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THE TUDOR PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND BEFORE 1571

by

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A thesis presented in fulfilment of the  
requirements of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the  
University of Dublin

This thesis has not previously  
been submitted for a degree at this  
or any other university and is  
entirely the work of the author.

D.G.White. May 1967.

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Abbreviations used in this work

- Acts privy council,  
1542-7
- Acts privy council,  
Ire., 1556-71
- A.F.M.
- Bagwell, Tudors
- Betham, 'Extracts'
- B.M.
- \_\_\_\_, Add. MSS
- \_\_\_\_, Cott. MSS
- \_\_\_\_, Harl. MSS
- \_\_\_\_, Lansd. MSS
- Bodl.
- Butler, Confiscation
- Butler, Gleanings
- Cal. Carew MSS,  
1515-74 /etc.7
- Cal. fiants Ire.,  
Hen. VIII /etc.7
- Cal. Ormond MSS,  
1543-1711
- Cal. pat. rolls,  
1232-47 /etc.7
- Cal. pat. rolls Ire.,  
Hen. VIII - Eliz.
- Cal. pat. rolls Ire.,  
Eliz.
- Cal. pat. rolls Ire.,  
Jas. I
- Cal. Salisbury MSS,  
1306-1571 /etc.7
- Cal. S.P. dom.,  
1547-80 /etc.7
- Cal. S.P. for.,  
1547-53 /etc.7
- Cal. S.P. Ire.,  
1509-73 /etc.7
- Cal. S.P. Rome,  
1558-71 /etc.7
- Cal. S.P. Spain,  
1485-1509 /etc.7
- Acts of the privy Council of England,  
1542-7 /etc.7.
- 'Acts of the privy council in Ireland,  
1556-71', ed. J.T. Gilbert.
- Annala ríoghachta Éireann; Annals of  
the Kingdom of Ireland by the  
Four Masters.
- R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors.
- W. Betham, 'Extracts from Pipe Rolls',  
vol. 2, Edw. II to Edw. VI.
- British Museum.
- \_\_\_\_, Additional MSS.
- \_\_\_\_, Cottonian MSS.
- \_\_\_\_, Harleian MSS.
- \_\_\_\_, Lansdowne MSS.
- Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- W. F. T. Butler, Confiscation in Irish  
history.
- W. F. T. Butler, Gleanings from Irish  
history.
- Calendar of the Carew manuscripts  
preserved in the archiepiscopal  
library at Lambeth, 1515-74 /etc.7.
- 'Calendar to fiants of the reign of  
Henry VIII....' /etc.7.
- Calendar of the Ormond MSS, 1543-1711.
- Calendar of the patent rolls of  
England, 1232-47 /etc.7.
- Calendar of patent and close rolls of  
chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to  
18th Elizabeth.
- Calendar of patent and close rolls of  
chancery in Ireland, Elizabeth,  
19th year to end of reign.
- /Calendar of/ Irish patent rolls,  
James I.
- Calendar of the MSS of the Marquess of  
Salisbury at Hatfield House....  
1306-1571 /etc.7.
- Calendar of state papers, domestic  
series, 1547-80 /etc.7.
- Calendar of state papers, foreign  
series, 1547-53 /etc.7.
- Calendar of state papers relating to  
Ireland, 1509-73 /etc.7.
- Calendar of state papers relating to  
English affairs, preserved principally  
at Rome, in the Vatican archives and  
library, 1558-71 /etc.7.
- Calendar of letters, dispatches, and  
state papers, relating to the  
negotiations between England and  
Spain, preserved in the archives  
at Simancas and elsewhere, 1485-1509 /etc.



<u>Cal. S.P. Venice,</u> <u>1202-1509 /etc./</u>	<u>Calendar of state papers and manuscript</u> <u>relating to English affairs,</u> <u>existing in the archives and</u> <u>collections of Venice, and in other</u> <u>libraries of Northern Italy,</u> <u>1202-1509 /etc./.</u>
<u>Camb. hist. B.E.</u>	<u>Cambridge history of the British Empire</u>
<u>Collins, Sidney letters</u>	<u>Arthur Collins (ed.), Letters and</u> <u>memorials of State...preserved at</u> <u>Penshurst castle...</u>
<u>Curtis, Med. Ire.</u>	<u>E. Curtis, A history of medieval Ireland</u>
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of national biography.</u>
<u>Econ. Hist. Rev.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
<u>H.M.C.</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission.</u>
<u>Hore &amp; Graves, Southern</u> <u>&amp; Eastern Counties</u>	<u>H. F. Hore and J. Graves (ed.), The</u> <u>Social state of the southern and</u> <u>eastern counties of Ireland in the</u> <u>sixteenth century....</u>
<u>I.H.S.</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies.</u>
<u>Inq. cancell. Hib.</u> <u>repert.</u>	<u>Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum</u> <u>cancellariae Hiberniae...repertorium.</u>
<u>Ir. mon. deeds,</u> <u>1200-1600</u>	<u>Irish monastic and episcopal deeds,</u> <u>A.D. 1200-1600.</u>
<u>Ir. mon. extents,</u> <u>1540-41</u>	<u>Extents of Irish monastic possessions,</u> <u>1540-1541.</u>
<u>Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.</u>	<u>Journal of the County of Kildare</u> <u>Archaeological Society.</u>
<u>Lambeth</u>	<u>Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth Palace</u> <u>London.</u>
<u>Liber. mun. pub. Hib.</u>	<u>Rowley Lascelles, Liber munerum</u> <u>publicorum Hiberniae.</u>
<u>L. &amp; P. Hen. VIII,</u> <u>1509-13 /etc./</u>	<u>Letters and papers, foreign and</u> <u>domestic, Henry VIII.</u>
<u>N.L.I.</u>	<u>National Library of Ireland.</u>
<u>Ormond deeds,</u> <u>1172-1350 /etc./</u>	<u>Calendar of Ormond deeds,</u> <u>1172-1350 /etc./.</u>
<u>P.R.O.</u>	<u>Public Record Office of England.</u>
<u>_____ S.P. Ire.,</u> <u>Hen. VIII /etc./</u>	<u>_____ State papers, Ireland,</u> <u>Henry VIII /etc./.</u>
<u>P.R.O.I.</u>	<u>Public Record Office of Ireland.</u>
<u>R.I.A.</u>	<u>Royal Irish Academy.</u>
<u>R.I.A. Proc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.</u>
<u>Sidney S.P.</u>	<u>T. O'Laidhin (ed.), Sidney state papers,</u> <u>State Papers, Henry VIII.</u>
<u>S.P. Hen. VIII</u>	<u>Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, Is</u> <u>to the 12th years of the reign of</u> <u>King Edward IV.</u>
<u>Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV</u>	<u>_____ 12th and 13th to the 21st and 22nd</u> <u>years of the reign of King Edward IV.</u>
<u>_____ 12-22 Edw. IV</u>	<u>Trinity College, Dublin.</u>
<u>T.C.D.</u>	<u>P. Wilson, The beginnings of modern Ireland</u>
<u>Wilson, Beginnings mod. Ire.</u>	

Dates in this work have been converted to the modern reckoning of the year from 1 January. Thus a document dated 9 February 1564 becomes 9 February 1565.



## INTRODUCTION.

Sometime in 1575 Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's principal secretary since 1573, had an audience with her in which he delivered a prepared speech on "the diseased state of Ireland'. It was a conceit, beloved of the period, comparing that country to a sick man, ill a long time, 'and how that a mild course taken with the disobedient was by experience found not to work that good which is ... to be desired'. Such an approach could only result in the loss of the patient, and by analogy the kingdom. He contended that a drastic illness demanded a drastic medicine, and favoured a thorough military conquest employing some 4000 soldiers. Evidently the queen heard him out for Walsingham made a terse record of her response, unequivocal for once, to his ideas of a proper royal policy in Ireland. Her answer was that the deputy and council there, being on the spot, should best be able to decide what was good.<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth was not responsive to set solutions for the Irish problem.

Had Sir Francis been allowed to expand his ideas they would almost certainly have included a proposal for garrisoning and planting the province of Munster, a subject in which he was interested?<sup>2</sup> Being cut short by the queen must have been a galling defeat for the Secretary as he was a thorough man, and had read and assembled a large mass of papers on Ireland before reaching his conclusions.

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<sup>1</sup>The heads of some speeches delivered to her majesty concerning the diseased state of Ireland ...' (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 81), the last entry of some 34 folios of material on Ireland assembled by Walsingham. Other material (*ibid.*, nos 71-80) on the crown's income and outlay in Ireland for several years, assembled in 1575 by Walsingham, suggests an approximate date for his speech.

<sup>2</sup>Walsingham's notes (*ibid.*, no.113). He also had a detailed list of the military services due the crown in Ireland (*ibid.*, no.117), ending with a page of his own notes in which he sought more detailed maps and information.



The queen, in contrast, had learned from her experience that well laid plans had a habit of going amiss in that kingdom, and that the only sound policy was to deal with problems as they arose, through her government there.

It is a part of the purpose of this work to explain how two such opposed views of crown policy had arisen, but its primary purpose is to trace the development of the idea of colonizing Ireland in the sixteenth century, and to describe the attempts to do so, before 1571. The efforts made to 'plant' in Ireland in that period constitute the first such attempts by the English in modern times, and are of interest not only for the effect on Ireland but as precursors of the colonizing of the new world at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. For the English the first steps in the path of empire were made in Ireland.

It was not that they made a conscious and deliberate beginning of larger things. Ireland was a legacy from the medieval period, a most unfinished piece of work. At its height in the reign of Edward I, c.1300, the English lordship in Ireland had embraced the greater part of the country. Not only had a feudal nobility been created but towns had been established throughout the English dominion, and a large settlement of English and Welsh made in the surrounding countryside. To a contemporary observer it would have appeared as probable that Ireland, like Wales, would be absorbed into an expanded England. By the reign of Edward IV such a prospect seemed more distant, for by the final quarter of the fifteenth century the English sway in Ireland had largely shrunk to a small enclave on the eastern coast called the English pale. Ireland as such had been allowed to go by default. The energies and ambitions of the English crown had been consumed in foreign wars and in the domestic wars which followed.

The settlers who were left in Ireland during this period of royal neglect responded to their situation in different ways. Some returned to England, and some merged with native stock and ideas, becoming - as the overworked phrase has it - more Irish than the Irish themselves, but a great many clung tenaciously to their identity and waited grimly for the day when the tide would turn again and recovery of the country would begin anew. In the meantime they shrank their line of defence, perhaps deliberately, controlling one of the most fertile areas in Ireland and the trade which flowed through the ports of Dublin, Drogheda and Dundalk.

A great deal of this trade had to do with the exchange of cowhides from the Irish outside the pale for such goods as silks, wines, iron, and salt from the world beyond. Something of the same process went on at every port in Ireland, and it should be noted that Waterford, an island of Englishry outside the pale, had a trading importance comparable with Dublin in the sixteenth century. The town of Wexford, though smaller, was a similar island with its neighbouring baronies. On the west of Waterford the towns of Dungarvan, Youghal, and Kinsale, with the larger city of Cork, maintained a separate existence as did Limerick and Galway. In the north the peninsula of Lecale in Co. Down and the town of Carrickfergus, clustered under the great castle on the north side of Belfast Lough, were similar survivals. All these urban centres depended ultimately on their trade with the Irish, and it is one of the ambiguities of sixteenth century Ireland that though each of them was in favour of enlarged English authority, each would suffer commercially as the Irish were pushed back or disturbed.

Correspondingly, to a descendant of the original English settlers who was living in the surrounding



countryside about 1525, it was a fact of which the evidence was all around him that his ancestors had accomplished a great conquest, living austerely, and single-mindedly devoted to the honour posterity would afford them. The failure of the male line of the Marshal in 1247, and the absentees who had married the heiresses, had allowed the Irish to revive in Leinster. In Munster the magnates had gone Irish, and in Connaught, where they 'did inhabit the same, and made it English and obey the King's laws from O'Brien's country to Sligo ... and from Athlone to Galway ...', the same process had occurred, and the English freeholders and inhabitants had been expelled.<sup>3</sup> Thus the original conquest had been halted. Then the wars of the roses had desolated Ireland. The crown had lost the earldom of Ulster, once worth £20,000 a year, and many lesser English had had their holdings usurped. And so the pale had resulted, and even that had become Irish.<sup>4</sup> He knew that it had not always been so; his title deeds, the royal records, and the more concrete evidence of churches and fortifications rising above him at every turn, alike conspired to remind him that he was living in the shadow of a once mightier sway. It did not matter that the concept was over-simple, part myth and part history. It was what was believed and the climate of opinion created by the Tudors led him to expect that something would be done about it.

Ireland's proximity as an island to the west of England and Wales - from Liverpool to Dublin is 150 miles - made it accessible across St George's Channel. To the English the

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<sup>3</sup> Breviate of the getting of Ireland and the decay of the same', c.1536, by Patrick Fynglas (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p.9). See p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> A discourse of the cause of the evill state of Ireland ...', c.1528 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, f.2). See p. 49.



north channel between Ireland and Scotland, though narrow, posed formidable obstacles to the navigation of the day, with wind and tide alike opposing a northern rounding of the island. In a similar way the coast beyond Cork all the way to Donegal was hostile and difficult of access, save at such ports as Limerick, Galway, and Sligo. As a result exaggerated ideas of size and vague ones of character existed throughout the period about the north and west of Ireland. The approaches to it were along the south and east coasts, and even there weather could delay crossings from England by days and even weeks.

In 1525 the only accurate maps of Ireland were navigational ones, which showed only the outlines of the coast. Within, the island presented a complex geographical structure both physical and human, though there were certain overriding simplicities. Had St Leger, Croft, Sussex, or Sidney been asked in the middle of the century for an exact division of Ireland in modern terms they would each have given something of the same picture. They were dealing with a country which was roughly divided into two zones, a highland and a lowland.<sup>5</sup> Not only elevation but climate, soil, human and physical considerations entered into such a distinction. Within the lowland area it was possible to exercise military control, establish shire government, and carry out trade and agriculture in a manner profitable to the individual and to the crown, given the necessary supply and backing from England. Beyond, difficulties increased: the ground rose, the

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5

W. Fitzgerald, The Historical geography of Early Ireland.

forest was extensive, the land was unprofitable to English exploitation, the rainfall increased, the Irish were entrenched, and to the west and north distance became a problem.

Immediately to the south of Dublin rose the Leinster chain, a highland area which provided shelter for the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes to raid the lowland pale, as their ancestors had done for centuries. South of them the great Irish sept headed by the MacMurrough Kavanagh spread from the barony of Idrone in Co. Carlow across the mountains to the barony of Bantry in Co. Wexford. Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster, had called the original English to Ireland in the 1160s to aid him in his wars with the lowland, and it should be noted that it was to that mountain fastness rather than to the modern province of Leinster that the Tudor schemes for the 'reform of Leinster' referred. The deputies were willing to acknowledge an 'Irish pale' to the west and north where Irish language, law, and custom were paramount, but the strategic position of the Leinster chain made it imperative that it be conquered and either colonized or contained before any expansive designs were carried out in the surrounding lowland. This stubborn fact of English existence will be discussed in the chapters on the 1530s and 1540s.

These four deputies had merely discovered the limits of effective control of the medieval lordship in Ireland. In the west of Munster the line was traced by the river Maigue on which the castles of Carrigogunnel, Adare, and Croom pointed southward to the walled town of Kilmallock along the route



to Cork. Beyond that line lay the Desmond liberty of Kerry and the Irish lordships of MacCarthy Mor and MacCarthy Reagh. North of the Shannon in that other part of Munster, Thomond, the O'Briens were supreme, and at the beginning of the period had a large influence on the south side of the river. To the west and north of Galway stretched the Connaught highlands, in part the preserve of the main branches of the O'Conors. Northward and eastward of them was the highland section of Ulster. There O'Donnell was supreme in Tyrconnell, roughly the modern county of Donegal, and O'Neill in neighbouring Tyrone, which contained the modern county of that name and Co. Londonderry as well. In addition O'Neill, the most formidable 'chief of his name', held sway over many of his lesser Irish neighbours to the east and south of Tyrone. In all of these areas the combined obstacles of mountain, forests, and lakes, as well as the Irish, made English penetration a dubious and costly undertaking. Control of the country could <sup>not</sup> be maintained without occupying or selling those highlands, and there were only a few attempts to do so in the period treated, notably Derry in the 1560s where the Foyle basin was a pocket of lowland.

In the lowlands rivers were an important feature, their valleys offering means of access, places of settlement, and a defensible line. Thus the Slaney cut a gap through the Leinster chain to the lowland of Wexford, and the Barrow was a highway to the central plain, control of the area east of that river being a primary English concern. The valleys of the Nore, the Suir, the Blackwater, and the Lee rendered less formidable the mountain ranges of the south of Ireland and made its level areas essentially an extension of the lowlands. In the centre of Ireland the great peat bogs, as yet undrained, and the forests gave the Irish a refuge and a



defence. The O'Mores in Leix, the O'Conors in Offaly, and their neighbours the MacGilpatrick's, the O'Meaghers, the O'Carrolls, the MacCoughlans, the O'Mulloys, the MacGeoghegans, and the MacLaughlins formed a solid Irish salient east of the Shannon. Its marshy banks were another boundary and the English view did not reach beyond them until after the middle of the century. O'Reilly in Cavan, O'Neill in Tyrone, the mountains to the north of Dundalk, and the Scots in Antrim and Down made penetration of the northeast difficult, but the effort was made and its progress will be followed.

The English were by no means in possession of the lowland area, nor with even the prospects of being so, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but certain elements of geography, both physical and political, were in their favour. Aside from the cities, and footholds in Lecale and Wexford, they possessed the natural gateway into Ireland in the eastern section of the central plain, the area of the English pale. Now the pale, almost the one universally known fact in Irish history, is also one of the most vexed and misunderstood. There are at least three senses in which the term 'English pale' may be discussed: as a defined area, or as a general area, and as a state of mind. Each of these three senses must be considered, and they provide an object lesson in the complexities and ambiguities of Irish history.

From the earliest times the fertile area east of the Co. Westmeath uplands, lying between the Boyne and Liffey rivers, was known as Magh Breagh, the 'magnificent plain', and it formed the core of the kingdom of Meath which stretched to the Shannon. It had the least rainfall of any section in Ireland, less than thirty inches a year, and it provided both excellent pasture and arable. As early as 1430, with the decline of the English

lordship well under way, the Irish were forbidden to bring their creaghts, or herds of cattle, 'into the land of peace called the Maghery' from the Irish machaire or plain.<sup>7</sup> By 1454 the Irish parliament had granted permission for the employment of forced labour to dig a dike or trench around this area.<sup>8</sup> In 1471 or 1472 it ordered labourers from four Co. Dublin baronies to Saggart 'to enclose the same and its fosses'.<sup>9</sup> In the period from 1475 to 1477 an act forbade the building of causeways over the 'dike' from the chapel of St Bride on the Dodder river near Tallaght to Saggart. During that period William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, was deputy and he seems to have been the instigator of enclosing the entire pale, for an act was passed defining its exact bounds.<sup>10</sup> In 1488 an additional act defined certain places south of Dublin as being in the pale.<sup>11</sup> In 1495 an act of Poyning's parliament ordered that the work be carried out and cited Sherwood's bounds, specifying 'a double ditch of six foot of earth above the ground...'.<sup>12</sup> The major points along its boundary were repeated in 1515.<sup>13</sup>

7.

Curtis, Med. Ire. (1st ed., 1923), p. 344.

8

Robert Dunlop, Ireland from the earliest times, pp. 52-3.

9

Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV, pp. 809-11.

10

Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV, pp. 443-5. The act defining the bounds does not appear.

11

Alen's Register pp. 250-1, gives the bounds of Sherwood's act, followed by the contents of the act of 1488.

12

Agnes Conway, Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, Appendix XXX. Complete text of act edited by Edmund Curtis.

13

'State of Ireland', (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 1-31).



It has been asserted,<sup>14</sup> and repeated,<sup>15</sup> that the bounds of the pale shrank between 1495 and 1515, but careful mapping of the points on it reveals otherwise. The three descriptions are of a virtually static line, but that of 1515 shows a slight increase in the area contained, with the town of Kells being included inside the pale as it had not been before. Such a development tallies with the order of events between 1495 and 1515. The area enclosed then contained some 1165 square miles or 745,000 acres. It had a periphery of about 110 miles, but at least 40 miles was river, utilized in place of an embankment. How much of it was dug remains a mystery. Aside from the evidence for the part between Tallaght and Saggart south of Dublin, there is a surviving fragment near Clane in Co. Kildare which is no more formidable than a field boundary. That fact sheds some light on the pale's intended use, and as Curtis suggested it was probably designed to impede the theft of cattle, but it was also supposed to protect the common English from the impositions of the marches outside it, and was thus a dividing line. In so far as the pale's purpose was defensive it is worth noting that no point within it was more than 25 miles from Dublin or Drogheda, and the presence of walled towns and some fifty castles near its edges suggests a loose defensive character. Such a line could not have been continuously manned, nor was it walled or palisaded to do so. We are certainly not dealing with defenses such as, for example, those of Constantinople, nor did contemporaries so view it.

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14

Wilson, Beginnings mod. Ire., p. 43.

15 Curtis, Med. Ire. (1st ed., 1923), pp. 402-3.

Indeed, the weight of evidence is rather that in the minds of most of those who spoke of the pale there was the general concept of the areas which conformed to English language, law, and custom. Thus the modern counties of Louth, Meath, and Dublin were always considered as being in the pale; Co. Kildare was sometimes included, and sometimes not, for which there were two reasons. From about 1503 to 1534 the earls of Kildare had a de facto liberty there, and the county had also become largely an Irish speaking one. After 1535 other countries were added to the list as royal authority expanded, and by 1550 such a distant place as Athlone was spoken of as being in the English pale, though it was more than eighty miles from Dublin. Thus the pale in a general sense was roughly a series of concentric circles radiating out from Dublin, and its boundaries were at different places in different times. When the pale was spoken of in the seventeenth century something more extensive was meant than the original area embanked.

Yet in that same century when the entire country was English-dominated the concept of the pale had meaning, for the pale was <sup>u</sup>ltimately a state of mind. It was there that those who considered themselves mere English resided. This outlook centred around Dublin, but it reached to more distant points. As has already been observed, men in the sixteenth century also spoke of an 'Irish pale' in contrast to their own. The impression is gained that to them one of the distinguishing characteristics of their own social order in Ireland was the growing of grain, and any increase in cultivated areas, properly settled or 'manured', was always noted with satisfaction. The Irish, in this view, raised cattle, which resulted in a disordered and unstable society. Of course the English raised cattle as well, and the Irish



grew grain, but it was a question of proportion and the Irish seem to have raised oats as food rather than as horse fodder.

That the pale was a state of mind can be illustrated by two examples. In the 1550s when William Bermingham, principal holder in the north west of Co. Kildare saw the drift of events he forsook his alliance with his neighbour O'Connor Faly and returned to the allegiance of his ancestors, becoming baron of Carbury and an outer bastion of the pale. Soon his neighbour to the south, Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, was assisting the English and his descendants became Viscounts Clanmalier.

In general there was a gradual transition from the pale to the great feudal lordships and lesser marcher lordships to those of the native Irish. The three greatest territories were those of the earls of Kildare, Ormond, and Desmond. An English order was transmuted by degrees into what was a purely Gaelic order. To anyone fresh from England any point five miles beyond Dublin began to be strange and unfamiliar, humanly speaking as well as geographically. As he grasped the social system he tended to change with it, to the disgust of the Anglo-Irish.

One of the papers which Walsingham consulted in an effort to understand the complex problem of Ireland was Patrick Fynghlas's account of how the English had come to lose most of the island, a 'breviate of the getting of Ireland and the decay of the same'.<sup>16</sup> It was the statesman's pocket history of the English in Ireland, and contemporary manuscript copies of it are numerous. In essence its historical introduction argued that absenteeism by English lords, and the revival of the Irish, had undermined the

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<sup>16</sup>B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 113. Walsingham's own copy.

prosperity of the country by the days of Edward III. Walsingham's copy of the 'breviate' as well as his other notes attracted the attention of Sir Robert Cotton, and he added them to the collection of Irish material which he was gathering in the early seventeenth century. Cotton's interests were multitudinous but one clear object of his collecting was to assemble sources for a history of the Tudor reconquest of Ireland, which he evidently regarded as an event of great significance. Associated with Cotton was his friend Sir George Carew, whose own collecting of Irish material probably inspired Cotton's interest. Much of what Cotton gathered came from the government archives, to which he had free access.

In the main this government correspondence is the principal source for the history of the English in Ireland, and the bulk of it is found in the Public Record Office in London under 'State Papers, Ireland'. In addition to the material removed by Cotton and Carew, other state papers relevant to English plantation in Ireland have found their way into British Museum collections, notably in the Lansdowne manuscripts, and in the early Additional Manuscripts. These collections all contain papers dealt with by Sir William Cecil during his period as principal secretary, which ended in 1571.

Search has not revealed the papers of Sir Anthony St Leger but original correspondence of the earl of Sussex is to be found in the Carew manuscripts at Lambeth Palace. The Sidney manuscripts at Penshurst castle contain many of Sir Henry Sidney's papers on Ireland before 1571, and the Carte manuscripts in the Bodleian Library have similar papers of Sir William Fitzwilliam for the same period.

All of the material, though variously located, is basically one body, the government archives on Ireland. The complicated journeys taken by some of it is a



separate object of study in itself, but what is significant for this work is that they began in the early seventeenth century at a time when interest in English expansion overseas was acute. Taken as a whole these sources are surprisingly rich and varied. It is often argued that the English state papers are a biased, partisan source for Irish history, and therefore are of limited value. Such an opinion is self defeating on two counts: first because they are easily the largest collection of sources for the subject that survive, and second because they are not all written from one point of view, and can be made to yield a great deal about the Irish, as well as the official, view of events.

The Irish viewpoint is represented principally by annals, most of which unfortunately ceased to be kept by the 1540s when plantation first became an issue in the Irish scene. The seventeenth century Annals of the Four Masters, compiled from earlier annals, do give an insight into the Irish reaction to plantation. The English, or the Saxons as they are called, are mentioned only fitfully in the early sixteenth century entries, but after 1540 these become much fuller, and from 1546 to 1571 can be read as a continuous account of the impact of plantation on Irish - English relations. Events are sometimes misdated but the general narrative of events is psychologically sound. The state papers and the Annals of the Four Masters do not contradict each other; they are complementary. In at least one instance I have leaned on the four masters' interpretation of events; in several instances I have differed with the editor John O'Donovan on the identification of persons. Splendid as his work was, there are more sources available now than in his day.

Only one section of the Government material has been calendared in detail. The Calendar of the Carew

manuscripts... 1515-74, the first of six volumes, gives an accurate and detailed picture of a large and varied collection containing both originals and contemporary copies of government and other documents. There are two valuable publications for the reign of Henry VIII. The State Papers of Henry VIII devote two of eleven volumes to Irish correspondence, all papers being printed in full. There are occasional significant items relating to Ireland in the other nine volumes. The Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, is a magnificent calendar for the entire reign. In this work citations for the Henrician period are to these two sets, with references to the original documents only when necessary.

Beyond Henry's reign it becomes increasingly necessary to refer to the original documents as found in the Public Record Office of England and elsewhere. The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1509-73, is little more than a catalogue, useful as a guide to the collection, for the enumeration of the individual items remains the same. The originals have been consulted in the large collection of microfilms of Irish material in England and elsewhere assembled by the National Library of Ireland. Items of Irish interest have also been found in private collections in England, some of which, like the Salisbury manuscripts, have been calendared, and others not, like the Yelverton manuscripts recently acquired by the British Museum. In both cases the originals have been consulted.

Other calendars have yielded information, notably those of the fiants, the Irish and English patents, the domestic state papers, the foreign series, and those for Spain, Venice, and the Vatican. With the accession of Elizabeth the supply of sources becomes a flood. There are some 220 volumes of state papers, Ireland, alone, thirty-one of which concern the years from 1558 to 1571. While there are many omissions and losses in all the sources,



and frequently questions pose themselves which cannot be answered, their detailed and critical use has only begun.

Many secondary works have been of peripheral use, but only a few bear directly on plantation. Robert Dunlop's articles on the plantations of Leix and Offaly, Munster, and sixteenth century Ulster are still the standard accounts, the earliest being published in 1838. His paper on Henry VIII's Irish policy and his numerous articles in the Dictionary of national biography are useful. He was a pioneer and his work is good, but it is in need of revision, both as regards point of view and in the light of new sources. Richard Bagwell's Ireland under the Tudors suffers from the same defects, particularly the first of its three volumes which reaches 1558. It appeared in 1885 and many of the printed sources for the latter years of Henry VIII's reign were published after that date; hence the detailed treatment of that period in this work as the immediate background to plantation. Moriz Bonn's Die englische Kolonisation in Irland, published in 1906, has never been translated from its original German and was based entirely on the printed sources available at that time. Philip Wilson's The beginnings of modern Ireland appeared in 1912 and was a promising start to a new history of Tudor Ireland, but the first and only volume ends in 1558. As a general history it is delightfully written and gives a good introduction to the period, although its assumptions are sometimes too sweeping and the details misleading.

The more specialised work of W. F. T. Butler is still valuable. His Confiscation in Irish history includes a good account of 'surrender and regrant', and his Gleanings from Irish history, concerned mostly with the lordship of the MacCarthys, is an excellent example of the need to deal with each townland name if an accurate general picture

is to be obtained. R. Dudley Edwards has given a reliable account of the religious controversy of the century in Church and state in Tudor Ireland and I have dealt with that subject only as it impinges directly on plantation.

The work of D. B. Quinn on English expansion in sixteenth century Ireland is noteworthy. His paper on 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the beginnings of English colonial theory', dealing with the secretary's attempt to colonize the Ards in the early 1570s, has revived and stimulated interest in Ireland as the first beginning of American colonization. Smith's efforts were taken up by the first earl of Essex, and became the background for both the Munster plantation and the attempts to colonize the Virginia coast in the 1580s.

The purpose of this work is to give an account of what had happened in plantation before Smith's undertaking. There are many reasons for ending it in 1571. Sidney's first deputyship concludes then, and Cecil becomes Lord Burghley and lord treasurer, being replaced as principal secretary by Smith. Most importantly, Elizabeth's reign enters a new phase. The first great challenge to her rule in England came with the revolt of 1569; this event was prefigured in a similar revolt in Ireland earlier in the same year. Though it was successfully put down, the aftermath lasted more than a year. In Ireland land and religion had been the twin causes of rebellion, and with the fusing of these two elements a new period began. In February 1570 Elizabeth was excommunicated, and the possibility of causing further trouble in Ireland was canvassed and encouraged by Spain and France. The stage was being set for the final act in Ireland, ending in the war with Hugh O'Neill.



Thus the comparatively leisured period in which the crown could have exercised a number of choices had come to an end by 1571. Because Ireland is of such interest as the first large venture in English colonialism I have examined the period before plantation begins in the 1540s in some detail to show the different ideas offered to solve a complex problem. As the remains of a medieval attempt at colonization Ireland presented all the ramifications of a colonial relationship, and its treatment in the sixteenth century is more relevant to recent times than might appear at first. In the period of choice was created the only constitutional experiment destined to endure in Irish history. Henry's Kingdom of Ireland came into being in 1541 and lasted until 1801, and its supersession was regarded as a crime by Irish patriots. Why it did not have even greater vitality will, I hope, emerge in this work. The middle of the sixteenth century in Ireland was a period of debate and of the clash of 'factions' - a bad word in Tudor language -, as well as a conflict with the Irish. Certain minds were alive even then to the dangers, as well as the fruits, of a policy of expansion in Ireland.

Henry VIII had an enlightened policy for Ireland by the standards of the age, and his daughter Elizabeth was disposed to follow him, but between the two there was a period in which the crown's authority in Ireland was delegated. Much of the answer to what went wrong in Ireland lies in that period. The division of this work into three roughly equal sections, 1535-1546, 1547-1558, and 1559 to 1571 reflects that. The middle period has not been given in the past the importance which it deserves, and I hope that I have clarified it somewhat.

I have not attempted to write a complete history of the English reconquest. That will come when the political

history is more completely understood, and when studies in administrative, legal, and social history have been published. Though this work touches on all of these facets, and others, its primary purpose is to tell the story of plantation. Even in the matter of crown policy only those aspects which bear on the disposition of land are treated fully. I do not think that it has been grasped how central a problem the land question was in the sixteenth century. For the subsequent centuries and for earlier periods, it is a known fact, but the complexity of the sixteenth century has obscured the same basic truth.

If land was a central question much else is involved as well. I have not tried to give a composite picture of Ireland at that period. Nearly every previous work opens with one, none are wholly satisfactory, and much space would be required to do justice to an elusive, shifting, and endlessly detailed human scene. The great pitfall in this kind of Irish history lies in becoming fascinated with presenting the story of the disrupted Irish, rather than the English intruders. There are others, more competent than I, to tell the story of Gaelic Ireland. The English in their way were as various as the Irish, and I have tried to introduce a representative number of them. The persons followed have an influence on events, though that may not always be immediately obvious. The scene is allowed to emerge gradually as do the problems it presented.

It only remains to say a few words about presentation. I have endeavoured to give concreteness to this period in Irish history by letting contemporaries speak for themselves as often as possible. In doing so deletion is frequently necessary as Tudor prose is discursive, but at no time have I consciously altered the sense of a passage or heightened its force. In many cases the omission is nothing more than an appeal to heaven or the sovereign's



'most excellent majesty'. Spelling in such quotations has been modernized for easier reading, save for the occasional illustration of contemporary style. Therefore ye is 'the' where that was intended and 'ne' is rendered 'nay' though the word was often used for contrast rather than to mean a flat negative. Punctuation has also been modernized or placed where I think contemporaries intended the emphasis to fall. Place names are spelled according to the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, and proper names according to the modern English equivalent.

## CHAPTER I

## BREAKING A NARROW ENGLISH PALE

1485-1534

When Henry VII came to the throne in 1485 Ireland was a centre of Yorkist sentiment, and the diminished royal authority was exercised by the earl of Kildare as deputy. The king's only activity there in the 1480s was blocking a series of Yorkist attempts to erect a rival claimant to the crown in the persons of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. In the 1490s Henry determined to examine Irish affairs more thoroughly, and sent Sir Edward Poynings as deputy in 1494 accompanied by a small army, while Kildare was kept at court in England. Poynings is remembered chiefly for the parliament and its acts which bear his name, but he was also expected to demonstrate the royal authority with armed force. Then 'Henry VII intended that the initial military phase in Ireland should be followed by an experiment in administrative government new in a dependency. Ireland was to be made to pay her way...'<sup>1</sup>

With Poynings were sent two trusted servants, Henry Wyatt and William Hattecliffe, who were empowered to call the treasurer of Ireland to account. They were also instructed 'to investigate the sources of the king's revenue in Ireland in 1495 and to compare it in detail with the sums received in earlier days', and to see that the army was kept paid. The £7000 supplied from England kept Irish expenses in hand from August 1494 until June

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<sup>1</sup> Agnes Conway, Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485-98, p. 63.



1495. A surplus was maintained and a certain amount secured from Irish revenues.<sup>2</sup> The two were thorough in their work, and they anticipated that Irish revenue in 1496 would be about £2690. Against this income the salaries of the crown officers in Ireland amounted to some £1593, leaving aside completely the cost of the army. The actual Irish revenue received in 1496 was £1284.<sup>3</sup>

Since Henry Tudor and his descendants were particularly concerned with the question of crown revenue and expense in Ireland these figures are of interest. In all Henry VII's experiment in direct intervention in Ireland cost him about £10,000 sterling. He had accomplished his purposes of bringing Kildare to heel, of asserting royal authority, and of gaining an insight into Irish finance.. The last finding probably struck Henry's frugal nature most. Any attempt to establish a permanently enlarged royal authority would be costly in the extreme, and the Irish revenue would not for a long period equal the cost. The conclusion was too plain to be ignored. Henry put Kildare back as deputy as the least expensive means of controlling Ireland. He remained as deputy until Henry's death, and until his own death in 1513.

About the time of Poyning's rule in Ireland the earl of Ormond, an absentee in England, appointed his nephew James as his deputy, supervisor, and general and special attorney in counties Kilkenny and Tipperary.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Agnes Conway, Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485-98, pp. 64-6. Appendices IX-XI set out the figures in full.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-4. Appendices XII-XIV, XVI-XVIII, again give complete details.

<sup>4</sup> Ormond Deeds, 1509-47. Appendix, pp. 307-80, Ormond papers, 1480-1535... edited by D. B. Quinn. No. 19 [1495] Ormond's appointment of James. The editor thinks it may be as late as 1496.

This arrangement was not destined to endure for it ran counter to the aspirations of another Butler, Sir Piers of Polestown, who informed the earl that James had tried to shut Sir Piers from his lands, assumed the rule of the area, and called himself earl. Sir Piers, according to his own account, met James in open field with his forces and slew him. He asked Ormond for the position of deputy in place of James, and assured him that he could make the lordship pay better. Now Sir Piers was the son-in-law<sup>5</sup> of the earl of Kildare who backed him in this request, and in one in 1504 in which Sir Piers sought a grant of Ormond's lands in Co. Kildare. Kildare stated that he would gladly assist in recovering lands 'out of the possession of them which occupy the same without your licence in Oughterany as elsewhere'. Before this request was made Sir Piers had agreed with Kildare on what he would pay the earl if Ormond sold him 'the whole or a part of his interests in Ireland'. In 1505 Ormond granted to Sir Piers the manor of Cloncurry with all its possessions in the barony of Oughterany, co. Kildare, and elsewhere, and also the manors of Oughterard and Castlewarden in the<sup>6</sup> neighbouring barony of South Salt.

On 9 July 1505 Ormond made Sir Piers his deputy and on 20 July Sir Piers secured from him the entail of the lands and rents of the manors of Tullow and Arklow, key points in the connexion of the Butler lordship to the sea. He was to keep three-fourths of their profits, above their charges, and pay Ormond and his heirs

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Sir Piers Butler to Ormond, 7 Sept. 1497, (Ormond Deeds, 1509-47, Appendix, no. 31) and Kildare to Ormond, 28 Jan. 1498, (Conway op. cit. appendix XLVIII).

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Kildare to Ormond, 17 May 1504 (Ormond Deeds, 1509-47. Appendix, no. 73). A note by the editor states that the agreement between Sir Piers and Kildare was on 13 Apr. 1504. Grant by the earl of Ormond to Sir Piers Butler, 24 Dec. 1505 (*ibid.*, no. 74).



the remaining fourth. Years later Sir Piers related how he with a force of men and 'danger of my life, and great charge, recovered the possession of the said manors out of Irishmen's hands, and made thereupon great buildings and reparations to make them strong and defencible' which had been in Irish hands 'the space of these 200 years'.<sup>7</sup> The territory of Ormond was claimed by virtue of the entail as well, and before 1534 Sir Piers had been paying the duke of Norfolk £40 a year for the manors of Old Ross, Dorbas Island, and Fasagh Bantry in co. Wexford.<sup>8</sup>

In some manner Sir Piers and his father-in-law Kildare had agreed on a policy of recovering lands from the resurgent Irish by a joint Butler-Fitzgerald effort. It was part of a longtime policy of Kildare's for as early as 1483 he had obtained an act of the Irish parliament, meeting in Limerick,<sup>9</sup> which enabled him to hold lands in counties Carlow and Kildare which he claimed to have brought peaceably into subjection, if the English holders failed to make counter-claims. These lands stretched from Calverton<sup>sw</sup>, just south of Kilcullen in the centre of county Kildare, along a twenty-five mile belt to Carlow, and down the Barrow to the bridge and castle of Leighlin (see p. 56). Their object was clear: to separate the Irish of the Leinster chain from those west of the Barrow, and with Sir Piers in Tullow and Arklow, to separate those in the north of the

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<sup>7</sup> Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509, no. 320 (1,3), and Sir Piers Butler, earl of Ossory, to Thomas Cromwell, 2 Jan. 1532 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 153-5). James Butler to Cromwell, c. Sept. 1537 (ibid. 475-7) stated that the entail included the lordship of Ormond. It was not in dispute in 1532.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum by Norfolk, 1536 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [vol. X], no. 1236).

<sup>9</sup> See Donough Bryan, The Great Earl of Kildare, pp. 60-1 where this unpublished statute is discussed.

Leinster chain from those in the south; then the Kildare and Ormond lordships could be enlarged to their medieval extent at Irish expense. This joint undertaking probably had the tacit approval of the crown and continued into the reign of Henry VIII, until Sir Piers and the new earl of Kildare quarreled and parted sometime before 1520.

The Polestown Butlers and the Fitzgeralds were not the only evidence of expansive moves. In 1507 Thomas Kent, a former servant of Kildare's<sup>10</sup> and chief baron of the exchequer, secured from Ormond a lease of the lordships of Rush, Turvey, Balcaddan, Donaghmore, and Blackcastle in counties Dublin and Meath. His cousin Edmond Golding was involved as well for Golding wrote to Ormond concerning his own suit for the mill of Blackcastle and the farm of Donaghmore. Golding also cast his mind generally over county Meath, the heart of the English pale. He could recall only one person who rode a saddle daily, a distinguishing mark of Englishry. Of another such mark, the wearing of a gown and doublet, he could produce only two examples, one being Sir William Darcy of Platin just west of Drogheda, where Golding was writing. He concluded his recital of English decay by saying 'and I, my lord, I am an Englishman. I pray you to defend... me or then shall come a horseman and a galloglas in my stead and settle in your lands, doubt ye it not'. Such a plea of the danger of being swamped by the neighbouring Irish appeared regularly in any request for aid, improvement in terms, or reduction of rent, but it was probably real enough in many cases. He also asked the earl to 'be good lord to my son-in-law Patrick Fynglas', who had been both

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Kildare to Ormond, 30 Mar. 1498 (Conway, op. cit., Appendix XLIX).



at Lincoln's Inn and at court. The author of the 'breviate of the conquest of Ireland and of the decay of the same' thus makes his first appearance on the Irish scene. He may have begun the 'breviate' as a student in an effort to explain the Irish situation, though its final form is much later. With Sir William Darcy he was among the first to offer the English crown an analysis of Irish problems, and propose a solution for them.

Henry VII was succeeded by his son in 1509 without any surface change in Ireland. It seems likely that the crown was relying on Kildare and Sir Piers Butler to recover an enlarged area of influence for it in Ireland. The first voice raised in the century-long discussion on English policy in Ireland was that of John Kite, newly appointed archbishop of Armagh. When he arrived in Ireland in 1514 he was struck like many a newcomer after him, by the contrast between its promise and its wretched state, and he lost no time giving a brief sermon to his friend Cardinal Wolsey on the country's needs:

In the which country most plenteous of corn, cattle, fish, and fowl; skant of wood in all the Englishry. I perceive without help of God and grace of a most virtuous king all shall decay. Much I put them in fear assuring them of the king's coming ere long, to which God grant above all other things. Of my conscience, the king is as much bound to reform this land as to maintain the good order and justice of England, more bound to subdue them than Jews or Saracens...

both because obedience to the church was slight without the force of the temporal sword, and because the great revenues to which the crown was entitled went uncollected and were spent against the church.



For religion, for Christ's faith, for the love of God, for most that as ye did for your own soul, help that ye may (which may do most), to the redress of this most plenteous country, most profitable to the possessor being once in order.<sup>12</sup>

The plea fell on deaf ears. The cardinal was not interested in Ireland, for his days were consumed with foreign affairs, judicial work, and internal administration, leaving little time for anything else. But about 1519 Henry himself made drafts of a number of reforms to enable him to govern personally. Among the matters for 'reformation' was the reduction to order of Ireland.<sup>13</sup>

In listing such a project Henry may have been influenced by the pious pleas of the archbishop, or by a paper of Sir William Darcy's on the evils of coyne and livery as the root of Irish ills,<sup>14</sup> but it is most likely that he had read an eloquent document subsequently entitled 'State of Ireland and plan for its reformation' which was addressed to the king, and gave a most searching and cogent analysis of conditions there.<sup>15</sup>

In his proposals for reform the author put his finger on what was to be the chronic problem of the Tudors in Ireland when he observed that a majority of the 'English folk' outside the area of the pale 'would be right glad to obey the king's laws, if they might be defended by the king of the Irish enemies'. Since he was not defending them, and the deputy could not, they had turned from obedience to his laws and lived by the

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John Kite to Wolsey, 14 May 1514 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/1, no. 3).

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Elton, Tudor Revolution in government, pp. 36-7.

14

Articles of Sir William Darcy to the King's council, 24 June 1515 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 2).

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S.P. Hen. VIII, ii.1-31. The date usually assigned to this document is 1515, and if, as the evidence suggests, William Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, was its author, that date would probably be correct. Rokeby was in England from the summer of 1515 to the summer of 1516 and would have had an opportunity to present the paper then.



sword, as their Irish enemies did. In England the king's army was composed of the commons, but 'the king's army in Ireland is all such that oppress the commons...'. The usual costs of government, with the exactions of a deputy who was a self-interested magnate, 'the extortion of coyne and livery daily, the wrongful exaction of hosting money, of carriage and cartage daily, the king's great subsidy yearly, the tribute and blackrent to the king's Irish enemies, and other infinite extortions and daily exactions', combined to undermine and make supine the subjects of the English pale. They were ready to sell their freeholds, just as the freeholders of the marches were so vexed with extortion that they would gladly sell to their extorters. Coyne and livery was defined as the taking of horse meat [food] and man's meat, by compulsion, without payment. By this means of providing for a large army of mercenaries it was estimated that the earl of Kildare on his expeditions into Ulster, Munster, and Connaught cost the populace £100 a day, or some £36,000 a year. These exactions would not cease until every area could defend itself 'from all other enemies, without aid, succour, or any support of the king's deputy', an impossibility under present conditions.

Against any change there were those who argued that conditions were good 'that Englishmen's land was never better tilled in this hundred year than now, and all this could not be done without might and strength of the deputy's army and retinue, which he could not hold with him without the said extortions; ergo, extortion is that thing that defendeth and not that thing that destroyeth the king's subjects'. It was also advanced that many of the great Irish chiefs so protected those under them 'that their lands be tilled and occupied with

the plough, as well as ever they were'. Finally there were those who thought that no remedy could be found, since none had been discovered in the past 200 years. And so the condition would always continue that there were 'no common folk in all this world so little set by, so greatly despised, so feeble, so poor, and so greatly trod under foot; as the Irish commons.

But the writer believed that these same commons were the solution to the problem, and at little cost to the crown, granted two propositions: first, that the commons be taught to shoot with crossbows, or with handguns; and second, that such weapons be made available at Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and other points. Some twenty or more expert gunners should be sent over 'to walk among the common folk, from one county till another' instructing those charged with guns, for with the decay of archery there was nothing 'all the wild Irish and English rebels of this land doth dread more than the shot of arrows, or any other shot of kind of weapon in this world'. Many smiths and craftsmen out of England should be imported into the cities to manufacture weapons, and the merchants should be forbidden to sell harness, weapons, or powder to any but the king's subjects.

County Meath was to be the test area. There in the barony of Kells, which was next to O'Reilly, 'the strongest Irish rebel in those marches', a muster should be held requiring that 'every valiant person' be armed, and in such fashion as outlined. A mass muster of the county should be held every St George's day on the hill of Tara; and at all musters proclamation should be made that all who had ready the harness and weapons required should never be oppressed with coyne and livery again, or any other kind of exaction above their usual rents.



Every town and village should answer hue and cry, and all within six miles of the wild Irish should be 'ditched and hedged strongly about the gates, of timber, after the manner of the county of Kildare for dread of fire of their enemies', and trees should be planted to supply the dearth of timber. There was to be cooperation on these ventures and an elaborate system of penalties for failure to carry out the provisions.

Throughout the argument the need for the revival of the structure and machinery of shire and parish government was urged. Justices and wardens of the peace, with parish constables, should have the power to investigate and check all exactions practised on one tenant by another, and to see that all were properly armed and mustered. Not only was this scheme to extend to the lands of the Anglo-Irish, but to the Irish areas as well. Here the great landlords and chiefs of every nation should be made peers, responsible to the government in Dublin, and holding by English inheritance. Lesser Irish leaders were to be made knights. Their sons and heirs should be sent to Drogheda 'to lerne to wryte and rede, and to speke Englyshe, to lerne also the draught and maners of Englyshe men'. Once the barony plan had proved successful in Meath it should be extended rapidly to Louth, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Wexford, and later to Waterford, Kilkenny, south Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick.

The crown must match these efforts with one of its own. The time was ripe for the king to come into Ireland, not with a large force, but with an army of 2000 or so, for there were 100,000 loyal subjects ready to serve him. A larger force would be expensive, and would accomplish nothing lasting. What would be needed was a permanent garrison. A captain of an army should be

sent with 500 soldiers on horseback: 200 archers and 100 gunners, 100 spears in the Welsh manner, and 100 horsemen in the Irish manner. The whole force was to be at the king's expense for three years, until his subjects were put in order, for were he as wise as Solomon 'he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obeisance without dread of the sword and of the might and strength of his power, and of his English subjects, ordered as aforesaid...'

Such reform once accomplished 'Englishmen of England, will be as desirous to come and dwell in this land as ever they were at the first conquest', and any grant to them of Irish lands from Dublin to Wexford and New Ross could be made as the king willed. For it was necessary that all that area 'be inhabit with Englishmen, not only to nourish our English language, but also to increase archery, whereby the land was conquered, and in default of archery, unto little, the land is lost'. Then a similar scheme should be carried out in Ulster on the coasts of Antrim and Down. Henry was asked to send one man out of every parish of England, Cornwall, and Wales into this land' to inhabit both areas

for then the earldom of Ulster would be, within a few years, of as great value as ever it was, so that the said inhabitants be acquainted with tilling of the land, for there is no better land for all manner grain than the said lands from the Green Castle to the Bann, and from the city of Dublin to the port towns of Wexford and Ross.

The commonality of England would not be hurt and the income of the crown would be increased by £20,000. With the whole reform program the English would be given protection and be enabled to command both the Irish, and the Irish Scots, and every area would be strong enough to defend itself. The program could be carried out a county at a time to save expense, beginning with Leinster.

In asking that a man a parish from England be settled



the writer was following what had been recommended as early as the reign of Richard II, and repeated subsequently.<sup>16</sup> Yet he evidently regarded such a step as crucial for he felt that if the king would not accept the idea the whole problem should be given to the deputy and council 'for it pass my wit to write thereof' the English were so far from help. But reformed Ireland 'would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce... in as much as there was never stranger or alien person, great or small, that would avoid therefrom', but rather seeing its disorders overcome, would be the more willing to settle.

The proposals were in many ways optimistic, the product of an author fired by enthusiasm as he wrote, but they also contained a solid element of truth. And it is probable that the paper received careful attention from Henry. As we have seen he had noted Ireland for reform in 1519, and there is a memorandum for Ireland of that time in which it was suggested that the Irish be told that the king was sending a new deputy to reduce the land to order, not with the intention of making war against those who would do their duty, or taking anything from any man lawfully entitled, but to make a fair distribution of lands at reasonable rents, seeing that they now lived 'without order, not wealthy, nay being assured of any succession to their heirs'.<sup>17</sup>

The man chosen as lieutenant in the first real intervention in Ireland in twenty-five years was Thomas

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16

Curtis, Med. Ire. [1938 ed.] pp. 266-7, 274, 279, and 288.

17

Memorandum, c. Mar. 1520, (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1519-23, no. 670). 'A device how Ireland may be well kept in obedience' misdated Dec. 1521 by the Cal. S.P. Ire, 1509-75, p. 4. Again the probable author is Archbishop Rokeby.

Howard, earl of Surrey, then in his late forties, and at the height of his powers. His lieutenancy is worth attention not for what he did, which was impermanent, but for what he observed and proposed in Ireland. As duke of Norfolk he was to have a voice in Irish affairs until his death in 1554. His very appointment suggested that the crown saw Ireland as a problem in military control, perhaps along the line of the '... plan for its reformation'. By the end of July Surrey wrote from Ireland that while he had not yet discussed the matter with the Irish council, 'undoubtedly we all fear that the said Irishmen would not be brought to no good order, unless it be by compulsion, which will not be done without a great puissance of men, and great costs of money and long continuance of time'. If Henry had the determination he should 'at length, obtain the conquest of this land, the soil whereof may be well compared in goodness unto your realm of England'.<sup>18</sup>

But as Surrey's enthusiasm waxed, Henry's waned, a progression that was finally to end in their complete disagreement. In the autumn Henry gave Surrey his views on Irish policy. Because O'Neill and the other Irish captains had come in and submitted, the king and his council considered

that in case circumspect and politic ways be used, ye shall not only bring them to further obedience, for the observance of our laws, and governing themselves according to the same, but also following justice, to forbear to detain rebelliously such lands and dominions as to us in right appertaineth; which thing must as yet rather be practised by sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions, founded in law and reason, than by rigorous dealing, comminations /denunciations/ or any other enforcement by strength or violence.

To spend large sums of money for the appearance of Irish obedience 'were a thing of little policy, less advantage,

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18

Surrey to Henry VIII, 23 July 1520 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 35-8).



and least effect'. Economy must be observed. Surrey was to try to reason with the principal Irish to conform to the king's laws, and to restore what was rightfully his. If an entry could be gained in one of the crown possessions such as the earldom of Ulster, it could be consolidated and used as a springboard to recover his own, and other usurped possessions, while reassuring the Irish that they would not be deprived of anything legally theirs. Such was the best and quickest way to bring in good order and obedience in Ireland,

and to cause the same to be inhabited and manured; considering that every lord having his own should not only be able to live there honourably and to subdue tyranny, but also would see their lands inhabited, tilled, and laboured for their most advantage.

The policy would require skill and tact and Henry left it to Surrey's wisdom 'to whom the experience and drifts of that land be better known than to us'. Two final tasks were set for him: to increase the revenue, and, having knighted O'Neill and other Irish captains, to persuade them to come to Henry, in the hope of changing their ways by exposure to the life of the court.<sup>19</sup>

Surrey's reaction was prompt and explosive. He wrote to Henry

the truth, as I am bound to do, how that I see it evidently by many ways, that this land will never be brought to due obeisance, but only with compulsion and conquest... that if the king's pleasure be not to go through with the conquest of this land, which will be a marvellous charge, no longer to suffer me to waste his grace's treasure here;

He was prepared to carry out whatever policy the crown determined, but he saw any other course as unprofitable and dishonourable.<sup>20</sup>

Henry evidently felt that Surrey was becoming too

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19

Henry VIII to Surrey (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 51-7). The letter is undated, but reached the deputy late in Nov. 1520.

20

Surrey to Wolsey, 16 Dec. 1520 (ibid., pp. 61-2).

engrossed in Ireland and in the spring of 1521 he sent Sir John Peachey, properly instructed, to pacify him and explain the larger framework of crown policy. Henry's troubles with the emperor, the French king, and a possible war with Scotland made it likely that he would have to maintain three armies, at incalculable cost. Ireland was already an expense, and if the establishment there were increased to suit Surrey it should amount yearly to at least £16,000 or £17,000, and Henry had no hope of his English parliament granting such sums. He felt that Surrey could appreciate the situation. The forces the earl requested would 'serve for none other purpose, but only to defend the Englishry' and then Henry would still be faced with the reduction of the country as he was before, a process calling for new and greater expenditure, the overstraining of his resources, and possible failure, 'which might finally redound to the diminishing of his noble fame and estimation throughout Christendom'. If the king could afford it, he would undertake to provide for Surrey's needs, but his European commitments came first, then his defence against Scotland, and finally Ireland. Surrey was 'by all politic ways, drifts, and means to him possible, provide that his grace be not put to further charge, till such time as the end of the other great matters... may be known'. He was to confine himself to defending the four English shires and restraining royal expenditure, a task which, successfully fulfilled, would be to the king 'as great pleasure and acceptable service, as though by his policy and puissance, he had conquered and subdued the whole land'.

Peachey and Surrey were to cooperate in forming a



policy, which they did, with Surrey ensuring that Peachey had ample opportunity to see and hear about the Irish situation in all its details. When the latter returned to England he was able to report that the earl was conforming to Henry's wishes, to the king's evident satisfaction.<sup>22</sup>

At the end of June 1521 Surrey informed Henry that he intended an expedition against the Irish confederation in the west, to remind them he meant more than words, unless the king objected. Early the next month events forced his hand, for the Irish assembled 'a right great power' and on 9 July the earl set off to Brian O'Connor's country to meet them. He spent most of the month burning and harrowing Offaly, destroying 'a marvellous deal of corn'. He also laid siege to O'Connor's castle of Monasteroris, considered 'the strongest hold within the Irishry'. Its owner had fled, but he had left a ward and some gunners to hold it. With the use of ordnance Surrey took the castle in two days, and warded it on 15 July. The wasting of the country continued until the 23rd, for despite the castle's fall, and the general destruction, Surrey observed with surprise that the whole time he was there the inhabitants would not agree to peace 'but answered plainly, to such as moved to have peace between them and me, that they would never fall to peace with Englishmen till they had utterly destroyed them'. Surrey charged O'Connor with this wilfulness for with his castle lost, and his country burned, it meant that 'his people shall be enforced either to forsake the country, or die for hunger this winter coming'. The earl drew a more general

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22.

Henry VIII to Surrey (S.P. Hen VIII, ii.70-2). Undated, but reached Surrey 27 June 1521. See also Surrey to Henry VIII, 30 June (ibid., 72-5).



conclusion as well:

Undoubtedly these Irishmen be so sore confedered together, that I see no likelihood but continual war, which shall be right hard to withstand, without that the Englishry, and most especially the county of Kildare, shall take some hurts, principally for lack of one good captain to defend the same when I am busy in other countries.

Surrey asked for a decision on O'Connor's castle.

As long as I keep it, he will be at war. And if your grace intend to conquer this land, it is as necessary for the entry upon Irishmen's countries as Berwick is in Scotland. I have so manned and victualled the said castle that, with God's grace, it shall be out of danger of Irishmen, till I be advertised of your gracious pleasure.<sup>23</sup>

For the time Monasteroris was held as Sir John Stile, who had commanded the ordnance at its siege, made the same argument for retaining it, which could be done with a few men. O'Connor, however, seems to have been back in possession by the spring of 1522.<sup>24</sup>

The crown had come to the decision to recall Surrey by the autumn of 1521. Wolsey had advised Henry that in Ireland 'it were good policy to save such money as is yearly employed upon the defence of that land, which cannot be if ye make an Englishman your lieutenant', and the king agreed.<sup>25</sup> The two wrote to Surrey that the annual expenditure upon an English successor with a retinue like Surrey's would be a waste of money, which saved 'might stand in good stead for the advancement of other higher enterprises, that may perchance be set foreward, within few years hereafter'.<sup>26</sup>

It was delicately put, with an eye to its effect on Surrey, who could expect to be at the centre of these

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23

Surrey to Henry VIII, 30 June, 29 July, and Sir John Stile to Wolsey, 30 July 1521, (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 72-5, 75-7, 77-82).

24

Stile to Wolsey, 19 Oct. (*ibid.*, 85-8, and note).

25

Wolsey to Henry VIII, 14 Oct., and Richard Pace to Wolsey, 27 Oct. 1521 (S.P. Hen. VIII, i. 72-4, 74-6).

26

Henry VIII to Surrey, 30 or 31 Oct. 1521 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 88-91). The original draft is in Wolsey's hand, corrected by the king in final form.



'other higher enterprises' rather than fulfilling his ambition to be the subduer of Ireland. The shaft went home; the earl returned to England, becoming duke of Norfolk in 1524, and a councillor and officer of the crown.

The council of Ireland was lavish in its praise of him to Wolsey, saying that his 'active prowess and great policy' had prepared the way for reform, and that he had 'the best experience of this land, and the ways how the said reformation may ratherest be brought to effect, of any man that ever came into this land in our time'. If the king would furnish him with sufficient men the task which he had begun could be completed, an approach which they reminded the cardinal would require his mediation, urging, and sustaining.<sup>27</sup> But Surrey's stay in Ireland had cost the crown £20,000,<sup>28</sup> and in fact Wolsey had recommended the appointment of Sir Piers Butler, now Earl of Ormond, as his successor on the grounds of economy, leaving Henry the means to pursue his continental enterprises. The cardinal had no enthusiasm for Ireland, and his views carried for the time being. Ormond received his patent as lord deputy on 6 March 1522.<sup>29</sup> Thus the crown returned to its search for some formula that would shift the cost and effort of expanding the English influence in Ireland to the Butlers and Fitzgeralds. As it had been the policy of Henry VII so it continued to be that of Henry VIII, until the Geraldine revolt forced a new outlook.

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<sup>27</sup>

Council of Ireland to Wolsey, 21 Dec. 1521 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 91-2).

<sup>28</sup>

D. B. Quinn, 'Tudor Rule in Ireland in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII', unpublished thesis, p. 272.

<sup>29</sup>

Wolsey to Henry VIII, 14 Oct. 1521 (S.P. Hen. VIII, i. 72-4). The date of Ormond's patent, *ibid.* p. 70.



In June 1521 Surrey, with a year's experience as the king's lieutenant, had set down at length his opinion on the course English government in Ireland should follow, and he asked that Sir John Peachey be questioned to bear him out. He explained that since each of the council in Ireland had given an opinion, which unfortunately do not appear to have survived, he would also give his. It was 'well expressed' in his instructions and in many of the king's letters that the chief reason for his presence in Ireland was to inform Henry of the ways and means to reduce it to obedience and good order. Though he knew he was defeated at court, Surrey urged, as he had repeatedly done, that the only solution was conquest, which could be done in either of two ways:

One way is, if your grace will one year set on hand to win one country, and so continue till all at length be won. After mine opinion, the least number that your grace must occupy can be no less than 2500; for it is not to be doubted, that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that your grace intendeth a conquest, they will all combine together, and withstand the same to the best of their power. And over and above their own power undoubtedly they may have three or four thousand Irish Scots, whensoever and as often as they will call for them; and they be not distant from the north parts of this land four hours sailing. Also I think the earl of Argyle, and divers others of those we call English Scots, will come if they be desired.

And if your grace will in more brief time have your purpose brought to pass, and to set upon the conquest in divers places at one time; then 6000 men is the least number that your grace may occupy. But to advertise your grace in how many years either the one number or the other should accomplish and perfect the conquest, the matter is so high and uncertain that I dare not meddle therewith. Undoubtedly this land is five time as much as Wales; and when King Edward the First set on hand to conquer the same, it cost him ten years ere he won it all. Wherefore, considering the long time he was in conquering the same, and for the most part being present in his own person, and no sea being present between England and Wales as is between England and this land, I fear and cannot believe it will be so soon won as Wales was. For undoubtedly, the countries here be as strong, or stronger as Wales, and the inhabitants of the same can and do live more hardly than any other people, after mine opinion, in Christendom or Turkey.

Also, if it shall like your grace to set on hand with the said conquest, your grace must furnish the most



part of the number with victuals, and carriage for the same, out of England or some other countries; for here is much to do to furnish this company that is now here. And ever, as the countries shall fortune to be won, strong towns and fortresses must be builded upon the same.

And, after my poor opinion, unless your grace send inhabitants of your own natural subjects to inhabit such countries as shall be won, all your charges should be but wastefully spent. For if these country people of the Irish should inhabit, undoubtedly they would return to their old ill-rooted customs whensoever they might see any time to take their advantage, accordingly as they have ever yet done and daily do. And if all the people of this land should be compelled to fall to labour (which they will never do as long as they may find any country in the land to go unto) yet... there should not be found number sufficient to inhabit well the third part of the land.

And how few English inhabitants be now within these four shires, Master Peachey can inform your grace, for he hath seen a good part thereof. And if your grace should inhabit such countries as should be won with Spaniards, Flemings, Almaynes, or any other nation save only your own natural subjects, I fear, at length they will rather be obedient to the prince of their native country than to any other. The premises considered... the difficulty to conquer this land resteth in these three articles ensuing:

First, to furnish the army that your grace will have here with money, until the conquest be perfected.

Secondly, how to furnish the said numbers with victuals and carriage for the said victuals, ordnance, artillery, and all other stuff that must be occupied in building of strong fortresses.

Thirdly, how to find inhabitants in sufficient number, that will continue true subjects to your grace, and your noble succession.

Surrey ended by asking Henry to hear from Peachey what little thanks the king had from his subjects for his expenditure and the efforts of his representative, and he made the petition, as so many of his successors were to do, 'to serve your grace in England, or in any other place, than here... He had experienced the futility of seeing what needed to be done, without being given the means to do it. As an analysis of the problem, and a possible solution, his insight was admirable. Indeed it was the direction, piecemeal, which English

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Surrey to Henry VIII, 30 June 1521 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 72-5). In fact Ireland has some 32,000 square miles, to some 8,000 for Wales, thus making Ireland almost exactly four times as large. Surrey was as accurate in his estimate of the numbers of soldiers needed, as the 1540s, 50s, and 60s illustrate.



policy was to take ultimately, and it probably would have been better for all concerned, and certainly less expensive, if Surrey had been allowed to carry it through in the early decades of the century. But it is hardly to be wondered that Wolsey should have argued against such a course as misdirected, and expensive. The crown was not yet ready for such an undertaking, and Henry always had a consistent vision of another policy towards Ireland, which we have glimpsed, and which he was to develop more fully later.

Thus the second large-scale intervention of the English government in Ireland ended inconclusively. With the substitution of Ormond as lord deputy matters returned to their more usual course, and in the spring of 1522 there was not much more to report than the usual 'frays, preys, and petty robberies'. The rumour that Kildare was coming home had caused danger and unrest in co. Kildare, for Conell O'More showed signs of making war on a county already overburdened with coyne and livery. A similar danger threatened the whole pale, which would be a loss to the crown of rent and subsidy. Kildare and his countess complained that the new deputy had delivered two or three of their castles in co. Kildare, which were defences of the pale, to the Irish, including one to O'Conor.<sup>31</sup>

Kildare returned and for a time worked with Ormond, who needed all the assistance he could get. One dangerous incident was remembered long after. Sir Henry Sidney in 1558 recalled that after Surrey's

Sir John Stile to Wolsey, 25 Apr., Kildare to Henry VIII, and the countess of Kildare to Wolsey, both 25 May 1522 (S.P.Hen. VIII, ii. 97-8, 99-101, 101-2).



departure O'Conor 'invaded as far as Gormanston [co. Meath]  
 and in despite of the English lineage shod his horse at  
 the hill of Tara, and such murders, stealths, burnings,  
 and coyne and livery in the English pale was not since  
 the conquest as was then<sup>32</sup>. The gesture at Tara may have  
 been a claim for the vanished Irish high-kingship, and if  
 so it is interesting as an index of the importance of  
 O'Conor among the Irish, and contrarywise his adverse  
 impression on the English at an early date. Under  
 1523 the annals of the Four Masters record that Kildare  
 led a large army of the English of Meath, and O'Neill  
 'against O'Conor Faly, Connell O'More, and the Irish  
 of Leinster in general'. The matter was arbitrated by  
 O'Neill to the satisfaction of all, and the Irish left  
 pledges and hostages in Kildare's hands<sup>33</sup>. If the two  
 incidents are the same, as they appear to be, O'Conor  
 dropped his claims to the high-kingship for the moment  
 in deference to his father-in-law Kildare.

The experiment of Ormond as deputy had not been  
 very successful, and early in 1524 the crown had determined  
 to reappoint Kildare. In April three commissioners were  
 appointed to go to Ireland and resolve matters, the  
 first of many such undertakings. The result was a  
 series of interlocking documents designed to secure  
 peace between the two earls, now at odds, and generally  
 to further English interests at no more cost than an  
 agreement. There was an indenture between Ormond  
 and Kildare, and also recognizances for the English  
 and Irish marchers, and Bermingham, Ormond and Kildare.  
 The recognizances were aimed at stopping coyne and livery,

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32

Sidney and council to Sussex, 20 Mar. 1558,  
 enclosed in Sussex to the privy council, 7 Apr. 1558  
 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/4, nos 32, 31 i).

33

A. F. M., v.1367. Entry for 1523.

and generally enforcing the royal laws in the English marches. In the Irish marches each magnate was rated with an established retinue for defence against the king's English and Irish rebels. Royal laws were to be enforced, and coyne and livery was strictly regulated in each instance. Forfeitures were fixed for violations, Kildare and Ormond both being assessed at 1000 marks. Kildare was to have the coyne and livery paid to his father, of his own tenants in co. Kildare and co. Carlow. 34

Finally, Kildare was to be bound by an indenture with the king himself. As deputy he was to be governed by the lords and council. There was to be no coyne and livery within the pale itself, and it was to be strictly regulated beyond it. He also agreed to have musters kept in every barony every year or two years, commanding 'every man to have harness and artillery, according to his degree, as English spears, bows, and bills', a reflection of earlier advice to the crown. Kildare further promised that he would make no arrangements with the Irish that should be prejudicial to the crown, its deputies, or its subjects, nor would he 'suffer any man to occupy the king's manors and lands that are yearly the king's, and have been in the king's possession, but only such as have letters patents to show therefore', or purchase any lands in dispute between subjects. Here the beginnings of a definite royal policy towards land can be seen.

The deputy was to spend £40. during his first year in office, and 40 marks a year thereafter, for the repair of the royal castles of Dublin and Trim, and other royal castles, from the crown revenues. Provisions were made for the revival of shire government, and in



the pale Kildare was to see that English apparel, language and manners were used. There were to be no feudal wars, and by way of inducement and reward he and Ormond were to divide the subsidy due the king.<sup>35</sup>

The interest of this document does not lie in its realism, or the probability that Kildare would perform it, but its indication of crown thinking. Its provisions / spring from and are in accord with the 'State of Ireland...' of the previous decade.

The arrangements were not satisfactory ones. Kildare as deputy could not please both the English and the Irish, and above all he could not keep on good terms with Ormond. The conflicts between the two rival houses were soon as sharp as ever. In the spring of 1525 Ormond wrote to his son James at court that 'as for the indentures, they be infringed by the deputy, and in manner no point observed...' though, of course, he had kept them. Kildare had used coyne and livery in the three obedient shires, and on some of Ormond's tenants, who were so impoverished as a result that they could pay no rent. Within a month this complaint was followed by charges to be expounded by Kildare's brother-in-law Lord Leonard Grey 'touching the misdemeanor of... Ormond, sithens the departure of the king's commissioners out of Ireland!'<sup>36</sup> The battle was joined, and continued for the next two and a half years, with first one and finally both parties being called to London to resolve the dispute.

The government of Ireland inevitably suffered and early in 1528 officials in Dublin were writing that the

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35

Indenture between Henry VIII and Kildare, 4 Aug. 1524, (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 114-18).

36

Ormond to Lord Butler, 22 Apr., and 'Articles...' of Kildare, c. May 1525. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 118-19, 120-4).

absence of both Ormond and Kildare had emboldened the Irish and English rebels, and great losses had been sustained among the Englishry, in the marches, and in the counties of Kildare, Kilkenny and Tipperary. Thus there was a pressing need for defence as the vice-deputy Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, did not have the power to defend the Englishry, being possessed of few lands of his own, and without the necessary crown revenue for effective forces.<sup>37</sup> Apparently he also lacked good sense, or his annoyance as a Meath landholder overcame him, for in May the Irish council had to report 'a great misfortune'. Delvin had been taken prisoner during a parley with O'Conor, despite their warning to him of Brian's nature. They had argued it would be better to continue to pay the latter his 'wages', fixed blackrent, rather than resort to war, but Delvin had decided not to.<sup>38</sup>

The resulting furor caused Norfolk to comment to Wolsey, probably sardonically, that he was 'sorry to hear of the great danger that poor land is now in, which unless your grace, by your great wisdom, shortly put remedy unto, I fear shall not be recovered with a right great charge...'. He considered that the root of the trouble was the quarrel between Kildare and the earl of Ossory, ~~and~~<sup>and</sup> Sir Piers Butler was now titled, the earldom of Ormond having been given to the Boleyns. The duke observed that there was the added difficulty that if the Irish had followed a scorched earth policy, a force sent from England would not be able to find food,

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37

Archbishop Inge and Chief Justice Bermingham to Wolsey, 23 Feb. 1528 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 126-7).

38

Council of Ireland to Wolsey, 15 May 1528 (*ibid.*, pp. 127-8). See also Inge and Bermingham to Norfolk, 15 May, Butler to Inge, 20 May, Ossory to Inge, 21 May, and Ossory to Henry VIII, 17 June 1528 (*ibid.*, pp. 129-30, 130-1, 132-3, 133-4).



and in the end the king would be forced 'to begin a new conquest, as King Henry the Second did'. Within a fortnight Norfolk was writing again to say that Wolsey should talk to Thomas Bathe, as he had, to get a thorough picture of the chaos in Ireland. He stressed one point of Bathe's, in particular. Most of the marchers, not knowing how to be defended, had made clandestine agreements with their Irish neighbours so that the latter could pass through and do damage farther in the pale, leaving the marchers unscathed. 'If this be not remedied', Norfolk argued 'the land will be clean overrun and spoiled, and £20,000 shall not repair the hurts that shall be done ere mid-September'. Wolsey had to act if Ireland was not to sustain more damage within the year 'than it hath done in any year sith the first conquest, which was never so likely to ensue as now' given the lack of English fighting men and leaders, the dissensions between the great houses, and the increasing strength of the Irish. He thought the only feasible course was to send three or four hundred men to support both Kildare's position and Ossory's, or the money to hire such forces, so that the frontier could at least be held at its present line without infiltration. In no circumstances should either Ossory or his son be made deputy, for they were too distant from the pale to defend it properly. The duke reminded the cardinal that his advice stemmed from his knowledge of Ireland, and that he could see no other way to preserve the country without great loss.<sup>39</sup>

The crown entertained other views. The king had informed Wolsey of the mismanagement in Ireland, and the need 'to set a good order there'. As for a deputy 'he thinketh that there is none so meet for it as my lord of

Ossory, or Master Butler his son' and that they should be sent quickly as delay would make more difficult the restoration of order.<sup>40</sup> A month later the cardinal, unaffected by Norfolk's strictures, sent Henry a full statement of his views. He also thought that Ossory or his son should be made deputy, preferably the son. Until proper consultation could be arranged for a more permanent order, military expenses would be large. To avoid using the royal coffers he advised that the new deputy be given authority 'with the advice only of the king's council and not otherwise... to take coyne and livery, and impose such other subsidies as should be thought needful for the time', and that any profits Kildare had had should be used for the same purpose. O'Connor was to be scolded for taking Delvin prisoner, and he was to deliver him up at once. Kildare ought to be retained, at least for the moment, to enable the pale to gather its harvest, and keep the Irish pacified. Then the change to Ossory or his son could be made.<sup>41</sup> It was the approach of a man who wanted to contain a problem, not solve it. In principle Henry agreed with Wolsey's advice, though he came down flatly in favour of Ossory, considering that his son was too young to command respect. He also instructed that 'in no wise' was Kildare to have any of the royal wards or farms, which should go to the new deputy.<sup>42</sup>

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40

Sir John Russell to Wolsey, 26 June 1528 (S.P. Hen. VIII, i. 301-2).

41

Wolsey to Henry VIII, 21 July 1528 (*ibid.*, pp. 320-1), enclosing 'Certain considerations... moving the lord cardinal to make the expedition of Ireland... as was lately sent unto the king's highness' (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 136-40).

42

Henry VIII to Wolsey, 28 July 1528 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 140n).



By autumn Ossory reported that upon news of his deputyship, the adherents of O'Connor and Kildare had made many raids upon the pale, the old tactic to force the king to return Kildare. That there was such a combination against the Butlers in co. Kildare, with O'Connor at its centre, was stated again. Kildare's daughter Alice, returning from England, seems to have set O'Connor on his course of railing. Something of Brian's character, and his fate, was revealed in an incident at the time. Gerald Delahide, delivering a letter of Henry's to O'Connor, said that the king greeted him well.

O'Connor in derision asked him, 'What King?'. The messenger said 'The king of England', and O'Connor said with pomp that he trusted, if he might live one year, that the king should have no jurisdiction or intermitting therewith, and that there should be no more name of the king of England than of the king of Spain.<sup>43</sup>

In the following winter Wolsey received a complaint from Robert Cowley, Ossory's agent in London, and a general promoter of Butler interests. He had been a servant of Kildare's, but he was resident in Kilkenny, and by the 1520s was busily furthering the interests of the town's most distinguished family. For the moment he was concerned about a document which he considered seditious, though he had almost certainly not been made privy to it. He told the cardinal that

one Bathe, of Ireland, hath made a book to present to your grace, faining it to be for the reformation of Ireland. But the effect is but to drive the king to the extremity to send home my lord of Kildare with authority, to accomplish his inordinate affection to my lord of Kildare. He hath no more experience of the land than I have in Italy, and if he were a little touched for his presumption... it would make others fear to attempt such matters.<sup>44</sup>

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43

Ossory to Wolsey, 14 Oct. 1528, Ossory and council to Henry VIII and Wolsey (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 144-7). The second is dated c. Mar. 1529, but may be as early as the first.

44

Robert Cowley to Wolsey, c. Dec. 1528 or Jan. 1529 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 140-2).



In a few years Cowley was to enjoy a similar fate for a similar reason, but it is unlikely that the knowledge would have checked him. Discretion was not a Cowley virtue. As for the document, he was somewhat mistaken as to its contents which are of interest as yet another solution for the English position in Ireland.

The writer was probably the Thomas Bathe whom Norfolk commended to Wolsey. He began his treatise<sup>45</sup> by disclaiming as much experience as others in matters Irish, but he feared that those who had the experience would discourage the king in his proceedings, as they could be in danger of losing their influence and their lands, to which they had slender title. He proved to be neither pro-Geraldine nor pro-Butler, arguing instead that the first necessity was an English deputy, of no greater title than a knight, who would uphold the crown's authority impartially, without fear or favour. The crown's difficulties in Ireland had been caused by the antagonism of rival magnates, marcher-lords being absent from their lands, residing either in England or the English pale, and by the use of Irish law and custom in the feudal lordships. Thus the king's courts functioned only in the pale, and there was a pale mentality, reflected in the government. The council was satisfied if there was peace and order there, and so reported it to England, caring no more for the rest of the land than the Venetians did for the Scots, and so by policy have diminished the king's jurisdiction

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45

'A discourse of the cause of the evil state of Ireland and of the remedies thereof'. (B.M., Lansd. MS no. 159, ff. 2-14). Seventeenth century title. While there is no author, or addressee given, the internal evidence makes clear that it was addressed to Wolsey, and that it is probably the work of 'one Bathe'. It is calendared at length under the date c. Aug. 1526 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1524-30, no. 2405). It is written in a hand very similar to that of Thomas Bathe to Cecil, 18 Oct. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/15, no. 13).



from a large forest to a narrow park'. The great object of the crown should be to 'break that narrow English pale and make a large English forest'. Beyond the four pale shires lay seven others, Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Limerick, Cork and Kerry, besides such vast areas as Connaught, which could be restored to English rule. But the government in Dublin 'have drawn themselves to the door of the passage at the seacoast, where with policy and manhood they might inhabit further within the mainland'.

To accomplish such a change Bathe saw reform falling into two parts: a general reassertion of English language, law, and custom, and a specific program to prepare for the change. It is the latter which is of concern here. He felt that the first area which should be subdued to the crown was that south of Dublin, which contained the countries of O'Byrne and MacMorrough Kavanagh. It was surrounded by the lands of the earls of Kildare and Ossory, the county of Wexford and the sea, belonging by inheritance to Norfolk and other English, and was commodious and fertile. No Irish could enter, save through the lands of the two earls, who could not deny that they had the power and would produce it, if they had the same claims to the country as Norfolk had. Kildare, in particular, would argue that the Irish would unite in overwhelming strength for a general insurrection to resist such a process, but he was self-interested, MacMorrough Kavanagh being a near kinsman. The fears of a general uprising were groundless, for the earls of Kildare had continued their policy of enlarging their lordship at the expense of the Irish. Thus Fercullen had been taken from the O'Tooles; Ferture from the

O'Byrnes; several places, including Clonmore and Clonogan in co. Carlow, and Old Ross and the Fasagh of Bantry in co. Wexford, from the Kavanaghs; Carlow, Kilkea, and Athy from the O'Mores; and Rathangan and Kishboyne [Kishawanny], co. Kildare, from the O'Conors. The present earl had just taken the barony of Reban from the O'Mores, where he built a manor called Woodstock, on the west bank of the Barrow, opposite Athy. All these places had been recovered without a general Irish uprising. Thus the softening process had already begun.

Bathe felt that a force of 300 horsemen could subdue the Kavanagh's country. In Leinster as in all Irish areas 'there remain yet foundations of manors, castles, walled towns and piles where Englishmen have inhabit, which with a little reparation might be made strong enough to keep out Irishmen'. Two such castles in the Kavanagh area were Ferns and Idrone [Castletown, co. Carlow?] which would serve as garrisons. MacMorrough Kavanagh himself should no longer be paid his blackrent of 100 marks, as he did nothing for it. His galloglas, kerne and idle men should be put to work, some at husbandry, and 'every gentleman of his kinsmen' be granted land at an annual rent of 4d. an acre. Passes, wide enough for twenty men to pass abreast, should be cut through the hazels and sallow wood, leaving the oaks untouched. When the countries of the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes had been won, 'then and not before to have out of England of such as were born in Ireland a certain number to inhabit the country, and so as countries may be won to have companies successively to inhabit'. For if 'a great multitude' were sent before a place to settle were provided they would only make food dear and impoverish themselves. Staples of food for the army in the Kavanagh country should be established at New Ross, Arklow, and



Carlow. Once reduction was completed the pale would be increased by an area two hundred miles in length and twenty in breadth, in effect from Dundalk to Kinsale.

The next country to be so dealt with ought to be O'Connor's. Norfolk had tried to treat him well, showing him 'great humanities' with no better result than 'ever deceipts and cruelty whereby the king hath small confidence in him'. Nevertheless he should be made the same offer as MacMorrough Kavanagh to submit in peace and receive his lands at a rent. Staples of food and garrisons of horse and foot would have to be placed at Rathangan, Kishawanny, Monasteroris, and Darcy's castle, called Kinnegad. These castles provided four lines of approach, cutting Offaly in four parts 'and it being won the key of Ireland is gotten'. Then O'Melaghlin, O'Molloy, O'Dunne, O'Dempsey, O'More, and O'Meagher 'clearly be won in like manner', and the result would be a series of castles and piles all the way to the Shannon. Evidently a similar program of settlement was intended. Among the fortified points a system of warning was to be employed so that livestock and cattle could be brought into the towns when the Irish raided. Land should be let in freeholds at 4d. an acre so that the inhabitants would 'dwell and continue upon the land and defend the same' with potential heirs to assume the responsibility if the occupant were slain. Such a program for Desmond's country was less sharply defined, but clearly intended; in it Bathe felt that the crown should recover Dungarvan, which attracted a great many English and foreign fishermen. To accomplish the whole program he thought an army of some 4000 men was needed, including 1000 light horse from the north of England. They were considered to be toughened for service in Ireland,

where plain hard men were needed for a task of like qualities.

For the handling of the Irish, a major problem in any proposed reform, Bathe outlined what became the policy of surrender and regrant. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and MacWilliam Burke, because of the wisdom and excellence of their rule were to be asked to cooperate, obeying orders for reform, and taking the king as their sovereign lord. They were to be advised of his good intentions, and surrender their lands to the crown, receiving them back, thus giving them a state of inheritance. Or so the chiefs would think, 'where indeed the surrender taketh away all the state of inheritance. And the taking thereof again maketh them tenants at the king's will, whose grace may do with the lands his pleasure when seeth opportunity and time'. Each agreement was to be made separately, and fixed by written indenture. If such an approach failed, the chiefs were to be set against each other, as a last resort. The offers that were to be made to MacMorrough Kavanagh and O'Conor were a part of this approach.

It is doubtful that the crown gave very serious consideration to putting most of Bathe's program into effect immediately, but during 1529 it was evident that something had to be done, and its requests were answered in part. Its general purport was dealt with in 1534, and other aspects appeared later. The appointment of Sir William Skeffington as deputy in June 1530 provided an English knight as deputy.

Certainly Wolsey did not act on Bathe's suggestions. His fall occurred in the autumn of 1529, and it is interesting to note, among the multitude of things laid up against him, the charge that though he had kept Irish affairs exclusively in his hands and was supposed to have



begun its reformation, no effect was visible. He was accused of having sent Surrey to Ireland to remove him from court, and when the earl began its reduction of calling him home suddenly. The time was right for such a course but, so one charge ran, Wolsey had merely used Ireland as a dumping ground for those young gentlemen he wanted out of the way.<sup>46</sup> The charges were probably ill-founded and oversimplified, but they show that there was a body of opinion in England which felt that it was high time the crown brought Ireland into proper subjection. The cardinal certainly had no taste for an expansive English policy in Ireland, an attitude he may have inherited from Henry VII. Like the latter he believed, evidently, that the way an English recovery could be made in Ireland was through the use of the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds. With the exception of Surrey's lieutenancy he blocked any other approach.

Wolsey's departure was preceded by Skeffington's appointment as the king's special commissioner in Ireland. Nicknamed 'the gunner' he was master of the ordnance in England with experience in Calais, and was sent as a soldier. After an experiment of governing by a 'secret council' of three members of the Dublin government from August 1529 to June 1530, Skeffington was then made deputy. His instructions indicated that his government was to be limited.<sup>47</sup> He was to consult with the Irish council in detail on any steps to be taken for the welfare

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46

'Brief remembrances...' 1 July 1529 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1524-1530, no. 5750, i, ii).

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Instructions for Skeffington (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 147-50). Misdated Aug. 1529, they should be June 1530, See D. B. Quinn, 'Henry VIII and Ireland, 1509-1534', Historical Revision XIII (I.H.S. XII, pp. 318-44).

of the country and for the defence of the pale against the incursions of 'the king's rebellious subjects of the will Irishry'. For the task a mere 200 horsemen were being sent which were to be used for local defence, and only for larger undertakings against the Irish with the advice and consent of the whole council, or a majority of them. Skeffington was to deal justly and keep the peace between Ossory, Kildare, and Desmond, 'who be the persons most able there... to resist the malice of the enemies, and to preserve the king's said land from invasion and annoyance', with Kildare especially being utilized according to his promises. Coyne and livery were to be kept in check, a subsidy secured to meet the king's expenses, and efficient collection made of the crown's profits. Finally Henry wished to be kept well informed, with everything being done by the usual 'politic provisions... and other good and discreet ways'.

In the autumn of 1528 the Irish council considered Desmond to be the focus of the stiffened Irish resistance,<sup>48</sup> and it is true that the earl was up to his eyes in foreign intrigue, conducting his affairs like a sovereign prince.<sup>49</sup> He simplified matters for the government by dying late in 1529 leaving a disputed succession, but Kildare returned to Ireland in 1530, and the rule by council followed by Skeffington's tenure as deputy, designed to strengthen English influence, waned rapidly. So well did Kildare undermine them that by 1532, after another visit to court, he was deputy once more.

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48

Council of Ireland to Wolsey, 15 Nov. 1528 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1524-30, no. 4933).

49

Bagwell, Tudors, i. 183-90).



Kildare's power, however, was more circumscribed and in the previous year the expansion of his house had received a check. The act of the Irish parliament of 1483 granting his father any land recovered from the Irish in counties Kildare and Carlow was ordered to be rescinded. The crown now felt the lands could not actually be inhabited, and since English holders had no means of knowing of an Irish act, it should not be prejudicial to any persons in England, who could now enter and take possession according to their ancient right. It was still the policy of private enterprise increasing English influence at no royal expense.<sup>50</sup> Early in 1532 Ossory complained about his manors of Tullow and Arklow. Kildare claimed to have obtained a lease of them for a period of years from the earl of Wiltshire, a Boleyn, and as the current earl of Ormond the holder of its interests. Sir Piers argued that they were 'the very keys of the country' and Kildare in possession 'might with strength of his Irish allies destroy me and win all the country from the king to himself, which is his very mind'.<sup>51</sup>

Ossory's complaint was an augur of others to come, and Kildare's last short tenure of less than two years as deputy was very productive in the number of projets and requests for reformation which it produced. They indicate the temper of Anglo-Irish thinking, and the determination to see something done to increase the crown's influence and power in the period before the

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Addition to Skeffington's commission to hold a parliament, 5 July 1531 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1531-2, no. 364, sec. 12).

51

Ossory to Cromwell, 2 Jan. 1532 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 153-5).

Geraldine revolt and the schism in the church became realities in Ireland.

Ossory was soon supported from a surprising quarter. In the summer of 1533 Sir James Fitzgerald complained to the king that his brother Kildare was oppressing him for the help he had given to Skeffington. Now his lands were wasted and devoid of inhabitants, and he was thus without rents or living. 'And except your grace look to the redress and relief of your poor subjects of the counties of Kildare and Carlow they shall be utterly destroyed, and the land left waste' for if oppression, unprecedented in its scope, did not cease they would have to flee and leave the area uninhabited. Indeed a great part of it was so already, with the process well advanced in co. Carlow on the duke of Norfolk's lands.<sup>52</sup>

The same anti-Geraldine argument was pursued in greater detail in a paper addressed, significantly, to Thomas Cromwell and probably presented in 1533.<sup>53</sup> According to it the nobles were forced to fall in with Kildare's interests for they got no reward for serving the crown. The result was an ever increasing tide of Irish incursion of which the most recent example was O'Byrne's raid to the gates of Dublin castle which cost the city £2000 in goods lost. Examples were numerous and they all encouraged the Irishry to fresh efforts; unless they were forced back into their original positions the

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Sir James Fitzgerald to Henry VIII, 31 Aug. 1533 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 179-80).

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'To... my singular good Master... Thomas Cromwell... to be presented to the king...' (ibid., pp. 166-79). Both the date and the authorship of this paper are in dispute. L. & P. Hen. VIII place it at the end of Dec. 1533, Cal. S.P. Ire. gives c. 1533. Both parts, though written at different times, are in the hand of John Alen, clerk of the council, but the internal evidence suggests that the paper was designed to be presented by Walter Cowley, Robert's son, as his own views.



result would be more trouble and destruction. As a remedy an experienced English deputy was needed, preferably Norfolk, who had got on well with the Irish nobility and was the most likely in time to achieve a good Irish reformation, but Skeffington would do.

Ossory, who was on his way to court, should be well received as an example to other magnates, and used to further reform. He should promise that the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants within his dominion would conform to English order, dress, and manner, the able ones sending their sons to borough towns like Waterford, Kilkenny, or Clonmel to be educated in English. The writer thought the effect would filter through to all social classes, the lesser being eager to imitate their betters. Such a process must first be practised on the English subjects. In Munster, for example, the English could be told from the Irish only by their surnames. Gradually the change could be wrought on the Irish as well, beginning with those 'as adhereth most to the Englishry' and reaching as far as Connaught. Then the country would be quieter 'than it hath been in these 200 winters', and the way would be cleared for the general reform.

Before any general reform could be made there were such problems as the Scots, who 'inhabiteth busily a great part of Ulster, which is the king's inheritance ... bringing in more number daily' in alliance with the Irish rebels, until in the end they would put the crown from its 'whole signory there'. There was also the problem of decentralization. The courts in Dublin were impossible of access to the south and west, and properly trained justices and commissioners should be resident in them. By the same token the council in Dublin

had little experience of the areas, and those that had the experience 'do never resort to Dublin', A council should be established by the king, with a noble as president, such as Ossory or his son, and as members the archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Waterford, Limerick, and Ossory, the mayor of Waterford, and the two commissioners or justices. They would debate matters for the general good of the area, see to its defence, and redress complaints and disorders.

At this point the writer paused, asserting that if his 'little devise' were followed the foundation would be laid for a future general reform, which he would not treat. But from the crown's point of view the all important question was finance, and in 'an addition to my former book' the writer dealt with that. The repeated argument to the crown had been that 'Ireland is not to be had in regard or estimation, both for the incivility and bruteness of the people, and that cost done there were but wasted' as the experience of Poynings, Norfolk, Skeffington and others had shown, with large sums being spent, and little success to show for them. Such efforts, however, had always been sporadic, and ended with the earls of Kildare being restored to power. The writer asserted in detail that the Geraldines were an expense to the crown, whereas an English deputy would be cheaper in the long run, though argument said he would be costly. Such reasoning was like a man who rather than give up four pence would risk losing a pound, 'which 4d. dispursed in time might have saved the other, and so hath the king done'. Within four years under English rule crown profits in Ireland should grow to £2000 or £2500, with 20,000 men for defence. As for the worth of the country 'the soil thereof universally



is comparable with the ground of England, and the king hath been possessed there of a great inheritance'. If he would plan thoroughly for its reform, and press that reform through he would gain much. 'And as to the surmise of the bruteness of the people, and the incivility of them, no doubt if there were justice used amongst them they would be found as civil, wise, politic, and as active as any other nation'.

By the autumn of 1533 the council in Ireland had joined Kildare's critics. They dispatched John Alen, the new master of the rolls, to the king to persuade him of the pressing need to alter present conditions, for unremedied they were dangerous. This action is interesting for it represents the first concerted complaint of the government in Ireland on its affairs, in contrast to Bathe's argument of the previous decade that they preferred to keep the crown ignorant of the true nature of affairs.

The council's arguments were divided into two parts,<sup>54</sup> the reasons for the decay, and the articles for reform. The decay was caused by the military structure with its host of exactions, particularly coyne and livery. Further there was 'the default of English inhabitants, which in times past were archers, and had feats of war and good servants in their houses for defence of the country in time of necessity. Since that time the inheritors of

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Instructions to Alen to be declared to Henry VIII 'for the weal and reformation of the said land to some good order...' (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 162-6). Each part has the same thirteen signatures: the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the priors of Louth and Kilmainham, the abbots of St Thomas and St Mary's, Dublin, the viscount Gormanston, and the lord of Trimleston, with the law lords Patrick Fynglas, Patrick White, and Christopher Delahide. Alen, clerk of the council, became master of the rolls in July 1533.



the land of the Englishry have admitted to be their tenants those of the Irishry, who can live hardily without bread or other good victuals', expelling their English tenants who would not pay as much rent or bear as many exactions, 'and so is all the country in effect made Irish', with a loss of trust, security, and good order. In the previous century the magnates of the pale had kept retinues of English yeomen

after the English fashion according to the extent of their lands to the great strength and succour of their neighbours, the king's subjects. And now for the most part they keep horsemen and knaves, which live upon the king's subjects and not in their houses, and keep in like manner no hospitality, but live all upon the poor people.

In addition, the great liberties had been abused and the crown had lost the obedience and strength of their inhabitants, with the regalities and revenues in them. While blackrents and tributes had enriched and strengthened the Irish, they had also enfeebled loyal subjects. Raids of recovery by the deputy and others were no help for the stolen goods were kept, and not restored to the poor. Government by native lords, and the frequent change of deputies did great damage. Finally the crown had lost or given away its manors, customs and other revenues, leaving nothing to maintain the deputy for defence of its subjects.

A sombre picture; and the remedy? First, the restoration of a proper military order and mustering of local forces 'as is expressed in other books of instructions heretofore'.<sup>55</sup> Then the English magnates were to have no agreements with the Irish, and the king should command his deputy to 'do utterly his best for the

That these instructions were does not appear, as they do not seem to have survived. But it was requested that 'the king's book of instructions, sent hither by my lord chancellor that now is, may be observed...'. Cromer succeeded Archbishop Alen as chancellor on 5 July 1532.



exonerating of his subjects of such blackrents as Irishmen take of them now'. So for all other exactions. Finally, if the crown put the liberties in order it would greatly increase its strength and profits. None of these reforms were likely with any of the English lords of Ireland. Further, the 'rooted dissension' between Kildare and Ossory was an unchangeable fact, especially if either of them was deputy. And since no one else could command the unity to be deputy, an English one was called for, 'who, we trust, within three years shall bring the English shires of Leinster and Munster to good purpose, so as the king's subsidy may run there'. The council's next proposal was even more optimistic: within the same period the crown's revenues, granted away piecemeal, must be resumed, and recovered would be sufficient to maintain the new deputy.

The council concluded by putting the situation in a larger context: if the king should have a foreign war, it would be most expedient to have Ireland in good order; his castles 'be fallen to utter ruin and decay'. Then means must be found to repress the Scots inhabiting Ulster, who increased daily.

There was probably a great deal of discussion to back up the written charges against Kildare. At the end of 1533 he was summoned to London and his evasions were of no use. He was allowed to name as vice-deputy his son Thomas with the title of lord justice, but the council had really succeeded in removing him. Thomas Fynglas, Patrick's son, presented a detailed analysis of conditions to the crown against the earl's coming when he went to court in the spring of 1534. Its first request was for a permanent English deputy to be sent



over as soon as Kildare reached England.

Then Fynglas launched an attack on the earls of Kildare, Ossory, and Desmond.

Where the common rumour is and hath been that wild Irish lords and captains hath destroyed your land of Ireland, it is not they all only but the treason, rebellion, extortion, and wilful war of your foresaid earls, and other English lords, breaking your grace's beneficial laws and statutes; the one warring, burning, and destroying the other, having great retinue of Irish rebels found upon your subjects for their defence!.

Finglas repeated the charges that this had exiled the English settlers, both gentry and husbandmen, and pointed out that the earls had obtained grants of land so wasted by act of parliament, 'inhabiting the same with Irish rebels, whereby the English tongue and habit is decayed'. Thus they pursued their own and not the common good.

There was the expansion of Kildare and Ossory, and then there was Desmond in counties Cork; Kerry, Limerick and Waterford, 'which shires have been as obedient unto your laws, as the shire of Middlesex is now'. Each of the three earls had many manors and castles of the crown's, some got legally, and some 'by usurpation'. In addition to practising coyne and livery and other exactions, they were allied with the Irish.

The crown must capitalize on the situation. The Irish should pay it the tribute which they had paid to the earls. All fee-farms of customs and all crown castles and possessions should be resumed from the earls, going back to the first year of the reign of Edward II, to provide sufficient revenue for the deputy to live on,

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Report on Ireland to Henry VIII, c. Mar. 1534 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 182-92). This report is in the hand of Thomas Fynglas, who probably had the help of his father Patrick in preparing it. Thomas was in England to further his father's interests, and on 8 May 1534 Patrick Fynglas was appointed chief justice of the King's Bench (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1534, no. 761, sec. 14). By 31 May Fynglas and Thomas Cusack had taken ship from Chester for Ireland (ibid., no. 736).



'and to reform your English subjects'. An independent judicial organization should be erected in the counties controlled by Ossory and Desmond, and the illegal liberty in co. Kildare reduced to the status of a royal county. Particular attention should be paid that Henry 'have in possession such castles and garrisons as standeth in straits and fast places betwixt your English pale and your Irish rebels', for whoever had the custody of such places was in a position to let those Irish through to prey at will upon his subjects.

In England Kildare and Ossory should be questioned on the extent of their Irish connexions and reformed accordingly. The raiding of Kildare and his family in conjunction with O'Conor on co. Meath was cited as an example. It was also urged that the two earls be made to obey the indenture which they had made in 1524 and had always disregarded. There was the liberty of Wexford, in chaos and paying nothing to the crown except the poundage of Wexford town itself, and held by the earl of Shrewsbury in England. It ought to be reformed, and then the crown would have the power to put Desmond and his dominions to rights.

The next step in Fynglas's program, following Bathe's, was to 'proceed to the reformation of your Irish rebels' beginning with MacMorrough Kavanagh, O'Morchoe, and the O'Byrnes in counties Dublin, Carlow, and Wexford. They were 'environed about with your English subjects' having Wexford to the south, Ossory and Kildare to the west, and Dublin to the north. 'The length and quantity of soil or land, that the foresaid Irish captains and their kinsmen occupy and have dominion of, is at the least forty miles long by sixteen miles broad wherein there is pleasant land, forest and river adjoining to the sea on the east side'.

Before the crown made any grants it should reserve land,

forest, and revenues for its own profit, and then MacMorrough Kavanagh and the other Irish captains should be allowed to take the rest on conditions set by the deputy and council. Fynglas added the sensible but impossible rule that there should be war 'upon no other Irish rebel, until your grace have reformed them'. There was no excuse why they could not be reformed if Kildare and Ossory did their duty properly. If either was offended by their Irish neighbours they would 'with their own strength... enter within their dominions, invade and burn their villages and towns, take their cattle from them, and after this manner continually use them... till they have of them services or tribute at their pleasure'. If the earls performed as well for the crown, the outcome was assured.

When the crown had reformed that area the next step was 'to begin with O'More and O'Conor, which be then next adjoining to your English pale... and, by the grace of Jesu, by this mean your grace shall reform all your land within short time to your great honour, profit, and strength'. The program and the sequence were the same as Bathe had recommended. It was a large undertaking, not destined to be carried out in 1534, but a definite clue to the pattern that events later followed.

The final point made by Fynglas was that the crown's lack of revenue was caused by the failure to administer the law. As matters stood justice was meted out only to 'poor wretches not having lands, goods, nor friends' while those who did have them escaped. Escheating of lands after attainder would work a change for 'till great men suffer for their offences your subjects within your English pale shall never live in quietness, nor



stand sure of their goods and lives... and therefore... do justice upon great thieves and malefactors, and spare your pardons'.

The crown was not willing to be as radical as Fynglas urged. Instead, only a fortnight before the outbreak of the Geraldine revolt Henry concluded with Ossory an agreement, designed to include his son James, which was sweeping in its provisions. The two were to back the new deputy in the reform of Ireland, establish royal justice in their dominion, give no assistance to MacMorrough Kavanagh, O'More, O'Conor or O'Carroll, and maintain the reform of the church against the papacy. They were to take the castle and honour of Dungarvan from Desmond. In return for these undertakings they would have the leading and government, under the king and his deputy, of the inhabitants of the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford, and the territories of Ossory and Ormond. Kildare would be kept in England.

In making such an agreement the crown was paying as much heed to its own deliberation as to the Irish government. In the autumn of 1533 the privy council in England had noted 'specially to remember to send some trusty persons into Ireland to see that dominion established; and also to draw, combine, and adhere towards the king as many of the great Irish rebels as is possible; and to practise to keep peace there, and to withstand all other practices that might be...'.<sup>57</sup> Decisive English intervention into Ireland was rapidly becoming a reality. The Geraldine revolt which began on 11 June 1534 simply precipitated it.

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57

Indenture between Henry VIII and Ossory, 31 May 1534 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii. 194-7).

58

A first draft of minutes for the council, c. Nov. 1533 (S.P. Hen. VIII, i. 411 n).

With that event the period of argument and discussion, coupled with limited and sporadic intervention was ended. The English government was confronted with the hard fact that a large part of Ireland was in revolt, under the leadership of a leading Anglo-Irish magnate. In the course of the next year it eventually met that revolt with armed force sufficient to crush it, but its first response was more in keeping with the previous era. Each of the papers and projects of reform were rooted out and every suggestion of every irate official, English and Irish, was remembered, however dimly by a harrassed privy council as it belatedly sought to make provision for Irish reform and the maintenance of the English interest in Ireland. The crown throughout that period had been willing to listen to any proposal for action from Anglo-Irish sources, and this trait was never more manifest than in 1534. The result was a printed set of 'Ordinances for the government of Ireland', a paper broadside against all the evils of two centuries of Irish neglect. They confirmed the critics of the last twenty years, and while not affecting the revolt they are interesting as an index of English thinking on affairs in Ireland, before a full consciousness developed of the seriousness of the threat posed to continued English rule in Ireland.

Characteristically the initial ordinances were concerned with that most pressing of ills, coyne and livery. Provision was made that as often as the new deputy passed through the English pale he and the council would appoint two men from every barony in which men were to be quartered, who would advise on the terms. Specifications of what



each man should be content to receive followed, together with a long list prohibiting detailed abuses. Throughout the ordinances other exactions were dealt with and either prohibited or regulated. While cartage and labour could be levied to build or repair fortifications for defence, the abuse by Kildare of this privilege for other purposes was to cease. The council was to discuss all complaints by English subjects of coyne and livery, and the deputy was to do his best to discharge them of such blackrents and tributes as had been paid to the Irish. In that vein it was also ordered that 'the statute prohibiting the conveyance of ordnance, powder, or artillery to Irishmen' was to be strictly executed.

The provisions for defence called for men to be raised by the clergy, the marches, and the towns. The marchers themselves were to dwell in the marches where the war was. Towns and cities were to be made 'strait and fast' and cess for galloglas was to be levied in all areas. Musters were to be held in all the counties and the homely detail was added that every husbandman dwelling in the pale should set twelve ashes in the ditches and closes of his farm annually, upon pain of a fine of two shillings.

No crown possessions were to be let except by letters patent under the king's seal, and such grants were to be accounted for in person before the exchequer once a year. To carry out the changes, there was to be a sweeping judicial reform. Judges were to go on circuit twice a year in all the counties, and the king's writ and process were to be obeyed in the pale. Justices of the peace were to be made in every shire, and they in turn were to make wardens of the peace in every barony, and constables in every parish. Quarter sessions and musters were to

follow in their train. It was further ordered 'that the pretended liberty of Kildare shall cease from henceforth'. It was to be officered and treated as an obedient county, as was Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, and other counties as they were taken. There were also provisions against Irish dress and manners, and an endeavour to prevent the Irish from infiltrating the English areas.

In short, it was not so much a poor program as an unrealistic one. The crown was attempting to accomplish by fiat what it had been unwilling to pay for some dozen years before under Surrey. Henry was not yet prepared to face the needs in men and supplies to carry out such a program. The ordinances were, however, the last attempt on the part of the English government to impose a mere paper solution. Henceforth Irish problems were to be faced more directly, and with greater realism. They mark the end of the first phase of the new English intervention in Ireland.



## CHAPTER II

## MAKING A LARGE ENGLISH FOREST

1534-1537

It is not the purpose of this work to trace the course of the Geraldine revolt or even to consider all its implications, political and religious. But there are certain factors within it which are worth observing for their influence on the development of English policy, particularly the future policy of plantation.

One factor emerges quite clearly: the danger to England of foreign intervention in Ireland, in 1534 of Spanish intervention in favour of Katherine of Aragon and her daughter, Mary. As early as July the imperial ambassador, Chapuys, was writing to Charles V of Kildare's arrest, and of the probability that his son would revolt. He pointed out that

Ireland is of no little importance, especially considering its vicinity to Wales... They have news in court that the said son of Kildare or some of his men had boasted they would have the aid of 12,000 Spaniards: at which, I am told, the king and his council were much troubled...<sup>1</sup>

It was not an unwarranted feeling. In October Cromwell commented to Chapuys that intelligence from the coasts of France, Spain, Scotland, and Ireland all reported that imperial ambassadors were in Ireland to inflame the troubles there 'and to promote the usurpation of the sovereignty of the said country', though, of course, Cromwell had always maintained to the king and council that it was a French rumour.<sup>2</sup> In point of fact the emperor discussed the matter with his council in Madrid on the last day of the month. On the one hand there was the offer of 'divers princes' of Ireland to be under his authority and

<sup>1</sup> Chapuys to Charles V, 7 July 1534 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1534, no. 957).

<sup>2</sup> Chapuys to Charles V, 24 Oct. 1534 (*ibid.*, no. 1297).

to 'hold the country of the queen and princess...'.  
 On the other it might be well to wait until spring since  
 nothing could be done in the winter and see what course  
 events would take before intervening.<sup>3</sup> In November  
 Charles ordered that the rumour be spread in France that  
 he planned to encourage the Irish rebellion,<sup>4</sup> but Cromwell's  
 agent in Spain reported that the Irish emissaries had  
 left there without obtaining any men.<sup>5</sup> In December  
 Cromwell publicly stated that Henry knew imperial aid  
 was going to Ireland<sup>6</sup> and his agent in Antwerp informed  
 him of the journey of the emperor's agent to Ireland and  
 back.<sup>7</sup> From Dublin Alen wrote that Silken Thomas boasted  
 that he would have an army from Spain in the summer and  
 that he had sent emissaries to the pope and emperor  
 offering to hold the land from them in return for their aid.<sup>8</sup>

While nothing of any significance came of this chain  
 of events, it alerted the crown to the always present  
 danger of foreign incursion into Ireland and of the need  
 for more effective English control there.

A second factor in the revolt was the increased influx  
 of English officials and agents. Among these were William  
 Brabazon and Thomas Agard and a number of English army  
 captains destined to remain, including the Breretons  
 and Sir William and Edward St Loe. Certain of the Anglo-

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<sup>3</sup>  
 Emperor's council held in Madrid, 31 Oct. (L. & P.  
Hen. VIII, 1534, no. 1336).

<sup>4</sup>  
 Charles V to Cornelio Scepero, 12 Nov. (*ibid.*, no. 1425).

<sup>5</sup>  
 Wm. Pepwell to Cromwell, from Cadiz, 21 Nov. (*ibid.*, no.  
 1457).

<sup>6</sup>  
 Chapuys to Charles V, 5 Dec. (*ibid.*, no. 1507).

<sup>7</sup>  
 Stephen Vaughan to Cromwell, 24 Dec. 1534 (*ibid.*,  
 no. 1567).

<sup>8</sup>  
 John Alen to Cromwell, 26 Dec. 1534 (S.P. Hen. VIII,  
ii, 219-24).



Irish emerged as effective instruments for the crown as well. One such was Francis Herbert who came from a Dublin merchant family and was an alderman of the city. When Dublin was under siege he proved to have unusual military ability and, as a bearer of letters to the king, carried the commendation that 'he hath done your grace good services this wartime; for he is a good gunner and hath slain... twenty four persons or more, and one great captain of Fitzgerald's company; for the which the said Thomas had liefer have him than much goods'.<sup>9</sup> Herbert, credited with saving Dublin city and castle, was to be a figure on the Irish scene for many years to come. His future had been made.

Conditions were such in the pale that for a time the army captains were made members of the council, which soon drew protests from the regular members who argued that it was a mistake to allow the captains to choose whether they would assent to an enterprise or not.<sup>10</sup> The experiment does not seem to have outlasted the emergency but several men had been given the chance to see what an opportunity Ireland held both for land and office.

John Alen, master of the rolls, reported on a trip through the rebellious country. The county of Kildare loomed loomed large in his mind. He stressed that Thomas had handed over to O'More for his maintenance the town of Athy and the manor of Woodstock, together with other of the earl's lands. The castle of Kildare itself had been lost through negligence and ought to be rebuilt, warded, and victualled substantially as the next step to winning the county. He dwelt long on military needs and stressed that the gentlemen of that county and elsewhere

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9

Sir Wm Brereton and John Salisbury to Henry VIII, 4 Nov. 1534 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 203-05).

10

Alen to Cromwell, 26 Dec. 1534 (loc. cit.)

were willing to forsake Thomas if the English would come and defend them, and they had offered their castles to be warded by Englishmen. The Irish and others dared not forsake him unless the English army stayed on the borders and carried out operations, for, with an eye to the future, they were afraid he would be pardoned. Thomas himself was intent on destroying all the 'Burgh townes' so that the king's army could neither be lodged nor victualled in them. Expecting to be banished he was also burning his own lands and breaking his castles. Alen reminded Cromwell of his promise of a lease of the benefice of Swords for he had no place to dwell in, and he and Justice Aylmer had 'the promise of the lease of Dunboyne... which is now burned and destroyed, so that we can have no accommodation there'.<sup>11</sup> The land hunt was on before the revolt was over.

Soon William Brabazon, the new vice-treasurer, was writing to his former master, Cromwell, that many pleas would be made to the crown for the 'traitor' and other matters, including requests 'for the county of Carlow, now wasted; it is the fairest country of all Ireland, and very easy to be kept'. Cromwell made a note in reference to this letter, that an act to be passed in the Irish parliament was already drawn up, declaring the king's last conquest and that lands held of all persons spiritual and temporal within Ireland ought to remain and revert to him by the equity of his laws.<sup>12</sup> Edward Beck also urged the same point.

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11

John Alen to Cromwell, 26 Dec. 1534 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 219-24), enclosing 'Instructions for Edward Beck...' to be declared to Cromwell (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/2, no. 30). The instructions are in Alen's hand.

12

Brabazon to Cromwell, 15 Feb. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 224-6). Cromwell's remembrances, 16 Apr. 1535 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1535 [vol. 87, no. 527]).



Attributing the preservation of Ireland to Cromwell, he advised 'let not the king be hasty in giving such lands and profits as fall to him daily here, except to such as will inhabit here and cause other Englishmen to dwell here'.<sup>13</sup>

Mention has already been made of the 'Ordinances' printed and sent to Ireland in 1534 (p.67sup.). While they may have been utopian they were the only reliable guide to crown policy. Alen complained that Skeffington kept them secret, saying they were lost. As they were much beneficial for the order of the land, and great pains your mastership did take in the devising and debating of them... may it please you to command the printer to print freshly two or three hundred of them and to send them to Mr. Brabazon and me; and, God willing, they shall be executed as time shall require.<sup>14</sup>

In his criticism Alen, as was frequently the case, was being less than fair, for in June the deputy and council were able to send Henry a number of proposals, including certain acts to be passed in the Irish parliament for the king's advantage and the reform of the country. At the same time Skeffington could report with satisfaction to his king that '... this land is now in like care to your highness that it was in at the first conquest, being at your grace's pleasure...'. He also added that plans should be made for its reform by the privy council in England. Evidently he had reservations about the Dublin atmosphere and regarded the 'Ordinances' only as a beginning plan.<sup>15</sup>

Ossory also sent advice to be declared by his agent

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<sup>13</sup> Edward Beck, of Manchester, to Cromwell, undated, c. 1535 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1535 [vol. 97, no. 1054]).

<sup>14</sup> Alen to Cromwell, 16 Feb. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 226-31).

<sup>15</sup> Deputy and Coun. to Henry VIII, 16 June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1535 [vol. 87, no. 880]). Skeffington to Henry VIII, 17 June 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 247-9).

Walter Cowley, giving an account of his activities in the war against Silken Thomas and his allies O'Conor and O'More. Ossory's manor of Tullow in co. Carlow had been taken by Thomas and his country ravaged in revenge. He recommended steps to retain what had been recovered, to gain more, and to increase the revenues thereby 'exonerating his grace of his great charges'.<sup>16</sup>

'Already is warded the garrisons and holds in the counties of Carlow and Kildare with soldiers and gunners...' and hostages had been taken from the gentry of the area for their continued good faith. But 'the people are slow to take the farms of the king's lands till the attainder pass, knowing well that their leases and patents made before such attainder are void in law'. He therefore proposed the rapid passage of the attainders by parliament.

And forasmuch as divers holds and garrisons of the earl of Kildare's are in great decay, to the intent that they may be the better let to farm and repaired, that the treasurer with others of the privy council [in Ireland] may have authority by parliament to let to farm for certain years the king's lands and lordships, binding the farmers to make reparations.

Ossory also recommended that all the crown customs, revenues, and lands be resumed and revalued, and records made accordingly, so that the king 'shall fully perceive the circumstances of everything reduced into certainty'. He offered to supply from his own area 'such knights of the shires as shall surely stick in the king's causes'. In conclusion he asked 'that some holds and garrisons be edified in divers places' for the defence of possessions and lands 'which shall be security for the poor tenants and profitable for the king, and much enfeebling of rebels and the Irishry, and the harder for them to enter or commit any grievances'. Ossory stood in high regard at

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16

Ossory to Walter Cowley, c. June 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 249-56) 'Instructions... to be showed and declared to the king's highness and to his grace's most honourable council...'



court, and his opinions were probably heard with respect.

By midsummer Henry himself was turning such problems over in his mind and he instructed Cromwell to discuss certain Irish matters with the council and take the best course available. Finance was uppermost in his thinking 'forasmuch as he hath now made a new conquest of Ireland to his great cost and charge' and he was uncertain whether all the lands, spiritual and temporal, were his by right of the new conquest, or whether an act of the Irish parliament was necessary. He wanted matters so arranged that all holders of lands in Ireland 'shall become contributors and bearers with his grace' for the costs he had sustained and for any such future contingency.<sup>17</sup> The king's concern to establish that all land was held from him is an interesting and important point. The crown was reviving the medieval view that the legal right to a great portion of Ireland was vested in it, partly by right of conquest, and partly by inheritance. This view had important consequences throughout the century for the crown felt sincerely that it was claiming rights of ownership long held by it and usurped by the resurgent Irish. Naturally the latter felt differently and conflict in some form was inevitable.

In August Skeffington proposed to invade Offaly to ravage it for twentyone days. Co. Kildare was already in a similar condition, though Rathangan was now in the hands of the English. Others complained about the lack of money to pay the soldiers, soon to be a chronic condition and reminded Cromwell 'Sir, ye must remember what manner of men English and Welshmen be when they lack

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17

Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, 17 July 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 341-2, where it is misdated 1536. See L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [Vol. 107, no. 1004]).

18  
 their wages'. By this time O'More was assisting the English against O'Conor.

An English agent in Spain said that Thomas Fitzgerald hoped for 10,000 men from there and aid from Scotland, with which 'he doubts not to have Ireland and England. But my trust is in God that I shall hear of his hanging first'.<sup>19</sup> By late August O'Conor had submitted, before his country was invaded, and Thomas had surrendered. Norfolk hoped he would be examined closely for 'what answer he hath had of the emperor and the king of Scots'. He also felt that it would be a mistake to execute him, for then Irishmen in general would refuse in the future to put themselves in English hands and the king should 'be enforced incontinent to proceed to the general conquest of the land'.<sup>20</sup>

Brabazon, more enthusiastic, was urging that Ireland was the crown's to command 'if it be quickly handled'. The rental of the earl of Kildare should be got from the countess of Kildare. Religious houses in England which had holdings in Ireland should transfer the spiritualities to Irish houses and the crown should have temporal lands for them. If the same exchange were practised with the see of Dublin the crown would be richer by more than £2500 a year. He saw little profit otherwise, 'as I think the poor commonality here be very true people and conformable to all good order; and the destruction of this land is wholly by the extortion of the lords and gentlemen of the

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<sup>18</sup>  
 Skeffington to Henry VIII, 17 Aug. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 262-3). Aylmer and Alen to Cromwell, 21 Aug. (*ibid.*, 263-8).

<sup>19</sup>  
 John Cheryton to Lord Lisle from Cadiz, 16 July 1535 (*ibid.*, ii, 247 n).

<sup>20</sup>  
 Norfolk to Cromwell, 9 Sept. 1535 (*ibid.*, 276-8).



21

country'.

At the same time John Alen, now in England, put forward  
 a set of proposals.<sup>22</sup> They backed Brabazon's assertion  
 that the king's lands were in the most wasted condition of  
 all, and proposed that inquiries be taken to establish  
 what manors and castles belonged to the crown and the  
 religious houses of which it was the founder. The earldom  
 of Kildare should be seized into the king's hands. By  
 the new year 500 men from the north of England should be  
 sent into Ireland, of which 300 should be settled in co.  
 Kildare. In addition a parliamentary inquiry should be  
 held on the supporters of Kildare by which many would lose  
 their lands.

As a result of these arguments Cromwell had John Alen<sup>23</sup>  
 make a series of notes for intended action in Ireland.  
 Among them was the general question 'whether a conquest or  
 a reformation is expedient', and the twenty-eight other  
 points indicate that Cromwell was being drawn along those  
 lines. During the coming winter the deputy and his  
 horsemen ought to put cos Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare,  
 Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary in order.  
 O'Conor, bound by pledges, was to rebuild Kishawanny and  
 other fortifications, and make amends for the damage he had  
 done. O'More was to allow Woodstock to be repaired as  
 well as Athy and he was to be put from their possession

21

Brabazon to Cromwell, 10 Sept. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII,  
 ii, 278-80).

22

Alen to Cromwell, c. Sept. 1535 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire.,  
 Hen. VIII, 60/3, no. 3. They are placed in Jan. 1536.  
 See L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1535 [vol. 9], no. 332, where they  
 are placed in Sept., and calendared, without an author).

23

Remembrances for Ireland' c. Sept. 1535 (P.R.O.,  
 S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/2, no. 31, placed c. Dec. 1534).  
 They are in John Alen's cursive hand, with annotations by  
 Cromwell. See L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1534, no. 1211 where  
 they are placed in Sept., a year early.

and the lands of Lea, presumably the castle of that name. When a parliament was held in Ireland it should enact that owners of castles adjoining the Irish, who neglected to rebuild them within three years, should forfeit them to the crown. The latter, in turn, should spend £1000 a year on fortresses in Leinster, placed on the marches against the Irish. For this work twenty carpenters and twenty masons were to be sent from England. Among the revenue-producing devices Cromwell added that the crown should have the lands of the see of Dublin, presumably following Brabazon's suggestion.

Henry seems to have agreed with a great many points of the program, for later in the autumn of 1535 he was preoccupied with empowering Lord Leonard Grey and others to deal with the specific military problems involved in cleaning up the revolt and reforming the English marches. He further asked that Skeffington with Brabazon, Aylmer, and Alen 'advertise us with all celerity of such manors and lands as either the late earl of Kildare or any other traitors attainted had, and of all other our revenues there, with the true value of the same without concealment'. When he and his council had this information he was willing to grant such lands at reasonable rents to those recommended as fit to enable the grantees 'to defend our frontiers' bordering the rebellious Irish, 'by reason whereof we shall be the less charged in resisting the spoils and robberies of the Irish rebels hereafter'.<sup>24</sup>

Henry's views had been anticipated by Donough O'Brien, a son-in-law of Ossory's. He offered the king his services and asked for the castle of Carrigogunnel on the Shannon, west of Limerick, which had not been in English hands 'these 200 year'. With the aid of Captain ap Harry and the

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24

Henry VIII to Skeffington, c. Nov. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 291-5).



hundred and more English under him Donough would hold the area in obedience, doing no harm to the English but only to the wild Irish.

And for all such land as I shall conquer, it shall be at the king's pleasure to set Englishmen in it, to be holden of the king as his pleasure shall be; and I to refuse all such Irish fashions, and to order myself after the English laws, and all that I can make or conquer. Of this I desire an answer.

A year later Grey bestowed it to him. Ap Harry in moving out of Dungarvan, captured in September and now in Butler hands, reported that on his journey west there was no one living who could remember English soldiers ever being in that area.

Some day we rode sixteen mile of waste land, the which was Englishmen's ground. Yet saw I never so goodly woods, so so goodly meadows, so goodly pastures, and so goodly rivers, and so goodly ground to bear corn. And where the ridges were that hath borne corn, to my thinking there was no beast did eat it not these twelve years, and that it was the most part such waste all our journey.<sup>25</sup>

In Ireland once more Alen, with Aylmer, was optimistic of the results of reasserting royal justice and authority, 'for since the first conquest Irishmen was never in such fear as they be at this instant time'. Royal sessions had been kept in five shires more than usual. Many criminals had been hanged - eighteen in co. Kildare at the last sessions - and some of them quartered, 'so as now the poor earth tillers there, and many wheres else, do peaceably occupy the earth, and fear not to complain upon them by whom they be hurted'.<sup>26</sup>

Co. Kildare provided another interesting note. Before Grey was aware that Skeffington had died on 31 December 1535, he and certain of the council proposed that

... where the king heretofore hath been advertised of the waste and decay of the manor and park of Maynooth, the Lord Leonard, trusting to do the king good service in

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25

Stephen Ap Harry to Cromwell, 6 Oct. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII ii, 281-86). He reports a speech which Donough made to Lord James Butler. See Bagwell, Tudors, i, 200-01.

26

Aylmer and Alen, 31 Dec. 1535 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 295-7)



reducing the same to the old estate and condition, is contented to take the whole manor by lease, and to pay yearly therefore as much rent as was perceived by the earl of Kildare, who was the greatest improver of his lands in this land, and also to enclose the park again at his own charges; which we think is a good bargain for the king, and shall be a great ease and reformation for the country thereabouts.<sup>27</sup>

The reference to the earl of Kildare is a telling one. It has been observed how the eighth and ninth earls were occupied in rounding out and developing their estates, partly at the expense of the crown and other holders, and partly at the expense of the native Irish. The English government in Dublin was thus enabled after the revolt to take up a task already well begun, while giving the Fitzgeralds scant credit, save in an occasional revealing comment.

Such a course brought them face to face with the native Irish, not only with O'More and O'Conor west of the Barrow, but with the Irish of the Leinster chain. For the nonce the latter were the most pressing and the most vulnerable. In September 1535 Brabazon had proposed to Cromwell '... in especial, to banish the Tooles, the Byrnes, and the Kavanaghs, which with MacMorrough and his sect... is easy to be done, and to proceed further into other parts'.<sup>28</sup> On this point Alen had noted for Cromwell<sup>29</sup> that MacMorrough was to rebuild the castle which he had recently broken, as promised. The castle of Wicklow was to be repaired, and a wall made on one side of the town. The same was to be done to Arklow, Green Castle [? Corrantancaisleán, Kilpipe, co. Wicklow], Powerscourt,

<sup>27</sup>

Ossory, Gray, James Butler, Aylmer and Alen to Cromwell, 2 Jan. 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 297-300).

<sup>28</sup>

Brabazon to Cromwell, 10 Sept. 1535 (*ibid.*, 278-80).

<sup>29</sup>

'Remembrances...' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/2, no. 31). See p. 78.



Newcastle, Castlekevin, Castleankelly [Caisleán Kelly,  
?Castlekelly, co. Dublin] and Ballymore. The archbishop  
of Dublin as one of the holders was to pay part of the  
costs of these castles.

Ossory and his son James, with Grey, Alen, and Aylmer  
made the matter more explicit early in 1536. From the  
south of Ireland, where they were conducting royal justice  
and inquiring into crown possessions and revenues in cos  
Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford, they  
spelled out a program for the Irish of the Leinster chain.<sup>30</sup>  
Their reform should have first priority because of their  
geographical position. Otherwise the king would not be  
able to exercise effective control elsewhere. Grey had  
begun to reduce them, but they possessed in effect 'the  
rule and dominion betwixt Dublin and Waterford by the sea  
coast, which being the only let that the king hath not a  
pale entire but divided by quarters, neither hath a whole  
and entire strength but diminished and severed by reason  
of them', so that loyal subjects could not join together  
for common action.

'No doubt these men may be banished, but the doing  
thereof will ask a protract of time [and] a great power,  
not for prosecuting of them only, but for defence of others  
in the meantime', for other Irish seeing the O'Tooles,  
O'Byrnes and Kavanaghs so treated would rise in revolt to  
stop the process. The undertaking would be expensive, and  
before it was attempted 'inhabitants must be provided, and  
what persons they shall be, and how the land shall be  
divided to them, it will require good deliberation and no  
little circumstance. Therefore we think good to take this  
way to begin, to build and reedify some piles and fortresses

among them, and having wards in them'. Then the Irish seeing such action would be willing to come to terms with the crown and accept a part of the land which they held by an inheritable tenure, paying the crown a rent for it, renouncing the names of O'Byrne and MacMorrough Kavanagh with the powers they implied, and hoping to be treated no worse than the subjects of co. Dublin and elsewhere. 'Of the possibility or likelihood whereof, my lord of Norfolk knoweth much by his experience he had here'. The writers were simply urging anew the Butler-Fitzgerald approach of earlier years.

Alen, with Aylmer, was soon on his way back to England with the five brothers of the earl of Kildare and the Irish council's recommendation that the two be allowed to explain the pressing need for Irish reform, as the time had never been better.<sup>31</sup> The crown was also being urged to undertake radical reform from another source. A revised version of 'A breviat of the conquest of Ireland and of the decay of the same' by Patrick Fynglas, chief baron of the exchequer, was placed before it, probably by his son Thomas. Its historical introduction had been prepared for some years, but the specific proposals attached to that were new and revealing. They went much further than the plan that Ossory and his associates advocated for displacing the native Irish. It was asserted that the original conquerors had the use of no more than five fortifications outside of cities but that 'now there be by estimation five hundred castles and piles'.<sup>32</sup>

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31

Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 14 Feb. 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 304-5).

32

'A brevyate of the Conqueste of Ireland...' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/2, no. 7). This copy is the one which would have been seen by Henry VIII and Cromwell, and though it is signed 'Patrick Fynglas baron' the entire paper is in the hand of his son Thomas, including the signature. Thomas wrote to Cromwell on 21 July 1535 (*ibid.*, no. 18) and in August 1535 he was rumoured to be going to England to



These castles could be made part of a comprehensive policy, in which the crown 'must first reduce the lords and gentlemen of this land which be of English nation', a difficult task unless a royal army repressed the Irish on the borders into conformity. The place to begin was the Leinster chain 'the key and highway for reformation of the remnant... situate in an angle betwixt Waterford and Dublin wherein no Irishmen dwell but the Kavanaghs... and the Byrnes, and Tooles', who could not produce more than 300 horsemen among them, 'besides the Irish inhabitants of their country which be but naked men as kerne, which were not in this hundreth years feebler to be conquered and expelled than they be now'. The geographical situation precluded these Irish from getting aid from elsewhere, and offered the crown the assistance of the English of Wexford and the other counties surrounding the area.

Thus far Fynglas was only advocating what Ossory and his associates had proposed, but he made several more points of his own. Probably taking his cue from English events he proposed that to finance the operation the abbeys in the area might be suppressed and given by the king 'to young lords, knights, and gentlemen out of England which shall dwell upon the same'. There were many other manors and fortifications on those borders and he was most explicit in proposing how crown, church, and Fitzgerald property should be disposed to achieve the desired end. In co. Wexford

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complain of his father's loss of the chief justiceship to Aylmer (*ibid.*, no. 58). The internal evidence of this version suggests a date in the spring of 1536. Older versions stop with the sentence quoted above. Later versions have matter added from other sources, as illustrated by the one printed in Walter Harris, Hibernia: or some Ancient pieces relating to Ireland... Dublin 1747. As that date suggests there is a need for a critical edition of the wide variety of texts of the 'breviate', of which there are four in the Carew manuscripts alone, the contents of the historical introduction being given in Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 1, under the mistaken date 1515.



the crown should 'give to one good English captain the ... abbey of Dunbrody with certain lands adjoining to the same... to another the abbey of Tintern with a barony... to another Old Ross with the Fasagh of Bantry which is a living for a lord'.

The same pattern was to be followed with the abbeys of Duiske in co. Kilkenny, Baltinglas and Grane in co. Kildare, and Castlekevin in co. Wicklow; the castles of Ferns, Leighlin, Carlow, Kearing, Wicklow, and Arklow; the lordship of Wexford, and the manors of Clonmore, Rathvilly, Rathdown, and Powerscourt. On the river Barrow the castles of Athy and Woodstock with the barony of Reban were to be 'a stop betwixt the county of Kildare and O'More', and in that county the manor of Rathangan and a barony were to perform the same function with O'Conor.

In the Leinster chain he stressed that all the fortifications 'in MacMorrough's country and the Byrnes and Toolles with all their lands... be divided at the king's pleasure betwixt these foresaid captains and others...'. They were to hold directly from the crown by knight service, spending £150 to £200 a year with 'certain lands to be given by every of them to freeholders under them'. Fynglas stipulated that 'such lords and gentlemen to whom the king shall give the lands aforesaid should have no great possessions in England so as they shall not have an eye to return into England, for such like have been the great decay of this land...'. .

The close of the paper showed that various aspects of the matter had been discussed and that Henry's attitude was known in Ireland, particularly his evident scepticism of colonization from England, as well as the general expense involved. Fynglas argued that the new holders along the Leinster chain would not be able to banish the



Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles without the aid of a royal army. From this army each of them should have men for defence for two or three years 'unto such time as they shall be settled and the land tilled and inhabited'.

Concerning those inhabitants he suggested 'forasmuch as it is thought dangerous for ... the king to depeople his realm of England, if the foresaid lands were gotten out of Irishmen's hands it may be well inhabited with Irish inhabitants as it was at the conquest, for there be no better labourers nay earthtillers than the poor common people of Irishmen, nay soon will be brought to good frame if they be kept under a law'.

Finally Fynglas admonished Henry that he should not ponder the great cost his grace have had for the defence of his subjects in this poor land, considering it is his own inheritance no man having right nay title thereunto but only his majesty. Therefore whatsoever cost his grace shall do for reformation of the same the honour his highness shall get thereby shall recompence the same.

I beseech almighty God to put into... the king's mind by this mean or a better to reform this foresaid country betwixt Dublin and Waterford, for then his grace shall have revenues to keep the same continually in good order and to resist the malice of Irishmen thereto adjoining which ever have been, and will be, enemies to good order and law unless they be kept thereunto by compulsion.

For the moment the Irish were quiet, waiting to see what would happen next. O'Conor renewed his submission, it being agreed that he would be released from making amends for the damage he had done, but that he would restore prisoners and cattle. He promised not to exact any blackrents without royal permission, and to allow subjects, or the deputy and his army, to pass through his country, joining the deputy with horse and foot when properly warned. 35  
By June Grey thought that O'Conor and O'More were 'privy in amity' with the confederation of O'Brien and the Fitzgeralds of Munster. MacGilpatrick was at war with O'More and



both were suing Grey to take up the matter. He had no intention of helping either, but would deal with them and also speak with O'Connor.<sup>34</sup> Quiet prevailed, O'More being regarded for the moment as loyal, and the government were free to pursue more ambitious designs in Munster, and conduct their discussion on Leinster, unhampered by Irish disturbance.

Francis Herbert reported that since the taking of the Fitzgeralds 'these parts of the land is in good quietness and peace... For the keeping of his grace's army here is that makes the peace so well to be kept'. There was a report that all the midland Irish were preparing to revolt when the Fitzgeralds were arrested, 'howbeit they have not start nothing, for they dare not'. After praising Grey and James Butler he made the shrewd point that finance was necessary for any ventures and a long term policy. He assured Cromwell that the army's lack of payment hindered its movement and turned many of the soldiers to theft.

The country, particularly co. Kildare,

is much waste and void of inhabitants, for there is no farmers that is able to inhabit, which is the greatest decay now of this country. But would God that it would please the king... to send Englishment for to inhabit. Then I would not doubt but his grace should have here a good country, and also one to his grace a profit, for unto that there is no way to the reformation of this land.<sup>35</sup>

In May 1536 Brabazon told Cromwell that in the new Irish parliament 'the common house is marvellous good for the king's causes...' obediently passing the laws prepared in England.<sup>36</sup> Cromwell noted from 'master Brabazon's letters' his advice that the crown should give away only the lands on the frontiers, and that co. Wexford should be a liberty and not be administered from Dublin until the country between was more clear. Brabazon also desired the

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33

Grey to Henry VIII, 24 June 1536 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [vol. 107, no. 1194]).

34

Herbert to Cromwell, 21 Mar. 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 307-8).

35

Brabazon to Cromwell, 17 May 1536 (ibid., ii, 315-16).



lease of the lands belonging to Llantory, and added the macabre suggestion that he would be content to marry Thomas Fitzgerald's wife if she were free. However the execution of Thomas was still a year away.<sup>37</sup>

Among the acts passed by parliament was that appropriating to the crown the lands of the absentees Norfolk, Wiltshire, Shrewsbury and others. The possessions, spiritual and temporal, of English houses which had property in Ireland were also vested in the crown. Later in 1536 a commission was issued for the suppression of eight Irish abbeys.<sup>38</sup> Thus the crown had acquired a large portion of Leinster. In some respects the act of absentees was simply a bookkeeping measure, since Norfolk and Shrewsbury expected and were compensated by comparable grants of land in England.<sup>39</sup>

The stage in Ireland was set for a veritable land rush, and requests and suggestions were not long in coming. The government in Dublin stated that the £7000 sent from England would not even pay all that was owed to the army. They also requested the power to pardon those in the pale who had adhered to Thomas Fitzgerald 'the more part by compulsion'. Failure to do so caused confusion. The council argued that it was better not to press the full rigour of the king's laws for large parts of the country were waste and depopulated. That was true of Kildare's lands and of the lands of others who had been attainted, and many English tenants had either gone to England or fled to the Irish and settled. If the laws were pressed

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37

Cromwell's remembrances, c. June 1536 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 /vol. 107, no. 1032). Brabazon's letter is not now extant.

38

See Bagwell, Tudors, i, 197-8, 313-14.

39

Shrewsbury to Cromwell, 25 June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 /vol. 107, no. 1198). Memorandum of Norfolk, c. June (ibid., no. 1236). Grant to Shrewsbury of English lands worth £200 p.a. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 1008. Grants, Oct.).

the process would be aggravated. They urged that the king 'rather provide for the inhabitation of those lands which his grace hath already', and promised further advice on how to do so.<sup>40</sup>

The council in Ireland was taking a realistic view of the possible but in London Robert Cowley was advising a much more expansive course.<sup>41</sup> In opposition to the Irish council he felt that the crown should attain all those who had aided Thomas and confiscate their possessions. Such a course had the twin advantages of acquiring a large bloc of land, and beginning the reform of the English subjects, which was the first step necessary in any plan of reform. The multitude of exactions must be stopped, and regular justice executed in every county. To that end the records should be searched for the king's lands and revenues among his English subjects, and the whole reseized, thus showing that the crown's approach was not by wrongful means nor conquest, 'but to come by everything by lawful title'.

Defence was a paramount consideration. Monthly musters should be held in every shire, and especially on the marches, where the countryside was burdened with soldiers. Expanding on this point later Cowley made an analogy with the north of England, where every holder of any degree was required to have equipment and weapons ready for any emergency, without cost to the crown. It was otherwise in Ireland

for the farmers and tenants there in effect are no men of war, but only beareth men of war at their charges, which causeth them to be less in number and less hardy.

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40

Grey and council to Cromwell, 1 June 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 318-21).

41

Robert Cowley to Cromwell, c. June 1536, with an 'Addendum' (ibid., 323-330).



For no man will stick so well to prosecute his own cause, hurts, and destruction as himself will do, nay any other will endanger himself in saving another as the very party himself would. That therefore it may be substantially debated upon how that they in Ireland upon their inhabiting thereof... inhabit in likewise, especially in marches and places of most danger.

Once English subjects had been put in order the army in Ireland could turn to enfeebling or exiling the source of trouble, the native Irish. They should 'make their greatest war upon O'Conor, for through this country ever hitherto the Irishry have /ān/ noyed the English pale, for the Irishry calleth him their key'. His Irish neighbours should be separated from him, O'More being promised that if O'Conor were exiled and driven from his lands he would receive the same annual wages from the crown that O'Conor had. Then three or four fortifications should be built in Offaly. Cowley thought that these would not cost the crown more than £300, for the English pale would give the carriage of stones and timber, and workmen to make trenches and ditches. O'More he considered would give assistance because he bore O'Conor 'mortal hate'.

To keep the Irish from joining together in common cause, Cowley felt there should be several armies operating at once. With O'Conor subdued, the army in the pale should join with its subjects to make war upon O'Byrne.

And first to repair strongly the king's castle of Wicklow, which standeth in O'Byrnes country and hath a proper haven. And because I would move how to inhabit as they shall proceed, the town of Wicklow is with a little reparations defencible enough, and to inhabit the same with a fourscore English householders, and the residue to be of the English pale. And that every of the same eighty have a hundreth acre of the lands next about the town, paying for every acre yearly to the king 2d., which shall be a good living for them, profitable for the king, and surety for all the country.

A stronghold in the centre of O'Byrnes country should also be seized, and walled, with 'a great number of like burgesses, binding them to watch and defence till the whole wars be ended'. Defences should be built upon the entrances



to the area and held by military service. 'Then the heart of the country to be set to profit and inhabited with a convenient number, and the first two years the number must be the more till they wear out the Irishry in exile'. Arklow, Ferns, St Mullins and the Fasagh of Bantry, and Leighlin with Idrone were all to be walled and inhabited in the same fashion. 'Then shall all Leinster be clear English, without any of the Irishry amongst them'.

In general Cowley saw the scheme being carried out all over Ireland and reaching far into the north and west, with Armagh, Sligo, and locations in Galway and Clare being used in similar manner. More immediately he urged that the baron of Delvin and his son be given some 600 men 'to be occupied first in the winning of the king's castle and town of Athlone, and to repair and inhabit as is aforesaid. And to do in like wise against O'Melaghlin, MacGeoghegan, O'Molloy, O'Dunne, and O'Farrell, which are no great men of strength. Further south an army of 1000 based on Limerick with Ossory and his son were to reduce O'Dwyer, 'and next that to win the castle and town of the Nenagh, and to build and inhabit the town, and so to peruse all the Irishry in this side of the water of Shannon', taking O'Briers bridge there.

In pursuing his scheme into the furtherest reaches of Munster Cowley saw the English using the services of O'More and O'Carroll against the other Irish. He wanted the armies to consist of mounted archers and English 'northern horse' for the latter 'were most meet for Ireland, especially at chases and skirmishes'. He also suggested that when the whole complex got further afield 'these countries shall not need to be all inhabited with Englishmen, but may be mixed with divers born in the English pale, in cities and borough towns, and in the earl of Ossory's country'. He even had a timetable, unique in such projets. The campaign should



begin in March of 1537 and be continued until the summer of 1538, when the king and certain of his council should come over 'with no great power, and so establish forever continual laudable order, according to the laws of God, and of this his realm'.

Cowley also dealt with the position of the Irish in his scheme. According to him a great many would offer to become obedient subjects, and should be provided for. An area in the centre of the English pale should be set aside for them where they might live under their captain or captains, 'but in any wise the king to inhabit their countries'. The Irish existed on two things: corn and cattle. Take these from them and they could not survive. As much of their corn, 'as cannot be husbanded and had in the hands of those that shall dwell and inhabit in the same country', should be burned and destroyed. The cattle would be more difficult as they were moveable and could be hidden in the woods. Yet with several armies operating at once the cattle could not be moved everywhere, and in a year's time would be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten. The Irish would then be without corn, victual, or cattle, and the object of the war upon them would have been accomplished.

It was an ambitious plan, a compound of what was to be actually effected and what could not even be contemplated for another half century. One factor that troubled Cowley not at all was very much on Cromwell's mind. The Geraldine revolt had cost the crown more than £40,000.<sup>42</sup> Henry and his principal secretary were not interested in plans involving large expenditure; they wanted to make Ireland pay for itself.

From Ireland Walter Cowley echoed his father's views. He did not think the crown should grant away the lands which it held. Those who made suit for lands could be given

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42

Cromwell's 'remembrance to Wm. Body concerning his journey into Ireland', 3 June 1536 ( P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/3, no. 38).



tenures that did not diminish the king's inheritance. Manors and castles in the marches might well be given to hardy gentlemen in fee farm. Ossory and his son should be restored to the entire Ormond estate which did not come to £100 a year, according to Walter. Here he was promoting Butler interests, and on this occasion another interest. He had earlier sent documents to London by 'one Sonnyng, [Comynge] parson of Wicklow' which would probably account for Robert Cowley's emphasis on the town of Wicklow as the first place to be settled in his scheme. Walter argued that there would never be a better time for reform and that the wars could be followed at the same time that policy was debated. He suggested that Brabazon should conduct his office as vice-treasurer, surveying crown lands and profits and, since he was one of the best soldiers in the army, follow the wars as well. This military talent is noteworthy for it was to have an interesting result a decade later.

Of the army itself Walter advised that some 300 men should be garrisoned in co. Wexford and the castle of Ferns, an area where they would be very useful

to set and survey the county of Wexford, now the king's, to win the castles, holds, and cattle of the Kavanaghs and Byrnes, which lieth between Dublin, the English pale, and the earl of Ossory, the Butlers, and the said country. And following sharply to the next March that purpose, it shall be desolate of Irishry and made to hand for to inhabit, which were the plain way to link in one power together all the Englishry in Leinster and Munster, which containeth the three parts of the five parts of Ireland.<sup>43</sup>

The Cowleys were not alone in urging their private views. Francis Herbert complained that since he was made a captain he had not received £40 from the vice-treasurer, but had spent £100 of his own on his men. Cromwell had told him that if he did the king service he would be rewarded, which he hoped for, as others had been who were not so

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43

Walter Cowley to Cromwell, 10 June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 /vol 10/, no. 1112) and 19 June 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 332-3).



deserving. He told of his services in the commons in parliament, and his expected part in the expedition against O'Brien. In thanking Cromwell for being made a member of the Irish council he pointed out that he was not allowed to sit nor know the business, principally because in his opinion he was an adherent of Brabazon's. Like other correspondents he urged action.

A brother captain of Herbert's, Anthony Cowley, a relative of Robert and Walter, stirred up a minor tempest by advising the crown of his views, including the argument that it was impossible to win and keep lands from the Irish. The council wrote at length to refute him, stressing that both the earls of Kildare and Ossory were able to hold what they had taken from the Irish. Conquest was feasible if there were people to inhabit after it. Cowley was also in error in saying the Irish had not assisted in making roads. The general destruction and want of money had prevented more being done.

Steps were being taken to convert theory into practice. In June 1536 Grey announced with the assent of the Irish council 'victuals, carriage, lime, masons, and other necessaries be provided, and we intend to reedify and fortify the castle and bridge of Athy, and the manor of Woodstock'. Work on this project, which was regarded as important, went on all summer. By August similar operations were being carried out at Powerscourt and on Ferns castle.

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<sup>44</sup> Herbert to Cromwell, 7 June 1536 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [vol. 107, no. 1082]).

<sup>45</sup> Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 24 June 1536 (*ibid.*, no. 1196). This letter is five pages of refutation in the original.

<sup>46</sup> Grey to Cromwell, 24 June (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 334-6), Grey to Henry VIII, 24 June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [vol. 107, no. 1194]), Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 30 June (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 340-1), Thomas Alen to Cromwell, 17 July (*ibid.*, 345-8), Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 9 Aug. (*ibid.*, 349-53), Grey to Cromwell, 10 Aug. 1536 (*ibid.*, 353-6).



The Irish government as a whole - in an attempt to counter Henry's lack of enthusiasm for new ventures and for colonizing Ireland with English - made an eloquent plea for action, pointing out that the suppression of the revolt had given the crown an opportunity unparalleled in a century, 'and God knoweth whether the like shall ever be seen again in our days without a further great charge...'. It was, at the least, necessary to provide inhabitants and military security for the lands which the crown possessed as the first step to reducing its expenses. The great Fitzgerald holdings in cos Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, western Meath, and elsewhere had been wasted, 'remain void, not occupied nay manured', as well as the liberty of Wexford which the crown now possessed. In them and in any other lands likely to come to him, if Henry chose to continue the good beginning, he might have 'as great obedience and possession as any king had here these many years, forseeing that ye provide for the inhabiting of them as they shall come to your possession'. They then went on:

Your highness must understand that the English blood of the English conquest is in manner worn out of this land, and at all seasons in manner without any restoration, is diminished and enfeebled, some by attainders, others by persecution and murdering of Irishmen, and some by departure hence into your realm of England. And contrarywise the Irish blood ever more and more without such delays increaseth, so as farmers cannot be had to manure lands under your obedience here after the rate as may be had in your realm of England, being of one conformity and under the obedience of one monarchy. Neither your noble progenitors, which conquered this land, kept in their own hands all that they attained, but did give the same to others upon reservations of rents and services, by reason whereof they inhabited the same which many of them until this day have defended against your enemies, and those lands, which were not so granted and inhabited, hath been won again for the more part by Irishmen. Wherefore our simple advices shall be unto your grace, principally and above all things and that immediately, to provide for the inhabiting of your said possessions, so as those to whom the same shall be appointed may provide for the manuring, defence, and keeping of them against your Irish rebels; or else either must ye keep an army here continually to defend the same, which will be a far greater charge than the profits, that



might grow thereby, shall surmount unto. Otherwise undoubtedly your said rebels, finding the same without defence, will break and prostrate the fastnesses and conquest the same, converting it to such a wild faction that with no reasonable charge it can be reduced and inhabited again to your obedience, and especially to any profit for a long season after.

First of all there could be no security until there had been a conquest of MacMorrough Kavanagh, O'Morchoe, O'Byrne, O'Toole and their kinsmen, in their areas south of Dublin 'inhabiting the same with Englishmen, or at least subdue and reform the said persons to a due obedience'. Once subdued these septs might be kept so that loyal subjects would be reassured of the lack of danger, 'whereas now when they resort to the defence of the border, they be many times in more danger behind them'.

The crown had other ideas as to a more profitable theatre of action. Cromwell had before him a memorandum of five points concerning the territories governed by the earl of Desmond.<sup>48</sup> The title of the earldom was in dispute, which made a good opportunity for reasserting crown control in a great part of Munster. It was noted that Desmond should pay his dues annually to the exchequer in Dublin as his ancestors had done, and that the machinery of shire government should be created and used in each of the shires under his rule. The records should be searched to know who were the crown tenants there; they were to be required to answer for their intrusion, and to account annually to the exchequer. The comment was made that 'the king has lost much of his right in that country a great while, and now is the time to help reform it'.

Grey and the army began to move westward in July.<sup>49</sup>  
The details of the expedition can be found elsewhere,

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48

'A remembrance for Desmaunte to Master Secretary'  
c. June 1536 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 [vol. 10], no. 1225).

49

See Bagwell, Tudors, i, 200-204, for a full account.



but certain facets of it are worth noting. The soldiers were hard to manage, largely because they were in arrears of pay. Their conduct prompted Grey to remark that 'I promise you on mine honesty I am in more dread of my life amongst them that be the soldiers, than I am of them that be the king's Irish enemies'. His opinion of any variety of Irish was not any higher, and revealing in its comment on national relations: 'for this country passeth all that ever I saw for ministration of sedition and discord, and they principally delight to put one of us Englishmen in another's neck'.<sup>50</sup>

O'Brien's bridge across the Shannon was taken and broken down in August, which gave the English command of the river and stopped O'Brien's influence across it for the time. The castle of Carrigogunnel was taken and placed in the hands of Donough O'Brien, Ossory's son-in-law who had professed such English interests in 1535. Butler troops and interests loomed too large in the expedition to suit William Body, an agent of Cromwell's who had come with it. His views were unsettled, however, for he thought that royal interests would be more safe with them than with the trio of Grey, Alen, and Aylmer who 'do not or will not perceive and seriously understand the king's pleasure...'. He thought it would be better for Henry to lose a great sum of money than the castle of Carrigogunnel. He was also most impressed with what he saw of southern Ireland saying 'if there be any paradise in this world it may be accompted among them, both for beauty and goodness' and so fertile that with inhabitants it would soon be profitable to the crown.<sup>51</sup> Grey, who detested Body, agreed with him on this point, and argued

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<sup>50</sup> Grey to Cromwell, 10 Aug. 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 353-6).

<sup>51</sup> William Body to Cromwell, 9 Aug. 1536 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/3, no. 59).



in reference to any area of Ireland that if Henry would 'provide for inhabitants when it is gotten I doubt not your grace may have what you will in this land'.<sup>52</sup>

In September 1536 Grey and the government were back in Dublin for a renewed session of parliament. Monastic suppression was imminent, and Robert Cowley, having given general arguments in favour of such a course, asked for the farm of Holmpatrick if it should be suppressed. Such were his hopes that he had already relinquished his holdings further south, and they were not disappointed for within the next year he was in possession of Holmpatrick in north co. Dublin, paying £6. 2. 8. for the half-year.<sup>53</sup>

John Alen was soon in possession of St. Wolstan's near Leixlip and in this autumn he submitted to Henry his own plan for reform in Ireland.<sup>54</sup> Surveying the past 250 years he felt that too many projects had foundered from attempting too much too quickly; therefore it would be wise for the crown to begin piecemeal reform without waiting to do the whole. In that 250 years too few had been punished for rebellion by losing their possessions, 'or yet for the wrongful holding of them without title'. He would not advocate banishing all the wild Irish from their lands, for though he wished it were so, he thought subduing their chiefs should make them good subjects, and 'if they might be all banished, I think it were not a little difficulty to inhabit the land again'.

Alen's next point showed a shift in

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Grey to Henry VIII, 10 Aug. 1536 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/3, no. 61).

53

Robert Cowley to Cromwell, 4 Oct. 1536 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 370-2).

54

Alen to Henry VIII, 6 Oct. 1536 (*ibid.*, 373-7).



emphasis in government thinking. With little expense a modest beginning could be made in

O'Conor's country which is situate... within your Englishry, being but a small thing, there 250 years hath been the greatest occasion of the destruction of the Englishry, which [with] the building of five or six piles might be kept forever, so as the Briens and the Irishmen beyond the Shannon and on this side should never have concourse again to invade this country.

Coupled with that effort there should be some reduction of the Leinster chain

where in divers propice places for the achieving thereof been goodly garrisons already builded, which with a few more to be made and garrisoned shall subdue these quarters, and to say the truth they be in effect subdued already, if they were set to'.

It would be objected, and with grounds, that all the Irish would unite to stop such a process, afraid that in time the same would happen to them.

The doubt thereof is most to be noted about O'Conor's country, and yet the matter being well handled, there is none that can prevail in the let thereof to any purpose but O'Brien, and as for him, his bridge being now broken, and the earl of Ossory doing his part, he dare never adventure to come into O'Conor's country.

Alen thought the army could be reduced in size now that there was order and law in cos Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford, despite the demands of an expansive policy. If Henry balked at the expense of the first year or two and was 'not minded as yet to wade further in this matter' the undertaking could be farmed out to some worthy man - probably Ossory was intended - but maintenance for the garrisons must be provided, for which the king 'must ever have a special regard, for if your garrisons be prostrate ye have lost the land'.

In general, Alen argued, it was best to give lands away as they were won, especially on the marches, at a nominal rent. Otherwise there was little hope of permanent profit 'for they shall never be preserved and defended by soldiers and farmers at will... as they shall be by those which shall have a freehold in them...'. As an illustration of his point he cited Brabazon's difficulties



with Kildare's lands, which despite the vice-treasurer's best efforts were worth £200 less a year than when Maynooth fell. The loss from the creation of freeholds would not be more than the present losses from wasted lands, and the crown would be relieved of the costs of upkeep and defence. In Ireland Henry had

land sufficeint, being well divided into freeholders, to make you for the defence of the country two or three hundreth able horsemen. Better... to have competent rent for your lands in surety, with men to live and die for the defence of the same, than land... without rent and men both, except at your grace's charge ye keep alway an army to defend them.

As for income, if the newly ordered shires paid the royal subsidy, first fruits, and rents from existing crown lands, together with the suppression of the many abbeys there, the result would equal the revenue of the pale, or some £4500 to £5500.

55

In everything that Alen proposed, Brabazon concurred. He also argued that an act of parliament was necessary requiring that constables of royal castles dwell in them, for the present practice was to take the profits and let the castles fall into ruin. Another agent of Cromwell's, Martin Pellys, commented on the decayed state of the English pale, especially the borders of co. Louth. He argued the chief holders there should be native English, for otherwise there would be collusion between the holders and the native Irish, whose fair words and oaths could not be believed, 'for they be full of courtesy, and have much subtle wit as any nation that ever I see'.

56

The condition of the pale was also described by the Irish council. Where Henry complained of their lack of

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'A note of certeine remembraunces to be declared by Maister Bodie...' to Cromwell, c. Nov. 1536 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/3, no. 94).

56

Pellys to Cromwell, 4 Dec. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1536 /vol. 11/, no. 1248).

effort to provide more revenue for expenses, they countered that the pale had been used and taxed to the utmost, and more was self-defeating. Instead, the same taxes should also be levied in cos Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Waterford. Twice within a month they also urged the king to begin the reform of the Leinster chain, which was the first task necessary for general military security, and the augmenting of the revenues. It is significant that neither Ossory nor his son James signed these letters or knew of them. <sup>57</sup>

At the beginning of 1537 the council, in ebullient mood, returned with renewed vigour to the subject. In response to Henry's request that the army should not waste money and time they proposed that it be used for the reform they had twice propounded the previous autumn, and they sent a 'book' setting forth their plan in detail. <sup>58</sup> It was a product of the thinking already examined, particularly that of Patrick Fynglas who was one of the signers. The council believed that the Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles could raise a combined force of 300 horsemen, and 600 to 700 kerne. There could be no security until they were utterly subdued. Once that was done the king should be able to defend his dominion without expense from England. An index for the future would also be provided for 'by the doing thereof the difficulty or facility shall be noted to do like things'.

A force of 2000 men was thought necessary, some 1600 English, 'of whom there must be divers masons,

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Grey and council to Henry VIII, 29 Oct. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 380-1), Grey and council to Cromwell, 23 Nov. 1536 (ibid., 391-6).

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Grey and council to Henry VIII, 10 Feb. 1537 (ibid., 408-9) enclosing 'A memorial or a note for the winning of Leinster...' (ibid., 409-19).



carpenters, and other artificers', and wages for 400 horsemen and kerne of Ireland. The last were needed to search bogs, woods, and morasses, 'whereunto Englishmen be not so meet as they'. Of the English 600 were to be detached for the actual settlement to be made, 300 horsemen and 300 footmen. The necessity to pay the soldiers was stressed. Since 1535 several opportunities had been lost for lack of money. A case in point was O'Connor who could have been exiled at the beginning of 1536, 'and now in one of the best times for the destruction of Irishmen, that is to say to put them from sowing of their oats, we must make peace with him'.

In the Leinster chain the Irish at present there should not be the inhabitants. They would only wait for the chance to make trouble and the reform must be thorough. One approach would be to exile them, which could be done in a year 'whereby all the whole country shall be made vacant and waste...'

But then the same so being wasted, and they exiled as no doubt they may be, yet unless it be inhabited immediately many of them will return again and be worse than they were before. Therefore without inhabitation the cost were but vainly consumed.

And on the other side, considering that the inhabitation of this quarter will require ten or twelve thousand men, and lest peradventure so many of such sort, as to this purpose were necessary, would not be spared to be had out of England... we think... that there is a more mean way both for the winning of this country and the inhabitation of it, which shall be as sure as the other.

There be many Irishmen in England. Let three or four thousand of them at the least, which be of honest substance, be sent hither to inhabit the country aforesaid in form following.

The form which followed was one that had already been made familiar. Some sixteen places were recommended as sites for settlement. These included Powerscourt, Newcastle in the present co. Wicklow, Castlekevin, the town of Wicklow, Arklow, O'Morchoe's country, Ferns, Enniscorthy, Old Ross, New Ross, Duiske abbey in Craigenamanagh, Leighlin Bridge, Carlow, Castledermot, Woodstock, and



Rathangan. They were all places with castles or town walls, and in the case of Enniscorthy 'there is a place of friars observants, well builded with divers old stone walls', an advantage which Leighlin Bridge also possessed. In each case extensive lands were to be assigned to these sites, usually the surrounding barony.

The backbone of the whole plan was to be a strong element of settlers from England. It is obvious that it was a dubious king that the council had to convince, and they used a variety of arguments, some overt and some subtle, to sway him. Playing on his distrust of the Dublin government they expressed the hope that, as they were for the most part 'poor mean persons', the direction of so weighty an enterprise would be placed in the hands of English captains. That military direction and the pattern of settlement were to be so tied together as to be inseparable. The council drew an analogy between the hardihood of the captains of Henry II, intent on service to the crown and gaining lands for themselves and their posterity, and the men needed at present. Included in the settlement

there must be elected certain gentlemen of England, younger brethern of good discretion, which have little or nothing to dispoed there, to the intent that they shall trust to nothing elsewhere but to such lands as the king shall appoint therein here. And every of them to choose such men to come with them as will tarry and inhabit with them.

The sites chosen for settlement with their lands were to be placed in the hands of captains, who were to hold by knight's service, paying the crown an annual rent. Under them were to be 'a certain of horsemen and footmen, which must continue in wages two or three years. And every of the said gentlemen must divide such lands as shall be allotted unto them to their soldiers in freeholds'. The example of the barony of Newcastle in co. Dublin was cited, which had retained its structure from the first conquest,



with 'freeholders in all the lordships in it, which being so inhabited hath been by them so kept and defended unto this day'.

A head captain was to direct the whole plan and be made earl of Carlow and lord of Ferns. He and his heirs were to have those two manors, the barony of Idrone, Baltinglas abbey, and the lordships of Rathvilly and Clonmore, all James Fitzgerald's lands in those borders, and all the lands between those holdings to O'Morchoe's country.

Which earl with all the said captains and their servants, albeit that they shall be able to expel the heads, gentlemen, and men of war, yet by themselves only they shall not be sufficient to inhabit the same. Following therefore the experience of the first conquest, they may continue as many of the common people there as to them shall be seen requisite, for there be no better earthtillers, nay more obedient, than they be, so as they be never suffered to use feats of wars as commonly they use not. Also there be divers second brethern and gentlemen of the English blood in these parts, seeing this enterprise go forthward, will gladly take lands there to inhabit.

As an example of the last type the council had already recommended Sir William St Loe and they argued in general that those in Ireland 'having experience of those quarters should be more meet than strangers'.

Supplies for the army - beer, biscuits, flour, butter, cheese and meat - would have to be shipped from Chester, Liverpool, Wales, and Bristol to Wicklow, Arklow, Wexford, and New Ross. The Irish would probably 'scorch the earth', but in any event attempting to live off the country would deplete it and compel the army to withdraw. Henry should not expect any immediate revenue but in time he and his successors 'shall have one entire portion of this land next adjoining to England to their obedience...'. The council thought that if the king knew the problem as they did he would strive for its completion before anything else. Further if it

the key and the beginning of the subjection of the land be not feasible, then all the residue is in no manner feasible. If we cannot win this, let us never covet to the whole. If we be not able to inhabit this, we be much less able to



inhabit the whole. If the charges of this act be not portable, we be far unable to furnish the whole.

As a stimulus there was the example of the Scots of the out isles, naked, without wages or help, who had taken an area as large in the north of Ireland, garrisoned it and made it their own. The Irish council felt that only three things could make the plan a failure: Irish insurrection, failure of supply, and lack of money. There should be on hand a year's needs in goods and wages. So much they had learned from bitter experience.

Ossory and his son were among the signers of the plan, a fact which Grey deplored, as he would have preferred that they and all other Irish be kept in ignorance of such an undertaking. He predicted correctly that no matter what they said they would oppose it, 'their liberty and advantage being so contrary thereto'. The crown should let the Butlers think that nothing would stop its fulfilment, thereby spurring them to 'bridle and reform their liberty and extortion'. He added that if they and Kildare had agreed to make such a reform jointly 'the thing had been redressed long ere now'. Martin Pellys had similar reservations about the Butlers, but he concurred in the plan of settlement as the means to secure the Leinster chain and reduce costs.

By the summer of 1537 Cromwell was being advised from co. Wexford that neither St Loe and his soldiers nor the gentry there were sufficient for its defence, but it was thought that 'five or six thousand men, part soldiers, part husbandmen, and other crafty men to till and inhabit the lands between Dublin and Wexford... would be a good

59

See also 'Devices for the ordering of the Kavanaghs, the Byrnes, Tooles, and O'Mayles...' (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 113). These date from the same period as the 'memorial' and may be related to it.

<sup>60</sup>Grey to Cromwell, 10 Feb. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 419-20).

<sup>61</sup>Martin Pellys to Cromwell, 6 Feb. 1537 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 357).



benefit...'. Three or four gentlemen should have some £67 each a year to defend it. The writers argued that as the crown revenues did not exceed £167 a year from Wexford, if Cromwell would secure them a lease of those revenues, they would pay all the officers fees and defence costs, and return £67 to the exchequer. When the liberty of Wexford was reconfirmed in July 1537 with Sir William St Loe as seneshal their demands were reduced to a plea that in no circumstances was coyne and livery to be allowed there.

Brabazon advised Cromwell that when men were assured of their leases they would spend money on the land. Later he argued that the crown should take care which suiters it favoured in making grants, for without revenues the country would be poorly defended. The government as a whole had pushed the principle one step further in asking Cromwell to help retire the 'aged and impotent' dean of St Patrick's who was not able to defend its lands in the marches, and replace him with Sir Edward Basnet 'a man meet and active for that intent, and defence also of the country'.

Planting and defence were foremost in the minds of the Irish government, but Henry countered their proposals

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62

Walter Brown, John Deverus, and Alexander Keating to Cromwell, 24 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/4, no. 27), Alexander Keating to Cromwell, c. Aug. 1537 (ibid., 60/5, no. 5).

63

Brabazon to Cromwell, 1 Mar., 24 Apr. 1537 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, nos 549, 1027).

64

Grey and council to Cromwell, 11 Feb. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 420-21).

with a lecture on economies, balancing the cost of the revolt against the scant revenue of some £4700. In his anger he accused them of being personally venal and admonished 'that to your desire of private gains you should have an eye to join our honour, our profit, and the commonweal of that country... lay your heads together and devise together how... our revenues there may be increased and augmented...'. The resulting income would be used in Ireland to keep as many soldiers as it would support with some outlay for the repair of fortifications and the building of new ones necessary to be rid of rebels. Having disposed of new plans the king announced that he would soon send a reputable person to see what was the correct size of the revenue and expenses, and to receive detailed information concerning the state of the country. In the meantime retrenchment and the removal of corruption were the primary things. Henry concluded 'it is much to our marvel that you have not yet proceeded to the suppression of the monasteries, and that you have had no more regard...<sup>65</sup> for the alleviating of our charges there'. Towards that end Brabazon was thanked for his military services but was requested in the future to devote his whole time to crown revenues. He was, however, to be allowed fifty men for his protection in the marches in dealing with crown lands.<sup>66</sup>

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65

Henry VIII to Grey and council, 25 Feb. 1537  
(S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 422-6).

66

Henry VIII to Brabazon, 25 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/4, no. 12).



The Irish council in reply pointed out that the crown lands, after the destruction of the past three years, were in a poor state and 25000 was the current extent of the revenues. As for wasted lands they did not wish to put natives on them but thought they could be reduced if two points were followed: 'One is, no man in this country will manure and inhabit your nor any other man's lands, especially to any fruitful purpose, unless he may have a security of continuance therein, so as when he hath edified the same he shall not be expelled from it'. The second point was a corollary of the first. In co. Kildare, where most of the crown lands were, the inhabitants were so disturbed by the execution of the Fitzgeralds (3 February 1537) that they had adopted a wandering life. That area could not be developed until they were pardoned.

The Fitzgeralds provided another argument. Henry was told that 'your lands in the marches must be inhabited with men of war as the earl of Kildare used them, or else the marches shall not well be defended'. The council also hoped that when the king's commissioner came he would take their experienced advice in appointing a garrison 'for if the soldiers should be after the order of Calais or such like places, it would not be best, perchance, so here'. Finally they promised to proceed with the suppression of the monasteries as authorised by their commission. To

68

Cromwell the Irish government complained that

... for these two hundred years and more such hath been the miserable chance to this land, that whensoever the prince was best minded to the reformation hereof... some chance happed which was the let thereof, and seldom hath it been seen that service done here hath been acceptably taken, so as of likelihood the time... for the reformation of this land is not yet come.

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<sup>67</sup> Grey and council to Henry VIII, 20 Apr. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, 426-33).

<sup>68</sup> Grey and council to Cromwell, 20 Apr. 1537 (ibid., ii, 430 n).

Their deflation did not last long. Soon certain of the council were reverting to the idea that the Butler counties should produce more revenue. In co. Waterford, where the Butlers now had Dungarvan, the profits of the county went to them and not to the crown. They should be kept out of co. Wexford where Richard Butler had the crown lands of Old Ross and the Fasagh of Bantry. As for the earl and his son James, Henry should thank them for their services but make them surrender the manors of Carlow, Kilkea, Castledermot, and anything else they had beyond Leighlin Bridge, for otherwise the family would 'have the rule and obedience of those quarters, and not the king'. They should be rewarded with monastic lands, chosen so as not to affect the crown's interest.<sup>69</sup> Thus the Butlers were to be set aside as instruments of crown policy, as the Fitzgerald's before them had been.

The same four writers felt that many of the other English lords could not be relied on, having 'neither wit nor company of men'. These lords should be made to keep men of war according to the value of their lands, and dwell in their march holdings or pay for a reliable substitute chosen by the council. Many of those who needed pardons had good lands in the heart of the pale which needed no defence. The crown could make them exchange those lands for lands in the marches.

Grey and Brabazon soon took action on their own, reporting in May that O'Connor, 'which is as rank a traitor alway to the king as can be devised, is at war with us, upon whom we have prepared a journey with fourteen day's victuals'. Entering Offaly from Leix in company with O'More and MacGilpatrick, their first task was to besiege

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69

Grey, Brabazon, Alen and Aylmer to Cromwell, 29 Apr. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 434-7).



a castle of O'Conor's at Bracknagh. Having taken it they beheaded most of the garrison and left it in the hands of Cahir O'Conor, Brian's brother. Then they turned toward Daingean, distant some ten (statute) miles, 'and all marsh ground betwixt', which they crossed with a road of faggots and hurdles, a proceeding which had to be used at the defences of Daingean itself. It had a strong new castle manned by about forty gunners. After the 'great piece' arrived and a battery had been made, the place was taken, and despite Cahir's pleas the English proceeded to batter down all but a small portion in order that 'Irishmen might see to what purpose the keeping of their castles serveth'.

Observers were united in their view that there was not so strong a fortress in Ireland or so well manned. The army, having executed the garrison, then burned the country, destroyed the corn, cut passes, and 'cast down many great ditches which he O'Conor fortified upon passages'. It was thus considered that the fear of God and of the king had been put in O'Conor, who was nowhere to be seen, having fled into O'Carroll's country.

However that might be one of his English neighbours remarked that 'all the inhabitants towards those parts of his country rejoice much this journey, for no Irishman in all this land have done that hurt in wasting, robbing, and burning of them as he hath done'.

Offaly was left in the hands of Cahir O'Conor by the Irish council who suggested to Henry that the strength of his enemy might be his own if he pursued his advantage quickly.

One is to reward this gentleman, which now hath the governance thereof, with some other convenient thing, and inhabit the same with Englishmen. And if his grace should

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70

Grey and Drabazon to Cromwell, 18 May, 11 June 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 437-42).

71

Thomas Alen to Cromwell, 12 June 1537 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 100).



think this way too much chargeable, the other is to make this man denison and create him baron of Offaly, and he to have the same of his highness gift after English laws and inheritance. And he receiving the same of his grace's gift of likelihood would be a good subject, whereunto he shall be the rather driven for that Irishmen afterward will so hate him as he shall have little comfort of them. Confer the best and the worst together. If he continue true, then the strength of that country shall be the king's own. If he did otherwise, yet his grace's enemy Brian is banished by this mean, and his grace hath lost nothing. And the other Cahir offending, after he hath received the same of his highness gift and submitted himself and his country to his grace's laws, his highness shall have a more direct way in every man's sight and judgment to come to the same advantage that he is now at.<sup>72</sup>

As an indication of future policy the suggested course of action is of interest, but in the meantime Brian O'Connor revived. He got the help of the Kavanaghs, and another expedition had to be taken against them by Grey, accompanied by MacGilpatrick and O'More. O'Connor pleaded with Grey that he might have his lands back and be loyal, but the deputy refused, saying he could not be trusted. Indeed, the government in its confidence assured Cromwell 'we begin to come to such knowledge of Irishmen and their countries, that we consider no such difficulty to subdue or exile them as hath been thought'.<sup>73</sup> Everything hinged on an adequate supply of money. But another problem had arisen, one destined to recur. While Grey described O'Connor as a man who 'is now as low as it were a dog for the bone, and doth follow me in every place suing to be restored again' the deputy assured him it would be only at the king's command. 'He bearing that made great labour unto me for his corn... and not himself only but divers of his friends', among them many which surprised Grey, including the Butlers.

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72

Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 26 June 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 442-5). See also Council of Ireland to Henry VIII, same date (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 146).<sup>73</sup> Grey and council to Cromwell, 12 Aug. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 468-70). Grey and council to Henry VIII, same date (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 507).



The deputy advised the government in England to ignore any letters which might be written on O'Conor's behalf. He complained that the marchers showed too much favour to the Irish, succouring them as individuals, and keeping their goods and chattels, even doing so when the deputy was invading an Irish country. In fact they seem to have operated an underground railway for fugitive Irish.<sup>74</sup> According to Grey, O'Conor was soon reduced to going from one old friend to another more like a beggar than a captain or ruler of a country. He had a following of 'not over four knaves' and made daily suit to the deputy who hoped the situation would remain that way.<sup>75</sup>

In the course of the actions of June 1537 a second force had conducted operations in western Meath against O'Conor, compelling his allies O'Holloy, MacGeoghegan and O'Melaghlin to submit and join in the expedition. Almost in passing the council remembered to include the most important piece of news of the whole campaign.

Also of late his highness castle of Athlone, which is a great garrison standing in the midst of this land upon a passage betwixt Connaught and these parts, is obtained unto his grace's possession from the violent usurpation of Irishmen, which have kept the same from his grace and his most noble progenitors these many years.<sup>76</sup>

The English had the key to the midlands, though they were slow to realize its importance.

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<sup>74</sup> Grey to Cromwell, 16 Aug. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 143-5, where it is misdated 1539).

<sup>75</sup> Grey to Cromwell, 19 Sept. 1537 (*ibid.*, ii, 474-5).

<sup>76</sup> Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 26 June 1537 (*ibid.*, 442-5).

## CHAPTER III

## A ROYAL COMMISSION

1537-1541

For two years Henry VIII had been deluged by advice and suggestions from Ireland as to how the country should be handled. The tenor of those suggestions was remarkably uniform for the Irish establishment, and they spoke as one in asking that the pressing problems of military security and English settlement be dealt with, cost what they might. Cromwell, following Brabazon's and Alen's advice, somewhat favoured the Irish government's view, though he and the king were at one in insisting that Ireland be made a paying lordship. Neither Cromwell nor Henry knew Ireland at first hand, and the king's answer to the accumulation of advice was to counter with a move of his own. During the summer of 1537 he chose a group of four men as his commissioners to Ireland. They included George Paulet, brother of the future marquess of Winchester, Thomas Moyle, receiver-general of the court of augmentations, and William Berners, auditor of that court. The fourth man, and the head of the commission, was probably the most considered choice and certainly the most far-reaching one. Sir Anthony St Leger, some forty years old, had been at court for over twenty years and had the complete confidence of Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> Though totally different in temperament, they saw Irish problems from the same point of view and Henry backed St Leger in his service in Ireland to a degree that he never afforded to any of his other officers there. Detached, dispassionate, St Leger viewed affairs with a tolerance startling in his

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<sup>1</sup>  
D.N.B. sketch of St Leger.



century. While, like his contemporaries, he was not above furthering his own and his family's interests, he was one of the ablest English officials in Ireland, and his actions and opinions are of importance in the twenty years following 1537.

While the instructions for the commissioners were still being hammered out - and the process was painstaking, for their work was regarded as of the first importance - Robert Cowley, who was in London, presented Cromwell with a disjointed set of notes to guide him in drawing the instructions.<sup>2</sup> These notes contain many points of interest. Cowley argued that the commission should have authority to lease castles and garrisons in the marches, many of which were ruinous and uninhabited, to marchers who had an adequate retinue, and who would pay an annual rent to the crown, but receive an inheritable tenure as necessary to encourage settlement and repairs in places of such danger. Such grants should be made to those who had done service to the crown, excluding those who had not.

Those marchers who were obliged to retain galloglas should see to it that their captains had lands on which to settle. Those captains should be required to recruit as many of their men as possible from those who had been born in and were residents of the country they defended. As matters stood 'the poor English earthtillers in the English pale' would not endure the poverty that Irish tenants could and 'the lords and inheritors taketh such a greedy lust of profit, that they bring into the heart of the English pale Irish tenants which neither can speak the English tongue, nay wear cap or bonnet, and expulseth off the ancient good English tenants...'. It was such areas

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Robert Cowley to Cromwell, c. July 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 445-52). The editors suggest that Patrick Barnewall, prime sergeant of Ireland, may have assisted Cowley. Barnewall was in England at the time.



that should be properly garrisoned and inhabited, otherwise the English tenants were driven into England and Wales leaving Irish ones in their place. A group which had remained included Peter Talbot and other Welsh and English, and properly supported they would be a buttress against the O'Tooles in the region of Tallaght and Ballymore, south of Dublin. Thus if the commissioners so ordered the pale 'putting in a right train, linked together, the whole Englishry, they shall be able daily of themselves both to resist and invade the Irishry'.

The 'right train' of events was largely what Cowley and others had advocated before: a ring of garrisons around the Leinster chain to subdue the Irish there. Cowley assured Cromwell that the Butlers were anxious to play their part in such an undertaking, as well as in erecting a series of forts up the river Barrow against O'More and O'Conor. What was new in Cowley's argument was his sure grasp of the importance of the capture of Athlone. A captain and a garrison should be placed there, where he estimated there were more than 500 ploughlands belonging to the crown, waste at the moment. The barony there was the march against O'Kelly and O'Melaghlin. Further, a continuous line of garrisons should be placed along the northern borders of Meath and around Offaly. The Meath gentry, such as the baron of Delvin and his sons, would assist, and there should be two strong points beyond Kells. At Portlester there should be a captain and men, evidently Francis Herbert, and the Berminghams in the barony of Carbury in co. Kildare should also be utilized. Then the whole of the present county of Westmeath, being inhabited, would 'be the fortification of the Englishry', increasing the king's revenues and obedience, and weakening his enemies.

For the time being Munster at one extreme and Louth



at the other could wait. Reform must begin somewhere and a start should be made in cos Dublin, Meath, and Kildare. Afterwards cos Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Tipperary could follow, and so outwards. The reform completed, 'then shall no Irishry be in this side the water of Shannon unprosecuted, subdued, and exiled', apart from the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, so that 'the English pale be well 200 Irish miles length and more, and a little army... shall suffice generally to subdue the residue and inhabit'. As the king was willing to part with possessions to have them inhabited and built on for defence, so the marcher lords should likewise part with lands for appropriate rents to achieve 'a great commonwealth universally'. Cowley's vision of that commonwealth included a virtual separation of the English and the Irish according to 'the old statutes of Kilkenny... good to be put in execution...'.<sup>3</sup>

His advice undoubtedly had some effect on Cromwell and the king. Their instructions to the commissioners granted them powers not only over the Irish council, but over Grey himself, though he was to be handled diplomatically. In general the commissioners were to follow up the suppression of the rebellion and put the land in order, gathering all the information necessary for any future reform. Specifically they were to examine and increase all forms of the revenue, and to reduce all crown expenses. This last included particularly the army, which was to be cut to some 340 men if possible, with 140 in garrison and the remaining 200 mobile under the

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<sup>3</sup> Henry VIII's instructions to the commissioners, 31 July 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 452-63). The original draft was 35 pages, the second 41, and the third 13, all heavily emendated (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/4, nos. 36, 37, 38).



deputy and the vice-treasurer. The commissioners could choose which garrisons were most necessary to be kept, and their captains were to be 'some fourteen in number', William St Loe and Dudley being mentioned by name.

It was observed that many crown lands were waste and not let because of forfeiture and attainder, monastic suppression, and the act of absentees. The commissioners were to give special attention to such lands and to let them for the king's benefit at the annual value they had before royal possession. Waste lands in the marches and elsewhere were to be let to such English and other subjects 'as will bind themselves to inhabit them' under terms that would encourage 'the tenants thereof to inhabit and manure the same'. A special sub-commission for leases of twenty-one years was set up which included Alen, Aylmer, and Brabazon as well as the four commissioners. Each lease was to contain a clause obliging the tenant to observe the laws for the use of the English tongue and dress, and the prohibitions against any contact with Irish rebels, subject to forfeiting the lease as well as incurring the usual legal penalties.

The commissioners were to make an accurate record of the Irish revenue, and in general were to relate land tenure to the whole problem of increased income. Power was given to hold and conduct parliament and to grant pardons to those who had taken part in the revolt. Inquiry was to be made into the earldom of Desmond, and O'Brien's rebuilding of his bridge. Where many of the magnates oppressed subjects with unreasonable exactions and impositions as the Irish took blackrents, the first abuse was to be untangled to everyone's advantage, and the second forbidden. Finally, in any matter germane to their work the commissioners had royal power whether it was specifically mentioned or not. They were to associate



the deputy with them in their actions whenever possible, and keep always in mind that one of their functions was to inform the king when they returned to England. In effect, the authority of the crown in Ireland was vested in these men.

St Leger and his associates did not reach Dublin and begin work until the middle of September 1537. The Irish council was ready, and several papers on matters which they should examine were laid before the commission.

Grey dwelt principally on the marchers, a sorry lot in his opinion.<sup>4</sup> Most of them had arrangements with the Irish whereby the raids and robberies were confined to small freeholders. Indeed, if the marchers desired to buy out a small freeholder or a poor gentleman they had the perfect weapon. The marchers could levy fees, cess, and particularly coyne and livery on everything they owned, including their lands well back in the pale, the place where they usually were to the great detriment of the country's defence. They followed Irish practices, habits, and language. Further, most of the landowners if offered a larger rent by an Irish tenant would replace the existing English one with him 'and thus many English farmers be put from their farms'. The final result was that garrisons and other organisations ended by being composed of Irish.

Justice Luttrell gave the most cogent and coherent treatment of coyne and livery and its abuses and ramifications that had yet been written, and made it seem relevant to every problem the commissioners faced.<sup>5</sup> In his opinion it was the fundamental cause of the decay of the

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<sup>4</sup> Lord Deputy's book, c. Sept. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 477-80),

<sup>5</sup> Justice Luttrell's book, c. Sept. 1537 (ibid., 502-10).



land and royal obedience. It increased daily and soon would destroy the pale as it had destroyed Munster, Connaught and Ulster, where it drove out 'the true English inheritors and inhabitants'. First its practice created wastes, and in them the lords continued to charge it at the old rates as if the wastes were settled. They then proceeded to take such lands into their own hands as forfeited, a practice prevailing in the pale as well. There the first coyne and livery had been introduced by Kildare 'within this fifty years', a mere 24 spears of galloglas at first, but it had gradually expanded and grown. Delvin and then Ossory had joined, and the system was expanded again. Luttrell himself could remember the censing of 120 galloglas in co. Kildare, at which

many English husbands of the same county came to inhabit in the county of Dublin and Meath at one time, and so yearly others followed so that now [in] the said county, which was more part English as the county of Dublin now is, there is not one husbandman in effect that speaketh English nay useth any English sort nay manner, and their gentlemen be after the same sort, all by reason of coyne and livery.

The practice of coyne and livery was totally arbitrary, one place being charged 20s. and another 100s., though both were the same in size. There were other refinements, and the system had its own laws and fines, so that nothing of these doings came into the king's courts. In some instances Irish brehons determined cases. The practice was so lucrative that there were some captains who would rather have war than peace for the spoils. The result was that many gentlemen had sold their freeholds and many English farmers their goods and gone to England, and most of these who remained had become Irish in speech and custom, 'so that English order is like utterly to be put away, unless hasty remedy therefore be provided'.



Luttrell's remedy was that a statute and machinery for its enforcement should be provided for regulating all such exactions, with local opinion being taken into account. While coyne and livery could not be completely abolished, it could be moderated to the relief of the poor. He argued that if the Leinster chain, 'lying as a gall' in the south-east, were reduced so that those in the pale had no enemies behind them and could unite in defending the outer borders, crown revenue would increase a great deal as well as obedience to royal law, and such extortion would cease. Then the borders to the Leinster chain 'in short process would be more wealthier and Englisher than the best part of Ireland is now'.

In matters of defence Luttrell had some thoughtful comments. He felt that the hiring of galloglas, kerne and horsemen was a great expense and very questionable, and that the

English inhabitants should provide of themselves instead of galloglases, bowmen and billmen, and instead of Irishmen, horsemen inhabiting within the Englishry to do that service when need shall require, and after to attend to their husbandry and other means to live by. They would more faithful and earnest be for their own defence than the others, and the money and other charges taken by the said Irishmen to rest amongst the Englishry, which would be greatly to their commonweal.

Later he returned to the same theme, and added a concrete example:

Where the opinion of many is that the borders is best defended by kerne and galloglases, experience do show in my conceit otherwise; for the barony of Newcastle adjoining to the Tooles, by the English husbands, inhabitants, and copy freeholders thereof, and their great and sure villages, with their English bows and bills, have better defended the same marches, having no holding of no kerne, horsemen, nay galloglases, than any other march in this land; and yet they live still after an English sort and manner.

6

An anonymous writer made some practical suggestions. Because of the scarcity of English, necessity forced the

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'A certain information...' (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 480-6). The paper is incorrectly ascribed to John Aken as being in his handwriting. It is a copy by Hugh Holgrave, a clerk who prepared a good of proceedings of the commission,



landholders 'not only to take Irishmen, our natural enemies, to our tenants and earthtillers, but also some to our household servants, some horsemen and kerne'.

Regulation was necessary to maintain security, and it was explained that the rules for barbering and dress were primarily for the purpose of telling friends from enemies, English from Irish.

The writer also pointed out that much of the cause for the ruin of the crown lands lay in the condition that tenants could not have no longer assurance to dwell in them than the space of three years, which caused them to forbear either to build, or make any sure defence about the same. It is therefore necessary that such as will, shall have the said lands in farm by indenture for term of twenty-one years, with promise that in the end of terms, doing as they will do, shall have the same of new for so much longer.

In any event, considering the king's need for money he 'may be advised to give away clearly none of his lands, otherwise than some yearly rent thereof may come to his coffers...'

The writer proposed that for better defence the deputy ought to be located in Trim castle, which could be repaired from stones of priories there, 'and also that four or five hundred great oaks be felled in Offaly, whiles we have it at our commandment, and carried the next summer towards the building of the said castle'. As for O'Conor's country, which 'hath of long time been the door whereby much war and mischief hath entered amongst the king's subjects', he thought it should be so arranged 'that hereafter it shall no more so grieve us'. He proposed that the eastern part of Offaly as far as Ticroghan which of old time was inhabited with the Berminghams, shall be restored unto them again, and William Bermingham because of his activity to be lord thereof, and have the same for him and his heirs forever, giving some chief rent yearly out of it, as shall seem to your discretions. And the rent of Offaly to be given wholly to Cahir O'Conor...' under the same conditions, with Cahir as baron of Offaly, and



both as lords of parliament. As for Cahir events vitiated the proposal, but the Berminghams were in time restored.

By the end of September the commissioners had left Dublin to inspect cos Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford. They had reduced the army to the numbers agreed upon according to a schedule of wages fixed in England, which with 'taking farms and manuring the land themselves may be to them a competent living, and yet thereby the king's lands a great deal the better inhabited'.<sup>7</sup> Thus the provision of soldier-farmers had been begun.

Wherever the commissioners went they held sworn<sup>8</sup> inquests, and what they found must have dismayed them. The uneasy union of archaic English and Irish custom had produced something that was neither clearly feudal nor native, but a mixture of the worst elements of both. They found that every freeholder, lay or spiritual, charged his tenants not only with coyne and livery, but with a wide variety of other exactions as well. In practice there was no fixed limit to these services, which were taken according to the whim of the individual lord or his representative. What looked reasonable on paper underwent a sea change in operation. Things were asked for far more frequently in a year than the rules allowed, and measurements were tampered with. In demanding butter William Bermingham required sixteen quarts to the gallon. Public services were turned to private benefit, and the lord's guests were quartered in the same way as his own men. Payments were extorted if for any reason the services were not called for. Prices were fixed at which tenants were made to sell, and markets forestalled. Law was a confused mixture of English, Irish, and private practices, and the keeping of sessions arbitrary. Destruction

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas Agard to Cromwell, 27 Sept. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 762), Patrick Barnewall to Cromwell, 30 Sept. ibid., no. 786).

<sup>8</sup>The texts of these inquests are printed, out of order, in Hore & Graves, Southern & Eastern counties.



was widespread, and the commission found marchers forcing poor freeholders in the marches to sell their holdings by the expedient of having the Irish raid them.

Two findings of the commission are open to differing interpretations. In the case of a tenant who had horse or cattle stolen, Lady Power in co. Waterford took a five mark fine for his lack of vigilance. The earl of Kildare had required a workman from each ploughland and every three cottages to make ditches and fortifications on the borders for a week every year, and an ax-man to cut passes one or two days each year.<sup>9</sup> Whether these were evils or precursors of later plantation regulations, they were the kind of measures necessary in Irish conditions.

In such a maze it is not surprising that the commissioners found their work difficult. By mid-autumn they reported they had surveyed most of the crown lands in cos Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford in which

we have seen divers goodly manors and castles, the more part of them ruinous and in great decay, the towns and lands abouts them depopulate, wasted, and not manured, whereby hath ensued dearth and scarcity of all manner victuals. Little suit as yet is made unto us for any of the same waste lands, albeit such castles and fortresses as by us have been thought most necessary to be warded and defended... we have furnished with such number of men as by our discretions do seem convenient for the defence of the same, and such waste lands and others adjoining the said fortresses and castles to them letten in farm.

They added that it was difficult for the soldiers to live upon their wages.

The commission's work would already have been finished had not an untoward event occurred. Grey was forced to remove the men assisting them in order to take the offensive against Brian O'Conor who, contrary to his

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9

The editors give a detailed summary of the commission's findings in a note in S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 510-13. See also 'An abstract of misorders...' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/5, no. 25).



promises and his supine condition of a month or two before, had managed to raise 'a great number of horsemen, galloglases and kerne'. With these he had invaded Offaly and put out Cahir. In the meantime the commission expected when finished to make an estimate of the extent of the crown lands and their revenue. When they returned they would declare 'divers things worthy reformation, much tedious to be written to you...'.<sup>10</sup>

Henry expressed surprise and annoyance that anyone trusted O'Connor, and he wanted the deputy and council reprimanded for doing so. It was also to be established who had helped O'Connor to make such a recovery. As for the commissioners and their matters too 'much tedious to be written, his highness pleasure is that, notwithstanding any prolixity or tediousness, you shall afore your coming, with all possible celerity advertise his grace amply and largely of the same', in case matters could be dealt with while they were there. No one could realise the complexity of Irish affairs until they had seen them, not even Henry or Cromwell. The latter in one of his few surviving letters on Irish affairs dealt Grey a stinging rebuke, and revealed something of himself. He wrote the deputy

to advise you eftsoons to handle that matter of O'Connor's with such a dexterity as he may be hanged, upon the terrible example of all such traitors. The expulsion of him was taken very well, but the permission of him to have such a scope to work mischief at his pleasure... was neither wisdom nor yet good precedent. Redub it my lord in the just punishment of his traitor's carcass, and let his treason be a warning to you, and to all that shall have to do for the king's majesty there, never to trust traitor after, but to use them without tract after their demerits. And thus fare you heartily well...<sup>11</sup>

Grey argued that he had done the best he could with O'Connor, and had left him free partly because Brian's

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10

Commissioners to Cromwell, 15 Nov. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 517-19).

11

Cromwell to the commissioners, 10 Dec. (*ibid.*, 519-21), Cromwell to Grey, 15 Dec. 1537 (*ibid.*, 522).



brother-in-law, the earl of Ossory, had requested it. Great efforts had been made to run him to ground. Using Bracknagh as a base, where they were held up by swollen waters, the army had ravaged Offaly again, large stores of corn being burned. At Killeigh and Geashill there had been enough grain for a thousand men for a year. A great deal was brought into the English pale, and the rest destroyed.<sup>12</sup> Despite his furious activity Grey's troubles increased. Soon Thomas Agard was reporting sourly 'and now Cahir O'Conor, which was at the king's peace and waited upon my lord deputy thither, is now grown from it and at peace with his brother being the king's enemy, and at this day both in their country again'.<sup>13</sup>

In the summer of 1537 Patrick Barnewall in London had argued that if Offaly were to be secured it would have to be planted, and in general the commissioners ought to be reminded 'to inhabit as much as they can'. St Leger and his associates now confirmed his point. Having commented on O'Conor that 'there is no more trust in him than in a dog', they went on to the problem of Offaly itself which

is much easier won than kept, for whensoever the king's pleasure be to win the same again it will be done without great difficulty, but the keeping thereof will be both chargeable and difficile. For unless it be peopled with others than be there already, and also certain fortresses there builded and warded, if it be gotten the one day it is lost the next.<sup>14</sup>

St Leger was, however, in later years to modify his views on O'Conor and Offaly.

During the winter the problem of O'Conor was laid aside, and the commissioners and government were engrossed

<sup>12</sup>Brabazon to Cromwell, 30 Dec. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 524-8), Grey to Cromwell, 31 Dec. 1537 (*ibid.*, 528-32).

<sup>13</sup>Agard to Cromwell, 31 Dec. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 532-3).

<sup>14</sup>Barnewall to Cromwell, 17 Aug. 1537 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 103), Commissioners to Cromwell, 2 Jan. 1538 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 534-9).



in the session of parliament, and in dealing with a host of private suits. The most far-reaching of these was the situation created by the fall of the Boleyn family. As a result Sir Piers Butler and his heirs were restored to the earldom of Ormond, with its possessions in Ireland added to their own holdings. The crown ignored the advice to contain them, giving the family generous grants of property, and as a result the new Ormond holdings stretched through all the southern counties. With minor changes their position was not only maintained but enlarged, except during the minority of Thomas, the tenth earl, in the 40s and 50s when most of the lands were in wardship to the crown. After 1537 and until 1554 the only great Anglo-Irish lordships were those of Ormond and Desmond, and during that period both families followed a general policy of loyalty and cooperation with the crown. That situation obtained until the death of James Fitzjohn, the thirteenth earl of Desmond, in 1558. There were, of course, conflicting interests between the two families and strains placed on their loyalty, but as a steady factor their general attitude should be kept in mind. <sup>15</sup>

The commission had also come with instructions for certain favourites to be rewarded with land or office, or both. Robert Cowley had succeeded in acquiring the suppressed monastery of Holmpatrick in conflict with Francis Herbert. The commissioners were therefore to give Herbert the keeping of one of the garrisons, and 'if he espy anything suitable and make suit for it, you shall advertise his majesty of the value'. It was finally settled that he should have the manor of Portlester, formerly Kildare's, in co. Meath, and represented as being



on O'Connor's borders. He was charged with guarding it, and was to pay an annual rental of £37. 16s. sterling for it, which he assured Cromwell was its utmost value.<sup>16</sup>

Herbert was not pleased with what he got, and he wrote to Norfolk that while the duke was in the north of England, he had had nothing for his services except Portlester, though he was poorer by £400 since he had talked with Norfolk, and despite the fact that he had saved the crown some £10,000 by his services in recent years. He also gave the duke details of the war against O'Connor, and his opinion that if the Butlers would organize themselves and their ally O'Carroll, as well as MacGilpatrick, Ormond's son-in-law, they could assist Grey and the army to create such pressure that 'O'Connor durst not abide in all his country'. Concerning Offaly Herbert went on

alas, my lord, it is pity that that good country is not reformed and inhabited with good Englishmen. God knows we lack in this country nothing so much as the lack of Englishmen here for to inhabit. For unto such time as that the king's grace do give unto mere Englishmen lands of inheritance, for to inhabit upon the same by the men of their continual continuance - unto such time we shall never have the reformation of this land, nor way at amend with Irishmen...

17

and the resulting wars simply exhausted the king's revenue.

Brabazon thanked Cromwell for his assistance in obtaining grants of Duleek and Colp, possessions of Llantonny. As there had been criticism that he was taking only protected lands (he already had St Thomas Court in Dublin), Brabazon promised to take the whole grant from the commissioners, waste and otherwise, including what lay in western Meath.<sup>18</sup> His principal assistant, Thomas Agard,

16

R. Cowley to Cromwell, 17 Apr. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537, no. 963), Cromwell to commissioners, 7 Aug. (ibid., nos 468, 472), Herbert to Cromwell, 20 Mar. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1538, no. 559).

<sup>17</sup> Herbert to Norfolk, 24 Jan. 1538 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/7, no. 7).

<sup>18</sup> Brabazon to Cromwell, 30 Dec. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 524-8).



had gone one step further. He had possession of a benefice in Trim, and Bective abbey, which were to him 'one of the dearest farms in Ireland'. He was without a licence for them, and hoped Cromwell would rectify the matter before the commission made trouble. He had set up broad looms and a dye-house, expecting shortly to employ a hundred men or more at the work, if he were allowed. He requested that the two holdings be excused from military service for seven years; otherwise the deputy would undo him and his enterprises.<sup>19</sup>

The commissioners summed up this aspect of their work by saying that they had completed surveying all the crown lands that they could reach conveniently 'and have leased a great part of them to such as we thought meet to have them. Some wastes there be, which we cannot as yet lease'.<sup>20</sup>

There was still the problem of the midlands. O'More and his brothers, Rory and Kedagh, made a new agreement with Grey in January,<sup>21</sup> and early in March O'Conor met the deputy in Dublin. In contrite mood he confessed his offences, 'and there did utterly refuse all his title and interest that he had in... Offaly, and in all blackrents and fees that ever he had, or used to have, of any of the king's subjects', accepting such wages as the crown was pleased to give him. After Cahir had been dug out of his fastness additional stipulations were laid down. A payment was to be made to the crown of 3s. 4d. per annum for every ploughland in Offaly, with O'Conor's promise that he and all his people would be subject to English law, 'and to his power he and the said inhabitants

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19

Agard to Cromwell, 4 Apr. 1538 (S.P.Hen. VIII, ii, 567-9).

20

Commissioners to Cromwell, 2 Jan. 1538 (*ibid.*, 534-9).

21

Agreement of O'Mores, 14 Jan. 1538 (*ibid.*, 541-2).

of the same to use English habit and conditions'.

Such promises were probably expediency on O'Connor's part, but Grey took them seriously and during the spring set to work cutting passes into Offaly from co. Kildare and through Bermingham's country. Some he described as a mile in length and so broad that four or five carts could pass through abreast. Grey, the council, and the commissioners were all of one mind as to the necessity of such work. At the same time Grey was also opening up Farney (in co. Monaghan) on the borders of Louth and Meath in the same manner.

There was criticism of Grey's handling of O'Connor, St Leger implying that he was taking too much credit for his submission. It had taken the combined diplomacy and pressure of Grey, the commissioners, and the Butlers to get him in. Cromwell kept himself informed through Robert Cowley, and an agent named Matthew Kyng, whom he kept moving in a circuit from London to Dublin. Kyng reported on the expansion of the pale against Offaly and Farney, and it is evident that Cromwell was interested in it.

The same expansive tendency was in the air everywhere. The Butlers were making an honest effort to reform their lordship, and Ormond wrote to St Leger pressing a future course of action. He thought O'Connor ought to be

22

Commissioners to Cromwell, 8 Mar. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 549-50), Grey to Cromwell, 11 Mar., 17 Mar., 1 Apr. 1538 (*ibid.*, 554-5, 559-61, 566). Texts of the agreements are provided in notes.

23

Grey to Henry VIII, 15 Apr., 1 May 1538 (*ibid.*, iii, 3-4, 7-8).

24

St Leger to Cromwell, 8 Mar. 1538 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 142, misdated 1540).

25

Kyng to Cromwell, 26 Apr., 27 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/6, nos 48, 50).

26

James White to Cromwell, 28 Mar. (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 561-3).

27

Sir Piers Butler, earl of Ormond, to St Leger, 12 Mar. 1538 (*ibid.*, 556-9).



contained by pressure from all sides. If he really meant his submission, 'there is nothing so needful now to be attempted as the enterprising of how to diminish the MacMorroughs and Kavanaghs'. Ormond's son, Richard, as constable of Ferns had been well provided by his father for defence, and they with Grey, and St Loe with the forces of Wexford, could 'destroy the Kavanaghs', though that was the largest enterprise that could be attempted with present military strength. If that were not attempted in the summer, Ormond proposed that since the captaincy of the O'Mores was in dispute, he would 'repair to Woodstock and to inhabit and recontinue to the king's majesty his lordship of Fasagh Reban with other castles and lands in Leix', and generally put pressure on all the Irish between there and the Shannon.

In the north Matthew Kyng wanted to be a joint constable of Carlingford with Martin Pellys.<sup>28</sup> In Wexford St Loe had been made constable of Rosegarland with a garrison assigned, and granted the lands of it for life. The Kavanaghs had burned and spoiled it, and the allowance for the garrison was used up. St Loe could not afford to pay them himself and hoped they would not be diminished, as a garrison was necessary for the area's security.<sup>29</sup> Stephen Ap Harry had been made constable of Rathangan, and was improving it. He had 'twenty ploughs more to come to the said castle and sixty houses builded, since my coming. And all the cattle of the lordship, and mine own, lie out every night abroad, and I thank God none lost of them'.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Kyng to Cromwell, 27 Apr. (P.R.O., S.E. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/6, no. 50).

<sup>29</sup> William St Loe to Cromwell, 22 May 1538 (ibid., no. 59).

<sup>30</sup> Ap Harry to Cromwell, 29 June 1538 (ibid., 60/7, no.15).

Such tranquillity was unnatural for Ireland and it was soon disrupted. Early in June Ormond brought O'More up to Dublin under a safe conduct. Despite that, he was seized on the way by Grey's agents and imprisoned in Maynooth. The council was put to confusion, and Brabazon remarked 'I have never seen like handling... I fear we shall have more needless trouble than we are able to defend'. It was an insult to Ormond, and indeed the deputy had examined O'More earlier, attempting to prove that the Butlers were helping the Irish. The nephews of O'More, who disputed the title, were left at large to raid and plunder both the pale and Leix. The seizure was contrary to the advice of the whole council who were at a loss to understand Grey, since 'the said O'More never did hurt to any of his grace's subjects since he was made captain of the country of Leix'.

One of Grey's objects seems to have been to take the opposite side to the Butlers, and it was not long until accusations and counter-accusations went to London, with the Butlers comparing Grey to Kildare. There was an open rupture between them.

The government had to report further unpleasant occurrences. 'John Kelway, constable of the king's castle of Rathmore, abouts a month past found two of Turlough O'Toole's servants in the English borders next joining to the Toolles eating of meat, and for the same did immediately hang them'. A parley followed with the O'Tooles who were willing to accept a money payment for

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31

Brabazon to Alen and Aylmer, 5 June (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 17-18), Ormond to Cowley, c. June (*ibid.*, 20-3), Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 10 June 1538 (*ibid.*, 23-9).

32

Lord James Butler to Robert Cowley, 20 June (*ibid.*, 32-5), Ormond to Robert and Walter Cowley, 16 July 1538 (*ibid.*, 48-50).



the deaths of the two servants. The parley was broken off and Kelway foolishly pursued the O'Tooles into their country. At the right moment they turned on him, and shut him up in a small tower in a place called Three Castles. Kelway and his men were then forced out of the tower when it was set afire, and he and seven of his servants were put to death. The O'Tooles still held several gentlemen of Kildare as prisoners, including one of Aylmer's sons, and several farmers and husbandmen. In addition some sixty and more husbandmen had been killed. In  
33

By August the quarrel between Grey and the Butlers had been patched up, and O'More was at liberty again. In his new submission he agreed to pay the crown £13. 6s. 8d. a year, and renounced his claim to Dunamase castle and all Kildare's lands in Leix. No one's temper had been improved by the affair, and it was to be the source of further trouble. Agreement was general that Kelway had handled the O'Toole fracas badly. Brabazon, Alen, and Aylmer asked that care be used in appointing a new constable of Rathmore, which was one of the principal defences against the O'Tooles, the surrounding country being greatly depopulated. They wanted an honest man, experienced in governing and defending such an area, who would be resident, and they felt competent to make such an appointment. <sup>34</sup>

In London Robert Cowley presented Cromwell with yet another of his projets. <sup>35</sup> He repeated his former arguments on the need to reform the disobedient English first, rather than the Irish beyond. A change must be

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Grey to Henry VIII, 4 June (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 15-17), Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 10 June 1538 (ibid., 23-9).

34

Brabazon, Aylmer, and Alen to Cromwell, 22 Aug. (ibid., 71-86), O'More's further submission, 24 Aug. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1538, no. 182).

35

The devises of Robert Cowley for the reformation of Ireland' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/7, no. 44).



made in the pale mentality which was unconcerned with the remaining 'nine shires replenished with cities and good towns', which were disordered for lack of attention, every man shifting for himself. A new deputy was also needed, who worked not with heady rage, but by the advice of experienced persons chosen for their point of view. Such a spirit should run through the entire government. In march lands the captains should be appointed to govern and defend them with local assistance, and in the shires officers and organization should be provided for justice, and their income should grow out of their own industry and not at the crown's expense. The English who would not conform ought to be punished severely.

The Irish could then be reformed. Certain emissaries who were in favour of seeing the country brought under royal jurisdiction should be sent to the Irish chiefs to explain 'that his highness coveteth not to have their goods or chattels or to bring them to captivity or misery, but for their own weales, securities, and quiet living to reduce them to a civil order as all other regions be, relinquishing their detestable wars, murders, spoils, burnings and other enormities', and asking only that they accept his sovereignty. They were to accept the laws devised for them, giving up their own law and the brehons who administered it, as well as the rhymer and bards who encouraged their present disorder. Their children were to learn English, and they were to take their lands of the crown for certain rents and services. Once they did these things the king would be content 'to accept them as any other his subjects of the English pale'. Cowley thought that an example should be made of those who declined to cooperate, as he had earlier suggested should be done with the English.



In Ireland Grey and the council were putting Cowley's theories to a practical test. They made an expedition against the Kavanaghs in response to complaints from the marches of Wexford, Kildare and elsewhere. The unaffected frontiers were left guarded. The army moved into the area in two separate bodies, and coming together took castles and ravaged the country for fourteen days with such success that the Irish submitted to the king's peace, 'offering to hold their lands of your highness, and to pay your grace a yearly rent for the same'. Securities had been taken and the peace continued but the government awaited the king's decision

whether it shall please your highness to accept them according their own offer, or else, according our oft devises in respect of the situation of the place which they inhabit, clearly to exile them. Which surely, as we now know the country and the condition of the inhabitants, may be done with much less charge and less number than heretofore was devised, if the earl of Ormond and his sons with those of the county of Wexford do their earnest deavours therein. Neither do we mean, when we speak or motion to conquest or exile these men, that we would banish all the inhabitants there, but the gentlemen and men of war. And having garrisons of men of war in certain principal places to retain still the most of the poor earthtillers there, which be good inhabitants.<sup>36</sup>

A few months later the Irish government was promising Cromwell to carry out 'your lordships devise' concerning the Kavanaghs 'and others of the Irishry'.<sup>37</sup> His device does not survive, unfortunately. Perhaps it was along the lines suggested by Cowley. In any event the Kavanaghs made a submission. Grey's next move in that area was to chasten the O'Tooles, moving out from Powerscourt on 29 May 1539 and cutting passes as he went. He had a skirmish with them in Glenmalure, but did not accomplish

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36

Grey and council to Henry VIII, 8 Oct. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 99-101).

37

Council of Ireland to Cromwell, 12 Dec. 1538 (*ibid.*, 108-11).



any lasting settlement.

Late in 1538 Grey made an expedition to the north, which took castles commanding Lecale, including Dundrum. He had never seen a more pleasant area 'for commodity of the land, and divers islands environed with the sea, which were soon reclaimed and inhabited the king's pleasure

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known'. In the spring of 1539 one holder in the north wrote to Cromwell that his dwelling bordered on O'Neill, and 'having no land to maintain the horsemen and kerne that I have', he must make what arrangements he could with the king's enemies.

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On the continent Cardinal Pole had information in July that an uprising was imminent in Ireland. John Alen, deducing as much on the spot, stated 'that common report is with O'Donnell, and O'Neill, and all Irishmen that the bishop of Rome, the emperor, and the French king, shall invade Ireland and shall come through Ulster'. For good measure he added his suspicions of the Scottish king as well.

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In August as a preliminary to the revolt O'Neill and O'Donnell invaded the pale. On their retreat Grey overtook and defeated them at Bellahoe, a ford between Meath and Monaghan. He was now free to turn southwards and join James, the new earl of Ormond, on an expedition there. One object was to establish an English earl of

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Grey to Cromwell, 30 June 1539 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 135-6).

39

Grey to Cromwell, 31 Oct. 1538 (*ibid.*, 154-6; misdated 1539).

40

Gerald Fleming to Cromwell, 27 Apr. 1539 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/8, no. 13).

41

Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Contarini, 17 July (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1539, no. 1277).

42

Alen to Cromwell, 10 July 1539 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 136-42).



Desmond, a short-lived experiment, but another was to remove all O'Brien influence from the eastern side of the Shannon, a consistent policy of the Irish government. The castle of Roscrea was put in Ormond's hands and a number of submissions were made, but the whole effect of the expedition was impermanent.<sup>43</sup>

The number and character of the crown's forces in Ireland had been roundly criticised, and Grey made a vivid analogy of his own plight, saying that 'as a carpenter or any other craftsman cannot work without his tools and instruments, no more can I... bring things to pass here... without like furniture for me...'.<sup>44</sup> Robert Cowley, who had returned to Ireland, was thinking in the same vein and of planting when he said that if an army were sent

the captains may be discreet personages of some substance of their own, and charged to bring with them such honest men as will be well ordered, as the captains will answer for. And not to bring barrators or of like disposition, needy objects for their transgressions, seeking greedily to extort the poor people, to make their hands and then to depart. Crafty men were good, specially masons, carpenters, smiths, weavers, tanners, and earthtillers.<sup>45</sup>

Cowley made another candid admission, which applied to many others of the government:

Sir we be so covetous insatiably to have so many farms, every of us for our singular profits, that we have extirped and put away the men of war that should defend the country. And all is like to go to wrack, except an order be taken... to have a survey what I and every other have in fees and farms... to be taxed to find a certain number of able men to serve the king and to defend the country... And they that have too many farms to depart with able men of war to live upon it to replenish the country with men, for it is depopulated by greedy covetousness amongst ourselves.

There was much in what Cowley said. A year earlier

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43

Ormond to Cromwell, 20 Dec. 1539 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 164-7).

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Grey to Cromwell, 6 Nov. 1539 (*ibid.*, 163-4).

45

Cowley to Cromwell, 8 Sept. 1539 (*ibid.*, 145-9).



Luttrell had advised Aylmer in London 'to attend the commonwealth of this wretched land, but secondly I advise you speed something for yourself and your heirs, that your heirs in time to come shall have cause forever to remember you...'.<sup>46</sup> Alen put it more directly saying 'I reckon myself as meet to have had an abbey in farm as some others that have two or three'.<sup>47</sup> In the south the earl of Desmond had offered to pay the crown certain rents and revenues for all the English in Munster and to have the monasteries surveyed and suppressed, taking 'the same to farm with my friends and servants, so that it shall be a great revenue to his grace'.<sup>48</sup>

In May 1539 Thomas Fynglas complained that with rumours of further monastic suppression the abbots and priors were leasing out their lands. Thus Grey had obtained farms from the abbot of St Mary's, Dublin, in an agreement meant to defraud the king and to put Fynglas and Walter Peppard from the lease of the abbey, contrary to Cromwell's instructions to the commissioners.<sup>49</sup> Grey was further importuned on the matter, and explained that the two farms he had would be of little benefit to Peppard, and one was intended for Fynglas as Cromwell had instructed.<sup>50</sup> Peppard, a protégé of Cromwell's, was destined for great things in Ireland.

In the discussion on policy John Travers, the newly appointed master of the ordnance, after being with Grey and Ormond in the south, was convinced that he could go anywhere in Ireland with 2000 men. If he had 6000, divided

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<sup>46</sup> Justice Luttrell to Justice Aylmer, 5 June 1538 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 19-20).

<sup>47</sup>

Alen to Cromwell, 10 July 1539 (ibid., 136-42).

<sup>48</sup>

James Fitzjohn, earl of Desmond, to Edmund Sexton, 3 Mar. 1539 (ibid., 124).

<sup>49</sup>

Fynglas to Cromwell, 25 May (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1539, no. 1025).

<sup>50</sup>

Grey to William Popley, 12 Aug. (L. & P. Hen. VIII,



into three places of his choosing, 'with certain craftsmen to inhabit the places as they win', he could secure the country in a summer.<sup>51</sup> James, earl of Ormond, was more sanguine of the difficulties and expense, but he argued that if Cromwell - the only man behind Irish reform - would back their efforts to order Munster with an army, and 'artificers and craftysmen to remain and inhabit, the land here (being of itself full of fertility and goodness) may be reduced to such state as by reason of good people to dwell in it', the crown's money would be well employed. Changing Ireland would involve a large outlay, but that was better than the costs of the moment, which were accomplishing nothing, 'saving only the preservation and defence of us, a few of his majesty's subjects, which liveth in a manner as wretchedly as the rest'.<sup>52</sup>

Early in 1540 the Irish council was considering similar ideas, mistakenly supposing that Henry was at last ready to send a large army for reducing the country to order. They envisioned a force of some 6000 men from England and 1000 from Ireland, besides the present army, distributed in garrisons in Carrickfergus, O'Donnell's country, Galway, Limerick, Cork, New Ross, Wexford, and Wicklow. In the new force they recommended 'that there be 1700 horsemen, and the more part of the residue artificers, specially smiths, carpenters, masons and miners'.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the council's whole object was some form of plantation. However, there were difficulties, for they considered the country to be as large as England, and 'to

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1539, no. 39). Poppard had married a kinswoman of Popley's, who was in Cromwell's household.

51

Travers to Fitzwilliam, 20 Dec. 1539 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 164 n).

52

Ormond to Cromwell, 20 Dec. 1539 (*ibid.*, 164-7).

53

Grey and council to Henry VIII, 18 Jan. 1540 (*ibid.*, 175-9).



inhabit the whole with new inhabitants the number would be so great, that there is no prince christened that commodiously might spare so many subjects to depart out of his region, especially such as should be meet and able to inhabit a land'. They thought Henry's own presence would make loyal many of the present subjects, 'savage and others', and bring them to submission.

But to enterprize the whole extirpation and total destruction of all Irishmen of the land, it would be a marvellous sumptous charge and great difficulty, considering both the lack of inhabitants, and the great hardness and misery these Irishmen can endure, both of hunger, cold, thirst, and evil lodging, more than the inhabitants of any other land.

In short, the Irish council felt that those Irish whose offences had not been too great, through submission or force should take lands of the crown 'by certain service and yearly rent', and being stripped of their Irish laws and dress as well as the ability to make war, 'to fall to labour, to earthtilling and other occupations'. Certain permanent garrisons in every area would keep them in subjection, supported by a part of the profits from that area. It was asked that the new army come well supplied, and be kept out of the pale, 'which they should utterly destroy within one month'. Only two things could make that army a failure: 'lack of victuals, and also money to pay their wages monthly...'.

The Irish government were not dealing with a hypothetical problem, but with a possible revolt of O'Neill, O'Donnell, Desmond, O'Brien, O'Conor Faly, and their allies centering around Gerald Fitzgerald, the exiled heir of the earldom of Kildare. The idea was arousing the rest of the Irish, and was designed 'as they commonly report, to excite the emperor, the French king, and other foreign princes to take their parts'. The council thought it was a 'vain imagination', but a revealing one,



and in London Walter Cowley informed Cromwell<sup>54</sup> that the Irish were always in hope that the king would be too busy elsewhere to deal with them, and at the moment were probably eagerly discussing the meeting of the emperor and the French king. It would cause the Irish 'to give small faith to such fantasies if some sudden foat were executed upon them'.

Henry's ideas were not as expansive as the Irish government had supposed them, and they had to scale down<sup>55</sup> their plans accordingly. He did promise to send more horsemen, and to augment the pay of the soldiers, who were to 'be in nowise about Dublin, but... be bestowed in such places upon the frontiers as you shall think most expedient'. The king also called Grey home, appointing Sir William Brereton as lord justice, a change that was<sup>56</sup> to be almost disastrous for the Dublin government.

In Wexford William St Loe had had his doubts in 1538 that the Kavanaghs would keep the terms of their submission, and he complained to Cromwell in January 1540 that the lands which he had been granted could not be inhabited because of the continual raids and burning, and if they were inhabited the costs of defence would exceed their<sup>57</sup> profits. In April he became more specific. The Kavanaghs made daily raids, coming through the Fasagh of Bantry, which was leased to Richard Butler, where they were succoured by Irish brehons and rhymers, allowed there on the pretence that they had settled the king's

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<sup>54</sup> 'Remembrances to my lord privy seal...' c. Jan. 1540 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 179-82).

<sup>55</sup> Grey and council to Cromwell, 10 Mar. 1540 (ibid., 187-9), referring to a letter of his to them of 5 Feb., which is no longer extant.

<sup>56</sup> Henry VIII to Grey and Brereton, 1 Apr. 1540 (ibid., 194-5).

<sup>57</sup> St Loe to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, 30 Sept. 1538 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/7, no. 47), St Loe to Cromwell, 17 Jan. 1540 (ibid., 60/9, no. 4).



lands. Such precarious conditions did not prevent both St Loe and Walter Brown from requesting a grant of the abbey of Selsker in co. Wexford, suppressed on 23<sup>58</sup> March.

Whatever Grey's faults were, the Irish had feared him, and the rumour of his departure was the signal for a general outbreak. The O'Tooles raided co. Dublin, the Kavanaghs co. Wexford, O'Connor plunged into co. Kildare and burned towns there, and the late O'More's sons raided Ormond's territories. The government was soon convinced that O'Connor was the leader, and that he would begin anew when Brereton went north to parley with O'Neill. The O'Tooles and MacMorrough Kavanagh were to be involved with him, according to their information. The expected happened, with O'Connor and a large force raiding and burning Carbury, the Bermingham's country. Alen and Brabazon were in readiness in co. Kildare, and launched a similar raid into Offaly, which soon drew O'Connor home. Plans were made for a hosting against him, a difficult task as he had long been building up his forces.<sup>59</sup>

The loss of the town of Kildare was particularly painful for, according to Robert Cowley's account, David Sutton had been removed as constable to make way for Robert Brabazon. Robert was William's brother, and was also constable of Carlingford, some seventy miles distant, as Cowley observed. O'Connor, hearing that he had left no ordnance in the castle, entered the town and burned it

<sup>58</sup>Walter Brown to Cromwell, 14 Apr. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1540, no. 516), St Loe to Cromwell, 21 Apr. (Ibid., no. 558).

<sup>59</sup>Council of Ireland to the earl of Essex [Cromwell] 30 Apr. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 197-8), Ormond to Essex, 1 May (ibid., 198-200), Brereton to Essex, 7 May (ibid., 201-2), Alen and Brabazon to Essex, 8 May (ibid., 202-3), Brereton to Essex, 17 May (ibid., 204-6), Brereton to Essex, 17 May (ibid., 206-8).



and rifled the castle of all the cattle sent there for refuge, when one hand-gun might have kept him out.<sup>60</sup>

Patrick Barnewall, from his newly granted monastery of Gracedieu, pointed the moral that if O'Connor had been banished from Offaly when they knew his character and had weakened him, the present crisis never would have arisen.<sup>61</sup>

During Lent the Irish had sent emissaries to the Scottish court to persuade the king to intervene. The French were aware that James V was considering the idea, even going to the extent of collecting armed shipping. James concluded by reminding O'Neill of his treaty obligations to England, but the sequence of events did not pass unnoticed in London.<sup>62</sup>

In Ireland Matthew Kyng made a report on the whole border situation. The crown was charged with the wards of certain constables, generally with three to six men under them, which meant that the countryside could be burned or raided right up to the castle walls. Such castles should be so warded that the constable could leave six men to keep them, and be free to issue out with thirty or forty horsemen, when needed for defence of the surrounding country. Paying such wards would be expensive 'yet notwithstanding there may be ways found so that the charges may be borne for the most part upon the country, and yet the country not half so much charged as they be now continually'. The existing system of coyne and livery was

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Cowley to Norfolk, 6 July (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1540, no. 849).

61

Barnewall to Essex [Cromwell], 19 May 1540 (S.P. Hon. VIII, iii, 209-10).

62

Marillac to Montmorency, 21 May (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1540, no. 697), Brian Layton to Cromwell, c. 25 May (ibid., no. 710), Marillac to Francis I, 1 June (ibid., no. 736), James V to O'Neill, 5 June 1540 (ibid., no. 752).

such a burden that 'the poor commonality is by reason of the same weary of their lives', and thus provided little assistance or crown income. As an example co. Kildare had been charged with 1100 men, though they had been of little help in the existing disorders.<sup>63</sup>

Kyng cited the fall of Castle Jordan to O'Conor as proof of his argument, and Robert Cowley supplied embellishing details. According to Cowley most of the soldiers and constables passed their time in towns, gorgeously apparelled, with their wenches and playing dice. In the case of Castle Jordan 'one Dewke', [William Duke] the constable, was thus occupied 'whiles the castle was taken, broken, and rifled, and the ward like faint cowards gave over the castle and rendered themselves prisoners to O'Conor', who had only a small force armed with hand pieces. To Cowley the obvious remedy was to appoint a new commission to repeal all the leases made of crown lands in the past seven years, and to make a new survey. As matters stood every soldier coveted three or four large farms to enrich himself, doing no service in time of war, 'but lying in the heart of the country with his horse, horskeeper, some two horses, and his wench, for 10d. Irish a week, faring delicately and yet making no payment'.

The men chosen as constables of the king's garrisons and manors charged the crown with more than their revenues came to, and did not maintain the proper number of men or do their duty, but pillaged the tenants and forestalled the markets, thus ruining the king's towns. Cowley asserted that a force under the deputy of 100 northern horsemen with 100 mounted archers and 100 mounted gunners, would be more effective than all the 950 who lay in garrisons.

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<sup>63</sup>Kyng to the privy council in England, 28 June 1540 (S.P. Hon. VIII, iii, 218-20).



He expected to survive the examination of a new commission, but he was dubious about Brabazon and Agard, who in his view had taken up all the fruitful farms in the land, and would allow no one else anything. In the new leases proper farmers and constables should be found, who would dismiss soldiers unsatisfactory for service.<sup>64</sup>

The government in Ireland were still busy coping with the Irish. To them the alarming thing was that both O'Brien and O'Neill were sworn to support O'Connor, the first time that an O'Neill had meddled in Leinster. Ormond was standing off O'Brien in the west to prevent his assisting O'Connor, 'the chief procurer of all Irishmen to mischief', and had been harrying the Kavanaghs in Idrone, who were assisted by Turlough O'Toolo. He had asked for the peace which he had had from Norfolk and other deputies, and which Grey had never respected. The whole pale had been called out and came with good will, 'lords spiritual and temporal, judges, learned men and priests, the commons... of Dublin and... Drogheda, as also husbandmen, leaving their ploughs and husbandry unoccupied', to join with the regular forces. In the face of such an army the Irish melted away, 'whereupon we concluded to do some exploit and so entered into O'Connor's country', camping in various places and destroying corn, habitations, and fortresses as long as their own supplies lasted. They had cut O'Connor down somewhat, and planned another foray against him in August.<sup>65</sup>

In England Cromwell's execution, followed by Grey's imprisonment in the Tower, meant a change in Irish affairs. Henry appointed St Leger as deputy and with him he sent a new commission, consisting of Thomas Walsh, a baron of

<sup>64</sup>Robert Cowley to Norfolk, 6 July (L. & P. Hon. VIII, 1540, no. 489).

<sup>65</sup>Brereton and council to Henry VIII, 25 July (S.P. Hon. VIII, iii, 223-5), Ormond to Henry VIII, 26 July 1540 (ibid., 225-7).



the English exchequer, John Mynne, an auditor of the same, and William Cavendish, an auditor of the court of augmentations. Their instructions were explicit. They were to survey all of the crown lands and revenues of every kind, and to examine all accounts, particularly Brabazon's. The object was to obtain an accurate picture of everything that since the Geraldine revolt had come into the king's hands by attainder, monastic suppression, exchange of lands and otherwise. Under St Leger's direction in Ireland they were to decide on a further course of action.

Where the commission found large holdings gathered by one individual they were to make new surveys, and 'by dividing the things into many honest hands, if they can by the parties consents, as both his majesty may be truly and justly furnished and answered, and his tenants reasonably provided for'. Where the crown was charged with numerous garrisons on the frontiers which did no service, the commission were to examine withdrawing them and 'by indenture commit the keeping of the fortress to some true gentleman of the borders, which dwelleth near and will be content to have the same', thus saving expense. They were also to look into Grey's whole administration, and to keep Henry closely informed.

66

In general Henry was prepared to deal leniently with the Irish chiefs, but he made one specific exception when he asked that his thanks be given to Brereton's special levy. The exception was 'that traitor O'Connor, with whom we would you should in no wise take any peace unless necessity shall enforce, but rather, if you may, expel him utterly his country', which the king was content to

66

Henry VIII to St Leger and commissioners, 16 Aug. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 227-30), Henry VIII to St Leger, 20 Aug. 1540 (ibid., 230-1).



let Cahir have, if he would give up Irish ways and be obedient to English laws and custom.

For considering the said Brian O'Conor hath so traitorously used himself towards us as he hath done, we would he should be made an example to all other Irishmen by his perpetual exile and just punishment, if the same may be conveniently compassed, as to divers of our council here it is thought facile enough, considering the power you have there and the state of the land at this present, if the same be well followed accordingly. <sup>67</sup>

St Leger arrived in August and his first move was to turn south and deal with the Kavanaghs, his forces spending ten days burning and destroying their country. This action produced a general submission in which it was promised that the title of MacMorrough Kavanagh would be renounced, and that the Kavanaghs would take their lands by knights service, helping against disobedient Irish. Though the council described the Irish as fickle and inconstant, they had faith that this submission was genuine and would last. They had been lenient with the Kavanaghs, not taking any of their lands or goods, and explaining that this was the king's policy, who wished their obedience but not their possessions. <sup>68</sup>

St Leger moved into Leix next, taking pledges and submissions of O'More's sons, and various lesser allies of O'Conor. The deputy was unaware of Henry's wishes regarding Brian, who was in straits again, and who made a timely submission before his country was ravaged once more as the council has planned. He was followed by O'Molloy, MacGeoghegan, and O'Melaghlin, his principal allies, all which submissions the council took for what they were worth. In anticipation of future trouble they planned to spend £200 'to erect and build one tower at Kinnafad, another at Castle Jordan... prostrated by O'Conor, and

<sup>67</sup> Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 7 Sept. 1540 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 232-3).

<sup>68</sup> St Leger to Henry VIII, 12 Sept. 1540 (*ibid.*, 235-40).



to reedify Kishawanny and Ballinure, being the frontiers of the said O'Conor and the only passages where he must enter within your pale'. Once built, these fortifications would not only be a means of banishing O'Conor if he broke his submission, but would also keep him, 'and all the Irishmen behind him', from invading the pale with horsemen as Norfolk knew.<sup>69</sup>

Later the council had to advise Henry that they could not execute his instructions regarding O'Conor, as Brereton had made a peace with him which it would be dishonourable to break. He seemed genuinely contrite for the moment, and the council even went so far as to suggest that his petition be granted that he be made baron of Offaly, holding his lands from the crown and keeping English law. In the meantime they could carry out the building program they had outlined, making Offaly more accessible to destroy if necessary, both by that building and by cutting passes. O'Conor 'hath granted that we shall liberally do at our pleasure and have his help to the same'. By his wit and charm Brian had gained another<sup>70</sup> reprieve.

The three commissioners arrived early in September and began surveying cos Louth, Meath, and Dublin, moving southward later. St Leger asked that an annual sum be set aside for repairs of the crown dwellings, which if not done 'will be to the utter decay of this whole land'. The king now had most of the castles, manors, and religious houses in his hands, and there be no other houses so well built for defence as they. And also I with other the king's council here intend to devise that those farmers, that now have in farm the said houses of religion, every man for his portion shall be

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Council of Ireland to Henry VIII, 22 Sept. 1540 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 241-4).

70

St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 13 Nov. 1540 (ibid., 264-5).



charged to find at every hosting or journey, like number of men as the abbots and priors did according the goodness of their farms, or such portion as shall be thought they may bear, for it is found a great lack of such men as the said religious had found at every hosting at their own charges.<sup>71</sup>

Henry gave instructions that where full value was not being received for crown lands the terms were to be increased, and that his expenditure was not to be used 'to serve men's appetites', but to supply defence for what required it. He was also anxious to see the area of the Kavanaghs, O'Tooles, and O'Byrnes so ordered 'as it be no gall hereafter to our English pale, nay any such let or stop as should make a partition in the midst of our country, and so impeach our good subjects from the joining in one mass...'. In such an undertaking the earl of Ormond was a problem. Henry asked St Leger to consider what garrisons and castles Ormond had which ought to be in the crown's hands, with an eye to having him surrender them voluntarily.<sup>72</sup> The king also wrote to Ormond of what was expected of him in the Leinster chain, saying that he perceived 'by the platt of the land that no man may therein do better service than you', and that he was to perform what he was commanded. Henry was daily becoming more knowledgeable of Ireland.<sup>73</sup>

The O'Tooles alone in Leinster had not submitted. St Leger first proposed that if they did not, he 'should proceed to their utter banishment', a difficult process, rather than one requiring great power. 'For those same O'Tooles be men inhabiting the mountains where they neither sow corn, neither yet have habitation, but only

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St Leger to the privy council in England, 12 Sept. 1540 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/9, no. 53).

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Henry VIII to St Leger, 26 Sept. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 245-7), Henry VIII to St Leger, 26 Sept. 1540 (ibid., 247-8).

73

Henry VIII to Ormond, 26 Sept. 1540 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/9, no. 57).



the woods and morasses, and yet do more harm to your English pale than the most part of all Ireland'. O'Toole forestalled such a course by submitting and desiring to hold his lands from the crown. St Leger had also had time to reflect, and he dwelt at length on the sparse, barren nature of the Wicklow mountain region and the expense of keeping it. He had decided that to grant the area to the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, and to have them and the Kavanaghs settled was the key to peace in Leinster, since by their position they could inflict the most damage, but were small opponents and problems compared to O'Neill, for example. His argument was to settle one and then face the other, having secured the rear area. While he was not prepared to grant O'Toole what he wanted the deputy suggested he be given Powerscourt and Fercullen as a means of civilizing him. St Leger also asked Norfolk to sponsor Turlough O'Toole on his projected visit to England, and with his knowledge of Ireland to back the proposed reform of Leinster.<sup>74</sup>

The newest proposal for the reform of the Leinster chain had a somewhat aery quality. It called for establishing a great master and a garrison at the castle of Ferns, a chief pensioner at Carlow, and second pensioners at strategic points. Specifications of the forces needed and the probable expenses were given, and it was argued that the results would be cheap at the price, however expensive they might seem to Henry. Candidates were to speak English and follow English practice, but no mention was made of their being English born.

St Leger to Henry VIII, 12 Sept. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii. 235-40) St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 14 Nov. (ibid., 266-71), St Leger to Norfolk, 16 Nov. 1540 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/9, no. 69).



The council and the earl of Ormond each submitted a list. Both agreed on John Travers as the chief pensioner. Ormond suggested his brother Richard Butler as the great master, and the council proposed William Brabazon. Both lists included Kavanaghs, O'Tooles and O'Byrnes for other posts, the council proposing more Anglo-Irish and English than Ormond, notably Mr. Thomas Dacres, who 'if he come to inhabit in Ireland', was to be constable of Clonogan [co. Carlow] and a second pensioner, and 'Watkin Ap Howell, Englishman, who hath long served in that country and knoweth their wars and the country'.

Henry had already put a brake on the proposed building program on the frontiers by observing that it was not the time of year for building, and requesting that plans be sent for his inspection, as well as estimates of the costs over and above what the Irish government had in hand for the project. The reaction of the English government to the 'devises' was even more negative. They were rejected as appearing 'to be an institution of a new St John's order'. Interestingly, this whole meeting of the English council was taken up with Irish matters, a condition that was to increase as the century grew.

The Irish government, unaware of the decision on the 'devises', dispatched Robert Dillon, attorney-general, and Patrick Barnewall, chief sergeant, to enlarge on them, to provide the plans and estimates Henry had requested, and to propose certain other changes in the marches. In addition to the four fortifications they wished to build on the borders of Offaly, they also desired to repair the

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'Devises... for reformation of Leinster, and for continuance of the same'. Enclosed in St Leger and council's letter of 14 Nov. (loc. cit., 272-6).

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Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 5 Nov. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1540-1, no. 237), Privy council proceedings, 15 Dec. 1540 (ibid., no. 330).



the royal castle at Trim, and thought the local holders would contribute £100, to which Henry in approval added £200. They wished the abbey of Baltinglas to be given to Sir Thomas Eustace with a viscountcy, and Sir William Bermingham to have lands worth £20 Irish out of the houses of Ballyboggan and Clonard, both of which bordered on Carbury. Similarly Sir Gerald Fleming was to be given lands worth £21 Irish from Kells abbey, and Sir Oliver Plunkett Louth priory, with £40 Irish of march lands. The council also asked that he be made a peer, and he was created baron of Louth on 15 June 1541. Donough O'Brien was to continue to hold Carrigogunnel during good behaviour.<sup>77</sup> It was all part of a policy of consolidation.

Early in 1541 Turlough O'Toole returned from court with instructions that he was to be granted Powerscourt and the surrounding district of Fercullen. Piers Talbot, the existing holder, was to be given equivalent lands in another place, which he 'being loyal subject as he is' could defend from all attack. If St Leger approved, O'Toole was also to be given Imail. A close eye was to be kept on the O'Tooles to see that they observed the conditions of their grant. If they reverted to Irish disorder they were 'as well in their punishment as in their good entertainment be example to others accordingly'.<sup>78</sup>

St Leger had been busy. He kept Christmas at Carlow where he received the submissions of the Kavanaghs on the one side, and the O'Mores on the other. Accompanied by Ormond, he moved south to parley with and receive the submission of the earl of Desmond. He also visited

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<sup>77</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 30 Dec. 1540 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 277-8), 'Instructions for Robert Dillon' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/9, no. 68).

<sup>78</sup> Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 27 Jan. 1541 (S. P. Hen. VIII, iii, 279-80).



O'Brien in Limerick, who was unhappy at not being permitted his bridge on the Shannon, nor allowed 'to have those Irishmen upon his peace that be upon this side the same river'. St Leger countered that they were now under the king's peace, and made it plain to O'Brien 'that rather than he should have liberty in any of the both, I would be at war with him as long as it pleased your majesty to permit me'. While the deputy could be firm he was a natural diplomat, and got on well with the Irish. He advised Henry that the gifts and kindness he had shown were worth £10,000 spent in other ways.

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The crown had spent considerably more than that in Ireland. During Brabazon's tenure as vice-treasurer since 1534 he had received £34,228 sterling from England, and had derived £3374 sterling from the Irish revenues for a total of £38,000 sterling. As treasurer at wars he had spent £39,948 on ordnance, garrisons, and the army. The commissioners who examined his accounts reported that the crown lands which could be levied provided £6049 Irish per annum, which with other crown income made a total of £7555 Irish. The permanent fixed charges came to £2543, leaving £4981 for all other expenditure. Thus military defence was making Ireland a distinct liability to the crown.

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It was against such a background that Henry sent the Irish government a major statement of policy, the first of many in 1541. He thanked them for the work they had done in the Leinster chain, and reiterated that Turlough

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St Leger to Henry VIII, 21 Feb. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 285-90).

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'An estimate of revenue from Ireland' c. May 1541 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/10, no. 12).

81

Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 26 Mar. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 292-300).

O'Toole was to be used as an example for others, and that the conditions of his grant were to be followed for 'the meaner sort of the Irishry'. Thus the policy of 'surrender and regrant' was beginning to emerge. As for the council's proposals for holding Leinster Henry backed his own privy council, saying 'we do in no wise like any part of your devise in that behalf'. If the Irish government used their intelligence and did their duty, he trusted 'we shall have Leinster, without the new erection of any such fantasies, brought to a more perfect stay and good order than it is yet come to...'. In contrast, he gave his approval to plans and expenses for the fortifications to be built next to O'Conor.

Foremost in Henry's mind was the new parliament and the acts to be passed in it. Included was an act for dividing Meath into two shires, and one for making the O'Farrells' country of the Annally, [co. Longford] into a shire. While the Annally was not shired for a generation, the act does point up the general Tudor policy of reducing every area possible into regular shire ground in strict direct subordination to the crown, in contrast to independent jurisdictions like the Butler liberty in co. Tipperary.

In connection with monastic suppression there was to be an act 'for the assuring of the suppressed lands unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors forever'. In contrast, Henry wished the friaries to be surveyed by the commission before their return to England, considering which should be kept and which were to be sold. The buyers were to be honest and civil men or corporate towns, whichever was best. Quarterly reports were to be made to Henry of the income from such sales, which the commissioners were empowered to make. As a practical example he ordered that the two bearers, Dillon and



Barnewall, were to have the purchase of certain lands at fifteen years' purchase, rather than the twenty years originally stipulated, as a reward for their services. The sum was to be paid in six years and they were to have patents accordingly. So much had become standard practice in England in selling church lands.

All lands in the marches which had come to the crown by attainders, surrenders, and suppressions were to be considered for disposal. The Irish government had advised Henry that to retain them would be expensive, and also 'barren the borders of such men as should be meet to be rulers and to stay such wild countries'. Before Henry parted with lands 'of such value and moment' he wanted definite information of the conditions under which they would be disposed. True surveys were to be made of them, divisions made for leasing. The results were to be sent to Henry 'with a schedule also of the names of all such Englishmen as have done unto us there good service, and be known, for their honesties and qualities, meet and desirous to inhabit there', and he would then indicate his pleasure. The king had become willing to part with crown possessions in Ireland, but he had turned his back on any wholesale resettlement or colonization there.

## CHAPTER 1V

## A NEW KINGDOM

1541-1547

Henry VIII had taken one long step in his own policy of consolidation in Ireland, and he now proceeded to the second. He informed St Leger and his council that MacWilliam Burke's offer to surrender his lordship to the crown and receive it as a gift,

hath caused us to call to our remembrance, both what great possessions in our own right appertain to us, as all the lands appertaining to our crown and state there... and how great a lack it might be to us, our heirs and successors hereafter, if upon every disobedient suit we should give them whole countries and, percase, amongst the same some part of that which is our own proper inheritance and the lands and revenues of our crown. Wherefore we... will and command you to have special regard, that by such gifts we do not in any wise in clouds depart with any of our said inheritance... which justly and by special title belongeth to us.

The king also wanted it emphasised to all concerned that every patent contained a clause that for any disloyalty<sup>1</sup> or disobedience the gift of lands forfeited to the crown.

The Irish government replied that as far as they could see 'there be few or none of the disobeisants of this land which have any possessions but the same of right appertaineth to your majesty by one of the means premised'. For example, MacWilliam had nothing but lands belonging to the earldom of Ulster. They would suspend any activity until they heard from Henry, but the MacWilliams 'have had the lands so long in possession with no legal title from the crown, and were in fear of dispossession, which would be an expensive business, that the government advised

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Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 2 May 1541  
(S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 302-03).



we think it specially good (unless your majesty will make a general conquest) that your highness liberally grant them their lands upon honest conditions, whereby your majesty shall not only enforce your right, which hitherto they would not recognise, so as if they eftsoons transgress, it cannot be denied but your majesty may justly use them as to such offenders shall appertain. But also if they should all relapse to their own traitorous manner (as peradventure all will not), your highness were in no worse case, but better than ye were heretofore.

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They recommended that O'Reilly should be so treated.

On the 17th and 18th of June 1541 legislation was passed by the Irish parliament which proclaimed Ireland a kingdom and Henry its king, an action which was publicly approved and acclaimed in Ireland. In England the government had been pondering the Irish situation at intervals since December of 1540, and with that news they began afresh. The privy council was in two parts in August of 1541, one part being with the king and the other in London. As a result a dialogue occurred between the two parts on Irish policy. The council with Henry, disturbed by the Irish government's proposals for MacWilliam, put three questions to the council in London. The first concerned the possible consequences if the rebellious Irish were granted portions of the crown's inheritance. Would they be more encouraged to rebel if they had clear titles to their lands? Second, granting that they rebelled, would they be better able to make cases that they were justified, that quarrels had been picked with them? And third, if the crown in the future desired to make a conquest and expel such traitors, would it not stand to lose a great deal by letting its inheritance 'to those which now usurp upon him, and be his traitors and unfaithful people'. The king was anxious to have the considered opinion of the council in London on these points.

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 28 July 1541, (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 306-10).

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The council with the king to the council in London, 2 Aug. 1541 (ibid., i, 665-7).



The council in London replied in detail. While the first point was true that rebels had long usurped what belonged of right to the king,

considering therewith what infinite and great charges the king's majesty hath been at for the reducing of them to civility and obedience, which of long time hath not been in such a towardness as it now, we think therefore that it cannot be but honourable, if the king's majesty upon their submission liberally upon honest conditions do give them their lands, whereof his majesty hath had neither profit nor possession.

By so doing the king would not only make the Irish good subjects, but would 'cause them to knowledge and confess his title, which they have ever refused'. Such a course would be more likely to draw recruits than cause rebellion, so that the king could 'be in no worse case, but rather in better than before'.

As for the second point the council in London argued that if the Irish rebelled it would be so manifest and apparent to all men that they had not availed themselves of the legal redress available that, despite any allegations made by them, they would stand plainly convicted as traitors.

Concerning the third point, 'the chief and greatest matter', the council in London considered that if the king 'purpose or do intend shortly any such conquest, that then it were convenient... to abstain from the making of the said grants, and keep still the liberty of the same in his arbitrement'. If the king long delayed making a new conquest, then it should be considered that the country's defence in the mean time would be expensive, and in the event of a conquest it was probable that the king would lease or grant his possessions at little or no profit to himself. They advised Henry

that it were better therefore to essay this experiment, and thereby to have a conquest by his wisdom and policy to his great honour, than to suffer them, being now willing to submit themselves, for lack of... grace and liberality



to fall into desperation, and so continue still in their old rebellion.

If the Irish should relapse again, the king would be in a better position to move against them. The best course therefore was 'liberally to grant them their lands in form afore expressed. And a better conquest cannot be... than this their own humble submission..., and acceptation of their lands at his highness' hands'. The council also pointed out that this was in substance what had been decided before, and it might be well to see what action<sup>4</sup> the Irish government had taken.

That government soon gave added point to the discussion. They planned a hosting against O'Neill during harvest for the dual purpose of supplying the army and annoying him, who alone of the Irish chiefs had not submitted or been at the parliament which proclaimed Henry king. It was stressed that the army should also be paid. In the south Brian O'Conor was in despair without a grant of his lands and a pardon and the king was asked to divide the lands between the two brothers and make Brian baron of Offaly. That Brian and Cahir were willing to submit their differences to arbitration was both a compliment to St Leger, and a measure of O'Conor's desperation.

The documents of the parliament were sent to England with Sir Thomas Cusack, speaker of the house of commons in it, and a warm supporter of St Leger's. His private suit was recommended that the king grant him the nunnery of Lismullen in Meath by purchase or otherwise, of which he had a lease, 'lying nigh to his house very commodiously<sup>5</sup> for him'. An object of Cusack's journey was to press for a decision on granting the Irish their lands.

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<sup>4</sup>The council in London to the council with the king, 11 Aug. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, i, 668-74).

<sup>5</sup>St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 28 Aug. (ibid., iii, 313-7), St Leger to Henry VIII, 29 Aug. 1541 (ibid., 318-21).



Before he reached court, the Irish government were informed by the king that he had considered the petitions of the Irish and their own. Henry stressed the clauses concerning forfeiture, but 'being of our own nature disposed rather to win our subjects to the knowledge of their bounden duties and to an honest kind of life', than 'the just persecution of them by the sword', the Irish government could make such grants, provided that those of 'great honour and possessions' made their submissions directly to Henry, or had his permission in writing. No indication was given of the discussion that had already taken place on this point.<sup>6</sup>

Cusack soon joined that discussion, propounding St Leger's point of view with his own enthusiasm. He argued that the Irish were 'in opinion amongst themselves that Englishmen one day will banish them and put them from their lands forever, so that they never were in assurance of themselves, and also considering that they won their lands by encroachment', they were always ready for war and trouble making, whereas with grants of their lands and acceptance as subjects, the principal means would be available to keep them in peace and obedience. English law and inheritance could also be introduced, with one legitimate heir inheriting in place of twenty bastards. Then it would be possible for the chiefs to 'put their idle men, as kerne and other, to labour and to occupy husbandry, by the which their men of war will decay and their substance increase, and then they will be loath to war, fearing to have their countries destroyed and to lose their substance'. The principal cause of Irish wars was poverty; people with nothing to lose did not mind making war.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 8 Sept. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 323-5).

<sup>7</sup>Cusack's devise... c. Sept. 1541 (ibid., 326-30).



If the king had the earl of Desmond, O'Brien, Mac William Burke and O'Donnell in hand, none of the other Irish could make war and would be compelled to fall into line. Cusack's advice was 'to begin first with O'Conor, Kedagh O'More, the Farrells and O'Reilly, which desire to have their lands of the king's gift', and afterwards with the four crucial ones. His reasoning was that if O'Conor, who was 'reckoned amongst them all to be the most wise, and one that annoyed Englishmen most of all other', were to pay the crown a regular rent for his lands, 'peradventure MacWilliam and O'Donnell will do the like without grudge by wise persuasions, and the rather that to their lands the king's majesty hath best right'. In Offaly O'Conor had eighty ploughlands and more, for each of which he would pay 3s. 4d. Irish per annum according to his last two submissions, thereby reversing the 3s. 4d. he once had out of every ploughland in Meath in blackrent. He was to hold his lands by knight's service, provide men for hostings, and use English law, speech and dress: failure to observe the conditions meaning forfeiture. All his freeholders were to do likewise, and in O'Conor's case Cusack observed prophetically 'so that by this mean the said lands so taken will be well inhabit, and at length it will be forfeited to his highness for not observing of such covenants'.

Cusack suggested the same conditions for Kedagh O'More, the Kavanaghs, and the O'Byrnes, but too much distance lay between MacWilliam and O'Donnell and the area of English control to make it possible to win them except by conquest. From them even a nominal rent of 2s. a ploughland, in contrast with the 13. 4d. of the pale, would be a gain 'till such time they be inured withal, and that they forget all their own customs and laws'.

The English council considered the whole matter again



in consultation with Cusack, and advised Henry that his new kingdom should be made to bear its own charges and also yield some profit. Nothing short of conquest would regain his lands from those who usurped them, and until the time was propitious for that, £5000 to £7000 a year must be spent to keep the country. They therefore suggested he proceed accordingly.<sup>8</sup>

All the advice Henry received confirmed his lifelong attitude towards dealing with the Irish, and he wrote to the government in Ireland his final views on his policy there. He commended their 'doings in the discreet training of the Irishmen to their due obedience, whereby they shall... grow into wealth and civility, which shall not only tend to their own great commodities, but also to the universal good of the country'. Against that was the related point 'whether it be either honour or wisdom for us to take upon us that title of a king and not have revenues there sufficient to maintain the state of the same'.<sup>9</sup> He defined such a sum as being the money necessary to support the regular establishment, and give it sufficient power both to continue its present work and bring any offenders into line.

Henry reaffirmed his intention to grant the Irish their lands, provided that an income adequate for crown expenses in Ireland and the eventual repayment of the costs of the previous decade was forthcoming. This meant the Irish should pay rent, and a proper scepticism was to be maintained regarding their intentions. Henceforth the Irish government were to 'enter no pact or indenture with

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'A discourse of matters of Ireland' c. Sept. 1541 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1540-41, no. 1194, sec. 3).

<sup>9</sup>Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 23 Sept. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 330-36). Quoted virtually in full in R. Dunlop, 'Some aspects of Henry VIII's Irish policy', T. F. Tout and J. Tait (eds.), *Historical Essays*, pp. 279-306. A detailed discussion of its background is also given. The effect of the policy on Irish tenure and holding is discussed in 'The Tudor Confiscations', in Butler, *Confiscation*, pp.1-37,



any Irishman of name and estimation, but you shall first know to what conditions he will bind himself and what part of his land, rent, or subsidy he will be content to pay or deliver unto us', and having advised Henry on that score, to proceed only with his permission. It was his evident wish to keep a tight and realistic control on what was meant to be a successful, as well as generous, policy.

The king, following Cusack, considered that the Irish fell into two groups: those he could directly control such as O'Reilly, O'Conor, and the Kavanaghs, and those which were beyond his immediate reach such as O'Donnell, MacWilliam, and O'Brien. Concerning the last three he thought that 'without greater force it will be difficult to expel them out of their country, and to keep and inhabit the same with such as we would thereunto appoint...'. He therefore wished the Irish government to 'use good and discreet persuasions to make them savour what it is to have their lands by our gift certainly and quietly, what honour and benefit it shall be to them to live in civility', as well as understanding their obligations to the crown. In such cases, said Henry 'we meannot to get of any of them more than they shall be able to accomplish, whereby necessity shall enforce them to slip away again from us, but only for the beginning to bring our revenue to such a mass as may defend the state there, and after, as the country shall grow into a further civility, so our profits to be increased'. To accomplish this program the king laid down four specific points:

1. Those who, like O'Reilly and O'Conor, were under his direct control were to accept the conditions binding O'Toole.

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and in 'The policy of Surrender and Regrant', in Butler, Gleanings, pp. 195-251.



2. In the areas of the greater lords 'such towns or holds' as the government deemed necessary were to be reserved to the crown, or a rent or subsidy was to be paid. The lesser holders in those areas were expected at the least to hold immediately from the crown and pay a suitable rent or subsidy.
3. All lands should be held by knight's service, with the crown receiving the usual rights of wardship and livery.
4. That any religious houses were to be suppressed and so leased that their whole revenues came to the crown.

The king wished as many of these conditions as possible to be enforced on all, but 'because we be desirous once again to experiment their faith, we would you should not overmuch press them in any rigorous sort', using persuasion instead.

And for the better alluring those of the remote parts, we shall not much stick to let them have some of the religious houses which shall be suppressed in their countries in farm at such reasonable rents as you shall think meet, so as we may be in surety to be answered of the rents as appertaineth.

Henry expressed general confidence in St Leger and in his ability to deal with O'Neill, the only remaining source of trouble. When he was brought in the king hoped to reduce the retinue to save expense, and asked for an exact estimate of the forces needed for security, 'and the advancement of the commenced civility amongst... the Irishry'. Thus at one stroke Henry VIII had closed Ireland as a place for any extensive English settlement or colonization.

The Irish government, under the aegis of St Leger, was sure that the king was taking the right step: that when the Irish received security of tenure their other 'kingdom and sect of themselves' would be absorbed by increasing order and civility, and the crown revenues would then increase in accordance with Henry's wishes. At



present crown income was some £6000 or £8000. In contrast to Cusack the Irish council as a whole was sceptical of collecting rents from O'Reilly, O'Conor, or the Kavanaghs while O'Neill and O'Brien were unsubdued. Those first three had just been compelled to give up some £700 in tribute money; too much pressure on them would simply make them shift their allegiance, a defeat of the whole policy. Due caution was promised in administering the new policy, but the Irish government were unanimous in their opinion that the only real alternative was a general conquest. For that purpose they estimated Ireland to be the size of England and Wales.<sup>10</sup>

St Leger made three expeditions in all against O'Neill, the last in the dead of winter. After it O'Neill submitted wholly and the fact that he gave adequate pledges, the first time he had ever done so, was regarded as evidence of a new outlook. In January 1542 the government in Dublin was able to report that all the Irish had submitted in some form, and the new realm was in 'such peace and quietness as the like hath not been seen these many years'.<sup>11</sup> Such phrases were to be a refrain of St Leger's deputyship for the next four years, and his major preoccupation was to be the working out of the policy which he and the king had devised.

There were those with other views, overborne for the moment, but still present and waiting for an opportunity to press the king for a more rigorous course against the Irish. Robert Cowley, in England again, made a few such

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 24 Oct. 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 339-44).

11

St Leger to Henry VIII, 17 Dec. 1541 (ibid., 350-3), Council of Ireland to the privy council, 8 Jan. 1542 (ibid., 358-9).



points in another of his reform projets. He thought the Irish would never be conquered by open war, but if the example of Wales were followed they should be administered in small units, 'whereby they shall have no mind nor power to confeder with any alien realm...'. If they were reformed under a central authority and discovered their strength, they would attempt such a confederacy. Under his fragmented system he saw the galloglas and kerne being taken from idleness and applied to labour, 'some tilling the waste lands, some labouring the mines of the earth, whereof would grow infinite riches...', or employed in fishing, at the moment in the hands of foreigners, for which they would have profitable markets at home and in England.<sup>12</sup> Cowley, in eclipse at the moment, also made criticisms of St Leger's government.

The deputy was taken up in the spring of 1542 dealing with O'Brien and getting him placed on the far side of the Shannon. The English had come to regard the river as an effective line, a natural boundary to their area of influence, with control of everything east of it as an obtainable goal. This attitude was implicit in many documents,<sup>13</sup> though only occasionally spelled out, and had taken shape in the 1530s, remaining true until the end of Henry's reign. To that end no grants were to be made to the Irish which strengthened them on the English side of the Shannon, and they were to be encouraged to regard the far side as their own.

St Leger was also trying to bring the earl of Desmond

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'For the reformation of Ireland', c. Feb. 1542 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 246-8).

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 31 Mar. 1542 (ibid., 362-5), St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 14 May 1543 (ibid., 450-1), Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 9 July 1543 (ibid., 472-7).



into his scheme of things, and Cowley had accused the deputy of erecting a new Geraldine band. St Leger retorted that with Kildare gone, Ormond had holdings some fifty or sixty miles in length and some of the chief defences on the frontiers next to the Irish. While praising the Butlers' services, St Leger 'thought good to have a Roland for an Oliver'. Since he considered the reform of the Leinster chain his most important problem, he first wanted complete peace with O'Neill, O'Connor, and O'Reilly, lying on the frontiers of the English pale, as well as with O'Brien beyond.

Regarding O'Neill's country St Leger made two interesting points to Henry VIII, saying it was full of woods, great bogs, and waters here called loughs, which be some of them twenty miles in length, so that hard it would be to have the same inhabited, without great charge and peril of those that should inhabit the same. Yea, and also inhabitants be not here to be had of your English pale to people the same, but of force they must be sent out of your realm of England, which if your pleasure so were, it might a great deal the more easily be done.<sup>14</sup>

Henry seems to have been deaf to any overt suggestions for parting with his English subjects, maintaining they were all needed at home, but St Leger had tried a more subtle argument. The king wished to have his manors and castles kept in repair, but the lack of adequate craftsmen was a problem. The deputy therefore suggested that if 'carpenters, sawyers, lathmakers, and tilers might be sent hither for the same, it would save your majesty the half of your charge'. Such men, if able enough, could serve in time of war as effectively as the footmen in wages, and in the intervals of peace could ply their trades.<sup>15</sup>

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Two days later he commented that the English in the pale had come to depend on the royal forces, and had

<sup>14</sup> St Leger to Henry VIII, 8 May 1542 (S.P.Hen.VIII, iii, 376-81).

<sup>15</sup> St Leger to Henry VIII, 6 May (*ibid.*, 372-4).

<sup>16</sup> St Leger to Henry VIII, 8 May 1542 (*ibid.*, 376-81).



stopped maintaining men of war of their own. In his eyes this was a mistake. Kildare in his time had provided horse and harness for 60 to 100 horsemen, with a stud of 200 to 300 mares for replacements. With the king's permission St Leger wished to try a similar system. The provision of men for defence was a recurrent problem throughout the century.

By June 1542, St Leger's opposition was becoming more vocal. John Alen urged the crown to begin solving the most important problem, the reduction of the Leinster chain, especially along the coasts. Despite the ideas of those who wished to accept the submissions of the Irish there, Alen thought it was better 'to have that country utterly desolated to feed wild beasts', for it was from there that all the treasons and rebellions had arisen, a den of thieves and robbers. Once it was reformed, the crown would have opened 'so wide a gate into Ireland that it will be hard for all the Irishmen of Ireland after to close it again'.<sup>17</sup>

In the autumn John Travers, master of the ordnance, advocated a similar course to Alen's in terse military fashion. Garrisons and captains should be placed at Wicklow and Arklow, the latter being obtained from Ormond, its holder. There should also be garrisons at Carrickfergus, Larne, and Athlone, with two regional councils, one in the south, and the other in the west. Despite the difficulties of imposing English law and custom on people newly reclaimed, in his soldier's view the task must be done completely.<sup>18</sup>

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John Alen to Henry VIII, 4 June 1542 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 391-4).

18

'Certain devices for the reformation of Ireland', (*ibid.*, 451-2).



Henry himself desired to see the Leinster chain reduced, and instructed the Irish government that while they were to keep the arrangements made with the O'Tooles, they were also to make the general area civil and answerable to English law. As for the present inhabitants, the government was to lay

the country so open by cutting and keeping of ways, paths, and passages therein, as if any of them would withdraw from his duty, specially in contempting our laws, he may be immediately chastised. In which case we would you should extend our force there to exterminate him and his adherents forever, and immediately to commit his country to such Englishmen or others as will keep the same against the former owners of it, if any remain and answer to our laws.

For the Irish to obey his laws and keep their submissions would in the end, according to Henry, 'tend rather to  
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their commodity than to ours'.

With a nice sense of timing the O'Byrnes had just submitted. They promised to obey English law, asked to have their country made into a shire, and gave to the king the strongholds of Wicklow and Newcastle MacKenyan and their lands. Rory O'More had made a similar submission in May, promising to surrender Dunamase castle and its manor to the crown, as well as any other land  
20  
Kildare held in Leix. The government was also able to report being at peace with O'Brien, O'Neill, O'Conor, and O'Reilly. They were now ready to move against the  
21  
Kavanaghs.

The next month they were still ready, but they complained that they were hindered for lack of money to pay the army. If the king would use half of what he had expended 'upon journeys commenced in other foreign countries' to pay the Irish retinue monthly for a year, the results would be remarkable. With adequate money

<sup>19</sup> Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 5 July 1542 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 394-7).

<sup>20</sup> Indenture of Rory O'More, 13 May 1542, indenture of the O'Byrnes, 4 July 1542 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, nos 163, 170).

<sup>21</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 12 July 1542 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 398-400).



they could have the Leinster chain obedient to his laws in a short time. Henry immediately dispatched £2461 12s. for that task, but the Irish government had now moved into Munster to put Cork, Kinsale and Youghal in order before turning to Leinster. Upon reflection Henry was reluctant to send a whole year's wages beforehand, arguing that it was<sup>22</sup> unwise to pay for things which had not arisen.

By the end of November the campaigning season was over, and the Irish government had become concerned about the act of parliament under which the commissioners had granted lands in Ireland. They first recommended that it be revoked as it had not been passed according to the procedure of Poyning's act. Henry agreed, and then the Irish government discovered that such a procedure would undermine the whole structure of the settlement made since the Geraldine revolt. The crown stood to lose £1000 a year in rent, and all those who had fortified and improved the property of their new leases would be discouraged from doing so again in the event of war. The government felt that such holders ought to be allowed their honest gain, and asked the king to let the matter remain as it was. They had tried repeal, 'but it toucheth so many, and appeareth so universal a mischief...' that they could not<sup>23</sup> proceed.

A case in point was the earl of Desmond's lease of Kildare's manors of Croom and Adare in co. Limerick for £20. John Alen had estimated their value per year as some £140.<sup>24</sup> The lease had been undoubtedly designed to keep Desmond in favour of loyalty, but many in and out of the government

<sup>22</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 24 Aug., 9 Sept. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 404, 409, 420-1), Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 2 Sept., 8 Oct. 1542 (ibid., 418-20, 427-30).

<sup>23</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 7 Dec. 1542 (ibid., 432-40).

<sup>24</sup> J. Alen to Henry VIII, 4 June 1542 (loc. cit.).



were in a comparable position and did not want their leases re-examined.

At the same time the government thought that Clandeboy in Ulster could 'easily be won, in case there were inhabitants to put in the same when it were so won', but they advised deterring such a course until the Leinster chain was reformed. They also asked the king to resume the manor and castle of Dungarvan to prevent Ormond and Desmond claiming it in opposition.

In the spring of 1543 the O'Briens, MacWilliam Burke of Clanricarde, and other Irish followed O'Neill's trip of the previous year, and made their submissions at court. Francis Herbert was sent along as an interpreter, 'he having the language very well', and to further his own interests, as the Irish council rather forgetfully asserted that he had never burdened the crown with a suit for reward of his services. They hoped Henry would reward Herbert, both for his own encouragement and to produce more like him.  
25

In March Henry sent £2461 12s. more for the payment of the army, but the Irish government had to confess that they had not yet caught up with the arrearages in wages. The rumour of war with France was abroad and they were as anxious that the army be supplied as paid. A new plea was made for adequate funds for the operations planned for the summer in the Leinster chain. The council had declined an offer of Ormond's to reduce that area as 'no like enterprise hath been done since the conquest of this realm', and it was both to the king's honour and to avoid future expense that the crown should conduct it. They planned to take all the strong points over a distance which was estimated as some fifty miles. Before the summer

was over or the royal forces withdrawn, such places 'must be victualled and a good substantial garrison for the first year left in them...'. Otherwise the inhabitants would raze the garrisons and 'that country after would be recovered with no reasonable charge, neither in no small time'. The Irish government was forced to admit that the additional supplies were asked for because 'the same country is barren, and destitute of any honest provision or victual...'.<sup>26</sup>

St Leger urged the same arguments privately, saying that the Leinster chain was the time and place for activity, which if supported to the finish would leave the countries of the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and Kavanaghs 'as obedient as other of his English shires...'.<sup>27</sup>

The Irish government, apprehensive of increased Scottish activity in the north of Ireland, had leased Clondeboy to John Travers on a three year basis. He had also done a survey of all the ports in Ireland at Henry's request, and shortly he was recommended with his company of a hundred gunners to be placed in a garrison, apparently in the Kavanagh vicinity. Henry had asked anew for the names of servants to 'reward them either with a gift of lands upon the borders', or with the keeping of a garrison, and the government put forward Travers, 'as well for his hardiness, truth, and diligence, as for that he can speak the language, to be planted in some place where he may have some rule...'. He seems to have played a large part<sup>28</sup> throughout the summer in reducing the Kavanagh area.

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 15 May 1543 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 456-60).

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St Leger to the privy council, 15 May 1543 (*ibid.*, 461).

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 5 June 1543 (*ibid.*, 470-1), Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 5 Mar. 1543 (*ibid.*, 440-3).



Travers, like Herbert, was to be an encouragement to others, and Herbert himself returned from England with the right of fee farm of his estate for himself and his heirs, and a pension of £10 sterling yearly out of his rent. The king also gave Sir Osborne Echingham the possession of Baltimore in co. Cork, as the government had advised and Sir Osborne had sued. Robert St Leger was to have the custody of Dungarvan, if he would dwell there, the first of a succession of royal constables. Henry, as usual in search of specific information, wanted a 'perfect book of the whole honour, with a note of such fees and profits as our cousin of Ormond had with the same...'.<sup>29</sup>

The measures taken against the Kavanaghs do not seem to have been prolonged, but they thought it advisable to follow the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes in making their submission. By the terms of the agreement made at New Ross on 3 September 1543 they surrendered to the crown the castles and manors of Ferns and Enniscorthy with the castle of Clohamon in co. Wexford, and the castle of Clonmullen in co. Carlow. Their lands were to be redivided among themselves so that they might be cultivated. The crown would 'accommodate the needy with certain moneys for buying horses and other necessary instruments of culture, until such time as by the more abundant produce of their lands they may be able to repay the same', a third of those lands being pledged as security. Other inducements were given to encourage a peaceful, settled existence for the Kavanaghs, including their release from certain impositions. Particular pains were taken to secure the lands lying between Leighlin and Carlow, and an unnamed castle in Idone,<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 8 July, c. Aug. 1543 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 472-7, 482-4).

<sup>30</sup> Agreement between St Leger and other commissioners and the Kavanaghs, 3 Sept. 1543 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 43-5, where it is out of place).



possibly Castletown, co. Carlow.

The English were now in control of the whole area east of the Barrow to the sea, and the three major clans of the Leinster chain were at peace with the government. In June William Paget had observed with satisfaction that all the Irish of any importance had submitted 'so as never prince had so great and noble a conquest...'.<sup>31</sup> The agreement made with the Kavanaghs was a part of the general pattern. MacGilpatrick, now lord of Upper Ossory, had agreed that he and his people would use English language, law, and custom, and bring up their children accordingly. He would also put such of his lands as were suitable 'in manurance and tillage of husbandry, and cause houses to be made and built for such persons as shall be necessary for the manurance thereof', without taking any exactions or quartering any galloglas or kerne on them. O'Neill,<sup>32</sup> MacWilliam Burke, and O'Brien had made similar agreements.

After the Kavanaghs' submission St Leger felt that conditions were secure enough to permit him to visit England, which he did in January 1544, taking John Travers with him. Brabazon was left in Ireland as lord justice. Before his departure St Leger was able to have his secretary, John Parker, appointed as the new constable of Dublin castle,<sup>33</sup> and secure the parsonage of Trim for Thomas Agard.

The government reported that a castle built privately by Philip Roche for the defence of Kinsale, in return for the privilege of importing grain in quantity, was well on the way to completion. They requested that his licence for

<sup>31</sup>Privy council to Edmund Harvel, 15 June 1543 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ix, 411-12). A note added by Paget.

<sup>32</sup>3 June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1543, no. 636). Text of MacGilpatrick's agreement has been printed under the mistaken date of 1541 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 291-2).

<sup>33</sup>St. Leger to Henry VIII, 10 Sept. 1543 (*ibid.*, 484-7).



grain be renewed for three more years.

In June 1543 John Travers had been issued a commission to forbid the sale of powder, shot, guns, and other munitions to 'Irishmen and other foreign persons'. When he went to England the Irish government recommended him again to the crown for assistance, saying that he had taken upon his charge the chief garrisons and rule of Leinster, and that in the strongest, wildest, and most barren places of the same... which plot, yet, he hath so well governed and brought to such a frame as (if it shall stand with your pleasure to proceed to the total reformation of that corner) we count it half won already.<sup>35</sup>

To emphasize the point a new 'devise' was sent for completing the work begun in the Leinster chain. Now that the government had 'taken all the principal garrisons of the same, which be furnished for this present', two ways were open, a new conquest or a limited reform. For Ireland as a whole a limited reform would be cheaper, as a conquest

would require so great a number of inhabitants, and that of such qualities and havior to inhabit so large a country with many other things requisite to such an enterprise, as the same would seem an importable and too long a charge to be sustained.<sup>36</sup>

The Leinster range, however, was a different case because of its smallness in size, 'some forty English miles by twenty', its strategic importance, and its proximity to England. A limited reform of it would always leave it possible for the Irish to 'revert to their old naughtiness',

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<sup>34</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 5 Dec. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1543, no. 455).

<sup>35</sup> Commission by St Leger and council, 17 June (*ibid.*, no. 721), St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 14 Jan. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1544, no. 29).

<sup>36</sup> 'Articles devised by the... deputy and council of Ireland to be declared to his highness and... council', c. Jan. 1544 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/11, no. 5). A 17th century copy, certified by Paul Davys as from the Irish council book, 35<sup>o</sup> Henry VIII.



thus undermining the good order commenced elsewhere while the government were busy holding it down. The conquest of the Leinster range would be

not only feasible, and that with a portable charge, but also as well a good practice and experiment of the facility or difficulty of the like to be commenced in the residue, if occasion were ministered, as a fearful terror and example to them to consider the extermination of these ancient rebels.

The king was asked therefore

to plant in one corner there together an hundred of his grace's army with other his English subjects of this his realm in the midst of the same country, and dividing the lands into three parties, whereof to give one part to the Englishmen, the second part to be divided among the gentlemen now there inhabiting, and the third part with all the chief garrisons of the country.

The system of authority was left up to the king, but the government were insistent that the army should be kept in garrison in the Leinster chain when not engaged elsewhere, and properly paid. The undertaking was sizeable and must be pursued to completion. Then the king would have 'in one soil in perfect obedience, by the sea coast next to England', an area six or seven score miles in length.

If Henry thought the garrisons too great an expense, he might 'erect one or two honourable estates of English blood and nation there, which having estates of inheritance to them and their heirs, will be vigilant to repress malefactors and keep the country in obedience'. Where the king had asked for the names of those who had served him to reward them with grants of waste lands, he could not better 'both reward them which have so served and also inhabit parcel of this portion of Leinster, than to plant a number of them there'.

In reality it was an appeal after the fact. The O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and Kavanaghs by their timely submissions had removed a great deal of the impetus for a thorough-going reform of their area. In England John Travers was shortly in the thick of Henry's preparations for a war with France, and if the 'devise' was advocated it



got no encouragement. St Leger, who was the advocate of a conciliatory policy, was probably not too displeased. Military control of the Leinster chain would be maintained, but nothing new would be undertaken. The reform party in the Irish council had to bide their time and wait for another opportunity in another area. The Leinster chain had escaped being the first large area of plantation in Ireland.

The king had sent a new commission for the sale of wards and the leasing of waste lands for twenty-one years, and the requests for favours were not long in coming. It was requested that two younger brothers of Edward Basnet, dean of St Patrick's, be given two parcels of land in the marches of Leinster among the O'Byrnes, or that the dean be allowed to purchase them or have them in fee. Walter Peppard was brought forward as having lost £1250 worth of goods at sea, and his lease of the abbey lands of St Mary's, Dublin, was about to expire. He would then have to move to another farm which he had on the borders of the Irishry [Kilkea], where he would have great expenses for defence and entertainment. It was asked that he have a licence for exporting grain or leather out of England, and some further estate in his farm on the borders.

By the spring of 1544 Peppard and all the members of the Irish government were taken up with raising and dispatching Irish kerne for Henry's use in France and on the Scottish borders. The wide response on the part of the Irish chiefs was one of the fruits of the policy of conciliation in Ireland. Not that trouble was lacking.

<sup>37</sup> Henry VIII to St Leger and council, c. Aug. 1543 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 482-4).

<sup>38</sup> St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 14 Jan., 16 Jan. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1544, nos 29, 36).

<sup>39</sup> Dean Guntner White, 'Henry VIII's Irish kerne in Scotland and France, 1544-1545', in *Ir. Sword*, iii. 215-25 (1958).

Brabazon and the Irish council informed St Leger in England with some satisfaction that the lord of Upper Ossory, now in Dublin castle, had been involved in a combination against O'More, 'whereof we take your lordship's old friend O'Conor to be the only author...'.<sup>40</sup> They later reported that O'Conor had utterly refused to come in since St Leger left.

Far more pressing in the mind of the Irish government was the prospect of a French invasion of Ireland. They thought that with the new mood of the Irish they could withstand an invasion of 9,000 or 10,000 Frenchmen, but the news that Gerâld Fitzgerald was in Brittany altered the picture. They could not answer for what would happen, considering his 'kin, alliance, and friendship' in Ireland. The information that he and an army of 15,000 men were to be sent to Ireland, together with a large force to Scotland, put the government to further unrest.<sup>41</sup> The invasion never materialized, but there was the renewed reminder of the danger of foreign intervention in Ireland.

As that danger receded the Irish government was able to return to such pursuits as the granting of leases. The king's commission for waste lands was altered to read 'twenty-one years or less', and extensions of ten years were to be made to several leases, including those of Agard, Parker, John Alen, and Walter Peppard for his lease of Kilkea. He also got a licence to export tanned hides from England or Ireland.<sup>42</sup>

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Lord justice and council to St Leger, 25 Mar. 1544 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 490-3).

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Lord justice and council to Henry VIII, 20 May, 13 June 1544 (ibid., 501-3, 503-4).

42

3 July 1544. Grants (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1544, no. 1035, sec. 29), and reconfirmed 6 Sept. 1545 (ibid., 1545, no. 496, sec. 16).



At the end of 1544 John Travers had returned from his service in the king's army in France, and the Irish government was instructed to reward him with a gift of lands in Ireland in tail male that would be worth some £67 sterling a year. They were to be selected so as not to 'lie within the body of the land, but upon or nigh the frontiers of the same...' and Henry wished a complete description of them.<sup>43</sup> Travers already had a lease of the manor of Enniscorthy and some nearby lands, and had purchased a friary there as well as one in Arklow.<sup>44</sup> He was now made a grant of the manor of Rathmore 'in Leinster' in the marches of co. Dublin, and given extensive lands with it, including some thirty townlands. The manor of Carrickbrennan, or Monkstown, south of Dublin, and the manor of Grangeforth in co. Carlow were also granted to him, the whole grant being held by the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee, and a rent of some £7.<sup>45</sup> Thus all of his lands qualified as being in the frontiers of the Leinster chain.

From those same frontiers Sir Osborne Echingham made an interesting request. He asked for a grant of the abbey of Dunbrody in co. Wexford, surveyed at £22 16s. 5d. a year, for which he would exchange the manor of Netherhall in Norfolk, worth £16 13s. 4d. a year. The abbey estates lay among the wild Irish and were very wasted, but he hoped to bring them to better 'manurance', thus providing for his old age, his wife, and his children.<sup>46</sup> The

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St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 11 Dec. 1544, (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/11, no. 51).

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3 Feb., 4 Feb. 1544 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, nos 403, 404).

45

20 June 1545 (*ibid.*, no. 460).

46

Echingham to Henry VIII, 26 Feb. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1545, no. 274).

government recommended his suit, saying that the lands were near the Kavanaghs, and that it would be well 'to have such one assured servant of his majesty's planted there' with some of the retinue, which would bring that area 'to much quiet and civility'.<sup>47</sup> He received a grant of Dunbrody at a rental of £3. 10s. 6d. a year,<sup>48</sup> and a fortieth part of a knight's service.

The Irish government also recommended some Irish for grants. In the south-west the castle of Tuogh in co. Limerick near the Shannon had been taken from a group of thieves and outlaws and put in the hands of Teig MacBryen, a brother-in-law of Lord Power and an Ormond connexion. He had kept it well at no expense to the crown, and the government asked that he be granted it, for 'the lands thereof lying both in a barren soil in such a wild fastness, as few or none Englishmen would be glad to have the custody thereof', and Teig would be encouraged 'in his honest towardness so well begun'.<sup>49</sup> Shortly thereafter he received the grant.<sup>50</sup>

Brian O'Connor was given a free pardon for all his offences committed before 17 June 1544, and granted all his possessions forfeited on account of them.<sup>51</sup> That action must have been at St Leger's urging on his English visit, and a year later the Irish government recommended him as having 'these three or four years past... kept so honest peace... as we have good hope of his continuance...'

47

St Leger and council to privy council, 11 May 1545 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 520-2).

48

4 Oct. 1545 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz., p. 118).

49

St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 25 Nov. 1544 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 505-6).

50

22 Feb. 1545 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 453).

51

3 July (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1544, no. 1035, sec. 28).



and asked that the king grant his request for his lands and a viscountcy, which would be only for his life, with his brother Cahir being eligible to succeed him. Henry indicated his willingness to comply if he had knowledge of the exact title, and whether O'Connor would receive it by letters patent or come to England for it. That meeting of antagonists never took place.

It was during the period of lull in 1544 and 1545 that St Leger took up a problem which had troubled him for some time, the ever increasing power of the earl of Ormond. He was bent on expanding the liberty of Tipperary, and he also held strategic points 'upon the frontiers of the Kavanaghs' as St Leger remarked twice in a letter to Wriothesley, whom he reminded of the king's anxiety to see that crucial area reformed. The earl did not want to give them up, unless compensated by lands in Ireland, including Kilkea, 'which is the properest house and goodliest lordship the king hath in all this realm'. St Leger had balked, saying he would as soon have his hand cut off, as advise the king to grant Kilkea to him. The deputy's opinion was that Ormond was deliberately holding on to the strong points to prevent the reform of Leinster, which he had offered to do himself. He speculated that Ormond either still desired to have that reform in his own hands, or else wanted to put the Irish government in difficulty because it was not done. One reason Ormond advanced for not giving up the lands in contest was that 'he cannot remove his farmers and tenants from thence without long warning'. St Leger was appreciative both of Ormond's worth and his right to be rewarded for service,

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St Leger and council to privy council, 6 May 1545 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 517-20).

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Privy council to St Leger and council, 4 June 1545 (ibid., 523-4).



but suggested that it be in English rather than Irish lands, where he was already too powerful.<sup>54</sup>

In July 1545 the Irish government took up the case of one William Cantwell, who while absent at Oxford, had been deprived of certain lands by Ormond and the bishop of Ossory. Public opinion in the Kilkenny area was aroused. If he were not restored, few of the Irish would anglicize their children as William had been anglicized. As a test case the privy council in England was asked to restore him, to give him wages of 1s. 6d. sterling a day with a servant at 9d. a day, and a livery coat to come home. The Irish government estimated that it would be worth £1000 sterling in public opinion and the anglicizing program to have him restored.<sup>55</sup> The privy council responded, and after discussing the matter granted Cantwell a coat of the king's livery with wages of 1s. a day for himself, and 6d. for a servant.<sup>56</sup>

Cantwell was a born trouble-maker, and to show his gratitude to St. Leger sent a poison-pen letter to Ormond on the eve of his departure for the Scottish expedition of 1545. The letter was unsigned, and stated that the earl was being sent to be eliminated. He would shortly find himself in the Tower and should know that St Leger, the crafty, was behind it. Ormond, upset by the letter, sent it to England and asked for a hearing between himself and St Leger, a request which he renewed on his return from Scotland.<sup>57</sup>

Rory O'More also sent a long letter of complaint

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<sup>54</sup>St Leger to Wriothesley, 26 Feb., St Leger to the privy council, 14 Apr., St Leger to Henry VIII, 14 Apr. 1545 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 506-12, 512-15, 515-16).

<sup>55</sup>St Leger and council to the privy council, 4 July (*ibid.*, 526-7).

<sup>56</sup>Privy council meetings, 9 Aug., 16 Aug. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1545, nos 79, 140).

<sup>57</sup>Ormond to Lord Russell, 15 Nov. 1545 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 533-40).



to Henry VIII. The O'Mores had been loyal to the crown since the Geraldine revolt, and had taken up English ways. Yet the murderers of his brother Kedagh had received hospitality in Carlow castle, where St Leger's brother Robert was constable, both before and after the event. In 1544 Brabazon and the council had secured Rory for war against O'Connor, who had married his daughter to Rory's brother Patrick. Rory had refused all of O'Connor's offers, and made successful war upon him until he was forced to submit to the government, but they left him at large. O'Connor secured the support of the deputy, so that no settlement could take place. According to Rory the deputy swore upon a mass-book that if he and his brother Patrick would submit, Rory's interests would be favoured in their quarrel. When the two submitted they were imprisoned, and O'Connor was allowed to build a bridge and castle in O'More's country, which he burnt and destroyed. O'More alleged that the council had taken his part with the king.

Whether Rory's story was wholly true or not, at sometime before 25 March 1546 he was murdered at the instigation of O'Connor and his brother Patrick, who then became O'More.

Certain details of the hearing which was given to St Leger, Ormond, and John Alen in England are of great interest, particularly as they relate to events in Ireland in 1546. In February Alen and Aylmer had suggested that while the earl and the deputy were in England, someone should be sent to make a thorough inquiry of Irish affairs.

Undated (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1545, no. 797). The editors assign it a place immediately after Ormond's letter, which would be its approximate date).

T.C.D. MS H.4.31, f. 97d, and H.1.6, f. 80, both fix the date of Rory's death as 1545, thus making it before 25 March 1546 in the present style.



Investigation should be made of the size of the revenue, its increase, how far the kings writ ran - 'for further than it runneth there is no hope of profits' - , the reconciled Irish, the strength of the pale, and whether defences had been built upon its borders. Finally there was the key to everything else, the reform of Leinster. They answered their own question whether it had been done by asking what the causes were that it had not, and asserted the 'matter resteth betwixt the said deputy, and his said brother, and the same earl'.<sup>60</sup>

The whole council and certain peers signed a testimonial to St Leger's tenure, but also advised Henry not to trust the Irish too much, 'more than to such barbarous people should be trusted, which... oft transgress and revolt from their duties and promises, if fear of punishment restrain them not'.<sup>61</sup>

These same Irish, O'Brien, O'Neill, O'Conor, O'Molloy, the O'Carrolls, and many others were in Dublin at the same time, composing their own letter of praise for St Leger, a sight according to Cusack, 'which is no small comfort to every faithful heart to see'.<sup>62</sup> Whether the bulk of the Irish council derived any comfort from the sight is doubtful.

By the end of April 1546 Ormond and St Leger were in England, and the privy council began its investigation of the various accusations and counter-accusations. Walter Cowley made the first charges against St Leger, and as he 'could avouch nothing but upon the mouth of others', he

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Alen and Aylmer to Henry VIII, 27 Feb. 1546 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 555-6),

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Council and peers of Ireland to Henry VIII, 20 Mar. 1546 (*ibid.*, 560-1).

62

Cusack to Paget, 28 Mar. 1546 (*ibid.*, 563-4).



was committed to the Tower. Edmund Sexton then presented a 'book' against Desmond and the support he had received from the deputy. St Leger and Welshe, solicitor for the earl, both answered Sexton, who, 'being noted a seditious man', was committed to the Marshalsea.<sup>63</sup>

Early in May the privy council in England circularized members of the Irish council with a series of sixteen questions based on Alen and Aylmer's letter, and a further set of charges made by Alen. The privy council's questions were designed as an inquiry into St Leger, his probity, and his conduct toward the council. Similar questions were asked about Alen. In a series of ten items he had charged that St Leger had neglected the defences of the pale, and had allowed the Irish to grow strong while they were still beyond the king's writ, or paying revenues, or fulfilling the conditions they had promised. Leinster was still unreformed, there was no increase in the revenue, and the Irish were in a better position than before to overrun the English. If matters were as St Leger said, there would be plenty to maintain him and he would not need £5000 extra a year from England. The general implication was that Henry was being subverted as king by St Leger and his expert servants.<sup>64</sup>

Towards the end of May Alen was sent to England, probably with the council's answers, to state his case against St Leger. He took with him a letter of recommendation from the Irish council which was rather more warm than mere formality required. They recalled his eighteen years service in Ireland, during which time 'he is grown to such experience as in our judgments he hath

<sup>63</sup> Privy council meetings, 28 Apr., 16 May (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1546, nos 689, 853).

<sup>64</sup> John Alen 'Certain notes on the state of Ireland', c. Apr. (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 564-5). Privy council to members of the council in Ireland, 5 May 1546 (ibid., 566-7).

as great knowledge thereof as any others', and the king was asked 'to accept him accordingly'. Thus the chancellor represented the opinions of Brabazon the lord justice, Aylmer, Travers, Basnet, Luttrell, and others, and as the spokesman for the reform group what he presented is worth examining in certain details.<sup>65</sup>

For his appearance before the privy council the chancellor prepared an expanded version of his charges against St Leger.<sup>66</sup> He stressed that the king's writ and laws did not run in Ulster, Connaught, the two Munsters, the Leinster chain, or the countries of O'More, O'Conor, the lord of Upper Ossory, and the other Irish in that vicinity. The pale was different because the king's retinue was there, though the inhabitants did not maintain as many men of war and were not as able to defend themselves as in times past. The general area of the pale, the earldom of Ormond, and the liberty of Wexford 'was the king's before, and in manner in as good obedience...' when St Leger came as it was now. Thus crown control had not expanded and neither had crown profit, which ran no further than the royal writ. In Ulster generally and in Tyrone in particular there was neither profit nor obedience.

Next Alen warmed significantly to the subject of O'Conor, 'the sorest adversarit and enemy that ever the king or his subjects had in Ireland'.

And albeit that he could hitherto by no means be persuaded to come to the king's... presence, yet hath he been permitted to come to that strength that he was never before in no man's time, having not only so allied himself with his neighbours and fortified his own country, but also

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Lord justice and council to the privy council, 25 May 1546 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 568-9).

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'A note of the state of Ireland with a devise for the same', c. June 1546 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/11, no. 53). Misplaced at the end of 1544.



hath in effect all O'Dempsey's country, which was our key, being of the strongest piece of ground in Ireland. Which he hath so fortified, besides building of a bridge and a castle over a passage, that he hath as well an open passage to pass upon the county of Kildare, Leix, and county of Kilkenny, and to join with the Kavanaghs if he list, as thereby he may when it please him preclude the county of Kildare from rescuing and victualling the castle of Lea, which is one of the strongest holds the king hath in Ireland, and was builded where it is for keeping those fast countries from Irishmen. I will touch no further in this matter than needeth. I came not hither to complain of any man. But this I say: if the earl of Tyrone of the one side and he on the other side were disposed to be the men they have been, they will destroy most of the English pale ere they were repressed, and perchance the king driven to send an army from hence ere they were put down. And men of experience hath showed me that it were almost as facile to reduce Leinster to a law, as O'Conor to the state he was in five or six years past. ... and what peace soever he keep (having kept as good ere now) it is no small pill, that he should have this strength. And ere he forsake it, he will fight for it. The mischief of the like hath been seen divers times before. So as it were good to provide for the worst.

Alen's idea of a policy for the Irish was to divide and conquer. While he would not 'give council to continue or begin any war', he thought a policy of overawing the Irish should be continued for

they are of this nature, whensoever they be kept in awe and see the sword over them they will speak fair and make many behests, but note whensoever an Irishman is out of fear and have strength, no reason taketh place with him but his own will. Greater tyrants be there none than they wheresoever they have the upper hand.

With all the Irish, and Desmond, it would have been better if the crown 'should have a fortress garrisoned with a captain and company in every of their countries to see good laws and orders extented there...'. As for the outlook represented by St Leger, Alen asked 'is this a good policy for the king to hazard his realm on such wise, as either the governor failing, ... or the subjects... digressing, his grace must begin a new charge or conquest.

Alen dwelt on St Leger's use of Irish troops to economise. It was dangerous 'for truly it is hard to trust Irishmen longer than the sword is over them'. If Henry wanted a more sure control of Ireland he should summon Desmond, Tyrone, Upper Ossory, O'Reilly, O'Conor, O'More and O'Carroll, 'these be enough to deal with at once',



and hold them to their crown grants, relinquishing anything else. Thus the crown could have a subsidy, 'or a garrison of men of war found among them' with which the deputy could enforce agreements. Otherwise all was in vain. Alen urged

let some captains that have taken charge in Leinster be furnished and put to it afresh. Take the harness [of war] from the inhabitants into the garrisons, divide them certain portions of lands, and exchange lands with some of them and keep the rest to the king, and not be dallied withal. If they be kept thus three year, they be vanquished.

He thought that Ormond's lands ought to be exchanged, presumably to get him on the far side of the river Barrow, and he wanted a council at Limerick to control Desmond's lordship, and to make a profit, 'for else those parties will run to ruin'. Abbey lands with new grantees could be used as a means to keep the earls of Ormond, Desmond, and Thomond asunder, for if such a device were not followed, the O'Briens would be in possession again.

Alen's proposals for action perfectly gave the views of the section of the Irish council headed by Brabazon. The whole question was well ventilated in England during the summer. From the Tower Walter Cowley wrote the privy council a series of effusive letters, <sup>67</sup> abjectly recanting his part in the controversy between Ormond and St Leger, and contending that Alen had used him as a tool. He exposed how largely Cantwell had figured in creating the situation. He admitted his anxiety to further Ormond interests as the Butlers had furthered Cowley interests. He saw himself as an innocent betrayed.

As a theatrical plot the whole quarrel was beginning to dissolve, but the hard facts of a basic conflict in Irish policy remained. In the flood of Cowley's apologies



certain shrewd questions were set afloat. These included 'what revenues the king hath more now than he had when my lord deputy came into Ireland', and 'what lands or castles are won or builded upon Irishmen for more security of the king's subjects?' In Ireland, Cowley asserted, both the English and Irish who hung always at the king's sleeve had no favour of the deputy, but only such as had been enemies. Even in a supine position Cowley, always voluble, was seeking to discredit St Leger and his policy.

Henceforth the conflict was between Alen and the deputy, who was not long in replying to the charges made against him. He answered specifically and in detail, accusing Alen of a knowledge of Cowley's 'book' and Ormond's complaints, thus making him a member of the school that wanted a deputy in Ireland who would be ruled by the council, rather than a council ruled by the deputy. St Leger was particularly sensitive to those sections dealing with his treatment of the Irish, and their behaviour. It was not possible to make a wild people obey the law in so short a period, but he was sure the country was more law-abiding than it had been in a century, and he pointed to English as well as Irish lapses. Sheriffs were now chosen in many areas which had not had them previously, such as one among the O'Byrnes. And as Alen knew, within the past year 'one of the Tooles was sheriff of the county of Dublin, and executed the same right well according to such knowledge as he had, where never none such was before'.

St Leger asserted that the military strength of the Irish was a shadow of what it once had been. As for the Kavanaghs and their neighbours, Alen was a party to the letter asking the king whether St Leger and the army 'should during these wars attempt the banishment of those Irishmen

that first brought Englishmen into the land of Ireland'. The chancellor knew that the king had replied 'that I and the army should not enterprise the same, but still reside about Dublin for resistance of the Frenchmen'. He also knew the obstacle of the earl of Ormond, and the numerous practical problems in the undertaking.

The deputy was particularly exercised at the charge that £5000 sterling a year from England was necessary to maintain his position. He argued that he had not had so much in six years, let alone one. He also submitted a complete declaration of his own income from all sources, some £896, and the statement that the charges of his deputyship was some £1300 to £1400, 'some year' even £1600.<sup>69</sup> He ended his answers with a request for a thorough hearing before the privy council, and asked that he be allowed if possible to serve the crown in any place other than Ireland, even Turkey.

The privy council brought St Leger and Alen face to face at Westminster in July, where after long altercation<sup>70</sup> they were 'dismissed till another season'. The whole English government must have been talking of the affair by that time, and it is evident that Alen was pressed on certain points. He denied having any complicity with Cowley's 'book'. He defended his own honesty, and his dealings in land, including a transaction involving Walter Peppard's rights. In answer to an evident query Alen stated that O'Connor had never done him any personal harm, but because he had seen O'Connor break his promise to the king so often he knew him for what he was. Even so Alen

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St Leger's personal income and outlay, c. June (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1546, no. 919).

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Privy council meeting, 27 July 1546 (*ibid.*, no. 1350).



'neither wrote nay wrought anything against him', except with the lord justice and council on the occasion in 1544 when O'Conor refused 'upon safe conduct or other security to come to the lord justice and council, as other vehement causes and presumptions then appearing to the council'.<sup>71</sup>

August saw the resolution of the whole debate. The privy council heard St Leger and Alen again, then read their statements and summaries of the replies of the council of Ireland. Upon pondering the matter they concluded that Alen had maliciously sought to set the earl of Ormond against the deputy, and a few days later they made their final decision. The charges brought by Ormond, Cowley, Sexton and others had been proved to be merely malicious. Alen had been proved to be a promotor of discord and a common taker of bribes to the defrauding of justice. He was removed from the chancellorship and committed to the Fleet.<sup>72</sup>

St Leger had won a resounding victory, a vindication of the policy of moderation and pacification which he embodied. It was clear that the crown had reaffirmed its intention that events in Ireland should follow the course that they had followed for the past five years under its announced Irish policy. The deputy could expect to return to Dublin, master anew of the situation.

But could he? What had been happening in Ireland during the summer? For once its affairs had been at the very centre of the stage, with some of the principal Irish figures at court. It might reasonably be supposed that events in Ireland marked time, waiting for a decision

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John Alen to the privy council, c. Aug. 1546 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 573-8).

72

Privy council meetings, 17 Aug., c. Aug. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1546, nos 1468, 1512).

from England. Such was the case, judging from the extant correspondence from Ireland. The last business that appears in 1546 is the recommendation of Alen sent by Brabazon and the council at the end of May. If there were nothing that the lord justice and council thought worth reporting to the crown it must have been an uneventful year, and so historians have generally assumed. Yet actions of great consequence, which took the policy of plantation a long step forward, seem to have occurred under the aegis of Brabazon and the council. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct from meagre evidence what had happened.

St Leger had left £500 with Brabazon 'to be employed as appeareth by the bill'.<sup>73</sup> That document, unfortunately, does not survive, but some indications of the Irish council proceedings do. While Brabazon was in charge it was agreed that he and the army 'should go into Leinster', a cryptic entry which by itself means nothing, but it is followed by instructions to Tyrrell of Fertullagh to 'take no exactions upon the country', thus indicating that the council's thoughts were directed towards Offaly. Further, after Ormond's death on 28 October 1546, Brabazon and the army were directed to go into his country. During the same period, possibly on that expedition, Leighlin Bridge was garrisoned under Anthony Colclough, using a friary for the purpose.<sup>74</sup> Thus there may have been two expeditions by the army in the summer of 1546.

It is recorded by the Four Masters that in 1546 an

<sup>73</sup>24 May 1546, (Acts privy council, 1542-7).

<sup>74</sup>Table to the Red council Book, 1543-1556 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71). The council book itself is lost, but the contents of it were drawn up in Oct 1609 (B.M. Add. MS 4792, from which Appendix I, *ibid.*, is taken). The events given occurred in Brabazon's tenure.

<sup>75</sup>

A.F.M. Entry for that year.



expedition was made against O'Conor and O'More because they had joined the bastard Geraldines in plundering co. Kildare. It was of two days' duration and was ineffectual, but the lord justice and the army went into Offaly a second time and stayed for fifteen days, wreaking havoc and destroying the crops. They also captured a great deal of the Irish cattle, and offered a pardon to all of the lesser chiefs who would separate from O'Conor. Then 'the English erected the castle of Daingean', destroying a local church to get materials for the work. They left a garrison consisting of 100 horsemen, 100 armed with guns, 100 ax-men, and 100 soldiers, probably archers, together with their attendants, 'a sufficiency of food, and all other necessities'. The garrison's size is probably much exaggerated, but there was undoubtedly a determination to hold the area down, as Alen's indication of the temper of the council suggests. The army next shifted to Leix for fifteen days of the same, and the castle of Ballyadams was warded. Thus O'Conor and O'More were made common company. O'Conor, deserted by his allies, fled into Connaught to look for new forces, a proclaimed traitor.

St Leger had won his battle in England, even if he were in danger of losing it in Ireland. Before he returned to Dublin he commended O'Conor and his ally, O'Molloy, to the king, for Henry agreed that they should have the value of twenty nobles a year in lands near Dublin.

Henry had also decided to reduce Ormond's influence. Such holdings as Leighlin, Rathvilly, and Arklow were to be

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<sup>76</sup>The dating of the A.F.M. is open to question, but the events recorded seem to fit the context of the summer of 1546 as well as they would fit the summer of 1547, the only other year in which they could have happened. O'Donovan, the editor of the A.F.M., credits Brabazon with the action, and cites reasons for believing that Daingean was the place fortified. Such other documentation as survives supports his views.

exchanged for lands in England. Duncannon and Old Ross, both in co. Wexford, in the occupation of the earl and his brother Richard were to be resumed with recompense, and the patent allowing the earl such Irishmen's lands as he could get was also to be resumed. The liberty of Tipperary was to be pruned to deny the earl influence in the cantred of Clonmel and the Middle Third.<sup>77</sup>

To the proposal for a council in Limerick, instructed as a president and council were in England, Henry countered that either part of the existing council should sit there, or certain of the justices should go on circuit there. He also wished to see the English tongue and dress increased, and the galloglas and kerne on coyne and livery abolished. If every holder would provide men according to his estate, the king would have a sufficient force. Then the poor man would lose something, but it would be according to a system, and he would be sure of not being spoiled of the rest. At present he was left with nothing each year.

After more discussion the privy council prevailed on the king to accept a council at Limerick.<sup>78</sup> His decisions<sup>79</sup> were then sent to the government in Dublin. They were to cease paying William Cantwell his wages. The archbishop of Armagh, Sir William Wyse, and Francis Herbert were to be added to the council. William Keating, captain of the king's kerne, was to have lands worth £10 a year. It was Henry's last letter to his government in Ireland.

In that letter and in the commissions, grants, and licences of the next few months there was a business-as-usual

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Minutes of the privy council, with the king's commands, 25 Sept. 1546 (S.P. Hen. VIII, iii, 580-5).

78

Council with the king to the council in London, 3 Oct. (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1546, no. 212).

79

Henry VIII to St Leger, chancellor, and council of Ireland, 12 Nov. (*ibid.*, no. 391).



approach to Irish affairs that indicated that the English government was unaware that any change had occurred. A warrant was made out for the diets of the council to be at Limerick. John Parker and Sir Thomas Cusack were to be allowed twenty years' purchase of the monastic estates which they held by lease. Walter Peppard was given a licence to export English cloth, and to import Gascoigne wine.<sup>80</sup> Nothing more pressing appears.

Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547, leaving his son in the hands of a protector and council. With the king's support St Leger had pursued a moderate policy in Ireland, and the advocates of a more radical reform had been held at bay, at least until the summer of 1546. Now the deputy must deal with a new government in England.

## CHAPTER V

## A WORTHY GENERAL AND A REVERSAL OF POLICY

1547-1550

The intentions of the new protector and council regarding Ireland were not clear immediately, though there was one indication which boded ill for St Leger. He was instructed to restore Alen to all his possessions, though not to the office of chancellor.<sup>1</sup> The crown's first major communication with the Irish government, dealing as it did in large part with the same details as Henry's last letter, suggested a conduct of Irish affairs as they had been under him.<sup>2</sup> St Leger was to continue with his augmented salary, and his brother Robert was not only to be constable of Dungarvan, but was also to have 'all our rents, farms, fishings, customs, profits, and commodities' of it from 29 September 1546, to be held at pleasure on condition that he keep a proper number of men in garrison to defend the castle. The council as a whole was to consider all the means possible 'for the extinguishment and total abolishment of that intolerable extortion of coyne and livery, having always respect to some recompense to be given to the lords and governors of our countries there for the defending of the same'. Aside from general indications that there was to be a loosening of the purse strings in Ireland, it seemed that policy would remain the same. But the English government, being new, were merely feeling their way cautiously.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Somerset and council to St Leger, 23 Mar. 1547 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz., p. 147).

<sup>2</sup>  
Edward VI to St Leger and council, 7 Apr. 1547 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 3).



The crown also wished to know what lands, 'for us to bestow upon our well beloved O'Conor and O'Molloy', each receiving £6 13s. 4d. worth a year for life. The request was renewed in May, and in July a *fiant* was drawn granting Brian O'Conor three townlands in co. Dublin at a rental of £2 8s. 8d. a year. Provision was also made<sup>3</sup> that a house be available to him when he was in Dublin. These rights were common to the other Irish chiefs, and while events swept the arrangements made for O'Conor into discard, it is clear that St Leger as late as the summer of 1547 was trying to leave the door of conciliation open to him. O'Molloy, presumably for not helping O'Conor, was granted a townland in co. Dublin in September.<sup>4</sup>

The English council, however, was rapidly awakening to the true state of affairs in Ireland. In the spring St Leger seems to have been operating in co. Kildare against some of the O'Byrnes, who were led by two of the Geraldines. The O'Conors and O'Mores made a raid from the other side of the county, and being caught by the deputy on their return, suffered heavy casualties. Edward Basnet went to England to give an account of the situation. By June the privy council indicated 'that shortly they would send over a convenient aid for the reduction of the rebels who attempted to innovate things there', and that these men and their captains would be under 'Master Bellingham of the king's privy chamber'. They recommended that St Leger use his advice in all cases touching the king's service, as the English council put great confidence in his wisdom, policy, and experience in the affairs of war, the particular

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<sup>3</sup>  
10 July, 12 July 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, nos 68, 78).

<sup>4</sup>  
22 Sept. 1547 (*ibid.*, no. 103).



reason for sending him. Sir Edward came specially instructed. During his stay he was to be paid a diet of 40s. a day, an incredible allowance for those times, and Brabazon was to take his account for all the expenses of the expedition into Ireland.<sup>5</sup> In effect St Leger had been superseded as far as military matters were concerned.

The English government wanted the revolt in Leinster so dealt with as to be 'a terrible example to cause all others beware how they did attempt the like'.<sup>6</sup> The imperial ambassador in London reported that Bellingham had been sent with 1,000 footmen and 500 horsemen, and that the towns and the earl of Desmond were standing firm for the crown, 'but that the rebellion of the common people, who are called here savages, is made the more serious by reason of the adhesion of several nobles'. Some had asserted that the Irish had an understanding with the Scots,<sup>7</sup> and indeed the English ambassador in Paris complained that 6,000 Scots had raided Ireland and raised the natives.<sup>8</sup> In reply he was told that the Irish had risen of themselves.<sup>8</sup>

Bellingham landed at Waterford with his forces and joined with St Leger. The course of military operations is not clear, but the Geraldines and their supporters seem to have been eliminated from the borders of co. Kildare. Brian O'Connor and McGilpatrick O'More recrossed the Shannon and the initial operations against them must have been indecisive, for they remained at large. At Brabazon's urging Athlone was repaired and its garrison renewed.<sup>9</sup> It

<sup>5</sup> Privy council to St Leger and council, 31 May 1547 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 154-5).

<sup>6</sup> 19 May 1547 (Acts privy council, 1542-7, p. 496).

<sup>7</sup> Van Der Delft to Charles V, 29 May 1547 (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1547-49, pp. 90-93).

<sup>8</sup> St Mauris to Prince Philip, 29 June 1547 (ibid., pp. 112-3).

<sup>9</sup> A.F.M. Entry for 1547. Liber mun. pub. Hib., vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 117.



became the charge of successive vice-treasurers, and from that strategic point Brabazon was to direct activities at intervals for the next several years.

Nicholas Bagenal had been made marshal of the army in the spring <sup>10</sup> by the English government, and in the summer they gave instructions that his office was to be enlarged. In practice this meant the extensive use of martial law and a further check to St Leger's policy of extending shire ground. <sup>11</sup> Some of the rebel Fitzgeralds were captured and hanged under martial law.

The government in England were determined to see the war - for such it had become - through, and in granting a renewal of the charter of Kilkenny the action was taken, they said, 'that others may understand that [as] the king will not suffer such as show themselves disloyal uncorrected, so he will cherish and aid those that regard their duty and allegiance'. <sup>12</sup> But the expense was beginning to be felt, and the deputy was told to reduce the garrison to 500 men or less, choosing only the best to remain. They were to be placed for active service, not standing idle. Bellingham was called home for a winter consultation. 'Finally in case that O'Connor make means unto you to come in and make his peace, we esteem it not meet in respect of his demerits... unless he will make his submission to the king's majesty simply'. <sup>13</sup>

A few days later further detailed instructions for placing the retinue on the borders, and generally securing

<sup>10</sup>

23 Mar., 23 Apr. 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no.13).

<sup>11</sup>

Privy council to the council in Ireland, 27 Aug. 1547 (Acts privy council, 1542-7, p. 500. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz., p. 150).

<sup>12</sup>

Edward VI to St Leger and council, 18 Oct. 1547 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz., pp. 147-8).

<sup>13</sup>

Edward VI and council to St Leger and council, 24 Oct. 1547 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 7).



the pale for the winter, were sent by an English government which seemed confident that they could put matters to rights.<sup>14</sup> If the rebels increased in numbers and the Irish government found it convenient to make a truce with them,

it shall be good to use policy to extend it only for the winter without giving such liberty unto them, specially towards O'Conor and others of the worst sort, as whereby to restrain yourself from taking advantage of them in the summer, unless his majesty shall in meantime accept their submissions. In which part, because the said O'Conor and the other authors and maintainers of the rebellion have been so vile and malicious to execute their disloyalties anenst their most natural and dread sovereign lord at this time of entry to his highness' most victorious reign, when they should show themselves most faithful to serve his majesty, we think not convenient that they should upon any conditions be received to pardon, hardly upon absolute submission without signification first hither, for that it should seem unto us that the facility of obtaining pardon doth rather engender in them continuance of evil doing, than that it should have unto them example to amend.

On the other hand the royal thanks were to be conveyed to all who had provided men of war, or carriage, or had been at any charge, to show that the good were rewarded as the evil were punished.

In Ireland there was also confidence that matters could be put to rights. William Brabazon penned 'a note given to master Bellingham, the worthy general',<sup>15</sup> which was a terse memorandum of the vice-treasurer's views on reform. He observed that the wisest practice had always been to keep the Irish divided, for if they were united they could overrun the king's subjects, especially with their new supply of ordnance. He retained his opinion that subduing the Leinster chain was 'so godly and so sure a foundation edified upon the rock', that until 'the same be perfected I look not to see Ireland much better to continue than it is'. Thus counties Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Wexford were more encumbered and

<sup>14</sup>Edward VI and council to St Leger and council, 2 Nov. 1547 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 16/1, no. 8).

<sup>15</sup>Anno Primo  $\bar{V}$  VI<sup>to</sup> c. Nov. 1547 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 5). Though the note is unsigned, the hand is clearly that of William Brabazon.



charged for defence than it would cost 'to reform or invade the greatest potentate of the realm'.

Repeated opportunities to reform the Leinster chain were neglected, though expense to that end had been incurred. Some deputies [St Leger] for private gain or other purposes with fair words 'have borne with Irishmen to have them peaceable in their time'. Yet within a four-year period such a policy had ended disastrously and dishonourably. Other deputies [Grey]

have desired a glorious mean to have a long arm, and spanned more than they foresaw to retain in obedience. The thing wisely pondered is to make Leinster, setting in the midst of the said five obedient shires, to be their rock of safeguard. Which had, the rest to reduce to obedience shall be facile. For reformation of this Leinster there hath been devised more devised by the joint council, several councillors, and others, than quires of paper will contain. Yet it is as it was.

Certain preliminaries were necessary: hostages and other securities should be taken from the borderers, and the English of Connaught 'aided to stay the Irishmen there (which have been great aiders to let this purpose)'.

Agreements should be made with Thomond, Ibrackan, and Desmond, and the areas of Kilkenny, Tipperary, 'and those parts', made secure.

Attention could then be turned to what Brabazon called 'the other enterprise'. Arrangements would have to be made in what was plainly the Offaly area, for he went on:

Then, prudently foreseeing the continuance of the new fort, (the chief stay to enter the other enterprise), the victualling of the garrisons and continuance of them, the placing of such garrisons, what inhabitants of that territory are to be kept, which shall be good to be as little as may be.

And many English inhabitants to be set in one town.

The cutting of the woods, highways, and otherwise.

The politic weighing of banishment of the men of war with laws in one part, and that besides none in that territory (as soon as time shall serve) use Irish armour, but all men remaining there (in memory the same was the den of wolves, destroying the king's subjects, and the let of the rest to obedience) shall abandon Irish armour, usages, and factions, embracing the other.

And divide the same to the paintakers into freeholders.



This like as for a time shall be costly to the king's majesty, so the same shall grow to most profit of any one thing in the realm to his highness. Praying God to send his majesty an earnest, painful executor of the premises, which shall forget himself for the glory of God, the king's honour and profit, also for the commonweal of the realm. Remembering that like as this thing cannot be done without other men's pains and services, so shall the fame and renown thereof, next the king's majesty, be his. Yet he must lovingly content himself to participate and attribute to other thanks, and cannot solely, seeking his own glory and commodity, which heretofore have hindered much.

Such sentiments were evidently intended to compliment Bellingham and it seems likely that he had solicited Brabazon's opinion. He also represented the English council, and it was an opportunity for the vice-treasurer and the reform party in Ireland to air their views.

With such unanimous opinion in both English and Irish quarters, St Leger's days as deputy were numbered.

Brabazon had a second document prepared to drive home his point.<sup>16</sup> It consisted of some 140 queries designed to discredit St Leger and his policies, and was obviously a communal effort. A great many of the questions had a specific name attached to them in the margin, such as Travers, Martin Pellys, Edward Basnet, the Aylmers, and Randall Erereton. Others were labelled 'borderers of Rathangan and elsewhere', and 'the gentlemen of Kildare'. Some were designated 'manifest' or 'all indifferent men'.

There were a great many financial questions, with an undertow of suggested dishonesty. A particular target was Robert St Leger, the deputy's brother. It was queried 'whether any of his or Master Robert's servants went with any Irishmen to buy guns or powder', the implication being

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16

'Matters against St Leger, c. Nov. 1547 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 53). It is incorrectly dated c. July 1550, and incorrectly ascribed to John Alen. It is written in an exchequer hand, possibly Henry Draycott's, though the author, who appears as 'I' in the margin, is almost certainly Brabazon, the vice-treasurer.



that they had. That query introduced a series on O'Connor. 'Was he not the errantest enemy the king or his subjects had in Ireland these thirty years?' And was it not true that in the last seven years he had provided himself with 140 to 160 half-hakes and handguns, as well as ordnance. Other queries in the same vein not only indicated that O'Connor was a menace, but that St Leger had aided and encouraged him.

A great many of the questions raised in 1546 were revived. Was the Leinster chain reformed, 'and being not what is the cause and in whom the fault?'. Relations with the O'Mores were explored, including Robert St Leger's possible complicity with the murder of Kedagh O'More in 1542. Then in reference to Rory O'More, it was asked 'whether the last O'More had served in his sort the king well, and how he was murdered because he would not be at O'Connor's contemplation'. That question was attributed to the 'council and all indifferent men'.

In general St Leger was pictured as being prejudiced against those who were anti-Geraldine, and more partial to the Irish than to the English. Had the crown any profit among Irishmen for all its expense, 'or is in any security of the realm before O'Connor, O'More, and the residue of Leinster be duely reformed'. Towards that end had not Brabazon and Basnet 'offered seven years past the reformation of the Byrnes; the thing omitted, with charges and time spent?'

In the same vein it was asked 'whether six years past David Sutton, late deceased, offered to have taken O'Dempsey's country to serve, and that the same should have been a barony of the county of Kildare, bearing with the same in all things?' The final query is also interesting. 'Did not Walter Peppard of Kildea patise bargain with O'More to save Stradbally, upon condition



O'More should save Kilkea in the late war from destruction'.

Now the purpose of Brabazon's note to Bellingham, and his care in assembling an array of witnessed charges against St Leger, is obvious. The reform faction wished to see the deputy and all he stood for removed, and replaced by an altogether different attitude and approach to Irish problems. The ideas Brabazon represented, a tight military control, and a systematic reduction of Irish areas, partly by expropriation, demanded a new attitude in England as well as in Ireland. St Leger stood in the way of both changes, and Bellingham was in rapport with the new English council, as well as being sympathetic to the reform faction in the Irish council. Since the council in England was already inclined towards more severity in Ireland, it is probable that one of Bellingham's tasks in Ireland was to assemble facts to support that view. If such was the case, he found most willing accomplices and very able assistance. He was sent back to England convinced that a change was necessary.

In the meantime the screws were further tightened on St Leger by the English government. He was notified that Richard Brasier was being sent as auditor, with complete access to the surveys of crown lands, and all records touching the revenue. The deputy was not to make any leases in the future until the auditor had pronounced on the value of the property concerned. The comment was added, 'whereby as he is bound to serve, so if his majesty be not well served, he may the better be charged accordingly'. The reference was ambiguous, but the meaning was quite clear. The deputy had been virtually shorn of another of his  
<sup>17</sup>  
functions.

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17

Privy council to St Leger, 28 Nov. 1547 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 154).



Bellingham was asked to remain in Ireland so as not to allow 'that mutable nation to fall from the towardness of obedience whereunto they be now by industry brought'. It was really only the winter lull in fighting which had brought any semblance of industry in recovering the Irish, and it is also certain that sometime in the course of the winter of 1547-48 Bellingham did return to England, well briefed.

By the end of January 1548 the council in England had decided to send Bellingham back to Ireland as deputy, and a month later St Leger had been notified of his recall, with 'another meet gentleman' replacing him.<sup>18</sup> Bowing to the inevitable St Leger got licences of alienation for certain property which he had in Ireland, and prepared to return home. By the authority of the king, and with the approval of the English parliament, John Alen was reinstated as lord chancellor in Ireland on 2 April 1548. St Leger's accusers of 1546 were returning to power and control in Ireland.<sup>19</sup>

Bellingham did not arrive in Ireland until 19 May 1548 but he came equipped with soldiers and funds, £1,000 for himself and £5,000 for Brabazon.<sup>20</sup> These were the first of several payments to the vice-treasurer's accounts during the year. Bellingham's actual title was deputy-general of Ireland and his powers were framed accordingly. He was given the power to punish all offending persons, particularly those invading or intending to plunder the English area. He could levy the king's subjects for

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18

Meeting of 29 Jan. 1548 (Acts privy council, 1547-50). Privy council to St Leger, undated, but early in Mar. 1548 (*ibid.*, p. 548).

19

Alen's appointment. St Leger's licences, 4 Apr. 1548 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 164-5).

20

Warrants, 6 Apr., 8 May 1548 (Acts privy council, 1547-50, pp. 181, 186).



assistance, conquering and chastising the rebels, and if necessary allotting and leasing their lands to others. In that event he was to reserve to the crown an annual rent for such holdings. He had the authority to take by his purveyor the necessary foodstuffs to supply his soldiers, with adequate carriage for the supplies, according to the provisions of the statute of purveyors. If, however, the inhabitants of the English area preferred to settle for an annual sum to provide such supplies, it was to be done.

The whole approach to Bellingham's tenure had a distinctly military flavour. He came provided with a commission for himself and the marshal to use martial law in all military cases, as well as the usual commission for the deputy, chancellor, chief justice, and master of the rolls to grant leases of crown lands for twenty-one years, though they were not to expel any tenants from their  
21  
holdings without cause.

On his arrival the new deputy found that a thirty-day hosting had already been proclaimed, and it only remained to decide what to do with it. His instructions stated that he was not to make any new enemies of the crown, but only to deal with those who were already proclaimed traitors and enemies, of whom O'Connor and O'More were the two  
22  
conspicuous examples. According to Bellingham it was therefore concluded that

a town should be made in O'More's country, like as before was in O'Connor's, and as we trust with like good success. Which conclusion, through willing help of all degrees, was within the thirty days... executed. And of what moment it is when you, the chief rulers, ... shall be the considerators with your own eyes... We have then no mistrust but your judgment will... soon concieve that the treasure disbursed... to be right well employed...

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21

22 Apr., 23 Apr. 1548 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Elizabeth., pp. 197-8). Undated letter giving the marshal power to use martial law (ibid., p. 150).

22

Bellingham to the privy council, late Aug. or Sept. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, nos 84, 85). Two drafts of his first report to them. It provides a narrative of events during the summer of 1548.



to your honourable contentation. The town being wardable, there was left master St Loe... and with him two hundred and fifty soldiers.

Thus Fort Protector in Leix was founded during the months of May and June 1548, and placed under the command of Sir William St Loe, who had been seneshal in Wexford until March 1546.

The deputy reported that the deed was universally applauded, and the hosting was dispersed, some to their homes and others to their regular place of service. Quiet was expected, but Cahir O'Connor and his two sons soon dispelled that by revolting and joining O'More and Brian O'Connor. Cahir's revolt was particularly galling as he had been regarded as loyal and had a thorough knowledge of the pale. About mid-July<sup>23</sup> these combined forces struck the borders of Carbury without warning, 'where they were little mistrusted, and there burnt, destroyed, and killed, as the report is made, man, woman, and child, and therewith took the prey of the country'.

To the lord deputy 'this mischief so suddenly risen required a speedy remedy', and he and the council set about raising kerne and galloglas. Brereton was sent before him into co. Kildare and joined with Brancis Cosby, Richard Aylmer and others in complaining of the confused state of that border. Such gentlemen as the area afforded had assembled under them for defence, but there was a shortage of both men, and powder and shot. The O'Conors and O'More were within three miles of Rathangan with 400 or 500 men and twenty-four horsemen. Rumour had it that O'Molloy, and many others out of Connaught, would join them, and that a meeting had been held in Killeigh Abbey in Offaly at which the O'Conors, O'More, O'Carroll, O'Molloy, and O'Melaghlin were present with most of the lords and

<sup>23</sup>William Bermingham, baron of Carbury, died on 17 July 1548, which is suggestive regarding the date of the attack (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 171).

gentlemen between Kildare and the Shannon. The danger grew daily unless Bellingham could stop the Irish, and appeals were made to St Loe for help.<sup>24</sup> Cosby complained that when he tried to obey Bellingham's orders to move west his kerne refused to go more than a mile beyond Lea castle saying 'if I would willfully lose myself they did not set so little by their lives'.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, the system of garrisons was having an effect. Nicholas Bagenal, a Mr Williams, and some thirty horsemen moved eastwards from the fort in Offaly, now known as the Governor. They met some 160 of the Irish as they were returning to 'their dens and fast places' from their raid into Carbury. About eighty of the Irish, seeing the horsemen, dispersed through a bog to elude pursuit. Williams dismounted some ten archers and gunners and pursued them on foot, also finding a way to bring the horsemen across to firm ground. The English were then able to recover the prey and killed ten or twelve of the Irish.<sup>26</sup>

St Loe and his men were also sent out of Fort Protector in Leix, and he seems to have been thorough, for he found certain of the Irish 'where they thought never Englishman would seek them', with their captured livestock in open spaces. The prey was retaken, but the engagement with the Irish was indecisive, for they were able to slip away among the forests and scrub on the bogs, reassembling

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24

Brereton, Aylmer, Cosby, and James MacGerrald to Bellingham, c. July, Brereton, Aylmer, MacGerrald and Robert Manwaring to Bellingham, c. July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, nos 41, 42).

25

Cosby to Bellingham, c. July 1548 (ibid., no. 48).

26

Bagenal to Bellingham, 1 Aug. 1548 (ibid., no. 52).



elsewhere. The Irish were still receiving reinforcements from neighbouring lords, and so seemed to be growing stronger than ever, and 'many of them that received the king's wages went to them'.<sup>27</sup>

Cosby had commented on the same situation, and asked that the kerne be properly paid or they would melt away, for 'O'More like a jolly fellow offered them 6s. 8d. a fortnight to serve him, and to the gentlemen according to their degree...'.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, Connell O'Melaghlin came to Peppard to avoid any suspicion that he was involved in the rebellion, though he had been made offers and inducements to do so.<sup>29</sup> Peppard assured him that he would be rewarded.

The size of the war that had been raised awed everyone, and when certain English soldiers returned to Dublin they told 'that O'Conor and his accomplices are in number above four or five thousand persons'.<sup>30</sup> Guerrilla warfare was the order of the day and the English found it unnerving. Bellingham assured the privy council 'that two of the greatest potentates in Ireland could not have forced me, and the rest of the gentlemen and soldiers, to have so many ill night's rest as these naughty packs have done'. One could do battle with great magnates, who could be found, 'but these continually spoil and we can hardly meet with them... and little harm can we do them when we put them to flight'.

Bellingham next had St Loe take all the kerne, galloglas and English that could be spared, out of both forts and make a more intensive search. St Loe found more prey and an Irish camp, where many of the attendants and bearers were

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<sup>27</sup>Bellingham to privy council (loc. cit.).

<sup>28</sup>Francis Cosby to Bellingham, c. July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 50).

<sup>29</sup>Walter Peppard to Bellingham, 3 Aug. (ibid., no. 53).

<sup>30</sup>John Goldsmith to Bellingham, 22 Aug. 1548 (ibid., no. 78).



killed. The Irish men of war 'perceiving much of our strength to be with Mr St Loe, thinking thereby to find small resistance in the English pale, came in all their pride and took the prey of the countreth by break of day'. Hue and cry was raised and Brereton and Cosby rushed to the scene, where the local inhabitants responded promptly. Together they were able to drive off the raiders who suffered casualties and retreated into the bogs to prevent the horsemen from following them. Bellingham and Travers approached from another direction, sending their kerne ahead to track the Irish.

After a day the combined forces were able to bring the Irish to battle on 'a piece of hard ground', before they 'could recover the fast place they tended to'. The English were able to bring their horsemen into action. Few of the Irish escaped, 'such was the great goodness of God to deliver them into our hands', the deputy observed in Cromwellian vein. He added that he thought 'the oldest man in Ireland never say nor heard so many of this kind of people (which we call outlaws and woodkerne) taken at a vantage and slain in one day'.<sup>31</sup>

The deputy had been furiously active, being constantly on the move, and he also found time to pour some of his anger on those who did not behave as he had expected. Using William Brabazon as a clerk he berated the leaders of Dublin city and county. They had dared to argue that cess could not be levied without their consent, that service was for thirty days, and that they must get their harvest in. The deputy swept their points aside and was particularly scornful of their reference to co. Kildare, which, he asserted, had responded and suffered far more than they.

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31

Bellingham to privy council (loc. cit.). Few places are mentioned by name in his detailed account.



He would rather see their harvest lost 'than this cutting of passes should be forestalled'. Where they had asked how a man could carry his tools as well as his weapons, he pointed to the men of Drogheda in May and June, who having their weapons, 'a cart carried their tools and so in this sort one may use both, which I meant you should foresee'.<sup>32</sup>

Bellingham gave a similar lecture to Francis Herbert, whose holdings in Meath and Kildare put him in particular danger, and who had apparently requested help from both the deputy and Fort Governor in Offaly when the revolt began. The deputy reminded him that he was a member of the council, 'the which we never receive but in sort recited'. He should have known beforehand that the revolt was coming and organized himself and his neighbours to meet it. His sloth, and that of others like him, had brought the situation 'to the point it hath been that scant we had any inland till we came to the seaside...'. The deputy thought it more convenient

to strengthen the Governor in Offaly which hath so long kept you in ease, which good turn (as that at the first you much favoured not) ye, having received it most of anyone, but indeed seem to forget. You should rather now in their need... go to aid them (your preservators hitherto, if ye mark it well) than to seek help from them and us... my counsel shall be unto you to persuade yourself that you... and your neighbours are by the power and might of God sufficient to withstand the malice of the false traitors, O'Conor, his adherents and conspirators...<sup>33</sup>

The war had put an added edge to his voice, but both rebukes were in the deputy's customary hortatory style of address.

The midland war had amply justified the deputy's faith in forts. He not only had the two in Leix and Offaly, but

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<sup>32</sup> Bellingham to the mayor and council of Dublin, Aug. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 67).

<sup>33</sup> Bellingham to Herbert, c. Aug. 1548 (ibid., no. 75).



he also had Athlone under Brabazon, as well as Nenagh under Walter Ap Howell. Having established these four points, his strategy was to harry the Irish between them, and to keep other Irish from joining in. From a purely military point of view it was a complete success. Even at the height of the turmoil back and forth across the Barrow, the English could communicate with two secure posts in what had been Irish territory. Athlone was a base from which O'Connor's traditional allies could be overawed, and aside from rumour O'Molloy never seems to have stirred during the year.

With spring Edmund Fay had been set to work from Athlone, dividing first the O'Melaghlin's, taking the chief of that name prisoner, and then the MacCoghlan's, some of whom were driven across the Shannon with the aid of others of the same family. Fay and his men worked their way southward through the western baronies of the present co. Offaly, destroying or warding castles and generally creating havoc. Pressure must have been taken off the deputy farther east, and Fay also seems to have been looking for another possible site for a garrison, midway among the other four. Roscrea, Kilcormac, and Cadamstown were all considered, the last being Fay's headquarters for a time. 34  
He dealt harshly with the Irish and they responded in kind.

St Loe and Fay conducted forays into Ely O'Carroll, which caused their Irish allies to desert them, and O'Carroll and MacCoghlan were able to retake two of the captured castles and drive them from the area. Fay and St Loe returned with reinforcements and burned and plundered. One of St Loe's objects was to find Cormac O'Connor, whose father had fled across the Shannon, and any of their supporters as well as O'More. He would make contact at points but the



Irish would melt away. Though defeated they were still  
<sup>35</sup>  
 at large.

Ap Howell made ineffectual raids towards Ely O'Carroll from Nenagh. O'Carroll in answer swept southward as far as the abbey of Owney in co. Limerick, and burned and killed up to the walls of Nenagh, which he was not able to take. Fay exploited the differences between O'Carroll and his brother Callough, who was enticed into coming in, and who complained that the deputy's safe conduct did not protect him from O'Carroll or Fay. Bellingham urged that if both would come in everything could be settled,  
<sup>36</sup>  
 while Fay complained of both brothers.

In Athlone, Delvin and Brabazon had kept watch on the three crossings of the Shannon from which they thought O'Kelly or O'Madden could cause trouble, their  
<sup>37</sup>  
 own, one in the Annally, and one to the south of Athlone. Delvin and Robert Dillon were able to stir the troubled waters of the O'Melaghlin succession, and in mid-September Delvin defeated some of the O'Melaghlin and MacGeoghegans  
<sup>38</sup>  
 who had been raiding with O'Conor's men. Dillon was able to inform the deputy in early October that his orders to cut passes were being carried out on the eastern side of the Shannon, but to do so on the western side, he reiterated, would require the presence of the deputy himself, even though MacWilliam Burke had offered to supply a  
<sup>39</sup>  
 thousand men for the purpose. Apparently Bellingham

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<sup>35</sup>Patrick Sherlock to Bellingham, c. Sept.-Oct. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 74).

<sup>36</sup>A.F.M. Entry for 1548. Bellingham to O'Carroll, c. Nov. (*ibid.*, no. 138), Bellingham to Callough O'Carroll, 6 Dec. (*ibid.*, no. 149), Edmund Fay to Bellingham, after 19 Dec. 1548 (*ibid.*, no. 165).

<sup>37</sup>Delvin and Brabazon to Bellingham, 15 Sept. 1548 (*ibid.*, no. 94).

<sup>38</sup>Delvin to Bellingham, 17 Sept. (*ibid.*, no. 96).

<sup>39</sup>Robert Dillon to Bellingham, 26 Sept., 6 Oct., 15 Oct. 1548 (*ibid.*, nos 100, 106, 109).



paid a visit to the area, and by early January 1549 Dillon was reporting that Westmeath was returning to a more usual state. O'Kelly sent the deputy word through Dillon that he was to believe no sinister information about him until the two had met. Dillon thought the time was also right to put the O'Farrells in the Annally in order.<sup>40</sup>

The storm was largely over. Indeed, Bellingham had already succeeded in his main object. Richard Burke had taken Cahir O'Conor prisoner and turned him over to the government which felt that he had betrayed it, and in due time he was executed.<sup>41</sup> Fittingly, John Alen gave the added news to the English council that<sup>42</sup>

the archtraitor O'Conor is driven to that extremity as he hath simply submitted himself. His life is promised him to give O'More and the rest of the traitors hope to submit themselves likewise. I would wish, if it may be, that none of them should be placed where they were before, but have honest entertainments at Boulogne or Calais. And if they were killed the king had lost never a true man, and being from hence (besides the commodity the king shall have by their countries, with the example of exile to others) we were well rid from the danger of such conspirators which ever, when they may spy any time, stir rebellion.

Alen stated that there were only a dozen who need be exiled: O'Conor, his sons and his brother Callough, Cahir and his two sons, and O'More. He was convinced that if this were done 'these two countries of Offaly and Leix may be as quietly kept as our borders of the pale was heretofore'.

Alen was also highly concerned about a possible French invasion, with Gerald Fitzgerald being used as a rallying point for the Irish. He had information concerning the intentions of the French, who needed Ireland

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<sup>40</sup> Dillon to Bellingham, 8 Jan. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 6).

<sup>41</sup> A.F.M. Entry for 1548. Ware in The Antiquities and History of Ireland says that Cahir submitted publicly in Dublin on Sunday, 18 Nov. 1548. Confirmed for Brian (P.R.O.I., MS 2532).

<sup>42</sup> Alen to Paget, Alen to Somerset, 21 Nov. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, nos 129, 130).



to control Scotland, and thus their most likely place of landing would be Skerries, where they could cut the English communications and control the high road to Scotland. He reminded the English council that it was there that Secretary Paget had landed when he came to Ireland.

O'More soon followed O'Connor's example and submitted. Each of them was given guarantees of personal safety, and both seem to have been escorted to London by Sir William St Loe, whose triumph it was.<sup>43</sup> It was later recorded that though O'More was banished, he received from the crown a pension of £100 a year. He died in England not long after his arrival, but his wife was paid £13 6s. 8d. a year for her maintenance.<sup>44</sup> Similar provisions were probably made for O'Connor.

Bellingham was now in control of the midlands, particularly Leix and Offaly. Even before the season's fighting had ceased workmen and supplies were being gathered up and sent to the forts Protector and Governor from as far as co. Kilkenny in August.<sup>45</sup> In September the mayor of Waterford protested that a certain Laurence Woodlock, while taking merchandise and victuals to 'the fort in Leix for the furniture and provision of the king's army being there',<sup>46</sup> had had to pay a sum to Martin Pellys of Athy. In December Matthew Kyng commented that fish were being sent to the two forts from Dungarvan.<sup>47</sup> County Dublin was obliged to provide cartage for carrying timber to fort Protector, and even a seventeenth century observer was

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<sup>43</sup>A.F.M. Entry for 1548. The 'lieutenant' mentioned there would be St Loe, rather than Sir Francis Bryan as O'Donovan thought. (See also P.R.O.I, MS 2532).

<sup>44</sup>Entry under 1549 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 280).

<sup>45</sup>Thomas Walshe to Bellingham, 28 Aug. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 81).

<sup>46</sup>Mayor and council of Waterford to Bellingham, 4 Oct. (ibid., no. 105).

<sup>47</sup>Matthew Kyng to William Payne, 16 Dec. 1548 (ibid., no. 151).



moved to 'note the proportion of victual sent thither'.<sup>48</sup>

Bellingham did things on an heroic scale and his two forts were to be particular examples of that approach. The forts were much more than the building of tower houses or the restoration of a Norman castle. The two were planned as large walled courts with a central tower, independent of the walls which had outposts only at two diagonal corners. They were evidently designed to hold a large garrison as well as the cattle of wide areas. The deputy was by no means satisfied with the first hasty building at Daingean, and a sketch of his for the executed design of fort Governor survives on the back of one of his letter drafts.<sup>49</sup> The auditor, Richard Brasier, who was thoroughly caught up with the deputy's enthusiasm, and lavish in his praise, accounted for the costs of the forts:

for the building of the same with carts, carriages, and all other necessaries... and likewise what bread, biscuit, beer, salt, hops, and other necessaries for the furniture of the said forts and the army, hath been bought by the king's highness, the money whereof shall come again unto the king's use; it is but lent for the time. And whereas heretofore a great number of carts at divers and sundry times were taken up to carry victuals to serve the forts and also the army at every hosting, now by my lord deputy's policy, industry, and intolerable pains that he hath taken there are made divers brewhouses and other such necessary houses in both the forts and other places adjoining to the country of Leix and Offaly, and provision so made for victuals that the places where the armies resides are disburdened of their carriages, whereby the places aforesaid are quiet. Otherwise I assure your grace ere this time they should have been utterly undone.<sup>50</sup>

The expense was staggering in comparison with what had been spent in Henry's reign on Ireland: Since 19 May the two forts, 'with reparations of... sundry manors and castles', had cost £962 9s., and the army for the same period had come to £8,314 18s. 8d.<sup>51</sup> It was only the beginning of

<sup>48</sup>Entry under 1549 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 280).

<sup>49</sup>Bellingham to Tallon, c. Mar. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 26 dorso).

<sup>50</sup>Richard Brasier to Somerset, 14 Nov. 1548 (ibid., 61/1, no. 122).

<sup>51</sup>Memoranda on the above by Bellingham (ibid., no. 123).



crown expenditure on Leix and Offaly, but as such it was impressive.

By autumn Bellingham was able to turn more attention to his other projects. In May he had been informed of the disturbed state of the Carlow area, and the difficulty of serving writs and administering justice, and that things would not change there 'till the coming of some Englishmen that will put the country to some indifferency, which is very needful for there be divers Irishmen preparing to prey openly the country...'.<sup>52</sup>

The plea fell on receptive ears. In addition to Brian Jonys as constable of Carlow, Bellingham had Anthony Colclough at Leighlin Bridge to check the Kavanaghs. In September Colclough reported that Cahir mcArt Kavanagh, chief of his name, and others were ready to submit and be good examples.<sup>53</sup> The deputy countered that no promises were to be made before submission lest they think 'we were afeared of them'.<sup>54</sup> At Leighlin Bridge he wished 'the house made meet to lie in and the town well fortified' for it was his intention to make it one of the residences of the deputy.<sup>55</sup> In December Cahir mcArt was thanked for his good conformity.<sup>56</sup>

In September the deputy had found time to put Matthew Kyng in charge of strengthening the works at Dungarvan,<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>George Deverous to John Axssame [Issham] 9 May 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 19).

<sup>53</sup>Anthony Colclough to Bellingham, 5 Sept. 1548 (ibid., no. 87).

<sup>54</sup>Memoranda on the above by Bellingham (ibid., no. 88).

<sup>55</sup>? Bellingham to Colclough, draft, c. Jan. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 15), Colclough to Bellingham, 1 Feb. 1549 (ibid., no. 16), Brian Jonys to Bellingham, 2 Feb. 1549 (ibid., no. 17).

<sup>56</sup>Bellingham to Cahir mcArt Kavanagh, c. Dec. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 144).

<sup>57</sup>

Bellingham to mayor and council of Waterford, Sept. (ibid., no. 92).



and the English government returned Walter Cowley to Ireland as surveyor-general of the possessions and revenues of the crown.<sup>58</sup> His fee was to be £100, and the Irish government were to instruct him as to where he should first begin to make a thorough survey, and to see to it that he finished one county before he began another. In each case he was to find 'the king's standing rent of every lordship, and what grants were already made, what debts were owing to the king in the county', and to forward such information to England 'as thereby the more truth may appear'.

The Irish government was also instructed to pay Thomas, earl of Ormond, an income of £133 6s. 8d. a year from his estates during his minority.<sup>59</sup> His mother had married Sir Francis Bryan, and Bellingham thought the time was right for eliminating the private Ormond domain, and the tendency 'for making and continuing Irish order'.<sup>60</sup>

The English government agreed, with Bryan being appointed marshal of the army with forty horsemen to keep order in the lordship. They further stipulated that

where we have been advertised that certain of the earl of Ormond's castles and holds upon the English frontiers there be presently in the hands and occupation of certain mean persons who neither have such regard unto the defence of them nor the furnishing and keeping of them in reparation, as 'the importance of the thing' deserved, the deputy was to put them in such hands as would keep them properly.<sup>61</sup>

In practice the hands of the countess were tied, and her doings were kept under the watchful eyes of Cowley and of William Cantwell, who had reappeared as an agent of

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<sup>58</sup>Privy council to Bellingham and council, 21 Sept. 1548 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII -Eliz., p. 166). Appointment recorded, 5 Nov. (ibid., p. 165).

<sup>59</sup>Somerset and council to Bellingham and council, 8 Sept. (ibid., p. 168).

<sup>60</sup>Bellingham to John Issham, in London, c. Nov. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 140).

<sup>61</sup>Privy council to Bellingham, 6 Jan. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 3).



Bellingham. In a conversation in the autumn of 1549 at Walter Peppard's, the countess also complained of the treatment she received at the hands of Anthony Coldough and Watkin Ap Howell, but added that it was not them she blamed for they were only acting on orders. Thus Bellingham's garrisons were meant to face in more than one direction.

The English government also expressed their approval of the handling of O'Connor and O'More, and were

firmly of opinion... ye do displace them from their rule in their own countries, whereby they shall be let to combine with the power of the same. Ye shall do a thing which shall greatly conduce to the obedience of that realm when the inferiors shall perceive... that the king's majesty and his authority be able to commit the rules of the countries at their arbitry.<sup>64</sup>

Bellingham understood this directive to mean the regrating of these territories, following his original instructions. Cowley's correspondence with him provides a proof for he soon recommended one Edmund FitzDavy,<sup>65</sup> a good man who dwelt near Leix and was

desirous to inhabit there, and to become the king's tenant. He desireth to have in lease two villages upon a reasonable survey taken thereof; they are called Colt [and] Ballygegill. The thing he sueth for is in the very marches of Leix, nigh unto the county of Kilkenny and Upper Ossory, and [I] doubt not, God willing, he will well inhabit there.

Four days earlier a Thomas Scott had asked for a lease of Castle Lea, near Leix, in order to do good service, and 'also procure an iron mine there with your lordship's help and favour'.<sup>66</sup>

There is no indication that either lease was made, but Cowley had become the alter ego of the deputy, a producer of ideas for him to consider, and he next submitted a more complete set of provisional instructions for himself and his assistants, subject to Bellingham's

<sup>62</sup>William Cantwell to Bellingham, 4 Oct., 7 Oct. 1549 (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, nos 318, 319).

<sup>63</sup>Brian Jonys to Bellingham, c. Oct. 1549 (ibid., no. 323).

<sup>64</sup>Privy council to Bellingham, 6 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 3).

<sup>65</sup>Walter Cowley to Bellingham, 8 Mar. 1549 (ibid., no. 24).

<sup>66</sup>Thomas Scott to Bellingham, 4 Mar. 1549 (ibid., no. 25).



approval. He proposed, among many other ideas,

that a captain of Leix shall be ordained to whom the country shall obey in assembling together and serving the king, and a seneshal to be at the charges of the country for the keeping of them in quiet, and a sheriff to be made yearly there to serve the king's process. And that O'Dunne and the Dempseys be joined to the captain of Leix, and although for to inhabit it the inhabitants must have a certain freedom, saving their rent for the second year, yet from two years forth there may be a certain charge for the captain on the country... And further that there be four houses appointed and reserved for the king: viz, the Protector, Adamston ~~/Ballyadams/~~, Stradbally, and Ballyroan, and to reserve for every of these houses twenty-four ploughlands at the least, and certain meadows, ports, and tithes. Two of these houses shall be with the captain, as the Protector and Stradbally; the other twain... to be reserved by keepers or constables for the king's deputy, when he shall have occasion to resort thither. And the land, ports, and tithes to be honestly surveyed at honest prices and allowance to be made therefore to the king, and that portions of the Prior's land, O'Kelly's land, and O'Lawlor's land be reserved for the king, for these are the best and most commodious in Leix. The rest may be set in all the marches.

Cowley also proposed 'that a captain be in Slievemargy with like contribution of charges to him, being bound to find men ~~/and/~~ 100 horses, after the inhabiting of the first two years. <sup>68</sup> In Offaly he thought a similar arrangement was desirable, the captain of fort Governor ruling Offaly, MacMorris Irry's country, O'Molloy, MacGeoghegan, MacCoghlan, and O'Melaghlin, with the other captains having approximately half the victuals and profits of their countries, and being bound to keep certain men and horses, but he gave few details 'for I was not there yet'.

Nothing was done with Leix immediately, but before March 1549 was out a lease was made to the constable of Carlow, Brian Jonys, 'of the lordship of Slievemargy, county Carlow'. It had been surveyed by Cowley in February and its bounds and contents were almost exactly those of the modern barony in co. Leix. Jonys was to hold it for

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<sup>67</sup>Walter Cowley to Bellingham, 14 Mar. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 25). 'Device' (ibid., no. 25.I).

<sup>68</sup>

the and two may be struck out in the original.



twenty-one years, paying a rent of 1d. for the first year, £10 for the second, £20 for the third, £30 for the fourth, and £33. 6s. 8d. for subsequent years.<sup>69</sup> Thus Cowley's conditions for development were followed in practice.

Jonys was soon in difficulties. Like many a later undertaker he found himself challenged by disputed claims of ownership. Sir Richard Butler had erected and warded a castle called Garrendenny, claiming to have bought it from 'one Denny, and that he hath an old deed of it. The eldest in all these borders never knew any Denny to have claim to it, but it was time out of memory bearing and paying to O'More as the rest of Slievemargy did'.<sup>70</sup> In recent years Butler had paid both a yearly rent to O'More, and his part of £4 due yearly to Carlow. The claim was costing Jonys, for now 'divers which were minded to have inhabited the waste of the rest, hath given it clean over and have bargained in other places, and those which as yet remain, now will give little or nothing by the year, whereas before their offers were handsome'. Thus Butler was ruining him, for his tenants would not hold from Butler who had 'the key of all the whole country'.

One Whales was also claiming Shrule castle on the basis of a deed which St Leger and the commissioners of 1540 had brought over. That ancient document had also mentioned Barrys, Brownes, and Lysters, and if one claim were allowed Jonys could see nightmare possibilities. The lordship was a good living if he could develop it undisturbed. However, one of his own holdings was waste except for some cattle, and Shrule had 'but half an acre sown, but the next year I think it will be good'. Jonys's energies were currently being put into the lordship, for any profit in 1549 would come before the first of May, and he considered

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<sup>69</sup>26 Mar. 1549 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 249).  
 Cowley's survey, 14 Feb. 1549 (Carrigan MSS, unnumbered volumes).  
<sup>70</sup>Brian Jonys to Bellingham, c. Apr. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 35).



that 'it will be in few years a good help, and now being without tenants and untilled I trust the rent will be better'.

Farther west in Leix John Morton had similar visions for the Protector. He had decided to set up a tan house at his own expense there, if a licence were granted him, and the gift of 'all the bark now of this season to be taken...'.<sup>71</sup> Events were about to put a check on further expansion in Leix and Offaly for several months.

In January the English council had warned Bellingham to beware of French influence and its danger to Ireland,<sup>72</sup> though he was not to give them any casus belli. In Paris Gerald Fitzgerald was living with the papal nuncio, Cardinal Pole, on a pension from the pope and the French king. According to the imperial ambassador, the king hoped to create a revolt among Gerald's friends and relations in Ireland, for French information showed a fair chance for such a revolt if Gerald could be induced to join. Gerald, however, refused to be a part of an Irish rising or of an expedition to Scotland, saying he was not willing to serve against his sovereign prince. The English ambassador promptly offered him a general pardon on behalf of the protector and council, and a promise of eventual restoration to his lands. The ambassador stressed that he was not to engage himself with France if he ever wished to return to England. Gerald indicated that he would like a pension to live on.<sup>73</sup>

Now Gerald was the brother-in-law of Brian O'Connor,

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John Morton to Bellingham, 15 Apr. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 30).

72

Privy council to Bellingham, 6 Jan. 1549 (loc. cit.).

73

St. Mauris to Charles V, 5 Feb., 5 Apr. (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1547-49, pp. 336-7, 362-3).



so that the first general pardon the English government granted was to him.<sup>74</sup> A fortnight later a similar pardon was granted to Gerald Fitzgerald,<sup>75</sup> and in a few months he received a pension of £300 per annum, payable from 25 March 1549.<sup>76</sup> Two sources of trouble had been scotched.

These pardons and the danger of revolt had the effect of revising policy on land, particularly the countries of O'Connor and O'More. The English government evidently had some discussion with the Irish government on the point for in June they answered some 'remembrances' brought over by William Cantwell.<sup>77</sup> They agreed in general to granting lands to those who would take them and so be made obedient, presumably the Irish, explaining that

like as we do think that this shall be a very good mean to bring them to obedience and civil order, so upon advertisement from you of the particular names of every such man and the certainty of the lands, and of your opinions what is to be done in every man's case, we shall forthwith take such order as shall appertain and signify the same unto you without delay.

The council added that any captains of countries who were to be ennobled must receive that honour from the king. The next general point they made was an even more definite return to a conciliatory policy:

As for the restoring of such to their lands in Leix and Offaly as shall be thought requisite, we think it very convenient to be done, and that with speed for the better quiet of those countries, and therefore advertising hither the names of such as you think good to have restored with the certainty of the lands to be restored, we shall procure the king's majestys warrant unto you for that purpose. In the meantime we pray you give order that O'Connor's goods be not spoiled, but preserved and kept to his use.

In general the fiants and patent rolls are filled with large numbers of pardons for the Irish, many from Leix and

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74

17 Feb. (Cal. pat. rolls, 1548-49, p. 225).

75

2 Mar. (Cal. pat. rolls, 1553 with Append., p. 406).

76

11 Aug. 1549 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1549-51, p. 119).

77

Privy council to Bellingham and council, 24 June 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 46).



offaly, and the instructions had the effect of bringing land grants to a halt in them. Only one other lease of any significance was made beyond the Barrow for over a year. In November 1549 another of Bellingham's agents, Giles Hovenden, was given a twenty-one year lease of the lordship of Killabban with some ten townlands. It had been surveyed by Cowley in March and was between Athy and Jonys's holding in Slievemargy farther south. It was one of O'More's possessions and as Cowley recommended Hovenden was to pay no rent the first year, 40s. the second, and £3 15s. in subsequent years.<sup>78</sup> Thus Bellingham had begun the process of plantation west of the Barrow before his departure as deputy.

Bellingham had made similar moves in other directions, one of which was in the Kavanagh country, the southern part of the Leinster chain. Cahir mcArt, with a fine eye to realities, had kept out of trouble during the revolt of 1548, and by January of 1549 it was evident that Bellingham intended to pursue the oft delayed 'reform' of that area when Cowley wrote to him,<sup>79</sup>

you have begun things that are to all men's wits in this realm wonders. Now you have established a new fort in Ormond [Menagh], so as between that and the rest of your devices amongst the Kavanaghs, which I think will take full effect, it shall appear you have even already doubled the king's possessions, power, obedience, and subjects in this realm in respect as it was at your arrival.

What exactly the deputy wanted to do in the Kavanagh country is not clear, but it is evident that he planned to quarter troops there, and Cowley suggested that Wexford, county and town, with New Ross should provide 200 men. The Kavanaghs and the neighbouring Irish would support a battle of galloglas and 100 kerne. Sir Richard Butler

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<sup>78</sup>

29 Nov. 1549 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 407). Cowley's survey, 7 Mar. 1549 (Carrigan MSS, unnumbered volumes).

<sup>79</sup>

25 Jan. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 12).



and John Travers, the deputy's appointees for Leinster, could take charge, presumably as Ap Howell in Nenagh and the archbishop of Cashel, also a Butler, were in charge of Ormond 'and all that part of Leinster [sic] to the Shannon'.<sup>80</sup> The archbishop had early put himself in favour of the Cowley-Bellingham approach to Irish problems and was thus rewarded with a share in responsibility.<sup>81</sup>

By March Cowley was in the country of Cahir mcArt, who had made the government what Cowley thought was a very handsome offer. He stated with modest pride 'that his ancestors were the first that ever brought Englishmen into Ireland'. Having established his credentials, Cahir mcArt expanded on the problem of relations between the two. The best way to achieve universal obedience in Ireland was to assure the Irish that when a man was disobedient to the crown his loyal sons would not be dispossessed of their lands, which though disordered, 'they have kept since before the birth of Christ'. On behalf of his people he offered to accept conditions for an English order, and he hoped that certain Irish countries could be combined to make a county of Ferns. He proposed himself as the sheriff for one year, with the office being rotated annually among all persons of ability. Those Irish who were idle should be set in farms in various places in Leinster not then in use, but principally he, and all others, needed assurance of tenure.<sup>82</sup>

Whatever Bellingham may have thought of Cahir mcArt's restatement of St Leger's policy, after the incident of Gerald Fitzgerald and O'Conor he had to accept a general policy of mixed settlement of loyal and pardoned Irish, planted galloglas, and English. At the end of June Cowley

<sup>80</sup>Entry under 1549 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 280).

<sup>81</sup>Edmund Butler, archbishop of Cashel, to Somerset, 25 Feb. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 11).

<sup>82</sup>Walter Cowley to the deputy [Bellingham], 15 Mar. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/10, no. 5, misdated 1541).



advised the deputy <sup>83</sup> that he had acted, it being the 'season of the year for the setting and inhabiting of Shillelagh, the king's portion of Forth, and a certain portion had of the Brennans', lest the time for inhabiting should pass. He had recommended that Gerald mcTeig and part of the captains of the galloglas of the Clandonnells should be settled there. He now had 'taken order that they shall this summer begin the habitation and have surveyed it to their hands'. Their proximity with their friends, assistants, farmers, and householders, and their supply of the materials and stores necessary for such an undertaking promised success 'as others having want of these things cannot'. Cowley had arranged with them 'for edifying a chief manor place there and to make that lordship pertain to the head manor'.

The lordship included a great part of the wood of Fedorgho where, Cowley asserted and Colclough confirmed, <sup>84</sup> thieves and outlaws in times of rebellion had their 'recourse, succour, and chief abode. There hath been no habitation there these thirty years'. Cowley had also 'agreed with the Nolans of Forth and committed the same as ye willed me. If your lordship intend to plant any new habitation now for the king in Leinster, send me work and there shall I combine with Sir Richard Butler therein...'

Cowley urged Bellingham that if he would do one other thing he would 'have even begun and as good as ended the whole reformation of Leinster'. He had in mind the abbey of Duiske, or Graiguenamanagh, on the borders of the Kavanaghs and recalled that James, earl of Ormond, had intended to build a bridge there so that 'he might at his pleasure pass

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83

29 June 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 49).

84

Anthony Colclough to Bellingham, 12 June 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 40).



daily through Cahir mcArt's country to the county of Wexford'. On the western side of the Barrow the abbey held some sixty ploughlands in the direction of Leighlin. He thought the deputy's man Scott [<sup>?</sup> Thomas Scott] or someone comparable should have the same, and Cowley would 'find the means to have honest aid of the tenants there, and of the Ryans which joineth thereto, and their daily assistance, as he should the first day be stronger than Cahir mcArt'.

Northward on the Barrow Thomas Alen was directing construction work at Monasterevin. In June he needed 30 carts and 60 labourers for the next six weeks in addition to the 15 carts and 120 labourers he had been promised by county Kildare. After the harvest he hoped 15 carts and 80 labourers would be sufficient. He stated 'the work is great' which it must have been, with large arrangements being made to bring wood for the lime-kilns. Alen wished his transport were by water, and hoped he would not lack for skilled workmen, since he had carriage and labourers and had sent into the Ormond lordship for sixteen more  
85  
masons. Such construction was going on in several places, and it is certain that work continued on the deputy's forts Protector and Governor.

By June of 1549 the deputy had made another move. In 1548 Andrew Brereton and Nicholas Bagenal had been in the thick of the midland fighting; now they both appeared in co. Down. For the moment Brereton was set to watch the Scots in Lecale. He reported that John White, the heir of the Dufferin, was likely to be destroyed by the Scots,  
86  
and that he was a man the government in Dublin should support.

85

Thomas Alen to Bellingham, 21 June 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 42).

86

Brereton to Bellingham, 14 June 1549 (ibid., no. 41).



Bagenal was placed in charge of Carlingford on one side of that lough and the Greencastle on the other, together with the Newry at its head. The gentlemen of Louth had agreed to send labourers 'to help to work some defence about the Newry', which Bagenal was busy reconditioning. There was, he said, 'no fitter place for service within 100 miles', and he explained that the town was a market for all the Irish, even as far as Armagh and beyond. The borderers had wasted most of the lands that belonged to the three places, and those who occupied them would pay little rent or custom. Both castles needed repairs, and a commission should be sent to survey and view the Newry 'that an office may be found for the king. For until such time I cannot set or let any parcel thereunto belonging'. Bagenal also wanted them to see<sup>87</sup> the conditions the king's manors and lands were in.

That such a commission was sent seems likely, for shortly before Bellingham's departure a concordatum was<sup>88</sup> drawn up by himself and the council agreeing that Bagenal was to have a twenty-one year lease of the college or house of Newry and its lands for £30 lb. 8d. a year. A detailed explanation was given why such a lease was granted at so reasonable a rent. The establishment, when surrendered, was set in a remote part far from civil order, and was from its situation a place suitable for the service of the king, to plant a captain with furniture of men for the reduction of those rude and savage quarters to better rule and obedience... forasmuch as the said Nicholas went there to reside amongst savage and wild people, and sithen his going thither hath been at great costs and charges, and that in all likelihood through his occasion and honest proceedings the inhabitants of those parts will the sooner inclinē to civility and obedience to the king; and for that it appeareth by the

87

Nicholas Bagenal to Bellingham, 9 June 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 39).

88

24 Nov. 1549 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 228-9). It is possible that the original document contained a graduated scale of rents for the first few years which the calendar omitted.



survey that many of the townlands belonging to the late college be unmanured and under pasture for cattle, that there is no tithe of corn, and by reason of war clearly waste, without manurance and pasturing of cattle. And in those parts the landlords cannot procure tenants without giving great rewards, and commonly all such as become tenants are followers to one or other already, which customably will not depart from them.

Thus another undertaker had been established in his holding.

All these moves in different parts of the country had their origin in a central policy, shaped by the deputy, and expressed by Cowley in his writings to Bellingham, whom he exhorted:

My good lord, the first day you shall establish your forts universally... they shall bid peace and obedience through all the realm... I am sure your lordship in your own mind hath appointed where the soils be most meet and sure for these forts, and how to succour and victual them from time to time.<sup>89</sup>

In the interim Cowley had a list and procedure of his own. The fort in Offaly was to be supplied with 200 able men from the city and county of Dublin, equipped with weapons and wages, and a similar contingent of 140 men from co. Kildare. The force should be composed in part of horsemen and the rest footmen, both archers and gunners. In addition there was to be a battle of galloglas and certain kerne, which O'Molloy, MacGeoghegan, O'Dunne, and O'Melaghlin must bear. For the fort in Leix co. Kilkenny and its towns would supply 200 men, and co. Carlow 40. A battle of galloglas would be borne by the baron of Upper Ossory, and the kerne by O'Meagher and MacMorris Irry. He saw another fort at Roscommon, supported by the gentlemen of Galway and the young lord of Clanricarde, and a lesser one at Athlone, supported by the baron of Delvin, the vice-treasurer, and the gentlemen of Westmeath. The O'Farrells, O'Reillys, and O'Kellys would bear a sufficiency of galloglas and kerne. At Sligo there was

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89

Walter Cowley to Bellingham, 25 Jan. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 12). This 'book', and a second one of 14 Mar. 1549 (ibid., no. 25.I), enlarging on the first, provide Cowley's arguments.



to be a 'large fort', with only the vague provision that it was to be supplied by sea.

Nearer home Cowley became more specific. Nenagh, with its captain, was to be supported by the barons of Dunboyne and Cahir, who 'will take charge thereof willingly'. The towns and county of Tipperary with the city of Limerick were to provide 240 men. Two battles of galloglas and 100 kerne were to be supported by the O'Carrolls, O'Kennedys, O'Dwyer, the O'Ryans, MacBrien Arra, and the Burkes and O'Briens in Ogownagh 'in this side of the Shannon'. In January he thought that Nenagh would be sufficient for the defence of co. Limerick, but with the opening of the west new prizes came into view, such as the abbey of Owney. A captain and garrison were placed there by the spring of 1549, and Cowley suggested that the areas proposed for Nenagh be put under his rule with the aid provided, and 'to place 100 galloglasses and kerne to inhabit about him with a convenient number of horsemen, who may attend upon him at needs'.

By June Cowley was afraid that Sir Francis Bryan was going to acquire the abbey of Owney and its possessions, and advised the deputy to busy his mind with other profits in the pale and in England.

On the south coast Cowley proposed a rotating garrison to be placed in Youghal and Kinsale, victualled by the city of Waterford, and receiving daily provision from Cornwall and Wales. Co. Cork and co. Waterford were to furnish 200 men, with additional support from the army. A supply of kerne and galloglas, thought Cowley, - obviously vague about the region -, could be had from Barry, the MacCarthys, 'and others thereabouts'.

In the north Carlingford and Carrickfergus, and a supply



of 'inhabitants for some part of the lordship of Lecale which is in the king's possession at this present, not well inhabited', and lying between the two with many good havens in it. The barons of Louth and Slane were to have charge of the two places, together with the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk, 'who may victual daily by sea both these forts'.

For every fort there were to be 'two skillful gentlemen appointed as victuallers and furnishers of preparations...'. Cowley was more specific in the case of co. Tipperary, which was to 'be apportioned and rated for victualling... upon reasonable prices accessed as well upon the Irish as English'. He enlarged again on the point in speaking of the Kavanaghs, with whom coyne and livery and other extortions should all be replaced by a cess on every ploughland for the supply of provisions of a given captain. He was convinced that by such means a larger force could be kept more cheaply.

Cowley explained that the placing of men in garrisons from nearby counties was a means to be sure of good men who would serve and stick. They could also be supplied daily because they 'shall be nigh their kinsfolk, servants, and friends to aid them of the enterprise... By this way half the king's charges will be borne'. In contrast, he stressed that the galloglas and kerne serving in one province must be drawn from another in order to ensure their loyalty.

Cowley saw the initial expenses of the forts continuing for only a year or two, and he proposed shifting those at Nenagh and in Leix and Offaly farther westward as the areas about them were reduced. During the same period he urged that presidents and councils be placed in Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, to be in 'continual progression', and to make 'laws, orders, and devising of



civility and obedience'.

Such activity meant two things for the Irish. One was that the lesser Irish were to be put 'from idleness, compelling them to inhabit and fall to husbandry, to put away their assemblies in harness, and to turn their delight by this means to wealth and quiet'. The second was to allay the feelings of the greater Irish that it was better to cling to old ways, than to 'lose forever their possessions and inheritance' for any small offence of theirs or their fathers. To correct such a view

and to drive that error out of their heads, and to breed in their hearts a contrary opinion, it were very meet to have soon upon the establishing of the forts, by parliament to proclaim that for the rulers and captains of countries and dominions, whensoever he offendeth, that all such of his blood as taketh the king's part faithfully, and consenteth not to no such thing, shall never lose their possibilities therein. Much good will follow thereof...'

Cowley's views on the tenure of the English in his scheme were unusual. He saw the country blanketed with a hundred captains, who, with their officers, would have command of some 2000 horsemen and 5000 footmen. The captains should have an honest share in the profits, but he thought 'the rent and surplusage' should go to the crown. His argument was that

although the giving of states of inheritance to men in their soils and freeholds will much occasion them and their posterity to build strongly thereupon and resist rebels as farmers will not, yet I would wish principally that in every quarter there were officers for the king...

Crown officials would be more zealous in its interests, while those who had rights of inheritance would be most concerned to preserve their own rule and interests, and 'with encroachment to win more and more, leaving the king what rule they list'.

Expanding on the crown's need to employ the revenues of 'the new won' as well as the older areas, upon the 'making of buildings and towns for the king alway', Cowley reminded the deputy that it was well

ever to consider that Ireland, being upon Spain and Scotland and other realms and far from their sovereign lord, must



have many captains and rulers that never shall claim inheritance therein, but either at will or at the furthest for term of life, so as all their travail and study shall comit to the king's profit and augmentation of his royal jurisdiction, strength, and profit, and not to their own posterities.

He proposed that a complete account be drawn up of all the crown's 'possessions, manors, lordships, commodities, and profits in Ireland'. When the survey was completed certain holdings were to be removed in every shire over the whole country, and by act of parliament were to be invested in the crown inseparably. Thus any grant would be void on the death of the grantee, and 'by this mean the king shall be sure never to be driven out clear from his subjects in any shire as he hath been hitherto'.

Cowley felt that Bellingham should debate his whole plan thoroughly with the Irish council, and hold private discussion with the principal figures of Dublin city and county, explaining to them that the plan 'will be much the enriching of themselves and in manner not so great a charge as they be now at'. Similar representations should be made to 'certain of every of the shires... with the cities and towns, and with the lords and rulers'. Once executed, the plan would give the crown power in every quarter, and as for the Irish 'will they, nill they, they must obey'.

Cowley confessed that his 'fantasies' were always on his mind, and that he would 'spend all the little good I have in the world with continual travail of my carcus to see the good success of these things'. He saw the deputy as having already opened the gate 'whereat each governor these 200 years before you stayed'. It was probably the vision which Bellingham had of himself. The remarkable thing about Cowley's proposals was the number that the deputy carried out and that were completed in the two years after him. After twenty-five years of ceaseless urging, Cowley theory had become practice.



John Alen, who regarded both Cowley and Cantwell with an equally jaundiced eye as the twin sources of trouble in 1546, saw no reason why Cowley should have been made surveyor-general. He had hoped to see him occupied in some minor office 'for I promise you he hath a busy head, and his pen is ever walking, and of his tongue he is not mute'.<sup>91</sup> As for the prospects of his being on the council, 'I see it afar off in spirit... we shall be never in quiet'. Alen had also begun to have his doubts about Bellingham, whom he considered 'the best man of war that I ever saw in Ireland', and who had accomplished more than had ever been done in Henry VIII's time. But he governed without a council, and he was giving the Irish too many privileges too quickly, hard on the heels of damaging them. And in any disturbance, Alen noted grimly, 'We Englishmen perish'.

In the midst of keeping watch on the doings of the countess of Ormond, Cantwell reported to the deputy<sup>92</sup> that rumours were rife that he was returning into England, and that Desmond, the baron of Upper Ossory, and other Irishmen were sworn upon his departure to unite and drive the 'king's friends' out of the realm. As for the persons named, Cantwell was probably displaying his usual malice, but months later Desmond explained to Alen that the combination of the wild Irish began in Bellingham's time, whose rough handling of them put them in such despair that they decided to combine against him.<sup>93</sup>

Bellingham did intend to return to England, and he sailed from Howth on 16 December 1549. On the 27th Sir

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<sup>91</sup> John Alen, 'Remembrances to Mr Comptroller', Sir William Paget, c. Apr. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 32). Not in Alen's hand, but dictated to a clerk.

<sup>92</sup> Cantwell to Bellingham, 4 Oct., 7 Oct. 1549 (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, nos 318, 319).

<sup>93</sup> John Alen to privy council, after 2 Feb. 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 50).



Francis Bryan was elected and sworn as lord justice.

It was fitting that the last letter sent to Bellingham concerned the Protector in Leix, one of the monuments of his rule. Word of certain irregularities there had evidently reached him, and he had sent his agent Walshe to enquire into them with one of those explosive sets of charges which he was so given to penning. Within narrow limits the deputy was a highly moral man, and the answers of the two captains in command there, Henry Wyse and John Morton, are informative not only of the charges, but of the general conditions of well-being in the fort.

95

Conditions in the Governor in Offaly were probably similar.

They wrote:

First, where your lordship is informed that here are many women of the country, of a very truth here are none come sithens Mr St Loe's departure, but fewer than were wont, for divers of the horsemen's women and wives are gone. And as to our misdemeanour in any point we put that to the honestest men and women in the fort, nor persuasions of lightness in expenses have not been by us maintained nor procured. And out good lord, where it hath been related that our watch hath not been kept in due sorts and order, perceiving this to be no less than treason if it might be instrued, we will prove that it hath been as well kept as ever we knew it, and thereunto will we stick unto death. The breaking of horsemen's houses was not attempted by none under our leading, but by such as shall answer for the same at Mr St Loe's coming. Honest women here we suppose very few to be known, and by such as be we require to be tried whether ever they were enticed to dishonesty by any our provocations or not. Malefactors have not been enlarged to any liberty sithens Mr St Loe's recess. More than that I, Henry Wyse, being willed by the said Mr St. Loe's letter to apprehend him which dwelleth at the Shean castle with his sons, upon suspicion of burning his corn, did bail two soldiers which were in the Marshalsea at Shane O'Lawlor's suit upon sufficient surety, to get and occupy their irons for the safe-keeping of the said Irishmen, having but three pairs of bolts within this fort. And as for breaking of the peace there was no fray, neither within the gate nor without, but one sithens Mr St Loe's departure, which was punished in condign sort. Robberies we know none in town nor country, and as for mutiny for victuals it is very unlikely. Such doth the store of beer yet remain in the storehouse that commandment hath been given to the miller to grind no malt till the king's provision were spent, and beeves here of the king's provision more than be called for, and more bread out of Dublin than will be bought, Head officers given to drunkenship and committing no crime

<sup>94</sup>16 Dec., 27 Dec. 1549 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 426), and Bryan's election, 27 Dec. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 189).

<sup>95</sup>Wyse and Morton to Bellingham, 6 Jan. 1550 (P.R.O.,



we wot not how to redress if it be rooted in them, and sudden events (when truth shall appear) are forthwith corrected.

They repeated their request that those honest persons who were acquainted with the situation be heard or that the writers have a personal hearing before the deputy. They concluded 'our accusers in this behalf we do not esteem, considering that Saturn aspecteth this Irish region in which malbouche hath hitherto borne a great swing'.

Bellingham was probably dead before this letter reached him in England, but the fiants record a pardon granted to Morton, and to John Clothier, John Thomas, John Myntyne, Thomas Wylles, and John Synnot, all soldiers of the Protector, in the following spring. <sup>96</sup> Perhaps the charges and the pardon were not unrelated, and in any case the stage was being set for other things.

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S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 4). Misdated 1549 in Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, and in its use by most writers. It is plainly dated '1549', hence 1550 by modern reckoning.



## CHAPTER VI

'WE WIN THEM NOT BY THEIR WILLS BUT BY OUR POWER'

1550-1552

Bryan's tenure as lord justice ended with his sudden death at Clonmel on 2 February 1550. Almost the only thing he accomplished was to arrest and imprison Watkin Ap Howell on the advice of the Irish council, who considered that his negligence and misgovernment had allowed O'Carroll<sup>1</sup> to seize certain abbeys and manors belonging to the crown. John Alen, who was with Bryan at his death, found himself temporarily the chief power of the state in Ireland, and discovered that it was not a comfortable position. Things were thoroughly out of hand, the Irish in a sullen mutinous humour, and his only support was the earl of Desmond. Alen was concerned to make peace with O'Carroll in order to deal with the Kavanaghs, 'our bowel enemies'. It was then that Desmond told Alen that it was Bellingham's heavy hand that had pushed the Irish together. In such a war Alen could see the loss of the forts, a prospect made more vivid by 'the late civil displeasure in England', which would be a goad to the Irish. Desmond had also said that religion would be a stimulus, and Alen knew that a blind bishop from Rome had brought word to the Irish from Scotland of aid from there.<sup>2</sup> Soon Dowdall, the archbishop of Armagh, wrote to him that on a visit to O'Donnell's country he found the common talk to be that there 'is an army of Frenchmen in Scotland ready to come to Ireland', with thirty-six ships for transport.<sup>3</sup>

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Entry for 1549 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p.280).

2

John Alen, 'Remembrances for my brother Thomas Alen...' to declare in England, after 2 Feb. 1550 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 50).

3

George Dowdall to Alen and the council, 22 Mar. (ibid., no. 51).



Within a short time Brabazon was elected to succeed Bryan as lord justice, and he and the council advised the English government that the Irish would welcome a French and Scottish invasion, both 'for the natural hatred they bear to the English blood and monarchy, and what for desire of liberty and our spoil...'<sup>4</sup> The Anglo-Irish had a false sense of security regarding invasion because the Geraldine revolt had been put down with such a small number, and though the government boasted that Edward's army 'hath subdued O'Conor and O'More and achieved other things which in their reputations were not feasible nay possible...', the situation was precarious. They did not think the newly reconciled earls and lords could be depended upon, especially the Irish ones. In Dublin they were without money, the retinue was unpaid, and there were no means to aid the garrisons in the north. They stressed the need for the English government to provide naval protection to prevent an invasion there. Two letters from O'Donnell and O'Neill<sup>5</sup> were enclosed which described the activities of two French lords in their countries, who promised to do much by Whitsuntide. The Irish council had written to Tyrone to thank him, and to say that the French intended to subject to their control all Ireland, both Irish and English. They reminded him of the spectre of the French in Italy and Sicily, where they were expelled for wretched rule.

The Irish government had also to confess that the promising reform of the Kavanaghs had come undone to a degree. Cahir mcArt had managed to regain possession of the castle of Ferns. They were going to try to talk him out of it, being without the money to retake it. Then they raised their final worry to the privy council:

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<sup>4</sup>Brabazon and council to the privy council, 26 Mar. 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 52).

<sup>5</sup>

4 Mar., 7 Mar. 1550 (ibid., nos 52 I, II).



where it is bruited here that O'Conor should resort hither again, whether the same be true or not, we thought good to put your honours in memory, as well how oft he hath been an offender and no reconciliation could win, neither oath nay promise stay to abstain from rebellion, whensoever he might see any advantage.

They reported that O'Conor's son Cormac was joined with George Parys, an Irishman who had become a French agent, both to explore the French and Scottish intention 'for the expelling of all Englishmen out of this realm', and to draw the Irish magnates to the French king. The conclusion of the Irish government was that 'we be of opinion that the return hither of the same O'Conor is divers ways dangerous'.

The English government had been concerned with problems of their own. A revolt began in the west of England in June 1549, and another in Norfolk in July. The two were not suppressed until August. Somerset's imprisonment had followed in October, and he was not released until February 1550. The January peace negotiations had been commenced with France, and they were concluded by the treaty of 29<sup>6</sup> March 1550, thus discounting a French threat to Ireland. The English government had decided by the end of February 1550 to send St Leger as deputy again, for they determined that Sir William St Loe was to return to England on his arrival, leaving his troops in command of whoever St Leger<sup>7</sup> appointed.

After a time St Leger was prevailed upon to accept the deputyship, but many matters had to be settled before he left England. High on his list of queries to the privy council was 'whether O'Conor shall remain here or return home, and if he remain and his sons and nephews go home, whether they shall have any part of the land their father had, etc.'. Anticipating the council's answer he also asked '...that authority may be had to grant lands to

<sup>6</sup>J. E. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558, pp. 481, 486, 489-90, 491.

<sup>7</sup>26 Feb. 1550 (Acts privy council, 1547-50).



men and their heirs in Offaly and Leix, reserving as shall please you to the king's majesty', to which they made the note: 'to certify hither'.<sup>8</sup> The council evidently had some debate on the matter, for they concluded that the territory which had lately been O'Conor's and O'More's 'should be let out to the king's subjects at convenient rents, to the intent it may both be inhabited and also a more strength for the king's majesty'.<sup>9</sup> With Gerald Fitzgerald in England and the French war over, the plantation could proceed.

French influence had not ended, however. Sir John Mason, English ambassador in Paris, had a conversation in June with the French king, who denied that after the peace he had had any dealings with the Irish, though he admitted doing so during the war. Mason continued to note stir concerning the Irish at the French court, and he soon reported that George Parys had returned and told all who would listen

that the whole nobility of Ireland, from the highest to the lowest, had conspired to rid themselves from the yoke of England; and that it was time for them so to do, for otherwise by little and little they looked for none other but to be driven out of their ancient possessions, one after the other, in such sort as had lately been served to O'More and O'Conor...

It might have been taken as a warning, but Mason's own<sup>10</sup> advice was that

We have these many years past wasted there great sums of money by piecemeal which, if it had been spent together, might perhaps have bred more quietness than we have at this present. These wild beasts would be hunted aforce and at the beginning should so be bearded, before the whole herd run together, as they might know with whom they had to do. Wherein the old and necessary policy hath been to keep them by all means possible at [war] between themselves.

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<sup>8</sup> St Leger's 'Remembrances for yreland', c. June 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 55).

<sup>9</sup> 26 June 1550 (Acts privy council, 1550-52, p. 56).

<sup>10</sup> Mason to the privy council, 14 June, 29 June 1550 (Quoted in full by P. F. Tytler in England under the reigns of Edward VI and Mary..., pp. 291-4, 301-3. See also Cal. S.P. for., 1547-53, nos 217, 218).



St Leger, in contrast, had said '... I think that in this dangerous time it were meet to handle Irishmen with the more humanity lest they by extremity should adhere to other foreign powers', to which the privy council replied that he was 'to use gentleness to such as shall show themselves conformable, to others as occasion shall serve'. He wanted to summon a parliament which included the new Gaelic peers and to return to the policy of sending letters and gifts to the Irish chiefs to encourage their loyalty to the crown.<sup>11</sup>

St Leger made several military requests. He wished to fortify the havens in the north against the Scots. He asked 'what order ye will take for those forts, castles, and houses begun to be re-edified and not yet finished', to which the privy council replied that the construction was 'to be finished'. At his request his instructions called for a special commission to take the accounts of Henry Cowley and William Duke for the money which they had been given for the supply of the forts, and how it had been spent. The commission was to decide on reasonable allowances or the proper punishment of the two as the case dictated, and was to continue to sit in the future.

St Leger also asked for a new chancellor to be determined, and what the composition of the council in Ireland was to be. It was a significant point, for not only did St Leger wish to be rid of Alen, his old adversary, but he wished to have control of the type of officer who was to carry out government policy, an attitude that was to be partly responsible for his second downfall. His supporter Sir Thomas Cusack was made chancellor, but among the twelve other councillors were Brabazon, Travers, and Basnet, who had helped oust him in 1548.

The deputy's instructions represented an uneasy

<sup>11</sup> St Leger's 'Remembrances...' (loc. cit.).



compromise between his thinking and the English government's. In general the privy council was obviously anxious to see an increase in the crown's rents and revenues and asked for special attention and vigilance in every way towards that end. In return they were still willing to pour money into Ireland, particularly in view of the French and Scottish threat. All ports and havens were to be taken into the crown's hands, both for revenue and for protection against external enemies. Particular attention was to be paid to Baltimore, Carrickfergus, and Strangford. Those ports in the crown's control were to be fortified at their own expense against a future time of war. Areas around the havens were to be surveyed for timber, for shipbuilding, and information as to the numbers of good shipwrights and mariners to be had in Ireland.

The units of the army were not to contain more than ten per cent. Irish. The Irish themselves were to be allowed to keep up their fighting establishment, charging as little blackrent or coyne and livery as was possible, but also with the least cost to the crown. When the need arose the Irish government would have ready for hire as many kerne and galloglas as they wanted, being on good terms with the noblemen who kept them, 'and so there may be conquest made of the men as well as of the land, with some profit and great strength without charge'. Such arrangements had a purpose and the Irish government was particularly instructed to reduce the Leinster chain 'so as the same may most specially of any other be brought to good and civil order'.

In Leix and Offaly proceedings were to be initiated



as well for the full and ample possession to be had to our use of the same countries, as also for the surveyings thereof. And the same to be surveyed, or as much thereof as shall be in our possession, to let to farm or otherwise to our behalf and profit, so as no lease be made of any parcel thereof above the term of twenty-one years; yielding therefore as our said deputy and council shall think reasonable. Wherein they may at their discretion allow to the farmers one or two year's rent free to encourage them to dwell upon the same.

The English council pointed out that the Irish chancellor had authority under his great seal to make such licences.

Once the English government had made its decisions it began to implement them. St Loe, who had desired to return to England, was to vacate his offices, including that of lieutenant of the army, and turn them over to Sir Ralph Bagenal, the brother of Nicholas. Sir Ralph was to have St Loe's place on the council, and all his profits, allowances, and authority. They then ruled that in Leix Thomas Jacob, for his services under St Leger and Bellingham, was to have a 21 years lease for himself and his heirs of the manor of Stradbally, its friarhouse, and demesnes, and William Jarbard was to have the castle of Ballyadams and its holdings for 21 years.

In Offaly John Wakely was to have a 21 year lease<sup>13</sup> of some twenty-one townlands. All three were soldiers of long service in Ireland.

It was also ordered that Sir Richard Butler be created Viscount Mountgarret. Matthew Kyng was to be made clerk of the check with ten horsemen under his command, and St Leger and his commissioners were 'to make survey of the prior's lands... called Timahoe or Ferran Eprior, parcel of the late evicted lands [in Leix], and to make<sup>14</sup> a lease to Matthew Kyng...'.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Somerset and council to St Leger and council, 12 July (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 219). Somerset and council to St Leger and commissioners for leasing Leix and Offaly, 20 July, 22 July, 23 July 1550 (ibid., pp. 231, 225-6, 230, out of chronological order).

<sup>14</sup>Somerset and council to St Leger and council, 5 Aug., 7 Aug. 1550 (Acts privy council, 1550-52, p. 222).



Armed with these specific and his general instructions St Leger arrived in Ireland and took the oath as deputy on 10 September 1550. The Irish chiefs all had messengers to greet him, preparatory to coming themselves. But before renewing his acquaintances St Leger 'thought it best first to visit the forts and other the borders', which he did quickly, commenting of the land in general 'I never saw it so far out of good order'. As an example he noted of the Protector and the Governor that 'in the forts are as many harlots as soldiers, and there these three years no kind of divine service, neither communion nor yet other service, having but one sermon made in that space...'. It was by the bishop of Meath and such was his reception that he had never returned. St Leger stated that he reported these 'not minding the disparagement or hindrance of any man'<sup>15</sup>.

One motive behind St Leger's visit to the forts was probably a proposal or rather two proposals, one of which does not survive, for a group of undertakers to assume the holding and responsibility for the two territories. The one for Leix, which asked for by far the larger portion of the two, has been published and treated elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Professor Quinn rightly characterises it as being 'the first project for a corporate private plantation in Ireland', and notes the combination of English and Anglo-Irish adventurers. He concludes that the English government thought it ambitious and risky and therefore it was dropped, but its terms are interesting.

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St Leger to the lord treasurer /William Paulet/, 27 Sept. 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 60).

16

D. B. Quinn, 'Edward Walshe's Conjectures, 1552', in *I.H.S.*, vol. V, no. 20, 303-22 (Sept. 1947). The appendix includes the document and the signatories, with comments on p. 309. St Leger made notes on the proposal.



The proposers wished to have granted to them and their heirs all of Leix, Irry, Slievemargy, and everything that had been under the O'Mores, plus all of O'Dempsey's country, in which the inhabitants were not to be removed as they had served the crown. Lands could be set aside in Slievemargy for Carlow castle, and in Clannalier for the manor and castle of Lea together with any land necessary for Monasterevin. In return the adventurers would pay by the end of next September a rent of £600 Irish to the crown, the first year being allowed because the area was 'wholly waste', and from the same Michaelmas assume the entire responsibility for the garrisoning of fort Protector, except for fifty men from the crown's establishment.

The signatures included Aylmer and his son Richard, Luttrell, Travers, Matthew Kyng, and the master of the rolls, Patrick Barnewall, all from the Irish government. In addition there were three Suttons, presumably related to the David Sutton who had once wished to have O'Dempsey's country, Walter Peppard, Nicholas Eustace, and Phillip FitzMorris, the last significantly of Athlone. They were all near neighbours of the area, and certainly Peppard was a man of means. There were also the signatures of Patrick Sarswell, Thomas Smythe, Henry Wyse, Giles Hovenden, William Hidney, Anthony Colclough, William Gerbard or Jarbard, Thomas Jacob, Francis Cosby, Roger Brooke, and Andrew Brereton. Most of these last are identifiable as army captains who had seen service in the area, and probably all of them were. Out of the twenty-three signatories eleven were among the first lessees of Leix, some on the specific instructions of the English government.

St Leger conceived that his first task was to regain control of the Kavanagh country, which he probably managed to do by negotiation with Cahir mcArt, for it is recorded



that the deputy made changes in co. Carlow and in the rest of Cahir mcArt's country. Enniscorthy, Ferns, Clohamon, and Clonogan with 'large territories' were made exempt from the Kavanaghs, and taken for the crown.<sup>17</sup> With Cahir mcArt out of Ferns once more and its flank secure the Dublin government could proceed in the midlands. The Kavanagh settlement was an amicable one, for in November<sup>18</sup> pardons were granted to a large number of the Kavanaghs. As soon as the English government learned that they were subdued once more and supposedly under English law, they thought that further steps should be taken in the Leinster chain, 'and some wise honest men placed here and there in the same parts, for otherwise it will easily revolt, as it hath been heretofore often seen'.<sup>19</sup>

By early November Walter Cowley had begun the survey of Leix and Offaly. He started with Offaly, which of the two countries seems to have been the less known to the English, terra incognita. His survey of it was completed by 10 November, and has been published in full.<sup>20</sup> He began his survey of Leix almost immediately, with extents taken at Newfort [Protector], Dunamase, Stradbally, Ballyroan, and Castletown in Callen, as well as other points, including one at Belan Bridge on 6 December for Clanmalier. The second survey was completed by 10 December. Only a fraction

<sup>17</sup>Cahir mcArt submitted, 4 Nov. 1550 (P.R.O.I., MS 2532). Entry under St Leger's deputyship (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 280).

<sup>18</sup>

6 Nov. 1550 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 605).

<sup>19</sup>

'Articles for the expedition into Ireland c. Jan. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 2).

<sup>20</sup>

'The Survey of Offaly in 1550', ed. Edmund Curtis in Hermathena, no. 45. 312-52 (1930).



of it survives, consisting of the general boundaries of Leix with the particulars of the lordship of Gallen <sup>21</sup> [br. of Cullenagh] on the borders of co. Kilkenny.

In such a short time Cowley could have acquired only an approximate idea of the areas involved and their values, and must have used a great deal of the rule of thumb to compute both. The entry 'cc acres of moor' appears with suspicious regularity, and wooded areas were estimated in the same round numbers. As a case in point his extent of Abbeyleix in September 1549 was made on a single sheet. Two years later a special commission for the same purpose held three sittings <sup>22</sup> and covered seventeen sheets of paper. Shortly thereafter its holder, William Cantwell, made a survey of it in which he mentioned an item of six acres of woods, but the bounds given were described as two miles in length and one in breadth, <sup>23</sup> which would suggest at least 1280 acres of woods.

Cowley's acreages for arable and pasture were probably more nearly correct. He was working with a larger acre than the statute acre, and a factor of three or four to one needs to be used for modern acreage. Curtis notes that the area Cowley surveyed in Offaly covers 150,000 statute acres, but the sum of Cowley's acreage comes to only 31,472. An Elizabethan survey had even less, with a total of 17,519 <sup>24</sup> acres. Their primary concern was with the arable acreage, as the following table of Cowley's figures shown.

Leix	Arable	Pasture	Acres		Value		
			Bog and moor	Wood and underwood	per annum.	£	s.
Slievemargy	1420	638		770	32:	13:	8.
Killabban	299			40	3:	14:	9.
Abbeyleix	822		346	128	21:	4:	9.
Gallen	1068	530		1000	48:	3:	7.

<sup>21</sup>Extent of Leix, 10 Dec. 1550 (Ormond Deeds, 1547-84, no. 32. Carrigan MSS, unnumbered volumes).

<sup>22</sup>At Athy, 23 Nov., at Carlow, 25 Nov., at Leighlin Bridge, 16 Dec. 1551 (Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600, p. 264).

<sup>23</sup>3 Feb. 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 259-60). The arable and pasture is given as 633 acres, and 218½ acres of woods in various parcels are mentioned.

<sup>24</sup>C. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/22, no. 73).



Offaly	Acres				Value per annum		
	Arable	Pasture	Bog and moor	Wood and underwoodg.	s.	d.	
Tuath Muighe cloinne Colgain	2120	480	1225	98	74:	10:	4.
" Muighe mainistrech Fheorais	2271	770	2831	363	108:	2:	8.
" Cruachain	1940	300	300		36:		
" Na Cille	1930	520	1177	237	80:	13:	
" Géisille	3585	980	782	703	113:	10:	
Ratha Droma	600	200	300	600	17:		
Magh Leghe	800	200	1500	2000	24:		
Ferann Ui Muircain	460	200	1000	1000	16:		
Totals for Offaly	13,706	3650	9115	5001	469:	16:	
Parcels in O'Dunne's O'Dempsey's, O'Molloy's, O'Melaghlin's and MacGeoghegan's countries	1430	405	580	328	44:	11:	8.
Irry	220	60	15	30			
Monastic lands in Offaly	340	70		3	33:	1:	8.
Totals for O'Conor's possessions	15,696	4185	9710	5362	547:	9:	4.

Tuath Cruachain, Ratha Droma, Magh Leghe, and Ferann Ui Muircain were done in a more cursory fashion than the others, and are obviously summaries.

All the land in Offaly below 250 feet in elevation seems to have been encumbered by woods and bog, but a large portion of it was above that elevation and was cleared land, either in cultivation or pasturage. Leix was almost certainly more heavily wooded, its 'great wood' being renowned and numerous mentions made of the woods there. Most of the wood in Offaly was around its borders, combined with extensive bog in the region where the Figile river joins the Barrow in the south-eastern portion of Offaly. The most striking thing in the survey is the widespread presence of bodies of water, not only the still existing rivers, but lakes which have since disappeared. They occur frequently in the bounds described by Cowley of many of the holdings. They had their uses, for west of Offaly in Fercalle O'Conor had a refuge described by Cowley as 'a fast island that no man can come unto but by boat and reputed for a very fast place, having a great wood and much moor and bog...'. .



Cowley makes equally frequent reference to ditches (embankments) as boundaries, some large enough to be used as causeways, which are also mentioned. Highways appear as well, though in one case he had doubts whether he was dealing with a highway or a lane, an index of their character. Thus the terrain, while broken in character and providing many pockets for defence, had been opened up and cleared to a marked extent.

Cowley recorded only about fifty messuages or dwellings, probably the ones he thought useable. Some seventeen castles or piles were also noted, usually as 'old and ruinous'. He did describe a castle as 'newly builded' at Monasteroris, and of the priory of Finter at Killeigh he stated that 'in the site there are divers old houses uncovered, inclosed with a stone wall, a meet place for a good farmer, being repaired'. He observed of the friary of Killeigh that, though ruined in the wars, 'the walls, ditches, and trenches standeth and may be... made very defensible and honest to receive the king's deputy at needs'.

Cowley proposed in all leases in Offaly that the tenants of Croghan and any others 'that shall lack timber or wood for fuel upon their farms shall have free licence in all the great woods of Offaly next to their farms... to cut and carry with them at their pleasure to build and all other necessary things'. As a final random thought on settlement he added 'that upon every three ploughlands there shall be two horsemen and three footmen of the English subjects'.

Irry near Leix was dealt with under a separate heading, and Cowley asserted that what did not belong to O'Conor 'pertaineth to... the king by the attainder of the late earl of Kildare, by the late O'More also, and otherwise'. He placed values on the church livings in Offaly as they then were, and as they would be if they were inhabited and



he saw them as increasing ten-fold in value.

With the surveys of Leix and Offaly the government had a clearer picture and could proceed. St Leger made marginal queries and summaries of the values per annum, as well as seeing that the goshawks were reserved to the crown, a concern he continued in the leases.

Sir Thomas Audley had remarked that 'none seeth further off than Sir John Mason',<sup>25</sup> and from Paris Mason continued to warn that the French court was alive with discussion of Ireland. It was held that Ireland was the king's when he chose to take it, his Irish agents reporting that the greater part of the country was under the control of the earl of Desmond. Mason was anxious about Ireland, which he had 'every day in his dish', the rumour being that the Irish nobles with the majority of the people were ready to give themselves to a new master. George Parys had been sent back to Ireland with answers to MacWilliam Burke and others, and he bragged that he expected to see Henry II wear the crown of Ireland and that he would return by Lent, bringing 'jolly news'.<sup>26</sup>

The answer of the English government to such 'jolly news' was to plan an expedition to increase Irish security and coastal defence, tentatively under the command of Lord Cobham. He was to take a force of 1000 men to Ireland, and the government endeavoured to make his instructions a comprehensive approach to Irish problems.<sup>27</sup> His principal objectives were to take and fortify Baltimore and Bearhaven

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<sup>25</sup> 'Sir John Mason', D.N.B.

<sup>26</sup> Mason to privy council, 19 Oct., 4 Dec. 1550 (Cal. S.P. for., 1547-53, nos 247, 264).

<sup>27</sup> 'Articles for the expedition into Ireland', 7 Jan. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 2).



in the south-west, establishing forts of 100 men each. The garrison at Carrickfergus was to be strengthened at the same time, and once the works in the south were begun Cobham was to move north and carry out the same operations at Olderfleét (Larne) and on the Bann. When the anticipated attack on Larne began in the summer 'part of those men which now be in garrison at Ardglass, Down, and Greencastle may also repair, and at the same place of Olderfleet and also at an abbey upon the Bann, or some such convenient place, to make two forts, by the which both those two havens may be possessed', and MacDonnell's Scots subdued. They would have the aid of many 'of the same frontiers [who] shall also willingly help as the Clandeboys, the Savages, the exiled Scots, the Whites, the earl of Tyrone, and others'.

All these operations were to be co-ordinated and carried out with secrecy as to their intentions. St Leger was to soothe Desmond, MacCarthy Mor, and others in that region with the idea that the king meant only to have his havens kept because the Spanish and others took away the fishing from his own English and Irish subjects. The fear of an impending invasion was to be kept dark.

The Irish establishment was reckoned as 900 men and more, as well as 500 galloglas in wages, a practice the privy council wished continued 'lest they poison their old countries of Leix and Offaly'. St Leger could thus both raise men and leave the country well guarded. As an additional measure

the countries of Offaly and Leix may well spare three or four hundred of their ordinary to be placed in these new forts and the two forts of the country kept with two hundred men well, and so the king's majesty not to be at any more annual charge for these new fortifications than he is. Providing that the fort of the Athlone might have some number in it, because it is in the midst of the realm and meetest to rule all the Connaught and the Shannon.

The English government thought that 'to help the king's charges there may be well an improvement of such lands as be under-rented, which will make a continual relief to the



charge of the said new forts'. They estimated the whole scheme would cost £21,000. Then the havens would be possessed, the Irish reduced, and the realm made safe, with an increase of £5,000 to £6,000 in the revenue in time.

The general proposition was laid down that the garrison captains should not have both wages and expenses from the crown, and the areas around them as their own, 'but the same should be peopled, and the king answered some rent... for the which purpose the captain might well have the rule and governance of the country', apparently receiving the profits of justice instead.

The English government was still in an expansive mood as regards Ireland. They thought two or three of the Irish council might remain for part of the year at Limerick and Galway with 'one chief man at Athlone', because they had hopes of the country westward, including Thomond's and O'Carroll's countries as well as all Connaught.

The news of the expedition was sent to St. Leger at the end of January by Nicholas Bagenal, who was to explain all the details. <sup>28</sup> To prevent an invasion before the arrival of the new forces St Leger was to make his residence in Cork and Kinsale, both in order to strengthen their defences, 'and also to view and consider all manner of places... upon that coast toward Baltimore and Bearhaven, the which may be most fittest to be fortified or otherwise ordered for the surety of that country...'. He was to circulate the story that the king had ready an army and navy of 20,000 men. Such men as were necessary were to be allocated to the forts, but he should keep most of his force mobile.

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<sup>28</sup>Privy council to St Leger and council, 26 Jan. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 4).



In a letter which probably crossed the privy council's, St Leger informed Cecil 'where I with other the council here have set forth our device for Leix and Offaly... I hear it is not like to take effect'.<sup>29</sup> He regretted the news because he wished the crown could have the security the device provided, and a similar arrangement in the Leinster chain. The device is not in the state papers, unless it is the signed proposal of the previous autumn. On the basis of St Leger's ideas in Mary's reign it is probable that it involved a balanced division between English settlers and the native proprietors, with legal lifeguards for both. Soon afterwards the Irish government sent John Goldsmyth, clerk of the council for thirteen years, to England to explain various matters, particularly the losses the crown was liable for on certain projects. An example cited was 'the leasing of sundry lands which if this season should overpass his highness should have the loss, the same lying waste'.<sup>30</sup>

The government in Dublin had accomplished the leasing of the former countries of O'Conor and O'More in about a fortnight in February 1551, at least on paper. In subsequent months changes in the lessees were made, the general effect being to reduce the numbers receiving leases. St Leger had some leanings toward the small proprietor, a few yeomen being included in the leases made in February, but these were afterwards withdrawn. The holders who remained were all soldiers or gentlemen.

Because Cowley's survey for Offaly survives, as well as the fiants drawn up for the leases, a clear picture emerges of its disposition. The ultimate lessees were only eleven in number, which meant that they were regarded as

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<sup>29</sup>St Leger to Cecil, 19 Jan. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 3).

<sup>30</sup>St Leger and council to the privy council, 18 Feb. (ibid. no. 8), St Leger to Somerset, 18 Feb. 1551 (ibid., no. 9).



undertakers from the very outset. The conditions imposed on each lessee were designed in part to increase military security and to strengthen the fort. No holder was to make an assignment of his lands without the approval of the deputy and council, nor to inhabit them with O'Conors, Moraghans, or any others who were inheritors in Offaly. Every person inhabiting was to be sufficiently armed to serve the king and defend himself, and to bear his share of all cesses levied for the safeguard and supply of the fort. The lessee and his assigns were to dwell on their leases. An escape clause provided that the king and council of England had the right to dispose otherwise before Michaelmas.<sup>31</sup> The presumption on the whole seems to have been that captains would settle men from their companies on their lands. The following table shows the ultimate lessees.

## Leasing of Offaly 1551-1552

Holder	Acres				Value	
	Arable	Pasture	Bog and Moor	Wood and underwood	Cowley	Lease
1. Nicholas Burrell	1940	300	300		36: 0: 0	36: 0: 0
2. Edward Dickson	760	280	316	670	23: 0: 0	25: 0: 0
3. John Wakely	2575	726	1819	117	88:15: 2	90: 1: 4
4. Nicholas Herbert	781	228	720	196	40: 0: 0	37:18: 4
5. Patrick Sherlock	3525	900	766	633	107:10: 0	116: 8: 4
6. [Oliver Sutton]						[13:13: 4]
7. Francis Lee	85	30			7: 3: 4	9:13: 4
8. [John Lee]	[100]	[20]	[60]		[3: 0: 0]	[14: 8: 4]
9. Anthony March	580	110	240	7	22: 2: 0	19: 2: 8
10. Roger Brooke	940	290	335	18	40: 5: 0	48:10: 0
11. Roger Fynglas	1260	400	2500	3000	40: 0: 0	40: 0: 0
12. Thomas Sendall	100	20	11	60	5: 0: 0	6:13: 4
13. Richard Croft	330	130	405	44	18:10: 0	19: 0: 0
14. [John Robson]	[450]	[110]	[140]	[97]	[15:16: 8]	[34:11: 4]
Totals	12,376	3414	7413	4715	£428: 5: 6	£450: 7: 4

Sutton, John Lee, and Robson were holders in Clannalier for which Cowley gives incomplete information. They are not included in the totals.

<sup>31</sup>General conditions, given in lease of Redmond oge Fitzgerald, 20 Mar. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 732).



The eleven holders who emerged in possession of Offaly did very well, at least on paper. They were not simply granted a tuath or lordship of O'Conor's, but the results were fairly compact. The lands around the immediate vicinity of the Governor, or Daingean, do not appear in the fiants, suggesting that they had already been set. The most modest holding was that of Thomas Sendall, who held one townland, Clonadde, quite near the fort.<sup>32</sup>

Francis Lee's holding was not much larger, and consisted of the nunnery and friary of Killeigh with their lands, and the 'tithes and alterages of tenants dwelling and manuring in said lands'.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the most princely lease was that of Patrick Sherlock, who was given the lordship of Geashill, exclusive of Lee's holding, equivalent to the barony. The lease included some thirty-five townlands, one less than those surveyed by Cowley, which was granted elsewhere.<sup>34</sup>

John Wakely did almost as well with a lease of sixteen townlands spread in groups over the baronies of Lower Philipstown, Warrenstown, and Coolestown. Five hamlets were mentioned in them, seven 'old ruinous castles or piles', and eighteen messuages. If he could occupy and tenant his lands he was established.<sup>35</sup> Northward, in the barony of Lower Philipstown Nicholas Burrell was leased the lordship of Tuath Cruachain, exactly as Cowley had listed the townlands.<sup>36</sup> It was evidently one of the least known areas.

Edward Dickson of Jordanstown was leased the lordship of Tuath Ratha Droma in the barony of Lower Philipstown with eight townlands, and two additional townlands elsewhere.<sup>37</sup> In the same barony a William Dickson was also given a lease,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Undated. Signed by St Leger before May 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 766).

<sup>33</sup>18 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 708).

<sup>34</sup>16 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 690).

<sup>35</sup>15 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 687).

<sup>36</sup>10 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 663).

<sup>37</sup>15 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 689).

<sup>38</sup>15 Feb. cancelled 25 Mar. (*ibid.*, no. 688).



but it was cancelled in March to allow Roger Brooke to take it. The lease contained ten townlands with four hamlets, and was to be valid for as long as Brooke was captain of the Daingean, or fort Governor. <sup>39</sup> Nearby Anthony March, soldier, was also given a lease of five <sup>40</sup> townlands.

In the barony of Warrenstown Matthew Kyng was first <sup>41</sup> given a lease, which was transferred in an enlarged form to Richard Croft in August. The holding was a scattered one, embracing several townlands and hamlets, and two or three 'old ruinous castles' and six messuages. Cowley had fixed the rental at £18 10s., but Croft was charged £19, an additional castle seeming to have made the <sup>42</sup> difference. Interspersed with Croft's holding and adjoining to it was the lease of Nicholas, son of Francis Herbert of Portlester, who received the site of Monasteroris and its lands, as well as several townlands and hamlets. Cowley valued them at £40 rental, but Herbert was to pay £37 18s. 4d., the value of the monastery and its immediate lands being omitted. He also acquired eight messuages and three castles, one of which was described by Cowley as new, and another at Edenderry, a site of minor <sup>43</sup> importance then.

In the barony of Coolestown the eleventh undertaker, Roger Fynglas, had a curious history of his own. In the fiants which St Leger signed, Redmond oge Fitzgerald was to have the lordship of Ferann Ui Muircain at Cowley's value <sup>44</sup> of £16, and Fynglas was to have the lordship of Magh Leghe at £24, with the indication that he was already in residence

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<sup>39</sup> 23 Mar. (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 735).

<sup>40</sup> 20 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 714).

<sup>41</sup> 18 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 661).

<sup>42</sup> 22 Aug. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 829).

<sup>43</sup> 16 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 691).

<sup>44</sup>

20 Mar. (*ibid.*, no. 732). Cited by the editors as the standard lease for the plantation.



in his lands. In July the council in Dublin wrote to England to explain that he

had by the appointment of Sir Edward Bellingham... a waste piece of ground... called Moyloghe... whereupon he hath sithens not only occupied and manured the same, but also erecte[d] and builded a castle or fortress there to his no little costs and charges. ... one Henry Cowley, farmer here of the... manor of Carbury, hath as we are informed, attained presently your honour's letters for the said Moyloghe.

Because of 'the honest forwardness of the same Fynglas, who no doubt hath long served... as well in this realm of Ireland as in France and elsewhere very handily...', they had sent him to state his case in England, and it is clear that they thought it would be a mistake to remove him.

Fitzgerald and Cowley were neighbours in co. Kildare, for Fitzgerald had also been leased the manor of Rathangan in March on condition that it be kept up as a residence for the deputy, with other stipulations regarding its tenants similar to those of the plantation of Offaly. It is understandable that both men should be interested in the lands immediately to the west of them. The English government, when faced with a planter actually in residence, backed down in its support of Cowley and capitulated completely to Fynglas, who must have put his case well, for they informed the Dublin government that he was to have both lordships, and 'that there be no more argument between Henry Cowley and him, or any other, to trouble us with the matter...'.<sup>46</sup>

The matter did not end there, however, for Croft wrote concerning it, with documentation. The privy council informed him that as he was in doubt, considering the merits

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<sup>45</sup>Undated, but signed by St Leger before May 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 765).

<sup>46</sup>Council in Ireland to the privy council, 10 July 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 33).

<sup>47</sup>22 Mar. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 734).

<sup>48</sup>Privy council to Croft and council, 30 July (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 254).



of Cowley and Fynglas equal, and as 'men's service there be less well known to us than they may be to you', he should make the decision, but their opinion was that since Magh Leghe and Ferann Ui Muircain were two manors, they should be divided between the two men with some preference to Fynglas.<sup>49</sup> Croft seems to have taken the suggestion literally, for in the fiant signed by him Fynglas was given the whole of the two lordships.<sup>50</sup> Walter Cowley's survey of them had been cursory, but it is evident that the English government had an even more limited conception of the size of the tracts involved in the argument. Henry Cowley and Redmond oge Fitzgerald were later to reappear in the plantation of Offaly, but their plans for expansion westward had been blocked for a time.

Outside the bounds of the Offaly of O'Connor but within those of the present county there were other leases. Edward Dalton of Nowalt, co. Westmeath, was leased three townlands in Fercale, O'Molloy's country, which had belonged to O'Connor, and for which he was to pay £5 rent.<sup>51</sup> O'Molloy himself was leased the priory of the White Friars in Kilcormac at a rent of £3. 6s. 8d., a lease which from its date was manifestly designed to be a part of the general settlement of the area.<sup>52</sup>

O'Connor's possessions in O'Dempsey's country were also leased, though finding satisfactory tenants must have been a problem, for Thomas Masterson and John Lee first received leases there.<sup>53</sup> Soon Masterson's lease had been re-leased to Richard Pepper, who appears to have been resident.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Edward VI to Croft, 7 Sept., acknowledging his letter and enclosure of 28 Aug. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 255).

<sup>50</sup> Undated, post Sept. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1144).

<sup>51</sup> 16 Mar. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 726).

<sup>52</sup> 10 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 664).

<sup>53</sup> 17 Feb., 18 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, nos 705, 711).

<sup>54</sup> 22 Mar. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 733).



Most of his holdings in turn, together with John Lee's, were<sup>55</sup> released to John Robson, who thus became the ultimate holder. He was to pay a rent of £34 11s. 8d., in contrast to Masterson and Lee, who both had rentals of less than £15.

Prior to Robson's, a lease had been made to Oliver Sutton which included five townlands in O'Dempsey's country, some of them from the group just discussed. Sutton had managed to negotiate a 21 year lease from 1572 on these lands<sup>56</sup> and others in co. Kildare. Thus the Suttons at last had their long desired foothold in O'Dempsey's country, which, though not cleared and planted in the sense that Leix and Offaly were, was infiltrated with planters.

The distribution of the twenty-nine ultimate holders of Leix is somewhat more complicated than that of Offaly, and for most of it we do not possess the insight given by Cowley's survey.

The leasing of Leix 1551-1552

Holder	Principal site	Number of townlands	Rental Value in leas
1) Giles Hovenden	Killabban	10	3: 15: 0
2) William Jarbard	Ballyadams	6	16: 3: 4
3) Richard Masterson	Ballyroan	16	29: 3: 4
4) Richard Mainwaring	Gallen	16	46: 17: 0
5) Anthony Colclough	Ballylyan	5	20: 2: 8
6) Humphrey Hazelwood	Killone	1	7: 6: 8
7) Robert Quick	Ballycarroll	1	3: 6: 8
8. Hugh Johns	Dysart	2	6: 0: 0
9. Thomas Smythe	Colt	2	8: 8: 8
10. John Thomas Bowen	Ballintubbert	5	9: 10: 0
11. Henry Barrett	Clonaddadoran	3	8: 6: 8
12. Thomas Crowcher	Milltown	2	4: 10: 0
13. Thomas Jacob	Stradbally	10	24: 0: 0
14. Francis Cosby	Derrybrock	8	13: 6: 8
15. Walter Peppard	Downbrin	5	5: 6: 8
	Slievemargy		33: 6: 8
16. Thomas Flody		1	8: 13: 4
17. John Dunkerley	Clonreher	1	4: 0: 0
18. Henry Wyse	Ballyknockan	9	25: 16: 8
19. John Lee and Thomas Padge	Loughkeo	1	4: 0: 0
20. John Bellingham	Cullenagh	5	15: 13: 4
21. Ralph Bagenal	Shaen	10	26: 8: 4
22. John Travers	Farren O'Kelly	22	42: 16: 8
23. Edward Randolph	Timahoe	14	112: 0: 0
24. Donell mcShane MacGilpatrick	Ardlea	7	46: 17: 8
25. Callagh mcTirrelagh MacDonnell	Killeany	1	8: 6: 8
26. Edmund Fay	Ballyfin	15	40: 3: 4
27. Matthew Kyng	Abbeyleix	12	22: 4: 9
28. John and William Glaceters	Ballymanus	1	20: 0: 0
29. Thomas Apoell	Monaferrick	3	8: 13: 4
Total rental			428: 19: 9

<sup>55</sup> 3 Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1113).

<sup>56</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (ibid., no. 1143)



The leases of Hazelwood, MacGilpatrick, and the Glaceters were reduced in size, and are not included in the total rental. Randolph's lease was only a part of a much larger holding elsewhere, and his rental is omitted for the same reason.

In Gallen, the one lordship in Leix for which Cowley's<sup>57</sup> figures exist, Robert St Leger was first given a lease,<sup>58</sup> but he was replaced under Croft by Richard Mainwaring, who thus became the holder of its 1,000 acres of arable, 500 of pasture, and 1,000 of wood at a rental slightly less than Cowley's value of £48 3s. 7d. Near him Matthew Kyng was leased Abbeyleix, instead of Timahoe as the English government had first proposed, or the land first assigned to him in Offaly. His lease stipulated that he was not to levy coyne and livery or any other Irish exactions, nor was he to reduce the number of his tenants, who were to be charged fixed and certain rents, not customs, and he was to let to them all the land he did not keep for his own occupation. He was bound by the general military provisions, but without any specific mention of the fort, from which he was fairly distant. In a few days he was also leased two rectories and their tithes, which had belonged to<sup>59</sup> the abbey, at a rent of £10.

The terms for the planters in Leix in general were identical with those imposed on the planters in Offaly, with the amendment that they were not to let lands to any of the O'Mores or any other inheritors of Leix, and their cesses and services were owed to the fort in Leix.

As the government in England had instructed, William<sup>60</sup> Gerbarde, or Jarbard, was leased the manor of Ballyadams,

<sup>57</sup> 15 Feb. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 684).

<sup>58</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (ibid., no. 1145).

<sup>59</sup> 4 Feb., 8 Feb. 1552 (ibid., nos. 944, 954).

<sup>60</sup> 10 Feb., 20 Feb. 1551 (ibid., nos 662, 712).



and Thomas Jacob the manor of Stradbally.<sup>61</sup> Sir Ralph Bagenal's holding included a decayed castle, and the burgages of Ratheven. It is worth speculating that they represented both the medieval 'new town of Leix' and the land which Sir William St Loe had held, especially as Bagenal was sent to replace St Loe in Ireland.<sup>62</sup>

William Hidney was first leased the manor of Ballyroan, a whole lordship of O'More's, for a rent of £36 16s. 8d.,<sup>63</sup> but under Croft the same holding was re-leased to Richard Masterson at a reduced rent.<sup>64</sup> In like manner two brothers, John and William Glaceters, both of them soldiers, were leased half a dozen townlands in February, but by March 1551 Francis Cosby had been re-leased several of their townlands and others at more favourable terms than the Glaceters were allowed.<sup>65</sup> Another soldier, Humphrey Hazelwood, had been leased two townlands at a rent of £7 6s. 8d.,<sup>66</sup> but one of them was soon in the hands of Cosby.<sup>67</sup>

Other smallholders survived. Quick, Johns, Barrett, Crowcher, Flody, Apoell, and John Dunkerley, the victualler of the fort, were all described as soldiers.<sup>68</sup> Thomas Padge and John Lee were both probably soldiers, and Lee was the only man to have a holding in Leix as well as Offaly. John Thomas Bowen was also described as a soldier, and he was able to weather every change in Leix.<sup>69</sup>

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61

16 Feb. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 699).

62

17 Feb., 6 Nov. 1551 (*ibid.*, nos 703, 896).

63

12 Feb., 15 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, nos 673, 685).

64

Aug. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 838).

65

12 Feb., 15 Feb. (*ibid.*, nos 674, 683).

66

15 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 686).

67

15 Mar. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 724).

68

16 Feb., 17 Feb., 18 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, nos 694, 695, 701, 704, 710).

69

16 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 698). Surname not given in the fiants.



Anthony Colclough's lease was on both sides of the Barrow, south of Athy.<sup>70</sup> Interspersed with his holdings were five townlands on the Barrow's west side, just opposite Kilkea, which were leased to Walter Peppard.<sup>71</sup> The unwary might deduce that Peppard was a smallholder, but these parcels in Leix were a preliminary to a further expansion on his part. The next year he acquired the lease of Slievemargy as it had been given to Jonys in 1549 and at the same rent. He agreed that he would not reduce the number of tenants nor levy exactions there, and the crown was to have the reservation of the timber from the wood of Kildownan.<sup>72</sup> Thus the five townlands were the only portion of his holding for which he owed full plantation conditions.

Sir John Travers, who had long advocated a policy of plantation, was leased the entire lordship of Farren O'Kelly, and four townlands elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> Near him was placed a man who was to be involved in future plantations. In a lease which included holdings in cos Kildare, Meath, and Tipperary, Edward Randolph was also given a lordship in Leix, Farren E Prior, so named for the priory of Connell in co. Kildare, and including the lands around Timahoe and a number of church livings. His lease was to date from 1561, and the rental for the entire holding was £112.<sup>74</sup>

While no definite indication survives as to St Leger's intentions towards the resident Irish, two of his leases are suggestive. Donell mcShane MacGilpatrick began with a lease of fifteen townlands,<sup>75</sup> one of which was re-leased to Callagh mcTirrelagh MacDonnell.<sup>76</sup> Then most of MacGilpatrick's lands were re-leased to Edmund Fay, Bellingham's

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<sup>70</sup>

16 Feb. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 697).

<sup>71</sup> 5 Apr. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 740).

<sup>72</sup> 7 Nov. 1552 (*ibid.*, no. 1084).

<sup>73</sup> 10 Apr. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 741).

<sup>74</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft, probably in 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 1131).

<sup>75</sup> 16 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 700).

<sup>76</sup> 16 Mar. (*ibid.*, no. 724).



one-time agent, together with half-a-dozen townlands elsewhere.<sup>77</sup> The last change may have represented the intervention of the government in England.

There was a large degree of continuity in the leases made by St Leger and modified by Croft. The tendency under Croft, however, was to eliminate the smaller holders and the Irish and galloglas, or at the least to reduce them, and to increase the holdings of those whom the English government regarded with more favour, particularly men who had distinguished themselves under Bellingham. A case in point was Richard Masterson's lease of the lands originally intended for William Hidney, which was so ordered in the king's name, with the addition that Masterson was to be restored to his petty captaincy as he had had it from Bellingham.<sup>78</sup> On the same basis Robert St Leger was replaced by Mainwaring in the lordship of Gallen in Leix,<sup>79</sup> and the large holding begun for Edward Randolph.<sup>80</sup>

Complications soon arose. In February Cowley reported that he had been summoned to help the commissioners make the first leases of the two territories by giving particulars of his surveys. 'But I perceive the substance of the leases are stayed under the great seal in my lord chancellor's hands till sundry conditions be concluded, and unto such time as your honour's pleasure there be further known in things'.<sup>81</sup> The leases were still in suspense in July,<sup>82</sup> while the English government paused and reflected on the importance of the step it was undertaking.

Cowley also defended himself from the charge that he had overvalued the lands which he had surveyed,

<sup>77</sup> 24 Mar. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 736).

<sup>78</sup> Somerset and council to Croft and council, 30 Apr. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 253-4).

<sup>79</sup> Somerset and council to Croft and council, 27 Apr. 1551 (*ibid.*, p. 253).

<sup>80</sup> Edward VI to ———, 20 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, p. 253).

<sup>81</sup> Walter Cowley to William Paulet, 21 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 12).

<sup>82</sup> Council of Ireland to privy council, 10 July 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 33).



for there is not one man preferred by your honour's letters to farms in Offaly but I will give him for his lease one hundred pounds sterling, or yearly will yield to them for the profit of their lease 4d., whereas they pay to the king but 3d., and yet do some of them murmur as if they had nothing.

It is difficult to determine the system by which Cowley figured acreage into rent. He was not working with total acreage, but what relative values he assigned to arable acreage as opposed to pasture, bog, or woods does not appear. He seems to have used a factor more nearly 4d., 5d., or even 6d. an acre, rather than the 3d. he mentions. Only the fiant of Nicholas Burrell <sup>83</sup> gives any additional clue, and it seems more misleading than otherwise. The list of Burrell's townlands is summarised as 'making in all nine ploughlands', for which he was to pay £36 in rent, or £4 a ploughland at 8d. an acre. Yet Cowley enumerated 1940 acres of arable in those townlands, which would be 4½d. an acre, or if the 300 acres of pasture is included, nearly 4d. an acre. Certainly the complaint of overvaluation was answered in Elizabeth's reign by lower crown rents.

Cowley also provided an account of the origins of cess, a practice that was to be even more roundly cursed than coyne and livery, and an endless source of trouble for the government which instituted it. He argued that those who received abbey lands or houses should be required to repair them and keep them up, ready at all times to be residences for the deputy and other officers. When the lands were inhabited, these officials could have grain 'at a light price' and so be enabled to remain longer, better performing the king's service. He averred that he had the agreement of St Leger and Cusack, and he wished that those, like himself, who professed obedience and service would not use nay take the same damnable extortions, specially coyne and livery and the like oppression, we know to be evil and do condemn in others. Nevertheless if such

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<sup>83</sup>10 Feb. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 663).



things be claimed by any English captain or like English ruler here to append to any lordship or manor, then it shall be meet to convert such uncertain things to a certain ordinary profit, better and more profitable to be received and easier to the poor tenants to yield, which thing Sir Edward Bellingham began to place. And this thing being begun by mere Englishmen that cometh from England hither will allure others to do the like. But how may we with honesty reprove the Irishmen in those things which we practice to do and increase amongst ourselves.

The Annals of the Four Masters, referring to the confiscation of Leix and Offaly, described the plantation as an action taken by the Irish government

who proceeded to let these lands at rents to the English and Irish as if they were their own lawful patrimonial inheritances, after having banished and expelled their own rightful original inheritors, O'Conor and O'More, from thence with all their adherents and descendants.

They also concluded, probably with some correctness, that the policy of using kerne abroad in the 1540's was a preparation for such an action. In any case St Leger's fear of July 1550 that the Irish would be driven to seek foreign help was rapidly coming to pass.

One immediate manifestation was in France, where Mason was displaying renewed anxiety. In March 1551 he reported that arms, ordnance, and munitions were being shipped from Brest, ostensibly for Scotland, but in his opinion they were intended for Ireland. A month later he wrote that George Parys had returned to the French court with one 'who they say is a great gentleman, whose name I have not yet learned', but who was offering 'the rebel's service with their country ... to the French king's devotion and subjection, with request that it might like him to send them some aid to

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84

A.F.M. Entry for 1548.

85

Mason to the privy council, 18 Mar. (Cal. S.P. for., 1547-53, no. 305).

86

Mason to the privy council, 18 Apr. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 320). Quoted in P. F. Tytler (*op. cit.*).



defend his own, if it pleased him to accept it'. They argued that Wales would also rise, according to their information, if they got foreign help. An invasion of England as the most direct means of support was urged to the French king. Parys was in contact with the Scots, and voiced the hope that he could proclaim the dauphin king of Scotland, and of Ireland. One of Mason's sources informed him that were it not for the Scottish troubles, the king 'for all his fair words, would have aided the Irishmen; and what he will yet do, he doubteth...'.<sup>87</sup>

Mason's next letter was no more comforting. The 'great gentleman' proved to be Cormac O'Connor, who said that he was the eldest of nine brothers, all alive, and the sons of Brian O'Connor, 'the great worker of all this rebellion'. Cormac said that the French king's messengers had caused the eruption and that he should be given 5,000 men, which would be enough for him to conduct both offensive and defensive war. Mason doubted that they would get anything but he observed that the Scots and their queen were behind the idea. A week later he reported that the Irish were being kept very much under cover and they were still at court in May.<sup>88</sup>

The English government had been preparing for such an emergency since January, and at the end of February they informed St Leger that the military expedition to Ireland was to be under the command of Sir James Croft, instead of Lord Cobham.<sup>89</sup> If St Leger had not gone to Cork and Kinsale, Croft was to 'require' him to do so. Waterford,

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87

Mason to the privy council, 22 Apr. (Cal. S.P. for., 1547-53, no. 324).

88

Mason to the privy council, 27 Apr., 10 May (*ibid.*, nos 327, 341).

89

Edward VI to St Leger, 24 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 13).



Youghal, and similar places were to be urged by every means to fortify themselves. Then Croft with the help of St Leger, Desmond, and any other suitable noble, was to move to the havens of Baltimore and Bearhaven, 'and such other betwixt them and Kinsale', and make plans of them as well as advise the government what to do. All of Croft's actions were to be co-ordinated with the instructions sent by Bagenal a month earlier.<sup>90</sup> The English government was in an urgent mood and Croft had already put to sea by the end of February.<sup>91</sup>

St Leger had been having troubles of his own. From the time of his appointment there had been opposition to him, not only in certain quarters in Ireland, where it could be expected, but in England, where it could be said that those who secured Bellingham's appointment still believed in his methods. Bellingham, to counter the Scots in the north, who were not only pouring in, but settling, 'thought meet to plant some Englishmen there as well' as a counter-balance, and 'also to reduce the inhabitants to a more civil obedience'. He placed Roger Brooke, John Parker, and Andrew Brereton in Lecale with a hundred horsemen. Before long the conduct of Brooke and especially Brereton towards the neighbouring Irish shocked even the Irish council, who could see that the alienation of local opinion by the two<sup>92</sup> was the reverse of what Bellingham's policy depended on.

St Leger's part in the affair began innocently enough. In July 1550 before he left England he was instructed that as Edward St Loe, the younger brother of Sir William, was giving up his command of a hundred men in Ireland, St Leger

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90

Croft's instructions, 25 Feb. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 14).

91

Instructions for Richard Bethell, 26 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 15), privy council to St Leger, 27 Feb. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 16).

92

For details of Brereton's conduct see Bagwell, Tudors, i, 352-3.



was to appoint Roger Brooke, servant to Sir William Herbert St Loe, to Edward's place, placing someone else in Brooke's position. It is interesting that Sir William had discovered that he had a middle name.<sup>93</sup> Sir William Herbert was master of the horse, president of the council of Wales, and a privy councillor of note, soon to be in association with those who overthrew Somerset, and earl of Pembroke after October 1551. A powerful man, and a dangerous enemy.

When Tyrone went to welcome St Leger back, Brereton made charges of treason against him, saying among other things that Tyrone had written to the French king for 'help to drive out the Irish Englishmen out of Ireland'.<sup>94</sup> Examination of Brereton proved the story to be hearsay, and he admitted that it was a smokescreen, a counter defence for himself from the charges made against him. St Leger and the council then agreed that he would have to go. Earlier they had drawn a lease for him, putting him in Lecale with forty to sixty men on condition 'that if he did not dwell and reside upon the same', he was only to let it to an able person agreed on by the deputy and council. Brereton had let it to a servant of Dudley's, and thus freed himself of his responsibilities. It was the excuse that a unanimous Irish government was looking for and he was removed.<sup>95</sup>

The search for his successor then began. Sir John Travers was considered, but, as master of the ordnance, 'and that he had charge also at Leinster for the reformation thereof', he was set aside in favour of William St Leger, the deputy's son. Because Brereton had served well under Bellingham and St Leger in Ireland, 'where his grandfather and kinfolks deceased', and without reference to his

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<sup>93</sup>Somerset and council to St Leger and council, 13 July 1550 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 232-3).

<sup>94</sup>'Articles... by Andrew Brereton against the earl of Tyrone, c. Nov. 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 66).

<sup>95</sup>Council in Ireland to the privy council, 20 May 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 25). A detailed



conduct in the north, they then recommended him to Sir William Herbert. St Leger informed Somerset that William St Leger and John Parker were busy supplying Carrickfergus and Larne against the Scots, in a country so waste that the only food for their hundred horse was grass.

In January 1551 St Leger wrote to William Cecil that he could not be effective if he lived in a cloud of rumours of his recall. He asserted that the king had 5,000 more hearts in Ireland 'than he had at my repair', and that in contrast Brereton's performance with Tyrone was an example of the kind of dealing with the Irish that 'hath done much harm'. There were those in Ireland who distrusted him because he would not countenance 'their abominable murders and robberies'. In February he wrote to William Paulet that the rumour was that he was being replaced as deputy by Lord Cobham, with Sir William St Loe as marshal. St Leger said that he would welcome Cobham, and added 'I trust he shall find this realm in better state than I found the same'.

In March St Leger sent a letter to Cecil addressed to the privy council, and left it to him to determine whether it should be delivered. He reasserted his claim that he had put the realm in a better state of defence, with its subjects 'far better disposed toward the king's majesty than at my coming'. Though he was charged with remaining in Dublin displacing 'that captain and this soldier, selling this benefice and taking money for that farm', he had done none of these things and while in Dublin 'I thank God I had more honourable and honest resort of Irishmen to seek me than perchance hath been in so little time there this forty years'. St Leger also spoke of Brereton's complaints in England

account of the whole Brereton incident.

<sup>96</sup> 18 Feb. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 9).

<sup>97</sup> 19 Jan. (ibid., no. 3).

<sup>98</sup> 18 Feb. 1551 (ibid., no. 10).

<sup>99</sup> Both 23 Mar. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, nos 17, 18).



asking for his removal and gave his own version of the matter. As for the fortification of Cork and Kinsale he told Cecil 'it is more than marvel to me how my lords think...'. He had already pointed out that in addition to other expenses the military pay was £2,000 to £3,000 in arrears, and yet they expected him to provide supplies while denying him money. There was one bit of good news. Some eight or ten of the fleet of eighteen French ships on their way to Scotland with supplies and money had been wrecked in a storm on the Irish coast, though little had been recovered but their ordnance. These must have been the ships referred to by Mason on 18 March, a week before.

The deputy was correct in assuming that the council in England was discussing him. In April they decided to recall St Leger and to appoint Croft in his place. They then wrote to the deputy and his council to leave the crown lands 'in such state as at his first entry he found them, for the better advancement of those that do serve the king'. All leases were to be stayed in the hanaper of the chancery. Croft received the same instructions, and a letter was sent to St Leger in burning tones to

see Andrew Brereton, servant to Sir William Herbert... there placed again in his ordinary room and entertainment there, and to be put again in possession again of his farm, which Sir Anthony St Leger hath displaced of him; and to see as well Mr Herbert's servants that doth serve there likewise used as others.<sup>101</sup>

One knight of the Garter had unseated another, principally over the question of plantations and their conduct.

Croft had reached Ireland shortly after the middle of March and probably landed at Wexford, for on 25 March he wrote to the privy council from Ferns in favour of John Alen

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100

11 Apr. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).

101

15 Apr. (*ibid.*).



who was on his way to England to sue for his pension.

Some time in April Croft and St Leger came together in the south, and they were in Waterford on 24 April, by which time Croft had dispatched to London plans of Cork and Kinsale.<sup>103</sup> St Leger must have used the time well, for when Croft's ideas took shape there were certainly in harmony with his. If Croft were sent as another Bellingham the move was not a success. Until Croft's patent arrived, they governed jointly.

Such was the situation in May when they informed the English government that a force of 1,000 soldiers and 140 labourers had arrived in Cork for which there was no money for payment, as indeed there was none for anything else.<sup>104</sup> Money was probably soon forthcoming as £11,544 19s. was allocated for Ireland from 1 October 1550 to 25 April 1551,<sup>105</sup> mostly for the expenses of Croft's expedition. The English government approved the plans for the fortification of Cork, Kinsale, and Baltimore, and ordered Croft to proceed despite his difficulties. Then he was to move rapidly to the north to counter the Scottish threat.<sup>106</sup>

Croft's patent and instructions do not seem to have arrived before the first of June. His instructions were in essence exactly the same as those of St Leger in the previous year, point by point. Aside from Leix and Offaly, which will be considered later, certain other changes are worth noting. The 'two Bagenals', as they were referred to in this period, were both to be on the council. The need to secure the ports - Waterford, Cork, Kinsale, Baltimore, Bearhaven, 'and Shepe Haven' in the south, and

<sup>102</sup>25 Mar. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 32). The letter is so dated, but the calendarers placed it under 1552 in an excess of zeal.

<sup>103</sup>W. Crofton to Cecil, 12 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 20), Thomas Wood to Cecil, 24 Apr. 1551 (ibid., no. 21).

<sup>104</sup>St Leger, Croft, and others to privy council, 20 May (ibid., no. 24), Croft to Warwick, c. May (ibid., no. 27).

<sup>105</sup>Sums paid out of the mint between those dates for Ireland (ibid., no. 22).

<sup>106</sup>Privy council to Croft, 11 May 1551 (ibid., no. 23).



Strangford, Larne, Carrickfergus, and the Bann in the north - was stressed, naval support being laid on for that purpose. Croft was given a free hand on expense and decisions, the latter to be in agreement with the Irish council.<sup>107</sup> Earlier Croft had been given the power to execute martial law,<sup>108</sup> and to make leases in conjunction with the usual commission.<sup>109</sup> There were instructions for leases in Ireland, including one for Sir William St Loe 'in consideration of his great service', to have the abbey of Fore in co. Westmeath for 21 years after Matthew Kyng's lease expired and on the same terms.<sup>110</sup> The general purpose of the English government seemed to be to undo anything St Leger had done, and to reward his enemies.

Even before the arrival of these documents, Croft had found time to ponder the Irish situation and had reached some conclusions of his own. They were not such as to give comfort to those who wished a more stringent hand than St Leger's in control of affairs. 'The people of this land, be they never so savage, be the creatures of God as we are and ought of charity to be cared for as our brethern...'<sup>111</sup> Crown justice was a very necessary point, and it should be administered in more convenient centres than Dublin, 'whereby the prople may be reduced to some conformity, for the which they do daily exclaim and without the which it is not possible to do any good here'. Towards this end Croft wished to put the government and army

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107

'Instructions of... Croft and... council in Ireland', c. May 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 32).

108 Edward VI to Croft, 29 Apr. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 260).

109 Edward VI to Croft, 19 Apr. (*ibid.*, pp. 258-9).

110 Somerset and council to Croft and council, 20 Apr. 1551 (*ibid.*, p. 253).

111

Croft to Warwick, 11 May 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 27).



in order first. It was essential, he told Dudley, that the soldiers be paid, so that they would not be forced 'to steal nor spoil the country', thus giving the Irish grounds for arguing that their rulers were the first cause of their disorder. Croft added that 'for my part my conscience will so assure me as I will rather tolerate their faults than be guilty of their blood. I have before this time seen it in experience'.

In Venice the ambassador to England, making an account of his tenure to the senate,<sup>112</sup> stated that the English were spending twice as much in Ireland as they received in revenue, mainly in support of garrisoning the coasts and maintaining an army of 3,000 infantry and cavalry. Peter Vannes, also in Italy, reported disquieting talk of Ireland,<sup>113</sup> and in June the privy council instructed him that it was being got in hand, with many of the havens possessed quietly and fortified. Croft was in the interior, setting good order and doing justice, where it had been unknown before.

By summer supplies, men, and money were all being sent to Croft to enable him to act.<sup>114</sup> In the south he appointed Desmond, Atwood, Warren, and Hovenden as commissioners for ordering cos Cork, Kerry, and Limerick. Their instructions included the right to place soldiers for the general quiet of the area, and to put down private wars and malefactors ruthlessly. They were also to make provisions for the defence and supply of Cork, including a garrison for its almost completed fort. They were to be responsible to

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112

Report by Daniel Barbaro... in May 1551 (Cal. S.P. Venice, 1534-54, no. 703).

113

10 June (Cal. S.P. for., 1547-53, no. 378).

114

26 Apr., 28 Apr. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).



the deputy, who was already on his way to his next task.

Croft was pleased MacCarthy Mor had submitted and desired to live under English law. He requested the English government to permit Giles Hovenden a grant in reversion of certain lands in the south, despite their objections to such terms. <sup>116</sup> Concerning Baltimore he went further. He asked the privy council 'what order shall be taken against the next year for fortifying of the same' arguing

that it is thought the only way (to bring it to a strength with smallest charges) to erect a town there, whereunto Englishmen with their wives and family must be sent out of England, like as they have been heretofore to Calais, Dublin, and other places. Otherwise the king shall be at continual charges, and yet the place not brought to such perfection with laying of garrisons, as it shall be by planting of merchants (which defended by men of war for a time) shall be in case to defend themselves from all suddenness. <sup>117</sup>

While the crown was pleased with what had been done, <sup>118</sup> scepticism was expressed concerning MacCarthy Mor. His submission was welcome, 'but it is no news to see the Irishmen at some times come in with fair words and offers, when they mean as little faith as they that hold furthest out. For we win them not by their wills but by our power'. The havens must be in the crown's hands before the Irish were good subjects; 'then shall they obey because they cannot choose'. Croft was also rebuked for not following his instructions to fortify Baltimore. The Spaniards would now be aware of what was intended, which was a detriment. The only comment made about Croft's proposal for a plantation was that if he could find a better device he was to carry it out. The haven should be fortified; all other considerations were secondary.

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<sup>115</sup> Instructions to commissioners, 1 July, enclosed in Croft to privy council, 28 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, nos 38, 38 I).

<sup>116</sup> Croft to privy council, 27 July 1551 (ibid., no. 36). These lands were not part of the abbey of Chore, co. Cork, which he later got.

<sup>117</sup> Instructions for Mr. Wood to declare to... privy council, 28 July (ibid., no. 39).

<sup>118</sup> Edward VI to Croft, 17 Aug. 1551 (ibid., no. 48).



The deputy was also instructed to have Dungarvan surveyed with an eye to the crown's expenses there. <sup>119</sup>

In March 1552 he reported that a committee of Waterford merchants, Sir William Wyse, Thomas Wyse, and Nicholas Lee, had examined the work done there by Matthew Kyng under Bellingham's direction, which had cost some £200. They were satisfied with his conduct and as a result he was given his lease of Abbeyleix. James Walshe succeeded him as constable and Desmond made another petition to have the manor and castle there restored to him, but without success. <sup>120</sup>

From Cork Croft went by Youghal and Clonmel to Waterford, then to New Ross and into the Kavanagh country in co. Wexford. He instructed his agent Wood, on his way to London to the privy council,

for the reformation of Leinster to declare that I purpose to take Ferns into my hands, and to repair the same and the town if they shall so please. Which in my opinion being often resorted unto by the deputy, and standing as it doth in the midst of the Kavanaghs' country... and environed in the English pale, it were to be brought to like laws and obediences as are used in the most civil places.

Cahir mcArt wanted to come to England to consult with the privy council, which the deputy hoped they would permit, for until the area was in hand 'his absence were a help', and when returned his presence would be 'not so hurtful'. <sup>121</sup>

Croft was told to proceed, and as for Cahir mcArt he was welcome to come to England, 'and the sooner the better'. <sup>122</sup>

The English council was soon writing to the Irish government 'for the preferment of Walter Hethe and Richard Walshe, servants of the earl of Ormond, of a lease for term of twenty-one years of the lands and possession[s] of the late O'Morchoe, with such allowance of men for the defence

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119

19-Aug. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).

<sup>120</sup>Croft and council to privy council, 12 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 23), Desmond's petition, c. 1552 (*ibid.*, no. 71).

<sup>121</sup>Instructions... 28 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 39).

<sup>122</sup>Edward VI to Croft, 17 Aug. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 48).



of the same as by their wisdoms shall be thought convenient', and with a proper rental. In a few days they arranged for a 21 year lease to Richard Keating of the castles of Ferns and Enniscorthy with their lands at a rent to be set, and three other substantial parcels at 'the usual rent that he doth already pay'.<sup>123</sup>

To the second arrangement the Irish government promptly objected. Enniscorthy, and particularly Ferns, were essential to their program of reform and should not be granted to Keating or any other, but only to the appointed crown governor of the region. The other parcels, with the exception of St Johns, had been leased to Walter Cowley as part of a £40 rental.<sup>124</sup> Keating reminded the privy council of what it had arranged for him, and pointed out that St Johns and the other parcels had been in his family for a hundred years. He was willing to settle for these, or for a lease of Ferns and Enniscorthy.<sup>125</sup>

The fact that Cowley had died a few weeks previously may have simplified matters. In February 1552 Gabriel Black, one of the army captains, was leased the friary in Enniscorthy, the manor and its lands there and a ruined castle, with other lands which it was explained were 'late Donnell O'Morchoe's, attainted', at an annual rental of £55 17s.<sup>126</sup> He was to hold them under conditions similar to those by which Matthew Kyng held Abbeyleix, which in effect was a planter's holding. During this period the Irish government drew up an 'order for inhabiting the lands in O'Morchoe's country', which does not survive. The 'order'

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<sup>123</sup>

31 Sept., 4 Oct. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).

<sup>124</sup> Croft and council to the privy council, 6 Nov. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 60).

<sup>125</sup>

Richard Keating to the privy council, Nov. 1551 (ibid., no. 59).

<sup>126</sup>

13 Feb. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 965).



presumably concerned Hethe, Walshe, Black, and perhaps others for of the lands it was noted in the seventeenth century 'that if they be not inhabited by a time, they [the under-<sup>127</sup>takers?] are content they shall be forfeited to the king'.

David Power was leased the abbey of Ferns and its lands for 21 years, paying 40s. rent for the first six years because the 'premises lie among the Kavanaghs', and after that £14 ls. 6d. a year. He was to render only the charges due in the pale, and a separate captain in the castle of Ferns was mentioned.<sup>128</sup> In April indentures were drawn up putting Edmund Duff and the freeholders of Kinsellagh with their lands under the manor of Ferns, as were MacDavie Mor and MacVaddock, all paying their dues in cattle and so placed because of 'the depredations of the Kavanaghs'.<sup>129</sup>

In May Sir Thomas Cusack summed up by saying that the deputy had lately been setting the Kavanagh area in order, each gentleman to his territory, with English captains and their companies among them at Leighlin Bridge, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and St Mullins, 'a place wherein the Kavanaghs and other malefactors beforetime disturbed such as brought stuff by water from Ross or Waterford to Leighlin or Carlow'.<sup>130</sup> The English thus had control of the whole length of the Barrow from Castle Lea to the sea.

Cusack also said that kerne had been so placed between Dublin and Wexford that the Irish, their strength reduced, were 'restrained of liberty to take of the freeholders and husbandmen in the countries such as they will ask or exact upon them', and would have to be content and settle down.

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<sup>127</sup>

Entry under 1552 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 281).

<sup>128</sup>

Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1132). Confirmed, Mary to Cusack, 12 Aug. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 319).

<sup>129</sup>

6 Apr. 1552 (ibid., p. 288).

<sup>130</sup>

Cusack's '... present state of Ireland', 8 May 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 43).



The O'Byrne's and others, including the O'Tooles, were also under control, not paying any rent but bearing galloglas. The eastern portion of Leinster had been dealt with by Croft in such manner as to enable him to turn his attention elsewhere.

The largest and most complicated problem in plantation which Croft had to face was Leix and Offaly, and it occupied him at intervals during the whole of his time in Ireland. His instructions for the two countries followed St Leger's through the prohibition of leases longer than 21 years, to which was added

providing upon the sight of the survey that in no case, but upon our pleasure especially known, be let any manor in gross, or the great woods and royalties of manors. And further also that the lessees thereof shall demur and remain upon their said farms, and be in their degrees furnished to the war, so as they may both surely keep those countries and also do us further service in that realm...

Permission was given once more for the Irish chancellor to pass such leases under the great seal. <sup>131</sup> What looked like a resolved policy was in reality only another stage in the English government's thinking.

Insofar as the lessees were in occupation and attempting to plant they were unaffected by the administrative complications which arose, for it is clear that most of the fiants were made to those who were already in possession of parts of their leases, as witness Roger Fynglas. But uncertainty of government confirmation and the form of tenure which would be finally accepted was not encouraging to the planters and was bound to affect them, particularly the undertakers finding tenants. At the same time that Croft outlined his plans for Munster and the Leinster chain



he wished 'to know the council's pleasure for setting the  
king's lands in Leix and Offaly'. The English government  
replied that it was

to be considered what hath been done therein already, and whether the same hath been disposed to our profit, the diminishing of our daily charges, and increase of strength for the surety of our country. And in case the thing there have been otherwise disposed than is aforesaid, our pleasure is you shall see the same reformed and thereupon [either] new leases [may be hereafter] made for twenty-one years unto such persons as shall seem meet unto you... with clauses of forfeiture in case they observe not their covenants [or else] your opinion which hath been declared unto us for granting of the said lands by copyhold to men and their heirs may be taken.

The matter was drafted and redrafted; St Leger was consulted, then ignored. The privy council was obviously at sea, and in the meantime Croft had begun to change his mind. He sent Wood back to England to express his opinion on copyhold tenure, probably to lengthen it to two or three lives, and also proposed

constables to be made of the manors for term of life only, by whom the country may be governed. And divers men which travailed for the winning, this way shall be rewarded and thereby the king the sooner discharged of these bands, yet the inhabitants put in order by the oversight of the constables for the defence of the country. And for the assurance of the leases, either by letters patent to make it shire-ground, or else by a warrant that the leases may be available [valid] upon an office found hereafter, and so for all other leases in other countries.<sup>134</sup>

At this point the whole matter was put in the hands of Sir William Cecil, who had been a principal secretary for over a year, handling most of the council's business. He made extensive notes on the instructions Croft had given to Wood and he seems to have directed the crown's ultimate reply, which was not forthcoming for two months. These notes are among the few examples of Cecil at work during Edward's reign. As might be expected in a matter in which

<sup>132</sup>Croft to privy council, 28 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, 'Instructions for Mr Wood...' 28 July 1551 (ibid., no. 39).

<sup>133</sup>Edward VI to Croft, 17 Aug. 1551 (ibid., no. 48). The insertions into the draft which qualify it are indicated with //.

<sup>134</sup>Instructions for Mr Wood to the council of England, 29 Sept. 1551 (ibid., no. 54).

<sup>135</sup>Edward VI to Croft, 26 Nov. 1551 (ibid., nos 73, 74).



he was concerned, the whole question got more systematic attention, and also became more complicated. The king's letter referred to 'the advice and debate of our council' with 'and debate' struck out, which was indicative of the importance attached to what was being determined. Account was taken of Croft's two constables, but he was informed instead

we be thus resolved, and so would that the said two countries be reduced into the nature of a shire or of two shires, if the largeness of the same may be answerable, and thereof to make either one or two sheriffs... dividing the same counties into hundreds, cantons, or such parts as our other countries within our pale there hath been and is; making the sheriffs and other ordinary ministers under them to govern the same countries as others do... and to serve the process of our laws and all other things belonging to the office of a sheriff and to the underofficers thereof. And for the better maintenance of the said sheriffs, we think best those two forts and houses in either country were appointed for their inhabitation, and some convenient lands in demesne allotted to the same for the better maintenance of the households of our said sheriffs.

Cecil's original notes had referred to the officers as both sheriffs and captains of the two forts, which is probably what the final draft intended. For tenure he had originally noted copyhold for two lives, but in the final version it became for three lives, as the custom was in England 'especially in the west parts of the same'. The services reserved on the holdings should be made with an eye to the control of the area and in general the interests of the crown should be paramount, in particular with regard to rents and the preservation of the woods. The amount of rent and the choice of tenants was left to Croft, with the final admonition that the leases 'be a comfort to them which have and shall there serve'.

The Irish government soon indicated that the crown's letter was no comfort, and Croft seems to have shifted his

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The second copy is a corrected one of the first, which contains marginal headings by Cecil.

<sup>136</sup> Croft and council to the privy council, 26 Jan. 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 4).



opinion with them. Tenure was still the issue. Leix and Offaly were yet unleased, and thereby the country not inhabited'. They had desired 'such estate to be made of the said lands as by the same men might have desire to inhabit and defend it'. The crown's proposal of copyhold for three lives was not enough, for the lands in question were 'upon a frontier' and many of the former freeholders were yet living, either in exile or in extreme poverty, and were only too ready to harass the new inhabitants, 'so as they shall not be able without great cost and charges in building and defending thereof to keep it. Which cost and danger no man will sustain without estate of inheritance'. Then the Irish government was prepared to see the crown answered according to the survey. Otherwise they did not see how to meet the continuing expenses of the garrisons, which were nearly £5,000 yearly, 'and the country nevertheless for a great part lieth waste'. The privy council was advised that it must balance the crown's gain against the security of the two territories.

Croft emphasized the same view in the spring when he reminded the English government that land was the chief means  
137  
of reward in Ireland, and that many became crown farmers

and hold possession for the present time to their great charges with danger of life, hoping therefore always to be the better considered, and as the king's majesty should make new leases or grant further estate they to be preferred before others. And now these men, doubting, lest for lack of putting your honours in remembrance they might be prevented of the reversions of their leases, I am forced to molest your honour for such men, whose services daily I am driven to use for the king...'

The particular case was Walter Peppard, who was concerned about the expiration of his leases, some of them ten years old, and Croft could neither make him a grant, nor assure him any preference.



Early in May Cusack expressed the hope that Leix and Offaly would be made shire-ground 'that men might have states of inheritance in the land there by copyhold or fee farm, and both the forts made market towns...'. Then the crown's profit would increase and the two 'will be well inhabited and manured, and besides his grace's charges should be diminished and such manurance will bring good cheap of corn and cattle, and the English pale thereby will be discharged of exceeding yearly charges, for now there lieth between both the forts 120 or 140 soldiers daily, in effect, and can do no service out of the same countries...'.<sup>138</sup>

They were an enormous expense to the crown and a burden to the surrounding region, paying 5s. for wheat which was sold in the market at 20s., and 12s. for beeves which would sell for £4. So far the populace did not 'grudge or gainsay the same', but the situation would have to be altered. Market towns would be a redress and provide more revenue for the crown.

The privy council also had before it the proposals of Edward Walshe, who urged among many other ideas the Roman system of colonization, 'whereby great numbers shall be planted thick together'.<sup>139</sup> He was all in favour of large numbers of English being planted in Ireland, and thought Leix and Offaly were examples of how it ought not to be done, for

a few having the land, they shall be weak, the land shall be waste, and an endless cry shall be to the king for help, and so for saving... after Cowley's opinion a little sum of rent, whereby the planting of men cannot be thick, the king shall be at continual charges and things shall continue in an uncertainty...'.<sup>139</sup>

Later he reverted to the same point:

it is requisite to divide the same land in such small portions ... planting therein numbers of gentlemen and men of service... wherein neither the division nor yet the survey

<sup>138</sup>Cusack's '... present state of Ireland', 8 May 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 43).

<sup>139</sup>D. B. Quinn, 'Edward Walshe's 'Conjectures' concerning the state of Ireland [1552]', in I.H.S., vol. V, no. 20, 303-22 (Sept. 1947).



made by Cowley must be observed for the portions shall be small, and the grant must be to them and their heirs males for so shall they have a love to dwell in it and to bestow charges on it...

Walshe then went on with his attack on the surveyor-general, referring to human avarice in general, 'and the blind covetousness wherewith Cowley did name a rent where the same cannot be had without a twentyfold charge...'. Small holdings would mean that the king's 'servants and soldiers shall be well rewarded and multitudes shall be pleased, for one acre then shall be better for a man's living than twenty as they are now ordered...'.<sup>140</sup>

Badgered as they were with criticism the privy council wrote to the Irish government that they were sorry to hear that the two countries were not in good order, or at least that the crown's revenues and profits were not yet established and the expense continuing, to the private advantage of those residing there. While they were still satisfied that lands should be leased by copy for three lives, as a result of 'your several messages of late' the king had been petitioned, and a concession made to the Irish government's views. As many estates as could be were to be leased by the system of certain lives, 'and the rest of the land, specially whereupon the tenants shall be forced to build to bestow great cost for the guard and defence thereof, to be granted by copy of court roll to the tenants and heirs males in estate tail...'.<sup>140</sup>

The crown rent for Offaly was some £450 and for Leix some £430 a year. As hard pressed as the English government was such a rental seemed eminently satisfactory, and they wanted 'reservation of the rents according to the survey or better if the same may be'. They were sufficiently impressed by Walshe's other arguments to add the

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<sup>140</sup>29 May 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 48). Section 9 deals with Leix and Offaly.



final instruction 'we pray you there may be good regard had that there may be rather sought a multitude of tenants in regard of the farms than to have many farms heaped into one man's hands, whereby both the lands shall be worse used, and the country weaker of people'.

Certain other events were taking place which were to have a more immediate effect on the plantation than the discussion on tenure. In February 1552 the privy council informed Croft of the latest activities of George Parys, who was now a centre of intrigue in Scotland. From there they surmised he was sent 'to old O'Conor, belikelihood, for some practice. For indeed at the same time old O'Conor was fled hence northward, and being found upon the border was apprehended'. The agent who had been sent to contact Brian O'Conor was also taken, and he told the English that Parys's object was to raise a revolt among various Irish noblemen, including Desmond, whose possible complicity alarmed the privy council. The agent also said that Parys had been in communication with O'Conor, and had sent him a ring on one occasion, and thus they concluded his 'fleeing was upon a very practice'. It seems likely that Brian had never been under more than house arrest while he was in London.

The next move did not come until October 1552 when the English council, presumably after other communications, offered to regrant Parys his lands in Ireland. By December they had got information from some of Brian's servants about his son Cormac who was on his way from Parys in Scotland to inform the conspirators in Ireland of the plans. If possible he was to be captured by the Dublin government as a double-dealer, and he and the O'Conor servants wrung for information. How did Cormac know that Parys had sued for pardon in return for disclosing all his purposes? Brian's



old friends kept his informed of the doings of the Irish government and the family had information even of the court  
 142  
 in England.

The last major area of plantation activity that remains to be considered is in co. Down. In the autumn of 1551 Croft and Cusack were in the north, and with the two Bagenals they renewed the request for a separate council in the north. Cusack reported that in the area rents were settled and arrangements made for 'finding of the king's galloglas', and sheriffs placed in Clondeboy and the Ards 'wherein of old time there were sheriffs likewise'. Carrickfergus was to be the administrative centre where justice would be done, and Irish law replaced by English. The chancellor was confident that the region 'since the time of the earl of March was not so like to prosper and do well as now'. A garrison of a hundred men was also placed in Armagh to try to check the growing troubles in  
 143  
 Tyrone's country.

Bagenal had the garrison there wall up a friary to serve as a fort, and he was then sent by Croft into the Dufferin to expel the Scots who had murdered John White, its holder. He commanded a motley company, which included Edward Brereton with Sir Ralph Bagenal's men, Black's men from Mourne, the captains of Armagh and Monaghan, Thomas Fleming, and a force of Irish. They met with John Morton, of Leix fame, and herded such cattle as they found in the

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142

Privy council to George Parys, 25 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 61), privy council to Croft, 10 Dec. 1552 (ibid., no. 67).

143

Croft, Cusack, Sir Ralph and Nicholas Bagenal to the privy council, 2 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 51), Cusack to Warwick, 27 Sept. 1551 (ibid., no. 52).



borders southward. Then Bagenal planned to move to Belfast  
144  
as he had been instructed by Croft.

The deputy had stated that MacGuinness was anxious to bring his country to order, and wanted both to be made a baron and to have his title to his lands confirmed. The crown was willing to grant these things provided that he reformed his ways of living to conform to the standards of the English pale, 'and also shall do his uttermost to reduce the people inhabiting within his rule to the leaving of their wild and savage rites and manners of living'. Croft was told that he could do likewise with Irish chiefs throughout the realm, but the crown temporized on the matter of a council,  
145  
asking several questions as to alternatives.

Croft had also spoken of his 'planting of men' in the north, meaning the garrisons as much as other settlers. Under St Leger a 21 year lease of Dundrum, with eleven houses in its outer court, and its lands had been made to Edward Gernon for a rent of £8 15s. 4d. He agreed to reside in it in person, to obtain the council's consent  
146  
to alienate, and to keep the inhabitants properly armed. At the same time William St Leger and John Parker were given 21 year lease of extensive monastic property, in which co. Down was particularly rich for the north. Most of it was concentrated around Downpatrick, and their holdings included seven monastic sites there as well as one in Bangor and another in the Ards. These possessions contained some 35 rectories and the tithes of some 138 townlands, with nearly 82 ploughlands of arable land or 10,000 acres of the

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144

Nicholas Bagenal to Croft, 27 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 56), Croft to privy council, 18 Nov., enclosing N. Bagenal to Croft, 11 Nov. 1551 (ibid., nos 65, 65 I).

145

'Instructions for Mr Wood to the council of England...' 29 Sept. (ibid., no. 54), Edward VI to Croft, 26 Nov. 1551 (ibid., no. 74).

146

13 Mar. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 723).



measurement of the time. Unfortunately there is no information as to the conditions under which they held or the rental they were expected to pay, but St Leger's intention in placing them there was to further English interests by peaceable means and they were undoubtedly expected to find tenants and develop their holdings in the same manner as other plantation lessees.

Under Croft a lease was made to Brabazon of the manors of Lecale, Ardglass, and Strangford, with all ports, creeks, islands, and other appurtenances, and all customs and poundage. The rent was to be £13 6s. 8d. and the lease was to date from 1558. He was not required to be personally resident, but he was to inhabit his holdings with loyal subjects, who would observe the statute regarding the English language and dress, and would not fraternise with the Irish. The next April letters patent were made for Nicholas Bagenal as the possessor of monastic lands around Newry and Carlingford, as well as the castle and manor of the latter, and the lands and manor of Mourne and Greencastle, at an annual rental of some £200 Irish or £150 sterling. As a condition the English council had instructed that a recognizance of £400 should be required of Bagenal, so that he could be made responsible for any uncertainty in the value of fulfillment of the terms because some of his holding 'has and yet remains waste and unmanured'.

Difficulties were not long in coming. As early as February 1552 Con O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was writing to England to complain of the activities of Bagenal, Brereton,

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147

Betham, 'Extracts from Pipe Rolls', vol. 2, Ed. II-Ed. VI (N.L.I., MS 761, pp. 363-368). The extracts were made early in the nineteenth century, and are detailed, but there is no indication of the terms of the leases of St Leger and Parker.

148

31 Aug. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 837).

149

22 Apr. 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 37).

150

30 Mar. 1552 (Acts privy council, 1552-54).



151

and Brooke, and he asked St Leger, whose 'tranquillity and peace' was contrasted with the existing state of affairs, to use his good offices for him. <sup>152</sup> When Sir Thomas Cusack went on his all-encompassing circuit he had much to say of the north, most of it optimistic, but with some indications of future trouble. <sup>153</sup> Bagenal's neighbour MacGuinness was worthy of much praise, following English ways, and being obedient to all governmental commands. His country Iveagh, 'hath been parcel of the county of Down, and he being made sheriff thereof hath exercised his office there as well as any other sheriff doth...'. Nearby was the Dufferin, which still needed to be cleared of usurping Scots. It was of 'no great circuit but small, full of woods, water, and good land meet for Englishmen to inhabit'. Then there was Lecale, 'where Mister Brereton is farmer and captain, which is a handsome plain and champion country... without any wood growing therein... the same country for English freeholders and good inhabitation is as civil as few places in the English pale'. Next there was the Ards, 'which hath been mere English, both pleasant and fair by the sea... now in effect for the most part waste'.

North of the Ards was Clondeboy, and there Cusack saw problems. It was in contention among the MacNeills, and Hugh MacNeill and Bagenal had had a dispute and raided each other, with MacNeill appealing to the Irish council. Cusack had tried to investigate, but MacNeill had gone over to the Scots and was not likely to conform again. To counter the danger Cusack 'appointed and planted in the

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 151

Tyrone to Edward VI, 9 Feb., twenty-six articles of complaint, 9 Feb., Tyrone to Northumberland, 9 Feb., countess of Tyrone to Northumberland, 13 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, nos 6, 7, 8, 10).

152

Tyrone to St Leger, 9 Feb. (ibid., no. 9).

153

Cusack's '... present state of Ireland, addressed to Northumberland, 8 May 1552 (ibid., no. 43).



country a band of horsemen and footmen for defence thereof against the Scots if they come'. He explained that Clondeboy was mostly woods and bogs, with a belt of champion country near the sea, with two castles, 'one called Belfast, an old castle standing upon a ford that leadeth out from Arde to Clondeboy, which... would be a good defence betwixt the woods and Knockfergus'. The other castle lay in the Dufferin border 'upon a plain in the midst of the woods'. He thought the two should be repaired and garrisoned, both as a general defence against the Scots to the north, and to bring men like Hugh MacNeill to order. For Hugh 'there be devices amaking which by God's grace with haste shall take effect', said Cusack, without intending any irony.

It was out of the very situation described by Cusack that a halt was made to the plantation in Down. Evidence is very scanty, but in a set of queries <sup>154</sup> drawn up after Croft's departure it was asked if the pledges taken by St Leger for the north and by John Parker for Lecale were not released by the government, including Sorley Boy MacDonnell and Hugh MacNeill, 'whose rebellion since their enlarging have cost many a pound and many a soldier's life'. The uncertain government policy in the north was brought out in the question 'what willful wars have been made upon the dwellers in the north of Ireland and what slaughter of Englishmen... what charges... and what dishonour by lewd attempts, and fortifying Belfast which was fair to be given up to Hugh MacNeill oge, who first they made sheriff and then a rebel'.

The imprisonment of Tyrone was also queried as removing a defence against the Scots, and indeed by the end of 1552



the Irish council had to admit that since his detention his followers had created chaos 'to annoy English subjects, inhabitants near those marches...', and they had decided to release him as one means towards clearing the north of Scots.<sup>155</sup> In the period following Croft's departure the Scots poured in to join the disaffected Irish, to whom the trilogy of Bagenal, Brereton, and Brooke was worse than their traditional enemies.

156

By the spring of 1553 Nicholas Bagenal was petitioning that though he had developed his holdings from £19 to £200 a year, and had hoped 'to settle myself' on them, he was willing to surrender them for similar lands in England, since they were his only income. Bagenal's explanation was that he heard that the king thought such an estate 'not meet to be in the hands of a man so mean degree as I am', and despite all 'charges and debts grown about keeping and inhabiting the same' he would insist on surrendering what he had, if the king wanted it. It is more likely that he had gauged the difficulties of holding on in a hostile north.

In the event, of all the planters in Down, which included Brabazon, William St Leger and Parker, as well as Brereton and Brooke, Bagenal was the only one destined to have any permanence and to create a significant settlement, which he did by retaining Carlingford and Greencastle, and by developing Newry as a centre of Englishry. He had the advantage of possessing the shortest lines of communication to the pale, as well as holding points of such strategic importance that he always had a measure of government aid.

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<sup>155</sup> Council of Ireland to the privy council, 22 Dec. 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 69).

<sup>156</sup> Bagenal to the privy council, c. Apr. 1553 (ibid., no. 79).



Brabazon, who might have given weight to the enterprise, died in July 1552 before he could have done anything to develop his holdings, and they in time reverted to the earl of Kildare after his restoration. Brereton hung on grimly to some shadow of his rights as farmer in Lecale, and was reported by Archbishop Dowdall of Armagh in 1558 as saying that the Scots had taken 15,000 cattle from Lecale alone.<sup>157</sup> There was the real difficulty: Irish opposition to men of the stamp of Brereton had made plantation difficult; the inundation of the Scots made it impossible.

The general sense of the conditions created by the Scots can be got with great vividness from an account several years later of the hard times of Carrickfergus since the time 'when the Englishmen were last banished and forced to leave that country, the enemies being so strong...'<sup>158</sup>

While the account is devoid of a coherent chronology it does give a very real sense of the town being beset by the Irish, by Clandeboy Scots on the move, and by Scots in galleys. Cattle were carried away, crops were destroyed, and the town was burned to the castle walls. In one revealing incident the lord of Clandeboy, Bryan Ballough

demanding of one of the townsmen... a bow, which the owner refused to give him, which refusal the said Bryan took in so great grief and scorn as he thereupon most maliciously gathered unto him the number of sixty horsemen, and upon a day finding the said townsman named Thomas Bullock overseeing his ploughmen in the field hard by the same town, did then and there by force hang him up...

No colony could develop under such conditions and another incident also shows the native resurgence. In a nearby abbey a Captain Powell [Walter Ap Howell?] was placed with his hundred men, the usual first step in

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157

'The archbishop of Armagh's opinion touching Ireland. Delivered in July 1558'. (B.M., Harl. MS 35, no. 4).

158

'A note as well of the great losses as also of good service, that the poor inhabitants of Knockfergus have had, and done from time to time...', written shortly before Sidney's departure as deputy in 1571 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 14).



establishing a quasi-military holding. But on the discharge of the captain and his men the abbey, 'which was inhabited with Englishmen', was given to one Hugh McMellog /Hugh MacNeill oge?/, a leader of Scots and Irish, before he had promised 'to be true unto the king's majesty'. The townsmen also complained of the loss of £24 sterling lent to William St Leger and John Parker, and another £20 to Roger Brooke.

Presumably the money had some relation to their attempts to establish themselves in co. Down and the fact that it was not repaid bears mute testimony to their failure. It is recorded that an edifice there, built by John Parker, was burned by the enemy and ten ploughlands<sup>159</sup> wasted. The plantation which was begun so hopefully, and which might have rivalled its companions in Wexford and Leix and Offaly, was so thoroughly effaced that the very existence of the attempt has been forgotten.

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159

'Articles to be inquired of... Ireland' c. 1556 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 13).



## CHAPTER VII

## LAND POLICY AND TENURE

1547 - 1558

In 1549 John Alen complained that 'of late Mr Cowley surveyed at 60s. a parcel to be leased of crown land', which he had caused a jury of twelve men to examine. They presented the clear value of the same as £10. Alen suggested the conclusion was obvious,<sup>1</sup> and it is probably true that crown lands were being let, and consequently sold, at something like a third of their potential value, despite the over-renting of Leix and Offaly. Such terms created a large rush for lands, with government officials in the lead and each successive surveyor at the forefront.

In October 1550 the Irish council recommended Cowley to be the purchaser of abbey lands worth £40 sterling a year, and to have the lands he then held in fee simple, as rewards for his services. The assurance was given that the crown would lose nothing in the transaction, and that Cowley '(having such estate as he may not be removed, as other farmers commonly be upon leases)... will be bound to build and from time to time repair, as need shall require'.<sup>2</sup> The crown was pleased to grant Cowley the £40 rental of lands in fee simple, but he was to have the rest of his lands on a lease of 21 years.<sup>3</sup>

Cowley's successor, Michael Fitzwilliam, made a determined effort to get the records of survey from the

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<sup>1</sup> Alen to William Paget, controller in England, c. Apr. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 32).

<sup>2</sup> St Leger and council to the privy council, 21 Oct. 1550 (ibid., no. 64).

<sup>3</sup> Edward VI to Croft, 17 Aug. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 48).



office of the remembrancer of the exchequer, Henry Draycott, who stoutly refused to surrender them. He gave eleven cogent reasons for refusing to do so, on the general grounds of protecting the crown's interests, and specifically that the king 'hath no particular receivers in every shire here as... in England'. Twice yearly he made writs 'for all the tenants, farmers, and occupiers of all the king's... revenues in Ireland, wherefore he must needs have the said records...'<sup>4</sup>

As early as 1550 the English government had begun to be uneasy that the expected profits of a rigorous policy in Ireland were not forthcoming. St Leger was instructed<sup>5</sup> that rents and revenues were to be thoroughly collected, crown lands were to be 'diligently surveyed', and the surveyor and officers of the exchequer were to be admonished and made efficient. The decay in rents must be halted. The crown as landlord was also concerned with the upkeep of its own estates. Its manors and castles 'as well those of long time in our hands as others now lately builded and not yet finished, be meet to be maintained and fully builded', and provisions were made for carrying out these new works, all of which required the increased income the government was seeking.

Croft's instructions in May 1551 repeated those given to St Leger, and added that no church property or church lands were to be sold without royal assent.<sup>6</sup> In November he was praised for his reforms in Ireland, but the time of year gave pause for thought on policy.<sup>7</sup> The need was

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<sup>4</sup> Croft and council to the privy council, enclosing Draycott's objections, 2 Dec. 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, nos 65, 65 I).

<sup>5</sup> Instructions to St Leger and council, c. July 1550 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 57, sec. 3, 4, 11, 15, and 19).

<sup>6</sup> Instructions to Croft and council, c. May 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 32).

<sup>7</sup> Privy council to Croft, c. Nov., redrafted as Edward VI to Croft, 26 Nov. 1551 (ibid., nos 71-4).



repeated not to allow the crown's rents to diminish or decay, by wasting of woods and timber, - a steadily increasing concern in this period -, by decayed housing, by evil bailiffs and collectors, 'surrounders' and other such middlemen, and by negligent accounts. The need for vigilant officers, particularly in the exchequer, was dwelt on. If the beginning Croft had made was to be capitalized on, these under-officers must work both to preserve the old revenue, and increase and augment it with new, not only by casualties, escheats, and forfeitures, but also by the assumption and seizure into the king's hands of all the rents and payments that Croft had begun to restore and revive.

The crown wanted a system of regular audits again so that a check could be kept on its income, but Croft was informed that it was intended to return all specific suits to him, as being in a better position to judge the crown's best interests than the privy council was.

Furthermore we pray you to give especial order that the... officers which have to do in drawing and making of books for leases for term of years do not in any wise extend the letter of the said grants and leases to any seigniories, manors in gross, or multitude of tenements, leases of woods, and royalties of manors. And further to provide that the lessees of any farms ye shall grant shall inhabit upon their farms, and not to let them to under-farmers reserving greater rents, and so betwixt the king's... tenant and the occupier of the lands being several increases of rents, the occupiers of the lands be compelled to carry the prices of things, to the evil example and hurt of the whole country. Whereof, because we see a proof of hurt that hath ensued in this realm, we give you knowledge to prevent it beforehand in that country.

In addition, Croft was also informed that the crown had determined for various good reasons which were not specified 'not to make any sale of our lands there'.

8

The following spring Croft asked Cecil, who had helped draft the king's letter, to remind the privy council that he was destitute of funds, and to dissuade them from more fortification. In Ireland the crown had 'divers houses in decay, which repaired will serve to good purpose, and are



situate in very good places: as Athlone, one of them, where... after some reparations done, I will make as much abode as in any other part of the realm'. To Athlone he added Carrickfergus, Carlingford, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Cork, Limerick and Galway, and declared that with these 'we should need none other fortification' for

it would be hard to devise to build in more apt or better places... So were these and divers goodly manors edified, for that King John saw it. And thus by these towns the light hath been maintained, and brought to pass: that (notwithstanding the civil wars in England and the foreign wars, whereby the kings hath been letted to provide for this savage country, and the continual discord and rebellion of the inhabitants) the king's majesty holdeth footing here, and is like to rule as to his highness appertaineth.

Croft contended that success was contingent on continued supplies from England, and a sound money policy in Ireland. Then he could guarantee effective control from Dublin to Galway 'and the most part south from that line', together with everything south of a straight line from the upper part of Lough Ree to the head of Lough Erne through to Carrickfergus, thus placing under the crown everything 'betwixt the Shannon and St George's channel'.

The debased coinage and its evil effects were a constant source of worry to Croft, who pointed out that one of the evils was to raise rents, combine farms, and undermine tillage, with farmers behaving like merchants and merchants like farmers, the ensuing chaos ruining the 'poor men and artificers', who were the foundation of any increased crown revenue. In practice he was not able to move his army out of the pale because of the high prices, but had to stay where he could afford to buy supplies, which occasioned criticism. The Irish did not feel the pinch so acutely,<sup>9</sup> and their lords could always resort to coyne and livery.

After some delay the privy council answered Croft's

<sup>9</sup> Croft to Cecil, 14 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 27), Croft to Winchester, 22 Mar. 1552 (*ibid.*, no. 31).



10  
 points, explaining that they had wanted to sort out all the Irish business, large and small. In general they agreed with him about fortifications, but they reiterated that that such works must go on at Baltimore, Waterford, and other places in the south. The havens would then be for the use of the king's subjects, 'which now commonly be, Spaniard, Frenchmen, and other strangers hath and use like their own'. They agreed to Croft's use of Athlone, in which they understood Drabazon was willing to surrender his interest upon recompense. They concluded their proposals for a general financial tightening up on a note of discontent. The privy council had examined the accounts sent over of the royal revenue in Ireland and discovered that it was 'rather diminished than increased, which is a marvel'. They were concerned with the augmentation that should have come in from the monastic suppressions and other new sources of income, together with the conquests and recoveries of countries in recent years. Croft was not blamed for his tenure, but he and his council were to examine the matter thoroughly and explain it.

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 A memorandum drawn up towards the end of Edward's life shows the nature of the dilemma in which the privy council found itself as regards Ireland. Crown expenditure there had risen drastically, but the revenue stubbornly refused to show any corresponding rise to cover the increased outlay, which must be supplied from England. A rough balance sheet showed the following situation:

	Crown Expenditure	Crown revenue
1541	£9,000	£11,280
1542	7,000	£7,900
1543	8,000	8,200
1544	15,000	10,100
1545	3,000	8,580
1546	9,000	8,541
[Totals]	[£51,000]	[£54,601]

10 Privy council to Croft and council, 29 May 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 48), Sections 3, 4 and 5 were for Croft alone, with section 13 on revenue being for the council.

11 'Whether it be requisite or expedient to increase the



	Crown Expenditure	Crown revenue
1547	£17,000	£11,980
1548	20,800	11,032
1549	20,800	12,400
1550	18,300	11,100
1551	49,000	10,400
1552	52,000	10,000
/Totals/	/£177,900/	/£66,912/

No figure was given for the revenue in 1552 and it has been supplied in round numbers, as all the figures have been slightly rounded off. The totals are also supplied.

Even the English crown could not afford such a drain for long and the need to retrench was pressing. Attention was centred on reducing the burden of the military establishment. More troops would be needed only in the event of 'a thorough conquest' and the English government had come to doubt the wisdom of such a course, for if a conquest were not fully effective it would be dishonourable to the crown, and 'also force the inhabitants to join wholly together and to seek for aid of foreign princes'. On the other hand by reducing forces the Irish lords would have less to fear, with smaller disposition to seek foreign aid, 'and so fall to dissention amongs themselves and continue their old savage livings'. It was an attempt to recover the status quo of Henry's reign, with the addition that the government wished to retain the havens and walled towns as a step towards preventing invasion, or at least denying the enemy the best landing places. Such a policy would mean more expense than of 'old time accustomed', but would not be a quarter of the present cost.

Mary's instructions to St Leger and his government in 1555 reflected the same concerns. <sup>12</sup> Where rents were decayed or 'land letten under the value', a reform was to be made in the re-leases, with the crown getting either the rent of the best survey or at least the ancient rents. The great woods were to be reserved to the crown, and attention was

numbers of men of war... in Ireland', c. Apr. 1553 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Bd. VI, 51/4, no. 75).

<sup>12</sup> Instructions to St Leger and council, c. Oct. 1553 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 2, sec. 10, 11, and 23).



to be paid to securing industrious tenants. In all reversions granted or to be granted the grantee was not to sell to anyone, but was to dwell and occupy the holding himself. Only members of the council and the officers who assisted them were to be permitted to have under-farmers. These injunctions were extensions of ideas raised in Edward's reign.

While the queen instructed that the catholic religion was to be restored, there was no indication that any overturn of the monastic suppression was contemplated. Indeed it seems likely that both St Leger and Croft, who was deputy-constable of the Tower until 7 July 1553, impressed arguments on Mary for the need to use monastic lands in Ireland to further settlement. She was aware of Croft's intentions regarding the placing of David Power in co. Wexford in August,<sup>13</sup> and in October St Leger was given a set of instructions<sup>14</sup> on specific suits for leases and other matters in which the planters of Leix and Offaly figure prominently. Hovenden, Kyng, Mainwaring, Travers, and Hidney from Leix, Dickson, Makely, and Anthony March from Offaly, and their near neighbours Parker, Henry Cowley, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, and Francis Agard were all mentioned for leases of lands in other places, and the lord of Dunboyne was to have the monasteries of Holy Cross and Hore.

The final paragraph has the stamp of St Leger's concern for the right man in a given post:

And whereas others have made suit unto us for keeping of our castles within that realm, we will in this case that you shall have the appointing of the captains of every such castle. In the appointing of whom our pleasure is you do specially foresee to place men of honest and sober conversation, such as by their wisdom may be both able to give you a good account of the charge committed to them, and minister good examples of honest life, justice, and uprightness to

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13

Mary to Sir Thomas Cusack, 12 Aug. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Elizabeth., p. 319).

14

Mary to St Leger, 23 Oct. 1553 (*ibid.*, pp. 300-4).



the inhabitants near adjoining, without using unlawful violence, extortion, or any other kind of injustice towards them, upon pain of loss of their rooms and further punishment at our pleasure, if any shall be found culpable.

In September and October a total of £24,000 was sent to Andrew Wyse, the vice-treasurer, from England. By December Valentine Browne was on his way to Ireland to displace Thomas Jenyson as auditor.<sup>15</sup> The object was a check on Wyse's accounts and before long he was on his way to a trial before the privy council in England, replaced as vice-treasurer by Sir Edmund Rowse.<sup>16</sup> Wyse was found guilty of cooking his accounts and returned to the Fleet until he confessed his crime.

Browne and Rowse had gone to work promptly and had paid and discharged eleven bands of soldiers by February 1554.<sup>17</sup> By early May Sir Edmund Rowse was on his way back to England with a report on Irish finance, which was illustrated by the figures for royal income and expenditure in the year ending 29 September 1551.<sup>18</sup> The expected income and what had come to the receiver was as follows:-

Rents and farms of:	Expected	Received
1. The old inheritance	£1,397:16: 4	£886:10: 9
2. Exchanged lands	871:12: 7	557:13: 4
3. Attainted lands	1,718: 2: 6	1,289:16: 2
4. Monastic lands	7,455:16: 8	5,517: 4:10
5. St Patrick's cathedral	1,432: 2: 9	1,346:19: 6
6. Lands escheated to Mary	3:12: 4	3:12: 4
7. Spiritualities, sheriffs, etc.	1,289: 4:10	1,289: 4:10
8. Casualties	399: 9: 4	399: 9: 4
Total Irish pounds	£14,568: 7: 5	£11,095:11: 2

<sup>15</sup>24 Sept., 29 Sept., 20 Oct., 28 Nov. 1553 (Acts privy council, 1552-54).

<sup>16</sup>28 Mar. 1554 (Acts privy council, 1554-56).

<sup>17</sup>Browne to Cecil, 28 Feb. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 20).

<sup>18</sup>St Leger and council to privy council, 31 May 1554 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 239). Report on Irish finances to Mary (B.M., Add. MS 4767). Beginning on folio 64 of this manuscript, which belonged to Jeremiah Milles in 1747, is an almost complete archive of Sir William Cecil on Ireland, got together by him at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The report to Mary is not dated, but Justice Luttrell was mentioned as alive, so the date would be before June 1554.



Of the difference, £1,059 15s. 3d. was accounted for by the charges of bailiffs, pensions, stipends of curates, and detached rents; another £2,129 11s. 10d. was the value decreased from the surveys by the leases of the king's commissioners; a further £283 9s. 1d. was the value decreased by the leases of abbots and priors, 'before the dissolution of their houses, to divers of the lawyers, merchants, and officers of that realm', under the value of the rent they had received. There was a total loss to the crown of £3,472 16s. 3d., some of which would return in time. From the £11,095 11s. 2d. which remained £3,932 8s. 10d. was paid out for the civil establishment, annuities, pensions of religious, and other smaller items. There was left £7,163 2s. 3d. Irish or £4,735 8s. 2d. sterling for the payment of the queen's garrison. The ordinary charges of the deputy and garrison came to £28,287 7s., and the extraordinary charges for marine affairs, fortifications, etc., to £1,700 for a total of £29,987 7s. sterling, and thus the charges exceeded the revenue by £25,251 11s. 5d. sterling. While the figures were largely from Edward's reign, Browne and Rowse evidently regarded them as typical of what Mary could expect. A memorandum in the spring of 1556 gave substantially the same picture, and recorded the loss to the crown of the rentals of the restored St Patrick's cathedral and the earl of Kildare.<sup>19</sup>

Browne and Rowse appended a long memorandum to their figures to explain the crown's losses in greater detail. Foremost in their consideration were Leix and Offaly. They were 'not mentioned in the value aforesaid for that the auditor could never have the surveys whereupon to charge



the same. Which said lands by report doth amount to £1,000 sterling by year'. The two complained repeatedly at not being able to see the necessary records, and what they did see convinced them that lands were let consistently undervalued. The commissioners of 1537-38 and 1540-41 had let lands for 21 years 'much under the value of their surveys', for which the only reason seemed to be the dangers the holders stood in from the wars, and in specific cases the permission of the crown. The tendency increased in Edward's reign, particularly with lands given or sold since 29 September 1551. Lord Gerald Fitzgerald, Nicholas Bagenal, and others had acquired lands worth £400 sterling in fee simple, much under the values of the surveys. Lord Gerald's lands were certified by the existing rents, that is, under the survey. The queen had lost above £1,300 sterling in lands already granted. The administrative machinery for collection and evaluation was not adequate, and there was no proper record of unpaid rents owed the crown. Eight proposals for reform were made, some of which were revealing for the light they shed on existing practices. Several of the proposals dealt with the need to make new leases on the basis of the highest survey, or if necessary a new survey. In the renewal of leases, if the holders would not agree to new rates, the property should be re-leased to those able 'to perform the covenants'. Certain leases in reversion could be broken by legal means, on the grounds of the ignorance of the late king and his council. It was estimated that these steps would increase the revenue by a third, and lessen the queen's charges by £3,000 sterling. Fines should be levied on new leases as 'there was in the late court of augmentations here in England, which would within twenty years amount almost to an whole year's charges'. All the customs of towns, both tunnage and poundage, were under-leased, and should be negotiated anew.



From parsonages the queen got no rent except grain, 'which they call port corn'. These were mostly leased to merchants of the more substantial of that realm', who paid from 4d. to 1s. 4d. rent per Irish peck, which was identified (conservatively) as two English bushels. They sold the grain when the market was good, or brewed it for the same ends. Two years before [1552] they sold corn at 13s. 4d. to 23s. 4d. a peck, which had been selling at 4s. to 5s. Some 20,000 to 30,000 Irish pecks at least had been sold in such fashion. At the same time the soldiers and the forts were in need and the poor men of the country were cessed for grain at half the market price, which created a grievance. Those who held such leases should be pressed harder. All leases should have the provision added that 1/5 to 1/6 of the corn should be reserved for the deputy and garrisons at the same prices the lessees paid. It would be a relief to the poor and a benefit to the kingdom.

Provision five is of sufficient importance in the history of plantation to be quoted in full:

Also that whereas the best part of the queen's revenues of that realm are in a few men's hands that maintaineth [n]either hospitality [n]or giveth ensample of civility to the rude people, [n]either yet keepeth any men upon the same for the defence and strength of the country, other than boys or poor labourers for husbandry, and set their corn at too excessive prices and cause dearth, albeit some of them having ten or twelve several farms in their hands to the yearly rent of £400, £500, or £600 by year; and may dispend thereby 1,000 marks yearly apiece: that order might be given that in the granting of the reversions no man to have in farms above the yearly rent of 100 or 200 marks Irish by year, unless it be an entire thing above that value; and be bound to keep a certain number of Englishmen upon the same (as shall be thought most convenient by the deputy), whereby the country shall not only be stronger of men but shall thereby the better increase civility. And no man shall have above three or four farms in his or their hands, to the intent the country may be more plentifully inhabited with householders.

Most of these reforms were not carried into effect immediately, but many of them were eventually, including parts of provision five, and the fact that Sir William Cecil had a copy of this report indicates that he thought it an incisive view of Irish finance and land policy.



Under Mary the crown's first response was contrary to what had been recommended, because of the pressing need for money in Ireland. In October 1554 a commission was issued<sup>20</sup> for the sale of any of the crown lands there up to £1,000 a year in value, either for term of lives or years or in fee tail or in fee simple. Such lands were to be held in chief by knight's service without any rent or tenth being reserved. At twenty years' purchase the crown could have realized £20,000 from such sales, but there is no indication that it did. Browne and Rowse were included in the commission with St Leger, Dowdall, Cusack, Alen, Aylmer, Travers, John and James Bathe, and Sir William Fitzwilliam. Any business was to include as two members St Leger, Dowdall, or Fitzwilliam, who first appears as a government official in Ireland in this commission.

A year later Mary summoned Browne to come to court with such books and papers as were necessary to explain his 'doings', so that she could understand the state of the revenue, the crown's charges, and other particulars.<sup>21</sup> When Curwen was made chancellor he was instructed not to pass under the great seal to anyone a 'lease, reversion of farm, or any other grant of any office... except by our special commandment...'.<sup>22</sup> The next spring the new deputy Lord Fitzwalter was instructed that he could make leases of lands for 21 years, provided that in all reversions the holders dwelt on their holdings.<sup>23</sup> The crown continued to be preoccupied with the necessity for residence. In January 1557 Mary specified in granting Sir George Stanley's

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8 Oct. 1554 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1554-55, p. 103).

21

Mary to Valentine Browne, 15 Sept. 1555 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 345).

22

Mary to Curwen, 1 Oct. 1555 (*ibid.*, p. 345).

23

Fitzwalter's Instructions, 28 Apr. 1556 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 206).



suit for lands<sup>24</sup> that a clause was to be inserted in his lease requiring that he permanently reside on his holding or cause it to be occupied to his use.

A fortnight later Mary expanded the principle by requiring that a clause of residence was to be included in all leases in the future.<sup>25</sup> The remainder of her reign provides a few examples of such leases. In May 1558 Edward and James Gernon were given 21 year leases of lands in co. Louth on which they were required to reside in person or have an able tenant sufficiently equipped for defence of the country, and they were not to make such an assignment without licence from the deputy.<sup>26</sup> A similar lease was also given to George Gernon in co. Meath,<sup>27</sup> and two leases were made in co. Dublin,<sup>28</sup> and one in co. Kildare,<sup>29</sup> with the same provisions. The beginnings of a comprehensive policy for land settlement had emerged by the end of Mary's reign.

Something of the transformation that had occurred in the holding of land in Ireland since the Geraldine revolt can be seen by specific examples of individuals acquiring or enlarging estates and being settled in crucial places. Aside from the attainted lands of the Fitzgeralds and their adherents, the crown had the disposal of the suppressed

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24

Mary to Fitzwalter, 10 Jan. 1557 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 378).

25

Mary to Fitzwalter and Curwen, 22 Jan. 1557 (ibid., p. 361).

26

14 May 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, nos 215, 216).

27

14 May (ibid., no. 217).

28

12 Sept., 13 Sept. (ibid., nos 248, 254).

29

12 Sept. 1558 (ibid., no. 249).



monastic property. Their rents provided the crown with the bulk of its income in Ireland, and leasing them to secular holders was one of the largest transactions in land in the sixteenth century, creating many new settlers. The monastic lands had the advantage that there were no rival secular claimants, Irish or English. They were therefore a most effective way to introduce a new element into several counties. The following table compiled from the surveys of monastic possessions in 1540 and 1541 gives an approximate idea of their extent and distribution.

Monastic lands

County	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Wood
Dublin	10,240	1,192	159	139
Carlow	1,764	90	12	178
Cork	4,035	2,589		112
Kildare	4,292	522	16	15
Kilkenny	5,025	855	60	258
Limerick	346	60		1
Louth	5,575	1,237	85	92
Meath (inc. Westmeath)	16,072	2,769	458	196
Tipperary	2,581	479	14	2
Waterford	1,125	341	6	76
Wexford	5,725	511	3	17
Down <sup>31</sup>	9,780			
Totals	66,558	10,645	813	1,086

The arable land was probably at least 25% greater than the acreage enumerated, since rents are frequently given without the area involved, both for sizeable holdings and for gardens and other small plots.

A factor of three or four to one probably needs to be applied to the arable acreage to arrive at statute acreage.

A recent study<sup>32</sup> has shown that co. Dublin, which contains 222,710 statute acres, had 103,839 statute acres of churchland at the dissolution, including 38,269 acres of

<sup>30</sup>Ir. mon. Extents, 1540-41. The figures were arrived at by adding the enumerated acreage.

<sup>31</sup>Co. Down, c. 1551, from Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, pp. 363-8 (N.L.I., MS 761).

<sup>32</sup>J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Medieval Church lands of County Dublin', in Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. pp. 54-73 (1961).



monastic lands. It is also clear that the survey of co. Limerick was very fragmentary, since the commissioners visited only the counties over which the government had some control.

From the very outset monastic lands were leased to those who were expected to be bastions of the new order, though frequently they were also the local magnates. Thus in 1541 Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, was granted the site of the Cistercian abbey of that name, and extensive lands with it, to be held at 1/5 of a knight's fee in tail male at a yearly rent of £5 19s. <sup>33</sup>8d.

A decade later the practice of using monastic lands for settlement and military security becomes more clear. St Leger placed his son William and John Parker on the monastic property in co. Down. Croft placed Matthew Kyng in Abbeyleix and his agent Thomas Wood in the abbey of Tintern, co. Wexford. Kyng lost the reversion of his lease of the priory of Fore, co. Westmeath, to Sir William St Loe in 1551 on the orders of the English government. <sup>34</sup>St Loe's lease was to date from 1561 at the same rental of £140. <sup>35</sup>Soon afterwards the privy council instructed that Edward St Loe, Sir William's brother, was to have a 21 year lease in reversion of the monastery of Inistioge, co. Kilkenny, and its lands in the same manner that Richard Butler, Viscount <sup>36</sup>Mountgarret, held it.

37

In November 1551 the Irish government petitioned that John Wakely, sixteen years a captain in Ireland, might have a renewal of his lease of the abbey of St Mary's, Navan, co. Meath, where he had kept 'as honest hospitality as any

<sup>33</sup>30 June 1541 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 211).

<sup>34</sup>Somerset and council to Croft and council, 22 Apr. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 253).

<sup>35</sup>15 July 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 787).

<sup>36</sup>Privy council to Croft and council, 20 Dec. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 255).

<sup>37</sup>Council of Ireland to the privy council, 16 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 64).



other we know, upon a border as he is'. He was granted a 30 year extension.<sup>38</sup> The fiant as drawn was for a 21 year renewal from 1562 at £92 rent, the same figure John Brokes had been charged in 1541, from whom Makely must have purchased the lease. He was also paying £16 6s. rent a year for monastic lands centring in Kilkenny, co. Westmeath,<sup>39</sup> as well as being a planter in Offaly.

Edmund Sutton was Croft's nominee to succeed Walter Cowley as surveyor-general, but the crown had already appointed Michael Fitzwilliam, and instructed instead that Sutton was to have a lease in reversion of the hospital of St John, Ardee, co. Louth, when its present tenure expired, provided he fortified it.<sup>40</sup> The fiant as drawn was for a 21 year lease from 1562, paying a rent of £115 5s. 8d.<sup>41</sup> Sutton already had the hospital of St John in Athy, co. Kildare, at a rent of £14 6s. 10d.<sup>42</sup>

Monastic leases in Munster were also used to promote settlement and military security. The privy council decided on 2 April 1551 that Walter Ap Howell was to have a lease of the Cistercian abbey of Owney, now Abington, co. Limerick, which they understood was in O'Ryan's country, and that he was to have a parsonage in co. Kilkenny with it.<sup>43</sup> The next day they directed that a survey be made of the monastery, which they placed in Leix, and a lease made to Ap Howell.<sup>44</sup> The fiant drawn for him correctly placed the abbey and included its lands and livings, among them the rectories

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Edward VI to Croft and council, 31 Dec. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Elizabeth., p. 255).

39

31 Aug. 1541, 25 July 1544 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, nos 252, 428).

40

Edward VI to Croft and council, 1 Aug. 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Elizabeth., p. 267).

41

Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1134).

42

1551 (ibid., no. 928).

43

2 Apr. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).

44

Somerset and council to St Leger, 3 Apr. 1551 (Cal.



of Nenagh, Arklow, and Tullow, for an annual rental to the crown of £52 2s. 3d.<sup>45</sup> Upon surrender of the lease in Mary's<sup>46</sup> reign Ap Howell was re-leased the monastery on the same terms.

Under Croft a lease was made to Humphrey Warren of the abbey of Fermoy, co. Cork, its lands and two castles, for 21 years paying a rent of £25. 2s. sterling.<sup>47</sup> In 1541 it had been valued at £6 if the country were fully inhabited,<sup>48</sup> but worth only 58s. in its wasted condition.<sup>48</sup> Warren was later to figure in the Offaly plantation. Near him Croft placed Giles Movenden, who was already a planter in Leix. He was leased the monastery of Chore, Middleton, Co. Cork, for 21 years at a rent of £26.5s.<sup>49</sup>

The third most valuable monastery in Munster was Inislounaght, co. Tipperary, near the borders of co. Waterford, which was valued at £39 12s. 5d.<sup>50</sup> In May 1551 the Irish government was instructed that William Crofton was to have a 31 year lease of it for £16 sterling when its present lease expired.<sup>51</sup> The fiant drawn for him dated the 31 years from 1562 and assigned a crown rent of £45 18s. 1d.<sup>52</sup>

In co. Waterford the monastery of St Katherine's, surveyed in 1541 at a rental of £105 19s. 4d., was the most valuable monastic property in Munster.<sup>53</sup> The crown ordered

pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 257).

<sup>45</sup> 4 June 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1020).

<sup>46</sup> 6 Mar. 1554 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 35).

<sup>47</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1133).

<sup>48</sup> Ir. mon. extents, 1540-41, pp. 144-45.

<sup>49</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 5806).

<sup>50</sup> R. G. Sutton, 'The Suppression of the Religious Houses in Munster in the Sixteenth Century', unpublished M.A. thesis, University College, Cork (1950), p. 65.

<sup>51</sup> Edward VI to Croft and council, [6] May 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 253).

<sup>52</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1142).

<sup>53</sup> Sutton, op. cit., p.65.



that Patrick Sherlock have the lease of St Katherine's, and the monastery of Mothell in the same county, for service in war, reserving the woods for timber, and any fortification built by the crown.<sup>54</sup> A fiant was drawn for Sherlock for a 21 year lease of Mothell from 1562 at a rental of £30 14s. 10d.<sup>55</sup> In 1554 Mary instructed that he was to have both monasteries for 21 years.<sup>56</sup> Sherlock was also one of the original planters in Offaly.

The Anglo-Irish peerage endeavoured to obtain a share of the monastic leases, and to acquire other lands as well. One such was Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, who had allied himself with the new policy in Ireland. At the very end of Henry's reign he had obtained a 38 year lease of the manors of Belgard and Fore, with the customs of the latter but without its priory and lands, and there is a record of the rental being paid in 1551.<sup>57</sup> In that year he took a 60 year lease of a carcucate and a half of land in Ardagh from its bishop at a rental of £1 a year.<sup>58</sup> That small lease was a harbinger of things to come. In 1552 the crown directed that a grant in fee simple be made to Nugent of Fore and Belgard in the borders of O'Reilly's country, together with the priory of the Holy Island in the Annally, which latter lands he had just got by lease the previous August, and in addition the religious house of Granard there. Whereas he had agreed to pay £35 a year rental for his lands in the Annally, they were now specified by the crown 'as of our free gift'.<sup>59</sup> Mary confirmed the grant in the spring of

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<sup>54</sup>Edward VI to Croft, 4 July 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 291).

<sup>55</sup>27 Nov. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1102).

<sup>56</sup>

Mary to St Leger, Cusack, and Sir William Fitzwilliam, 18 Oct. 1554 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 337).

<sup>57</sup>

The lease is cited as 11 Feb. 38<sup>o</sup> Hen. VIII, an error probably for 1546 in Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 375 (N.L.I. MS 761).

<sup>58</sup>21 Apr. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 132).

<sup>59</sup>

Edward VI to Croft, 10 Nov. 1552 (ibid., p. 268).



1558 on the grounds that Edward had died before it had  
 passed the great seal.<sup>60</sup> The only stipulation was that all  
 mines of gold or silver were to be reserved to the crown.<sup>61</sup>

In Munster the earl of Desmond did not approve of the religious policy of Edward's government, but he was not adverse to acquiring as much monastic land as he could. When Walter Cowley was there on a general commission in early 1551 he complained that Desmond and his son Gerald made great suit to have

in lease the substance of all the abbey lands within their rule... whereof something they have disposed to them for honest rent, as I trust they are pleased. Marry, they cannot have all [in] their hands as they desireth, for then shall not the king have one house or territory in his... own hands in a whole quarter of the realm...'.<sup>62</sup>

In the same letter Cowley modestly offered himself as one of two commissioners to keep a check on the doings of the earls of Thomond and Desmond to prevent foreign infiltration and promote good order. It is probable that similar reasoning lay behind the placing of Hovenden and Warren in monastic sites in Munster slightly later.

At the time Cowley was writing, the English government was concerned with another Fitzgerald, the heir to the earldom of Kildare. On the advice of Lord Cobham, who was originally chosen to lead the military expedition to Ireland, the privy council, mindful of the danger of French invasion in Ireland, resolved to restore Gerald to part of his father's estates, 'to encourage him and his kin the better and more faithfully to serve'.<sup>63</sup> A year later a patent was made in England granting him his holdings with a

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<sup>60</sup> Mary to Sussex, 12 Apr. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Elizabeth., p. 379, misdated 1557. See P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 34).

<sup>61</sup> 7 May 1558 (*ibid.*, pp. 372, 394-5).

<sup>62</sup> Cowley to Paulet, 21 Feb. 1551 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 12).

<sup>63</sup> 16 Mar. 1551 (Acts privy council, 1550-52).



clear annual value of £324 9s. 9d. sterling to hold by the service of one knight's fee. He was to be paid the rents due since 16 March 1551.<sup>64</sup> Croft advised the English government that the financial situation in Ireland was such that the rental of 'the lord Garrett's' lands could not be paid, and the deputy suggested that he be paid out of the English exchequer while he was there.<sup>65</sup> Undoubtedly those land-holders whose leases involved Kildare lands viewed Gerald's restoration with little joy, but in practice he was several years recovering control of his possessions. Six years later a commission was issued for finding his lands throughout Ireland.<sup>66</sup>

Ormond, the third great earldom, was in the hands of the crown at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI because Thomas, its heir, was a minor. Thus Bellingham was able to entertain the idea of eliminating the Butlers' private domain. In the spring of 1549 Walter Cowley prevented the dowager countess from leasing land near Callan to the Ryans, who had petitioned her for an estate. He told her that the crown would not approve of letting lands to Irishmen 'when the king was ready to set his foot therein...'. Cowley reported that her new husband, Sir Francis Bryan, took that well enough, and 'when it was answered him that my lord of Ormond did the like, Mr Bryan said he would not borrow of the law as my lord of Ormond did'.<sup>67</sup>

Bellingham was soon investigating the Ormond arrears in crown rents through Cowley his agent, assisted by Walter

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25 Apr. 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1550-53, pp. 327-8).

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Croft to the privy council, 31 May 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 49).

66

Two commissions, undated, c. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 376, 379), - June 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 232).

67

Cowley to Bellingham, 14 Mar. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 25).



68  
Ap Howell. Such proceedings were stopped in 1550 when Thomas was given a lease of all the Ormond possessions at a rental to the crown of £681, to hold during his minority until livery was granted. In 1551 the earl was released from wardship a year ahead of time, on condition that he pay and satisfy the crown for the revenue of the estate for that year.<sup>69</sup>

In May 1558 Mary informed the Irish government that where she had given Ormond the abbey of Athassell, which was worth £88, it appeared that the spiritualities were in the hands of Cardinal Pole, leaving Ormond only £19 6s. 8d.<sup>70</sup> The abbey was the second most valuable monastic property in Munster.<sup>71</sup> The earl wished to have the difference in the rent made up in other monastic lands, next 'to very evil neighbours so as the same must be daily defended with the sword', which included the Cistercian houses of Jerpoint and Kilcooley and several friaries, worth £137 3s. 8d. Irish or £91 9s. sterling.<sup>72</sup> When the grant was made Ormond received these properties in tail male at 1/20 of a knight's fee and a rent of £49 3s. 9d. They contained 3,242 acres of arable, 778 acres of pasture, 2 acres of meadow, 117 acres of wood and bog, and 3 castles, 19 gardens, 109 small dwellings, 2 orchards, 2 fisheries, 5 watermills, as well as the sites and buildings of all the religious houses.

Ormond's uncle, Richard Butler, did equally well. He

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<sup>68</sup> Bellingham's proceedings 'upon Mr Auditor's book of arrears of the king's revenue', c. Mar. 1549 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 28).

<sup>69</sup> 27 Oct. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 259).

<sup>70</sup> Mary to Sussex, 11 June 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 53).

<sup>71</sup> Sutton, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> 13 Sept. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 384-6).



made a modest beginning in 1537 with a lease of the rectory and tithes of Bannow, co. Wexford, paying a rental of £15 6s. 8d.<sup>73</sup> In 1541 he secured a lease of the priory of Inistioge, co. Kilkenny, and its lands at a rent of £64.<sup>74</sup> In 1544 he paid £25 13s. 4d. for the site of the Austin friars in New Ross, co. Wexford.<sup>75</sup> He was also involved in the interests of Walter Ap Howell, becoming his assignee in Old Ross.<sup>76</sup> In June 1551 the crown instructed that he was to have a 21 year extension of all the leases that he held.<sup>77</sup> By that date he had become Viscount Mountgarret. In 1552 Croft wrote on his behalf for the leases 'of certain farms', which were in dispute and the only thing he had for service.<sup>78</sup> The same year he received leases of Old Ross, the Pasagh of Bantry, and other holdings in co. Wexford including the manor and castle of Deeps.<sup>79</sup> The leases were post-dated from 1558 on, and were to yield the crown an annual rental of £24 5s. 4d. Mountgarret also received 21 year leases of two parishes in co. Kilkenny and two in co. Wexford, which had been monastic possessions, for which he was to pay a rent of £16. 6s. 8d. a year.<sup>80</sup> He seems to have spent Mary's reign consolidating.

Several of the Anglo-Irish gentry enlarged their estates, Sir Thomas Cusack being a notable example. In

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<sup>73</sup> Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 378 (N.L.I., MS 761).

<sup>74</sup> 1 Aug. 1541 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 239).

<sup>75</sup> 16 Jan. 1544 (ibid., no. 396).

<sup>76</sup> Betham (loc. cit.).

<sup>77</sup> Edward VI to Croft and council, 14 June 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 290-1).

<sup>78</sup> Croft to privy council, 20 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 29).

<sup>79</sup> \_\_\_ Oct 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1078).

<sup>80</sup> Undated, but signed by Croft before Dec. 1552 (ibid., no. 1136).



1540 he received a 21 year lease of the nunnery of Lismullin, co. Meath, and its lands there and in cos Dublin, Kildare and Louth for a rent of £100 a year.<sup>81</sup> In May 1542 he began the purchase of church lands, principally in co. Meath. For £168 13s. 4d. to be paid he acquired the sites and lands of the Augustinian friars of Skreen and Lunderstown, which he was to hold as 1/20 of a knight's fee, paying a rent of 8s. 5d.<sup>82</sup> In June 1542 he began a series of payments for the sites of a friary in Trim and one in Dublin, and for the friary of Multyfarnham, co. Westmeath. Nicholas Stanyhurst, clerk of the hanaper, acknowledged £20 as the first payment, and there were fourteen 'entries of other payments' which unfortunately have not survived.<sup>83</sup> Included in them was the payment of a fine of £413 11s. 1d. for the grant of Lismullin which Cusack received early in Edward's reign. He was to hold it forever at an annual rent of £1 2s.<sup>84</sup>

Within a few weeks Cusack had taken a 21 year lease of some of the possessions of St Patrick's cathedral for a rent of £31 a year.<sup>85</sup> At the end of 1550 he obtained a 21 year lease of some £9 of William Bermingham's lands in cos Meath and Kildare, which had been in the crown's hands since Bermingham's death in 1548.<sup>86</sup> A year later Cusack's services, first as master of the rolls and then as lord chancellor, gained him the warm commendations and thanks of the privy council, an increase of £100 in his fee, and the gift of the site of the abbey of Clonard, together with three

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<sup>81</sup> 1 Mar. 1540 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 91, misdated 1539).

<sup>82</sup> 24 May 1542 (ibid., no. 309).

<sup>83</sup> 6 June 1542 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 88-90, 336).

<sup>84</sup> 2 May 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 18).

<sup>85</sup> 22 June 1547, Betham 'Extracts', (loc. cit., p. 358).

<sup>86</sup> 4 Dec. 1550 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 646).



parsonages.<sup>87</sup> Clonard, and some additional parcels, were granted to him in fee farm at a rent of £8 sterling.<sup>88</sup> These things Cusack had sued for, and their surveyed value was £20 13s. Irish.

In Mary's reign the Observantine friars attempted to recover a small house of theirs, possibly Multyfarnham, from Cusack. He wanted a comparable grant of lands in Offaly in tail male to replace it.<sup>89</sup> Mary contented herself with asking for the opinion of Sussex and Curwen, the chancellor.<sup>90</sup> Not until the reign of Elizabeth did Cusack attempt to expand again.

In 1540 Robert Dillon, the attorney-general, bought the priory and lands of St Peter near Trim as well as St John the Baptist there, and other parcels, for which he paid £740 sterling. They were to be held as 1/20 of a knight's fee, paying a rent of £1 8s. 5d.<sup>91</sup> To these holdings he added the friary of Ardnacrany, co. Westmeath, for which he paid £30. It was to be held as 1/10 of a knight's fee, at a rent of 16d.<sup>92</sup> In 1549 he secured a lease of some of the tithes of St Peter's and a parcel of land near Ardnacrany at a rent of £2 6s. 8d.<sup>93</sup>

In 1546 John Plunkett of Dunsoghly, co. Dublin, was leased the hospital of St John, Trim, and its possessions for 21 years at a rent of £35 15s.<sup>94</sup> In 1547 he got a lease of the tithes of his own parish for a rent of £3 6s. 8d.<sup>95</sup> In 1548 he was given a 21 year lease of the

<sup>87</sup> Privy council to Cusack, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/3, no. 69), Edward VI to Croft and council, 23 Nov. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 258).

<sup>88</sup> 14 Jan. 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 252).

<sup>89</sup> 'The suits of the friars observants of Ireland to the queen's majesty', c. 1556 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 244).

<sup>90</sup> Mary to Sussex and Curwen, 28 Nov. 1556 (*ibid.*, no. 245)..

<sup>91</sup> 22 July 1540 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 156).

<sup>92</sup> 20 Mar. 1546 (*ibid.*, no. 476).

<sup>93</sup> 28 Nov. 1549 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 406).

<sup>94</sup> 28 Jan. 1546 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 467).

<sup>95</sup> 22 June 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 33).



the manor of Dunshaughlin, co. Meath, for a rent of  
 £43 11s.<sup>96</sup> In 1558, by then a member of the council,  
 Plunkett wished to make 20 years' purchase of lands worth  
 £8 8s. Sussex said they were 'near to his house where he  
 hath builded a fair castle',<sup>97</sup> and Mary granted the request.<sup>98</sup>

In co. Kildare David Sutton, a younger brother, made  
 himself useful to the government and acquired an estate.  
 In 1539 he got a 61 year lease from the prior of St John's  
 hospital of the tithes of three parishes in co. Kildare,  
 and some lands there.<sup>99</sup> He also had got a lease of the  
 commandery of Tully, co. Kildare, then or shortly thereafter.  
 In 1541 he was leased the priory of Clane, co. Kildare, for  
 21 years at an annual rental of £5 5s. 2d.<sup>100</sup> In 1543 he  
 bought for £52 6s. 8d. two other friaries in the same  
 county which he was to hold as 1/20 of a knight's fee,  
 paying a rent of 2s. 3d.<sup>101</sup> A year later he was granted a  
 pardon for the alienation of extensive holdings in  
 cos Kildare and Carlow.<sup>102</sup> He was also recommended to the  
 king, and it was requested that he be allowed to purchase  
 Tully, which he had in lease,<sup>103</sup> or have it in freehold.  
 Henry apparently replied that he was to have it in freehold.<sup>104</sup>  
 It was during this period of activity that Sutton offered to  
 take over O'Dempsey's country and make it a part of  
 co. Kildare. He was dead by the spring of 1546, when his

<sup>96</sup>

24 Nov. 1548 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 222).

<sup>97</sup>

Sussex to Mary, 10 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2,  
 no. 52).

<sup>98</sup>

Mary to Sussex, 6 Aug. 1558 (*ibid.*, no. 65).

<sup>99</sup>

Conveyance from Sir John Rawson to David Sutton, 9 July  
 1539 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 493).

<sup>100</sup>

29 Mar. 1541 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 174).

<sup>101</sup>

31 Jan. 1543 (*ibid.*, no. 345).

<sup>102</sup>

20 Feb. 1544 (*ibid.*, no. 407).

<sup>103</sup>

St Leger and council to Henry VIII, 14 Jan. 1544  
 (L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1544, no. 28).

<sup>104</sup>

Henry VIII to St Leger and council, 5 July 1544 (*ibid.*,  
 no. 840). Letter not now extant (Cal. pat. rolls Ire.,



son paid £10 for the livery of his estate,<sup>105</sup> but it is interesting to speculate what his career would have been if death had not cut it short.

Land was also acquired by certain Irish merchants. Francis Herbert, who had begun his career as a Dublin alderman, continued to enlarge his interests. In 1544 he was granted the manor of Ballycullane, co. Kildare, and other lands there and in co. Dublin, paying an annual rent of £13 7s., and holding the property in tail male as one knight's fee.<sup>106</sup> Early in Edward's reign he secured a 10 year extension of his lease of the manor of Portlester, co. Meath, from 1558, with the addition of a lease of the neighbouring manor of Kildalkey for which he was to pay £10 14s. rent.<sup>107</sup> In 1549 he took a 21 year lease of a prebend of St Patrick's cathedral, extending to the tithes of three townlands in co. Dublin, at a rent of £20.<sup>108</sup>

In 1552 the crown instructed the Irish government that James Sedgrave, a Dublin merchant, was to have 20 years' purchase of a series of holdings, which included a nunnery of the Hogges, co. Dublin, and the hospital of St John, Drogheda. He was to be allowed credit for £800 already paid to the crown's use, and the grant was to be in fee simple with a crown rental of £2 11s. 10d. a year.<sup>109</sup> Sedgrave paid £1,708 15s. 10d. for the grant,<sup>110</sup> and in February 1553 was given a licence to alienate the nunnery of the Hogges.<sup>111</sup> Two days later he conveyed the property,

Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 112-3). The calendar misdates the letter, and says only that Henry wrote that Sutton was 'to have Tully...'

<sup>105</sup> 20 Mar. 1546 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 475).

<sup>106</sup> 27 Sept. 1544 (*ibid.*, no. 439).

<sup>107</sup> 13 July 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 84).

<sup>108</sup> 3 Dec. 1549 (*ibid.*, no. 410).

<sup>109</sup> Edward VI to Croft and council, 26 Sept. 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 268).

<sup>110</sup> 6 Dec. 1552 (*ibid.*, pp. 281, 392). The sum given by Morrin in both places, £1,078, appears to be incorrect. The figure given is from the documents of a claim of intrusion, Jan. 1554 (Extracts from the memoranda rolls, Philip and Mary. R.I.A. MS 12. D.15, p. 1.

<sup>111</sup> 12 Feb. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.



partly to two Dublin merchants.<sup>112</sup> Two other licences in February and a third in October allowed him to alienate portions of his property in cos Dublin and Meath.<sup>113</sup> He did not relinquish his holdings outside Drogheda.

Nicholas Stanyhurst, also from Dublin, was one of the clerks of the hanaper and, after 1547, clerk of the crown in chancery. He began modestly enough with some church lands in Dublin itself, leased for 21 years at a rental of 13s. 4d.<sup>114</sup> a year. In 1547 he added a 21 year lease of the tithes of two townlands in the parish of Fynglas for which he paid £4 rent.<sup>115</sup> In 1538 he took a lease from the prior of St John's hospital of the preceptory of Killybegs at Clane, co Kildare, for 41 years at a rent of £10 a year.<sup>116</sup> In 1540 he was leased the nunnery of Odder, co. Meath for 21 years at a rent to the crown of £20.<sup>117</sup> During Edward's reign he added only a few parcels to his holdings.

Stanyhurst seems to have steered Andrew Wyse, a native of Waterford and vice-treasurer after 1552, towards the purchase of the abbey of Bective, co. Meath, and its lands. In 1552 Wyse obtained royal permission for a grant of the abbey in tail male, provided he paid 23 years' purchase for it. It was then held by Barnaby Scurlock under a lease with 16 years to run at a rent of £55 6s. 8d.<sup>118</sup> Stonyhurst recorded the payment of £1,188 towards the purchase and a total of £1,580 16s. 8d.<sup>119</sup> in all, but Wyse received land in co. Westmeath as well, which probably

p. 292.

<sup>112</sup>14 Feb. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 485).

<sup>113</sup>22 Feb., 28 Oct. 1553 (*ibid.*, pp. 292-3).

<sup>114</sup>24 Mar. 1538, Betham 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 347 (N.L.I., MS 761).

<sup>115</sup>28 June 1547 (*ibid.*, p. 354).

<sup>116</sup>20 June 1538 (*ibid.*, p. 321).

<sup>117</sup>7 May 1540 (*ibid.*, pp. 322-3).

<sup>118</sup>Edward VI to Croft, 1 Sept. 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 267).

<sup>119</sup>5 Dec. 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 265).



accounts for the difference. The whole purchase was to be held as one knight's fee at a rental of £4 5s. 4d. Irish.<sup>120</sup> The speculative nature of the grant was made clear when Myse obtained a licence to alienate the whole of it to three men, one of them a Dubliner.<sup>121</sup>

A London merchant named Nicholas Dowan secured a lease during Henry's reign of the site of a hospital in Drogheda with lands in Carlingford and Dundalk, for 21 years at £19 rent a year.<sup>122</sup> He was in possession in October of 1540.<sup>123</sup>

Walter Peppard, 'one of the gentlemen ushers of the king's chamber', had mercantile interests of some scope, and the necessary capital to speculate on a large scale. He came to Ireland in 1539, recommended by Cromwell to have the lease of the Cistercian abbey of St Mary's, Dublin, one of the largest monastic properties in Ireland, which held 23,243 statute acres, 17,079 of them in co. Dublin.<sup>124</sup> He was in possession in October of 1540,<sup>125</sup> but his fiant was not drawn until 1543 for a lease of 21 years and a rent to the crown of £368 18s. 8d.<sup>126</sup> In 1552 his lease was renewed, for a further 21 years at a rent of £310 13s. 7d. Almost immediately large portions of this lease were being farmed out to others. In 1545 Peppard took the lease of Kilkea, co. Kildare, from William Brabazon and secured a 10 year extension of it, paying an annual rent of £85 to the crown.<sup>127</sup>

In response to Croft's letter on Peppard's behalf in March 1552, the crown not only allowed him the reversion of

<sup>120</sup>Undated grant (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 280-1).

<sup>121</sup>22 Feb. 1553 (*ibid.*, p. 293).

<sup>122</sup>Undated (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 532).

<sup>123</sup>10 Oct. 1540 (Ir. mon. extents, 1540-41, p. 243).

<sup>124</sup>Grey to William Popley, 12 Aug. 1539 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/8, no. 25). Brabazon to Cromwell, 16 Feb. 1540 (*ibid.*, 60/9, no. 11).

<sup>125</sup>Rev. C. O'Conbuhui, 'The Lands of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in R.I.A. Proc., 62, sec. c, pp. 21-84 (May, 1962).

<sup>126</sup>23 Oct. 1540 (Ir. mon. extents, 1540-41, p. 24).

<sup>127</sup>20 July 1543, 7 Nov. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1083).

<sup>128</sup>12 Nov. 1545 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 464).



St Mary's, but two others as well. In 1550 he had been given a 21 year lease of the priory of Glascarrig, co. Wexford, at a rent of £5 a year,<sup>130</sup> and in 1551 a 21 year lease of the two Dullardstowns, co. Kildare, at a rent of £5 6s. 8d.<sup>131</sup> Both leases were to be renewed. In addition, Peppard was heavily involved in the plantation of Leix.

In April 1558 Peppard and James Doven of Waterford were allowed a licence to import 1,000 hogsheads of wine, 400 wey of salt, and 400 tons of iron into Irish ports.<sup>132</sup>

By the end of Mary's reign he was offering to take over the mint and mines in Ireland and pay the crown a rent for them.<sup>133</sup>

The largest group obtaining lands in Ireland were the government officials from England. Pride of place belongs to William Brabazon, vice-treasurer until his death in July 1552. After an initial expression of interest in Baltinglass in the south and Lecale in the north he took a 21 year lease of the granges of Duleek and Colp, co. Meath, in 1537 at a rent of £300 a year.<sup>134</sup> He soon added a 21 year lease of Kilkea, co. Kildare,<sup>135</sup> and he also acquired an interest in Rathangan for which he paid £12 rent a year.<sup>136</sup> In 1544 he secured the site and buildings of St Thomascourt near Dublin to be held as 1/20 knight's fee and a rent of 18s. 5d.<sup>137</sup> In 1546 he added a 17 year lease of the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, co. Louth, with its estates there and in co. Meath, which included some forty-three townlands.<sup>138</sup> The rent was £316 16s. 8d. a year.

<sup>129</sup> Edward VI to Croft, 24 June 1552 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire. Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 265-6).

<sup>130</sup> 1 Dec. 1550 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 645).

<sup>131</sup> 18 Mar. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 728).

<sup>132</sup> 3 Apr. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 374-5).

<sup>133</sup> 9 Aug. 1558 (Acts privy council, 1556-58).

<sup>134</sup> 29 Dec. 1537, Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 374 (N.L.I., MS 761).

<sup>135</sup> 26 Feb. 1538 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 464).

<sup>136</sup> Undated, Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 370 (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>137</sup> 31 Mar. 1544 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 547).

<sup>138</sup> 8 Feb. 1546 (*ibid.*, no. 470).



In the last year of his life Brabazon showed another spurt of activity. In April 1551, in return for £500 which he claimed for auditing accounts, the crown allowed him 21 year reversions of all leases which he held from Henry VIII.<sup>139</sup> In June, under those instructions, he received a number of leases in cos Dublin and Kildare, which included some thirty-three rectories, all dating from 1557, 1558, and 1559.<sup>140</sup> His lease of Mellifont was also renewed for 21 years to date from 1562,<sup>141</sup> and in March 1552 Croft recommended that he have a 'state of perpetuity' in it,<sup>142</sup> but Brabazon's death cut this short. In June 1551 he had also taken a lease of all crown lands and manors in the Annally for some £14 a year,<sup>143</sup> and in August he took the lease of Lecale already discussed. His achievement in less than twenty years was remarkable.

Henry Draycott was remembrancer of the exchequer from 1544 until he became master of the rolls in 1565.<sup>144</sup> In 1545 he took a 21 year lease of two small holdings, paying a rent of £4 6s. 8d.<sup>145</sup> One of them was in co. Wexford, and the other was a rectory and the tithes of two townlands in co. Louth, which were possessions of the hospital of St Leonard near Dundalk. In 1547 he added a lease of tithes

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<sup>139</sup>Edward VI to \_\_\_\_, 21 Apr. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 252-3).

<sup>140</sup>15 June 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, nos 774-7).

<sup>141</sup>16 June 1551 (ibid., no. 779).

<sup>142</sup>Croft to privy council, 10 Mar. 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 21).

<sup>143</sup>15 June 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 778).

<sup>144</sup>23 Sept. 1544 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 437), 28 Jan. 1565 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 804).

<sup>145</sup>9 Feb. 1545 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 450).



in co. Dublin for which he paid £32 rent a year, followed by a similar lease of a rectory in co. Kildare for £10 a year.<sup>146</sup> In 1551 he got a lease of some Fitzgerald lands in co. Meath for an annual rent of £12.10s.<sup>147</sup> The same year, under Croft, he was leased St Leonard's itself and other monastic lands in co. Louth at a rent of £30 9s. 7d.<sup>148</sup>

In 1553 Mary instructed that Draycott was to have a 21 year renewal of all his leases,<sup>149</sup> but there is no record that the provision was executed. In January 1554, under the same royal instructions, he secured a 21 year lease of lands in cos Wexford and Louth for which he was to pay £17 a year, and of the possessions of the abbey of Duleek, co. Meath, at a rental of £43.<sup>150</sup> In 1558 Sussex asked that Draycott be given a reversion of his lease of St Leonard's as the old one was about to expire, and he had been to great trouble and expense erecting his present dwelling.<sup>151</sup> Mary gave her consent,<sup>152</sup> and its lease was renewed from 1572, and the lease of lands in cos Louth and Meath from 1579,<sup>153</sup> upon Draycott's surrender of them for re-leasing.<sup>154</sup>

In 1549 John Travers, master of the ordnance, was recommended to the English government for his services, with a request that his private suits be answered.<sup>155</sup> Travers wished to have the lands he held in tail male granted to him in fee simple at the same rent he was paying.<sup>156</sup> Apparently

<sup>146</sup> 22 June, 24 Sept. 1547 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, nos 34, 106).

<sup>147</sup> 20 Mar. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 730).

<sup>148</sup> 13 Dec. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 906).

<sup>149</sup> Mary to St Leger, 23 Oct. 1553 (Cal. pat rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 300-4).

<sup>150</sup> 1 Jan. 1554 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 20).

<sup>151</sup> Sussex to secretary Boxhall, 10 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 51).

<sup>152</sup> Mary to Sussex, 6 Aug. 1558 (*ibid.*, no. 65).

<sup>153</sup> 10 Sept. (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 245).

<sup>154</sup> 12 Sept. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 282-3).

<sup>155</sup> Bellingham to Somerset, 21 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/2, no. 31).

<sup>156</sup> Travers to Somerset, c. May 1549 (*ibid.*, no. 33).



his request was granted, for in 1550 he obtained  
a licence to alienate the manor of Rathmore and other  
holdings in south co. Dublin to eight men, one of them a  
Dublin merchant.<sup>157</sup> He was able to take an extensive holding  
in the first plantation of Leix.

John Parker came to Ireland as St Leger's secretary.  
He was made constable of Dublin castle in 1544, and master  
of the rolls in 1552.<sup>158</sup> In 1542 he obtained a 21 year lease  
of the abbey of Selsker, co. Wexford, and other lands there,  
as well as twenty-two rectories, for a rent of £98 a year.<sup>159</sup>  
He purchased the friary of Rosbercon, co. Kilkenny, and the  
Augustinian house in Clonmines, co. Wexford, for £44 ls. 8d.,<sup>160</sup>  
and three years later obtained a licence to alienate them to  
John Blake, a merchant of New Ross.<sup>161</sup> In 1545 for an annual  
rent of £57 4s. 6d. he took a ten year lease<sup>162</sup> of Holmpatrick,  
co. Dublin, and its lands, formerly held by Robert Cowley.

In November 1550 Parker paid £285 for a grant of the  
abbey of Selsker and its possessions, holding it as 1/20  
of a knight's fee, and paying a rent of 15s. 6d.<sup>163</sup> By the  
following April he had a licence to alienate parts of those  
holdings to Paul Torner and James Deveroux, merchants of  
Wexford.<sup>164</sup> However, Parker's lack of success in the north  
was accompanied by his loss of the lease of Holmpatrick to  
Thomas Fitzwilliam, who was to hold it from 1555.<sup>165</sup> Mary  
gave instructions in 1553 that he was to have a renewal of  
all his leases,<sup>166</sup> but no action was taken. In 1557 he was  
leased the manor of Ticroghan, co. Meath, on the borders of

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<sup>157</sup> 18 May 1550 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 497).

<sup>158</sup> Liber mun. pub. Hib., pt. II, pp. 18, 115.

<sup>159</sup> 10 Dec. 1542 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 343).

<sup>160</sup> 25 Aug. 1543 (*ibid.*, no. 370).

<sup>161</sup> 19 Feb. 1546 (*ibid.*, no. 471).

<sup>162</sup> 5 Jan. 1545 (*ibid.*, no. 447).

<sup>163</sup> 13 Nov. 1550 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 617).

<sup>164</sup> Undated, but signed by St Leger before May 1551 (*ibid.*,  
no. 771).

<sup>165</sup> 31 Aug. 1551 (*ibid.*, no. 836).

<sup>166</sup> Mary to St Leger, 23 Oct. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire.,



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Offaly, for 21 years at a rent of £2 11s. 8d.

Mary had also given instructions that Matthew Kyng, clerk of the check, was to have a lease of lands worth £56 10s. Irish, and she later stipulated that he was to have reversions of the manor of Lucan, co. Dublin, and the manor of Moyclare, co. Meath. In 1557 she ordered that the castle and manor of Castlerickard, co. Meath, leased on 30 March 1555 to Alexander Clifford and transferred by him to Kyng, was to be leased to Kyng, provided he resided in Ireland and occupied the lands in his own hands. His lease was drawn with a provision of residence, and a rental of £13 9s. 3½d.

Cumulatively Kyng had an unfortunate time with his leases. According to him, St Loe sold the reversion of Fore to an Irishman. Bellingham had made him constable of Dungarvan, which cost him £440 in repairs, and from which he was displaced by James Walshe, who also got the parsonage there. In all Kyng claimed he had lost £670 sterling. From Walshe he had bought three of the prebends of St Patrick's, Dublin, for £300. The three owed a crown rental of £120 a year, but in the first year of Mary's reign all such leases 'were called in by act of parliament', and Kyng still owed rent for them in Elizabeth's reign.

After Kyng was put out of Dungarvan Croft gave him the lease of Abbeyleix. 'Soon after mine entry in the same I bestowed in repairing it above an hundred marks...'

Remembering his experience of Dungarvan, Kyng got a licence Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 300-4).

167 4 Dec. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 182).

168 Mary to St Leger and Cusack, 13 Dec., 19 Dec. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 317).

169 Philip and Mary to Fitzwalter and Curwen, 22 Jan. (*ibid.*, p. 361).

170 30 Mar. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 131).

171 Kyng to Cecil, 7 Aug. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/14, no. 43).

172 Kyng to Cecil, 20 May 1566 (*ibid.*, 65/17, no. 61).



to go to England to receive a longer tenure of the abbey. While he was there Edward VI died, 'whereby I and many others lost our suits. And in that meantime the O'More's in Leix did rebel...'. They took £1,000 worth of goods from his wife and family in spoil, and killed seven of his men. The government put the abbey in the custody of the baron of Upper Ossory, but Kyng continued to pay the rent of £30 for three years 'which notwithstanding, the inheritance thereof was given to the earl of Ormond, who hath and enjoyed it without any recompense made unto me for mine interest, rent or otherwise'. Ormond had thus acquired Abbeyleix before the end of Mary's reign.

In 1550 Thomas Heigham was sent to Ireland recommended as having served well in various places in the king's wars. He was to have a 21 year lease of the manor of Rathwire, co. Westmeath, as John Darcy currently held it for life. The lease was given to him, and a year later a lease of the rectory of Trevet, co. Meath, for which he was to pay a rent of £17 6s. 8d. During Croft's deputyship Heigham seems to have acted as controller for him.

In 1557 Sussex recommended that a relative of his, a Stafford, have the reversion of Rathwire for which he would pay £40 more than Heigham had. Sussex was promptly asked to give his assistance to Heigham for the reversion, towards which he had twice paid the fees. It was

<sup>173</sup> Somerset and council to St Leger, 30 Dec. 1550 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 227-8).

<sup>174</sup> Undated, but signed by St Leger before May 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 763).

<sup>175</sup> 1 Apr. 1552 (ibid., 985).

<sup>176</sup> Dec. 1556 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 7).

<sup>177</sup> Sussex to Philip and Mary, 4 Apr. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 28).



understood that Heigham's experience in Ireland had been particularly in ordnance, and that he would like to have his patent joined with Sir John Travers, who was reported to be pleased with such an arrangement. Heigham was well spoken of at court, 'and amongst other by my very good lord the earl of Pembroke'.<sup>178</sup>

George Stanley replaced Nicholas Bagenal as marshal of the army at the beginning of Mary's reign.<sup>179</sup> In 1557 she answered his request for lands to maintain himself and his household by ordering that he was to have a lease of lands worth some £67. As he 'required the lands to manure for... his household', a clause should be inserted in the lease requiring residence.<sup>180</sup> In 1558 Sussex requested that as Stanley was 'a younger brother and hath little to help him and his wife' he might have a fee farm grant of the lands which he held in Lancashire, which the queen granted.<sup>181</sup> Shortly thereafter Stanley received a 21 year lease of half of the manor of Castleknock, co. Dublin, and lands in that county and Meath, rents out of a large number of holdings, and lands from the abbey of Trim, dating from 1563, for which he was to pay a total rental of £65 6s. 9d. as Mary had instructed.<sup>182</sup>

In 1551 the archbishop of Dublin was given a licence to alienate the island of Lambay, off co. Dublin, to John Challoner, who was an official in Calais until shortly before its fall, on condition that within six years he erected a village for the fishermen there with a fortified place of refuge, and a small harbour, resisting the king's

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<sup>178</sup> Sir William Cordell to Sussex, 15 Apr. 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Vespasian F. XII, no. 83). Misdated 1587 in Cottonian catalogue.

<sup>179</sup> Mary to St Leger, 23 Oct. 1553 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 300-4).

<sup>180</sup>

Mary to Fitzwalter, 10 Jan. 1557 (ibid., p. 378).

<sup>181</sup> Sussex to Mary, 7 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 35).

<sup>182</sup>

20 May 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 219).



enemies and pirates. Challoner intended to establish a colony there, and was to hold the island forever in fee farm at a rent of £6 15s. <sup>183</sup>4d. Challoner also acquired fishing rights in Galway, and in Mary's reign claimed that for Lambay he had spent much in 'the defence and inhabiting of that isle'. The crown confirmed his rights in both. <sup>184</sup>

Succeeding seneshals of the liberty of Wexford were rewarded by the crown with extensive leases of land. On 20 December 1537 Sir William St Loe was leased the manor of Rosegarland, which had belonged to David Neville, attainted, and other lands in Wexford, including the Saltee islands and the rectory of Kilmore, part of the possessions of the abbey of Tintern Minor. On 28 January 1539 the English government instructed that upon surrender of that lease he was to have the same holdings for life by fealty alone, <sup>185</sup> paying no rent or other dues. The terms must have depended on his continuing to be seneshal, for when he was replaced by John Brereton early in 1546 a lease of 21 years <sup>186</sup> was made to the new seneshal of the manor of Rosegarland, and also of the manor of Kilcowan, which had been a possession of the attainted Nicholas Keating, for which Brereton was to <sup>187</sup> pay the crown a rent of £50 3s. 5d. a year. He surrendered the office in April 1549. <sup>188</sup>

In the autumn Bellingham and his council told the privy council that they did not know who they 'might have better plant in that quarter' than John Isham, both for his

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<sup>183</sup> 28 Aug. 1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 835).

<sup>184</sup> Philip and Mary to Sussex and council, July 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 53).

<sup>185</sup> 6 June 1539 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 73).

<sup>186</sup> 22 Jan. 1546 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 120).

<sup>187</sup> 2 Apr. 1546 (Cal. fiants Ire., Hen. VIII, no. 484).

<sup>188</sup> 1 Apr. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 141).



experience and his roots in <sup>189</sup>Wexford. In Henry's reign Isham had acquired a lease of part of the possessions of Tintern, and certain other lands of David Neville. <sup>190</sup> He paid £100 sterling to secure the office of seneschal, and had the backing of Richard Deveroux. He was given a 21 year lease of the manors of Rosegarland and Kilcowan and other property for an annual rent of £52 8s. 9d., with the proviso that if he ceased to be seneschal during the lease he was to reside on the premises, and if he died the crown had the right of redemption on payment of 200 marks sterling to his <sup>191</sup> representatives. In 1551 and 1552 he secured 21 year <sup>192</sup> leases of more of David Neville's Rosegarland property.

In 1551 Croft was instructed to make a lease in reversion of the abbey of Tintern and its possessions to his agent Thomas Wood in consideration of his services in the wars, both in France and Scotland. <sup>193</sup> It is doubtful if the English government knew the full extent of its largess. The lease which was drawn in 1552 was in five parts, each dating for 40 years from 1558, 1562, or the end of Isham's and other holders' terms. He was to pay a rental of £73 5s. 4d., which included the abbey and its immediate lands, extensive holdings elsewhere, and the entire barony of St Mullins, co. Carlow. <sup>194</sup> Some of the lease lay in the Kavanagh's country and was waste, but they were being brought under control, and the holding was promising. So Wood seems to have thought for a month previous he and Gabriel Black, also in Wexford, had paid £131 for the wardship and marriage of Edward Brabazon, the son and heir of the recently <sup>195</sup> deceased vice-treasurer.

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<sup>189</sup>16 Nov. 1548 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/1, no. 125).  
<sup>190</sup>Betham, 'Extracts', vol. ii, p. 342 (N.L.I. MS 761).  
<sup>191</sup>20 Nov. 1548 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 221).  
<sup>192</sup>24 Dec. 1551, 10 June 1552 (ibid., nos 907, 1029).  
<sup>193</sup>Edward VI to Croft and council, 19 Aug. 1551 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 254).  
<sup>194</sup>10 Sept. 1552 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, no. 1059).  
<sup>195</sup>22 Aug. 1552 (ibid., no. 1054).



John Isham was dead by January 1554 and St Leger made Francis Agard seneshal in his place. Agard paid Isham's executors 200 marks for the lease of Kilcowan and Rosegarland as they had been let to him in 1548. In the spring of 1556 the queen complained that St Leger had let these lands to Agard without a proviso to maintain sixteen horsemen, 'in which doing he hath not well considered the maintenance of our officer there, nay yet our instructions and commandments unto him by which he is restrained to let our lands but upon the best survey and for our most advantage'. The lease was to be called in, and if Philip Isham, whom she wished made seneshal, paid 200 marks to Francis Agard or others enjoying the lease, he was to have it as his brother John had. Philip paid, agreed to maintain sixteen horsemen, and was made seneshal. Agard's brother-in-law Anthony Colclough was joined with him in an interest in the two manors, and Colclough protested to the crown, supported by Sussex. It was ruled that his title should be submitted to law and tried. Colclough and Agard had also secured all the interest which Sir James Croft had in the abbey of Tintern. In some fashion he must have acquired the lease which had been made to Thomas Wood.

Philip Isham also claimed the manors of Ballymore and Rosslare, which he said St Loe, Brereton and John Isham had held when there were seneshals. The queen had leased them

<sup>196</sup> 26 Jan. 1554 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 24).

<sup>197</sup> 3 Feb. 1554 (ibid., no. 25).

<sup>198</sup> Mary to Fitzwalter, 30 Apr. 1556 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XI, no. 243, third letter in a series of six).

<sup>199</sup> Mary to Fitzwalter and Curwen, 30 Apr. 1556 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 346).

<sup>200</sup> 28 Aug. 1556 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 114).

<sup>201</sup> Philip and Mary to Sussex, 13 May 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XI, no. 243, fourth letter in series).

<sup>202</sup> Conveyance by Croft to Agard and Colclough, 18 May 1557 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 436).

<sup>203</sup> Title claimed by Isham (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XI, no. 246).



to Rowland Scurlock, who soon complained that Isham was holding his two agents prisoner, having come 'accompanied with an unlawful assembly of Irish horsemen and kerne (men fit for spoil), and there and then in the open court uttered many opprobrious and disdainful words by the grant made by her majesty of the said lands to your suppliant'.<sup>204</sup> Mary ordered an investigation of the matter.<sup>205</sup> A year later she also ordered that Anthony Colclough was to be restored to his interest in Rosegarland and Kilcowan,<sup>206</sup> which was done in May 1558.<sup>207</sup>

In large measure Mary had simply continued the practices in disposing land that she had inherited from Edward's reign. Activity was slowed down, - there are only some 250 fiants surviving for Mary's reign in contrast to more than 1,200 for Edward's -, but it was not reversed. Certain principles were enlarged, notably the tightening of clauses of residence. Elizabeth and Cecil were to move even further in carrying out the proposals of Browne and Rowse. The object of the crown was to obtain dependable undertakers who would tenant holdings so as to guarantee military security and an ultimate increase of its income.

Examples have been given of Anglo-Irish peers, gentry, and merchants, government officials, and soldiers acquiring land. No attempt has been made to assign an exact ratio to each group, but the thing they all had in common was

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<sup>204</sup> Petition of Scurlock to the privy council, sent to Sussex, 23 Mar. 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 247).

<sup>205</sup> Mary to Fitzwalter, 29 Jan. 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 245).

<sup>206</sup> Instructions to Sussex, 20 Mar. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 28, sec. 7).

<sup>207</sup> 16 May 1558 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 51-2).



governmental connexion. That fact tends to confirm the argument that families rose by means of office, for in Ireland it was largely the office-holders, civil and military, great and small, who were able to secure the lands which the crown had to dispose. It is fairly evident that they did so at undervalued rents, and thus undervalued purchase, and stood a very good chance for gain on such speculative enterprise. But there is also the argument that it was not only economic gain that impelled the acquisition of land. These soldiers, lawyers, and merchants were seeking social status for themselves and their heirs, in accord with the dynastic outlook of the period. Other ventures might yield a higher profit, but land guaranteed a position for generations. Many of those taking leases and grants in Ireland endured a lean and difficult time, but their descendants reaped the benefits.



## CHAPTER VIII

## ST LEGER AND HIS SUCCESSOR

1553 - 1557

Two months before the death of Edward VI St Leger was being considered to succeed Croft as deputy. Edward had so informed Con O'Neill, earl of Tyrone,<sup>1</sup> and an agent of Charles V had the same information.<sup>2</sup> St Leger supported Mary's claim to the throne, and was made a member of her privy council, sitting with it in the conduct of business.<sup>3</sup> It seems clear that from the first he was also Mary's choice as deputy in Ireland and instructions for him were soon being drawn.

St Leger's own ideas, based largely on his experience under Henry VIII, played a part in shaping his instructions.<sup>4</sup> He thought he could manage with an establishment that cost little more than the revenues the crown received in Ireland. He wanted 300 soldiers from England: 100 horsemen, 100 gunners, and 100 footmen, presumably archers. In the queen's pay he wished to have 200 of the best archers in the English pale and 100 of their best horsemen, making 500 Englishmen in all. He also wanted 400 galloglas and 200 kerne in wages, or to give them 'in lieu thereof land in Leix'.

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<sup>1</sup>c. May 1553 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 80).

<sup>2</sup>Jehan Scheyfve to the emperor, 5 May 1553 (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1553, pp. 37-8).

<sup>3</sup>7 Aug., 28 Aug. 1553 (Acts privy council, 1552-54).

<sup>4</sup>'A device for the better government of Ireland', c. June 1553 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Ed. VI, 61/4, no. 82). Based on 'A device how to keep Ireland in the stay it now remaineth upon the revenues only...', dating from the last years of Henry VIII (*ibid.*, no. 83). Both of these papers seem to emanate from St Leger.



For his official use St Leger wanted royal constables in Kilmainham, Athy, Monasterevin, Carlow, and Leighlin Bridge, ready to supply him and his retinue when he arrived at each. The charges, together with the civil establishment, came to an estimated total of £9,713. Against that figure he balanced an expected revenue of £8,700, of which £1,200 would come from the annual rental of Leix and Offaly. He desired 'to have authority to grant the lands in Leix and Offaly to men and their heirs, reserving the rent', and he also intended to negotiate anew all leases made since 1544-45, in an effort to make conditions more attractive to the planters and to increase crown revenue, thereby reversing the tendencies of Edward's reign.

St Leger arrived in Ireland on 11 November. His instructions included several sections of standard injunctions on due economy, proper conduct of officers, and the preservation of the crown's best interests. A concerted effort was to be made to restore commerce in the royal havens and ports, a course 'which shall as much reduce the prople to obedience and civil order as any one thing that can be done'. Special attention was to be paid to Baltimore, Carrickfergus, and Strangford, both for the desired ends and for their defence as well.

The general policy of expansion by fortification was, however, to be halted. St Leger and the Irish council were to

consider what and how many castles and fortresses be now kept in all places of our realm, what numbers be in every of them, what new fortifications be begun, with what charges they may be finished and guarded, and to certify us or our council how many of them be necessary to be maintained and for what causes. And for such as be not necessary we will to be presently discharged. And likewise our pleasure is that all charges of fortifications shall forthwith cease and be also discharged.

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<sup>5</sup> Instructions to St Leger and council, c. Oct. 1553 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 2). Cecil made notes on this draft and in July 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 66) in his own notes recorded three salient points: that Cahir mcArt was to be made a baron, that a council in Munster was contemplated, and that the garrison was reduced to 500 men.



Inquiry and accounting was to be made of all who had crown payments for the supply, building, and repair of such works and others that had been undertaken, speculation being suspected. On the next payday an establishment of 500 men was to be retained, the rest being paid, discharged, and shipped home quietly.

In the north all the Scots 'of long continuance' who would submit were to be allowed to remain. Civil order was to be brought to 'that part of the land called Leinster', and Cahir mcArt Kavanagh was to be created a baron, holding his lands from the crown. In line with the proposals of Edward Ma<sup>r</sup>she and others for a council in Munster, the deputy was instructed to investigate the matter with the Irish council and to advise Mary 'as we may consider how to proceed therein'.

One provision called for certain Irishmen to exchange some of their lands for lands in England, a probable device of St Leger's. Another provision also had his touch '... that all such Irishmen as have well served us shall be preferred to some part of the countries of Leix, Offaly, and O'Dempsey's country by order of our deputy and council'. The queen understood that as a result of the wars those areas 'have now of a good season lain in a manner waste'. She wanted them restored to good order, with inhabitation and tillage prevailing as in the English pale. Therefore the deputy and council were authorized to make grants to 'such our loving subjects of that our realm or this our realm of England as... shall be thought meet by parcel meal of the said countries...'.in fee simple, reserving a rent and the services thought necessary in time of war. It should be provided that the grantees be bound 'to build houses for husbandmen, appointing to every tenant a mean portion of ground to be kept in tillage as near as they conveniently may, so as the said countries may be well replenished with houses and inhabitants for the manuring and defence of the



same'. Mary wanted a detailed record 'containing both the names of all such as shall have any grant of the said lands, and the quantity also of the ground unto them appointed'. No grant was to be final until she had this information 'to the intent we may understand their proceedings and give our small assent unto the same accordingly'. Mary was modest enough to be guided by expert advice, but she shared the Tudor propensity for concrete detail and a firm control of her interests.

What St Leger found in Ireland rendered much of his instructions a dead letter. The smouldering revolt of Edward's reign had broken out with renewed rigour upon Mary's accession. In the presence of Rowse and Browne the situation was debated, St Leger describing it as 'very tickle, all the Irishmen being combined together'. Upon protest of the Irish council the reduction of the army to 500 English soldiers was not carried out, but was kept at 460 horsemen and 600 footmen, 1,060 English in all. The galloglas brought the number to 1,400, and there were the kerne besides. Of the 1,060 English St Leger stated 'there were then at the least 400 men bestowed in sundry forts' of which the two in Leix and Offaly would have accounted for a great number. St Leger was also to have discharged a group of pensioners, an arrangement of recent date, mostly officers detained in diminished pay. He later defended himself for not doing so on the grounds that they were not his creation and that they had to be handled carefully to prevent a rebellion like Wyatt's, or their putting to sea as pirates.<sup>6</sup>

The rebellion in England in January and February 1554

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St Leger to William Petre, 18 Dec. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 8). Entry under St Leger's deputyship c. 1553 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 281). The latter gives the figure of 1,060 while St Leger mentions 1,400. Both exclude the kerne.



had some interesting Irish sidelights. On 24 February the privy council committed Sir William St Loe to the keeping of the master of the horse, and the next day they attempted to make Wyatt confess regarding the complicity of the lady Elizabeth and her servant St Loe. His reply was that Sir James Croft knew more of the matter.<sup>7</sup>

Elizabeth was never averse to picking the mind of anyone for information, and it is possible that something of her knowledge of Ireland in general, and of Leix and Offaly in particular, came from St Loe.

The revolt St Leger faced in Ireland was of longer standing. Sir William Paget was convinced that it was kept alive by the French and Scots, and that it was one of the five central problems facing Mary.<sup>8</sup> Some months later the Venetian ambassador asserted that the troops sent during the winter had failed completely to recover the country, and that nothing had been done since except that the Irish government was endeavouring to bring the Irish back to their allegiance by negotiation, a process he thought bound to fail.<sup>9</sup>

St Leger was certainly involved in negotiation. One of his first acts was to have the Irish council agree to the payment of £40 to O'Connor's daughter for her trip to England to secure Brian's release.<sup>10</sup> At an early stage in his tenure he seems to have made contact with the O'Conors and O'Mores, probably on an inspection trip to the two forts, and promised he would attempt to secure them some rights in their lands. The crown's failure to respond to their

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<sup>7</sup>24 Feb. (Acts privy council, 1552-54), 25 Feb. 1554 minutes of the council (Cal. S.P. dom. 1547-80, p.61).

<sup>8</sup>Simon Renard to Charles V, 4 Nov. (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1553, pp. 332-6).

<sup>9</sup>Report... by Giacomo Soranzo, late ambassador to Edward VI and Mary, 18 Aug. 1554 (Cal. S.P. Venice, 1534-54, no. 934).

<sup>10</sup>Entry under St Leger's deputyship, c. 1553 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 281).



suit caused the two septs to distrust the Irish government, and also for that they know that some other demands for their total banishment hath been set forth, and that maketh them to think we do but dissemble with them. And some other Irishmen there be who have had their lands... taken from them without cause as they allege, and desire to have the same again, and they would pay some reasonable rent therefore and find sureties for their good behaviour henceforth, which we have none authority to do except it come from the queen's majesty. And this is the quarrel of those outlaws that now be amongst the Kavanaghs and O'Dempseys, O'Mores and O'Conors.<sup>11</sup>

Pledges had been taken from the Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles. War was being made with O'Reilly, his principal town, Cavan, having been burned and destroyed. It was proposed 'not to leave him until we bring him to reason'. The Irish government was defending itself from the charge that it was not providing defence against damages despite great crown expenses. Most of the Irish were joined together 'so as if the one be notably touched the other will and do stir'. The Irish captains also asserted that they could not control the outlaw fringe which was always present. The government could not be omnipresent and thought it was the policy of the Irish to keep them busy in so many places that they could not deal effectively with any one of the Irish.

The government had to report that the earl of Desmond had taken Dungarvan, catching the garrison asleep in their beds. He asserted that it was held by some French.<sup>12</sup> Since he had the queen's letters for the gift of it, the government thought it best to make no trouble for the year at least. Desmond had provided them with letters proving the combining of the Irish.

St Leger had found time to go to Lecale, where he made an arrangement for which he was afterwards criticized.

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<sup>11</sup>

St Leger and council to the privy council, 31 May 1554 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 239).

<sup>12</sup> Mary to St Leger, 25 Oct. 1553 (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. v, f.49).



The lord of Howth, who was there with a hundred unpaid men, was shifted to the Westmeath area and in his place was put a Scot, Coll mcOwney Boy, with sixteen horsemen, 'upon request of sundry gentlemen and freeholders of the same'. St Leger pointed out that his instructions said he was to 'cherish and favour' such Scots. 'And though he be named a Scot, yet speaketh he good English and was born in Ireland, and his ancestors of many years'.

With such activity St Leger was in desperate financial straits by June 1554. It was then that Browne and Rowse made their report on Irish finance. St Leger and his council also stressed that the crown's credit had been exhausted, and no more money could be borrowed in Ireland. St Leger had mortgaged his own plate. Without money for munitions and pay the government could do little, and 'if we had two times so many Englishmen as we have, yet without kerne and galloglas we cannot hunt the fastness of Irishmen's countries'. Unpaid, the galloglas and kerne deserted to the enemy. With money the situation could be got in hand 'unless new matter of rebellion arise', which the rumour of a war with France was not helping. Neither was the rumour that the government was to be removed. That change should be made 'or else, to cease the evil reports of those that daily slander us'. As matters stood the troops on the borders were going without meat and drink.

The English council's first answer was to instruct the Irish government to borrow £6,000 from the executors of the estate of justice Luttrell, as ready money could not be sent. The practical value of this instruction was probably

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St Leger to Sir William Petre, 18 Dec. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 8).

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St Leger and council to privy council, 31 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 239).

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Privy council to St Leger and council, 10 June 1554 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 6).



nil, but it does provide some indication of what a member of the Irish government was thought to have amassed. Two days later Mary herself took an additional step. In her instructions to Sir Thomas Gresham in Antwerp she included a provision that he was to borrow £10,000 and send it to Ireland,<sup>16</sup> a practice that was to become general in succeeding years. St Leger also took a small cess for the relief of the soldiers on the borders, and converted the general hosting into money.<sup>17</sup> He was thus able to continue to survive.

In May the queen had made another move to aid St Leger. She restored the remainder of Lord Gerald's lands to him and granted letters patent creating him earl of Kildare.<sup>18</sup> By November 1554 the earl was back in Ireland, along with his brother-in-law Brian O'Connor, Thomas, earl of Ormond, and Barnaby MacGilpatrick, or Fitzpatrick, the heir of the lord of Upper Ossory. St Leger put his newly-arrived assistance to good use. Kildare spent a month at Rathangan and the city of Kildare, giving hospitality to Shane O'Neill, Donough O'Connor, Cahir mcArt and Morgh Kavanagh and others. While this was later made a charge against the earl as the origin of their becoming scourges,<sup>19</sup> it was probably done with the deputy's approval as a means of converting the Irish combination to peaceful ways.

Within a short time St Leger was drawing up a revised memorandum for an Irish establishment.<sup>20</sup> It included a reduction of English soldiers to 300, with 200 kerne placed on the pale, and the galloglas 'to have land in Leix and to serve for the same...'. He wanted royal constables in

<sup>16</sup> 12 June 1554 (Cal. S.P. for., 1553-58), no. 220).

<sup>17</sup> Entry under St Leger's deputyship, c. 1554 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 282, and B.M., Add. MS 4763, no. 6).

<sup>18</sup> 13 May 1554 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 237).

<sup>19</sup> 'Articles against the earl of Kildare by Oliver Sutton', 2 Dec. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/15, no. 57).

<sup>20</sup> c. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 9).  
Disarranged in the present binding. The older foliation



Monasterevin, Carlow, Leighlin Bridge, Enniscorthy, Ferns, Trim, and Athlone, whose payment of rent would be to have provisions for the deputy for a month each year at reasonable prices. In addition he wanted:

The fort in Offaly to be committed to the earl of Kildare with certain territories to be appointed thereto, and for the keeping of the same to have £300 sterling yearly. He to be bound with good sureties for the safekeeping thereof, and to be for the lord deputy when he list to lie there, and to have provision as before is expressed for his money.

The fort in Leix in like manner to be committed to the earl of Ormond to have yearly for the same £400, whereof to himself £300 sterling and the land, and £100 to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, with like conditions as before of Offaly. Nevertheless first to speak with the gentlemen, captains, and soldiers what offers they will make for both the said countries, and to consider the same.

Regarding another area of plantation St Leger noted that in the north the Scots were to be banished when possible, and in the meantime to be treated with discretion. He added 'that Sir Nicholas Bagenal shall either inhabit upon his lands of Carlingford, Newry, Greencastle, etc., or else to surrender the same upon recompense'. He calculated that such an establishment would cost £7,333, against which there was an expected revenue of £6,000, plus £500 a year from new leases, and £500 to be got from leasing the mines, for a total of £7,000.

The answer which St Leger got from the 'gentlemen, captains, and soldiers' of Leix and Offaly for assuming the burden of the military defence of the area must not have been satisfactory for in December 1555 he asserted the fort in O'Connor's country could not have been by any possibility retained if... the earl of Kildare had not taken the charge thereof in time, upon promise that he should be furnished with a certain sum of money within one month, and yet to this day hath not received the half thereof, but is driven to his great burden to continue the charge in keeping thereof.<sup>21</sup>

The deputy's point about Bagenal was answered by the sending of both Sir Ralph and Sir Nicholas to Ireland in

<sup>21</sup>681, 682, 683 is the correct order.

<sup>21</sup>St Leger to Sir William Petre, 18 Dec. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 8).



the spring of 1555 to settle their affairs, particularly their military arrears. The Irish government was told to protect them, and if they were to be charged with anything it was to be by legal means.<sup>22</sup> Sir Ralph had succeeded St Loe as lieutenant of Leix and Offaly, an office St Leger did not retain, in effect dividing it between Ormond and Kildare. In May 1556 Sir Nicholas was still in Ireland for he was placed under the new deputy's protection, i.e. a loose form of arrest.<sup>25</sup>

The position of the plantations in Leix and Offaly was precarious. The government was able to do little more than maintain the two principal forts, with ancillary garrisons in smaller places. One such lesser garrison was at Ballyadams in Leix under John Thomas Bowen, who survived on his holding. Another was a ward of six men in the castle of Stradbally, who were under the charge of Thomas Jacob, its holder. They had been placed there about December 1551, and were owed twenty-nine months' wages in April 1554.<sup>24</sup> A neighbour of both men, Giles Hovenden, placed on his holding by Bellingham in 1549, continued to survive. All three were on or near the river Barrow, and hence the pale. In the centre of Leix Richard Masterson retained his holding south of the fort, and north of it John Dunkerley, the victualler, kept Clonreher. The MacDonnell galloglas held the area around Tinnakill on the Barrow. In Offaly Nicholas Herbert at Monasteroris in the east, and Francis Lee at Killeigh in the west, retained their holdings, both former monastic lands.

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<sup>22</sup> 19 Apr. 1555 (Acts privy council, 1554-56).

<sup>23</sup> 7 May 1556 (*ibid.*).

<sup>24</sup> Financial accounting, c. Mar. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 35).



Richard Croft of Castle Jordan and John Wakely kept some shadow of their holdings in eastern Offaly on which Croft bordered. So much can be deduced by comparing the original fiants with Sussex's first schemes for settling the area.

Concerning the remainder of the original planters there is documentary evidence for only three: Oliver Sutton in Clannalier and Irry, Matthew Kyng at Abbeyleix, and Walter Peppard in Slievemargy. In addition to his five townlands in Clannalier Sutton had purchased the spiritualities and temporalities of Irry from justice Aylmer's estate, and so had helped supply the fort in Leix. He had also spent his money in building and fortifying 'against the Irishry'. In defending his property he claimed he sustained dangers and damages to 'the losing of a thousand pounds by the spoils of the Irishry...'<sup>25</sup> Matthew Kyng also claimed that during the rebellion of the O'Mores following Mary's accession he had lost £1,000 in goods.

Initially Peppard fared rather better than Sutton or Kyng. He paid St Leger some £1,500 for two parsonages in Leix: Ballyroan, south of the fort, and Kilmahide [Kilmaleed?] in the east of Leix, where he also held five townlands as a planter. From the parishes he obtained a rent of £80 a year at their best. In November 1552 he bought the remaining seventeen years of Brian Jonys's lease of Slievemargy for something like £300, and also obtained a lease in reversion for twenty-one years ending in 1592, for which he paid £200, more than £500 in all.<sup>26</sup> He was resident in Kilkea castle where he was within reach of

<sup>25</sup>Petition of Oliver Sutton, c. Dec. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/15, no. 58).

<sup>26</sup>John Harepenny to Cecil, 8 Sept. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/14, nos 62, 63, 64). Harepenny was Peppard's agent, and most of Peppard's correspondence regarding his estate is in Harepenny's hand. See also, Peppard to Cecil,



all his holdings in Leix. It was there that he was, by common report, 'a continual maintainer of good civil order and hospitality upon the borders...'.and also kept at his own expense eighteen able horsemen for defence and service during the period from 1551 to 1556.

During 'the rebellion time' Peppard was temporarily dispossessed of Slievemargy by Connell oge O'More and his followers, when 'Peppard nor others could choose but suffer them, for the queen's power for a while could not expel them, much less a mean farmer...'. 'Yet', Peppard's own account continues,

after in Mr St Leger's time the said Connell being before the council, and required why he did meddle with Slievemargy, considering it was no parcel of Leix (which only, he made claim unto) was at length content not to meddle any further therewith... at which time commission was sent to sundry captains attendant thereabouts that they should assist Mr Peppard for the taking up of the rents due there, ... in the doing whereof, and the defence before, the said Peppard had seventeen tall men slain, besides the loss of sundry goods and cattles there to no small value.<sup>27</sup>

Thanks to his later controversy with Sussex certain concrete details of Peppard's estate emerge. He was able to show that until 1557 he had regularly paid the crown his rent for Slievemargy, £33 6s. 8d. a year, even in the years in which he had collected nothing, paying in all £160. From the 1d. crown rental of 1549 for Slievemargy, Peppard 'by his industry improved to be worth £208 yearly (as the rental appeareth)...' in 1557.<sup>28</sup> Thus at least one planter in Leix and Offaly had the resources to weather the troubles at the beginning of Mary's reign and to prosper. Undoubtedly the plantations

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2 Dec. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 77), Peppard to Cecil, 8 Feb. 1562 (ibid., 63/5, no. 24), Peppard to Cecil, 8 Oct. 1562 (ibid., 63/7, no. 24), Peppard to Cecil, 25 Sept. 1563 (ibid., 63/9, no. 28), Peppard to Cecil, 8 Nov. 1563 (ibid., no. 52), Sir Nicholas Arnold to Elizabeth, 26 Jan. 1565 (ibid., 63/12, no. 15), enclosing certificate of value of the two parishes at Ballyadams, 18 Oct. 1564.

<sup>27</sup> 'The answer of the earl of Sussex touching Peppard...', 'Mr Peppard's answer to my lord of Sussex' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/15, nos 29, 30). A date of c. Oct. is assigned, but it would be more nearly March to May 1565.

<sup>28</sup> John Harpenenny to Cecil, 8 Sept. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P.



suffered heavily from the depredations of that period, with some planters being forced from their holdings for a time, and others having to give theirs up as a result of financial losses, but the endeavour survived in part.

The situation was not easy for the two forts. In December 1555 St Leger reported that he 'gave the last year fifty kine of his own to the two forts when they lacked victual and... also... of his own corn for their like victualling', besides corn borrowed from Peppard.<sup>29</sup> At some time during the year Henry Cowley was taken prisoner by the O'Conors in the border warfare. Perhaps it was in the course of recovering him that St Leger embarked on a course which was consistent with his long term views. It would appear from the cryptic heading 'disposition of lands in Offaly to the O'Conors' in the table of contents of the council book of 1540 to 1556 that he put the native holders into some of the vacated areas of the plantation.<sup>30</sup>

Leix witnessed two incursions in this period. In 1553 'a hosting was made by Donnell O'Brien into Leinster; and he held a conference with the English at the fort in Leix, and he parted from them in peace'. In 1555 he returned with an army gathered 'from the Shannon to the Barrow', as the Annals of the Four Masters summed it up.<sup>31</sup> Sussex, more specific, said that O'Brien had 'all the power of Thomond, O'Carroll, O'Kennedy, O'More, O'Conor, O'Molloy, MacCoghlan, O'Madden, O'Meagher, with all the other Irish lords on this side of the river of Shannon, and many beyond the river with all their forces...'. He camped in

Ire., Eliz., 63/14, no. 62).

<sup>29</sup> St Leger to Petre, 18 Dec. 1555, and St Leger's 'notes of remembrance' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, nos 8, 11).

<sup>30</sup> Entry under St Leger's deputyship, c. 1554 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 282).

<sup>31</sup>

A.F.M. Entries for 1553 and 1555.



O'Carroll's country when St Leger moved to Leix to meet him. The two met in O'Dunne's castle of Tinnahinch.<sup>32</sup> While nothing survives of what took place, O'Brien returned to Thomond.

From the very imperfect documentation for St Leger's last deputyship the impression gained is that by 1555 the deputy had mastered the situation as far as his limited resources would allow, and was free to begin ordering the country according to his own ideas. While he did not intend to abandon the plantations in Leix and Offaly, there is the suggestion that he wanted to strike a balance between the Anglo-Irish, English, and native proprietors, restoring the last to some of their lands. Two further memoranda of his<sup>33</sup> indicate that he was still concerned to reduce the army to 500 men or less, and that he was interested in erecting a presidential system in Connaught and Munster with Clanricarde and Desmond as presidents, respectively. Each president was to have eighty horsemen, and there were to be forty footmen in the fort in Offaly with fifty footmen in the fort in Leix. Constables were to be kept at Monasterevin, Carlow, Leighlin Bridge, Enniscorthy, and Ferns, thus retaining control of the south-east. The two memoranda envisioned establishments costing £8,987 or £9,376.

St Leger's proceedings in the north are clearer. As he had complained of Bagenal's absence, so he was similarly concerned about Andrew Brereton and Lecale in co. Down. Answering criticism for placing an Irish Scot there St Leger asserted:

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<sup>32</sup>Cecil's notes on Ireland contain a report on the 'state of Ireland' endorsed by Sussex as 10 June 1562. Sussex repeats the story, with more Irish present, in a similar document of May 1565 (B.M., Add. MS 4767).

<sup>33</sup>Propositions for services in Ireland, c. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 9). On folios 684 to 687 in the older numbering.



And where it is alleged the same Lecale is another man's farm, the farmer neither was there himself nor any man for him, either to defend the same or to pay their majesties any rent therefore these three years. ... And if such farmers as the said deputy leased the same unto might have been suffered quietly to enjoy the same, there should no such need have been to settle therein Coll mcOwney Boy nor yet any other, but their majesties answered of £300 yearly where now is nothing.<sup>34</sup>

St Leger was referring to John Parker and William St Leger. In 1555 there was a fresh attempt to exploit the north. In 1534 John Travers had been given a 41 year lease of the fishery of the river Bann,<sup>35</sup> and eventually he also became constable of Carrickfergus, in which office he was succeeded by Walter Floddy. In 1554 John Parker and his brother Edward Larkin took the constablenesship, from which Floddy was removed 'for his demerits'. Larkin,<sup>36</sup> backed by his brother, kept it despite the lack of money. In September 1555 the queen informed St Leger that Sir Edward Rowse, the vice-treasurer, John Parker, Richard Bethell, Thomas Kent, William Piers, William Crofton, and Edward Larkin had licence to come to Ireland with ships, ordnance, and provisions. The Irish government was to provide them with ordnance and any other needs during their stay.<sup>37</sup> They had a lease of the fishery of the Bann, and were to be given licence to fish there with passage in and out of English ports.

Concerning the group the English council noted '... and further that they may take any such convenient ground upon the north parts... as by their discretions may seem convenient for their sureties, and the same ground so taken to make strong and fortify. And being fortified to keep

<sup>34</sup>St Leger to Petre, 18 Dec. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 8).

<sup>35</sup>3 June 1534 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p.12)

<sup>36</sup>St Leger to Petre, 18 Dec. 1555 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 8).

<sup>37</sup>Mary to St Leger, 22 Sept. 1555 (B.M., Cott MS Titus B.XI, no. 243, second letter in a series of six).



and defend it in forcible manner... against any rebels or enemies of the said realm of Ireland...', provided they did not take up any land already in quiet possession.<sup>38</sup> In October Parker was licenced to import 100 tons of timber from Liverpool, '... all ready framed for windmills to be set up in Ireland', which may have had something to do with the project, perhaps ship-framing. In April 1556 the English council noted that the group, plus Jacques Wingfield, were in the area now 'inhabited with the Scots', and had fitted out ships and equipment. Under the agreement they were to carry out the terms by 1 November 1556.<sup>39</sup> Evidently some measure of settlement was intended.

Most of these men were agreeable to St Leger, and in December 1555 he was concerned to keep Walter Floddy from recovering the constableness of Carrickfergus as being unfit for the office. The right choice of men was a preoccupation of St Leger's, and years later a clerk of his could remember the deputy,

being one of the wisest heads that in our time governed this realm, find great fault and write into England in rejecting some that were appointed of the council here in his time, for it was thought they came in rather by some private commendation and of their own ambitions compass, seeking their own estimation, than for any worthiness.<sup>40</sup>

Such views had got St Leger into difficulty in 1551 when he removed Andrew Brereton from Lecale. Something of the same process was at work in his last deputyship. At the end of 1554 Sir William Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland, and in 1555 he returned to England to report. St Leger was sufficiently stung by what he considered Fitzwilliam's malice to write to secretary Petre a long

<sup>38</sup> 22 Sept. 1555 (Acts privy council, 1554-56).

<sup>39</sup> 28 Oct. 1555, 3 Apr. 1556 (*ibid.*).

<sup>40</sup> George Wyse to Sir William Cecil, 4 Mar. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/30, no. 25).



defence of his government, arguing that Fitzwilliam and Valentine Browne sought to give the impression that Ireland was quiet when they left, and astir thereafter. St Leger asserted that there was not an Irish captain at war with the English pale, 'but only skulking thieves in the night, which seldom hath been otherwise in this land in the winter'. He was soon making notes on the necessity of going to England to answer Fitzwilliam's charges against him.<sup>41</sup>

Events that were to lead to St Leger's recall were already under way. (In September 1555 Hugh Curwen was appointed archbishop of Dublin, and at the same time replaced Sir Thomas Cusack as chancellor.<sup>42</sup> A week later Walter Peppard was ordered to appear before the English council as a surety for Andrew Wyse.<sup>43</sup> Peppard was first in Dublin castle, and then he was imprisoned in England by 1557, where he was joined by John Parker.<sup>44</sup> Whether by accident or design, St Leger's supporters were being removed from the Irish scene. The triumvirate that was to replace him consisted of Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter and son of the earl of Sussex, Sir Henry Sidney, and Sir William Fitzwilliam. In 1556 the three were in their late twenties and were brothers-in-law. They were convinced they could make a reputation by putting Ireland in order. The next forty years were to witness their collective efforts to do so, in succession to one another as lord deputy. Their apologetics, particularly those of Fitzwilliam and Fitzwalter, who became earl of Sussex, must be read with caution. It was necessary to paint the Ireland which they inherited from St Leger in the most sombre hues to give added lustre to their own achievement. This habit was to

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<sup>41</sup>St Leger to Petre, 18 Dec. 1555, enclosing 'Answer of... St Leger... to certain objections surmised against him' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, nos 8, 8.1).

<sup>42</sup>13 Sept. 1555 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 339-40).

<sup>43</sup>20 Sept. 1555 (Acts privy council, 1554-56).

<sup>44</sup>Sir Nicholas Arnold to Elizabeth, 26 Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/12, no. 15). John Parker to privy



get them into trouble in the reign of Elizabeth.

Fitzwalter's instructions were completed by the end of April 1556, with Sidney as vice-treasurer and Fitzwilliam as a member of the council.<sup>45</sup> The deputy was to use Athlone, Roscommon, Monasterevin, Carlow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and the two forts in Leix and Offaly as residences. The size of the army was to remain the same, except that the horsemen could be increased to 400. In the regular companies the ratio of Irishmen was not to exceed ten to a hundred English. Where the crown was entitled to place kerne or galloglas the rights were to be rigorously enforced. Regular soldiers were to be required to answer for their actions only in courts martial.

Financial retrenchment was urged anew. All new works on castles and fortifications were to be stopped as soon as a survey was made. Craftsmen being paid by the crown, such as joiners, smiths, saddlers, collarmakers, bowyers and bowstring makers, fletchers, and others, were in the future to be 'admitted into the numbers of our ordinary garrisons and no more to receive wages... except they do indeed labour'. Search was to be made in Ireland for such ordnance supplies as rosin, steel, and iron, of which the queen understood there was a great plenty, and also for timber, shipwrights, and mariners.

Fitzwalter was given the right to make leases of lands for twenty-one years, with the exception of the possessions of St John of Jerusalem, the tithes, and any lands 'to be evicted from any traitor or rebel'. The last exception was directed toward Fitzwalter's twin tasks: suppressing the rebellion of the O'Conors and O'Mores, which may not

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council, 3 May 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/6, no. 41). Parker was pardoned 2 Dec. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 176).

Draft of Sidney's commission, 27 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 12). Fitzwalter's instructions, 28 Apr. 1556 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 241). Copy (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 206).



have existed, and stopping 'the daily access and increase of Scots', which certainly did exist.

Mary understood that in the north, in addition to the Irish, 'there dwell many English, as the archbishop of Armagh [Dowdall], Sir James Gernon, the Smythes, Savage, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, and Brereton, and those of the Newry, and the whole honour of Carlingford, and the county of Lecale, the town of Dundalk, and Drogheda'. She also understood that the MacQuillans, banished by the Scots from their country, were English by blood, though like the Savages they had become wild. The Irish after calling in the Scots, had been so oppressed by them in the preceding three years that they were willing to help a general hosting clear them out. The queen left the details of that expedition and the reform of 'Leinster' to the deputy with the advice of the council.

Regarding Leix and Offaly Mary was quite explicit, devoting six pages of the deputy's instructions to those areas. For them, and Irry,

our special desire and intent is that the same, and the rest of our whole realm, should by authority of parliament be made shire ground, and divided into sufficient and reasonable counties as our realm of England is. That the said three countries should be also divided into townships, manors, or baronies as our counties of Meath, Kildare, Kilkenny and others are, or into parishes, if the same have churches conveniently, and necessary living for the same.

If the O'Dempseys and the rebels among the O'Mores and O'Conors submitted themselves and were put in order, the whole area was to be divided into three parts, the third located in the west along the Shannon going to them.

In fact no part of the two territories bordered on the river, and in the spring of 1557 when a set of 'orders for Leix' were drawn up the O'Mores were assigned lands nearest the Shannon. Irry, which received separate mention as a 'country', was the western part of the later barony of Portnahinch and consisted of the two later parishes of Coolbanagher and Ardea, Irish Aireamh, originally



Englished as Irry. It was part of the original Offaly, and the earls of Kildare claimed title to much of it.<sup>46</sup>

Mary's instructions and the 'orders for Leix'<sup>47</sup> are nearly identical regarding the provisions for the Irish, and are worth comparing for the occasional difference. The instructions stated that the Irish were to pay 2d. an acre for the lands they received. They were to have an inheritable tenure, though paying heriot and relief at every decease. The 'orders' did not specify the rent per acre. The instructions said the Irish were to agree among themselves who of their septs were to receive these lands, and those chosen were to answer the common laws. The 'orders' provided that the chief of each sept would divide the ground equally among those he would answer for, who would inhabit only where appointed, 'and shall be freeholders'.

Under the instructions no man of the same sept was to have more than two ploughlands, or 240 acres, in his possession. He was not to keep more than one man per ploughland, unless the individual was English or of his own sept, 'and he to be no idlemán but a labourer'. The 'orders' were less specific on the size of holding, but increased the man per ploughland to a man per hundred acres, and more could be licenced by the deputy. By the instructions rent and duty were to be paid twice yearly, and the 'orders' added that land was to be held of the fort. The instructions laid down that the constable was to be answered when he summoned help 'for the defence of the country', and once a year the holder was to appear before

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<sup>46</sup>Michael Dowling, 'Ardea or Irry?', in Kildare Arch. Soc Jn., vol. 12, pp. 403-19, vol. 13, pp. 26-40 (1944-47).

<sup>47</sup>First of four documents, three of which, undated, are placed at the end of Dec. 1556 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, nos 19, 20, 21). The fourth, also undated, is placed at the end of Dec. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/7, no. 62). They were probably submitted to Mary in April or May 1557.



the constable to account for himself and his household. The 'orders' added that each member between the ages of twelve and sixty was to be produced in the presence of the deputy and council, and entered by the constable in a roster for the coming year, after taking an oath to be true to the crown and obedient to the deputy.

The instructions stated that the Irish were to avoid the woods and dwell in houses of stone or timber. The 'orders' did not include that provision but did follow the crown in insisting that the Irish were to keep open fords, repair bridges, destroy fastnesses and cut passes between themselves and the English settlers. A fine would be levied for the first failure to do so, and the second failure meant forfeiture. Pulling down a neighbour's castle, or any break, bridge, or pass into the English country was to be punished by death as well as forfeiture. The same penalty applied to keeping any firearm without the deputy's licence, and each freeholder was to keep weapons only for himself, unless he had a similar licence from the deputy, on pain of forfeiture.

The instructions stipulated that the holder be continually resident, and the 'orders' added that he was not to sell or alien without the deputy's licence, the penalty being forfeiture in each case. The instructions laid down that the Irish were to refrain from intermarriage with the Scots. The 'orders' went further and stated that without the deputy's licence 'none of them shall marry or foster with any but such as of English blood'. The instructions had left it to the discretion of the deputy and council to modify or temper these conditions. They added the provisions that the Irish were to wear English apparel except when riding, and to cause their children to learn to speak English, following no one but the constable and receiving living from no man. The instructions authorized the deputy to release Brian O'Conor to end his



days in peace if his children and kindred accepted the terms, intended for the O'Conors and O'Dempseys as well as the O'Mores.

Concerning the English area bordering the pale the instructions were less specific. Each of the two forts was to have three adjoining ploughlands assigned to keep the garrison and constable, as well as meadow, pasture, wood and turf. The 'orders'<sup>48</sup> simply stated that certain townlands would be attached to the fort to be kept or disposed by the constable as he saw fit, but neither he nor anyone else was to hold them except during pleasure. The instructions provided that the lands remaining were to be divided among English subjects, born either in England, or Ireland, who would be suitable for settling, having regard for honest men who had done good service and were in most need. They were to hold by the same tenure as the Irish, but they were not to sell or lease to Irish tenants upon pain of forfeiture and 'grievous punishment', nor to any 'Englishman of Irish birth without licence of our deputy, and no Englishman to enjoy the said inheritance longer than he dwelleth and inhabiteth in Ireland'. The 'orders' specified that the holders were not to sell without the licence of the crown or the deputy, but without any reference to the buyer. The deputy could give such licences at pleasure during the lives of the first inhabitants only and not after. Each holder was to dwell upon his farm, or forfeit. The rent of 2<sup>d</sup>. an acre specified in the instructions was left blank in the 'orders', an evidence of the Irish government's indecision.

By the instructions no one was to have more than three ploughlands, or 360 acres, without special licence. The

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<sup>48</sup>'The English that shall be placed...' second in the series of four documents, c. Apr.-May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 20).



'orders' reduced the size to 300 acres of arable and pasture, without the deputy's licence. The instructions stated that for each ploughland the holder was to keep 'one man at the least of English birth, a native and he to be an archer, and not above one of the Irish blood and birth, upon pain of forfeiture'. The holder was to provide weapons for himself and one man per ploughland. The 'orders' increased the ratio to one man for every hundred acres, with every fifth man a horseman and the rest good archers. The provision for weapons also specified 'for every footman one good bow and sheaf of arrows furnished, or one handgun furnished'. The instructions stated that the English tenants were 'to break and destroy the fasts and strengths of the said country, and to open the fords and maintain the bridges', except on contrary orders from the deputy, and evidently left further details to his discretion.

Several provisions in the 'orders' were added to create an almost exact balance between the English and Irish. The English were to obey the law of the realm at all times, and to answer the constable in defence of the country, like subjects in 'the English countries ought to do'. Forfeiture was to be the penalty for those who kept any Irishmen without the deputy's licence 'other than of necessity for his husbandry'. No one was to marry or foster with the Irish without the deputy's licence. Similarly, the provisions for using English habit and speech, for answering for every dependant between the ages of twelve and sixty, and that all land should be held of the fort, were binding on the English as well as on the Irish. One provision was peculiar to the English. Each year certain holders would be given posts and duties with authority over the rest. There was also to be a president who would go on circuit every quarter, who was to have a fee of £60 sterling



a year provided equally by the English and the O'Mores. Finally, there was a provision for churches within three years, each to have a priest of English birth.

Mary finished the Leix and Offaly section of her instructions by enlarging on the formula laid down. She desired 'that all other lands conquered and evicted from rebels, traitors, and enemies' were to be so ordered, and granted to her English and Irish subjects 'as well in Leinster as Ulster and the rest', two-thirds to the English born either in England or Ireland, and one third to the native Irish,

heartily praying our said deputy to consider every man, specially our good soldiers and such as serve well, as we doubt not he will, with such indifference and reasonable good favour in the distribution of the said lands that the good may take courage to continue their well doing and be example to evil to amend their faults and to do better hereafter, as well for duty's sake as preferment.

The most interesting thing about Mary's views on a proper settlement in Leix and Offaly is where she got them. Fitzwalter, Fitzwilliam, or Sidney had no such insight into Irish problems in April 1556. The subsequent 'orders for Leix', while reflecting a tightened version of the instructions and centring in the deputy's control, have such an even-handed balance between the Irish and English as to be startling. While there is no concrete evidence for supposing so, it is possible that St Leger supplied the crown with most of the ideas for the section on Leix and Offaly, probably in correspondence no longer extant. Certainly his views on native restoration, expressed as early as May 1554, appear. It is also interesting that the 'orders for Leix' were drafted by a clerk whom St Leger had used, with emendations by a clerk of Fitzwalter's. It seems likely that the 'orders' were put in the hands of a person familiar with the problem, given a touch of Fitzwalter's outlook, and then later revived for the queen's inspection. The basic formula of small holders, both Irish



and English, was St Leger's, and exactly how committed Fitzwalter was to a strong native element, or any element not dependant on him, will appear in his working out of the problem. The idea of further conquest and eviction was more likely the queen's and Fitzwalter's, except as regards the intruding Scots in Ulster, about whom there was general English, Anglo-Irish, and native agreement that they were a menace which ought to be removed.

It was towards the north that the new deputy first turned his attention when he arrived at the end of May 1556. A general hosting for the north was proclaimed, and shortly thereafter captains Lippiat and Portas were authorized to take up a cess of grain in cos Dublin and Kildare, paying for it crown prices and the cost of transportation, to supply the fort in Leix. It was the first use of this practice on any scale since the days of Bellingham. In view of the forthcoming expedition the earl of Kildare was left in charge of the fort in Offaly with £100 sterling for its safekeeping, victualling, and garrisoning, but it was specified that he was to surrender it safe and sound at the end of September to be reassigned.

Fitzwalter moved northward in July, stopping on the way at Holmpatrick with John Parker. The talk must have been of the Bann fishery undertaking, and its use as a means for plantation. By August the deputy had swept all the way to Coleraine, carrying all before him with few losses of his

<sup>49</sup> 3 June (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 3).

<sup>50</sup> 7 June (*ibid.*, p. 3).

<sup>51</sup> 23 June 1556 (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6).

<sup>52</sup> Fitzwalter's journey, July, Aug. 1556 (T.C.D. MS E.3.18). Copy (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 207).



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own. For the moment the area was his.

One person whom Fitzwalter discovered in the north was Richard Bethell, in unlicensed possession of the castle at the head of Lough Foyle, Culmore, which controlled the traffic there. His presence suited the deputy, who placed a garrison there. He had also left a sizeable force in Carrickfergus, many of whom became ill, and demanded their pay.<sup>54</sup> In September he left a garrison under William Piers,<sup>55</sup> who with Bethell was to be the joint constable of Carrickfergus.<sup>56</sup> Both men were members of the group that held the lease of the Bann fishery, and Piers was to be at the centre of every attempt to exploit the north for many years to come. -

Fitzwilliam had brought £35,000 in base money, worth, about £25,000 apparently, with which to settle crown debts in Ireland,<sup>57</sup> and in November he rendered an account of it in England.<sup>58</sup> Fitzwalter probably used him to present his views on what ought to be done with the north, with a plan made expansive by the prospects of crown support. At any rate on 17 November Mary put a series of eight queries to Fitzwalter about plantation in the north, which he answered on 31 December.<sup>59</sup>

The queen's first three queries were to know the names of the ports and havens that were 'within the limits of those

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Giovanni Michiel, ambassador in England, to the doge and senate, 2 Sept. 1556 (Cal. S.P. Venice, 1554-58, no. 434).

54

Stanley, Warren, Williamson, Girton to Fitzwalter from Carrickfergus, 15 Aug. 1556 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 242).

55

Fitzwalter to Mary, 2 Jan. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 22).

56

12 Sept. (Cal fiants Ire., Mary, no. 120).

57

17 Sept. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 12).

58

7 Nov. 1556 (Acts privy council, 1556-58).

59

Enclosures I and II in Fitzwalter to Mary, 2 Jan. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, nos 22, 22.I, 22.II).



countries that shall be first inhabited', what their uses and commodities were, and what fortifications and buildings were near them. Fitzwalter's answer began with Carlingford and ended with Lough Foyle. The first he called 'a pretty town' with a castle, not long reclaimed, which produced herrings and a kind of Irish saltfish. Strangford he considered a better haven, with more fish. It had many castles and towers, though not of such strength or placement as required. Carrickfergus in addition to its castle had twenty-two or twenty-three towers of stone and a trench cut about it, but it had fewer commodities than the first two. Olderfleet, the present Larne, he considered 'the goodliest haven that ever I saw', with a good anchorage, plenty of fish, and a strategic position overlooked by a broken castle. He explained that the Bann was only a river, but a good anchorage for ships not drawing more than six or seven feet, with salmon fish in plenty. It had several broken castles along the banks, only one being in O'Cahan's country on its west side. On the east side was the friary of Coleraine, the best place for salmon fishing, and the most suitable for building a defensible town. There were other castles on the river and in Clandeboy which could be taken in an hour, and were adequate against the Irish and Scots. Finally there was Bethell, already in place at Culmore on Lough Foyle, which was described as a splendid anchorage for any ship, with a great abundance of salmon.

The queen's fourth and fifth queries had to do with 'what special places... ye think most necessary to place men first...', the numbers that should be sent from England, who they should be, and from what part of the realm. Fitzwalter thought that to get the Scots out of the north, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Larne, the Bann, and the plains of Clandeboy lying between them should first be settled, and



that 1,000 settlers 'might both manure the ground and use their weapon for the defence of it...'. To each settler he suggested he would undertake, and then corrected himself that the queen would, to give eight cows, and to divide among them, 1,000 horses, mares, and colts, the better to set up their husbandry. If more settlers came they would be an asset. The Welsh and men from the north of England 'experience teacheth can make best shift here and be best able to defend', and their proximity to Ireland meant they could be brought with less expense. As long as they were English Fitzwalter did not mind where they came from but 'when they come they must at the first be planted in towns for their best strength, both at ports and in the country, for the which there shall be appointed at their coming places most propice to so let them and annoy the enemy...', if there was an enemy, which he doubted.

In her sixth query the queen wanted to know what provisions the settlers would have to bring with them at the beginning to ensure success. Fitzwalter was confident that they would find all the grain they would need for sowing in the areas themselves. He had been told that the year before there had been grain enough both for seed, and to feed the people. So he advised that the settlers need bring only a short supply of grain, English weapons for defence, and tools to work the ground and build with. 'I would wish also that there should be as of this number several artificers of all sorts who should be divided in the port towns and best inland towns which shall lie so as they may serve all the country'.

The queen's seventh query was to know what the settlers in the port towns would do, as well as those 'that shall dwell farther from the seaside'. Fitzwalter saw a lively trade being built up with the inland towns 'upon the borders of the Irishry', which would secure the hides, tallow, and



other commodities and pass them to the port towns. There they would be exchanged for foreign wares to be returned to the inland towns and sold to the Irish. The cycle would enable everyone to make a profit, and would prevail from Dundalk around the north to Sligo. The deputy expanded on the advantages of the area. The shipping was adequate, the wine trade good, so much wood that each town could have its supply free, the land fertile, and the sea equally so. He held out the promise of matters yet undiscovered, possibly a reference to mineral wealth.

Fitzwalter wanted the settlements not involved in trade 'to be divided into ~~villages~~ towns' as well, the settlers possessing their lands by inheritance, 'and no man to pay above 2d. or 3d. sterling for an acre at the most' in rent. If the settlement were properly carried out 'both the realms shall fare the better, and a great number that now lack in England have enough for themselves and in short time be well able to spare to others'.

The eighth query of the queen had to do with 'special' foresight how the people which shall be sent thither may be instructed in the catholic religion...'. Fitzwalter argued that 'the priests and ministers must be sent out of England and well chosen...' if Cardinal Pole's wishes for reform were to be carried out.

The deputy's views on colonizing Ulster were unquestionably influenced by his first efforts to come to grips with Leix and Offaly, which had been occupying him since September 1556. At that time the English council expressed approval of his handling of the O'Hores, O'Conors, and other Irish, without being very specific as to what he had done.<sup>60</sup> One of his objects was to get the earl of

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<sup>60</sup>Privy council to Fitzwalter, 30 Sept. 1556 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 17).



Kildare out of Offaly, the earl being relieved of the fort (there and replaced by Captain Henry Cowley on 4 October, William Derby was appointed as gentleman porter at 12<sup>d</sup>. sterling a day with a man under him at 8<sup>d</sup>. It was stated that the change was in answer to Kildare's previous requests to be relieved of its burden.<sup>61</sup> The true significance of this event became more apparent in 1557.

It is clear that Sir John Alen soon had the deputy's ear, perhaps shortly after his arrival. Alen, and later his brother Thomas, both of whom had been at the centre of every proposal for plantation since the 1530s, plied Fitzwalter with papers of advice. Included was an account of the attainder of the earl of Kildare, and the family's Irish connexions and machinations.<sup>62</sup> There was also 'a discourse of the power of Irishmen in Leinster' which included O'More as lord of Leix, and O'Conor as lord of Offaly. The figures given, Alen explained, were diminished by reason of recent events, 'before which the other portion of Leinster could not well be set to or compassed'.<sup>63</sup>

To subdue the Leinster chain, 'the other portion', Alen suggested one of two ways. The first involved placing crown garrisons at Ferns, Castlekevin, or elsewhere, with lands reserved to them and ministers of justice resident. The 'new possessioners' in the area were to hold their lands by inheritance and service to the crown. The town of Wicklow was to be given more lands and seven years of its customs used to wall it, 'for the little

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61

4 Oct. 1556, 'at the Daingean' (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 18).

62

Charges against Gerald, earl of Kildare. Second copy in Alen's hand (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 6).

63

c. Sept. 1556 (*ibid.*, no. 3). Nos 3 and 4 are in Alen's hand, and nos 16, 20 and 21, slightly later in date, in the hand of his brother, Thomas.



civility and security of that remaineth of the English ancestors's doings, rested in the walled towns'. Arklow was to be secured from the earl of Ormond and given the same reform. Free schools were to be provided for. Under the scheme the native population would not be moved, but would be worn down to civility 'upon execution of the law with careful government'. Alternatively, Alen suggested that 'the other mean is to banish them, and inhabit it with English people; which as it is most chargeous, so it is surest', but he leaned to the first way as being a means to put the costs elsewhere.

Alen explained the geographical position of the Leinster chain, 'situated in the bowels' of the obedient shires, and argued there could be no security to do anything else until it was subdued. The Kavanaghs should continue to be reformed, a matter in which he linked the names of Bellingham and Fitzwalter. Then the coastline 'from beyond Carlingford to beyond Kinsale were under one obedience...'. .

. From Carlingford north Alen saw 'all the seacoast planted and environed with Scots so fair and strongly as, unless there be mean used to expulse them in short time, they will hazard to get wholly that and the rest of the realm'. He lauded the deputy's efforts in the north, and suggested that before 1 November or Christmas 300 to 400 men should be placed in garrison in two places for three years, 'in which time inhabitation may be planted'. Carrickfergus and Culmore may have been the deputy's response to Alen's proposal, which finished with the thought that at the moment there were 'so many willing men of knowledge of England birth (who most naturally will labour to win obedience to the crown of England)', that it would be unwise to delay. 'To conclude', he admonished Fitzwalter, 'be he great or be he mean that will improve or



evict a piece of ground, charges must be sustained before gain be established'.

Fitzwalter seems to have been sufficiently impressed to submit five specific queries on the Irish situation, four of them dealing with the frontier. Alen's answers survive,<sup>64</sup> and they had a definite bearing on the 'orders for Leix'. His first answer dealt at length with that country. Its security would be established by its settlement with one shire government and laws. He then harked back to a point that Luttrell had made in 1537 that the English husbandmen and copy freeholders of the barony of Newcastle, co. Dublin, with their own unaided system of defence 'and their great and sure villages', had made the best showing of defending a march that he had seen.<sup>65</sup> In Leix, Alen argued, it would be well to attempt only what could be held, 'and for that purpose consider if few towns well placed, manly inhabited, industriously occupied (the more manly inhabitants the better), justly by laws governed... appointed to avoid dissention, shall not be best; and to every town appointed, an head gentleman to hold of the queen, and the other of him'. Each such place should be in the centre of the territory assigned to it, with the principal portion a complete unit in itself and at least 2,000 acres assigned to each township, 'and after this rate it shall be better to plant twelve towns in Leix, than eighty scattered'. Alen wanted 'these great towns' to be placed on the periphery of the country as close together as possible, with the work of cutting and clearing away 'the fastness' going forward steadily. Then the parts nearest the pale could be settled.

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<sup>64</sup>Instructions concerning Ireland, 2 Nov. 1556 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 4).

<sup>65</sup>Justice Luttrell's book, c. Sept. 1537 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, pp. 502-10).



For that first step Alen wanted only English by blood and speech, and preferably only English by birth, 'seeing that there is such plenty of people in England, upon knowledge they will gladly come to labour the earth and to have places to stick to'. There was to be no fostering, marrying, or adhering to any of the native Irish. Each freeholder was to enclose the outer side of his holding with double ditches having six rows of underbrush inside and out for a width of sixteen feet, 'and with certain bulwarks'. Seven years were to be allowed for completing these works, which would have the effect of enclosing each village, but Alen thought that by winter each principal holder with his neighbours' help could be 'enstrengthened'. Direct assistance was also to come from the immediate borders of Leix by workers equipped with two weeks victuals, such as co. Kilkenny for Abbeyleix, and cos Kildare and Carlow, and Ossory and Clanmalier for other points. Places more distant such as cos Meath, Louth, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary could contribute money and supplies.

Alen pressed for action before the following winter and argued that the settlers must provide seed to sow the next oats, decide what land to leave fallow, and find corn for 'this year'. If the country were divided into small villages they would be vulnerable, 'for it is manifest and too often seen in the pale that the small villages are robbed, spoiled, and spent', which provided the raiders with sustenance, and the means to do more. The best and surest course was 'to plant many in a town', with the principal holders being men 'of some likely substance'. Ample lands should be given to the fort in Leix, which for the time being should be in the hands of the deputy or a lord of the whole country, 'as of necessity one must be, that to him the rest must obey (otherwise the rest will soon



decay)'. Other lands ought also to be reserved for that lord, and possibly even half the rents due the crown should be given to him when they came to maturity. Alen contended that at first the freeholders should pay nothing, and then a moderate payment of rents and services.

Abbeyleix, because of its strategic location on the border of Ossory and as 'a goodly territory', ought to be a part of the whole plantation scheme, with its holder bound by covenant to obey all the standard regulations. Alen may have been referring to the earl of Ormond for he was concerned that the abbey's holder should not be left at liberty so that 'he might covertly eat up or be a ruin to the rest'. He was also concerned that O'Carroll be checked from doing any harm, and he struck at Peppard. 'Seeing also Slievemargy is a woody territory and joineth to the mountains it shall be meet to use it as the rest'.

Alen wanted all the estates he envisioned established by act of parliament, with a shire being made of Leix, Slievemargy, Irry, and Clanmalier. 'And lest this matter by sinister means (as every good thing hath a hinderer) might be hindered', it ought to be done quickly. Alen named no one, but it is fairly clear that he had in mind Ormond, Peppard, who would probably have preferred that Slievemargy continue as a barony of co. Carlow or co. Kildare, and the earl of Kildare himself, whose subsequent actions classed him as a 'hinderer'.

Before considering Alen's second answer, a provision of the 'orders for Leix',<sup>66</sup> should be compared with his proposals. He wanted twelve great villages in Leix and the orders laid down that

there shall be twelve or more places made defensible, whereof one at the abbey [Abbeyleix], another at Ballyroan,



one other at Wysh castle [probably Wyse's castle at Ballyknockan], one other at the Shaen, two other at Gallen [probably Ballinakill and Moat], one other at Farran E Priory [Timahoe], one other at Ballyadam [Ballyadams], ... one other by the Blackford, one other at Stradbally, one other between Dunamase and the Shaen [perhaps Ratheven], another at Derrybrock [Ballymanus], one other as time will show'.

These places have been described as satellites to the fort  
67  
in Leix, but they were intended to be much more than that. Their purpose was to act as the centres around which great villages would form.

Alen's second answer argued that cess should be revived to supply garrisons with corn and beeves. On every cessable ploughland there should be levied two pecks of wheat, two of malt, and a beef. Better too much than too little. Fish, butter, and cheese were so scarce that they would have to be imported, and Waterford was recommended as the place to land supplies. Corn was also scarce and should be rationed, the garrison in the fort in Leix and elsewhere being forbidden to sell to any but themselves and the army. The garrison in Leix were also 'to convert their hides and wines into victuals'. If the two principal forts had accomplished nothing else they had become centres of the leather industry.

Alen's third answer stated that given Irish nature, attacks could be expected all along the frontier between November and Christmas, and he recommended precautions against them. These included hue and cry, and a series of patrols. Thirty horsemen under 'a stout man' should patrol the border from Carlingford to Kells, and another twenty from there to Ballymore, co. Westmeath. A third force was to watch the Darcys and Tyrrells, presumably from Tyrrellspass to Kinnegad, along the borders of Offaly.



Thirty horsemen were to be kept among the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, and a fifth force of twelve horsemen was to patrol from Saggart southward to Baltinglas. They were not to be withdrawn until the beginning of February, unless the borderers were prepared to undertake the watch themselves.

Alen's fifth answer also dealt with border problems. Considering 'what a strength of woods and moors are betwixt Athy and Offaly' and the scope they gave to raiders, he thought Sir Maurice Fitzgerald should be required to repair the bridge at Belan over the Barrow, or that a similar place on the co. Kildare side in O'Dempsey's lands should be 'enclosed strongly with ditches', be given a defensive tower and adequate lands for freeholders in the manner of his great villages, and attached to Monasterevin. He had made a complete circuit.

Within a week the Irish council was putting many of Alen's suggestions into practice. They ruled on 7 November 1556 that watch would be kept throughout the realm 'according the ancient custom...', as well as a system of hue and cry. Because the forts and other garrisons lacked grain, the practice of selling it 'into Irishmen's countries' should cease, and anyone was authorized to seize such grain, half going to that person and half to the crown. On the next day it was ordered that 'for the reformation of Leix and other countries upon those borders', kerne were to be pressed upon ten counties as the deputy thought fit. Meath and Dublin were both rated at £200 sterling each, to be fixed on the rateable ploughlands. The day following it was ruled that to provide for the two forts and other garrisons 'there shall be a universal cess of corn and beeves' levied on the same counties, the proportions and prices being fixed. The object was to secure 4,000 pecks of wheat, 4,000 pecks of malt, and 1,000 beeves. Carriage was to be provided for the corn, which was to be delivered



in lots on 25 December, 2 February, and 17 March, but the cattle were to arrive before Christmas so that they could be stored in salt before they 'abate their flesh' during the lean winter.<sup>68</sup>

Fitzwalter seems to have been in the Leix and Offaly area at intervals from the end of September until Christmas. On 29 November Connell oge O'More 'and the rest of the septs of Leix' submitted to him at Leighlin Bridge. Three days later, 'openly confessing their usurpation of the country of Leix, and renouncing clearly all claims they or any of them might make to any part thereof', they agreed to accept whatever lands the deputy would assign to them under the terms he would announce. Fitzwalter gave the head of each sept a signed statement 'specifying the places appointed to them', and gave orders that they were to be allowed to enjoy them in quiet.<sup>69</sup>

The deputy had been pursuing the same course in relation to the O'Conors. At Daingean on 4 October, the day that Kildare was relieved of its command, Rory and Donough O'Connor 'with the rest of the gentlemen and usurped inhabitants of Offaly' appeared before Fitzwalter, Kildare, and the rest of the council. They made the same submission and accepted the same general conditions as the O'Mores later did for Leix. Donough allowed himself to be kept as a hostage until definite arrangements were made.

So the matter remained until 15 December when Rory came to Daingean with his people and met Fitzwalter and some of the council. In return for a part of Offaly they swore to be true to the crown and obedient to the deputy, ridding themselves of strangers, rebels, and outlaws, and persecuting all who refused to accept the orders taken.

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<sup>68</sup>7 Nov., 8 Nov., 9 Nov. 1556 (Acts privy council. Tre 1556-71, pp. 18-19, 20, 22-3).

<sup>69</sup>29 Nov., 2 Dec. 1556 (ibid., pp. 23-4).



Rory and Donough with their people were to be allowed to remain in the barony of Geashill until assignments of land were made. The two were to report to the deputy at Leighlin Bridge during Christmastide with a list of names and the lands to be assigned. Pledges were taken for their performance, but it is evident that the deputy was deceived as to the importance of the pledges.

The earl of Kildare, the baron of Delvin, Tyrrell, Darcy, MacGeoghegan, O'Molloy, and O'Dunne, 'who environ Offaly', volunteered to a bond of slanty, an agreement that if the O'Conors did not keep their covenants the parties would make war on them until they fulfilled the conditions of the bond. The O'Conors did not appear on the appointed day, but the deputy was not immediately alarmed for a week; later he reported to the queen with satisfaction on what he had accomplished, going on to say:

I am now about the planting of Leix, Offaly, Blievemargy, Irry, and Clanmalier, and the bestowing of them upon your majesty's painful servants here, following as near as I can my instructions therein, adding somewhat thereto for the more defence of them that shall inhabit. Which I trust to perfect before the parliament, and so to settle them before the summer, as they shall be strong enough for their neighbours when I shall be occupied in other places.

Fitzwalter did not make much progress for the O'Conors broke several appointments to appear before him, began to gather forces and allies, and convinced him that they were only stalling for time and were determined to keep others out of Offaly. Disillusioned, the deputy asked the crown to declare them traitors, to demand that the borderers perform their slanty, and 'sharp war' to be made upon the O'Conors. He had lost his bid for improved native relations in the midlands.

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70

Fitzwalter to Mary, 25 Feb. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 24). Copy Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 208.

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Fitzwalter to Mary, 2 Jan. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 22).

72

Fitzwalter to Mary, 25 Feb. 1557 (*ibid.*, no. 24).

73 25 Feb. 1557 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 29-31).



The same day a decree was made by the Irish government pronouncing the O'Conor's traitors. An offer of £100 sterling was made for Donough O'Conor or his head, and a pardon to the person who produced him if that person were an offender himself. The goods and livestock of the O'Conors were declared forfeit, with one-third going to the person who took them. Labourers were to be levied in several counties, provided with eight days' food, and with bills, axes, spades, mattocks, and other tools necessary for cutting of passes and mending of toghers [causeways] whereby their majesties's army may the better pass and the traitors more easily be pursued'. The work was to be done in Offaly and on its borders. A month later <sup>74</sup> both the area and the purpose were broadened with Leix, Irry, Clanmalier, and Slievemargy being included, so that 'certain fortifications should be made both amongst the borders and within the said countries'. Counties Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Westmeath were each asked for 400 men, with 200 from Dublin and 500 from Meath. Thus a total of 2,300 workmen was expected.

Such groups had a share in building many of the fortified tower houses, for example Kinnafad on the Kildare side of the Boyne along the Offaly border. It protected a long ford and its ruins can still be seen. Because of its location it had been regarded as a crucial point since the Geraldine revolt, crown money being spent on it, 'and a common cess was levied of the country' for its building. John Bermingham and his son Walter claimed that it was theirs because it was built on 'their proper inheritance', and they had had more expense in building it than had the Irish government, in money or cess. Before the legal ownership was determined the government leased

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74

27 Mar. 1557 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 32-4, and B.M., Add. MS 4763, no. 6).



the 'castle' and bawn attached to it for three years, paying the Berminghams <sup>75</sup> 6s. 8d. sterling a year. The Irish who revolted were concerned to destroy such 'castles' either by burning the timbering inside or, when time permitted, razing them. In recent accounts confusion has resulted because of contemporary assertions that all the castles of Leix and Offaly were destroyed at various times in these early years. The two forts were never lost, nor were many of these structures.

The lack of enthusiasm for renewed war in the midlands can be grasped from a proclamation 'for good order between the soldiers and the country' issued the same day that labourers were called for. <sup>76</sup> The preamble to a series of corrective regulations stated:

Where by reason of the wars at this present in Offaly for the chastising of the rebels there, the soldiers as well horsemen as footmen have occasion to pass and repass daily through the borders and other places of the English pale, and that we are informed by the soldiers that they cannot have meat and drink for their money as they were wont to have, but that the people in many places rather flee the towns when they see them coming, and raise the cry than minister any reasonable aid to them for their money, and on the other part oftentimes complaint is made to us that the soldiers passing in sort abovesaid take meat and drink and pay nothing therefore.

A complex reaction was developing with the inhabitants of the pale who, in the government's eyes, were being protected by the Leix-Offaly venture.

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<sup>75</sup>

Indenture made between Fitzwalter and council and John and Walter Bermingham, 24 July 1557 (Acts privy council. Ire., 1556-71, pp. 36-7).

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27 Mar. 1557 (ibid., pp. 33-4).



## CHAPTER IX

## SUSSEX AND HIS CRITICS

1557 - 1558

Fitzwalter's elaborate plans for the north were not destined to advance very far. His brother Sir Henry Radcliffe was sent to England for clearer instructions on a number of points, among them the north<sup>1</sup>. If the queen decided to plant there, the deputy argued, '... that settled the realm is more than three parts settled'. A summer campaign in the north was necessary, which would cost an extra £5,000 for increased forces. With them the deputy thought he could drive all the Scots out of Ireland, and then the queen 'may as time shall serve plant when and where she will without charges'.

Despite his arguments, and the more detailed ones he had made in January, Mary decided against taking action on plantation in the north for the time being. However, she allowed Fitzwalter the extra forces and had written to north Wales, Chester, and Lancashire for them, 300 in all, and it was inserted into the draft of the letter: 'which men we have given order to be chosen of such as may serve hereafter to inhabit our said realm when time shall serve'<sup>2</sup>. She also wished Sir Henry Radcliffe to be put on the council, and expected Sidney to come to England with the needs in provisions.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Articles to be declared... to the queen', 15 Apr. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Philip and Mary to Sussex, 23 May 1557, draft (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 33). Original (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 243), where the final words are 'shall require'.



Sidney was shortly in England and among the things he required were 100 crows of iron, 200 pickaxes, 200 felling axes, 200 hedging bills, and 200 dozen spades and shovels, of which he got a supply.<sup>3</sup> He also brought a request by the deputy that the crown grant Andrew Brereton's interest in Lecale to Sidney, together with the castle of Dundrum and its lands, in fee farm at a rent. Sidney had already bargained with Brereton for his interest, and intended to develop it, being willing to enter a bond by which after a year's time he would find 'on his own charges, one hundreth English horsemen and one hundreth English footmen that shall be placed thereon to continue'. According to the deputy the crown would have a sure rent for an area where it had very little, and it should consider 'the great benefit that shall grow to the realm to have such a number of Englishmen planted in such a place'. It would also be an encouragement when 'others of meaner sort shall see a man of his living and credit to have begun'. He asserted that Sidney did this not for profit, but as service to the crown and to reform Ireland, and the deputy had no doubt the crown 'shall a great deal the rather find tenants in other places, who will hope for continuance when such as he will be partners'.<sup>4</sup> In October 1556 a custodiam of the abbey of Bangor had been granted to Thomas Lancaster and in November a custodiam for three years to Roger Brooke of Dundrum, which had been leased to Edward Gernon in March 1551.<sup>5</sup> Sidney would have replaced Brooke in the new arrangement but Lancaster was evidently meant to be a partner to him.

<sup>3</sup> 'A portion of munitions to be sent for into England', and 'Remembrances for the privy council', c. Apr. to June 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, nos 32, 43).

<sup>4</sup> Sussex to Philip and Mary, 27 May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 37).

<sup>5</sup> 25 Oct. (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. v, f. 43, vol. xviii, p. 60), 10 Nov. 1556 (R.I.A. MS 13.F.3, f. 179).



Certainly Sidney throughout his service in Ireland was interested in entering into plantation schemes, probably both to promote an idea which he regarded as a service to the crown and as a source of profit to himself. Brereton was still the farmer of Lecale in 1558, and the fact that it would revert to the earl of Kildare must have prevented Sidney from realizing his plans. Further, war with France began in June 1557 and the Scots poured into Ireland, some 5,000 the Venetian ambassador thought.<sup>6</sup> The north became primarily a theatre of war.

Sidney was described as being able to explain the north and the 'state of the Irishmen from hence to the Shannon and from hence to Wexford'. Two of his articles are noteworthy. He wished to have the liberties of Carrickfergus renewed so that it could be a staple town. He also wanted a ship for the north and asked for the Phoenix or another of the same size.<sup>7</sup> William Piers, constable of Carrickfergus, seems to have been as much at home on sea as on land. At a later date he asked Sidney to bear witness to the expenses he had borne in operating two ships<sup>8</sup> from Carrickfergus against Scotland and the Scots. On one occasion, when he went to the Bann to destroy their shipping, he found the Scots entrenched in a waterside fort with 600 well equipped men that he drove out. It was an area in which Piers had a proprietary interest, and he continued to operate ships from Carrickfergus.

Early in April 1557 Fitzwalter and his council made a

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Giacomo Soranzo to the doge and senate, 7 Sept. 1557 (Cal. S.P. Venice, 1554-58, no. 1026).

7

Articles brought by Sidney from Sussex, 27 May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 38).

8

William Piers to Elizabeth, c. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 10). Suits, c. Sept. 1565 (ibid., 63/14, no. 82).



detailed report to Philip and Mary of what they were doing in Leix and Offaly, including an account of the prior history of the plantation, designed probably for Philip.<sup>9</sup> It was claimed that the two savage nations of O'More and O'Conor had cost Henry VIII and Edward VI some £100,000 sterling, that Bellingham had subdued them and begun to plant their countries, and that Croft had carried on the process. The two countries lay in the heart of Ireland and with their fine, fertile parts were about the same size as Kent, giving place to no area in England for their fertility and commodity of wood, pasturage, meadows, and arable land.'

The next assertion was meant to appeal to Philip's Spanish background as well as to promote the deputy's view. The two countries were said to have in fact remained for six years uninhabited and empty of cultivation, giving no rent or profit at all. That condition was apart from the disobedience of the original inhabitants. Thus by implication the two countries were suitable areas for colonization. The native uprisings at the accession of the present sovereign had resulted in the death and destruction of many of the English planted there, in which not man, woman, or child was spared. They destroyed or razed all the castles there and continued their burning, pillaging, and other horrible cruelties to the gates of Dublin. According to the deputy matters continued so until his arrival, and after the defeat of James MacDonnell in the north in December 1556 the two peoples surrendered unconditionally to the crown. It was Fitzwalter's story, and in ever more elaborate versions he was to stick to it for the next decade.

It was stressed that the O'Mores in Leix had continued

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9

An abstract in French of a letter of 4 Apr. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 28).



to live in quiet and peace in a portion of the country where land had been assigned and distributed to them. A copy of the ordinances, which must have been the 'orders for Leix', were sent for his approval. As for Offaly Donough O'Connor had broken the peace by revolting and the deputy had made war upon him, killing several of the O'Conors, burning their houses, and putting them to flight. 'And now he is about to set and plant in the said country good and loyal subjects with conditions and ordinance similar to Leix'.

The deputy, having made his point that the two countries were vacated, had to dispose of the rights of the previous holders. He asserted that Peppard, claiming to have the lordship of Slievemargy, had demanded a provision to ensure his rights in the act to be passed by the forthcoming parliament which would entitle Philip and Mary and their heirs to the countries of Leix and Offaly. Peppard was later proved to be imprisoned in London at the time as a surety for Andrew Wyse, and he argued that he knew nothing of any such act.<sup>10</sup> The deputy's reasoning was interesting. The act was to be based on the assumption that the holders had forfeited for having maintained rebels. Those who believed they should be indemnified as a result of the act had been content that rebels should possess their lands and enjoy them, and had not claimed any rights or made any complaint. Thus the deputy had thought it suitable and fitting to plant in the area - Leix and Slievemargy were made to seem one - 20 English gentlemen, horsed, and others to the number of 120, all men of property, to create the strength to keep traitors and rebels out. Such was the outlook of his complainers, he added, that he had incurred more hatred for putting the traitors to flight

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Arnold to Elizabeth, 26 Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/12, no. 15).



than if he had allowed them to sweep up to Dublin.

Whether Philip was particularly impressed with an argument designed to appeal to his outlook does not appear, but as the ruler of the greatest colonial undertaking of the time he must have felt a sense of satisfaction that the English were so heavily and expensively committed to colonizing two small territories in the centre of Ireland. He probably kept his own counsel and contented himself with acquiescing in the decisions of his wife and her councillors. While his empire may have been a source of inspiration to Fitzwalter, Sidney, and others, it seems doubtful that Philip himself made any positive contribution to the development of plantation in Ireland.

A document was included with the 'orders for Leix'<sup>11</sup> called 'the consignation of Leix', which showed its division by townlands, beginning with fourteen townlands and St Fintan's church and possessions assigned to the fort. The O'Mores had 'twenty-four great towns beyond the fort', which were not named, to be divided among themselves. Similarly Phelym MacNeill boy, captain of galloglas, was assigned two unnamed townlands standing in a fastness, and Donnell mcShane MacGilpatrick, 'one of the captains of the kerne' who had been a previous holder, was assigned nine townlands in the uplands of Callen. Tirrelagh MacCabe, a captain of kerne, was assigned 'four towns beyond the fort towards the O'Mores', and five named townlands were assigned to 'Robert O'Fay and his brethern, captains of kerne'. These brothers were presumably related to the Edmund a Fay who had wrought such destruction as Bellingham's assistant a decade earlier. Morghe O'Dowling was assigned one townland which, though named, cannot be identified.

Most of these native holdings were in the west of Leix,

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11

Third document in the series of four, c. Apr. to May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 21).



bordering on Upper Ossory and Iregan. Donnell mcShane was on the borders of Blievemargy, which was not assigned to anyone. It was almost certainly still occupied by the tenants of Peppard, an inconvenient fact for Fitzwalter. The Hovendens, Peppard's neighbours, were also ignored, though they were still in place. All of those named seem to have been expected to find their own tenants, probably from the men they commanded.

The core of the deputy's plan centred on the twenty English gentlemen he had mentioned to Philip. On examination they prove to be a rather more mixed lot than the term suggests. Heading the group was the earl of Kildare, who was to have Farran O'Kelly, the land of one of the septs of the O'Mores, 'if he will'. The earl could not very well be kept out of the scheme, and his inclusion was probably an attempt to divert his attention from Offaly. Another Anglo-Irishman, a Eustace, 'brother to the viscount of Baltinglass', was assigned the neighbouring townland of Tullomoy 'with three towns more about it'. After these two men were six more who were evidently meant to be small holders. John Dunkerley, victualler of the fort, retained Clonreher and two other townlands. Near him was Hopwood with one large townland. Hugh Jones, or Johns, 'who had a farm there before', retained his holding. Similarly John Glester and his brother William, 'two good soldiers that had farms before', were given three townlands in a new location. Thomas Browne, 'servant to the lord deputy', was also given three townlands.

The remaining twelve holders were almost all army officers, and in some cases the words 'and his men' or 'and his band' were added, thus indicating that the 120 men of property were to be divided among them, probably on an average of ten men apiece. It is not stated in the 'consignation' but it is evident that the twelve points



suitable for large defensive villages were divided among them, and that with their men, who were almost certainly chosen from the ranks of the army, they were meant to begin such villages.

Abbeyleix, the first village site, was given, with its possessions, to the earl of Ormond 'for that it bordered with his land', Matthew Kyng's rights being ignored. Richard Masterson was left in possession of Ballyroan, the second site, and five other townlands. One Shute, 'servant to the lord deputy, and others joined with him', were given Ballyknockan, the third site, and six other townlands. Captain Girton and his men were assigned Shaen, the fourth site, and thirteen more townlands. William Cantwell, the Anglo-Irishman from co. Kilkenny who had caused such trouble a decade before, emerged from obscurity as the holder of Castletown or Moat in Gallen, the probable fifth site, with four other townlands. He was described in the 'consignation' as the deputy's servant, 'and hath done much good service'.

Nicholas Malby and Robert Hartpoole, both army officers, appeared on the Irish scene for the first time as the joint holders of Ballinakill, the probable sixth site, with four more townlands. They were described as 'two gentlemen that can serve, and the one hath had charge'. The seventh site, Timahoe, with eleven other townlands was being held 'till answer be heard from Captain [Edward] Randolph', its previous holder. John Thomas Bowen, 'who hath ever kept his charge', got Ballyadams, the eighth site, and five more townlands. Captain Portas, who was in command at Blackford, the ninth site, was given 'for himself and his men' eight townlands nearby.

The tenth site, Stradbally, which had been the headquarters of O'More as chief of his name and of a small garrison under Jacob in the first plantation, has an interest of its own. With twelve additional townlands it was to be



assigned to 'Mr Treasurer for himself and his band', Sir Henry Sidney, which accords with the even larger undertaking he sought in Lecale at the same time.

Apparently he was meant to be an example in Leix as well. ;

The eleventh site was to be 'between Dunamase and the Shaen', and the land assigned to Captain Williamson 'and his band' was in this area, twelve townlands beginning with Ballycarroll. Captain Richard Mainwaring, who was a previous holder of Gallen, was assigned the twelfth site, Derrybrock, and nine other townlands, including Ballymanus. In the 'orders for Leix' the thirteenth site was to be fixed 'as time will show', but it seems likely that Captain Lippiat and his men at Cullenagh, with five other townlands, were intended to fill that place. Then, a clerk noted in summary on the 'consignation', 'there will be planted... 160 mere English subjects in that one country besides the O'Mores', which would mean twenty more men than the deputy had proposed in his letter to Philip, but it is clear that the two plans are the same.

The crown soon notified Fitzwalter of their favourable opinion of 'the distribution and ordinances that you have devised for the tenants of Leix', which with his actions were 'so well to our liking', that they left the whole matter to his discretion. They also informed him of the death of his father so that he was now earl of Sussex. His brother, Sir Henry Radcliffe, was the bearer of the letter and other dispatches, and was to be involved in one query that the crown put to Sussex. Where he spoke of a president for Leix they found his letter 'in that point somewhat obscure. We pray you to advertize us more fully thereof, and to what his office and authority shall extend'. Sussex had also written on the necessity to separate Roger Fynglas from Clonbulloge and Nicholas Herbert from Ballybrittan in Offaly, in the same manner as Peppard from



Slievemargy, for the crown mentioned these places. The reference was to another letter by Sussex on 4 April, not now extant, 'whereby we perceive your travail in Offaly, and what hindrance hath been had in the like distribution of the same Offaly through the late rebellion of the traitor Donough O'Connor and his complices'.<sup>12</sup> At the same time Ormond was thanked for his assistance to Sussex as he had been thanked in January for the forces he had provided at his own charge to repress the O'Mores in Leix.<sup>13</sup>

Sussex was sufficiently advanced in his war with the O'Conors to submit to the crown a 'division of Offaly' within a short time, perhaps when Sidney came to England. Among the things Sidney was to explain was the office of president of Leix, and that its holder 'may bear a lower name'.<sup>14</sup> The 'division of Offaly'<sup>15</sup> was drawn up in more haste than the 'consignation of Leix' and made no provision for the O'Conors, though some gaps in the 'division' indicate where they were to be placed if they conformed. Correspondingly there were no 'orders' or ordinances for the conduct of the native and English settlers. It is likely that the English were to follow the same rules as those settled in Leix, but the clause for the places to be 'made defensible' in Offaly is not forthcoming. However, the sites on which great villages were supposed to grow can be deduced with some certainty from the way the country was to be divided.

In the 'division' the fort at Daingean was assigned nine townlands in contrast to the fourteen of the fort in

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<sup>12</sup> Philip and Mary to Sussex, 13 May 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 243, fourth letter in the series).

<sup>13</sup> Mary to Ormond, 12 Jan., Philip and Mary to Ormond, 13 May 1557 (Cal. Ormond MSS, 1543-1711, nos 2, 3).

<sup>14</sup> Articles brought by Sidney... 27 May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 38).

<sup>15</sup> Fourth in the series of documents, c. Apr. to May 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/7, no. 62). Misplaced as c. Dec. 1562.



Leix, and every other detail was on the same reduced scale. Owen mcHugh [O'Dempsey], identified as 'captain of the kerne', was assigned with his kinsmen the lordship of Farran Dermoth, the part of Clannalier north of the Barrow and closest to Daingean. Thus John Robson and Oliver Sutton were superseded in their holdings. East of O'Dempsey, on what had been Fynglas's holding, three Irish were to be placed. Teig mcCahir [O'Conor], another 'captain of the kerne', and his kinsmen were assigned eight townlands, including the strong point of Bracknagh. Brian mcCahir's wife was assigned two townlands, and Teig mcCall [O'Conor], yet another 'captain of the kerne', and his kinsmen were given four townlands. The two mcCahirs seem to have been sons of Cahir O'Conor, Brian's brother, who had been loyal to the crown until Bellingham's time. By accident or design neither the name of O'Dempsey nor O'Conor appeared in the 'division' and Mary was probably in ignorance of their identity. A note was made that 'the captains of the kerne have the greater portion for that they have at this time served so well, and an Englishman being their general and planted amongst them, he may be in the absance of the deputy the better able to do service, if occasion shall serve'.

The general of the kerne was Francis Cosby, who was assigned thirteen townlands centring around Geashill, which was probably intended as the site for a great village. A second one was probably intended for Killeigh, 'being the furthestmost point of Offaly towards the Shannon...'. The note went on to argue that it should 'be bestowed upon some man of estimation and credit, and Mr Parker, master of the rolls, being undoubtedly taken here to be, by the report of all men, a man of honesty, credit, and good estimation, is thought fit to be planted there if he might in convenient time be returned home'. When Parker did return to Ireland



Sussex came to regard him quite differently.

Matthew Kyng 'and his men' were assigned what remained of Fynglas's holding on both sides of Clonbulloge, the third possible site, but its ownership was left in obscurity. The fourth such site, Edenderry, with eight other townlands was assigned to Captain Henry Cowley 'and his band'. Cowley had tried to dispossess Fynglas in 1551, and was now being placed on a part of what had been Nicholas Herbert's holding. Herbert retained Monasteroris 'of his own choice' and five other townlands, but his wings were being clipped. On his other side was placed Captain Humphrey Warren 'and his band' at Ballybrittan, the fifth possible site, with five other townlands. The sixth such site was Kilclonfert, assigned to Captain William Dixon and his men. In the first plantation Edward Dixon had held a slightly more westerly holding. Two possible sites for great villages on which Sussex lavished later attention were Croghan, which contained the only height of land in Offaly, and Ballinagar, north of Geashill. That they were not mentioned suggests that they both lay in areas intended originally for the O'Conors.

After these seven English gentlemen were eleven others with a few townlands each, indicating that they were to be small holders. John Wakely was still a holder in Offaly, but he had been reduced to three townlands. Only two townlands were assigned to Richard Croft and four to Anthony March, different holdings in each case from those they had held before. Richard Pepper was to have four townlands, and a fraction of another, and Richard Hunte received four. Riche and Denham each received three, and Adams two; none of the three men was designated by his first name. Richard Bermingham was assigned three townlands, Robert Cowley two, and Thomas Might one, but Might had the lucrative post of victualler of the fort in



Offaly, where his father-in-law Henry Cowley was in command. In all there were eighteen English gentlemen included in the 'division', and if the ratio of the 'consignation' were followed, something over a hundred mere English with them, but the 'division' gives no figures for the men of property.

Mary was well pleased with the plan for 'bestowing the lands of Offaly, which we also think good and convenient, so we will you to follow it, trusting the same shall be to the advancement of our good service, the quiet and good ordering of the country, and to yourself honourable'.<sup>16</sup>

Three weeks later the crown granted Sussex the £5,000 he had asked for to finance his expedition to the north to clear out the Scots, and £5,000 more for ordinary expenses. A third copy of the act for giving and assuring Leix and Offaly was also sent, and it was ordered that the loss of the first two copies should be investigated.<sup>17</sup>

There are no details concerning the disappearance of the copies of the act or acts, but it is possible that the O'Conors, adept at keeping informed, got a set. If they did they were probably confused by them, for though the acts are probably the best known fact of the plantation, they are also the most misunderstood.

The general tenor of the legislation which the queen and her privy council approved to be passed in the parliament in Ireland was to assert royal authority in all things. It had been devised by the government in Ireland. The list of acts returned to Sussex included:

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Mary to Sussex, 1 June 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 40).

17

Philip and Mary to Sussex, 23 June 1557 (ibid., nos 44, 45).



7. An act to entitle the queen's majesty to Leix and Offaly, Slievemargy, and Irry, and for making shire ground thereof.  
 13. An act against bringing in of Scots, retaining of them, and marrying with them.  
 15. An act for Leix and Offaly.  
 20. An act for making of shire grounds.  
 23. An act for the shiring of Leix and Offaly.<sup>18.</sup>

In the result there were only two acts dealing with Leix and Offaly, as per nos 7 and 23, no. 15 giving no clue as to its contents. The act for making shire grounds was passed, as a part of the settled policy of St Leger to enlarge the areas of shire government and, as the act stated, to help check the murders, robberies, and felonies frequently committed in many towns, villages and other waste grounds not in shires.<sup>19</sup> The shiring of Leix and Offaly was placed in a larger context with the recent shiring of Westmeath, and other proposed new shires, being the fulfillment of Sir William Cecil's discussion with Croft in 1551. The act for their shiring was chapter 8 on the roll, and chapter 9 was the act for making shire grounds, the two acts becoming chapters 2 and 3 in the printed version. 'An act for the disposition of Leix and Offaly',<sup>20</sup> chapter 7 on the roll and chapter 1 in the printed version, reveals the sleight of hand that was worked in securing these acts. In their original forms they probably had a long preamble explaining why the act came to be passed. What appears both on the roll and in the printed version seems to be a detailed précis giving the legal core of the act. It is unfortunate that complete versions do not exist, because the appeal to history in the preamble would probably be revealing.

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18

Philip and Mary to Sussex, 13 May 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 243).

19

Wilson, Beginnings mod. Ire., pp. 404-5.

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A copy is in the state papers (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 60). Quoted virtually in full by R. Dunlop 'The plantation of Leix and Offaly, B.H.R., VI, 61-96 (1891).



'An act for the disposition...' is revealing enough. The countries of Leix, Slievemargy, Offaly, Irry, and Clannmalier, which belonged 'of right' to Philip and Mary 'were of late wholly possessed by the Mores, the Conors, the Dempseys and other rebels, and now by the industrious travail of the earl of Sussex... be brought again to be in the possession of their majesties, and so remain to be disposed as to their highnesses shall be thought good'. In essence it was the same argument that the deputy had presented in April. The original planters had allowed their lands to be possessed by rebels, and so the area was void and could be disposed of by the crown, having been recovered by Sussex. The acts goes on:

... that the aforesaid earl of Sussex... shall have by virtue of this act full power and authority, during the time he shall be lord deputy there, to give and grant to all and every their majesties's subjects English or Irish, born within this realm of England, at his election and pleasure such several estates in fee simple, fee tail, leases for term of years, life or lives, of all and every the lordships, manors, castles, patronages of benefices, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments temporal, with their appurtenances, parcel of any of the said countries, or to any of the said countries of right appertaining or belonging, as for the more sure planting and strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient.

Sussex in one blow had wiped out the entire legal structure of the settlement made in Leix and Offaly from 1549 onwards, called into question titles going back to the first conquest, and secured the exclusive right to determine who should be enabled to hold there in the future. Under the terms of the act it was not really the O'Mores and O'Conors who were being dispossessed of Leix and Offaly; rather they had dispossessed the settlers. Thus individuals of the two families were able to sue Elizabeth for the recovery of their lands, or parts of them, and thirty years after the act was passed she was still bemused as to what its intention was. In 1587 she called before her Henry, earl of Sussex, younger brother of Thomas, to explain exactly what had happened. According to him the Irish



parliament, before it would assent to the acts, requested that the rights and titles, which Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of Lackagh and other English subjects in co. Kildare 'possessed in those countries, and which they had in quiet seisin, descended from their ancestors, might be saved and confirmed to them'. The deputy verbally agreed, though the wording of the act could not be changed, and 'signed bills' for them.

The case in point before Elizabeth was one she had considered twice: first with Geoffrey Fay of Ballymore, co. Westmeath, and in 1587 with Meiler, his son and heir. It involved lands which had been in their quiet possession at the time of the act, and were an inheritance that went back to Geoffrey's father at least. The lands had always been considered to be in co. Kildare, but Redmond oge Fitzgerald had got a patent for them on the grounds that they fell 'within the ancient limits of the country of Offaly' and so were the property of the crown. Elizabeth thought the patent 'contrary to what was then undertaken by our cousin', and ordered the Fays restored. <sup>21</sup>

She may also have remembered the patent she granted to Sir Maurice Fitzgerald on 12 July 1572. In 1556 Sir Maurice had paid the earl of Kildare 2500 and 600 ounces of silver for the mortgage of the manor of Lea and its castle, involving some thirty-three townlands in all. Many of these conflicted with Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey's holdings and provided a large and prolonged suit with his heirs in

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21

Elizabeth to the deputy, chancellor, treasurer, and barons of the exchequer, 4 Sept. 1587 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., pp. 386-7). An inquisition of 14 June 1599 showed that Geoffrey died 26 Nov. 1575, seized of Trumroe castle and two other townlands. The calendar places them in Westmeath, but Leix is possible (*ibid.*, p. 536).



the seventeenth century. In 1572 Elizabeth was answering a petition for the rights of Sir Maurice and other English subjects of co. Kildare in regard to the act of 1557.

Geoffrey Fay is not mentioned, but it is possible he was involved.<sup>23</sup> The failure to mention the earl of Kildare on either occasion supports both Peppard's assertion that only the earl and the bishop of Leighlin 'who were then present to open and solicit their own causes' obtained 'any proviso or any saving in the act', and also the theory that the text of the act as it stands is not complete. Peppard said that the parliament was not informed that he had any interests at all in Leix. Being imprisoned he was not immediately free to protest, and when he did so in Elizabeth's reign he was led for a time to believe that Sussex planned to right the matter.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike Peppard, another holder began his protests immediately. Oliver Sutton wrote to Mary, and he asked the deputy and council to write to the privy council on his behalf.<sup>25</sup> Sussex must have given him some hope, though the 'division of Offaly' showed that the deputy intended to restore Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey in Clannalier. Apparently Sutton followed his letter to England for on 12 July he had secured letters to Sussex from two privy councillors. Winchester said the privy council had no time for him. Since the Irish council recommended him for his services, and the man had no resources, he hoped they would hold off his creditors until something was done for him.<sup>26</sup> Pembroke

22

Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Lea castle', in Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn., vol. 4, pp. 325-51 (1903-1905).

23

12 July 1572 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 550-1).

24

Sir Nicholas Arnold to Elizabeth, 26 Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/12, no. 15).

25

Petition of Oliver Sutton, c. 2 Dec. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/15, no. 58).

26

Winchester to Sussex, 12 July 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Vespasian F.XII, no. 104).



was less explicit, but as Sutton 'hath already tasted often of your friendship for my sake' he hoped that the situation would 'so continue'.<sup>27</sup>

One petitioner that neither Sussex nor the English council could ignore was the earl of Kildare. He was probably alarmed about his interests in Leix and Offaly from the time of his relief at Daingean in October 1556. The following spring the privy council asked Sussex whether some petitions of the countess of Kildare should be answered before or after the parliament in Ireland.<sup>28</sup> He evidently counselled delay to obtain Kildare's consent to the legislation proposed. The acts for Leix and Offaly could hardly have been passed when Sussex urged that care should be used in restoring Kildare in all his claims. One in particular Sussex was concerned to stop: 'The granting of his request for liberties were most perilous to the state of the crown for that the same countries, being upon the borders of the pale and in subjection to his liberties, should forget the name of the king and their duties of allegiance...'.<sup>29</sup>

The queen had all her Tudor caution aroused by the nature of the petitions themselves. Her council considered them, her attorney considered them, and then she answered them. Kildare's old mentor Cardinal Pole was involved, and the queen gave a second set of answers in the papal legate's presence. The countess then responded to these answers. The earl by no means obtained all that he sought, but some of his petitions were directly concerned with the Leix-Offaly area. The six petitions will be considered together

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<sup>27</sup>Pembroke to Sussex and Curwen, 12 July 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 249).

<sup>28</sup>20 Mar. 1557 (Acts privy council, 1556-58).

<sup>29</sup>Sussex to Dr. John Boxoll, 4 July 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 48).



with Mary's first answers. Then her second answers will be compared with the responses of the countess.

Kildare's first request was that he be allowed to enjoy all the lands, possessions, and duties upon Irishmen that his father had had, except those alienated or given away by Henry VIII and Edward VI. The queen's answer was that he was to produce evidence, such as letters patent, for the deputy and council, and when it was forwarded to her she would 'give such order as the said earl shall have good cause in reason to be well satisfied'.<sup>30</sup>

His second request was for the restoration of his ancestor's *bonnaght* for galloglas, 'as in the time of the earls of Surrey, Ormond, and Skeffington, being deputies', which would be placed upon 'the Irishmen's countries'. On this point the opinion of the queen's attorney was secured after the council had dealt with the petitions.<sup>31</sup> He argued that the queen had the *bonnaght* by right of attainder, but if she chose she could grant it again under the terms of Kildare's patent. There was a nice point whether the *bonnaght* issued from shire ground, and thus whether an office could be found, but the queen contented herself with requesting the earl to present the proof of his claim to the deputy and council and she would do justice. In May Sussex and others had already taken depositions in Ireland from Phelym MacNeill boy, a captain of the queen's galloglas, and other galloglas leaders, all of whom were between fifty and seventy years of age. Their testimony was that successive earls of Kildare had only had *bonnaght* when they were deputies and that it was for the king's

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<sup>30</sup> 'Petitions of Kildare to the queen and answers thereto', c. July 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XII, no. 32). Copy with first pages missing (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 57). 'A note of such manors, lands...' that Kildare claimed (ibid., no. 49) includes in its 14 pages extensive properties, among them Lecale.

<sup>31</sup> 'Requests of the earl of Kildare...', and 'the opinion of the queen's attorney...' c. July 1557 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XI, no. 254).



32  
service.

The third petition was the one which had so perturbed Sussex. The earl wished to be restored to the liberty of the county of Kildare, and that he might have 'the like liberty for the punishment and correction of rebellers and malefactors in the Irish countries...', which included Offaly, Fercule, Delvin MacCoghlan, the Fox's country, and O'Melaghlin's country. The last adjoined Athlone, and the whole area stretched south along the Shannon to Meelick and Bly O'Carroll. His fourth petition tied into the third. Kildare, as baron of Offaly, wanted to hold that country 'according ~~to~~ a book of articles made...' with St Leger and his council. In explaining the liberty he stated that his ancestors had put the area west of the Barrow, which was part of the medieval liberty, <sup>33</sup> into the hands of the O'Mores and O'Conors. He cited the eighteen months he had defended it, and the implication was that it was his by right.

Kildare, as the brother-in-law of Brian O'Conor, was related to the whole family, and the liberty had been specifically exempted from his patent in May 1554. Mary answered the two petitions together, reminding Kildare that he had agreed to the act for assuring Leix and Offaly, but promising him that he would have what rightfully belonged to him or be 'otherwise recompensed for it', and if he continued his good service he would be 'further considered'.

In his fifth petition Kildare asked for eighty horsemen of the queen's garrison, which would be a saving to her, and an increase to his service. Mary answered that the deputy disposed such things, and she did not

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14 May, 22 May, 24 May 1557 (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. v, ff. 45-8).

<sup>33</sup> J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval county of Kildare', in *I.H.S.*, XI, nos 181-99, (Mar. 1959, which has an accompanying map.



intend to overrule him. His sixth petition concerned his income. He had been given £300 sterling under Edward VI. Now he was reduced to his bare rents for his whole income, a rental of £500 sterling, much of which had been given in reversion and was leased for many years to come. At least £200 sterling had been alienated and given away completely, and he did not have the duties upon Irishmen that his ancestors did. The queen answered that she was pleased with his service, and would see him maintained and more able to serve.

The answers were evidently so unsatisfactory to Kildare that the whole matter was raised again, and a second set of answers was given in the presence of Cardinal Pole. The earl must have protested that he would not receive his due from Sussex, for a commission was to be appointed to decide on his claims of lands and possessions, and the bonnaght for galloglas. Then 'if the earl had or ought to have any lands in Offaly, the same will appear by the commission... and for the rest the country being now divided we think it convenient... that he enjoy such lands therein as is allotted to him, observing such conditions as... in the same division was proscribed'. Since Kildare was not allotted any lands in the 'division of Offaly' the answer in effect denied him anything.

His request for a liberty got no further. The response was that 'we think the council's answer good, and no such liberties to be granted'. To alleviate the earl's financial plight it was ruled that the deputy on his behalf was 'to find, out of such lands as shall come to her highness' hands by eviction or conquest or otherwise, so much as amounteth to the sum of two hundreth pounds by the year, reserving... such service and duties as upon other lands given to other subjects is reserved in Leix and Offaly'.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>'Answers to the petitions of Kildare...' 16 Aug. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 55).



An Irish earl did not expect to be treated like any other planter, but the countess of Kildare made the best of the answers that she could. The commission to examine the various matters was satisfactory, and she hoped that if they found favourably on the earl's claims 'to his lands in Offaly and Leix' that he could enjoy them 'without further condition'. Although the crown had a liberty in co. Wexford, and the earls of Ormond and Desmond had them in civil and obedient shires, the one Kildare sought 'is but in savage wild country to the intent to 'make them civil and obedient...' to the crown, and she left it in Mary's hands. The object with the horsemen, the countess explained, was not to have the queen charged doubly. As for the £200 of rent in lands got 'by eviction, conquest or otherwise', they would cost more to keep and inhabit than they might be worth 'as appeareth by other evicted lands'. She therefore hoped the queen would be moved to give the earl 'some other land and recompense in England or within the English pale of Ireland' as a means for better service.

The mention of Leix so late in the argument suggests that it was regarded as a part of the earl of Ormond's sphere of influence, along the lines of the division between the two earls which St Leger made in 1555. Behind these events may have been an attempt to revive the old Butler-Fitzgerald partnership to expand crown influence in Ireland. Ormond does not seem to have made a similar petition to Kildare's and so escaped disappointment, but in 1558 he was given a large grant of monastic lands.

In Ireland Sussex lost no time in consolidating

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<sup>35</sup> 'The countess of Kildare's answers to the privy council's orders', c. Aug. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/20, no. 93). Misplaced under date of c. 1566.



the legal position for Leix and Offaly which he had wrung from the Irish parliament. On 10 July he left Kilmainham with the army and spent the night with Henry Cowley at Castle Carbury. The next day he crossed Offaly and Fercale, passing the abbey of Killeigh on the way, and camped not far beyond it. The following day the army came to Meelick on the Shannon and demanded its surrender. The defenders in answer burned a small castle and retired into the main work. On the 13th Mr Strange, the sub-constable of Athlone, arrived with heavier pieces of ordnance, which were brought down by water. The siege was tightened, and among the army captains present were Henry Cowley, Humphrey Warren, and Thomas Smith, with their bands of foot. Sir George Stanley, marshal of the army, Sir Henry Radcliffe, and Francis Agard were also present. On the 14th the ordnance opened fire. Shortly 'a great piece of the wall of the bawn fell down', and the garrison fled, leaving behind a good quantity of victuals. At the same time the earls of Clanricarde and Thomond, O'Carroll, O'Madden, and the bishop of Clonfert arrived on the scene with forces.<sup>36</sup> After two days of consultation Sussex took the opportunity to proclaim as traitors Donough O'Conor<sup>37</sup> and his confederates and allies.

Having secured a second strongpoint on the Shannon as a companion to Athlone, Sussex turned back toward Dublin, accompanied by MacCoghlan across his country. The rebels, far from being cowed, were active all around him, burning a place within a mile of the army's camp on the night of 17 July, and a place further east on the outskirts of Daingean, as well as property of William Dixon within the English pale. The following day Sussex stopped to see 'the

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Second journey of the earl of Sussex, 1557 (T.C.D. MS E. 3. 18, f.80 et seq.). Copy (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 211).

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16 July 1557 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 39-41).



farm or castle' of Bracklin held by Richard Hunte, and from there went to the 'farm or castle' of Kilclonfert held by William Dixon, where he dined. By nightfall he had reached Castle Carbury again.

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The deputy was enabled to inform Mary of the success of his attempt to enlarge government control of the midlands. She expressed her satisfaction with his pursuit of O'Connor's supporters, and agreed that Meelick should be kept as a (royal garrison, which it was for several years. It was against this background that she gave her answers to Kildare's petitions.

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Sussex was next concerned to turn his attention toward the north and the Scots. Before leaving he made detailed arrangements for the civil and martial government of six pale shires and the newly-created King's co. and Queen's co., as Offaly and Leix were now to be called. Despite their new status the two seem only to have received martial arrangements. In all the counties those in authority could raise men, both horsemen and footmen, and place them where necessary for defence, cessing them on the country. They could fine and punish for negligence, treat and parley with the rebels, compelling them to keep agreements already made, and make war with them if necessary. In short, in the absence of the deputy, they were to lead the army and do all the things that belonged to the office of general or lieutenant of the army.

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Second journey... 1557 (T.C.D. MS E.3.18).

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Mary to Sussex, 31 July, draft (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 50), 1 Aug. 1557, original (B.M., Cott. MS Vespasian F.XII, no. 5).

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Commissions for martial government, 8 Aug. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 369). Commissions for civil government, 8 Aug. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, nos 159, 160), in which Leix and Offaly, though mentioned, are not included in the individual provisions.



The reference to the office of lieutenant of the army suggests that it was at this time that Sir Henry Radcliffe was made lieutenant of Leix, Offaly, Erry, Slievemargy, and Clannalier, a revival of the office which Sir William St Loe and Sir Ralph Bagenal had held. Radcliffe had the office by 20 October 1557 for its powers were enlarged then. Before, he had been restrained from dealing with the borderers of those areas and as a result they had aided the rebels. In October he was empowered to take pledges where stolen goods had been received and hold them until restitution was made, and he could make war on any of the Irish countries where he could prove that the rebels were aided or kept. His deputies could do the same, and martial law could be used upon the guilty.

Another facet of the midland war was laid bare in the council's orders. The government used horsemen and kerne from Radcliffe's area in the neighbouring pale, who living openly in quiet and good order do not only secretly aid the outlaws and rebels with such things as they may, but... go personally also with them in the night to burnings, spoilings, stealths and murders... and after the fact committed do the next day show themselves in open company as though they were guiltless thereof.

The damage was such that all who kept such men in their jurisdiction were to register them with Radcliffe in eight days, or forfeit £100 sterling. <sup>41</sup> The situation was an outgrowth of having left nearly all of the army's kerne in the area the summer before as a defence against the Irish. <sup>42</sup> Yet in December kerne for the reform of Leix were cessed on cos Meath, Westmeath, and Dublin to the amount of £200 sterling, rateable on the ploughlands, just as they had been the previous year. <sup>43</sup> So likewise a cess of corn and beeves

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20 Oct. 1557 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71) pp. 41-3).

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29 July (*ibid.*, p. 39).

43

2 Dec. 1557 (*ibid.*, pp. 44-5).



was levied once more for the garrisons, principally the forts at Maryborough and Philipstown, as the Protector and Daingean were now named. Grain was so short that it was forbidden to export it or sell it in Irish countries.<sup>44</sup> Sussex had also turned his attention towards the Leinster chain with a view to expanding shire government there. In February 1557 Roger Piphoe was made sheriff for one year 'of the county or territory called O'Byrne's country'.<sup>45</sup> In April 1558 he was replaced by Brian mcTeig oge O'Byrne as sheriff,<sup>46</sup> but he remained a settler there.

Sometime late in 1557 two events occurred at Leighlin Bridge, commanded by Nicholas Heron, which gave a more martial turn to events. MacMurrrough Kavanagh, Cahir mcArt's successor, was tried before justice Sir John Plunkett and Richard Fynglas, sergeant-at-law, with references being made to his 'tyranny', and was executed.<sup>47</sup> The Four Masters add that the English did this 'because he had begun to exalt himself and foment disturbances against them'. So much is the bare record, but it is evident that he lacked Cahir mcArt's wily capacity for survival. It is also likely that he was both encouraging and assisting the midland war. Connell oge O'More soon followed him, being taken by the English and executed at the same place. An even-handed policy for dealing with the Irish had been abandoned. The Four Masters commented that 'it was grievous to the Irish that their free-born noble chieftans should be overtaken by such an evil destiny; but they could not afford them any assistance'.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> 20 Oct., 29 Nov., 1 Dec. 1557 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 43-4).

<sup>45</sup> 12 Feb. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 126).

<sup>46</sup> 15 Apr. 1558 (*ibid.*, no. 203).

<sup>47</sup> Sussex to the privy council, 7 Apr., enclosing Sidney and council to Sussex, 20 Mar. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, nos 32, 33.I).

<sup>48</sup> A.F.M. Entry for 1557.



The Irish government was satisfied with one part of the results. The following spring they reported that since MacMurrough Kavanagh's death, 'his country under the government of Captain Heron hath been so ordered, as it is now the best ruled Irish country in Ireland'.<sup>49</sup> Heron was soon operating from the twin points of Ferns and Leighlin Bridge.

Sussex was sufficiently sure of what he had accomplished to obtain leave to come to England for the winter, where he remained until the following spring. On the whole he retained the complete confidence of Mary, but one critic appeared who had an even greater claim upon her confidence. George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, who had gone into exile in Edward's reign, returning to Ireland after Mary's accession, was becoming thoroughly alarmed at the course of events. He first wrote to Cardinal Pole, and then he wrote to Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York and lord chancellor. He could not remember the country 'in worse case than it is now', except for O'Neill's invasion of the pale in 1539, when a great part of it was burned. He followed this point with six more, equally damning of Sussex's government.<sup>50</sup> The queen was prepared to listen to prelates, especially to one who had stood by his convictions, and in a short time she had summoned him to London for a conference on Ireland.<sup>51</sup>

Sussex would probably have welcomed St Leger as much as the archbishop. He asked for a hearing to answer Dowdall's charges, 'and then I trust her majesty shall search the bottom of this festered sore, and knowing the cause

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Sidney and council to Sussex, 20 Mar. 1558 (loc. cit.).

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Dowdall to Heath, 17 Nov. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 61).

51

Mary to Dowdall, 7 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 9).



draw it out at her pleasure'. The deputy called attention to his many unjust enemies, and saw himself endangered by snares stretched on every side 'the latchline whereof I can boldly say and prove lieth lurking in Mr St Leger's bosom'<sup>52</sup>.

The archbishop duly arrived, and in May he gave the privy council a detailed and enlarged restatement of his seven points of criticism of the previous November<sup>53</sup> concerning the state of his 'poor native country'. The least contested point that he raised was the sixth in the order in which he put them. The north was in chaos, and this was caused by the Scots, of whom there were in May 1558 some 7,000 in Ireland, according to the best estimates he could get.

It is clear that Dowdall felt that the crown's two central problems in Ireland were the north and Leix and Offaly. His seventh point is therefore vital to whis whole argument. In it he asserted 'that the Mores and Conors with divers other rebels hath wasted and destroyed the two new erected shires, Leix and Offaly, with a great part of the English pale besides'. In Westmeath they had reached out as far as Ballymore and Fore, and to many other townlands in Dillon's and Dalton's countries, spoiling and burning them. One of Dillon's sons was murdered and several others with him, including husbandmen. In the more eastern sections of Westmeath, and in the centre of Meath from Kells south to Trim and back to the border with Offaly at Castlejordan, the archbishop named twenty-five places where corn and goods had been burned and spoiled. In Kildare in the baronies of Carbury and East Offaly he

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Sussex to the privy council, 7 Apr. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 32).

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Articles submitted by Archbishop Dowdall to the privy council, 30 May 1558 (ibid., no. 44).



named fifteen more, including Rathangan and Kishawanny. He then summarized the Ormond property, sublet to James Aylmer: 'the barony of Oughterany all burned and destroyed, saving a small part'.

In the east of Kildare Thomas Alen's property of Killeel had suffered the same fate, and the archbishop asserted that all the damage had been done by the O'Conors, O'Mores, and bastard Geraldines. In Offaly they had taken Killeigh, beheaded all the ward of twelve, razed it to the ground, and removed all the ordnance. The same was done to Geashill castle. Bracklin, which Sussex had visited the summer before, had been taken and razed, 'where the ward was fain to compound with them to be suffered to escape with bag and baggage, with their lives saved'. Three other fortified places in Offaly, including Drumcooly and Drumcaw, had also been taken and razed, and the town outside the gates of Daingean fort had been burned. Dowdall did not have specific information for Leix but he knew that many of the army had been killed, and the country burned to the walls of the fortified places.

Thus the archbishop's second point - that there were burnings, murders, robberies, and every other kind of disorder in the marches - was accounted for in part. There were also the O'Tooles south of Dublin, and in the north there was Shane O'Neill, who had raided Louth twice. His third raid had been into Meath, where he burned and spoiled the baronies of Kells and Morgallen, and Dowdall thought he would have done more if Sidney had not made peace with him at the time that Sussex went to England.

Dowdall illustrated his first point - how far out of order Ireland was - with four sub-headings. First, the war had produced a wasted countryside, and one could ride north, south, or west for twenty to forty miles, 'and see neither house, corn, nor cattle'. Second, the wars were a



combination of fighting among the Irish themselves, as they were not under proper subjection, and of the government's wars against them. On occasion the trouble began by the 'wilful proceedings of some captains and soldiers placed in the border next to the same Irishmen'. The third source of disorder was the poverty brought on by the wars, the feedings of horsemen, kerne, and galloglas. The common people of the pale were equally burdened with the soldiers cessed upon them, who paid prices for goods that were worth three times what was paid. It followed that the fourth source of disorder was dearth, not only of food, but of all wares. The archbishop was appalled at the price rise which had taken place in his lifetime. Something that had cost a shilling in his youth now cost a pound. He blamed the debased coinage, and insisted it must be reformed. Salt, iron, wine, and cloth had to be imported into Ireland, and trade was stagnating because of the high price of goods. On the other hand the English pale had secured 'their beeves, porks, horses, ploughbeasts, butter, and linen cloth, for the more part always out of the Irishry', and now the Irish would not take the debased coinage. Dowdall added that in the past the Irish lords had served with forces in the deputy's hostings and journeys, but 'now the greater part of the said Irish rulers be out of trust', and would sooner be disorderly than serve.

According to the archbishop's third point the commons in the pale were impoverished by the incessant cesses and hostings, as well as by the Irish raids. His fourth point was that the charges of the nobility and other subjects were as great as the queen herself sustained. 'The proof thereof is: the shires of east and west Meath paid to hostings, cesses to kerne, cesses of corn and beeves, over and besides the payment had or premised for the same in this two years not fully completed, 38,250 or



more, as it appeareth particularly by the books of the cessors in the realm'. Further, every other county paid in similar fashion according to the rate of its ploughlands, except that those shires - such as Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford -, which were more distant from the army and the forts of Leix and Offaly, paid only for hostings and other expeditions. The figure that the archbishop cited for Meath and Westmeath would have struck the privy council for it was as much revenue as the queen herself derived from Ireland. It was also a measure of the burden being carried by the shires around Leix and Offaly.

Dowdall's fifth point was that the cessing of 400 to 500 kerne for a quarter of each year on Meath, and comparable arrangements for Westmeath and Kildare as well as eighty horsemen with their extra horses and horseboys on Louth, constituted coyne and livery. He conceded that such forces were needed, but he wished to have it recognised that they were there. In essence, the sum of his argument was that the midland war was destroying the very English order it was supposed to create. He was to be heard again later in the summer.

In March 1558 the government in Dublin had defended themselves and Sussex from Dowdall's charges in detail, as they knew the main headings of his arguments from his letter in November. The result in some particulars was a confirmation of the archbishop's expanded presentation in May. They recalled that Dowdall had charged Sussex with the apprehension of Donough O'Connor, 'as with a dishonourable act', who, once freed, had caused so much trouble that it would have been worth 10,000 marks to the



queen and her subjects if Sussex had hanged him while he had him. Dowdall had expressed similar feelings about the hanging of MacMurrough Kavanagh. The Irish council next proceeded to deal with Dowdall's seven points. The only exception they made to Dowdall's sixth point - that the north was in chaos - was that Owen MacGuinness, bishop of Down and a close friend of Dowdall's, had brought the MacDonnells and the Scots together, the MacDonnells as residents of Ireland having always opposed them before. The situation would continue to be chaotic until the queen was pleased 'either to plant a new people or to lay strong garrisons there', perhaps a touch by Sidney.

Dowdall's seventh point - the damage done by the rebels to Leix, Offaly, and the pale - was in a measure conceded. 'We cannot deny', said the council, 'but that there is much done'. As for Leix and Offaly, 'until men be able to build strong places in them, their goods will be in peril of spoil' while the pale befriended the rebels, 'as many times there is found in their cabins both loaf-bread and beer, which neither the Irishry... doth use, nor the rebels can tell how to make'. The Irish council also thought that the pattern of destruction in the pale was quite clear: the chief victims were the Ormond lands in co. Kildare, Curwen's holdings on occasion, Sir John Alen, Sir John Plunkett, John Parker, Thomas Alen, Henry Cowley, William Dixon, and generally the English and their adherents. They were the ones destroyed, 'and if any of the other lose their goods, for little or nothing they have it again, so that as yet none smarteth but the English and their well willers'. Those named generally fit the townlands which Dowdall listed in May, so far as the places can be identified, but the information simply buttressed his argument.

To the archbishop's first point and its amplifications - that Ireland was never further out of order - they gave a



detailed rejoinder of the state of things in the Geraldine revolt, which he had forgotten. If he had remembered he would see that his second point - the damages done in the marches - were things done by 'a few rascals in a dark night...'. The same context applied to his third point, the poverty of the country, which he ascribed to the cesses for the forts, and to stationing the army in the agricultural areas. But the council, looking at the pale, saw

as much cattle in it as the ground is able to bear and more; they break as much ground to tillage as ever they did. The husbandman by his household stuff and fare seemeth as able as ever he was, unless it be for that he will not give his meat and drink to the soldiers so willingly now for money as he was wont to do for nothing.

They argued that the merchants were two or three times as rich as their predecessors, which could only be possible with the protection of the army. As for cesses 'so long as the queen will have either army or fort here they must be furnished out of the English pale, until such time as Leix and Offaly may quietly be manured'. They thought the archbishop should look elsewhere to explain the dearth and suggested the base money, the non-payment of debts, the wastage of the Irish countries adjoining the pale, and the lack of foreign trade. Again they were confirming Dowdall's arguments.

As for the costs sustained by the pale in supplies - the archbishop's fourth point - the council asserted that the greatest cesses ever taken in Ireland were in Bellingham's time, and people willingly supplied every fort and camp at the prices they were paid. They were still getting better money from the crown than they would in the open market. His fifth point - the charging of coyne and livery in the pale - they refuted as unknown, except for a few lords who claimed the right 'by ancient custom', among them the archbishop of Armagh. It was really a quibble over definitions.



Sidney and the council were convinced that Dowdall wanted the English out of Ireland, and much of their argument was directed at refuting an imaginary point of view. They did summarize what they considered his advice to the crown seemed to be: that Mary 'should give into the hands of the O'Mores and O'Conors the two countries long usurped by them, and Oughterany, my lord of Ormond's ancient inheritance, to the bastard Geraldines, and then make one of this country birth deputy and all should be well'. Here they were closer to the mark, as summer revealed.

From the beginning of February 1558 Sidney and the Irish council were concerned about the possibility of a French and Scottish invasion, and that if they came the Irish would aid them to sweep the English out, even as many were aiding the rebels in the midlands. The Spanish were aware of the guerrilla warfare of the O'Conors, and were curious about the defences of Waterford. Their intelligence regarding the French was that they intended to lay siege to Calais, which happened, and that they intended  
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(to reap the corn sown at the time in Ireland. Thus the worries of the Irish government had foundation, and the rebels had encouragement.

Money was very short, and the inhabitants of the pale were becoming thoroughly tired of going unpaid for what they supplied to the army. The Irish council, unaware of their forthcoming exchange with Dowdall, were candid enough to admit that things were 'taken in manner by force of the poor earthtiller...' under a price system where the crown had no credit. They needed arms and additional protection reminding the privy council 'that we have both the Irish



and Scots in our bowels already'.<sup>56</sup> A few weeks later they were more specific; they wanted another thousand men, and hoped that Sussex would return supplied.<sup>57</sup>

Sidney had been occupied in Fercale, O'Molloys country, where he cut long passes from Durrow to Ballycowan, and from Durrow to Kiltobber in co. Westmeath, with another from Kiltobber to Kilclonfert, William Dixon's castle in Offaly.<sup>58</sup> The war against the rebels in the midlands went on unabated. According to the Four Masters Sidney did some burning of his own in the area west of Tullamore. He was concerned to enlist Art O'Molloy, chief of his name, in hunting down Donough O'Connor. Instead Sidney was ambushed by Art, whose eldest son was killed in the mélée.<sup>59</sup> Sidney promptly replaced Art as captain of Fercale with his brother Theobald.<sup>60</sup> The Four Masters put it that the numbers of plunderings and slaughters could not be enumerated in a war which raged from the Shannon to the Wicklow mountains, and from the Nore to Cork.<sup>61</sup> Sidney, more prosaic, added a note to a new cess for corn for the fort in Leix. He pointed out that co. Dublin had been cessed at the same rate as Meath, though smaller in size, 'because a great part of the county of Kildare and other borders be so wasted that they cannot be charged with a rateable cess...'.<sup>62</sup>

One item of business arrived in England too late for

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<sup>56</sup> Sidney and council to the privy council, 8 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 10).

<sup>57</sup> Sidney and council to the privy council, 1 Mar. (ibid., no. 16).

<sup>58</sup> Sidney to Sussex, 26 Feb. 1558 (ibid., no. 14).

<sup>59</sup> 6 Mar. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 47).

<sup>60</sup> 7 Mar. 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 196).

<sup>61</sup> A.F.M. Entry for 1557.

<sup>62</sup> 18 Mar. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 49n).



the deputy's opinion. Robert Redmond, chaplain of the earl of Desmond, had brought certain articles from the earl which the council answered. To Mary the ideas seemed good, and the answer was so couched as to leave the earl with the hope of obtaining some part of his requests, though she told him that final authority was in the hands of Sussex. The deputy was instructed to take the same approach.<sup>63</sup> His attitude to the earl is not directly stated, but in general it was hostile. A few days later he advised against Sir Dohough O'Brien's claim to the earldom of Thomond, saying Desmond supported him, and that Sir Donough was 'the only stay of all the rebels in those quarters'.<sup>64</sup> By implication the earl of Desmond was also.

Desmond had been trying to enlist crown support for more than a year. In March 1557, at about the same time that the countess of Kildare began her petitions, Desmond had his chaplain in London. The earl was concerned first to allay Mary's probable annoyance at his seizure of Dungarvan in the beginning of her reign. He reminded her of the confused time, and that it was held by a few French and Scots, who might have betrayed it to their own people.<sup>65</sup> James Walshe had been constable at the time, and though Desmond was granted the manor, Walshe was reappointed as constable. The earl considered that this had been managed by influence at court, behind which was Sir John Alen, 'a secret practitioner of all sedition and malice that ever happened within this realm between the magistrates in my time'. It was not the financial loss of Dungarvan that the

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<sup>63</sup>Mary to Sussex, 19 Apr., draft (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 35), 20 Apr. 1558, original (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 248).

<sup>64</sup>Sussex to Dr John Boxoll, 26 Apr. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 37).

<sup>65</sup>Desmond to Mary, 1 Mar. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 25).



earl minded, but the loss of face among the Irish. He would do as the queen wished, but he hoped she would decide on the merits of the question.

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Desmond's chaplain had seven articles to expound. The first three had to do with the restoration of the friaries the earl held, and adjustments to be made for them. The fifth concerned the help the earl felt entitled to claim from the incorporated towns against the wild Irish. The sixth was about Dungarvan, and the seventh about the prisage of wines of Youghal and Kinsale in Ormond's hands, which Desmond contended were his. The earl, however, regarded the seventh article as the most important. As the chief ruler under the deputy of Kerry, Cork, Limerick, and most of Waterford, Desmond, and his friends, had laboured for more than twenty years to bring order to an area that had been 'as wild Irish and as far out of order as any country in Ireland', and now it was quiet and orderly, 'every man living upon his own without any spoil or robbery, so as merchantmen and all other passengers hath peaceably access through the wildest place of all those countries...'. Desmond had spent his assets on bringing that state to pass,

and now there should nothing grieve the said earl more than if he should die before the same good quietness, so well begun, were well established,... Therefore he most humbly desireth for the commonwealth of the country, and the great commodity and profit that thereby should yearly grow to the crown, that it would please their majesties... to erect a president and council there, such men of knowledge and experience as the said earl will nominate to be associated with the said earl in all his proceedings... and the sooner the same were done, the better success should follow, for time tarrieth no man and whiles the earl is able to travail he would wish to God to be joined with a good president to bring the same to pass ...

Desmond must have been given a temporizing answer for nothing was done about his proposal, but a year later he

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Instructions to be declared in London, c. Mar. 1557 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no. 26).



returned to the task. Again he sent his chaplain with instructions to the queen. They do not survive, but two letters of his do and the queen's answer to him. He advised Mary that before she went to more expense in Ireland she should send a commission of four men, two spiritual and two lay, and either English or Irish, provided they were impartial. After inspecting the country they could advise the crown on the course policy should take, and then reformation could proceed accordingly.<sup>67</sup>

He later added that he would like to assist in banishing all those combined together by whose help the O'Conors and O'Mores,

that are called here wood-kerne, doth daily spoil, burn, and kill, within the English pale in such sort as the like by my time was not... seen. But, and if all Irishmen could be trained in by fair means, I would suppose as the time now is it hath been the better way, for that the enterprise of a conquest in mine opinion would have been not only doubtful and dangerous, but also their whole land would not countervail the charges.<sup>68</sup>

To the last point Mary's answer was 'we neither mind nor think it meet to make a new conquest of our own, nor to use any force where justice may be obeyed...', and she had no doubt that he would assist those she had entrusted to govern there.<sup>69</sup> His request for a commission of four had not yet been taken up with her deputy and council and she had no one to spare for such a task. Her other answers dealt with the instructions which his chaplain presented. She could do nothing about Dungarvan, the liberty of Kerry, or his other requests, without specific information. As for his request for shot, powder, and heavy ordnance, 'we ourselves minding to be unto you in your well-doings a

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Desmond to Mary, 5 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 8).

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Desmond to Mary, 23 Feb. 1558 (ibid., no. 11).

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Mary to Desmond, 19 Apr. 1558 (ibid., no. 36).



greater and a surer defence than either so many pieces of ordnance or any such preparation', her deputy had been instructed to assist in all matters regarding his security, her service, and Desmond's protection, which was as much as 'hath been accustomed to be done to any of our... subjects...'

It is doubtful that Desmond was given any hope of obtaining some part of his requests, as the queen had instructed Sussex. Time was against him and like Kildare he probably felt he had been met with evasion. Desmond sickened; Kildare became interested in foreign connexions and a revival of the idea that only an earl of Kildare could rule Ireland.<sup>70</sup>

In England Sussex had also received advice from his supporters in Ireland to press on with his program. Francis Herbert concluded his suspicions of the earl of Kildare with the thought that if the crown's expenses did not have to be considered,

I would wish to be sent into this realm 3,000 Englishmen more than is here already, whereof there might be the one half artificers, merchants, and craftsmen, for to inhabit in sundry places of this realm as to your honour should seem best for to appoint their places of service and inhabitation.<sup>71</sup>

If Herbert seemed a voice from the past, Sir John Alen or his brother Thomas produced another that was even more so. They sent Sussex a long treatise on 'matters for the good government of Ireland',<sup>72</sup> together with summaries of Grey's agreements with the Irish in the 1530s and proofs of the queen's title to Ireland, including a

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<sup>70</sup>Sidney to Sussex, 26 Feb. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 14), confirming William Piers's suspicions of Kildare's French leanings.

<sup>71</sup>'Articles... for the better stay of this realm of Ireland', by Francis Herbert, c. Feb. to Mar. 1558 (ibid., no. 15).

<sup>72</sup>c. 1557-58 (B.M. Lansd. MS 159, no. 16). Nos 18, 19, 20, and 21 deal with the queen's title (ibid.).



reference to Pope Adrian IV's bull of 1154. They expected to see the reform of Ireland established with Sussex's return, and they had a plan to secure the island from both internal and external enemies, assuring its wealth for both realms. The Leinster chain was the area the Alens had in mind, where they wanted the settlement of 9 to 12,000 English couples 'of meet substance, of young years, and good activity...'. Until this was done there was 'no hope groundly to reform the rest and as it is affirmed the hill Etna ever burneth, so shall charges and time be ever continuing to an uncertain security...'. As a preliminary 300 horsemen, 800 footmen, and 100 masons, carpenters, and other workers would be needed the first year to do nothing but begin the planting of east Leinster. The details and arguments ran on, an unashamed rewriting and modernizing of Patrick Fynglas's 'breviate' of twenty years before, almost word for word. They ended on one new note. With Sussex it was possible that Leix and Offaly 'would be strongly inhabited in few places', - the Alen argument - , and the Irish in eastern Leinster could expect no help from there. Then the final stage could be reached when

obedienceth causeth quiet, and quiet causeth wealth, wealth searcheth the riches underground, wealth causeth the rivers to be amended, wealth winneth the ground surrounded, wealth eradicateth the trees and maketh the amble ground or otherwise to improve, wealth by industry altereth the marches, forceth them to profit. By wealth the barren soils be improved.

The plan was calculated to appeal to Sussex whether it was new to him or not, but during the winter he had persuaded Mary to replace him with Lord Chandos. Then she had intelligence from agents in France and Scotland, and Sidney in Ireland, that its invasion was intended, which decided her to return Sussex. She evidently had complete faith in his ability to cope with Ireland, though Sussex managed to convey to the lady Elizabeth his doubts of his



ultimate success, a viewpoint she shared.

Sussex then sent some queries to Sidney for a quick answer as the information was necessary to make decisions for Ireland.<sup>74</sup> He wanted to know what supplies could be expected around Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, if the queen placed garrisons in them or other places on the sea-coast. Sidney was dubious of all three, as they were all importing grain at the moment, Waterford being 'in a barren soil' and Limerick bordering on Thomond. Sussex wanted 200 to 300 tuns of wine purchased at Cork and Limerick from merchants there, or Spanish ones, to supply the army at reasonable prices. Inquiry was to be made whether money was needed for payment, or whether hides and other products would be acceptable. Sidney replied that as the queen would have to bear the cost it would be cheaper to buy in England, and there were few merchant adventurers in Ireland. The best one was Richard Luker of Waterford, who was then in England. Sussex wanted additional corn to be laid up and Sidney agreed, but lamented that he did not have the forces to gather it. Sussex asked if an expedition should not be made to Cork, and then along the coast to Waterford, to knit together the forces of Desmond and Ormond to meet any danger. Sidney concurred, but pointed out that the government force must overawe the two or they would not combine. It was also agreed that once new forces had arrived the earls of Clanricarde and Thomond be put completely in control of their own countries, for no matter where the French landed there would be trouble elsewhere. Sidney added that as long as Sir Donnell O'Brien was captain in Thomond the rebels would never be vanquished.

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<sup>73</sup> 'Notes for the earl of Sussex', c. Feb. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 13).

<sup>74</sup> 'Notes of Ireland...' by Sussex. Received by Sidney 9 Mar., and answered 13 Mar. 1558 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 23).



In the north it was decided to give Callough O'Donnell maintenance in the hope that he would continue to serve and be loyal to the crown. Sussex posed a larger question by wondering if peace should not be made with the MacDonnells, provided they would pay rent for the land they occupied and stay within bounds. Sidney was doubtful that they would consent to, or keep, any conditions, but he had written to Piers to make inquiries. He agreed such a course was best unless the queen would plant Ulster, or at least place 500 or 600 men in garrison there.

Sussex was enabled to convince the queen of his needs in men and supplies, and in his instructions he was authorized 800 more footmen, 200 more kerne, and the right to convert another 100 men into horsemen.<sup>75</sup> The additional forces did not arrive all at once for in June Mary was asking what had become of Jacques Wingfield and the 300 men and corn he was conveying from Bristol to Waterford.<sup>76</sup> Within a fortnight Wingfield had arrived, having had to borrow money to get the men and food to Ireland.<sup>77</sup>

In the meantime Sussex had taken measures in the north with the MacDonnells and in the west with Clanricarde, where he also made a settlement between the earl of Thomond and Sir Donnell O'Brien. He then turned his attention to what he considered his third great problem: 'the new inhabited countries, infested with the rebellion of the Mores and Conors and others their aiders'.<sup>78</sup>

The war in the midlands had shown no signs of abating, though the tide was turning in favour of the English. On 18 May the entire forces of the O'Mores, O'Conors, and

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<sup>75</sup>20 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 28).

<sup>76</sup>Mary to Sussex, 31 May, draft (*ibid.*, no. 46), 1 June, original (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI, no. 248, sixth in a series of six letters).

<sup>77</sup>Mary to Sidney, 18 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 55).

<sup>78</sup>Sussex and council to Mary, 31 May 1558 (*ibid.*, no. 47).



their supporters came to the fort in Leix, intending to take the cattle belonging to it and if possible the fort itself, according to Sussex's account. Sixty soldiers and thirty kerne issued from the fort to skirmish with the rebels and rescue their goods. The rebels then sprang their ambush, consisting of 24 horsemen, 400 footmen, and 60 galloglas. The men from the fort got to the top of a hill 'having a little old ditch about it', - probably an Irish ring fort -, and there sustained four charges of the rebels. The soldiers killed thirty or forty of the rebels and finally repulsed them, returning to the fort with all their goods, and two soldiers and three kerne dead. Sussex implied that the action was Sir Henry Radcliffe's personal welcome to the rebels, and that many in the area had submitted themselves as a result.

Sussex also reported another incident which illustrates the nature of the war:

On Whitsunday last [29 May] my brother sent forth Francis Cosby, general of the kerne, to seek some of the rebels where they were making merry with their friends, and by good fortune he met with Donough O'Connor himself, accompanied with Cormac O'Connor's son, that is in Scotland, and Richard oge, the bastard Geraldine who hath been the burner of the earl of Ormond's land that Aylmer farmeth, and of all the rest that hath been burneth in the English pale these two years, and after long fight killed Richard oge, Cormac's son, and thirty or forty of the best of them, and forced Donough himself to leave his horse and harness, and after a hurt received upon his leg with a sword and three pushes on the body with a spear he escaped, unhappily by the help of a thick wood in a bog. Cosby himself killed Richard oge with his own hands, which would not have been done by no man else if he had not been present, he was so well favoured in the English pale.<sup>79</sup>

It was not the first such escape that Donough had managed,<sup>80</sup> but the means were becoming more limited. The year before he had given the slip by 'the goodness of his steed alone'; now he was on foot.

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79

Sussex to Dr John Boxoll, 8 June 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 50).

80

A.F.M. Entry for 1557.



By the end of May Sussex had placed 500 footmen and 100 horsemen under Radcliffe's command in the two forts. The new horsemen were divided into two groups of fifty, one being in Leix under the command of Sir George Stanley, and the other in Offaly under Captain Warren.<sup>81</sup> Captain Henry Cowley, in command of the fort in Offaly, was appointed as surveyor of the victuals for the army. He had the right to take the food needed and the carriage and labour to move it, paying within twenty days the same price as the merchants paid and no more.<sup>82</sup> Potentially it was a very lucrative post. In Edward's reign Oliver Sutton had offered Thomas Heigham, controller to Croft, the sum of £100 sterling to help him secure the post of victualler to the fort in Leix.<sup>83</sup>

In Iregan Thady O'Dunne was confirmed in the office of captain during good behaviour, and shortly thereafter Radcliffe, as lieutenant of the King's and Queen's counties, was given a commission to parley with and take pledges from, and punish with fire and sword, the Irish of those two counties, Iregan, Fercale, Upper Ossory, Ely O'Carroll, and the countries of the Fox, MacGeoghegan, O'Melaghlin, MacCoghlan, O'Meagher, O'Madden, O'Kennedy, and O'Kelly. Authority was also given to him and captains Robert Williamson, Henry Cowley, Thomas Smith, and Hugh Lippiat<sup>84</sup> to execute martial law. Thus Radcliffe had jurisdiction over a large area of the midlands, which reached even beyond the Shannon. It was virtually the presidency that Sussex had asked for in everything but the name.

The earl of Kildare was given the government of the Annally in the midlands, and of Shillelagh in the Leinster

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<sup>81</sup>Sussex and council to Mary, 31 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 47), Sussex to Boxoll, 8 June (ibid., no. 49).

<sup>82</sup>4 June 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 224).

<sup>83</sup>Fitzwalter's notes, 29 Dec. 1556 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 7).

<sup>84</sup>13 June 1558 (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 228).



chain, with authority to execute martial law. A little later similar powers were given to John Parker, Sir Thomas Cusack, Sir Francis Herbert, and William Bermingham, in the baronies of Upper and Lower Moyfenrath and Lune in co. Meath, which were described as its marches.<sup>86</sup> Sidney as vice-treasurer was in command of Athlone and its surrounding area, and presumably had the same powers. Martial law, rather than civil, was becoming the rule for large sections of the country.

As soon as Sussex had empowered Radcliffe and the earl of Kildare he made an expedition through Offaly to Limerick and Galway, camping the night of 15 June under Croghan Hill.<sup>87</sup> He was accompanied to the Shannon by Radcliffe, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, and captains Lippiat and Williamson. Ten days later he returned through Leix, and was soon preparing a new expedition to the north. He told the queen that Desmond was a dying man, and 'was taken for six hours to have been dead'.<sup>88</sup>

Mary was beginning to be concerned about Ireland. She warned Sussex to counter the effect of George Parys, who was at the French court again, where he promised the king to bring the rebellious Irish and the strength of the realm under his service.<sup>89</sup> The Venetians shortly afterwards received a report from their ambassador in France that there was a great revolt in Ireland with part of the queen's ministers killed, and the earl of Kildare proclaimed as king.<sup>90</sup> The news was unfounded, but it is an indication of the climate

<sup>85</sup> 14 June (Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 229).

<sup>86</sup> 9 Sept. 1558 (ibid., no. 242).

<sup>87</sup> Sussex's journeys (T.C.D. MS E.3.18, f.81 dorso).  
Copy (Cal. Crew MSS, 1515-74, no. 215).

<sup>88</sup> Sussex to Mary, 4 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 61).

<sup>89</sup> Mary to Sussex, 2 June (ibid., no. 48).

<sup>90</sup> G. Michiel to the doge and senate, 22 June 1558  
(Cal. S.P. Venice, 1554-58, no. 1242).



of opinion in the summer of 1558. It was then that Archbishop Dowdall was given another hearing sometime in July.<sup>91</sup> That he continued to attract attention would indicate that there was dissatisfaction with the course of Irish policy.

Dowdall was asked, probably by the privy council, to expound a remedy for the conditions which he had analysed in his first report. The result is somewhat confused, for like most of his contemporaries he knew the situation was chaotic, but he could not see a clear way to check it. His arguments fall into two separate and contradictory parts. He considered that the present miserable state had gone on for some time, especially since the last days of Henry VIII. Matters had grown no better despite the fact that Henry, Edward, and Mary had spent money on a scale unprecedented in Ireland. There were two ways to correct matters: a general reform of the whole country, or a more limited one aimed at reducing the present expense.

Under the first way Dowdall dismissed the idea that the Irish would become true subjects by their own consent, such was their nature in his observation that force was the only effective course with them. The alternative which he favoured was 'a new conquest, whereby all the said Irish rebels either must be subdued or banished out of the whole realm, and English subjects to be planted in their lands thoroughly...'. He would not accept criticism for such a view for 'I do call it godly to plant good men in the stead of evil, and this was the occasion that moved the pope's holiness [Adrian IV] to give the king [Henry II] licence at the time of the first conquest to take their lands from them, as the chronicles doth declare'.

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91

'The archbishop of Armagh's opinion touching Ireland. Delivered in July 1558'. (B.M., Harleian MS 35, no. 4).



The archbishop thought that a conquest could not be accomplished, especially in view of the foreign wars in which England was involved, and therefore he turned toward a more limited way. Means must be found to defend the country with a small number of soldiers that would not be a burden either to the pale or to the crown. Thus it was 'most requisite to have an end of the wars with the O'Mores and the O'Conors', for if they continued to be as strong as they were when he left he could not see that there would ever be peace in Ireland. The midland war had tied down 1,500 men in the queen's pay, besides the horsemen and kerne levied on the surrounding areas, and the rebels had not been prevented from doing damage. The army would be even less able to prevent them in the long winter nights to come. If Sussex could not overcome the rebels before winter Dowdall did not think the crown's forces could ever be effective again, and in his opinion it would be very hard to vanquish the rebels, keep them out of Leix and Offaly, or stop them from damaging the pale. Therefore, he concluded, 'I think it most expedient to take some honest way with them, whereby their war may be at an end'. Otherwise the two forts would become as great an expense as Boulogne had been.

Dowdall anticipated an objection:

But peradventure some men will reckon this way to be not for the queen's honour, to make peace with that people that hath so many times digressed from their promises and orders taken with them, as it is said. And whether it be so or not I do not know it, but admit it be: men must consider the nature of that country, the rudeness and forwardness of such barbarous people, and the occasion also of their war, with the losses and hindrances sustained daily by it in continuance of time, and how hard it is to bring it otherwise to amend. With matters well weighed, if they will humbly submit them to her grace, I would for my part reckon it to be for her grace's honour and accustomed clemency to admit them to grace, giving them some portion of their old lands as it shall be thought meet, for whosoever takes the rule of Ireland in hand he must, according to the gospel, 'forgive unto seventy times seven'. It is to be considered also what commodity and profit shall grow out of this when forty or sixty miles of the best lands seen in Ireland, which be there now all waste, shall be tilled and manured and peaceably inhabited by such tenants as the queen's grace shall appoint.



If the queen or her tenants could so possess the two shires peaceably the revenues in Ireland would be augmented by £1,000.

That problem, and the Scots in the north, the archbishop thought the two 'sorest matters that the lord deputy have in hand at this present', and were the most likely to impede any reform. With the aid of the Irish in the north, particularly the O'Neills and O'Donnells, all the Scots could be banished. What was needed was a deputy 'to win the love and favour of all the country, and specially of the mere Irish, and keep truth and faith in his promise, and seek no matters or occasions to take their goods or lands from them otherwise than their faults shall require'. Then Dowdall foresaw a return to the size of force with which Skeffington had governed Ireland, when he was backed 'by the power of the mere Irish for the love and favour that they bear him'. He outlined an establishment of 300 soldiers that would cost about £4,500 a year. Everyone liable to serve would be included, the towns as well, and the government would provide an allowance of £500. At present the queen's garrison in Ireland was costing more than £20,000; under his scheme it would not cost much more than £5,000. The endless exactions would also be lifted from the land, with a resulting surge in prosperity.

Dowdall thought the crown's revenues in Ireland could be increased in a variety of ways. Lands had been consistently under-rented, and when the leases expired the rents should be increased, producing £1,000 a year more income. He was also a confirmed advocate of currency reform, and a common rate for both England and Ireland, under which the crown's rental would be increased by a third, an increase of several thousand pounds. As matters stood the crown received its rents by the Irish rate and



had to purchase by a sterling rate. Dowdall had been so struck by the practice of warding the crown's manors and houses during the past twenty years, that when he returned to Ireland in St Leger's company in 1553 he prepared an account of these holdings, showing that they were costing the crown £2,193 15s. a year. The forts in Leix and Offaly were excepted from this total as necessary wartime expenses, but he urged that all such holdings be leased at a favourable rent to the crown, provided conditions made that course possible.

Dowdall had begun by advocating a policy of conquest and plantation, and ended by advocating that such a course be abandoned. The second viewpoint was probably his true one as an Anglo-Irishman. Twenty years of experience had disillusioned those who held that all that was needed to reform Ireland was a new influx of English. The Anglo-Irish could not direct them, and had come to regard them as a greater burden than the Irish. The archbishop's final advice was that the privy council should call before them St Leger, Fitzwilliam, and others that had had long Irish experience, 'to consult with their further advice in the same, and this to be done with speed, that I may the sooner be dispatched'. The suggestion that St Leger be consulted is interesting as an indication that he continued to be the focus of the Anglo-Irish point of view, and the figures Dowdall cited are very like St Leger's. Before the English government had taken any action the archbishop died.

Sussex was involved with his Scottish expedition during August and September 1558. Mary asked that certain ordnance be returned to England, and enclosed a schedule of what had been sent to Ireland since the beginning of Edward's



reign. The figures give some scale to the wars the government were conducting. They had been sent 37 brass pieces, 7 cast iron ones, and 140 smaller weapons of forged iron, together with 3,000 harquebuses. The handgun was coming into its own in Ireland. For the cannon there were 7,000 iron shot and 200 stone ones.<sup>92</sup>

In October the queen granted Sussex leave to come home for consultation, with Sidney remaining as lord justice.<sup>93</sup> Sussex soon reported that 'the earl of Desmond is now certainly dead and the new earl promiseth fair'.<sup>94</sup> He was not to be satisfied with the change for long, and the Four Masters eulogised James Fitzjohn's passing with praise for his good rule, under which there was no need to watch cattle or close doors in his section of Munster,<sup>95</sup> a condition not to be seen again for many years.

In September 100 kerne were cessed on the borders of Meath nearest Offaly, and in November a general cess of corn and beeves was ordered, the particular object being the supply of the garrisons in the forts in Leix and Offaly.<sup>9696</sup> They were to be delivered in three parts and were to supply 400 footmen and forty horsemen for one year. Sussex was able to report on a 'present offer of all the rebels in Leix and Offaly, who earnestly seek to submit themselves to your majesty to have their pardons for their offences past, and to become true subjects hereafter...'. The deputy had answered Dowdall's insistence that the midland war be ended before winter. He was preparing to move south to Waterford to settle affairs in the wake of

<sup>92</sup> Mary to Sussex, 15 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 68).

<sup>93</sup> Mary to Sussex and Sidney, 19 Oct. (ibid., nos 72, 73).

<sup>94</sup> Sussex to Mary, 31 Oct. 1558 (ibid., no. 75).

<sup>95</sup> A.F.M. Entry for 1558.

<sup>96</sup> 23 Sept., 12 Nov. 1558 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 55, 66-8).



Desmond's death, and he believed that he could come to England as Ireland was quiet 'and the heart of the winter now come, wherein no foreign invasion is to be feared'.<sup>97</sup>

No fiant or patent survives to show that Sussex completed the leasing or granting of a single piece of land in either of the new shires of King's county or Queen's county. Indeed he had hardly secured control of them, and Mary was dead before the news of that accomplishment reached her. It seems fair to say that like Edward she never really grasped the nature of the Irish situation, being content to back her two deputies there, replacing St Leger with Sussex when she lost faith with the former. The stage was being set for another act in Ireland as in England.

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97

Sussex to Mary, 13 Nov. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Mary, 62/2, no. 76).



## CHAPTER X

## ELIZABETHAN BEGINNINGS

1558 - 1562

The accession of Elizabeth found the Irish government still in Waterford, where they were receiving the oath and homage of the new earl of Desmond, and taking orders with Sir Maurice Gitzgerald of the Decies<sup>1</sup> and Lord Power<sup>2</sup> for their countries. Sussex continued his plans to come to England, and early in December his brother Sir Henry Radcliffe<sup>3</sup> also obtained leave to go to England until Easter, indicating that Leix and Offaly were quiet for the moment. On the 11th Sidney was elected lord justice and sworn on the 13th.

Sidney soon began a display of his characteristic activity as he sought to bring the rest of the country in order. He made an agreement with O'Carroll, establishing him as captain of his country by letters patent and within a week concluded a settlement of the succession in the O'Farrell's country of Annally.<sup>4</sup> In January Sir John Travers wrote to Sussex<sup>5</sup> that Sidney had also made a trip through the O'Byrne's country to Ferns and back through Imaal, and he added that 'the Conors, far as I do understand, begin to build apace in the countries where at your lordship did appoint them to build'. Sussex had apparently made provision in Offaly for them the autumn before. The south and midlands were quiet.

<sup>1</sup> 28 Nov. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, nos 1, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Orders taken by Sussex and council 'for reformation of the lord Power...' 28 Nov. 1558 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 47).

<sup>3</sup> 7 Dec. 1558 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII to Eliz., p. 414).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 396-7.

<sup>5</sup> 27 Jan. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 12).



It was well that they were for the largest problem Sidney had to face was Shane O'Neill in the north. Despite the claims of Dungannon's sons to the earldom, Shane had been elected O'Neill in his father's place.<sup>6</sup> To prevent trouble it was agreed by Sidney and the Irish council that he should ask Shane to meet him in Dundalk. In reply Shane asked Sidney to be a godfather to a child of his and enter into gossiped, or compaternity, with himself. At first Sidney was disinclined to go until Shane came in and submitted, but consideration of the trouble Shane could cause changed his mind, and on 31 January 1559 he went to Shane's camp outside Dundalk, where he and Jacques Wingfield were godfathers to Shane's child. Shane presented detailed arguments why he should succeed his father. Sidney and the council informed Shane that a matter of such importance would have to be decided by the queen, and until she was consulted he should be quiet and a dutiful subject. This Shane promised to do, and the two parted in friendship. Sidney 'by temporising and gaining of time', managed to keep the balance until Sussex's return in August.<sup>7</sup> In February and March Sidney made a journey to Kilkenny and Wexford. In general his prompt actions prevented the usual disruption in Ireland upon an accession, and left the new government free to consider Irish policy unhampered by events in Ireland. Commissions for the execution of martial law were issued from January until April, covering most of the country east of the Shannon,<sup>8</sup> and in May these were followed by commissions for

<sup>6</sup> For full details see Bagwell, Tudors, ii, pp. 2-4.

<sup>7</sup> Date and details from John Hooker's continuation of the Irish Chronicle in Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. VI, pp. 329-31 (ed. London, 1808). Under his expenses Sidney included an item 'to parle with Shane O'neale, mens. Febr. 1558 [1559]' and another for the Kilkenny-Wexford journey in his accounts as vice treasurer (H.M.C., De L'Isle & Dudley MSS, vol. 1, p. 380).

<sup>8</sup> 8 Jan. - 28 Apr. (Cal. pat rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 408-10).



mustering the inhabitants of cos Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and the territories north of Dundalk, to see that they had the proper equipment. The results were to be reported to Sidney, whose firm control of events is evident in the scanty documentation for 1559.

In England Elizabeth and Cecil were faced with the problem of a choice of deputy for Ireland. The decision implied the direction that crown policy would take in the new reign, and while the obvious course was to return Sussex, or appoint Sidney in his place as the earl urged, there is some indication that the thoughts of the new queen and her secretary turned elsewhere. Cecil was experienced in Irish affairs from his tenure as secretary in Edward's reign, and he had had a personal correspondence with Sir Anthony St Leger then. Three weeks after the queen's accession the privy council wrote to St Leger that as he owed the crown a great deal of money he was to make payment, 'and to signify with speed to the lords what he mindeth to do herein'.<sup>10</sup> In February they wrote again, this time concerning some soldiers who claimed twenty-one months of back pay from St Leger. In reply to a letter of Cecil's Valentine Browne, who had been in Ireland with Rowse in 1554, explained that St Leger had hired four soldiers then discharged<sup>11</sup> as servants rather than see them unemployed. St Leger was

<sup>9</sup> May 1559 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 410-12).

<sup>10</sup> 8 Dec. 1558 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

<sup>11</sup> Cecil to Browne, 26 Feb., Browne to Cecil, 28 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, nos. 19, 20).



told that if he did not owe them money it would be deducted  
 from what he owed the queen.<sup>12</sup> Five days later on 16 March 1559  
 he died at his home in Kent, without having appeared before  
 the council.<sup>13</sup>

In dying St Leger may have avoided another tour of duty in  
 Ireland for the careful pursuit of small details of his crown  
 indebtedness probably concealed a more basic interest in using  
 him again. St. Leger was the man who could govern successfully  
 within the Irish revenues, a point that did not escape Cecil,  
 and Elizabeth's later form was to drive hard in service a man  
 who was indebted to her. He also embodied a conciliatory  
 policy acceptable to the Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, the  
 direction in which Elizabeth's mind was moving. Her first  
 letter to Ireland had been to have three cases heard, including  
 that of Walter Ap Howell the farmer of Owney, and her command  
 was that justice was to be administered impartially to all  
 her subjects.<sup>14</sup>

Advice was not long in coming to the crown. Sir John  
 Alen hastened to renew his ties with Cecil and his brother  
 Thomas sent a brief statement of Irish problems and their  
 solution.<sup>15</sup> Predictably he urged that Ireland could not be  
 reformed until Leinster was. Cecil should consider the debts  
 due the crown, the size of the garrison, and the need for money  
 to pay it and the cost of other service to be done. Means to  
 increase the present Irish revenue should also be considered.  
 He added the unusual news that some revenue awaited the queen's  
 pleasure, the income derived from the impropriated benefices,

12

Privy council to St Leger, 11 Mar. 1559 (Acts privy council,  
 1558-70).

13

D.N.B. Sketch on St Leger.

14

Elizabeth to Curwen and the law lords, 15 Dec. (P.R.O.,  
 S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 6).

15

Sir John Alen to Cecil, 16 Dec., Thomas Alen to Cecil,  
 18 Dec. 1558 (ibid., nos. 7, 8).



undisposed by cardinal Pole. Sidney was praised for his honesty and efficiency during the three times he had been lord justice, and it was urged that he be allowed to come to England in the spring to expound Irish problems. The reform party had begun their campaign.

Cecil was soon collecting all the information he could about the fluctuations in the size of the garrison which the crown maintained in Ireland, for it was clear that it was there that the drain in crown resources must be stopped. He found that in December 1542<sup>16</sup> the army in Ireland consisted of 550 men, costing some £8,000 sterling, of which £4,250 had to be supplied from England. A decade later, under Croft, the threat of foreign invasion had swelled the numbers to 2,608 men, costing £32,448 a year. In October of 1552 the figure had been reduced to 2,024 men at £28,288 a year,<sup>17</sup> but by August 1558 there were 2,000 English soldiers alone in an establishment that was costing £39,184 a year, plus extraordinary charges related to it of £4,000, for a total of £43,000. Sussex estimated that little less than £40,000 a year went out from England to meet the charges.<sup>18</sup> Jenyson, the former auditor in Ireland, advised Cecil that if the number of English were reduced to 800 or 900 as in the time of Edward and Mary the crown would save £24,000 a year, and that unless the garrison were diminished the accumulated debts of the crown in Ireland would amount on 17 April 1559 to some £37,000,<sup>19</sup> of which £27,000 was wages due the garrison. In England Elizabeth was faced with a crown debt of £266,000 bequeathed to her by Mary.<sup>20</sup> Retrenchment was a necessity.

<sup>16</sup>  
Cecil's archives (B.M., Add. MS 4767). Copy of 1542 establishment (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 176). See note p. on Cecil material.

<sup>17</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>  
Memorandum by Sussex endorsed by Cecil, before 9 Apr. 1559, (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 83).

<sup>19</sup>  
9 Apr. 1559 (B.M., Add. MS 4767). Cecil's endorsement was Mr Jenyson concerning the garrison and revenues'.  
<sup>20</sup> J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, p.1 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1959)



One of Cecil's first acts had been to get an exact statement from Sussex concerning the size of garrison he had left behind him in Ireland. The figures supplied by the deputy indicated that he had managed a slight reduction in the garrison since the previous August.<sup>21</sup> At his departure from Ireland Sussex had an establishment of some 500 horsemen, 1,500 footmen, and 350 kerne, about 2,350 men in all, costing approximately £37,275 a year. He was prepared to argue that if there were no sudden invasion and no attempt made to expulse the Scots an establishment of 1,416 men could be kept, of which 906 would lie in garrisons. If there were no 'further attempt northward' twenty or thirty warders could keep Carrickfergus. Then there would be thirty men at Dungarvan, fifty men under Heron at Leighlin Bridge and Ferns 'for the overruling of the Kavanaghs', and wards of eight men at Carlow, eight men at Monasterevin, twenty men at Athlone, and twenty men at Meelick.

At the centre of this system of garrisons Sussex wanted forty horsemen and 140 footmen in each of the two major forts in Leix and Offaly. In addition he wanted fifty footmen for each of the two counties 'to be placed in castles... to keep wards till the English inhabitants grow stronger'. All the 300 kerne to be retained would be placed in that area or around it. The good government of the two counties and the proper supply of the two forts under the lieutenant, who was to rule over the surrounding Irish countries as well, 'shall be the chiefest means to keep in order Leinster, Munster, and Connaught'.

Sussex did not specify where he wished the fifty men in Offaly to be placed, but Sidney's accounts as vice-treasurer<sup>22</sup> show where small garrisons in castles had already been tried.

<sup>21</sup> 13 Dec. 1558 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 5).  
Endorsed by Cecil as from Sussex.

<sup>22</sup> 1 May 1556 - 14 Oct. 1559 (H.M.C., De L'Isle & Dudley MS3, vol. I, pp. 364-88. Details of these garrisons are found on pp. 366, 375-6 and 384)



In Leix the wards of six men each in Ballyadams and Stradbally had been continued from the time of Croft without a break. In 1558 a ward of ten men had also been placed in Ballyknockan. It does not appear in the regular establishment nor does Stradbally, which seems to have been the personal expense of Sir Henry Sidney, its holder, from the spring of 1558.<sup>23</sup> In Offaly there had been more experimenting. Crown garrisons had been placed in Ballybrittan, where four men were under William Denham and in Edenderry and Monasteroris, a divided garrison of six men under Nicholas Herbert, the holder of Monasteroris. These two garrisons seem to have been placed in 1556, the Edenderry one probably in October when its holder, Captain Henry Cowley, assumed command at Daingean. In 1558 a garrison was placed for a brief time in Ballybirley under John Wakely, its holder, and another in Kilclonfert under the holder William Dixon. These last two seem to have been discontinued but another garrison of four men was placed in Ballinrath on the eastern fringe of Offaly in the summer of 1558. In Offaly only the garrisons of Ballybrittan and Monasteroris appear in the regular establishment given to Cecil in 1559.<sup>24</sup> All these points in Leix and Offaly were on the lines of communication to the two principal forts and were marked for development as the centres of great villages.

Sussex wanted to avoid being sent back to Ireland, an expectation which seemed likely at first, and consequently he supplied Cecil with figures and advice for reducing the army. He suggested cutting its size in half, in effect discharging the 800 men Mary had sent from England in 1558. He also recommended reducing the augmented pay she had allowed, and he pointed out that the crown also lost money on the number of

<sup>23</sup> Sidney's expenses, 1558-9 (H.M.C., De L'Isle & Dudley MSS, vol. 1, pp. 380, 382). Payments for repairs of Stradbally, and to its constable.

<sup>24</sup> Anno 5<sup>o</sup> & 6<sup>o</sup> Philip and Mary and anno 1<sup>o</sup> Elizabeth (B.M., Add MS 4767).



dead pays allowed, an item which had become substantial in Ireland only in recent years. Sussex argued that secret musters taken by an outsider would greatly reduce the amount the crown owed. He also argued that only force held the Irish down and that they hated those who applied it; therefore with the forces being decreased his successor could rule better than he could.<sup>25</sup>

Sussex also advised that his plans for Leix and Offaly would cause bad feelings among the commons and nobility of the pale, as

there must be of necessity certain strong places fortified this summer for the assured stay of the inhabitation of Leix and Offaly which cannot be done without excessive charges to your majesty except the nobility be (in the time of year which is March) called for a contribution of the country for labourers and carriage...'.<sup>26</sup>

The main burden of provisioning such a force would fall in June and July when the pale would be occupied with its first harvest.<sup>26</sup>

Peace with France was agreed to on 2 April 1559<sup>27</sup> and the pressure to keep an enlarged army in Ireland was consequently lessened. Within a week Cecil was involved in a detailed analysis of the military establishment there. By June no less than four establishments had been drawn up.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that Elizabeth and Cecil examined the disposition of every man in the army with great care to establish where it could be pruned with safety. The 300 Irish kerne were retained, though their officers were reduced, but thirty-one pensioners and their servants costing £560 a year were abolished. The garrisons of Ballyadams, Monasteroris and Ballybrittan costing £246 a year were disallowed, at least as separate entities. Other additions were cut back, the garrison at Carrickfergus

<sup>25</sup>Memorandum of Sussex endorsed by Cecil, before 9 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 83). 'Notes for the earl of Sussex', c. Feb. 1559 (ibid., no. 5).

<sup>26</sup>'Notes for the earl of Sussex' (loc. cit).

<sup>27</sup>J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup>Cecil's notes (B.M., Add. MS 4767).



being reduced from fifty to thirty men. Of the mobile forces 190 horsemen and 620 footmen were to be discharged, including six bands of footmen, two of which had been under Sidney, and two under John Fitzwilliam, together with one under Robert Williamson and one under Thomas Smithe. Yet, despite this seemingly drastic reduction Sussex got all of the garrison troops he had requested, especially the forces he had asked for Leix and Offaly, where a company of forty horsemen and two companies of 100 footmen were assigned to each of the two counties. The only difference seems to be that the fifty footmen asked for in castles in each county may now have been intended to be mobile. Further, most of the army captains who were retained, such as Warren, Girton, Portas, Lyppiat, and Delves, were all involved in the plantation there.

One of the trial establishments was dated 20 May by which date it had been decided that Sussex was to return to Ireland as deputy and that Valentine Browne, the auditor, could be sent to supervise the mustering, paying, and discharging of the army. <sup>29</sup>The privy council informed Sidney on 23 May that Browne had been sent, and that to reduce the queen's expenses a complete muster was to be made. It was also ruled that in a company of 100 English not more than five or six Irish <sup>30</sup>born were to be allowed.

Matthew Kyng, clerk of the check, informed Sussex that Browne had arrived in Dublin on 5 June, that the musters were set for 15 June, and that the men were to be paid until 22 June <sup>31</sup>1559. Sidney carried out his instructions exactly, as his accounts show. On 27 June Elizabeth signed an indenture of which she kept one copy, the other being sent with Sussex to Ireland, fixing the army at 1,510 men, 326 horsemen and

<sup>29</sup>Sussex's private requests, 22 May, 'the petitions of Valentine Browne, Auditor...' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 65/1, nos 27, 28).

<sup>30</sup>Privy Council to Sidney, 23 May (ibid., no. 31).

<sup>31</sup>Kyng to Sussex, 7 June 1559 (ibid., no. 34).



884 footmen, with 300 kerne. It was to cost £1,567. 7s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>aa month, or £20,375. 19s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a year, in contrast to the £39,183. 10s. 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> of the previous establishment. She had succeeded in cutting the cost in half, and it was imbedded in Sussex's instructions that the numbers and the costs were to be kept to those figures.<sup>32</sup>

Late in March Sussex was still arguing that the queen should appoint Sidney or someone else as deputy, and that the decision be made promptly. In addition to the fortification needed in Leix and Offaly their disposal 'after the order already taken be so necessary as if they be this summer left undone... it will be the overthrow of all that is already done', and no one could undertake either the fortifying or disposing to holders of the two countries without royal authority.<sup>33</sup>

Cecil duly noted, along with plans for tightened leases, exchequer reform, and the reserving of port corn to feed the reduced army, that the two new counties were 'to be distributed according to an act of parliament' with the tenants having an inheritable tenure. Under the heading 'habitation of English people in Ulster' Cecil noted that Lecale, Newry, and Carlingford were to be recovered from the Scots and Nicholas Bagenal recompensed for his interest.<sup>34</sup> The policy of expansion had not been abandoned.

Sussex was more concerned about Brereton, who should 'be spoken with for matters of Lecale' than about Bagenal, and he also wished the abbey of Owney to be left out of the answers to private suits.<sup>35</sup> Gerald, the new earl of Desmond, had asked for it, along with conformation of his possession of Dungarvan and the liberty of Kerry, as well as a grant of the cantred of Onaght [in barony of Clanwilliam, co. Tipperary] of which he

<sup>32</sup>Signed original in Cecil's notes (B.M., Add. MS 4767). Copy of Sussex's instructions, 17 July 1559, giving date 27 June for the indenture (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 220).

<sup>33</sup>Sussex to Cecil, 25 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/1, no. 25).

<sup>34</sup>Copies of Cecil's notes for instructing Sussex, 10 May 1559 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XI11, no. 1).

<sup>35</sup>Memoranda by Sussex for his public and private instructions, endorsed by Cecil, c. June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, nos. 57, 58).



had a lease, and which bordered on 'the frontiers of the Irishry'. Ormond asked for the fee farm of it when Desmond's lease ran out on the grounds that it was very necessary for the defence of the liberty of Tipperary. Further, Ormond wanted to be restored to Leighlin Bridge, in which Bellingham had placed a garrison after James, earl of Ormond's death, 'when those frontiers wanted the accustomed defence', and he wished to be made captain of Leinster. He would keep the house there for the deputy, and Elizabeth would be saved £1,000 a year. He wished to abolish coyne and livery and have his own cess instead in his dominions, where he wanted 'the increase of civil order according to his education in England'.

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These attempts to reduce the area of royal authority were coupled with other related Butler requests. Ormond's younger brother James wished to have a renewal of his lease of the abbey of Duiske in co. Kilkenny, and his uncle, Richard, viscount Mountgarret, had even more expansive ideas. He wanted grants in fee simple or fee tail of his property, including Ferns, Enniscorthy, and O'Morchoe's country, and not to answer the courts of the liberty of Wexford but the queen's courts in Dublin. He intended to build 'a strong stone hold in the said lands' to overawe his Irish neighbours, and he wanted a name of dignity 'in the country of base Leinster, were MacMorrough is taken for king, to the end he may the better suppress him'. He was willing to have O'Morchoe's lands in fee farm and was 'minding to build castles and other fortresses' upon them. Ferns was a key to that process, and in keeping it he would save the queen money. Cecil noted that Mountgarret was to have 'letters of gentle answer'.

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<sup>36</sup> Desmond's requests, c. June 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 44).

<sup>37</sup> Ormond's requests, c. June (ibid., no. 45).

<sup>38</sup> Sir James Butler's request, c. June 1559 (ibid., no. 55).

<sup>39</sup> Mountgarret's instructions, via Sussex at court, c. June (ibid., no. 56). All the Butler suits were drawn up by the same clerk. 'Summary of requests...' and notes of private suits, c. June (ibid., nos 49, 50).



Richard, earl of Clanricarde, had enumerated his services on 15 February 1559 and wanted to be the constable of the castles of Roscommon and Meelick, together with other requests for property.<sup>40</sup> Had the crown granted these requests, particularly the Butler ones, the chance to assert and expand its authority would have been curtailed as well as any other plans for settlement. Cecil and Elizabeth were careful in answering all these private suits. They delayed answering the requests of Ormond and Desmond at all, a commission of English councillors headed by Sussex having been appointed in March to decide the matters in controversy between the two earls.<sup>41</sup> That may have prompted Ormond to suggest the leasing of Onaght to 'an honest Englishman', whom he would support.<sup>42</sup> Sir James Butler was allowed the renewal of his lease of Duiske at the same rent, thus ignoring an earlier survey at a higher rent, which could never be collected because the country was unquiet. The section on Mountgarret was much redrafted to produce a 'gentle answer' which did not give away any of the crown's interests. He was allowed renewals of the leases of lands which he already held if there were no conflict of interests, of which Sussex was to be the judge, apparently. Ferns and O'Morchoe's country were unmentioned. Sussex was also to decide whether Clanricarde should have the constablerships of Roscommon and Meelick.<sup>43</sup> In many of the suits matters were to be left to Sussex's discretion.

The public instructions to Sussex and his council, in which Sir William Fitzwilliam replaced Sidney as vice-treasurer, were largely concerned with driving home the necessity to have a tightened and more efficient collection of the royal revenue,

<sup>40</sup>Summary of requests... c. June 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 49).

<sup>41</sup>20 Mar. 1559 (Acts privy council, 1559-70).

<sup>42</sup>Ormond's further petitions, c. June 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 46).

<sup>43</sup>Elizabeth's answers to private suits, 16 July 1559, draft (ibid., no. 63), signed copy (Cal. Crew MS'S, 1515-74, no. 219).



in which officers should remember their duty to their own country. Various injunctions and regulations were laid down, including an order for a new survey of all the crown's lands 'for it is not unknown how extraordinarily leases have been made, upon surmised and corrupt values...'.<sup>44</sup>

The only exception to the general tenor of the public instructions was a section on the newly created shires of Leix and Offaly, which Cecil and Elizabeth had trouble in drafting.<sup>45</sup> They spoke of the area as 'having long been conquered', and it appears that Sussex amended this to read 'having been of late conquered'. It is certain that he kept their settlement largely in his own hands, for Elizabeth instructed that 'it seemeth very meet not to defer the order of the same any longer, but the deputy with the advice of the council shall make grants and leases, according to such authority as heretofore was given to him by act of parliament, in which part many things might be said and remembered...', including that grants could be made in fee tail, and that every tenant and grantee be resident on their holdings, following the common law and keeping as many English servants as possible. No one was to have many farms. Elizabeth concluded that as these points and many others had been and were best considered in Ireland, she left it to the deputy to use his wisdom and the authority given him by parliament. Again he had been given a free hand.

In her private instructions to Sussex<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth allowed him the farms of Kilmainham, Carlow, Monasterevin, the castle of Wicklow, and the parsonage of Carlingford, thereby adding the last two residences for the deputy. She made it clear that in view of the 'huge debts' left by Mary, including those in

<sup>44</sup>Elizabeth's instructions to Sussex and council, 16 July 1559, draft (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 61), signed copy (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 218).

<sup>45</sup>Earliest draft (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 62). Correction possibly by Sussex (*ibid.*, no. 61).

<sup>46</sup>Draft, 10 July (*ibid.*, nos 59, 60), signed copy 17 July 1559 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 220).



Ireland, the military forces she gave Sussex were to keep Ireland quiet, 'without innovation of anything prejudicial to our estate'. While her aim was to have Ireland 'in perfect obedience', which would require force and the 'peopling of some parts there, and specially the north, now possessed with the Scots', these things could not be done immediately. Cecil noted that there would be 'two colonies' by the 'peopling', presumably Leix and Offaly as one, and Newry and Lecale as the other. In the meantime for the north as a whole Sussex was to think out and do 'as much as may be devised aforehand', favouring all those who might be useful in a future settlement, 'and yet to order his doings therein, as the same may not appear to the prejudice of the case, until a more convenient time'. The question of what to do about Bagenal in Newry and Carlingford, and Brereton in Lecale, was scratched and rephrased twice. If those areas could be kept out of the hands of the Scots by giving them to someone else Sussex was to advise her by 'private letter... at good length'.

In a further effort to control the troubles in the north Elizabeth was prepared to accept the submission of Sorley boy, chief of the MacDonnells in the North of Ireland, and if necessary to receive him at court. The knotty problem of Shane O'Neill in Tyrone was disposed of by setting aside the claims of Dungannon's sons in favour of Shane, as his father's successor, both as 'the person legitimate in blood, and next for that he is thereof in quiet possession'. Elizabeth was willing to consider making him an earl, as well as MacCarthy Mor in the south, thereby reviving the practice of surrender and regrant. In Connaught the earl of Clanricarde, because of his good service, was to be made captain.

Several sections were devoted to the need to reduce expenses in offices, in the ordnance, and in victualling, where the private leasing of the port corn was to be recovered for the crown's use. The income to be derived from new leases



based on new surveys would be facilitated if the deputy and his council would themselves set the example by paying the best rent.

And likewise to provide by good covenant... that the lessees may discharge us of reparations, and may dwell upon the farms and do such services as shall be thought convenient, with such conditions to be annexed to their estates as if the same be not duly done, the estates may cease and be determined'.

To put the final touch to a new and more stringent control of Irish finance there remained the reform of the Irish currency. As early as February it had been decided that the money coined for Ireland was to be of a better standard.<sup>47</sup> A memorandum was prepared showing that during the reigns of Edward and Mary £125,840 of debased harp money had been made in England, to which had been added £40,000 made in Elizabeth's reign.<sup>48</sup> Cecil was advised against making the Irish coinage equal to the English in value on the grounds that it would undermine Irish trade with England, for then the Irish would sell abroad and buy English goods, and specie would flow to all parts, bringing 'merchant strangers' to Ireland rather than to England. He was advised to return to the traditional ratio of three parts English sterling equalling four parts Irish money. Cecil also considered ratios of two parts English sterling to three parts Irish, which would have widened the gap, and two and one quarter parts English sterling to two parts Irish money, which would have narrowed it and almost make the two currencies convertible. The deciding factor in favour of the traditional ratio was probably the loss of money involved in reminting at a more nearly equal ratio.

The Irish coinage existed in four varieties, none of them matching the three English varieties, and Elizabeth instructed Sussex that what was current in England at 6d. was to be 8d. in

<sup>47</sup> Paget to Sir Thomas Parry and Cecil, 3 Feb. 1559 (H.M.C., Salisbury MSS, vol. 1, no. 567).

<sup>48</sup> 4 Feb. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 14). Copy in B.M., Add. MS 40, 061, where there are several related documents on Irish currency of March and April 1559.



Ireland, with the other varieties rated accordingly. When he and two or three of his trusted advisers wished it they could decrie the value of the rose pennies and harp groats and shillings which circulated in Ireland. The harp shilling would then be worth 7d. and a small fraction. Before they did so they should deal with her expenses and payments of debts in the existing coin, thus saving the crown money, and when they had done so, the soldiers should be protected in getting their food at reasonable prices.

Devaluing the money was a preliminary to repurchasing the debased coinage for reminting, a process in which the crown would gain a small return, but leaving the timing to Sussex and his advisers meant that there was opportunity for speculation as well as a decided loss to those who had been paid debts at the face value of the coin. In Ireland the proclamation, which used 4 October 1559 as the date for fixing the values of English and Irish coins, was so managed as to create further bad feeling against the Irish government.

In Ireland Sidney, on the assumption that he would succeed Sussex as deputy, sent certain requests with Sussex should the queen so decide. Sidney pressed that the decision should be made quickly to keep the Irish in check and take away 'their hope by change of having either one of their own or one ignorant of their disposition' as deputy. He wanted his patent to be in the same form as Sussex's, with authority to use martial law and with the same rights of housing and censing himself and his household that Sussex had, or a money allowance for expenses.

<sup>49</sup>Elizabeth to Sussex, 19 July 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 68).

<sup>50</sup>Date mentioned in a proclamation of 29 Oct. 1560 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 112).

<sup>51</sup>'Notes of principal things for my lord deputy to remember for Sir Henry Sidney in England' c. Dec. 1558 (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 23).



He wanted a commission for making leases similar to that of Sussex, 'and if that seem too large' he wanted definite instructions from the queen on individual leases so that her wishes were carried out 'and my credit maintained'. Sidney also asked for 'the queen's pleasure to be known with speed for the disposing of Leix and Offaly, and authority to be sent for the same, remembering the old inhabitants thereof'. He asked for enough money to pay off the existing debt, and stressed the need to reform the coinage. Sidney was willing to be called home, to serve in Ireland under Sussex or as deputy himself, but he asked to be delivered from being justice and treasurer 'as the thing I detest as much as captivity'.

Sidney's request for money was the first request of his to be answered. Early in February 1559 the privy council informed him that treasure was to be sent to Ireland,<sup>52</sup> and late in March they gave instructions for its transport to Ireland from Chester, where it was due to arrive about 20 April.<sup>53</sup> Sidney's accounts give the cost of transporting some £24,500 from London to Chester to Dublin, probably the money sent to him with Browne in 1559.<sup>54</sup> The prospect and arrival of such assistance undoubtedly strengthened his position in Ireland.

Because Sidney was thought likely to be deputy he was plied with advice in April and May 1559 by someone close to him,<sup>55</sup> perhaps Edward Walshe, who had also attempted to counsel Sussex. The writer urged the need to find a more efficient system for victualling the two major forts in Leix and Offaly, as the enthusiasm for doing so was evaporating. 'God grant those countries may be inhabited. That would most discharge

<sup>52</sup>Privy council to Sidney, 11 Feb. (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

<sup>53</sup>Privy council to the earl of Derby, 29 Mar. (*ibid.*).

<sup>54</sup>Accounts for Sidney's term as vice-treasurer (H.M.C., De L'Isle & Dudley MSS, vol 1, p. 378).

<sup>55</sup>Paid £40 'for service at sundry times' (*ibid.*, p. 384).



this trouble. Till which inhabitation the grief in this behalf will rather increase than decrease'. The cesses should be made by the early autumn when goods were not so dear and the transport which the country would have to supply could be more reasonably arranged. Care should be taken to secure honest victuallers for the two places.

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A few days later<sup>57</sup> the same writer provided a more detailed plan of what ought to be done in Leix and Offaly. After giving the background of the two undertakings, in which the credit was given to Bellingham assisted by the St Loe's, he urged that the machinery of shire administration should be got going. He also made a new proposal when he suggested

As nigh as may be those that shall continually keep the forts be artificers (not ignorant of weapon) as tanners, glovers, shoemakers, tailors, smiths... and such like. After the walling of a convenient town at the fort in Leix... let be laid to the same about 2,000 acres, and let few of the inhabitants have above thirty acres of arable ground besides some meadow (if there be such ground), common of pasture, wood and moor.

It was also urged that some eight other places be similarly 'enclosed and well inhabited', which were to be in the hands of such as Thomas and Richard Eustace, Share yberre, [John Barry], and Francis Cosby, and those wealthy enough 'to plant their second sons or brethern' such as Ormond and Kildare. His object was to have the artificers compelled to dwell in few 'borough towns'. If the same were done for Carlow, Kells, and all other boroughs 'there is not one thing better to inhabit and maintain them'. As the O'Mores and O'Conors 'will not be quieted till they have a portion, let them so have and be placed many together and to make fast their towns as the other shall do, granting to the chief gentlemen larger lands than to the other'.

The writer's next point is an indication that Sidney was still involved in Leix. 'Now to the Englishmen, place them

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1 Apr. (B.M., Lansd. MS 159, no. 23).

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5 Apr. 1559 (ibid.).



'in Stradbally and the fort...'. Others 'now having farms' should be kept in wages for a year, with some men for defence, and some labourers for entrenching, to which he added sardonically that such a holder should 'take good heed to be placed alone for so being, he shall be the first that shall be destroyed'. The places he recommended as entrenched villages were similar to but not the same as those mentioned by John Alen and the 'orders for Leix' in 1557. The fort in Offaly was destined for the same treatment, in which county care was to be taken 'to plant good people and towns upon those straits'.

When these arrangements were agreed upon, they were to be declared to the parties concerned and the grants, inheritable ones, were to be carried out before 1 November 1559. The warning was added that 'if authority will incline to grant to one more than he and five such can inhabit the thing shall take no good success'. Each owner was to have his tithes free for two years, and 'the reservation upon the temporal land must be small, for inhabitation and obedience had the revenue will grow. For every prince getteth yearly more by due execution of his laws than by revenue'.

The third year the tithes were to be used to build a free school in Stradbally, and a portion of them set aside for its maintenance. The fourth year they were to be used towards building churches, which would have resident vicars provided with manse and glebe, and afterwards the tithes were to be used to supply the forts or to discharge similar burdens. Such a program 'I deem the surest and best mean soonest to overrun these countries and to abate charges'. In a few more days the writer suggested how to place galloglas, levying them in



some places in money, which was to be used to wall Wicklow and Ferns. Cartage and workmen for the latter were to be drawn from the area under Heron's rule, and the more distant places such as cos Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick would send money instead and beeves. Wherever craftsmen were needed, 'overseers and otherwise, it shall be good a certain of the army be leased for that use'.

In the case of the town 'to be situated on the west' of the fort in Leix, eighty labourers a day would be needed to burn lime, and some fourteen carts for carrying wood, limestone, sand, and other stone, and initially eight masons. These needs and corn to feed the workers were to be drawn from the southern baronies of co. Dublin, from co. Kildare, less the barony of Carbury, from cos Carlow and Kilkenny, Ossory and Clammalier.

The barony of Dalrothery in the north of co. Dublin, cos Meath, Louth, and Westmeath, the barony of Carbury in co. Kildare, and the countries of O'Molloy, MacGeoghegan, and O'Melaghlin were to supply the needs in co. Offaly. Then the writer added some interesting details:

Consider how far or nigh the limestone, wood and sand lie towards that fort, together with the situation of that ground, if it shall not be better strongly to entrench a town by west that fort and coequal with the ditch of the fort, making at the northwest a little tower, the gate in the midst, and a little round tower at the southwest of lime and stone to flank the ditches. Six score labourers, for the deep and broad casting of that town beginning in June, in six weeks well applied will do much.

By then the earthen bulwarks would have been raised to a reasonable height above ground and the top properly fenced and hedged. Stone could be drawn and lime burned to make the gate. When that was done 'a town on the west end of the Togher Croghan may be strongly entrenched or walled. There is land [in] plenty'.

The last point is of particular interest as Sidney's  
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accounts show a payment of £2,055 3s. 4d. to Henry Cowley



for victualling the fort in Offaly in August and September 1558 and 'for the building of the togher'. The victuals for the fort in Leix cost £260 in September and October of that year, which means that something like £1,800 was spent on the togher. Its most likely route was from Edenderry to Monasteroris to Ballybrittan to Ballybirley to Toberdaly to Croghan and so south to the fort. Several of these places had small crown garrisons in them. Further, the route then led on from the fort to Milclonfert, which had also been garrisoned and from which Sidney had had a pass cut to Miltober in co. Westmeath, on the way to Athlone. The suggestion of a fortified village at the west end of the togher at Croghan would be a logical next step in the process of securing access to the fort in Offaly and a through route.

Sidney's adviser argued that it would be better that any beeves sent to the forts be live rather than barrelled, so that the hides could be tanned and the tallow used to relieve 'the poor labourers, artificers, and household keepers'. He also reverted to his idea for settlers.

If the report be true, which the clerk of the check ought well to view and note, that many the tailors, shoemakers, etc., being householders in Dublin and elsewhere, are of the army (better half wages than nothing) certain of them are necessary for their occupations to dwell in forts...

where they could train younger men, as well as be useful for defensive purposes. He also proposed that if Irish money were reformed with English 'a man will be sent to St James's fair to bargain there in England for butter and cheese, which may be conveyed by boat to Monasterevin and further to serve both the forts...'.  
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The next month the writer advised Sidney on a mass of legislation which he proposed should be passed in the next parliament. Included was an act, or alternatively a comossion which had the advantage of being more secret, which would



empower the deputy to create towns with the status of Wexford (out of Wicklow, Arklow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and 'a town in Leix and another in Offaly'. He also outlined a series of acts for making new shires. One was to have Wicklow as a shire town and was to include the O'Byrnes' country, the O'Toole's, and Imaal, Kiltel, and Fedorghe, 'that bear rent to the Byrnes'. Then the area around Arklow known as the three shires was to be enlarged into a genuine shire extending southward to include Glascarrig. O'Morchoe's country with part of Mountgarret's lands was to be made into a shire with Enniscorthy as the shire town. The entire country of the Kavanaghs was to be made into one shire with Ferns as the shire town. Ely O'Carroll was to be a shire with Roscrea as the shire town, and Upper Ossory and O'Meagher's country were to be another shire. The countries of O'Molloy, the Fox, O'Melaghlin, and MacGeoghegan were to constitute yet another shire. Coyne and livery was to be forbidden in all these new shires by an act, and they were to be included in the payment of subsidy, by an additional act if necessary.

Another act, or preferably a commission backed by an act later, was to give Sidney the power 'to appoint territories and lands to the towns of Wicklow, Ferns and Enniscorthy, and so to other places as things shall fall and chance in such cases within Leinster, Leix, and Offaly'. He was to have authority to make grants to those he approved of by 'state of freehold in every the said towns and suburbs of them and in the territories belonging or appointed to them', reserving a rent to the crown. He was to have similar power to make grants to 'every Irishman in Leinster' and in the countries of Ely O'Carroll, Irry, the O'Meaghers, O'Dunnes, O'Dempseys, O'Melaghlin, MacGeoghegan, 'and to all Irish inhabiting those parts the lands they now possess', settling on one particular son as the apparent heir with his male line. These and the writer's other proposals for legislation and action reflect a complete program for controlling the areas in the south where plantation and related



activity was being carried out, and they seem to have been in accord with Sidney's thinking on these problems.

The return of Sussex as deputy, and Sidney's replacement as vice-treasurer by Fitzwilliam, removed much of the impetus behind such a program, and the parliament which met at the beginning of 1560 does not seem to have passed any of the legislation the writer proposed.<sup>61</sup> If Edward Walshe (see pp. 281/3) was the author of these papers added point is lent to a letter he wrote to Cecil while he was in England later in the year.<sup>62</sup> Walshe was at a loss to understand why he could not get along with Sussex, though he had made every effort. The earl probably did not take kindly to his lectures on policy for Walshe observed that 'as Tully saith there can be no amity where there is no agreement in opinion'. Walshe could see failure looming ahead, and gave Cecil three books on his ideas for reform, none of which seem to survive unless they are the projects just considered. In his letter he suggested the primary question was 'whose part the captains as well English as Irish that are so rich and so fat do take (the commonweal being so beggarly and the queen so expelled from her right)'.<sup>63</sup>

In July Sidney had proclaimed a forty-one day hosting to be assembled on 31 August.<sup>64</sup> Presumably this was in preparation for Sussex's return and was intended for the north. On 17 August Sidney appointed a commission which included Nicholas White and Patrick Sherlock among its members to examine the complaints and counter-complaints of the baron of Upper Ossory and Sir Edmund Butler, who was governing the county of Kilkenny in the absence of his brother the earl of Ormond.<sup>64</sup>

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D.E. Quinn, 'Government printing and the publication of the Irish Statutes in the sixteenth century' R.I.A. Proc., vol. 40, Sect. C. pp. 45-129 (1943-4).

62

23 Aug. 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 71).

63

31 July 1559 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 70-1).

64

Ibid., pp. 71-3.



Sussex arrived in Ireland on 26 or 27 August and before the end of that month he took the oath, in which he swore among other things 'to defend her majesty's castles, garrisons, dominions, people, and subjects of this realm, and repulse her rebels and enemies.<sup>65</sup> His first act of business seems to have been to secure a general cess for the two forts in Leix and Offaly from the cos of Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, and from several Irish countries to be delivered in three parts, before<sup>66</sup> Christmas, before Ash Wednesday, and before Whitsuntide.<sup>67</sup> Aside from Sussex being at Leighlin on 25 November 1559 there is no indication that he did anything further concerning Leix and Offaly during 1559. The status quo seems to have been maintained, but he does not seem to have made any attempt to lease or grant the two territories.

Indeed there is almost no evidence for Sussex's activities before the parliament which met on 12 January 1560. Sidney remained in Ireland for only a short time, his accounts as vice-treasurer terminating on 14 September 1559.<sup>68</sup> The peace and order which he had kept so efficiently was maintained into 1560. Sussex was summoned home by Elizabeth and left on 13 February. Two days later Sir William Fitzwilliam took the oath as lord justice.<sup>69</sup>

In anticipation of the change commissions for martial law<sup>70</sup> were made before Sussex left, but those issued under Fitzwilliam had the qualification added 'this power not to extend against any having 40s. a year freehold, or 20 in chattels, or any of honest name, unless taken in the act or

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27 Aug. 1559 (Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 418).

66  
31 Aug. 1559 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 83-4).

67

Ibid., p. 80.

68

A brief declaration of the account of Sir Henry Sidney... (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, no. 74).

69

18 Feb. 1560 (Cal. pat rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 428).

70

31 Jan. 1560 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 182, 193).



71

duly convicted. One issued to the earl of Kildare for Ferbill, the Annally, and Shillelagh, reduced the freehold to 20s. a year, presumably because the areas were Irish countries. <sup>72</sup> Some efforts were being made to curb the effects of the unpopular martial law.

Fitzwilliam was soon informing Sussex that things were still quiet in Ireland he he hoped to keep it so. He was endeavouring to get in touch with Shane O'Neill, and was negotiating with one of the septs of Leix. Offaly was quiet, and before Radcliffe returned to his post as lieutenant Fitzwilliam hoped to see both forts well victualled. Sussex <sup>73</sup> passed the letter on to Cecil.

The relative quiet which Ireland had had for fifteen months was unusual, and had been shattered even before Fitzwilliam wrote. On the night of 5 March Brian O'Connor had managed to escape from Dublin castle, where he had been <sup>74</sup> maintained on a daily allowance for years. Fitzwilliam told Sussex that O'Connor's escape would make 'a few glad hearts in Ireland'. He had caused a search to be made, proclaimed a reward for his recovery and penalties for all who aided or housed him. He intended to get pledges from O'Reilly, MacGeoghegan, O'Molloy, O'Carroll, and Upper Ossory, and was using every means to recover Brian, but Sussex knew what a hard task it was for 'he is by marriage and blood very greatly allied, <sup>75</sup> and many kinsmen'.

Fitzwilliam also gave Cecil a full account of O'Connor, saying that his

life might long ago better been spared than his person now at liberty. By this man unquietness may grow, the rather considering his mischievous head and old cankered nature, and nothing hindered by reason of any opinion the Irishry hath of him and the great ally he hath among them, as also a vain

<sup>71</sup> Undated, before 17 Nov. 1560 (Cal. fiants Irèl. Eliz., no. 213).

<sup>72</sup> 6 Mar. 1560 (ibid., no. 230).

<sup>73</sup> Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 6 Mar. 1560 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, No. 6).

<sup>74</sup> Sidney's accounts, diet at 16d. a day from 3 Mar. 1557 to 23 June 1559 for Brian O'Connor (H.M.C., De L'Isle & Dudley MSS, vol. I, pp. 367, 377-8).

<sup>75</sup> Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 8 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 71).



belief which is in their hearts of a prophecy by him to be fulfilled, which worketh not with them the best.

Fitzwilliam lacked Sidney's command and calm, and was inclined to see the worst of things. He had no faith in the Irish born English, many of whom he said were secret helpers of O'Connor, and he could see a general uprising in which the pale gentry would do nothing but protect their own goods. There were rumours abroad of the wars against England, and he did not believe there was 'under the sun a more craftier, vipered, <sup>76</sup>undermining generation'. A few days later he was more specific. Among the Irish the rumour was that 'this is the year all English churls shall be driven from them and banished forever'. He asked Cecil's pardon for his rudeness: 'I show but their one term to us Englishmen'. He saw Desmond and Kildare as having plotted this in Limerick before Christmas, and that Donnell O'Brien was bringing help from both Spain and France. Fitzwilliam did not trust a single member of the Irish council on this point, and had written nothing to the English council or Elizabeth. He added cryptically that 'Ireland hath great friends in England', a probable reference to Lord Robert Dudley whose influence was rising. <sup>77</sup>

English activity in Scotland was behind the danger Fitzwilliam saw in Ireland. Admiral William Wynter had taken action against the French in the Firth of Forth on 23 January. An alliance by the English with the Scottish lords had followed on 27 February. The danger of Spanish or French intervention from the Netherlands seemed likely, though that was to prove more apparent than real. The English moved into Scotland <sup>78</sup>about the beginning of April.

Fitzwilliam viewed the Irish scene with mounting anxiety.

<sup>76</sup>Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 8 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 7).

<sup>77</sup>Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 15 Mar. (ibid., no. 9).

<sup>78</sup>J. B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603, pp. 44-6.



Shane O'Neill troubled him, for 'with O'Connor's scape he was  
 very busy and no little glad of it'.<sup>79</sup> He had information that  
 Shane was connected with the attempt to get French and Spanish  
 aid. There were rumours of ships landing in the south.  
 Outwardly things were quiet, 'but inwardly never in such fear  
 since the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgarret'.<sup>80</sup> In the north  
 Callough O'Donnell had been encouraged by the government to get  
 in 1,000 to 2,000 Scots, and O'Neill had followed suit by  
 getting 1,000 to 1,500 Scots for four or five months.<sup>81</sup> By  
 April he was preying again, and the Irish were watching the  
 Scottish situation. Fitzwilliam had provisioned Carrickfergus  
 for several months, sent Sir Henry Radcliffe back to the forts  
 in Leix and Offaly, and written to Clanricarde, Thomond, and Ormond.  
 He was braced for the worst.<sup>82.</sup>

Cecil sent Fitzwilliam a letter of encouragement on 3 April,  
 and in a few days he was noting that Sussex was to be returned  
 to Ireland.<sup>83</sup> Sussex had brought a succinct statement of the  
 problems he faced in Ireland, some nine in number, and the  
 solutions proposed for them. These had evidently been drawn  
 up by Sir John Alen and had so impressed Sussex that he made  
 his own copy and presented it to Cecil.<sup>84</sup> The first two  
 problems were that the English had decayed in strength and  
 knowledge, and the country was not able to defend itself. The  
 remedy proposed was to plant more English there and to remove  
 the Irish dwelling in the pale. The desire of the Anglo-Irish

<sup>79</sup>Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 15 Mar. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 3).

<sup>80</sup>Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 11 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 11).

<sup>81</sup>Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 8 Mar. (ibid., no. 7).

<sup>82</sup>Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 20 Apr. (ibid., no. 12).

<sup>83</sup>12 Apr. 1560 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1547-80, p. 152).

<sup>84</sup>Copy in Cecil's notes (B.M., Add. 4767) and a copy in John Alen's hand, endorsed by Cecil (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 102).



for Irish government was noted as the third problem. The fourth was the increased strength and knowledge of the Irish, and the fifth the danger their force created. The remedies proposed for the fourth and fifth problems were three in number: 'To finish the enterprise in Leix and Offaly. To stir division among themselves in some places. To take occasion to impoverish their country when need is'. The sixth problem was the Irish hatred of 'English regiment', for which the remedy proposed was 'to allure them by love, fear, or reward as occasion serveth to obey such English orders first as be most commodious for themselves'. The seventh and eighth problems had to do with reforming the administration of justice. The ninth problem was 'the danger of the Scots'. The remedy proposed was 'to inhabit the north parts with men born in England or to maintain garrisons of Englishmen there, and to join the service of the noblemen of those parts with them, whose charges may for the most part be levied on the countries thereabouts'. Before any of these remedies could be attempted four points would have to be considered: 'What government the queen will have used. What charge she will be at. How the same shall be continued. Wherein the baseness of the coin is to be considered with the gain or loss that riseth thereby'.

Sussex also made further notes of his own, and under the heading of 'correcting of evil rebels...' he listed Shane O'Neill, the O'Mores and O'Conors, and the Kavanaghs, in that order. He also noted 'the offer of the Scots' and 'the borderers to Leix and Offaly' and wanted 'the martial law in special words'.

Cecil drew up a memorandum towards preparing Sussex's instructions in which he included 'authority to build castles, etc., in Leix and Offaly and to people the countries so as no

85

Notes by Sussex, c. May 1560 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 20).

86

Copy of Memorandum by Cecil, c. May 1560 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 1).



estate be made larger to any but to them and the heirs males of their body'. In the north order was to be furthered by making Sorley boy MacDonnell the tenant of such lands 'as he claimeth' by an inheritable tenure, reserving services to the crown. Cecil also noted that Irish captains were to have patents for surrender and regrant, and the revenue was to be increased by ordering the granting of wards and the use of liveries.

As another device to increase the revenue Cecil included a point which harked back to the report on revenue (see p. 302) which Browne and Rowse had made in 1554:

Order that no lease be made but upon the best rent, and that for every £10. rent the tenants be charged to find one horseman and for every £6 13s. 4d. a footman. That if any old lease be voidable in law, that it be so inquired of, and the tenants to renew their leases with increase of rents according to the best surveys and reparation of service of horsemen and footmen.

Sussex's instructions contained twenty-five sections when  
87  
they were drawn. Sections ten, eleven, and twelve were an expanded version of the one last noted from Cecil. New surveys were to be made to achieve as good or a better rent than the old one. Where leases were made under false values they were to be broken by any legal means available and new leases made to their holders, unless they were deemed 'unworthy of our favour in that behalf', paying an improved rent and observing the conditions which had been laid down for all leases. These conditions were that no lease of any one person was to be of a larger size than would pay £10 a year of rent under the new surveys unless the deputy thought the lessee would render such service as to deserve a larger lease, or the property could not be divided to produce 'so small a rate', and 'the service of one horseman to be found by the tenant well furnished for every farm of £10 by year, and so of other farms of greater value,



rateably according to that proportion. And for every farm of 26 13s. 4d. or above unto £10. a footman to be likewise furnished'.

This general provision, applicable to the whole area of Ireland under English control, was to have much influence on plantation in general and on Leix and Offaly in particular. Section two of the instructions, which dealt with those two countries, indicated that not much of a practical nature had been done to complete the settlement there, but that thought and discussion had been proceeding, especially on a reduced and revised scale of rents. Elizabeth understood that the two new shires

do yet remain unestablished <sup>88</sup> [other than by governance] or uninhabited, being planted only with our men of war, whereby both the countries do lie waste without peopling and our charge thereby likely to grow daily more intolerable, and for that presently the good season of the year being past the same cannot be planted with building houses and towns as we see were best... our pleasure is that ye shall therein do as much, as the season of the year and other accidents there will permit, to take the straits and strengths of the same countries, and build such castles and houses of strength as have or shall be by you thought meet for the better possessing of the same country...

Sussex was to assign lands to these places and distribute as much of what was left to such persons as he had to inhabit, who were to practice husbandry 'for increase of tillage for corn'. The conditions of the grants were left to his discretion, except that the tenure was not to be better than tail male.

And as for the reservation of the rent, although we would that for augmentation of our revenue you should reserve for every acre during the first ten years 2d., and for the other ten years 3d., and so afterward 4d., yet not knowing how at this present the same may be compassed, we remit the same to your wisdom and good consideration.

Under Cowley's assessment of Offaly as containing about six score ploughlands or 14,400 arable acres, which was the information available in 1560, the rent would have begun at £120, rising to £180 and then to £240 at the end of twenty years, in contrast to the nearly doubled amount which had first been



tried in the 1550's. The scale represented a considerable reduction to encourage settlement, but Sussex later exercised his discretion to reduce it even further.

Several other sections were also designed to increase the revenue or reduce expenses. These included the right of the great officers to purchase port corn, paid for tithes, for their households, rendering the crown a reasonable price. Rents were to be paid twice yearly, with crown re-entry being the penalty for failure to pay. Payment in kind for supplying the army was to be allowed for debts to the crown, which were to be pressed for, and a list made for the crown showing those which were collectable and those which were 'desperate'. The procedure of the English court of wards and liveries was to be followed in Ireland as another means to increase revenue. Reform of the coinage was promised 'as time shall serve us'.

Where certain Irish captains desired to have 'surrender and regrant' it was to be allowed, Sussex being authorised to determine the details of such patents. To bring the north to better order Sorley boy MacDonnell was to be allowed 'our free pardon' as a first step towards meeting his request for surrender and regrant. It was the crown's intention to receive him as a true subject, securing rent for his lands, which was a new departure in dealing with the Scots.

On the other hand Shane O'Neill was to be brought to obedience by whatever means were necessary, including using his neighbours and reverting to the support of Dungannon's son as the rightful heir of the lands and earldom of Tyrone. The section ended with the prudent touch that if Sussex thought intermeddling did not seem good he was to leave the situation alone.

Behind these moves was the apprehension of possible foreign invasion and internal disruption. Sussex was allowed 300 more men for the army which were first to be employed for the defence of Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, and then used at Sussex's discretion. These three companies were sent to Ireland in May.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 13.



Cecil had had a large part in drafting Sussex's public instructions and the text of the signed copy of the lieutenant's private instructions is entirely in his hand.<sup>90</sup> In them Elizabeth expressed an even greater concern at the connexion between the O'Briens' return from France, O'Connor's escape from Dublin castle, Desmond's refusal to pay cess, and Shane O'Neill's dealings with O'Reilly and the Scots. At the centre of all this activity she saw the earl of Kildare, and she and her council were agreed that he must be got to England, as he himself had earlier requested to come. A procedure was outlined for getting him to court at the queen's summons, including loaning him the money for his expenses if necessary. The day following Cecil emphasised the necessity to get Kildare to England in view of O'Connor's escape,<sup>91</sup> and connecting events.

Aside from Fitzwilliam's reports to Sussex and Cecil the English council had had at least one other source of information. A John Walshe of Youghal had travelled to England at his own expense to be heard, largely on the subject of reforming 'enormities' in Ireland. In addition he also told the council the current news:

Your honours shall understand that certain lords' sons of the west of Ireland are gone into Spain and France to seek aid of foreign princes and to procure them to come into Ireland. One of them is lately come out of France with two ships under colour of bringing of merchandise, but chiefly to know who will take their part, and as it is secretly declared another is coming after with thirty sail.

He urged that the privy council provide for the defence of the ports in the south, where Youghal was in great need of grain as Sussex could testify.<sup>92</sup>

A note was made of the general opinion that there was to be revolt in Ireland, where there was 'open speech of foreign aid'. The connexion between Shane O'Neill, the earl of Kildare, and the earl of Desmond was set forth in detail, as was a

<sup>90</sup> 'A memorial of such charge as the Queen's majesty hath given by her own speech... concerning the chief rebels in that kingdom', 27 May 1560 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 224).

<sup>91</sup> Cecil to Sussex, 28 May 1560 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 17).

<sup>92</sup> Cecil's notes (B.M.. Add. MS 4767).



remark of Kildare's to a kinswoman, whose husband had been born in England, that he was 'to sell all he had and to fly the realm for that if all promises were kept he should not reap that he had sowed and the English should be all plagued this year'. Kildare was supposed to have a 'faction' and it was 'their open speech that their kingdom is kept from them by force, and by such as be stranger in blood to them'. Irish public opinion had been awayed by such boasting.

The English government made certain moves to reduce the possible Irish combination in the event of an invasion. In April and May Cecil had considered Sorley boy MacDonnell's offers and by 9 May it had been decided to send Captain Humphrey Warren to James MacDonnell and to Sorley boy. He was to discuss the matter and to get the conditions offered or better ones. By the beginning of September Warren had accomplished his object, making an agreement with Sorley boy as the substitute of James MacDonnell in Ireland. Sorley boy was to have a 21 year lease of 'his old inheritance' and the captainship of the Route, lying between the Bush and Dann rivers on the northern coast of Antrim. No rent was specified, but twenty-four horsemen and footmen were to be brought to all hostings and James or Sorley boy, with all the freeholders of the Route, were 'to dwell upon their own lands if they will return and abide upon the same', having rights according to local custom. At their own charge they were to serve against those 'dwelling between Knockfergus, Lough Foyle, and the Newry' when rebellion occurred there. They were to provide bonnaught for 200 gallogles, make no exactions on the queen's subjects, and provide victuals for the garrison of

93

Advertisements out of Ireland', c. May 1560 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 15).

<sup>94</sup>Instructions to Warren, endorsed by Cecil as Apr., then 9 May (ibid., no. 14).

95

Articles between Sussex and Sorley boy MacDonnell, 2 Sept. 1560 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 11).



Carrickfergus at cess prices. Shortly afterwards Sussex was instructed to pass the lease to James MacDonnoll under the great seal.

As an indication of Irish opinion it had been noted that Brian O'Connor's escape had caused much rejoicing and that his death was 'much lamented'. When or where Brian met his death is not recorded but he left numerous sons behind him to keep his memory green. In Scotland Cecil requested a pardon for George Parys, who had been in the employ of the Scottish queen. Cecil had given him hopes of a pardon and a possible pension and asked that the pardon be sent quickly. He was pardoned for all offences committed before 31 July, and a year later was given a pension of £20 which was to date from 24 June 1560. The English ambassador in France wrote in November that two sons of O'Connor that had been in France eight years had recently been sent to Ireland. In December he said that Charles O'Connor, Brian's fourth son who had been at the Scottish court for nine years and had lately come to France, wished to submit to Elizabeth and be allowed to return home. He was aged about twenty and it is clear that the ambassador was interested in him. Cecil wanted Sussex's opinion before anything was done, but he thought Charles would do no good in Ireland. At the same time the Scottish council asked that Cormac O'Connor be pardoned for offences which he had committed in his youthful ignorance, and that he be restored to his estates or a part of them. Randolph, the English ambassador

96 Privy council to Sussex, 28 Sept. 1560 (ibid., no. 10).

97 'Advertisements out of Ireland', (loc. cit.).

98 Cecil to Petre, 6 July 1560 (H.M.C., Salisbury MSS, vol. I, no. 774).

99 18 Sept. 1560 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1558-60, p. 439).

100 25 July 1561 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1560-63) p. 95).

101 Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 17 Nov. (Cal. S.P. for., 1560-61, no. 716).

102 Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 31 Dec. 1560 (ibid., no. 832).

103 Cecil to Throckmorton, 25 Jan. 1561 (ibid., no. 931).

104 Privy Council of Scotland to the privy council of England,



in Scotland, had also been asked by Argyll to plead for Cormac, who had only gone into France to claim his pension, and whose service in Ireland he called upon Sir William St Loe and Sir James Croft to witness. Randolph himself spoke for George Parys and his need for assistance, and it seems clear that Parys was behind the two O'Conors' requests for favour, as well as Argyll, who wrote again of Cormac's genuine repentance. <sup>105</sup>

Sussex had returned by 25 June 1560, when he took the oath as lord lieutenant of Ireland. <sup>106</sup> One of his first acts had been to order a watch to be kept on the seacoasts of the pale for a possible foreign invasion and for a detailed muster of all the forces in the pale. <sup>107</sup> He and his council then moved southward to cos Wexford and Waterford for various business, including making some order between the earls of Ormond and Desmond. For their breaches of certain orders they were each put under bonds of 32,000 and made liable to forfeit two manors. They were also to pay and deliver 200 cattle each at Leighlin Bridge before 20 September which were to be taken to the queen's 'building in Leix'. <sup>108</sup> Sir Thomas Cusack, Stanley, and Parker were left as a commission to hear all the causes between them.

Elizabeth had pressed for a settlement of the dispute between Ormond and Desmond, saying that she did not want subjects gathering large bodies of men. She had received news from Sussex that Ireland was quiet, which gave her satisfaction, <sup>109</sup> and the treaty which concluded the Scottish intervention on 6 July 1560 had as its first two articles the recognition of her undisputed sovereignty of England and Ireland. <sup>110</sup> The privy council

<sup>4</sup> Feb. (Cal. S.P. For., 1560-61, no. 960).

<sup>105</sup> Randolph to Cecil, 6 Feb. 1561 (Cal. S.P. for., 1560-61, no. 968), Argyll to Cecil, 5 Oct. 1561 (Cal. S.P. for., 1561-62, no. 576).

<sup>106</sup> Handbook of British Chronology, 2nd ed., 1961, p. 157.

<sup>107</sup> 30 June, 1 July (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 80-88).

<sup>108</sup> 22 July-4 Aug. 1560 (*ibid.*, pp. 88, 94-101).

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth to Sussex, 6 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, 63/2, no. 25).

<sup>110</sup> Principal articles of treaty (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.NIII, no. 8).



informed Sussex of the news, which meant that much of the apprehension in Ireland was reduced.

Elizabeth next informed Sussex that since three-fourths of Ireland were quiet she and her council had agreed to take Sussex's advice to 'oppress' Shane O'Neill, in whom 'only now resteth the hope of all the evil men in that our realm'. Argyll and James MacDonnell were both ready to help and she wanted them used if Shane would not conform.<sup>112</sup> A few days later she urged Sussex to proceed with his plans, for the time of peace offered a better opportunity than 'hath been of long time past or was likely to be in long time to come'. The realm reduced, the great expense could be got rid of, 'and leave less occasion for the enemy to attempt any sinister purpose against us by that way.'<sup>113</sup>

Sussex had already proclaimed a general hosting of thirty days against Shane, which was being organized for 12 September,<sup>114</sup> but he had also written to Shane bidding him to a parley.<sup>115</sup> By 5 September Sussex had promises of help from O'Reilly, O'Donnell, MacGuire and Sorley boy MacDonnell.<sup>116</sup> Shane was able to assess the situation and on 18 September he met Kildare, Cusack, Stanley, and the lord of Slane at Bellaho, where he agreed to certain articles which had been prepared for the commissioners by Sussex and the council.<sup>117</sup> He had removed the impetus of the government, who decided on 27 September that in view of the 'universal quietness' they would pay and return to England the 300 men which had been sent over in May.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>111</sup> 4 Aug. 1560 (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 10).

<sup>112</sup> Elizabeth to Sussex, 15 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 30).

<sup>113</sup> Elizabeth to Sussex, 21 Aug. 1560 (ibid., no. 31). Both letters are drafts by Cecil.

<sup>114</sup> 20 Aug. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 88-94, 107-8).

<sup>115</sup> 20 Aug. (ibid., pp. 106-7).

<sup>116</sup> Sir Gilbert Gerard to Cecil, 5 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 33).

<sup>117</sup> Articles, and Shane's answers, 18 Sept. 1560 (ibid., nos 34, 35).

<sup>118</sup> 27 Sept. 1560 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 110).



About 23 July Sir Gilbert Gerard, attorney-general in England, had arrived in Ireland, having been sent to reform the exchequer collection of the revenues. He observed that in travelling with my lord lieutenant into the country of Offaly and other parts hereabout I have seen that the queen's majesty hath here a realm very good and plentiful and such as bringeth forth no worse deeds than the people, which for the most part be such as there can be no worse!.

He was sorry he could give them no better praise but it seemed to him 'that the most part of this generation do neither know nor fear God nor anything else but the sword'.<sup>119</sup>

Gerard was soon on his way back to England, taking with him advice on future policy on which he and Sussex had probably agreed.<sup>120</sup> The general tone of the paper was anti-Geraldine and it was suggested that the earl of Kildare be removed to estates in England. Sussex's request of the previous spring was repeated 'to have some noblemen and gentlemen of England planted in Ireland, who upon all occasions might and would bring over force to defend their own'. After Leix and Offaly were planted with English the garrison could be reduced to 500 or 600 men, with further reductions later. Coyne and livery could then be removed everywhere and, if the port corn were recovered by the crown to supply the garrison, 'the cesses may cease'. The bonnaght for galloglas ought to be converted to a rent, estimated to be £4,000 a year. The rent from Leix and Offaly was to be £3500 a year at the first leasing, but even with the garrison reduced the 200 footmen left in them would cost £2,600 a year. An Irish revenue of £8,351 sterling was reckoned to meet expected expenses of £9,400. 'If this be not thought good, then there is no ways to diminish the charges, till the queen's majesty will send people to inhabit this realm, but to give the

<sup>119</sup> Sir Gilbert Gerard to Cecil, 5 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 33).

<sup>120</sup> Sussex's advice sent from Drogheda by Gilbert Gerard... 11 Sept. 1560 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 7. See also Cal. Crew MSS, 1515, 74, no. 227).



government thereof to the earl of Kildare...'.<sup>121</sup>

At the same time a full scale cess was levied for the  
 forts in Leix and Offaly and the other garrisons. The status  
 quo was being maintained in those two counties for Sussex  
 informed Cecil late in October that he would defer sending  
 news 'til my brother's coming'. Radcliffe as lieutenant of  
 Leix and Offaly would hardly have made a trip to England if  
 the two were not quiet. He was dispatched to court to report  
 on the state of Ireland, and to determine Elizabeth's reaction  
 to the proposals which had been sent with Gerard.<sup>122</sup> Radcliffe  
 was given licence to be absent from his post until Easter,  
 6 April 1561, upon appointment of a captain to exercise his  
 office, and was allowed to take a retinue of twelve soldiers  
 with him.<sup>123</sup>

Radcliffe's report of his stay at court provides an  
 interesting insight into the way in which Irish business was  
 conducted there, and the weight which was attached to it.<sup>124</sup>  
 He was treated as a person of importance, with his business  
 being one of many affairs all going on at the same time. He  
 first went to Hampton Court where Elizabeth asked for any  
 letters from Sussex, and he was received with pleasantries by  
 both ~~her~~ and her council. Ten days after his arrival the  
 council received him and heard his report on the state of  
 Ireland as Sussex had instructed him. 'And I delivered the  
 books of Leix and Offaly, whereupon there passed some talk  
 amongst them touching the rent that should be paid out of an  
 acre within those countries, which at this present I omit'.

The 'books', which must have been a division of the two  
 counties among planters and intended planters, similar to the

121

11 Sept. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 108-110).

122

Sussex to Cecil, 24 Oct., 2 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz.,  
 65/2, nos 29, 41).

123

4 Nov. 1560 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 431).

124

Sir Henry Radcliffe to Sussex, 2 Dec. 1560 (B.M., Cott.  
 MS Titus B.XIII, no. 12).



ones of 1557, do not appear to have survived, but Radcliffe mentions something else which does survive: 'The plattes of Leix and Offaly they do greatly expect and look for, because the planting of those countries will more lively to them therein appear than any by mouth may make relation thereof'. The reference must be to the map of Leix and Offaly of which at least three copies survive, one of them unlettered.<sup>125</sup> A most vivid picture of the two counties and the neighbouring Irish countries is given by these maps, which are remarkably accurate for the time. Presumably the original map reached court by 1561 as it was in preparation at the time Radcliffe was in England. Its authorship is unknown.

The people Radcliffe thought most worth cultivating at court were Cecil, who was rumoured to become lord privy seal, Winchester, the lord treasurer, and Lord Robert Dudley, whose qualities Radcliffe heard Elizabeth praise. One of his objects was to get Sussex back to court, and he also reported that Sidney, now lord president of Wales, was about to be made master of the horse, news which could not have pleased Sussex as relations between the two had deteriorated since Sidney had begun to support his brother-in-law Dudley.

The reform of the coinage was a recurrent subject (see pp.437-8). In the spring of 1560 payments were still being made in several ratios.<sup>126</sup> In the autumn Sussex raised the issue again, pointing out that there was no mint in Ireland, and that coin was going out of the realm. Trade should be regulated so that imports were not greater than exports to keep the coin at home.<sup>127</sup> The Irish council next set rates at

<sup>125</sup>B.M., Cott. Ms Augustus I, vol. II, art. 40, and Carow version is in T.C.D. MS 1209 (Hardiman's atlas). The unlettered version is found in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, Dartmouth collection.

<sup>126</sup>Memorandum by Sussex, c. May 1560, (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, no. 22).

<sup>127</sup>Sussex to Cecil, 24 Oct. 1560 (ibid., no. 39).

<sup>128</sup>29 Oct. 1560 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 112).



which the devalued English coinage would be accepted in Ireland. Elizabeth informed Sussex that reminting would be done on Irish coinages below a certain baseness, but Sussex returned the letter with his own figures in which he favoured the old rate of three parts Irish coin to two parts English, or at best four parts Irish coin to three parts English. Until the relationship was stablized or the coin made convertible 'excessive prices' could not be helped. At one stage the harp shilling, worth 12<sup>d</sup>. Irish, had slipped in value until £3 15<sup>s</sup>. Irish was worth only 31 English.

In January 1561 the Irish government took steps to require that the debased English coinage, stamped with a portcullis in England, be accepted at the exchange established in 1559 in an effort to stop the traffic in English coins. Anyone refusing to accept coins at the values assigned to them was liable to imprisonment. Ships were to be searched to prevent coin leaving the realm, and trading with foreign merchants, by implication, was limited to barter or bills of exchange. The goods would be seized for violation of the order. In February Cecil examined the expected profit for reminting in each of the two ratios and soon settled on the traditional one of four parts Irish to three parts English sterling. The trade in coin was caused because it could be bought or accepted at its declared value and sold to the mint at a slight profit. The crown in turn would make a profit on the reminting because the value at which the coins were circulating was below

<sup>128</sup> 29th Oct. 1560 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 112).

<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth to Sussex, 21 Dec. 1560 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/2, nos 57, 58).

<sup>130</sup> Sussex to Elizabeth, 13 Jan. 1560 (ibid., 63/3, no. 1).

<sup>131</sup> 23, 24 Jan. 1561 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 114-15).

<sup>132</sup> 24 Jan. (ibid., p. 116).

<sup>133</sup> 25 Jan. (ibid., p. 118).

<sup>134</sup> 26 Jan. (ibid., p. 117).

<sup>135</sup> Two memoranda endorsed by Cecil as 2 Feb. and 16 Feb. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/3, nos 11, 19).



the value of the silver that could be reclaimed in them. The expected profit for reminting the Irish coinage varied from some £4,000 to a more modest estimate of 32,600 Irish and Cecil considered having the work done in Ireland. Since wood was a primary need Wicklow, Powerscourt, and Monasterevin as well as Dublin were examined as possible sites for an Irish mint.

Elizabeth sent Fitzwilliam the values to be used for exchange in Ireland until 30 April. After that date all Irish coins would be recovered for reminting either in Ireland or at the Tower. Fitzwilliam was to explain the change, and the day before the money was devalued, 25 March 1561, he and the Irish council proclaimed the rates for the coinage until it could be redeemed at the mint in England or the treasury in Ireland. The reason given was the great rise in prices, especially foreign goods, and a strict watch was to be kept so that there would be no further rise. A proclamation was also issued against exporting precious metals in any form, coin or otherwise, without royal licence, the penalty being the forfeiture of any such metal discovered.

Sir Henry Radcliffe, in Ireland again, argued that these proclamations on the value of the coinage 'will suffer none at all thereof to remain within this realm', and they would not stop coin being taken to England. Those out for private gain, finding money there better by 2s. 6d. in the pound as well as the price paid for coin at the Tower, would bring all the debased coinage, English and Irish. In the month of April the mint in the Tower produced £11,988 of

<sup>136</sup> See Conyers Read, 'Profits on the Recoinage of 1560-61', in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vi, 186-93 (1935-36).

<sup>137</sup> Memoranda, 10 Feb., 23 Feb., 24 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 65/3, nos 15, 23-30).

<sup>138</sup> Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam and Curwen, 8 Mar. 1561 (ibid., no. 34).

<sup>139</sup> 'Memorial for Ireland', 25 Feb. (ibid., no. 31).

<sup>140</sup> 24 Mar. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 119-21).

<sup>141</sup> Before 31st Mar. Values of Irish coins to take effect. 23 Apr. (ibid., pp. 121-2).

<sup>142</sup> Radcliffe to Sussex, 31 Mar. 1561 (B.M., Cott MS Titus B.XIII, no. 18).



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refined Irish coins. After Sussex had returned to Ireland Elizabeth informed him that she had decided that the work would be done in the Tower. A reasonable gain would be allowed to those who brought the money and a certificate of rates was enclosed for the value of the money in Ireland and the payment to be made at the English mint, as well as a certificate of the gain to be allowed to those who brought the coin.<sup>144</sup>

Sussex complied with his instructions but he sent back the queen's letter with what he considered to be the errors the clerk or the mint in England had made.<sup>145</sup> Elizabeth was buying the coinage back at more than its market value, about one penny too much per harp shilling, and thus coin was pouring into England. She consulted the mint and was assured that the rates fixed were all right and the corrections of Sussex and his council made no material difference.<sup>146</sup> The whole matter had been so arranged that the profit to be made on reminting had been kept thoroughly in the crown's hands without the Dublin government being aware of it. The damage suffered by individuals in Ireland would appear later.

The long period of relative quiet in Ireland was about to end. The first indication came in the autumn of 1560 when the earl of Ormond raided 'an assembly of certain rebels of the O'Mores' at Holy Cross Abbey, co. Tipperary, and took

<sup>143</sup>Read, loc. cit., p. 189.

<sup>144</sup>13 June, draft by Cecil on 16 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 6), certificates, 17 June (ibid., nos 8, 9).

<sup>145</sup>Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 14 July (ibid., no. 8), enclosing the proclamation made in Ireland and the signed copy of her letter.

<sup>146</sup>Thomas Stanley, undertreasurer of the mint in the Tower, and Thomas Fleetwood, undertreasurer of the new mint in the Tower, to Cecil, 4 Aug. 1561 (ibid., no. 26).

<sup>147</sup>Elizabeth to Ormond, 16 Dec. 1560 (ibid., 63/3, no. 51).



three of the principal O'Mores, Neill mcLyce, Owney mcLyce, and Lysagh mcKedow. Examination of Lysagh and another man there showed that for some time these O'Mores had been dealing with the lord of Upper Ossory, the Grace family, citizens of Kilkenny, and the earl of Desmond in an effort to get help in a possible war. Meetings had been held at Durrow in Ossory, Holy Cross, and at a camp on the river More beside Abbeyleix, where a rhymer, sent by Shane O'Neill, found them at Christmas 1559. Lysagh had said he would gladly be at peace, but the concensus of these meetings was that they must all agree to do the same thing. The rhymer addressed himself to Lysagh, saying that Shane 'marvelled that he would put his life upon any man's promise', probably a reference to Sussex's ideas of restoring the O'Mores to some of their lands, and urged that Lysagh revolt instead, in which event he would receive help from Shane. The same rhymer appeared again at harvest time in 1560, telling Lysagh and Neill mcLyce that Shane wished to speak with them 'for the aiding of him in his wars...'. They answered that 'so long as they could get whereof to live in their own country they would be loath to go further'. The two were then told 'to do the best they could for him in maintaining wars there where they were' and Shane would do his best to aid them, though he could do more if they were closer.

Such a stimulus must have helped the O'Mores in their decision 'to make war'. Their first moves had been to go raiding with the Graces in co. Kilkenny, where they asserted that many freholders had supplied them. When they were surprised at Holy Cross their object was to swear allegiance to Neill mcLyce, persuaded to 'be lord of the Mores and captain of the country'. Ormond thanked the queen for her thanks, and professed to be always willing to serve against 'the outlaws of Leix'.

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<sup>148</sup> Deposition of Donnell MacVicars, 13 Jan. 1561 (ibid., 63/4, no. 2, endorsed by Cecil, and B.M. Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 13).

<sup>149</sup> Ormond to Cecil, 21 Feb. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 21).



The Irish government's next move is interesting. Within a fortnight they voted that Kedagh and Callough, the sons of Rory O'More, 'a man of faithful and good service... and... a gentleman coming of the best lineage...' of Leix, should not be allowed from desperation 'to fall into any evil way...'. Therefore they were to be paid a pension of £20 sterling each for three years 'towards their exhibition at the school in her majesty's university of Oxford, or elsewhere within the realm of England', and the earl of Ormond and Sir Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald were to be sureties at £500 sterling that the two would stay three years in England. After that a living for them within the English pale would be provided.<sup>150</sup> Sussex must have pressed the point later in England for Cecil<sup>151</sup> informed him in the postscript of a letter there that 'I have also obtained a warrant for the exhibition of the two O'Mores'.

Elizabeth had sensed trouble brewing in Ireland for she informed Fitzwilliam that he was to be lord justice in the absence of Sussex,<sup>152</sup> whom she licenced to come home.<sup>153</sup> She wanted him to bring a thorough financial accounting and to be ready to answer the points raised at his last visit. He was told not to come with plans for the 'conquest or subduing of any part of the land' the following summer as they would be expensive and she was under the necessity 'to pay our former debts'.<sup>154</sup>

Sussex left Ireland on 29 January 1561,<sup>155</sup> but before he did so a large amount of business was conducted, which required his

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27 Jan. 1561 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp.113-4).

151

Cecil to Sussex, 28 May 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 17).

152

Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 9 Jan. (Bodleian, Carte MS 58, no. 1).

153

10 Jan. 1561 (Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 451)

154

Elizabeth to Sussex, [10] Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 8. Date supplied from notes 103 and 104).

155

Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 451.



approval, and which he evidently wished to report as having been acted on when he arrived at court. A commission was appointed, which included Sir John Alen, to preside over the purchase of the present year's cess to see that it was paid for. Because complaints had been made

that there is much money due as well to the inhabitants of the counties of Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, and Louth, for cesses of corn appointed for the furniture of the forts the four years last past, as also to divers Irishmen for beeves cessed for the like cause,

despite the fact that money had been issued for the payment of all such crown debts, except some due in 1560, the commissioners were also to see that the 1560 debts were paid, and to settle all older debts as well. There was a victualler in each county, who dealt with the cessors for each barony, and a schedule was made for payment and delivery between 29 January and 10 February in each county. A second day would be set to hear all complaints not heard on the first day by the commission for each county.<sup>156</sup> An effort was being made to avoid trouble, as the unfolding year was to show.

Another action taken was the usual issuing of commissions for martial law. One had been issued to Fitzwilliam for Connaught and co. Westmeath, the whole area around Athlone, the month before, and a new one was given to Sir Jacques Wingfield for the countries of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles and throughout the marches of co. Dublin. In effect he had power of life and limb over every disorder, but that power was not to operate against anyone with an estate or freehold of the value of £10 or more, or of anyone of good name or fame. The reason was given that those without living, less careful of their allegiance and obedience, required 'that we should correct and repress the same by some more speedy and sharp means than by our common law...'.<sup>157</sup> The exemption of those mentioned was a new clarification in what had become a standard proceeding,

<sup>156</sup> 25 Jan. 1561 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 101-3, and P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 6, where Alen's name is inserted).

<sup>157</sup> 25 Dec. 1560, 27 Jan. 1561 (Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 451, and Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos 218, 285, 304, and 395).



and was perhaps another effort to avoid trouble.

The third action taken just prior to Sussex's departure was the making of twenty-six leases of land on 26, 27 and 28 January. These were almost the first leases of land made in Ireland in Elizabeth's reign, and it seems clear that Sussex wanted to report that they had been made, which had to be done under his authority before he left. Twelve of these leases are of particular interest because they represent the first positive steps taken toward plantation in Elizabeth's reign.

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Under their terms the lessee was to reserve part of the rent in corn which the government could purchase at the crown's price, maintain all the buildings found on the property, not alienate or dispose the property without the consent of the lieutenant general, nor let any part to any person or persons 'except he or they be of English nation both by father and mother'. He was also not to charge any exactions upon the tenants, particularly coyne and livery. If the rent fell behind for twelve weeks or more the crown could repossess the property, as it could also do for failure to fulfil what was evidently regarded as the most important provision of all: the maintaining upon the property of so many 'able' horseman or footmen 'of English nation... sufficiently furnished for the

159

defence of the said realm...'. These had been called for in the instructions to Sussex in 1559 and 1560, and were specified

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as being a means to repopulate the country. It is interesting to note the counties in which these leases occurred. Their authorization rested either on specific instructions of July 1559, May 1560 or the commission for letting lands of 14 June

158

'Articles for making of cesses' c. 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 124) gives these terms, as does the lease to James Butler, 26 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 290).

159

'Articles for making of cesses', c. 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 124).

160

See pp. 435, 450-52.



1560. The following table shows the lessees and their holdings.

	Place	Rent	Services Horse- men	Foot- men
1. Michael Fitzwilliam	Donaghmore, co. Meath	£46 2 0	1	2
2. Sir Henry Radcliffe	Simonstown and Corbetstown, co. Meath	11 8 8	1	
3. James Butler	Graiguenamanagh, cos Carlow and Wexford	15 0 0	2	
4. Henry Cowley	Carbury, co. Kildare	27 3 6	2	
5. James Stanihurst	Odder, co. Meath	28 5 4	2	2
6. John Margetts, yeoman	Carnes, East and West, co. Meath	4 13 2		1
7. Richard Pepper	Balrinnet, co. Kildare	1 10 0	1	
8. Sir George Stanley	Lurgan, co. Westmeath	5 0 0	1	
9. Richard and Patrick Fynglas	Palmerston, co. Dublin	/19 9 8/		/2/
10. Roger Green	St John's, Naas, co. Kildare	/39 16 6/	/2/	
11. Nicholas Heron	Abbey of Farnes, co. Wexford Fertagh, co. Kilkenny	12 13 4		1
12. Richard Netterville	St John's, Newgate, cos Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare	/47 11 0/		/4/

160

1. Elizabeth to Sussex and Curwen, 25 May 1560 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 438). to 'perfect a lease' to Fitzwilliam. Lease, 26 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 291).
2. Elizabeth to Sussex, 26 May 1560 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 450).
3. Instructions to Sussex, 16 July 1559 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 219). Lease, 26 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 290).
4. Instructions to Sussex, c. May 1560 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 225). Lease, 27 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 317).
5. Instructions to Sussex, c. May 1560 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 225). Lease 27 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 306).
6. 27th Jan. (*ibid.*, no. 311).
7. 27 Jan. (*ibid.*, no. 320).
8. 27 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 314).
9. A lease of 17 June 1569 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1390) sites lease of 27 Jan. 1561. Services from 'A note of reservations... made upon leases for years' (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 51).
10. A lease of 30 Apr. 1569 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1354) cites the lease of Roger Green of 27 Jan. 1561. Services from 'A note...' (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 51).
11. Two leases of 28 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos 323, 324).
12. A lease of 28 Jan. 1569 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1250) shows property for which the services were owed in 'a note...' (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 51).



These plantation leases, while they ringed the Leix-Offaly area, preceded the plantation grants there by more than a year, and marked the first step in implementing the policy which Elizabeth and Cecil had worked out in conjunction with Sussex. Some of the ideas dated from the report of Browne and Rowse in 1554. The remaining leases of January 1561 were in many cases the leases of tithes and monastic lands to the same people, in which the rent was to be reserved to the crown partly in corn. Sir Henry Radcliffe, for example, received the monastery of Hore, co. Tipperary, as well as several rectories, worth more than £80 to the crown in rent.<sup>162</sup> The government was trying to solve the problems of plantation and cess at the same time.

One problem that the government could not solve was Shane O'Neill, who wished to present his own case to Elizabeth.<sup>163</sup> As soon as Sussex left, Fitzwilliam began to be alarmed, and thought that Shane would burn Dundalk.<sup>164</sup> Shane wrote to Elizabeth at the same time, setting forth his case in detail.<sup>165</sup> Aside from his claims to the title and lands of Tyrone, his grievances against Sussex and the Scots, and his request that Elizabeth pay his expenses to court so that he could present his own case, Shane displayed a shrewd awareness of other crown problems in Ireland. He described the evil effects that cess was having upon the English pale. There the farmers were being forced to give up their farms because of the impositions, and in the last year and a half some 300 of them had come to dwell in his country. Others, some 300, formerly rich and now poor, would like to do the same. Shane thought it 'a very evil sign' that conditions in the pale were so bad that farmers there should 'come dwell

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162

27 Jan. 1561 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 293).

163

Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 26 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/5, no. 7).

164

Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 8 Feb. 1561 (*ibid.*, no. 13),

165

Fagwell, Tudors, ii, pp. 15-18.



amongst wild savage people'. Shane continued his solicitude for the queen's expenses and the inversion of plantation policy in a letter to Cecil in which he reiterated that within three years of his return from court he could help convert Ireland's charges for defence into a profitable revenue to the crown. <sup>166</sup>

The general tone of Shane's letters was suggestive of trouble, which Cecil must have expected for he had already consulted Sir James Croft and Sir Henry Sidney on what ought to be done in Ireland. Croft urged, as he had ten years before, that justice should be better administered, and the Irish brought by degrees through education to obey an English order. The Scots in Ulster were a crucial problem which must be dealt with. <sup>167</sup> Cecil noted 'to have a colony of people from England into Ulster and specially the Bann to be possessed'. The garrisons were to be employed northward 'to increase strength on the seaside'. Sidney urged that more shires be made to increase English order, that surrender and regrant be used to remove private sovereignty, that councils be established in Munster and Connaught, and that Carrickfergus castle be <sup>168</sup> fortified.

Shane was beginning to menace the pale, having threatened Dundalk, which he asked to possess as Desmond did certain ports in Munster, and had moved through O'Reilly's country. The <sup>169</sup> bastard Geraldines were giving trouble in the midlands. It was decided at court that Shane must be got to England, and that garrisons and arrangements for defence must be made on the borders without arousing Shane's suspicions. Sir Henry Radcliffe was to be dispatched quickly to Ireland to take his post in Leix and Offaly and their adjoining borders. Troops

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<sup>166</sup> Shane O'Neill to Elizabeth, 8 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 14). O'Neill to Cecil, 12 Feb. 1561 (ibid., no. 16).

<sup>167</sup> Memorandum by Croft (ibid., no. 17), and notes on it by Cecil, 12 Feb. 1561 (ibid., no. 18).

<sup>168</sup> Copies of these interviews (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 7).

<sup>169</sup> Wingfield to Sussex, 23 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 23), Stanley to Sussex, 28 Feb. 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 15).



and their food were to be sent from England. Cecil made the query that once O'Neill were disposed of 'what is the final intent for the reducing of Ireland?'. How could the cost of defence be shifted to Ireland and the queen's revenue be increased 'with honour and surety'.<sup>170</sup> In the meantime preparations went ahead for more military expenses with 500 troops being sent from England, half archers and half harquebusiers. James MacConnell was approached to conclude the lease of the route to him, and thus enlist his aid in any troubles to come.<sup>171</sup>

The raising of these reinforcements in England provides some interesting sidelights. Those shipped from Chester were to include 50 men from that shire, 50 men from Lancashire, and 100 men from north Wales, while those shipped from Bristol were to include 70 men from Devon, 60 from Somerset, 60 from Gloucester, and 100 from south Wales, a total of 540 men in all.<sup>172</sup> The letter written for men in Somerset survives. The garrison in Ireland was to be increased by a few men for two or three months. Able men were to be levied and sent secretly, well armed, to Bristol, so that the news would not be carried to Ireland. The inducement was added that husbandmen would be provided with land, if they chose to settle.<sup>173</sup> While there is no necessary connection it is noteworthy that among the supplies sent to Ireland were 150 pickaxes and mattocks, 100 axes, 100 hedging bills, and 100 reaping hooks.<sup>174</sup>

In Ireland efforts were being made to get Shane to England, who remained at Denburb 'his new castle', according to Sir Henry Radcliffe, who was on his way back to Leix. He observed that the new cesses were not all in, that the earl of Mildare was complaining of the burden of the army, and that 'the old practice

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170

'Memorial for Ireland' 25 Feb. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 31).

171 Memorandum, 13 Mar. (ibid., no. 36).

172 Memorandum by Cecil, 14 Apr. 1561 (ibid., no. 54).

173 Elizabeth to the lieutenants of Somerset, (Mar. 1561 (Cal. S.P. dom., 1601-03, addenda of 1547-65, p. 509).

174 Memorandum on supplies, 13 Apr. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 53).



for the making of a book in the English pale and country of  
 Kildare is, as I am informed, taken in hand again', presumably  
 to protest the burden of cess. A month later Radcliffe wrote  
 to Cecil 'I assure you since my first coming into Ireland  
 I have not known in any year the cesses either of victuals or  
 labourers for the forts and countries so slackly answered as  
 this year', which created danger and slowed down the building  
 program.<sup>176</sup>

That program in Leix and Offaly included payments made to  
 Francis Cosby for 'certain works and fortifications in Leix'  
 and £300 to Henry Cowley for repairs, work at Daingean, 'and  
 a fort to be built as Eskermore'.<sup>177</sup> Early in March a cess for  
 labourers to come to the two countries for one month was laid  
 on cos Wexford, Carlow, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, and  
 Dublin, which was to provide a total of 400 horses, 400 carts  
 and drivers, and 1200 other workmen, to be levied under the  
 direction of either Cowley or Cosby. The workers were to be  
 employed on 'certain necessary fortifications, trenches, and  
 toghers to be builded and made in Leix and Offaly...'.<sup>178</sup> The  
 delay in this work was one of the reasons Radcliffe advanced  
 for eradicating Shane, and he suggested the delay was caused  
 by rumours that Susséx and the government were going to be  
 replaced.<sup>179</sup>

From Paris Throckmorton advised Elizabeth that she was  
 now free to order Ireland and win a nation which had long lain  
 rough hewn, a point which the queen said she had in good memory.<sup>180</sup>  
 To Cecil he lamented that he had not been able to secure favour  
 for Charles O'Conor, but said it would grieve him less if it

<sup>175</sup> Radcliffe to Sussex, 31 Mar. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 18).

<sup>176</sup> Radcliffe to Cecil, 3 May 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 63).

<sup>177</sup> Financial accounting, ending 9 Mar. 1561 (ibid., no. 35).

<sup>178</sup> 12 Mar. 1561 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 118-19).

<sup>179</sup> Radcliffe to Cecil, 3 May (loc. cit.)

<sup>180</sup> Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 31 Mar. (Cal. S.P. for., 1561-62, no. 77), Elizabeth to Throckmorton, 13 Apr. 1561 (ibid., no. 106).



meant a substantial reform of Ireland. 'And I do herein accord with you, and wish that there should not be one inhabitant left of the old evil seed, if you can find the means to replenish it with good, faithful, and obedient people'. He asked Cecil to remember what the Romans and all princes and states had done to keep countries obedient which were far distant or not joined to them, and what the Spaniards had done to keep the kingdom of Naples and enjoy their New Indies. In Ireland good and obedient subjects should be supported, but coyne and livery, the brehon laws, and other Irish practices must be abolished, 'and howsoever you do, inhabit the coasts and ports with good people, and specially the coast that lieth towards Scotland'. Throckmorton also advised cunning and secrecy so that neither the Irish nor the Scots would know what was intended.<sup>181</sup>

Cecil was able to reassure Throckmorton that Sussex was returning to Ireland and was expected to make short work of the stubborn sort there. A major expedition was planned against Shane, its size shaped in proportion to his being 'great, crafty, and rich'. Cecil had got the earl of Kildare to court and wished that his earldom could be exchanged for one in England, but he could not persuade the queen to do so.<sup>182</sup> Cecil anticipated an argument between Sussex and Kildare, each accusing the other, and he found that he was expected to be against Kildare. 'I will hear both before I stand to any side, although hitherto I see no cause but to lean with our English governance, against such as always have and of course will seek to shake off from their necks our regiment'.<sup>183</sup>

Malachi O'Reilly had already offered his services to

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<sup>181</sup>  
Throckmorton to Cecil, 20 Apr. (Cal. S.F. for., 1561-62, no. 125).

<sup>182</sup>  
Cecil to Throckmorton, 8 May (ibid., no. 187).

<sup>183</sup>  
Cecil to Throckmorton, 10 May 1561 (B.M., Add. MS 35, 830).



Elizabeth in any undertaking against Shane, but from Carrickfergus Piers shared Cecil's doubts. James MacDonnell had received a letter from France by Cormac O'Connor's man, and Piers had other information that the earl of Kildare was in correspondence with France. He questioned MacDonnell's permanent fidelity. Fitzwilliam enlarged on the probability of trouble with Shane, whose visitors since the beginning of February, O'Brien and two or three supporters, 'some of the O'Mores and other of the O'Conors, doth the rather confirm it to me, for they by name are the only open and manifest traitors at this day, and surely best able to do mischief'. Piers was soon reporting on further doings around Carrickfergus, where Elizabeth was slandered and the Scots queen was spoken of as the 'rightful queen of England', the object of most activity being to 'put out the Englishmen'. Piers considered that he was still on top of the situation and that if the Dublin government would 'plant in these parts 500 men' the country would be secured. He thought Argyle would soon be in O'Donnell's country with a large force.

In England notes were made of letters to be sent to all the Irish peers and chiefs of their name, with patents to be made creating O'Reilly earl of Breffni and baron of Cavan, and Callough O'Donnell earl of Tyrconnell. Shane, however, had acted first. On the night of 14 May he captured Callough and put an end to any hopes he had of a peerage, for Shane kept him a prisoner. The war had begun.

Elizabeth was evidently not aware of O'Donnell's capture, for she informed Fitzwilliam of Sussex's return at the same

<sup>184</sup>Malachi O'Reilly to Elizabeth, 27 Apr. 1561 (H.M.C., Salis. MSS, vol. i, no. 828).

<sup>185</sup>Piers to Fitzwilliam, 28 Apr., enclosed in Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 4 May 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, nos. 64, 64.1).

<sup>186</sup>Piers to Fitzwilliam, 20 May (H.M.C., Salis. MSS, vol. i, no. 830).

<sup>187</sup>Memorandum, May 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 76).

<sup>188</sup>Bagwell, Tudors, ii, p.21.

<sup>189</sup>Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 22 May (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 3).



time that his instructions were being finished, in which Sussex was to create Callough an earl and secure his aid against Shane along with Sorley boy and James MacDonnell. She had determined that because of O'Neill's war upon her subjects and upon O'Reilly, and his 'holding by force' not only Tyrone 'but also divers other countries in the same parts belonging directly to us' to restore the son of the baron of Dungannon in Shane's place. She was also 'purposed to spare no charge to scourge and subdue him and his complices to very extremity, and to plant in those countries the right owners and inheritors thereof...'. O'Reilly was to be recompensed for his losses, and when the countries usurped by Shane were recovered they were to be placed in the charge of those thought most suitable. The idea of recovering and disposing of these countries is important, because concealed in this initial conflict with Shane Elizabeth had a purpose which was never explicitly stated. It will emerge as the course of that struggle unfolds.

Before Sussex dealt with Shane he was to put the rest of the realm in order, partly by means of surrender and regrant, giving his attention to land in the south and west and 'that within our English pale, and namely our counties of Leix and Offaly'.<sup>191</sup> Sussex had asked her 'to give authority to me to make grants of Leix and Offaly to men of English bloods according the effect of the statute, and to distribute also such part thereof to the Mores and Conors as I shall think fit'. Cecil<sup>192</sup> had noted that the second proposal 'is thought expedient', and that section of his instructions stated that he was allowed to make grants to 'any manner of persons English born and not to other' by the authority of the Irish parliament.

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190

Instructions to Sussex, 22 May 1561 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 230). Signed by Elizabeth.

191

Instructions to Sussex. Draft, attested by Cecil as the true copy, and dated 24 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 78).

192

Sussex's notes for his instructions, annotated by Cecil (*ibid.*, no. 77). See also Cecil's notes from Sussex's instructions, 24 May 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 16).



Yet because it appeareth to us that it were convenient for part of the same countries to be distributed amongst some of the O'Conors and O'Mores which have submitted themselves and be like to become good and quiet subjects: our will and pleasure is that if you shall perceive the same to be convenient for our honour, agreeable for the surety of our said countries, and otherwise meet to be done, that then you shall make grants in special tail unto the said O'Conors and O'Mores and to the heirs males of their bodies, or for term of life or lives, or at will, of some such remote parts of the said countries as whereof least offence may grow, and reserving such rents, duties, and services for our use and behalf as hath been prescribed to you heretofore by our instructions for the letting out or granting of the said two countries.

With Sussex was sent £17,262 sterling, which made £25,016<sup>193</sup> Irish. The army was owed some £13,000, and Cecil noted repeatedly that the monthly charge had risen to £1,654. 14<sup>194</sup> 11<sup>11d.</sup> Sussex landed in Ireland on 1 June, a rapid trip, and was sworn anew as lord lieutenant on 5 June. Writs were issued for a general hosting to assemble in co. Louth on 1 July, but Sir Henry Radcliffe and his forces were kept in Leix and Offaly.<sup>195</sup> Sussex set out for Armagh on 6 June.<sup>196</sup> The Irish council was left to explain that Donough O'Connor was taken in hand, despite assurances of being able to come and go freely, because they thought he was about to make trouble, and until 'he did perform all orders to be taken by your... lieutenant for Offaly'. A<sup>197</sup> proclamation had been issued against him. Radcliffe was soon reporting that among other iniquities Shane 'hath of late sent down one Owney mcLyce, the chiefest rebel of the Mores, with as much aid and friendship as he might by any means procure or give<sup>198</sup> him'. Shane's object, in Sir Henry's view, was to create such trouble in Leix and Offaly that Sussex would either be forced

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<sup>193</sup> Warrant for payment, c. May 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/3, no. 80).  
<sup>194</sup> Statement of arrears, 28 Feb. 1561 (ibid., no. 49 II).  
<sup>195</sup> 8 June (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., pp. 456-7).  
<sup>196</sup> Sussex to Cecil, 25 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 13).  
<sup>197</sup> Council of Ireland to Elizabeth, 12 June (ibid., no. 3).  
<sup>198</sup> Radcliffe to Cecil, 30 June 1561 (ibid., no. 16).



to return the part of the garrison he had withdrawn from there, or that those who bordered on the two would complain of the extra burden put on them. Radcliffe expected to prevent both things happening.

Leix and Offaly seem to have been kept quiet, but there was soon proof that Shane was well informed. On the heels of Radcliffe's letter four peers petitioned the crown for a commission to inquire into 'the miserable estate of our country'.<sup>199</sup> They asked that the abuses and enormities which had decayed the commonwealth might be taken away, and that the commission, without respect to the governor or anyone else, should not only question the peers but the 'gentlemen and poor people' of the pale to get a true picture of how they were used. The result would be improved conditions and a saving of money for her.

On his first trip to Armagh Sussex left 200 soldiers there and fortified the cathedral, erecting 'strong raths and impregnable ramparts' around it, with the intention of making the place 'my staple of victuals' for the coming war.<sup>200</sup> Thus the town was regarded as crucial in the last news that Cecil was to receive for more than a month. Seeing treachery in the capture of O'Donnell and the countess of Argyll Cecil had advised Sussex that 'severity and terror must work your victory'.<sup>201</sup>

In fact negotiation with Shane continued even after the hosting had moved to the north.<sup>202</sup> Shane was adamant that he would not go to court or see Sussex until the garrison was removed from Armagh, one of the three basic objections he raised.<sup>203</sup> Recounting these, Sussex indicated that he planned to invade Tyrone on 18 July.

<sup>199</sup>Gormanston, Baltinglas, Slane, and Dunsany to Elizabeth. 6 July 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 17).

<sup>200</sup>Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 June (ibid., no. 11).

<sup>201</sup>A.F.M. entry for 1561.

<sup>202</sup>Sussex to Cecil, 23 June (ibid., no. 13).

<sup>203</sup>Cecil to Sussex, 19 June (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, i).

<sup>204</sup>Bagwell, *Tudors*, ii, pp. 23-25.

<sup>205</sup>Shane O'Neill to Sussex, 1 July, Sussex to Cecil, 17 July 1561 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 176).



A week later Cecil complained that 'I was not so perplexed with lack of intelligence from your lordship and that realm at any time since I served in this court. ...Here hath been spread four rumours...' and Cecil was discomfited by the lack of news to counter them. 'It is said that Knockfergus is taken by Shane'.<sup>206</sup> A day later Throckmorton, in Paris, asked Cecil to advise him correctly on the rumours of the success of the rebels in Ireland.<sup>207</sup> The strain on Cecil's nerves was only relieved on 8 August when he received Sussex's letter of 31 July and then his worry became certainty for Sussex admitted to him that in an ambush of a force on 30 July returning from Monaghan to Armagh Shane had inflicted losses of 50 men killed and 50 wounded. Sussex had not been with them, and the force had been spread out when the attack came. Eventually Fitzwilliam and Stanley had rallied the men and attacked Shane's men, inflicting losses on them in turn. Sussex blamed the troops from England as being worthless with cowardice being at the bottom of the affair, saved by the courage of a few.<sup>208</sup> In a letter to Elizabeth the encounter was made to seem more minor, the losses being given as 30 killed and 30 wounded. She was also told that supplies were being conveyed from Newry to Armagh for the next stage of the campaign.<sup>209</sup> Cecil tried to convince the queen that Shane's losses were greatest, and so set his own public rumours going. He also advised Sussex 'And me thinketh you ought to pass over that cowardness without notable punishment which so evidently endangered the whole matter. The queen's majesty I perceive smelleth the offence,

<sup>206</sup>Cecil to Sussex, 25 July (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21,iiii). Seventeen original letters of secretary Cecil to the earl of Sussex'.

<sup>207</sup>Throckmorton to Cecil, 26 July (Cal. S.P. for. 1561-62, no. 337).

<sup>208</sup>Sussex to Cecil, 31 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 25). Date of battle from Cecil to Throckmorton, 12 Aug. (B.M. Add. MS 35, 830),

<sup>209</sup>Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 31 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 24).



and saith she thinketh you will not pass it over'. It is perhaps not surprising that Elizabeth saw the matter clearly; her acumen was sharpened by reading the letter intended solely for Cecil, and written on its cover is her own endorsement, one of the rare appearances of her own hand in the Irish state papers. Three days later in urging a private suit to Sussex Cecil added the note that 'in all my suits if the service or interest of the queen's majesty be touched I do and will always prefer her majesty's before all others, and myself'.<sup>211</sup>

The battle, which has neither name nor location, was of crucial importance for it determined Elizabeth to come to terms with Shane, and it was the first step in his progress to court. Sussex must have suspected as much for Fitzwilliam was immediately dispatched to give an account of the war,<sup>212</sup> and to secure the men and supplies necessary to continue it. To Cecil the lord lieutenant said of his critics that 'their end is to have the government amongst themselves' and while they were welcome to it he hoped to meet them face to face. They were a strange people, who would weaken the pale to strengthen the Irishry and lay waste their own lands and claim that the army did it. 'You shall hardly find any of credit of my country birth that will succeed.'<sup>213</sup>

In a few days Sussex ranged even farther afield, contrasting the state of the realm when he found it in 1556 with the moment, when Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath were all so obedient as to be kept with little force, 'Leix and Offaly be manured as the English Pale', and all the Irish between there and the Shannon answered 'my brother's commanding'. Ulster was excluded

210

Cecil to Sussex, 12 Aug. (B.M., Titus B.XIII, no. 21, iv).

211

15 Aug. (ibid., v).

212

Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 6 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire. Eliz., 63/4, no. 28).

213

Sussex to Cecil, 8 Aug. (ibid., no. 31).



from such a reckoning and Sussex came back to the main issue with the summary that 'if Shane be overthrown all is settled. If Shane settled all is overthrown.<sup>214</sup>

It was Elizabeth's intention to come to a settlement with Shane. Cecil noted the day following that Kildare was to be sent back to Ireland to get Shane to England, and he was to say there would be 500 more men for the army that winter, and a greatly increased army in the spring.<sup>215</sup> The same day Elizabeth informed Sussex that while things had gone awry, she was prepared to accept Shane's submission, but 'the removing of our garrison from Armagh, we do most mislike of all other conditions'. The most she wanted to concede was that the garrison there would not harm anyone on Shane's peace while he was in England. In her own hand she added that in view of the disaster Sussex was to discharge all who were unserviceable, 'by whom our charge groweth and our service is hindered'. She also gave orders for the transfer of 200 soldiers from the garrison at Berwick to the coast of Cumberland, from which they were to be shipped to Carlingford and join Sussex at Armagh on 30 August.<sup>216</sup> The men, 140 harquebusiers and 60 armed pikes, were sent under the command of Captain Brian Fitzwilliam,<sup>217</sup> Sir William's brother.

Cecil was the motivating force behind this activity and he informed Sussex<sup>218</sup> of his difficulties.

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<sup>214</sup>

Sussex to Cecil, 19 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 37).

<sup>215</sup>

Notes by Cecil, 20 Aug. (ibid., no. 38).

<sup>216</sup>

Elizabeth to the marshal and treasurer of Berwick, 21 Aug. (Cal. S.P. for., 1561-62, no. 427).

<sup>217</sup>

Valentine Browne to Cecil, 28 Aug. (ibid., no. 457).

<sup>218</sup>

21 Aug. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, vi).



my lord of Pembroke here, I was forced to take the burden upon my shoulders, and have induced the queen's majesty to address the soldiers of the garrison of Berwick and to send away Sir William Fitzwilliams with £3,000 as I trust he shall bring. As to any other charge, I see her majesty not to be induced until she may hear again from your lordship.

Two days later Cecil was again engaged in encouraging and adminishing Sussex.<sup>219</sup> He wanted to know how James MacDonnell had fared with the 1000 men he had brought. He also added that "my cousin Sir William Fitzwilliams hath received hearty thanks for his service. I think the return of my lord of Kildare will trouble you, but therein no further delay could be used'.

Cecil had given Throckmorton in Paris an account of the battle of 30 July, and he now confided his continuing concerns: Since the last conflict in Ireland whereof I wrote of late to you Shane O'Neill hath made new request to come hither, but he addeth some conditions to it not probable as to have a new garrison planted at Armagh this last July to be removed... Upon him dependeth the whole weal or loss of Ireland. If he yeild all is the queen's majestys at this present; if contrary the rest will be in danger'.

Cecil could also see the unfortunate possibility of O'Donnell,<sup>220</sup> O'Neill, and James McDonnell in a common alliance. The concern to preserve Armagh was being balanced against the concern for a settlement.

In Ireland the government was having its own problems with Shane:

Upon demand made to him for the restitution of MacRandall Eoy's goods, who is your highness hired servant and dwelleth upon the Englishmen's lands in the Dufferin, and to whom he never made claim: his answer was that he dwelled in Ulster and was bound to serve him, so as we see Ulster is the scope he challengeth: and what he will shoot at if he have that, we doubt much.

Sussex was also compelled to admit that he was discredited in Ireland, where there was general speculation on his recall.<sup>221</sup>

219

23 Aug. (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, No. 21, vii).

220

Cecil to Throckmorton, 26 Aug. (B.M., Add. MS 35, 830).

221

Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 1 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 48).



Three weeks later, from his camp in the north, he was more optimistic that they had Shane on the run. 'The taking away the great prey out of the mountains of Slieve Gullion with 300 English footmen and 100 galloglasses hath recovered a great part of their credit...'.<sup>222</sup> The prey consisted of 4000 cattle.

Sussex had also pushed across Ulster to the shores of Lough Foyle, where he expected to make contact with ships bringing victuals which had been sent on 14 August. The ships were not there being delayed in arriving. They later landed their supplies at Carlingford. Sussex had to move back to his bases at Armagh and Newry.<sup>223</sup> Cecil expressed his perplexity at Shane's continuing good fortune 'to have benefit by the wandering of the ships sent with the victual to Lough Foyle', about which he had still not heard anything. He advised Sussex to 'let your letters hither contain more special [i]t[ie]s of your proceedings. For the shortness thereof doth not [so] well content her majesty'.<sup>224</sup> Once again there is the suggestion of plans which do not appear in the extant correspondence. The steady insistence on the importance of Armagh, and the hitherto unmentioned plan to land supplies at Lough Foyle, point to the first attempt to plant a settlement in the centre of Ulster, join it with Lough Foyle, and so cut Ulster in two. The effort was probably a first tentative experiment, and the contact at Lough Foyle was a failure, but it was an indication of the future. Elizabeth, Sussex, and Cecil were each aware of the overall intention, and wanted to be kept informed of its progress.

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222

Sussex to Cecil, 21 Sept. (P.R.O., SP. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 55).

223

Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 21 Sept. (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p.180), Wroth and Arnold to the privy council 7 Apr. 1564, enclosing note of money delivered to Vaughan (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, nos 46, 46 I). Vaughan's accounts, c. May 1564 (ibid., no. 56).

224

Cecil to Sussex, 7 Oct. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, X).



Shane for his part was probably equally aware of what possibilities Armagh offered, and was adamant not to have a garrison on his doorstep. His new castle at Benburb was only six miles from the city. Kildare had arrived on 5 October and with Sussex, and Baltinglass, Slane, and Louth as commissioners, he set off to meet Shane.<sup>225</sup> What happened is best explained by Sussex and his own adherents on the council.<sup>226</sup> As per the terms of the agreement they had withdrawn the garrison from Armagh, leaving 'a sufficient ward for the guard only of the place'. They had planned a force there of 400 footmen, 40 horsemen, 100 galloglas, and 200 kerne, with which they would systematically have laid Shane's country waste. They explained the plans they had had for winter in detail. In their negotiations with Shane they had never conceded the garrisons withdrawal though he had demanded it, but presumably Kildare knew the queen's whole mind. That point was elaborated. They hoped to get Shane to England shortly. 'And in the meantime we will proceed to make out states to the inhabitants in Leix and Offaly, and to the full settling of those parts'.

227.

Sussex then unburdened himself for four pages to Cecil. He could only conclude he was disliked, misrepresented, or had offended. Soon he was also reporting to Cecil on the disturbed state of public opinion.<sup>228</sup> 'Our nation in this realm is likened to the French in Scotland... this is hoped to be the jubilee year'. If the queen intended a change in Ireland 'it were good... for her own honour [to] revoke such or have truly served her in such sort as they deserve. And if her highness have yet made no such resolution, but rather hangeth in suspense what to do ...! she should summon the principal

<sup>225</sup> Bagwell, Tudors, ii 30-32.

<sup>226</sup> Sussex, Fitzwilliam, Stanley, Radcliffe, and Warren to Elizabeth, 23 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 61).

<sup>227</sup> 23 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 62).

<sup>228</sup> 3 Nov. (ibid., no. 66).



earls and principal legal officers, hear face to face their debate on policy, and then decide and settle what 'may be best for her honour, the surety of her crown, ...and the good government of her prople, and so take order for full proceeding therein without alteration'. Then 'shall the workman work in a due order, when the plot of his building is perfected...'. Otherwise the results of efforts in Ireland 'will be Penelope's web'.

The confusion to which the Irish government had been put was as nothing to the consternation at court. Cecil, in a dictated letter, said that the agreement with Shane 'seemeth unto her highness very strange', as Sussex could well imagine.<sup>229</sup> But she and her council trusted Sussex, and if 'any sentence' in her letter to him 'shall seem anything sharp unto you, ye need not to think it is meant of any dull opinion but rather of a plainness and good meaning towards you, and so your lordship shall do well to conceive of it'. Kildare was anxious that his part not be misunderstood, particularly by Sussex. It would be well if judgment were suspended all around until the matter was gone into thoroughly. His private opinion to Sussex a few days later<sup>230</sup> was that 'I wish that Shane's coming might be without such a blemish as the revocation of your soldiers from Armagh will bring to the queen's majesty. I know the matter in deed is not great but in opinion. ... I have written to my lord Kildare, how inconvenient that head is to have the garrison removed. And I think if it lie in him to redut that blur, he ought to do it'.

Efforts were made, and Sussex was able to tell Elizabeth that Shane had consented to redeliver Armagh upon his return from England, if it had not been taken by a stronger enemy in the meantime! That accorded with her expressed desire 'to

<sup>229</sup>1 Nov. 1561 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, xi).

<sup>230</sup>6 Nov. (ibid., xii).



have your garrisons remain at Armagh'.<sup>231</sup> He told Cecil that it was withdrawal with honour, and he had discharged the companies of John Wakely and Nicholas Bagenal.<sup>232</sup>

Cecil, for his part, wrote that 'my greatest care is that the queen's majesty in this time of rest might recover that country to some better subjection'.<sup>233</sup> At that moment the Irish government was trying to get the earl of Desmond to Clonmel to meet Captains Agard and Heron to hear his complaints against the Butlers, with whom he was quarrelling again. Desmond wanted army protection across Ormond territory, described by the government as being 'an English county, the people of English blood and surname, and living in obedience to the laws'. They also stated that they were 'now in our journey towards Offaly and Leix, where we intend to proceed to the bounding of those counties, the dividing of them into baronies, and so to make out states tailes to the inhabitation, the greatest part whereof we hope to finish within these 14 days'.<sup>234</sup>

Cecil complained to Sussex about the lack of news, going back to 1 November. 'Good my lord whether things do well or evil, let me know'. The queen 'daily noteth to me herein a great lack that she can have no knowledge from her land there'. Perhaps Sussex's letters had miscarried, 'but in the mean season it breedeth great misliking. Of all parts her majesty receiveth comfort, saving from thence'.<sup>235</sup> Elizabeth sent a similar rebuke while granting Sussex leave to come home, with Fitzwilliam as lord justice. The lieutenant was to come 'instructed' not only on Shane, but for 'the rest of our causes for a quieter government and dimunition of our charges'.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>231</sup> 21 Nov. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 69).

<sup>232</sup> 21 Nov. (ibid., no. 71).

<sup>233</sup> Cecil to Sussex, 28 Nov. (B.M.Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, no. xiii).

<sup>234</sup> Sussex, Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam and Stanley to Elizabeth. 27 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4, no. 75).

<sup>235</sup> Cecil to Sussex, 14 Dec. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus V.XIII, no. 21, xv).

<sup>236</sup> Elizabeth to Sussex, 17 Dec. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz. 63/4, no. 79).



The letter was drafted by Cecil, who said that the letters from Sussex did not make clear 'how Shane and you be accorded, neither how Armagh is left, nor who cometh with him'. He had great trouble getting Sussex leave to come home, even with the whole council behind him. The earl was to !... furnish yourself with good matter to execute the lack that is found in this last year's service...'.<sup>237</sup>

In answer to Cecil's first complaint on 14 December Sussex stated that a packet of letters had been lost at sea in a storm. He might have added that on occasion Shane had intercepted letters. Since he had just returned from the midlands he reported in detail on his visit.

Sir, at my coming into Leix and Offaly I perused the books made by the surveyor and others appointed by commission to survey and take an office of all the lands belonging to the O Mores, O Conors, etc., and given to the queen's majesty by act of parliament, and finding some negligence therein I took order for a new survey to be taken and gave instructions for the office to be penned in better sort for the queen that it was then devised, for the doing whereof I appointed Henry Draycott to be in that commission. Upon return whereof into the exchequer which I look will be the 4th of January, I intend presently to proceed into the full settling of those countries by passing of every man's state under the great seal'.<sup>238</sup>

In fact it was to be another year before such a step was taken, and in the meantime the settlers marked time.

Cecil had continued to keep Throckmorton informed of the adverse course of events in Ireland. Now Shane was expected accompanied by Kildare. He anticipated that Shane and Sussex would complain of each other, for the latter 'hath licence to come hither. Who shall succeed him I know not, if it be not Sir H. Sidney'.<sup>239</sup> Such was the first reference to Sussex's possible recall. Three days later Sir Nicholas Wotton was even more succinct.<sup>240</sup> The queen was receiving

<sup>237</sup>Cecil to Sussex, 18 Dec. (B.M., COTT. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21).

<sup>238</sup>Sussex to Cecil, 20 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/4 no. 81).

<sup>239</sup>Cecil to Throckmorton, 22 Dec. (B.M., Add. MS 35, 830).

<sup>240</sup>Wotton to Throckmorton, 25 Dec. 1561 (ibid.).



O'Neill in order to honour the agreement, and some saw good coming of the visit, which he could not.

To be plain with you it seemeth ever to me to be a great shame for us, that the crown of England having been conquerors in Ireland these four hundred years well near, could not all this while bring that realm to a good civility and obedience, nor take some honest commodity and profit of that country, so good and so fruitful'.

Cecil told Sussex how several members of the privy council 'and poor 2' received Shane and lectured him well, but promised to intercede with Elizabeth.<sup>241</sup> The secretary added that 'I thought meet that his submission should be both in Irish and English', an idea which gave rise to the flamboyant scene which opened Shane's visit to England, the details of which are recorded elsewhere.<sup>242</sup> Cecil also looked for the arrival of Sussex, though the lieutenant did not sail from Ireland until 16 January 1562, leaving Fitzwilliam behind him as lord justice.<sup>423.</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Cecil to Sussex, 7 Jan. 1562 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XIII, no. 21, xvii).

<sup>242</sup> Bagwell, Tudors, ii, 33-40, and James Hogan 'Shane O'Neill comes to the Court of Elizabeth' in Seamus Pender [ed.], Feilscribhinn Torna Essay and Studies presented to Professor Tadhg Ua Donnchadha (Cork, 1947) pp. 154-170.

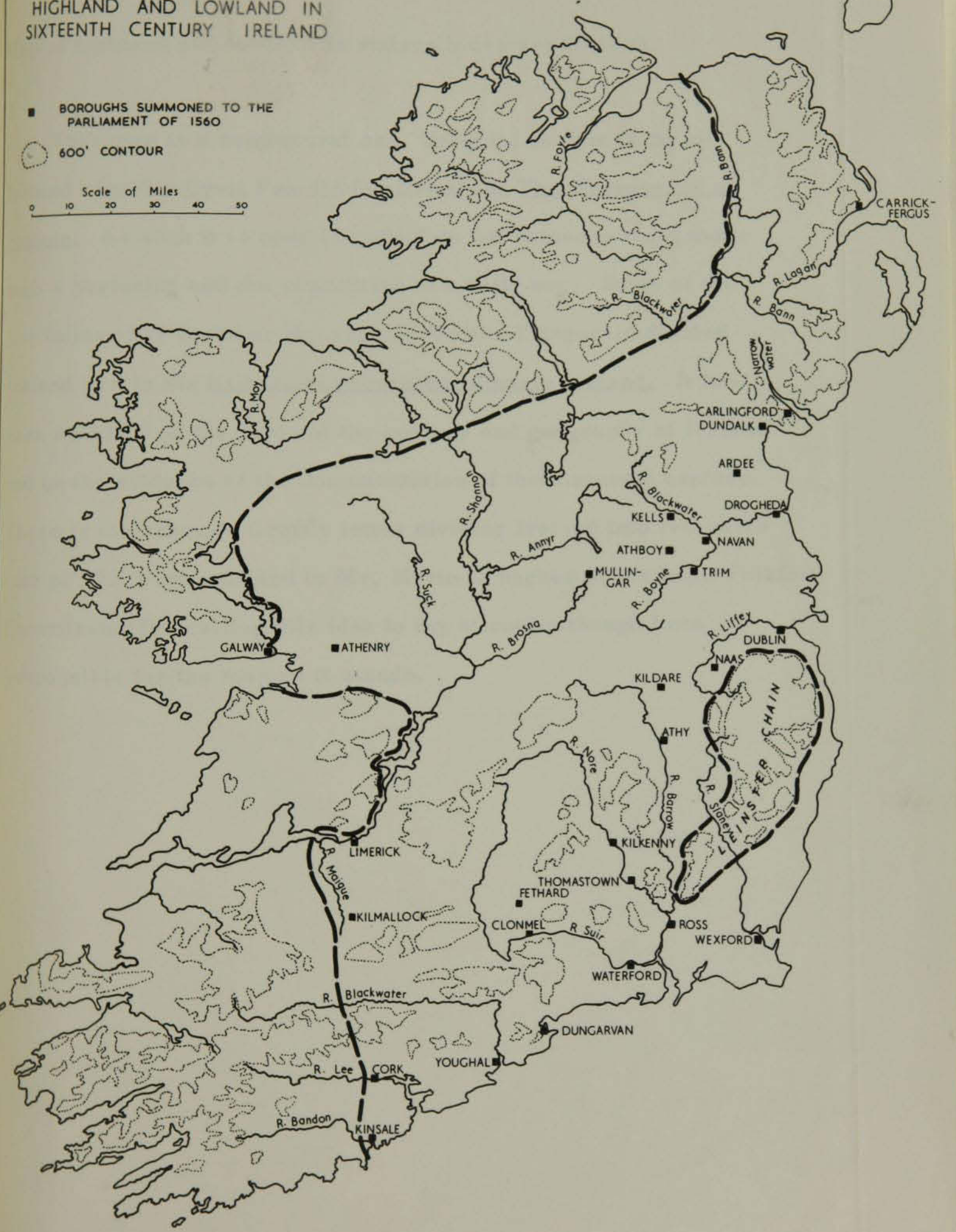
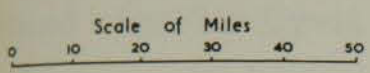
<sup>243.</sup> Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz., p. 467.



# HIGHLAND AND LOWLAND IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY IRELAND

■ BOROUGHS SUMMONED TO THE PARLIAMENT OF 1560

○ 600' CONTOUR





## APPENDIX I

Map of highland and lowland in sixteenth century Ireland.

This map is a conjectural one, designed in part to do for Ireland what Sir Cyril Fox did for Britain in The Personality of Britain. As such it is open to criticism but someone must make such a beginning and the conception is a valid one. Some of the line followed is based on the regions Walter Fitzgerald divided Ireland into in his Historical geography of early Ireland. It has been modified on the basis of the geology and geography of Ireland and on the evidence of the documentation of the sixteenth century. There is for example Croft's letter dividing Ireland into two parts (see p. ). I am indebted to Mr. Kevin Danagher of the Irish Folklore Commission for calling this idea to my attention though I am responsible for the map as it stands.







APPENDIX II

Map of the English pale.

This map is based on the only two pieces of contemporary documentation that exists for defining the pale as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The material for 1475-7 and 1487-8 in Archbishop Alen's register (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1951) on pages 250-51 has been checked with the original manuscript which is on loan to the Trinity College, Dublin, Manuscript Division. The names given in the original bounds of 1475-7 are followed by the additions of an act of 1488<sup>1</sup>, mostly in the region immediately south of Dublin.

Names of places on the bounds of the pale given in the 1475-7 description:

Ballybotir	-	Booterstown [castle]
Myrriyong	-	Merrion [castle]
Tanelaght	-	Tallaght
Belgard	-	Belgard castle
Tassagard	-	Tassaggart, north of Saggart
Lordshipp of the Newcastell		
Castell warnyng	-	Castlewarden
Ballymore	-	Ballymore Eustace
Avenlyfye	-	Liffey river
Clane	-	Clane
Maynam	-	Mainham
Rye, waters of	-	Rye Water
Kylcocke	-	Kilcock
Ballyfeghane	-	Balfeghan, church and townland
paroch of Laracorr	-	Laracor

1

See note, p. 42, in Agnes Conway, Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, confirming the parliament of 1488.



Bedloweston by Boyne	-	Bellowstown townland
Blackwater	-	Athboy, Trembletown river
Athboy	-	Athboy
Blakcavosy	-	road to Rathmore, Down Survey - hence line shown.
Rathmore	-	Rathmore, abbey and castle
hill of Lyde	-	? hill of Ward
Muldagheheghe	-	? MullaghStones townland
paroche of Daltyn <u>[Taltyn]</u>	-	parish of Teltown
Donapatrike	-	Donaghpatrick
Clongell	-	Clongill
Siddan	-	Siddan
Mandowestowne	-	Mandistown townland
Athirdee	-	Ardee
Dondowgyen, water of	-	Dundalk

Names of places included in the pale in 1488:

Miryonge	-	Merrion
Dodor, water of	-	Dodder river
Tassagarde	-	Tassaggart, north of Saggart,
Rathcowle	-	Rathcoole
Kilhele	-	Killhill, Down Survey - Kilteel
Rathmor	-	Rathmore
Ballymor	-	Ballymore Eustace
Ballycutlane	-	map in Lewis, 1837, Cotlandstown
Harristown	-	Harristown
Naas	-	Naas
Clane	-	Clane
Kilbege	-	Killbegge, Down Survey - Killybegs
Kilcocke	-	Kilcock
Dalkey	-	Dalkey
Carrikbrenan	-	Brenanstown
Newton	-	Newtown townland, near Stepside



Rochestown	-	Rochestown
Clonken	-	Clonkeen
Smotheston	-	Smothescourt - Simmonscourt
Ballybotur	-	Booterstown
Thorne Castell	-	near highway from Dublin to Dalkey, 1463 - Thornecastle
Black rock	-	Blackrock

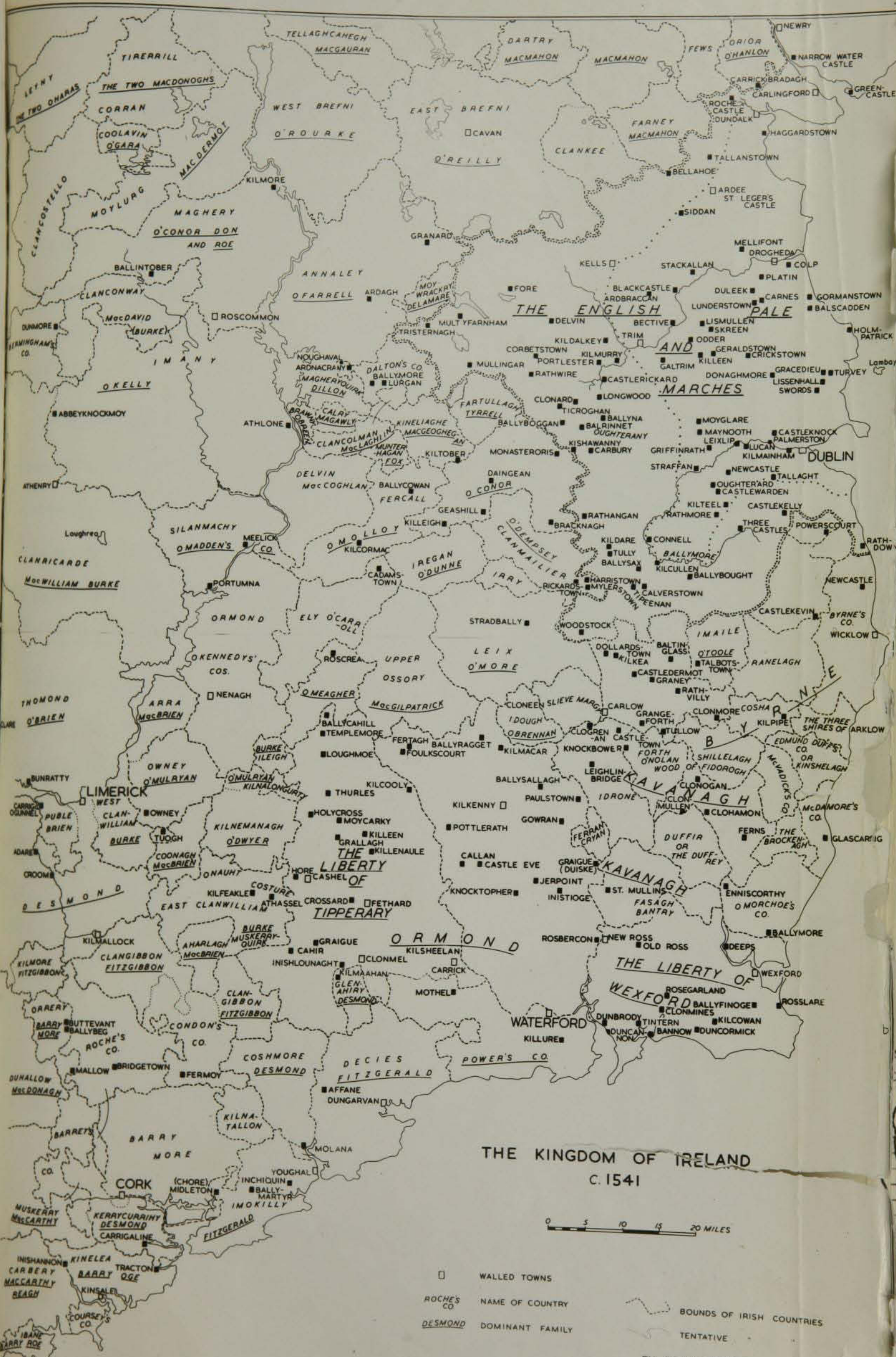
Names given on the bounds<sup>2</sup> of the pale in 1515:

Doundalke	-	Dundalk
Derver	-	Darver
Ardye	-	Ardee
Sydan	-	Siddan
Kenlys	-	Kells
Dengle	-	Dangan
Kylcoke	-	Kilcock
Clanne	-	Clane
Nasse	-	Naas
the Bryge of Cucullyn	-	Kilcullen
Ballymore	-	Ballymore Eustace
Ramore	-	Rathmore
Rathcoule	-	Rathcoole
Talaght	-	Tallaght
Dalky	-	Dalkey

Taken in their documentary context these places are used to describe the same basic line in different ways. Geography was an important factor as is indicated on the map. The English pale is a subject for a specialised paper. I have done some investigation on the ground but a great deal more needs to be done.

<sup>2</sup>  
'State of Ireland' c. 1515 (S.P. Hen. VIII, ii, 1-31).





THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND  
c. 1541



- WALLED TOWNS
- ROCHE'S CO NAME OF COUNTRY
- DESMOND DOMINANT FAMILY
- BOUNDS OF IRISH COUNTRIES
- TENTATIVE

BY DEAN G. WHITE & KENNETH NICHOLLS



### APPENDIX III

#### Map of the kingdom of Ireland, c. 1541

This map is an attempt to show in detail the major portion of Ireland that is treated in this work at the time that the island was proclaimed a kingdom. Of necessity the information for delineating the Irish territories comes from many sources, not all of them of 1541 date.

The English pale has been explained in appendix II. The marches around it are based on the baronies which paid subsidy in the early sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>. The lists of them are remarkably uniform and give a clear indication of the areas which were sufficiently connected with the Dublin government to pay their taxes.

Beyond lay the Irish territories or 'countries' or the liberties and Anglo-Irish lordships. Leix, Offaly, and Clanmalier are based on the extensive material relating to their plantation which will be given in later appendices. This material has enabled me to establish the elusive boundaries of Clanmalier with some accuracy. For the other territories and countries I have had the extensive help of Mr. Kenneth Nichols of the Dublin Institute of Advanced Study.

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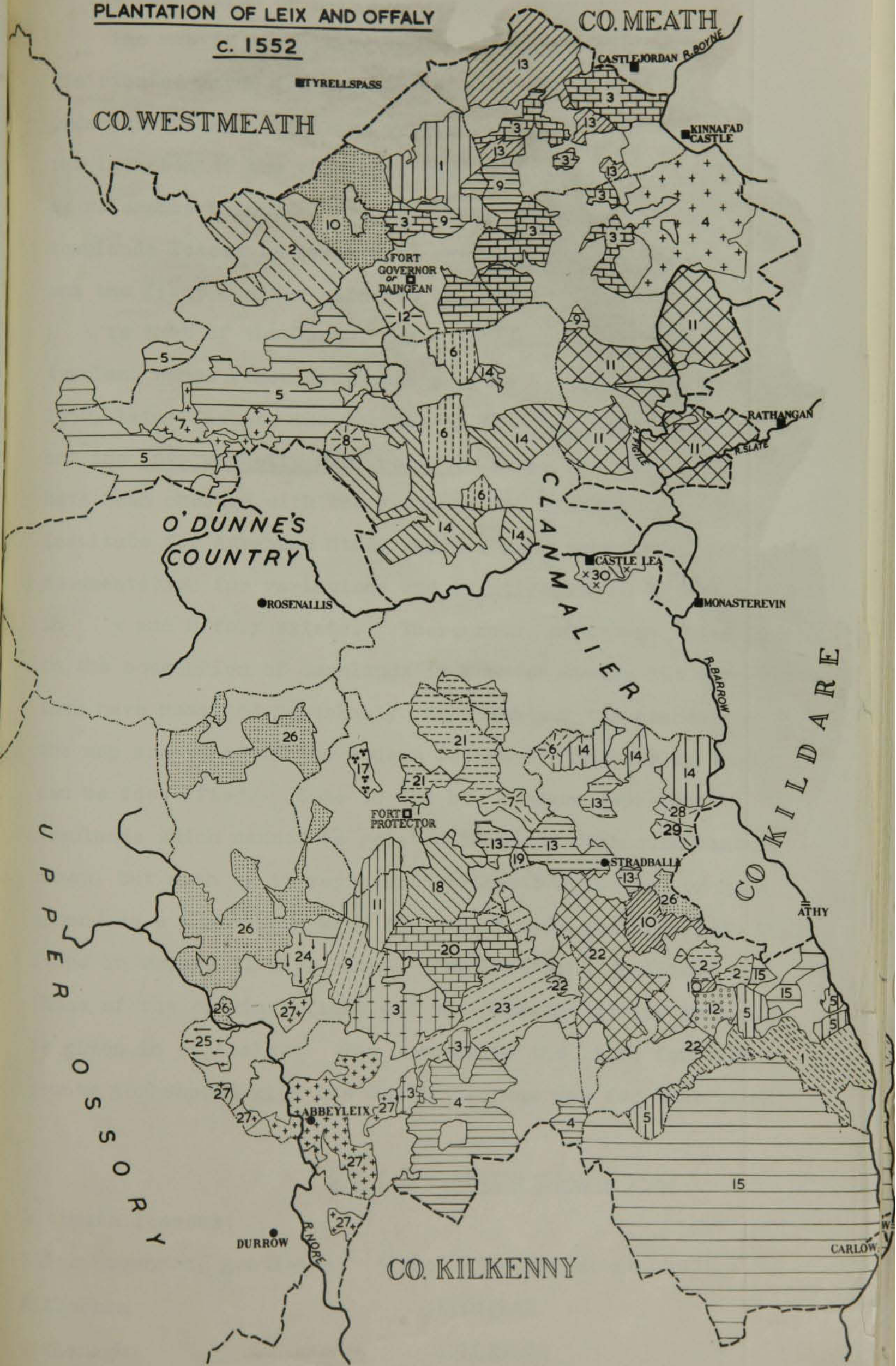
1

See the appendices in D. B. Quinn, 'The Irish parliamentary subsidy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,' R. I. A. Proc., vol. 42, sect. C, pp. 219-246 (1935).



PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY

c. 1552





#### APPENDIX IV

The plantation of Leix and Offaly, c. 1552.

The map of the plantation as the townlands were distributed among the holders about 1552 is based on the Irish Ordnance Survey's one inch townland index maps. Aside from the location of the two forts the other place-names are given as reference points. The information for identifying the townlands leased is taken from the Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, and the fiant numbers refer to that work. The date preceding is that of the lease. The information for changes in townland names comes from such sources as Cowley's survey of 1550, later fiants, the volumes of the Cal. pat. rolls Ire., and the Inf. cancell. Hib. repert. These identifications have been checked with the files of Mr. Liam Price in The Dublin Institute for Advanced Study where a much more detailed documentation for variations and identifications of place-names in Leix and Offaly exists. There have, of course, been changes in the boundaries of townlands in four centuries but many of them have remained remarkably constant and the boundaries on the map are those of the modern townlands, insofar as they can be identified. Some of the blank space represents townlands which cannot be related to their sixteenth century names, but much of it represents either bog, woods, or high ground as a comparison with the map of Leix and Offaly in 1571 found in volume II will show. The left hand spellings are those of the original fiant and the Ordnance Survey spelling is given in capitals. The numbers in the lists for each county correspond with the numbers on the map for that county.

#### LEIX : LEASES 1551 - 1552

Ultimate lessees:

Giles Hovenden, gentleman. 3 Dec. 1549 (fiant no. 407).

Kilbobban

KILABBAN

Cowlenagh

CULLENAGH

TanARDISTON

TANKARDSTOWN



Skeanaghe SKEHANAGH  
 Ballylyan BALLYLEHANE LOWER  
 [Mears and bounds indicate that Killeen and Togherclonpiers,  
 now Clonpierce, was also included, and which half of  
 Ballylehanē] KILLIN CLONPIERCE  
 Cowlgarran COOLGARRAGH  
 Biellanegarran BALLYNAGARR  
 the Breanagh  
 alias Brackanagh - [Bracknagh]  
 Ballyntagert - [Ballinteggard]  
 Garrynarhout [Garrymealon, Garrymirlon]  
 [Both from 1637, '46 inquis. which also give Killebane  
 al' Ballywhite al' Ballyfoyle, thus including latter] BALLYFOYLE

William Gerbard 10 Feb., 20 Feb., 1551 ( fiants nos. 662, 712 )

Ballyadam BALLYADAMS  
 Kyleganard KILLEGANARD ) to Peppard  
 Downbryn DUNBRIN, UPPER & LOWER )  
 Ragilberte RATHGILBERT  
 Kilmokidde [Killmahide, Killmohyde, - Killonahide] KILMALEED (Ruined) in west of MOUNTEAGLE, O.S. 6"  
 Aghetobhidde [Aghatubbred, Ballentubbred, in seq. 1637]  
 [in marches of ... (4 townlands)] ? SOUTHFIELD

Richard Masterson. gentleman. Aug. 1551 (fiant no. 838).  
 (From leases of Wm Hidney, 12, 15 Feb. 1551).

Ballyroyne BALLYROAN  
 Ballewoiler BALLYRUIN ?  
 Ballerouinemone  
 Caishell CASHEL To Bellingham  
 Killolan  
 Colonaghe CULLENAGH To Bellingham  
 Dowary DOOARY  
 Clonecullan CLONCULLAN  
 Mondhowe )  
 Balligegill [Ballenegall] ) MOUNTEAGLE Down Survey confirms.



Ballyendown

3.

Tlower /Tullyore al' Tullymore/

TULLORE

Clonetekwo

CLONTYCOE

Balleffeckas

BALLYPICKAS, UPPER & LOWER

Lysvegune

LISBIGNEY To Kyng

Ballyvane /Ballyvenas -or-  
Ballybane 1633/

4) Richard Mainwaring. gentleman. Signed by Croft (fiant no. 1145).

(From lease of Robert St Leger, 15 Feb. 1551. See fiants nos.

684, 768).

Castelton /Castlemoat 1607/

MOAT

the Graige

GRAIGUE

Kylnesian

KILNASHANE

Kilcronan

KILCRONAN

Kilrushe

KILRUSH

Bowleyeneynbane

BOLEYBAWN

Bowlebege

BOLEYBEG

Disart /1563 map, 18th cent. map of  
Church ruin/

KEELAGH ?

Graigenehawon)

GRAIGUENAHOWN

Roscaisshill )

coupled in 17th cen, inquis.

Graigenesmottan)

GRAIGUENASMUTTAN

Doghill )

coupled in 17th cen. inquis.

Lisocoman

LISNAGOMAN

Cnockardocurre

KNOCKARDOGUR

Moad

MOYADD

Clooke /Clohoge/

CLOGHOGE

Anthony Colclough. gentleman. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 697).

moieties in

Ballylenan

BALLYLYAN

Tankardiston

TANKARDSTOWN with Hovenden

Ballylyan

BALLYLEHANE UPPER

whole towns of

Aghenor

AGHANURE

Kilnelrowne /Kilmolrone 1600, etc./

KILMORONY

/Other townlands listed which seem to be in co. Kildare/.



- (6) Humphrey Hazelwood, soldier. 15 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 686).  
 Killone KILLONE  
 Kilmore KILMURRY to Cosby.
- (7) Robert Quicke, soldier. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 694).  
 Ballykarroll BALLYCARROLL
- (8) Hugh Johns, yeoman. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 695).  
 Kilnebron  
 Dysert ? DYSART, MARLBOROUGH EAST  
 [no lordship given] [ruined church in Dysart O.S.6"]
- (9) Thomas Smythe, gentleman. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 696).  
 Kiltibrionyn [1551 Knockbrack al']  
 [Kiltybriny 1567]  
 Colte COLT [see Kyng]  
 Rancollenan RAHEEN
- (10) John Thomas, alias Bowen. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 698).  
 Ballyntobbryd BALLINTUBBERT  
 Ballytarse alias Cronaghe CRANNAGH  
 Ballyntlegerrot BALLINTLEA  
 Ikalle  
 Dirrenrow [mistake for Dirremowe] FALLAGHMORE
- (11) Henry Barrett, soldier. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 701).  
 Clonaddyonoran CLONADDADORAN  
 Kylbry [Kilbride 1556]  
 Tyawer TOGHER
- (12) Thomas Crowcher, soldier. 17 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 704).  
 Ballynemolyn MILLTOWN  
 Raynroan RAHIN



(13) Thomas Jacob, gentleman. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 699).

Stradbally /ēnd lands, and buildings/	STRADBALLY
Nowaghwane /Noghvale 1596, Noughwall 1607/	OUGHAVALL
Parke	PARK UPPER AND LOWER
Grange	GRANGE UPPER & LOWER
Rayndowe	RAHEENDUFF
Ballegorbannagh	
Ballynolan	BALLYNOLAN
Kyllrowry	KILRORY
Ballynerean	
Glasfynnoke	

(14) Francis Cosby, gentleman. 15 March 1551 (fiant no. 724).

Kilmore	KILMURRY
Derrewreke	DERRYBROCK
Downderrewollyn	
Moyanne	MOYANNA
Rakree	RATHCREA
Garrywadoke	GARRYMADDOCK
Kledowe /Cloduff, 1596, 1631, Cleduff 1646/	? BALLYDUFF
Ballenevicare	VICARSTOWN

(15) Walter Peppard, gentleman. 5 April 1551 (fiant no. 740).

/He also got Slievemargy after Brian Jonys, via fiant no. 1184

7 Nov. 1552/

Downbrene	DOWNBRIN, UPPER & LOWER
Kilgaynard	KILLYGANARD
Miche Shangan	SHANGANAGH MORE
Lyttel Shangan	SHANGANAGH BEG
Lyttel Grage	GRAIGUE

(16) Thomas Flody, soldier. 18 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 709).

Cowlrayne /Colarne 1556 Cowlarne, Cowlarane, Coolarne,	
--	--



(17) John Dunkerley, soldier. 20 Feb. 1551 (fiant No. 713).

Clonereir

CLONREHER

(18) Henry Wyse, Esq., captain in the fort at Leix. 24 Feb. 1551  
(fiant no. 716).

Ballynockan

BALLYKNOCKAN

Ballihilan

BALLYHEYLAND

Ballycarnan

BALLYCARNAN

Kilcolmanbane

KILCOLMANBANE

Cowlkrey / Coulacreda 1556  
al' Coolkey 1607 /

/ 18th cent. map, 1805 map  
bottom of / DERRY

Kappeowley

CAPPOLEY

To Randolph

Ballygoelle / Balligormill 1624 /

BALLYGORMILL

Kilbean

? KILVAHAN

To Bellingham

Ráleige

RATHLEAGUE

(19) Thomas Padge and John Ley: 18 Mar. 1551 (fiant no. 727).

Lyaghdi in Ferran & Lawlor  
/ Loghahoe, 1805 map /

LOUGHEKOE

(20) John Bellingham, gentleman. 24 Aug. 1551 (fiant no. 830).

Colonagh

CULLENAGH

Caissell

CASHEL

Balleyllan

BALLYHEYLAND

Ballyvan

? KILVAHAN

Kryworgan

CREMORGAN

(21) Ralph Bagenal, knight 17 Feb., 6 Nov. 1551 (fiants nos.  
703, 896).

Eyen

EYNE

Scrobo

STRABOE

Syan

SHAEN

Raetyvyn

RATHEVEN

Cowlbanghell

COOLBANAGHER

Kilbanen

? KILLEEN or KILLEENLYNAGH

Kylnewarre



Davidston alias Ballydae	BALLYDAVIS
Rabreny	RATHBRENNAN
Buryes	GREAT, LITTLE BORRIS

2) Sir John Travers, knight. 10 April 1551 (fiant no. 741).

Corraghe /āl' Luggechurry 1612/	LUGGACURREN
---------------------------------	-------------

Ballykeghe

Powkiscastell /Cloughpooke 1623/	CLOPOOK
----------------------------------	---------

Tonetieloan /Tomelevane/	TOMOCLAVIN
--------------------------	------------

Nynaghe /Nenaghe al' Gowlyn/	GUILEEN
------------------------------	---------

Ballacolan	BALLYCOOLAN
------------	-------------

Tiemoke /Tymoke/	TIMOGUE
------------------	---------

Ballynesiskyn	BALLINTESKIN
---------------	--------------

Priorston	BALLYPRIOR
-----------	------------

Ballehee /āl' Aylybegg, Foillibeg/	FALLOWBEG
---------------------------------------	-----------

Glaishgonne	? CLASHBOY
-------------	------------

Inchenelaaghe	INCH
---------------	------

Ynnailebege

Ballykogho

Killekille	? KYLE
------------	--------

Tiecalme /and Corbally, and in it/	CORBALLY
------------------------------------	----------

Raaspicke	RATHASPICK
-----------	------------

Ballycoronan	BALLYGORMAN
--------------	-------------

Schanruolyn	OLD MILL
-------------	----------

Loghtrodey

Kilcromyn /Kilcromen 1607/	
----------------------------	--

Monnenenawen /Mollyreknawe 1556 al' Mullinneknaw 1607/	
--	--

3) Edward Randolph, gentleman c. Feb. 1552 (fiant no. 1131)

Tymochoo al' Tymaghoo	TIMAHOE
-----------------------	---------

Rayndowe	RAHEENDUFF, BIG & LITTLE
----------	--------------------------

Ballynecloo	BALLINACLOUGH, UPPER & LOWER
-------------	------------------------------

Raynebarrowe /Rathnebarrow/ - /Rathnebarron, 1608/	Moat in BALLINACLOUGH LOWER
---	-----------------------------

Garryglass	GARRYGLASS
------------	------------



Esker parke	ESKER
Fosse	FOSSY, UPPER & LOWER
Y <u>[/mone]</u>	MONEY, UPPER & LOWER
Ballygormille	BALLYGORMILL, NORTH & SOUTH

---

Inneskyrecline

[/Moone]

Clonenrocke ]

Ballyegg

Ballyvogh

Rathynne

---

Garreglass	repeated ?
Ballyntlewn	BALLINTLEA, UPPER & LOWER
Ballynesere <u>[/Ballyseare]</u>	
Ballycowke <u>[/Ballykayerke 1556]</u> ? CARRIGEEN	
Belleclare <u>[/Ballyfarra]</u>	
Iskyer <u>[/Eskerbegge]</u>	

(24) Donyll McShane [/MacGilpatrick] 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 700).  
(Reduced one townland by 25, and several others by Fay).

Killinegoade

Clonehere

Kiltebronyn                      UPPER DERRYKEARN.              To Kyng

Raincollan                      RAHEENCULLENAGH              to Smythe

Closcollan                      CLOOSECULLEN

Arlyen                      ARDLEA

Tinnekillle                      TINNAKILL

Attydoe

Indowne                      DOONE

(25) Collaghe McTyrrelaghe [/MacDonnell?] 16 Mar. 1551 (fiant no. 725)  
Killeyne                      KILLEANY

(26) Edmund Fay, captain of the king's kerne. 24 Mar. 1551  
(fiant no. 736)

Clonegawne                      CLONYGOWAN



Clonnamona	COOLNAMONA
Clonenaghe	CLONENAGH
Ballyfien	BALLYFIN, B'UPPER, B'DEMESNE
Cloughclone	? CAMCLOON
Clonanne	CLONAGH

---

Clonaddeokais	CLONADACASEY
Kappelaghyn	CLONARD OR CAPPALOUGHLIN
Roskiltane	ROSSKELTON
Tromre	TRUMRA
Ballynemoddoghe	BALLYNAMUDDAGH
Moyenrae	MOUNTRATH

---

Dirrinrwo	KELLYVILLE
Kyleclere <u>Drumnene, Car. I</u>	DRUMNEEN
Kiltegan <u>Ballynakiltigan</u>	

27) Matthew Kyng, gentleman. 4 Feb. 1552 (fiant no. 944).

Site of abbey of Leix, and lands in town\*of abbey of Leix.  
\* almost certainly includes Tyllyroe O.S. 6"

lands of Dromaclowe in Clonkyne CLONKEEN

Ralyshe	RALISH
Ravele alias Rathvoyle	RATHMOYLE
Ly enoboghot alias Lisvigyn	LISBIGNEY
the half of Clownecore	? CLOGHACHAW
Clonejohne	CLOURHAUN
Dirrelaon	DERRYLAHAN
Clonaghill in Cloghoke	CLONOGHIL
Knockbrake alias Kiltibreny	<u>Kyletabreehon, 1805 map</u> <u>upper part of Derrykearn O.S. 6"</u>
Rahynconogher Duff called Ollurdluighe	RAHEEN DUFF

28) John Glacters and Wm. Glacters, brother. 12 Feb. 1551 (fiant  
 No. 674).

Edward Glacters, soldier, Girton

All their townlands seem to have been absorbed by Cosby's lease,  
 except Ballymanus, yet they are stated - 1556 - to have had  
 farms before.



(29) Thomas Apoell, soldier. 1550 (fiant no. 710).

Bawen	BAWN
Moynefoiricke	MONAFERRICK
Ballocowlyn,	
in p. of Curraclone.	

OFFALY: LEASES 1551 - 1552

(1) Nicholas Burrell. 10 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 663).

Croghan	OLD CROGHAN, CROGHAN DEMESNE, CROGHAN HILL.
Fyremore $\sqrt{\text{Fyermore 1633}}$ $\sqrt{\text{Aghmore in S \& D}}$	? AGHMORE
Ballynacaslane $\sqrt{\text{Castleton al'}}$ ? COOLE young Coolyeston $\sqrt{1633}$	
Couloncknappy $\sqrt{\text{Comlenknapparie}}$ $\sqrt{1633}$	
Ballynowle $\sqrt{\text{Killmakelly al'}}$ Ballynakelly $\sqrt{1633}$	in CROGHAN HILL, 6" O.S.
Kilcroboy	KILCORBRY
Tullaghe $\sqrt{\text{Tolloghcowle,}}$ castr'd Togher, <u>in seq.</u> $\sqrt{1612}$	BARRYSBROCK, 6" O.S.
Ballynloghan $\sqrt{\text{Ballylagh 1633}}$ Ballylogan S & D	
Kyllnokylle	CANNAKILL
Ballybeggo	BALLYBEG
Ballyfoyre	BALLYFORE
Glanbobban $\sqrt{\text{Gleancobban,}}$ Cowley Glangoban - Cowley	

(2) Edward Dickson of Jordanstown. 15 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 689).

Rathdrum	RATHDRUM
Brackland	BRACKLIN, BIG, LITTLE
Kilmore	KILMURRY
Rathcollomkille	Absorbed, above, and below.
Dyregrogan	DERRYGROGAN, BIG, LITTLE
Ballytogo	BALLYTEIGE, BIG, LITTLE
Ballychomon	BALLYCOMMON



Ballym 'morietaque

Anaghfeyre

COLEHILL

Towardon  
alias Lowrdane

(3)

(3) John Wakely. 15 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 687).

Cowlecorr, with hamlets

COOLCOR

of Sraa and Gortnedarragh

SRAH now in GARR

Ballybyrle, with hamlets of

Ballyclyn and Gurtyr

BALLYBURLEY

Killeone, with hamlet of

Corycharbre

KILLOWEN

Clonmorenegawle

CLONEMORE

Ballyrysterd

BALLYSTRIG

Ballynlac

BALLINLA

Ballynlacken

BALLYLEAKIN

Ballymoran

BALLYMORAN

Rathcoulebreckan

RATHCLONBRACKAN

Clonmeane & Ballynnowe

CLONMEEN  
? NEWTOWN, and BALLYHUGH,  
and BALLYHUGH OR SPRINGFIELD

Drumka

DRUMCAW

Killoysshell

KILLESHIL

Loghe [alias Phillipstown 1563]

Clonarre

CLONARROW

Clonyrelaghe

CLONEARL

(4) Nicholas Herbert. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 691).

Monasteroris, site of

and lands of same

MONASTERORIS

with hamlet of

Ballycoyllon [Ballycoyllane, Culliane  
S. & D]

? BALLYKILLEN

Eidinderre

EDENDERRY

Clonmelane [Clonmolan, S. & D]

Clonmullan, in EDENDERRY

Ballycolgyn

BALLYCOLGAN

Drumcule [Drumcoke]

DRUMCOOLEY



with hamlets of

{ Cloncamen /Cloncannon/	CLONCANON
{ Codde /Codde/	CODD
{ Syan /Syano/	SHEAN
{ Ballenokylle	BALLYNAKILL
Ballynamon	BALLYNANUM
(5) Patrick Sherlock. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 690).	
Killowrin and Dromrasse	KILLURIN and ROSS
Gurtinnocloghelioghe /Gurtyne in Clogher, Cowley/	GORTEEN
Ballyvalle /Ballynvalle/	BALLINVALLY
Ballysraa /Ballyfrac/	BALLYNASRAH
Ballylewon	BALLYLEVIN
Dongenrewekan /Dongenrowkan/	DANGANBEG
Ballyhawelleightyre /Ballyhawell Eightiraght/	
Ballyhawellwughterath /alias Grange/	BALLYAVILLE
Ballycollen /Ballycollen & Cloncowyr/	BALLYCOLLIN
Clonecower	CLONCOHER
Aghinrush	AGHANRUSH
Ballynowne /Ballynnowe/	NEWTOWN, S. & D.
Killollyr /Kilcollyr/	KILLELLERY
Corraa	CURRAGH
Shrad-ne-cloryghe	GLEBE EAST
Graygoveran	GRAIGUE
Killenmor /Kyllenemor/	Killeenmore
Tysker /the Isker/	? Glenisk in NEWTOWN
Leghguybefry /Leegwyvefryne, Leigniowefray 1613/	MEELAGHANS ?
Castelgeishell	GEASHILL
Graige /Graige 1620/	
Dalgyn /Graigue & Dalkyn/	DALGAN
Ballendowe	BALLYDUFF SOUTH
Ballekee	BALLYCUE
Beallanegar /Biallaecar/	BALLINAGAR



Kappenebrehownri /Keappetiebrehowne  
& Kappeheeroo/

Kappe Heeroo	CAPPANAGEERAGH
Biellaghobbirleyn / <sup>alias</sup> Toberleheen 1.20/	TOBERLEHEEN
Clonomrishe	CLONMINCH
Ballynknockan	BALLYKNOCKAN
Rahyndowe /Raendowe/	RAHEENDUFF
Anaghforway	ANAGHARVEY
Beallaghymoyne	BALLYMOONEY

- (6) Oliver Sutton. 16 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 693).  
Reconfirmed. Undated, signed by Croft (fiant no. 1143). The first three townlands included three of O Dempsey's castles, The Sconce, and the sub-townland called Clanmalier.

Kylcowne	KILCOONEY
Ballykene	BALLYKEAN
Gortyn Emenan /Gurtinemanan 1617, Gurtiremanan S. & D./	GORTEEN KEEL
Ballynekille	BALLYNAKILL
Kilkappaghe	KILCAPPAGH

- (7) Francis Ley. 18 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 708).  
Nunnery and friary of Kill KILLEIGH  
(and Finter - fiand no. 1324. Eliz.)

- (8) John Ley. 18 Feb. 1551. (fiant no. 711).  
Ardeneryn /Ard, S. & D./ ARD  
(other townlands absorbed by Robson. Ley was the only planter who also had a lease in Leix).

- (9) Anthony March. 20 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 714).  
Toberdaly TOBERDALY  
Tolghanboyr /Tullaghanboher 1634.  
See 6" O.S./ TOGHER  
Glyncholgen /Ballicolgen/ COLGAGH



Down ↓Dorone↓

DOWN

Gurtyn

GORTEEN

10) Roger Brooke. 23 March 1551 (fiant no. 735).

From lease of William Dickson 15 Feb. cancelled 25 March (fiant no. 688).

Balleone

BALLYOWEN

Bernane, with hamlets

of Fyeryn and Fyrrenerosse

BERNAN

Pottechane

PUTTAGHAN

Kyldowe

KILDUFF

Clone m'ychone

Kilclonfert

KILCLONFERT

Byerneboy

BARNABOY

Ballylenan

BALLYLENNON

Ballynkille, and

Ballynmollen

BALLYMULLAN

11) Roger Fynglas. (fiant nos. 765, 1144), both undated, one signed by St Leger, the other by Croft).

Clanbroke ↓Clonlooke, Cowley↓Clonkyntagh ↓Clonkytaghe, "C"↓

CLONCANT

Ballydermott

Clonkyne

Clonkyne

BALLYDERMOT?  
CLONKEEN

? repeated

Clonmell

CLONMEL

Clonbrone

CLONBROWN

Dyrryboo alias Kylenemoumor

Downan

Clonaddykemorysshe

CLONAD

Clonmore

CLONMORE

Cloncayssen

CLONCASSEN

Clonlake ↓Clonlacke, Cowley↓

? CLONLACK

Kilcomer

KILCUMBER

Cloneboo

CLONAVOE

Ballynollort

BALLINOWLART NORTH



Clanbolge /Clonebolge, S. & D./	CLONBULLOGE
Ballynfollo	BALLYGARRETT ?
Keapaghe	CAPPAGH
Ballyknowlort /Ballynowlort/	BALLINOWLART SOUTH
Mollaghesuytege /Mollaghenyntoge/	KILNAMTOGE, UPPER AND LOWER
Balcroghan /Ballycraghen/	BALLINRAHIN
Ballyncoll /Ballymckoll/	
Ballyshane	BALLYSHANE
Gynbreganeghe /Eynbregganeghe/ - /Breskenagh, Down Survey/	BRACKNAGH
Dyrrenmollen /Derrymollen, S. & D./	DERRYMORE
Clonbroke /Clonknocke, Cowley/	CLONBROCK, UPPER & LOWER
Kylleclonkorky /Killeclonconorboy/	KILCLONCORKRY
Clonbroke	CLONBRIN
Clonchest /Clonsask, Cowley/	CLONSAST, UPPER AND LOWER
12) Thomas Sendall. (fiant no. 766, undated, signed by St Leger).	
Clonadde	CLONAD, barony of Lower Phillipstown.
13) Richard Croft. 22 Aug. 1551 (fiant no. 829).	
Replaced Matthew Kyng, 8 Feb. 1551 (fiant no. 661).	
Ballycorbett	CORBETTSTOWN
with hamlets of	
Kilbride	
Bolemore	? GREEN HILLS
Dirregawne	DERRYGAWNY, in Carrick.
Skeghwallen	? WOOD
Ballyesshell	BALLYHEASHILL
Droyne /Drine, 1623/	KNOCKDRIN
with hamlets of	
Clonane	? CLONIN
Ballythomas /Ballythomas, 1563/	THOMASTOWN
Gearre	GARR

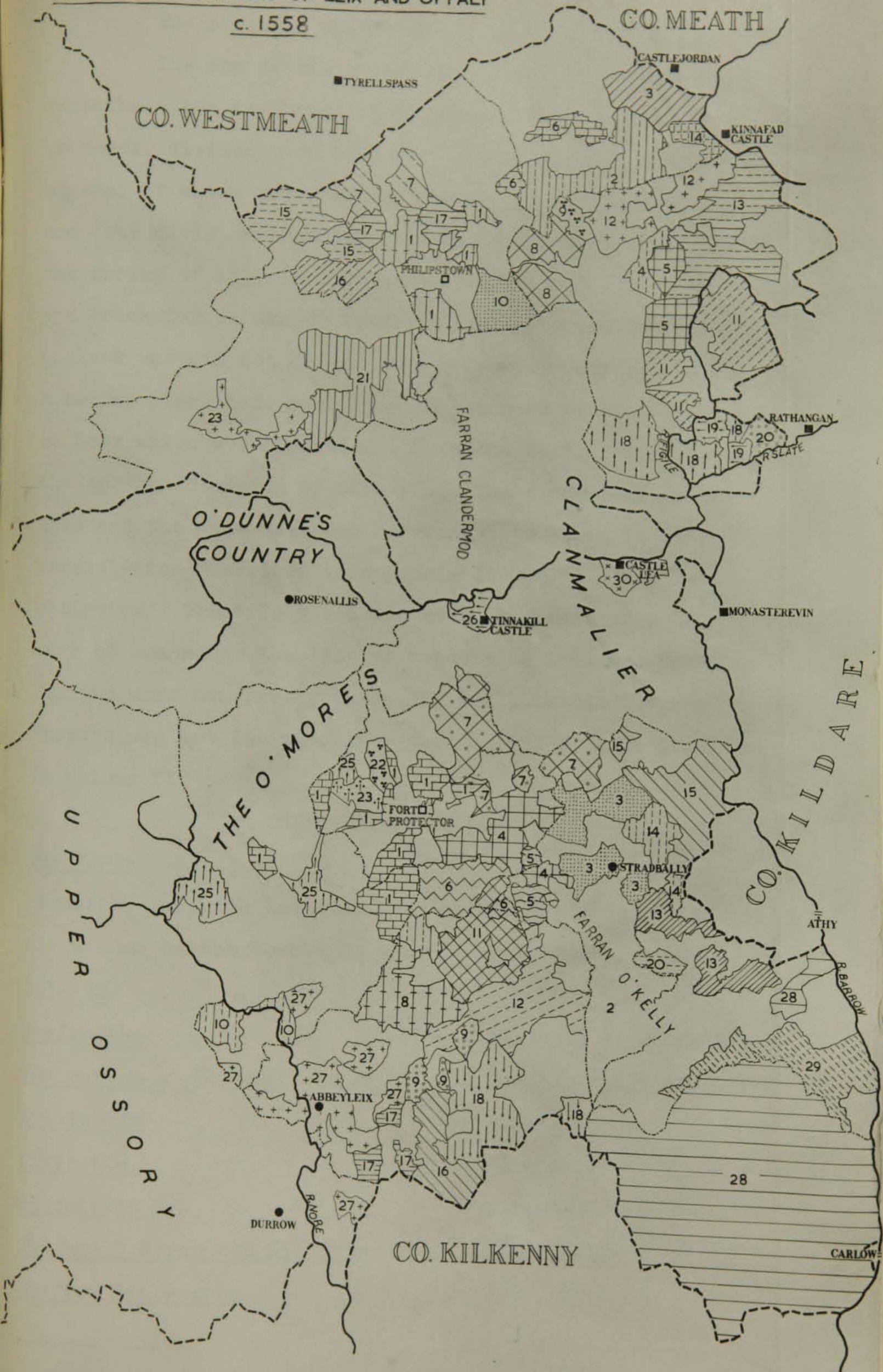


- (14) John Robson . 3 Dec. 1552 (fiant no. 1113).
- Absorbed leases of Thomas Masterson, Richard Pepper,  
17 Feb., 22 Mar. 1551 (fiant nos. 705, 733).
- |   |                |           |
|---|----------------|-----------|
| Clonegannaghe   | CLONYGOWAN     |           |
| Ballem 'Gillecrossan  | BALLYMACROSSAN |           |
| Rany Tirrelaghwalle   | ? RAHEEN       |           |
| Kilkeran  | KILKEERAN      |           |
| Clonecoyn [ <u>Clonyquin</u> ]                                      | CLONYQUIN      |           |
| Kilkappaghe   | KILCAPPAGH     | To Sutton |
| Killeagh al'<br>Ballyneclonaghe [ <u>Ballikiline, S. &amp; D.</u> ] | KILLEEN        |           |
| Ballynekille  | BALLYNAKILL    | To Sutton |
| Ballynetemple<br>in Parish of Dysart                                | BALLINTEMPLE   |           |
| Rahinkeran  | RAHEENAKEERAN  |           |
| Kilclonebrenan [ <u>Kilclonbrennan</u><br>1617]                     |                |           |
| Enaghan   | ENAGHAN        |           |
| Norney [ <u>Urney</u> ]   | URNEY          |           |
| Kilrapiston not in inquis., or<br>S. & D. but church ruin in:       |                |           |
| Cloneorke [ <u>Clonyhurk</u> ]                                      | CLONYHURK      |           |
| Kilmiclege<br>al' Shanelongirt [ <u>Kilmalogue</u> ]                | KILMALOGUE     |           |



PROPOSED PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY

c. 1558





The proposed plantation of Leix and Offaly, c. 1558.

The map of the plantation as Sussex proposed to distribute the townlands among the holders is based on a document, divided into two parts and separated in the state papers, of which the headings are the 'consignation of Leix'<sup>1</sup> and 'the division of Offaly'.<sup>2</sup> The origins of these papers in the spring of 1557 is discussed in chapter VIII. The headings and bracketed columns of townland names for Leix were done by a clerk who did not always copy correctly what was before him. A second clerk made additions to the work of the first clerk on Leix which are indicated ( ) in the text. He also did the entire 'division of Offaly'. The expansions are routine ones and the text has been rearranged to allow for the same presentation described in Appendix IV but is given in its entirety. The Offaly section gives authority for adding the earl of Ormond to the list of holders in Leix and Hovenden and Peppard were manifestly there as well, though the reasons why Peppard was not included in Sussex's list will be discussed in volume II.

#### CONSIGNATION OF LEIX

##### (1) The Forte

Probably includes lands not definitely assigned to it before, since some of the townlands were in individual leases in

1551-527

Soyfyntyne

included in CLONENAGH

The bunyge - buryge

BORRIS, GREAT AND LITTLE

Kylvinshin

KILMINCHY

Clayruske

CLONROOSK

Bowghelowne

BOGHLONE

Clonaad O Moran and Kilbryde

CLONADDORAN

the two Rosleaghes

ROSS AND ROSSLEAGAN

<sup>1</sup> Placed under Dec. 1556 (P.R.O., SP. Ire., Mary, 62/1, no.21).

<sup>2</sup> Placed under 1562 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., Eliz., 63/7, no. 62).



<u>Tyawer</u>	TOGHER
<u>Dirrirowe</u>	DERRYROE ?
<u>Ballywogan</u>	BALLYTEGAN ?
<u>Caul Kepure</u>	KYLE KIPROE
<u>ij clonmoynawghe</u>	CLONENAGH
<u>clonwoyny</u>	CLONMINAN

---

2) Therle of Kildare (if he will)  
Ferran O Kelly (a whole cuntrey) ( ) added by another clerk.

3) Mr. Tresourer for himself and his band  
Sir Henry Sidney, who came as vice-Treasurer to Ireland in  
the summer of 15567.

<u>Stradbally</u>	STRADBALLY
<u>Ballygarbanaughe</u>	
<u>Rayne duffe</u>	RAHEENDUFF
<u>Ballenowlan</u>	BALLYNOWLAN
<u>Kilrowry</u>	KILRORY
<u>ballyreder and Lawghell</u>	BALLYRIDER
<u>park ballycohnan</u>	PARK, UPPER AND LOWER
<u>nowoughmale</u> <u>Noghwale, 15967</u>	OUGHAVAL
<u>Shane mowlyn</u>	OLDMILL
<u>Bally maddocke</u>	BALLYMADDOCK
<u>Kylmartyre</u>	in BALLYMADDOCK
<u>owghterhiry</u> <u>the Terri'o .y</u>	

---

(4) Captayne williamson for himself and his band

Robert Williamson

<u>Ballycarrell</u>	BALLYCARROLL
<u>Colarne</u>	in BALLYCARROLL ?
<u>Carykene ne Parke</u>	PARK OR DUNAMASE
<u>Rayne in Uske</u>	RAHEENANISKY
<u>Deserte</u>	DYSART



Mollyneknawe / Moanavaw in DYSART

<u>the Derry</u>	DERRY
<u>Kyltyelle</u>	KILTEALE
<u>Kyltyelowghe</u>	KILLALOOGHAN ?
<u>Coulecrede</u>	COOLNACARRICK ?
<u>Ralyege</u>	RATHLEAGUE
<u>Kyllebrone</u>	in DYSART ?

---

(5) Thomas Browne servaunt to the Lord Deputie

<u>Leowhtege</u>	LOUGHTEEOG
<u>monyghe</u>	MONEY
<u>Lewhtredane</u> / Loghtrode 1551, Loghadoe 18th cent., Loghahoe 1805	LOUGHAKEO

---

(6) Shute servaunt to the Lord Deputy and others Joyned with him.

<u>Balleknockane</u>	BALLYKNOCKAN
<u>Bally kernan</u>	BALLYCARNAN
<u>Kylkolmavane</u>	KILCOLMAMBANE
<u>Kappeowle</u>	CAPPOLEY
<u>Ballyhowell</u>	HOPHALL ?
<u>Clonebryke</u>	in BALLYGORMILL SOUTH
<u>Bally gor nylawghe</u>	BALLYGORMILL NORTH

---

(7) Captain Girton for himself and his band

<u>Eyen</u>	EYNE
<u>Strabo</u>	STRABOE
<u>Sheane</u>	SHAEN
<u>Kyllenoughe</u>	KILLENLYNAGH ?
<u>Kylbane</u>	KILLENNY
<u>Kyllynewary</u>	in BALLYDAVIS ?
<u>ballygayer</u>	BALLYCLIDER ?
<u>Rabrenny</u>	RATHBRENNAN



butwyn ∫Raetyvyn 15517

RATHEVEN

Killone

KILLONE

Ballewghe

BALLINLOUGH ?

Kilmore

KILMURRY

rawghlyn Eshyan

RAHEENAHORAN ?

bally homas

BALLYTHOMAS

Dynogaran

DERRYGARRAN

- (8) Masterson who had the same before and served as a peticapteyne. ∫Richard Masterson, a slightly larger lease in August, 15517.

Ballyrowne

BALLYROAN

Ballyornyn

BALLYRUIN

Dowary

DOOARY

Clancolan

CLONCULLAN

Moyndowe )

MOUNTEAGLE

Bally Gegill ∫Ballenagall7)

confirmed by Down Survey.

(9)

- (9) hugh Jones who had a ferme there before

∫Hugh Johns, who had a different lease in February 15517

Bally Feccas

BALLYPICKAS, UPPER AND LOWER

lysegoman

LISNAGOMAN

Clonterowde

CLONTYCOE

- (10) John Glesters and his brother two good souldiours that had fermes before

∫John and William, the surname also being spelled Glaceters, who were given a lease in the Stradbally area in February, 15517.

Casshell

CASHEL

Cappenclowghe

CAPPANACLOGHY

Kylleylan

KILLEANY



(11) Lippiat for himself and his band

<u>Colynaughe</u>	CULLENAGH
<u>Ballyhelan</u>	BALLYHEYLAND
<u>Krymorgan</u>	CREMORGAN
Corcapp	Coal Cappaph, a field in BAUNREE
<u>Rahedowe</u>	RAHEENDUFF
<u>Kylvane</u>	KILVAHAN

---

(12) These remayne unbestowed till answe're be hard from CaptaynRandolph

Edward Randolph, who received the following, and additional lands, in a lease of c. February 1552.

Cyenegowe /Tymochoo alias Tymaghoo 1552/ TIMAHOEBallynecloe BALLINACLOGH, UPPER AND LOWERBallyentle BALLINTLEA, UPPER AND LOWERRainebarron /Raynebarrowe 1552/ Moat in BALLINACLOGH LOWERGaneglasse and Esker parke GARRYGLASSFosse FOSSY, UPPER AND LOWERBallynesier /Ballyseare/Ballykayerke ? CARRIGEENByellaclare /Ballyfarra/Inysker and clynynekene /Eskerbegge,  
Clonekyne/ ESKER(13) John Thomas who hath ever kepte his charge

/a lease of February 1551, slightly altered/.

Bally Adamecum membris

BALLYADAMS

Ragibert

RATHGILBERT

Ballyntobyd

BALLINTUBBERT

Kylleganere

KILLYGANARD

Dyriemowe /Down Survey/

FALLAGHMORE

Ballyntle

BALLINTLEA



(14) Captayn Portas for himself and his men

<u>Ballygillekevan</u>	BALLYKILCAVAN
<u>Kyltyegan</u>	
<u>Kyllpeyshen</u>	
<u>Kyllykylbery</u> /alias Drumneen, 1638/	DRUMNEEN
<u>moneferyke</u>	MONAFERRICK
<u>Ballycowly</u> /alias Inch 1638/	INCH
<u>Coreyle</u> see next lease	
<u>Niggaran</u> /Garrans, 1638/	GARRANS

---

(15) Manwaring for himself and his men

/Richard Mainwaring was given a lease of lordship of Galyn in Croft's deputyship, c. 1552/.

<u>Dirrybrocke</u>	DERRYBROCK
<u>garrewadocke</u>	GARRYMADDOCK
<u>Bally McManus</u>	BALLYMANUS
<u>Bawne</u>	BAWN
<u>Ballynevicar</u>	VICARSTOWN
<u>Kilmohoghe</u>	Kylemahoe in VICARSTOWN (DODD) , 6" O.S.
<u>moyanna</u>	MOYANNA
<u>Carrymadocke</u> /Rathmaddock alias/	BLACKFORD
<u>Racieen</u>	RATHCREA
<u>The Corryll</u>	CORREEL

---

(16) william Cantwell servaunt to the Lord deputie and hath doon muche good service

/Cantwell had been deprived of his lease of Abbeyleix, for misdemeanours in 1552/.

<u>Castleton</u> /Castlemoat, 1607/	MOAT
<u>Clohoge</u>	CLOGHOGE
<u>the grange</u> /Graige, 1551/	GRAIGUE
<u>Kylnesyan</u>	KILNASHANE



Kylrushe

KILRUSH

(17) malby and harpole two gentilmen that can serve and  
the one hath had charge

Ballynekelle

BALLYNAKILL

Kilcronan

KILCRONAN

ballynragat

RAGGETTSTOWN

Lysvicenet /Eysnebegnet alias  
Lisvigyn 1552

LISBIGNEY

Ahomale

(18) Donell McShane /MacGilpatrick / oon of the Captaynes  
of the kerne

Bowlebegge

BOLEYBEG

powlynemanoughe /Bowleyeneynybane,  
1551

BOLEYBAWN

Deserte /1563 map, 18th cent. map, KEELAGH  
6" O.S.Dowghell /coupled with Graigue-  
smuttan in 17th cent.Knockardocurryn

KNOCKARDOGUR

Rosse Casshell /coupled with  
Graiguenahown in 17th cent.Granenehawne

GRAIGUENAHOWN

Graignesmottan

GRAIGUENASMUTTAN

Moad

MOYADD

(19) Phelym McNele boy capten of galloglasses

Two towns standing in a fastness /? Coolglass and Scotland

(20) Ewstace brother to the vicount of Baltinglasse

The Tolloughe with thre Townesmore about it

TULLOMOY



- (21) Conell oge O Moore with the rest of the O Moores  
They have xxiii [24] great townes beyonnde the Forte to be  
devided amonges themselves (and [something crossed out]  
have their owne desire)
- 

- (22) Dunkerleu oon that hath and doth serve well  
[John Dunkerley, who was connected with Naas, and was the  
victualler of the fort, received part of this lease in  
February 1551]

Clonryet

CLONREHER

Clyntollyn

Kilmacke

- (23) [Richard] hopwood

The Pallace

PALLAS, BIG AND LITTLE

---

- (24) Morghe O Dewlyn

Cloncarwell

---

- (25) Robert O Fay and his brethern capteynes of kerne

Moynraen

MOUNTRATH

Ballynemodawghe

BALLYNAMUDDAGH

Clondwawghe

CLONENAGH

Dysert Bewghe

DYSART BEAGH

Clonad Ogasse

CLONADACASEY

---

- (26) Tirrelagh M<sup>c</sup>Cabo a captain of herne

foure Townes beyonde the Forte

towards the O Moores

included TINNAKILL

---



In addition, though they are not included in the 'consignacon', the following were in possession at the time.

- (27) The earl of Ormond who was given Kyng's lease of Feb. 1552 of site of abbey of Leix, and lands in town of abbey of Leix. The town almost certainly included Tullyroe. ABBEYLEIX DEMESNE
- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| lands of Dromaclowe in Clonkyne | CLONKEEN  |
| Ralyshe                         | RALISH  |
| Ravele alias Rathvoyle          | RATHMOYLE   |
| Lysnebegnet alias Lisvigyn      | LISBIGNEY   |
| the half of Clownecore          | Cloghachaw, part of SCOTCHRATH<br>6" O.S.                     |
| Clonejohne                      | CLOURHAUN   |
| Dirrelaen                       | DERRYLAHAN  |
| Clonaghill in Cloghhoke         | CLONOGHIL   |
| Knockbrake alias Killibreny     | Kyletabreehen, upper part of<br>DERRYKEARN, 1805 map, 6" O.S. |
| Rahyncouogher Duff called       |   |
| Oullurdluighe                   | RAHEEN DUFF   |
- 

- (28) Walter Peppard

The whole of the barony of Slievemargy, which was leased to him in 1552, and these townlands:

Downbrene	DOWNBRIN, UPPER AND LOWER
Kilgaynard	KILLYGANARD
Miche Shangan	SHANGANAGH MORE
Lyttel Shangan	SHANGANAGH BEG
Lyttel Grage	GRAIGUE

---

- (29) Giles Hovenden, who received a lease in Dec. 1549.

Killbobban	KILLABBAN
Cowlenagh	CULLENAGH
<u>Tankardiston</u>	TANKARDSTOWN
Skeanaghe	SKEHANAGH
Ballylyan	BALLYLEHANE LOWER



Cowlgarran

COOLGARRAGH

the Breanagh alias Brackanaghe

Bracknagh

Ballyntagert Ballinteggard

Garrynarhout Garrymealon 1637, Garrymirlon 1646

Biellanegarran

BALLYNAGARR

The 1637 and 1646 inquisitions also give Killebane alias

Ballywhite alias Ballyfoyle, this including latter

BALLYFOYLE

(30) Castle Lea and townland

Garrisoned during period.



## THE DIVISION OF OFFALY

Offaly and parte of Glanmaliry on that syde of the Barrowe.

<u>The forte</u>		
<u>The Dowe</u>		DOWN ?
<u>Castell Barnaghe</u>		CASTLEBARNAGH, BIG, LITTLE
<u>Kylladery</u>		KILLADERRY
<u>Clonadde</u>		CLONAD, BARONY OF UPPER PHILLIPSTOWN
<u>Ballylenam</u>		BALLYLENNON
<u>Ballikyllyn</u>	[Ballynkille, Cowley_]	
<u>Ballyntowlen</u>	[Ballynmollen, Cowley_]	BALLYMULLAN
<u>Bally owen</u>		BALLYOWEN
<u>Clownubrysse</u>		
<u>Capten Waren and his bande</u>		
<u>Ballibritten</u>		BALLYBRITTAN
<u>Bally m<sup>c</sup> William</u>		BALLYMACWILLIAM
<u>Bally homas</u>	[Ballythomas, 1563_]	THOMASTOWN
<u>Racobbikyn</u>		RATHCOBICAN
<u>Balliheshell</u>		BALLYHEASHILL
<u>Tipperdaly</u>		TOBERDALY
<u>Richard Croftes</u>		
<u>Clonmore</u>		CLONEMORE
<u>Killowne</u>		KILLOWEN
		<u>Riche</u>
<u>Ballilakyn</u>		BALLYLEAKIN
<u>Ballintogher</u>		
<u>Raconbrakkan</u>		RATHCLONBRACKAN
		<u>Denham</u>
<u>Ballinekillyn</u>		BALLYNAKILL



<u>Ballinra</u>		BALLINRATH
<u>Cluncrean</u>		CLONCREEN
<u>John Wakeley</u>		
<u>Ballibirley</u>		BALLYBURLEY
<u>Kilcorre</u>		COOLCOR
<u>Towgherbongher</u>		TOGHER
<u>Dixon and his men</u>		
<u>[William Dixon]</u>		
<u>Kilclonfarte</u>		KILCLONFERT
<u>Croterosse</u>	<u>[Ross and Croytt, 1551]</u>	CRUIT
<u>Knokkencoyne</u>	<u>[? Clonemcychome, Cowley]</u>	
<u>Kilduffe</u>		KILDUFF
<u>Potegham</u>		PUTTAGHAN
<u>Moloughe rushe</u>		MULLAGHARUSH
<u>The Barnan</u>		BARNAN
<u>Richard Brymyncham</u>		
<u>The Latte</u>	<u>[Lyatt and Killen, Cowley]</u>	KILLEN
<u>Drumkay</u>		DRUMCAW
<u>the Newtowne</u>	<u>[Ballynowe, Cowley]</u>	NEWTOWN, BALLYHUGH AND BALLYHUGH OR SPRINGFIELD.
<u>[Thomas] Might</u>		
<u>Clonmyne</u>		CLONMEEN
<u>Robert Cowley</u>		
<u>The Lowghe</u>	<u>[Loghe, 1551]</u>	
<u>Clanaroughe</u>	<u>[Clonarre, 1551]</u>	CLONARROW
<u>Mathew King and his men</u>		
<u>Moilyghe cum membris</u>		
<u>[see Roger Fynglas's lease, 1551-52]</u>		
<hr/>		
<u>Nicholas herbert of his owne choyse</u>		
<u>Mynsterorys</u>		MONASTERORIS
<u>The seate of the Freres</u>		



	<u>half Bally m<sup>c</sup>William</u>	BALLYMACWILLIAM
	<u>Ballyn Richarde</u> / <u>Balleristard 1618</u>	
	<u>Ballynla</u>	BALLINLA
	<u>Letrymme</u>	LEITRIM
	<u>half the wood of Edendery</u>	EDENDERRY
	<u>Ballicolgan</u>	BALLYCOLGAN
	<u>Ballymoran</u>	BALLYMORAN
(13)	<u>Captain Henry Coley and his bande</u>	
	<u>Edendery</u>	EDENDERRY
	<u>Drumcowle</u>	DRUMCOOLY
	<u>half bally m<sup>c</sup>william</u>	BALLYMACWILLIAM
	<u>Ballynekillen and Auhgaron</u>	BALLYKILLEN
	<u>Ballynamen</u>	BALLYNAMUM
	<u>Codde</u>	CODD
	<u>The Shean</u>	SHEAN
	<u>Clonmollen</u>	Clonmullen, in EDENDERRY.
(14)	<u>Richard</u> / <u>Pepper</u>	
	<u>Kynafadde</u>	KINNAFAD
	<u>Ruske</u>	ROOSK
	<u>Lynemarren</u>	LENAMARRAN
	<u>vi acres of Bally M<sup>c</sup>William</u>	BALLYMACWILLIAM
	<u>Clonylan</u> / 1563, Clonelaughan, land in north of the water of Monasteroris	
(15)	<u>Richard Hunte</u>	
	<u>Bracklande</u>	BRACKLIN, little, big.
	<u>Fymorree</u>	KILMURRY
	<u>Racollemkilley</u>	partially absorbed by KILMURRY above
	<u>Ratrinnon</u> / <u>Rathtrom, 1610</u>	RATHDRUM
<hr/>		
(16)	<u>? Robert</u> / <u>Adams</u>	
	<u>Ballicomer</u>	BALLYCOMMON
	<u>The next Towne</u>	? BALLYTEIGE, Big and Litt



(17) Anthony MarcheBarnaboy

BARNABOY

KillougheClannyriellCLONEARL, CLONEARL  
DEMESNEKilleishell

KILLESHIL

(18) Tege M<sup>c</sup>Kair a Capten of the Kayrne and his kinsmenClonfastCLONFAST, UPPER AND  
LOWERDirrimowlen and [Derrymollen S & D]

MILL GROVE

the twoo Brakkans

BRACKNAGH

the Keppoghe and

CAPPAGH

Ballymowlarde

BALLINOWLART, SOUTH

Kilcluncocke

KILCLONCORKRY

Cappekilmony(19) Tege McCayl a capten of the kayrne and his kinsmenBallynrahyn

BALLINRAHIN

ClunbrokeCLONBROCK, Upper,  
Lower, including  
Parkmeen.Rahyn )  
          ) ?  
The Arde )

ARDRA

(20) Bryan M<sup>c</sup>Cahirs wief [O'Connor]Killantocke      [alias Killnantocke,  
                          1624]KILNANTOGE, Upper  
and LowerPortynigannocke(21) Francis Cosby generall of the kayrneBallishenen

BALLYLEVIN

Cluncourghe

CLONCOHER

Kileelree and

KILLELLERY

Rahenegowne

RAHINDUFF

Curraghe

CURRAGH

Ballyknockan

BALLYKNOCKAN



<u>Amnagh Armoy</u>		ANAGHARVEY
<u>Bailloughe Amoy</u>		BALLYMOONEY
<u>Castell geshill</u>		GEASHILL
<u>Daldoughe</u>	<u>[Grainge and Dalkin, 1550]</u>	DALGAN
<u>Gragybowlande</u>		
<u>Ballyndoughe</u>	<u>[Ballendowe, 1550]</u>	BALLYDUFF, SOUTH
<u>Ballyn makkue</u>	<u>[Ballykee, 1550]</u>	BALLYCUE

(22) Ony M<sup>c</sup>Koe [O'Dempsey] capten of the Kayrne and his kinsmen  
The Lordshipp of Farryn Dermothe

(23) Memorandum that Killighe cum membris remayneth undisposed and  
being the furthestmost poynte of Offaly towards the Shanyn, is to  
be bestowed upon some man of estimation and credit, and Mr. Parker  
master of the Rolles being undoubtedly taken here to be by the  
reporte of all men a man of honesty, credit, and good estimacon  
is thought fytt to be planted there yff he mighte in convenient tyme  
be retourned home,

[See No. 27 of Leix]

Item in the former booke of Leyes it was left out that thabby  
of Leys cum membris was bestowed upon Therle of Ormond for that  
it bordereth with his lande,

The Captaynes of the kerne have the greater porcon for that they  
have at this tyme served so well and an englishman being their  
generall, and planted emongst them he may be in th absence of  
the Deputie the better hable to do service, yff occasion shall  
serve.















