contented meeting."

*Pp.* 2. *Add. Endd.*: Received at the siege of Donboye, 13 Junii.

Vol. 624, p. 151.

2. Copy, dated 13 May 1602.

May 24. 240. HUGH O'DONNELL to O'CONNOR KERRY.

Vol. 600, p. 14.

The Doctor and Dermond O'Driscio will bring you ample information of occurrences here. But of one thing you can well assure yourself, that the King will not fail to gain Ireland, though it cost him the greater part of Spain. His Majesty sends you money and munition. I pray you that the information we have had of you may be found true; and your service animates the King to show you greater goodwill. I pray you send me an account of the news of our country, in such a manner that if there is anything bad it may be concealed from the Spaniard, but not from me; and that you let me know in what part the Deputy is employing himself with the Queen's forces, and in what part they are in garrison.

From the Garonne,\* 24 May 1602.

*Signed*: Hugo O'Donnell.

*Copy. French. P. 1. Endorsed.*

May 28. 241. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 147.

The 12th I received your letters, and the 13th despatched Pavie again with answer. I was afraid the store in Cork was not so strong as it is, and am exceeding glad the proportion of powder you sent for is not defective in anything. "The state of the victuals I have commanded to be sent unto your Lordship, whereof your Lordship may dispose at your pleasure. I would have sent Jollye, the master gunner, unto your Lordship, but all the ordnance and munition was delivered into his charge, and I had no conveniency to rummage it, not having any cover for it, being brought ashore (as of necessity it must be if his charge had been committed to another man), but the open firmament. Besides, being so near Donboye, where his service was of use, I was bold to detain him until the service were ended, meaning then to send him to your Lordship with all possible expedition, which, by God's grace, shall be precisely performed. But since that time it hath so pleased God to lay his cross upon us, as I have lost the best cannonier in my opinion that England these many years hath bred; his name was Parker, and sent unto your Lordship, by my assignment, purposely hither, who this day died; whereby I have none but Jollye left to effect the

\* Headed by Carew: "From the Groyne."

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service pretended. When Pavye was here Parker was sick. . . . If Jolly could by any means have delivered over his charge for the which he indented, no occasion should have moved me to have stayed him. . .

“My hope was, the day after Pavye’s departure, to have crossed with the forces the Bay of Bantry; by which means I should have escaped all the straits and places of advantage possessed by the enemy. But it pleased God otherwise to determine, for since the 15th . . . to this present we have had the extremest weather that I have seen, nothing differing from the depth of winter but the shortness of the night. In the memory of man I do not think such a continual storm of wind and rain in May hath been seen, perpetually at the south-west, so as neither ship nor boat could move from their anchors without imminent peril of loss, and if the harbour were not excellent good, I think some of them would have perished as they rode.

“If Archer have the art of conjuring I think he hath not been idle, but, ere it be long, I hope to conjure him, for I am informed that he protests to abide the siege in the castle. By some of the Irish that came out of the eastle of Donboye unto me I am informed that they have ramparted the castle round about within their barbican eighteen foot in thickness as high as the top of the barbican, and thereupon have raised a parapet of earth; upon this rampart they have placed their artillery, and have taken down the castle to the vault, which is a pike length above the rampart of their barbican. This work will give us impediment in the planting of our battery, but I hope, when the ordnance is planted, it will prove their confusion, for the remainder of the height of the castle will, by the ruins of it, quickly take away the use of their ordnance, and the castle cannot annoy us, for the rampart unto the height of the barbican hath taken from them the use of all their spikes and lower fightes, so as they will live but in a dungeon, out of the which, with the pickaxe, we shall conveniently remove them. To give us further labour, they do now fortify in the island of the Dursies, seven miles to the westward of Donboye, unto the which place they have carried three pieces of ordnance. But of the one and the other I hope to give your Lordship a good account.

“All Kerry and Desmond is reduced, and since the death of Dermod Moyle McCartie, Florence his brother, who was slain the 13th of this present, the Munster men are out of heart, and sue to be received to mercy; which unto landed men I do refuse, for the rest upon assurance I receive. Of the ancient rebels there is McMorrice, John FitzThomas, and the Knight of the Valley; of the late revolvers, O’Solevan Beare, the Knight of Kerry, Thomas Oge FitzGerald, O’Connor Kerry, and Sir Fynnyn O’Driscoll’s eldest son. But they are all exceeding poor, and among them not above 400 provincials.

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“With Terrell and William Bourke there is of buonies 1,200 by poll, who live only upon O’Solevan’s creghts, which by our lodging so near them is almost consumed and cannot long continue. All the subjects’ cattle from Kynsale westward I have caused to be removed into the east part of the county of Corke. So all Carbry, Desmond, and Dowalla, and most part of Muskerry, is left waste, whereby the buonyes of force must after a little while depart from hence. They are exceeding weary, and would fain be gone, but Archer every day devises letters and intelligences out of Spain, assuring them of succours, and once a week confirms new leagues, and seals them with the sacrament. Yet nevertheless divers of their men come daily unto me and run from them.

“When Donboye is once taken, I am sure they will leave this province and seek some other fortune, which they are unwilling to do, not knowing where else in Ireland to get any bonnaght. Tyrrell, to have a company in pay, would come from them; which, without service to deserve so great a favour, I deny, and service he will do none, thinking that he merits sufficiently by leaving them. William Burke stands upon the same terms, and therefore they must run one fortune.

“If your Lordship be remembered, one *James Blake*\* of *Galway*\* desired your Lordship’s protection to come unto you to Corke, but before his coming thither your Lordship was gone. Afterwards he required the like from me, and he came unto me. After much speech, protesting innocency and integrity, to clear himself of all suspicion, he took a solemn oath to do service that should merit good opinion and reward. Having no cause known unto me of any fact by him committed, nor yet having power to detain him, because he came unto me upon . . . protection, I applauded his enterprise, whereupon he departed from me, and is gone into *Spain*,\* with a determination (bound with many oaths) to *kill O’Donnell*.\* That he is gone I am sure by those that were *embarked*\* with him. God give him strength and perseverance. If a man may judge of resolution by external appearance and protestations, he will effect his business; if not, there is nothing lost. I told him that I would acquaint your Lordship with it, and that but unto your Lordship I would not acquaint any man with his purpose.

“I understand that long since your Lordship sent a pursuivant unto me with letters, and in them letters which came from Don Juan del Aquila to your Lordship, but I have not received them. I am informed that he departed Corke, but I fear he is slain upon the way, for of such letters sent unto me I have had report out of the rebels’ camp. If your Lord-

\* In cipher.

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ship write again . . . direct that from Corke or Kynsale they may be sent by sea. And yet, since Florence's brother was slain, six men may pass from Kynsale to Bantry, but no further." Again "I pray your Lordship to continue Cormocke and John Barry in pay until the siege at Donboye be ended. . . . I dare not let them know your pleasure, foreseeing the mischief that will ensue before that service be ended. . . . The parties to me are the children of Adam, and one of them your Lordship knows my opinion of him."

P.S.—"The private business committed by your Lordship unto Pavie is despatched, and he having with him *four hundred in Spanish money*,\* your Lordship in my opinion for a little while (until the rumour of the coming of Spaniards is forgotten or not to be feared) [would do well] to continue a running post between Corke and Dublin. The charge will not be great, considering the shortness of the time."

"At the camp near the Abbey of Bantry, 28 May 1602."

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

June 1. 242. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 624, p. 153.

"By Pavye I answered your letters sent by him, and since that I wrote unto your Lordship bearing date the 28th of this last month." On the 29th of May I received yours of the 3rd commanding me to send to you Parker the gunner. He is dead; "whose loss is no small grief unto me, being an ancient servant of my own, and the want of him will be a great impediment to the service, being (if my judgment fail not) the best cannonier that served her Majesty." Now my only hope depends in Jollye, whom "if he had not been encumbered with an account of munition which was delivered into his charge, whereof there was no means to free him, being in the field as we were, where we had no place to unload the store to deliver it over to another man," I would have sent him to you.

You require me, when Donboye is taken, the ordnance shall be stayed; I purposed no less. "This day I am shipping my men over the bay of Bantrye, and hope within a few days to land them and the ordnance, which done, I account my greatest trouble past. The report of the fortifications at Donboye is divulged to be of great strength, but commonly runours in Ireland exceed the truth, and I trust to make short work after the ordnance is planted.

"This day news is brought unto me that Archer, John Fitz Thomas, and Connor O'Driscoll, Sir Fynnyn O'Driscoll's eldest son, are gone into Spain in the ship of Gallwaye which . . . they took at the Dorsies, laden with wine and wheat. In my next

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\* In eipher.



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I will inform you of the truth of it ; and until this day we had no intermission of huge storms, such as I think no man living at this time of the year have seen the like. The country of Beare is full of witches. Between them and Archer I do partly believe the devil hath been raised to serve their turn. I likewise understand that William Bourke (after the army is transported) will be gone, himself making means unto me for a pass ; but all these traitors are so false and uncertain as that I dare assure myself of nothing until things be done. It is written unto me from Waterforde that Don Juan hath sent your Lordship wine and fruits, and that he also hath remembered me with the like.\* If your Lordship will be pleased to give direction for the delivery of any part unto me, it shall be drunk unto your health."

Camp at Kyllonenoke, 1 June 1602.

*Copy. P. 1.*

June 2. 243. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 614, p. 119.

"We have in our two former despatches [omitted?] to write anything touching the altering of the county of Clare in Thomond from . . . Connaght to Munster according a clause in her Majesty's letter of the 4th of October last. . . . We have had often consideration in this matter. . . . We have considered of some inconveniences which might rise out of that alteration, and have sent the same to your Lordships herewith, . . . and in the meanwhile, till it shall please your Lordships to return her Majesty's absolute direction to us, which we desire may be with all speed, we are bold to stay all further proceedings in the alteration of that county. . . . Touching the other parts of her Majesty's said letter, concerning the Earl of Thomond and his causes, they are or shall be performed. . . .

"To-morrow (God willing) I the Deputy am to begin my journey Northward, having given order that the small helps growing out of the general hosting (which is but in carriages only) shall meet me at Dundalk, from whence I will lose no time to enter into the business, which may be more throughly performed if your Lordships have sent the supplies to Loughfoyle. Without which (considering that as yet I hear of no companies out of Munster, where are 1,500 above the old list of 3,000), the main prosecution will not be a little weakened through want of a through force to give countenance to it at the first. And besides, though by lack of beefs, carriages, garrons, and other country helps from the Pale, we may be not a little puzzled, yet we will do our best to make our wonted alacrity to overcome these difficulties ; and how we

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\* See Don Juan's letter to Carew of 2 April 1602, printed in Stafford's "Pacata Hibernia," p. 621.

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shall prevail . . . your Lordships shall be advertised from time to time."

Dublin, 2 June 1602.

*Signed* : Mountjoye, Ad. Dublin., Ric. Wyngfield, Geo. Carye, Anthony Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed.*

June 4. **244.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 588.

"I am now towards my journey into the North, wherein our hope and end is to banish that arch-traitor out of his country. The work being of the greatest importance, and of no small difficulty, in respect that we must seek him in his greatest strengths, and armed with his last necessity, I have reason as much as may be to strengthen myself to perform it; which maketh me to send Sir Samuel Bagnoll to hasten and convey from you those troops which you have above your old list; and although I leave it to you to send such companies as you shall think good, yet I desire you not to send me of the weakest or worst, for we shall have good reason to employ them. Good my Lord, despatch them with as much expedition as you may, for it much concerneth the service; and, if God continue his former blessings, I doubt not but upon their arrival we shall give a sound blow to this rebellion. I have weakened myself by sending part of my strength with Sir Arthur Cheechester and part with Sir Oliver Lamberte, and those companies I have are weak, but especially in English. I have not heard of late out of England, but with this wind expect some news."

Ballroderye, 4 June 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received at the siege of Donboy by Sir Samuel Bagnall 13<sup>o</sup> ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 154.

2. Copy.

June 4. **245.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 436.

Albeit the Lord Deputy has written to you for the speedy sending of certain companies to his Lordship under Sir Samuel Bagenall, we also pray and require you, in respect the present service requires the same, to see them sent with all possible speed.

Dublin, 4 June 1602.

*Signed*: Ad. Dublin., C., George Cary, G. Bowrcher, Geff. Fenton.

P.S.—"We likewise pray your Lordship to hasten away the munition formerly appointed to be sent out of that province hither. (*Signed*) Geff. Fenton."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received at the siege of Donboye, 13 ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 155.

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June 7.

The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 434. **246.** "Before the Lord Deputy's departure hence it was agreed upon by his Lordship and Council that proclamation should be made denouncing head money for the arch-traitor Tyrone; which being put in print, we have of them sent your Lordship herewith ten, praying your Lordship to see them forthwith published in the cities, market towns, and other public places of that province."

Dublin, 7 June 1602.

*Signed*: Ad. Dublin. C., George Cary, R. Wingfelde, Anth. Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received 23 ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 156.

2. Copy.

June 8.

**247.** The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 476.

"An old servant and follower of mine, Captain Thos. Fleminge . . . is a suitor for the recovery of some lands and possessions, being his ancient inheritance in those parts." I pray you that the poor gentleman may have justice with expedition. His bare estate cannot endure delays. "He is one that hath by his good services to her Majesty and his country well deserved." I pray he may find your aid, "whereby (if it might be) you shall add an increase of my band of love unto you which is already grown to such great perfection."

Court at Greenwich, 8 June 1602. *Signed and sealed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew*: "Brought by Thomas Fleminge, and received by me the 7 of October 1602."

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 84.

2. Copy.

June 9.

**248.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 586.

"I perceive by your letter of the 26th of the last month, which came not unto me until the 6th hereof, that you had despatched away Paye long before that time, and yet he is not returned to Dublin (for anything I can hear), but remaineth at Corke for lack of shipping. By that means such letters as you wrote by him are not come to me; but I expect daily his arrival, which I hope will satisfy me fully, and that with him we shall have the munition and other things required for the service, which I see you have been careful to send away. I am very sorry for the loss of Parker, and much the rather in that you cannot spare us Jolly; but I am confident you will not keep him long, for, whatsoever those rebels may protest touching the holding out of the castle, you will (I doubt not) make short work with them, when better weather will give you leave to proceed roundly in your business; for I acknowledge the weather of late hath been extreme ill and stormy, and hath no doubt greatly hindered your purposes and proceedings. It is true I sent a pursuivant unto you with letters from Don John and other business, and marvel he

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was not with you before the writing of your letter of the 26th of May.

"I am content, for the reasons you allege, to continue Cormock and John Barry in entertainment until the end of the siege of Donboy, but . . . not any longer, for I have signified their discharge into England, and many others that were discharged with them, who will take it ill if they should hear that they yet stand.

"I would willingly, as you move, erect a running post again, but found so little care or certainty in the last as I conceive it were to little purpose; especially being very hopeful we shall have no need thereof, and that our letters will pass otherwise full as speedily and with more safety by sending a horseman upon any urgent occasion. I have by Sir Samuel Bagnall written for certain companies, which I pray you despatch away, for that there may be use of them in Lenster, as Tyrrell shall offer to come by.

\* "My Lord . . . I do not write . . . with my own hand, for my head doth ache at this time extremely, and upon the coming of Payve I will presently despatch again unto you. I think it very fit that you have sent the party into Spain, although he be, as all men of his profession are, a notable knave. I think it good that Tyrrell were taken in, but we must in no wise take in any more, especially him, upon those conditions. And yet I think he doth but play the knave in that, for he hath offered me the same twenty times. If he will do any service before his coming in, it were better to promise him some other reward. *All the North desire to † come in and Tyrone himself especially, and I think in the end we shall make some sound conclusion.* I hope Balishannan, Loughfoyle, Knockfergus, and all we shall be stirring together."

Dumdalk, 9 June 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: Received 23<sup>o</sup> ejusdem.*

Vol. 624, p. 157.

2. Copy.

June 9. 249. PROCLAMATION by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 617, p. 264.

Whereas merchants and others do not observe her Majesty's proclamation of the 20th of May 1601, but do still trade with the decried moneys. And for that it is informed to the Council in England and to us, by the master of the Exchange, that here in Dublin there hath been brought into the Exchange above 60,000*l.* of the new standard, for which bills of exchange have been given, besides other great sums exchanged at Corke, Gallway, and Carrickfergus (by a probable estimation as much or more), and of the decried moneys or bullion not 20*l.*; "the which her Majesty doth not take in good part, being

\* The rest is in Mountjoy's own hand.

† The words in italics are in cipher, which is deciphered between the lines.

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merely contrary to the tenor and true meaning of the said first proclamation. On which behalf we have of late received two special letters from her Majesty, that we should, by this new proclamation, declare and make known her princely pleasure."

Any person trading with or using the said decried moneys or bullion, except "goldsmiths free of any city or corporate town," to be imprisoned. Magistrates or other chief officers, as mayors, sheriffs, chief officers of corporate towns, and justices of peace, that shall be informed of the payment or receipt of any such moneys or bullion, to seize the same, and bring it into her Majesty's Exchange within thirty days after such seizing, upon pain of imprisonment and fine. The informer to receive half of the moneys seized or of the fines levied, "and to be otherwise recompensed or preferred as it shall seem meet unto us, or to such person or persons before whom such information shall be made." 22 shillings, new coin, instead of 21s., as hitherto to be given for every 20s. old coin or bullion brought to the Exchange. Upon old base money brought in, "there shall be allowed after the rate of twelve pence upon the pound."

Any person, "saving such as be in her Majesty's pay," bringing in moneys of the new standard here to receive sterling in England, shall deliver in a fifth part of the sum at least in sterling, "for which . . . he shall have two shillings in the pound without deduction, and for the rest he shall pay twelve pence in the pound." All persons in her Majesty's pay may have an exchange without sterling "of so much as their yearly entertainment doth amount unto, . . . first taking a corporal oath . . . that the money or bullion is his own proper goods." "Every merchant (and none other) resorting to her Majesty's Exchange . . . for sterling to be delivered in England, shall bring a certificate from the officers of her Majesty's Custom-house, where his goods were entered, what goods he entered there, and at what time, to the end thereby the master of the Exchange and his deputies may discern that he seeketh nothing but the return of his own money, and is not a colourer of other men's moneys."

All passengers coming from England shall presently exchange such sterling moneys as they brought with them for current moneys. The officers of the custom may search any passengers, unless they "will take a voluntary oath to open the truth." Offences against this and the former proclamation to be "enquired of, censured, and punished," in Munster by the Lord President and Council, in Connaught by the Chief Commissioner and Council, and in the remote parts of Ulster by the governors of Carrickfergus, Loughfoyle, and Ballishennon, within their jurisdictions. The said persons from time to time to make certificates to us "what their proceedings shall be in that behalf."

"Lastly, . . . where divers covetous persons . . . do, by colour of this new standard money, enhance the prices both of victuals

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and other necessaries," her Highness' pleasure is that all mayors, clerks of the markets, &c. "do diligently and carefully look to their offices and charge in this behalf, as they will answer at their perils; her Majesty taking it in very evil part that this her Highness' purpose, being intended for the general good of the kingdom, should be thus perverted by some private persons for their private gain. Given at her Majesty's Castle of Dublin the ninth of June 1602."

*Signed by Mountjoy at the beginning, and at the end by* "Adam Dublin., Canc., George Cary, Rich. Winkefield, Anth. Sentleagar, George Bourchier, Jeff. Fenton."

"God save the Queen."

"Printed at Dublin by John Francke, 1602."

*Printed copy. P. 1.*

June 13. 250. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 584.

"I received your letters of the 1st the 12th of June, and am glad you are in that forwardness for Beerhaven; in which work I beseech God send you all honour and good fortune. I gave you an account of your wine and fruit by my letters long since, but it seems the messenger miscarried. It is true that I think you had best right to the better part thereof, but the bearer told me they were all sent to me; and although I knew the contrary, yet in plain fraud I was content that they should be brought unto me. For the which cozenage I am so well rewarded that all the fruit came to me rotten, and the wine not good enough to make beverage for kerne. I had so liberally shared my ill-gotten goods that I sent one butt to Mr. Treasurer, to be answerable to you for it, disposed of another, and kept the other two for myself; which in truth, if they had been good I had meant to have sent unto you by the next convenient passage; but, by God! they are not worth the moiety of my adventure in sending for them, nor such as my men tell me may be drunk in my house.

"Once before I had a ship, and victualled her out in the laudable traffic of piracy, and lost all my charge, and in the end my ship; which I took to be God's will to discourage me in seeking to thrive by other men's goods. And since this last cozenage doth thrive so evil with me, I will from henceforward forswear all dishonesty.

"I pray God you may soon despatch your work, for the men I send for by Sir Samuel Baguall would do us great present [service] to hunt these wicked rebels on all hands, who do all arm, but all sue for mercy. Yet their case is desperate, their strengths great, and therefore the work more difficult.

"I hear my Lord of Thomonde thinketh much that the reuniting of his country to Munster is not despatched. For my own part, if I did not respect to satisfy a nobleman, unto whom I have no reason but to be well affected, yet, believe

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me, my Lord, I care not twopence whether it be done or no out of any particular respect. But, by God! as I remember, there was not one of the Council but did protest against it, as unfit for the public service. In which respect I could not, according unto her Majesty's letters, give way unto it, but joined with the Council to return our reasons against it, which were penned by Sir Geffray Fenton, and I signed them, I protest, without ever reading of them over; and they may be good reasons for anything I know. But if my Lord can procure me any further authority, it is all one to me. And this I do not write to satisfy him if he causelessly think unkindness of me, but your Lordship, whom I know to affect him, and because I remember I told you that except I found opposition in the Council I did mean, notwithstanding any private man's solicitation, to pass it upon my return to Dublin.

"This wind hath not brought me much news, nor any letters from any of the Council, but I hear divers ways that Don John is well received, O'Donnell disgraced, and commanded to depart in a pinnace for passage, which he excused by sickness, and that almost all the Spanish soldiers that returned from hence are dead. Tomorrow, God willing, I set forward towards Armaugh, and mean to be as evil a neighbour to my old friends the rebels as I can. I pray God confound them all, or amend them, and send the Queen peace and us rest."

From the camp at Carickbane, 13 June.

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: 13 Junii 1602.*

. . Received ultimo Junii.

Vol. 624, p. 159.

2. Copy.

June 17. 251. THE QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL.

Vol 615, p. 489.

"Concerning the urgent reasons you have used for fortifying of some places within that our kingdom, because it seemeth by your demand of so great an imprest\* that some extreme proportion of charge must follow after, we have thought good for the present to give you this answer:—that for Corke, which is a principal city and most commodious harbour for our armies at all times to land in . . . you do cause those works in the harbour (whereof you have made mention) to be gone on withal; and for that of Kynsale, which is already begun . . . that the fine be expended which was imposed upon the town for their disloyal proceedings upon the arrival of the enemy. For Waterford, . . . see the fort of Dongannon amended, if it shall appear unto you by the view of men of skill that the fortifying thereof may be of such consequence as it was thought in the beginning; although we confess that we know not well what to direct in these matters of fortifi-

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\* In the margin: "The Lord Deputy demanded 20,000 or 30,000*l.* imprest."

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cation, because one day places are described to be of importance to be fortified, and another day they are held merely inutile. You have therefor Paul Joy in that country, who attends the President (Carew), and may follow the Munster works when you have advertised the President.

“For other places you have some others, as Hansard and Bodley, both which we have heard to be persons of good understanding; in which respect we would have you to command them or whom else you think meet to view the places, and to consider what is fit to be done, and with what charge. For, as we intend no such royal works as should consume such sums as 20,000*l.* should serve but for an imprest, so we can be contented in some one place, as a retreat for our State, that some good works be erected, and in other places, where small charge may make them tenable, that some reasonable portion be disbursed. In which number we allow it that something be done at Galwaye, at Carlingford, and in such other petty works in this your journey to the North as you shall think fit, and do give you our Treasurer (Cary) authority to make payment of such sums as you our Deputy and Council shall direct for the same.”

*Copy, in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Pp. 2. Endorsed:* “Part of a letter of her Majesty's to the Lord Deputy . . . dated 17 of June 1602.”

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 80.

2. Copy of the preceding.

Vol. 615, p. 365.

3. Extract from the same letter.

*P. 1. Endorsed:* Clause of the Queen's letter touching fortifications, dated 18 June, rec. 8 July.

June 20. 252.

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 161.

“Since I departed Corke I made three despatches unto you, . . . by Pavye dated the 13th of May . . . and by messengers of my own dated the 28th of May and the 1st of June; but before Sir Samuel Bagnall's departure from you, it appears unto me that none of them came unto your hands. The 13th . . . Sir Samuel brought me your letters bearing date the 4th . . . and . . . Captain Taaff (who came with him by sea) brought me other letters of the 23rd of May,” both importing “the sending away of some of the Munster companies. . . . In my former letters . . . I advertised your Lordship of the weakness of the forces here; insomuch as I was ashamed for my reputation's sake to carry so many by list and so weak by poll, wherefore your Lordship cannot expect any strong companies, but such as they are I will not fail to send. . . .”

“The day of Sir Samuel's arrival . . . we were in the midst of our business, part of our artillery planted, and our trenches almost finished. And although there had been no enemy near us or any other service to perform, yet upon the sight of your letters I could not by any means accomplish your commandment; for by land there is no passage by reason of the difficulty or rather impossibility of the ways, . . . and that



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instant all my boats were in the island of the Dursies, where the enemy had fortified and planted some of their artillery, all which I thank God is now in her Majesty's possession, and the rebel's guard executed.

"The 17th of this month I took by assault the castle of Donboye and the ordnance in it; the ward are all either put to the sword or executed, some few excepted, whom for a day or two I do respite in hope to further the service by it. By Sir Samuel I will send . . . a journal of all my proceedings, and the plot of this castle and harbour. There shall be no time lost of sending him unto your Lordship. The greatest cause of stay will be the transportation over the Bay of Bantrie, because we have not boats and shipping sufficient to convey us over but in parts.

"By him your Lordship shall receive such advertisements as I have out of Spain, and . . . such as came lately thence, all agreeing in one of the present coming of a Spanish army. . . Terrell, William Bourke, and the other captains of the buonies have no less than 1,300 in buonaght, paid by O'Solevan. They lodge in places inaccessible, and not by force to be removed so long as they have victuals; but when . . . enforced to seek for preys for relief elsewhere, I doubt not but to rid this province of them.

"Upon the 6th of this month, the buonies and all the rebels of Munster were assembled in their full strength to forbid our landing, at the which they were broken, many of their men slain and hurt, and such a general discomfort conceived as they were ready to scatter themselves, every man seeking his own safety. But at that instant a letter came from one Owen O'Kegan, the Pope's Bishop of Rosse, who that day arrived at Ardea in the Bay of Carmarra, bringing with him good store of money, munition, and some wines, with a great number of letters to particular men in this kingdom out of Spain, which gave them new heart, and holds them together until the aids come which they daily expect. Otherwise Munster had been cleared from trouble, for all the principal provincial rebels were embarking for Spain. By Sir Samuel your Lordship shall be more fully satisfied of every particular, not daring by ordinary messengers to send them unto you.

"I hear Sir Edward Wyngfeld is landed with certain supplies at Corke, but how many I know not, for I have received no letters from him. Your Lordship makes no mention of any horse to be sent unto you; above my list there is in the province 75. . . Your pleasure . . . I will willingly accomplish, but do beseech you to nominate them unto me." I besought you to do the like for the foot companies, some of which I supposed you would require.

"Touching Roger Harvie's letter from the Veedor, and the pass he speaketh of, after my departure from your Lordship I was acquainted with it. The matter is of no importance, but by Sir Samuel Bagnall you shall have relation of it at large.

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The substance of it is no more than a desire which the Veedor showed to wish a peace between her Majesty and the King, and if any man from hence should be sent to make overture of the same, he promised a safe pass for him. . . The discourse between them and the pass are in my hands. . . If your Lordship despatch my messenger with speed, the horse you send for (if you will have any) will be very near as soon with you as the foot. . . .

"The present Don Juan del Aquila sent me, when your Lordship hath taken your pleasure of it, I hope to receive the rest by your direction; if you detain all, I cannot think it better bestowed, yet I could be glad to remember your health in part of it."

Camp at Berehaven, 20 June 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

June 24. 253. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 169.

"This gentleman in whose company this letter comes is son to Sir Edward More, who is one I do esteem extraordinarily, both for himself and for my Lady his wife, to whom you can well guess how just respects do tie me, from which you are no less free than I am, she being your kinswoman and the sister of her that held you so dear. . . He hath been very lewdly enticed to entangle himself with the daughter of Arthur Milles, by whom he hath no other portion but of suspected fame, her breeding (as it is said) being far from any good discipline. This accident having wounded the father, who had fixed his especial care upon him, makes him desirous by all means possible to remove him from her conversation, to see if it can be possible to make him see his blindness, and be content to further those courses which may be taken to prove the marriage unlawful, whereof they say there be very many just occasions. For which purpose my desire is, that you will find the means to place him in some good sort in some regiment or garrison, where he may be furthest from hearing from her and her friends, and yet so as you may hear of him, if he should start to sail over; wherein the more care it pleaseth you to take of him any way, the more I shall think myself beholding unto you. The best news that I can write for the present is, that Sir Richard Luson hath taken a carrack. For all other matters, I refer them until we hear from you, not knowing now what fortune my letters may run where you are."

From the Court at Greenwich, 24 June 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed by Carew: Received 2 Sept.*

June 28. 254. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 89.

"Now that it hath pleased God to give good success unto her Majesty's forces under my charge, I . . . acquaint you with

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the same." In "this journal hereinlosed . . . every particular day's action since my departure from Corke is fully related. . . . This bearer, the Earl of Thomond, . . . with Sir George Thornton, hath been a principal actor in the same; and for whom I humbly entreat your Lordships, as soon as they have finished their private affairs, which vehemently imports them, that they may be commanded back, for their service here may not well be spared. . . . I cannot sufficiently recommend their pains and industries.

"During . . . my abode in these parts, there landed at the haven of Kyllmallocke, not far from Ardea, in the Bay of Caumarra in Desmond, a Spanish patacha, having in her letters, money, and munition, as by several letters and examinations sent with these may more at large appear. She arrived the 5th of this month, and the news hereof came to the rebels not above two hours after they were broken and discomfited by our forces at our landing from the Great Island, as in the journal is declared. The coming whereof hath given infinite impediment to the service; for, whereas I was credibly informed by my intelligences amongst them that they were distracted, and resolved to have sought their safeties, the principal rebels purposing to abandon the realm and fly into Spain, and the buonics to have departed to their own countries, either of them being in despair to subsist in a war, the arrival of this ship aforesaid hath bred new life in them, and hath made so fast a combination as they are now resolved to wear out time until their expected aids (whereof in their opinions they are secure) do come unto them. Moreover, many that seem subjects begin to alter their countenance, receiving the news with great joy, and the best affected staggers, and fear their estates. Such an alteration in so few days I have not seen; and, as I am informed by many from the port-towns, no less danger is to be expected in them.

"For . . . when this people shall be thoroughly persuaded (as I fear they are too much already) that the King will persevere in the conquering of this kingdom (which as they affirm he pretendeth), there is no doubt to be made but the defection will be universal. . . . I do more fear these seconds expected . . . (though the numbers be not great) than those which Don John brought, for their last coming, though it were wished by many, yet [was] believed but by a few; which incredulity weakened the combination. But now, having O'Donnell and other principal agents in Spain, in whom their affections are placed, and unto whom they do give credit, I do assure myself that all such as are corrupt to the State, without further deliberation or neutrality, will instantly upon the arrival of aids declare themselves.

"No man that understandeth Ireland but hath reason to conjecture the same; but my opinion is strengthened to believe as I write by the observation I have made since the arrival of the ship; for, whereas but a few days before Tyrrell and

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William Bourke, the chief captains of 1,300 buonies now in Munster, sent divers messages unto me, and were inclinable to do service that might merit pardon and reward, since that time having been beaten by her Majesty's forces and the principal selected men of their companies slain and taken in the castle of Donboy, they are now not only more encouraged than they were to continue in rebellion, but have refused to do any [service] for reward and saving of their lives, that were most dear unto them, saying that they will never betray the actions of the King or the Catholic cause; but to ransom them with their goods they were ready to their uttermost abilities.

“Also, whereas at my coming from Corke, before I came near this country, the provincial rebels trembled, and many of them made intercession to be received, now since they were beaten, and the castle which they held invincible taken, which successes, in all men's opinions, would immediately have quieted this province, there is not any one in rebellion that desires to be a subject. And the assurance which they have of succours doth not only obdurate their hearts, but works into the false and weak minds of others, who, ere many days I fear, to deserve the better thanks at the King's hands, before his aids be come (whereof they make no doubt), will hazard their estates, and run the fortunes of the rest.

“It may be that others of greater judgment than myself may differ from my opinions, and think the coming of aids to be frivolous, and the danger less, if they do come, than at the first. . . . But herein I am sure I am not deceived, that every year's observation since first I knew this kingdom hath taught me to know that the hearts of this people doth daily decline from their obedience to her Majesty, and the smaller number of the good subjects diminisheth.

“These rebels here, with the buonies, are possessed and lodged in the greatest strengths of Ireland, where they may live safely, and, as I understand, are so resolved whiles their victuals doth last, before the which expence they make sure account of Spanish relief. But at the expiration of the same, if their hopes should fail them, then must they be enforced to seek relief in the other parts of the province, where upon more indifferent terms they may be dealt withal, and of whom then unto your Lordships I doubt not but to make a good account.

“Hitherto, for these five months, they have lived upon O'Solevan Beare (not doing any harm elsewhere), who at his own charges hath waged them, making his followers and tenants to bear the burthen of it, which is very much for a particular gentleman of no greater estate than he is of, and far more than any man did believe he was able to have done. Yet for two months more his ability will stretch to bear them, within which time, if his expectations be not answered, he will be utterly beggared, and, as other fugitives, be enforced

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to be the King of Spain's almsman. The commodity of his fishing was yearly worth unto him above 500*l.*, which now by the ruining of the castle is lost, and so must remain until another be built; for no fisherman will trade here, where there is no place to defend him from the insolencies of the Irish, or where they may not in safety upon the shore dry their fish.

“With this despatch your Lordships shall receive the plots of the harboroughs of Baltymore, Beerehave[n], and the Bay of Bantry, well and exactly done by a gentlemen appertaining to my Lord Thomas Howard, called Hugh Norton, by the view whereof, although your Lordships will be sufficiently satisfied, yet, under reformation, because I have been an eye-witness of the commodities and inconveniences of those places, I do humbly pray pardon to say my opinion . . . which is, that neither the castles of Donneshed or Donnelonge (which the Spaniards possessed at Baltymore, appertaining to Sir Fynnyn O'Driscoll) secures that harborough, neither yet the castle of Donboye at Berehaven. The entrances of either haven are less than musket shot over, and places sufficiently commodious to erect blockhouses upon them. But either of them is subject to one and the same inconvenience, for at (that?) Baltymore (which haven is made by reason of the island of Inneserkan) hath an entry into it, which with good pilotage for ships under 200 ton (by day) at either end of the island may safely come in. Therefore that haven must be secured by building of blockhouses at either end of the island of Inneserkan. The haven mouth, which lieth at the south end of the island aforesaid, is so deep water as the greatest ship in the world, having a good wind, may be careless of the tide, but exceeding narrow, by reason of a rock that lieth in the same, and therefore the better to be guarded, not being from the rock to the better shore above half caliver shot. After shipping is once entered there is a goodly large pool above a mile and half over, almost no tide at all, deep water, good anchoring, and places convenient for grounding of ships. To secure this place, although it will require a great charge, both in erecting and keeping, yet I think it so exceeding dangerous to fall into a powerful enemy's hand, as I hold it . . . a work of great difficulty (when he shall be there fortified) to work him out of it. Besides it is seated near unto the best part of Carbry, which is a good and fertile country, and not much farther from the west of England than Kynsale.

“Berehaven is an excellent harborough, a narrow entry, slack tides, good anchoring, places fit to ground ships in, deep and evermore smooth water, but when Donboy was standing, not commanded by that castle, the breadth of the water between it and the Great Island being no less than the Thames at Gravesend, and unto either shore water of great depth. But if a blockhouse were built at the entrance of the haven, being less than caliver shot over; yet the Bay of Bantry (in the

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which the Great Island that maketh the harborough standeth) is so safe a road, and of that largeness, as all the ships of the world may be contained it; and, although the one end of the Great Island may (by reason of the narrowness) be secured, yet, at the other end of the island, where the water is half a league broad, and so all along for the space of five miles unto Donboye, where it begins to grow narrow, the greatest ship that swims (without respect of tide) may sail safely and anchor in a peaceable road. Wherefore I cannot imagine how this place can be kept to forbid an enemy to harbour in; besides being seated in a country unfertile, not worth the defending, and through the which no army can march by land. Which considerations (after the castle of Donboy by the cannon was ruined to the lower vault), the re-edifying whereof would have been chargeable, and of little use either for defense of the haven or meet for garrison (as well for impossibility to do any harm to the rebels in their strengths, and the apparent danger the garrison should be in if a strong enemy should there land, and that he should have no encouragement left to re-edify the same), with the advice of the councillors of the province, which are now with me, whose opinions agreed with mine, the Spanish powder which was taken in the castle was bestowed in blowing up what the cannon had not thrown down, insomuch as only a heap of stones, and no form of a castle, remains.

“I also viewed Castlehaven; the entrance into it is somewhat too narrow, and no great space for any number of ships to ride in; for other commodities, like unto the havens aforementioned. The castle aptly commands every part of the harbour, but the grounds about it do so command the castle, as, against an enemy that brings the cannon with him, without a greater charge than that place deserveth, I hold him a good engineer that can make it tenable.

“The castle of Donnelonge at Baltymore was (as your Lordships have been formerly informed) rendered by the Spaniards into her Majesty's hands; and, since that, the castle of Donneshed (opposite to Donnelonge on the other side of the harbour) was by me taken by Sir Fynnyn O'Driscoll, and both of them defended at her Majesty's charge, by sparing one whole company, which is employed in no other service; which charge is over-great for so small a benefit, seeing those places do not forbid an enemy the harbour. Wherefore, if her Majesty be pleased to be at any charges with Baltymore, it were meet to erect some works in places convenient; or, if it shall not be so thought fit, to ease the charge which now they cost her, in my simple opinion it were good they were ruined, that they may be no nests for rebels or strangers; which without your Lordships' allowances and commandment I dare not do, lest some others, reputed of better judgment than myself, should be of a contrary opinion, whereby my actions would

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be questionable. The like (for the reasons aforesaid) I wish to be done for Castlehaven, for the guard whereof a company of 100 is now employed, which then may be spared, and with all the other castles in the rebels' possessions (as they may be gotten) where there is any harbour for shipping and her Majesty not disposed to fortify.

"Of Sir Edward Wingfeld's landing at Corke with supplies (for the which I most humbly thank your Lordships) I have had intelligences, but your Lordships' directions and commandments I have not received; wherein I cannot but allow of Sir Edward's judgment, not being possible for him to have sent them unto me by land; and passages by sea that must require easterly winds are very rare. . . . By that time that it shall please God to return me with the forces to Corke full 10 weeks will be expired since either myself or any of the army came under a roof but those of our cabins; and most of them having the remainder of a winter siege yet hanging about them, and not thoroughly recovered, I am enforced for their relief, for this month or six weeks, to draw them into garrisons, not altogether quitting this country, for at Rosse (which is a good place of service, if O'Solevan, with his buonies, do come out of their strengths) a strong garrison (it other occasions more important be not offered) shall be there left. The rest I mean to draw to Kynsale and Corke and the places near adjoining, where they shall be ready upon the present to be drawn to a head, if any of those places shall be attempted by the Spaniards; and in the meantime the fortifications begun at Kynsale and intended in the river of Corke will by their labours be furthered.

"My Lord Deputy, at his departure from this province, (in regard the companies here were very weak,) over and above the old list assigned for Munster, he left with me 1,700 foot in list, whereof 200 of them by his Lordship's direction are cashiered. The remainder, which is 1,500, by his Lordship's direction brought unto me by Sir Samuel Bagnall but three days before the castle of Donboy was taken, are presently to be returned to him; in the performance whereof I will use all possible expedition, knowing that his Lordship would not command them away except his necessity were great. By Sir Samuel Bagnall, likewise, I received a letter (sent unto me by the Lord Deputy) from Don John de Aquila, which with these is presented unto your Lordships. The kindness is more than I expected from him, considering how little cause I had to look for the same at his hands, if those with whom I have spoken have truly related his intentions unto me. . . .

"The Earl of Thomond . . . since his coming into Ireland with the late supplies (of which charge he gave a good account), . . . hath but once been in Thomond to see his land, and there stayed not above 10 days. All the rest of his time he

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hath spent in service, never being absent from the army, whereof . . . take particular notice."

From the camp at Carewe Castle, 28 June 1602.

"Postscript.— . . . Captain Fleming (who two months past had spent his victuals, and ever since hath been supplied by me at her Majesty's charges,) is now (by reason of the foulness of his ship by his long being at sea, and the want that he is in of sails and tackle, as the officers in the same have complained,) by me licensed to go into England, humbly beseeching . . . that you will . . . send some other ship in her room to free this coast (as all this summer it hath been) from the Malyes and the Flaharties, who otherwise would have infested the same, in so much as there had been no safety for the passage of the provisions that came from Corke to the relief of the army, if the Queen's pinnace had not been employed as she was."

"Sent by the Earl of Thomond."

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

June 28. 255. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. 604, p. 165.

I wrote last from Carew Castle on 29 May, by a servant of the Earl of Thomond's, who carried his son into England, and now send a journal of my proceedings since. I think the Spaniards will come shortly, and that their second coming will endanger the kingdom far more than the last. They who live in other parts are not so sensible of the storm threatened as myself, that must abide the first mischief. "Those men which are best acquainted with Spain, and hazard most to advance the Spanish action, are under my government. . . I wish that Ireland were a fishpool, for this age shall never see it settled in peace; the reasons are many, and meeter for discourse than paper, God once deliver me from this hydra's task, where toil and mischiefs are endless. If my Lord Deputy were possessed with the opinion of Spanish supplies as I am, I do not think he would send for any companies into Munster. . . If I should detain them, imputations of not ending the wars in Ulster would be laid upon me. . . The examinations and letters sent with this despatch were taken and found at Donboye. . . Suppress such as you shall think meet.

"By Sir Samuel Bagnall, the Lord Deputy sent me Don John's letter, which, as he wrote, he did read before Sir Oliver St. John's departure. I . . . send the original, not thinking it discretion to conceal the least kindness that shall come from an enemy. . . I do infinitely marvel what moved him to remember me with token or letter; and the rather because the Lord Deputy received nothing from him, it makes me jealous, but I know not of whom, for I am sure, when he was here, he more coveted my life than any man's in this kingdom, as I think Crosby hath told you. . . My Lord



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Deputy hath the wines and fruit, and sends me word that he will keep them, alleging that he is sure that Don John would have remembered him as well as me, if he had thought that he had remained in Ireland. . .

“His Lordship also sent unto me the copy of a letter written from Pedro Lopez de Soto, the Veedor, to Roger Harvy, whom I have willed to write unto your Honour at large the speeches that passed between them.\* Long before I saw him (he being sick at Baltymore almost to the death), he sent me word of such a matter by the Earl of Thomond; and when I came to Baltymore, he delivered me both the dialogue and the passport. The Lord Deputy is in some displeasure with him, as his father can tell you. . . If it shall be thought fit to embrace a peace, or to temporise, in my opinion [by] the overture made by the Veedor to Roger Harvey, or between the Lord Deputy and Don John, or between Don John and me, having unto either of us, when he was in Cork, discovered his desire of an amity between our Sovereign and his master, a good opportunity is given (for gaining of time), to entertain some speech of pacification, . . . to be handled by inferior persons. . . Except I may have leave out of England, I will never thank Don John for his present. . .

“The Earl of Thomond hath no other suit in England but to annex Thomond to Munster, which if he may not obtain his heart is broken. . . Sir Charles Wyllmott, who is . . . his father's heir, and by him sent for to confirm his inheritance upon him, is desirous . . . to go into England. . . I fear it will be long before a fit time to spare men that are good commanders will be seen in Ireland. Captain Flemynge . . . hath done good service upon the coast, keeping from us the Maylies and the Flaharties, who otherwise would have infested the same with their galleys. He is now returned for England, his pinnace being foul and in great want . . . of sails and tackle. I beseech your Honour to cause him or some other ship of the Queen's to be sent hither, for the countenance of a ship will keep the coast in awe.”

Carew Castle, 28 June 1602.

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed*: The copy of my letter to Sir Robert Cecyll, sent by the Earl of Thomond, from the camp at Castle Carew.

June 30. 256. SIR ROBERT CECIL to [SIR GEORGE CAREW].

Vol. 604, p. 167.

“For the matter concerning Captain Hobie's lieutenant, if you do find the matter still so justified, as his answers have done him no wrong in making him author of so slanderous a report of her who all the world knows to be innocent even of the least part of such imputation, her Majesty doth wish

\* The “Discourse” that passed between them is printed in Stafford's “*Pacata Hibernia*,” pp. 494-502.

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that it might pass over in silence, and the caitiff wear out his days in prison, rather than to be put to public trial.

“For the matter of Thomond, it is true that the Deputy and Council have written against annexing it to Munster. Notwithstanding, it doth not follow therefore that it must be altered to be absolutely under Connaught, but may remain as it doth till further consideration. For my Lord of Thomond’s coming over, I do not know, being in that province, but he may very well repair hither if he have your leave, though I am of opinion that these summer times are not the most proper for those that are principal commanders to come hither.

“For the matter of the fortification of Cork and Kinsale, the Deputy wrote to the Queen about it, and she hath given leave to him to make the harbour guardable according to his proposition. So is she pleased that at Kinsale you go on with the fortification, and bestow the fine which the town of Kinsale is set at. Upon all which the Deputy will write to you by virtue of her Majesty’s authority to proceed with these things within your government. Of the lands that are belonging to the Queen which you wish should be stayed in Munster, you may be assured that there will be no such haste of disposing them, and when they be given they shall not be bestowed without your privity.”

From the Court, 30 June 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Endorsed by Carew: Received 2 Sept.*

June 30. 257. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 193.

“The long silence which hath been between us hath been by expectation of your return or your success, myself being so oppressed with a world of business as I had not time to write of compliments, and to write matters of moment was subject to mischance in mine opinion, considering the place wherein you are lapped, from whence God of heaven send you safe. Of public news, my dear George, I have written with another man’s hand those things which do pass, but I do not mean to be so wholly in the public as to set all discourse aside of our particular, after which I know you hearken.

“For myself, in short, the same credit I had when you left England standeth well with me, and all other liberties remain so free of mind and body, I thank God, as when you return you shall find me the same you left me. The Queen useth many gracious words of you, and commendeth your services, so as of that point I need say no more but this, that I wish you here, and doubt not but if you were, you should taste of some good; for God is my true witness, that I affect your good as much as any man that lives, but how that shall be, God is my judge, I cannot recommend. For, first, the Deputy presseth infinitely to return at October, and that will depend upon the issue of this summer and many other circumstances; yet shall I likewise have as many plucks for you, for such

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is her Majesty's opinion of your stay to that province, as she will think it lost if you come out of it. But for my part this I would wish, that after the end of the harvest you wrote that you are sick and desire but to return for two or three months. By that time the Spaniards will be come, or no, and during your abode here we will work you somewhat; but, Sir, when you do come I would wish still you pretend to go back, because that charge and honour there shall keep up your reputation still; and haply we may find, when you are once here, somebody fit to be your Vice-President still and hold it under you here; or peradventure you may wholly part with it as we shall see cause, in which *res concilium dubit*. When you do come over first, he had need be a man well esteemed and friended here that we shall allow there to be your President in your absence, so as I am persuaded commissioners may be better at first appointed temporally. Think of those beforehand, and, rather than fail, if moderate petitions will not serve, deceive the world, and use arguments of some shrewd sickness to come over, for, George, it is necessary I have you here.

“If any good in this time be wrought you, which God long lasten, know that we will be merry; and yet, believe me, my two old true friends use me unkindly, but I have covenanted with my heart not to know it, for in show we are great, and all my revenge shall be to heap coals on their heads. In my conscience they would not have you to return, yet when you do sue to come home, seem not to them that you come to sue for anything, nor do not let them know but that you will return and are in sickness, and move them two to conjoin with me by conjuration of old friendship. Noble Thomas [Howard?] and Catharine salute you *al solito*; and I do now conclude that I am the same in heart and in body, but worse in purse. I answered many things by Crosby.”

*Holograph. Pp. 4. Endorsed in Carew's handwriting:* From Mr. Secretary, without date, but as by another letter in the same packet it appeareth that it should bear date the 30th of June 1602. Received the 2nd of September 1602.

July 1. 258. THE PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 615, p. 547.

“Sir Henry Poore, who is now governor of Leix, hath been a very earnest suitor here to be preferred to the constablership of her Majesty's fort of Maryborough in that county, whereof Mr. Philip Harvy hath a grant, though he hath mortgaged the same to one Bingley, as we are informed; out of whose hands, in respect of Mr. Harvey's disability, there is so little hope or likelihood of recovering of it, as that place, being of good importance, is like either to be forfeited in the hands of Bingley, or to be transferred from him to some other for whom the possession of such a charge is very unfit. And even in the instant as this suit was in pursuing, we were showed a copy of a letter written from the Lord President of Munster

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to Captain Edward Fisher, wherein he, distrusting the forfeiture thereof from Mr. Harvy, who is his kinsman, doth desire the said Fisher to disburse so much money as will redeem the same out of Bingley's hands. . .

"First, for Captain Fisher, although we have not heard any ill of him, yet we hold this place . . . not fit for him, and the rather for that he is of Irish birth; and therefore, forasmuch as the said Sir Henry Poore doth make offer to pay the money for which it is mortgaged to Bingley, so himself may have a grant thereof, we hold it very convenient that he be possessed of it for the present, the rather for that without that place, as he informeth us, he cannot be accommodated of a house to dwell in in that country, neither can perform such service as will be expected at his hands upon all occasions. Wherein he gave us this one instance, that when of late he would have drawn the inhabitants together to answer the service against Terrell the traitor, in his coming to Kinsale upon the descent of the Spaniards, and for that purpose gave them a summons by his precepts, he was answered that by their tenures they were bound to the commandment of her Majesty's constable only, and to none other, which we hold a matter worthy of good consideration how the like inconveniency may be prevented hereafter. And yet nevertheless, out of the respect we bear to the Lord President, . . . our meaning is not but if Mr. Harvy shall at any time hereafter within one year space repay unto the said Sir Henry Poore such sums of money as he shall make proof to have been *bonâ fide* disbursed for the same with consideration for the forbearing, he shall repossess it as formerly he hath done. For anything else concerning Sir Henry Poore, whom you have so well recommended, we must return unto you this testimony of her Majesty's favour towards him: that she doth hold him a worthy servitor, and doth require you in all occasions to give him countenance and favour, as to one of extraordinary merit in her service."

Court at Greenwich, 1 July 1602.

*Signed:* Jo. Cant., Tho. Egerton, C. S., Nottingham, E. Worcester, W. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll, Jo. Fortescu, J. Herbert.

P.S.—"If it shall fall out that Mr. Philip Harvey be able to redeem the said castle, and to hold it himself, whereby Sir Henry Power cannot be presently preferred unto it, at the least we think it fit that he be remembered to have the next reversion thereof after the said Mr. Harvey."

"Copia vera, ex. per Pa. Foxe."

*Copy, enclosed in the Council of Ireland's letter of 10th October 1602. Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

July 1. 259. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 164.

"Your two late letters of the 23rd of May and the 4th of June I received at Donboye the 13th of June by Sir Samuel Bagnall and Captain Taaff. . . The 20th of June I despatched

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an answer, . . . the copy whereof . . . I do herewith present unto your Lordship. . . . Another letter bearing date the 9th of June . . . I received the 23rd following, the same day that I departed from Beerehaven. . . . If I have lost either day or hour in hastening of them (the companies) unto you, let me lose your love, and be reputed dishonest. . . . I have not only sent you some of the old companies, but also have reinforced both them and the rest with the supplies lately come over, insomuch as the commissary of the musters informed me, in the presence of Sir Samuel Bagnall, that the 1,500 in list sent unto you are now by poll 1,300." I have not strengthened the remainder of the list of Munster so fully. "I have reserved unto myself the company of John a Noake, as one of the old list, which, as your Lordship knoweth, is strong, if an archbishop, two ladies, and one man may serve for a hundred.

"By Sir Samuel Bagnall I do with these send . . . copies of many letters, examinations, etc., (the originals whereof are sent into England,) which came unto my hands while I was at the siege of Donboye. . . . I think it very probable that we shall be troubled with them (the Spaniards) again, and that your Lordship must once more undergo a siege in Munster; for . . . there landed (as in my late letter I have signified unto you) at the haven of Kyllmallocke . . . a Spanish patacha. . . . The letters and examinations . . . should have been sooner sent unto your Lordship, but while I was at Donboye there was no means of safety to send them by land, and by sea the winds have not served, for as yet neither boat nor ship that was with me is arrived in this harbour." (*Here follows a repetition of that part of his letter to the Privy Council of June 28 relating to the effect of the landing of the patacha and the support of the Buonies by O'Solevan Beave.*)

Workmen and planks to be sent to mount the ordnance taken at Donboye. Iron shot for the ordnance to be sent. Jolley, the master gunner, has been ill. I desire to know whether I am to continue the hoy in Munster, in case the Spaniards should come, for without her there is no means to transport a piece of battery. A running post to be established. Cormocke and John Barry shall be discharged on 30 June. I have licensed the Earl of Thomond and Sir Geo. Thornton to go to England. I send a letter from Lord Thomas Haward. I am glad of your successes in the North. This great work would ere now have been finished but for Don Juan, "of whose unexpected kindness unto me (for the good liquor' sake) I could have been contented . . . to have been a more feeling witness, but . . . fortune did not bring it unto me."

Cork, 1 July 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

July 2. 260. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 580.

"By yours of the 20th of the last month, which the first of this present I received, I understand to my great comfort that you have gained the castle of Dunboy with all the

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ordnance therein, and have put to the sword and executed all such as disloyally held the same against her Majesty. . . I have made a new passage over the Blackwater to the eastward of the fort I last year built, near a place called Don-danall, from whence I have discovered a plain and open entrance into Tyrone, so free from paces (passes), woods, and bogs, that when Tyrone saw me possessed thereof, he presently set fire on Dungannon, and fled with his creaghts to the woods. Insomuch as, within a day after I had secured my passage, I marched to Dungannon only with 500 foot and 100 horse, and then returned to finish the forts, which I raised on both sides of that river. Which done, I drew over the whole army, and the 27th I encamped at Dungannon.

“The next day I joined with the forces of Loughfoile, and all together drew towards Lough Sidney to meet Sir Arthur Chichester, but the weather falling out very stormy, and the wind so full against him, that it was not possible for him to come to the place agreed upon, I encamped some two mile off, by another Lough called Loughreoghoe, wherein was an island strongly fortified, in which Con McShane O’Neale had a long time been kept prisoner. Besides the natural strength and situation of the place, there was in it three pieces of great artillery. At the first we found them resolute to defend it, but when they saw the manner of our sitting, and the werks we made, they yielded all to the Queen’s merey, and delivered it yesterday.

“I had no sooner taken in that island, but news came that Sir Arthur Chichester was landed at the place appointed for his plantation; whereupon the army is this day marched hither, to further the speedy finishing of that work, which will not ask above three or four days; and then can Tyrone, as we think, never more hold up head, for these two garrisons will leave him nothing to maintain life. . .

“I doubt not but ere this time Sir Sam. Bagnall is near the Pale with all the foot companies above your Munster list. The horse I can spare you yet awhile, and therefore will leave them to your disposal, till I find that I have greater need for them, for then I know you will readily send them.

“I have given order to return you two butts of your sack, meaning with Mr. Treasurer to drink the rest to your health, as I perceive you intend to do that to mine. When we have any more news you shall hear it, and I pray let me as often hear from you. We do now continually hunt all their woods, spoil their corn, burn their houses, and kill so many churls, as it grieveth me to think that it is necessary to do it.”

Camp at Lough Sidney, 2 July 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 11 July 1602.*

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 170.

July 9. 261. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 578.

“I have been earnestly moved by Captain George Blount to write unto your Lordship that 12 warders at his castle of

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Donasse, allowed there out of his company, might receive victuals out of her Majesty's store at Lymerrick; for that he allegeth the place is of good importance for the service, and besides that there is no other means for their relief. . . Take some speedy course for their relief, inasmuch as he wholly trusteth thereunto."

From the camp at Loghsidney, 9 July, 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 172.

July 13. 262. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 95.

By the enclosed you may collect how probable it is that the Spaniards will shortly invade this realm. "I will not take upon me the boldness to declare my simple opinion in the same, but . . . I prefer nothing unto your Lordships' views but what is confidently reported unto me to be truths." If they carry any probability, I pray you "(as you have ever accustomed) to have due respect of this unhappy kingdom, who, but by aid from England, can noway subsist against so powerful an enemy as threatens the destruction of the same, and consequently the ruin of England, making Ireland but the bridge to pass unto the other." If the enemy come in force, make no doubt but of a generalrevolt .

"It is most like they will attempt Mounster. . . Most special care should be had of that province. . . There is neither city nor town in the same . . . able to make resistance for time convenient until they may be relieved;" and I doubt if the works at Corke and Kynsale will be finished before their coming. This induces me to draw all the forces in this province to me, "to make good as far forth as I may the city of Corke, which is most aimed at by the enemy, . . . whereof I hope in God to yield your Lordships a good account, or leave my body in it to answer the reckoning." I pray you send "men, munitions, and provisions for the war . . . before the enemy be landed, lest he should be first possessed of the harbour of Corke, which would prove perilous to the place, and then the sending of the supplies frustrated."

I send "an estimate of the victuals and munitions remaining in this province, but how the munitions is divided by reason of the absence of the clerk . . . at Kynsale . . . I cannot particularize, . . . but . . . the greatest part is remaining in Corke." Of the victuals "the moiety . . . is herring and poor-John, which we find to be overmuch proportioned, for above two days in the week in garrison the soldiers have never been accustomed to be fed with fish, and at no time when we are in the field, where the soldier hath neither time nor means to water them as is meet before they are eaten. And yet of necessity I was constrained for the issuing of the same, at my being in the field for ten weeks together, to expend that victual; wherewith (and not without cause) the soldier mightily

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repined, for many of them fell sick by that victualling, and, to my knowledge, they did ordinarily sell of their allowances 80 herrings for a penny, whereas they receive but eight for  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  I pray you send no more until this be expended. "Of the rest of the victuals, for the goodness of it we have no cause of complaint, and therefore therein the victualler is to have his commendation." Further I pray you to consider "that the magazines are dispersed, and after the enemy is landed it will be difficult, or rather impossible, to supply the defects of any one place from the other."

"Ordnance of her Majesty's, well mounted in this province, is dispersed at Lymericke, Corke, and Kynsale, whereof at Lymericke there is three demi-cannons, and in Corke and Kynsale one cannon, a demi-cannon, and two culverins. The rest (which are smaller pieces) in the places aforesaid are but four, who, with the Spanish ordnance which I brought from Donboye, being [ ] in number, want mountures." Wherefore I again pray you "that planks from the Tower may be sent hither, and also a carpenter and his man, and a sufficient smith," and also "foreign shot" for the Spanish ordnance, for "the store hath no shot for any piece under demi-culverin." If we shall have use of great ordnance, I pray you "send hither six cannoniers to remain here as I shall dispose until the peril expected be overpast, for . . . this kingdom yields none that are sufficiently experienced," and "that the entertainments of them, the carpenters and smith aforesaid, may be rated by the officers of the Ordnance there."

I send "a certificate of the number of supplies sent over with Sir Edward Wyngfeilde, and how they were disposed, the deficiencies whereof (although they be great) yet much less than at any time I have seen since my government here. . . . The 1,500 sent to the Lord Deputy . . . had 340 for the supplying of them, and for the 3,000 remaining with me, was only 270 assigned. . . . Hereof I thought meet to give your Lordships a taste, lest it should be conceived that the 610 were wholly disposed towards the reinforcing of the 3,000 remaining in Munster.

"In my journal sent unto your Lordships by the Earl of Thomond, I mentioned three prisoners of the ward of Donboye, which for a time I respited, the one called Thomas Tayler, from whom, when I could get nothing worth the understanding, I have since executed. Another called Turlogh Roe McSwynye, a gentleman of Thomond, from whom I fear I shall reap no better benefit, and therefore do purpose that he shall run Tayler's fortune. The third called Domynicke Collens, a Jesuit, whom I find more openhearted than the rest (and whose examination I send enclosed); the which, although it do not merit any great favour, yet, because he hath had so long education in France and Spain, and that it may be that your Lordships heretofore by some other examinations have had some knowledge of him, whereby some benefit to the



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State may be made, I . . . respite his execution until your further pleasure be signified unto me."

The opinion I lately delivered to your Lordships is confirmed "by the defection of Donnoghe Moyle McCarty and his brother Fynnyn, sons to Owen McCarty, and gentlemen of Carbry, who [relapsed] within these three or four days, and as the opinion of the Spanish aids shall increase, so I fear that others will do the like. The falling of these gentlemen . . . is not material, . . . for if the succours they expect arrive I had no hope to hold them, or almost of any. . . . If their succours fail, then I doubt not but to be able not only to banish them, but all the rest that are in rebellion in Munster. And were it not for the hopes which they have from Spain, with the garrisons I now have, in despite of all the rebels in Ireland I will humble the spirits of these provincials, and keep them in obedience." These two are, as I am informed, "imprest with 300*l.* of the Spanish money, brought over by Owen McKegan, the Pope's bishop of Rosse." They never were, "until the last arrival of Spaniards suspected or touched with rebellion, and then but for a few days stood in neutrality, without doing any harm, . . . and before the Lord Deputy's departure humbly beseeching to have their faults remitted." Besides they stand "(now that Florence and his brother are suppressed) as next heirs to succeed in the country of Carbry."

Cork, 13 July 1602.

"Postscript.—Since my last . . . from Carewe Castle by the Earl of Thomond, I took a castle appertaining to the traitor Sir Fynnyn O'Driscoll's son, called Lyttertentlis; the spoil I gave the soldiers, and burnt the castle. And also since that time, the army marching through the country, and by Captain Roger Harvy, who, with his company, was garrisoned at Baltymore, there hath been taken from the rebels by force and composition the castles of Donmanys, Lemcon, Rincolaskyn, Donnegall, and the Downinges, all of them being strongly seated upon rocks and necks of land close to the sea, where shipping might safely ride, and meet places for an enemy to hold. In consideration whereof the Council here joined with me in opinion for the burning of them and the castle of Cape Clere, which formerly was taken, whereby an enemy could not make any present use of them, nor yet her Majesty charged with needless wards, and . . . a direction is sent to Captain Harvy to see it performed. But the castles of Donnelonge, Donneshed, and Castlehaven I have respited until your Lordships' further pleasure be known. Nevertheless, I have sent for the two Harvies, whose companies are garrisoned in them, to come unto me with their companies, leaving but competent wards to defend the places from the Irish, with victuals and munitions according the numbers; for if the Spaniards do land at Baltymore, those two companies would have been lost."

"Sent by Henry Warde."

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

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July 13. 263.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 173.

For yours of the 2nd, received the 11th, I humbly thank you, agreeing with you "that if by the Spaniard you have no interruption that your Lordship by the end of this summer will finish that war." But I send you (besides those by Sir Samuel Bagnall) sundry letters, &c., "all agreeing that there is an army at the Groyne assembled, . . . the originals whereof I have sent into England. . . I do verily believe they will come, and that shortly, . . . and fear that the fortifications begun in the havens of Corke and Kynsale will not be ended (by reason of the rocky ground wherein we work) before their arrival. The list of Munster is well known to your Lordship, and how ill I shall be able to make resistance against so great an army as is expected, until your Lordship may come or send unto my relief. . . In the mean time, as speedily as I may, I will assemble them to a head, and dispose them at Corke and Kynsale. If your Lordship . . . could spare some more companies, in my judgment it were not unmeet. . .

"In comparing the intelligences together your Lordship shall find that 2,000 horse are at the Groyne. There is no likelihood that horse should be provided in Spain to be sent to the Low Countries by sea, the King having better means . . . to raise horse in the territories adjoining; . . . wherefore I . . . think his preparation is for Ireland. Because (if your Lordship do not forget it) Don Juan said that the Irishry had deceived the King in promising him horses, for the which he brought saddles, and seemed to lay the imputation of his ill success upon the want of horses.

"The companies your Lordship commanded out of Munster which are 1,500, being above my old list, were by me sent out of this town the 1st of July. . . How liberally I dealt with them . . . beyond the list now remaining in Munster, the copy of the Deputy Commissary's certificate (for Joanes is now absent at Dublyn about his accounts) sent herewith may fully inform you. . .

"Donoghe Moyle McCarty and his brother Fynnyn (sons to Sir Owen McCarty) are four days since relapsed into rebellion, and (as I am informed) are imprested with 300*l.* of the money brought over by Owen McEgan, the Pope's Bishop of Rosse, and the like I look for in others, for Spanish silver to these threadbare fellows is a pleasing bait. But their relapse, or any else, doth little hinder the affairs of the province, for if the Spaniards come I neither had hope to have held them nor almost to hold any, . . . and if the Spaniards do not come . . . I will be able to banish them and all the rebels in Munster out of the province. Nevertheless, this revolt of theirs is a confirmation of the assured hopes which they have in Spanish aids, or else they would not be so mad (having lands to lose) in the declination of a rebellion, to revolt."

"Of small ordnance, under demi-culverin, we have here (together with those 12 which were taken at Donboye and

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the Dursies) 16 pieces, but all of them mountures." I again pray you "to send workmen and stuff hither that they may be presently mounted, and also . . iron balls for them," for "without them I know not how to furnish the forts at Kynsale and Corke. Jollye, three days since, is arrived at Kynsale, and is now in delivering up his remain. . . As soon as the clerk of the munitions and he have cleared their accounts he shall be forthwith sent unto your Lordship, yet . . I would be glad he might be the sooner returned . . for in such a scarcity of gunners Jollye is better than none . . . I do once more humbly pray . . that a running post between Dublyn and Corke may be erected, that a speedier means of advertisement between your Lordship and me may be established; and for such as shall be within this province I will assure your Lordship they shall do their duties."

Cork, 13 July 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

July 18. **264.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 561.

"Although her Majesty hath by her letters taken notice of your Lordship's wise and happy proceedings, by a letter which hath been sent from Dublin by the Treasurer, upon your taking of the island in Tyrone, yet we are moved to express our sympathy with your good fortune both out of duty to the public and particular affection to yourself, whom God hath made so happy an instrument of her Majesty's serviee. We have likewise heard from the President of Munster of his taking in of Berehaven, whereby we had well hoped that province would have proved less troublesome than yet we can hope. First, because there are many of the provincial rebels out; next, *because\* the hollowness of those that are reputed subjects appeareth many ways (though not so visible to all), which is only maintained by the assurance they have of succours from Spain, whereof (as we have often said) we can make no other judgment than that what he is able to do he hath a will to do, and what he hath not done hath only been hindered by the remaining of her Majesty's fleet upon his coast, and which she resolveth to maintain till winter be well come on. So as, seeing here is done as much as her Majesty can do, and that many difficulties at home with himself and actions of others abroad may make suspension if not diversion from that Spanish invasion, we think your Lordship shall do well to take time while it serveth in Ulster, seeing we perceive you have now so ordered the matter as if he should land in the North, you are near him, and if in the South, you have means now to draw most of the force of the kingdom to make head against him. . .*

\* In cipher.

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“ Now that her Majesty hath read both your letters and the President's . . . she is fully acquainted to what both your practices tend with the Spaniards, and how you two deal one with another in intercepting each other's great presents; for, as you sent before by Sir Oliver St. John your own original letter and the copy of his, so hath he sent his, and withal a report from Captain Harvy of the speech between him and Pedro Sotto, whereof the passport proceeded which Pedro Sotto sent to Captain Harvy. Of all which formalities and compliments usual between such persons as you are that profess arms, as none of you two need have made excuses, so is there no cause to speak further than of toys which usually pass between great commanders, though greatest enemies; yet of this matter between these two inferior captains her Majesty thinketh it not amiss to make some overture, whereby to reap some service, and that in this sort following:

“ Where the Spaniard and Captain Harvy take the liberty of soldiers (though otherwise enemies) one to do other courtesies, it is determined that Harvy shall take occasion to write into Spain to the Vedor how sorry he is, in respect of the goodwill he bears him who is like to be employed, that ever the King should resolve to send him with any forces into Ireland, seeing how much he is abused by the rebels' reports of their strength, and of the success of her Majesty's affairs against the rebels; who, if they were in bad case when he was there, they were much worse now. By occasion whereof he shall write of all particulars tending to that purpose of showing the good successes of her Majesty's army; wherein he shall pretend to be the more willing to discharge that good office, because he hath so good an evidence how the rebels abuse the King his master, namely, in O'Donnell's writing according to this copy, whereof the President hath the original, which he shall warrant Captain Harvy to send to him. In all which courses if it shall be said that all this will be thought but a device, sure we are, if there be nothing gotten there shall be nothing lost.

“ But that which is most hereby intended is this, that under this colour some carrill may be sent to that coast, and some man wiser than other, who may bring true relation of all such preparations as are made at the Groyne, where the greatest part of that force which is intended for Ireland will be drawn to a heale. Thus have you all that we have cause to write at this time, whereof we were willing to take any occasion, especially having so good a subject whereof to congratulate, though there be no necessity of any other directions.”

Court at Greenwich, 18 July 1602.

Signed by the “ Lord Keeper, Lord Admiral, Sir Ro. Cecyll, Sir J. Forteseue.”

P.S. (in cipher).—“ Although we find your Lordship had very good reason to draw away Sir Sam. Bagenall with those extraordinary companies which you were content to spare till

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*the taking of the Castle of Donboy, yet we have thought it very convenient, because it is worth your Lordship's knowledge; to let you understand that if the Spaniards shall attempt to land in Ireland with an army, all our intelligences do confirm that it will be in Munster, or upon the nearer parts of Connaught; and, if this summer at all, it will be between this and Bartholomew tide. In which respect we thought it good to remember your Lordship to have some care for a month or two to send some forces to strengthen that province above the list; whereby at their first descent her Majesty's forces may keep such reputation, as the provincials, whose eye will only be upon the army, may not grow too insolent, nor the governor there be forced to leave the field. For which purpose we think it not amiss that you should presently send some horse, though you spare the fewer foot, considering the weakness of those numbers that are there to answer any such occasion. For the North, although we doubt not but O'Donnell is fed with the same hopes that the Munster rebels are, yet we do not expect any great forces to land in those parts more northerly than the town of Gallwaye at the furthest, if so it be."*

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

*The parts in cipher are deciphered by Carew on a separate sheet.\**

*Endorsed by Carew: Received in my L. Deputy's letter the 5 of August 1602, which letter bare date the 1st of August.*

Vol. 624, p. 189.

2. Copy.

July 18. 265. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 488, 491.

Pacata  
Hibernia, p. 605.

We have imparted to her Majesty your despatch of ——— July. She is desirous that the army may know that they have ventured their lives for a prince who holdeth them dear. As God doth bless her Majesty's army against the rebels, and the King of Spain will be unable to employ an army there, the defection of Munster must "die in itself and turn to the contrary." A pinnace of 50 tons was sent with some of O'Donnell's followers and some treasure to assure the rebels of an army to come into Ireland. It landed at Ardye. Her Majesty's fleet on the coast has much hindered the Spanish designs, and kept their preparations from drawing to head. Though now most of her ships (being long at sea) are come in with the carrick, they are going out again with all possible speed. Her Majesty has been acquainted with the letters of compliment between Don Juan and you, the copies being sent over from the Deputy by Sir Oliver St. Jhon; "at which time he sent her Majesty his own, and kept no counsel that he had intercepted your great bribe." We have also seen the letter of

\* The cipher is the same simple one as that used in Mountjoy's letters to Carew.

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Soto to Captain Harvey and the passport. "Where it doth appear by O'Donnell's letter to O'Connor Kerry out of Spain that he is desirous to understand the state of Ireland, but so as if there be any bad it may be concealed from the Spaniards, Captain Harvey may, in requital of the Veedor's courtesy towards him, use this freedom of a gentleman though an enemy, to let him see how much the King of Spain is abused by the rebels, who seek to engage him upon false hopes and conceal just cause of doubts; for which purpose he shall send him O'Donnell's own letter, which he cannot deny, and withal in any case (it being well overseen by you) make him a relation of the successes of her Majesty's army."

Her Majesty approves your opinion concerning such places as are fit to be fortified. If you find Baltimore is like to be of greatest use to the enemy, you are to proceed with its fortification. Otherwise the Irish castles seated upon the sea are to be utterly demolished. We send you an extract from the Queen's letter to the Lord Deputy, how he should govern himself in that respect. The artillery which you have taken may be detained there.

Court at Greenwich, 18 July 1602.

*Signed*: Tho. Egerton, C.S.; T. Buchurst; Nottingham; J. Stanhope; J. Fortescu; Ro. Cceyll.

*Pp.* 3. *Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received 2 Sept. 1602.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 77.

2. Copy.

July 18. 266. SIR ROBERT CECIL to [SIR GEORGE CAREW].

Vol. 604, p. 173.

"Although I am one of the company that have written unto you a large letter, yet public despatches cannot satisfy mine own mind, to go alone, who have ever either particular cause or private affection wherewithal to fill a letter. Therefore I will keep my own wont, though I have no great matter of importance: and first excuse myself for my long silence by these two arguments: one, that I still expected to hear from you; another, that the wind hath kept those despatches which are at the sea-side. For all which let it now suffice that you have answer to the most of your propositions, and thanks for all your actions. . . I send you the copy of her Majesty's letter as well as the original, because peradventure you can hardly read the character; as also a clause in my Lords of the Council's letters, that the Deputy would take some care to reinforce that province.

"Now, Sir, to speak of the Spaniards, I must confess that you have great reason to expect their coming, and I shall never be beaten from the principle, that howsoever Don Juan did flatter you all at his departure with seeming to detest the country, but that the King will, when he is able, attempt the kingdom again, and mend all his faults. Now, when I consider that he shall not do so, to send another petty army, and that her Majesty's fleet both hath been on his coasts, (which hath kept

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his provisions from being united,) and is again to go to that coast till winter come, (by which interruption this year's preparation may come short,) I am not resolved but that this action may be deferred till the next spring. In the meantime you do well to strengthen Cork, for her Majesty, keeping so good a harbour and some good towns, shall still have means to supply the kingdom, and [it] can never be said, though the Spaniards may possess some places, that she is not mistress of the kingdom.

"I cannot write unto you that Biron is dead, but you shall see some extracts of a letter from the King to her Majesty, whereby you may perceive what he is resolved to do, and how he resembles the case of the Earl of Essex to his own. That Biron hath been a great practiser is certain, but that all is true that they speak, that he would have killed the King, or have carried him into the Franche Compté, when he should have gone a hunting in Burgundy, that he would have killed the Queen and the Dolphin, it may be suspected rather a matter divulged to make him odious, than that it will be well proved. Only this is certain: he practised to be a cantoner of France, received money of the King of Spain, and had both insolently spoken to the King upon many discontentments, and of the King. La Fin, a brother of Beauvoir La Noele, is one of his chief accusers, whom the King pardoneth (as his reward) both of murder, sodomy, and witchcraft. It pleaseth me not a little, seeing God hath appointed our Earl to die, that we had other manner of proofs of his conspiracy, that we beheld him in open rebellion, and heard him (before his death) confirm all with open confession; for otherwise, who doth not know how partial this kingdom was to condemn his opposites of malice and practice?

"The States' great army, having lingered all this while in the country of Liege, have now altered their design for going to Flanders, as well for want of provisions to carry them thither as for the unexpected opposition they found throughout all the country, the enemy having drawn to head as strong an army as the States, and sat down hard by them, besides that the peasants were generally armed. The States have made their retreat towards Grave, which they have now besieged, having taken in their way Helmont and Eyndhoven, the chief passages which the enemy had to come to relieve it. We are now going our progress towards Bristol, where (I protest to God), I have been thinking whether I might not procure you leave to come over, but that (I fear me) all doubt of the Spaniards will not then be removed, and haply such a start hinder a longer abode. I will rather hope in Michaelmas term to see you, and show you your chamber in my new house, whereof your picture keeps possession."

Court at Greenwich, 18 July 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in his own hand*).—"I was desirous to write as much in this as is contained, which I assure you, being overwhelmed

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as I am with despatches, I could not do conveniently. For this point, therefore, which concerns your return, you must think that in cases public princes forget particulars, so as if in my suit for your return I do not show my care to leave the province quiet, I shall not be confident. Send me therefore word whom you would leave Vice-President that the Queen might be like to accept, for Wilmot, or any such, she will not. Send me also word whom you could wish as commissioners, for that may I think [be] most pleasing. To conclude, good George, believe I want you, and do remain for ever,  
 “Yours affectionately,—Ro. Cecyll.

“Write to my Lord Admiral (Nottingham) to revive still old bands, and move him to further your return. Touch to me in private what your place would bear for you to part with to some Vice-President, and you to live here with the rest, as Norrys did.”

*Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew: Received 2 Sept.*

## II. NEWS from the LOW COUNTRIES.

“The great army of the States made their rendezvous at Arnham, in Guelderland, and the 8th of this month were there mustered. It consisteth of 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot, all good bodies of men, and singularly well furnished. They passed over the Maeze by a bridge purposely made two leagues from Newmegen, taking their course towards Mastright, from whence they mean to bend through part of the country of Liedge, along by Lovayne, and so forwards above Bruxells towards Flanders. They march in three divisions, whereof the one is led by his Excellency, the other by the Count William of Nassau, and the third by Sir Francis Vere. They keep asunder all the day, and at night lodge as near together as their great numbers will permit. They have with them for carriage 3,000 waggons, which are likewise proportionably divided. The Archduke and the Infant are at Gant, attending what course his Excellency will take. It is thought that they will wait to take some advantage on the States’ army at their entrance into the land of Alost, which is not far from Gant, and through which, in regard of the commodity of forage and other necessaries, they must pass. The governor of Sluce, called D. Juan de Ryvas, commands provisionally at the siege of Ostend, the certain establishing of any in that charge being hindered through the emulation between D. Augustyne Mexia, Don Loys de Velasco, and others. They are all at Gant with their Altezes, to avoid the inconveniences which ambitious humours may breed. The Admyrante of Arragon is there likewise, in greater credit (in outer shew) than before he was taken. The Count of Arrenbergh is at Dunkereke, to hasten forward certain galleys and fustes to stop the entry into Ostend. The long expected Italian succours, led by the Marquis Spinola, are arrived with the Archduke,



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but thought not to exceed the number of 4,500 men, most of them also being Besoignios. On Whitsunday last the States put into the town of Embden four companies of foot, which may make some 800 men, only to secure the place to themselves, and to prevent the like purpose of the enemy. Some small opposition was made at first, but now all differences are reconciled. This was done because the Count of Emden was in parley with the King of Spain concerning that place. There lie in the trenches before Ostend not above 6,000 good men, and yet as strongly intrenched as the town is fortified.

“28 Junii.—The States’ army by this time is thought to be advanced as far as Gant, which purpose to besiege Donckerke. The army of the Archduke is said to consist of 13,000 foot and horse, and more troops do daily resort unto him, insomuch as it is conceived the States’ army will be fought with, or else their Altezes will run a hard fortune, the country finding the impositions intolerable to them. The Archduke, upon the alarm of the descent of the States’ army into those parts, hath reinforced all the garrisons of the maritime towns.”

### III. NEWS from FRANCE.

“About the 16th of this month the Duke of Byron and the Count D’Avergne, having been sent for to the Court for complotting with the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy against the King’s person, were, in the evening, after some conference with the King, seized on by two captains of the guard, and for that night lodged in two several pavilions of the house of Fontainebleau, and the next morning carried secretly to the Bastyle at Paris. The contract between them and the Duke of Byron doth import that he should marry the eldest daughter of Savoy, with whom he should have the duchy of Burgoigne, which should be erected into a kingdom, and that thereto should be annexed the Franche Compté, La Bresse, and Champagne, and what else he should gain by the sword in France, with 40,000 c[rowns] in ready money. The plot was discovered in February last, but the King dissembled it till he had him. One Combell, whom the Duke used in this affair, to avoid the punishment due to himself, revealed it to the King, and produced divers letters and memorials under the Duke’s hands, proving the practice. The Duke hath been examined, and confesseth all particulars wherewith he is charged, saving the enterprise against the King’s person. I do look every hour to hear of his execution, for the King hath referred all to the Court of Parliament. He hath given away his government to Monsr. Le Grand, and is sending an army towards the frontier of Savoy, for the King plainly perceived that Spain resolveth to break peace with him, in hope of this inward party in France. And yet the Spanish ambassador, having had audience, protesteth his master’s sincerity, laying all upon Savoy and Fuentes; whereupon the

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King replied that he was content to believe so, so he would hang the Count Fuentes. It is strange to find how the King of France resolveth of Byron's execution, of whom he doth avow that he hath ere now been so insolently used as he resolved not to spare him, if he once offended him. . . . Of the carrack coming into Plymouth I am sure you will be glad to hear; she was taken by Sir Rich. Leveson, with four or five of the Queen's ships. There came to her rescue 12 galleys, led by the Marquis of Sta. Cruce and Spinola; two of them were taken, and afterwards burnt; two were driven on shore, and the rest so beaten as they retired with half their oars. Eight of these galleys were they which should have come under Spinola's conduction for Flanders."

*Pp. 4. Endorsed:* Extract of letters out of France and the Low Countries. *Also endorsed by Carew:* Received in a letter of Mr. Secretary's, the 2nd of Sept. 1602.

July 20. 267. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 601, p. 171.

"This petitioner, being a poor man, hath often troubled the board and myself in a matter wherein he seemeth to receive some hard measure in Ireland, as by his petition itself you may perceive. And therefore I have thought it convenient to refer him over unto you, where the circumstances of his suit may better be known, . . . desiring you, as far as in equity you may, to afford him your reasonable favour, as well for his calling's sake, being a minister, as for the matter itself, which carrieth some show of commiseration."

Court at Greenwich, 20 July 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* Received 24 Sept.

July 20. 268. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 99.

Such intelligence as I have received since my last of the 13th, "proceeds from a silly woman; nevertheless . . . in my life I never spake with a woman (of her rude education) that was of so sharp and ready an understanding. She was first examined by the Lord Barry, and re-examined by me, both hereinclosed; . . . and also a note of as many as, to my knowledge, (of this country birth) have repaired into Spain since the late invasion by Don John del Aquila.\* I doubt not but many more . . . have stolen thither; and do believe, if there were sufficient shipping answerable to their desires, the one half of the provincials of Munster would fly thither, and of the other parts of Ireland I make the same judgment, for never people were more sotted upon strangers than they are of Spaniards. Religion is their colour, and assuredly a vehement motive, but liberty of Irish extortions, every one to be palatine in his own country, is the true mark they aim at; which, by the aid of Spain, they hope to

\* See No. 205 in this Volume.

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recover, supposing that the King would leave the country to be governed by themselves, and content himself with a small tribute. Thus their priests persuade, and so I am assured they believe. . .

“The list of Munster is 2,900 foot, for the company of John a Noake, which was cashiered for the Earl of Desmond, . . . being of no use, I . . . omit. Of these by poll 180 at the least is dispersed into sundry wards, which may not be quitted (except the bridle to the rebels were quite loosed). The dead pays allowed of, sick men, and deficient, . . . will at least arise to 900.” If 2,000 remain, I hold them too few to guard those places which must be kept, viz., at Kinsale 800, at the fortifications in the harbour of Corke 300, leaving for Cork “far too few for so weak a place, 3,000 men being the least that can make any manner of resistance in it.”

This I pray you to consider, “or else inevitably perils will fall upon us to the hazard of the kingdom, making no doubt but if this city be taken the rest without resistance upon the least summons will render themselves. Her Majesty’s forces are for the most part in the North, so far remote from me as I have no hope (if I be not supplied from thence before the enemy is landed) in any convenient time to have succours from them; and to withdraw them from thence (before their landing) in so fit a time of prosecution (now the traitors are at the weakest, and a short end of Ulster rebellion expected) the Lord Deputy would be unwilling, being an apparent hindrance to the service. . . I am thus far bold to say my opinion, that . . . supplies out of England (though most chargeable) yet, as the present falleth out, [are] most expedient.

“Of all the intelligences . . . I have sent doubles unto the Lord Deputy, who is better able than myself to make judgment of them, and of whose care there is no doubt to be such as in affairs of this weight is requisite. Nevertheless supplies out of England is the securest way; for if the enemy come so strong as is expected all the Queen’s army (necessary garrisons being left in sundry places . . .) will be too little to keep the field; and, if the enemy come not, the supplies sent over may be dispersed to strengthen weak companies, whereby her Majesty’s charges will be speedily eased. All the reports . . . accord that the horse to be sent from thence is 2,000. The transportation is unlikely, yet feasible if the King do intend it. But if but 1,000 be sent it will be sufficient with the aid of the Irish horse to make them masters of the field,” and then “the revolt in the kingdom will be universal.” This is “a matter more properly belonging to the chief commander . . . than unto me, . . . but if his Lordship do apprehend the coming of a Spanish army and the horse aforementioned, I am sure he will be a suitor to be strengthened in horse.

“Among many other reasons that persuades me of the undoubted hopes that the Irish have in Spanish aids . . . the daily repair of the Irish thither to be suitors unto the King for lands in Ireland is not the least. . . And as the King of

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Spain is troubled with Irish suitors for temporal livings, so is the Pope in bestowing of the ecclesiastical dignities, in so much as the Queen's crown is shared between them. But my hope in God is that they reckon without their host, and that His omnipotency will evermore defend her (as hitherto He hath done) from the malice of Spain and Rome, and all others that conspire against her."

Cork, 20 July 1602.

"Sent by a barque of Barnestable."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

July 20. **269.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD CHANCELLOR and COUNCIL at DUBLIN.

Vol. 624, p. 176.

"Having of late sent unto the Lord Deputy a particular relation . . . touching the Spanish intentions, . . . I doubt not but his Lordship hath informed you thereof; . . . and now again . . . having further reasons . . . to be settled in an opinion of the Spaniards' coming, and most like (if reports be true) to . . . this harbour of Corke, I may not omit to make your Lordship and the rest to understand the same, who, I doubt not, knowing well the strength I have, . . . will think them a force far too weak to do the service that is expected. From the Lord Deputy (by reason of his Lordship's remoteness hence with the main force of the kingdom) I can expect no such succour or relief as I do daily look to have cause to use; and therefore I . . . beseech you that if, by such knowledge as you have of their designs, you shall conceive the same to be probable, (which I am assured your Lordship, &c. will yield unto, if you be as particularly acquainted with the intelligences, circumstances, and other inducements as I am, and wherewith I have informed the Lord Deputy,) you will provide to send a second unto me upon the first alarm. I know the strength of this army will be so great, if it come, as without good aid I shall not be able to make resistance; and then what danger may succeed to the whole kingdom I leave to your considerations. For, besides that a general revolt is to be expected and not unlike to happen, if this city of Corke be taken I dare not promise much for the long holding out of the rest. So as . . . I . . . entreat your Lordship and the rest . . . now that, as I understand, those parts of Leinster are reasonably quieted) to spare me . . . some more force, which would be to very good purpose, if it be done before the Spaniard land."

Cork, 20 July 1602.

P.S.—"If your Lordship and the rest do not conceive (as we in Munster do) that an army from Spain will invade us, then I do not importune any supply, for I desire no more for the prosecution of the service here than my ordinary list, which is 2,900 foot, whereof if I be 2,000 strong, the dead pays, sick men, deficient, and necessary wards accounted, it is the uttermost; and how unable that number is to defend

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the new works at Kynsale, Halebolinge, and the city of Corke is too evident."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Vol. 620, p. 145.

2. Another copy.

July 20. 270. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 178.

"In these your Lordship shall receive the examination of a woman that lived until now in O'Sulevan's house; in my life I never met with such spirit in one of her rude education; her speeches are probable, and, as I think, in substance true. . . Since the 3rd of April I never received letter from the Court; if your Lordship be not better supplied with English occurrents than I am for four months, you are a mere stranger to the affairs there. . . I have used all the arguments I may . . ., but I fear it will be long before from thence I shall be supplied. . . It were convenient that you draw as near hitherwards as conveniently you might, and in the meantime to spare as many companies as you may, to be in a readiness to withstand their landing and assailing of Corke. . .

"I speak upon assurance that all the Irish in Spain do press the King . . . to attempt Corke, but . . . the purposes of Spain is better known unto your Lordship. . . Give us such aid as you may spare, for prevention of the worst. The list of Munster, as your Lordship knoweth, (John a Noake's company excepted,) consist of 2,900; of these 180 are disposed in wards, which may not be withdrawn, except the bridle upon the Irish were clearly loosed; then reckoning the dead pays, . . . sick men and deficient, these numbers . . . will not exceed 900. Then if 2,000 by poll remain (whereof I am doubtful), of them 800 must be at the least employed at Kynsale to defend the fortification, [and] 300 . . . at Halebolinge. How unable the remainder will be to defend Corke against such an enemy your Lordship is best able to judge. . .

"The greatest fear I have, the works at Castleparke and Halebolinge, by reason of the rocky ground, will not be finished before we shall have cause to use them, and in them both there are as many men a-work as Paul Ive requires. The stay of Jolley . . . I pray your Lordship (for a time . . .) to bear withal, and in truth he is not yet . . . thoroughly recovered of his late sickness; . . . but upon your first letter he shall be hastened unto you without delay, if it be your pleasure to have him.

"It is no small grief unto me to write of so displeasing a subject as Spanish preparations, which cannot but give you impediment to your noble proceedings in Ulster; and therefore, lest my opinion may be deceived, I neither dare nor will importune you further than in your own judgment shall be conceived probable."

Cork, 20 July 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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July 26.

Vol. 604, p. 189.

## 271. The PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

“Although we have lately written to your Lp. a despatch or two since we received any from you, yet the frequent coming of advertisements out of Ireland of the Spanish preparations maketh us reiterate some things formerly touched in the last despatch signed by some of us, concerning the sending of forces into Munster. First, the President hath sent us more confessions that were taken in the castle of Donboy, which shew particularly the assurance they have from Spain. And for a further demonstration thereof, it is particularly known how a great portion of treasure was divided amongst the rebels in Munster. From the Earl of Ormond we have advertisements as if an army should have been landed in Ulster, whereto we give no credit. From Dublin there is sent the copy of a letter of the mayor of Waterford’s, which confirmeth the coming of the succours without fail in the month of August. Of all which, though there be many particularities which hang not well together, and the numbers they speak of are improbable things; yet as it is true that there is no smoke without some fire, so have these bruits or promises, of what verity or untruth soever, taken so deep an impression in that province, notwithstanding your good success and those under you in all quarters of the realm, as doth clearly demonstrate the falling of the rebellion, and that most that are out discover greater obstinacy than before, and many that are in use greater animosity than almost could be expected if they had as many successes as disasters, as may appear, seeing those those that have been out, and were received to mercy in the time of your being in that province, are now gone out again, as if there were contention amongst them who should deserve best, by speediest declaring of themselves to be of the faction of Spain.

“This, and many other observations, give occasion to foresee what may be hoped for in those parts, if upon the landing of an enemy the Queen’s forces be not able to keep the field, which they cannot do if they should be constrained to keep themselves into some of the towns, or else to leave both port and town at their devotion, with all things else of the Queen’s magazines of treasure, and what else soever.

“For the state of those forces in Munster, all deficiencies admitted, which we see takes too great an allowance in the whole army, (when we compare her Majesty’s true numbers with her list in all places,) we conceive may amount to the number of 2,000, to be drawn together, with which we doubt not but your Lordship can best judge how anything can be done; and therefore it hath pleased her Majesty to command us to lay before you how necessary it is, till summer’s expectation be past, to reinforce that province with some more numbers, such as may be spared out of the rest of the army with greatest ease and greatest expedition.

“For when we consider that by that time this letter

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cometh your Lp. will have given over your main prosecution in Tyrone, and that both Sir Henry Docwra and Sir Arthur Chichester are like enough to be retired, so as the work of such prosecution must be left to the garrisons of your own plantation, we think then some numbers sent thither will serve to good purpose, if the enemy attempt Munster, by enabling the President to keep up the reputation of her Majesty's forces until you may have time to come down with the rest. Where, on the contrary side, if it should so prove that the Spaniards should fail them now, there can be nothing lost by sparing some troops which may not be recovered again from any other quarter.

"And yet such is her Majesty's meaning to provide for the worst, as she prepareth good numbers of soldiers to be levied by the 15th of August next, and will transport 2,000 men either into Munster, or into any quarter that you shall think convenient to reinforce you, as her Majesty shall hear from you between this and that time that they are embarked, which being impossible to be before the 14th of the next month, we leave to your judgment whether it were not a good piece of service that you did hasten away some supplies, considering that experience teacheth us that they are never in Ireland in ten days after the rendezvous where they embark.

"For munition, we have given order both to supply that province, and to increase your store at Dublin. . . Her Majesty . . . is persuaded that the storm will fall into Munster, which being otherwise discovered, you may withdraw those that you part withal as fast as you send them thither: Her Majesty liketh your work so well as she [is] as loth to interrupt it as you can be, and therefore wisheth the rather the companies that are left in some of the mediate countries may make up that reinforcement for Munster than to weaken your own."

Court at Greenwich, 26 July 1602.

*Copy, enclosed in Cecil's letter of 7th August. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: Received the 2nd of Sept. 1602, in a packet from Mr. Secretary.*

July 29. 272. The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.  
Vol. 614, p. 107.

Whereas her Majesty by her letters heretofore written unto you, at the suit of the Earl of Thomond, gave direction that you should take order for separating co. Clare from the government of Connaught, and joining the same to Munster, as formerly it hath been used to be, which you forbore to accomplish by reason of inconvenience to the public service; whereupon we suspended our further opinion until we might hear what answer the Earl would make to the said exception; which, having now received, we send to you. . . And because we know not whether the advice of not separating the said county from

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Connaught "doth proceed from the general opinion of you the Council there, or only from the particular report and information of some others that are interested in the matter;" we pray you "cause the said matter to be before your Lordship effectually debated and advised of amongst the whole Council there," and certify us your opinion. If you concur that it is fittest to annex the county to Munster, you shall without further delay proceed to the performance thereof.

Court at Greenwich, 29 July 1602.

"Signed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Earl of Worcester, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Cecyll, Sir John Forbiscue, Mr. Secretary Herbert."

*Copy, "exa. per Tho. Edmondess." P. 1. Endorsed.*

July 29. 273. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 604, p. 190.

"Sithence our last dispatch from Monaghan, which was the 19th hereof, soon after our coming thither, we planted there a garrison that hath secured the English Pale from all Northern incursions, and doth lie as fit to prosecute such rebels as are likely to hold out longest as any other. That done, we took and burned all the islands of greatest strength, placing wards in those that we best liked, and finding MacMahound, as we did, to stand upon proud terms, though indeed desirous to be received to mercy, we spoiled and ransacked all that country of the Dartry, and by the example thereof have forced divers chief lords of the countries near adjoining to come in and submit themselves, with that good shew of duty and obedience as better ourselves could not desire. Which that your Lordships may the better judge of, we have sent the names of the persons and copy of their submissions upon their oaths, which we make account is more strict and in all likelihood more firm than hath been seen in this land of a long time, besides their pledges, such as we do name, whereof some are put in already, and the rest promised presently; so as we think we may now truly affirm . . . that from the Bann to the Dartry, including all Tirone, and so from thence to Dublin, we have cleared the whole country, and assured the chief lords more than ever.

"We have placed Connor Roe McGuire, to whom her Majesty hath given the chieffy of the country of Fermanagh, in the principal house of MacMahound, within two miles of his own country, from whence he may easiest settle and plant himself, which is a matter we have long affected, because he gives great hope of advancing her Majesty's service.

"Upon such bruits as we hear of a new invasion out of Spain, (the Lord President in a manner assuring us that they will in that province invade presently, with a strong army of 15,000 foot and 2,000 horse,) we are much distracted what



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next to do, for if we should draw that way to provide to entertain them, we should lose the advantage of this prosecution, and spend another year unprofitably, which we grieve to think upon, and yet haply miss their place of landing.

“If we proceed, as yet we intend, to draw this war to a speedy end, (which is that which we . . . do most affect,) we shall be the less able to make that stop to their invasion that we might if we intended that business only. We do therefore . . . desire to be directed from your Lordships, who in likelihood best know the Spaniards’ intentions, which of these courses we should most apply ourselves unto; otherwise we are resolved, whatsoever befall, to prosecute the war Northward with all earnestness, out of the desire we have to draw the war to an end, and ease her Majesty of that excessive charge which to our exceeding grief we observe her to be at, which we doubt not to effect, . . . if we be not interrupted by the Spaniard. For besides the good hold that we have gotten of those that have already submitted themselves, which by all arguments of sound and sincere meaning we take to be better and more assured than any that was taken heretofore since her Majesty and her ancestors enjoyed this kingdom, especially with the holds we have planted among them, we have set down such a plot for the prosecution of the rest on all hands at one instant, so soon as we can take the field next, which is agreed upon the 10th of the next month, (till which time we have thought fit to refresh this army, overtoiled and worn out with continual working upon the forts that we have made, and with exceeding great marches, which we were driven to for lack of means to carry victuals with us for a longer time,) as we are very confident we shall in short time ruin or subdue all those rebels, for we have now left no man in all the North that is able to make any great resistance, or that hath not made means to be received to mercy, O’Rourke only excepted, which hath been hitherto furthest off from feeling the fury of our prosecution.

“Tirone is already beaten out of his country, and lives in a part of O’Cane’s, a place of incredible fastness, where though it be impossible to do him any great hurt so long as he shall be able to keep any great force about him, the ways to him being unaccessible with an army, yet by lying about him, as we mean to do, we shall in short time put him to his uttermost extremity, if not light upon him, or force him to fly the kingdom. In the meantime we can assure your Lps. that from O’Cane’s country, where now he liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tirone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places as we passed.

“The forces which last we drew out of Munster, being 1,500 foot above the Munster list, which the Lord President desired to retain there only till he had ended his business at Dunboy,

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are now, under the command of Sir Samuel Bagnall, presently upon their arrival to the borders, directed by the Annely to prosecute O'Rourke, where fitliest he may join with the forces of Connaught, and shall be met withal by those of Balishannon, commanded by Sir Henry Foliott. All those will help us greatly to pen up the Northern rebels on that side, when we next attempt them from hence, as by the 10th we mean to do, from Loughfoile and Carrickfergus, which Sir Arthur Chichester from thence is now very well enabled for, by the means of the garrisons we last planted at Toome and Lough Sidney, both being upon that side of the lough that bordereth upon Tirone; and as those forces on Connaught side lie very fitly to assist us for the speedy despatch of that work, so are they very ready to entertain the Spaniards if they should land in Connaught, and not much unfit for Munster if they should arrive there.

"We have directed them, therefore, severally to apply and bend their endeavours to answer these sundry omissions, and this in our providence is the best that we can think upon, for by this course, if Spaniards come not, we shall go on very roundly with our business, and we hope . . . perform it to your great contentment. And if they come, which is the worst, they will be able to make some good defensive war till we with the rest shall draw unto them, and then we cannot hope to do any more until your Lordships supply us royally out of England. For if the Spaniard come so strong in horse and foot as is reported, and as it must needs be thought he will, finding the error that the last time they committed, it may not be expected at our hands, with all the forces we can draw to head, (leaving some forts guarded as we must needs do, to bridle and keep in awe the country, and to keep our former labours from being utterly overthrown,) that we shall be able of ourselves to pull them from any place that they have a mind to hold, but must rather give them way till we be better furnished.

"We are therefore humbly to desire your Lordships, if the Spaniards arrive or that you expect them certainly, to think upon us favourably, and to supply our wants fully and speedily, especially munition, men, and victual, for this kingdom will not be able to afford us anything to make such a war as then we must be enforced unto; which your Lordships cannot but know better than we can express, for, as we have noted heretofore, . . . it will not then be any longer the war of Ireland, but the war of England in Ireland, to the infinite danger and cumber of them both."

*Copy, enclosed in Cecil's letter to Carew of 7th August. Pp. 3.*

*Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* Copy of a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council to the Lords, dated at the Newry, the 29th July 1602, signed by the Lord Deputy, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Francis Stafford. *Also endorsed by Carew:* Received in a letter of Mr. Secretary's, the 2nd of Sept. 1602.

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LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 574.

“The letters you sent by Sir Samuel Bagnall of the 1st I received not until the 19th hereof, and the 25th I received your last of the 13th. By the former I find you doubtful that we shall be troubled with the Spaniards once again, and that I must once more undergo a winter siege in Munster. By the latter I perceive you do verily believe they will come, and therefore wish that I could spare you some more companies if I be of that opinion. I deny not but you have great reason to wish to be provided for the worst, for that is every way best and safest in itself, and I would to God I were able in that sort to satisfy you, for in a matter of that weight we cannot be too provident. So as, if those forces had not been come from you before you conceived so great cause of doubt, I should willingly have yielded to have still continued them there; yet that had been a way to have lost the service of them this summer, which, in my conceipt, we should have had little reason for, considering it behoveth the King of Spain, if it were but for his own defence, (the Queen’s fleet being well known to be at sea,) to draw his people into arms, and then upon very great probability it may well be given out that their intent is for an invasion here, though they mean not to stir abroad at all, or, if they do, with purpose for some other place; as I have reason rather to gather by the letters I received late out of England, where the Lords seem to be very confident that he makes great preparations for the Low Countries (having good cause so to do, the States’ forces being very strong in the field), and not for this realm, as we suppose, how assured soever the Irish seem to be thereof.

“I have with the Council here considered and debated this matter well, and in the end resolved, as the best course, to go on roundly with our prosecution of these Northern rebels, yet so as those companies that came last from you, commanded by Sir Samuel Bagnall, (as before) shall lie about Westmeath and the Annelagh, from whence they may fitly enough serve our turn, if need be, to fall that way upon O’Rourke, assisted with the forces of Connaught and Ballishannon, who at the same time may do the like two other ways; and if the Spaniard should land either in Connaught or Munster, they are not far off to answer either; and such be the directions we have given them as they are to apply themselves speedily to embrace the first advertisement.

“By this course we conceive we may go on in our business, which by their lying in that sort they will greatly further, when this army, that at Carrickfergus, and those of Loughfoile, shall at one instant pierce into Tyrone next, which we have agreed shall be the 10th of August next (till which time we are enforced to refresh our men, toiled out with the great works in fortifying, and extreme long marches, after we had spent our victuals we carried with us), and yet our turn in a

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manner as well served too as if they had not been drawn from you. For if the Spaniards come so strong as you suppose (as if they do come at all cannot be doubted in any reason, their last year's error having taught them to come strongly), I see not how you could be able with those of your Munster list and these together to give them any great impeachment in their landing (having many fit places that they may take their choice of), but that they might sit down where they best like, and drive you to a defensible war merely. And that being so, you are in the same case now, though both they and we will come readily to your assistance, and thereof I beseech you rest assured. Yet when we are all together, for my part I am in some doubt that we shall not be able to do any great matter until we be supplied out of England; and to that purpose I confess I have now written to the Lords, desiring earnestly that they will be provided for us, if they see any likelihood of our invasion, and especially inasmuch as this war then will not be any longer the war of Ireland, but the war of England in Ireland, to the infinite danger and cumber to them both.

"I have spoken with the Master of the Ordnance to send you planks and workmen to make carriages for your pieces. His answer is, that he hath nothing that will serve your turn, but that you must have it out of England, and this he saith for all your motions in general. For the hoy, I am well content you keep her there so long as you find it convenient for the service, for I know you are as careful as myself not to charge her Majesty unnecessarily. I am also well content to establish the posts again (as the last time) between Corke and Dublin, and have written to the Council at Dublin to give order accordingly; so as I make account those posts will be established before this letter come unto you. I like well your course to put those pieces of ordnance that you took at Dunboy into the new forts of Kynsale and Corke, and send you herewithal a copy of part of the Queen's last letter to me, that you may see how far I am allowed to proceed in those fortifications in Munster. Jollie may stay still with you, since you desire to keep him there, for I would not have you unfurnished of a gunner, now that Parker is dead. And thus, being very glad of your good success in taking of Dunboy, and thanking you for the journal, which hath particularly informed me of all your proceedings, I think I have omitted no point of your letters that required any answer, but that only of Pavie's safe return with all that you committed to his trust, although it was but very lately.

"I am now to acquaint your Lordship with that which hath happened here since I wrote last unto you; and that is this. We have finished our plantations at the Blackwater, upon Loghsidney in Tyrone, and at Monaghan. We have left in them very strong garrisons, ransacked all the countries

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thereabout, beaten Tyrone out of his own country into the edge of O'Cane's, where he keeps the woods of Glancomkame, a fastness unaccessible with an army, and therefore for the present bootless to attempt it, otherwise than by lying by him, to starve him or his creaghts, and by that means make his followers to forsake him, which we will endeavour when we next take the field the 10th of the next month, as aforesaid, and for that purpose provide to go so many ways at once upon him that some of us may light either upon himself or his creaghts; which he so much feareth as he hath been tampering how to convey himself and his wife secretly into Scotland, if he could any way hope to do it safely. We have burned and taken all his islands of greatest strength, and put wards in such as we found of best use for our purpose. We have forced the chief lords of countries, and those gentlemen that were best followed, to come in and submit themselves, and give us any pledges that we could name (whereof some are delivered already, and the rest to be put in presently), taking an oath for their loyalty hercafter, and for the renouncing of Spain and Tyrone in particular, and all other traitors and invaders in general. I send you the copies thereof in Latin and English, and a note of the most of their names, that you may see who they be, and publish it to the world, which haply the Irish in that province will think strange.

“We may truly say we have cleared all these countries from the Bann to the Dartrie, and so to Dublin, and have left no man to make us any resistance, for we have seen no one man in all Tyrone of late but dead carcasses merely hunger starved, of which sort we found divers as we passed. And I may as truly affirm there is not one rebel of any account that hath not made great means to be accepted unto her Majesty's mercy, though I refuse some for standing upon over proud terms, or else hoping to get a better hand of them. Only O'Rourke hath not yet sued for any grace, unless to Sir Oliver Lambert, which I have not heard of; and that makes me the rather plot a course for his prosecution, which I think you will hold of so much consequence as it were great pity either that or the rest of our work so well begun and proceeded in should be crossed or overthrown by the Spaniards' invasion, now that we are so near bringing it to a good conclusion.”

From the Newrie, 29 July 1602. *Signed.*

*P.S. in Mountjoy's own hand:*—“I do think to write unto you very shortly again, which maketh me now omit many things till then. If you hear anything more of Spain, I pray let me hear from you as speedily as may be; but, for anything I can gather by these intelligences, they may be better advised than to trouble us.”

*Pp.* 5. *Add. Endd.:* Received at Cork, 7 Aug. 1602.

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July 30.

Vol. 615, p. 582.

## 275. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

“When I was about to sign my letter yesterday, yours of the 20th was delivered me, whereupon I called Mr. Marshal and Sir Francis Stafford, all the councillors now here with me. . . We agreed in this opinion, that . . . there was little certainty in what place they (the Spaniards) intended to land. The examinations and advertisements from you coneur that their intent is for some part of that province, which you gather to be Cork or somewhere thereabout; ours are, some for Gallway, and those that we have most cause to credit agree upon Carlingford.

“It behoveth us, therefore, to dispose our forces so as they may fittest serve to be drawn to any place of most need upon the sudden, which we know not how to do better than by laying them as in my other letter yesterday was signified. And the rather for that by that course we may go on with our business, which the Lords of the Council give us great charge to follow earnestly, seeming confident that the Spaniards will not trouble us; and in short time we hope to perfect it, to the settling of all the North, where otherwise we shall not only lose this year's service, but overthrow all that we have already done, which we fear their Lordships would reprove us for.

“We doubt not but within one month after next we take the field to settle the North in that good sort that they shall be the last that shall fall to the Spanish party, if they do come and grow strong here. We are exceeding loath to lose that opportunity, for if we should it will not easily be recovered; yet so careful are we to provide for you as we have directed Sir Sam. Bagnall, with the Munster forces that came with him, not to stir much Northward from the Annelagh, but be ready to draw to you with all speed possible so soon as you shall write unto him so to do, though it be before the Spaniards' landing. And from those parts we take it he may soon be with you through Connaught.

“If you send not for him before the Spaniards' landing, Sir Oliver Lambert with the Connaught forces shall likewise be with you speedily; for then need not he in his province any longer be doubtful of their arrival, and we, with all our Northern forces, will not, God willing, be long from you. Yet I am still of this opinion, that when we are all there together it will not be fit for us to attempt them until our supplies come out of England. For in all likelihood we shall not be able to beat them from any place that they affect to keep; and, by the same reason, it were to little purpose to send you any more forces into that province before it be known certainly that the Spaniards be arrived.”

From the Newrie, 30 July 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2. Add. Endd.:* Received at Cork, 7 Aug. 1602.

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LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 560, 567.

“ This day I received out of England, by a servant of mine, a packet with letters from her Majesty and from their Lordships, and from divers others of my friends. The copy of that from my Lords I . . . send you. . . For Captain *Harvy*,\* in whose despatch it will be good that he do amplify, as well with the truth he may, the good success of her Majesty's forces in the North, and how the chief lords are not only become subjects, but entered into the fastest combination that human wit can devise both against the King of Spain and the archtraitor Tyrone, who, he may boldly say, is become a miserable wood kerne, and neither he nor one man left for him in all his own country of Tyrone.

“ This combination against him for the Queen is confirmed by all the bonds that can tie this people, the oath, which I send you, ministered to them by their own priests, and good to be sent by *Harvy*\* the best pledges they could give or we demand, and garrisons upon every one of their countries. Besides, that which this people reckon their chiefest tie, they have desired me and the Council to christen some of the children of the chiefest of them, as namely, Henry Oge and Patrick McArte Moyle, who were christened by my own chaplain after the manner of the English Church. . .

“ There is not one lord in the North whatsoever but have often sued to me to be received to her Majesty's mercy, and none more often than the traitor Tyrone himself, whom I reject as unworthy to be hearkened unto. The rest I suspend till I may have such assurance as will be fit to be taken of them whom we have most reason to suspect, as Cormock and McMahond.

“ For Spanish intelligence, I hear nothing out of England but that one Burley, whom I know well, came very lately from the Groyne, where, and in those parts, he saith were 5,000 soldiers, and Don John with Alonso de Campo doth command them, and some other of the captains that were here. Pedro de Henrikes is dead. He speaketh but of eleven ships ready in the Groyne.

“ If this be true, we would desire no greater a pleasure from them than that they would come in those numbers into Ireland; and I dare assure you with those numbers they will never come into Munster if they do come into Ireland. But if they had far greater numbers in a readiness it were not strange, seeing the Queen hath a fleet upon their coast, and, as they may hear, is daily preparing a greater; and you may remember that every summer these many years the King of Spain hath had men in a readiness, but especially when any of the Queen's shipping hath been stirring.

“ Out of this I do not conclude but the King of Spain would be content, either here or elsewhere, to annoy the Queen as

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\* The words in italics are in cipher in the original, but deciphered by Carew.

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much as he can, and perchance here and this year; but I protest, neither by any particular I have received out of England, nor by anything I find in the intelligence you send me, I see any reason to fear their coming at this time, but, as I conceive, many reasons to the contrary.

“If your Lordship had written to me to that purpose, I would have spared the companies Sir Sa. Bagnall brought before they had come away, for of them I could not have the use I expected, for they came too late, and with me they have not been yet; but to be doing in all parts at once, and in the harvest, when if ever the rebels be strong they will be strong again, I should now have made great use of them. But before the receipt of my Lords’ letters I meant they should *march* to you as I think the next way, especially since their going by *Limerick* may fall out for the service. I have sent to you Sir Samuel’s company of horse. When I go into the field next, I shall be in list 250 horse and 2,000 foot, which by the grace of God shall be very shortly. For Sir Samuel, he is intended to be directed with his forces by you, and therefore *listen* him as you *shall* think good.

“Now, my Lord, for myself I will not write much, for I have professed to love you in a very dear degree, and let no man persuade you that I do otherwise till I am content myself that you should know it, for in that matter I do challenge to myself an extraordinary freedom. We that have much in great matters to do shall have many bones cast in our way; but, my Lord, in the valuation I make of you it shall be far out of the power of any poor practiser to alter my affection, and so will I expect from you. For Captain Harvyne, because it pleased your Lordship to be so careful to satisfy me, I must say this. First, I protest before God that I do not find my own nature malicious to any man, although sometimes suddenly and soundly moved. Although his fault to me was the more by how much I knew myself kindly affected unto him, yet, whatsoever it were, for your sake I could be easily induced to forget and forgive it. But because in both his imputations he seemeth to justify himself I would not have your Lordship deceived in him, for I now, upon more proof than ever, affirm that he was not at the cannon when it was and should have been by him defended. And because it were sacrilege in me to deprive any of their honours for the which they venture their lives under me, I will either with plain proof make you confess so much, or by God! I will ask him forgiveness before all the army. For the letter written to his father, I doubt not but, if I should speak with you, to make it appear that I were of a very dull spirit if I should not perceive that it was written with an evil spirit towards me, and in truth with as much to the action as in that case could be by one that had wit enough not to do it grossly. But, my Lord, for the wrong done to me, if you will have me, by God! I will forgive it; but if I have done him wrong, I will never forgive myself for it till



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have made him the greatest satisfaction that ever general made to a captain. I beseech God deliver us from these troublesome wars."

1st August 1602.

*Hol. Pp. 3. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 5 Aug.*

Vol. 624, p. 186.

2. Copy.

Aug. 3. **277.** SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 472.

"Understanding by the Lady McCartie's letter unto me in commendation of this bearer, Captain Robert Carew, his many good services and deserts, and upon notice given me of your . . . desire to have him preferred, as appeareth by your letters to Sir Walter Ralleigh, knight, I have . . . taken notice of him. . . And whereas he is ordered here to have the conduction of certain soldiers into that realm . . . for the reinforcing of the decayed companies there or otherwise . . . you may do well . . . to bestow a company upon him."

Court at Harevile, 3 August 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 10 October.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 85<sup>c</sup>.

2. Copy.

Aug. 6. **278.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 192.

Your letters of the 1st of this month I received late in the evening the 5th. Whether mine of the 13th and 20th July, sent by messengers of my own, "have come unto your hands, I am not satisfied, because neither the parties be returned nor yet any mention is made of them by your Lordship. . . In my opinion the letters and examinations sent with them did carry many probabilities that the Spaniards would once again, and that speedily, invade this kingdom. . . I never received letter from the Lords in general nor any particular councillor in England, which moves me to think their letters have miscarried: otherwise long ere this time I do suppose and believe that I should have received some directions or commandments from them.

"With these your Lordship shall receive . . . advertisements, . . . all of them agreeing with the former which I have sent you, that an army is ready in Spain, . . . and . . . for the most part manifesting that the intention is for Ireland. . . According to the liberty your Lordship hath given me, I have written unto Sir Samuel Bagnall . . . to make all possible haste hither, for either the use that we shall have of those companies would be either speedily or not at all.

"Lest your Lordship might conceive that without your knowledge I have moved the Lords in England to withdraw any of your forces hither, . . . I do protest . . . that I, to the contrary, did deliver my opinion that it was pity that any succours should be drawn from your forces for hindering of your successes in the North, and therefore humbly besought

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their Lordships . . . if they conceived any opinion of a Spanish invasion . . . to send immediate supplies out of England, whereby the prosecution of Tyrone might receive no let; and if God did divert the Spanish purposes, her Majesty's charge might speedily be eased in transferring them to the strengthening of the old companies, whose deficiencies would require more in supply than the numbers I conceived they would send hither." I again put you in mind of my request for "iron balls answerable to the heights of the foreign pieces taken at Donboye and the Dursies."

The fortifications at Kynsale and Halebolinge rise slowly. "That irregular work your Lordship saw at the south end of Corke, first intended to no other end than a poor entrenchment for a retreat, is now raised to a great height, equal or above all the grounds about it, and so reinforced with a strong rampart as a powerful enemy shall not carry it in haste; and whiles that work holds out it shall be impossible for an enemy to lodge near that end of the town. The work is great, the Queen's charge in erecting it nothing, and therefore all such errors as I know to be in it may be the better borne withal. . . . When first it was begun I did not purpose to bestow above 14 days' labour upon it. . . . If God spare me life but until summer next, those errors which are now eyesores unto me shall be corrected, and although it can never carry uniformity, yet it shall be well flanked, and of strength sufficient to endure a royal battery. It is . . . so near ended as I hold it presently defensible; if an enemy do forbear us but 14 days, I hope to finish it.

"Of your Lordship's noble and happy succeedings in the North I am glad beyond measure, . . . hoping, with God's favour, if the Spaniards do not give interruption, that the great task your Lordship undergoes before the next spring will be determined. But until this nation be hopeless of Spanish succours, there is no expectation to be had of the ending of the calamities of this kingdom. The other parts of your Lordship's letters, for answer, I humbly refer you to a letter of my own hand sent with this."

Cork, 6 August 1602.

"I would be glad to understand your Lordship's pleasure for the hoy and Jollye. If the Spaniards do come for Munster, their service can be ill spared."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 6. 279. SIR WILLIAM KNOLLYS to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 474.

"There is one Mr. John Ogelthorp serving at this present under you . . . that hath spent long time there with the late Sir Tho. Norreys, with whom I hear he came over into Ireland. . . . I understand he is, by reason of his long experience, of good judgment in military matters. . . . I entreat you for him, as for the son of a friend and neighbour of mine in Oxfordshire, that . . . you would raise him from the place he

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presently holds of a lieutenant to take charge as a captain . . upon the repair of these supplies of men."

Court at Burnham, by Windsor, 6 August 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received 18 Jan. 1602.

Aug. 7. 280. SIR ROBERT CECIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 571.

"One great cause of my writing this private letter is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your mind to think of Spain behind you and of the North before you, fearing to be diverted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceive in what state the preparations of Spain are now, as I am certainly advertised by one of mine own, who is newly arrived from the port of Lisbon, where he took shipping the 21st of July last, *stilo veteri*."

*Here follows an account of the news from Spain, similar to that given in Cecil's letter to Carew of this date.*

*Copy, enclosed in Mountjoy's letter of 24th August. Pp. 2. Endorsed*: Clause of a letter from Sir Ro. Cecyll, dated the 7th of August, received 17th.

Aug. 7. 281. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 187.

"Although I find you have cause to mislike my silence, . . yet I doubt not but your man Clifton is with you (who had a packet), and another was sent to you since. . . Although I think you have no cause to be satisfied towards him in that behalf, I have now little more to write to you at this time than to advertise you that there are 2,000 men appointed to be in readiness at Bristol and Chester by the 15th of this month. The reason is because the sending all or in part will much depend upon the Deputy's answer, to whom what we have written will appear by this enclosed. Since the writing whereof we have received advertisement from him that he is returned to the Newrye to refresh the army, and intendeth to begin again to go into Tyrone. For your better understanding whereof I send you also some clauses of his own letter, but written before he can have received ours. . .

"To make you acquainted what is true or false in Spain, and what my private opinion is thereupon, you shall understand as followeth:—By one newly arrived from the port of Lisbon, where he took shipping the 21st of July last, *stilo veteri*, there are in Lisbon two great ships of 1,000 ton, one called the St. Andera, and of the other, which shall be vice-admiral, the name is forgotten. Besides these are but 12 ships of 200 ton and downward, in which it was resolved to have sent some 1,500 men to have relieved the siege of Beerhaven, the news of the taking whereof being written from Waterford to Lisbon the 16th day of July, and not before. Of these 1,500, 800 came from the Groyne,—being part of those that were transported out of Ireland.

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“In the Groyne remaineth O'Donnell, and there only the Great St. Philip with 10 small barks, with which he mightily importuneth to be sent into the North, if these had been sent into Munster, hoping upon his own arrival, with some 1,000 or 1,500 men, to have possessed some port, and made a beginning of a plantation, whereof great benefit must needs have grown to the rebels; for as those small numbers which should have landed in Munster with the bruit of the rest to follow, which is always multiplied, would have made a distraction of the Ulster prosecution, so that descent with him in Ulster would have raised the new hopes of all the Northern rebels.

“And truly (my Lord) when it is considered how great a benefit it is to the King of Spain to consume the Queen with charge in Ireland, by his bestowing only once a year some such forlorn companies,—besides that he keepeth up some kind of reputation abroad in following on his first design, by sending a few, which, being added to that which fame spreadeth of greater numbers, filleth the world with continual rumours of his undertaking humour,—I cannot be secured but that he will still feed that fire with fuel, although I know it a vanity to believe those other fond reports of such preparations and such armies as he is no way able to embrace. For you may be assured, whatsoever you hear of gathering of numbers by land to this place or that, they have been only for defence against such attempts as they did ignorantly suspect from the Queen and the Low Countries, and to contain obedience within his kingdom in the south parts, where the Moors have been very apt to take arms.

“And for the galleys, whereof you have heard so many to be brought out of Italy, they were intended for some enterprise against La Razze, so as the bruit that they should have come for Ireland was idle. Only it is true that Sir Richard Leveson defeated those eight galleys which were come as far to the northwards as Lisbon under the conduct of Spinola, who undertook to bring them into the Low Countries for Sluce; for of those eight, two being sunk, a third was spoiled and never able to go to sea. The other five were also so torn, and the slaves so mangled, as we look not to hear of them in these quarters this summer. So as I assure you though our carrick prove not so much worth as was expected, having been much pillaged, and many of the goods taken wet, yet hath the gentleman deserved an extraordinary reputation.

“I have now delivered you rather out of my private affection my private opinion *that no great army will come,*\* than that I mean so to contest against the contrary opinions which are here continually multiplied from them of the great armies the King of Spain amassed, as to hinder any preparations

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\* These six words are interlined by Cecil.

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received the 5th, and this morning despatched him with an which may come from hence whereby that kingdom may receive any comfort. First, because I know the very bruits of levies here must needs give help to your proceeding. Next, I know what a folly it is, in cases which concern a kingdom, to dissuade any manner of supplies whereof the lack may prove perilous, especially in this State, which is so exhausted by that war of Ireland only, as it is an easy work to divert all actions of charge, especially whensoever they may think to secure their opinions by maintaining those grounds to which I should incline, to whose place it principally belongeth to give best judgment of foreign intelligences.

“ My Lord of Thomond and Sir George Thornton have taken their leave this day, and for my Lord of Thomond’s satisfaction in his own cause, there are letters written to the Deputy and Council, that if they make difficulty to annex the county of Clare to Munster, they shall yet for the time let it stand as it doth till he may repair to Dublin to make good his cause to the Lord Deputy; so as I take it his [Lordship] is gone away not ill contented.

“ And as for Sir George Thornton, the Queen hath used him very graciously, and is pleased that I shall be his solicitor after Michaelmas for some such portion of lands as convenient; wherein I have made him see how much your recommendations have steaded him. One thing more I may add, that the Queen hath promised that you shall return in the winter to see her for some month or two.”

From the Court, 7 August 1602. *Signed.*

P.S.—“ Because it is informed that divers abuses are committed by the apparellers in issuing forth the apparel to the soldiers, by detaining sometimes one or two pair of shoes and stockings, under pretext that they are afterwards delivered to the captains, I have sent you here a note of such apparel and armour as is contracted for here, that the soldier may be furnished accordingly.

“ I hear that means is made unto you for your office in the Ordnance, and I have been dealt with for my good will therein. Good George, be not too hasty in that, till you and I may have considered of a better fortune when we meet, which I hope shall not be long; but do not me any wrong in this, to say that I do dissuade you, for if it be to those which I have heard of, it will breed me unkindness.”\*

*Pp. 3. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed by Carew: Received 2 Sept.*

Aug. 7. 282. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 195.

This afternoon I received your letters of 29th and 30th July. That by Sir Samuel Bagnall’s man of 1st August I received the 5th, and this morning dispatched him with an

\* This last paragraph is in Cecil’s own handwriting.

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answer and further intelligences touching the preparations of Spain. Immediately afterwards I took this examination enclosed, which confirms much the opinion that the Spaniard will come for Corke. "Wherefore I hope your Lordship will the better allow of my sending for Sir Samuel Bagnall, . . not being able, with the force I have, to make good Corke and Kynsale, . . if the army of Spain be so great as is reported, and in reason is like to be true, . . for their last error in coming so weak will teach them more wit."

I thank you for erecting a laid post. "I will take the like care here, . . for foot messengers are slow and negligent."

"I looked for no other answer from the Master of the Ordnance than that which was made your Lordship; in doubt whereof (by way of prevention) I did write into England, from whence I hope to receive better comfort, but fear it will be somewhat too late. Nevertheless, if I be not much deceived, the Master of the Ordnance is mistaken, having in the store iron shot of the heights I require, and also certain ship carriage[s] that were in Captain Thornton's charge, and now not used." I pray you that he may send them hither. Thanks "for the hoy and Jolley; if this occasion were overpast, I would be glad to be rid of them both."

"Of your Lordship's fortunate successes against that wicked traitor Tyrone and his dependants I do infinitely joy. . . It wounds my heart . . that without distraction and jealousy of an invasion your Lordship cannot prosecute him as you would otherwise. Neither can I attend the subversion of the rebels here, being enforced to sit like a brood hen over Corke and Kynsale. . . I am glad your Lordship hath written into England to be careful of us. I have done the like, and have delivered my opinion that . . all the forces in the kingdom, assembled to a head, would be too weak to keep the field against so powerful an enemy. . .

"The wind is now easterly; God grant it to hold, that I might once again hear from England . . . Since the 3rd of April I have received no letters from any statesman in it . . how they apprehend the threatened invasion. If they be secure, then we may the more boldly follow our business, but if they be doubtful, we have greater cause to be jealous, whose lives and honours are most engaged in the war."

Thanks "for your Northern news, but especially for the oath; I will not be sparing to divulge it, that the traitors here may see their own follies." I send a copy of a letter from the mayor of Lymericke, with the examination of one Thomas Tyrrell, just received; the original I send into England. "What to think of so many intelligences my judgment is confused, . . yet dare not importune either your Lordship or the Lords in England, as the weight of the matter imports, lest, if it should prove otherwise, I might incur blame and hinder the service elsewhere."

Cork, 7 August 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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Aug. 8. 283. The PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 210.

Whereas for service in Munster "there are imprested . . and despatched hence certain cannoniers and artificers hereafter named, viz., William Williams, master gunner of the field; George Kinge, master gunner's mate; Robert Burkett, William Hutchyns, Robert Streate, and John Sheppye, four other gunners; Roger Mylls, master carpenter; Richard Elce, another carpenter; and Walter Southwicke, master smith;" enter them in pay at the rates heretofore accustomed, "without defalcation of any imprest, the same being allowed unto them for their victuals and for other charges until their arrival."

Court at Toplane, 8 August 1602.

*Signed:* Tho. Bnchurst, E. Worcester, Wm. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll.

*Copy.\* P. 1.*

Aug. 9. 284. The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 492.

2,000 men levied in sundry counties of this realm are appointed to be embarked at Chester, Bristol, and Barstable, and transported to Cork. "Because we find in all former like services that before the soldiers levied here are delivered over in Ireland, not only a great number of the men are wanting, but part of the apparel and arms is oftentimes kept back by the conductors, . . as we have given direction to these conductors that take charge of them at the several ports to receive these men by the roll indented, by which they are delivered to the particular conductors of every county where they are levied, so we have given them also a note of the arms, several furniture and suits of apparel, and by their instructions they are tied to deliver over there both the men, arms, and furniture and apparel, by the same indentures and schedules. But by reason that strict account hath not usually been taken of them at their coming thither as ought to have been, many of them have made a base gain of these employments. Forasmuch as therefore at this time the arms and apparel are of extraordinary goodness, provided by special direction, we send you a schedule of the several sorts and of the number of men that are levied in every county, that you may call the conductors at this time to account. . . Though it may fall out there may be also at this time some defect and want in the number of the men, yet all the apparel, arms, and furniture is to be delivered full and complete, because the apparel is delivered only on ship-board, and the arms are packed up, sealed, and so sent thither. Moreover, where there are three pair of shoes and . . stockings provided for every soldier according to the winter delivery, it is thought meet that only one pair of each kind shall be delivered for the present to the soldier, and

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\* The original was opened by Carew. See the letter to Mountjoy of 7 September.

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the other two pair reserved by the merchants, factors, or such as you shall appoint to receive the same, to be after distributed to the soldier as he shall have need; for if the soldier have all at one time he useth to sell the same away, and if they come to the hands of the captains it is doubted how he will reserve the same for the soldier. . . . Lastly, where we do understand that at the arrival of such supplies as are sent thither the captains there do use to entice many of them away before by your direction they are distributed into bands, to fill up the lands, and by that means such as run away are the better cloked, we pray your Lordship that you will prevent this abuse by special direction, and remedy the other in taking an exact account of the conductors how they have performed their instructions."

Court at Hicham, 9 August 1602.

*Signed:* E. Worcester, J. Stanhope, Ro. Ceeyll;—W. Waad.  
*Pp.* 2. *Addressed.*

*Endorsed by Carew:* Received of the Earl of Tomond the 6th of October 1602.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 82.

2. Copy.

Aug. 9. 285. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 604, p. 206.

"Presently, upon the receipt of your letters of the 18 of July, I did dispatch Sir Samuel Bagnol with the forces he brought out of Munster, and with 50 horse, to return to the Lord President, but to go by the way of Westmeath, and so through Conaught to Lynricke, partly because it was little out of their way, but especially having directed them before to make a prosecution to great purpose that way upon O'Rurke. If they should have presently returned upon their arrival into the Pale by the way that they came, it would have given an alarm to all Ireland of the coming of the Spaniards, and much interrupted my proceedings, that am working all the North to grow into a fast combination among themselves, tied with their oath and pledges to serve the Queen against both Tyrone and the Spaniards. And, although my next prosecution, which I am even now entering into, will receive a great main by the missing of those companies in the place designed for them, especially because I hear that Tyrone resolves to fly into those parts, yet I will omit nothing to make the uttermost use of the time and these forces I have.

"I further presumed to write presently unto the Lord President to add unto your Lordship's directions in the negotiation of Captain Harvey, that he should send the oath that almost all the lords of the North have taken against the King of Spain, to make a relation of the estate of this kingdom, and especially of these parts, wherein there remain none in rebellion, but some few whom her Majesty out of her justice hath thought fit to leave to the prosecution of her sword, and that Tyrone himself and those do instantly sue for mercy, with



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promise to redeem their faults with their future service against the King of Spain, either here or wheresoever else it shall please her Majesty to send them.

“I have since received answer to my letters from the Lord President, with this intelligence which I send your Lordships, though I believe that your Lordships are by such as you employ more certainly informed out of Spain; for all that I find here are full of contradiction, and such as by the fugitives of this country are delivered to their countrymen that come hither, in such sort as they themselves desire it should be divulged here. As it pleaseth your Lordships to conclude, so I believe, that what the King of Spain can do, he will, and I think by this country, because it is his next way against England, and that nothing doth prevent him but her Majesty’s fleet, so providently and royally sent to this coast, except it may be his own disability on the sudden to send such a force as in this kingdom may be of power sufficient to subsist and prevail of itself. And to send any other he hath some reason to think it no policy, for out of the diffidence of the success he may justly look for a less party here than he had before, who will think him unlikely to prevail with less that could not with more.

“For the present estate of our affairs, since our last letters to your Lordships, I have been busy in assuring such as are become subjects, and in my preparations to draw again into the field. Sir Henry Docwray by O’Cane’s country did some service upon Tyrone’s men and his creaghts, and received O’Cane’s submission upon the conditions which I send your Lordships, more strict and honorable for her Majesty than the which I know not how it could be devised. Since he drew down to the Omye, took a great prey in the depth of the fastness, and hardly scaped Maguire and Cormock, who both lost their horses. In his return he was very well fought withal, but brought away all his prey; and our men, as I hear, commanders and others, did serve with extraordinary valour. He is now at Farmangwick, in the midst of Tyrone, attending my return, and the prevention of Tyrone’s escape, to which end I have directed all the garrisons in those parts to be assisting unto him.

“Sir Arthur Chichester is now undertaking a fort in Killultah, held by Bryan MacCartar’s men, being a place [not only] of great strength but exceeding importance, for it is the only den that is left for the rebels in all those and these parts, and, but that, neither he nor any other have any footing. Sir Oliver Lambert hath done very good service in Connaught as far as O’Rurk’s and Maguire’s countries, and is now drawing again that way, but I fear will be much disappointed by the departure of Sir Samuel Bagnoll. Sir Henry Folliott hath gotten some boats at Beleeke, and that way will (I hope) ruin Macguire. In all Leinster there is not one declared rebel, and scant a thief left.

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“These prosecutions I do all set on foot to expedite their ruin before foreign succours should come, and it may be will take a greater effect than I expected or have heretofore promised to your Lordships. For the only safe and sure way is by the garrisons we have planted to ruin them in the winter.

“This course is full of hazard and uncertainty, yet it may please God (as I hope He will) to prosper it. It is impossible for any man to make greater show of affection to her Majesty’s government, and detestation of their former life, than these men do, whom I received to her Majesty’s mercy, and I verily believe that if they may be defended they will never revolt. Otherwise it is hard to expect that these men that are not endowed neither with the knowledge nor habit of that constant virtue which above all respects should tie subjects to their loyalty, will quit their countries, which unto them above all other people is most dear, and their estates, wherein to their own palates they live in great power and abundance, and suffer their people to be starved and spoiled, only to follow our fortune in misery. Neither, except they be defended, will they be persuaded that it is a fault to do as they have done, as it appeared by the justification that after their submission Henry Oge and Art MacBaron would fain have made for themselves, with the which I do not think it impertinent to trouble your Lordships, because you may thereby partly guess how they do understand things.

“Art MacBaron in English, and Henry Oge by an interpreter, desired me to be informed by some of the Council yet living what good service heretofore they had done to her Majesty, that it was well known to them that they had by all their endeavours opposed themselves against this rebellion; Henry Oge by revealing all Tyrone’s practices with the King of Spain (before he declared himself) unto the Council, and Art MacBaron by openly protesting and persuading against his counsel of rebellion. ‘We were after (said they) left merely to his mercy; we were of his blood, and by the Queen’s own institution he was made lord over us, and without him we saw no possibility to preserve our goods and countries nor the lives of our people; but now we see that there is a course taken for our defence, there is nothing more joyful unto us than to live under her Majesty’s government; and this above all things we desire, that hereafter we may acknowledge no other lord but her and her governors, and we will for ever faithfully serve her with our lives and goods.

“This in effect all that are come in do urge, whereby your Lordships may gather how weary they are of the tyranny of Tyrone, if they might see possibility to keep themselves from it.

“Patrick Mac Art Moyle sent me two of his principal horsemen, that had committed a robbery, to receive justice, who according were executed; and all of them make as great shews of their duties and continuance thereof as possible may

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be, and especially desire that their children might be brought up in civility and learning, and well enough content in our religion. I purpose as much as I may to cherish them in their good dispositions, and to prosecute the rest, but chiefly, if God be pleased therewith, to lay the whole country of Tyrone waste, to suffer no people to dwell therein, nor any corn to be sown there this one year, as well for an example against that vile traitor, and to set a mark upon that place which was the fountain of the rebellion, as to leave him no strength of his own, but to force him to live upon others, which will be the next way by them to procure his cutting off.

“The event of all things are in the hands of God, who may alter whatsoever we think most sure, and therefore I can promise nothing to your Lordships, but I have many reasons to presume that the state of this kingdom will shortly grow to her Majesty’s liking. And though we do daily hazard the fortune of the war, and that the remnant of those loose swordmen may perchance make again some petty eruptions, yet I hope in God that no accidental blow, . . . nor any such new party, shall much hinder the current of the quiet establishment of this country, except we be interrupted by an invasion.”

Newry, 9 August 1602.

*Copy, enclosed in a letter from Cecil to Carew. Pp. 4. Endorsed by Cecil’s clerk.*

Aug. 11. 286. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 101.

“These enclosed, from the mayors of Waterforde and Lymericke, Sir John Brockett and O’Solevan More,” seem to me to be of weight. “The examination taken by the mayor of Waterforde and the letter of intelligence sent me by Sir John Brockett is the report of one and the same party. In that which the mayor took I do observe there is no direct speech that the army is bound for Ireland, but by Sir John Brockett it appears directly that it is for Ireland, whose relation I do the rather believe, for hardly may any townsman be found that will deliver anything by way of caution by which the enemy’s practices may be prevented, having such tender consciences as, for fear it might be imputed an aid to the English, they dare not (in respect of the bondage they are in to the priests) do or say anything that may advance the service.

“The fortifications at Kynsale and Halebolinge want no hands . . . ; but the nature of the grounds where they are erected is so rocky as the works rise slowly with great expense and waste of tools, and my doubt is that before . . . they can be finished . . . the enemy will be here. . . . That at Halebolinge I caused Paul Ive to strengthen in a far less proportion than he was willing to have done ; but yet the authority of his experience in fortification did overrule me to consent to a larger work than . . . I was willing. The fort, when it is

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finished, will be exceeding strong, and 40 men against the Irish will be sufficient to guard it, and 200 by poll will be strong enough against any enemy whatsoever; and the seat of the place, to forbid shipping to pass up the river, will perform as much, when the work is perfected and the ordnance planted, as any blockhouse possibly can do.

“That irregular work, which the last summer I informed your Lordships I had begun at the south end of Corke (the first intention whereof was no other than a poor entrenchment for a retreat) is now raised by me to a great height, equal or above all the grounds about it, and so strongly ramparted with timber, faggot[s], and earth as a powerful enemy shall not carry it in haste. And whiles that work holds out, it shall be impossible for him to lodge near this end of the town. . . To have been raised by the Queen it would have cost her above 1,500*l.* at the least, which is now done by the labour of the country, by the soldier, and help of the town, even by constraint against their wills, and no charge at all unto her Majesty. Wherefore all such errors,” &c. (*as in his letter of 6th August*).

“Presuming boldly upon your Lordships’ good allowances (because smiths’, masons’, and carpenters’ stuff and works cannot in the same sort be drawn either from town or country as the labours of men’s bodies in \* the rest), I have adventured to build a gate † (now in beginning) at the Queen’s charge, which I estimate at the uttermost will cost 40*l.*, on the which her arms shall be erected, and so continue a perpetual memory for her Majesty.

“Although this gentleman, the bearer, Sir Anthony Cooke, hath greatly impaired his health by the many toilsome and hard journeys which he hath undergone, yet hath not forborne or failed to attend the services with me upon all occasions, and even in the last at Donboy, where his pains were great, so as now for the remedy thereof he is advised, both by his physicians and necessity, to repair into England until his strength may be restored. And wherein your Lordships shall rest unsatisfied” he can inform you. I pray you “command the Earl of Thomond and Sir George Thornton away, whose services are of good use for her Majesty.”

Cork, 11 August 1602.

“Postscript.—Upon the perelosing of this letter to your Lordships, I received from the mayor of Lymericke the enclosed examination of one Thomas Terrell, of Dublyn, a merchant, who came to Lymericke from Spain in the ship with Nicholas Creagh, whose report is also sent herewith. And the same instant came unto me one Donnogh McDonnell O’Solevan from the west (being a follower unto O’Solevan Beare), . . all

\* *Sic*; qu. a mistake for “and”?

† In the margin: “About building of a gate to the work.”

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of them confirming the present coming of succours forth of Spain." Again I pray you send munitions and other habiliments, and also necessaries for mounting the Spanish ordnance, and workmen. "As I was making an end . . . the relation of Patrick Stronge came unto me, which I send . . . but from the mayor of Waterforde I do look to receive a more certain and particular report thereof; and also as \* more assured by a rebel (who at this instant is with me) that the principal cause of Archer's going into Spain was to draw the army directly into Corke."

"Sent by Sir Anthony Cooke."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 11. 287. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 103.

All the advertisements agreeing, I am the rather persuaded that an army in Spain is prepared "for Ireland and particularly for Munster, and, as I have good reason, am most jealous of Corke, being the rather so persuaded by the observations which I make of this people. The rebels, who know they are not able to subsist in this rebellion, without doing harm only endeavour to preserve themselves until aids come unto them, and the very best affected, both in town and country, in their very countenance discover neutrality. Besides I find none in rebellion are desirous to be received to mercy, the good subject that professeth loyalty forbeareth to follow his civil actions; which to me are vehement arguments that the one looks for aids, and the other's thoughts are that before his suits can come to an end troubles will happen. . .

"I can do no more than I have done, which is to draw the forces of the Province near unto me, to make the best head I may until I be relieved. But if the enemy's army be so powerful as most of the intelligences do import (having weak towns to defend, and the fortifications begun near either of them not finished), and the enemy landing before succours come unto me, I shall undergo a hard task. Nevertheless I doubt not but to yield her Majesty as good an account as can be required from me and of the weak forces with me.

"The Lord Deputy with his forces in Ulster is so remote, and in so many necessary garrisons dispersed, as after the enemy is landed I cannot expect his coming with an army unto my succour in less than 30 days. And . . . question may be made whether . . . her Majesty's whole army in the kingdom . . . were of sufficient strength for the Spaniards and the Irishry that would join with them. . .

"The part I play is but of a relation, and not to make any judgment, lest unwillingly, by too much importunity, I might incur blame if the Spaniards should not come, either in . . . drawing supplies out of England or hindering of the prosecution of the North." But if you think the Spaniards will

\* *Sic*; qu. a mistake for "am"?

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come I pray for aids, "and rather that we may be strong against his landing, than urge hazards that may be dangerous to the kingdom if we should receive disasters.

"Archer the Jesuit . . . is gone into Spain as an agent general for the rebels in this Province, . . . chiefly for the hastening of the army, and particularly to draw it for Corke." They point so much at Corke "because by it they receive the greatest damage, being the westernmost town of any importance in Ireland, which if they could get into their power, then were there no town of strength that hath a good harbour upon all the coast of Munster between Waterforde and Lymericke to give them annoyance.

"This I know from some of themselves, when the matter hath been debated in council amongst them; which, carrying so good reason with it, makes me to presume that they will endeavour what they may to draw the Spaniards to this city. Whereunto the Spaniard also hath a further reason to yield his assent, in respect of the damage her Majesty should receive (if they might gain the place) in her magazines of munitions and victuals; and the weakness of the town is as well known to them as to us. But that God, that hath evermore hitherto defended her Majesty and her kingdoms from the thirsty ambitions of her powerful enemies, will," &c.

Cork, 11 August 1602.

"Sent by Sir Anthony Cooke."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 11. 288. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR ROBERT CECIL.  
Vol. 604, p. 177.

"The last I wrote unto you was by a man of Sir Edward Wyngfeld's, called Bacon, by whom I sent you a red marble stone, ill polished. If you have any liking to have any quantity of them, I can fit you, and I make no doubt but they will rise out of the quarry in far greater length and breadth than I wrote of. The 13th of July and the 20th of the same I sent your Honour two other packets, the one by a servant of my own, the other by an ordinary passenger to Bristowe, from thence by the running post to the Court, both of them chiefly importing Spanish preparations. . .

"From the Lord Deputy I have lately received divers letters, and . . . the copy of a letter . . . by the Lords, . . . that he should have a care of Munster for a month or two, [and] concerning Captain Harvy and Soto. For the succour of this province he purposeth to send Sir Samuel Bagnall unto me, with 1,000 foot and 50 horse, in list. I am unwilling to importune the Lords in England for greater aid, lest, if the Spaniards should not come, I might incur blame. . . I dare not importune where I ought, but in private to yourself I do humbly entreat that we may have supplies out of England. . .

"If the army of Spain be so great as is reported, . . . let us make no doubt but he will be master of the field, . . . except

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the army of Ireland be reinforced to a far higher list, the charge whereof will make . . . both England and Ireland to groan. Wherefore the best way . . . to moderate such huge expenses is for the present to be careless of the countries. . . The principal regard that we ought to have is of the cities, in every of which I do wish a strong garrison. . . (*Reasons are given for this course.*) I would have principal regard of Corke, Lymericke, and Waterforde. . . The Queen's forces [in Munster] should consist of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. . . We have the same advantage upon them [the Spaniards] as the Irish in lightness hath of us. . . The loss of one field or one day's disaster would absolutely lose the kingdom. . . Kynsale was bought at so dear a rate, as (while I live) I will protest against a winter siege, if it may be avoided. I do speak within my compass; I do verily believe that at that siege, and after (the sickness there gotten), we lost above 6,000 men that died. . . It will be needful for some of the Queen's ships to be ever more upon the coast, to keep the Spaniard from relief of victuals. . . Between us and them, and the swarms of Irishry that will draw into Munster, the province will be so harassed as neither the Spaniards or rebels can avoid starving.

"Touching Captain Harvye, as soon as I shall receive warrant I will see that business carefully effected. . . Set down both the matter and words which shall be written. I sent unto Sir W[alter] R[aleigh] by Bacon, Sir Edw. Wingfield's man, many sorts of ore. I would be glad to know how they prove, and that speedily, for one of the mines stands near unto a castle which I am desirous to destroy; but if the ore should prove anything worth I would forbear it, without the which there will be no safety for workmen."

*Draft, partly in Carew's hand. Pp. 3. Endorsed by him:*  
The copy of my letter unto Mr. Secretary Cecill, dated 11 Aug. 1602. Sent by Sir Anthony Cooke.

Aug. 12. 289. LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 470.

Thanks for your frequent letters. I love and honour you in my heart. "We have sent you all provisions according to your desire, and victual and apparel is also provided and sent to you, and men are also at the seaside to supply you. . . As you most worthily do there carry the Queen's service, so will we not here see you lack that which shall be fit and necessary for you. The Queen's fleet doth also only expect wind to run upon the coast of Spain. . . This gentleman, Mr. Apsley, commissary of the victuals, according to your commendation and desire, we have despatched him with all favour."

12 August 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed.*

*Endorsed:* Brought by Mr. Apsley, and received 6 Oct. 1602.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 86.

2. Copy.

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Aug. 16. 290.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 624, p. 200.

Yours of the 6th I received the 10th, and of the 7th the 15th. I have directed Sir Samuel Bagnall to hasten to you, though "this Northern prosecution . . . by that means will receive a very great main, our forces being much decayed." I sent them by Connaught, "being not above one day's march or two the more," because you may that way have most use of them, "and that the country by which they passed hitherward may neither take offence at their so sudden return, as they would do when they find the burthen of their victualling, nor take the alarm so hotly as if the Spaniards were already landed, which hath been too much bruited by those that brought your letters, to the disturbance of many in the Pale that otherwise would not have thought thereon, which I could wish from henceforth to be avoided." I pray you give charge accordingly.

"I have again spoken with Sir George Bourcher . . . touching the iron shot . . . and the ship carriages . . . , but he still answereth as before that there are none to serve your turn. . . . He hath caused me to write (to England) to be supplied thence; and so I hope both you and we shall be, for I find them careful to have us all furnished."

2,000 men are to come over speedily; 1,200 I make account will come to you, "for so I have wished." But I must pray you that, if the Spaniards come not, they may help to supply our companies; for "now, if ever, the traitors will grow strong, as they ever do for the getting in of their corn."

The Newrie, 16 August 1602.

P.S. — "Even now I hear from Sir Henry Davers that the fort of Enelaghlen is taken; which by description was one of the strongest places that I have heard of in Ireland. It was guarded by 42 musketeers. From the Bande mouth as high as the Dartry they hold nothing now on this side the Blackewater, and very little on the other."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Aug. 18. 291.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 197.

Since my last of the 6th and 7th, "I have received these intelligences enclosed. . . . In circumstances and particularities all of them differ, but agree . . . that there is an army, and to come for Ireland. The provincials hourly expect their landing, and many times reports come unto me that fleets are discovered, which is an argument of their affections and desires. The fort at Kynsale will not be ended before Michaelmas Day at the soonest, before which time, or never this year, it is likely we shall be invaded; the considerations whereof hath made me to draw from thence the artillery that was there. . . . The fort at Halebolinge is in good forwardness, and do hope by the last of this month to make it defensible.



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“The rebels keep still in the westernmost parts of Munster, and live upon themselves, attempting nothing eastward, and do no harm, nor any of the country will do service upon them. This voluntary cessation is, in my opinion, an argument that they are loath to offend one the other, and that they all (for the most part) do depend upon one fortune. Yet, fearing the worst, to defend the good subjects (besides Corke and Kynsale) I have laid garrisons of horse and foot at Mallo, Kyllmallocke, and Asketon, to save their cattle, having drawn (as in my former letters . . .) all the cows of the subjects of Kerry, Desmond, Dowalla, and Carb[r]y into those parts.”

My opinion of Cormock McDermod proves true; “for he is a notable traitor, having received letters from the King of Spain which Don Juan sent unto him when your Lordship was at the siege of Kynsale, and also . . . from the Archbishop of Dublyn, which I am able to prove by the party that saw them delivered by Don Juan to be sent unto him, and himself was the messenger for the delivery of the Arch[bis-  
hop’s] letter unto him. Divers other treasons of the like nature with the Spaniard, and also some treasons with Tyrone and O’Donnell, besides the provincial rebels, I can prove against him. And that which is freshest and as apparent as the rest—within these 20 days he received of Owen McEgan (called by the rebels Vicarius Apostolicus, who came lately out of Spain with treasure) about the sum of 300*l.* in Spanish money, as an imprest for the King.” I and the Council have therefore thought meet to restrain him, “and I thank God he is a prisoner. He hath at this hour in Muskerry above 1,000 men in arms, well weaponed, with which numbers he was ready to go into rebellion upon the first landing of the enemy.

“All these treasons were discovered unto me by Teige McCartye, Charles his brother, who was a horseman in my troop, and went into rebellion when your Lordship was before Kynsale. For which good service I have received him into protection, and do pray your Lordship to be good unto him, and forgive him his former error. He informeth nothing unto me but that which is proved by several witnesses. This blind traitor is at this present of his own followers the strongest man in Munster. His ambitions thirsted after the title of McCartie More, unto which dignity, although many of the Carties are in blood nearer than he, yet he, seeing himself to be the most powerful of all the Carties, he thought by his own strength and by the favour of Spaniards to carry it.

“By Sir Samuel Bagnall’s man . . . I wrote unto him to hasten with his regiment. . . I beseech your Lordship to write unto him . . . lest my letters should not be of sufficient credit to move him, or . . . should miscarry. Sir Edward Wyngfeild lives after the old fashion in Corke; it cannot long continue, for his expenses are great. Your Lordship hath forgotten him. He desires me to remember him unto

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you, for but by your Lordship's favour he cannot hope to be enabled to live in Ireland. . .

"The oath taken by the reconciled traitors, and the christening of their children by your Lordship's chaplain, is hardly believed by the Munster Catholics. We here are more obstinate and pure Romanists than you in Ullster, and in heart far more Spanish."

I have received no letter from Court since 3 April. If you have any news I pray you "impart some part of it unto me. It much perplexeth me to find such *altum silentium* in a time of so great peril. I never by half in so short a time have written so many letters, or ever heard of such an abstinence in writing; I cannot believe but the packets are miscarried."

Cork, 18 August 1601.

P.S.—I think it expedient that you should direct your commandment to all the port towns to restrain the general trade of merchants into Spain but upon special licence; "for from hence . . . they carry all news to harm us, besides messages and letters from traitors, and at their return bring no intelligence of worth but what is wrested from them, fearing to be discovered afterward in Spain, and partly out of religion, lest our actions might be advanced by them, which they hold damnable."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 20. 292. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.  
Vol. 620, p. 105.

"The rumours of the coming of Spaniards daily increaseth, and the Irish hourly expect their landing." By these enclosed it may appear "that there is an army drawn to a head for Ireland, and by conjecture either by this time at the sea or ready to come away." Most of these intelligences proceed from "merchants, who (I know not by what permission long since granted unto them) do in these times as freely trade with Spain as when our sovereign and that King were in best amity, which . . . I do find to be disadvantageous . . . ; for those which go from hence (partly out of the corruption of their affections, drawn on by religion, and partly to be the better favoured in those parts of Spain where they trade) do deliver all things that may tend to our disadvantage, . . . and at their return hither they neither dare nor will relate anything (but what, by strict examinations, is wrested from them) that may advance our designs, being terrified from doing that duty of subjects which they ought to do, partly out of conscience for hindering the Catholic cause, and partly fearing to be discovered, being then enforced either to forbear their profits in trading with Spain, or in adventuring to go to be subject to the hazard of life and goods. . .

"I think . . . no merchant whatsoever should be permitted to trade into that kingdom but by a special licence, and the same to be granted by the Lord Deputy, and for the ease of the subject in places remote from his Lordship by such as his

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Lordship shall authorize, and that every merchant may be tied by band and oath not to carry letters, messages, or passengers from hence, and at his return by a good relation to do the part and office of a true subject; assuring your Lordships that in them I find great corruptions, and therefore . . . none but those that are esteemed of the honest sort and in manner aforesaid should trade with that realm. Your Lordships long since did command me by your letters to give directions to the mayor of every port town of this province that they should take bands of such merchants as trade with Spain almost to this effect. I wish I were able to justify them to be such officers as they ought to be; but where the magistrate is infected with the same sickness that the merchant is, there is no hope that he will be so careful as he ought, as already appears by their slack dealing hitherto."

The fort at Kinsale cannot be made tenable until Michaelmas Day. I have therefore withdrawn thence to this city the ordnance and a good quantity of the victuals, supposing "that either before that time we shall be invaded, or else not this year. The fort of Halebolinge I do hope by the last of this month will be sufficiently tenable, whereof we shall make good use. As soon as the works at Kynsale are finished the ordnance shall be returned thither. . . . I do conclude that the Irishry upon the first landing of the Spaniard will revolt. To make good my conceit, of late it appeareth to be true unto me by a discovery made of the traitorous practice of Cormock McDermod, the lord of Muskerry, who hath a large country and of his own followers . . . weaponed men above 1,000. When Don John del Aguila was here, he received two letters sent unto him by him . . . , one from the King, the other from the Church, but from what particular churchman I do not yet understand; and also . . . he received one other letter from Don Mathias de Oveido, called the Archbishop of Dublin. This I know by the party that delivered him the said letter, and was present in Don John[s] chamber in Kynsale when he delivered the other two letters before mentioned unto the bearer of them, to be carried to Cormock McDermod, saying, . . . 'Commend me unto your brother-in-law Cormock, and deliver him these two letters, the one from the King and the other from the Church.' Which letters I am assured were accordingly the same night delivered, for that my advertiser doth of his knowledge inform me that the messenger that night repaired unto Cormock McDermod, and was with him. The messenger was James Galdey Butler, brother-in-law unto Cormock, who with this informer from our camp stole into Kynsale, and, after private conference between Don John and him, received these letters, and brought them (as before) unto Cormock.

"Moreover, many home treasons are justly to be proved against him, as his combinations with Tyrone and O'Donnell both before and since his pardons, and infinite other treasons

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familiar with these provincials. . . He hath since St. James' tide last had secret conference with that traitorly priest Owen McKegan (called *Vicarius Apostolicus*), who brought the treasure from Spain in June last, and at his hands hath received an imprest of the Spanish King's money. This is by so many witnesses so evidently proved as, when this treason shall be objected against him, it cannot be denied. And, as I am further informed, the only stay of his not entering into action when the Spaniards were here was the care of his son, which he hath in England at the University of Oxford, for whose escape he is now in practice, and whereof it were good your Lordships would take some special care that he may be forthcoming; for the youth is almost at man's estate, of great spirit, and would prove a dangerous rebel if he were in Ireland. . .

"Of all these precedent reasons I acquainted my assistants in Council. . . He then being in Corke, we committed him to safe keeping, where he remaineth. When all the examinations are taken (whereof yet many are to come) I will send them unto your Lordships. . . He is at this present of his own followers (besides his other forces) the powerfullest man of all the province; but yet. . . I do think that the meetest course to be held with him is restraint in the Tower of London, for, if the law should proceed against him according to his merit, the sons of Sir Cormock McTeige (by whose means most of his treasons are discovered unto me), if they be not satisfied either with the whole or greatest part of his possessions (unto the which they lay claim), after he is justified, they would grow discontented, and the followers of him adhering unto them would grow as dangerous as he now is. . .

"As for the English race, although they nothing differ in manner of life and religion from the Irishry, yet I hope that no man of quality that hath inheritance doth wish that the Spaniard should prevail, knowing that in the end they and their posterities would be utterly extinguished. Until of late days they saw not their dangers, but now their understandings are better opened; whereof (as evermore I did forwarn them) so now I can and do more plainly demonstrate unto them by a conference, which herewith I send your Lordships, had between one William Malefaunt (who hath been and is one of the most industrious men to advance her Majesty's service that ever I saw in Ireland, of his mean estate and quality), and a priest, the danger they live in if the Irish (by the aid of Spain) do prevail. Which I do not send unto your Lordships to the end to inveigh against Florence or Cormock (who are mentioned in the conference), for against them there wants no matter to prove their manifold treasons, but only that your Lordships may see how my former opinions of the state of the English race (if the Irish should prevail) is confirmed.

"The rebels with their buonies live in the westernmost parts of the province, only to preserve themselves until the

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Spaniards' coming, not attempting to do any harm to the subject, neither yet can any subject be drawn to do service upon them. . . . Yet, nevertheless, for the preservation of those which I hope will be good, and in especial the Undertakers, I have placed (besides Kynsale and Corke) garrisons of horse and foot at Mallo, Kyllmallocke, and Askeaton, within which border to the eastward (besides the goods of those countries) there is all the cattle that belongs to the subjects, which I drew out of Carbry, Desmond, Dowalla, and Kerry; and I hope to keep them from any harm so long as I shall not be enforced to call those garrisons away, which I will not do until the Spaniards do land, and then what may be done shall not be omitted to keep them from the enemy. I am sure your Lordships by this time have perfect knowledge of the Spanish designs; wherefore I need not in any particular to importune you, knowing your Lordships to be more careful to prevent intended mischiefs in sending us timely supplies . . . than I know how to demand."

Cork, 20 August 1602.

"Sent by a barque of Barnestable."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Aug. 20. 293. THE PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Vol. 605, p. 215.

"Whereas humble suit hath been made unto us in the behalf of the town of Waterford by Nicholas Wise, their agent, for a culvering of brass, with carriage and other necessaries belonging to the same, in lieu of a brass piece and other munition your Lordship borrowed of them at the siege of Kinsale, which, as your Lordship doth certify unto us, was broken in that service and sent into England with the ships that returned. . . . We think meet that restitution be made unto them of another piece of equal goodness and value, . . . [*scil.*] one of the Spanish pieces that were taken at the fort of Bearhaven, and so much shot and other munition out of the provision and store lately sent thither as was taken of them. . . . Direct your letters to the Lord President of Munster," accordingly.

Court at Otelands, 20 August 1602.

*Signed*:—T. Buchurst, Nottingham, E. Worcester, W. Knowles, Ro. Cecil, J. Herbert, W. Wade.

*Copy. P. 1. Headed and endorsed by Carew.*

Aug. 23. 294. NEWS from LISBON.

Vol. 615, p. 555.

"Copy of an advertisement from Lisbon, dated the 23rd of August, new style, 1602.\*"

"Captain Spinola with his six galleys, and about 300 Portugal soldiers embarked in them, departed this river for

\* Enclosed in Lord Mountjoy's letter of 26 Sept. 1602.

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Flanders the 9th of August, Spanish style. Hoping before his arrival there he will be intercepted. If not, some course is to be taken to destroy them and the rest; for there is great matters given out that he hath promised to effect, about destroying of her Majesty's ships, and great service against Ostend.

“The same 9th arrived at Sesimbra 24 sail of merchants' ships from the West Indies, who presently learning what news departed for Civill; and now in this next month of September are more to come home from thence, ten sail with the King's treasure.

“The 10th, in all haste, was commanded to go forth of this harbour the fearful Armada of the King's, which were in all ten sail, of which three ships for want of mariners were left here behind. So only seven, slenderly manned with seamen, although great quantities of fresh-water soldiers, and good store of fugitives of all nations, under the conduct of Don Diego Brochero, went forth.

“The 14th came hither from the Groine five small ships, part of Sebure's rotten fleet, who brought about 150 spare mariners in them to have furnished Brochero's fleet if he had not been before gone, and the said five ships to have also gone along with him. I rather take it he is gone for Seville than for the Islands.

“The rest of Sebure's fleet, being only but nine sail, remained at the Groine, and 1,500 soldiers ready to be embarked in them presently; and I imagine he is to go along with Spinola, because he came not with these five.

“The 15th of August here entered two carricks from the East Indies, so poor in strength as they had been a fit prey for any encounter; and had not they come in safety, the State of Portugal had been utterly overthrown, for [of] all their Brasill and St. Thome ships are only here arrived but three sail; the rest supposed to be all taken.

“The 18th I learned for certain that at Cadix are 56 galleys, of which 48 are Lovantisco ships, laden with provision and munition; and in them also about 6,000 Italian soldiers came lately out of the straits; and there it is reported that 12 sail of Lovantiscoes more, laden with like provision, are daily expected for. I further have heard that Brochero's fleet, and Sebure with his ships from the Groine, should repair to Cadix; the Spanish King pretending these forces for Algier, the King of Barbary assisting him therein. Nothing is more doubtful to the contrary but the late time of the year. If they proceed not thither, then make account they will rumour it, all shall be for England against the spring. Time will discover the truth, yet for my part I find the estate of the country almost ruined. The King, young, riotous, and extreme wanton; the Duke of Lerma, who ruleth all, neglecteth the government, and fitteth the King's humour of Venus fish even with his own daughter and kinswomen; and the rest in office about the

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King enrich themselves of his riots, so that all goeth to wreck ; the government in all his kingdoms daily decreasing, and so have done ever since two years before old Philip's death ; the King's forces by sea and land discomfited and almost clean worn out ; those for the sea lamely sent out, and those for the land wholly discontent for want of pay ; the Viceroy his government in this place loathed of all the inhabitants, captains, and soldiers.

"The huge number of soldiers that was reported should come down hither proveth nothing, neither can they do any more ; and now the soldiers in Spinola's galleys and those in Brochero's fleet are gone, here are none left ; so that whatsoever is reported is but a Spanish bravado.

"Indeed the King's revenues are mighty, and come daily well home, but the disorder in spending his treasure bringeth all to nothing. The Spaniards compare the government of Emperor Charles to David, that of dead Philip to Sallomon, and the government of this their King to Roaboham, that will lose all.

"Don Sebastian, that was at Venice, and now lately brought to Cadix in these last galleys, hath given such probable reasons of himself to the Duke of Medina that all affirm he is either the true Don Sebastian, or the devil in his likeness."

*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed: "Intelligence from Spain."*

II. "Occursents from the Low Countries."\*

*Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

Aug. 24. 295. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 570.

"Excuse me that I use not mine own hand, for I am so troubled with mine old disease of headache. . . Yesternight late I received your letter of the 18th, with divers examinations still threatening an invasion from Spain ; but by my last from Mr. Secretary (Cecil), which bare date the 7th hereof, and the 17th came to me, as you may see by the copy which I send you,† it appeareth he is of opinion they will not trouble us this year, or, if they do, that their forces will not be great, and then will they rather help than hurt us. For when the Irish shall perceive that these great shews bring out so small effects, it will in my conceipt make those stand firm for us which were otherwise too well affected unto them. And yet I must confess I am and ever was of this opinion : that the Spaniards will come very strong if they come at all.

"It is strange to me that the fort at Kinsale is not yet finished, for Paul Ive did undertake it should in three weeks be made tenable, or otherwise I would not have begun that work ; and, how untowardly soever it fell out, I must in reason have

\* Same as the enclosure No. IV. in Cecil's letter at the beginning of September.

† See 7 Aug.

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thought it despatched long ago. I am glad Cormock MacDermod is in your hands, seeing you are so well provided to prove against him his treasonable purposes. . .

“To Sir Samuel Bagnall I have twice written to hasten to you with his regiment, and I make account that by this time he is either with you or not far from you. Yet did I will him to pass by Connaught, and not by the way he came, which I knew would be grievous to the country, both in regard of their burthen and the opinion of the Spaniards’ landing, which they would thereupon have believed; whereas perchance they would not otherwise have thought thereon, but by these Irish merchants that come out of Spain, and by report of such messengers as came from you, which I could wish had been prevented, and pray you to school them better in that point that come from you hereafter.

“Touching Sir Edward Wingfield . . . , where 2,000 foot are now coming out of England, whereof the greatest part shall be sent to you in Munster, I am content, if they be not under captains, that 200 of them shall be his; and if they have captains, I authorize you to discharge any two of them of hundreds . . . that he may no longer be unprovided for.

“Though those with you will not believe that such as come in here take the oath I sent you, and desire to have their children christened by my chaplain, I assure your Lordship it is true. And more than that, Art MacBaron is now with me in the field. Henry Oge sends me all good advertisements, and advises me as good courses to overthrow Tyrone; and O’Cane, since his coming in to Sir Henry Dockwra, upon the hardest conditions that ever any did (being content to lose a third part of his country), serves the Queen at his own charge with fifty horse and 150 foot. And all of them without grudging furnish us with carriages and beoves for our army upon all occasions of need; and, that which is most of all, such of them as I refuse to give protection to come in to the garrisons last planted, and tell them that, whatsoever I do to them, they will no longer live in rebellion, or follow any of the O’Neales any longer, but depend upon the State, and stick to our party. So as we cannot beat them out again, or make them leave us, but offer rather to be hanged.

“At my coming hither to Dungannon again Tyrone is fled into Fermanagh, some say with purpose to go to you into Munster, and some say he will from thence into Spain. Which though I have no great reason to believe, yet want I not some, inasmuch as divers of them that come in to me have confessed that he hath been plotting how he might convey himself and his wife into Spain, holding no place safe for them in this kingdom.

“And thus much I affirm to you upon mine honour, whatsoever any lying rogues may report, that in all this summer’s service we have undertaken nothing but we have performed it; and though we have had many sound fights with some of



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them by the parties we have sent out, yet Sir Henry Dockwra, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Benjamin Berrie and myself, in the taking in of many places of great importance, have not lost full 20 Englishmen; only some few Irish we lost the other day, set out at the suit of Con McShane O'Neale, when we took 7 or 800 of their cows; and yet that number was under 30. I am now fortifying at Dungannon, which will hold me but 2 or 3 days, and then will I follow Tyrone as fast as I can towards Fermanagh."

Camp at Dungannon, 24 August 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 2 September.

Vol. 624, p. 202.

2. Copy.

Aug. 25. 296. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 204.

The 24th I received yours of the 16th. Sir Samuel Bagnall is not yet come. "Now that your Lordship hath written unto him I make no doubt of his coming. If the Spaniards do come, I am sure you will be glad of his being with me; if they come not, I will return him, . . . and to that end I beseech your Lordship to require me, lest it may be thought I deal unkindly with them which take so great pains to come unto me, and in haste to despatch them away. I am sorry that your Lordship should have any want of them. . . . My letters in England to the Lords (there extant to be seen) shall witness for me that my desire was, if their Lordships did apprehend the coming of Spaniards, that I might be supplied out of England, being great pity to withdraw any of your Lordship's forces. . . . This apology I write, not to mask your Lordship with untruths, but that I may be clearly understood; for the world is full of dissentious spirits, and my fortune not free from enemies."

I cannot excuse the messengers who spread rumours of Spaniards coming; but I assure your Lordship "that if the messengers I send were dumb the rumours . . . would be no less . . . ; for the advertisements I have is either from among the rebels or by the merchants of port towns," who "out of a negligent care (which is the best construction) divulgeth his news, so as nothing is hidden that is known unto them. And further . . . all sorts of people in Munster, even children and calliaghés, do talk of nothing but of the coming of Spaniards. If two ships be discovered at sea, news is presently given forth that the Spanish fleet is at hand. If I had been apprehensive of the alarms that have been brought unto me, I should have sent you word that they were arrived. . . . I will charge my messengers to be silent, and reprove the errors they have committed; but of such pursuivants there will be no use while the running posts are continued.

"Sir Edward Barkeley, being in a sea voyage, complained to his admiral, Sir John Hawkyns, that his victuals was spent,

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and desired a supply. The answer made him was that he should trust to his wants; and so will I do, for any help which I see I am like to have from the store at Dublyn to furnish the ordnance here, which made me first to write into England, and, fearing scant winds, have made a shift to mount them here. But I have nothing but tamplings to shoot in them; still persevering in my old error, that I think there is shot for sacre, mynion, and faulcon in the store; and, if that fail, yet in Dublyn, among the merchants that have ships, or at Tredaghe, there is no doubt but such small shot may be had. But my conjectures are not maxims; and therefore must submit my opinion to the Master of the Ordnance's better knowledge, being most likely that every man in his own mestier is best acquainted."

Since my last (18th) I have received no advertisements from any port. "But two days since a merchant of this town called William Skyddie arrived, who came from St. Malloes in Brytaigne, and in his coming by foul weather was put into Plymouth. . . That the army was ready and would come for Ireland, this he heard, as he saith, both in St. Malloes and Plymouth. And an Englishman (whose name he hath forgotten), who of long time hath been prisoner in Spain, and was very lately released and come to Plymouth, reports for certain that the army is ready to come away, and that Don Juan del Aguila shall command it."

Of the 1,200 foot to come for Munster, "if all the captains be nominated in England, then my doubts are eased; but if any should come under conductors, then I would be glad to know your Lordship's pleasure. . . Here is in this province captains lately discharged, and many lieutenants, which are gentlemen of very good families, which expect preferment and do well deserve it. As I would be glad to advance them, so am I unwilling to give your Lordship cause of offence." If they come but to strengthen companies, they "will be little enough to make the list of Munster strong, for we are exceeding weak. And to strengthen Sir Samuel's regiment when he left Munster, of those which Sir Edward Wyngfield brought he had 340 to supply that regiment of 1,500, and the list of Munster remaining had not 300. And further, if they come but for supplies, I know not how I shall be able to hold them undisposed of, being a difficult thing to keep men from running away that have not officers of their own to take care of them. . .

"From England I have received no letters. . . Brystowe is a cursed port, for from other places passages are won. But except it be from Brystowe I never expect a packet. I beseech your Lordship in your next to send me some English news."

Cork, 25 August 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

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Aug. 26. 297. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 207.

"This night about eleven . . . I received two letters,—one from Sir Richard Percy, and another from Robert Meaugh, of Kynsale. The originals I send into England. This is the first alarm, . . . but I do think it is true, for it comes from an honest man. If it be true, your Lordship shall hear presently from me again."

"Cork, this 26th of August, about midnight."

P.S.—"I understand that Sir Samuel Bagnall is come to Lymbrick with 900 foot and 50 horse. I do think they will not stay at Beerehaven because the traitors, as appears by the letters, are at the Leape, 26 miles from Cork, and I do not conceive that they intend to go eastward. Good my Lord, let me understand your pleasure in all possible haste."

*Copy. P. 1. Note in margin:* "To the Lord Deputy, of 24 ships of Spaniards reported to be landed at Beerehaven."

Aug. 28. 298. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 208.

"The last which I wrote by the running post proves not true, for no fleet is arrived at Beerehaven, but certain sails were close aboard the shore at the opening of the harbour, and tacked about to the eastward, since which time they were not seen upon the coast. In divers places since that time ordnance hath been heard in the night. . . . I am sure it was a fleet dispersed, for in the Shennan the same day . . . two ships were driven into the river, and came to an anchor to the island of Innascattye, who stayed there but until the ebb, and, without sending a boat ashore either upon Kerry or Thomond side, weighed again and are gone. This was advertised unto me by Sir Francis Barkeley. . . .

"I would gladly understand your pleasure touching the supplies coming from Brystowe. . . . I did forbear to write into England and to send the letters . . . until I could hear more certainty. As intelligence is brought unto me I transmit it to your Lordship."

Cork, 28 August 1602.

P.S.—"These letters from Sir Richard Percy and the mayor of Waterford I humbly transmit unto you."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Aug. 30. 299. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 179.

"If it were not rather to quarrel with you than to use you kindly, I would not have written to you at this time. First, because I am sure you shall receive so many letters before this, wherein you shall see your own fault, committed in your last packet of the 20th of August. And next, because I have so just reason to say unto you, *Modica fidei, quare dubitasti?* But now my choler is spent, I will proceed to some particulars which in some of my dispatches I have

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not touched. When I consider that you are like to make so good a fortification of Halebolinge, as it will be a good overseer to Cork, which is one of the principal cities within your government, I would not wish it to be bestowed upon any that were not your friend or follower and of good discretion. For as you may sort unto it some such allowance as will be a good reward for any that you know honest to the State and yourself, wherein you shall both have credit and do the Queen service, so if you will advertise me what manner of command you would have it made, I will so carry it here as it shall be established; for indeed I find that it will be the truest way to have such bridles in every city, and it is the course to which the Deputy so far inclineth in his counsel, as he hath propounded it to be much better (now after this prosecution) than to keep a chargeable army as the Queen doth, whereof he promiseth the Queen great abatement upon his return, if Spaniards come not; and I do not doubt but he will be contented, for three or four such places within your government, to like of those whom you shall name. Wherein if you do take this course, only (when you place them) to write unto him that you do it provisionally. . . I will, upon your notice given, write unto him and let him know that I do give you still such assurance of his constant goodwill towards you, as you do the rather presume to entreat his favour for such things. And you shall understand that his Lordship hath already made the like overtures to me, to prevent a recommendation from hence of any other to such forts as he shall raise within that kingdom, as you shall see by this note inclosed.

“It doth remain now, Sir, that I do say something unto you for proof of my own former opinions, and yet enjoining you to no precipitate security, though I wish you to divulge abroad how short the rebels’ hopes are like to be out of Spain this year. In which point I am the rather moved to allow of your proposition for the preventing the licentious traffic with Spain. I have written in my former letters that notwithstanding all the bruits of the Spanish preparations, that I could not believe that all the sea preparations in Spain were meant for England or Ireland. Nevertheless, because in cases of peril it is better to do too much than too little, (especially for me, to whom the knowledge and judgment of foreign things most properly belongeth by my place,) I have been, as you see, forward to supplies. But if no man shall distinguish so of intelligences as to prevent the infinite expense which continual levies of men and preparation of royal fleets would exhaust, the King needs no other weapon to war with England than false bruits or our ignorance here, that, knowing more than you can there, are not able to reconcile extremities.

“In which consideration, when I knew that he had resolved to send into the Low Countries ten or eleven thousand men, and apprehended a purpose in the Queen and the States to

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invade him in Spain, and besides did know that he had an enterprise upon the Turk, I considered that the bruit of putting so many men in a readiness in Spain was but a general muster for defence, which is the wisdom of all nations, when they suspect invasion. And for the sea preparation, which consisted of so many galleys, I knew that those were only proper for such a design as the enterprise where now they are engaged against the Turk. Wherein, though (in Christianity) I may not wish a heathen prosperity, yet as one that profess a religion whereof that King, who is the Pope's right hand, doth seek the extirpation, and wherein I mean to live and die, I can hardly wish him other fortune than the same which his grandfather had at Algier. So as I thought it sufficient for that instant in respect of the infinite murmur of the people, because something should be done to give new terror to the rebel and new comfort to the Queen's party, that 2,000 or 3,000 might be sent into Ireland, with other magazines of munition and victual.

“For although this King had been of strange potency to send twelve thousand one way, and fifteen thousand another way, all in one year, which requireth for transportation a strange proportion of shipping, without long provision beforehand (considering what fleets he hath to maintain for the Indies, and what scarcity of mariners he always findeth,) yet I was not nor am not of opinion but he may at all times when he will make a general embargo of strangers' vessels, to transport 3,000 or 4,000 into Ireland, which peradventure he will think well bestowed, though they do not but spend and divert the Queen for the time till he have accommodated better his other designs. For prevention whereof, it is still resolved to keep some ships still upon the coast until the winter months come further on, which we are the rather forced to do, because the Holland fleet is now come home, as soon as they had gotten a good booty, to the value of forty or fifty thousand pounds.

“Thus do you see how between my care to save unnecessary expense and my fear to be subject to event, if my intelligences should deceive me, in what a state your friend standeth. Only I comfort myself that as Almighty God hath hitherto guided my judgment not to give either false advertisement or absurd advice, so He will continue His favour towards me, who have no other end than whilst I live to do my country service; the conscience whereof is my defence against envy and slander, and serves to comfort me against pain and peril.

“What, therefore, Spain does, you shall perceive by this enclosed, so as, if no more succour come, then is likely I doubt not but Ireland will be well secured.

“For your apprehension of Cormock McDermott, your judgment is well allowed, and I have given order for the stay of his son; but for your purpose to send him over, I wish you to forbear that, till you have advertised more particulars and received direction in that point.

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“For the matter of your exchange, the 400*l.* is satisfied ; but where you would have a promise dormant for 600*l.* to be yearly answered, you shall have it in effect, but not according to your own form. Especially now I am fain to show myself dry to all men, because we are a little dry in the Exchequer now, and are fain to be reserved to the merchants, who shall be paid, though in truth such is their infinite practice upon the Exchange as we have deferred them awhile for payments until Wattson come out of Ireland again, who is gone to examine many of the abuses ; wherein, though I believe well of Mr. Treasurer (Cary), yet it cannot be that such huge sums and quick returns should charge the banks, if his ministers made not private benefit. *Scilicet de hoc aliàs.*”

“You do not know what I have received out of Spain ; which I think will ease your mind, though, as I writ before, I would have you use it for a while *tanquam inimicum venturum*, for fear of the worst. I hear there is a pretty fort at Galloway. I would there were as good an one at Lynnericke, Waterford, and Kinsale, for I am of opinion that the Spaniards will never come into Ireland without assurance of some town at their first landing.

“. . . I have sent this letter by Padstow, where there is a post bark, and whither I am sorry I had not hitherto directed my packets, which was but forgotten, for that is described to be a very good outlet. And until I see your choler past, and that your great heart be come down to confess you have sinned against my unchangeable affection, . . . I will not write one word more ; and yet I am in so good charity with you, as I would buy your company with 10,000 crowns.”

Court at Oatlands, 30 August 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp.* 4. *Endorsed by Carew:* Received 5 (?) October of Mr. Apsley.

II. “ABSTRACT of an ADVERTISEMENT out of SPAIN, of the 6th of August 1602.

“The soldiers and galleys which are come hither out of Italy are now to be employed against the Turk in a second enterprise upon Algier, wherein the King of Fez is become a partner with Spain, the one being bound to keep the seas against any succours to come from the Turk, the other with his Moors to proceed on by land. To which purpose the King of Fez hath sent into Spain two of his principal men, to remain as pledges for the performance of certain articles agreed betwixt them, and hath already put into the field some 20,000 men and besieged Tremissen, a strong place near Oran. The Duke of Parma is said shall be an actor for the King of Spain in this design, and shall have the chief command over the King’s forces. Frederick Spinola is gone from Lisbon towards Flanders with eight galleys, whereof one of them is of those of the Marquis of Santa Cruz ; they carry in them 700 new soldiers levied in Portugal under the command of Don Juan

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de Meneses, and 500 Spaniards commanded by Spinola himself. Their resolution is to touch at S. Ander, to take in 400 men there, and so to go on straight towards Flanders. There is another fleet gone out of Lisbon for the Islands, consisting of 10 gallions, commanded by Don Diego Brochero and Don Pedro Sarmiento; they carry in them 1,000 Spaniards of those that came out of Ireland. They go to waft home the Indian fleet that is expected this year, and to suppress some mutinies in the Terceraes amongst the soldiers, who have slain their commander.

“ From the Low Countries.

“ The States are engaged before Grave, and continue their approaches upon it, notwithstanding that the Archduke had sent the Admirante of Arragon with some 20,000 horse and foot to have raised the siege, who offered at his first drawing near to have forced Conte Maurice his quarter, but, finding it better maintained than he looked for, gave over his attempt, and set his army down so near the States' camp as the sentinels could speak one to another. He made also a bridge over the river where he fortified, and did much difficult the States' passage for their victuals between their camp and Nemighen, insomuch as if he had lodged longer, then the States had been forced either to rise with dishonour or to hazard battle; but the scarcity of provisions in the Archduke's camp, and the disbanding of the Italians, who refused to serve in the field, being contracted withal to serve only in garrisons, and the small likelihood there was to dislodge the States, who were already so well intrenched, made the enemy to break up their army, and in the night time, taking up his bridge, without sound of drum or trumpet, retired back towards Boisleduc, and left the States in great hope and likelihood to recover the town. Sir Francis Vere, as he was busied in his works for his approaches, hath been unfortunately shot from the town beneath his left eye; the jaw bone is broken, and the bullet stuck fast under his ear. The wound at first was thought dangerous, but it is since written that he is past danger, if no other accident befall to it. He is brought to Dort in Holland, the better to attend his cure, for that the continual shooting did much harm him in the camp.”

*Pp.* 2.

### III. EXECUTION OF MARSHAL BIRON IN FRANCE.

Summary of what passed at the execution of Marshal de Biron, by one of those who were present.

On Wednesday the last day of July, at the hour of eleven in the morning, the Chancellor and the first President, accompanied by the lieutenants civil and criminal, the King's preacher, his confessor, &c., entered the Bastille. When this company entered the chamber where the Marshal was, they found him, with three or four almanacs, studying the moon, the day

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(*jour*), the signs, and other things. The Chancellor demanded of him the Order of the King, which he took from his pocket. Then they unsewed the cross of the Holy Spirit upon his cloak, and performed other ceremonies usual on the degradation of a Marshal of France for *leze Majesté*. That done, they read the sentence of death. When the Chancellor came to these words, "For having conspired against the person of the King and his State," he exclaimed, "This is a nice recompense for my services!" As he objected to being beheaded on a scaffold before the populace, the Chancellor announced that the King had granted him the favour of being executed within the Bastille. On this Biron upbraided the King for his ingratitude, and used much indignant language. Among other things he said, "And why does he not extend pardon to me, as he has extended it to so many others who have offended him much more than I have?" naming Mons. D'Espéron and Mons. de Mayenne. He also said that the Queen of England would have shown mercy to the Earl of Essex if he had chosen to ask it of her; adding, "And why not to me, who have asked it of him most humbly, without taking into account the services of my late father and my own, or my wounds?"

The Chancellor announced that his Majesty had given all his confiscated property to his relatives, except the duchy of Biron, annexed to the Crown; on which he replied, speaking of the King, "He cares little for anything, so much venom is there in him. And what?—they cause me to die then on the deposition of a sorcerer, and of the greatest necromancer in the world, who has made use of my ambition for my destruction, having let me many times see and speak to the devil in person!"

On his trial he had confessed that the devil, or whatever it was, had said to him very articulately, "*Reus impié, peribis, et sicut cera liquescit morieris.*" Then he abused the Chancellor, as being the sole cause of his death. After saying that the King should never learn his secret from him, he bequeathed a portion of his rents to various persons, leaving the remainder at the King's disposal. He sent a message to Mons. de Rosny, denying that he had intended to kill him, recommending his two brothers and relatives, and desiring that his younger brother might be placed in the Dauphin's service. He took a jewelled ring from his finger, and prayed his secretary to give it to his sister the Countess of Roussy. On being led out to the scaffold, he warned the lieutenant civil against certain guests whom he had in his house, the Sieurs de la Fin and the Vidame of Chartres. Account of the execution.

"Passant, qu'il ne te prenne envie  
De sçavoir si Biron est mort,  
Car tous ceux qui ont sçeu sa vie,  
Jugeront assez comme il est mort.

"Anagramme.—Charles de Gontauld de Biron ;  
O grand Duc, Rosny t'ha debellé."

*French. Pp. 3. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*



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## IV. EXTRACT from the LORD DEPUTY'S LETTER.

"I must entreat you, Sir, to take order that these places be not bestowed at Court upon such as will be suitors for them, (of which kind I make accompt there will be many, since I partly know some of them already,) for I shall be thereby disabled to do her Majesty the service I affect, and become merely an unprofitable officer for her, inasmuch as it will be here soon observed that when those places are not left to my disposal, who should best know how every man deserves, and for what each man serving here is fittest, it will be to little purpose for any of them to make me an eye witness of their well deserving, when it is not in my power to reward them, but will rather use means to her Majesty or the Lords, hoping to get that they aim at by a much easier and shorter course. Which I do confess to you, Sir, I do with some grief observe in the recommending many hither for captains' places, when some have given over their charge here; by which means I can neither lessen the Queen's charge as I would by cashing of their companies, nor prefer others thereunto whom I see daily to have very well deserved it. And by this means come in buying and selling of companies, a thing which I would otherwise never suffer, and the placing of such captains as those which were found here at the beginning of the war, whose insufficiency had almost lost this kingdom. I beseech you, Sir, conceive that I have just cause to be grieved, that must draw upon me the hate of a great many that I shall discharge in the great cash I intend, who will ever hold me the overthrow of them. . . This doth nothing so much grieve me as that I shall thereby be disabled to draw her Majesty, as I would, to make a speedy end of the war, that might be both safe and durable, by leaving such in all places as I know are best able to serve her, and such as, if they did not employ their time in her continual service, might more justly with their presence importune her than any others."

*Pp. 2. Endorsed.* 1602, August 10. Part of the Lord Deputy's letter.

Aug. 31. 300. SIR ROBERT CECIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 543.

"For the bruits spread in Ireland (my Lord) a man may see in many of them a constant practice both to generate and multiply all things to alienate and terrify men's minds from the Queen. Wherein surely your Lordship shall do very well to forbid that traffick into Spain in so licentious a manner as it is used. Not that her Majesty meaneth wholly to abridge it, but would have it ordered that none may go but so many as your Lordship shall think fit, or the provincial governors to whom you will leave the trust; and those that shall go . . . to be tied every merchant by bond and oath not to carry any letters, messages or passengers from thence, to or fro, without presenting them to such as you shall enjoin them. Your Lord-

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ship was written unto in this matter heretofore, and something was done in it; but when it is considered that many mayors of port towns are corrupt and malicious, some other officer would be joined in this particular. And herein surely if some good choice and judgment were made by their conversation of some selected numbers that were fit to trade, there could not but ensue great benefit to her Majesty's service, so as your Lordship be thus careful to foresee that those whom you authorize to give license make not a monopolious gain between liberty and restraint."

"This is a true copy. [*Signed*] Mountjoye."

"A part of a letter from Mr. Secretary Cecil, bearing date the 31st August 1602, and received 27 September."

*Copy, enclosed in Mountjoy's letter of 12th October. P. 1.\**

Vol. 624, p. 228.

2. Copy of the same.

[Sept.] 301. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 204.

"I have written so many letters unto you, which have stayed so long for wind, as I need make no further excuse, because you see how far I have been from any neglect; only now I am determined to be a partner with you, if you can make us a good bargain, and that is in the quarry of stone, whereof you sent me a pattern; for although I have not any liking to your minerals, yet I have caused this to be polished, and find it will prove very fair, which if it do, and if we find that it be near any portable river, that may carry it to the sea, I assure you divers workmen tell me that there is no better in Italy nor Germany. Send me word by your next dispatch in whose ground it is, and if for some small matter you can buy it, we will be Merchant Adventurers, and I will keep a lodging for you in my new house, whereof the chimney shall stand upon some of these marble pillars: and so much for this great business.

"You shall now understand that Sir Anthony Cooke arrived here weak and sickly, but very well able to come to the Queen, who used him very graciously. I showed him the letter you wrote by him in his commendation, for which he hath cause to thank you, and I too; but if I shall tell you my opinion, I think Ireland will kill him, if ever he return. I find by him, and by other advertisements from you, still an apprehension of the Spaniards' coming; but if you do compare them as they are delivered, one with another, how they cross, you shall first perceive that of all the great army, whereof they spake, no man ever saw 4,000 together, but he that is at one port speaks what he hears is at another; and in those things (besides that it is a vanity to think of transporting 2,000

\* On p. 544 are written the opening lines of some letter, as follow:—"Captain Lane, I am so well assured of your sufficiency and affection to serve her Majesty."

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horse out of Spain, or that it is not very unlikely, that he can send 15,000 men out of that country,) I have ever observed that every bruit is multiplied. But, Sir, I do not speak herein to any end to move you to change your course of advertisement of all that is brought you thither, for therein you do yourself right, nor to deliver my opinion that between this and Michaelmas there is not great probability that he will send as much as he is able, considering the low ebb of the rebels, but only to let you in private know my opinion, that as in all this time (when it was bruited his forces would have been come ere this time) I knew he was not ready, so I do know now, that he can bring no army bigger than Don Juan came out withal; and for any man to think that impossible, when he hath been so long preparing, and may embark when he lists ships for transportation, no man that knows foreign things but will conclude it.

“For matter of galleys, do not look for any there, except it be that he may peradventure, when he resolves to fortify and dwell in Ireland, keep some two or three there; but to talk of 20 or 12 galleys for Ireland, though they were at Lisbon, is without reason; for who doth not know that with the galleys all the forces of Italy are still brought into Spain, and in the summer time, from Seville, they do transport along the coast continually both men and divers other things of small bulk? But, Sir, whatever you have heard, this is the truth;—they do draw to a head at Lisbon, and there may be, what with those that came out of Ireland and some other out of Seville, some 4,000 or 5,000 men, for there are come by land from the Groyne 800 soldiers that were under Don Juan, and by sea some 1,000 more. The other bruits and rumours of men mustering in Spain proceed from this occasion, that hitherto they have apprehended an invasion at Lisbon. In the mean time you see, as before I have written, that you are not neglected, for we have directed you 1,200 men to make up your list; and because we could send no more captains from hence, and that the Deputy hath written, as here you do perceive by this enclosed, her Majesty hath directed the other 800 for Dublin.

“I do thank you very much for the private letter you have written, wherein you have set down your opinion, if the Spaniards land; of which I determine to make the best use I can for her Majesty's service, being for mine own part absolutely resolved, that if an army far under 12,000 shall land, we cannot transport such an army as shall by force suddenly extirpate them; for it being uncertain where they descend until they land, who can imagine that such forces shall be victualled in any one quarter as may be able to pull them out by the ears? Time must do it; and the Queen must keep dignity in her principal cities, which being done, Ireland is not lost.

“You shall understand that Florence McCarthy of late hath been very desirous to write to me; of whose words, though I know well what account to make, yet I thought it not amiss

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to send you a copy of that I received, because you may see how probably that witty knave can argue.

"Concerning the Exchange, I have taken care that your 400*l.* may be paid, but I protest unto you that I do find the merchants do now make absolute traffic of the Exchange, and I fear me the paymasters take in bills too fast; yet I hear it answered that they are overruled by the provincial governors, which makes me call to mind that I can scarce conceive any good reason how my Lord of Thomond should in any reason come to charge the Bank here with 1,000*l.*

"But, Sir, by that time you have this letter you will have enough, and therefore I will now conclude, having sent you here-inclosed a copy of our news of the Low Countries and a relation of Biron's death,\* being now more doubtful when I receive your letters, in fearing what they bring, than I have been all this year, for now is the month proper for them. I send you an advertisement also, though of little moment, concerning Lymerrick. I leave all to your judgment." *Signed.*

P.S. — "You cannot have answer from my Lord Cobham, because he is at Dover, nor from Sir Walter Raleigh, because he is in the West, newly come out of his Island. The rest will write unto you by the next. In the meantime, blessed be God, I saw not her Majesty so well these dozen years."

*Pp.* 4. *Endorsed by Carew:* From Mr. Secretary, which came with a letter of the Lords (brought by the Earl of Thomond), bearing date the 9th of August 1602.† Received the 6th of October 1602.

II. Copy of the Lord Deputy's letter. (*See 9 August.*)

III. "ADVERTISEMENT for the taking of LYMERICK CASTLE."

"Father Archer, being at Lymerick in the time of the last rebellion, did learn by some of that city a sure and secret way to surprise the castle of Lymerick, that commands the north gate and bridge of the inner and stronger part of that city, by the which one may bring as many as he will into the city, the said gate having but a weak wooden door to it, which would be presently broken with a pittarr, there being no watch at all kept at that gate. And for the passing of the river to come to that gate, it might easily be performed with some Irish galleys or long foysts, in two or three of which long foysts three hundred men might be put into with a pittarr, which by night might come up the river with the tides, and, entering the castle by this way, would receive greater forces, which might be appointed to lie some little way off the city for that purpose. Of this design it is said Father Archer hath

\* The enclosure here referred to seems to be the document which is at present included among the enclosures contained in Cecil's letter of 30th August, which, however, was sent in the same packet with this letter.

† The real date of this letter was evidently about the end of August or the beginning of September.

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advertised the Spaniards, and in a manner assured them of the taking of that town, which is one of the strongest towns of Ireland."

*Copy, by Cecil's clerk. P. 1. Endorsed.*

#### IV. "OCCURRENCES from the LOW COUNTRIES.

"The States, since their retreat out of Liege, and giving over of their first design of marching through Brabant and Flanders, have engaged themselves in the siege of Grave, and made their approaches in a tripartite manner, according to the divisions of their army. The commanders of the several divisions are Prince Maurice, Count William, and Sir Francis Vere. The town is well fortified with sundry outworks, and there is a garrison in it of 2,000 soldiers. The Archduke, desirous to preserve the town, sent the Admirante, with some 20,000 horse and foot, to raise the siege and to offer battle. At his first approaching to the States' camp, he made show to have forced Prince Maurice his division, being weakest by situation, but finding it better maintained than he expected, with some small loss by the artillery, gave over his purpose, and set himself down so near to the States' camp as each other's sentinels might talk together. He made also a bridge over the river, where he fortified, and by taking of a strong hold called the House of Hamcel, betwixt the camp and Nimmighem, made the passage very difficult for the States to receive their victuals that way. Insomuch that if the enemy had lodged longer there the States had been forced either to rise with dishonour, or to hazard battle; but the scarcity of provisions in the Archduke's camp, and the disbanding of the Italians that came last, besides the small likelihood there was to force the States' camp, being already so well entrenched, made the Admirante sooner break up his army than was expected, and in the night time took up his bridge, and secretly, without sound of drum or trumpet, retired backwards into Brabant, and left to the States great hope and likelihood to recover the town. The next day after Sir Francis Vere, being busied in his division with ordering of his works and approaches, was unfortunately shot from the town, beneath his left eye, the jaw bone broken, and the bullet, taking course beneath his ear, there stuck fast and lost itself. The wound at first was thought dangerous, but it is since advertised that he is past all danger, if no other accident befall to it, and brought to Dort in Holland, the better to attend his cure there.

"At Ostend the enemy have devised some engines, which they call soussises, being long and weighty, and rolled on two wheels by at least 40 persons. With these they purpose in the dark nights, by little and little, to take away the use of the Guele or new haven, having already made trial of some to good purpose; insomuch as they of the town do undoubtedly fear the loss of that haven. But it is said they

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have found out another way to make a new haven, which the enemy will not be able to take from them in 20 years. The States have lately sent into the town some 60 sail of ships with all kind of provisions."

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

V. FLORENCE MACCARTYE to [CECIL].

"As I was of late in conference with a friend of mine concerning the present state of Ireland, I chanced, because I heard O'Donnell was in Spain, to ask what preparations was there for Ireland; whereunto having told me that he did not hear much thereof, I told him mine opinion, that I am now more persuaded and assured of their coming thither than I was that they would come heretofore; for as the faithfulness of all septentrional nations is much suspected by Spaniards and Italians, so were they heretofore suspicious of Tyrone by reason of his treaties with the Deputies of Ireland; but now they saw his full endeavour, and with what great forces and how far he came, themselves having seen what great number of their country people doth adhere unto them and to him; none also of O'Donnell's qualities (unto whom the King sent his treasure, munition, letters, and messengers,) being ever heretofore employed to bring them, who, together with the Spaniards that were in Ireland, will assure the King that the people of Munster will hold still for him, whose perseverance they daily hear; which I know (although I believe they will not land now first in Munster) to be a very great encouragement for them to come, as appeared last by their unwillingness to come anywhere else. For if they had come to Galloway, besides the long journey that the Deputy had to go to them, it would be long before his Lordship could join the garrisons of Munster and Ulster together: Tyrone and O'Donnell being near at the first to join with them, where his Lordship also could not continue a siege, the country thereabouts being waste, and the most part of that province being out in action; or if they came to Callibegga, Donegal, or any place in Ulster, and with the help of Tyrone and O'Donnell beat away the garrison at Loughfoyle, and have as many red shanks and as much victuals as they would out of Scotland for their money, which Tyrone and O'Donnell would like better, because it would bring all the North to their obedience, which would enable them to over run all Ireland at their pleasure.

"But the Spaniards would not come but into Munster, although they were sure of blows and resistance, and that nobody stood there for them, because of the havens and towns and neighbourhood unto Spain of that province. But now, if former experience and O'Donnell's direction be able to make them better advised, I could wish your Honour to look for them at Galloway, or in Ulster, and not to doubt of their coming; for

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I am persuaded they are not so ignorant in martial matters but they do attribute rightly their hard success in Ireland last to the fortune of weather, that dispersed their shipping, men, and means from them, and their want of knowledge of the country, whereby they might judge rightly where were it best for them to come; and the overthrow of Tyrone, not to his want of endeavour, good will, or power, but rather to his want of skill, and ignorance in the science of war, his experience being rather to take the advantage of passes or bogs to skirmish, than to relieve a town, raise a siege, or fight in a pitched field for if he were a skilful commander he might relieve Kinsale without endangering his forces or himself.

“My discoursing of which matters with my friend brought me to remember a thing which I am sure will be a very great encouragement for them to come, whereof I know they have intelligence, by the which I am sure I may cause a great important piece of service to be done for her Majesty, if it may please your Honour to accept well thereof at my hands, and to afford me your honorable favour and furtherance in being a mean for me to her Majesty, and acquainting her Highness with my service; for the which I will also, as God judge me, deal faithfully with your Honour, not only by acquainting you with anything that may hurt or endanger her Majesty's proceedings there, and endeavouring to procure the suppression of the troubles of Munster, lest it should be, if (Tyrone and O'Donnell were relieved) strengthened and enabled to mar all that province as it was before, but also, if I have that liberty here in England that will put my friends in hope of future favour, and encourage them to do for me, I will endeavour, if there be occasion and opportunity for it, to cause the greatest piece of service that may be done there to be performed; for which I have better means and knowledge how to compass it than others, having studied it longer by reason of private quarrel.

“And for the quieting of Munster, which I know to be of greater importance to her Majesty than perhaps your Honour thinks; for if Tyrone and O'Donnell be strengthened out of Spain in Ulster or Connaught, assure yourself they will send great forces into Munster, which the Lord President (Carew) cannot keep out, if he be troubled at home, as appeared at Easter was twelvemonth, when a great deal of Tyrone and O'Donnell's people were gone in to the Lord Deputy and garrisons. Themselves also being vexed on all sides both by his Lordship and by the garrisons and by the forces of Connaught, yet their care and desire to renew the rebellion in Munster was such, that they sent 1,200 men as far as Limerick, which, with the help of the Earl of Clanrickard and the Queen's forces in Connaught, the Lord President could hardly keep out, although he had all the province quiet and all the lords and gentlemen thereof to assist him. For the quieting of which trouble that is now in Munster, I do assure

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and undertake unto your Honour, no man living can do more good there in person than I can do here hence, the strengths that keeps and maintains them being my country, and the chiefest men that are in action there being of my country and command. All which matters I leave to your Honour's consideration."

*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

Sept. 1. 302. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 568.

"Yours of the 26th of the last month I have this day received, and find thereby that you have an alarm of four sail of Spaniards at Berelhaven. I perceive you mean speedily to write again to let me know what further certainty you can learn, which I will expect, being very loth in the mean time to change my course, all things here growing so near to a good end, as it were great pity such an interruption should now befall us. I am confident by the number of their shipping that the force cannot be great, and then will none of this people stir. If otherwise, they will not stay at Berelhaven long, but discover their purpose for some other place. I do much long for your next despatch, that I may make some conjecture what we are to do."

Camp between Dongannon and the Clogher, 1 September 1602. *Signed.*

*P.S. (in Mountjoy's own hand).—*"By the letter I sent you from Mr. Secretary to me, I presume we shall not be troubled with many if they be come; and if they be not exceeding strong we shall be sure to find them where they first land, so that I hope there will be no great danger in the matter. But I think, if they stay away but one fortnight, I shall leave this country in better case for the Queen than ever it was since the conquest."

*P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 9 Sept.*

Sept. 7. 303. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 209.

"There arrived here the 1st of this month a barque laden with munitions from England, and also certain cannoniers and artificers, whose names are contained in the enclosed letters sent by them from the Lords . . . directed to your Lordship. . . I having been by contrary winds long detained from English news (whereof I was greedy), without perusing the superscription, brake them open, and am yet persuaded that the direction was mistaken, for that they were disposed of by the Lords to attend the service of this province, . . . and for them to be sent hither into the West with letters unto your Lordship, whom the Lords knew to be in the North, is not very likely. Neither do I believe that it was their Lordships' pleasure that men of their faculty, who are to be tied to continual attendance and labours, should travel so far for a warrant of entry.



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Upon which reasons I have . . . entered them into pay at such rates as your Lordship laid down by your warrant for them." I have sent you Captain Jollye, with four other can-  
noniers, a smith, and a carpenter. "I have also discharged  
the hoy, having the ship which brought over the munitions  
to keep the coast of Munster for two months."

Cork, 7 September 1602.

P.S.—"Upon the bruit of the Spaniards coming, I was a  
suitor in England for a supply of munitions, which, as is  
above written, their Lordships have sent, and the particulars  
thereof your Lordship hereinclosed shall receive."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 7. 304. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 211.

I have received yours of 24 August. "Of Spanish news I  
can send your Lordship no certainty, . . . but a few days will  
make a true judgment of it. Out of England from Barne-  
stable I have received three packets, but all of them of old  
dates. . . There is arrived at Waterford 165 soldiers under  
the conduct of one Kyrton, Lieutenant to Captain Dorington,  
who for recovery of his wounds, received at Beerehaven, went  
into England. These came from Barstable, and, as I hear  
from him, Sir George Thornton is at Bristoll, ready to embark  
with 835 more; but whether . . . only for supplies . . . or  
under captains to remain in entertainment . . . I know not."  
If they come without captains to be here nominated, until  
your pleasure be signified I will hold them as they are.

"Your Lordship wrate unto me that if they should come  
for supplies you then wished that some reservation might be  
made of them towards the strengthening of the companies of  
the North. . . The list of Munster, (which is now, with Sir  
Samuel Bagnall, 4,000,) will be able to receive them all to  
strengthen them; and moreover, how I shall be able without  
loss to her Majesty to keep soldiers undisposed of, out of  
companies, I know not. Wherefore, as I am most desirous in  
everything to observe your Lordship's directions, or without  
direction to do all things as near as I may to give you con-  
tentment, so, if the companies do come over, and only for  
supplies, . . . pardon me if I do immediately dispose them to  
captains; but if before they land your Lordship's direc-  
tions do come unto me, I will not fail to observe every point  
of them. . . .

"Your Lordship's direction touching Sir Edward Wyngfeild  
I will gladly obey; but if these . . . come only for supplies  
. . . either the list of the army must be increased, or else two  
companies of the old list of Munster must be discharged;  
either of which I suppose your Lordship would be unwilling  
to do. . . I beseech your Lordship to signify your pleasure  
more fully unto me.

"The fort at Kynsale will not be ended until All Hollan-

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tide at the nearest, and yet he had in work upon it ever since my coming from Berhaven 300 men a day.

“Paul Ive was either much mistaken in his judgment, or else he did infinitely abuse your Lordship. I cannot yet learn what fleet it was that was upon the coast; but I do suppose that it was the Newfoundland fleet homeward bound, driven by tempest upon the coast. There is nothing more true than the report of shooting of great ordnance at sea, as I wrote unto your Lordship, for by English and Irish it is witnessed.

“If Spaniards do not come, your Lordship, at your pleasure, may command Sir Samuel Bagnall with his regiment back again, for I shall do well enough without him, and hope shortly to spare more horse, if your Lordship need them; but before your Lordship send for them I beseech you to hear from me again.”

Cork, 7 September 1602.

P.S.—“The proofs against Cormocke do daily prove more foul; he is a notable traitor.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 8. **305.** THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 468.

“I received your letter of the 12th of the last month, which was very welcome unto me, bringing news of your health. By this time I hope you are in no such expectation of the coming of any great numbers of Spaniards for this summer, as you were when you wrote that letter. And I hope, if her Majesty shall keep a good fleet always upon that King's coast . . . he will be advised before he send into Ireland. And yet withall you must not want supplies of men from hence also, so long as those rebels shall continue unsuppressed. For myself, in any counsels here I am in ability of judgment of all the rest of my fellows *minimus*, but in zeal and duty . . . second to none. I am now here in Nott'shire for this summer, but how long or how little after I cannot yet tell. But, wherever I am, I will wish as well to Sir G. Carewe as whosoever stands most firmly assured unto him. . . . At Worksop, my house, in Nott'shire, this 8th of Sept. 1602.”

P.S.—My wife thanks you for “your friendly remembering her in your letter.”

*Hol. P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew: Received 8 Nov.*

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 87.

2. Copy.

Sept. 10. **306.** SIR GEORGE CAREW TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 108.

“The last I sent you was of the 20th of August by a bark of Barnestable, bound for Brystoll, and from thence to run by the ordinary post.” I have since “only this letter of the mayor of Waterforde.” The 2nd “by a bark that came from Illfercommune, I received two letters from your Lordships by one Lewis Clotworthie, a passenger, into whose hands they

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were delivered, the one of them bearing date the 25th of March last, only importing the victualling of Munster, the which because Allen Apsley, the commissary of the victuals here, hath long attended your Lordships, . . . I do forbear your further trouble therein, but do humbly thank your Lordships for your honourable care ; . . . the other . . . of the 18th of July last."

I thank her Majesty and your Lordships for your "good acceptance . . . of my poor endeavours in her services, which, by the favour of God and her forces, hath been here performed, wherein (as most due) the same must be ascribed, next unto her Majesty, unto your Lordships' careful providence, by whose directions and seconding with provisions meet for the war, I have been enabled in the performance. I make no doubt but the Spaniards ere this time had arrived in these parts if her Majesty's fleet had not, by her foreseeing judgment, prevented the same. But as for the time past and the present, their provisions, by reason of that fleet, hath been withheld, whereby their enterprise hath been hindered, so it may be doubted, when they shall be returned, that they will persevere in their intent, being familiar unto us by experience that they forbear not for any season of the year to proceed in their designs. And therefore, until your Lordships be fully satisfied that their army and shipping be dispersed, we here may not judge ourselves to be secure."

I send you a copy of Captain Harvie's letter to the Veador. I have chosen, to carry the same into Spain, "one Walter Edney, lieutenant to Harvie, a person of good judgment both in land and sea service, having had in former times the charge of a captain in fleets under Sir Francis Drake to the Indies and others, and of long continuance both since and before in land service, and besides well known to the Veador and to all the Spanish captains that were at Castlehaven and Baltymore.

"But for one particular in your Lordships' directions . . . I must digress, which is, that the messenger may not go directly from Captain Harvy to the Veador, because he hath not the original pass from the Veador, which authorized him to send into Spain ; . . . the utmost day prefixed in that pass was the last day of July last past. For remedy whereof, his lieutenant must be sent from me to Don Juan del Aguila, who, in his letter . . . by me transmitted to your Lordships, hath given me a safety at all times to send into Spain, with promise that my ship and messenger shall be friendly received. . . . But to mask Don Juan, the Veador, or any else, that they may not think that he is purposely sent to negotiate the business intended, or to come as a spy, it falleth fortunately out that this lieutenant, when the Spaniards were embarked from Kynsale, by the permission of the State here, did place a son of his, who was then a servant in my house, and with the entreaty of Don Juan to me, to be a page unto Captain

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Pedro Henriques de Tejado, who since is dead; whereof this messenger having intelligence shall report in Spain that, out of a paternal care to see his son, that he may not perish in a strange country, [he] did entreat letters of favour from me to Don Juan, with a pass for two months. . . Of whose going, his captain having knowledge, shall feign to take the opportunity to write unto the Veador. By which course the lieutenant may pass safely thither, colour without suspect the cause of his going, and return with as much as shall be expected.

Touching the fortifications, . . . I still continue in opinion that charges bestowed upon Beerehaven and Castlehaven . . . would be merely lost. But for Baltymore, . . . although your Lordships . . . give me a liberty (if I shall find it fit to erect [a] work there), yet . . . not thinking it good for her Majesty's profit or the assurance of the work there to take the same in hand in winter . . . in March next (unless your Lordships shall forbid me) I do purpose, with the least charge I may, to raise a work in the harbour. The artillery taken at Berehaven and the Dursies, according to the note I have sent your Lordships, they are in all 12 pieces, whereof demiculverin is the highest; and of them of brass there were but four, two of which . . . were broken. All which are by me returned into her Majesty's store.

"The ten serviceable pieces are not sufficient to furnish the forts of Kynsale, Halebolyng, and that at Cork raised by me, (a greater work than any of the rest,) which as in the raising hath cost her Majesty nothing, so if [she] will . . . continue it in the keeping of the town, who shall be tied to maintain it, it will put her to no further charge, and yet at all times, upon suspicion of an invasion, a strong guard may be put into it, and . . . the south end of Corke, which lieth most fit for an enemy to attempt, is secured." Wherefore, for these places and Baltymore, I pray you "to send over ten other pieces of iron ordnance, whereof six short culverins of Sir William Wynter's making, which are of no use there, and the other four long culverins, all which will be sufficient.

"One of the unserviceable brass pieces . . . is challenged by the Master of the Ordnance as his fee, not in regard it is broken, but as a choice piece, which according to ancient custom is incident to his place; and, if I be not mistaken, another choice piece by the like custom hath ever been granted unto the chief commander, and so due as unto a general at sea, as my Lord Admiral knoweth. Nevertheless, . . . I have returned them with the rest into her Majesty's store . . . until your Lordships' pleasure be known."

Enclosed is a letter from Captain Morgane, officer of the Exchange at Cork; "your pleasures therein I humbly beseech you to return unto him."

The 3rd a hoy of munitions arrived at Cork. "There is likewise arrived at Waterford from Barnestable, under . . .

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Lieutenant Francis Kyrton, 164 men, whose marching hither overland I have directed, and with the same have sent a commissary to take view of them there; and when I shall receive your Lordships' directions . . . I will accordingly dispose of them. . . . But of Sir George Thornton and those under his conduction at Bristoll I do as yet hear nothing; from which port it is difficult to gain a passage.

"The [26th] of August, about midnight, I had a fresh alarm sent me by Sir Richard [Perey] and one Robert Meaugh from Kynsale, that 24 Spanish ships were in Berehaven. Presently by running post I gave notice of it to the Lord Deputy, sending him copies of those letters, without further assurance until he should receive my second, but did forbear to send my report of it unto your Lordships until I were better assured. After which despatch, within 48 hours I sent unto his Lordship certain knowledge that there was no such fleet arrived. But hereof I stand assured, that there was a fleet discovered at sea, and driven to these parts, as it should appear, by extremity of foul weather; and in the night many pieces of ordnance from the sea, both at Kynsale and to the westward, were heard both by English and Irish. I do think Mr. Secretary Fenton hath both sent the copies of these letters giving the alarm, and the contradiction upon my second letter, to some of your Lordships, for so hath he written unto me; which maketh me to forbear your further trouble therein."

Cork, 10 September 1602.

"Sent by Captain Henry Moyle."

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Sept. [17.] 307. "THE PASSPORT."

Vol. 600, p. 14.  
Pacata Hibernia,  
p. 619.

"I Roger Arbé (Harvey), Captain of Infantry and Governor for the Queen of England in Castle Haven and Baltimore, for certain respects touching the service of her Majesty, give free and frank passport to such ship and messenger as the Sieur Pedro Lopez de Soto, Veedor General for the King of Spain, shall send into these parts of Munster in Ireland between the date of this present and the end of February 1602. And if by chance any ships of the Queen our Sovereign should fall in with the said ship, or if by failure of a fair wind they should be driven on the coast of England, or into any other port or haven of the kingdom of Ireland, I request of all that they be well treated, and that the messenger may have free recourse to repair to me and to sell their merchandize, for thus is it expedient for the Queen's service."

Dated at Cork, the ——\* of September 1602.

*Copy. French. P. 1.*

\* 17th in "Pacata Hibernia."

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Sept. 21. 308.

Vol. 620, p. 111.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since my last of the 10th no matter of moment has happened, "although for this month past I have daily expected the return of a barque of this town which was bound for Lysbone, licensed by me to carry hence the two Spanish captains that were left here as pledges for the return of our shipping sent into Spain with Don Juan; by the which I am assured to receive a true relation of what is intended by a merchant in whom I have good interest. The stay whereof makes me to conjecture that there is some general embarque (embargo) for the transportation of that army, which was assembled, unto the place it is designed."

The 10th inst. I received your letter of 9th May, with the petition of one Anthony Dyllon. "Touching the gentleman or Mr. Pollard, although I could be exceeding glad, having (as your Lordships have given me) an election in myself to appoint one of them to be commander in the said fort, yet, having respect to the place I hold, which is by all the best endeavours I may to advance her Majesty's service (under your Lordships' reformation), I do think neither of them, nor any other whatsoever that is not a captain in pay (although otherwise for sufficiency meet), fit to be commander of that place. For, being spacious (as it is), in the best peace that may be, less than a whole company may not be left in it, which unto your Lordships (upon the finishing of the work, when the plot shall be sent unto you) will appear. And therefore, if her Majesty be disposed to leave in either of them the commandment of the place, she must . . . give unto him a company, . . . whereof the petitioner maketh no mention, as if the place were to be kept without a guard. The consideration whereof (as I think) moved the Lord Deputy to promise the place unto Captain Henry Skypwith, and who accordingly doth expect the same, of whose integrity [etc.] . . . I may not omit to recommend unto your Lordships.

"But to the other point of Mr. Dyllon's request, . . . I doubt not therein to . . . give him satisfaction, and so to deal with the captain that shall have the charge of the place as that he shall become tenant unto him for it. As for the castle and land whereupon the fort is builded, . . . when the plot is sent unto your Lordships I will therewith also return unto you a survey of the ground whereupon it is erected, by the which your Lordships . . . may conceive what allowance is fittest for it; and for whom I am an humble suitor that your Lordships will be pleased, in respect of his good report and poor estate, to have the more favourable consideration of him."

My desire is to send Cormocke McDermod and all the accusations and examinations against him to your Lordships. "Whiles he is in this realm prisoner, his followers and dependants, out of an ancient Irish policy, not without consent of their lords, will evermore move all the troubles

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they can, in hope that for the appeasing of them he shall be enlarged. And that which is more dangerous, the keepers of prisoners here evermore have been and are corrupt, and the prisons (especially in this province) so weak, as I hold them unmeet for prisoners of any charge, as hath appeared unto me by the many escapes that have happened both before and since I was her Majesty's officer here. His remaining in the Tower shall be without her Majesty's charge, for the revenue due unto him yearly upon the country of Muskery will well bear it, and for the levying whereof, if your Lordships . . . think this meet, I . . . beseech you to direct your commandment."

Cork, 21 September 1602.

"Sent by Mr. Stafford Wyllmott."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 21. **309.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BUCKHURST) and SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I am requested by Sir Charles Wyllmott to pray you to afford him favour "in the exchanging of a bill of 1,000*l.* which now he sends over. When I think of the sum I am almost discouraged, knowing how unwelcome business of that nature is unto you." His necessity "is the redeeming of the best part of his estate, ready to be forfeited, . . . which in my soul I think, by what I find, not to be feigned. And therefore I dare assure your Honours that the better part of this sum is borrowed by him of sundry persons, which I see no reason he should do, were he not in this manner urged." He hath long prayed for his own repair into England, "hoping thereby that his business would receive better proceeding; but the Queen's service being by me prized before any particular, and having especial use of his help in these dangerous times, in the which men of judgment and faith may not be well spared, I have rejected his suit, and in part of satisfaction have promised to be a joint suitor with him; which is the cause that I do thus boldly and earnestly write. . .

"Amongst other the affairs of this province, the matter of exchanging is not least troublesome unto me, no day passing without clamorous importunities of merchants and others to have their money banked." Captain Morgane is "a very sufficient and discreet officer, who, preferring more a dutiful regard and observation of the Lords' directions than any other respects whatsoever, doth, in respect of the multitude that importunes him, reject all. . . I dare not but let your Honours in private understand . . . of the clamorous murmuring of all sorts of people thereat, but what it may breed I leave to your Honours' wisdoms to judge of."

Cork, 21 September 1602.

"Sent by Mr. Stafford Wyllmott."

*Copy. P. 1. Headed in margin: To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecyll.*

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Sept. 22. 310. SIR GEORGE CAREW and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER to [the  
Vol. 620, p. 122. PRIVY COUNCIL].

“By the enclosed examination of Thomas McConogher, being a natural follower of the Lord of Caher, and a man of good understanding, he having spent some eight years in the service of foreign princes, whereby (*sic*) your Lordships may perceive how deeply the Lord of Caher hath entered himself into the combination with the Spaniard and Tyrone. Whereof we have many other strong arguments and presumptions, yet because he is a Lord Baron of Parliament we have forborne all courses of proceedings against him, in regard we know it our duties, before we question a man of his quality and rank, to make the causes known, and to receive our directions from your Lordships. And although this relation may seem somewhat bare to touch a man of his birth and calling, yet are there many things depending hereupon worthy good consideration. For it is evident by many circumstances that he is interested in all Cormock McDermod’s actions and treasons, Cormocke being married to his sister; and it is most certain that James Galdey Butler, brother to the Lord of Caher and to Cormocke’s wife, is by them both put out into action to traffic and negotiate for them. So as they draw all in one line, and the doings of any one is the proper action of all three. And yet these their treasons and combinations cannot be thoroughly discovered, in our opinions, without hold be taken upon his Lordship and the castle of Caher, all at one instant; for in laying hands on his person, without possessing his house, were to little effect; and to proceed further, by apprehending his instruments or taking the examinations of such as best could manifest his treasons, would discover our purposes, and give him occasion of flight. And so, by being too forward to make his accusations ripe before he be under the law, when we are thoroughly furnished with matter, we might happen to miss the man. For our whole direction here[in] we rest in expectation of your Lordships’ pleasure.”

Cork, 22 September 1602.

“Signed by the Lord President, Sir Charles Willmott, Mr. Justice Comerford.”

*Copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 22. 311. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 213.

Since I heard from you I have written three or four times. The supplies that came under Lieutenant Kyrton came far short; “and yet I do suppose the gentleman did his endeavour to hold them together, for I have made a strict examination of his carriage, and cannot in reason impute any blame unto him. Your Lordship knows how difficult it is to keep unwilling minds together that are not inclined to be soldiers, and how fearful the name of Ireland is to pressed men in England. I



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understand the 800 men . . . at Bristoll are greatly diminished. If they come for supplies this garrison will well bear them, unless your pleasure be otherwise to dispose of them." How Sir Edward Wyngfeld should have 200 of them I know not. Those few with Kyrton were sent for supplies, and are disposed to strengthen weak companies. "They were held ten days after their landing in his charge, in hope to have heard from your Lordship, but seeing them to diminish so fast I adventured to dispose them into bands. . . .

"Cormock McDermod's treasons do daily appear fouler and fouler,—so many as will fill a large book; and now, out of an old Irish practice, hoping thereby to procure his enlargement, hath procured certain of his trustiest followers to start out into rebellion, and delivered his ancient manor house, which is called Mocrompe, a strong castle by reason of the strength of the country about it, unto O'Solevan Beare. And likewise, whereas he was a little before his apprehension a suitor unto me that his second son, who was the Queen's pledge, might be permitted to go into England for his better education, and for to get a help of his fosterers to be enlarged a few days before his departure upon sureties, now by his means his son is with the traitors, he neither respecting his own danger or those noblemen who are bound with him for his son's forthcoming. . . . But the best is, himself is in hand, and I think by this time his eldest son, which is in England, is restrained. And as for the petty rebellion of his followers, I doubt not but to make them weary of it, having now in his country a garrison of 500 foot and 100 horse, which will quickly ruin them.

"Of Spaniards I hear nothing, whereat I marvel." A merchant I sent to Lisbon is not yet returned; nor have Archer and Connor O'Driscoll.

I pray your pleasure touching the Lord of Caher. "The matter must be very closely carried, or else he will start, for I know him to be very jealous of his estate, and listens to understand of Cormocke's fortune, both of them and James Galdey being interested in the combination. The matter is of great consequence, for I am of opinion that there are many others to be touched as well as he, and therefore to be dealt in with the better advisement. Your Lordship's pleasure being signified, it shall be precisely obeyed. . . . If your Lordship's leisure would afford you means to write oftener, you would make me a glad man."

Cork, 22 September 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Sept. 22. 312. SIR GEORGE CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 215.

"Since . . . my last, bearing the date hereof, I received this intelligence enclosed by a merchant of this town newly arrived. The fleet he speaketh of to be at Blewett in Brytaigne is out of doubt part of a dispersed fleet; else I know

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no reason, if they were bound either for the Low Countries or this realm, . . . why they should remain so many days . . . in that port, the winds serving so fitly as they have done of late for any of those places. The greatness of the shipping, being galleons, is an argument that they are not for the Low Countries, knowing . . . that between Blewett and Hamborough (Brest excepted) upon the coast of France or the Low Countries there is no safe harbour for great ships, and especially in the coast of Flanders, unto the which, if for the Low Countries they are bound, there is no place but only Sluce, which hath a dangerous entry into it for ships of charge. Besides, the States have evermore a good fleet riding before it." I wrote to you "that I had sent a merchant of this town to Lysbone. His ship was ready to come thence (as by other merchants that are come home I have been informed) above six weeks past. If he had not been stayed I am sure long ere this he would have returned, which moves me to hold a doubtful opinion that yet we are not clearly freed from the coming of Spaniards."

Cork, 22 September 1602.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 26. **313.**  
Vol. 615, p. 554.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Yesterday . . . I received your three letters of the 22nd . . . and before their receipt had such other letters from you as in one of them you mention. That I gave you no answer to some of them since that which you acknowledge, which was indeed the last I wrote, impute it, as the truth is, to an earnest desire I had to know certainly how things stood here (which I could not till my return hither), and to hear out of England, if it might be, as I have done this day, that I might make you partaker of the news I have from thence, which I do by the copies hereinlosed.\*

"Touching the supplies expected out of England, I acknowledge your resolution to be very good to dispose them to the filling up of your bands, if you find they be sent over for that purpose, as I do now verily think they are, and not to be an increase of the list. That Sir Edward Wingfield might be provided of 200 foot, I could like best that your Lordship would cast so many, and bestow them on him, and I will take it upon me as my act, upon whomsoever it doth fall. But if that course be not to your liking I am content you give him 200 of the supplies now coming, and I will make some shift to lessen the list so much in some other place.

"To the other points of your several letters I shall at this time need to make you no other answer than that I will allow all that you desire or advise therein, and in particular that

\* See 23 Aug. 1602.

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you have entered your cannoniers and artificers into pay at such rates as were laid down the last year, being easily led to think (as you do) that the letter you opened was intended to have been directed to you for that purpose. Touching my Lord of Cahyr you shall receive answer in another letter despatched herewithall from this Council table."

Dublin Castle, 26 September, at night, 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy's own hand*).—"Pardon me that . . . I do not write . . . more at large and with my own hand, which I mean to do very presently, expecting every day Sir Oliver Sn. Jhon out of England. And the truth is I am now going a hawking, the weather being very fair; which time unto us falconers your Lordship knoweth is very precious."

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

II. Enclosures. (*See 23 Aug. 1602.*)

Vol. 624, p. 216.

2. Copy of the same letter, omitting the postscript.

Sept. 26. **314.** The LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 430.

I the Lord Deputy have imparted your letter of the 22nd instant, with Thomas McNogher's examinations, to us of the Council. We "allow of your Lordship's diligence in certifying hither those examinations, and also of your discretion to forbear for a time all further open and public proceeding in that cause. For, considering you are not ignorant of the aptness of this country people to raise accusations, sometimes out of malice and sometimes of practice, and likewise what may be the danger to take hold of such matters in this looseness of time, which is now growing to a staidness and settling, we are of mind that where such particular informations, having but weak grounds, if they should be severely followed, would put in hazard to interrupt the quiet now growing to the general estate, it were not amiss to temporize with them for a while, till by time things might be more certainly discovered. . . . Not to prosecute the first accusation against a nobleman, . . . but rather to secrete it, is the way to sound the bottom of the conspiracy, if any be. . . . For if to accuse were enough to condemn a man, who could stand innocent in this conspiring nation? . . . Observe the parties in all their doings, and hold a secret watch of the chiefest of them, such as may serve your turn to discover the matter, and yet they to be kept from all suspicion thereof."

Dublin, 26 September 1602.

*Signed:* Mountjoye; Ad. Dublin, C.; George Cary; R. Wingfelde; Anth. Sentleger; Edmund Pelham; G. Bowrchier; Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

Vol. 624, p. 217.

2. Copy.

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Sept. 29. 315. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the QUEEN.

Vol. 620, p. 285.  
*Pacata Hibernia*,  
 p. 611.

“Sacred Majesty,—If I could sufficiently express the joy which my heart conceived when I beheld a letter written by your royal hand, and directed unto me (who in your service hath merited little, though in zeal, faith, and loyalty equal to any), your Majesty would not, in your more than abounding charity, mislike your pains, having thereby raised the dejected spirit of a poor creature, exiled from that blessing which others enjoy in beholding your *royal*\* person, whose beauty adorns the world, and whose wisdom is the miracle of our age.

“*Gracious* † Sovereign, three years are now almost fully expired since my employment into this kingdom took his beginning; during which time rest in body or mind hath been a stranger unto me. And, overwearied in both, I do most humbly beseech your Majesty (if this realm be not invaded from Spain, whereof in a few days a true judgment may be made,) to grant me leave but only for two months this winter, to attend you in your Court; which small time of respiring, and at that time of the year, can be no hindrance to the service, and yet sufficient to relieve my mind, and enable my body (which now is not so strong as I could wish) to do your Majesty that service I ought. Ireland is destitute of learned men of English birth, and with Irish physicians, knowing the good will they bear me, if they were learned, I dare not adventure. The longer I am without remedy, the less and the less time I shall be able to serve you. But as I am your Majesty’s creature, so do I submit the consideration of my humble and just suit to your princely commiseration, at whose royal feet and in whose service I am hourly ready to sacrifice my life.”

Cork, 29 September 1602. (*Date in Carew’s hand.*)

*Copy.* P. 1.

Sept. 30. 316. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 552.

“Earnest suit hath been made unto us in the behalf of one Walter Hussey, a gentleman of the Pale, for the sheriffship of the county of Kerry, the which we have the rather granted in respect that he is known to be a man of good sufficiency, and one that hath land both here in the Pale and there in . . . Kerry.”

Dublin, this last of September 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy’s own hand*):—“This is Sir George Bowers’s suit.”

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 220.

2. *Copy.*

\* Substituted by Carew for “*angelic*.”

† Substituted by Carew for “*divine*.”

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Sept. 30. 317. SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 218.

"This is the fourth letter that I have written since I received any from you;" the other three bearing dates 28 August, and 7th and 22nd September. If any of them have failed from coming to your hands let me know which is miscarried, that search may be made on whom the fault lies.

"Yesternight the greatest mischance (that hath fallen out in this province since I came into it) happened, either by negligence or corruption, or both, which is, the escape of Cormocke McDermod, being in irons, and a guard to attend him. When the truth is examined (which I will diligently prosecute), your Lordship shall understand it. His escape will give great comfort to the other rebels, for (as I have often told your Lordship) he is the powerfulest man of his own proper followers in all Munster, and hath a very strong country. Besides, the war must be made close unto Corke, which will give me impediment to the western parts, which I purposed to ruin. He being prisoner, all his country was secured. Pledges of the chiefest gentlemen that appertain unto him are in my hands; but in respect of the love they bear, they respect not pledges.

"The greatest hope I have to disenable him to do any hurts (besides his son in England, who, I doubt not, is in safe keeping, and his wife, with his eldest daughter, who are in Corke restrained), [is that] I have in possession for her Majesty his principal houses, which are the castles of Blarny, Kylkrea, and Mocrompe. The two first by persuasion and threats I gate into my hands, with such expedition that I prevented the rebels (unto whom he appointed to have delivered them) before their coming. The third, which was Mocrompe, and by his appointment kept against us by the rebels, is by force taken. The manner how it was forced I do send your Lordship hereinclosed, written unto me by Sir Charles Wyllmott, whom I employed with a good regiment of horse and foot in that service. So as the principal strengths in that country are in her Majesty's hands, and by them I am able to ruin the country at my pleasure; whereby, even at the first of his escape, he is no better than a wood kerne, and shall be made unable to keep his men together. Nevertheless, I am exceeding sorry for the mischance, for he is a notable traitor, and will give great impediment to the quieting of the province, which I made no doubt in a few days to effect, which now will ask a longer time.

"Until now Sir Samuel Bagnall with his regiment lay at Lymericke, whom now I have sent for, for the prosecution in these parts. If your Lordship can spare him, his company will give good aid in this service. . .

"The Council here, with myself, wrate unto your Lordship concerning a great man in these parts. If the matter be for

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a time suppressed, I think it meet for the present, not being good to have over many irons in the fire at once."

Cork, the last of September 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Oct. 1.

318.

SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 195.

"I have acquainted my Lords with your letters by Captain Moyle and Willmott, who like very well of your proceedings for the matters of fortification, leaving unto your judgment, whose eye seeth best and whose understanding of circumstances know what is fittest for her Majesty's service, the progress or stay of that matter. In the matter of Cormocke Dermott, I am glad you have found out the means to make over some money for his maintenance, for he lieth yet upon my purse, and I do further desire you to let me know what we shall do with him, and whether it were not better to send him to Oxford again, being now in London, where he may be bred up in learning, and as far from corruption as here in London, where if he be no prisoner he may escape, and to be kept still a prisoner I think it a little severe. Nevertheless my meaning is, that some eye shall be had of him, so as he shall not be a day missing but notice shall be taken. Send me by your next your opinion, and if you can procure any of his friends there to enter into sufficient bonds for him to be forthcoming here, I think it were a good course.

"As for your motion to send over Cormocke, the Queen seems yet a little tickle to trouble the Tower, and wisheth rather he were sent to Dublin; but thereof by my next I will advertise you. But for your taking of his rents in the meantime *de facto*, it were not amiss, and that you did advertise the Lord Deputy thereof, to receive direction. Always methinks the ordinary course which now you should take, if his treasons be so manifest, were to put him to his trial, and then stay his execution; for the clapping them up without proceeding, whereby the faults are made known to the world, may prove scandalous; but herein I do but deliver you my private opinion, wherein you may use your own judgment.

"The Queen liked your letter very well, and meaneth to resolve between this and All Hallowtide both of the Deputy's coming over and yours. There is now also come a letter which shews the departure of Edney, which you have used very discreetly; and for the cipher, I like it better a thousand times than all Herriott's locks and keys. Of your disposition to place Skipwith in Kinsale, you are like to receive allowance, and in my opinion he is a very fit man. I would there were as good a commander at Doncannon, where we hear of many absurdities in Brockett's government. Those places which should have to do with towns would be commanded by men of honesty and temper. Therefore I wish you to place a

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good one at Halebolin and in Cork, for else we shall hear of infinite discontentments. The Queen hath no fancy to Sir Edward Wyngefeild for any of these commandments, which because I know, it makes me loath to return him answer.

“For the point of Kinsale, wherein my Lords mistook you, there is no harm done, nor shall be, for it was rather my mistaking than theirs. Some here give out that these works at Cork and Halebolin should be done by Sir Edward Wyngfeild, and that the engineer is no way acquainted. This is only delivered underhand, for otherwise it is not spoken, and therefore scarce worth the writing.

“As for your two pieces, I think they will be both allowed to the Master of the Ordnance and yourself by our next dispatch, wherein methinks, if they be so serviceable for the Queen, they might be valued, and you receive some money from them there, rather than the Queen should buy new; and for those other pieces of Sir William Wynter's, they shall be sent you, that they may be there rather before than too late.

“And now, Sir, of the Spaniards, you will believe a secretary the better another time. Of poor Arthur I have had some letters, but none later than July, and in those he would have made me believe the same wonders which other Irish brought to you. But, Sir, our fleet kept them from uniting, and the great supplies which the King of Spain was forced to send into the Low Countries made him in little humour to meddle with Ireland this year. We have yet seven ships abroad, which we look not for till November.

“The Earl of Northumberland is now a happy man, for God hath blessed him with a young son, to which her Majesty intendeth to be godmother.

“The defeat of the galleys is welcome news to Zealand; and such is the extreme mutiny in the Archduke's camp, being gone further than ever any mutiny did there, as we doubt not but Ostend will still hold out; whereof there is the better hope, because, notwithstanding all the means that have been used to stop up the haven, the ships do enter daily; and even now the Lord Gray, in his return from the camp at Grave, is gone in to see the town, whom we look for very shortly.

“As concerning your whale, it is true that we have heard of her, but that she is but a little one, not above 60 foot long, so as I think you will have no great accompt to make of her, nor prove very rich by that purchase. Thus have you all that the present affords, which I am willing to send you, because they may be some stay to your mind, and an argument that I am not idle, who, I do protest, have written this day more despatches than I have had merry days since I saw you.”

Court at Oatlands, 1st October 1602. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 3. Add. Endorsed by Carew: Received 8 Nov.*

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## II. "The MANNER of the OVERTHROW of the GALLEYS.

" Frederico Spinola, brother to the Marquis of Spinola, was coming to Sluce with six galleys, of whose approach all along as they came the Queen being continually advertised, even till they came to Belile in Brittany, she appointed Sir Robert Mansell to join with the States afore Dunkerk and Sluce, to see what they could do to impeach them, for which purpose Sir Robert Mansell with three ships did ride about Dungenness, one ship a good distance from another. Two flyboats rid together to the westward, one to give another the alarum; the rest rid afore Dunkerke and the harbour of Sluce.

" On Thursday last, being the 23rd of September, one of the flyboats made them, holding their course just north-east, running afore the wind with a great gale; whereupon those flyboats wrought cross the Channel. Sir Robert Mansell put himself into the middle of the Channel, shooting off still to give the ships to the eastward some warning. At last the galleys bare up close by the English shore within the Goodwynn towards the Downs; those ships sailing after, sometimes shooting, but to little purpose, for they spooned still afore the wind, in which time night came on. Whereupon five Flemings riding in the Downs, hearing the report of Sir Robert Mansell's ordnance, set sail ahead them, and so in a great storm crossing them, and they seeking by all means to have made over to the Flemish coast, three of them were shot and sunk.

" Amongst other circumstances, I think it not amiss to touch one, the rather to show that God, who hath his work in all things, is pleased also to make her Majesty his especial instrument of his glory; for those Flemish ships which did in a manner the greatest service in this were destined to have gone to the coast of Spain, where her Majesty hath a fleet, the charge of meeting with the galleys being only appointed to three of the Queen's ships and other of the States which rid afore Sluce, and had correspondency with the Queen's ships.

" Nevertheless, upon Monday night, computation being made at court by the news of the galleys riding upon the coast of Britanny at Bellile, that within few days they would be come as high as Dovor, her Majesty commanded me [Cecil] at twelve a clock at night, to write to the captains of those five ships aforesaid which rid in Portsmouth, and were so far onward for Spain, that they should, at her intreaty, notwithstanding the States had otherwise directed them, ply back again to Dovor, to help to spread the sea, lest those galleys might scape by in the night unseen. Whereupon the Vice-Admiral of the five ships, called Captain Cant, weighed anchor on Tuesday morning, and according to my letter returned back to Dovor on Wednesday night, and on Thursday, when five of them had outsailed the other ships, they light upon them as afore is mentioned. Now, Sir, which is worthy obser-



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vation, this captain was within these ten years held a captive by the Gran Signior as a slave until her Majesty's letter procured his liberty, which now he hath well requited.

"Of the other three galleys we hear this news, that one is cast away at Dunkerk, wherein Spinola himself, his people, and all his treasure were saved; one other broken at Newport, though the men also saved; the other safely entered into Callys.

"Out of the LOW COUNTRIES.

"The town of Grave is yielded to the States by composition the 9 of September in the morning, and in the afternoon his Excellency's guard marched into the town, and the enemy came forth with their arms, flying colours, bag and baggage. The enemy marched out of the town, almost 800 able soldiers and 20 horse; they left in the town about twenty pieces of artillery, great and small. The States mean to plant in it a garrison of 1,000 foot and 300 horse.

"The enemy's army is marched upon the Maese, and lieth now about Toren, and is said to have laid up his great ordnance, because he findeth himself unable to effect anything through the want of money, which is so great that many of his soldiers have disbanded themselves, and are severed in two companies, because they saw there was great preparation made to assail them. The foot retired themselves to Hogstraten, where they stand upon their guard, and the horse, being 1,500 strong, have betaken themselves, by favour of the States, to Levenbergen.

"The Archduke, with the rest of his army, is at Herentalls, and hath published a proscription against the mutineers, whereby, if they withdraw themselves within three days after the same be published, they shall be pardoned. If not, then they are to be prosecuted as traitors. Whosoever shall kill an ordinary soldier shall have 10 crowns, for an ordinary officer 100 crowns, for the governor of the horse 200 crowns, for their Elector 500 crowns."

*Copy. Pp. 3. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: News of the galleys and out of the Low Countries.*

Oct. 4. 319. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 214.

"Although this gentleman, Mr. Hyde, bringeth unto you a letter from the Council concerning a suit of his, wherein I have joined with the rest of my Lords, yet, because he is honest, and esteemed by some whom I do favour, I have thought good hereby to recommend him unto you."

Court at Oatlands, 4 October 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add. Endorsed by Carew: Received 16 Nov.*

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Vol. 615, p. 550.

320. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"I perceive by your letter of the 30th of September (which I received the third hereof) that you had not then received mine of the 26th, but I am confident it came to you within a day or two after, and hath so fully satisfied you with answer of all your former letters as I shall not now need further to trouble you thereabout. By this last of yours I find that the escape of Cormoek MacDermott doth not a little trouble you; but, since there is no remedy, I would not have it to grieve you, since I see your providence hath been such as nothing hath been on your part omitted fit to be thought on, either before or since his escape, which ought to be your comfort when this or any such mischance happens.

"I am sorry that by this means I shall still want Sir Samuel Bagnall and his forces, now that I am going into Connaught, with hope to draw that province to some better state of settling, whereto those companies would have given me a very great furtherance; yet will I not desire them from you unless you may well spare them. But fifty of your horse I may not conveniently be without, and therefore pray you to send that number thither as soon as well you may.

"I would gladly have Captain Taaffe's troop, because I hear he knows that country well, and will be readier for that service than any other that I can think upon; and I suppose Sir Samuel Bagnall (whose troop you will haply be willingest to spare, not being of your list,) will be loath to forego his horse till the rest of his charge may come with them. Yet I leave it to you to send whom you think fittest, praying you also (if you may) to furnish us with some victuals from Limerick; for unless we have some from you, and that a good proportion, which may come by water to Athloane from Limerick, out of your store, I know not how we shall be able to live or keep any force together; for in these parts we have none, and at Gallway very little, or, if we had, have no means of carriage, but that we must trust to that only that comes from you. Wherefore I pray you earnestly not to fail us, and let me know speedily what store you can afford us, that the boats from Athloane may be sent to fetch it. Further, we shall have very great need of beeves for the provision of the army, and for that purpose letters are sent to the several sheriffs of that province. I pray your Lordship give all the help you can for the speedy taking of them up."

Dublin Castle, 8 October 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy's own hand.*)—"I have so much care that all things should go well in your province, that whatsoever I write unto you for I would have you reckon but as motions, and not commandments, and leave it to you to fulfil them, if with the conveniency of your affairs you may. Otherwise your Lordship's answer whatsoever shall content me."

*Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed: Received 26 ejusdem.*

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Oct. 9.

321. SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 224.

“The last I wrote was of the escape of Cormocke McDermod. The ties which I have upon him are such, as he is a suitor to be reconciled to the State. My answers are, if he will justify himself of his accusations as a good subject ought to do (and which he may safely do if he be innocent), he shall have a just trial. If he dare not stand upon his innocency, then I will him to confess his errors, and he be an humble suitor for her Majesty’s gracious pardon, who rather desireth amendment of life in offenders than their extirpation. Which if he do, and submit himself to such assurances as the State shall think meet to require of him, I will then be a suitor to your Lordship for a remission of all his offences. What his answer will be, I do not yet know, but hourly expect. Whatsoever it is, I know he can do no great hurt, for already he is little better than a banished man out of his country of Muskerry, for I have in the same all the principal castles that command the country. His chiefest followers, with all their creaghts, I have disposed upon assurances under the Lord Roche, the Lord Barry, Sir John FitzEdmonds, and Sir Walter Raleghe’s signory. Besides, I have a strong faction of his nearest kinsmen against him, and his eldest son is in England, and his wife and his two eldest daughters in Cork, so as none but the looser sort follow him, who, when his subjection seemed to be most secured to the State, were evermore purposely by him left with the traitors, whom, as he would alleage, he could not rule. Wherefore, if your Lordship have any occasion to employ the forces here above the list of Munster, you may dispose them as your Lordship shall think best, but until such occasion be ministered their abode here will do me no hurt.

“This day I received a letter from your Lordship, signifying your pleasure unto me that you had appointed one Hussie to be sheriff of the county of Kerry. Sir George Bouchier therein hath prevented my suit, for I thought to have been an humble suitor to your Lordship that all the sheriffs of Munster might stand as they did for one year longer. The reasons that leads me unto it is the sufficiencies I find in them; and although it be against the ordinary course of law that sheriffs should remain above one year in their office, yet in turbulent times when a good officer is made that serves her Majesty with diligence and without exclamation of the country (under your Lordship’s correction), I think it no error to continue him. I protest . . . there is not a sheriff in this province that hath made suit unto me to be continued in his place more than one, which is John Barry, sheriff of the county of Cork, and him of all others I do most earnestly sue for, being an active man in his disposition in this turbulent time. He is the best struggling officer in effecting the commandments that are laid upon him that ever I saw, whereas one of

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a weaker spirit and less ability to execute his place could bear only the name and not the power of a sheriff. I am sure by him, without aid of soldiers, to have my directions performed, which by others, if he were displaced, I could not expect. Besides, since his company is taken from him, it is not ill counsel to hold him assured to the State. . . The rest of the sheriffs never made suit for their continuance, but finding them honest and not complained upon, I do think it were not amiss to keep good officers in their places. Nevertheless, if your Lordship be not so pleased, I will send you a list herein enclosed of fit men in every shire, Cork and Kerry excepted; the one which I humbly entreat for John Barry, the other already bestowed upon Hussie, one of the same country; and so in all counties in my opinion is the best election.

"I did promise to send your Lordship a book of all Cormoek's treasons, which is in writing and not yet finished. If ever your Lordship in so short time saw more, or more foul ones, committed by any man, I am deceived. And although . . . he is escaped, yet I doubt not your Lordship will not only allow and approve his apprehension, but rather blame the Council here and me for letting him run so long time as he did unrestrained. By the next your Lordship shall have the book sent unto you.

"Touching the Baron of Parliament,\* of whom your Lordship and the Council wrate unto me, your directions shall be obeyed. Sir George Thornton is landed, and before him by one day the Earl of Thomond. All the supplies are not yet arrived. Of those which came with Sir George, I have delivered 200 of them unto Sir Edward Wingfeld. The long sword may light upon whom the destiny is assigned. Of his being hurt by Captain Francis Kingsmyll I am sure your Lordship hath heard. At the first the wound was but light, but by what accident or disorder I know not, it is proved dangerous at the least to the loss of the use of his leg, if not of his life, for he swells into the body, for diversion whereof the surgeons are fain to make issues both in his leg under his knee and under his buttock; I am verily persuaded that he will hardly ever hereafter recover the use of that limb. The wound was in his flank, of no great depth, and over-hastily healed, which breeds him the dangers he is in.

"By this intelligence enclosed it appears that the Spaniards come not this winter, and that O'Donnell is dead, whereof your Lordship may be assured, for the merchants that bringeth me the news I do trust, and I do think it will fall out that he is *poisoned* † by *James Blake*, of whom your Lordship hath been formerly acquainted. At his coming *into Spain* he was

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\* In the margin: "The Lord Caher."

† The words in italics are in cipher, undeciphered.

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suspected by *O'Donnell*, because he *embarked at Corke*,\* but afterward he insinuated his access, and *O'Donnell is dead*. He never told the *President* in what *manner* he would *kill* him, but did assure him it *should be effected*. It will not be many days before the truth will appear."

Cork, 9 October 1602.

P.S.—“Since the writing hereof I received a submissive letter from Cormock McDermod. He desires the Queen's pardon, and refuseth justification. I have granted him to speak with me here.”

*Copy. Pp. 3.*

Oct. 10. 322. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 546.

“By letters from the . . . Privy Council, bearing date the 1st of July last, in the behalf of Sir Henry Power, knight, governor of Leix, we are required to give order that he shall have the constablership of Maribroughe, paying such money as the same was mortgaged for to Mr. Bingley by Mr. Harvy; with this limitation, that if Mr. Harvy be able to redeem it within one year to his own use that he shall have it again.” We send a copy of their letter.† “Although we are very willing to pleasure the said Sir Henry herein, . . . yet in regard it was alleged by some that your Lordship hath a purpose to pay the said money for Harvy, rather than he should be put from that charge, we have forborne to proceed further in the matter before we hear of your Lordship's certain resolution in that behalf, whereby, if we find it be not *bona fide* to the proper use of Harvy, we may pass the present estate thereof to the said Sir Henry, who . . . is to have the reversion of that office, though Harvy should hold it now.”

Dublin, 10 October 1602.

*Signed*: Mountjoye, George Cary, R. Wingfelde, Edmund Pelham, Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received 17 ejusdem.

Vol. 624, p. 221.

2. Copy.

Oct. 12. 323. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 542.

“I send you hereinclosed one clause of a letter which I received of late from Mr. Secretary (Cecil), advising a course for those that are to traffic into Spain, for the preventing of many foul abuses in conveying letters, messages, and passengers both to and fro. . . . Make the best use thereof . . . throughout that province, . . . myself having a purpose to do the like in other places of the realm. . . . O'Donnell's death . . . is

\* “*Coade*” in MS., but evidently a mistake for “*Corke*.” There are many similar errors in Carew's ciphered despatches.

† See 1 July.

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affirmed to be certain, as by this relation will appear more fully."\*

Dublin, 12 October 1602. *Signed.*

P.S.—“Let me know when the supplies land there.”

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 17 Oct.

Vol. 624, p. 227.

2. Copy.

Oct. 12. **324.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 624, p. 229.

“Since my last to you I have not heard out of England; only one is come to me, that tells me he came of purpose to bring me many letters, but he hath left them behind him in the ship that brought the treasure. Yet this good news out of Spain, which beareth great likelihood to be true, makes me take this occasion to write unto you. Art McBaron is now with me, who tells me Tyrone is still on the borders of Fermanaghe, and with his company spoileth those parts that I have left untouched; that his whole party is very weak, and such a general famine growing that there is no possibility for them to subsist. Leinster (God be thanked) is all quiet; the Moores consumed, the O’Connors banished; and all that Leinster feareth is their return, who, I am informed, are not above 30. If the affairs of Connaught grow not to a better pass, which I am in some good hope of, I think to make a journey thither myself. For your rebels, if you take but order by all means to spoil their countries, I think it is no harm for the service that they are out; for it is necessary, if Spaniards come, that they find their party poor; and under us such villains prosper too well. God confound all traitorous Papists, and send us a happy end of our troublesome task.”

Dublin, 12 October 1602.

P.S.—“I pray, my Lord, recommend my humble service to your lady, and I will do so much for you when you † have one.”

*Copy. P. 1.*

Oct. 15. **325.** SIR GEORGE CAREW and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 138.

“It may please your Lordships to remember how generally this province was infected and over-run with rebellion at and before the first entry of me, the President, into the government thereof, and with what speedy expedition the same was settled and reduced to as great a quietness as it was at any time in man’s memory before. In which good temper we had many reasons to be confident it would have continued, had not

\* See 31 Aug.

† Sic; qu. mistake for “I.”

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the arrival of the foreign enemy (after the establishing thereof) wrought a sudden alteration and distemper. Who, in being long expected by this nation, and agreeable to them in religion, bountiful in expending their King's treasure amongst them, and familiar with them by reason of their continual traffic and intercourse, the same (during the time that the Spaniard possessed Kinsale) being much increased through their daily access and messages, by these and other furthering helps, which are forcible to persuade, did so far prevail with them, as they allured and infected many with such large hopes and promises as they and their priests have made the apt believing people, easily led, to trust in.

“And although it was to be suspected that the arrival of so powerful an enemy amongst a people so newly reduced (which are naturally inclined to desire change and innovation) would have wrought a general revolt and defection, as indeed it would have done had not James FitzThomas and Florence McCartie, who were the heads and supporters of them in their former rebellion, been under restraint, which withheld very many of them from taking part with the Spaniard in this their intended invasion, and retained all (saving some few . . . of little account) from entering openly into the action, although the contagion did secretly spread itself very far abroad. And such as were so engaged, both to secure themselves and to draw their hopes to some end, employed over into Spain many a gentleman of this country birth to solicit the army promised in their aids, who laboured the same so effectually as few days passed us without intelligences of the great preparations that were in a readiness to invade us.

“And these being part of the motives that detained us from applying ourselves wholly to the prosecution of the Irish enemy (as in no other parts of the realm they did), we now . . . offer . . . an account of the expenses of our time, and how we and her Majesty's forces of this province have been employed this summer. . . . Since the expedition to Downboy, which began the 23rd of April, and our return to Corke, which was the 29th of June, our chief cares and endeavours have been bestowed in furthering the fortifications at Corke, Kinsale, and Halebowlinge, which could be raised by no other means but with hands of the soldiers; and so it was most fit, they being drawn thither for the defence of those towns, and to confront the arrival of the Spaniards; and the forces being so disposed of, they might be in an apt readiness to meet and annoy them at their first landing, thereby to prevent their possessing of any city or walled town within the province.

“We were also constrained to place garrisons to prevent the incursions and outrages of Morris O'Swillyvane Beare, the Knight of Kyerry, with Tyrrell, William Boorcke, and other captains of the bwonies, then and now in the rebels' pay, to the number of 1,300 strangers, besides such other of the provincial rebels, with their followers and confederates, as, being formerly

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infected with the Spanish hopes and money, had entered into arms, to be in a readiness to unite themselves, and give assistance to the foreign enemy upon their first landing. Wherein they were much heartened and encouraged by the coming in of the barque that arrived near Ardea in the river of Clannarrowe in Desmonde, with Owen McEgane, priest, called *Nuncius Apostolicus*, and the other fugitives that returned out of Spain, and brought the money when Downboy was besieged, and returned two days before it was razed; which treasure corrupted the greatest part of the mere Irish birth of this province. Amongst which Cormocke McDermodie Carty, chieftain of Muskrye, . . . was a principal practiser and conspirator, who, under colour of subjection, (keeping only his own person from open adhering unto them,) was a chief plotter and contriver of all the rebellion of Munster, having received an imprest of Spanish money, for which he bargained away his allegiance, . . . had permitted the greatest part of his followers to associate and strengthen the rebels, and upon a private conference with the said Owen McEgane had concluded to declare himself openly in the action, had not we timely prevented his going forth, by the restraint we laid upon him at the instant he was resolved to break out into action of rebellion, at which very time the arrival of a Spanish army was hourly expected. And not long before (we not knowing of his later combination, and desirous to have as many pledges as we could gain from him to be sent over into England), he, the better to make way to his purposes and treasons, obtained his second son (who remained hostage to her Highness) out of our hands, upon great bonds and the best sureties in this country, who stand bound by recognizance either to send him presently into England, or to return him into the custody of the gent[leman] porter again. Both which, after his apprehension, he not only refused, but also placed strong guards into his three castles or principal manor houses of Blarny, Kilcrea, and Moccrompie, which he kept, and would not deliver, although he, being her Majesty's prisoner, was required by us several times, upon his duty of allegiance to her Highness, to surrender them; withholding the castles of Blarny and Kilcrea till, by preparing the cannon to draw hence thitherward, he was (to avoid the utter revenge of them) enforced to give them up. And yet he maintained Moccrompie till we were constrained to win it by force, which was performed by Sir Charles Willmott (as by his letter to me, the President, now sent with these, may appear). So as we may conclude him to be a most poisoned and corrupt member to the State, and one that for these many years hath been defiled with all the combinations and treasons of Tyrone, O'Donnill, James FitzThomas, and . . . all other that have given annoyance to her Majesty's quiet in this her realm; . . . and now . . . hath made a strange and unfortunate escape. And yet [his] wife, who is most dear unto him, his eldest daughter, that should have been married to O'Donnell, and



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one younger daughter of his, who is marriageable, are in our hands, as also we have raised a strong faction of his own name and kinsmen within his country.

“We have drawn all the principal followers of Muskrye and their cattle thence, and placed them under the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the other English Undertakers, and put them under good security not to return thither to give relief to the enemy. So as, the chief fortresses and holds of the country being in our hands, and he wanting the succour of his followers and their cattle, cannot long subsist to be an enemy within his country. All this besides, his eldest son is in England. These being the greatest bonds and ties that can be taken on Cormocke, so as only his body, which is weak and unable to endure any hardness, is out of our power. All which occasions, with our observations and continual and daily advertisements . . . of the preparations and coming of the Spaniards . . . have driven us to defensive courses. . .

“And now the opinion conceived of the Spaniards coming hither being diminished, although with the old list of Munster (which is sufficient as they are now placed) we can weaken and wear out the enemy, whose prosecution we now intend and are entered into, yet for that to destroy and root them out will prove more chargeable to her Majesty than their possessions can be beneficial unto her, we . . . certify the present state of this province, to the end the reasons may appear why Munster, which was first reduced, is . . . distempered.

“Although we are well assured that there is not any one rebel in this province but would gladly sue to be received into . . . mercy, and give the best pledges . . ., from the hope whereof their often offending hath deprived them . . .; albeit, in our opinion, if the Spaniard once arrive they are so far poisoned and engaged to them as no pledge nor other security . . . can assure them; yet seeing in the other parts of this realm, which do seem to be near settled, many like offenders are taken in, for understanding your Lordships' pleasure herein, we have purposely sent over to your Lordships this bearer Richard [Boyle]\*, clerk of the Council established here, . . . who by his sufficiency and understanding of this country . . . is well able to give satisfaction in anything your Lordships shall be pleased to question him. . . . Return him back to his employment with . . . speed.”

Shandon Castle, 15 October 1602.

*Signed:* George Carew, Thomonde, Charles Willmott, William Saxey, Ger. Comerforde, [William] Cork and Rosse, G. Fenton.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

\* Surname omitted. See the following letter.

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Oct. 15. 326.  
Vol. 620, p. 116.

SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BUCKHURST).

Your letters by Mr. Apsley give me no small comfort.

"This bearer, Mr. Boyle, the clerk of the Council of this province, is now employed into England to your Lordships [the Privy Council], to give you an account of our time spent this summer, lest it might be thought that we have been idle and negligent, that the prosecution here hath not been so sharply followed as in the other parts of the kingdom; and also to acquaint your Lps. with the present estate of the same. . .

"O'Donnell is certainly dead. The report is both brought and sent unto me from Lisbon by merchants of this town which I employed into Spain. I know they dare not deliver untruths unto me. The death of this traitor will much advance the Queen's service in Ireland; for the other Irish which live in Spain are not of the estimation which O'Donnell was of; and, as I hear and believe, the King grows weary of the Irish which flock thither, and incessantly suing for recompense of their losses (as they allege) sustained in his Majesty's service, whom they and all the rebels in Ireland call their King and master."

You have been informed of the conference between Captain Roger Harvy and the Vedor General. I have sent one Walter Edney, lieutenant to Captain Harvy, into Spain. This next month I expect his return, when your Lordship shall have certain intelligence of Spanish affairs. "If the merchants which came last from Lysbone may be believed, I am little beholding to that nation, for one of them was in trouble for buying a Spanish Chronicle, because it was for my use; which makes me to apprehend some fear that Lieutenant Edney . . . might be barbarously used, and Don Juan's promise little regarded." I pray you " (understanding of certain Spanish captains lately taken in England) that stay be made of some one of them " until his return. "This I write, more out of providence than any opinion I have he will be stayed; nevertheless I may not omit any care due unto those that hazard their lives and goods (as he doth) to serve the Queen.

"I am now disposing of the army into garrisons, to make a winter prosecution. I hope, ere it be long, to make a good account of Munster. To pacify it is in my power; but that is not sufficient exemplary to men that have so far forgotten their allegiance. To banish the chief men that are in rebellion out of Munster I dare undertake to do in a short time; but banished men, upon all occasions, will return again to breed new troubles, as is proved true in McMorrice, the Knight of the Valley, John FitzThomas, and others, who for the space of a twelvemonth durst not (before the Spaniards arrived at Kynsale) look into Munster. So as I find no way of assurance but extirpation, and in working of it longer time will be spent, and the charge will be greater than their lands will in any proportion make satisfaction; so as I am confused in my own

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counsels, not knowing well how to conclude, because I know not to my own liking how to resolve; for pacification, banishing, and extirpation are every of them in their qualities so encumbered with inconveniences as I can hardly judge which to be the least.

“But . . . I will reduce Munster to the best I may, and doubt not shortly to make it the most obedient province . . . in all Ireland. Nevertheless I dare not warrant it from a new rupture, if Spain send them relief, for, whensoever the King shall make a new enterprise, no pledges or any other assurances which the wit of man can devise is sufficient to hold them subjects. I speak not only of Munster but of the generality of the kingdom, and if any man shall warrant further, he adventures (in my opinion) very much. This province . . . are most infected with Spanish treasons; and yet thus far I know them to be wise, that those of better quality, having lands to lose, will forbear their personal going into rebellion until they may be able to make some judgment of the success.”

Cork, 15 October 1602.

“Sent by Mr. Boyle.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Oct. 16. 327. SIR GEORGE CAREW and the COUNCIL of MUNSTER to the  
Vol. 620, p. 142. PRIVY COUNCIL.

“By reason of the small account which here is held of the new standard, and the restraint of the exchange, no merchants here have done or will set any wares but at the rate of 100*l.* for 100 gain, and all things else in the like unreasonable condition are accordingly raised; whereby few living in her Majesty's entertainment in the wars are able with their means to live in any proportion, by reason whereof the captains and officers are much discouraged to follow the service, so that every day divers . . . forsake their places, and return into England. For remedy whereof . . . we have here found a merchant of good discretion, one Lewis Clotworthie, who hath undertaken with us to furnish the army with all sorts of merchandises as such reasonable prices as befits a merchant reasonably to live upon, so that he may be sure to have his money received into the Bank here according to the proclamation, and his bills at reasonable days paid in England. . . He is well contented that entry shall be made evermore in the Custom-house of London or Bristoll of such goods as he shall from time to time ship for this place, whereby . . . he cannot charge the banks colorably with more than for money so received. And for that he is no freeman of the city of Corke, whereby he is subject to be called in question amongst the townsmen for so retailing of wares, he offereth to become bound not to sell one pennyworth of wares to any other than to those of her Majesty's army; so that your Lordships

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will write . . . to the town that he may not be troubled. If your Lordships . . . grant this our suit, we shall cause her Majesty to be more willingly and better served. . . . The merchants here will trade no more, and have shut up their shops, so as there is no necessaries to be bought for (from?) them to supply the wants of the army, as in former times have been accustomed."

Cork, 16 October 1602. *Signed as before.*

*Copy. P. 1.*

Oct. 17. 328. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.  
Vol. 624, p. 245.

"Whereas we are appointed by the . . . Privy Council to cause to be provided in this kingdom for and towards the victualling of her Majesty's forces in Ulster as much corn and beef as in this realm may be procured, either by authority to be bought from that subject or by force to be taken from the rebels; . . . we have laid upon the province of Munster the number of 500 beefs on foot and 600 barrels of wheat, to be speedily levied in all the counties of that province and delivered to the surveyor's agents for ready money, to be paid at the delivery of the beef and corn, viz., 26s. 8d. le beef on foot, and 16s. 6d. the barrel of wheat. . . . We refer the same to your Lordship, . . . either to be performed, increased, or diminished, and accordingly to direct the several sheriffs of every county for the accomplishing of your mind therein; as likewise so to direct the commanders of her Majesty's forces in that province, that if they shall take any prey from the rebels the beeves may be reserved for the same service, for price of which they shall receive as much money as the same shall be thought worth by your Lordship. And for that we have no means so fit to bring victuals to Athloane for the service of Connaught (which is now very likely to be of great importance, the greatest force of this rebellion being now driven to McGwyre and O'Rourke's country, where they cannot long live without the means of Connaught, which we will labour by all we may to take from them), as to bring the same from Lymericke thither; therefore we pray your Lordship . . . to appoint the greater proportion of corn and beef to be delivered at that city."

Castle at Dublin, 17 October 1602.

*Signed:* Mountjoye, Tho. Midensis, George Caryc, Anth. Sentleger, George Bourcher, Henry Harrington.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Oct. 24. 329. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 199.

"I need not discourse to you how much comfort your return would bring my heart, seeing your own judgment cannot but tell it you, except you think me a fool; and your own honesty assures it you, unless you think me a Jew, who have

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sealed it to you with so many Christian vows. In which respect, though I could allege so many reasons as would teach him that had but common sense that the thing hath infinite difficulties, yet I will only use to you a few arguments, because a word is enough to a wise man, and because there need no third person or thing mediate our mutual confidence.

“You shall understand, therefore, that her Majesty hath been exceedingly importuned by the Lord Deputy to have had licence to return into England for some two months, whilst the army was to live in garrison; urging further that it would have been of very great advantage for her Majesty’s service that he might have had some personal speech with her, before whom he could have laid many weighty grounds of consultation to which her pleasure were fit to be known, to the intent that he might tread in the paths of the same.

“All which notwithstanding, her Majesty being loath to take the pot from off the fire while it is a-seething, (this time serving now to order and settle all things for the future, wherein he is the most potential instrument,) and she not knowing what effects it would work in the minds of that kingdom when by his return they might be in question of some new governor, though her Majesty had no such meaning, she hath plainly resolved to continue his Lordship there, both during the spring and till the end of the summer; so as for that matter it is at an end.

“Now, Sir George, resort I pray you to this consideration—whether her Majesty, suspecting to grieve the Deputy by this denial of his coming over, (for which also he made his infinite affection to see her another main foundation,) will not also be further scrupulous to increase his unkindness by any other circumstance of favour which she shall show in that kind to any other. Of which point if you fall into due consideration, then look into yourself, and think whether the case be not now changed, for probability to draw her mind to grant it you, when those that love him here will say and think that the odds in the measure used towards you and him in this point will be taken for some disgrace in her Majesty’s valuation of him, in which you know he hath cause to be very tender.

“Now, Sir, if you will answer me to this, that there is a difference between a governor and president,—for I know you cannot be so diabolical as to suppose that I am remiss in the desire,—then I will only reply thus much unto you, that you know our mistress well, and cannot but know by the same that one may draw back more with one finger than he can set forward with a hand in such a case as this; wherein I speak it to you confidently, that, but myself, I know not one man in this kingdom that will bestow six words of argument to reply, if she deny it.

“Now, Sir, then consider my case, how unfit it is for me, where I have no hope to prevail, to show myself violent in seeking your satisfaction, when I have not been able to procure it him,

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towards whom, although I make not myself so lukewarm a friend as that I profess not a great deal of difference in my private affliction between you and him, yet I would be loth to be misjudged by him in that point (wherein I did assure him) to deal other than really with him to the best of my power. For then surely, his request being denied and yours obtained, it may be truly conjectured that I (that knew the joining of them might make the grant more heavy) have persuaded the one's stay to make the other's return the more easy; with which kind of false and factious blasts, though it hath been my fortune long to be breathed upon, (and therefore I can the better foresee the destiny,) yet I protest unto you that in this case I have dealt as truly by him as ever I could have done for you or any man living, both because I will betray no man that trusts me, and because I could more easily have overcome all arguments which should have been made to oppose your coming, when I should have had the help of his friends, to persuade it, whom I had gratified in that point. And so likewise for this matter I deal plainly with you, which I will ever do.

“And now methinks that you have only read this part of my letter, and are not come to the end, I do see you struggle with fear that your exile is resolved for one year longer. But, good Sir George, because you shall see that you have here no idle nor formal friend, suspend till the end of my letter, and observe well the course which I have set down; and then you will think my project for your return is neither void of love nor reason: which if it may be, and that with all due circumstances, then you will confess you have your own end, though not by your own ways.

“For my own part, Sir George, I do confess that I affect not your continuance in that office; first, because it serves you but to discharge the place; secondly, it is subject to accident, and one misfortune may extinguish with princes many merits, as the humours of the time are compounded; thirdly, I do confess that for any comfort you are to me, by being there, I should take as much pleasure to hear from you out of Jerusalem.

“Now, Sir, how you can come hither, and (keeping that government) not be tied in reputation to return in the spring, if Spaniards be expected, (which, howsoever they come or no, sure I am it ever shall be made so,) I leave that to your own judgment. Secondly, when you shall come hither, if you, upon some bare expectation of some other fortune, absolutely strip yourself of that place, that is also a matter whereof I would not have you negligently nor rashly to resolve, but rather so to advise and carry the business, as to find out some person, for whose sake I may have others' help, to remove you with your contentment, either by compounding with you for the place absolutely, or by holding it under

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you as a Vice-President, as Sir Thomas Norris did of his brother, yielding him some yearly portion out of the same.

“Now then, if you, in falling into these considerations, would think that I am Æsop’s man, which can do all things, and that your affection for some one or other respect, yea, haply, for sufficiency of the party to do the Queen service, must be strong in you, as in the choice of any of these ways only such a man must receive it as you and I shall like of and repute such a one, let it suffice you that I give you this item, that neither your coming hither, without which no matter can be accommodated for you in any kind, will be wrought, nor when you are here shall the passages for this matter be made so easy as it will be, if the private ends of some other persons be also satisfied in contriving this business.

“In all which, to come to the point, this we must do. Your return must be wrought with all speed; it must be favoured by the Deputy, and thereby scape to be crossed from thence, or ill taken here. Besides, when he sees that it cannot be wrought, nor is laboured for, without him, he will both conclude that he is not disgraced, nor that your friends here have any way neglected him. If this one principal verb be then found out, then doubt you not but we will make a Latin.

“For this purpose I have laid this project. There is a gentleman whom the Deputy most affecteth and trusteth of any person living. If this man might have hope to work himself into the Vice-Presidentship, it is as much as he desireth; and I dare undertake, if the Deputy could work it to him, he would be gladder than if he had 3,000*l.* Besides, for your coming hither, if he see but hope thereby to effect it. I know he would not only persuade it, but send you over upon some other external reason.

“As for the conditions which this gentleman would afford you, he will be contented to allow you out of it one full moiety of all your entertainments, both half the diet money, half the benefit of your horse company and foot company, &c., and yet displace none of your lieutenants nor officers in your bands, nor so use the matter as that either in England or Ireland any creature living should be acquainted with the composition but the Deputy, who both for your own sake and for his follower, whom he respecteth, he will keep it secret. And in his computations of all the tributes to your place, he made reckoning that your half would be 900*l.* a year.

“For the effecting of this I have written to the Lord Deputy, that seeing he tarrieth, it will be requisite that her Majesty be well informed by some other person (*viva voce*) of judgment and reputation, who may both justify all things that are past, and persuade for things to come, as a public minister, and may, out of private affection to himself, do him all honest offices; to which task I have particularly named yourself, as one that hath all these parts. And lastly, I have plainly let him know that I will take it for a great favour

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done to myself, if by his means, without which I cannot work your return, nor will go about to work it, I may have your company for a month or two, and, if it be possible, be better able by your coming to work that composition aforesaid, wherein his Lordship shall have opportunity to advance one of his own favorites, and shall, whatever come of it, send one over who will infuse all good ingredience for himself to her Majesty, besides that gratifying of me as much as he can desire to do in the work.

“Next, Sir, for the way to procure this, I have already procured a letter from her Majesty to the Lord Deputy, that he do now begin to consult in the winter time for all things necessary for the summer, and, namely, call to such consultation other provincial governors, remote commanders, or any other person with whom he thinks fit to confer, at Dublin. This I did the better to warrant his calling you from Munster, and by that calling to give both him, you, and that gentleman with whom I have dealt as I tell you, means to confer and to compound, of which if you shall speak by letters or messages, it would prove a matter full of absurdities.

“Next, I thought thereby to make your coming over so much the more warrantable, when you shall be present and an actor in the counsels there, being then sent over to give account here of the same. In which point of your sending over also, because I have not dared in particular to propound it to the Queen, lest she should not assent unto it, being apter to approve *facta* than *facienda*, I have also, out of my own knowledge that it will be of excellent use to her service to receive such lights from you, presumed so far, to prevent any fear the Lord Deputy may have to do that for which he hath not particular warrant, as to write unto him to do it in the respects before hand, and to warrant him by my letter that I will stand his warrant for the well acceptation thereof when it is done.

“And thus, Sir, have I now at great length given you an account of all that I have or can do in this business, wherein I am sure of good success, by the favour of God, if by no error of your own this matter be crossed.

“First, therefore, and above all things, let it not be known to any in your province, or to any of your friends here, that you expect to be sent for to Dublin, much less that you hope to come into England; but rather, I pray you, give out the contrary, even till the time you have your dispatch at Dublin, that the first news we hear may be of your landing.

“Secondly, bethink you beforehand, against the time you shall receive the Deputy’s commandments, how to prepare things in your province, as by leaving it there may appear no notorious inconvenience.

“Thirdly, bethink you of leaving the charge in such hands, as the Deputy may not foresee that the purpose whereof I have written to you be so forestalled by investing any such



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person in your charge as may hinder the secret purpose; for which purpose I would you did procure Thomond, who is likeliest to mutiny, to go with you there, to make him give attendance for the dispatching of some of those particular causes which he hath in hand, amongst the which I do assure you one Tieve O'Brien doth shrewdly complain against him, whose complaint I will transmit thither.

"Lastly, when you come to Dublin, show your extreme affection to place him whom I have named unto you in your government, upon the conditions aforesaid, for as much as lieth in your power; or else, when you have met at Dublin, and shall show that it is not most agreeable to you (who must be beholding to the Deputy) to place such a one as is most agreeable to the Deputy, the main post of this building will fall in pieces in the rearing. For though that shall not be made the occasion, yet we shall have many occasions found, to demur there of your sending over.

"And so once again recommending to your care the readiness of all things when you shall be called, and the secrecy of all things till the time that you be called, I make an end of this plot, wherein I conceive I shall show myself a good architector, of which great virtue in me, or rather vice, for it hath almost undone me, you shall be *oculatus testis*, for I have trimmed up a lodging for you in my new house (called Cecyll House) by Ivy Bridge, from whence this letter is dated, and where you are wished by your affectionate friend."

October 24, 1602. *Signed.*

*Pp. 5, corrected by Cecil. Addressed by him: Sir G. Caro. Endd. by Carew: Received 8 Nov.*

Oct. 24. 330. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 202.

"Although you receive my other letter, which is written by my servant's hand, (which I was driven to do, mine eyes being sore, and myself desirous to let you know my reasons at length,) yet you see there is nothing in it of fraud or any practice which is unworthy; and therefore you need not, if you examine it rightly, fear any prejudice, if my servant were dishonest, from which my very good trial knows he is very innocent.

"Now, Sir, to come to the matter, the man is Sir Oliver St. John, whom I have so assured of my desire to have him placed (for which but by your coming over I said I have no hope) as he will employ all his might to my Lord to persuade it. When you come, therefore, use all accordingly, and refer the success to the Queen and to his friends; and that is all which you need do, for I hope you think I like not such an election nor think it feasible. Seeing, therefore, you know all, and know that opportunity well taken is all in these things, I dare put you in trust how to humour all parties there till you get hither, and then we will not be asleep.

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“Next, Sir, you may know that I have both received your letter, with the verbal cipher, which infinitely pleased the Queen, and I have now received your letters by Boyle. First, where you desire to know whether we would have you work by sword or by pacification, if you will have warrant I must put it to a public question. If then any such constitution of an estate be showed to the Queen as may now make her think that you shall have much to do, you are like to be directed to stay. I do therefore move no such questions; but in my opinion do think that if no surety can be taken but by extirpation, that our purse is not capable of the counsel, and therefore to make some quiet end, which will hold out even as long as the rest is like to do, were not amiss in my conceit.

“But, Sir, if you find that you have any restraint from this, do it not by my warrant, neither in any case take them in that have been so obstinate rebels as Morrice O’Sullivan Beare, the Knight of the Valley, or these, but some other I would take in or rather defer any main resolution till you be at Dublin, and there proceed as you see them disposed. You see my conceit, which is only to avoid reviving to us here new causes for new directions which may entangle you.

“Boyle is accused by Crosby, for I know not what, of cosening and concealing; one barrel little better herring than the other. Let me know, therefore, whether you would have him favoured or no. Truly the fellow seems witty. For Cormock’s escape, it is made here no wonder, nor scarce spoken of in any place to hurt you. This letter which I send you goes away tomorrow; so doth St. John go towards Chester tomorrow, after whose being with the Deputy I believe you shall not be long unsent for; till which time be silent.”

October 24, 1602. *Signed.*

P.S.—“I understand that my Lord Deputy hath given Sir Edward Wingfield 200 foot, of which I am right glad. But where I see you would have Haleboling for him, I protest to you, and so I pray you tell him, that the Queen will not like it, and the further moving it will rather hurt than do him good. Time will help in some other thing, but I assure you he hath here great back friends. I will write by St. John to you shortly, to let you know my desire that you and he would agree, because I love you both, and I will write that he hath yielded to half profit if he be your Vice President.”

*Holograph. Pp. 3.*

Oct. 25. 331. SIR G. CAREW TO LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 233.

“My last unto you, dated . . . the 9th of this present, I do much doubt is miscarried. . . . If it have so happened, I beseech your Lordship to cause by direction inquiry to be made where it was last delivered on the way, and at what stage in Leinster it stayed or miscarried, who, if he have not

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given your Lordship notice thereof already, deserveth punishment; and I will carefully observe the like in Munster for discovering thereof. But since the same I have received three severall letters, one of the 8th, and two of the 12th. . .

“I received comfort in that you are pleased to conceive so rightly both of my providence to have prevented Cormocke McDermod's escape, and of my care to assure his country and followers; wherein, as it was the ill fortune of a negligent keeper to occasion these troubles that since have happened, so I do hope that my conclusion now with him is such as will give your Lordship contentment. . . I granted him to speak with me; who, after assurance of safety, finding himself guilty in his own conscience of the fulness of the crimes and accusations objected, came unto me, and unto me and the Council made a very penitent and humble submission, manifesting thereby, as we might well perceive, a sense of his own guilt, without insisting upon any unmeet conditions before us. The assurances we have of him are his two sons, his chief castle called the Blarny, and some of the best and most principal men of Munster, bound in 3,000*l.* with him for his future subjection. Besides, the oath which the submittees of the North have taken, he hath sworn and subscribed unto it. All which (together with the ruining of his country, in the which his harvest is spoiled, for between her Majesty's forces and the rebels, for this whole month, there hath been very near 4,000 horse and foot in it,) I hope will make him walk more directly than he hath done, as also the fear of the advantage of his kinsmen, who he knoweth would gladly take hold and follow any occasion to supplant him; wherein as I have with the assistance of the Council labour[ed] what I might to sort it unto a good conclusion, so do I beseech your Lordship to give your favourable allowance to what we have done. For now that he is received, and as I think well assured from relapsing, it removeth the war which must have been made at Cork gates a great distance farther, even to the skirts of Desmond, being the borders anneering unto Muskery, and gives me great ease in placing the forces, which must have been continued in that country, in other needful parts, where now they will do better service.

“In my last I wrote that, notwithstanding Cormocke Mc Dermod out, I would not move for Sir Samuel Bagnall's stay with his regiment, lest it might be a hindrance to the prosecution elsewhere; yet I may not omit to yield unto your Lordship all humble thanks for the great respect you bear towards us here, that you were pleased he should remain in Munster. But now (thanks be to God, the greatest weight of disturbance being removed,) I may spare that regiment and his horse troop, and with them another 50 horse, praying your Lordship to be pleased to return them again when you may either spare them or that new occasions shall enforce their return.

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But where your Lordship hath a particular desire to have Captain Taaff with his troop to be employed in Connaught, it is not his troop I desire to hold, being the weakest that is now in the list of Munster, but having here very great use of him through his knowledge in this country and his acquaintance and friendship which he hath entertained with this people, whereby, in my observations, I find his endeavours do much help me. . .

“The victuals which your Lordship requires from Limerick, . . . inasmuch as there is by a true relation of the victualler's but two months' provision for 1,000 men in that magazine, and that the occasions of use thereof are many and daily, by reason of the forces disposed in those parts and in Kerry, who must be relieved forth of the same, I know not how it will be able to satisfy your Lordship with any large proportion. . . . If a proportion for 500 men for one month . . . may serve, being in my opinion very much, in regard of the scarcity there, and that I am not certain how soon that magazine will either be supplied from England, or with what conveniency it might be done from hence, by reason of the rareness of easterly winds in the winter, I would willingly spare [it], notwithstanding the wants which the garrisons of Kerry, Askeaton, and Kyllmallocke, being 1,700 horse and foot in list, may sustain. . . . I do wish that these provincials were able to yield your Lordship as great assistance of beeves and other helps as your Lordship could require, but . . . the condition of Munster is such, as I know not where for my own provision to have beeves for money; wherefore I do not see how your Lordship can be served from hence. Besides, it would breed ill humours in their corrupt hearts, and in especial being now so extreme poor as they be.

“In my said letter of the 9th I did send unto your Lordship an examination of a merchant of this town, of good credit, which agreeth with that of yours, . . . that O'Donnell about the 10th of the last month died in the country not far from the Court; and his cause of knowledge is that he saw letters from the rector of the College of Salamanca, whose name is Thomas Whyte, born in Clonmell, unto the rector of St. Patrick's College in Lisbon; which I believe to be true. . . . The said merchant also told me that Archer the Jesuit books against Don Juan, and Don Juan against him, and Archer told the merchant that he was weary of his life, not meaning any more to deal in matters of State, but would return (retire?) himself to a cloister, not purposing to come any more to the Court except the King did send for him.

“I do humbly thank your Lordship for the other particular occurrents in your letter, being exceeding glad to hear from you that Tyrone is brought to so low an ebb, and that Leinster is already reduced. I hope God will ever bless your

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Lordship's endeavours with like happy success, both in Connaught, if those obstinate traitors subsist, and in all other parts. . . Your Lordship's third letter of the 12th bringing enclosed the copy of a branch of Mr. Secretary's letter unto your Lordship, touching a course to be taken with merchants trading into Spain, I will see to be carefully effected in the best manner that here may be thought upon.

"But now to acquaint your Lordship with the present condition of Munster as now it standeth. I have, for the prosecuting of the traitors now on foot, sent a strong party of horse and foot into Kerry and Desmond, and another into the West to Ballymore and Bantry, by which two garrisons (now that Muskerry is made quiet) the whole service of Munster is prosecuted. And to keep in the traitors, that they may not be admitted to flee forth of the West from them, I have placed the rest of the forces between this town and Lymericke, as it were a pale to hem them in, that I doubt not shortly but to make your Lordship a good account of this province.

"Sir Samuel Bagnall with his regiment and other foot companies, his own horse and some of mine, I placed in Muskerry (when Sir Charles Wyllmott departed) to serve upon Cormocke whiles he stood out, and to attend the spoiling of that country, and to do something, as they might gain opportunity, upon the other traitors that were with Cormocke; wherein Sir Samuel hath prospered with good effect. And yet that good which might have ensued (above what happened) was crossed; for so soon as I gathered that Muskerry was like to be reduced, and that the Buonies would abandon that country, I directed unto Sir Samuel a gentleman thereof, named Owen McTeige, of the Drissane, who . . . by good espial drew him the same night that Cormocke came unto me upon the traitor Terrell's camp, somewhat before day, in which was, as all the captains that were there affirm, 800 foot and 40 horse at least by poll. But by the accident of a fall of one of the new supplies, some quarter of a mile before they came unto them, who had his match in cock, his piece taking fire gave alarm to the rebels, yet not such but that this gentleman, leading on Sir Samuel with faster pace, gave on upon their camp, and followed the attempt so hotly as they forced Tyrrell and his wife (if she be not slain) to flee naked, leaving clothes and what else they had behind them. And there, besides the killing at least of 80 men dead on the ground, they gained above 40 horse and hackneys, besides 400 garrons, money, cows, arms, and household stuff, good store of Spanish money, bolts of Holland, a piece of velvet uncut, gold and silver lace, good English apparel of satin and velvet; and, to conclude, I do judge it was, for so small a number, the richest Irish camp that I have heard of in Ireland. A portmantua, wherein Terrell's money was, is taken, but the money will not be confessed where it is, yet confessed to have been there. God send

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them good of it that have so well got it! Every soldier hath in some proportion Spanish ryalls in his purse.

"Tyrrell the same day, thinking it to be a draught of Cormocke's (because the night before he slipt from him and came to me), in great fury burnt as many towns and as much corn as he might, killed and hanged divers poor men, women, and children appertaining to Cormocke, exclaiming upon Muskerry men, calling them traitors to God and the Catholic cause, and is now gone into Desmond, where I hope Sir Charles Wyllmott will bid him welcome. Into Muskerry I am sure he will not return any more, but if he do, I doubt not but Cormocke will seek a revenge upon him, for so he hath sworn to do, and I think he will perform it; for he is sharp upon a revenge of the malicious cruelty which Terrell exercised upon his people and country after his defeat.

"I humbly pray your Lordship's pardon in that I have omitted to acquaint you in my former letters of my proceedings according the instructions which I received from the Lords touching the conference between *Roger Harvy* \* and the *Fedor*. The 23rd of the last month I sent his lieutenant called *Edney* well instructed into *Spain*, whose return I expect this next month of November. By him your Lordship shall have true relation, for the man is wise and can well judge of *land or sea preparations*.

"In my last of the 9th I gave you notice of Sir George Thornton's landing with supplies, and that of them, according your Lordship's directions, I had given 200 to Sir Edward Wingfeild, who can now go upon crutches, and that the rest were disposed of to supply the list of Munster and Sir Samuel Bagnall's regiment; all which I hope is done as your Lordship doth wish."

Cork, 25 October 1602.

P.S.—"If it be your Lordship's pleasure to command 50 horse from hence besides Sir Samuel Bagnall's, I beseech you nominate whose troop it shall be. You cannot choose amiss, for the troops be fair and strong, and have good officers.

"Touching Philip Harvy, I humbly beseech your Lordship to commiserate the poor estate the gentleman is drawn into. His father's service deserves to be remembered to the son. If he lose the fort, he must starve or beg. In my opinion it is a hard course which Sir Henry Poore hath run against him, first in getting a grant of the reversion, and then to wring him out of the possession by paying the mortgage. My humble desire is, if your Lordship may do it, to place Captain Fysher his vice-constable, which may be as well tolerated in him as in other Englishmen's sons born in Ireland.

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\* In cipher, undeciphered.

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If it may not be granted, that then some Englishman, against whom no exception may be taken, to hold the place in Fysher's stead. If neither of these, rather than my kinsman shall be utterly destroyed, I will *bonâ fide* redeem the mortgage, and put a substitute in it. But if Sir Henry Poore do so much affect the place as it seems he doth, to satisfy all parties, let him buy it clearly of Philip Harvy, giving for it as much as it is worth; with which money the mortgage may be paid and the overplus my kinsman may receive to his own use. . . The poor gentleman is not like, when his office is gone, to procure any other state of living, and I am much grieved to see the extremities which his extreme follies hath drawn him into, and out of mere commiseration I deal in the business."

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

Oct. 26. 332. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 540.

"I shall now have occasion to make use of the offer you made me in your late letter, to return those forces from thence that exceeded your list of Munster, for Tyrone is drawing into Connaught, with purpose to pass that way either into Munster or else for Spain; and I, to prevent him, am resolved to go speedily myself down into Connaught, where I shall be able to do little good without more forces than are now there. And therefore I desire that Sir Samuel Bagnall, with the troops that he carried with him to your Lordship, may presently be sent to Gallway, where he shall receive further direction from me. I have signified so much to Sir Samuel Bagnall by the letter which herewithall I send, which I pray you cause to be delivered, and hasten him away with those troops, that I may not lack them at my need; which would be a very great disappointment to me, and hindrance to the service intended."

Castle of Dublin, 26 October 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 30 Oct.

Vol. 624, p. 230.

2. Copy.

Oct. 26. 333. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 538.

"I am well content that Mr. Barry shall continue to be sheriff of the county of Corke for this next year, which he may hold by his former patent without having any new granted unto him." I am "willing to give the gentleman all good satisfaction, both in regard of his own deservings as of your recommendation of him."

Dublin Castle, 26 October 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 231.

2. Copy.

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Oct. 26.

334.

SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 232.

"I understand by my Lord of Thomond that he hath brought letters out of England from the Lords of the Council (the copy whereof I have seen), which imports the restoring again of Thomond to Munster. . . I do think it meet to be annexed to Munster; the reasons I do leave to my Lord of Thomond's own report, who will presently attend your Lordship. But if there were no other cause than his Lordship's merits (who I know is for his faith to her Majesty, and love to our state and nation, equal at the least with any nobleman that ever was born in Ireland), it were not amiss to give him satisfaction, although it were a little unreasonable; but his deserts and reasons joined together, in my opinion, makes it clear that it is no unreasonable suit. And thus much I do know precisely, that it cannot be prejudicial to the service in granting his Lordship's request. And also, if I be not deceived, I think it agreeable to their minds in England in whom your Lordship is interested, and unto whom you would be willing to give contentment."

Shandon, 26 October, 1602.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Oct. 27.

335.

GILBERT EARL OF SHREWSBURY to [SIR G. CAREW].

Vol. 615, p. 466.

"At my coming hither to London from the North (where I have spent all this last summer), I met with your letter, within Mr. Secretary's packet, of the 14th of this present; whereby I understand that you have bestowed your time until then in guarding the maritime towns from the invasion that was suspected, and in erecting forts in sundry places, but that now you are gone against the rebels within your charge. The death of O'Donell is very welcome news to us here, and no less cause to you there. There goeth withall a report here that a kind of snake or serpent was found within him. It may be he was troubled with the worms, as many children and men be; but if he was not tormented with the worm of conscience whilst he lived, for his hateful treasons and other villainies against his natural sovereign, which made him no doubt carry a black soul away with him, it were to be wondered at. Since Mr. Secretary received your last packet, we have not met together in Council, so as yet I have not seen your relation of the state of Munster; but upon Sunday next it is like we shall. . . I hope the King of Spain grows weary indeed (as you write) of sending succours into Ireland, either men or money. His hands are too full in other places; and it seems he is in possession of all ill fortunes, having not attempted anything of moment of long which hath succeeded with him. . .

"The bearer hereof, a young gentleman Bowgler (bugler?), entreated my letter of commendation unto you on his behalf, who, having spent some time in the wars (as you know, for that



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he hath, as I take it, served under you), is desirous to continue the same course still. . . Bear with me in not denying this his earnest suit. . . I might the rather be scrupulous to move you in anything, when I consider I cannot requite any part of your many kindnesses; only I can truly profess that there is no friend of yours whatsoever that wisheth better unto you, or would be more willing to manifest the good affection I bear, than myself. . .

“At my house in London, this 27th of October 1602.”

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew.*

Oct. 31. 336. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 118.

In my last by Mr. Boyle “I signified unto your Lordships that Cormock McDermod . . . had made humble suit to be admitted to come unto me, protesting that if it might be granted, that he would do anything to redeem his offences;” which I and the Council thought meet to grant. “At his coming (falling down upon his knees), he humbly besought her Majesty’s mercy, no way standing upon his justification, but promising that his future services should deserve her gracious favours. Only thus far in modest terms in his excuse he alleged . . . that in his heart he still retained the duty of a subject, and therein would continue the remnant of his life. Whereupon . . . we resolved to receive him . . . for these reasons following.

“First, considering the insupportable losses which he had sustained since his escape in the burning of Mocompe, one of his best castles, and in the same the greatest part of his best moveables, whereof, according to the computation here, he was rich, and that this harvest of his country, between her Majesty’s forces and the rebels (for in the same they had lain a whole month), was wasted to the value . . . of 4 or 5,000*l.* . . .

“We considered what a help he would have been unto the rebels’ party if he had obstinately run the course, for he is the strongest man in followers of any other in the province, and his country in strengths and fastnesses equal with the worst part of the kingdom, and . . . reaching even unto the gates of Corke; whereby we should have been enforced to hold the greatest part of her Majesty’s forces in his country of Muskery, which would have given us great impediment for the prosecution of the rebels in Desmond, Kerrye, and Beere; whereas, by receiving him, the war would be removed further off, and the greatest weight of disturbance avoided. That he was deep in treasons was too evident unto us; yet this difference we make between him and others, that they are in action open traitors, and he a juggling traitor.

“The castles which we had in Muskery we knew were great bridles upon him, and in time no doubt would have wrought the effects desired, which was to banish him out of his country. But we, considering the great charge . . . to victual them,

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besides the encumbrance, and also being apparent unto us that many base persons were ready to join with him, which would have made the war in Munster almost as fresh as at the beginning, and (as before) given us impediment for the prosecution of O'Solevan, McMorrice, and the rest; these, with the aforesaid reasons, were motives to lead us in discretion to receive him. . .

“ Besides his submission, and his son which is in England, I have his second son, and his best and strongest house, the castle of Blarney, pledges upon him; and he hath solemnly sworn the oath which the Ulster submittees take in the North, whereunto he hath subscribed; and . . himself with four of the best barons of Parliament in Munster are bound in recognizance of 3,000*l.* for his future loyalty and subjection. So as he is bound, in heaven and earth, by his oath, sons, lands, and friends, which if it be not sufficient, there remains nothing but hell for his further assurance.

“ The morning following (being the 22nd . .) that Cormocke McDermod made his submission, Sir Samuel Bagnall, being by me placed with a regiment of foot and 100 horse in list in garrison in Muskrye (the traitor Tyrrell at the same time being there in expectation to be waged by Cormocke), was by one McTeige Cartie, a gent[leman] of that country, whom I directed to attend Sir Samuel, drawn by the break of day upon Tyrrell's camp in a strong fastness of bog and wood, being at least by poll 800 foot and 40 horse, all buonies. And although it pleased God that he prospered well, yet, if a piece had not fired by the stumbling of one of the new supplies, some quarter of a mile from their camp, which gave them an alarm, and put some of them in arms, the success had been far better. Nevertheless there was slain . . about 80.

“ Tyrrell and his wife escaped in their shirts, leaving his weapons and their clothes behind them, horses and hackneys between 50 and 60 taken, 400 garrans, many cows, store of arms and household stuff; and, that which hath seldom been seen in Irish spoils, hollands, velvet, gold and silver lace, English apparel of satin and velvet, and some store of Spanish coin; and, amongst the rest, a portmantua was also found by the soldiers, wherein Terrell's Spanish money was confessed to have been, but cannot be proved in whose hands it is. Every soldier came home loaden with somewhat, which puts him in spirit: and the traitors by this defeat much discouraged, for few or none of them did so much as save their wearing garments. Of our part there was not one man slain, but 17 hurt, and of them of note none but Captain Mynshull, that commands my troop.

“ Terrell the same day, after Sir Samuel was retreated, conjecturing that Cormocke by practice from me had drawn this draught upon him, because it succeeded immediately upon his coming unto me, in revenge burnt as much of the corn of Muskrye as in those parts our garrisons, for relief of themselves,

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had left unspoiled, and in his fury did hang divers poor people of his country; and, to be repaid the losses which he hath sustained, hath carried prisoner with him a gentleman of the Carties, a kinsman of Cormocke's, hoping by his ransom to recover the same. He is now retired into Desmond, to advise with O'Solevan upon their affairs, but ere it be long I hope to give your Lordships a good account of them both, and the rather if Cormocke do as he protesteth, being sharply set to revenge himself upon Terrell.

"Of the coming of Spaniards the traitors are not altogether hopeless, grounding their expectation upon a faithful promise made unto them by Archer the Jesuit and Conogher O'Driscoll, Sir Fynnyn O'Driscoll's son, . . . at their departure into Spain, . . . that if the Spaniards would not come, that then Conogher O'Driscoll should have returned by the last of August last; and because they have heard nothing from him, they do persuade themselves that his stay is to come with the aids. . .

"Upon the landing of the late supplies, I gave present direction unto the commissary of the musters for the disposing of them into companies; whereof I doubt not but that ere this he hath sent a particular certificate unto Mr. Waade. . . And for the remain of arms I have given warrant and commandment unto the ministers to receive the same from Sir George Thornton by a tripartite indenture, whereof one part from either officer is to be delivered unto me, which I will not omit by my next to send unto your Lordships, that a charge thereof may be made upon the office of the Ordnance for the arms, and upon the merchants for the apparel."

Cork, last of October 1602.

"Sent by William Brystowe."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Oct. 31. 337. SIR G. CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 624, p. 239.

"I have received from you a letter of the 17th of this instant, by which it appears that by direction forth of England . . . the proportion of beef and corn is to be made in this kingdom, either such as may by authority be bought from the subject or by force taken from the rebel, for and towards the victualling of her Majesty's forces in Ulster; and that you have laid . . . upon Munster the number of 500 beeves on foot, and 600 barrels of wheat. . . By reason of the continual troubles here before and since the landing of Spaniards, one half of Munster is waste (that is, the whole county of Kerry and Desmond, all be-west Corke, much on the west side from Limerick, and but little better from Cork eastward unto Lymericke, and in like manner to the county of Waterford, which, as it is the best county, is not without his defect, and the county of Tipperary, being the Earl of Ormond's liberty, not accustomed to be looked into by me), whereby all kinds of food, as beef, corn, muttons, and what else were necessary.

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is so scant as I know not where for money to get any for the use of her Majesty's table here, being myself enforced to make my greatest provision forth of England. I know not how it can be expected that they are able to give assistance for the army. The harvest here is so overtaken with foul weather as very much of that small store that is still standing uncut in the fields, and most or all that is gathered, is so unseasonably done with haste, as [it] is not meet for any good use; yet out of necessity the poor people are enforced to live upon it. And as great an evil which follows is, that I do not see how the next year will be provided for, because of their want now, not able to spare so much as to make a harvest. So as . . . nothing may well be looked for from hence by any voluntary consent, and to take it otherwise in this time, when both a scarcity commands them to preserve, and that the province is not reduced, to deal with them by authority, being in truth to my knowledge not to be had in any proportion, would stir up such ill humours in them as great inconveniences could not choose but succeed. I have been informed by the commissary of the victuals . . . that some proportion . . . might be provided, but he . . . doth forbear to urge me much, since he sees so little help is to be had; and yet, out of necessity to supply the present need here, he must, I fear, be constrained to take up a little. In that Woode, the victualler, having sent hither amongst his provisions great store of fish, I am enforced to write into England against him, for at this instant the magazines of this province are most stored with that kind, and the same so ill conditioned and unseasonable, as though the victualler here be unwilling to be put unto it, yet to save the loss of so much to her Majesty, he is enforced to sell to the towns 600 barrels of herring. And therefore, seeing it hath so pleased your Lordship, &c. to refer the consideration hereof to my discretion, I hold it not meet to stir troubles that may be avoided, and, once begun, would require charge and time to appease. But if you shall think fit to command me expressly to the performance of your pleasures herein (follow what may), I will obey it."

Cork, 31 October, 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

Nov. 2. **338.** SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 464.

"My honest Cousin. Your letters be ever welcome to me, and, though I be slow in returning answer, yet is it neither neglect nor want of will to salute you, but, I protest, not over fitted either with leisure or matter fit for you. For the lady, Florence Maekartye's wife, something hath been done, but not to her satisfaction, nor answerable to her merit, as I conceive; yet it is said it is proportionable with others of her quality, and conformable with the present state of the barrenness of this time. What more can be I will endeavour may

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be done for her. For Boyle, there hath been great working against him, and many means moved me to put me into it, by telling me you were weary of him, and would give way to any such course; but I was loth to intermeddle in that kind with any under your protection, and, now he is come, am satisfied not only to deal myself, but to stop any other course against him I shall hear of. I pray you love Charles Cowt for my sake, if he prove worthy. . . There is another kinsman of mine, son to Sir Ry. Knyghtley and the Lady Elizabeth Semer, from whom I never heard since he went into Ireland, but would be glad he did well, though his good mother be dead. But I should rather give you thanks for your kindness to my friends than trouble you further."

Richmond, 2 November.

*Hol. P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew: 2 Nov. 1602, received 10 Dec.*

Nov. 3. **339.** SIR G. CAREW to the LORD TREASURER (BUCKHURST).

Vol. 620, p. 121.

"Albeit the magazines of victual in this province are stored for some time . . . the proportion of some of them that are not for the soldiers' sustenance far exceeds others. . . The largest quantity . . . consisteth in fish, and that so ill conditioned and unwholesome, as it rather breedeth infection and disease among the soldiers than any manner of nourishment. Besides, victual of that nature . . . soonest of any other decays, and breeds greatest loss to her Majesty." It is "a provision not portable. . . Many that lived upon them . . . died, and such as would not eat them, sold at least 80 herrings for a penny, so as their week's allowance served not for one day, and the rest of the time lived with bread or little else, which brought an exceeding great defection in the list of Munster. And at this instant . . . the victualler is enforced to sell . . . 600 barrels of corrupt and unseasonable herrings, which . . . had it been of any other kind wholesome, would have done great service." I pray that the undertaker may send butter and cheese instead of fish, or at least moderate the proportion of fish so as "the soldier may not be urged to live for the most part upon it, as hitherto."

Cork, 3 November 1602.

"Sent by Wm. Brystowe."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 4. **340.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 216.

"Although I doubt but you have received my last long letter with this late easterly wind, which seems it doth continue, I have thought good, as things do pass, to give you some notice, what islike to be best taken.

"For Cormock McDermod, I must confess unto you, for my own opinion, I could have wished (seeing it is the course in the

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other parts of that kingdom, and seeing the poorest rebel, while he is so, troubles the Queen more than all his lands is worth,) that such a course of pardon might be taken as might give us breath from that so intolerable burthen as the maintenance of so great an army puts us to.

“ For although I know her Majesty’s forces have an excellent success in all their attempts, yet, if the charges continue as they do, her Majesty will feel but small sense of the victory; for, I speak it with grief, (whatsoever you think, that there are subsidies and prizes, and such perquisites, which do accrue to her Majesty,) that all the receipts are so short of the issue as my hairs stands upright to think of it; whereof I need give no other particular instance but this, that this four years day Ireland hath cost 300,000*l.* a year the least year.

“ Wherein if you shall conceive that the expenses are eased by the mixed coin, first, you know, all that which is saved therein must be only derived from that portion which is issued in the lendings; for all the apparel is provided here, so as therein there is no saving.

“ Secondly, her Majesty provides you victual with sterling money, which is defalked only there in the Irish coin. Reckon then what an intolerable return hath been made upon the Exchange, and you shall then perceive that, when all reckonings are made, her Majesty, as it is used, shall have done little more than borrowed before hand some good sums of money, which are to be dearly paid for in the end.

“ For instance whereof, there is six score thousand pounds paid and to be paid for the Exchange in 16 months; for although it is true that the corruptions are great which merchants have used, and it cannot be but that the paymasters in every province have colluded with them, seeing the mixed money only is issued in lendings to the army, whereof the whole sum almost is returned, (which is against all sense, considering the small remain the soldier hath to exchange,) yet rather than the letter of her Majesty’s proclamation should be controverted, she is resolved to pay it whatsoever come of it.

“ But, Sir, you shall very shortly hear a new proclamation, wherein only exchange shall be left for the army, and if the merchants will have any they must bring in 60*l.* sterling in the 100*l.*, which I dare undertake they may do, and yet gain 20*l.* in the 100 by the trade, considering that whatsoever costs them 10*s.* here they will sell for 40*s.* there; so as if they have no more but the very coin itself mixed they could be no losers, though they never exchange it, seeing there is an intrinsical value of silver which equals the principal they lay out; to which reckoning, if you add that they shall have 100*l.* for 60*l.*, my argument holds in substance though not in form. And if they will say they cannot find sterling money, then I would answer, what is become of all they had? and in the name of God, let the foreign merchant steal foreign bullion for that purpose, as well as they do from hence.

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“ But, Sir, I am out of the way, for my chief purpose was to tell you, that upon Sir Walter Raleigh’s coming to Court, her Majesty, falling into some speech of Munster and speaking of Cormoek McDermod, I told her Majesty that you had good pledges upon him, had spoiled his country and taken his castles, and that he offered to submit. Whereupon her Majesty saying so much to Sir Walter Raleigh, he very earnestly moved her Majesty, of all others, to reject him; first, because his country was worth her keeping; secondly, because he lived so under the eye of the State as whensoever she would it was in her power to suppress him. Of which speech she took great hold, and willed me thereupon, whatever you did to any other, that you should not pardon him.

“ Of thus much I thought good to inform you, because I was afraid lest you might, in respect of the contents of my last letter, the better to warrant your absence at Dublin, dispose things by a pacification, which surely in his person, O’Suilyvan Beare’s, nor Morrice of Lixnaw, would not be done.

“ On Tuesday last Sir Oliver St. Johns went for Chester, and if this wind hold he will not be long out of Ireland. There is no news here of much importance. France is quiet; both armies in the Low Countries in garrison. In Spain, the enterprise of Algier dissolved, the galleys gone for Italy, the ships of war returned to Lisbon and the Groyne for their wintering ports. Her Majesty, I thank God, is exceeding well; all other things as they were; and here is the old company that miss you and long for you.”

Cecyll House, 4 November 1602. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 3. Add. Endorsed by Carew: Received 16 Nov.*

Nov. 5. **341.** SIR G. CAREW to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 624, p. 241.

“ The 30th of the last, I received yours of the 26th of October. . . Sir Samuel Bagnall with his regiment and troop of horse departed this town of Cork the 1st of this present, and that night they lodged in Mallo, on the way towards Lymericke. I doubt not but they will be in Gallwaye in the time you expect. Since his going, Captain Flower hath burnt exceeding much of the rebels’ corn in Carbrye, and slain many people, but the weaponed men make shift to escape. Sir Richard Percy is now at the same work. The garrisons that are with Sir Charles Willmott and at Baltymore are so remote from me, as that I hear seldom of them. I am sure they are not idle; and between them I hope to leave little to support the rebels to live upon. Tyrrell, since his dislodging by Sir Samuel, . . . is remaining in Desmond, not daring to stir out of that mountainous strong country. But by that time Sir Charles is garris[on]ed at Donkerran, O’Solevan Moore’s house, which I daily expect, I hope he will find it too warm a quarter to abide in.

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"It is told me by Cromocke McDermod and some of his men that came lately from Tyrrell that he is very desirous to be a subject, but dares not sue unto me, fearing to be denied. But this I know to be true, that he would gladly quit the province, so that I would give him a safety to depart without impeachment; but unto either of these notions I do give a deaf ear. Nevertheless I would be glad to understand your Lordship's pleasure touching him.

"I was the cause that moved your Lordship to erect laid posts between this and Dublin; but now that the Spaniard comes not, I thought it my duty to put your Lordship in mind of it again, that they may be discharged; and yet I shall be exceeding sorry for it, finding great ease in their continuance. Your Lordship's pleasure herein I do beseech you to signify."

Cork, 5 November, 1602.

P.S.—"Your Lordship's letter to the Archbishop, because he was gone into England before it came unto me, I was bold to open, and have given it to the paymaster, that your Lordship's commandments may be obeyed. Out of England I have not heard since the Earl of Thomond's landing, and those letters which he brought, were two months old. If your Lordship hear anything thence, I beseech you to impart your news unto me. If Tyrone come into Munster I will attend him."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Nov. 7. **342.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 486.

"Her Majesty hath been constrained, by the frauds and abuses of merchants, by which an unreasonable burden was cast upon her in the Exchange, to establish a new course for the government of the same, which . . . will appear unto you by the proclamation publishing her pleasure. . . No prejudice cometh unto yourself or to any of the army, but . . . you shall receive the benefit thereof as amply by bank at Dublin as you might have done if it had continued at Cork. For that, among other things, it is thought fit that the places of the Exchange hereafter should be only at Dublin and London, we have signified her Majesty's pleasure therein to the deputy of the Exchange in that province, and commanded him to make his present repair to Dublin to the master of the Exchange, to yield up his account, . . . and . . . to carry with him all books of account, bills, and warrants. . . Give him sufficient convoy for the safe passing of them thither, and of such moneys as he shall have to carry. And because it may be that the said deputy, finding by our letters that he shall leave his charge, may perhaps use some cunning for his profit, giving bills of exchange after the receipt of our letters, whereby he is forbidden so to do, putting ante-dates to the bills, you shall . . .



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take his oath that neither he hath after the receipt of our letters, nor shall before his departure, give any such bills with ante-dates; and shall also diligently hearken whether he shall abuse that his oath or no, and advertise us or the master of the Exchange what you shall find."

Court at Richmond, 7 November 1602.

*Signed*: Jo. Cant, T. Buchurst, Nottingham, W. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received at Cork, ultimo ejusdem mensis.

2. Copy.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 88.

Nov. 8. 343. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 534.

"I have by Mr. Attorney of Munster received yesterday your three letters of the 25th of the last month, and before his coming had your former of the 9th, which you supposed to be miscarried. The reason I did forbear to make any answer thereunto was the expectation I had to receive these last of yours, which I assured myself would come within a few days from you, in regard both myself and Council here had written to you concerning Mr. Philip Harvy in a matter that we knew you had a care of. . .

"Excuse me that I write not with mine own hand, for I am despatching Sir Henry Davers into England with a million of letters to all my friends there, from whom I had not heard of a long time till this last passage, within these four days, being absolutely denied to go myself, as till then I was not out of hope; by which means my task is now much the greater.

"Besides your letters, Mr. Attorney hath acquainted me with your proceedings with Cormock Mac Dermond, and hath so fully satisfied me in every point, though before I did not doubt thereof, as no man can be gladder than I am to find things already so well settled, conceiving assuredly that the rest will follow to your own best expectations; and the rather for that Tyrrell hath had a blow which will make him fearful hereafter to trust any in those parts.

"I am myself drawing speedily into Connaught, and therefore pray you to hasten Sir Samuel Bagnall thither with his own horse and all the foot that were sent into Munster under his command, as I desired by my last, and I find your Lordship is resolved. And seeing you can spare other 50 horse, so as they be not Captain Taffe's, whom you have most use of in regard of his ability for Munster service, I am well content that you send any other troop of fifty, and for that purpose send my warrant, with a blank, that you may fill it as you best like, and yet that the choice may seem to come from me. for so I conceive you desire it should be thought. . . Let them speedily be despatched to Gallway. . .

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“For your victuals, I am so careful to spare them all I may as I assure your Lordship I will take no more thereof than of necessity I must; . . . for I know how great prejudice would grow to you by unnecessary expense thereof, and yet for many reasons wish to find great store at Lymericke, if it be possible to have it put up thither, which I will not send for except I be driven by necessity.

“For Mr. Harvy, I am so far from doing him any hurt as I cannot but pity him as you do, and out of partiality to Sir Henry Power I protest I am no whit led, neither have I any great reason to affect him extraordinarily, otherwise than as a worthy servitor for the service’ sake; for, first, he got into that government not only without my privity, but flatly against my will, when I had given that place to another, and since his being there hath divers times distasted me more than haply some other would have endured. Yet I confess I hold it very fit for the service that that fort were in the possession of the governor, considering the country is to answer the constable, and not the governor, as their Lordships from England have been pleased to note; especially seeing, as I conceive, Mr. Harvie hath neither loss nor wrong thereby, for if he be paid *bonâ fide* 350*l.*, which is the sum that I am borne in hand it is mortgaged for, I hold it as much as it is worth, or as any man else will give for it. But if in that point I be deceived, I shall be very glad that Mr. Harvie may be relieved by any better satisfaction, and to that end will once more speak with Sir Henry Power, whom I will persuade to deal conseasonably with him.

“Lastly, for the uniting of Thomond to Munster, I assure your Lordship I have ever been very willing that it might be so, and at the table have delivered my opinion that I saw no inconvenience that could grow thereby. But when I found all the Council of another mind, desirous that they might certify into England upon what grounds it was annexed unto Connaught, and thereupon leave it to a further direction from thence, I could not well deny to join with them in that course, hoping that long ere this we should have known their further pleasures, which since hitherto we have not done. My Lord of Thomond, at his coming hither, which I hear will be shortly, shall find that it is no way hindered by me, but that I would gladly satisfy him therein, if the rest would consent: for it is to me all one whether it be part of Munster or of Connaught, and I were much to blame to deny such a thing to one of my Lord’s rank, though he had not deserved as my Lord hath.”

Dublin Castle, 8 November 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy’s own hand.*)—“I did not conceive how the matter of the fort of Lease could be any prejudice to your cousin Harvey, for [he] hath already received as much as he was in all to receive from Captain Fischer, and as much as I think

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any will give for his interest; the which was wholly forfeited into Captain Fischer's hands. But, the cause depending between any other, I do think it far fitter to be in hands that shall have or hath the government. If you redeem it to his use I will not gainsay it, if it be *bonâ fide*; otherwise Sir Henry Poore shall give your cousin as much as he was any otherwise to have. My Lord of Thomond is this day come and when I have any further news worth your knowing, you shall hear it. I have received many letters out of England, but they are all of an old date."

*Pp. 4. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 17 ejusdem.

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 242.

Nov. 16. 344. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 530.

"I have received directions lately out of England for the reducing of the list, and thereupon have already cast divers companies both here in Connaught and at Loughfoyle. I will spare to cast any in your province so long as well I may, only I must pray your Lordship that two hundred may be discharged for those 200 given to Sir Edward Wingfield, that your list may not exceed the proportion allowed formerly. And that you may the better lay it upon me, if you like not to be seen therein yourself, as I have noted in like case your unwillingness, which I acknowledge you have had reason for, I have sent you warrants for the discharge of two companies, with blanks to be filled by your Lordship, to whom I leave that business wholly, being confident that it will fall on them that you know the service may best spare, or at least can worst challenge to be continued in entertainment."

Dublin Castle, 16 November 1602. *Signed.*

P.S.—"I have received your letter of the 5th, and do leave Tyrrell's motion to your own consideration, who know as well as I the man's disposition. I marvel not that he would quit the province upon your safety, for so he might effect that without danger which otherwise he knows he cannot, and by that course there can grow no good to us. The posts, if you think good, may be discharged, for they are chargeable to the Queen, and without special cause should not be kept standing."

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed by Carew:* Received 22 Nov.

2. Copy.

Vol. 624, p. 247.

Nov. 18. 345. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 532.

"The bearer hereof, David Callan, of my horse company, . . . being robbed of all that he had, horse, money, apparel, and arms, to the value of 20*l.*, on the way between Corek and our camp before Kynsale, hath been given to understand that the malefactors were since found to be inhabitants thereabouts, and that they have made restitution to Wm. Plunckett, of

1602.

“For your victuals, I am so careful to spare them all I may as I assure your Lordship I will take no more thereof than of necessity I must; . . . for I know how great prejudice would grow to you by unnecessary expense thereof, and yet for many reasons wish to find great store at Lymericke, if it be possible to have it put up thither, which I will not send for except I be driven by necessity.

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Dublin Castle, 8 November 1602. *Signed.*

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Dublin Castle, 16 November 1602. *Signed.*

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“Out of Spain I hear that the Irish are clean out of heart and hopeless of succour. This I know by one Jordan Roche, who was their pilot by constraint to Castlehaven, and ever since hath lived at the Groyne, until now he made an escape to come unto me. I have also received a letter this day from Dongarvan, in the which harbour the 18th of this instant arrived a bark of that town from Bylboe. The merchant I have sent for, with whom I mean to deal at large of all his intelligences. But of this much I am informed, that he reports O'Donnell certainly to be dead, and also since that time Archer the Jesuit is likewise deceased. One Patrick Arthur of Limerick is arrested in Bylboe, and there in irons, upon suspicion that he was employed by me for a spy in Spain, and from thence to be sent to the court. All the Irish fugitives are commanded from the court to repair to the Groyne, where there is no fleet, or yet any preparation, which makes me to suppose that the King commands them away because he is weary of them. When I have spoken with the merchant I will further acquaint your Lordship with his relation. Jordan Roche, the pilot aforesaid, telleth me that there was at Bordeaux, when he came from thence (for out of Spain he came to Bordeaux to get shipping for Ireland), a *Scot*,\* who is a *friar*, and was employed by *Tyrone* into Spain. He hath many *letters* to *Tyrone* and others. He purposeth to land in *Leinster*, and he supposeth that *Tredaghe* will be the port, for there is at Bordeaux *ships* thither bound. Roche spoke with the party, and from himself he had it. This friar hath been many *times* employed by *Tyrone* hither; he is a *little black man*, and *apparellled* like unto a gentleman, and will be here with the first wind. Hereof I thought meet to give your Lordship knowledge; but in this one thing I am mistaken, for the *Scot* is a *Jesuit*, and no *friar*.”

Cork, 20 November 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 4.*

Nov. 28. 347. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.  
Vol. 615, p. 528.

“I have endeavoured to give the Earl of Thomond the best satisfaction I could in his desire for his country, and I think it is to his contentment. I protest I meant as much the last time, but that I found the Council all against it; and now I see no great reason for it nor against it, but for to satisfy my Lord, and against it not to alter without necessity what our predecessors have done before us. I am now going, God willing, towards Connaught, and perchance beyond Galloway; if I do you shall further hear from me. I would go one forty mile further than I determined to see you. I pray God deliver us from the Spaniards, and I hope we shall quiet this country, and God send some other good of it to keep it so. I

\* Note in the margin:—“The words underlined were written in cipher.” They are indicated above by italics.

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thank your Lordship for your good news out of Spain. I have taken order to lay wait for the man you write of, and would Tyrone were with O'Donell and Archer. I think it good if you could make that rogue Tirrell a subject, but to go into the North for his children is his old jest. God deliver us well from these devils, and send us rest at home and after in heaven."

Dublin, 28 November 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 252.

2. Copy.

Nov. 29. **348.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 518.

"A doubt is here conceived of the honest dispositions of O'Dwyre and the Baron of Loughmeim, whereunto some good reasons have induced a belief. I would therefore wish that your Lordship would send for them both, and put them upon good assurance for their future subjection. The manner of doing it I leave wholly to your own discretion."

Dublin Castle, 29 November 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Vol. 624, p. 253.

2. Copy.

Nov. 30. **349.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 217.

"I send your Lordship herein enclosed a copy of a letter from the Lords of the Council in England, by which you may see what their pleasure is touching the suit preferred to their Lordships in the behalf of the town of Waterford. I pray your Lordship to take present order that they may have the full benefit thereof, according to their Lordships' directions."

Dublin, 30 November 1602. *Signed and sealed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Dec. 6. **350.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 520.

"I do not well know how long the business will hold me at Athlone, but from thence your Lordship shall hear from me with all expedition; nor I do not know whether I shall be well able to meet you as far as Lymrick, the which I will if possible I can, but you must prepare yourself to meet me either there or at Gallaway, for I must needs speak with you. And because it is meet that you should think of it before-hand, and determine of all things accordingly, I think I must send *you* immediately from thence *into England*. I had rather carry *you* back with *me* to Dublin and to *despatch you* from thence, but it shall be at your choice; but, if it be possible, prepare to go from *Dublin*. I know this will be no evil news unto you, and therefore I make the more haste to send it.

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Let me hear from you presently. Your letters, God willing shall find me at Athlone or Galloway."

Trim, 6 December 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

*The words in Italics are in cipher, deciphered by Carew.\**

Vol. 624, p. 254.

2. Copy.

Dec. 10. **351.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 522.

"I received your letter the same evening that I came to Athlone, and am sorry for the death of Captain Harvey, because I know it doth grieve you. For my own particular, I protest I had forgot and forgiven his offence, although by divers and in divers things I was told he showed no goodwill to me; which your Lordship knoweth how little I did deserve. For the imputation that was laid upon him, it behoveth me to give your Lordship satisfaction, whether it were justly done or no; and believe me, if it be true that the Marshal is ready to justify, some of the officers of the field, and all that had the guard that night, it is impossible for human wit to excuse him. For his company, although, by God! my Lord, I am as loth to deny you anything as to any man in this kingdom, yet because your desire proceedeth upon those grounds of the unfitness of diminishing of your list, I will first give you satisfaction in that, and make you the judge of the rest.

"First, it shall be no diminishing to your forces, for if you have need of 500 or a thousand more I will presently send you them; and for Sir Anthony Cooke's horse, until I speak with you I will not look for them. Then I beseech your Lordship to know that the Queen hath written to me expressly to diminish the list and her charges, and directly says and writes that she shall feel none of our victories till it be done. I have already cast one thousand, and find by Sir Oliver St. John that they are far from being contented with that; and, to conclude, I must of necessity cast a great proportion more.

"If I should raise companies when I am driven to take them from those that have them, and think they have justly deserved them, I should give them some just colour that are cast to rail on me, as, unjustly they do all. There are not now standing six captains that have had their companies immediately from me, and I have cast since I came into this kingdom the captains of above six thousand, who all are become my malicious depravers. And to let you know how far in that point your condition is better than mine, there are now in this kingdom standing more captains of your

\* The cipher used in these letters is very simple. The letter *g* is used for *a*, *h* for *b*, and so on, *i* and *j* being treated as one letter, as also *u* and *v*.



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choice than of mine, and yet you are free of that intolerable envy of this exorbitant people, that do not thank me for that which they have, yet hate me when by the Queen that commands me it is done.

“This is the policy of princes, to make their ministers executioners of their punishments, and give their rewards with their own hands; which course hath been as much taken with me as with any that ever served her, and hath gotten me more hate than I had before in all the whole course of my life. My Lord, I am far from writing this with any envy of any advantage you have of me in this or in anything else, but because perchance you do not consider how hard my case is in this point, that must be driven now to please, now to offend so many, and, for anything I see, receive very little thanks from her for whom I suffer all this.

“All the companies that by the death of others have fallen of a long time I did either cast, or leave them for a while with that condition that they should be content to be cast with the next decrease of the list; which since I have performed. And, God is my witness, never anything since I came into this kingdom did vex me more than to think what a number of poor men that have served the Queen in my sight I must now deprive of their livings, and procure their continual hate.

“I know you are so honorable to perceive that I do write all this with reason, and except I did much love you I would not strive so much to satisfy you. I did write to you from Trim to give you an inkling that I must send *you* into *England*, and that *you* would prepare *yourself* for it, and to meet me at Linrick, or, if it were possible, at Galloway, and to go with me from thence to *Dublin*, and so into *England*. Sir Oliver Lamber[t] will be here within these two days, and then I will send you word when I think to meet you.

A[th]lone, 10 December.

*Holograph; a few words in cipher, undeciphered. Pp. 3. Addressed. Endorsed: 10 Dec. 1602.*

Vol. 624, p. 255.

2. Copy.

Dec. 12. 352. The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 524.

“Now that we understand by your Lordship’s letters to me, the Secretary, that you have discharged the posts in Mounster, which we intended to have done ourselves, we have likewise given order for the discharge of those in Leynster, and only in ease of her Majesty’s charge allowed some posts to lie between this city and Athlone, in regard the Lord Deputy is lately drawn into . . . Conaght, whither now all the course of intelligence must run.”

Dublin, 12 December 1602.

*Signed: Ad. Dublin, C., George Cary, Edmund Pelham, Anth. Sentleger, Geff. Fenton.*

P. 1. *Addressed Endorsed.*

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Dec. 14. 353.

Vol. 615, p. 526.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Upon Monday next, the 20th of this present, I will for certain (God pleased) leave this place, and begin my journey towards Gallway. I shall be there on Wednesday or Thursday next after, at the furthest. I will stay there only Christmas Day, and the morrow, being Sunday; by which time if you meet me not there, as I am very desirous you would, I will leave that town and go towards Lymericke, the ordinary way through Thomond. Which I write of purpose that your Lordship may know certainly where to find me, if it be not our good hap to meet at Gallway, as I most wish."

*Signed.*

Athlone, 14 December 1602.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed: Received 21 ejusdem.*

Vol. 624, p. 257.

2. Copy.

Dec. 16. 354.

Vol. 615, p. 482.

The PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

"The manifold and malicious practices from Spain to maintain that realm of Ireland in disobedience and rebellion towards her Majesty are continually very apparent. Whereof, as there are ministers of divers sorts, so it hath been found that not the least hurt proceedeth from the overmuch liberty of the Irish merchants trading into Spain; of whom very many being very ill affected both by the intercourse of intelligence thither and from thence, and by reason that they are suborned to practise with her Majesty's subjects for the withdrawing and withholding of them from their allegiance, do serve for every pernicious instrument. For remedy whereof (as much as may be), since the prohibiting altogether of trade into Spain from that realm were very inconvenient, and the free and unlimited liberty exceedingly hurtful and dangerous, it pleaseth her Majesty that a middle course shall be holden, so as some trade may be used but not immoderate, and some competent number of merchants be suffered to go thither, but not all of all sorts, but such as are and shall be known to be honest men, well affected to her Majesty and the State, and will give . . . sufficient sureties to the officers of the towns and ports in that realm where they pass, . . . first obtaining your Lordship's special licence for their passage." Charge the officers of the ports to "observe what passengers do go and come in the ships, . . . and not to suffer any passengers to embark but such as shall be well known to be dutiful subjects, and have good and orderly license for their passage. . . . Give knowledge of this course and order unto the Lord President of Mounster . . . that none may pass out of that province without like license under his hand. . . ."

"John Everard, esquire, Justice of the liberties of Tipperarie, . . . is now also called to be Second Justice of her Majesty's Chief Place there; . . . for that those offices are both compatible in one man . . . give him good means and encouragement to continue Justice of the said liberties, for that his care and

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industry are special means to retain the county of Tiperarie in obedience. . . Understanding that many of the natives of Mounster, when they are prosecuted by the Lord President, get over the river of the Shennan into Connaught, and there, for want of some officers of her Majesty that can take precise notice of them and their offences, do, by pardon or otherwise, escape the judgment of the law, . . we pray your Lordship that Gerald Comerford, esquire, Second Justice of Munster, whom we understand to be a gentleman of very good desert, may be continued in the commission as one of the justices of assize and gaol-delivery throughout . . Connaught and Thomonde, as he was when he exercised the place of her Highness' Attorney there. . .

"We are to give your Lordship knowledge of one other matter, whereof we have written to the Lord President of Munster, and that is concerning some allowance that her Majesty hath been pleased to make for the bettering and amending of the place of residence and dwelling of the Lord President at Corke, both in respect of safety and strength, and for his more conveniency of habitation. Which being to be taken out of fines, forfeitures, and casualties in that province (and not otherways), and to be allowed afterward by concordatum, . . your Lordship and the Council shall give allowance of the same . . when due account thereof (after the building made up and ended) shall be brought in and presented unto you by the Clerk of the Fines there."

Court at Whitehall, 16 December 1602.

"Signed by the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, C[omes] Salopp., C. Wigorniaë, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Cecyll, Sir John Fortescu, Lord Chief Justice.

*Copy, "ex. per Th. Smith." Pp. 3. Endorsed by Carew:* Copy of the Lords of the Council's letter unto the Lord Deputy. . . Brought by Mr. Boyle, and received 21st Jan. 1602.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 92.

2. Copy.

Dec. 16. **355.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 484.

"We have had consideration of articles . . by your direction . . preferred unto us by Richard Boyle, clerk of the Council there. . . First, touching the enlargement of the children of Florence MacCartie, Dermott Moyle MacCartie, and Peirce Lacie, which children were first restrained as pledges for the loyalty and subjection of their said fathers; forasmuch as the cause of their imprisonment is for the most part now removed and the danger cleared (the one of the said fathers being now in the Tower, the other two slain in actual rebellion) . . her Majesty is well pleased, the rather for ease of her charge (unless you find other cause to detain them), that they shall be enlarged upon good sureties . . , as well of some lords or chief gentlemen of the country that are of power to restrain their insolencies, if, when they come to age, they

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should follow the steps of their fathers, or attempt anything prejudicial to the State, as also of some merchants or inhabitants of corporate towns that are meniable to the laws.

“ Secondly, touching the corporation and inhabitants of Kinsale, although it be supposed that they were unable to make defence against so sudden and powerful an attempt as the Spaniard made, and thereby were enforced to abandon the town (which being now greatly ruined and defaced, and they, by the loss of their houses and goods taken by the foreign enemy upon surprisal thereof, disabled to re-edify their old town, much less to build a new, or any such like strength at the fort of Castlepark, as for her Majesty’s service were expedient); and for this consideration her Majesty [will] be pleased to forbear the imposing of any fine upon them according to their deserts; yet because some of the principals did so far abandon themselves to the subjection of her Majesty’s enemies within the town as that one of them, being suffragan, bare the ensign of his office before them until the last day of the proclamation, which was a dishonour to her Majesty, though it is by them excused to be merely by compulsion; whereby, without question, they did forfeit their liberties and franchises. It is therefore thought meet by her Majesty, that such a transgression of their duty may not, for example sake, pass altogether without some note of punishment; which nevertheless her Majesty, in her grace and mercy towards them, is pleased thus far to moderate, that if you (upon good advice and consideration) shall not find their former liberties and franchises to be immoderate and inconvenient (as in many corporations of the towns in Ireland they are found to be) you may deliver back unto them their charters, with all the ensigns of their corporation that they yielded up. And if you shall find them in any respects unfit and overlarge, that then you may detain them for a time to be considered of, and to be better limited, and given unto them with such restriction and moderation as shall be convenient. And instead of any fine, her Majesty is likewise pleased that they shall undertake the repairing of the town, and yield the assistance of so many labourers and days’ works towards the erecting of the said fort as you . . . shall . . . require of them . . . , and that your Lordship shall take assurance of them for the performance thereof.

“ And furthermore, whereas petition hath been preferred for and in the name of Teag MacCormock Cartie, one of the sons of Sir Cormock MacTeag, for such portion of land in Muskrie as by law or the ancient custom and division of that country ought to be allotted unto him, which is detained from him (as is complained of) by Cormock MacDermod Cartie, whose treasons and combinations with Spain were first revealed and approved to your Lordship by the said Teag, and he, during Cormock’s continuance in action against her Majesty, was a principal prosecutor of him and Tirrell. For this good service, and his better continuance and encouragement hereafter in the like,

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her Majesty doth think it meet (Cormock's treasons being so apparent as they are) that although he be protected, yet that his absolute pardon be forborne until he be convented before your Lordship and those that assist you in Council there, and by his own accord, or your order, do submit himself to grace, and yield to Teag such a portion of the country for his maintenance as by law or the custom thereof he the said Teag may justly challenge. Which is thought meet the rather to be effected by your Lordship, as well because it is not holden safe for so spacious and large a country to be in one man's hands that is known to be ill-affected to the State, as for that Cormock (as we are informed) upon entering into great bonds formerly to do that which is now to be required of him, notwithstanding that he obtained the castle of Kilcrea and thirty ploughlands out of Teag's possession by your Lordship's decree, yet never performed any part of that which your Lordship thought meet to order unto him.

"Moreover, concerning the motion for the dwellinghouse for the Lord President; forasmuch as her Majesty is informed that there is no convenient house of safety nor place of residence for the President of Munster to dwell and reside in, as there is in Connaught and other inferior governments within that realm; for the better keeping and safety of her Majesty's fort newly erected at Corke (wherein we much commend your provident care that raised and built the same at the charge of the country, without driving her Highness to any other expenses than for setting up of the gate), and for the more security of yourself and the governor for the time being; her Majesty hath been moved and is pleased that you may dispose and convert so much of the fines, forfeitures, and casualties which are or first shall grow or come to her Highness' hands within that province as may suffice for the erecting and building of a strong and convenient house within or near unto that fort, to reside and dwell [in]; in the building and setting up whereof, both for conveniency and strength, we pray your Lordship to use good care and expedition; and what moneys of that kind which the clerk of the fines of Munster from time to time, by warrant from you or any other governor there for the time [being], shall issue and pay forth, shall be duly allowed unto him, upon his account to be yielded to her Majesty before the Barons, Auditor, and other officers of her Majesty's Court of Exchequer within that realm; for which cause we have also written . . . to the Lord Deputy and Council to give allowance by concordatum. . .

"Her Majesty, having been acquainted with your Journal of this summer, hath graciously accepted of all your services from time to time, and particularly of your proceedings with Cormock McDermod, whereby you have prevented much new trouble and disturbance that might otherwise have grown in that province; and likewise of the course you have taken, after your return from the siege of Donboie, for the employment of

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the army in raising and making fortifications and doing other good services."

Court at Whitehall, 16 December 1602.

*Signed:* T. Buchurst, Notingham, Gilb. Shrewsbury, E. Worcester, W. Knollys, J. Stanhope, Ro. Ceeyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham.

*Pp.* 3. *Addressed and sealed.*

*Endorsed:* Received the 21st January of Mr. Boyle.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 90.

2. Copy.

Dec. 16. **356.** LORD BUCKHURST to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 462.

"I do much thank you for your letters and advertisements; and though . . . I do not so often write unto you, . . . never doubt of the fulness of my love with all good effects unto you. Touching your desire to be at this time satisfied the debt in your letter mentioned; the same cometh now most unseasonably. First, for that our necessity of money is not now to pay debts. Secondly, for that certain accounts are demanded of great sums come to your hands, upon which *non constat*, till the account be ended, whether you be in her Majesty's debt or not. And thirdly, this matter of exchange is so burdensome and heavy unto us, as we know not where to turn us. Besides, it is not possible for me of myself to do it, not having any warrant to pay debts, without moving her Majesty; which in my love I bear you I would not for so small a matter advise you to do. And thus, having told you the difficulties, I leave it to yourself, being ready to do anything for your good and in my power to perform."

16 December 1602.

*Holograph.* P. 1. *Addressed.*

*Endorsed:* From the Lord Treasurer, received 21 January.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 93.

2. Copy.

Dec. 17. **357.** The QUEEN to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 620, p. 268.

This nobleman, our cousin Clanrichard, by his carriage here "doth challenge our extraordinary good opinion." His coming over was to do his duty to us. As our Deputy is going into that province where his possessions lie, and the weak estate of his mother is such as, in case of her death, many inconveniences might fall to the house by his absence, he is now returning back with expedition. We therefore recommend him, as one of our principal councillors in that State, to you, to be furthered and assisted in all his occasions. He is an honour to the nobility of that kingdom, whereof so many scandalous rumours have been spread, only to invite our enemies. "We do think that we have missed our marks in George, if he shall not have the best fruits which either your

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public credit or private friendship may afford. . . Thanks for all your great and honest services."

Palace of Westminster, 17 December 1602, 45 Eliz.

*Signed at the top*: "Your most assured constantly affected Sovereign,—Elizabeth R."

*Copy. P. 1.*

Dec. 17. **358.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 480.

"Having convented Henry Pyne before us (who came over and made his appearance . . .), and finding that he hath honestly discharged himself of all such matters whereof he was accused . . ., we do send him back unto you again, and do conceive . . . that he hath carried and will always demean himself loyally and dutifully. . . Hold him discharged of the bond of 2,000*l.*, whereinto he entered for his appearance before us."

Whitehall, 17 December 1602.

*Signed*: T. Buchurst, Notingham, J. Stanhope, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescu, Jo. Popham.

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed*: Received — January.

Vol. 620, pt. 2, p. 89.

2. *Copy.*

Dec. 19. **359.** SIR JOHN STANHOPE to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 460.

"Sir,—I received your kind letter, by your officer, Mr. Boyle, who hath been diversely assaulted here by such as would have shadowed their private malice with pretext of the Queen's service, who indeed was hardly incensed against him. But their clamours ceasing to pursue him, by some good course taken by himself and his friends, her Majesty, I think, will easily both forget and let fall any hard conceit she had of him. Myself was as much pressed as anybody to incense the Queen against him, the rather because the examination of his causes had been formerly referred to me. But the slight proof I then saw produced against him, and your assertion of the trial you had made of him, made me unwilling to be made an instrument to punish one who perhaps otherwise in sundry services hath deserved well. Of the state of this place I need not inform you, who have it from [a] better hand. . . Continue my nephew Cowte in his charge if he deserve well, for otherwise he will be ruined if, leaving that course of life, he should return again to the consort of this wicked city of London. Cousin, I need not assure you of my love," etc.

Whythall, 19 December. *Signed.*

*Holograph. P. 1.*

*Endorsed*: 19 December 1602. . . Received 22 January.

Dec. 22. **360.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 218.

"Although I have not heard more general imputation thrown upon any man than there hath been upon this bearer, yet, when it came to the point, I saw no man that could or would object any particular. Nevertheless, because it is not easy to pull out of a prince's mind matter of accusation till

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there be some purgation, I have offered the Queen from him thus much, that if any man shall hereafter come forth to charge him, he shall be ready to answer upon any warning. This did a little stay her, but it is true that none of all this could have so much swayed her judgment if it had wanted your testimony, of whose discretion she is so well persuaded. I do therefore now return him to you better than he came in opinion of those that knew him not, which is much, I can tell you, in our world. And for myself, I must confess I have found him both sufficient in all things wherein he hath dealt, and for your own particular both diligent and affectionate. In which kind, though he have had least success, yet they are not neglected, but only in respect of the disputation, that yet we are in, in the course of the new moneys. With this, therefore, for the present, I must entreat you to remain satisfied until I write next or hear from you, which I hope I shall do shortly, if it be true which I do hear of your being with my Lord Deputy."

Court at Whitehall, 22 December 1602. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received 21 Jan. 1602.

Dec. 23. 361.  
Vol. 615, p. 510.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"I understand by a letter received yesternight from my Lord of Thomond that Tyrrell, for certain, is coming down into Leinster, for whose prosecution I am so desirous to provide, as I think I cannot well pass any further than Gallway, and therefore wish I may meet your Lordship there, and that speedily, for I hear there is such scarcity of horsemeat as I shall not be able to stay long there without starving of our horses. I doubt not but you will make all the speed you can thither, that upon dispatch of our business I might return into the Pale, which I do now much long to do, to prevent his attempts. . . From Cloghroagh in Clanricard, this 23rd of December 1602." *Signed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed*: "Received 26<sup>o</sup> ejusdem at Limerick."

Dec. 24. 362.  
Vol. 615, p. 512.

LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"The last letter I received from you was of the 14th of December, and though I concur with our best friend's [Cecil's] desire and yours to have *you go* for *England*, yet I cannot but be glad of your resolution to settle that province, which I hope may be now speedily done since you are rid of that rogue Tirrell. But since the occasion that is prescribed me to send *you over* must be to deliver the full estate of this country upon some consultation held by the Council, I think it will be necessary that *you do meet me at Dublin*. The way I do leave to yourself, and the time, since the public respect doth sway with your private desire.

"I do think I shall hardly go any further than this place, since I have intended a course utterly to ruin O'Rurke, who



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is the only lord that in all Ulster, Leinster, or Connaught doth at this time remain in rebellion, except such as are beaten out of their countries, for McGuire, that was the last, is clean driven out of his country, and is now with O'Rurke. They both do sue for peace, but O'Rurke in a more proud fashion than stands with the honour of the Estate to hearken unto him. For Tirrell, although he may chance to burn or spoil some rotten houses and little better subjects, yet I doubt but by the grace of God I shall soon take some order with his worship.

"Here I cannot stay long, and farther now I cannot well go; yet I would fain speak with you, for the Queen hath absolutely commanded that I shall present[ly] reduce the *list* unto *twelve thousand foot* and unto a *thousand horse*, so that according to your proportion the cast must fall also upon *your companies*; about the which I would willingly confer with you. And this far I am come only to that purpose, for now my business doth only lie about Alone, whither if from Lymricke you can send any store of victuals, you shall exceedingly advance the service. We are all, as much as we may, to help one another; but they say here that you owe to this province a great deal of victuals which you stayed at Cork, being directed hither. But, howsoever, what you can possibly spare I pray take order that it be sent to Athlone, for from Galloway we cannot possibly send any great quantity thither.

"I hope my letter will find you about Lymrick, for long since I have written to you my resolution to be here at this time; and the more haste you make hither the more glad I shall be, for I would fain return speedily, and shortly I must of necessity."

From Galloway, 24 December.

P.S.—"Presently after Christmas there do come Commissioners out of England about many matters. It will be exceeding good that you should be there then, and to *carry* into *England* the report of the success."

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received 26 December 1602, at Limerick.

*The words in italics are in cipher, mostly deciphered by Carew.*

Vol. 624, p. 258.

2. Copy.

Dec. 27. 363. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 514.

"This evening your messenger delivered me your letter, whereby I perceive your coming hither is one day at the least deferred. I will (God willing) not depart this town till I see you, and I must confess I am very sorry that it falls out so hard a journey for you."

Galloway, 27 December 1602. *Signed.*

P.S. (*in Mountjoy's own hand*):—"We will not give over the town till we have eaten all the garrons, rather than you shall walk any farther upon the stones."

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

1602.  
[Dec.]  
Vol. 615, p. 458.

**364.** THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to SIR G. CAREW.

"This gentleman, Mr. Boyle, returning back unto you, I could not let him pass without some few words to manifest the true affection I bear unto you, which I hope your best friends here will witness. . . I do assure myself, by such advertisements as I have from Spain, that you shall not need to doubt of any succours of men to be sent thence into Ireland as yet. In the meantime I hope that God will so bless the proceedings there with so good success as you may be shortly spared thence to visit your friends here."

*No date.*

*Hol. P. 1. Addressed. Endd. by Carew: Received 21 Jan. 1602.*

Vol. 604, p. 137.

**365.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"Because I have written to you of all the circumstances which passed between me and this gentleman, and which must be imparted to you by himself at both your arrivals at Dublin, I need say no more, but that I wish you to agree, because we do all agree in love and duty to the Queen's service. More I need not say, but that I do affectionately love him and that I am your friend without possibility of change."\*

*No date.*

*Holograph. P. 1. Endd.: 1602.*

1603.  
Jan. 1.  
Vol. 600, p. 62.

**366.** THE ARMY.

"A List of the Army as it stands the 1st January 1602."

*Munster.*—Horsemen: Lord President, 50; Earl of Thomond, 50; Sir Anthony Cooke, 50; Captain William Taaffe, 50; total, 200. Footmen: Lord President, 200; Earl of Thomond, 200; Lord Audeley, 150; Sir George Cary, 100; Sir Charles Willmott, 150; Sir Richard Percy, 150; Sir Francis Barkeley, 150; Sir Jerrard Harvey, 150; Sir George Thornetonn, 100; Sir Edward Wingefeild, 200; Captain William Stafford, 100; Captain Raphe Sidley, 100; Captain Francis Kingesmill, 100; Captain George Kingesmill, 100; Captain George Flower, 100; Captain John Bostocke, 100; Captain Henry Skipwith, 100; Captain Charles Coote, 100; Captain Gawin Harvey, 100; Captain — Dorrington, 100; Captain Thomas Boice, 100; Captain Francis Slingsby, 100; total, 2,750.

*Connaught.*—Horse: Earl of Clanriccard, 50; Sir Oliver Lamberte, 25; Sir Oliver St. John, 25; Sir Henry Harrington, 25; Captain Edmond Wenman, 12; Captain George

\* This seems to be the letter sent with Sir Oliver St. John. If so, its date was at the end of October 1602.

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Greame, 14; total, 151. Footmen: Earl of Kildare, 150; Earl of Clanriccard, 150; Sir Oliver Lambert, 150; Sir Oliver St. John, 200; Sir Samuel Bagnall, 150; Sir Edward Herbert, 100; Sir Francis Shane, 100; Sir Theobald Dillon, 100; Sir Thomas Bourke, 150; Captain Lionel Ghesté, 150; Captain Thomas Roper, 150; Captain Thomas Rotherham, 150; Captain Henry Malbey, 100; Captain Tibbott Bourke, 100; Captain Richard Hensloe, 100; Captain Samuel Harrison, 100; total, 2,100.

*Loughfoile*.—Horsemen: Sir Henry Docwra, 100. Footmen: Sir Henry Docwra, 150; Sir Matthew Morgan, 150; Captain Richard Hansard, 200; Captain Raphe Bingley, 100; Captain Ellis Loyde, 100; Captain Lewis Orrell, 100; Captain Edmond Leighe, 100; Captain Roger Orme, 100; Captain Nicholas Pinner, 100; Captain John Sidney, 100; Captain Bazill Brooke, 100; Captain John Vaughan, 100; Captain ——— Atkinsonn, 100; Captain Thomas Badbey, 100; total, 1,600.

*Carrigfergus, Mountjoye, Dungannon, and Ardboe*.—Horsemen: Sir Arthur Chichester, 25; Sir William Godolphin, 50; Sir Richard Greame, 50; Captain John Jephsonn, 100; total, 225. Footmen: Sir Arthur Chichester, 200; Sir Foulke Conewaie, 150; Captain Francis Rooe, 100; Captain Henry Seckford, 100; Captain Thomas Phillipps; 100; Captain Roger Langford, 100; Captain James Blounte, 100; Captain Edward Morrise, 100; Captain Raphe Constable, 100; Captain Edward Fysher, 100; Captain Edward Legge, 100; total, 1,300.

*Ballyshannon*.—Horsemen: Sir Henry Folliott, 50. Footmen: Sir Henry Folliott, 150; Captain Edward Bassett, 100; Captain William Winsor, 150; Captain James Phillippes, 100; Captain Thomas Bourke, 100; total, 600.

*Other Garrisons in Ulster*.—Horsemen: Sir Francis Stafford, 50; Captain Garrett Fleming, 25; total, 75. Footmen: Sir Francis Stafford, 200; Sir Richard Morrissonn, 200; Sir Christopher St. Laurence, 150; Sir James FitzPeirce, 100; Sir Thomas Loftus, 150; Sir Edward FitzGarrald, 100; Captain Edward Blayney, 150; Captain Josias Bodley, 150; Captain Tobias Caulfield, 150; Captain Henry Ather-ton, 150; Captain Thomas Williams, 150; Captain Edward Trevor, 100; Captain Ferdinando Freckleton, 100; Captain Lawrence Esmond, 150; Captain Ellis Jones, 150; total, 2,150.

*Kilkenny*.—Footmen: Earl of Ormond, 150.

*"In Leinster, and with the Lord Deputy, and the borders of the Pale."*—Horsemen: Lord Deputy, 100; Mr. Marshal, 50; Sir Garrett Moore, 25; Sir Edward Herberte, 12; Sir Francis Ruishe, 12; total, 199. Footmen: Lord Deputy, 200; Mr. Marshal, 150; Sir George Bourcher, 100; Sir Garrett Moore, 100; Sir Francis Ruishe, 150; Sir Henry Power, 150; Sir Thomas Cooche, 150; Sir William Fortescue, 150; Sir

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Benjamin Berrey, 150; Captain Henry Barkeley, 150; total, 1,400.

Total number: horsemen, 1,000; footmen, 12,100; in all, 13,100.

*Pp. 6. Endorsed.*

Jan. 3. **367.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 147.

"I have, according to your desire, presented this gentleman, Sir Richard Pereye, to her Majesty, and withal used those arguments for her acceptation of him which your clear testimony so largely confirmed. He made me not acquainted with any other suits of his, for if he had, you know so well my affection to the Earl as I should not have sticked to the uttermost of my power. To conclude, Sir, her Majesty hath used him very graciously, and recommendeth him back again for one who, by his orderly following the wars as well as in his courage, may be noted for an example of this difference, when a gentleman of a noble house, and others that care not\* to make merchandise of the war, are employed."

Court at Whitehall, 3 January 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

[Jan.] **368.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 149.

"I have found by my Lord Deputy's letter that he intends constantly to send you, which I hope by this time you do also know as well as he. This makes me write no more but that I have written to him, to fortify him, and to assume for all the perils that can befall him. Our news are that the Duke of Bouillon refuseth to come to the King, and stands upon his guard, which is but the beginning of more troubles, though I am not of opinion that the body of the religion† will hastily move. Here we have this news, that Sir Edward Wotton is made Comptroller. And thus, expecting your coming, I can say no more but that no earthly man can be more welcome."

*No date.*

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed and sealed. Endorsed: Received 2 Februarij 1602.*

Jan. 12. **369.** SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 139.

"The Lord Courey having received such satisfaction as for the present we were able to afford him, in respect that he came not furnished with any authentical proofs of an office of intrusion, which he pretended to have been found in Ireland; and therefore he is now by the Lords remitted over to

\* Sic.; qu. a mistake for "but."

† i.e. the Protestant body in France.

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Dublin for the returning and perfecting of the office, and procuring of a transcript thereof to be sent hither, to the end that her Majesty then may be moved to bestow such part of the intrusion upon him as shall seem convenient in her princely judgment; before which time, it should be but in vain to trouble her Majesty with it, unless we would have her to grant a thing which herself knoweth not what she should grant, especially it being of that nature as it is, whereby many of her good subjects may be drawn into great trouble and vexation; I shall not need particularly to recommend his Lordship unto you, because you have already recommended him to me; only I will desire you that you will continue unto him your accustomed favour for the perfecting of his business, according to former directions, with as much expedition as conveniently may be."

Court at Whitehall, 12 January 1602. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed:* Received primo Martii 1602.

[Jan. 12?] 370. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 141.

"If you be at Dublin, hear this gentleman, and further him in the things that concern her Majesty's service. If you find taste in them as I do, let him also find your friendship to himself, and, for God's sake, away with this riddle of the Exchange. I have written to the worthy Deputy not to stay you."

P.S.—"News are here already of your coming into England, at which I marvel." *No date.*

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed: Endorsed:* Received primo Martii 1602.

Jan. 18. 371. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 516.

"I, the Lord Deputy have this night received your letter of the 8th, and two days since your former of the 5th. By them both we understand the service that hath been done of late upon your provincial rebels, which we are very glad of, and the rather for that you have so well freed that province of them, although by that means our task in these parts will be much the harder, for it is true they are gotten together into O'Rourke's country, and there it seemeth they will set up their last rest. It behoveth us, therefore, to prosecute them on all sides, and that speedily, lest others (but newly reclaimed) should fall again to their party, as there is no likelihood but they will, unless they be so hardly laid to as that they be not suffered to take breath and recover new hopes." We pray send to Athloane 1,000 foot, as we shall want forces, owing to this late great cash. We understand from your own victualler, Mr. Apesley, "that you have now in Munster a store of victuals for 4,000 men for six months, especially bread." We think one half of it will serve your turn, and the other half will enable us to make this war, so that you shall no more

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be troubled with these rognes. The Lords of the Council in England have informed us that some victuals sent for Gallway and other parts northward were put into one of your Munster ports by weather." Give order to the victualler, reserving six months' victuals for 2,000 men, to send the rest to us, half to Lymerick, for Athloane and the Shannon, and half to Ballishannon, for Lough Earne; also a proportion of oats for our horses. Send us as many working tools as you may. If the rebels go back [into Munster] we will follow them. Arbrachan, 18th January 1602.

*Signed*: Mountjoy, Tho. Midensis, George Cary, R. Wingfelde, Henry Harington.

*P. 1. Add. Endd.*: Received by Samuel Molyneux at Corke, 30<sup>o</sup> Januarii 1602.

Vol. 624, p. 460.

2. Copy.

Jan. 19. **372.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 508.

"What resolution we have taken here amongst ourselves you may see by our general letters unto you. But although I can conceive no inconvenience in the performance thereof, yet I know your providence to be so great for the public service, and your knowledge so much better than ours of the present estate of that province, that I think it fit to leave the fulfilling of our demands in part or the whole to your good discretion. Yet since these parts is now become the sink of the rebellion, into the which all that is corrupt hath concourse, I would willingly follow them with a sudden prosecution before they take deeper root; which must be many ways and with many forces, and those maintained by victuals out of the store, of the which we have now great lack; and before we may expect more out of England, there will be much omitted that may be done to great purpose. Sir H. Dockwray and Sir Arthur Chechester did not proceed so far in their prosecution of Tyrone as I expected; whereupon he begins to take anew some little life. But, if it were not that I must of necessity attend your coming into these parts, I would have presently myself have gone into the North, and I hope have driven him to his uttermost fortune.

"My stay is now only till you come. Therefore, I pray your Lordship, as soon as you can conveniently, to hasten your journey to Dublin, for I will attend your coming hereabouts. If you do not think it fit to spare so many men as we have written for, yet I pray send as many, or at the least 500, into Connaught presently, for my purpose is to hedge them in by all means from returning into Munster, whither if they should scape I have directed all the forces adjoining to follow them. I do leave it wholly unto yourself in what sort you will leave the province in your absence, but now I do exceedingly desire your speedy repair to Dublin.

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I have taken divers of these rebels, who in their relation do much concur with the report you sent me."

Arbraken, 19 January.

*Hol. P. 1. Add. Endd. by Carew*: Received, 30 Jan. 1602.

Vol. 624, p. 261.

2. Copy.

Jan. 20. 373. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 604, p. 143.

"Sir G.,—I received letters from you from Galway when I rather hoped you would have been shipping or landed. You know that I was fain to use my best endeavour to work the L[ord] D[eputy]'s mind, without which I can assure you the Queen would not have assented. Neither yet hath she any certain notice that you do come, but being come, I know will well like it. I have heard from the Lord Deputy that he will send you as soon as the Commissioners come over. Now, Sir George, consider to what length that may be subject, and that Gardiner, being an old man, may tarry on the way. They depart not till the 15th of February; in which respect methinks you might of yourself go to the Lord Deputy, and never tarry till he send for you, and then may he send you over. I have notwithstanding written to him to send for you, and send you away, and have alleged the same reasons.

"To be short, Sir, if you tarry long, many things may happen to suspend his sending of you, but if you be once come, we can find means to keep you. Now, for your report, I use that but for form, for I should have been glad you had only brought us news of the cashing 4,000. I have let the Lord Deputy truly know, that though I would not have your return made only to deal in that matter, yet that you have so wisely concurred with him in the wishing of Tyrone's reduction by pardon, and so truly justified all his Lordship's actions, as I know both for the public and private your coming would be to great purpose.

"The news from Calais of the French King are idle which Gold brought, for the King makes no war, but knows the King of Spain practiseth, and yet thinks better to temporize, having his kingdom full of factions, and loving sensuality. Bouillon is fled into Germany, being summoned by the King to appear to answer his accusations, in all which I think he was far from guiltiness, but I never doubt that he was not in some so lapped with others, as he knew he should have drunk a bitter cup, for he hated the marriage, wished the Prince of Condé successor, was proud and discontented. He will surely come back to Cedan, where the King will not make the cannon march only to get him out, if he do no more; and if he could have done more, he would never have fled. The King, therefore, glad to be rid fair of those he hates, will, I conceive, please them of the religion in seeming not greedy to

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prosecute him whom they love, though they do not rebel for. There will no army come into Ireland, if at all, before August. He sets up his only rest for Flanders, where Ostend still holds out. And thus in haste I end, having only sent this to hasten your coming."

From Court, 20 January 1602.

*Holograph. Pp. 3. Endorsed: Received ultimo ejusdem.*

## II. FOREIGN NEWS.

"The Duke of Bouillon having been summoned to come to the court upon an accusation to be a partaker in the Marshal Biron's conspiracy, and fearing to receive some hard measure there by his enemies, retired himself to Castres in Languedoc, where there is a Chamber Mypartie for the resort of Tholouse, there to yield himself to be tried by that justice, according to the Edict for establishment of religion in France. But the King, misliking thereof, caused the Premier President of Tholouse to go and interdict that Chamber at Castres, not to meddle at all with the Duke's cause. Whereupon the Duke, having understanding of it, procured his appearance there to be enregistered by a special act made to that purpose, wherein also testimony was given of the Duke's peaceable and dutiful comportment towards the King and the State during his abode there; and so withdrew himself, well accompanied, toward Montpellier, being all along by the way received and met by the towns and people, who offered him their assistance against his enemies. From Montpellier he took his way to Pont St. Esprit, where he passed the river of Rhosne, and so went to Orange. Being at Orange, the Duke wrote to Mons. Desdiguieres to let him know of his being there, and that his purpose was to come to Grenoble, to record his appearance there, as he had done at Castres, and prayed him to take the pains to meet him there. But the next morning, upon advertisement of his friends, the Duke departed privately from Orange with six horse only, leaving the rest of his troop behind him, and, passing the river of Lisiere, got to Geneve, from whence taking his way to Basill, is gone to Heydelbergh, to his brother-in-law the Count Palatine, where there shortly [is] to be a meeting of many Protestants princes. From thence it is thought he will return himself to Sedan, his own town. Being at Orange, the King, understanding of it, sent the Mareschal Laverdin in post into those parts, not without suspicion of some practice to intercept the Duke. Monsieur Desdiguieres sent word to the King that the Duke had hardly escaped some of his troops, which he had sent to intercept him, preventing them some hour before.

"The Duke of Savoy hath had an enterprise upon Geneve, having by escalado in the night gotten two or three hundred men to enter the town, himself staying without with 3,000 more, expecting that those within should have forced one of the



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gates to have made an entry for him. But upon the alarm thereof the citizens so behaved themselves, as after three hours' fight, they drove them to abandon the walls. 50 men of the Duke's were slain in the place, 13 taken prisoners, divers drowned and hurt. The prisoners the next day, being brought to the question, were condemned as voleurs that in time of peace came to despoil the town."

*Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

Jan. 22. 374. SIR G. CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Vol. 620, p. 123.

"Lest imputation of blame may be cast upon me, that I have not (as in former times) written oftener unto your Lordships, in my just excuse, the blame thereof ariseth for want of shipping, trade being lately ceased between this realm and England. No one bark to my knowledge since the middest of November last hath passed between this province and this (that ?) kingdom."

Since my last of 31 October, "it hath pleased God to bless our proceedings in such sort as I hope the war of Munster is absolutely broken. After Cormock McDermod, the lord of Muskerry, was reduced, and Terrell beaten by Sir Samuel Bagnall, . . . and that country of Muskerry well settled, the rebels repaired to their old strength in O'Solyvan Beare's country, not thinking at this season of the year I would have given them any disturbance, which they knew to be very difficult to enterprise. Neither in truth any service was possibly to be performed upon them until garrisons were planted at Bantry in the west of the county of Cork and at Donkerran in Desmond; in performing whereof all October and November was expired, by reason of the great incommodities which the forces found to answer them with land carriages for the necessaries, and the want of winds to transport their victuals and munitions by sea.

"As soon as these garrisons were planted, I lost no time in prosecution, every day the enemy receiving great damages by them, insomuch as near unto those places all was throughly wasted. And to give the greater expedition to the business, I assembled the rising out of the province, to be commanded by the Lord Barry, to the number in list of 1,600 foot, at their own charges, who though with unwilling minds were drawn unto it, and that I stood in no great need of their help, or trusted much in it, yet I held it necessary to draw as many hands together as I could, who, according to their manner, for spoil's sake will not spare their dear friends; and also I held it meet in policy, (if possibly I might,) to make them draw blood upon the rebels.

"With this rising out, to countenance them the better, I joined Sir George Thornton with 550 English foot in list. The garrison of Bantry, being 1,050 in list, was commanded by Captain Flower, and that at Donkerran, consisting of

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1,000 in list, was commanded by Sir Charles Wyllmott ; and, preparing myself to have gone the journey, was drawn from it by the Lord Deputy's direction to attend him at Gallwaye, which I held secret to myself, lest the rising out by any prescience of my stay should become more slack to attend the service, and prolonged my going until I saw this assembly of the country on foot. Sir George Thornton, with his regiment, joined unto them. And because the traitors lodged in Beare (being part of the government which I assigned unto Sir Charles Wyllmott,) I left him commission in my absence to command these forces in chief; whom I may not omit to recommend unto your Lordships for the good discretion he hath used in the charge committed unto him.

“ The rebels, by continual advertisements understanding of these great preparations made to rouse them out of their fastness, to divert the same, in their counsels thought it fit to dispose their forces into three bodies; one to reside in Beare with O'Solevan, and with him William Bourke, consisting of 700 able men; another of 400 in Carbry, to be commanded by Sir Ower McCartie's sons; and the third, of 500 strong, with Tyrrell, who with McMorrice was to go into Kerry. But Tyrrell, being on his march thitherward, fearing to run a hard fortune, (notwithstanding he had lately received a large imprest in Spanish money of O'Solevan,) resolved with all possible expedition to quit the province; which he performed, and making McMorrice acquainted with his departure but at the instant, neither yet resting day or night, leaving all his carriages and impediments, as they tired, scattered to hazard, until he came into O'Carroll's country, being 60 long Irish miles from the mountain of Slewghlogher, from whence he departed. This was upon the day of appointment for the meeting of the forces at their rendezvous; whose desertion from the rest made the work so much the more easy.

“ Our forces abovesaid met with Sir Charles Wyllmott the 27th of the last month, and the last of the same, being encamped upon a mountain near unto the traitors' fastness, they entered into it; and after six hours' fight, with loss of slain and hurt on both sides, but more of the rebels, and most of them of the best sort, and some of them principal leaders, drave them out of it, possessed their fastness, and took a prey from them of 1,000 cows, as many garrons, and 2,000 sheep. The 1st and 2nd of this instant her Majesty's forces did not dislodge from the mountain aforesaid; within which time the enemy's force was weakened by desertion, many of them (whereof some were captains of their buonyes) came unto Sir Charles with their goods, and made their submission to him. Which distraction possessed William Bourke, the chief commander of the buonyes, with such fear, [as without further consultation or advice, the 3rd of this present, in the night, he willed O'Solevan Beare either to rise with him or that he would leave him there. This sudden warning, unlooked for

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by O'Solyvan, and finding no other means for safety of his life, [he] assented unto him, and fled ; so as the next morning, when Sir Charles prepared himself to seek the enemy in his camp, he found no resistance, for the traitors were gone, leaving behind them all their baggage, their hurt men, women, and children, and churls, whereof the soldiers made booty ; their hurt men being executed, and the rest escaped not free.

“In pursuit of the rebels the Lord Barry with the light Irish followed them with the best expedition he might, but the traitors' fear enforced such a hasty march as he could not overtake them, being light, and free from all impediments, and never looked behind them until they had clean quit this province, and were come into O'Carroll's country in Leinster, passing by many preys in their march, and (as Tyrrell did) durst not make stay to carry away any with them. When they departed Desmond they were 500 strong, but before they came into Leinster a great many of them stole away, so as by this time I think they are all scattered, every traitor drawing to his own country's safety for himself. O'Solyvan (as I understand) is gone directly to Tyrone, and with him of this province rebels O'Connor Kerry and Thomas Oge, a Geraldine. There is yet remaining of men of note, McMorrice, the Knight of the Valley, John FitzThomas, and O'Solevan More's son, a nephew to Florence McCartie ; who amongst them all are not now able to make 100 men. They live separated in small companies, seeking safety in every bush.

“After the departure of the foresaid rebels, and the rising out returned, Sir Charles Wyllmott, with the English regiments, overcame all Beare and Bantry, destroying all that they could find meet for the relief of men, so as that country is wholly wasted. The like waste and slaughter was made by sea upon O'Solevan's islands. Captain Flemynge, who at the same time, (being sent thither by Sir Charles,) having the aid of soldiers, entered into them with boats, took all their boats, and an English bark, which O'Solevan had taken and kept there to serve him for his flight into Spain when he should be enforced unto it. Moreover, whereas O'Solevan held the castles of Ardea and Carignasse with strong guards, Ardea is rendered to Sir Charles, and by this time I think that Carignasse is likewise in his possession. So as, if O'Solevan should return (which I little doubt), he hath no place of safety left in it, nor anything for his relief, and thereby unable to renew a war in Munster. The sharpness of this winter's journey hath tried the strength of our companies, for the mountains of Beare, being at that time covered with snow, tested the strongest bodies, whereby many returned sick, and some (unable to endure the extremity) died standing sentinel. And that which much weakened them was their ill victualling, consisting most of poor-John, and no other drink but water.

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Yet, I thank God, of men slain and dead I do not hear of 20, and am in good hope for the recovery of the rest.

“ In this interim, whiles this service was in prosecution in Beare, in my journey to the Lord Deputy meeting with some part of the rising out of the country to the number of 400 in list that came short to their rendezvous, and understanding that the sons of Sir Owen McCartie and Donnoghe Keough, brother to Florence McCartie in the Tower, had retired out of Beare into the strengths of Carbry, with their creats and followers, to the number of 400 fighting men, I commanded this bearer, Captain Taaff, with the 400 aforesaid, together with his own troop of horse and 40 of Sir Edward Wyngfeld's foot, to draw into those parts, and to endeavour the best service he could upon them, whiles the other forces were busied in Beare. Wherein it pleased God to give him good success, for the 5th of this present, his foot entering their fastness, these Carties, before remembered, gave him a good skirmish, and put his men in rout, whereof many of them were slain; which he seeing, being with his troop upon the skirt of the wood, charged them into the same [and] slew four horsemen of theirs; whereat their foot amazed fled. Which Owen Mc Egan, the Pope's Nuncio, perceiving, with a drawn sword in one hand, and his portus and beads in the other, with 100 men led by himself, came up to the sword, where he was slain; whose death so amazed the rest as they instantly brake, and for expedition cast away their weapons. In which flight there was killed and drowned in the river of Banden, besides many commanders and principal men of the rebels, at least 120 of the Irish on both sides, their loss double exceeding ours. Of Taaff's troop one slain, and of Sir Edward Wyngfeld's, 40 footmen either killed or hurt. He also took another priest, who is here prisoner, and shall have his reward. Of the creats about 300 were taken, besides many sheep and garrons.

“ Immediately after this discomfiture, Sir Owen McCartie's sons, who formerly had been humble suitors to me to be protected, and were refused, did now again importune to be received into the Queen's mercy. At which time Captain Taaff, not knowing of the good success that our forces had in Beare, and having formerly received instructions from me, after a blow, to receive them if it were humbly sought, did accept of their submissions, and hath brought them, with Donnoghe Keoghe, Florence's brother, unto me. By which means all the country of Carbrye (being the largest scope of land of any lordship in Munster) is clearly reduced, and at this hour no one traitor remaining in action in it.

“ The taking in of these men is a great case to the service, for their strength was great and friends many; and to say truly of them, I do think they are heartily sorry for their offences past, and will redeem it with future service. In

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token whereof they are not satisfied in themselves until they have made their humble submissions in England, and to that end have desired my leave to go with this bearer to humble themselves before your Lordships, trusting (seeing they have put in sufficient and good assurances unto me for their future loyalties, although they be not pardoned, but have my word only,) that they shall not be detained, and that your Lordships will be pleased by your letters to direct their particular pardoning in this kingdom ; which, for the performance of my word, in their behalf I most humbly beseech.

“Notwithstanding that these men have thus submitted themselves, yet I have withdrawn and removed them with their creats and their followers forth of Carbry into the east parts of the county of Cork, meaning thereby to leave absolutely waste all the west part of the country of Carbry, as I have already ordered for the countries of Beare, Bantry, and Desmond, that the home traitors, now departed the province, knowing the waste that is made therein, and those which are yet remaining behind, finding their hopes weakened by the want of these places, may have no relief to succour them there, or the Spaniard, upon his arrival, if he come, any assistance in those parts.

“I may not omit to inform your Lordships of the benefit which the service hath received by the death of that traitorous priest, Owen McEgan, which, in my opinion, is more beneficial to the State than to have the head of O'Solevan or any other capital rebel in the province ; for the respect that was borne unto him by reason of his authority from the Pope, and the credit which he had obtained in Spain, was so great, as that his power was absolute over them all, and he only hath been the means of their obstinacy hitherunto. The dignity in being the Pope's Nuncio did hold them in vassalage unto him, and the livings given unto him in Munster by the Pope's grant were to be valued, if he might have enjoyed them, at no less than 3,000*l.* per annum. And further, to bind the popish clergy unto him the faster, he had power from Rome to dispose of all the rest of the spiritual livings within this province ; by which authority, together with the credit he had with the Spanish King, (well known to the Irishry,) did give him in a manner an absolute power of the temporality and spirituality in the province. And a more malicious traitor against the State and Crown of England never breathed, which well appeared by the barbarous tyranny he exercised upon his countrymen Catholics who were not of his party, when they fell into his hands ; for as soon as any prisoner was taken, the party by himself, or by some other priest assigned by him, in piety (as he pretended), was absolved, and instantly in his own sight he would cause him to be slain ; which religious tyranny was in him held sanctity, and bred terror in many from serving the Queen. The numbers which in this manner have been put to death are very many, as is confirmed unto

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me by divers of the rebels of the latter quality that have been in action with him.

“The province of Munster being thus cleared, the buonies and O’Solevan gone, and the remaining rebels, as McMorrice, John FitzThomas, the Knight of the Valley, and O’Solevan More’s son, weakly dispersed, together with the order which I have taken in wasting and withdrawing the inhabitants of Desmond, Beare, Bantry, and the west of Carbury, doth in reason assure me, that the rebellion in Munster is not only absolutely broken, but all means taken away from them which are now in action to return; so as I boldly presume (which I seldom do) to assure your Lordships that no rebellion shall in any short time break out again, except the Spaniard by an invasion do move the same. Notwithstanding, I may not omit to put your Lordships in mind that the provincials have no less corruption in their hearts than heretofore, and how obedient soever they protest or seem to be, nothing but the sword held over their heads can hold them in subjection.

“The list of Munster is now upon the last general cash; it is reduced to 2,400 foot and 200 horse, an army evermore sufficient to hold the province in good terms, and after a little time (the country being better settled), in respect of the province itself, may in part be diminished. Nevertheless (under your Lordships’ reformation), until such time as the rumour of Spanish forces be clear extinguished, in my simple judgment I think it meet that the list be continued in the height it is, as well to keep down the malicious humour of the provincials, that cannot be beaten out of the hopes of Spain, (for of this province, as formerly I have advertised your Lordships, there is remaining in that kingdom above 120 who daily poison the hearts of their friends and kinsmen here with large promises from thence), as also to assure the towns from any sudden surprise of any sudden enemy, the inhabitants whereof how they now stand affected more dangerously than accustomed, your Lordships may well judge by the multiplicity of suitors that there attend you.

“At the writing hereof I received a letter from one of my friends in Court, that in November last it was there rumoured and vulgarly reported that the Lord Roche and the Lord Caher were in actual rebellion, and that Tyrrell at noon-day had burned the town of Mallo, in the which I held a garrison, and likewise Cormock McDermod, after his escape, had by force removed her Majesty’s army from the siege of Mocrampe. How untrue these reports are (although I know that your Lordships are fully satisfied), yet because until this present I had no knowledge thereof, or once dreamed that any such untruths would have been suggested, I held it my duty to deliver the truth unto you.

“And first, for the Lord Roche, if I have any judgment in me, I do not think any nobleman within the province of Munster to be more assured to the Crown of England,

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which all his actions do manifest, for I have not the company of any one of his rank so much as of himself; and therefore the Viscount is much wronged. As for the Baron of Caher, having been already once touched, I dare not answer for him, and to say my opinion truly, if opportunity serve, he will declare the ill affection he beareth. But that he hath actually relapsed since my coming into Munster is merely false. For the burning of Mallo, since my coming into Munster no rebels hath dared to look into it, much less to burn it by daylight. And to demonstrate the fear that the rebels have lived in, ever since the siege of Kynsale, I do assure your Lordships, upon my poor reputation, that all the traitors and bunions in the province (if all their spoils were accopted) have not taken from the subject 300 cows, but have lived in their strengths, spending upon themselves. For the removing of her Majesty's forces from the siege of Mocrompe by Cormock McDermod, I need not to say no other than formerly I have written, that the castle was taken by her Majesty's forces. And thus much for himself since his last submission: he hath carried a good fashion, and in the last service before remembered, being himself with Sir Charles Wyllmott in the west, he lost at the same time with Captain Taaff 30 of his best men."

I beg credence for Captain Taaff, the bearer. The Lord Deputy "at the siege of Kynsale, both before and at the overthrow of the Irish army of Tyrone, hath been an eyewitness of his extraordinary merit."

Cork, 22 January, 1602.

"Sent by Captain William Taaff."

*Copy. Pp. 6.*

Jan. 24. 375. THE EXCHANGE.

Vol. 607, p. 244.

Proclamation by the Queen.

"Upon the late alteration of the standard of our moneys in this realm,—whereunto we were led as well by examples of our progenitors, who had ever made a difference between the moneys of this realm and our realm of England, as also by a necessary providence of keeping the sterling moneys both from the hands of our rebels here, and also from transportation into foreign countries, which chiefly by the said rebels and their factors was done,—we did erect an Exchange for the use of all sorts of our subjects and others using intercourse between these two realms, for converting of moneys of the new standard of this realm into English moneys in England, and of English moneys into moneys of this realm, reciprocally; hoping that the honest and upright carriage of merchants in an equal exercise of traffic between the two realms would have caused in the said Exchange an indifferent and mutual commodity, both to the merchant for his trade and to us in our payments; and both their and our intentions have concurred in preserv-

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ing the sterling moneys from the rebels, and from transportation into foreign countries.

“ But in this little time of experience which we have made thereof, being not yet two years past, we have found our expectation greatly deceived, and the scope given in the first institution of the Exchange exceedingly abused by the sleights and cunninges of merchants; which, though we did immediately upon the beginning of the Exchange discover to be breeding, yet did we not think that the same would ever have grown to such an height as since we have perceived. Wherefore we did by some restrictions and limitations seek to contain those frauds within reasonable bounds. But it falleth out that the remedies proposed have been so far from easing the grief . . . as that some merchant who hath brought commodity into this kingdom out of our realm of England hath not been content to sell the same for reasonable gain, but, having raised his price of the same commodity to so much in the new moneys as do in their true value in silver almost countervail the sterling he paid for it there,—viz., that which cost him 10s. sterling to 30s. sterling, and after that rate that which cost him 100*l.* to 300*l.*,—he hath returned to our Exchange the same 300*l.*, which, being answered him there in sterling, yieldeth him profit of three for one at least; which is so great a gain as no adventure of any merchants into the furthestmost parts of traffic doth yield, and to us such a burthen, as if the same should be permitted were nothing else in effect but to make our Exchequer a mart for the cunning of merchants to work upon. Besides, many of them have, of purpose to make profit by the said Exchange, bought up old bills of debts from divers persons, to whom payment hath upon just consideration been deferred, and compounding for the same for small sums of money of the new standard, returned the whole upon us by exchange, whereby they have made an exceeding profit, contrary to the true meaning of our proclamation, intended for the use and benefit of such as used an honest and direct course of merchandise.

“ By which fraud there is ever a great quantity of moneys of the new standard returned upon us for sterling moneys in this realm; but neither is there any proportionable quantity of sterling moneys brought in here into the Exchange, nor delivered into the banks to be converted into new moneys here, and consequently there doth grow upon us an intolerable burden in continual payments of sterling moneys; and yet the two mischiefs which were the chief cause of alteration of the standard not remedied, that is, the preserving of the sterling moneys from the rebels, and from transportation into foreign countries. For little of it being brought in by the merchants of this country, and the same being not current to be used here amongst our good subjects, we find it is partly transported and partly falleth into the hands of the rebels, wherewith they have been the better enabled to continue in their wicked courses.



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“Wherefore, for redress of so great abuses daily practised by merchants, we do hereby publish that our meaning is that from the day of the publishing hereof the places of exchanging of moneys shall be only at Dublin for this our realm of Ireland, and at London for our realm of England, for all such as use the trade of merchandise. But for all others that are in our pay, and having wages of us, as being of our army or otherwise, there shall be a bank maintained at Cork, as heretofore it was, to receive their bills; but the bills received there shall be payable only at London. And for the use of passengers and soldiers departing out of this our realm into England, there shall be likewise Exchanges at Bristol and Chester, so as no such soldier or passenger do bring thither any bill containing above the sum of four pounds. But for merchants there shall not be at the said places of Chester and Bristol any payment of bills returned, but only at our city of London, in such manner as is hereafter expressed.

“And further our pleasure and meaning is, that the said Exchange shall extend only to such as . . . are contained in our establishment, to all and every of whom we are pleased to allow the benefit of exchanging moneys of the new standard of this realm into moneys current of England (wanting only 12*d.* sterling in the pound); viz., yearly to each of them ratably in his degree for so much as he doth save above his expense of that which he doth receive yearly of us, . . . and also for such further sum or sums as our Deputy . . . and Council here . . . or four of them at the least, shall think meet to allow to them or any of them, upon his or their demands; so as the sum or sums to be allowed do not exceed the sum or sums of his or their yearly fees, pay, or entertainment; and the warrant of such our said Deputy, &c. shall be sufficient warrant to the Master of the Exchange and his deputies for to make and give forth bills of exchange. So always that the moneys so to be delivered in exchange be his or their own proper money, and not borrowed, and that there be no fraud used; . . . for prevention whereof, the Master of the Exchange . . . shall have power and authority, as well by examination of the party or parties upon his and their book oaths, as by all other good means and circumstances, for the better finding out of any abuse. . . .

“And for others using trade of merchandise, although they deserve no favour in regard of the fraud wherewith many of them have abused our gracious meaning . . . , yet in regard of the poverty of this our realm, whereby we conceive that there wanteth sufficient commodities of the growth or manufacture of this kingdom wherewith to maintain traffic, we are pleased to maintain for their use an Exchange in this manner:—That every such person, not being of those that belong to our establishment, but a merchant, who shall deliver to the Master of the Exchange or his deputies in this realm 100*l.*, whereof 40*l.* shall be of the standard of sterling, in money or plate of silver or of gold, and 60*l.* in mixt moneys of the new standard

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of this realm, shall receive of the said Master of the Exchange or his deputies a bill directed to the Bank of Exchange in England, where the same is payable, whereby he shall receive for each 100*l.* delivered here in that manner 100*l.* in moneys current of England, wanting only 12*d.* in the pound, as heretofore hath been ordained, for each pound of the mixt moneys delivered; and for the sterling no defalcation to be made; and after that rate for more or less in quantity.

“And to the end that the frauds used by some merchants may be the better prevented, and the Master of the Exchange or his deputies understand that he dealeth truly in bringing his moneys to the Exchange, our pleasure is, that every such merchant resorting to the Exchange shall bring a certificate from the officers of our Custom House where his goods were entered, what goods he hath entered there, and at what time, to the end that it may thereby be discerned that he seeketh nothing but the return of his own money, and is not a colourer of other men's; and that it may be lawful to the Master of our Exchange . . . to put every such merchant or his factors . . . to their corporal oath that such old decried moneys brought by them to pass their new moneys withal came not nor was brought out of England. . .

“And for that divers noblemen and gentlemen of this realm have cause many times to repair into England either for suits or other necessary causes, and some have children there either at the Universities or at the Inns of Court or Chancery, or in our service at Court, who shall have cause for those purposes to use sterling moneys, and to have the moneys of this realm converted into moneys current of England; we are pleased that all such shall have the benefit of the Exchange in such manner as for those of our army is above limited, for such yearly sums of money as our Deputy . . . and Council shall think good to allow to any of them upon their demands. . .

“And whereas several covetous and contemptuous persons, notwithstanding our several former proclamations heretofore published forbidding the use of all manner moneys other than that of the new standard, . . . have in contempt thereof and of our prerogative royal traded with moneys forbidden and decried by the said proclamations; . . . we do will and command that no person or persons whatsoever henceforth shall traffic or trade with any of the said decried moneys or bullion, or make or take any payments or wages, fees, stipends, or debts, or shall take or use in bargaining or in any matter of trade, commercing, or dealing betwixt party and party for any matter of agreement, contract, or condition whatsoever, directly or indirectly, any of the said moneys decried by the said former proclamations, or any other money or bullion whatsoever . . .; and if any person . . . shall offend herein directly or indirectly, that such person shall for his contempt be punished by imprisonment, or by such fine as his contempt shall deserve in the judgment of the said Lord Deputy . .

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and Council. . . Provided, nevertheless, that all goldsmiths free of any city or corporate town within this realm may by way of traffic receive or exchange plate for plate, or any other wrought gold or silver, and utter the same for money of this new standard.

“And that it shall be lawful for all magistrates and others our chief officers, as mayors, sheriffs, chief officers of corporate towns, and justices of our peace [who] shall be informed of the payment or receipt of any such moneys or bullion decried, to seize upon the same to our use, and shall bring the same into our Exchange within thirty days next after such seizing, upon pain of imprisonment, and such fine to be imposed upon him as shall be thought fit by the Lord Deputy and Council, or by the Council authorized in his absence. And that every person giving information of the payment or receipt of any such moneys decried, or bullion, shall have the one half of so much as shall be seized and adjudged for his pains, or the moiety of such fine or fines as shall be assessed upon the said information when the seizure cannot be made, and to be otherwise recompensed or preferred as shall seem meet. . .

“And further, our pleasure is, for every 20s. of the old decried sterling money brought, or hereafter to be brought, into our Exchange here . . . that there shall be allowed for every 20s. of the said old standard sterling silver money so brought and to be brought in, the sum of 22s. of these new moneys . . . ; and in like rate for all gold and silver or plate of the fineness of the sterling money decried. . . From henceforward for all moneys, either foreign or of our own coin, plate, or bullion of gold, being of the fineness of English sterling, . . . the Master of our Exchange shall allow upon the worth of every 20s. thereof not only 20s. of the new standard money, but also an overplus of 2s. 6*d.* for the same in the said new standard. . . For all such old base money as shall be brought in to our Exchange here, there shall be allowed after the rate of ten upon the hundred, to be paid in the said new moneys.

“And whereas many greedy and covetous persons will adventure and be bold to counterfeit and forge moneys like unto the moneys of this new standard, or shall bring into this realm any such counterfeit moneys . . . inroaching upon our prerogative royal, we . . . command all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all other our officers and loving subjects, to enquire, seek, and find out all manner person or persons offending in manner as is aforesaid, to their uttermost power, and such offender or offenders to arrest and apprehend, and them to commit to the next gaol, there to receive such punishment as by the laws and statutes of this realm are ordained.

“And we do further . . . command that all and every passenger or passengers, coming out of our realm of England into this land, do presently repair to the Exchange, and deliver to

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the officers thereof such sterling money as they brought with them for moneys current within this kingdom; and if it be suspected that any passengers or others do not deal truly in the delivery of any of the said sterling money, that then our officers of the said Exchange, and our officers of our Custom in the said ports, may search such passenger and passengers to see what sterling moneys they have. And also that the Master of the Exchange . . . may put all and every such passenger and passengers on their corporal oath to open the truth what moneys of the old decried sterling moneys they have brought with them, directly or indirectly.

“And where it is likely that divers offences will be committed contrary to the effect of this proclamation by persons offending therein within remote places and provinces, which offences and offenders cannot so conveniently be called up hither before our Deputy and Council here, to be inquired of, censured, and punished, as in those remote places, . . . we do further publish, command, and authorise hereby that all offences . . . within the several provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster shall be . . . censured and punished in manner and form following; viz. . . within Munster before and by the Lord President and Council of Munster; . . . within Connaught before and by the Chief Commissioner and Council of Connaught; and within the remote parts of Ulster before and by the several governors of Carrickfergus, Loughfoyll, and Balleshenen. . .

“Many ill-minded persons will not stick to slander our doings, as though there were not in us an honorable meaning to perform what here we have proposed. . . We require all magistrates and officers . . . to have an ear to all such evil rumours, and to the spreaders of them, and such as they shall find to be authors or instruments of divulging any slanderous speeches touching this matter of the Exchange, to make them an example for other to be admonished by; and to assure all men that this institution of base money in this kingdom hath had his chiefest ground upon hope we had thereby to weaken the rebels of this kingdom, who by the use of sterling money had and have means to provide themselves from foreign parts of all things necessary to maintain their evil courses, and that the same being this way partly, and partly by the power of our army, once suppressed, we shall have just cause to restore the moneys of this realm to such estate as our progenitors have accustomed to use here.”

Castle of Dublin, 24 January 1602.

“Printed at Dublin at the Bridge-foot by John Franckton, 1602.”

*Original impression.*

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Jan. 24. **376.** The COUNCIL at DUBLIN to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 615, p. 432.

"We are given to understand that Richard Hawett, late deputy to the Clerk of the Works for the fortifications of Haylebowlinge, Castle Park, and Corke, is unfortunately slain the 7th of this instant month, within a mile of Corke, by three evil traitorous persons. And, inasmuch as the said Hawett received in his lifetime of the paymaster three several great sums of money by way of imprests for the defraying of the charge of the said works, and fearing lest that by this sudden mischance some prejudice might grow to her Majesty if any of his books or rolls of accompts should be embezzled by any lewd person, we have thought it good to dispatch hence this gentleman, Samuel Molyneux, Clerk of the Works, to make his repair to Cork, Haylebowling, and Castle Parke, there to take into his hands all such books, writings, or other papers that shall concern the receipt and issue of any sum or sums of money so had and defrayed for the said works, either by the said Richard Hawett, Mr. Paul Ivie, or any of their ministers." Molyneux is to "return with expedition, to undergo presently the building of places of strength" in Ulster.

Dublin, 24 January 1602.

*Signed:* Ad. Dublin., C.; George Cary; Edmund Pelham; Anth. Sentleger; Geff. Fenton.

*P. 1. Add. Endd.:* Received 30 Jan.

Vol. 624, p. 262.

2. Copy.

Feb. 1. **377.** SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 624, p. 263.

"Your joint letter bearing date at Arbrachan, the 18th of January, I received by Mr. Samuel Molineux, the last of the same, the contents whereof importeth the sending out of this province men and victuals into Connaught, both the which, to the uttermost of my power, (without apparent danger unto the state of this province,) I will perform; which, although it be not at that height (as I know you desire), yet it shall be to the uttermost what we are able to spare. . .

"Albeit the rebels O'Solevan, Terrell, and William Bourke are forced hence, and with them, by estimation, about 1,000 fighting men; and likewise that the sons of Sir Owen McCartie (after the slaughter of many of their men) are reduced to subjection; and that of capital rebels there are here no more remaining than McMorrice, John Fitz Thomas, the Knight of the Valley, and Thomas Oge, and these in strength very weak, so as it may be thought that the rebellion in Munster is absolutely broken, and that a very small force may both serve to prosecute these here, and to hold the rest of the provincials in good terms; nevertheless, knowing generally the corruption of their dispositions so well as I do, and precisely understanding that O'Solevan makes full account to return with the same forces he took away (if not with more), and also, as in the perelosing of all rebellions, there are a number of vagabonds dispersed,

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not yet to be found, or upon assurances, which do expect nothing more than new troubles, I cannot assure the province to be quieted longer than there is a powerful sword held over them.

“The list of Munster . . . consists in foot of 2,400; the strength by poll, according to other parts of the kingdom, may be esteemed; and out of them I have so many garrisons and necessary wards, as to answer any occasion whatsoever I shall not be able to draw to any one place 700 by poll. Notwithstanding, in due obedience of your directions (wherein I am by your favours left to use my discretion), I will, with the best conveniency I may, send unto Athlone 500 foot, humbly beseeching that, as occasion may serve, they may be speedily returned, making no doubt but the diminishing of the forces here will the sooner move O’Solevan’s return. . . . The whole forces of this province are in the extremest parts of Beare and Desmond, and how disposed of I do not certainly know until I see or hear from Sir Charles Wyllmott. . . .

“Moreover (under reformation), albeit we have not any direct intelligence of any present intention of Spanish invasion, yet in my opinion I do think it meet that there should be an extraordinary provisional care had for a defence in Munster, being the province (of all likelihood) most likely to be attempted, and so much the rather to be carefully looked into than in former times, because I do precisely know that the towns are more grieved than ever, the cause whereof I need not lay before your Lordship, &c., being so well known unto you by the clamours of citizens for want of trade. And further, most of all the Irish who are now in Spain are Munster men, who do (as much as in them lieth) press the King with importunities to attempt this province, than the which there is nothing more desired by the greater part inhabitants of it. So as, if any attempt be renewed, it is most probable to fall in these parts; and what a young King may or will do, contrary to the advice of his Council, as we cannot directly conceive, so are we to fear the worse.

“ . . . I have given order unto the victualler (reserving six months’ victual for 2,000 men in the several magazines here) the rest, whatsoever he hath remaining, although it be more than the motive,\* shall be sent as you have prescribed. And for utensils for fortifications, the rocky grounds whereon we work hath worn his store so bare, as if any be spared hence the works now in hand must be forborne until new provisions be sent hither.”

Cork, 1 February 1603.

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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\* *i.e.*, than what the Council “*motioned*” for.

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Feb. 18. 378. SIR ROBERT CECIL to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 604, p. 151.

“ You may still see how glad we would be to believe words, when they make for our desires, in the world, (be we of private or public qualities,) where, on the other side, in things not liked, oaths and vows are often excepted against by us, out of the just reasons which we see of constant prejudice, when our desires make us not too credulous. In this case standeth it with our dear Sovereign, who, being almost in conflict with herself how to terrify future traitors, when so horrible a traitor is received, especially upon any conditions, he pretending to ask none, doth *ponere rumores ante salutem*, seeing only how she descends (a little in one point only), but sees not what by it she riseth up otherwise, especially if (upon these points) God do her the favour to stay the rebellion. From hence therefore cometh this her Majesty's postscript by me, (for so I may term it, because it succeedeth the perclose of the letters,) the effect whereof followeth, but so carried as it takes nothing from your former power given in her own letters, though it recommends to you (if it might be, without overthrow of greater considerations,) the accomplishing thereof. In which, as I could not avoid obedience to deliver it unto you, being with that reservation as not to overthrow the main, so, my Lord, I know you would satisfy her in it too, if you could; and I hope, both for your discharge and for mine own, will take notice of your own desire to have done all you could in this nature, and of your reception of my letter; which form will satisfy then, because she is not presently crossed, and so her passion, by little and little towards him spending, will give way, when she sees by experience what will be returned in these things which now she still insists upon to be moved as not impossible (if it be tried), or at least not inconvenient to impose, if it can be gotten (straight opposing their opinions which deny now that the effects will prove so) with the words of his own submission, of which all we know he will look to be explained *per civilem interpretationem*.

“ Shortly, therefore, her Majesty desires you should seek by all the best means you can to promise him pardon, but by no name of Tyrone hereafter, for that name, she sayeth, is ominous and odious, and rather she would have him named Baron of Dungannon, or, if needs must be, some other earl's name, but not Earl of Tyrone.

“ Secondly, Sir, she would be glad it might not be found that he should have that country so large as he either claimeth or made it, but to see how, *honoris gratia*, you can pare it. Lastly, that where he makes many artificial slashes in paces (passes) to hinder passages, thereby to live less accessible, she would have him enjoined to alter them.

“ Now, Sir, know, I pray you, hereby, that this is her own, and neither our proposition nor conceit, but rather suffered *pro tempore* than we would lose the former warrant by contesting so

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long against that which will die as soon as she is satisfied from you that we have obeyed her, and that you find the impossibility of these things which she would be glad of, but so as not to prevent the rest. And therefore, now I have done all, and said all, I know in these last I have said nothing, and yet in obeying I have done much. And so, hoping by your next dispatch you will write that which is fit to be showed her Majesty, and that which is fit too for me to know (apart), in which kind all honest servants must strain a little when they will serve princes, I end."

From Court, 18 February 1602. *Signed.*

*P.S. (in his own hand.)*—"You see that, though I know what your answer will be for these things, yet that I adventure to write my conceit how you should satisfy by writing that you would have done if it would not have hurt the whole. I would not do this to two men living, and under my hand to no man, if otherwise it could be. If, therefore, you will, for accidents unlooked for, return this my letter, I will thank you; your warrants for that which you must do, or can do, remaining under her own hand."

*Pp. 2. Corrected by Cecil. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:*  
"My master's letter to the Lord Deputy."

[Feb.] 379. "The PROJECT out of ENGLAND touching the NEW COIN."  
Vol. 607, p. 217.

"Where the standard of Ireland is now at three ounces fine, which is after the rate of 3*l.* sterling in every shilling, it may now, by a new proclamation, be ordered that no man shall take any coin of that standard but after this rate: 12*l.* for 8*l.*, the piece of 6*l.* for 4*l.*, and after that proportion for all other pieces of the mixed moneys; whereby that piece which had three parts copper and one part silver shall now have but two parts and somewhat more of copper, and almost one third part of silver.

"All that dwell within the kingdom, and shall use no exchange (whereof the greatest part have no occasion), shall have moneys one third part richer than they were before; and so shall all moneys from henceforth that are to be coined pass at none other rate.

"The merchant—to the end that when he comes over with his commodity into Ireland he may make use of the money he receiveth, if he cannot find Irish commodities or will not buy them—shall be assured that, bringing money into her Majesty's Bank in Ireland of that fineness (*viz.*, that in every piece current there for 8*l.* and shall have in it 3*l.* of silver), he shall receive of the Master of the Exchange a bill by which he shall receive in England so much sterling money as there is silver contained in the Irish coin which he received there for his merchandise.

"The soldier shall have best reason to be contented, for that he is apparelled and victualled from the Queen, and the



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surplusage that he hath in money shall be richer than now it is.

“Seeing experience sheweth that the prices of things do follow the rate of silver and gold, which is in the money, by this means the prices of all things shall fall one third part, which ought to be taken for good contentment, until the state of the Queen’s charge there may give her cause to proceed to a further degree of refining the moneys, which her purpose is to do.”

*P. 1. Endorsed by Carew:* “A project from the Lords of the Council in England for the new base moneys sent into Ireland, 1602.”

[Feb.] 380. The CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 219.

“How the Project sent from the Lords may pass here for the present time without any appearance of alteration, and without proclamation, yet for the ease of all them which received pay from her Majesty.”

“The greatest care the Queen hath is for her army, and such as live here in her Majesty’s entertainment, who complain of the excessive prices and rates they give for everything, whether it be for victual or for apparel, paying three times the price they gave in times past, and yet their entertainment is nothing increased. For redress whereof, if her Majesty shall be pleased to increase their pay, they shall be able the better to endure the present dearth until a general reformation for the whole kingdom may be provided.

“Then whereas the intent of the project is to decry the Irish shilling to 8*d.* by proclamation; that may be forborne until a settled course be determined for the kingdom, because it will be a double distaste both to decry the moneys and to cease the Exchange. Besides, the decry of moneys shall not now be needful, because the Queen is not to receive, but to pay moneys.

“Therefore, to answer the intent of the project some way, the Queen may be pleased to pay the army and others that receive pay here, viz., 30*s.* for 20*s.* So, now, where they receive 60*s.*, for that they can buy with sterling for 20*s.*, the Queen giving by this increase 30*s.*, the prices of things shall be but doubled upon them which before was trebled; for sterling money is usually to be bought in this town, giving 60*s.* Irish for 20*s.* sterling; and the Queen increasing her pay from 20*s.* to 30*s.*, the price of sterling by that increase shall be but double in Irish moneys to the army, and the residue that have the Queen’s pay.

“Touching the Exchange, her Majesty is determined to withdraw it, having eased the army of a third part in the prices of things which herself doth bear. And this may be carried secretly for the time, without any appearance of alte-

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ration, until a rich coin may be restored in this kingdom, according to the project by me\* tendered; the hope of which for the time may please the subjects of this kingdom, seeing the Queen will be ready to perform her part if the country will do theirs."

II. "A Computation how her Majesty by an Exchange shall defray the charge of her Army for one year.

"300,000*l.* will defray the charges of an army of 12,000 foot and 1,000 horse, with extraordinaries and imprests upon account.

"The Queen shall make to be coined but 180,000*l.* in Irish money, to be sent into Ireland for the pay of the army, because the Bank in Ireland shall furnish the rest. Of which 180,000*l.* in Irish money there shall be in small money of mere copper 10,000*l.*, and in commixt money 170,000*l.*, the charges whereof will be as followeth:—For 170,000*l.* in commixt money, the silver and coinage will be about 51,000*l.* For 10,000*l.* in copper moneys, the copper and coinage will be 1,000*l.* Summa, 52,000*l.* (Irish money).

"Charges of the Exchange.

"120,000*l.* current money in England [of new coin†] shall answer the exchanges of one whole year, the charges whereof will be for 60,000*l.* in groats and threepences of silver; the same will be in value but 45,000*l.* For 60,000*l.* in small copper moneys of (*i.e.* from) twopence to the farthing, the copper and coinage will be 6,000*l.* Summa, 51,000*l.* The total of both sums is 103,000*l.*, which, deducted from 300,000*l.*, which is the charges of the army, there will remain 197,000*l.* So the Queen will save in 300,000*l.* 197,000*l.*

"Whereas the Queen is indebted upon bills of exchange in 60,000*l.*, which she is to pay in sterling, now her Majesty may pay it in these small moneys current in England with good contentment, viz., in silver groats, 30,000*l.*, the charges whereof will be but 22,500*l.*; in copper moneys 30,000*l.*, the charges whereof will be 3,000*l.* Summa 25,500*l.*; which, deducted from 60,000*l.*, there remaineth 34,500*l.* sterling which she gaineth in 60,000*l.* due upon bills."

*Pp.* 3. *Endorsed*: Reasons to confirm the project for decrying the Irish moneys, and to pay the 60,000*l.*, for which bills of exchange are already passed [by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, 1602.]‡

\* Captain Edward Hayes? (See endorsement of the following document.)

† These words are inserted by Carew.

‡ Added by Carew.

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[Feb.]

## 381. THE CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 222.

“Reasons why the Queen may not continue the exchange of sterling in England for the base moneys in Ireland.\*

“Every 20s. Irish doth cost the Queen for silver and coinage 6s. 2*d.* sterling. The same, being returned into the Bank for exchange of sterling, doth cost the Queen more, 19s. ster. So every 20s. base, being once returned into the Bank, doth cost the Queen 25s. 2*d.* The same is reissued, so is it again to be re-exchanged. Wherefore it is evident that so much of the base money as shall be once exchanged is more chargeable to the Queen than sterling; and being re-issued, the same will be also re-exchanged if the Exchange be continued.

“*Objection.* All is not brought to the Exchange which the Queen issueth.

“*Answer.* What man in this kingdom having a 100*l.* of base money will esteem of it but only in regard of the Exchange, whereby the Queen giveth four times so much as it is worth. This late experience proveth true, since the Exchange hath been slacked, with general exclamations to the Queen’s dishonour. Wherefore it is very apparent that every man hath a purpose to put his base money upon the Queen by way of exchange if it should be continued. For an instance: admit the Queen hath issued in Ireland 200,000*l.* in base money, if every piece of that money should be branded with a mark when it cometh to the Bank, they will all be found in time to bear the badge of the Bank if the Exchange be open and general, and so of 200,000*l.* more the like will fall out, that, in conclusion, all shall pass the Exchange at one time or other, and one passage clippeth the Queen’s supposed gains for ever. For by the first she is a loser, and every exchange after that shall cost the Queen the price of sterling, only 12*d.* abated in the pound, which in the first mintage and for extraordinary charges depending upon the Exchange is eaten out beforehand.

“*Objection.* The kingdom of Ireland must always be possessed of money to serve every man in his private expenses, and so much cometh not to the Bank.

“*Answer.* The conclusion is not true, for the same that the kingdom so possesseth at one time shall be found in the Bank at another time.

“Furthermore, the danger of counterfeit moneys is unavoidable, which haply foreign states do not yet practise because they see no certainty of an Exchange to be continued; but if they shall perceive it to be a matter settled, the realm will be stuffed with counterfeit moneys. The like fell out in England when King Henry the VIII. embased the coin, for then were counterfeit moneys brought into England by barrels-

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\* This document is in the same handwriting as the preceding.

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full, and for the same our treasure was exhausted. So shall counterfeit moneys be put upon the Exchange for sterling in England, which is a fearful danger for her Majesty to undergo any longer time.

“The course of giving sterling exchange at the beginning was profitable, and safe enough whilst this kingdom was scant of moneys, after a general decay of all moneys besides, and before the means could be prepared to make and import any great mass of counterfeits in this kingdom, which no foreign state would hazard upon uncertainties; but now to be continued is full of peril and danger.

“Whereupon this project of amending somewhat the state of the moneys in Ireland is offered, the Queen by paying 12*d.* but at 8*d.*\* It is good to embrace anything of the mending hand until the Queen may find other remedies, whereunto her Majesty is most graciously inclined, if a better may be tendered for the good of her Majesty and contentment of her subjects.”

*Pp. 2. Endorsed: Reasons against the continuance of the Exchange [per Captain Edward Hayes, 1602.]†*

[Feb.] 382. THE CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 222.

Memoranda made by Sir George Cary, Treasurer at Wars, on the fly-leaf of a letter addressed to himself.

“The army and servitors to have their exchanges free, without any deduction of 12*d.* in the pound. The merchants and all others to pay 12*d.* in the pound upon their exchanges. That the merchants do bring to the Master of the Exchange a test from the controller or customer testifying what goods he hath brought in, &c.; or otherwise, perhaps, he will overburden the Exchange. If the merchant shall enhance his prices beyond reason to the grievance of the subject, having now a liberal Exchange, upon complaint made to the Deputy, and upon proof, the Deputy or Governor shall give warrant to the Master of the Exchange to restrain such merchant from the Exchange.”

*P. 1. Endorsed by Carew: Remembrances for the Exchange.*

[Feb.] 383. THE CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 230.

“A Project for Ireland for Coin by the Lord Deputy and Council there.

“The exchange of sterling for Irish money being found so burthensome and intolerable to her Majesty’s coffers, as by the course now held it seemeth she may no longer endure it;

\* *i. e.*, “by paying only 8*d.* for 12*d.*”

† Added by Carew.

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on the other side the kingdom of Ireland, being waste, must draw relief from England and other foreign nations, which cannot be procured for the Irish moneys (being base) without an exchange. Between these straights the army in Ireland must undergo very great miseries and distress, to the ruin of the whole kingdom, unless some better course may be prudently and speedily provided.

“We conceive that your [the Privy Council’s?] wisdoms is such, as that being duly informed of our distresses you would take some speedy order for preventing of a further mischief; notwithstanding, lest it should be objected that we which tender our complaint should also tender a remedy, we have therefore thought good to set down our opinions. . .

“There appeareth to us but two ways to right all matters between her Majesty and both kingdoms, viz., either to restore good moneys again into Ireland, at least such as may be current in England, or to give a good exchange in England for the base moneys of Ireland. We have hereupon examined with indifference, laying aside all regards to private profit, which of those two ways may be most convenient for her Majesty and for both kingdoms, and do find it thus:—

“Touching Restitution of Good Moneys into Ireland.

“(1.) First, it shall exhaust the treasure of England. (2.) Secondly, it shall enrich the rebels, and strengthen them again against her Majesty with her own treasure. (3.) Thirdly, it shall charge her Majesty in double as much as the Exchange would do, because all men must then be paid in good moneys, yet all men do not exchange usually, nor at most the half of their pay and entertainments. (4.) Fourthly, if better moneys should be restored of lesser value than the sterling without an exchange, it can give no relief to the army, for the moneys being but of 6 oz. fine, our loss will be 10s. in 20s.; if of less fineness than 6 oz., then the loss will be greater. (5.) Fifth and last; it shall untie the trade of Ireland from England, when the moneys of Ireland shall be of better value in other countries than in England, as all silver and gold bullion are; by which means the kingdom of England shall be drained of their treasure, and her Majesty hindered in her customs, besides many other damages.

“Touching an Exchange in England for the Base Moneys of Ireland.

“(1.) First, it shall keep treasure in England. (2.) Secondly, it shall cut rebels from foreign trades. (3.) Thirdly, half the silver shall answer the Exchange in England, when double as much will not suffice to make pay of good moneys in Ireland, because the half cometh not to the Exchange that every man receiveth for his pay, neither doth every man usually exchange; and the kingdom evermore drinketh up a

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portion of the moneys there issued. (4.) Fourthly, the Exchange being good in England, it skilleth not what the moneys be in Ireland. (5.) Fifth and last; the Exchange tieth the trade of Ireland to the kingdom of England, so long as the Irish moneys are exchanged at a better value in England than the same are worth in other countries.

“ By this manner of conferring one with the other, we find that a base money in Ireland with a good Exchange justly held in England shall be most profitable for her Majesty, and most convenient for the States of both kingdoms, England especially, which of us must be regarded most.

“ Notwithstanding, to maintain a sterling Exchange in England, though it be less charges to her Majesty than to maintain a sterling pay in Ireland, because it hath been found so burdensome to her Majesty's coffers as it seemeth her Majesty will no longer endure it; we have therefore considered of many ways how also her Majesty may be eased therein, and with least inconvenience to the States of both realms, which must of force somewhat suffer together to bear out the extremities of a war.

“ And whereas we have gotten understanding of some motions lately made in England for continuance of an exchange between both kingdoms by moneys of the same species and coarseness of \* the Irish moneys, to be made also current in England from 4*l.* downward to the farthing, in which should be paid our bills of exchange in England; we have held ourselves contented with that course, the rather because it was offered by certain that would undertake it (as we have been informed), that for the same moneys we might at our choice have sterling again in exchange, after the rate and charges of 10 pro cento, † to be paid without delay.

“ But inquiring after the issue of these motives, we hear by common occurrents that the embasing of English groats so low as to 3 oz. fine, equal with the new standard of Ireland, is of some disliked and impugned, in regard whereof we have added our opinions for a mitigation; namely, that her Majesty may be pleased to ordain new English groats and threepences of silver, with abatement only of one fourth part in silver under the standard of sterling; the rather also because the old groats be worn out, become light, broken, and defaced, and the most part of them unfit to pass any longer current. Also to ordain twopenees, pence, halfpence, and farthings of mere copper, and so bills of exchange to be paid in England, half in groats and half in copper moneys, which shall content us, the same being current in England, with a toleration besides of a private exchange of sterling moneys to them that will; which there be some in England will undertake to give in manner before specified without trouble or charges to her

\* *i. e.*, “as.”

† Sic.

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Majesty. So may the Queen be made gainer very near two parts in three; that is to say, in expending 300,000*l.* she may save 200,000*l.*

“Concerning the new groats to be made with abatement only of a fourth part silver, the same shall be worth 3*l.* silver, which can fall out little loss to the English subjects, if at any time hereafter it should seem fit to decay them to their true value in silver; for so much will be lost in the old groats whensoever they are to be called in to be new coined, which conveniently may be done upon the coinage of those new groats.

“Then, touching the smaller moneys, the same are very requisite in so populous a kingdom as England, where seemeth to be such scarcity and want of small moneys, that in lieu of them the common people are constrained to use tokens of lead; to take the copper moneys of Scotland upon the Borders, and the like copper moneys of France in the island[s] of Garnesey and Jarsey; and to give the sterling moneys of England in commutation for the same. Whereas for avoiding like inconveniences, and to furnish their subjects and vulgar sort of people with moneys fit for their uses and due unto them, all kingdoms of the known world (besides England) do ordain their small moneys in copper only, which her Majesty’s standard in England doth most require, the same being so rich and of so fine silver as that it cannot bear pieces of so small bulk as the penny, halfpenny, much less the farthing, to be manable and apt for the use and handling of the gross and vulgar people. And to the end it may not be thought the realm of England shall be ever pestered with masses of those copper small moneys (for the groats will be no offence), it may be considered that 50,000*l.* in groats and threepences, and 50,000*l.* in the lesser moneys of copper, may, we suppose, suffice the exchange for one year in Ireland with good contentment. And if (as God forbid) the wars should continue full two years more at the charges her Majesty doth now depend, yet should the small copper moneys amount unto but 100,000*l.* in two years, which soon will be drunk up without any man’s hurt in her Majesty’s most populous dominions, when no other small moneys shall be left *in esse*, saving the copper only.

“Last of all, for a further advancement of her Majesty’s profit, and commodity of the army also, her Majesty may be pleased to pay the army their full pay in Irish moneys, and so save so much sterling more in her coffers, which now she disburseth to the merchants of the provant for victual and apparel, who selling their provisions unto the soldiers for Irish money in Ireland, they shall again for their Irish moneys receive a good exchange of current moneys in England. And lest the increase of copper moneys should thereby grow too great, the provant merchants may be paid their bills of exchange for the most part in silver groats, the abundance

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whereof shall not much hurt the State of England, the same being a rich money, nor hinder the merchants' profits, and yet may gain her Majesty one fourth or one third part, which now she loseth in delivering sterling money unto the provant merchants out of her Majesty's Exchequer.

"Thus have we presumed to offer our conceits, wishing earnestly that some good course may be here speedily settled, yet so advisedly that no cause of alteration may be again, which, falling out often, doth amaze the subjects of this kingdom, and ministereth occasion of divers censures amongst men, which we wish may be avoided in the next establishment of an Exchange. For an Exchange we hold to be the most indifferent course between both kingdoms, and far better for her Majesty (in this manner proposed) than to give again a rich money in Ireland. Holding this also for a maxim, that it is better for England to send out commodities than treasure. By giving an Exchange venteth the commodities. By giving rich moneys exhausteth the treasure of England."

*Pp. 7. Endorsed by Carew: A project for coin by the Deputy and Council of Ireland, in anno 1602.\**

Feb. 24. 384. THE CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 240.

"An Answer [by the Lord Deputy and Council] to the particular Articles of their Lordships' [the Privy Council's] Project touching the New Coin, 24to Februarij 1602.

"The alteration of her Majesty's standard of moneys from sterling to this mixt moneys hath been from the beginning very grievous and distasteful to the subjects of this kingdom, and their only contentment hath rested in this, that they still hoped and expected an Exchange, and that the same should be duly answered according the several proclamations. Therefore any project that shall be devised to take away this hope of an Exchange (this money continuing) we cannot but in our duties greatly fear that it will breed a dangerous discontentment.

"(1.) In the first part of this project there is an apparent present loss to the subjects which have any of this money of 4*d.* in every shilling, which no doubt will increase the general discontentment, especially in regard that with this decried money the subjects shall not be enabled to use any traffic into England or with any foreigner, neither to ease the prices at home. And for the money to come, this project doth offer a diminution of silver in the money to come, which by this project will not contain a third part as the new standard reduced to 8*d.* doth. And though for our parts we have no doubt (your Lordships affirming it) that there is 3*d.* of the fineness

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\* In the margin Carew has incorrectly given the date of "1600" to this document.



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of silver in every piece of 12*l.*, yet must we, in discharge of our duties, not hide from your Lordships that it is generally conceived amongst these subjects that there is no silver at all in the moneys of this standard, and we cannot persuade them to believe otherwise.

“(2.) To the second: Though the greatest number (which is the poorer sort) shall have little use of an Exchange, yet by the present decrying they shall sustain a present loss. And if the better sort shall not have an Exchange, the poor shall feel the extremity of the prices of all things, for we conceive not how, by these mixt moneys to come, mentioned in the first article, they can be eased.

“(3.) To the third: This country affords but small store of commodities, and those at extreme rates (as the time now standeth), whereby small trade can be expected. And if the merchant shall lose five parts in eight at the least upon his exchange in the money that is already come, and more in the money to come, (as it appeareth by the words of this project, as we conceive,) then he must needs sell at extreme rates, as losing in his principal in every hundred in such exchange 6*l.* 10*s.*, besides his adventure, travail, and the charge of his exchange; which will be an occasion of such a height of prices of all things as no man shall be able to live.

“(4.) To the fourth: Although her Majesty doth most royally supply the soldier with victuals and apparel, yet many times they are occasioned to travel from garrison to garrison, and sometimes to reside in towns, upon necessity of service, where there is no staple of victuals, and oftentimes are left sick in corporations. In all which cases they must live upon money, besides the supplying of themselves with other necessaries, whereunto many times they are driven, seeing there is no soldier so poor but must have some extraordinary means to relieve himself. And we humbly leave it to your Lordships' considerations, in what state all captains and other servitors shall be to maintain themselves in any sort, considering we cannot perceive how the prices of things will any way be lessened, but rather increased greatly by this project.

“(5.) To the fifth: We humbly acknowledge that experience sheweth that the prices of things do follow the rate of silver and gold which is in the money. But first we are bold to put your Lordships in mind that the enriching of the money already dispersed ariseth from the present loss of the subject, to his no small grief. And where your Lordships do think that the prices of things by this project shall fall (under your Lordships' reformation), we are not of that opinion, for the reasons formerly by us alleged.”

*Pp.* 2. *Endorsed*: A Project for the new coin, with the answer [by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, 1602].\*

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\* The words in brackets are added by Carew.

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Feb. [26].\* 385. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL in DUBLIN to the  
Vol. 615, p. 450. PRIVY COUNCIL.

“Your Lordships’ last letter of the 13th of this month (consisting upon some directions of the new coin) was delivered here the 18th following; and the 19th we drew ourselves to council, to consider of the parts thereof. . .

“First, where the estate of this kingdom continueth still unstead and wavering, and the most part of the subjects who have made outward shows of obedience in this great rebellion were not altogether sound in heart, we are of opinion that the care and policy of this Estate must be to prevent in them still all occasions of new alterations, to the which (without good foresight) their natural aptness will carry them; at least, no cause to be given that may take away their hopes of a better condition both for the present and time to come. For, as they seem to have borne the extremities and hardness of the times past with more constancy and patience, upon persuasion that by the future they should be eased, to their more comfort and contentment, so it is probable that upon any new overture or project proponed unto them which in their understanding may seem to frustrate their former hopes of a better estate, it will be an occasion to them to nourish other impressions, and haply run into some courses that may endanger the whole Estate. . .

“Out of these considerations we have been bold to advise in Council how far the last project touching the new coin of this realm sent hither with your Lordships’ said dispatch of the 13th of this month might prejudice her Majesty’s royal meaning to have the course of that coin carried here to as much ease of her Majesty’s charges as may be, and with less discontentment to her people than by the last proclamation sent hither by your Lordships. Wherein, for the first point, how careful and zealous we have been always to strive against the insupportable expenses of her Majesty, and to stop the current thereof as much as we could, the Lord of heaven and earth can witness with us. . .

“And even so have we been respective likewise to the uttermost of our power not to exasperate too much the minds of this wavering people, but to hold them firm in their obedience, and prevent discontentments. But now, if this last direction for the coin should be made known to them, or they to have never so little apprehension thereof, we see reason to fear that it would be utterly distasteful to them, and so consequently an entry made into a further alienation of their hearts than ever before. For such reasons as we have set down by way of apostyles to the particular articles of the project, and now sent to your Lordships with this dispatch, besides some others, with the Lord President of Munster

\* See “*Pacata Hibernia*,” p. 695.

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(Carew), who, having been present with us in the consultation, and knowing as well as ourselves how dangerously the hearts of the people of all sorts may be distracted by this new order in the Exchange, if it should proceed, we have desired him to explain to your Lordships the further inconveniences which may break out in the government in that case; and particularly touching the soldiers, whose condition, as it was most poor and full of wants before, so it would be now more miserable, inasmuch as they should not be able out of their entertainments to buy any commodity \* to relieve many of their wants, without which all of them can hardly live, but the greatest and best part of them must needs relieve themselves with many other things than the bare allowance of such victuals or clothing as are sent over;\* and that many parts of this kingdom are so obstinate to receive this coin; and even the better parts, that are best furnished of beoves, corn, and other victuals, will hold from the soldier all their commodities; besides that in the Pale it seems all things are grown to such an extremity of dearth and want, as nothing is to be had for this money; specially when they see no provision is made to relieve them by this project by way of exchange. A fearful matter to consider, how far by this course the soldier, who hath hitherto in good order borne out the toils and calamities of the wars, may be tempted by this alteration, either to grow to mutinies and disorders, or to leave the service altogether; as also their commanders, who are gentlemen of worth, and have long time led the companies, may be driven likewise to quit their places; upon which your Lordships may think how dangerously will be hazarded the ruin of the army. An inconvenience so great, as it is fearful to remember, and (but to discharge our duty) we should be doubtful to represent it to your Lordships. All other servitors and ministers about the State are to fall in the same predicament, their case being all one with the soldier, in finding the same stop to buy commodities in this country, where so little is to be had; and less will be afforded by the people in respect of their grudge towards the coin. Wherein, as they stick not to utter in plain speech that, after so many ordinances and directions published here by order from thence, they looked still to be further eased and favoured, and therefore passed over their discontentments with less grudge, hoping that out of so many alterations would grow at length some settled course touching the coin, which (in some sort) might give them cause to repose themselves thereon; so now, if in the end of the work they shall find themselves frustrated in that expectation, it cannot be but a mean to strike them into deeper discontentment than ever before, and the Estate here less able to satisfy them by their wonted manner of good advice and persuasion; and so

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\* The words between these two asterisks are inserted in Mountjoy's handwriting.

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a gap left open for them to complot fresh matters to the further danger of this Estate. . .

“To give as good a stay to the scruples and doubts in the people as we could, we have published the last proclamation, being ready printed, and appointed to be proclaimed the same day your Lordships’ last dispatch (with the project) arrived; and some of them being sent before into some parts of the kingdom.\* For our parts . . . we are of mind that by that proclamation the inconveniences and dangers that may grow in the government by the use of the other will be greatly broken, and the evil consequences that may ensue thereof not a little stayed. But (out of our duty we speak it) all the care and foresight your Lordships can use in this matter of the coin, and all our toils and endeavours applied and added thereunto, will be of small force to carry this great work to the desired end, unless it may please her Majesty to give order that the Exchange may more really borne up, and speedier payment made of the bills that are to pass from hence to the Bank there, for without that or some other course † to be sought out, whereby some ease may be given to her Majesty’s excessive charges for a time, it will be but to keep open the sore still, and increase the ill accidents that from time to time may and will break out thereof.

“Two or three days before this last project arrived, Sir George Carewe, President of Munster, was come hither, being drawn from his charge by us, with a meaning to send him to your Lordships, as well to acquaint you with the state of his particular government in Munster, as to give you a feeling of the general condition of this realm in all the parts of it, which we considered could not be done so exactly and sensibly by letters or other course of writing, ‡ and withall to acquaint your Lordships how the whole kingdom standeth distracted, most of the people’s minds working still upon expectation of the coming of Spaniards, and the general humours of all sorts not settled, but listening after alteration and change. And as he knoweth as well as ourselves in what parts the sores of the kingdom do run to most peril, and what part it is which poisoneth all the rest, and maketh the whole disease more desperate, so he hath also in charge from us to speak plainly to your Lordships in these matters, and humbly to advise

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\* Here the following passage is struck out:—“Whereby a public notice was taken of them; and (as we understand) some of the better sort in the Pale have conceived well thereof, for that they found themselves provided for in some course of exchange, with others of the servitors, and to seem satisfied therewith, so as they may have the benefit of that proclamation without depending upon other changes.”

† Here the following passage is struck out:—“by enhancing the wonted sterling money to such a height as it shall please her Majesty, or some other device.”

‡ The following passage is struck out:—“Wherein we have given him some verbal instructions tending to that business, as an entry for him to explain more amply to your Lordships how dangerously,” &c.

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with your Lordships how this still raging canker of rebellion may be thoroughly cured, or at least stayed from further festering till it may please God to give a fit time to cut it off altogether ; for in both these the President is able (out of his experience) to yield some reasons and inducements to ground a good course to serve her Majesty's turn, by either of these two ways.

“The gentleman hath been long time well known to your Lordships, and since his employment here he hath given many honorable testimonies of his valour, judgment, and skill, as well in his particular charge of Munster as in the general affairs of the realm, both martial and civil ; insomuch as he hath won amongst us a reputation of a very sufficient man ; and we are not a little glad that we have such an instrument to employ to your Lordships in so weighty a charge ; whom for such one we do humbly recommend to your Lordships, and that with all possible speed we may receive from you some resolute directions in those causes which he hath to negotiate with you, whereupon we may ground our course of proceeding here to the best furtherance of the public service.

“We have likewise required him to move your Lordships that it would please you, in regard of the great famine both present and like to increase exceedingly, to consider of some course whereby the ministers of the State here, the corporate towns, and other her Majesty's good subjects, may be relieved by a traffic of corn out of England ; and to that end some favourable regard to be had (in the Exchange) of such as shall be thought meet to be licensed to that trade ; for we are bold to assure your Lordships that without such help all the officers of th' Estate, from the highest to the lowest, cannot but fall into great distress through the want of grain.

“And where by some of our late former dispatches we have laid down to your Lordships sundry inconveniences that might grow by the multitude of idle swordmen, if they should be suffered still to continue here, and not converted to foreign employment, we have required the Lord President to revive that matter again to your Lordships' consideration, the rather for that the number of those troublesome and unprofitable kearne do daily increase by the coming in of those that were in rebellion, of whom we doubt not but many of them would be willing to accept of employment in some parts beyond the seas, especially being led by some well-chosen commanders, such as they do affect ; the fruit whereof would be to rid this kingdom of many hands that upon any new revolt would be ready to enter again into rebellion.

“And lastly, for that the expectation of the coming of Spaniards standeth firmer in the minds of all sorts of this country people, which keepeth their hearts occupied with hope of alteration, we have required the President to remember your Lordships that, in case a foreign enemy should invade,

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your Lordships would be pleased to send authority to me, the Deputy, to erect companies as the occasions of the service should require, with warrant to me the Treasurer [Cary] to pay them; neither of which upon any extremity we can now do. In which cause we will be as provident and careful of her Majesty's purse as we can, the state of the service considered.

"In the last part of your Lordships' last letter, your Lordships speak to us of the Council touching the Ecclesiastical Commission, and our proceedings with some few aldermen of this City of Dublin. It pleaseth your Lordships to put us in mind of a mild course to be held with them by way of connivancy, until it might please God to give a more commodious time for the countenancing of that Commission. It is true that we moved the Lord Deputy to revive that Commission after so long time of discontinuance, not thereby to strive with her Majesty's subjects in matters of their conscience, but to see what we could do \* in the re-edifying and reformation of our own churches, and \* to win them to their outward obedience to come to the church, as all good subjects ought to do by the laws. And to that end (considering that to deal first with some of the heads and leading men of the city would be a mean to draw on the multitude) we convented at several times some 5 or 6 of the aldermen, to whom we proponed only the matter of coming to the church on the Sabbath days to hear the sermons, and to have conference, without touching any question of their conscience, which was the mildest course we could hold with them. But they insisting stiffly upon their wonted obstinacy, and making shows that they would rather suffer any extremity than come to the church, or to admit conference, we committed them to an easy imprisonment, hoping that by time they would become more conformable in the point of their outward obedience that way. And yet, upon suit made for them, we consented to a course to set them at liberty upon bonds two or three days before the coming of your Lordships' last letter; whereunto some of them have yielded, and the rest stand wilful and obstinate.

"And touching the example which your Lordships wish were used by some of the chief bishops in God's Church to seek to win the people rather by their preaching and teaching of good doctrine than by other course, we do humbly assure your Lordships that in this City of Dublin there is as great plenty of preaching the Word in the several parishes of the city on the Sabbath days (besides a public lecture once every week in each of the two cathedral churches) as in any city of England of like quality. So as it may please your Lordships to take notice from us that there is no want of that holy exercise

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\* The words between these asterisks are inserted by Mountjoy.

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within the city to such as will come to hear it, neither we hope shall be by any default of the ministry. And in the mean while such directions as your Lordships have prescribed for this Commission shall be obeyed, and the same to pass as a matter of grace from us rather than by order from your Lordships, to the end (as your Lordships do advise) they should not take occasion to insult the more.

“Lastly, we are exceedingly pressed by sundry servitors and officers as well in the martial as civil affairs for bills of exchange to be passed to them to receive money in the Bank at London; whose demands we cannot deny to be just and their necessities as great. And yet, to avoid the overburdening of the Bank, we have taken a course to moderate their payments as much as we could for easing the Bank. And likewise we have foreseen as much as we can to avoid all frauds in their exchange, and that they shall not colour other men’s moneys. This we make bold to acquaint your Lordships withall, that you may see upon what reasons the multiplicity of bills of exchange doth grow, and hereafter may grow; the greatest part of them being due to captains, officers, and servitors that are discharged, and the rest for the noblemen and gentlemen of this country to answer the exhibition of their children and kinsfolk remaining in England at study, and other services.”

Dublin, — February 1602.

*Draft, much corrected. Pp. 16.*

Feb. 28. 386. The LORD DEPUTY [and COUNCIL] to [SIR ROBERT  
CECIL?]

Vol. 615, p. 506.

“One John Delahoide, being convicted for murdering his wife, hath by his attainder forfeited to her Majesty a waste decayed messuage and about 400 acres of land in Dunshaghlen in the county of Meath, which we, with the advice of the rest of the Commissioners authorised for leasing her Highness’ possessions, have demised to Richard Cooke, Esq., Chancellor of her Majesty’s Exchequer here, for 21 years, reserving 20*l.* sterling per annum. And although her Majesty’s title in all indifferent judgments was thereto most apparent, yet through the corruption of one Patrick Sedgrave, then Second Baron of the Exchequer, the same was like to be overthrown; Sedgrave having a secret purpose to acquire the land indirectly to himself, by an underhand composition made with the competitors, (whose pretended title to enable) he used his power (being great) with the jurors of that country to give up a verdict against her Majesty; wherein he had prevailed, had not Cooke’s providence and care discovered the fraud and corruption, and consequently confirmed her Majesty’s right. For which misdemeanor of Sedgrave’s, he being convened before us and the rest of the Council in the Court of Castle Chamber, although Cooke were offered 1,000*l.* to forbear the

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discovery of the deceit and injustice, yet he, as in all other his actions, being a most faithful servant and officer to her Majesty, made the accusation so apparent, as by the judgment of that court Sedgrave was put out of his office, imprisoned and fined, and her Majesty's title to Delahoid's lands afterward by another jury found and confirmed by office. Notwithstanding all which, opposition is still given to her Highness' possession, and the same nourished, as is thought, by Sedgrave or his friends, to give colour to the former indirect proceedings.

"In advancement of which her Majesty's title, as Cooke hath undergone great travail and charges, so hath he by the prosecution thereof exposed himself to a great deal of envy, whereby we are the rather induced in his behalf to become humble suitors to your Honour, in regard he hath been bred and trained up all his life-time in her Majesty's service, as first under Sir Francis Walsingham, and now these nine years in her Highness' service within this realm. . . Give furtherance and countenance to the suit preferred in this behalf and in his name to her Majesty, in which hope he offereth the same, trusting to obtain by your honourable favour the fefarm of the reversion thereof. Although the rent be very great, yet in peaceable time this would afford him some small assistance; and by obtaining this poor suit he would be encouraged to bestow part of his ability in building thereon, and, to make clear her Majesty's estate in the inheritance thereof, will purchase the interests of such as pretend title thereto, and so compound, though it cost him dear, all demands, as her Majesty's title shall be made firm, which, till that be done, will be ever subject to opposition.

"And whereas Delahoid's messuage was the scite of the manor of Dunshaghlen, to which there are certain chief rents (amounting to 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Irish) appendant, which are often in arrear to her Majesty, and never duly answered; . . . those rents should be added together, and both comprised in one entire rent, which Cooke may be answerable for, as for the rest. . . We have requested the Lord President of Munster [Carew] to remember your Honour hereof."

Dublin Castle, 28 February 1602.

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew: The Lord Deputy's letter in Mr. Cooke's behalf, 28 Feb. 1602.*

March 4. 387. MOUNTJOY, CAREW, and CARY, to CECIL.

Vol. 615, p. 444.

"Whereas Mr. Hayes hath been addressed by your Honour hither unto us, he hath at large imparted unto us the reasons of his employment, and yielded many arguments to maintain the project sent by your Honour, touching the decrying of the shilling to 8*d.*, and the rest of the moneys proportionably, without exchange; yet forasmuch as before his arrival this matter was at large debated in Council, with such secrecy as



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the weightiness of the cause imported, it was by a general consent of the whole board thought fit rather utterly to suppress the same, than any way to give allowance thereunto, as by our general letters (wherein our particular reasons are expressed) and now sent by me the President [Carew] may appear. Our inducements to that our opinion we having imparted to Mr. Hayes, he hath thereunto made new replies in confirmation of the project, in some measure to be liked, though for the present (we fear) not to be accepted of, and therefore have determined that it shall be disputed in Council, that every man's opinion (as to the former) may be delivered; which resolved on, he shall be speedily returned to your Honour therewith.

“He also offered to our considerations one other project, the substance whereof is, that in regard the country shall contribute part of the charge of the army, her Majesty is pleased to erect a mint for coining of fine silver, the Irish shilling to be in value *9d.* English, and to pass current in Ireland for *12d.*; the Queen paying the army at that rate, and the country maintaining the mint with their own bullion. And that every person that bringeth in any of the new standard, shall for every *20s.* have *6s.* Irish of the new silver coin, by which means all the new standard of base moneys will be brought into the mint, and converted into silver moneys, without charge to her Majesty, and to her profit. And although by this project the army and servitors shall lose a full *4th* part \*of their entertainments, yet we are confident that we shall conform them thereunto. Yet, whether that you in England be ready to make the payments in silver as before expressed without a contribution from the country is to yourselves best known; although to expect a contribution from hence, when neither their minds nor abilities are prepared for it, and so long as the cloud of Spain daily threateneth us, were to little purpose. But were they once delivered from the hopes of the foreign enemy, we would not doubt but to give them such laws as you please, and make them yield to any reasonable imposition that would ease her Majesty's charges and advance her service, as I, the President [Carew], can more particularly relate.

\* p. 442.

“And although Mr. Hayes have endeavoured to take away and beat down all courses of exchange, yet we, bethinking ourselves of the best and safest courses for her Majesty's profit and service, and to retain the servitors and subjects in appetite, do conceive no way to be so safe and fit for the present as to continue the Exchange till the coin be reduced to silver as before mentioned; without which Exchange, to our understanding, this kingdom with this kind of coin cannot subsist long.

“And because it is supposed that the exchange in sterling money will be overburthensome for the State of England to bear, I, the Treasurer [Cary], do call to mind a project well

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thought on before my last coming out of England, and as I have heard say hath been presented to the Lords, and as I am informed not well digested or liked of, because it toucheth the debasing of some small moneys in England (all kingdoms in Christendom doing the like); and the same being made known to us the Deputy and President here, and the grounds and particulars thereof well considered of by us, it seems the same doth offer a great gain to her Majesty and good to the country, without any prejudice to the State of England. Which project, because it seems unto us the best, and will be safe and least chargeable to her Majesty, and most contenting to the subject, we once again offer to your honorable consideration, to be continued for some small time till you are fit there, and the kingdom here ready, to put the matter of mint a-foot. And hereby we conceive her Majesty shall pay her army royally, satisfy her debts easily, clear the Exchange to every man's contentation, and keep all her treasure within her realm, [and] tie the whole trade of Ireland to England only, not without a great increase to her Majesty's profit and customs."

*Draft. Pp. 5. Endorsed: 4 March 1602, &c.*

March 8. **388.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 207.

"I had forgotten to send this letter enclosed, as I am desired, to Mr. Secretary, and reading over the dispatch even at this instant, I found mine error. I cannot commit it to safer hands than to yours. I pray send me a copy of such castles as we did set down fit to be builded for the assurance of this country, for I would willingly see what I have done therein. God send you a fair passage; but if the wind do not turn, you were best to attend it on shore." 8 March, 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

March 10. **389.** A PROCLAMATION by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Vol. 607, p. 242.

"Whereas the usual trade of merchants within the port towns of this kingdom into Spain and that King's dominions hath been the occasion to stir up and maintain the wars and troubles of this realm, by reason that from hence the said merchants and masters of ships and mariners have, contrary to their duties, carried into Spain and the said King's dominions where they have traded not only letters and messages but priests and other seditious persons, who have been employed as messengers from the traitors of this kingdom to labour the reliefs and continuance of this rebellion; and at the return of the said merchants from thence, little regarding their obedience and duty due unto their natural Princee, they have forborne to make relation of any matter that might advance her Majesty's service, more than such as by compulsory means hath been wrested from them. For the avoiding of which enormities, and yet that this trade with Spain and

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that King's dominions by the merchants aforesaid may be continued, by a choice to be made of such as shall be thought meetest for the same— . . . therefore, we . . . straightly charge and command, in her Majesty's name, that no merchant nor merchants, master nor owner of any ship, bark, pickard, or other bottom whatsoever, nor mariner, nor other person nor persons whatsoever, not first thereunto licensed by the Lord Deputy, . . . or by the Council authorised in his absence, or by the Lord President of Munster, . . . or by the Chief Commissioner of Connaught, . . . or by any of the several governors of Loughfoile, Carrickfargus, the Newrie, or Ballishennan, . . . do or shall traffic, trade, or take his or their voyage from any port town, haven, or creek within this realm into Spain. . . . And that every such person . . . as shall be licensed as aforesaid . . . shall, before the taking of any such voyage, repair to such person or persons as the said Lord Deputy, &c. within their several limits and jurisdictions shall appoint as an officer to take oaths and recognizances in those affairs; and before such person shall take his or their corporal oath, and enter in recognizances in a convenient sum to her Majesty, that he . . . shall not carry nor transport . . . any letters, messages, seditious books or libels, nor passengers whatsoever, but such as before his such going or voyage taking he shall produce and make known; . . . and that he . . . shall not upon his return . . . into this realm nor any other part of the Queen's dominions bring over any letters, messages, massing or other seditious books, or passengers whatsoever, but such as . . . he shall likewise produce and make known unto the said Lord Deputy, &c., or unto the chief magistrate of the port or place in England where he shall arrive. And all persons authorised to take oath and recognizance as is aforesaid shall keep an orderly book of his proceedings therein. And if any merchant, &c. shall, in neglect or contempt hereof, do contrary to the tenor of this proclamation, such person . . . shall have his ship and goods confiscated and forfeited to her Majesty, and their bodies to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure."

Castle of Dublin, 10 March 1602.

*Signed at the beginning: Mountjoy; at the end: Adam Dublin, C.; George Carew; George Cary; Rich. Winckfield; Edmund Pelham; Anth. Sentleger; Jeff. Fenton.*

"Printed at Dublin by John Franckton, 1602." *Original impression.*

Vol. 617, p. 341.

2. Duplicate.

March 12. 390.

THOMAS WADDING to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 241.

"Mr. Richard Archdeacon affirmed unto me that your Lordship's pleasure was that I should set down in writing a discourse I made unto him of your title to lands and seignories in Mounster, and of the antiquity thereof; unto which I yielded,

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as willing and ready to gratify and pleasure your Lordship in my kind and profession any way I could; and therefore have accordingly drawn the same, and is as appeareth in the enclosed. There is also to be seen a copy of a letter sent to the Parliament, as I think, in King Edward the Fourth's time, from the city and county of Cork, in a kind of a rude and altogether in an unlearned style, declaring as your Lordship shall see by the enclosed copy, and principally of a far greater number of noblemen to have been in Mounster than now are, of which number the Marquess Carue is the first named. I would have ridden to Cork this last winter to my duty to your Honour, but that I was detained by mine infirmity. By that I send you, I think that, you being graced with so high favour as you are, your Lordship may much avail yourself. Your wisdom may easily draw the favour and grace wherewith you are plentifully loaden to effect your lawful desire. Time like time [tide ?] consumeth and altereth; therefore take the benefit of the time. *Frustra sapit qui sibi non sapit.*"

Waterford, 12 March 1602. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. *Addressed. Endorsed by Carew.*

II. "Thomas Wadding his relation of the lands which Carew had in Ireland; 1603."\*

"Your Lordship's uncle, Sir Peter Carew, Knight, did show unto me a grant under the broad seal of England, from King Henry the 2nd to Robert Fitz Stevens and Miles de Cogan of all the kingdom of Corck, which was the kingdom of McCarthy More; which kingdom in that patent was thus limited, viz., from Lymerrick to the sea, and from Lysmore to a mear called the Head of St. Brandon, in Kerry. To hold to the said Robert and Miles and their heirs in fee, and to hold by three score knights' fees and the keeping of the city of Corck at will; and reserved in that patent all the lands from Lismore to Waterford in his own hands for the maintenance of Waterford; that portion so reserved being not in very deed any of the demesnes of McCarthie, King of Corck, but being an earldom belonging to O'Phelan, then known by the name of the Earl of Desses, which is the ancient name of the whole county of Waterford and of the cantred of Clonmell, which was then, and is at this day, the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lismore, and was Waterford, and first due only to the Bishop of Lismore, until the bishopric of Waterford was made of Decanatus de Kilbarymeadeñ, parcel of Lismore, and after united to Lismore. And so that earldom and bishopric were within one limit.

"Soon after the King's patent so passed to FitzStephens and Cogan, upon overthrows given by the English to the Clancarthies, and specially to one Dermitius Desmonizæ, which I take

\* This heading is in Carew's hand.

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to have been a brother or near kinsman to the King of Corck, FitzStephens and Cogan, having in the kingdom 31 cantreds, divided the seven cantreds next to Corck; in which division FitzStephens had but three, because they were the best territories, and Cogan four, because they were not so good; which division proveth that the patent was effected, and that the patentees had possession accordingly.

“And for that there is assured proof of the division (as is before set down), I will here remember the very words of Geraldus Cambrensis, that was here in Ireland at the time of the Conquest, and did write the whole history thereof. These therefore are the words. ‘*Pacificatis itaque tam Dermatio Desmonia quam aliis illius partis præpotentibus, Stephanides et Milo dividerunt inter se septem cantrides urbi propinquiores, huic, id est Miloni, quatuor, illi vero, id est Stephanidi, tribus; illi pluribus quia deterioribus; illi vero paucioribus quia pitioribus; relictis viginti quatuor cantredibus dividendibus.*’

“Robert FitzStephens had no issue but one daughter, which he married to (as I take it) Robert Caru, or to Thomas Caru, your ancestors, of whom you are lineally descended, as I shall prove in the end of this discourse. After the death of FitzStephens, Carue and his posterity enjoyed their portion of the kingdom, and being in the quiet possession of the same, as is to be supposed, did make many grants of the portership of castles and houses they had in Mounster, and of wardships of divers gentlemen, and principally (as I take it) of FitzGerald, before he was Earl of Desmond, of Barry, and Bourek.

“Of this there is as good proof as your Lordship may wish; for John Hooker, being solicitor for your uncle Sir Peter, did show unto me, amongst other evidences belonging to Sir Peter, under the Exchequer seal of Ireland, that King Henry the 3rd, or one of the Kings of that time, had the wardship of Carue, and that during the time of Carue’s infancy and wardship FitzGerald, Barry, and Bourek died, their heirs being within age, whereby the wardship appertained to Carue. And for that the law of England is such, that if a ward fall to the King’s ward, the King hath the benefit thereof in the right of his ward, the King seized that three wardships.

“After, in the time of King Edward the First, FitzGerald, Barry, and Boureke died also (their heirs within age), whereby the King’s officer seized, making no title, but for that the King had once the wardship of the ancestors of these gentlemen. Hereupon Carue, for remedy, resorted to King Edward the First, being in camp in Scotland, and suggested all, affirming that the King had no title but possession in his right of *garde pur cause de garde*, and prayed restitution. The King, inclining to Carue’s just petition, sent his warrant to the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, requiring them to inquire of the contents of Carewe’s petition made to him, and if it should appear to them that these gentlemen FitzGerald, Barry, and

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Bourke did hold of Carue, and that the King's possession was in the right of Caru, to restore Caru to their wardship. The Barons accordingly inquired and found Carewe's petition true, and so signified, and Caru had restitution accordingly. The like complaint, referment, and judgment in King Edward the Second his time; to whom Caru resorted to Scotland, as he did to his father, and prevailed. Also these two judgments for Caru against the King appear all under the Exchequer seal of Ireland, as before is said, and I did see them under that seal.

"Thus Caru continued in the county of Corck as the greatest man there, until Richard the Second's trouble, when he was deposed and committed by Henry the Fourth, which did presently in King Richard's lifetime breed trouble and dissension in England and Ireland, and the English bloods of Mounster divided, as they affected the posterity of the Black Prince or of John de Gant, the fourth begotten son of King Edward the Third. To help the divided English nobility of Mounster, each of them did draw the Irish to their help, which made the Irish strong and them weak, for the Irish having of both the contending English shed blood in abundance, turned their forces against the English; and for that they always kept men of war without warrant from the King, a thing never seen in any well governed commonwealth, the English were soon overthrown, and most of them banished Mounster.

"Here your Lordship may see what mischief hath happened to true subjects, in that men of war were kept by subjects, and we feel in our time war, slaughter, and famine, and true men, by the incursions and rebellions of such as retain these idle horsemen, kerne, shott, and men of war, without her Majesty's warrant.\* For they be kept to no end but maintain intended rebellions, or to annoy in the time of feigned peace subjects whom they did malice, and to steal for their masters.

"Carue by these means was enforced to come to his territories in Leinster, that is to say, to the Drones, which he held of the manor of Catherlagh by the yearly rent of ten pounds, and was by MeMorowghowe from thence in King Richard the Second's time enforced to depart; whereupon he repaired unto England, as by an office taken and under the Exchequer seal appeareth; which office I did see under that seal. Caru continued in England until such time as your uncle Sir Peter, about decimo of our Queen's Majesty's reign that now is, came into this land, and avoiding the descents in the Cavanaghes by the absence of his ancestors, and being beyond the sea, recovered the Drones; and, being desirous to attempt suit for his living in Mounster, retained me, and by the hands of John Hooker shewed unto me all the evidences and writings before remembered; and would have me draw a bill presently, and to

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\* This sentence appears to be incomplete.

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follow the same against many gentlemen in Mounster, with the assistance of Mr. Synnot and others, we then having suit against the Daltons in the county of Catherlagh.

“But I did tell Sir Peter that, if I would begin the suit then, I might be said to want discretion and a law-like consideration of the matter, because it did not appear to me that he was heir to the first Caru that married FitzStephen’s daughter; whereupon he did send John Hooker into England, that from the Heralds did bring the pedigree from the first Caru, in colours, very orderly, and, under the King’s seal, livery of their lands from man to man to his own time. The matter being thus drawn to a kind of perfection, Sir Peter was called away by God, and thereby the suit not moved. I think your Lordship have all these writings and seals; at least, Hooker had them, and did, as Peter’s solicitor, shew them unto me.”

*Pp.* 2.

III. “A Letter sent from the citizens and inhabitants of the town and county of Corke to the Lords of the Parliament holden and kept at Dublin.

“It may please your wisdoms to have pity of us the King’s subjects within the county of Cork, or else we be cast away for ever. For where there were in this county these lords of name, besides, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number, that might dispend yearly 800*l.*, 600*l.*, 400*l.*, 200*l.*, 100*l.*, 100 marks, 40*l.*, 20*l.*, 20 marks, and some more and some less, and a great number besides those lords. For, first, the Lord Marquess Carew his yearly revenues, besides Dorseyhaven and other creeks, was yearly 2,200*l.* sterling. The Lord Bernewall, of Berehaven, besides Berehaven and other creeks, 1,600*l.* sterling. The Lord Cogan, of the Great Castle, besides his havens and creeks, 1,300*l.* sterling. The Lord Baron of Comerford (?), besides havens and creeks, 1,300*l.* The Lord Coursey, of Kilbretton, besides havens and creeks, 1,300*l.* ster. The Lord Maundevill, of Barnesillie, besides havens and creeks, 1,200*l.* sterling. The Lord Arundell, of the Strond, besides havens and creeks, 1,500*l.* sterling. The Lord Baron of the Gard, besides havens and creeks, 1,100*l.* sterling. The Lord Sleyne, of Baltimore, besides havens and creeks, 800*l.* sterling. The Lord of Pole Castle, besides havens and creeks, 1,000*l.* sterling. The King’s Majesty hath the lands of the late Lord Barry by forfeiture, the yearly revenue whereof, besides havens and creeks and other casualties, is 1,800*l.* sterling. And that at the end of this Parliament your Lordships, with the King’s most noble Council, may come to Corke and call before you all those lords and all other Irishmen, and bind them, on pain of loss of life and lands and goods, that never one of them do make war one upon the other without the leave or commandment of my Lord Deputy and the King’s Council; for the utter destruction of these parts is that only cause. And once all the Irishmen, the King’s enemies, were driven to a great valley call Glan-ounghtie, betwixt two great

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mountains called Magnortie and Leperous Island. And there they lived long and many years with their white meats, till at the last those Englishmen and lords fell at variance amongst themselves, and the weakest part took certain Irishmen to him to take his part, and so vanquished his enemies. And thus the English lords fell at wars betwixt themselves, till at the last the Irish were stronger than they, and drove them all away, and have now the whole country under them. But that the Lord Roche, the Lord Barry, and the Lord Courseie do only remain, with the least part of their ancestors' possession; and the young Barry is there upon the King's portion, paying his Grace never a penny for it. Wherefore we, the King's poor subjects of this city of Corke, Kinsale, and Youghell, desire your Lordships to send hither two good justices to see this matter ordered and amended, and some captain with 20 Englishmen that may be captains over us all. And we will rise with him, when need is, to redress these enormities, all at our costs. And if ye do not thus, we are all east away, and then farewell Mounster for ever. And if ye will not come nor send, we will send over to our liege lord the King for remedy, and complain upon you all.

“To the Lord of Rutland and Corke, the King's Deputy in Ireland, and to all his noble Council there at Dublin, deliver this.”

*Pp.* 2.

March 18. 391. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY TO SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 209.

“This evening I received your letter at Tredaugh, and now I do not hope but fear that mine will find you at Dublin. I do make very dear account of the assurance of your love. . . Tyrone hath of late sent many times and by many ways to hear whether there be any hope of mercy for him. There is one gone unto him, and I think very shortly to hear from him in some such sort as I may guess how I shall find him. The forces that came off this side Lough Erne are broken, and Tyrrell is returned, with protestation to do some service on O'Rurck, and to submit himself. I do find no reason to mistrust any of the submittees. Many, and amongst the rest Henry Oge, do warn me of McMahownde. I did never much trust in him. He doth avow his loyalty with many oaths, and I see no reason for him, in the common policy of this country, to betake himself at this time to his old fortune. Henry Oge sends me word, and his priest, who is the messenger, confirms it with an oath, that he hath killed three score of Brian McArt's men, deadly hurt his son, and taken 200 of their arms. I have, with increase of some more grey hairs, got of Ever McCooley, Turlo McHenry, and others, near 200 garrans, and sent some victuals to the garrisons, which some days have lived without any, and with no money but brass pence, which the country refuse. If that great gentleman do not come to conformity, by the grace of God, I will put him hard to it ere it be long. There is a great rumour



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in the North of the certain coming of the Spaniards, but I do not yet know upon what ground."

Tredaugh, 18 March 1602.

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

March 19. **392.** MOUNTJOY to the TREASURER (SIR GEORGE CARY).

Vol. 615, p. 598.

"Because you may know how things go in Connaught and partly in the North, I have sent you Sir Oliver Lambert's letter and Captain Blaney's, which I received this day. I pray keep such letters of theirs or others as I do send you, because I desire to have them again. I have this day received letters from Sir Henry Dockwray of no great importance, but all is well in those parts. The man that Sir Oliver Lambert writes he is sending to me, named Harrison, I will upon his arrival address unto you and the rest of the Council before I do speak with him, for if I meddle in any Scottish matters let them pay me scot and lot. With much ado I hope I have by this time sent up some victuals to the garrisons. I do assure myself that all the submittees do stand firm, and they are careful to assure me thereof. This service of Henry Oge's will do more good than anything that hath been done of long. If my Lord President [Carew] be not gone, commend my truest affection to him. Let Sir Geoffrey Fenton be one at the examination of Harrison, for I care not if the Devil be a commissioner in that cause. Vale, insignissime Domine Thesaurari. 19 March 1602. Tredaugh."

P.S.—"Henry Og's priest is now with me, and swears his master is as true as steel."

*Holograph. P. 1. Add. (at f. 603): "For Mr. Treasurer."*

March 20. **393.** MOUNTJOY'S INSTRUCTIONS to CAREW.

Vol. 600, p. 59.

"20 March 1602.—Private Instructions given by the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, unto Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, when he went into England."\*

"Tyrone, as I take it, is attainted by proclamation upon outlawry, and so hath forfeited all his estates formerly granted unto him by her Majesty. If it please her Majesty to receive him to mercy, it may also please her to grant unto him the degree of an Earl of Tyrone, with the country called Tyrone, so it do not extend to anything on the west side of Blackwater or the mountains of Slubewe. I think O'Cane is already exempted; if not, he must be, that he have nothing to do with him. There must be some provision for Sir Arthur O'Neale's son; it is no great matter whether he holds of the Queen immediately, or of the Earl of Tyrone. The like for

\* This heading is in Carew's handwriting.

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Cormack McBaron. 2,000 acres to be reserved to the fort of Montjoy. So much to Charlemounte; part whereof must be in Tyrone, although the fort do stand on this side of the river. (Some reasonable quantity of ground, though it be not by far so much.) The Earl to be enjoined to erect his lands according to the English tenure; he to be subject to her Majesty's laws, and those to be executed in his country according to the course of the rest of her kingdoms. To bring him to a proportion of rent-beoves, to maintain the garrisons left in the country. A fine. The labour of workmen for the building of two forts, when they shall be assigned. His eldest son, and some other of the best, pledges."

*Holograph. P. 1. Endorsed by Carew:* Instructions given by the Lord Deputy to the Lord President of Mounster, to deal with the Queen for Tirone, 19th of March 1602.

March 21. **394.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 605, p. 211.

"In this packet I received no letters for you, but a commandment from Mr. Secretary to impart unto you, if you were not gone, the comfortable news of her Majesty's good recovery from some indisposition that some few days had held her, and that we should not be discouraged if any rumour should forerun this blessed tidings of her health. I beseech God long time to preserve her in health and happiness, and send you a fair passage."

Tredaugh, 21 March 1602.

P.S.—"The messenger that brought the packet came hither but this afternoon."

*Holograph. P. 1. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

March 22. **395.** LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CARY, Treasurer.

Vol. 605, p. 213.

"Send away this packet with all the expedition that may be. I hope my Lord President (Carew) be gone, for the wind hath been fair here ever since yesterday. I pray send victuals to Sir Francis Rusehe. The sheriff complains, when he doth advertise you of such as disobey the sending in of garrons, that they are not punished, that doth disenable him and will make us unfurnished."

22 March, 1602.

*P. 1. Addressed, sealed, and endorsed.*

March 22. **396.** SIR CHARLES WILLMOTT to LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY.

Vol. 615, p. 252.

"Upon special service sending for Captain Slingbie's company out of Carbery, where they were garrisoned, hither to Corck, I called unto me Sir George Thorneton, who is of the Council here, and one whom, by notice given to us both from the Clerk of the Council of this province and the Second Justice, Mr. Commerford, was joined in commission with myself for the government of the place, till my Lord President's (Carew's) return, or some other alteration directed from your

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Honour, which commission was already given out and in his hands to be delivered to us.

"I thought, therefore, fit to desire Sir George his hand to a warrant with mine directed to the mayor for the lodging of the company within the town of Cork,\* to give some refreshing to the soldiers, having lived before six months in a remote place where no comfort was for men but that of the Queen's store. The mayor's answer I have here enclosed, and send the copy of it unto your Lordship, in which your Honour may perceive a head-strong course, meant against those that shall command here in the absence of my Lord President, unless by your Lordship's wisdom and sharp admonition to them it be not timely reformed.

"Myself, by authority from the Lord President, and special commission to that effect in the interim till it was known who should command the province in his absence, have commandment of the regiments of Mounster, and to dispose of them for the service in what garrison I should think fittest. By this I required obedience from him [the mayor]. Contemptibly in a slight fashion, he again denied it, and caused the gates to be shut against the company, the colours being displayed, that should have been an ensign to obedient minds to have opened their gates and doors to have embraced them, and not to have spurned them out of their walls. I do pray they may so obstinately do it against those that carry colours against her Majesty.

"To run into a violent course reason forbids me, for from thence the remedy springs with rebuke, though the matter be just; yet, if I would have let the reins have fallen, as Mr. Mayor did, or have bent myself to open strife as willingly he opposed himself, hurt had come of it, more than (I think) he would have well answered, or I would have been willing to have been put to my apology.

"If it be intended, by your Lordship's favour and appointment, that Sir George Thorneton and myself shall sit here as Commissioners, we most humbly entreat your Lordship to give us grace where you do give us authority; so shall the service be countenanced, and your Lordship the more readily obeyed, whensoever you shall send your commandment unto us; otherwise we shall be but constables in a mayor[s] town, obeyed by the vulgar, but contemned by the better sort.

"Their obstinacy, when they have not bits in their mouths, hath been formerly and many times complained upon to the Lords in England, and to the Council where your Lordship now sitteth, by those who have carried place of command amongst them; which I hope will move your Lordship to believe that these complaints come not from humour, but as

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\* Note in the margin: "The warrant was only for lodging, fire, and candle for the soldiers, according to former warrants."

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an humble servant of her Majesty that ought to have care of her honour and prerogative. And that your Honour may the better perceive it merely proceeds from him in pride and obstinacy, let me lose the reputation of an honest man for ever with your Lordship if by this he once moved me to let slip an unadvised word to give him offence whereby he might take exception.

“Many other contemptible abuses are committed in this insolent city of Cork, more than in all the rest. As for one, enhancing the prices of everything more by a third part sithence the publishing of this last proclamation than before, which was intolerable, and now very lately have shut up all their shops, and will suffer nothing to be sold, but secretly for English money, and have torn the proclamation down from their market place, where by order we stuck it up after it was proclaimed, before the next morning; and to mine own men have offered that for 6s. silver which I have paid 50s. of this standard for it. And for the help of the fort of Halebowling, when we send to him [the Mayor] warrants for masons and such artificers that of necessity must be required, now the fort grows near to be finished, still they deny all. So by this the works go not forwards. No more will anything else if they be not as well chastised by particular letters from your Lordship, as authority by commission sent unto us, or (ere) we be forced to enter into an extreme course, which may be construed to come from indiscretion.

“It is not fit these particulars should often come before your Honour, as matters to be thought in the power of those that shall command Mounster to be redressed; neither do I now complain, as wanting power or force to constrain the Mayor of Cork unto obedience, but as one fearful to displease your Lordship.”

Cork, 22 March 1602.

*Pp. 4. Endorsed:* Copy of my\* letter to the Lord Deputy.

397. A SURVEY of IRELAND.†

Vol. 621, p. 106.

“*Leynster*.—The province of Leynster hath counties 7, viz.: Dublyne, Kyldare, Carloghe, Wexforde, Kylkennye, Queen’s County *alias* Leax, King’s County *alias* Offaly.

“The county of Dublyne hath towns of name: Dublyne City, Swordes, Luske, Balrudye; throughfare towns between

\* The word “my” is struck out, and “Sir Charles Willmott’s” has been substituted by Carew.

† Headed in Sir George Carew’s handwriting: “A general survey of Ireland, written by some ignorant person; nevertheless in many things his report is good, but his errors in misnamings is infinite, and so are his omissions. It appears to be written circum 1574, but the additions may be supposed to be inserted about 1597.” As the date of “March 1602” occurs the additions must have been made at a later period than that assigned by Carew. Some portions seem to have been written in James I.’s time.

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Tredaffe and Dublyne. Men of power and name: The Lord of Howthe, Barnewells, Plunketts, Finglasses, Bathes, Fitz-Williams, Walshes, Russells, Talbotts, Gouldings, Luttrells, gentlemen, with many of meaner sort, all faithful to her Majesty, saving some of the Walshes, who matched in marriage with the Byrnes and Tooles, and bear with them, secretly. Irishry: all the Byrnes; all the Tooles; great sects, and the destruction of the Englishry. Havens in Leynster: Dublyne, Wycklowe, Arklowe. Doubtful: Phelim McToole: in rebellion, Phelim McPheagh; Francis Agarde hath the charge upon them; now Sir Henry Harrington, for the Queen.

“ Kildare . . hath in it townes of name: Kyldare, the Nasse, Athye, Castle Dermonde. Men of name: the Earl of Kyldare, Viscount Balinglasse, attainted, Sir Morris FitzGerald, with a number of the Geraldines. Gentlemen: John Eustace, with a number of the Eustaces, gentlemen; his chief house is Castle Mortyne; Owgans, Suttons, Aylemers, Boysels, Whites, Walshes, Harberts, gentlemen, all faithful to her Majesty saving the Bastards Geraldines in Shyley-aley, upon the borders of the Cavenaghes; which Bastards maintain divers malefactors. Gerold by one Morris, Edward by another bastard of Gerald Earl of Kildare, in rebellion, force —. Gerald kept the castle of — in Leix till —.

“ Carloe . . hath in it townes of name: Carlo, Leakelande. [Men of name:] Harkpoole, constable of Carloe, matched with a Coltyonean, and a maintainer of rebels; Henry Davells, a gentleman of Devon; Sir Peter Carewe, whose lands lieth upon the river of Barrowe, between Rosse and Carloghe; Sir Edward Butler, of Clowghgrenan; the Ketings' Kerne, ill-disposed, and now rebels. Sects of the Cavenaghes: (1.) Morchage [Mortaghe?] of Garlile, chief of that sect; (2.) Gerarde McCahir Carraghe, of Glummaulle, chief of another; (3.) Cahir Begge, of Leynerocke, chief of another sect; (4.) Bryan McMortaghe of the count[ry] of Melaghe, chief of another sect; (5.) Bryan McCahir McArte, dwelling in the barony of St. Malyne, between Sir Peter Carewe and Rosse, on the river of Barroughe. All which five sects of the Cavenaghes either be open rebels or doubtful; and Bryan McCahir McArte, a notable rebel, who killed Browne, 1572, with a number of other good gentlemen in Wexforde. The Coltyeonians *alias* Byrnes, notable rebels; all the rest faithful to her Majesty. Wm. McHubberd, chief of those, hanged in March 1602. 10 septs of the Kavanaghes, *i.e.*:\*—(1.) *Gerald McMoridughe Oge, of Slught Moritughe; he is upon protection; his sept in rebellion; his house, Rathengerye, in O'Dorne.* (2.) *Brian McDonoghe, (both these are of Slewght Morroughe Ballaghe),*

\* The additions to the body of the document, made by several hands, are distinguished in the text by italics. It must, however, be remarked that these are probably not the additions referred to by Carew, as this document appears to be a copy.

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upon protection; his house, Castle Balliboghare in O'Dorne. (3.) Morietaighe McDonoghe, dead; his sept in rebellion. (4.) Morietaighe McMorishe, in rebellion; both these septs are of Slewght Azte More; both these men's lands in O'Dorne. (5.) Doughe McCahir, in rebellion; his house was the Castle of Fenes. (6.) Donell McDowghe, alias Donell Spanaghe, in rebellion; his chief house was Huyseeethy. (7.) Dermond McMorish, a pensioner in pay; his sept in rebellion; those three septs are of Slewght Donell Reoghe; his pension in Kilkenny in Wexford. (8.) Moroghe McBrian, upon protection; his sept in rebellion; he is of Slewght Dermond Langrett; his land in St. Nolin in Wexford. (9.) Moroghe Leighe McCather, dead; his sept in rebellion; he is of Slewght Aitmore; his land in St. Noly in Wexford.

"Wexforde . . hath in it towns of name: Wexforde, Rosse, Townmoude, Eyniscorfe, Fernes, Arkelowe, Fidure, the Banno, Clumme. Men of power and name: the Deveroxes, of which the chiefest, Sir Nicholas Deveroxe, was spoiled of late by the Cavenaghes of a great part of his inheritance; Brownes, of which the chiefest, of Melrakan, was slain by the Cavenaghes; Sinot, the chiefest, spoiled of Sinott's lands; Roches, of which the chiefest, Alexander Roche, of Roche's lands; Chevers, chief, Christopher Chevers; Staffords; Piers Butler, who hath a portion of the country called Fassasse Bentry, reported to be a rash young man; Nevills; Kee[t]inges; Lemporte; Townner. Men of power and name, all faithful but such as be noted otherwise: Suttons; Feeffaris, a malefactor, matched with the Cavenaghes in Carloo, and holding with them; Mayllers; Rossetters;\* some of the Powers; Whites; Forlonges, malefactor[s], matched with the Cavenaghes; Hores; Hayes; Doddes.† Irishry beyond the river of Slanye: Edmond Dove, chief of the King's slaghes; McErado, chief of that name; the Morrowes, a sect of base and evil-disposed people; Masterson, seneschal of Wexford, upon these.

"Kylkenye . . hath towns of name: Kilkenny, Calein, Thomas-Town, Goran, Jeriponde, Inisteock. Men of name: The Earl of Ormonde [and] Viscount Mountgarret, Butlers; Butlers; Butler of Powles Town, with a number of other Butlers, gentlemen; Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick, possessor of the barony of Upper Osserye, which is as yet no shire; notwithstanding, accounted of the county of Kylkenye; Graces; Walshes, a great sect, at the Earl of Ormonde's commandment; Shortells, Fosters, Blawnchfields, Drylands, Comerfords, Denms, Datons, Sweetmans; all faithful, saving most of the Graces, which do often break out.

"The Queen's County, *alias* called Leax . . .—Marybowrg, a town and fort of name. Francis Cosbye, seneschal

\* "Rossellers" in MS.

† "Coddes" in MS.

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of the county, with a number of English gentlemen freeholders, whom he hath devoured, and is now himself driven out by Oge, chief of the Moores, an arch-rebel, Rorve Oge, of the O'Moores, a rebel, Doneyll McNeile O'Moore, rebel, Murtaghe McLeise O'Moore, besides many more of the Moores, enemies to her Majesty and her good subjects there. *The O'Moers ancient lords of Leix. Caloghe O'More a good subject. Ony McKoey in rebellion.*

“King’s County . . .—Phillipes Town, a town of name. Men of power and name: Henry Cooley, seneschal, with other Englishmen freeholders, sore oppressed by the O’Chonners, rebels, of whom Carmoicke O’Connor is the chief; Devereux[es], who are of the Irishry, and faithful to her Majesty, of whom only McHughe, of Clunmalier, is chief; some of the Clandonnells galliglasses, a naughty race, and ill-disposed to rebellion. Doubtful men: The O’Lyanes of Doregan; The O’Mulloye *alias* O’Mulumoy, chief of that name; McGeohande, of Kene-liaghe, chief of that name. *The O’Conne[r]s, ancient lords of Offale. Moulough O’Coner, a good subject, dwelling in Trime. Brian Lisagh, Mc O’Haley, brothers, in rebellion. Mortagh Oge, in rebellion. Donogh Mc O’Haley, a subject.*

“*Methe.*—The province of Meathe in Ireland hath in it two counties. Meathe, as well inhabited as any shire in England, hath in it these great towns: Trime, Navante, Abbay, Demy (Derry?), Drodawghe, Kelles. Principal noblemen and gentlemen: Viscount Gormanson (Preston); Baron of Trimleston (Barnewell); Lord Killyn (Plunkett); Bannerett, Navant (Nangle); Bannerett, Scryne (Nugent); other infinite surnames; Lord Dunsanye, *Hussey*, Plunkett, *Delahide*. *Irish crept in: Duffes, Gilshenans, Cawllans, Breens, but have no lands, but followers. Breines follow Betughe of Moinote; Duffes and Gilshenans follow the Lord of Slane.* West Methe hath these towns: *Noble*, Molengar, Loghsedie, Alone. [Men of name:] Baron Delyvn (Nugent), Nugents, Tutes, Dillons, Daltons, Petits, Darcy, Tirrell. *At this time* Richard Nugent, son of Mr. Nugent, brother to my Lord of Delyvn, in rebellion; he hath 40, with few properly his own. Both these counties of East and West Methe are infested by these Irish sects, viz., O’Mulloy, of Fareall, King’s County; Magohigan, the Fox, King’s County; O’Molaghelin; McColohan, King’s County, with the State; O’Brian, of the Breane, with the State; McGall. *The Dalahides, allied with the Connors, and enemies to the patentees of such lands as they heretofore lost by rebellion; they are with Walter Yongerle in rebellion.*

“*Connaghte.*—The province of Connaghte hath six counties. Clare, containing the country of the Earl of Theomonde, hath in it these baronies: Corrovaskyrinaghe, Corranero, Kinallerieke, Clare; some be the Earl of Theomonde’s and some O’Brian’s. Castles and towns: Clare, Boraly, Moy Obrekan, three castles of the Earl of Theomonde’s; O’Gasse, McNemarr’s, O’Molode’s, Borren, Cloghilus. Men of name:

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Earl of Theomonde, Sir Donnell O'Brian, McNemarcis, a Mortymer.

"Gallowaye . . . in which the Earl of Clanrickarde is chief, containeth 15 baronies, which lie east from Gallowaye town, saving three in O'Flahirtie's Country, lying thence west and by north. Baronies: Galloway, Ballirichuish, Kylleny, *alias* the four Isles of Arran, [all in] O'Flahirtie's Country; Ballimore, McDavis' lands; Downe Moore, the Lord Brumigham's lands; Killingham, Tiaquin, [and] Killionell, the O'Kelleys by West Suck; Longhurt, O'Madin's country; Killaraghte, Downe-Kellyn, Loghe Reoghe, Le-Trim, Athenrye, [and] Clare, [in] Clanricarde. Men of name: The Earl of Clanricarde, the Bowrks, McGowghe, McDavye. Towns: Gallowaye, Athenry. Castles: Castle Kyrbye, which is Morghned O'Flarthie's; Melicke Lohurt, the Queen's; Loighreaghe, Clanricard[*s*]; Duinmore, Lord Brumigham's; Downe; O'Mane, McDervie's; Tiaquin, Dourgh Teoghe O'Kelley's.\*

"Maio . . . lieth flat north from Gallowaye, and McWilliam Eughter is chief. Baronies: Manie (McVadin's lands), Ballalaghan (Mc Jordan's lands, *alias* Baron de Exetre), Ballahyannes (McCastilowe, *alias* Baron Nangle), Crosbyhyn (McMorris' lands), Kylvane, Burrisker, [and] Rosse (McWm. Eughter *et alii* Lower Burkes).

"Sligo . . . is in the north part of the province; O'Conor Sligo chief of the same. Baronies: Dromagher, Le-Trim, Mines, [and] Reni (O'Rowark's country); Dromkleano, Ballashenan, [and] Ardnerye (O'Connor Sligo his country). Men of name: O'Coner Sligo, O'Don, O'Har', O'Ghar', McDonoghe. Castles. Sligo (O'Conor Sligo), Ballinevolt (McDonoghe's), Ardnerye (John Burke FitzOlyver). Towns: Sligo, May[o].

"Roscomon . . . is the east part of the province shooting northward Sligo. Hereof is O'Connor Dune chief. Baronies: Roscomon, Ballen-Caller, [and] Tyrerone (OcConer Dune's country); Athlone [and] Muckarran (OcKelley's, by west the Suck); Monaster-Boyle (McDermonde's country). Men of name: O'Conner Downe, O'Coner Roge, McDermont. Castles: Athenon [and] Roscomon (the Queen's); Ballencoller (OcConer Dune's); St. John (the Queen's).

"Longforde. . . Towns: Longforde. Men of name: O'Pharls.

"Brenny is adject to the province of Conaght, and is divided into West Brenny (which hath men of name, O'Awrork, O'Rely,) [and] East Brennye (O'Rely).

*Ulster*.—The province of Ulster hath in it three English counties and four seigniories.

"Lowthe, the first county, *alias* Iriell, in which are—Towns: Droidagh, Demy (Derry ?), Ardey, Meliphant, Dundalke. Men of name: The Lord of Lowthe (Plunket), the Plunketts, Tates,

\* Qu., Donogh Reoghe O'Kelley's.



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Tafftes, Clyntons, Wottons, Garnons, Owarne, Moore, *Chamberlan, Dowdall, Brandons, Verdons, Warrens, Castles, Bedlow.* Irish: McMahon Iriell, Calloghe McMahon, of the Ferney.

“Downe county, *alias* Leycaile, in which are—Towns: Downe, Nurye, Carlingford. Men of name, English: Earl of Kildare (hath Lecaile, and Captain Malby his farmer), Russell, Awdley, White, Sir Nicholas Bagnoll (hath Nurye, Moore, Greene Castle, Charlingforde, Cowley, Omethe).

“Knockfergus county, in which are—Towns: Knockfergus. [Men of name]: Sir Thomas Smythe, the Earl of Essex. There are also these several countries: (1) Ardes, in which are these men of name—Savages, Smythes, Whites; (2) Clandeboye, in which are these men of name—Bryan McPheelim, the Neeles; (3) Glynnes, which stretch from Olderfleete Haven [to] Donluce, [and in which] are these men—Mesie, McDonnell; (4) Rowte extendeth from Donluce to the Banne—McQuilly; [(5)] Kilulto, in which are the Neeles.

“*The Bounds.*—The four seigniories of Ulster boundeth eastward upon the county of Knockfergus, [westward] upon Tyriconell, northward upon the ocean, and southward upon the Lowthe county. Towns: Armaghe, Dongannon, Struband. Men of name: O’Neylle (Tirloughe Lenagh), McDonnell, O’Cane, McCan (*sic*), O’Donnell, OcGuin, O’Hagan, Baron Dongannon. The second seigniory, called Terreconell, boundeth east upon the Bande, west and north on the ocean, south on Maguine. Towns: Dungall, Castle Liffer, Castle Fyn, Derry. Men of name: O’Donnell, O’Dorty, O’Boyle, O’Galar, three sects of the Swynes (McSwyne, McSwyne Bennoghe, McSwyne Medwyne. Tyren, the third seigniory. Towns: —. Men of name: O’Donnell, O’Rwirke, Sligo.\* Formannoche, the fourth seigniory of Ulster, boundeth east on Tyrone, north on Tyriconell, south on O’Rwerke. Towns: —. Men of name: McGwyer.

“*Mounster.*—In Mounster there are five counties; east, Tipperary; west, Kyrrye; north, Shenon; and south, Corke.

“Lymricke, unto which are adjoining these countries, accompted as parcell of the same: Clan William, Conoghto, Des (*sic*), Asketton, Kyrrye *alias* Knight of the Valley’s country, Cosmaye. In this country are towns of defence—Lymericke, Kyllmalloe. In this county of Lymrick and Conoghto be men of name: Earl of Kildare, Earl of Desmond, Brownes, Hurleyes, Chasies, Suppells, Purcells, McShees, McBrian Ogono, McBrian Ara, Donall O’Brian, Morowghe O’Brien. In Clane William are men of name: Sir Richard Burke, Richard Burke. In Cosmay, the Lacyes. In the county of Lymricke is part of the White Knight’s country, which is given to the Queen’s Majesty by Act of Parliameut. In Keirrye be men of name,

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\* Qu., ought this to be under the heading of “Towns?”

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Edmond Eetildam, but the country is given to the Queen's Majesty by Act of Parliament.

Havens in Mounster: Waterford, Dongannon, Youghell, Corke, Kynsale, Rossehaven in Carrabry, Osterhaven, Belatymore, Bearehaven, Lymericke. Bays: Traneore, Molinge, the bay of Dingle, the bay of Gallowaye, Castlehaven, Dingle, Smiricke, sound of Blastowe.

"Corke, the second county of Mounster, south-east the ocean sea; east and by north Waterford, Typperary, Lymricke. Countries adjoining, accompted parcels of the county of Corke, Carbrye, Musigray, Kynhall, Gray-Conelon, Lord Courey his country, Desmond, Imukelly, Kyrrywhirry, part of the White Knight's country. Towns of defence in the county of Corke: Corke, Youghall, Kynsale. Men of name in the county of Corke: Viscount Fermoy *alias* Lord Roche, Viscount Butyphante *alias* Lord Barrymore, Sir Thomas Desmonde, O'Solevan,\* Sir John of Desmonde. In Musgraye, men of name: Sir Cornock Mc Tege. In Carrabrye, men of name: Sir Donell McArtye *alias* McArtie, under whom are the O'Driscolles, McHamond, and some of the McSwynes. In Kymall, men of name: Barry Oge,† Gogans, Flemminges. The Earl of Desmonde claimeth superiority in the county of Corke, by reason of his two Lordships he hath, viz., Imokilly (where be men of name: Earl of Desmonde, John FitzGarrett John FitzEdmonde, the Powe[r]s), [and] Kyrrye[wherry], (which is let to Sir Warham St. Leger for the Earl of Desmonde. Men of name: the Earl of Desmonde, the Russells.)

"Waterforde, the third county of Mounster, unto which is adjoining as parcel thereof the Deeyes country; east, Kilkenny; west, Corke; north, Typperarye; south, the ocean. Towns of name: Waterforde, Donegarvon. Men of name in the county of Waterforde and Deseyes country; Lord Poor, Sir James FitzGarrett, Patricke Sherlocke, Rowry McShane, McCrowghe.

"Kerrye, the fourth county of Mounster, to which is adjoining the counties of Clannorries and Desmonde. Towns of name: Dingle, a town of small defence. Men of name: Earl of Desmonde, Baron of Lixennawe *alias* McMorris in Clannorris, Knight of Kyrrye, John Oge of the Island, O'Connor Kyrrye, the Ferritor (*sic*), Hubbers.

"Desmond, which is not yet made a county; north, Kyrrye; east, Carrabrye [and] Musgrave; west, the ocean; south, the ocean. Men of name: Earl of Clancarte *alias* McArty Moore, O'Suliphant Beare, O'Suliphant Moore, McDonowghe, O'Keyf, McAwley, O'Caloan, McFeinen Heuter (?), [all] followers of the Earl of Clancar, to whom the Earl of Desmond is utter enemy.

\* "Colevon" in MS.

† "Gege" in MS.

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“There be also in the province of Mounster other countries accompted counties, and the Butlers’ country, viz., the county of Crosse, and the county of Typperarye, wherein are—towns of defence: Cassille, Fethard, Clonmell.\* Men of name: Earl of Ormonde, Count Palatine, Baron Don-Boyen, Sir Theobalde Butler, James Tobine, Piers Butler, O’Mulreans, O’Kendy, Purcells, Baron of Loughmaigh, Cantwells.

“There be also wild places in the province of Mounster, not brought into counties, as the country of Harloghe, which some accompt parcel of the county of Typperaye. In Harloghe be lords: McMawe (*sic*), Ulicke McRicharde, Morrough O’Brien.

“Factions in Mounster, some private and particular, others more open and universal. Between two sects of Gallow[g]lasses, [the] McShees [and] McSwines. Between the Butlers [and] Geraldynes. Between the Earls of Desmonde [and] Clancart. Between the Earl of Desmonde [and] House of Decyes, for chiefry. Between the Earl of Desmonde [and] Barrymore, for the right of Butiphant. Between the Earl of Desmonde [and] McCarti Rewe, for chiefry that Desmonde claimeth over him. Between the Earl of Desmonde and McMorryce, for chiefry.

“Open friends to the Earl of Desmonde: Sir John Desmonde, his brother; James FitzMorrice, the arch-rebel; John FitzGarret, steward of Imokelly; Edmond FitzDavy, who claimeth the inheritance of Kyrrye; the Supples of the county of Lymricke; the Purcell[s] of Crowghe, Chacies, Lacyes, Hurleyes, Brownes, Rory McShane, all the Shees, the Knight of the (*sic*) Kyrrye.

“Lords loving justice: Earl of Ormond, Earl of Clancarte, Baron of Lyxenawe, Sir James FitzGarrett, Sir Cormok McTeg, Lord Power, Sir Thomas of Desmonde, Richard Bowrke, Baron Donboyen, Sir Theobald Butler, Patrick Sherlocke.

“Lords indifferently affected, the State being strong, and to be doubted, the State being weak; of which yet the most part for private causes be enemies to the Earl of Desmonde: Lord Barrymore, Lord Roche, McArtye Rewghe, McDonowghe, O’Suliphant Beare, O’Suliphant Moore, McBryan Ara, McBryan Ogon, Mc Wm. Bowrke, McAuley, O’Keyf, Edmond Butler, O’Mulreans, McSwynes.

[*The foregoing survey of Munster is here repeated, with some few variations.*]

“Men of name which now stand in terms with the Queen’s Majesty: Earl of Desmonde, James FitzMorris, John FitzGarrett of Iomockley, Rowry McShane, Mc O’Reighe. Upon these attend the Geraldines, Supples, Purcells, Chases.

“The chief lords of Mounster in general are the houses of Desmonde, Ormonde, Clancar, called [respectively] Geraldines, Butlers, Carteyes.

\* “Clanwell” in MS.

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“All other lords and men of name are as it were tributaries of the said houses. The Butlers and the Cartyes are commonly in war with the Geraldines. By this is manifestly perceived how weak the present state of Mounster is; and whereas the House of Desmonde is now as it were in rebellion, how easy it is to overcome Mounster, and to bring a miserable waste and desolation thereupon, especially seeing, in case of rebellion, the Irish, (although in other things they be enemies to the authors of rebellions,) yet in that one point they do quickly combine and join aids, being ready to shake off the yoke of obedience, and to run to uncivility, to possess their own licentious extortions; and whereas, though hope is in the few faithful subjects and towns of defence, there is discord by the multitude of the wicked, and the lack of aid sent unto them; the other, because they stand upon merchandise, that they may receive the commodities of the country, having dealing with the Irish, and privily help them, whereby they may be much comforted, and her Majesty's government hindered. The redress thereof is a continual course of justice, of which they stand in fear. But they, perceiving the often\* alteration thereof and slight dealing therein, are come into a kind of contention, comparing it to a shower of rain or storm that blustereth for a season. And if it be not speedily looked unto, there is a great thing to be feared. The invasion of the enemies by Mounster hath an open passage, it being open upon foreign powers, with sundry havens and roads following; viz., the havens of Waterford, Donegarvan, Yoghell, Corke, Oysterhaven, Kynsale, Rosse in Carrabry, Castlehaven, Baltymore, Beerhaven, Dingle, Smiricke, Sound of Blasto, Lymricke; into which foreign powers may have entry at pleasure, having no resistance, but rather, it is to be feared, their arrival is already practised.”

*Copy. Pp. 27.*

**398.** IRISH SERVICES.

Vol. 635, p. 62.

“The Services of the Irishry due to her Majesty; the several exactions levied by the Irish lords upon their tenants; and of what natures and qualities they be.†

“The Irish taxes or services are of two sorts, either made unto the King by the gentlemen towards their defence and maintenance of his forces in the country, as the Rising-out, Bonnagh, and Soren; or else by the lord upon the tenant, as Coyne, Livery, Coshry, Teagui, Cuddy, and Blackrents.

“Of the first sort: Rising-out is a number of horsemen and kerne, which the Irishry and Englishry are to find in her Majesty's service at every general hosting, for defence of

\* “after” in MS.

† Cf. No. 132. in the third volume of this Calendar.

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the country against any foreign enemy or other invaders, which numbers are also to be victualled by them for certain days ; some more, some less.

“Bonnaght is of two sorts: Bonnaght-bonny and Bonnaght-beg. Bonnaght-bonny, or at least as I take it, is a certain payment or allowance made unto her Majesty's galloglas or kerne by the Irishry only, who are severally bound to yield a yearly proportion both of money and victuals for their finding, every one according to his ability, so that the kerne and galloglas are kept all the year by the Irishry, and divided at times among them.

“Bonnaght-beg, or little Bonnaght, is a proportion of money ratably charged upon every plowland toward the finding of the galloglas.

“Soren is also a kind of allowance over and besides the Bonnaght, which the galloglas exact upon the poor people, by way of spending-money, viz., 2s. 8d. for a day and night, to be divided between three sparres (spears), for their meat, drink, and lodging.

“And as this Bonnaght is found by the lords for the King's service, so also every particular lord hath a certain number for their own defence, some more, some less, and are maintained upon their tenants.

“The sparr (spear) of gallo[glas] hath his allowance for a quarter's entertainment, in money 5s. 8d. ster., and in Connaught 1s. 4d. more; bread-corn, seven pecks, two hoops Irish, (one peck better than two of London); butter, 183 quarts, at 2d. le quart, which is for the one half of his diet, besides every four[th] man a dead pay, and for the other part of his diet he hath 2d. ster. per diem. And whether it be for an half quarter, a month, a fortnight, or less, his wages are all one. This difference only there is, that the half quartered (quarter's?) Bonnaght is levied all in money, and no part in white meats or victuals, but hath for the same 4d. ster. per diem.

“And as this help is yielded unto her Majesty by the lords, so the lords exact the like upon their tenants again.

“Of the second sort—Coyny is as much to say as a placing of men and boys upon the country used by a prerogative of the Brehon Law (whereby they are permitted to take meat, drink, aqua-vite, and money, of their hosts, without pay-making therefor, and besides rob them when they have done). As many as keep idle men take it outrageously where they come, and by the custom of the country it was lawful to place themselves upon whom they would. It is the beggaring of the country, and an intolerable evil without measure.

“Livery is horse meat exacted for the horses of them which take coyny, or otherwise send them to the poor tenants to be fed. The tenants must find the horses and boys, and give them as much corn and sheaf oats as they will have, and for want of oats wheat and barley. If there be four or five boys

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to a horse, and sometimes there be, the tenant must be contented therewith, and yet beside reward the boys with money.

“Foy is when their idle men require meat out of meal-time, or where they take money for the coyny of their host to go a begging to their neighbour. It is as much to say as a benevolence.

“The continuance of these three Irish exactions is the root and very foundations of the rebellions which have been in that country from time to time, both for that it giveth a mean to the lord to find and maintain so many idle persons in arms to attempt any villany at his commandment, as also for that it draweth the obedience of the subject from his prince unto the captain, and maketh the common sort to stand in awe, or know no other superiors than their Irish captains which thus exact upon them.

“Coshry is certain feasts which the lord useth to take of his tenants after Easter, Christenmas, Whitsuntide, and Michaelmas, and all other times at his pleasure. He goeth to their houses with all his train and idle men of his country, and leaveth them not until all they have be spent and consumed, and so holdeth on this course till he have visited all his tenants one after another.

“Teagui is rear suppers and chamber drinkings which they bestow upon their lords and other guests in their chambers after dinner or supper. It is ever used both by the mere Irish and English Irish wheresoever they be in the country; and so, when they come to any gentleman’s house, they are served before dinner or supper by a kind of refreshing by the name of Teagui.

“Blackrents.\*

“Cuddies.”\*

II. “The Causes of the Prosperous Estate of Ireland for the space of many years after the Conquest.

“Taking the authority and trust of government from the mere Irish, and committing it in trust to trusty and well affected English.

“By building piles and forts in the country.

“By restraining the English from marrying with the Irish or to gossip, foster, or ally with them, or using the Irish habit.

“By abrogating the Irish laws, coyny, liverie, &c., as that which draweth the obedience of the subject from the King to acknowledge no other sovereignty than of their captain.

“By due execution of justice, and making divers good and wholesome laws to reduce the country to a civil government,

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\* Spaces are left for definitions under each of these headings.

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as near as could be to be formable to the English government.

III. "The apparent Causes of the Decay of the Estate of Ireland.

"The marriage of great heirs of that country to men of great possessions in England, who sent little defence thither, and some never came there.

"By committing charge of the captainries of the country unto their Irish vassals, who in time usurped them, and expelled the English. By a general revocation of all liberties, charters, and freedoms, as well of gentlemen as of the towns in the time of Edward III.

"For lack of due administration of justice and execution of laws made for the abolishing of Irish orders and strengthening the English forces, which, being afterwards more slightly looked into in the broken government of Richard II., gave a heartening unto the nobility one to oppress another, the mightier the weaker sort, and to extract coyny and livery for the maintenance of their forces, from whence their factions were derived.

"By the division of the Geraldines against the Butlers, taking part with the House of York against the House of Lancaster.

"By supporting Richard Duke of York at Wakefield and elsewhere against King Henry VI.

"By supporting Perkyn Warbecke and Lambert against King Henry VII., with divers others."

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

**399.** PLAN for the REFORMATION of IRELAND.

Vol. 616, p. 84.

"An Opinion concerning Contribution towards the Suppressing of Rebels in Ireland.

"I beseech your Lordship to pardon me for my presumption in making bold to present my bare and rude opinion in a matter of so great importance; that is to say, how the great disorders of that noble country of Ireland, by God's permission and her Majesty's goodness, may be reformed, which I am not ignorant of that your Honour knoweth a thousand times better what is incident to the same than I can conceive, as well by your great and rare experience, besides your grave and deep judgment, and likewise by knowledge had of the chiefest that hath governed there a long time, as also of others that be both valiant and wise. Yet my trust is that your honourable bosom will be of the mind that the great prince Xerxes was, who refused not a handful of water at a poor man's hands, but thankfully took the same; so in like manner I doubt not but that your Honour will accept in good part my

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poor good will, and pardon me for such defects as shall pass my pen; for truly I have many times with a mourning heart bewailed to see so great disorders in so noble a country, and do rejoice to know how ready and willing some of her Majesty's good and loving subjects are, who can be contented to adventure their bodies and some part of their goods to have the same reformed, if it shall please her Majesty so to think it good.

“And assured[ly] I persuade myself that generally all her Majesty's good and loving subjects that is of God, or that serveth Him or feareth Him, or carrieth a good zeal to her Majesty and the well-doing of the realm of England or Ireland, will willingly be contributors to the same, for that there appertain to the same so many good and godly actions; and then no doubt but that by such contributions, which will not be greatly burthenous to the general number of her good and loving subjects, the great disorders may be reformed, and those traitors and rebels there both tamed and cut off, and their adherents and favorers discomfited. And whereas her Majesty hath been and is at great charges to defray the same, that in short time to make the revenue of Ireland great unto her Majesty, and the country as subject unto her laws as it was in King John's time, who built the citie[s] of Waterford and Corke and other places by such means as hereafter followeth.

“That whereas, Right Honourable, the country of Ireland is great, the same to be divided in 12 parts or more, and every part to have a president, a nobleman assistant, two justices learned in the laws to administer law and justice where need shall require, and a colonel to have the government of the captains, lieutenants, officers, and soldiers; and these to have government under the Lord Deputy there. And that in every circuit divided of those parts quarter sessions to be kept within their precincts, so that if the countrymen do offend, they may be duly punished, and in time, before they commit further mischief. And in every circuit or precinct so divided to have a free school to bring up the youth in virtue and learning; and certain preachers in every precinct. And therewithal to ordain that if either president, nobleman assistant, justices, colonel, captain, lieutenants, officers, or soldiers do live incestuously, [as] to force women, or commit rapes, to have death for the sa[me], according to the laws, or else, if they be found bribers or extortioners, to be dismissed of their rooms, with condign punishment, and others [put] in their places that will be careful to do their du[ty], and not infected with covetousness or such horrible cr[imes]; for I fear me that disease hath reigned too long, and is the root of all evil and mischief. The three infections which destroyed the Romans' Empire: that was, privy grudge, young counsel, and private gain.

“Many other examples I could recite which be both dangerous and prejudicial to a commonwealth, which I will omit,



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which I beseech God to preserve us from. And then no doubt but by God's providence and her Majesty's goodness the country shall not only be reformed and surely governed, but also many stately regalities, earldoms, lordships, and other lands rebelliously concealed and kept from the prince may be recovered, to the great augmentation of this Crown. And her Majesty, in my opinion, shall do one of the best and godliest acts that ever did Christian prince.

“And also necessary it is to provide a strength for the more surety to the country, to the great well-doing of her good and loving subjects there, and so to win those savage and beastly people there to know God, serve Him, and fear Him. And consequently thereby shall be set on work a number of valiant and serviceable men, as well captains [and] soldiers as mariners, whose hearts be so deeply galled, and live in such distress, that it would make any Christian prince's heart to mourn to remember their cases. Likewise so shall be employed as well artificers as a great number of fishermen, the fishing being so great, which strangers do get; and also with divers other manly men, whose cases are to be lamented; besides also the great number of ships, galleys, foysts, barks, hoys, [and] boats, used in other realms to good purpose; with which galleys, great and small, may be performed great service, although the opinion of some hath been heretofore to the contrary, and I imagine is at this preisnt, which for my poor part I think somewhat strange; for once I know by experience the French King can use them to perform great service, and her Majesty hath as good harbours, ports, roads, and creeks as he hath any. With your galleys, great and small, as the number is, may be made a proportion of men either to assay the mainland [and] islands, or to gang (?) up rivers, and to lay the prows of the galleys to any rock or other fit place, and land your men upon the sudden (where ships cannot come), to do any exploit, and to retire to your strength, and with your galleys to be over night in one place, and before morning 20 leagues off, to perform an enterprise. And if these traitorous rebels and wild rogues of Ireland be thus charged upon with soldiers by land, and from the sea by land, it will bring them into that case that they shall not know where they shall be able to have any quiet rest, but hereby be both tamed and cut off, and to make them in short time to stoop like curs.

“I have heard of divers that have pretended to reform the disorders of that noble country, and par[t]ly have known some whose doings have taken no effect; and surely I judge the same country is not to be reformed by any subject, but by the countenance of the prince.

“A Contribution of the Clergy for the oppressing of the traitors and rebels in Ireland, and for other good and godly purposes, for five years.

“First, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the living that belongeth thereto, yearly 60*l.*; the Archbishop of York, 50*l.*;

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the Bishop of Winchester, 40*l.*; the Bishop[s] of Durham, Ely, with six or seven of the best bishoprics next unto these in living, the like sum, 40*l.*; the other meaner bishoprics, 20*l.*; the rest of the smallest bishoprics, 10*l.*; the dean[s] of Bath and Wells, Durham, and certain other of the best deaneries in living, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the other deaneries, and for every deanery that any one hath, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; every prebend, and for every prebendship that any one hath, 33*s.* 4*d.*; every canon, and for every such living any one hath, 20*s.*; every doctor of divinity, 10*s.*; every parson, his living being above one hundred marks a year, 50*s.*; the other parsonages that be above 20*l.* a year, 20*s.*; smaller livings, 20*s.*; and for every such parsonage as any one hath, the like; every vicar, his living being above 20*l.* the year, 10*s.*; the other vicars of smaller living, 5*s.*; every minister, 2*s.*

“A Contribution of the Lawyers for the like time.

“Every judge of the law in any court of record not being of the Privy Council, 10*l.*; every sergeant of law, 5*l.*; every one of the chiefest officers under the Judges of the Queen’s Majesty in any court of record, as the Master of the Rolls, the Queen’s Attorney, the Queen’s Solicitor, the Attorney of the Duchy and Wards, and others that have offices of good account, 5*l.*; the rest of the officers in every court or courts of record to be cessed at the discretion of the judges and these officers above named; every counsellor of six years’ practice or continuance, 20*s.*; every student in any inn of court or that is [in] pension, 2*s.* 6*d.*; every student of any inn of Chancery or that is in pension, 12*d.*; every attorney in or of any court, 3*s.* 4*d.*

“A Contribution of the Civilians for the like time.

“The principal judge of the civil law, 5*l.*; the rest that be judges in any court, 50*s.*; every doctor of five years continuance, 20*s.*; the other doctors, 10*s.*; the judges and doctors to sesh the rest that either beareth office or that writeth under them, at their discretions; every auditor for the Prince, 5*l.*; every receiver to be charged according to his receipt at the discretion of the sheriffs and commissioners appointed; every doctor of physic of six years practice, 20*s.*; every other doctor of physic, 10*s.*; every person that doth take upon them to practice physic, 5*s.*; every tavern that hath been of long continuance frequented, 10*s.*; the other new taverns, 5*s.*; every inn well frequented, 10*s.*; the other small inns, 2*s.*; every alehouse or tipping house, 12*d.*

“A Contribution of her Majesty’s good and loving subjects of every parish within this realm for five years.

“Every parish within this realm to furnish a soldier, and as some parish is better able to make ten than some one, that the chiefest parishes in every shire, besides footmen, to furnish horsemen well appointed, and the other meaner parishes foot-

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men, and the parishes that be very small to unite three of them together for the furnishing of a footman. And as well the chiefest parishes as the smallest to be sessed by the sheriff's of the shires, with certain commissioners with him or them that shall be expert.

“And every soldier footman to have besides his calyver and furniture belonging to the same, a good long bow, a sheif of arrows, a halbert, a pickaxe, a spade and shovel, and other tools necessary to help to fortify, build, and inscanste (?) when and where time and need shall require, and these tools to serve for other necessary uses.

“And [to] provide that every soldier that is a horseman to have 200 acres of arable, pasture, and meadow ground, and every footman 100 acres of such like ground, and the soldiers to have this rent fr[ee] for five years, and after the five yea[rs] be expired, the soldiers to find the like furniture at all assays to serve her [Majesty] withall, upon their own proper costs and charges. And every soldier to pay unto her Majesty after the five years be expired, 2*d.* an acre for ever, or else lose the benefit of their living.

“And that for all such lands as shall come or grow unto her Majesty by escheat, or by any degree (decree?), or means, that no person or persons of what degree or calling soever be or they be of, to have any part or parcel of the same lands, but to pay unto her Majesty the like rent as the soldier doth, or more, after they have enjoyed the same three years, and to find the like furniture at all assays as the soldier doth for the like quantity of ground for her Majesty's service, upon the same penalty as is before remembered.

“And that no manner of person to have any office there but during pleasure.

“And for the levying of these sums of money order and direction to be taken therein, either by letters or otherwise, as it shall please the higher power, and to be signified unto the sheriffs and commissioners of every shire, and the sheriffs and commissioners to send unto every parish the tenor of their commissions, thereby to appoint four substantial men of every parish to charge every man's lands, goods, and tenements uprightly and indifferently without respect of persons, as well strangers as others, for the furnishing of the soldiers; and this to be done as well within corporation[s] as without.

“And every parish to make their account unto the sheriffs and commissioners, and the sheriffs and commissioners to see this money thus levied to be safely conveyed either unto her Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster, or to the waterside, where there shall be order taken for the conveying of the same into Ireland into the Exchequer there, with as much speed as may be, and there to remain. And the money to be ready in the Exchequer there, that when any President or Presidents shall have good occasion to use any part of the same money for her Majesty's service in Ireland, they do

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deliver the same, receiving a warrant with two or three more of the chiefest of them that hath to do with the Presidents, under their hands and seals, for their discharges. And those that have the charge of the money there yearly to make their account unto such auditors as shall be appointed, that it may appear what is disbursed, and what doth remain.

“And furthermore that order be taken for wood and waste grounds there, that the Presidents and those that chiefly have to do with them under the Lord Deputy there to set, let, and use them to her Majesty’s best commodity and profit.

“And in like manner for mineral causes, whereof there is divers sorts in the country, and the presumption great that some are rich, the Presidents and those that be joined with them to take the like order in their precincts, that they may be used to her Majesty’s best commodity and profit, for whom they are most fit. For truly I have heard that the Spaniard and others have reported a long time since that, if the Princes of England knew what a jewel Ireland were, they needed not to seek the discovery of foreign countries to inhabit in. And assuredly I am of this mind that strangers would not have such liking to that country (howsoever their further meaning and intent is) but that they judge or know, besides the goodness of the earth there is some other secret mystery that lieth hid in the bowels of the same.

“And if it be supposed that the number of the soldiers by this means be too many, to appoint your number less as shall be thought meet. And the money thus levied in every parish and otherwise to be in a readiness in the Exchequer there, and the same to be used for divers good purposes, both for the strength of the realm, and for the common wealth of the same.

“And whereas her Majesty hath a great care both of the country and the well-doing of her good and loving subjects there, to win them without effusion of blood, if it may please her so to think it good, to give and grant unto them all free pardon, some few that be notorious rebels and traitors excepted.

“And by this means her Majesty may have always in a readiness a company of brave and gallant soldiers, and mariners to serve where occasion shall bid, to the terror of those that meaneth no good unto that country, or otherwise.

“I humbly beseech your Honour once again to pardon me for my presumption, if in any respect I have or do omit my duty, and, for my want, to accept in good part my poor goodwill and willing mind, whose care and study hath been, and also is, how I may learn to do some piece of my duty unto my prince and country, and, God willing, shall refuse no peril to do my endeavour to perform the same whilst life remaineth. For truly I judge we are bound by the laws of God and by the laws of nature, that if we can devise by any commendable and lawful means to set our Christian brethren and country-

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men on work in matters that may be for the glory of God and for the common wealth, every person to put their helping hands to do the same. For assuredly the number of persons is great that may be well spared in this realm, that daily falleth into great decay and misery, and be imprisoned, that hath lived in good case; with many others, I doubt, like to be cut off with shameful death; which I beseech God may be prevented and provided for in time in manner as aforesaid. And undoubtedly covetousness and ambition (in inferior persons), under God, be two chief causes of these great inconveniences.

“And by this means both garrisons, corporations, and towns may be planted and made in that worthy country, with such royalties and liberties belonging unto them, as shall please her Majesty to grant; which undoubtedly will be a strength unto the realm, and a terror to those that wisheth no good unto the same.”

“Many other matters I could set down as concerning that noble and worthy country, but for troubling your Honour with tediousness. God preserve your Honour to be a good and noble pillar for this realm.”

*Pp.* 20. *Endorsed*: “A Discourse of Ireland, etc.”

#### 400. Co. WATERFORD

Vol. 616, p. 114.

“Instructions [by the Lord Deputy and Council] for the Commission thereunto annexed, to execute Martial Law within the County of Waterford.

“(1.) First, that open proclamation be made in and throughout all that whole county, that no idle person or persons or vagabonds shall repair or haunt within the same county after eight days next after the same proclamation made, upon pain of hanging, unless he have a just cause; and likewise that no such person travel by night, unless he be accompanied with some honest man in English apparel, upon like pain.

“(2.) Item, the said Commissioners shall likewise have full power and authority to apprehend and take such person or persons as do willingly aid and support or maintain any outlaw or open thief, murderer, or rebel, and to send them to the Deputy and Council with certificate of their demeanour. And shall also seize their goods and chattels, and put the same upon surety, taking inventory thereof, and upon proof that the party is such a malefactor as by the law he ought to forfeit his goods, the two parts thereof to be to the Queen’s Majesty’s use, and the third part to the use of the such Commissioners, towards . . . their pains and charges, as shall seize the same.

“(3.) Item, the said Commissioners shall, in the prosecuting of any such malefactor, call for aid or assistance of any of the Queen’s Majesty’s subjects, and [if] he or they so called to aid refuse so to do, unless he have a lawful cause, or in any case resisteth, the said Commissioners shall certify the

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same to the Lord Deputy and Council, who will see him or them so refusing or resisting to be grievously punished, and some recompense to the said Commissioners so grieved of his or their goods so refusing or resisting.

“(4.) Item, that after the next eight days next after the same proclamation it shall be lawful to and for her Majesty’s Commissioners in the commission hereunto annexed named to apprehend and take such idle persons as they shall find [or] come by ; and if they shall find any reasonable or just cause, they shall have liberty to punish them, at their discretion, as well by death or otherwise in causes of death, according as in the said commission is specified.

“(5.) Item, wheresoever the said Commissioners shall so travel for the punishment of such malefactors, it shall be lawful for them to take meat and drink for horse and man in reasonable sort, so that they exceed not one night or two, in every barony within the said county ; the same to be taken in such indifferent sort as the county be not oppressed therewith and according as in the commission is expressed.

“(6.) Item, the same Commissioners so taking any suspect person or persons shall examine him or them before the next gentlemen of worship, or the sovereign or portreeve, or other next head officer of any town or borough next adjoining ; and, finding sufficient matters of death, shall and may put such malefactors to death, or otherwise punish them, at their discretions.

“(7.) Item, in case the said Commissioners shall in the night find any suspect person or persons not having in his company or theirs some honest man in English apparel, it shall be lawful for the same Commissioners to use them at their discretion. And, if any such person or persons so travelling by night, and so by the said Commissioners taken in the manner of any stealth or robbery or murder, it shall be lawful for them or any of them to hang him at such places as they shall think meet.

“(8.) Item, also it [is] agreed and ordered that if any such suspected person shall fail of his *surren*, and the same so justified before the said Commissioners, then it shall be lawful to punish the same person by death or otherways, as to their discretions shall seem good.

“(9.) Item, we do further authorise our said Commissioners to punish by law martial, with pains of death or otherwise, as by their discretion, according to the nature and quality of the offender and offence or offences, shall seem expedient and requisite, all such persons, soldiers, or pretending to have been soldiers, or others, extortiously censing themselves, or exacting or taking meat or drink money, or money worth, upon any her Majesty’s good subjects.

“(10.) Finally, it is ordered by the said Lord Deputy and Council that this authority of death shall not extend to any gentleman or freeholder that may dispend forty shillings land by

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the year, or lawfully possesseth the value of ten pounds of his proper goods and chattels without fraud, guile, or malyngyne. And that, further, the constable of every parish shall give warning to the parish priest or curate of the same to publish and declare the premises openly in the church, to the intent the people may not be ignorant of the same."

*Pp. 3. Endorsed.*

## APPENDIX.\*

1561.

Jan. 24.

Vol. 607, p. 213.

## 1. THE CURRENCY.

Proclamation by Thomas Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant, and the Council, at Dublin, 24 January 1560.

“Where it is given to understand to us, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, that divers greedy and ill-disposed persons within this realm do in the uttering of their wares, victuals, and other kind of things vendable, indent and bargain afore they make any price of such things as they will sell what kind of coins they will receive for payment; whereby they procure with their unsatiable gain great disquiet and trouble to many of the good subjects of this realm, a great disfurniture of all markets, and, in effect, common and universal disorder. We have thought fit, for redress of such enormities as already do and hereafter might arise by the covetousness of such unbridled appetites, not only to give order and commandment in the Queen’s Majesty’s name by this proclamation that no man shall from henceforth indent or bargain what kind of coins he will receive for any kind of thing that he shall sell within this realm; but also to give all her Majesty’s true and loving subjects to understand that if any greedy persons have heretofore sithence the 20th of October last, at what time the knowledge of the fall of the coins came to us, made sale of anything whatsoever, and have in his bargain indented or agreed to receive payment in any special coin current within this realm, then he who standeth bound by any such bargain or agreement to make payment after any such sort shall and may offer payment in any kind of coin current within this realm, and that all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and all other the principal officers of any corporate town, shall and may force every man within their several precincts, limits, and rules to receive payment in the sort before specified.

“And if any man shall hereafter, contrary to this proclamation, indent or bargain what coin he will be paid in for anything that he shall sell, then the foresaid justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers of corporate towns within their several precincts, limits, and rules, shall not only force the party so indenting and bargaining to receive payment in any kind of coin current within this realm wherein the

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\* Many of the documents in this Appendix are undated, and their dates were not discovered till it was too late to notice them in the proper places.



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party that should make the payment shall offer him payment, but also shall commit the party so offending and indenting to prison, and thereupon shall advertise us, to the intent we may cause such punishment to be given to such offender as by the terror thereof others may take example. And like as we would be very sorry that any of her Majesty's subjects should incur the danger of such punishment, so, considering the great disorder that may arise by such evil practice, we earnestly require, and in her Majesty's name straightly charge and commaund, all her Majesty's officers of trust before rehearsed to be, according their places and vocations, diligent and careful in the execution of the premises."

Dublin, 24 January 1560.

*Signed at the beginning*: T. Sussex; *at the end*: H. Dublin, Tho. Lowth, George Stanky, John Parker, Tho. Lokwod, dean, Ro. Dillon, Francis Agarde, Christ. Donsanie, Chr. Howthe, John Plunkett, James Bathe, John Allen, Ja. Wingfield.

"This agreeth with the original entered in the Council Book. Ex. per M. Uscher."

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed.*

March 24.

## 2. THE CURRENCY.

Vol. 607, p. 215.

Proclamation by the Lord Justice, Sir W. FitzWilliam, and Council.

The Queen, understanding by her cousin the Earl of Sussex, her Lieutenant-General of Ireland, who in this behalf has travailed with her, "that the diversity of standards of her Highness' moneys current within this realm, as well English as Irish, with the unequal valuations thereof, doth greatly annoy her Majesty's common weal here, as a matter whereby, besides sundry other mischiefs, all manner of prices of things both growing in this realm and brought and conveyed into the same from foreign parts, grow daily excessive, to the manifest hurt of her Crown, grievous detriment of her nobility, and lamentable oppression and impoverishment of her subjects of this realm, specially such as live upon her Highness' pay, either in civil or martial offices or services. And being no less careful to see to the amendment thereof, for the relief and good comfort of her most loving and obedient subjects, than the natural father would be over his dear child.

"Her Majesty . . . after great deliberation had, as well with her said Lieutenant as with others, which in the help of these matters be most wise and expert, hath for reformation of the said evils resolved and determined by the advice of . . . Sir William FitzWilliams, knight, Vice-Treasurer of this realm of Ireland, and Lord Justice of the same, and of the rest of her Highness' Council here, to reduce the said moneys coined and now current within this realm, as well English as Irish, as nigh to their values as may be, in like manner as her Majesty hath already attempted within her realm of England; having

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therein respect to the ancient accustomed valuations of the moneys of both her Highness' realms of England and Ireland, being compared together as hereafter followeth.

"First, her Majesty doth . . . ordain, proclaim, and value that all testers of her realm of England which be now current at  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  in her said realm of England, shall be from the time of this proclamation valued and current here for sixpence of moneys current in this her realm, and so shall continue current until the last of April next coming. And that from the same last of April all the said testers of  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ , and every of them, shall be taken as bullion and brought to her Majesty's mints in England, where the bringer thereof shall have for every tester  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  current money of England, or else the same testers shall from the said last of April be brought to her Treasury in this her realm of Ireland, where they shall be received for  $6d.$  of current money of this realm.

"Item, . . . that the other base testers of England, late valued at  $2\frac{1}{4}d.$  English, be valued in this realm from the time of this proclamation for and at  $3d.$  of current moneys here, and so shall continue current until the said last of April, and from thenceforth shall be taken for bullion in her said mints of England, or in her Treasury in this realm, according to the rates of the value.

"Item, that every piece of the base moneys of England, now valued in that realm at  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ , shall be current in this realm from the time of this proclamation for and at  $2d.$  of moneys of Ireland, and so shall continue during her Majesty's pleasure.

"Item, that the tester of this realm stamped with the Harp, being now current in this realm for  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  sterling, shall be valued from henceforth for and at  $6d.$  of current money of this realm. And that the piece of a groat, stamped with the Harp, shall be current from henceforth at  $2d.$  of the current moneys of this realm, and so to continue.

"And as her Majesty hath in this behalf most graciously seen to her . . . subjects, and ordained for their relief and comfort this present rate and valuation, the direct and only perfect good mean to reform the great enormities and dearths that have been in growing this long time by reason of abasing of the moneys, and of the variations and inequalities of the standards thereof; so her Highness wisheth, and earnestly doth will her subjects of all sorts to understand and conceive, that although even presently with this her most godly and beneficial order, the full redress and ease of dearth and other mischiefs shall not seem to follow, yet within very short time the fruit and profit thereof is, to the common and universal joy of her people, to be undoubtedly looked for. And as nature giveth the fruit in due season, and not forthwith upon the seed or plant committed to the earth, so of this her gracious and princely order must of necessity in the due time follow, and that with speed, the good and prosperous state of this commonweal, which all honest hearts have long expected.

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“And therefore to the end that malice of the ill members shall not give impediment hereunto, her Majesty chargeth all manner of justices, mayors, sheriffs, and other public officers and ministers that have by any manner of way jurisdiction or authority to see markets and fairs governed, or victuals to be reasonably assised, that they attend upon their offices, and prevent and stay the malicious covetousness of any such as upon this proclamation shall seek to advance or enhance the accustomed prices of any manner of victual, or such other necessary things, and, if need shall require, to punish the offenders therein with speed and severity, and therein to use no delay, as they will answer at their peril.”

Dublin, 24 March, 3 Eliz. 1560.

*Signed at the beginning* : W. FitzWilliam ; *and at the end* : Hugh Dublin., Cha., James Bathe, Jaques Winfeld, Francis Ager.

“This agreeth with the original entered in the Council Book. Ex. per M. Uscher.”

*Copy. Pp. 4. Endorsed* : Copy of the proclamation for the fall of the coin.

1572.

Feb. 1.

## 3. THE CESS.

Vol. 619, p. 106.

“The County of Meethe.

“We whose names do follow, at our assembly at Tawrathe, the first of February 1571, having before us numbers of the commons of several baronies of our shire, with one consent and agreement do yield and allow the articles following:—

“First, the present cesse of wheat, malt, and oats, to be presently sent to Drogheda, Ardee, or Dundalk, for the finding of the soldiers in garrison, &c. Item, we do also freely and willingly remit and forgive to the Queen’s Majesty’s Highness all such sums of money as are due in this our shire for the board and victuals of any captain or soldier, footman or horseman, either for himself, horse, or boy, to be retained in her Highness’ hands to her Majesty’s use, etc. And we are contented that these articles be written in good form of this effect, to be exhibited unto the Rt. Hon. the Lord Deputy [Sir W. Fitz-William], whom we humbly require to accept the same as from willing hearts dedicated to serve her Majesty in the beginning of this his Lordship’s government, which we pray God may be prosperous of long continuance.

“H. Miden., Robt. Dyllon, Thomas Dillon, James Eylmer, John Caddell, Michael Cusak, Patrick Barnewell, William Hyll, Richard Dorme, Gerald Wesley, Richard Sedgrave, James Barnewell, John Pluncket, of Loghtoryve, Bartholomew Cusak, Peter Dillon, Thomas Cusak, Richard Pentney, Nicholas Kent, Walter Goldinge, Patrick Barnewell, Lucas Dyllon, Christopher Barnewell, Oliver Plonkett, Patrick Baythe, Christopher Plonkett, Michael Delahyde, Patrick Tanckard, Thomas Ellyot, Thomas Pluncket, John Ledwiche, Christopher Pluncket,

1572.

Henry Warringe, Nicholas Dyllon, Henry Barnewell, Edward Tallon, Nicholas Ledwiche, John Swayne, William Tallon, Thomas Darcy.

*Copy. Signed:* "W. FytzWylliam."

*P. 1. Endorsed:* Primo Febr. 1571. The Remittal of the County of Meethe for the Soldiers' diets there.

1573.

Vol. 605, p. 42.

4. SIR PETER CAREW to LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM.\*

"It hath been reported unto me that the Queen's Majesty's pleasure is I shall not return into Ireland for the farther following of my causes there, which (if it should so be) would be my utter undoing, for since the first time of the attempting of my title in that land, what in following of it there and in suit here, it hath cost me six thousand pounds at the least. And having recovered the barony of Odron by good order, yet notwithstanding the occupiers thereof will not compound with any deputies I shall send thither, or take any leases of them, but only of myself; and in that sort they have offered to agree with me for any rent to be charged upon them. So as my repair thither would greatly avail to my profit and commodity, and on the contrary part my stay here to my loss and utter undoing.

"I fear me those untrue reports that were made of me unto her Highness, for being the occasion of the first rebellion when I was in Ireland, is not yet out of her Majesty's head, although indeed I am able to prove that the same was begun before the attempting of my suits there, or my arrival into that land; and glad I am that it was not my hap to be there at this present, lest I might in like sort have been untruly charged with this rebellion also. And yet, although that land is at this present (as your Lordship knoweth) very much unquieted, my people of Odrone remain still very good subjects, not one of them (to my knowledge) starting forth, offering to fulfil thoroughly whatsoever they promised unto me at my being there; which is an argument and sign that they are well contented with myself and my doings also.

"I crave nothing at her Majesty's hands, but only her Highness' gracious favour and good countenance in my just and righteous causes. I am well able to prove that I lost in Queen Mary's time eight thousand pounds in value at the least, and since in this her Highness' reign (whom God long preserve!) I have sold 300 marks lands for her service. And now lastly not to be permitted to have the benefit of a poor subject, I protest unto your good Lordship I must needs think myself the most unfortunate man living, being such a corrosye unto my heart as yet never heretofore I received the like in all my days.

"But to be bold to trouble your Lordship with my simple opinion concerning those persuasions that are made why our

\* See Nos. 306—309. in the first volume of this Calendar.

1573.

countrymen should not be permitted to inhabit within that land, surely her Majesty shall never be thoroughly known there, so long as her own laws are not current, and her own sword be not the minister of justice, and those *reguli* or under-kings not suffered to have the administration of laws and justice at their wills and pleasures. Thus I am bold to trouble your Lordship with my opinion herein.

“As considering my titles in Munster, I have digested the same into certain articles hereinclosed, humbly submitting myself and my suits unto her Highness’ gracious pleasure and your Honour’s good considerations of me, being now well grown in years, unto whom the loss of a little time is much, having followed these suits already by the space of three years here, and two years in Ireland.”

## II. “Petitions and Offers of Peter Carewe, Knight.”

“If it shall please the Queen’s Majesty to licence me to pass into Ireland with her Highness’ good favour and countenance, for following of my titles within the counties of Corke, Lymérique, and Kyrrye, being within Munster, then I offer as followeth :—First, if I do not settle and place one thousand of English men within the said counties before Michaelmas next shall be twelvemonth, I will forfeit unto her Majesty all the titles and interest that I ought to have within the said three counties. Also, if any rebellion for my cause shall happen within the said three counties by the Irishry without aid of foreign power, I during my life to suppress the same with the aid of my friends at my own costs and charges, or else the like forfeiture to be made as is expressed in the former article, which I will not leave for any one man’s possessions in Ireland, so as I may have her Highness’ favour and law withal.”

*Draft. Pp. 4. Dated by Sir George Carew, “1573.”*

[1574,

March 27.]

Vol. 611, p. 234.

## 5. CONNAUGHT and THOMOND.

“The Division of Connaught and Thomond as it is now bounded, viz., the east and south parts, with the river of Shenon on the west side, with the great ocean sea on the north, with the great Logh Earne; which all are divided into several shires or counties as followeth, viz. :—

“Thomond—in the one county to be named the county of Clare.

“Connaught—in four counties to be named the counties of Galway, Mayo, Slyggagh, Roscomon.

“Summa of the counties, five,—which are divided into several baronies, and the baronies into plowlands, of so many of the counties as have been travelled by the Lord President and Council of Connaught, and the rest are set forth according such division as hath been made by Sir Thomas Cusake, Knight, and others her Majesty’s Commissioners.

[1574.]

"*The county of Clare*—containeth whole Thomond, being in length from Leymeconcollen to Killalowe 45 miles, and in breadth from Limerick to Beallaleynee 25 miles; which of ancient time was divided into nine troghkyeds or hundreds, and is now appointed to be contained in eight baronies," viz., Tullaghnenaspule, containing the Mac Nemaries' otherwise Mortimers' country, in which the Baron of Inshyquyn and Donell Rcoogh Mc Nemare are chief; Dangen, containing West Mac Nemares' country, in which Shane Mc Nemare is chief; Cloynetherala, containing East Corkewasken, Tege Mac Mahone chief; Moyartha, containing West Corkewasken, Turlagh McMahoun chief; Tuoghlmore y Conour containing Corkemroe, Sir Donell O'Brien chief; Gragans, containing the country of Buren, O'Loghlen chief; Tullagh Idea, containing the troghkeyd of Kylveroge, Sir Donell O'Brien chief; Cloynerawde, containing the troghkied of Cloynerawde and the islands, the Earl of Thomond chief. Plowlands in these 8 baronies, 140; parish churches, 79; castles, 172. *The names of the parishes, gentlemen, and castles are given.\**

Bishoprics within this county:—Bishopric of Killalowe, Muriertagh O'Brien custos; bishopric of Fyneboreñ, vacant.

Abbeys and religious houses within this county:—Abbeys of Clare (possessed by Sir Donell and Tege McConor his brother), Inish (by James Nellan), St. John's (a nunnery, by the Baron of Inshiquyn), Corkomoree, Island Chanens (by the Earl of Thomond), Kiltana, Quynhye (occupied by friars), and Inishcronan.

"*The county of Galway*—containing the countries of Clanricard, Imany by west the Suk, Syllanchy, Ieher Connaght, Clanconway and Corkomoe, being near 50 miles in length, and 30 in breadth—is now appointed and divided into 15 baronies," viz.:—Longford, containing the country of Syllanchy and Clonvicknoyne by west Sucke, O'Madin, Owen O'Madin, Cogh O'Madin, and Shane ne Moye being chief in the same; Letrym, containing the country Toeheloman, the Earl of Clanricarde chief; Loghreogh, containing Eraghtowge, Monteralyee, and McHubbard's lands, the Earl of Clanricarde, McOwge, and McHubbard, chief; Dunkellyn, containing the Clanhenries' lands, and Kilnalgory, Mary, and the lands of Athenry, the Earl of Clanricard, John Oge FitzJohn Fitz-Edmund, and Shane McBrene McGyllekelly, chief; Kiltaraght, containing Lynaly, Eraghtreamon, and Kielovieragh, O'Shaghnes, McRemon, O'Heyn, and Owen Mantagh O'Hein, chief; Arran, containing the islands of Arran, seven leagues distant from Galway into the main sea, Murrogh ne Doe O'Flairty, chief; Ballenehence, containing the two Conymares, Murragh ne Doo O'Flairty, chief; Muikullen, containing Cosarge, Gnovore, Gnovog, Logheurb, and Keildromedirge, Morogh ne Doo, chief; Beallamoe, containing Clancomvay,

\* The length and breadth of each barony are stated, with the number of ploughlands, at the rate of 180 acres to the ploughland.

[1574.]

T. McDavy and Hubert Boy McDavy, chief: Dunmore, containing Conikne, the Lord Breningham, chief; Clare, containing Moyntagh MeHugh, Moynter Moroghowe, and Maghere Reogh, John Burke FitzThomas, MacHugh and MacCreamon, chief; Kyllihane, containing the whole Cerochons and Achiart, Connor Oge O'Kelly, chief; Kilconell, containing Toelyleally, Pobullkewgh and Eraght Carbery, Wm. O'Kelly, chief; Kingstown, containing Maghree Vouvoye, Maghre Altagh, and the lands of Athenry. John Wall and Ullige Oge Beg and the Dolphinagh, chief: Teagwyn, containing Dowghslightly, Kally and Corkomoe, Melaghlen and Tege O'Kelly, chief. *The names of the parish churches, gentlemen, and castles in these baronies are specified.*

Bishoprics within the county of Galway.—The bishopric of Duaceñ, Stephen Kirwane incumbent. The bishopric of Clonfert, Roland Burke incumbent. The bishopric of Anaghconeñ, Mr. Laly\* incumbent.

Abbeys in Galway.—Portumna (possessed by the Earl of Clanricarde), Millik (by the said Earl), Kilcorban (by the said Earl), Cloyntoyskerte (by Redmond Burke's brother), Monaster Ogormagan (by the Earl), Clonfert (by the Bishop of Clonfert), Kynalehyne (by the Earl), Kilmacwogh, Kilbought (by the Earl), Loghreogh (by the Earl), Athenry, Galway (by the commons of the town), the Hill Abbey by Galway (by the commons of the same), Clare (by the Earl), Kilnannagh, Rosriella (by the Gray Friars), Anaghcoyne (by the Earl), Teaghsaxin, Achrim (by the Earl), Kilconell (by the Gray Friars), Monaster Leve, the cell of Holyrood, the cell of Kaltraghne Palice, Cloynkinkerill, Knockmoy (by Nicholas Fitz-Symons of Dublin), cell of Crewan, Kilmorenetohee, St. John's in Toam, Monester ne Skryne, the Trinity Abbey, Dunmore (by John Burke FitzThomas), nunnery of Kilerewnaght (by the Earl), Eney, Monester Connaght, the Third Abbey in Aren, St. Mary by west Galway (by the town). Sum of the abbeys in this county, 36.

*“The county of Mayo—containing Ewghter Connaght and such other countries as are under Mac William Ewghter, and are divided into baronies, to be named as followeth; but the same county is not as yet divided into plowlands, by reason whereof the parishes could not be put in order of the baronies, but are written by themselves.”*

Baronies.—Croslywhin, containing McMoris' country; Kilvean, containing Konyeuly and Ewghterhire, in which William Burke Fitz John, Edmund Burke MacThomas Vaghery, and the Clan Jonyns, are chief; Rosse, containing the Joyes', the Walshes', and Partriches' lands, Mac Thomas and McTybod chief; Muriske, containing Owleymale and the lands, viz., Inyshturke and Inyshoirke, Cliera and Aukilles,

\* “Latly” in MS.

† Qu., mistake for “other.”

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O'Male, chief; Bures, containing Owle Clane, Phillipin, Owle Ewghter, and Slight Me Tybbot's lands, Richard en Iren, chief; Kumermore, containing Erest and Dondonell, Mac Vadin, chief; Many, containing Tyreawlee and the Cusakes' country, John McOlyverus otherwise McWilliam and Mc Vadin, called Baron Barnett, chief; Burisker, containing Clancuan, Karee, and Moynter, Cregban, MacWilliam, Burke, and McPhillipin, chief; Beallalahane, containing Gallenga, MacJordaine otherwise Baron Dexeter, chief; Beallahaunes, containing Clancostelagh, MacCostelow otherwise Baron Nangle, chief. *The names of the gentlemen and castles in these baronies are specified.*

Names of "certain spiritual dignities and other livings, both parsonages and vicarages and parish churches, within the county of Mayo."

Abbeys and religious houses in Mayo.—Rahrany, Killinbreanyn, Cong (by Domynicke French for Captain Collyer). The following "are possessed either by friars or rebels, so as her Majesty hath no commodity by the same:" Ballaghineaske, Ballinrobba, Mayo, Moyriske, Clyera, Inishturke, Bures-Owle, Crosmolynne, Moyne, Rosserke, Ballintubber, Bures-Caree, Teaghboyhyn, Stradin-Ballahane, Owrelare, Banyde, Beallahawnes. Sum of abbeys within this county, 21.

Bishoprics within this county.—The archbishopric of Toame and the bishopric of Mayo, Mr. Laly incumbent; the bishopric of Killale, Owen O'Galaghow, by the Pope's bull, incumbent.

*"The county of Sliggagh—containing O'Connor's country, the two MacDonoghes', O'Dwyde, and O'Ruirke's country, with other, divided into nine baronies named as followeth, being not as yet divided into plowlands, nor the parishes known."*

Baronies.—Ballinvotte, containing Tirehercly and the Coren, the two Mac Donoghes chief in the same; Ardnerly and Ardglas, containing Tirerogh and Cuelcarny ("there are 24 castles and over within these two baronies, whereof I could learn the names but [of] a very few"); Dromcheu, containing Carbery, Nagyny, Mogenee, O'Connor Sligo chief; Dromahier, containing O'Ruirke's country by west Sleven Iren and the Dartery, O'Rwirke chief; Letrym, containing O'Rwyrke's country by east Slevenyeren; Mynes, containing one of the Moynter Aleys; Raney, containing the other Moynter Aley; Beallasedery, containing Coullowen, Maghery, Leyne, and Kuelcuan.

Abbeys.—Sliggagh (occupied by friars), Ardenery (by friars), Skryne (by friars), Ballinvotte (by friars), Temple\* (by friars), Grange More (by friars), the Black Abbey in Moyhell (by the Dominicans), the Gray Abbey in Moyhell (by the Franciscans), Dromahier (by friars), Beallesedery (by friars), Cowrte; total, 11.

\* "Tetemple" in MS.



[1574.]

In the same county is the bishopric of Acad' (Achonry), Owen O'Harte incumbent.

"*The county of Roscomon*—containing Omany by west the Suke, the Maghery Connaght, and Moylurge, with others, divided into six baronies."

Baronies.—Muikarnayn, containing Cloynvicknoyn and the Faes by east the Suk, Shane ne Moy Brene, Caragh O'Kelly, and O'Naghten being chief in the same; Athloyne, containing the Imany by east the Suk, O'Kelly, Hugh O'Kelly, O'Fallon, McCogh, O'Murye, and McEdmund, chief; Ballintubber, containing Maghry Connaght; O'Flyn and O'Flanigan's lands, O'Connor Dun, O'Flyn, and O'Flanigan, chief; Monaster Buille, containing Moyloirge, MacDermott and the sept of Owen McDermot chief; Tireone, containing Toehohanly and Tyreone, O'Birne and O'Hanly chief; Roscomon, containing Toalleg and the Clowynty in the East, O'Connor Roe and O'Hanley chief.

Abbeys.—Cloyntoyskert (hard by Beallalege), Athlone (occupied for the commodity of that house), the cell of Bcallanenee (by Edmund O'Fallon), Skryne, St. John's (by Christopher Davers, now usurped by rebels), Bwyle (by Patrick Cusake) and the Trinity Abbey (by John Crofton), "both usurped by rebels", Elffen (by friars), Tuilske (by the Baron of Delvin, but now occupied by friars), Kilvoir (by friars), Roscommon, having lands, (by Mr. Strange), Roscomon, having no lands, the cell of Lysonvhy (by friars).

In the said county is the bishopric of Elffen, Rolland Burke incumbent.

"The names of certain castles and towns within the county of Clare that were builded and erected by Englishmen:—Inshiquyn and O'Brien's Bridge, Inysh and Qwynby, Clare and Bonratty. In old time these were good market towns, and had English jurisdiction in them, and were governed by portriffes and other officers by authority of the King of England; but now they are all wasted and destroyed in a manner, saving the castles, and no part of the towns left but old houses of stone work, broken gates, and ruinous walls.

"The names of certain towns and castles within the county of Galway which were builded by Englishmen in like manner:—The castle of Myllyke, which was a very fair house situated upon the Shenon, and her Majesty's own inheritance, with other buildings thereabout, which was destroyed by the Earl of Clanricard's sons in their rebellion. In old time it was a good market town, and now there remaineth nothing but the abbey and certain other old buildings thereabout where the town was, and the castle is clean destroyed, the Earl and his son John (one of the destroyers thereof) being joint tenants to the Queen's Majesty for 21 years by indenture. The castle of Longford was made by Englishmen, and was a good market town, and is now all destroyed saving the castle, which doth

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remain in O'Madin's lands. The castle of Portumna in like manner. The town of Cloynferte in like manner. The castle and town of Cloyndaghaw. The town of Loghroogh was built by Englishmen, and besides the castle, which is a goodly place, the town thereabouts is well ditched and trenched, and fair walls begun, but not finished, having three fair strong gates made like three castles, the streets well divided and cut; and for the most part it was builded within the walls with houses of stone work, which are now partly destroyed and ruinous. The compass of it is great, and is a very convenient place for a garrison to lie in. It hath been within this thirty years a good market town, but now there is none, and from the first foundation thereof was ruled by a portriffe of English race, to be chosen by the inhabitants thereof, as in other places it is accustomed; but about three or four years past the name of portriffe with all that civil jurisdiction was put down by the Earl of Clanricarde, who committed the government of the town to his constable, whereby all English orders ceased there. Also the towns of Teaqwyn, Aghrymoman, Callogh, Ardrahane, Kilmacwoagh, Clare, Muikullen, Anaghcoyne, Toame, Dunumayn, Dunmore, Turlaghnioghane, were good market towns, whereof some were destroyed in old time about 30 or 40 years ago, and some during the late rebellion, so as in some places there is nothing left but the castles, and in other places the bare walls and broken gates only. The town of Athenry, a fair large town, well walled, with strong towers, and hath been destroyed by the Earl of Clanricard's sons and people during the late rebellion.

"The names of certain castles and market towns which were built by Englishmen in the county of Mayo:—Shruher, Kilvean which was governed by a portriffe, Ballinrobbe, Castle-Kirke, Ballymonagh, Bures-Care, Bures-Owle, Ballalahane, Lehence, Mayo, Rosse, Castle-More-McCostelou, which were all good market towns, and for the most part were ruled by portriffes, but now (saving the bare castles in some) the towns are all destroyed, whose broken gates and ruinous walls are this day to be seen.

"The county of Roscommon.—Roseoman, Athlone, Beallaleg, Aleg, St. John's, Beallaslow, Ballintubber. All these, saving the bare castles, are destroyed. The walls and gates of the towns, broken and ruinous, do appear this day.

"And in the county of Sliggagh, the town of Sliggagh and other places, which, and all the towns aforesaid, were destroyed by the Burkes and others, to the great hindrance of her Majesty's service, and loss and discomfort of her subjects."

*Copy. Undated.\* Pp. 24.*

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\* In Mr. Hamilton's Calendar the date is given as 27 March 1574.

[1575.]

Vol. 619, p. 116.

## 6. SIR HENRY SYDNEY'S PROPOSALS.

"The demands rest chiefly in these points. He offereth, if it be her Majesty's pleasure to employ him in Ireland, to serve there in all services within that her Highness' realm and against all those country rebels, except foreign invasions, for 20,000*l.* a year, with the help of the revenue which himself gained to her Majesty, being 5,000 marks a year, and now no account made or given of it. Out of the which revenue he is content, for the less charging her Majesty from hence, to be paid his own stipend; which yet since it was won to the Crown no Deputy hath so well husbanded. Also for the more certainty of her Majesty's service there, and upon all sudden causes, he requireth that the 20,000*l.* by year may be appointed and levied of her Majesty's revenues in Wales, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and those parts of this realm next the coast of Ireland; whereby her Highness shall also save all the charges and allowances of the carriage by the officers and attenders for the conveyance of it here at her Highness' Mint or Treasury so far from the sea side, which in the year amounteth to very much; and the long way and staying here for the dispatch of it great hindrance to the sudden occasions of the service there.

"Also he is very willing, and holds it necessary, for sundry respects, for the Earl of Essex and the country, since her Majesty will not make him [Essex] Governor of the whole country, that her Highness should give him the name of Lord Marshal there, for the better proceeding and performing of his honorable attempt he hath taken so great pains in, and wherein there is good hope and likelihood to come to very good effect if he were diligently backed and assisted by the Deputy [Sir William FitzWilliam], without the which it will be found a hard enterprise to bring to any good pass, notwithstanding the good and noble meaning of the said Earl, which no doubt of, is very well to be liked of, and may prove greatly to the country's avail with the considerations before said.

"His last petition is, that it may please her Majesty, as well in respect of his service already done there as for the better advancing the same by him to come hereafter, to bestow upon him the name or title of a viscount there, as of the town of Ross, or such like as shall touch no higher dignity, and with such a portion of land thereunto as shall seem good to her Majesty, answerable to the honour of the name, and only out of that he won to her Highness, himself paying the rent; the danger of the country and chargeable keeping and defending of it [he] is to bear. These things considered of, he is at all times and hours ready when it shall please her Majesty to call him; otherwise the discouragement will be great to him, which I beseech you, my dear Lord, to be mindful of."

*Copy. P. 1. Endorsed: The note for Ireland of Sir H. S.*

[1575?]

Vol. 616, p. 120.

## 7. "REASON of the DECAY of IRELAND, with the remedy thereof.

"First, it is to be considered that the not leaving of some soldiers in places needful within the realm of Ireland hath been and is the only decay of all good towns and places of importance within the same; for the soldiers are wholly called away when the necessity of service doth elsewhere require them, whereby the Irish (finding opportunity) do more hurt in one month by burning and spoiling than is commonly re-edified in seven years following, as may appear by the decayed town of Athenry, within the county of Galway and province of Connaught, which, being well walled, and containing in compass one mile and more, hath lien waste and not inhabited by the space of five years already past.

"For remedy whereof, and for the better advancement of the Queen's service within the same country, it may please her Majesty to grant that a garrison of 100 horsemen and 200 footmen may continually be resident at places most convenient within the said province of Connaught, a place most chiefly to be regarded (next unto the English Pale), for that the same is in some parts very well inhabited, and therefore more easier to be brought under her Majesty's obedience, and then will greatly help with the English Pale for the bridling of Munster and Ulster from rebellion.

"Also it will, with her Majesty's good furtherance, be brought to pass that the country shall yield so much yearly rent as will suffice to maintain the greatest part of the garrison aforesaid. For whereas at this present her Majesty doth not reap any rent at all out of the county of Galway, except only of the town of Galway, I will undertake to yield unto her Majesty for the same presently 1,000*l.* by year, and after five years ended 2,000 marks by year, if it will please her Majesty to grant me the office of seneschal of the said county of Galway, the benefit of the impost of the town of Galway, and the conducting of the footmen aforesaid. So as commission and authority be granted from her Majesty to the governors and others for the composition to be made in this behalf; and so as the lords and gentlemen may be discharged from further taxation, assessment, charges, or imposition to be made in this behalf by any other governor there that hereafter for the time shall be.

"The town of Rossecomen is the meetest place for the garrison of horsemen, and the decayed town of Athenry for the footmen, for thereby the people will be greatly encouraged to endeavour themselves to inhabit, build up, and re-edify the same town, to the better advancement of her Majesty's service, and safeguard of their own goods and chattels within the same.

"The whole garrison of horsemen and footmen are to be employed from time to time by the discretion of the governor

for the time being, so as there be always left in every town to the number of 40, 30, or 20 soldiers, as need shall require, for the better security of the same towns.

“There are within the province aforesaid four other counties, and in them 33 baronies.”

*P. 1. Undated.\* Endorsed: Mr. Nicholas Malbie's device.*

[1577.]

[Feb. ?].

Vol. 619, p. 107.

8. THE CESS.

Barnabe Scurlooke, Richard Nettetvile, and Henry Burnell, chosen by the subjects of the English Pale, petition in their behalf for the redress of such abuses as the realm is greatly decayed and impoverished by. The particulars of a great part thereof have been delivered to the Governor and Council of Ireland, but no redress has ensued thereupon.

*P. 1. Encl. : Skurlock, Nettetvile, and Burnell, their supplications touching the sesse.*

[1579?].

Vol. 616, p. 82.

9. “A PLOTT for IRELAND, touching the Reformation of that Realm.

“Whereas it pleased your Majesty to ask me my opinion touching the reformation of the present broken estate of your Highness's realm of Ireland, and willed me to set down the same in writing to you; it may please your Highness to be informed that this is that which, under your Highness's reformation, I take to be convenient therein, viz.,—First. I would not have your Majesty to be at a penny cost therein, for your cost hath been infinite already. Item, I would not that any of your subjects of Ireland should be at any charge hereof, because indeed they are so poor already that they are not able to bear it. Item, I would have the charge borne by the subjects of England, and yet so as that I think none of your good subjects will think themselves grieved with it; and that in this sort: I would have every parish in England to allow your Majesty for this purpose, one with another of them, one soldier, furniture, victuals, and wages, for seven years; or else the great parishes to find one; the little parishes, two or three or four of them, to find one. The cost will be 4*l.* or 5*l.* for setting forth every soldier, and 20 marks by year for his finding. This, I think, will not be grudged at, if the people may be assured it shall be for Ireland. My meaning is not (though I set down a soldier to be taken out of every parish) to have indeed a soldier from every parish, but either a soldier, or the charge of setting forth and finding of a soldier in manner as before. And then to take soldiers, as many as shall be requisite for defence of labourers and workmen; the rest to be taken, labourers and workmen, as many as shall be thought

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\* See No. 8. in Vol. II., dated April 1575. This document probably belongs to that period.

[1579?]

fit; and the rest in money to maintain those. With these soldiers, labourers, and money, I would think good so many fortifications upon the coast and within land should be begun as that in the said seven years all Ireland over, in all fit places, might be fortified. So by fortification shall the whole country be in quiet subjection, and that quiet bring profit enough to maintain ever after the garrisons in those fortifications, with a great overplus of revenue to your Majesty."

*P. 1., in Sir Nicholas Malbie's hand. No date.\* Endorsed.*

[1580.]

## 10. [INSTRUCTIONS touching LORD JUSTICE PELHAM.]

Vol. 619, p. 102.

"Certain private Instructions touching the Irish causes, to be moved to her Majesty."

"That it would please her Highness to send over with speed some nobleman to take the place of government there, and to discharge the Lord Justice that now is,† who earnestly desireth rather to be employed in the meanest place her Majesty shall appoint."

That if she continue his Lordship there, she would set down such instructions as he may best follow.

To take some order with speed for the fortifying of all the port towns, and to plant garrisons.

"To fortify such places in the north parts of Ireland as shall be found most fit to forbid the landing and succours of Scots repairing to the aid of Turlagh Leynogh.

"That if her Majesty will proceed to reform those rebellious factions by the sword (the same being the very course and mean to establish a perfect quiet, and in short time to increase her revenues there,) then the manner and charges to be set down how to accomplish the same.

"It is holden requisite in policy, having regard to the manifest rebellions now offered against her Majesty by Desmond and others, to prosecute them and theirs with fire and sword, and to bestow their lands and estates upon some noblemen of England, who may plant and inhabit the same by their sons, kindred, or friends; and, being defended by her Majesty for three years only, they shall be able afterwards both to defend themselves and yield . . . such rate of yearly revenue as shall be thought convenient, according to the goodness of the lands.

"The Lord Justice doubteth not to devise such an order as her Majesty in time shall keep 4,000 soldiers in garrison without her charges, besides the increasing of her Majesty's

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\* The preceding document in MS. 616. is dated April 1575, and endorsed "Mr. Malthye's," by Lord Burghley. Another "plat" of Malbie's is noticed on p. 483. in the second volume of this Calendar; it is dated 26 Sept. 1579. Judging from the handwriting, this document would appear to belong to the latter date.

† Sir William Pelham.

[1580.]

revenues yearly to the value of 10,000*l.* towards other occasions.

“To assure her Majesty of the Lord Justice’s fidelity and care to perform all things uprightly that she shall commit to his trust and charge. . .

“That there may be an oath administered to the captains, as well for their loyalties to her Majesty and her service, as to give a true certificate monthly of such soldiers as shall be killed or die within their charge.

“To solicit earnestly the speedy return of the Lord Chancellor,† whose great experience and skill in those affairs cannot without prejudice be long spared; and that her Majesty may take due consideration of his Lordship for his great pains and travails taken in those actions.

“To solicit her Majesty to stand so gracious to my Lord Justice and his posterity as his account for his office in the Tower may be passed, which cannot be done without redelivering of his books now restrained.

“To make known to her Majesty the refusal of the Master of the Ordnance to follow the Lord Justice in this last journey according to his Lordship’s direction, and as the duty of his place required.

“That money for the maintenance of her Majesty’s wars and services there may be sent from time to time in due season.

“That it would please her . . . not to pass away any grant, donation, or office of the possessions of the Earl of Desmond without communicating the same before with the Lord Justice.”

*Pp.* 3. *Endl.*: Private instructions for the affairs of Ireland.†

1582.

Aug. 29.

Vol. 505, p. 191.

## 11. The MANOR OF CATHERLOGHE.

“Queen Elizabeth demised and granted, etc. unto Robert Harpoole the manor of Catherloghe, with the appurtenances, viz., the castle &c., the fishing of the water of Barrowe, the demesne lands of the said manor, with the appurtenances, viz., three acres of arable land of great measure in the field of Barneglasse on the other side of the water of the Barrowe,” and other lands in Ardeconerim, Rathmore, Coranmore, Farranloghe, Heloighe, Moneskeill, Skeamraghe, Rathvill, Corranbegge, Burloe, Knockaneeragh, the Earl’s Meadow, one watermill there, 22 messuages, 31 cottages, and 84 acres arable land of great measure in the town of Catherloghe, and the customs of the tenants of the same, land in Matlestowne, four cottages and land in Dowganstowne, lands in Ballanrath, Abate, and Killenure, the customs of the town[s] of Dowganstowne, Painstowne, Johnstowne, and Pollardstowne, and the perquisites of the courts of the said manor, for the term

\* Sir William Gerrard.

† Probably drawn up by Pelham himself for some one whom he was sending over to England.

1582.

of 21 years, paying 23*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* yearly of current money of Ireland.

Dated 29 August, 24 Eliz.

#### II. LEIGHLIN BRIDGE.

"A lease was passed to Sir Peter Carew the younger of the monastery of Leighlin Bridge, in the county of Catherloghe, commonly called the Friars Carmelites of Leighlin Bridge, &c., for the term of 21 years, yielding and paying yearly unto her Majesty for the same 46*s.* 8*d.* current money of Ireland."

Dated 18 August, 18 Eliz.

*Pp.* 2, with headings by Sir G. Carew.

1583.

Dec.

Vol. 600, p. 34.

#### 12. PERROT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

"Instructions given by her Majesty to Sir John Perrot, Knight, sent Deputy into Ireland in December 1583.

"1. You shall immediately upon your arrival in that realm assemble our Council there, and confer with them what course of government (upon due consideration had of the present state of the said realm) may be held, so that justice may take place, our charges be lessened, our revenues increased, and our subjects there not oppressed.

"2. You shall also consider what forces are meet to be continued in pay, and how the rest chargeable to us and burthenous to the country may be discharged; and also how the horsemen and footmen serving there may be reduced to their old pay, which by reason of the general rebellion in that realm (the countries being wasted) we were driven to increase, and therefore see no reason but the bands residing in those countries that are not wasted may live well enough of \* the old pay, especially being victualled by us. And for the ease and diminishing of our charges in that behalf we do think it meet that you should treat with those countries as well in Munster as elsewhere in that realm, to see if you can draw them with good contentment to contribute somewhat towards the finding of our said garrisons, as Carbery heretofore hath done.

"3. And for that our subjects in that realm have been very grievously oppressed by the outrages and insolences committed by certain ill affected of our garrisons serving there, which hath been partly a cause of the alienation of the goodwill which they before bare unto us, we cannot (as a principal matter wherein we look to have redress) but give you an especial charge to see that our garrison[s] serving there be kept in better discipline than heretofore they have been; and that the bands may be kept complete and full, as they ought to be; and that such abuses as have been heretofore committed by such captains as have had heretofore more regard to their

\* i. e. "on."



1583.

particular profit than to the discharge of their duties may be met withall, and the parties offending severely punished.

“4. And whereas we are given to understand that the greater part of our province of Munster lieth waste, and is for the most part unpeopled, we do now think meet that you should consult with the rest of our Council there how the same may be peopled and inhabited as heretofore it hath been, as also to consider how the attainted lands, as well within the said province as within the Pale and other places within that our realm, may be let out to our profit, and yet in such sort as the farmers thereof may live and maintain themselves, by easy rents, at the first for five or seven years, and afterwards to be increased. But before any estates be made we think it meet that the same be surveyed by such special commissioners as we do now send over into that realm; and that you, with the advice of our Council there, should set down your opinion what estates are fit to be made of the said lands, with necessary reservations of rents and services. And after we shall have seen the said surveys, together with your opinion in what sort you shall think meet the same should be let out, we will then presently send over ample commission for the doing thereof. And to the end that men may be drawn the more willingly to inhabit there, and to become our tenants and farmers, for the avoiding of all scruples of covenants, grants, and other fraudulent conveyances, we think meet that a Parliament should be held in that realm at such time as by you and our Council shall be thought fittest, as well for the attainure of the late rebels in that realm, as for the assurance of their lands unto us, and also for the dissolving of fraudulent grants, and qualifying the statute of *Usus* as may in any point concern, &c.

“[5.] And whereas certain lands of ours lying within the Pale, that heretofore have been charged with reservation of port corn, which hath been many times ordained to serve for the better victualling of our garrisons, have been, contrary to our mind, leased out without any reservation of corn, we think meet that there should be some provision made in the next Parliament that such as do now hold the said lands should, during the time of their leases, pay a third part of corn, and after the expiration of their leases to be ordered to pay the whole proportion of corn heretofore reserved, or, at the least, three parts in corn and a fourth in money; and so to be ordered in Parliament that no lease otherwise made shall be of force, notwithstanding any clause of dispensation.

“6. And whereas we have been informed that some of the noblemen and gentlemen inhabitants in Munster have served us most dutifully in the late troubles, with the hazard of their lives and the loss of their goods and children, whom we think meet for their better encouragement to be rewarded with some portion of the attainted lands there; you shall therefore inform yourself both of what quality and desert they be that are fit to be regarded, as also what portion of the said lands

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you, with the advice of our Council, shall think meet to be bestowed upon them, and with what conditions and reservations of rents and services; wherein we think meet some regard should be had that our regard in that behalf should be bestowed rather upon the younger sons of such noblemen as shall be thought fit to be rewarded than upon themselves, thereby to make the more families and number of able men to serve us.

“7. We think it meet also that such as have served in that realm, whereof many are now suitors here unto us for recompence of service, and many also (as we think) remain there, and they which are here are by our Council referred to your consideration, to be rewarded with some part of the said attainted lands, being most fit in respect of their experience in martial affairs to be placed and to reside there; and therefore do think meet that you should certify us, after a survey taken of the said lands, what portion shall be thought fit to be bestowed upon every of them, with a note of the several values, and the conditions meet to be annexed to the same.

“8. And whereas there hath been an increase of pensioners in respect of services done during the time of the late troubles there, of which we think meet divers to be discharged, according to such direction as you shall receive from our Council here, you shall also, in recompence of their said service, with the advice of our Council there, appoint unto them some part of the rebels' lands, certifying us, as before is mentioned, both the value, and the conditions how the same is to be let.

“9. In the distribution of the said lands, we find it very necessary that an especial care be had that no greater portion be bestowed upon any one man than he shall be able to furnish with people and inhabitants, especially with such as may employ the same to tillage, as the ground shall be meet.

“10. And whereas, in the instructions given to such our Deputies as have served in that realm, there are divers points contained in the same tending to the good government of that realm, our will and pleasure is, that the same shall be revisited by you and our Council there in your open assemblies, and all that therein is necessary to be duly put in execution, so far as is not repugnant to these our present instructions. And as for other matters concerning that realm, meet to be considered of, we refer you to such further directions as you shall from our Council here be advertised of.

“[11.] And whereas both in and since the time of the late rebellion, begun by James FitzMorris, and continued by Desmond, many of our subjects in that realm, being tenants unto us in divers parcels of our own lands, and alleging that the same lands by reason of the rebellion being wasted, they are grown behind hand with their rents due to us, and so their estates for nonpayment in danger of forfeiture, and for these causes have been suitors here as well that no advantage of forfeiture for the nonpayment might be taken against them,

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as also for a remission of their arrearages due unto us ; we have thought meet to refer our said subjects and their eases to the consideration of you and the rest of our Council in that realm. And for the avoiding the danger of forfeiture they stand in of their several estates in respect of their several disabilities to make payment by reason of the said wastes, we have therefore thought it meet, and do authorize you accordingly, to renew unto them their several estates for so many years only as are unexpired in every of them, and for such rents as now they pay ; covenanting with them, and also with their several tenures, or [any] that shall hereafter renew any lease or other estate, that the fourth part at the least be answered in beeves, or in wheat, malt, and oats, at the discretion of our Deputy and Council ; if in beef, at 9s. sterling the beef, according to the rates answerable by virtue of our prerogative ; and if in any or every of the several kind of grain before specified, at such rates as to our best advantage is answered for any port corn reserved upon other leases in our English Pale or elsewhere in that our realm ; of which reservations (the Deputy being furnished of a convenient proportion) our pleasure is, that the remain shall be sold and employed to our most profit. And for the remittal of their arrearages, that first by all the best means you can, which we think may be either by some trusty and special commissioners to be by you, with the advice of our Council there, chosen in every country, and dwelling near the said lands in our said subjects' occupation, or by any other way, as by you and them shall be thought good, inquiry be made not only whether the suggestions of the said wastes be truly made or no, but also of the goodness of every of their farms ; for it may be, that in some the suggestion is either altogether or in part untrue (some part of the farms held of us lying in such places, where the same hath not been touched in all the time of the rebellion), or that their farms be of such goodness and easy rents as, notwithstanding some wastes by those troubles, yet the same are so beneficial to them otherwise as there may be no great cause of such remittal of arrearages as is desired. And as by the said commissioners you shall be certified not only of the truth of the suggestion of wastes but also of the quantity, goodness, and easy rents of the several lands held by our said tenants, so you and our Council there to deal with them accordingly by remittal of the whole or part of the arrearages, or else by such a toleration and instalment of the same as to you and our said Council in your discretions shall be thought good.

“ 12. Whereas sundry parcels of our lands and other commodities which in former times were thought meet to be reserved for the better maintenance of the state of our Governor there, or that did belong in that respect to any of our houses or castles of Dublin, Killmainham, Athlon, Catherlaght, Laughlin, and Mounster-Even, or that do lie to be commodiously annexed to any of the said castles or houses, or

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any other our castles, forts, houses, or places meet to establish a president or other kind of governor upon, within that our realm, have been granted away in fee tail, fee farm, or by lease for years, partly by warrant from us upon some surmise, and partly by affection and favour of our governors; forasmuch as it is very meet that the abuse in this behalf should be reformed, and that these things should return again, and remain to the use for the which they were first ordained, for the better countenance of our governors, and for the easing of our good subjects of some part of the burthen that for the supply of those wants they are to bear by virtue of our prerogative; we have thought meet and do authorize you, by the advice of our Council there, to enter into the consideration of the premises, and either by Act of Parliament or by forfeiture or otherwise, as shall seem most convenient to you, to resume\* into our hands those lands and other commodities, upon some reasonable composition to be made with the parties in whose tenures they are, in such sort as the said parties may have no just cause to find themselves aggrieved. And the same so resumed, together with any other lands and commodities that shall be commodiously to be annexed as aforesaid, we [will] and authorize you to cause to be by Act of Parliament for ever inseparably annexed to and tied to our said castles, houses, forts, or other places meet for the establishing of a president or other like kind of governor, reserving to us, our heirs and successors, upon such lands as are already surveyed, such rent as the same shall be surveyed at.

“13. And further, if any parts of the attainted lands in Mounster or Connaught shall, upon the survey and distribution of the same, be found to lie fit and commodious for this purpose, we will and authorize you in like sort to cause some convenient portion of the same to be taken into our hands as before, and so inseparably to be annexed to the said presidentship or other kind of government.

“14. And for all the timber woods that do grow upon the said attainted lands or any other our lands commodiously near any river having portable recourse to the seas, our will is that the same be carefully reserved and preserved for the maintenance of our navy and for our other buildings.

“15. That † such as have functions, charges, and governments, ecclesiastical or temporal, within that our realm of Ireland, be ordinarily and for the most part commorant and resiant, not allowing any man of that quality to remain in England or elsewhere from his function and charge or government above two months every year, unless it be that for or by occasion of our necessary service he be otherwise commanded by us or our Council, or sent or appointed by you.

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† “reserve” in MS.

\* “For” in MS.

1583.

And if any such be, that you proceed to the displacing of them, or making stay of their livings, both by due course of law and also by your discretion.

“ 16. Where sundry differing reports have been uncertainly made to us and our Council of the late and present estate of that our realm, our express will and pleasure is, that shortly after you shall have entered into that charge you do assemble our grand and particular Council there, as shall seem unto you most convenient; and by their advices and knowledges to enter into consideration what outrages have been committed since the 25th of March 1583, and how the same have been redressed \* and corrected; who they be of the greater quality in every province of that realm that have and do remain assured and loyal to us, and who on the other side do stand apparently or doubtfully upon terms of disloyalty; with all other matters meet to be considered of; and the same under your and our Council's hands to certify to us truly and simply, to the end that we may be well assured in that behalf of the state of our realm, and particularly of the several provinces; that we, knowing in what part[s] that our realm is either sick or sound, we may accordingly give order for the applying of fit remedies.

“ 17. Where, besides the lands and revenues of the late traitor Desmond and other his adherents, there be escheated to us divers other profits and commodities not to be neglected, as the spending of the country, and such like, that were wont to be more beneficial unto them than the revenues of their lands; our will and pleasure is, that, together with the survey of the attainted lands, ye give order to survey and make estimate as well of the premises as also of all other profits taken, to the end that we, knowing the same and the value thereof, if it may lawfully be converted in policy of good government to our use, or else otherwise to take some reasonable rent or composition in lieu of the same; or if it shall be good to be utterly relinquished, that yet our good subjects may know the care we have of them, the happy condition of their estate under us, and the easiness of the yoke of our obedience.

“ 18. Moreover, whereas we do well understand that there have been heretofore sundry persons employed in that our kingdom in commissions, sometimes about causes not greatly necessary, and yet with so great and large allowance as hath been burdensome unto us; our pleasure therefore is, that you our Deputy shall hereafter have special care that there may be no such unnecessary employments of any persons, and when any necessarily must be used, then that such allowance be made to the persons employed as shall be thought convenient; wherein we would not have you follow precedents of former

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\* “ addressed ” in MS

1583.

times, in the which there hath not been that regard to our profit that was requisite.

“19. Also, where we find the allowance for the government of Connaught set down in the former establishment sent over to Sir William Drury, late Justice of that our realm, to be over large, our pleasure is, to have the same abated and reduced to a more reasonable charge, according to a new establishment in this behalf to be now set down by our Privy Council here and delivered unto you. And in respect of the good opinion we have received of our servant Richard Bingham, our pleasure is, he shall supply the place of chief commissioner of the said province of Connaught, and have such allowance for that place as shall be contained in the said new establishment.

“20. And for that we think it also very necessary to have a president in Munster to have the supreme charge of that province under you, we have made choice of our servant John Norris, Esq., whom our pleasure is, in the time of your being in the said province, that you place him in the said office of president. For the exercise thereof we are content to yield him such entertainment and allowance as you yourself had at the time you held the place.

“21. Furthermore, divers of our Council in that realm being of late years some dead, others growing through years and weakness of body not so apt to take pains as they have been, to supply these wants, and for your better assistance, we have thought good to have called to be of our Council in that realm these persons following:—Th. Jones, Bishop of Meath, John Norris, our president of Munster, Richard Bingham, our chief commissioner of Connaught, and Th. Le Strange, Esq.; and therefore do will and command you to call all these persons before you to be admitted of our said Council, and to have the oath in that behalf used ministered to every of them.

“22. And whereas now the primacy of Armagh is void, that place being in title and dignity one of the chiefest amongst our clergy of that realm, we think it convenient that the same be [not] overlong vacant; and therefore, to the end it may be [filled] with a person for learning and other good parts able to discharge the duties that [are] required, we do not name any one particularly unto you, but refer the choice of such a one to yourself, the Bishop of Dublin, and the rest of our Council, not doubting but you will agree upon the fittest person in every respect; and whom you shall so agree upon, you our Deputy shall further give order for the delivery of all writings and other necessaries unto him for the installing of him in that primacy. And in so doing this article of our instructions shall be, as well to you as to any other officer of that realm, sufficient warrant.

“23. Lastly. For that the sums of treasure which are often sent over in[to] that kingdom are great, and no perfect knowledge here of the employments of the same there until some accompt be taken of our Treasurer at Wars; our plea-

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sure is, that from henceforth, after your arrival there, and taking the general government of that realm upon you, you do take order that quarterly a view be had, as well of the sums of money that go from hence, as also of the ordinary revenue and casualties of that realm, and how the same be there expended, either ordinarily or extraordinarily, and accordingly as you shall find quarterly, so certificate to be made to our Council here."

*Copy. Pp. 11. Endorsed: 1583, in December, etc.*

1584.

Oct.

Vol. 601, p. 242.

13. PETITION of JAMES FITZTHOMAS of DESMOND to LORD DEPUTY PERROT.

"That whereas his grandfather, James Earl of Desmond, had lawfully, in the face of the Church, espoused Johan Roche, daughter to the Lord Roche, Viscount of Fermoy, by whom he had issue Sir Thomas of Desmond, knight, father to your said suppliant. And whereas also the said Earl during the life of his said lady presented to Sir Anthony Sentleger, then Lord Deputy, the said Sir Thomas as his son and heir, and as his best and most lawful pledge for his loyalty towards . . . King Henry VIII., at whose charges he was brought up in England the space of five years. Nevertheless the said Earl, using the policy or rather ungodly custom too much used in Ireland, did, for the better strength and maintenance against his enemies, take a second wife, the first living; which second was daughter to Occarwill, a mere Irishman, and of the most bloody and vile race of Ireland, by whom he had issue Geratt, the now rebel, usurping the name of Earl, and his undutiful brother John; which name and title he held to him from the said Sir Thomas by strength and countenance of his friends, contrary to all equity in that behalf. In tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as your petitioner's father and himself have dutifully served the Queen . . . all their lives, not only without spot of their fidelity, but with many good services at their own charges, not putting her Highness to any expenses, to their great losses sustained by the traitors of five thousand pounds, as well in the Earl's former rebellion committed by James FitzMorish, wherein the said Sir Thomas had the charge and credit of his rightful inheritance of the Geraldines from all her Majesty's governors in Mounster, and have put the said James sundry times to flight, and killed divers and many of his men, and constrained the whole country to obey her Highness; and now, in this most perilous time; wherein they refer themselves to the report of Sir Henry Sidney, Sir John Perrott, and Sir William FitzWilliam, and to all the rest for their time being that hath been her Majesty's governors there; he most humbly beseecheth your Honour, for the advancement of justice and furtherance and short finishing of her Majesty's service, being the next way to overthrow the arch-rebel, to restore his father to his right and lawful inheri-

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tance and patrimony, not doubting but that, with her Majesty's countenance, and some small assistance, his said father and he shall not only withdraw the forces of the said pretended Earl, but also, by the help of their kinsmen and friends, do their uttermost endeavour shortly [to] bring him to confusion and foul end. And both his father and he shall perpetually pray."

*Copy. Pp. 2. Headed: James FitzThomas his petition to Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in October 1584.*

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June.

Vol. 600, p. 31.

14. SORLIE MCCONNELL'S SUBMISSION.

"Most honourable Governor,—It is and may be truly said there is no unhappiness comparable to his, that may say he hath been once in good estate, and is fallen from it through his own folly. Amongst many others in that case, I may and do reckon myself for none of the least. For being a man born out of this realm, and gotten large possessions in the same, whereupon I lived, though I might claim none by inheritance, I have very considerably presumed to think I might as well hold it as I got it by strong hand. Carried on with this imagination, as one ignorant of her Majesty's might and force (and withall ill persuaded by others), I unhappily refused to come unto your Lordship, as the rest of Ulster did, almost now two years past, thinking it might suffice for me, upon your Lordship's repair into those parts, to write a letter of some kind of observance unto you, with an offer after a sort to come myself also, upon such capitulations, as now, to my smart, I find were unmeet for me to make. But your Lordship having no mind, as it hath well appeared, to make advantage of my rash oversight, vouchsafed to license the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Edward More to send unto me such gracious conditions as I grieve to think that I refused them, and wish the unadvised letters I writ to your Lordship, the haughty words I uttered, and the indiscreet demands I then made (to have men of far better sort than myself to lie in pledge for me), were buried up in forgetfulness. I condemn my folly in leaving such men in the castle of Dunluce, within this her Highness' land, as I should say they kept it in the name and to the use of the King of Scots, a prince that honoureth her Majesty and embraceth her favour. I sorrow for my perseverance in that purpose, whereby I have justly drawn her Majesty's force and whet her Highness' sword against me, which hath slain my son and most of my people, spoiled me of my goods, and left me with a few distressed, being no way able to stand against her Majesty's force. Wherefore I do prostrate myself at the feet of her Majesty's clemency, submitting myself wholly thereunto, and most humbly praying to be restored only thereby through her noble favour, that is accustomed as well to pity the humble as to suppress the proud and obstinate. And I do most faithfully promise to depend for ever upon her Majesty's gracious goodness, accord-



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ing to such conditions as it shall please your most honourable Lordship to afford me, on the behalf of her Highness, whom I pray God long to preserve. Amen.

"Your most humble suppliant, Sorle McConnell."

*Countersigned*: Fra. Stafforde, Willm. Warren.

*Dated at the beginning*, "June 1586."

*Copy. Pp. 2. Endorsed by Carew.*

Sept. 14.

**15. SIR GEORGE CAREW to MR. HARVYE.**

Vol. 618, p. 36a.

"My good Uncle,—Your letters by my cousin George I have received. The man that is stayed by you, my cousin Wyngfilde can tell whether it is the Baron that I mean or no. I desired him to discourse unto you all his demeanours whilst he was in England. His practices were to no other end than to do some mischief to her Majesty. Many devices he had to insinuate himself into the Queen's favour, but she was far from the believing of any word he spake. The reasons that moved me to give his Excellency [the Earl of Leicester] warning of him, I have by my letters discoursed at large unto him; but what is not written, let my cousin Wyngfilde report, who, if he do not forget, is sufficiently instructed. My suit unto his Excellency, which I beseech you to obtain for me, is not to make me the author of that which I have written, although, as I think, no offence can grow of it; yet I would be loth to hew chips above my head, and to be called to accompt for too much meddling. If I may do his Excellency any service in [the] place where he is, or here in England, I pray you to assure him how much I am at his commandment.

"Good uncle, if your wealth will permit you, I pray [you] to buy me those targets and armour I wrote unto you for, to beautify my little armoury."

London, 14 September 1586.

*Copy. P. 1.*

Sept. 14.

**16. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the EARL OF LEICESTER.**

Vol. 618, p. 36a.

"I have received the letter you sent me by my cousin Nicholas George, humbly beseeching your pardon for not writing to you of this matter ere this time; whereof I hope your Excellency will hold me excused, since by my letters unto my uncle Harvy I have not omitted anything wherein I may do you service.

"The man that your Excellency hath stayed (if he be the man I mean) is well known unto a kinsman of mine who is lately arrived at your Excellency's camp; he is called Edw. Ma. Wingfilde; who saw him many times in my company in England. I desired him to deliver unto my uncle Harvy his knowledge both of the man and the matter, with both the

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which I did sufficiently instruct him before his departure. The reason I had to warn your Excellency of him, and how he demeaned himself while I held him company, I will briefly discourse unto you.

“At my being in Ireland at Easter last he came out of Bayonne in France, being bound for England. By the way upon the seas a man of Mr. Norris took him and held him prisoner. He pretended that he left his country to do her Majesty service, whereof she being advertised, willed the Lord Deputy immediately to send him over well accompanied, because he reported himself to be a baron, by the name of Anthony Baron de la Fage; who committed him unto me to conduct unto the Court.

“The services that he pretended were many, and made goodly shews. Amongst the rest some in part concerned your Excellency, which my cousin Wing[filde] can report unto you; of whom I most humbly pray you to demand it, because I think it most fit to be delivered unto you by his mouth than my pen, although both that and all the other services which he disclosed were but mere fictions and untruths invented by him to insinuate himself into the Queen’s favour, to find some fit opportunity to do violence to her person.

“When her Majesty had heard him at large, she commanded me to thank him for his intelligences of the practices which the King of Spain did intend against her, but with all that she was far from the believing of any of those devices which he had discovered unto her. He, finding his services rejected, fell into melancholies and great rages, because the Queen partly by her own mistrust checking him with many rebukes, and partly with Mr. Secretary’s \* opinion, who altogether misliked his demeanour, together with my reports, which were found truth, in his speech, refused to speak with him any more.

“In conclusion, I discovered him to be no baron, and that his name was, as he said, Anthony de la Motte; and the cause why that he had changed his name was, because that he was the principal man that did assault about seven years past the Marshal Daumone in Paris, being in his coach, where he killed a gentleman that sat by him, and shot the Marshal through the arm with a pistol; for the which fact he fled his country, and took upon him in his travels in eastern countries the name of Baron de la Fage, living only by abusing the kings of those parts, as of Poland, Denmark, Sweden, the Muscovites, and divers others. And also he confessed unto me that he was allured in Spain with great sums of money to do violence unto her Majesty’s person, which he could not attain unto to execute but by pretending to do her some especial service. All this I discovered unto

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\* Walsingham.

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her Majesty, with a confession under his own hand; who, notwithstanding, in respect he was a stranger, gave him leave under her passport to depart.

“The cause that moved me to wish your Excellency to take good regard unto him is, lest he may be corrupted to do some villainous enterprise upon your person, being an apt man to such a purpose, as you may judge. By his name you shall never know him, for in every good town he gets a new one. His qualities are very pleasing. Well languaged, he hath a fine subtil wit, good speech, and professeth religion, but his personage is just as I described him in my uncle’s letters.

“If the man that your Excellency hath taken be the Baron de la Fage, my cousin Wingfilde doth know him; unto whom I both refer that, and that which concerneth yourself which he devised, to insinuate himself into the Queen’s favour. Because your Excellency, as it should seem, hath not heard of this man or matter heretofore, I most humbly beseech you not to make me the first author, although I know that the Queen did say long since that she would write unto you of it, which without doubt she would have done, if she had believed the party, or else if she had not been lately touched with matters that touch her more near the quick; I mean those unnatural treasons of the Papists. If any way in the world I may do your Excellency any service either here, or where you be, or else wheresoever it shall please you to command me, you shall find me most ready (as I am bounden) to be employed at your pleasure.”

London, 14 September 1586.

P.S.—“At his departure he told me that he would immediately repair to the Prince of Parma’s camp, as he said, to do his Majesty service. Therefore he is the more to be doubted, being so near unto your Excellency.”

*Copy. Pp. 2.*

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**17.** The LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM) to SIR G. CAREW.

June 12.  
Vol. 618, p. 39.

“My good knight and cousin,—I am sorry I have made you and good Sir Edward Waterhouse to stay so long at Chester, but it was not my will, for it pleased God to lay upon me six fits of a tertian fever, which I have been now free from ten days, though not without many hard parts at fits, which grow, as I fear, upon some remain and dregs of that humour which bred my fever. I trust to be with you at the uttermost by the 20th of this month, and, God giving wind, then not to lose it, and to embark at Hilbree.”

[Dublin?] 12 June 1588.

*Copy. 8 lines.*

Sept. 29.

**18.** The LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM) to SIR G. CAREW.

Vol. 618, p. 39.

“I have received your letter, and according to the contents thereof have written my letters enclosed to Mr. Vice-President

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(Thomas Norris), who I doubt not will see you furnished with anything that shall be necessary for the practice you have in hand. Wishing such success therein as may turn to her Majesty's profit, wherein I assure myself there shall be no want of industry in you."

[Dublin ?] 29 September 1588.

*Copy. 6 lines.*

Oct. 24.

Vol. 618, p. 39.

19. The LORD DEPUTY (FITZWILLIAM) to SIR G. CAREW.

"My good knight and cousin,—I have received your letter by Mr. Harvye, desiring me to bestow the sheriffwick of the county of Cork for the year upon your cousin Moyle, who, as well for your sake as for the good report you give him, shall neither in this want my good will nor in anything else I can do for him; who, albeit being here her Majesty's Deputy-General, have authority absolute to dispose thereof, yet being loth—having resolved upon it is as a course which I intend to hold with all men—to intermeddle with places of that reckoning and moment for the execution of justice and civil government without the good liking of the several provincials, I could wish you to deal with the Vice-President therein, to whom if you shall but signify that before your departure hence you moved me for the place, and found me willing for myself to grant it so as he were first acquainted with the matter and his favour obtained, I know you shall have him as forward to pleasure you as myself, whom you shall find most ready and assured to do you good."

[Dublin ?] 24 October 1588.

*Copy. 13 lines.*

[1593.]

Vol. 617, p. 22.

20. The REVENUE.

"A brief declaration of her Majesty's Revenues, with the casual profits, estimatively for one year, with such defalcations, fees, and other payments as are payable out of the same, viz.:—

"Rents and revenues.—Ancient revenues, 8,081*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; Shilelagh, &c., 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Barkley, 85*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*; lands belonging to divers religions in England, 538*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; old attainted lands, 1,166*l.* 13*s.* 0½*d.*; the lands of the O'Moores and Connors, 473*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; lands belonging to St. John Jerusalem in Ireland, 776*l.* 7*s.* 4¼*d.*; lands belonging to the monastery of Thomas Town, 551*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.*; St. Mary Abbey by Dublin, 329*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; monasteries and other religious houses in Ireland, 4,716*l.* 5*s.*; lands surrendered by divers of the Irishry, 388*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; bonnaught money, 234*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; tribute money, 25*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; fee farm or escheated lands, 53*s.*; proxies, 61*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*; wards' lands, 204*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; attainted lands in Monohan newly evicted, 759*l.* 16*s.* [Total,] 9,211*l.* 2*s.* ¾*d.*

[1593.]

“Composition rents.—Composition of the English Pale, with 189*l.* ster. for the county of Tipperarie, 2,100*l.* ster. fac. Ir. 2,800*l.*; composition of the province of Connaught and Thomond, 3,864*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; composition of the province of Mounster, over and besides 189*l.* ster. before charged for the county of Tipperarie, 1,402*l.* 4*s.* 2½*d.*, notwithstanding certified by the Auditor to be but 1,076*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.* [Total,] 8,066*l.* 12*s.* 0½*d.*

“Rents in Mounster yearly increased.—The late attained lands in the province of Munster, certified by the Auditor to be per annum 2,815*l.* Ir., being the double rent without reprisals, not so due until and for Easter 1595, which is the first payment of their said double rent, and therefore chargeable as yet but with the yearly rent until Michaelmas 1594 of 1,387*l.* 19*s.* 10½*d.* Chief rents in the said province of Mounster reserved upon their grants not comprised in the former, sum having no increase, but certified by the Auditor to be per annum 777*l.* 8*s.* Ir., which now, according to the records delivered into the Chief Remembrancer’s office by Sir Robert Gardiner and the rest of the Commissioners, all reprises and defalcations made, amount per annum but unto 81*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.* Rents revived by eviction from the patentees of Mounster, whercupon they have abatements, and the parcels granted to the persons who recovered them, who are to pay yearly without increase, and not contained in the Auditor’s certificates, 30*l.* 14½*d.* [Total,] 1,499*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*

“Casualties, viz. :—Casualties of sundry sorts answered to the Vice-Treasurer in five whole years ended at Michaelmas anno 35° Regiæ Elizabeth, viz., for the issues and profits of the sheriffs’ accounts, the issues and profits of the clerk of the First Fruits and 20th parts, Star Chamber, the clerk of the Crown in the King’s Bench, the clerk of the Court of Faculties, the clerk of the Hanaper, fines of leases, fines of liveries, of alienations, and intrusions for lands, forfeitures of recognizances and prohibited wares, fines of contempts, and imposts of wines, 9,224*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; which, being rateably apportioned, for one year amounteth to the sum of 1,844*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

“A fine imposed in the Star Chamber in England. Money yearly payable by the Dean of St. Patrick’s for a fine imposed upon him in the Star Chamber in England by the space of ten years beginning from Easter 1593, the sum of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

“The yearly charge of her Majesty’s revenue and casualties within the said realm, 22,889*l.* 15¼*d.*; to the which there is to be added for so much money received for the transportation of yarn in anno 34, which is now ceased by reason of her Majesty’s grant to Carmarden, and never before that year in charge, 676*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* And then, the sums conjoined, the whole charge by estimation will amount unto 23,565*l.* 12*s.* 0¼*d.* Ir.”

*Copy. Pp.* 3. *Dated by Carew, incorrectly, “Anno 25 Eliz.” (Mistake for 35?)*

[1600.]

[Oct.]

Vol. 604, p. 266.

## 21. The LORD DEPUTY'S PROCEEDINGS.

"The 20th of September the Lord Deputy encamped at Phaor, the mouth of the pace (pass) called the Moyry, the rebels being entrenched on the other side of the pace, having fortified themselves with some barricados drawn cross over the way, and some in flank with a kind of rampier raised upon them with earth, stone, and trees, the waters also being so increased by continual rain, as it was made unpassable.

"At the first encamping of the Lord Deputy's they were fought withall almost two hours, both for lodging and wood, and at length the rebels were beaten out of sight, one of the O'Neales, a principal leader, being slain. On our side some four or five were killed and thrice as many hurt, among which was one of Sir Robert Lovell's brethren, who was shot through the face, but likely to recover.

"The 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, the army lay still by reason of the continual rain, that fell in great quantity.

"The 25th, because the rebels should not conceive that their trenches were the cause of the Lord Deputy's stay, it being a more clear day, the army was drawn forth to view their trenches. The Lord Deputy, being in rank with the first, and approaching near unto them, entertained fight, beat them out of the first, brought away some victuals, baggage, and arms, killed and hurt many of them, to the number of 120. Of our men some seven were slain, and some 30 hurt.

"The 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st, by the extremity of the weather the army was constrained to keep within their trenches.

"The 2nd of October, being a fair day, the Deputy was determined to have made a strict muster, and having drawn all the men into arms, the rebels came, horse and foot, close to his camp, [and] killed one or two of our men that were in the fern, not far off; but the Deputy appointing some five regiments, they entertained fight in divers places, forced the rebels' trenches, wan them, and possessed them as long as they listed, and at length being commanded to come off, made an orderly retreat, for that the Deputy had no determination then to hold those trenches, both because the waters would not then suffer him to pass, and because all the ground about is almost as strong for the rebels as the trenches themselves; neither was he willing to make good the place till he was ready to pass through, since it could not be done without dividing his army. The Deputy lost in this fight about 20 men, and six or seven score hurt. Among others, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Thomas Burke, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, and Captain Harvy, with some lieutenants and officers, were hurt, but in no danger; only Captain Anthony Rush and a brother of the Lord of Hoath's were slain. Of the rebels about 300, as it was advertised from their own camp.

"The 5th of October, the Deputy drew forth again, and in a very resolute charge, which the rebels gave to Sir Charles

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Percy his regiment both in front and on both sides at once, they were gallantly repulsed. Many of them in sight lay dead in the place, of whom two principal men, Murtogh McPrior and Connor Roe McPrior; but the certain number in all of the killed and hurt is unknown. In this service Sir Robert Lovell, in the head of the squadron as they charged with their pikes, was shot through the body dead, and Captain Roe's brother hurt; so as in all these services since the Deputy's coming to the Phaor there were lost on our side well near 200 men.

"Since which time, the extremity of the weather still continuing, and the army growing weak by the falling sick of many soldiers, the Deputy removed from thence to Dundalk again the 9th of October, for to refresh his army for a season, and sent Sir Samuel Bagnoll, with his regiment and six new companies and some 100 horse, to Carlingforde, with commandment to be in readiness at the first sending for them. And this gave cause to Tyrone to suspect that the Deputy would attempt his passage to Armagh on both ways; and having understood that the Deputy had sent for more forces to come to him, Tyrone resolved to quit his trenches, and retiring himself, dispersed his forces, and himself departed thence over the Blackwater, for that it is certainly affirmed that Neale Garvy, O'Donnell, and Sir John O'Doarghty,\* with some 400 of their men, are come in to Sir Henry Dockwra, and have taken the Liffer, which is now possessed by a garrison of the English.

"The 17th, the Deputy drew his forces again to the pace, and, finding their barricados abandoned, caused them to be razed and defaced, so as his army might receive passage without interruption.

"It is reported that O'Donnell, being in his way to Connaught, hearing of these troubles at home, retired with all speed, and in his way about Ballymote took O'Connor Sligo prisoner, fearing he should be of the conspiracy of Neale Garvy; that he wrote likewise to Tyrone, charging him with many oversights, that he lay too long at the Moyery, that he spent his munition, lost his best men, and wasted his victuals there, to no purpose; that it had been better for him to have suffered the Deputy to have passed without impeach, for so he might have fought with him far from home, where the extremity of the weather, and want of fresh victuals, would have been enemy sufficient to overthrow his whole army; besides, at the Deputy's return, after he had planted and distracted his forces, it had been more easier for him to have distressed him.

"Sir Arthur O'Neyle is said to be dead of drinking too many carouses upon his marriage day."

*Pp. 3, in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed Abstract of sundry letters and advertisements from the camp.†*

\* *Note in the margin by Cecil:* "Sir John is not come in, but daily expected."

† This document, like the following, seems to have been an enclosure in one of Cecil's letters to Carew.

[1600.]  
[Nov.]

Vol. 604, p. 264.

22. The LORD DEPUTY'S PROCEEDINGS.

"The Lord Deputy, having passed the Moyry, brought his army to the Newry, where, finding too many difficulties for planting at Armagh, especially the season of the year being so far spent, [he] resolved to make a fort at Aughenegrane, at the Eight Miles Church, midway betwixt the Newry and Armagh; by means whereof he might at all times, when he listed, plant at Armagh, and be seconded from thence upon all occasions of service in the North.

"The 8th of November my lord with his army went to that fort, and carried with him sufficient provision for the soldiers that were to be left there, being four companies, himself intending to march to Armagh, and there to encamp for one night, but the weather being so extreme foul he was not able to perform the same, but returned the second day to the Newry.

"Tyrone in the meanwhile kept his principal forces together, for to give my Lord Deputy fight when his forces should be weakened at his return from the Newry. Whereupon my lord resolved, considering it might prove very dangerous to return the same way he came, to seek a passage at a place called the Narrow Water, where he found means to ferry over his army and carriages towards Carlingforde.

"The rebels, perceiving my Lord Deputy's resolution, drew all their force betwixt him and Carlingforde, where they entrenched themselves with such barricados as they thought might impeach the Deputy's passage.

"The 14th the Lord Deputy marched toward Carlingforde, where, approaching to the rebels' trenches, the fight began. The Deputy's regiment, having the vanguard, forced the rebels to forsake their works, and had the killing of some of them, so as the vanguard and the battayl marched by quietly. But as the rear was drawing on, led by Sir Samuel Bagnoll, the rebels, rallying themselves, set upon them, and maintained a very good fight; insomuch as the Deputy, seeing the danger, sent some horse of the vanguard to rescue the rear. With these horse came Sir Henry Davers, who in the first charge was shot through the thigh, and some four or five more of his company, yet at length the rebels were forced to a retreat, leaving some 72 behind them, killed, in the place; their hurt men they carried off, being about 80. In this fight the Deputy lost some 16 soldiers, three lieutenants and ensigns, and his secretary George Cramer, who casually was shot in the head. Some few were hurt, as Captain Hansard, shot in the reins of the back; Captain Trevor shot. From Carlingforde the army went to Dondalk, where it was dispersed, and sent to their several garrisons."

*Pp. 2, in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed: Abstract of the Lord Deputy's return from the Newry.*



1600.

Vol. 619, p. 151.

## 23. "ARTICLES requisite to be granted to the COMMISSARY."

"1. That he may have a commission both to do him grace and to press at reasonable rates men, ships, &c.

"2. That he may stand in the list and receive such entertainment as the commissary now hath; and for that the commissary is continually to keep extraordinary men of sufficiency to be employed by him at all sudden occasions of service, (without whom he shall be enforced to take such as he next meeteth with, who, either by ignorance or dishonesty, may endanger his whole estate,) therefore it were very convenient he had six horse in pay out of the army, and to be mustered, so as neither her Majesty's pay be increased nor her army thereby weakened, for herewith he may attend the Lord President or otherwise as he shall appoint.

"3. That he may have eight months' imprest to provide a store of victuals for such number of men as shall be employed in the province after the rate of 5*d.* each man per diem.

"4. That the paymaster of the province may take due notice of his charge on each several captain, and the commissary doing so much as concerns his place, that the paymaster give him ready money for the money he chargeth, or his bill to be paid in England upon sight, without giving aught for exchange.

"5. That if he do, by direction of the Lord Deputy or Lord President and Council, deliver any proportion of victuals to any other whomsoever, or issue such by their warrants extraordinary, those warrants may be allowed unto him out of the imprest in his hands.

"6. That if any company be overpaid, or otherwise difference arise between the paymaster and commissary, it may presently be judged by the Lord President and Council.

"7. Whereas the commissary demands 5*d.* a day for each man's allowance, and must certify to the Treasurer for the same but 4*d.*, so as the commissary must be allowed the other penny on each allowance, not out of the captain's pay but by warrant of concordatum from the Council of Mounster to the paymaster there, who shall at the end of every three months make known to the Lord President and any other two of the Council of the province, and in the Lord President's absence to the chief commander and two of the Council, how many allowances he hath issued to the army in that time; and this charge he shall deliver with good advouch, whereon the Lord President and Council shall give him concordatum to the said paymaster for the penny in each allowance, and the paymaster to give his bill into England, to be paid as before. (*Mem.*, that but for this fifth penny, which cannot be charged on the soldier, the commissary should not be occasioned to any accompt at all, but only when he shall leave his place, for the imprest he first received, for which he still hath a store of victuals beforehand.)

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"8. That at the end of every half year he may have his *quictus est* from the said commissioners, and give his receipt anew, only standing charged with the imprest, or so much thereof as the commissioners shall find in his hands.

"9. That there be a commission granted to the Lord President and Council of Mounster, or any three of them, in this behalf, a direction to the Treasurer in Ireland for payment of money, or to pass his bills, at the choice of the commissary, and some order in England for the present satisfaction of them, without due performance whereof he cannot keep the store undiminished.

"10. That if at any time it shall please her Majesty to alter the coin in Ireland of the new standard, so much thereof as remains in the commissary's hands shall be good on his account of the imprest.

"11. That if the imprest be given but for 4,000 men, and that the list be increased, the imprest also may be increased according the number and time her Majesty will have a store for beforehand.

"12. That his deputies in England may have commission for the providing and transporting of so much victuals thence as he cannot conveniently provide in Ireland, for the serving of such forces as her Majesty shall be pleased to [appoint] in Mounster.

"13. That the commissary, keeping his proportion of victuals for the appointed number still beforehand for so many months, not to be at any time diminished, it may be lawful for him to sell any surplusage of victuals he thinks meet, as also to buy and send for victuals either to France or the Low Countries, at his discretion, without paying any custom either in England or Ireland.

"14. That the said commissary be not displaced under six months warning, and that to be given at the end of half a year. As also it may be lawful for the commissary to leave his place, he giving the like warning.

"Articles requisite to be performed by the Commissary.

"1. Inprimis, in lieu of the imprest for eight months for the number her Majesty shall please to appoint, more or less, the said commissary to have a proportion of victuals in the store at Cork or elsewhere in the province, as the Lord President and Council shall appoint, for six months, for so many men, continually undiminished. And if at any time there be not such a store found, either upon search or other occasion, the commissary which shall be there resident to suffer the danger and punishment thereof.

"2. That for the *5*l.** per diem which he shall receive for each soldier's allowance he deliver them, according her Majesty's allowance, flesh two days in the week, fish two days more, and for the other three days butter, cheese, rice, oatmeal, or the like that may content them.

"3. That he shall deliver no victuals to the soldier but such as is wholesome and fit for men. As in a great mass of

1600.

victuals all cannot be perfect good, if any happen otherwise, let the soldier return it, and have sound victuals in lieu thereof; or let him bring the commissary but honest certificate, he shall have allowance without returning the victuals again.

“4. That her Majesty may be freed of all manner of wastes, losses, (the dangers of the sea, the enemy, fire, and breaking up of storhouses excepted,) and charges, as clerks', ministers', and laborer's wages, shipping, unshipping, and reshipping, transportation, rents of storehouses, necessaries, wastes, and losses of victuals by corrupting, by inconvenient houses, by carriage and transport, losses by negligence or dishonesty of deputies certifying or mistaking, or by suffering any company to be quailed(?) by over victualling them, or any other damage or charge whatsoever, (except before excepted,) and to be wholly borne and defrayed by the commissary. But it is not hereby meant that the commissary shall bear the charge of any storehouse that the service shall require to be newly built.

“5. That upon six months' warning the said commissary shall deliver the imprest he receiveth, or so much victuals, at the ordinary rates, as the remains thereof in his hands shall amount unto, at her Majesty's choice. This imprest being all the accompt her Majesty need be subject unto, the former directions being observed, her Highness may know her certain charge, and not be driven to take a continual care, and yet stand in doubt whether her army be in want of victuals or no.”

*Pp. 4. Endorsed by Carew : Demands of A[lan] Ap[sley] for the victualling of Mounster. 1600.*

1601.

10 Feb.

i. 624, p. 265.

24. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the LORD DEPUTY.

“In answer of your letter written unto me for the 1,000 foot and 50 horse, I did despatch my own messenger unto your Lordship the 2nd of this month, whose return ere this time I did expect; but, because mischances unlooked for may fall out, I thought good to despatch this second messenger unto you, with copies of the letters formerly written, and also the copies of other letters sent unto me from the Earl of Thomond, Mr. Cantwell, and the White Knight, all of them agreeing in one opinion, that Tirone will send forces into this province, which I daily expect. My humble suit is that your Lordship will be pleased to send me your pleasure, which I will respectively (*sic*) according to my duty obey. The troops do now lie at Clonemell, to be disposed of as in your wisdom shall be thought meet; for albeit I do not much fear the invasion of Ulstermen, yet I will not be singular in my opinion, but submit the same to your better judgment, knowing that nothing shall draw you from that course which shall be most beneficial for the service. At Clonemell there is no staple of victuals, and the companies live upon

1601

their lendings, which long they cannot do, for the treasure in Momster cannot long bear the charge of 1,050 foot and 50 horse”

Mallo, 10 February 1600.

*Copy P. 1*

May 17.  
Vol. 615, p. 86.

25. LORD DEPUTY MOUNTJOY to SIR G. CAREW.

“ I understand that Richard Weston, of Dundalke, lately arriving at Cork with a ship freighted with wines and other commodities out of Spain, your Lordship hath caused the said ship to be stayed till he find security to discharge the said wines and commodities at Dundalke; at whose humble petition to have his bonds taken at Dublin for his better convenience, dwelling in these parts, I referred the effecting thereof to Sir Robert Gardener, Chief Justice of Ireland, who hath certified me that sufficient bonds are by him taken in that behalf.”

Dublin, 17 May 1601. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Addressed. Endorsed.*

[Dec.]  
Vol. 604, p. 129.

26. SIR ROBERT CECIL to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

“ I find your letter in all things so concurrent with my Lord Deputy's, as it comforts me much to see two so united, that do *convenire in eodem tertio* of love to me. For answer to all things I must refer you to our despatch general, whereby I hope you see your motions are regarded. For the fleet to continue, Sir, we cannot allow it; neither do we hold it to be the way to restrain Spanish succours to keep Irish harbours, whereof there be more than the Queen hath ships. To Spain, therefore, we send, and for the rest you must take your chance.

“ We send you 60 last of powder, and all things belonging, but we cannot send it all at once; yet have we given order to ship 30 by sea and 30 by land, if we can have carriage. If the tools be nought, your office is to blame, and for the coin, seeing we intend royally to keep up the Exchange, we wonder why it should be spurned at. We have moved the Queen to set open all ports to carry corn, beer, or any victual custom free to the army.

“ You must not think that the Spaniards were directed now to fortify Castle Haven, because they landed, for I know it quite contrary, but that they feared to come to Kinsall; so as I do fully speak my mind, that if you beat these in any time, the King will be better advised, but if you do not, the King will follow it; and yet this last supply was merely the tail of his first army, which was severed by storm. The next supply comes from Lisbon, and is compounded of the remain of his army, which he employed in September for Algier. All other

1601.

things go well here ;—the Queen (blessed be God) well, your friends no changelings, neither of one kind nor other.”

*No date.*

*Holograph. Pp. 2. Addressed Endorsed by Carew :  
Received the 9th of Ja. 1601.*

27. PLAN of the SIEGE of KINSALE.

Vol. 635, p. 1.

Showing “the old church by Ringcurren, by which was planted two pieces of ordnance, which battered Ringcurren ; two pieces of ordnance, which battered Castle-Parcke ; our first approach to the town with great ordnance, where was planted six pieces ; ordnance placed upon the island to beat into the town, which was removed in two days ; our second approach with great ordnance, where . . . we battered the wall and the two towers, a breach being made (upon O’Neale’s coming the ordnance was drawn away to the two camps) ; ordnance landed out of the two ships, which was sometime planted upon the island, which played into the base and high town ; a port of the town called Corecke port ; a loop sconce which one night the Spaniard forced, which after was defaced, and made a flanker to the Earl of Thomonde’s camp ; a port of the town called Friars’ port ; two sconces, to block up that side of the town ; two batteries, which made a breach in the Friary ; old banks or fences for enclosures, which we made trenches : a place for ordnance, in which was placed but two pieces, but there should have been six placed there to have made a breach, but before the other ordnance could be brought the composition was in hand ; a blockhouse in the base town, but no ordnance in it : a platform wherein the enemy had placed a demi-cannon, which much annoyed our Admiral and Vice-Admiral, but yet at length they removed him ; the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, which played into the town with their ordnance.”

*Endorsed by Carew : The Plot of the Siege at Kinsale in anno 1601.*

1602.

March 31.

Vol. 617, p. 12.

28. EXPENSES for the GOVERNMENT and AR.

“The charge of Ireland in sundry years, as appeared by the Treasurers’ accounts.

“From the 1st of October 1573 unto the last of September 1575, being two whole years, Sir William FitzWilliam being Lord Deputy, amounted to the sum of 49,659*l.* 17*s.*, an. regni Regi. Eliz., 16 et 17. The two next years following, Sir Henry Sydney being then Lord Deputy,” 18 and 19 Eliz., 46,617*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* The next year, being the 20th, 30,330*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* “For five whole years and one half, beginning at Easter 1579, in 26 Eliz., and ending ultimo Sept. 1584, Sir Henry Walloppe being then Treasurer at Wars,

1602.

467,914*l.* 15*s.* 0½*d.* Anno 1595, by Auditor Peyton his certificate it did appear that the revenues of Ireland, together with the casualties, &c., amounted unto the sum of 27,117*l.* 14*s.* 1½*d.* Anno 1597, Thomas Lord Boroughe being Lord Deputy, the monthly entertainment of the army in Ireland amounted unto the sum of 9,904*l.* Anno 1599, the Earl of Essex being Lord Lieutenant, the monthly entertainment of the army in Ireland amounted to the sum of 19,193*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* Anno 1601, the Lord Mountjoy being Lord Deputy, the entertainments of the army in Ireland, from primo Aprilis 1601 until ultimo Martii 1602, amounted unto 322,502*l.* 0*s.* 1¼*d.*"

*P. 1, in Sir George Carew's handwriting.*

Temp. Eliz.  
Vol. 614, p. 214.

29. The REVENUES.

"Ireland.—A brief estimate of the Queen's Majesty's Revenues and Casualties there yearly.

"A brief declaration of the yearly revenue of all and singular the lands and possessions growing due unto her Majesty; viz. by—the ancient inheritance, 756*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*; the attainted lands, 893*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; the abbeyes and spiritual lands, 6,608*l.* 12*s.* 11¼*d.*; tribute money from \* the Irish, 27*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; for and in consideration of the bonought money upon composition made by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sydney, of the noble order of the Garter, Knight, with divers of the captains and governors of the Irish borders, 600*l.* 26*s.* 8*d.*; escheat lands, 4*l.* 19*s.*; proxies, 60*l.* 7*s.* [Total,] 8,952*l.* 9*s.* 0½*d.*

"Doubtful and uncertain to be received; viz. of—ancient inheritances, 30*l.*; the attainted lands, 60*l.*; the abbey lands, 400*l.*; tribute money, 27*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; bonmought money, 100*l.*; escheat lands, 30*s.*; proxies, 60*s.* [Total,] 671*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

"And so remaineth clearly answered to her Majesty 8,280*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.*; whereof—Paid yearly in fees, pensions, and annuities, viz., to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, with other chief officers and ministers of all her Majesty's courts, 2,322*l.* 8*s.* 7¼*d.*; divers constables and keepers of her Majesty's houses, 279*l.* 13*s.* 9½*d.*; annuities granted unto divers for term of lives, 493*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; annuities and pensions going out of divers religious houses, 42*l.*; stipend or pension granted unto Christ Church, with 100*s.* for the stipend of the curate of Balliboughill, 65*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* In necessary expenses, viz., for paper, parchment, ink, [and] green cloth for her Majesty's several courts, 280*l.* [Total,] 3,482*l.* 17*s.* 11½*d.*

"And then seemeth to remain clear answerable to her Majesty but the sum of 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.*; twentieth parts, 300*l.*; forfeitures of merchandise, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the issues of the Hanaper,

\* "fer" in MS.

80*l.*; fines of homage, 4*l.*; green wax money, 200*l.*;\* fines and profits yearly answered by the sheriff[s], 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; fines of marriages and wards, 10*l.*; fines of liveries, 50*l.* (100 marks); fines for alienations, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; forfeitures of recognizances, 20*l.*; first fruits, 100*l.*; the 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.*; the issues of the Star Chamber, 20*l.*; the custom of the impost of wines, 9*l.* [Total,] 2,044*l.*

"Sum total, as well of the clear remain of the yearly revenue before said, as also of the casualties before specified, amount in the whole to the sum of 6,841*l.* 13*s.* 9¼*d.*; viz., the yearly revenue, 4,297*l.* 13*s.* 9½*d.*,† the casualties before recited, 2,044*l.*"

*Pp.* 3. *Undated. Endorsed.*

\* *Note in the margin*:—"Thus much clear over and besides all rewards."

† *Qu.*, mistake for 4,797*l.*





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## ERRATA.

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No.

87. The original is in Vol. 615, p. 386.  
119. There is a copy of this letter in Vol. 624, p. 85.

### *In the preceding Volume :—*

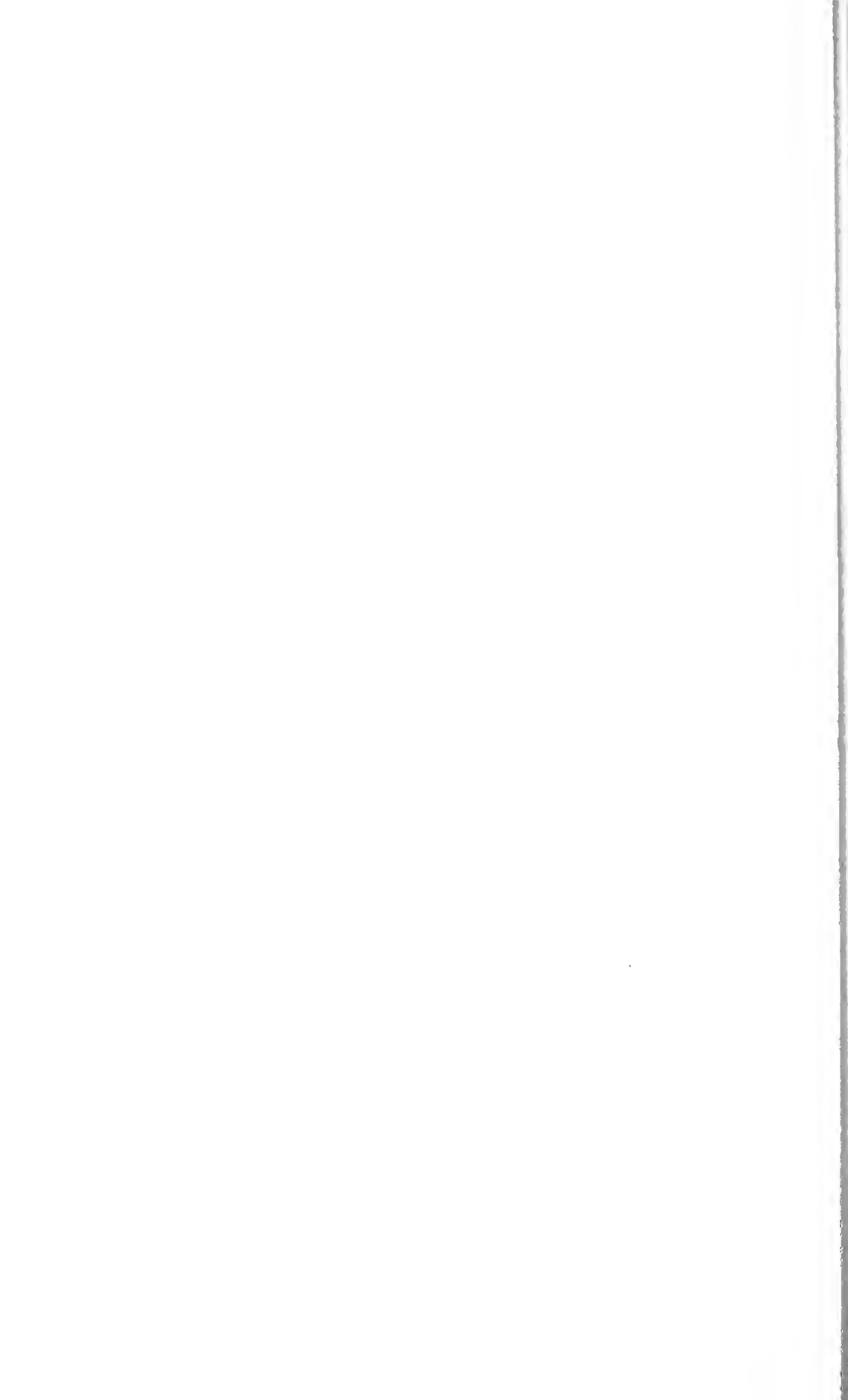
145. For "p. 123a," read "p. 124a."  
203. Another copy in Vol. 617, p. 242.  
237. Another copy in Vol. 617, p. 152.  
270, note. After "Lord" insert "Deputy."  
289, line 9. For "reverend" read "reverent."  
295, line 1. For "Carew" read "Cary."  
496, 498, and 511. Other copies in Vol. 620, part 2.  
503 and 505. Other copies in Vol. 600, pp. 49, 53.

### *In the Second Volume :—*

- 68, p. 108, line 12. For "now due (?)" read "incident."  
193, line 12. For "sailors" read "sakers."  
626, 630, 658, 659, 660, 668, and 671. Copies in Vol. 618, pp. 37a, 38, and 38a.

### *In the First Volume :—*

- P. 182, line 13. For "embroidered" read "saffron."



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Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei.* II.—*Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris.* III.—*Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit.* *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—*Adæ de Mariseo Epistolæ.* III.—*Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ.* *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Mariseo, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. **THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; OR, A METRICAL VERSION OF THE HISTORY OF HECTOR BOECE ;** by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. **JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.** *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who bore the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived through the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of service.

8. **HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS.** <sup>1</sup>  
ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foun-  
*by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Cath-  
erine's College, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustin in 497, to the year 1491. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in detail the progress of the Reformation, and has the character of the work when completed. The author was born in 1750, in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was educated at Trinity Hall, Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. **EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) :** Chronicon ab Urbe condita usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreae Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of these volumes are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Ehmlhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and



comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologie*."

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. *ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.*

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. *THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1868.*

The first three volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about the year 1188, and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In the present edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. *By* THOMAS DEFFUS HARDY, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1865.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials,

when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated, from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381; Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSHINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290; Vol. II., 1290-1349; Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vol. I. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1870.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of St. Albans and prior of the cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. Walsingham's work is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, from 1259 to 1306, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius E. III., fols. 306-331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by King Edward I., 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of Annales Regnum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History,

1295 to 300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : Annals of King Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : A continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blanforde, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : A full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge : and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes (which form an entirely separate work), contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, and of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the house, from 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Præcentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II., and transcribed from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum ; with a brief Continuation of the History, extracted from the closing pages of the Parker MS. No. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth volume is in continuation of the Annals, containing a Chronicle, supposed to have been written by John Amundesham, a monk of that monastery.

29. **CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMLE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.** Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. **RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIE.** Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, in 1747.

31. **YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.** Years 20-21, 30-31, and 32-33. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. **NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY; 1449-1450.**—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normannia: Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy : Conférences

between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham.* 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. *HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ.* Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.* 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. *ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ.* *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientię" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. *LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest.* Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge.* 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. *ANNALES MONASTICI.* Vol. I. :—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.* Vol. II. :—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.* Vol. III. :—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundescia, 1042-1432.* Vol. IV. :—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de*

Wigornia, 1-1377. Vol. V. :—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities he was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I. :—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II. :—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQVES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq. F.S.A. 1864-1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of

Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. *POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN*, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1865-1869.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. *LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE*. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. *CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406*. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. *MATTHEI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR*. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the 'Historia Major.' The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.



45. *LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023. Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq.* 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from, writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. *CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1135; WITH A SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING THE EVENTS FROM 1141 TO 1150. Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are the invasions of foreigners and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. *THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I. and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. *THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GALL, OR, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. Edited, with a Translation, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin.* 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. *GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192*; known under the name of *BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD* (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1869.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree, showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

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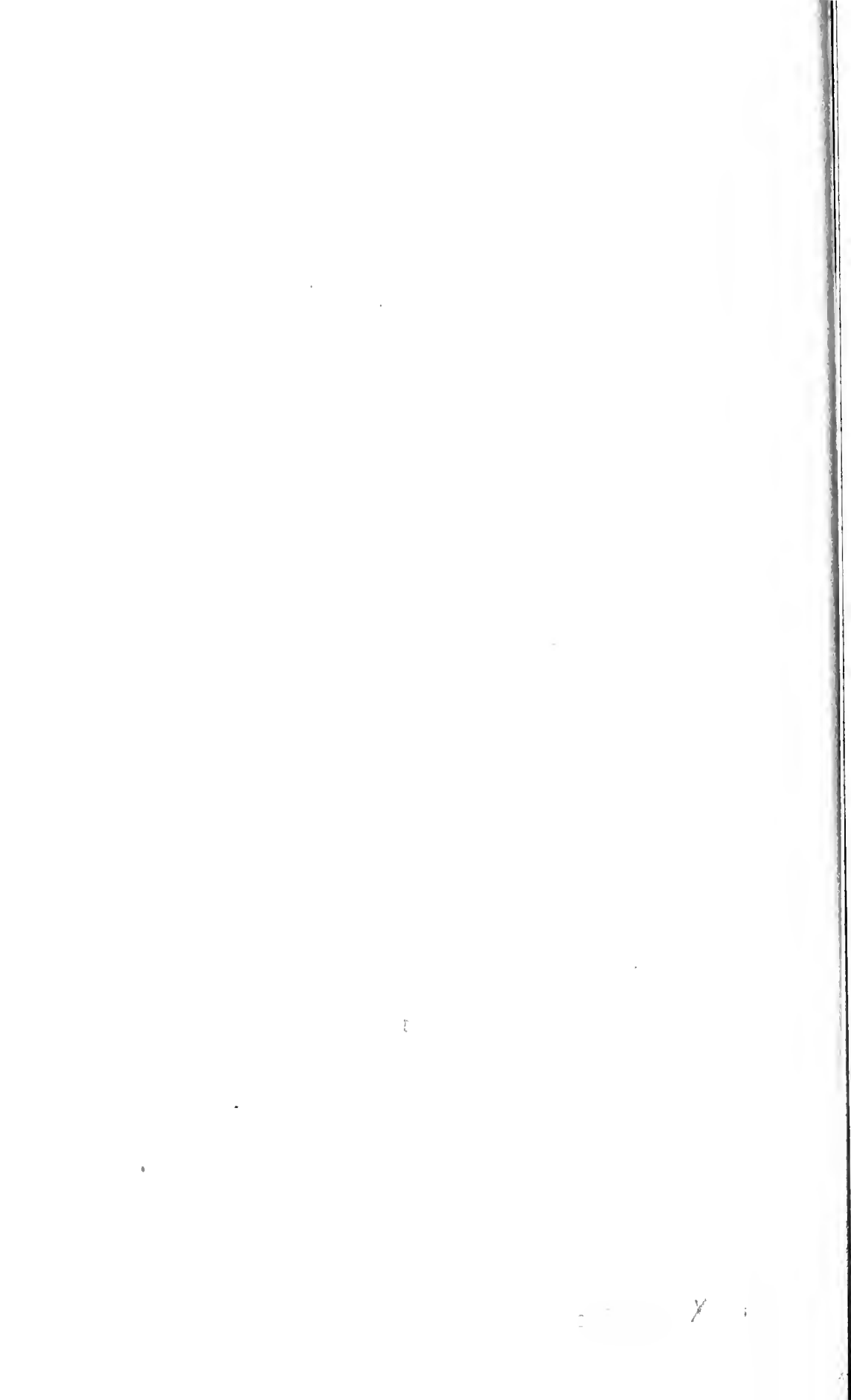
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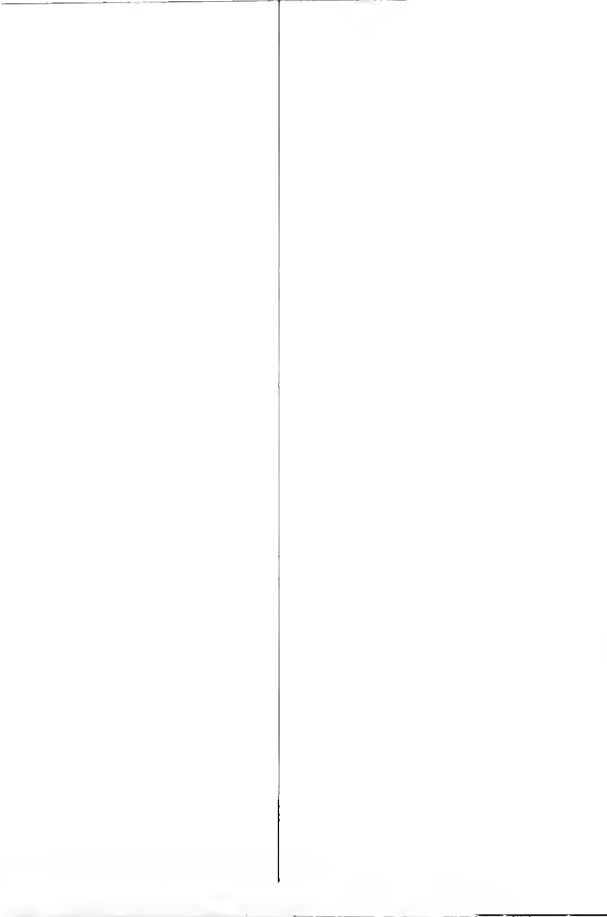








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